

Slobodan Praljak

**THE TRUTH ABOUT
POLITICAL POSITIONS OF
THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
TOWARDS BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA**

- **Positions of the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr Franjo Tuđman**
- **Positions of the Croatian Parliament**
- **Positions of the Croatian Government**

**THE TRUTH ABOUT THE
AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF
CROATIA TO MUSLIMS OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
AND ARMY OF BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA (MUSLIM-
BOSNIAK ARMY)**

**WAR DAMAGES IN THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA**

APPENDICES

FACTS

www.slobodanpraljak.com

Zagreb, March 2014

free sample

Impressum

Publisher:
Oktavijan d.o.o.

Editor:
Nikola Babić Praljak

Layout: GENS '94, Zagreb

Printed by: PRINTERA GRUPA, Sveta Nedelja

ISBN 978-953-7597-10-8

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available in the Online Catalogue of the National and University Library in Zagreb as 871880.

Comment

Translations and transcriptions of original documents contained in this book were compiled from a variety of sources. In order to preserve the authenticity of original documents, only the most necessary linguistic adaptations were made in translations.

PREFACE	5
I – THE TRUTH ABOUT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - Plans, agreements, statements regarding the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1991-1995	7
– Preface	8
– Content	9
– Miroslav Tuđman’s preface.....	19
– Documents.....	43
– Index of standpoints regarding the negotiations about the organizational structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina	276
– Maps of the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina	289
II – THE TRUTH ABOUT THE AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA TO MUSLIMS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND ARMY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (MUSLIM- BOSNIAK ARMY)	301
– Content.....	303
– Preface.....	304
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia in arming Bosnia and Herzegovina army	305
– Weapons packed in food products' packaging and loaded into UNHCR trucks	342
– Formation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army troops on Croatian territory	361
– Bosnia and Herzegovina Army training centres in the Republic of Croatia	390
– Training of Bosnia and Herzegovina pilots in the Republic of Croatia	397
– Logistic centres of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina established in the Republic of Croatia	413
– Humanitarian organizations on the territory of the Republic of Croatia responsible for collecting aid for Bosniak people in Bosnia and Herzegovina	438
– Aid sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina through ports in the Republic of Croatia	454
– Treatment and hospitalization of wounded soldiers of BiH Army and civilians (mostly Bosniaks – Muslims) in hospitals in the Republic of Croatia 1992 – 1995	478
– Refugees and displaced persons from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia	531
– Refugees in times of Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992	541
– Refugees in times of aggression of ABiH against HVO	545
– Extraterritorial education of Bosnia and Herzegovina students (Muslims) in the Republic of Croatia	554
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to the Bihać enclave during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina	571
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of sport	615
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of culture	619
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the electric power sector	621
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia in maintaining and enabling telecommunication connections of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the world (Republic of Croatia enabled free telecommunication not only to Croats in BiH, to Muslims-Bosniaks as well)	627
III – AN ESTIMATE OF WAR DAMAGES IN CROATIA - Direct and indirect expenses of the war for the period 1991-2005 and a forecast to 2015 in domestic and international prices	631
– Map of the occupied territory of Croatia – cities in the war zone – with no tourism, with no economic activities	657

IV – APPENDICES	659
– General Jacques Paul Klein’s statement – who was dividing and disintegrating Bosnia and Herzegovina	661
– Ambassador Herbert Okun’s statement – who is responsible for the survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina	663
– Testimony given by Ambassador Jose Cutileiro for the Hague Tribunal in the Karadžić case, about the fact that Alija Izetbegović reneged the signed agreement from Lisbon because he wanted a unitary BiH	665
– Simulations – for better apprehension	667
V – AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY	671
VI – INFORMATION ABOUT THE WEB SITE www.slobodanpraljak.com	672
VII - INDEX	673

Please note that I've collected these documents alone and with my friends after I was indicted by The Hague along with the political and military leadership of Croatia and Croatian community Herceg- Bosnia.

Help from Croatian Government was completely absent!

Why is that so?

Even a text of 20-30 pages would maybe provide only some of the answers to that question, so I won't write anything about it.

Thus, there are more documents than I was able to collect and put on my website.

One thing is certain; documents provide more than a good "representative sample".

Documents are facts and these facts can and must build a logical conclusion, the truth.

Just as an example, I will point out to two documents in the section "BH Army logistics centers were formed in Croatia" at a time when the BH / Muslim army in Bosnia was already attacking Croats in central Bosnia, at the time when Croats were expelled from Kakanj, Travnik, Konjic, ..., they, BH Army, with the permission of Croatian political leadership, was forming in Croatia its "LOGISTICS CENTERS" - in Zagreb and Split.

When armistice was signed on July 31st, 1993 between the "Army of Republic of Srpska" and "BH Army" (this document can be found in the second book and at www.slobodanpraljak.com) and when the BH Army (Muslims), powerless against the Serbs, started the final confrontation with HVO and Croats, nothing was changed in the Croatian policy towards Muslims and BH Army.

From this we can "conclude":

1. Croats are dividing BiH
2. Croatia is the aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina
3. HVO with help from Croatia attacks BH Army and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina

That is what happens when the logic is lost in the centers of power and interests.

Slobodan Praljak

formacije sa teritorije BiH izvode 1/4 u do-
brini istočne Hercegovine i oko Dubrovnika.

te dejstva se na Mostar i pravci c. Crnogla-
v - s. Ravno i s. Slano - Ivala. Po dubini s
na Lištice, Čitluk, Ljubuski, Grude, Posušje
Sljeme i o. Šibenik.

terjaku vatrene podršku izvodi različitim art
anin u vatrene grupe sastava 2-3 oruđa, nano
jivanjem 5-10 projektila i brzim premeštanjem
e vatre uglavnom je postigao slučajnim popoci
izvršene korekture, odnosno obezbeđenja preciz-
nosti.

oije je koristio za izviđanje klipnim avionima
te u daljnjim napadnim dejstvima očekivati je n
osinje, Crnoglav - Stolac, s. Trebinjska - s.
s. Slano - s. Ivala - Popovo polje, sa verov
i u širi rejon Stone uz pomoć muslimanske 11
ne Hercegovačkog korpusa i izbijanjem u Popov
jne uslove za dalja dejstva u dubinu teritorij
e.

26.05.1992. godine sve snage na prostoru ist
inuju se pod jedinstvenu Komandu Hercegovačk
1.brTO - Bilećka, 472.atbr - Trebinjska, 10.
br - Nevesinjska, 13.nap, 13.sposp, 13. lap P
b, 13.atb, PZ Kude NK i PZB, OTO Borci, te O
O Ljubinje koji se predpočinjavaju 23.brTO i
lužio sam nastaviti sa odlučnom odbranom na
ovac, s. Klepci, na sadašnjoj liniji odbrane
ovati odbranu u zoni 23.brTO, a sa 472.atbr o
liniji: s. Velja Međa - s. Trebinjska - s. Or
s. Grebi - s. Kaldurdevići - Visočnik.

oprediti prodor neprijatelja kroz zonu odbre
nu Hercegovinu.

200 težakih i teži sa organizacijom VOJ-a i pr

**THE TRUTH ABOUT
BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA**

**Plans, agreements,
statements on the
constitutional structure of
Bosnia and Herzegovina
from 1991 to 1995**

FACTS

Dr. Miroslav Tuđman compiled the documents that were signed by Croatian institutions (President, Government, Parliament, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,... etc.) in the period before the Dayton Agreement

Since my work is related to the attitude of Croatia towards BiH, especially the relationship between Croats and Bosniaks – Muslims prior to the Washington Agreement, not all of the documents are included in this book.

I have left out, in my own judgment, those documents that were less important.

Also due to the economic reasons.

The list contains all the documents from the Dr. Miroslav Tuđman's book, and those included in my book are marked.

We're friends, and with his permission, I'm publishing these documents in the book, under my name.

I agree with the views in the preface of his book and in this sense I countersign them.

Unlike the natural sciences where theory becomes true if it can be confirmed by experiments time and again, in social sciences, especially in history, there are too many of those who are talking about their own theories and writing whatever comes to their minds.

Nobody is interested and nobody wants to deal with the facts.

This, as well as publications which will follow, are intended for the few serious investigators, who are interested in the truth supported by facts.

Slobodan Praljak

Preface: Manufacturing memory: between historical oblivion and consent to political manipulations	19
Part I: From the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina	
1. Declaration of State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 27 February 1991)	43
2. The BH Assembly: 6 items of the President of the Presidency, Alija Izetbegović on the future of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Sarajevo, 27 June 1991)	45
3. Brioni Agreement and annexes to the Brioni meeting (Brioni, 7 July 1991)	
4. EC: Declaration on Yugoslavia by 12 EC-ministers (The Hague, 6 August 1991)	
5. Serbian-Muslim "Historical Agreement": Muhamed Filipović – Radovan Karadžić (2 August 1991)	46
6. Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: Decision on the Termination of State and Legal Ties with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Zagreb, 8 October 1991)	
7. Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: Conclusion on Aggression committed Against the Republic of Croatia (Zagreb, 8 October 1991)	
8. Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Memorandum of the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 11 October 1991)	47
9. Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Platform on the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the future organisation of the Yugoslav community (Sarajevo, 15 October 1991)	49
10. Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: EC proposes "A free association of sovereign and independent Yugoslav Republics " (The Hague, 18. October 1991)	
11. Decision on the Establishment of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina (24 October 1991)	52
12. Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: Proposal on contractual provisions for the EC Convention on seeking a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis (The Hague, 3 November 1991)	
13. The decision on the establishment of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia (Grude, 18 November 1991).....	53
14. Decision to verify the Serbian autonomous districts proclaimed in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 21 November 1991)	54
15. Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Decision on the Recognition of the Republic of Srpska Krajina (Sarajevo, 21 November 1991)	56
16. "Geneva Accord" on withdrawal of the Yugoslav National Army from Croatia (Geneva, 23 November 1991)	
17. Assembly of the Republic of Croatia: Conclusions on foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia (Zagreb, 5 December 1991)	57
18. The Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: Request for acceptance of the Republic of Croatia into the European Council (Zagreb, 5 December 1991)	
19. Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: Arbitration Commission, Opinion No. 1: " The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is in the process of disintegration" (7 December 1991)	59
20. Ministerial Council of the European Union: "Guidelines for recognition of the new states in the Eastern Europe and Soviet Union" (Brussels, 16 December 1991)	61
21. Ministerial Council of the European Union: "Declaration on Yugoslavia" (Brussels, 16 December 1991).....	62
22. Presidency and Government of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Request to European Union for recognition of the sovereignty and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 24 December 1991).....	63
23. Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Decision to proceed with the establishment of the "Republka Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina" (21 December 1991).....	64
24. The Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: Conclusion (28 December 1991)	65
25. The Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Declaration on proclamation of the Republic of the Serbian people of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 9 January 1992)	66

26.	Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: Arbitration Commission, Opinion No. 2 (Paris, 11 November 1992)	
27.	Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: Arbitration Commission, Opinion No. 3 (Paris, 11 November 1992)	
28.	Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: Opinion No. 4: On the International Recognition of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the European Community and its Member States (Paris, 11 November 1992)	
29.	Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: Arbitration Commission, Opinion No. 5 (Paris, 11 November 1992)	
30.	The Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on referendum invitation on the independency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 25 January 1992)	68
31.	The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Referendum Question (9 February 1992).....	69
32.	Lisbon statement on Yugoslavia by Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries of the European Union (Lisbon, 17 February 1992)	70
33.	Cutileiro's plan: Izetbegović, Lasić and Karadžić agreed on the "reconstruction" of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 22 February 1992)	71
34.	BH Patriotic League Main Staff Directive for the defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty (Sarajevo, 25 February 1992)	73
35.	Cutileiro's Plan: Proposal of the BH HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) "On the Future Status of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a State" (Sarajevo, 25 February 1992)	75
36.	Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on proclaiming the Constitution of the Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 28 February 1992)	77
37.	Final results of the referendum in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 9 March 1992)	78
38.	Cutileiro's plan; Statements of principles for the new constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Brussels, 9 March 1992)	79
39.	US/EC Declaration on the Recognition of the Yugoslav Republics (Brussels, 10 March 1992).....	81
40.	Cutileiro's plan: Comments and Proposals of the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ BiH) in connection with the "Statement concerning the Principles of the New Constitutional Organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina"	82
41.	Cutileiro's plan: Text of the Statement of Principles for new Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 18 March 1992).....	84
42.	Cutileiro's plan: Brussels Annex to the Statement on Constitutional Structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Brussels, 30 and 31 March 1992)	
43.	Joint statement of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the EC on the recognition of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Brussels, 6 April 1992)	43

Part II: From the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the beginning of the work of the International Conference on former Yugoslavia (London Conference)

44.	Dr. Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia: Decision on the recognition of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent state (Zagreb, 7 April 1992)	87
45.	The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on the Proclamation of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Banja Luka, 7 April 1992)	88
46.	Government of Republika Srpska of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Statement on EC-USA Declaration (Belgrade, 17 April 1992)	
47.	Letters of Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac and the president of the The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović (Sarajevo, 19 April 1992)	
48.	Representatives of the Croatian and Serbian national community in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Agreement Boban – Karadžić (Graz, 6 May 1992)	89
49.	EC: Declaration on Bosnia and Herzegovina (Brussels, 12 May 1992)	
50.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbian side and the Yugoslav National Army: Agreement on Cease-Fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 18 May 1992)	

51.	The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of the RBiH Alija Izetbegović: Joint statement (Zagreb/Sarajevo, 15 June 1992)	90
52.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Actions of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in wartime (Sarajevo, 26 June 1992)	
53.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on placing the reserve units of the Ministry of Interior in command to the unit of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (27 June 1992)	
54.	Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: EC Arbitration Commission, Opinion on Competence and Opinion No. 8 (Paris, 4 July 1992)	
55.	Dr. Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia: Letter to Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 6 July 1992).....	91
56.	The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović : Joint Statement (Helsinki, 8 July 1992).....	93
57.	CSCE /Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe/: Speech by Dr. Franjo Tuđman, the President of the Republic of Croatia at the plenary session of the CSCE (Helsinki, 9 July 1992).....	94
58.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision to relieve of duty and appoint members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 13 July 1992)	
59.	The Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Opinions on the administrative and territorial structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 16 July 1992)	98
60.	EC Conference on Yugoslavia: Text of the Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (London, 17 July 1992)	
61.	EC Council of Ministers: Text of the Declaration on Yugoslavia (Brussels, 20 July 1992)	
62.	Agreement on friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia (Zagreb, 21 July 1992)	101
63.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decree on the armed forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 6 August 1992)	103

Part III: From the beginning of the work of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia until rejection of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan

64.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The constitutional principles of the internal structure of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 16 August 1992)	105
65.	London Conference: Presentation of document which representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina will take to London (Belgrade, 21 August 1992).....	108
66.	The Presidency and Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Adopted stands of the delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the London Conference (Sarajevo, 22 August 1992)	109
67.	London Conference: Draft Statement on Principles and Action Plan of the London Conference on Former Yugoslavia (London, 25 August 1992)	
68.	London Conference: Statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (London, 27 August 1992)	
69.	SDA (Party of Democratic Action) and HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Joint announcement from the meeting in Međugorje (Međugorje, 27 August 1992)	110
70.	London Conference: Confidence, Security-Building and Verification (London, 8 September 1992)	
71.	Office of the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Statement on the Međugorje Agreement (Sarajevo, 9 September 1992).....	112
72.	London Conference: Entire text of joint statement by - Vance, Owen, Čosić, Panić (Beograd, 11 September 1992)	
73.	Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia: Annex to the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation (New York, 21 September 1992).....	113
74.	The Government of Republika Srpska and the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina: Protocol on Cooperation (Banja Luka, 22 September 1992)	115

75.	London Conference: Text of the Joint Declaration of the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić (Geneva, 30 September 1992).....	117
76.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Order of the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović to lift the blockade of the city of Sarajevo (Konjic, 16 October 1992)	119
77.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Text of the Joint statement of the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović and the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić (Geneva, 19 October 1992).....	120
78.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Agreement of the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić and Adil Zulfikarpašić (Geneva, 19 October 1992)	
79.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: The Joint Declaration of the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić (Geneva, 20 October 1992.).....	122
80.	HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Political charter of the Main Board of the HDZ BiH (Posušje, 24 October 1992)	123
81.	Alija Izetbegović, the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Letter to Dr. Franjo Tuđman, the President of the Republic of Croatia (Sarajevo, 27 October 1992).....	125
82.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: The draft of the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina produced by the working group of the Geneva Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (Geneva, 28 October 1992)	127
83.	The President of the RH Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović (Zagreb, 30 October 1992).....	133
84.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Report of the Co-Chairman on the Elaboration of the Draft Constitutional Structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina (November 1992)	
85.	Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Assembly of the Republika Srpska: Prijedor declaration (31 October 1992)	135
86.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Proposal on the Constitutional Organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the delegation of Republika Srpska (1 November 1992)	
87.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on the Adoption of the Resignation of the Member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 10 November 1992)	
88.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Law on Electing and Recalling Members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 24 December 1992)	137
89.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on Election of the Member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 24 December 1992)	138
90.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on member election of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 24 December 1992).....	139
91.	Vance-Owen Peace Plan: Draft Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 02/05 January 1993)	140
92.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Nine counts of the draft of 'Constitutional principles' that was conditionally accepted by Radovan Karadžić (Geneva, 12 January 1993).....	144
93.	Ministry of the Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Order issued by Božo Rajić, Minister of the Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 16 January 1993).....	145
94.	The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding order issued by Božo Rajić, the Minister of Defence on 16 January 1993 (Sarajevo, 19 January 1993)	147
95.	The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 27 January 1993).....	149
96.	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Joint statement by the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović and the President of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia Mate Boban (Geneva, 27 January 1993).....	150

97. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Proposal of the Joint Statements of the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović and the President of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia Mate Boban, not being signed (Geneva, 1 February 1993).....	151
98. Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABiH) Main Staff and Croatian Defence Council (HVO) Main Staff: Mutual Agreement signed by the Chief of ABiH Main Staff and the Chief of HVO Main Staff (Sarajevo, 11 February 1993)	154
99. USA: The Six-Points of President Bill Clinton (Washington, 11 February 1993)	
100. The Vance-Owen plan: Agreement on Future Relations of Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina (New York, 3 March 1993).....	156
101. The Vance-Owen plan: Agreement on Provisional Organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (New York, 25 March 1993)	158
102. The Vance-Owen plan: Izetbegović and Boban signed the complete Vance-Owen Peace Plan (New York, 25 March 1993)	160
103. The Vance-Owen plan: Terms of Alija Izetbegović regarding the signing of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan (New York, 25 March 1993).....	161
104. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Joint Statement (Zagreb, 27 March 1993).....	162
105. National Assembly of the Republika Srpska: Declaration on Continuation of the Peace Process (Sarajevo, 2 April 1993)	
106. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, and the President of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia Mate Boban: Joint Statement (Zagreb, 18 April 1993).....	163
107. Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABiH) and Croatian Defence Council (HVO): Cease-fire Agreement between HVO and BH Army (Zenica, 21 April 1993)	164
108. Members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, President and members of the BH Government (Croatian side): Statement (Mostar, 21 April 1993).....	165
109. National Assembly of the Republika Srpska: Decision on Holding a Referendum in Republika Srpska (25 April 1993)	
110. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović and President of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia: Joint Statement on the Founding and Organisation of a Joint Command of the BH Army and HVO (Zagreb, 24 April 1993)	167
111. House of the Representatives of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: Appeal to Muslims and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina to stop the conflicts (Zagreb, 30 April 1993)	170
112. The state delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Turkey: Text of Joint declaration signed after official talks between Turkey and Croatia (Ankara, 30 April 1993)	171
113. The President of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia Mate Boban: Letter to UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali (Mostar, 7 May 1993)	173

Part IV: From the rejection of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan to the rejection of the Owen-Stoltenberg Peace Plan

114. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović and the President of the Croatian Community Herceg-Bosna Mate Boban (Zagreb, 10 May 1993)	175
115. Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina Mile Akmadžić: Letter to the UN Security Council (Čitluk, 11 May 1993)	177
116. Defence and National Security Council: Report from the ninth session (Zagreb, 11 May 1993)	
117. Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina concluded between General Milivoj Petković and General Sefer Halilović (12 May 1993)	179
118. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Zagreb, 12 May 1993)	182

119. The President of the Ministers Council of the EC Niels Helveg Petersen: Letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman (12 May 1993)	185
120. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to Niels Helveg Petersen, the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community (Zagreb, 13 May 1993)	186
121. Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia: Letter to the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 18 May 1993)	189
122. Vance-Owen Plan: Međugorje Agreement (Međugorje, 18 May 1993)	
123. National Assembly of the Republika Srpska: Declaration on the continuation of the peace process (19 May 1993)....	191
124. National Assembly of the Republika Srpska: Decision to proclaim the results of the referendum (19 May 1993)	192
125. Five members of the UN Security Council: Joint statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (22 May 1993)	
126. The President of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia M.Sc. Mate Boban: Letter to the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović (Mostar, 31 May 1993)	194
127. Military commanders of three parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina: “ General Agreement on cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina ” (Sarajevo, 15 June 1993)	195
128. Foreign Ministers of the European Community countries: Agreement on the “basic principles” for the resolution of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Copenhagen, 20 June 1993)	197
129. The President of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia Mate Boban: Letter to International Officials (Mostar, 22 June 1993)	198
130. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Nine constitutional principles for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 23 June 1993)	
131. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 25 June 1993)	199
132. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Interview for RT (Radio Television) BiH (Sarajevo, 8 July 1993)	200
133. Office of the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Alija Izetbegović’s denial that he “accepts confederaliazation of Bosnia and Herzegovina ” (Sarajevo, 9 July 1993).....	201
134. The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Statement after the meeting held in Zagreb (Zagreb, 11 July 1993)	202
135. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to UN Secretary-General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Zagreb, 16 July 1993)	203
136. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Initial position of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for negotiations in Geneva (Sarajevo, 17 July 1993)	
137. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Statement of Presidents Dr. Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević (Geneva, 17 July 1993)	205
138. Owen-Stoltenberg Plan: Constitutional Agreement on the Union of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 30 July 1993)	
139. The Owen-Stoltenberg Plan: The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović retracts his “Yes” (Geneva, 31 July 1993)	206
140. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman (Sarajevo, 4 August 1993).....	207
141. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović (Zagreb, 10 August 1993)	208
142. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Izetbegović-Karadžić Bilateral talks on Eastern Bosnia (Geneva, 17 August 1993)	209
143. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Basic decision on the establishment and proclamation of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia (Grude, 28 August 1993)	210

144. International Conference for the Former Yugoslavia: Four proposals to UNPROFOR, the UNHCR and the ICRC form the delegation of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia (Geneva, 1 September 1993)	213
145. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Agreement between the Croatian Defence Council and Muslim representatives (Međugorje, 1 September 1993)	
146. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Agreement on Peace and on the Union of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was not signed (Geneva, 1 September 1993)	
147. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to the President of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia M.Sc. Mate Boban (Zagreb, 6 September 1993)	
148. President of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia Mate Boban: Letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman (Mostar, 13 September 1993)	
149. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Joint Declaration of the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović (Geneva, 14 September 1993).....	214
150. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Secret agreement on the confederation of the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović (Geneva, 14 September 1993)	216
151. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Joint Serbian-Muslim Declaration of Alija Izetbegović and Momčilo Krajišnik (Geneva, 16 September 1993).....	217
152. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Agreement of the Commander of the Supreme command of the Army Bosnia and Herzegovina Rasim Delić and the Commander of the General Staff of the Croatian Defence Council Milivoj Petković (Sarajevo, 17 September 1993).....	219
153. The Owen-Stoltenberg Plan on the “Invincible”: Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (Adriatic Sea, 20 September 1993).....	220
154. The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Decree Law on the Amendments to the Law on the Election and Recall of Members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 28 September 1993)	224
155. The Owen-Stoltenberg Plan: Peace agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina- the new edited version (Geneva, end of September 1993).....	225
156. President of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia M.Sc. Mate Boban: Letter to the UNPROFOR-Commander for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Francis Briquemont (Mostar, 1 October 1993)	
157. House of Representatives of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia: Conclusions on the obligations of Croatian negotiators in Geneva (Neum, 1 October 1993)	
158. National Assembly of Republika Srpska: Declaration on the Continuation of the Peace Process (2 October 1993)	
159. Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on the Recall of Members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 20 October 1993)	246
160. Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on the Election of Members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 20 October 1993)	246
161. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Joint declaration of Mate Boban and Fikret Abdić about the end of conflicts and unconstitutional changes in the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 21 October 1993)	247
162. Republika Srpska and the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia of the Republic of Bosnia: Peace Agreement (Belgrade, 22 October 1993)	
163. Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia: Statement regarding Stupni Do (Zagreb, 30 October 1993)	

Part V: The Washington Agreements

164. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Peace initiative of the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman (Zagreb, 2 November 1993).....	248
---	-----

165. Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina Haris Silajdžić and Vice President of the Government of the Republic of Croatia and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granić: Joint declaration (Sarajevo, 12 November 1993)
166. Dr. Franjo Tuđman, the President of the Republic of Croatia: Letter to Alija Izetbegović, the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 23 December 1993) 251
167. Contractual Agreement on Establishing Permanent and Overall Peace between the Croatian and Bosniak-Muslim People in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on Basic Principles of a Future Common Life (Bonn, 10 January 1994)
168. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Draft proposal put forward by the Croatian delegation to the Muslim Bosniak delegation (Geneva, 19 January 1994) 253
169. House of Representatives of the Assembly of Republic of Croatia: Resolution on Conducting Foreign Policy (Zagreb, 2 February 1994) 254
170. Presidential Defence and National Security Council: A statement from the 36th session (Zagreb, 5 February 1994)... 257
171. House of Representatives of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna: Declaration for independent Bosnia and Herzegovina as a Union of legally equal republics (Livno, 8 February 1994) 260
172. International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: Joint statement of Minister Granić and Prime Minister Silajdžić (Geneva, 10 February 1994)
173. Commander-in Chief of the Croatian Defence Council, General Ante Roso and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, General Rasim Delić: Agreement on Cease-Fire (Zagreb, 23 February 1994)
174. Republika Srpska and the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia of the Republic of Bosnia: Peace Agreement (Belgrade, 23 February 1994)
175. The Washington Agreements: Framework Agreement on the Federation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Washington, 1 March 1994)
176. The Washington Agreements: Text of the previous Agreement for a Confederation between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Washington, 1 March 1994)
177. The Washington Agreements: Agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina about access to the Adriatic Sea through the territory of the Republic of Croatia (Washington, 1 March 1994)
178. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Message to the nation (Zagreb, 3 March 1994)
179. **The Washington Agreements: Military representatives of the Croatian Defence Council and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina signed a document on accepting the principles for the establishment of a federal army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Split, 12 March 1994)..... 264**
180. The Washington Agreements: Text of the Declaration on Accepting the Draft Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Preliminary Agreement on Economic and Military Cooperation (Washington, 18 March 1994)
181. **The Washington Agreements: Text of the Declaration on the Framework Agreement for a Confederation between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia (Washington, 18 March 1994) 265**
182. The Washington Agreements: Agreement on the Cantonal Organisation of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Central Bosnia (Washington, 18 March 1994) 265
183. The Washington Agreements: Text of the Agreement on Free Passage in the Neum Area (Washington, 18 March 1994)
184. **The Washington Agreements: Decision on the Proclamation of the Constitution and the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 30 March 1994) 266**
- Part VI: From the Washington Agreements to the Dayton Agreements
185. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović (Zagreb, 11 April 1994)
186. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman (Sarajevo, 13 April 1994)

187. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman (Sarajevo, 30 April 1994)
188. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović (Zagreb, 2 May 1994)
189. Vienna Agreements: Criteria for determining the territory of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Principles on the Establishment of Cantons, Agreement on the Allocation of the Highest Positions (Vienna, 8-11 May 1994)
190. Contact group: For a quick and permanent solution of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 13 May 1994)
191. Representatives of the Croatian-Bosniak Federation and the representative of Bosnian Serbs: Document on the Cessation of Hostilities in entire Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 8 June 1994)
192. Contact group: Proposal on the territorial-political structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 4 July 1994)
193. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Republic of Turkey Suleyman Demirel: Joint statement (Zagreb, 16 July 1994)
194. Trilateral Brioni Declaration by the President of the Republic of Croatia, the President of the Republic of Turkey and the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Brioni, 17 July 1994)
195. Contact group: Proposal on elements for the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (19 July 1994)
196. Assembly of Republika Srpska: Declaration on the Contact Group Plan (19 July 1994)
197. Delegations of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Joint statement (Zagreb, 14 September 1994)
198. R.Karadžić- R.Mladić: Agreement on Cease-fire for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Pale, 19 December 1994)
199. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman (Sarajevo, 12 November 1994)
200. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina General Rasim Delić, Radovan Karadžić and General Ratko Mladić: Agreement on Cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo-Pale, 23 December 1994)
201. Generals T. Blaškić, R. Delić, R. Mladić: Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Airport, Sarajevo, 12 January 1995)
202. Nine-point plan for the support of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Munich, 5 February 1995)
203. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Republic of Turkey Suleyman Demirel: Joint statement (Brioni, 21 July 1995)
204. Delegations of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Declaration on the Realization of the Washington Agreements and on Joint Defence against Serbian Aggression (Split, 22 July 1995)
205. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Twelve-Point Peace Programme for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 18 August 1995)
206. Leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republika Srpska: Agreement on joint delegation for peace negotiations on Bosnia and Herzegovina (Belgrade, 29 August 1995)
207. Contact group: Agreed basic principles for a settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 8 September 1995)
208. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Letter to the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (Sarajevo, 24 September 1995)
209. Contact group: Text of basic principles for Bosnia and Herzegovina (New York, 26 September 1995)
210. Official text of the Agreement on Cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 5 October 1995)
211. The Dayton Agreements: Agreement on realization of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton, 10 November 1995)
212. The Dayton Agreements: The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton, 21 November 1995, Paris, 14 December 1995)

213. The Dayton Agreements: Letter of the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović to the US Secretary of State Warren Christopher (Dayton, November 1995)
214. The Dayton Agreements: Agreement on Initialling (Dayton, 21 November 1995)
215. The Dayton Agreements: Text of the Final statement in Dayton (Dayton, 21 November 1995)
216. The Dayton Agreements: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1021 (New York, 22 November 1995)
217. The Dayton Agreements: Annex 1a – Military aspects (Paris, 14 December 1995)
218. The Dayton Agreements: Annex 4 – Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Paris, 14 December 1995)
219. The Dayton Agreements: Text of accompanying letters to the Dayton Agreements (Dayton, 21 November 1995)
220. The Dayton Agreements: Agreement on the Establishment of a Joint Council for Cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Paris, 14 December 1995)

221. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Report to the Croatian National Parliament (Zagreb, 15 January 1996)
222. Leader of the Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadžić: Text of the statement on the withdrawal from political life (Belgrade, 18 July 1996)
223. The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: For Full Implementation of the Washington Agreements and Dayton Agreements (Geneva, 14 August 1996)
224. Agreed measures: Document on the structure of a strong Federation as the backbone of a unified Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 15 August 1996)
225. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Report on the work of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period from 20 December 1990 to 10 September 1996 (Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 11 September 1996)
226. The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milošević and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović: Integral text of a joint statement on the normalisation of relations (Paris, 2 October 1996)

Part VII: Index of standpoints regarding the negotiations about the organizational structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina276

Part VIII: Maps of the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina 289

* The content contains the list of all documents from Miroslav Tuđman's book "The truth about BiH". This book contains only the documents marked in the content.

Plans, agreements, statements on the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1991 to 1995

Manufacturing memory: between historical oblivion and consent to political manipulations

Introduction

We live in times when propaganda and the public relations industry are crucial for any kind of success, whether economic, political or athletic, etc. Success depends on marketing, image, brand-creation and the frequency of appearance in the public. This is why every government, state institution, company, project or public figure is doomed to failure if it does not have its own spokesperson, public relations office or does not engage a specialized PR agency for its promotion.

Hence, we live in an information age in which the possession of information and the development of personal information strategies are crucial to ensure the dominance of its own information or to prevent opponents to create oppositional ones. This takes place in all areas and at all levels. George Bush, the President of the USA, appointed a special advisor for cyberspace in late 2001 with the task to secure clear cyberspace in the USA and the US's global information superiority.

The explanation for the appointment of a special cyberspace advisor was very precise: as much as countries that dominated sea and air space ruled the world in the industrial era, so will countries that dominate cyberspace have world supremacy in the information age.

Cyberspace in times of internet and global processes is saturated by various information strategies and many contradictory messages that infest global, regional and local information networks. Users are surfeited by information, communication links and messages that should function as evidence and truth about facts and occurrences.

Unfortunately, reality is quite different. With the increasing amount of information, we are moving even further away from the truth and facts. Information without the user's judgement creates blind knowledge: a series of non-validated data. Knowledge that is based on memorising information is dumb: without evidence and arguments. At best, information allows finding out about events. Not far from the truth is the cynical definition by the CNN: CNN – are those who are first to know and last to understand.

Information and facts are not the same. Information transmits messages about events and occurrences and provides knowledge of them; however, information is not

facts. Facts are a product of judgement¹. Facts are based on evidence, so that the judgement on certain events would be true.

Surfeited with news, we are even further away from the truth, and often also from the evidence and documents based upon which we could ground our judgement and gain facts on events. Without access to documents and evidence, we cannot have knowledge or objective memory on (past) events.

The most influential indoctrinations of public knowledge are achieved by manipulating memory. The manipulation process is achieved through: concealment of existing documents and evidence; by change of context- documents acquire new meanings, whereas the memory of “new” information and messages is altered according to a scheme that is defined by information strategies. The objectives of information strategies are to reduce the user's memory to the set of data that is systematically and methodically projected and memorized in cyberspace. The manipulation process is easier when potential users do not have any prior knowledge on events and actual facts. Indoctrination can then be considered complete, because a targeted and projected image of reality is created.

The intention of the author of this collection of documents on the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were created between 1991 and 1995, is to remind of the evidence and documents that will- instead of selective memories and fragmented truths- provide and allow an objective and coherent judgement on the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The list of 227 collected documents- from the Declaration of State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina² to the joint statement of A. Izetbegović and S. Milošević on the normalisation of relations between FR Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina³ - is a collection of evidence on the intentions and aims of the key players in the arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, their willingness to accept certain constitutional decisions or their determination to reject any solution that they considered unacceptable and not in the interest of their nation. These documents are material evidence on political concepts for the arrangement of Bosnia

1 See: M. Stanford. *The Nature of Historical Knowledge*. Oxford UK – Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1995, M. Tuđman. *Prikazalište znanja*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 2003

2 The Declaration was supported by SDA and HDZ, but rejected by SDS in the Assembly of BiH, it was not adopted.

3 The statement was signed on 2nd October 1996 in Paris.

and Herzegovina and on legal proposals of constitutional solutions. In any case, they are a prerequisite to evaluate political, legal, military and social events in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to determine facts and acquire the truth about Croatian, Bosniak and Serbian interests and goals.

The existence of one or a number of documents cannot be necessarily equated with a fact. The historical, political, legal, social or military fact evolves simply as a result of judging a series of documents and data and analysing the impact of players and circumstances which directly or indirectly influenced its formation. This list of documents is therefore provided to the reader not as a series of facts and truths, but as material upon which the reader arrives at its own conclusions regarding the break-up of SFR of Yugoslavia, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia's policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In terms of the organisation of the public knowledge corpus, and in the information age of a proclaimed access to public information, it is surprising that documents stated in this collection are not publicly available as an organized and arranged corpus of information: they do not exist in the data bases of state ministries and other Croatian public data bases⁴. As a result, the corpus of public knowledge and social memory about these events is fragmented and disorganized. The often low level of articles on these topics in the public media is therefore not surprising, a level that insults the intellectual dignity as such articles are rarely confronted with evidence, but rather abundantly feed the cyberspace with disinformation and partial information⁵.

Criteria for the selection of documents

The main criteria for the selection of documents on the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1991 to 1995 are as follows: peace plans of the International Community about the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina; b) agreements about the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina that were proposed to the Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats (regardless whether and by whom they were signed); c) Declarations and joint statements of interested parties, as well as of the International Community regarding the international recognition of BiH and its internal arrangement; d) military peace agreements that were a condition for or the consequence of the acceptance of peace plans and

agreements; e) letters exchanged between key players that contain proposals and standpoints about BiH's constitutional arrangement.

Generally, we used only original documents, i.e. complete documents⁶ and not their interpretations. However, there were several exceptions. A number of agency reports were included as well, either because we could not get to the original document whose content is disclosed in the report or because these reports contain standpoints of interested parties on unavailable agreements- and reasons for their acceptance or rejection are quoted in them.

This survey of documents on the constitutional structure of BiH does not include relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council and presidential statements of the UN Security Council for two practical reasons: first, these documents are available on the internet and in specialized publications⁷; second, the size of these documents would require a special publication. Documents are given in chronological order, thus, according to the time of their creation. We included only accessible documents in the Croatian language⁸. Documents were not edited and only exceptionally corrected in cases of obvious typographical errors⁹. For reasons of clarity and readability of documents which mention the so-called „Republic of Serbian Krajina“ or “Serbian autonomous oblast (region)”, “Serbian oblasti (regions)” in the Republic of Croatia, etc., the names of these unconstitutional entities and their deeds, as well as self-proclaimed authorities that have declared them were not specially marked by quotation marks nor were words such as “unconstitutional”, “so-called”, “self-proclaimed”, “self-appointed” and the like added in front of them. The citation of their original names implies their unconstitutionality from the date of their formation or declaration respectively, as determined by the Constitutional Court of the public of Croatia in “Report on the occasion of the Initiative of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, class: 004-01/01-02/12, reg. no.:5030109-02-2 dated 10th October 2002“(no.: U-X-2271/2002, Zagreb, 12th November 2002).

Information about who accepted (or did not accept) a peace plan or agreement is given in the remark to the document, in cases where the remark was published in the original document. This type of remarks is not an intervention of the editor of this publication.

4 For example: The decision by which the Republic of Croatia recognized SR of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state on 7th April 1992 was not published in the Official Gazette, there is no documentation in the MFA of the Republic of Croatia and it was not completely published in the media, except as news.

5 This relation to key material is irrational. The understanding and interpretation of recent and future history, not only of BiH, but also Croatia, depends on the availability of this key material. It is right to question if there is the intention of not presenting this material to the general public or if there are other superior players and their information strategies whose dominance is so strong that it was impossible to organize a corpus of key documents that speaks of who determined the destiny of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s and how.

6 We shortened certain peace agreements due to their length only in a few cases, but we always kept those sections of the agreements which define the constitutional structure of BiH.

7 Particularly important publications are: Snežana Trifunovska. Former Yugoslavia Through Documents From its dissolution to the peace settlement. The Haag: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1999, pp. 1346; and Snežana Trifunovska. Yugoslavia Through Documents From its creation to its dissolution. The Haag: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994, pp. 1074; See also: Anđelko Milardović (ur.). Ujedinjeni narodi. Rezolucije o BiH. Osijek-Mostar: Pan Liber – Hrvatska budnica, 1995

8 Or Serbian or “Bosnian” language respectively. These documents were not “translated”.

9 That is why we kept also personal names and other terms as they are originally written in the document

Maps of the arrangement of BiH, most often the reason for disagreements and conflicts, represent a special annexe and are also provided in chronological order. They also show the military situation on site in different time periods, proposed territorialisation of constitutional solutions by international mediators, but also proposals of the involved conflict parties. Most of the peace plans had several versions and hence several versions of maps. We provided only those, which are available and published in public sources.

In order to understand peace initiatives and negotiations on BiH, we prepared an *Index of standpoints to the negotiations on the constitutional organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina*. The purpose of this index is not to be an exhaustive chronology of all meetings and events, but simply the first information on what happened in between negotiations¹⁰, and how the parties to the conflict and the International Community treated the proposed solutions at the given moment.

On the relevance of documents and understanding events

The first reading of documents already indicates to the fact that, after the introduction of a multiparty system and democratic elections in 1990, there was not even the minimum consensus about the constitutional structure of BiH between the political elites of the three constituent peoples. That is why a survey of advocated, proposed and rejected constitutional solutions on the arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the key to understanding modern BiH history, the war there and the efforts of certain parties to find a political solution.

We agree with those political analyses that presented these oppositions in the following way¹¹:

- The Bosniak political elite supported a unitary civil state,
- The Serbian political elite advocated a Serbian national state within a union with other parts of the state,
- The Croatian political elite lobbied for a union of three ethnic units.

It is far more difficult to specify the positions and strategies of the International Community whose role eventually became crucial after the internationalisation of the Yugoslav crisis¹², since the three parties in BiH could not reach any compromise on the solution of the crisis and the arrangement of BiH as a state. Hence, the International Community proposed all solutions and even imposed the final solution. From a formal point of view, the International Community advocated a liberal model of democracy as a

solution for the BiH problem, though a model that cannot function in plural or divided societies.

It may seem incomprehensible to those who did not participated in or witnessed the events in Europe in the 1990s, and in particular the break-up of former Yugoslavia, that not even the so-called International Community was able at that time to reach a consensus about a single fundamental fact, i.e. that: ***Bosnia and Herzegovina is a plural or divided society*** – with three different national and cultural identities, different interests and values¹³, a society with deep national, religious, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and social rifts- a society that cannot function according to the liberal model of democracy.

Reasons for not acknowledging these facts might be numerous: ranging from the idealisation of the SFR of Yugoslavia as a well organized multinational community; the fear of the collapse of the Soviet Union; fear that confederalization will lead to the break-up of BiH, which could then serve as an example for Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonian Albanians, Basques, Montenegrins, Kurds and others to request the right for self-determination and secession; to the desire to prevent the formation of new national states as an interference of the accelerated processes of globalisation and European integration, which were in full swing after the collapse of communism and the Warsaw Pact.

Regardless which of these reasons were decisive, fact is that the International Community did not acknowledge BiH as a plural society, a divided society comprised of three national, religious and social communities, which cannot be organised according to the principles of a universal liberal model of democracy.

The International Community (IC) started from the postulate that Bosnia and Herzegovina must be organized as a multicultural, multiethnic and multi-religious society; however, it lacked the vision or knowledge which model of democracy suited the “deepest divided European state”¹⁴. In this respect, the negotiation strategies and priorities of the International Community have constantly been changing and certain peace plans were undermined and prevented by key members of the International Community or at least one of the parties to the conflict equally.

Constitutional solutions were developed on compromises that started on postulates of a multiethnic and multicultural civil society as a norm for the constitutional organisation of BiH and ended with proposals to organize the state on the basis of individual human rights, on models that recognize but do not start from collective human rights. The International Community proposed a model of an

¹⁰ Therefore, the Index does not list all agreements that were included in this survey, because its function is to be a tool for a better understanding of standpoints of the individual sides on the proposed agreements.

¹¹ See: Mirjana Kasapović. *Bosna i Hercegovina podijeljeno društvo i nestabilna država*. Zagreb: Politička kultura, 2005, pp. 195-196

¹² From „Brioni Agreement“ 7th July 1991

¹³ Without minimum consent of Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs on basic values and norms of co-existence, see M. Kasapović, 2005, pp. 158-191.

¹⁴ Reilly, Benjamin (2001). *Democracy in Divided Societies. Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 143. Quoted according to M. Kasapović, 2005, p. 77.

“ethnically neutral” state, in which religious and national feelings remain a private matter of the individual. However, none of the national communities in BiH could accept this proposal since each one wanted to preserve and promote its national and cultural identity.

The International Community’s failure lies also in the fact that IC officials generally neither knew and understood the causes for the break-up of Yugoslavia nor the reasons why its republics requested more independence already since the late 1960s, and its people more freedom and international recognition at the first democratic elections in the 1990s. That is why they could not understand the internal relations within BiH as a “miniature Yugoslavia”, and acknowledge the fact that Bosnia could not survive being organized according to the political model of “mini-Yugoslavia” for the same reasons Yugoslavia fell apart.

Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs sought opposite constitutional solutions (from unitary state, federation to secession), while the IC was not able to formulate a compromise solution without questioning the model of liberal democracy. The IC did not have the courage to advocate a (new) model of democracy that could reconcile the opposite demands of the three constituent peoples. It was also not consistent because it did not develop a compromise solution based upon the statement of constitutional principles that was accepted as a condition for the international recognition of BiH¹⁵. The IC made compromises with Bosniaks, who under the label of an “unitary” and civil BiH, wanted to secure hegemony to the most populous people¹⁶; with Serbs, because its military forces controlled 70% of the BiH territory; with Croats because it wanted to remain “faithful to the principles” - so no one could complain that it banalized freedom and democratic rights of the least populous people.

International players compromised with representatives of all three parties in BiH because they did not want to give the right to any party. In order to stay “objective” and “neutral”, they formulated Pythian solutions so that each party could interpret them in accordance with their own interests. This created even more tensions, mutual distrust and recriminations.

The International Community initially started as a mediator and developed into the key and sole arbiter in the resolution of the crisis, an arbiter who never took on the responsibility for the resolutions it proposed and imposed. From an

objective point of view, the International Community is partly responsible for the lengthy negotiations on the arrangement of the BiH state and the duration of the agony of war in BiH at least as all other parties to the conflict, because it recognized the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the three peoples reached an agreement on the constitutional principles and the organization of BiH as a state; because it imposed solutions that suited primarily the International Community (but also abandoned solutions which did not suit some of its member states), because it used all available means of coercion and awards towards all parties to the conflict, and finally because it had on-site military forces available, which it used as needed to “impose” or “maintain” certain constitutional solutions for BiH.

Key question: the issue of BiH’s external and internal borders

The key question to understand the break-up of Yugoslavia was not whether it would collapse¹⁷, but rather along which seams would this happen: a) are the borders of the republics fixed, or b) do the peoples (and not the republics) have the right of self-determination?!

The IC took up the stance that the republics and not the peoples have the right to self-determination and international recognition and it made also clear that it will not agree on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁸. The International Community confirmed this decision with BiH’s international recognition, which happened after the real balance of power in BiH actually changed in political (by Serbs who rejected the separation from Yugoslavia) and military terms (by the Yugoslav National Army-JNA). In fact, even before BiH’s international recognition, the JNA, as an instrument of greater Serbian policy, placed two third of BiH’s territory under military and political control of the “Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, while using the territory of BiH at the same time for the aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started after BiH’s international recognition¹⁹, which had happened before an

15 See: Statement of Principles for new Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina, so-called Cutileiro’s plan; this statement was accepted by Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian representatives on 18th March 1992 as a condition for international recognition of BiH by the International Community.

16 Conference on Yugoslavia-Arbitration Commission, Opinion No. 4 (dated 11th January 1992) states: “In the eyes of the Presidency and the Government of the SRBH the legal basis for the application for recognition is Amendment LX, added to the Constitution on 31 July 1990. This states that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a ‘sovereign democratic State of equal citizens, comprising the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina - Muslims, Serbs and Croats - and members of other peoples and other nationalities living on its territory’. This statement is essentially the same as Article 1 of the 1974 Constitution and makes no significant change in the law.”

17 CIA assessments from the early 1990s also speak about the fact that Yugoslavia will not survive after the introduction of democracy, i.e. after the first democratic multi-party elections; B. Jović as the president of the Presidency of SFRY declared in his inaugural speech on 15th May 1990 that all those who want to leave may do so, however all Serbs will remain in Yugoslavia; Slovenia and Croatia voted for independence and sovereignty in the referendum; BiH reckoned with a war between Serbia and Croatia in early fall 1991, thereby not siding with any party: “In a possible conflict between the Republic of Croatia and Serbia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will always be neutral according to international norms.” (Assembly BiH, Platform on the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo 15.10.1991).

18 The IC expressed its view in a series of statements and legally by the opinions of the Badinter Committee.

19 The official date for the beginning of war is 6th April 1992, the day before the official recognition of BiH. The beginning of war is, from the Serbian side, a clear message of their disapproval of BiH’s separation from Yugoslavia, i.e. the disapproval of Serbs remaining in BiH. Most Croats in BiH consider the beginning of war in BiH to be in October 1991 when the JNA destroyed 7 Croatian populated villages in Herzegovina (see M. Tudman, 2003, pp. 135-154)

agreement on the internal organization or a compromise on the constitutional structure of BiH was reached that would determine the relations between the three constituent peoples. Thus, the international recognition confirmed BiH as a state in which the Government did not control state territory; in which Serbs- due to the international recognition- no longer recognized the central government; in which the central government had legitimacy according to directions of the IC but no longer also the Serbian representatives; in which the constitution of the Socialist Republic of BiH was in force, according to which the relations between the three peoples remained the same as in former Yugoslavia.

To understand the reasons for the war in BiH, it is crucial to comprehend three irreconcilable concepts about what the constitutional organization of BiH should be, i.e. what the internal borders of BiH should be:

- a) Unitary state – supported by the Bosniaks;
- b) a Serbian national state within an union with Yugoslavia or the remaining parts of BiH;
- c) (con)federation of three ethnic units-supported by the Croats.

A political solution was never achieved since there was no will to compromise, primarily between the Serbian side, which leaned on the power and support of the JNA, and the Muslim side, which, with international support, represented itself as the only legitimate authority in BiH. That is why political solutions were imposed by a combination of military force and international pressure, but also by an equally intense media war.

Shaping the public knowledge

Public knowledge is formed in cyberspace where different options often express their oppositional views and data with the intention to secure consent or at least public sympathy for themselves. In other words, cyberspace is exposed to a systematic impact of numerous information strategies that aim to defeat the opponent's information strategy or to challenge or thwart the opponent's decisive points to win over the public.

Cyberspace is an area of information conflict or a space where an information war takes place. This war is managed according to precisely elaborated information strategies which, in turn, are used by the overall policy of state, party, economic etc. interests. These interests are realized in different spheres by defining political, diplomatic, economic, cultural and military strategies. In the past, simply one of these strategies was always crucial to realize national, political or economic interests, while information strategies (different types of propaganda) played only a minor role. In the 21st century, information strategies become the principal means to achieve goals while other strategies have a supporting function in the information war.

Consequently, cyberspace is exposed to huge amounts of information whose primary task is to shape the public knowledge that serves different groups of interest and oppositional objectives, and not the truth; in this regard, the public knowledge is even further away of the ideals proclaimed as “objective information” and closer to manipulation and trivialisation of basic values pursued by certain cultures, nations and interest groups.

As information transmits only true data and facts is a prejudice so is a prejudice that there is a unique corpus of public knowledge or rather that the available public knowledge corpus belongs to all users.

With the objective to explain why and how it is possible that completely opposing information occur about the same events and different explanations of the same available documents in cyberspace, we start our analysis from the following theoretical assumptions.

Each community – whether local, national, regional or international- has its own corpus of public knowledge at disposal. In order to understand the mechanisms of organization and function of a certain public knowledge corpus, it is crucial to identify the matrix by which means a certain community of users encodes and decodes the corpus it uses and with which it identifies itself.

What determines the matrix²⁰ according to which a certain corpus of public knowledge is shaped and also recognized by a user community of this knowledge?

At the political level it is the user community's worldview: a set of ideas, values and aspirations pursued by the user community. The worldview gives legitimacy to the facts and credibility to the memory or respectively enables that the public knowledge corpus is consistent.

At the social level, public knowledge is the community's social memory, which ensures the community's social identity and historical continuity or its survival.

At the pragmatic level, public knowledge is a body of facts, data and truths that provides answers to practical questions and solutions for problems the community of users is faced with.

There are numerous communities of users which produce, organize and use knowledge according to their needs. As money is a universal currency, in practice, it functions according to laws and forms of valuation and the usage of national currencies. The same applies to the public knowledge. It runs along different information and communication channels and systems, but this openness does not mean that there aren't different corpuses of

20 According to the terminology of Thomas Kuhn, we could use the expression paradigm. We use the method of T. Kuhn also here to analyze public knowledge. The theoretical model presented here is shown in the book of M. Tudić. *Prikazalište znanja*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 2003. Part of the wording in the description of individual types of memory is taken from this book.

knowledge which belong to different user communities. It does however mean that individual user communities do not accept social memory or facts of public knowledge that are shared by opposing and enemy groups.

Basic features of dominant forms of collective memory

Fact is that participants in the political and historical events of Yugoslavia's break-up and the wars on its territory write different histories about these events. This means that they don't share the same collective memory and they don't want to have the same collective knowledge, because they evaluate data, documents and events according to different value criteria. This is why contemporaries argue about the history of that period, while policy often also intervenes into the content of history schoolbooks.

Different interpretations of the same historical events, since they start from different value criteria, consequently result in the creation of different forms of memory on the actions and roles of the opposing protagonists in these conflicts. At least four forms of collective memory can be identified and conditionally called as follows:

- “manufacturing determined chaos”,
- “manufacturing consent”.
- “manufacturing identity”,
- “manufacturing oblivion”,

Four cognitive paradigms that are based on different values (worldview-related, political, cultural) generate different theories and interpretations of history; they generate four paradigms of memory about the war in BiH or they are the generator of four types of (public) knowledge about the same historical events in which different political options and their followers had participated.

The configuration of these memory forms can also be recognized by the documents they are referring to or simply “forgetting” or “disqualifying”, as those documents do not suit the forms of actions conducted by certain protagonists and their followers. Not even the International Community is immune against it; even the Prosecution in The Hague does not want to remember the IC's responsibility for the “division” of BiH, which it incriminates in some indictments, although IC²¹ representatives were advocates of some options related to the “division” of BiH.

21 Lord Owen in *Balkan Odyssey*: “My second option... was to re-open the question of national borders within former Yugoslavia, tacitly admitting that the recognition of Bosnia was a mistake. We should have confirmed the borders of Slovenia and Macedonia and then made a deal with Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia... I named the option of redrawing the borders a ‘solution that no one dares to speak its name’” (page 220). Lord Owen also requested from the Republic of Croatia a corridor for Bosnian Serbs north of the Sava river through Croatian territory. International representatives put pressure on the Republic of Croatia to give up part of its territory in the Dubrovnik Littoral in order to satisfy the appetite of R. Karadžić and A. Izetbegović for “access to the sea”.

On this occasion, we remind of the four information strategies that use different mechanisms to shape collective memory, thereby all being anchored also in the documents listed in this survey.

The intention of the author of this survey was not to evaluate any form of the manufacturing of memory or the shaping of the corpus of knowledge about the history of the BiH crisis. Quite the contrary; by collecting all relevant documents, we would like to enable the readers to make their own judgements and to determine the facts about these events on their own.

Manufacturing determined chaos

What is determined chaos in international relations? It is chaos “whose boundaries are determined... After its boundaries are set, the chaos, which develops, remains in these boundaries so that it becomes controllable and manageable”²². Determined chaos is the space of international games, the space defined by international decisions and efforts so it will stay limited within the given boundaries of chaos. The control of this chaos is not possible without the control of communication. Both, the dimension of chaos and the criteria for the **control and management of communication** are determined by power centres in the International Community with the silent approval of its member states. One of the consequences of controlled public communication (media) is the control over public memory.

Mechanisms of memory management in determined chaos are **selection of information, establishment of a logic of double standards and dominance of controlled information in cyberspace**. Why? Because the form of manufacturing determined chaos is valid only for the defined space of chaos and only for parties, isolated within the defined space. The control of memory protects external players, i.e. “crisis managers” and “chaos producers”, from chaos spreading and the responsibility for the manufacturing of chaos.

Nowadays, most American intellectuals will admit: “In the early 1990s, America gave Milošević green light to preserve Yugoslavia even with guns, if required”²³. Renowned politicians admit that the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 713 about imposing the arms embargo for Yugoslavia was not only a political message to Milošević, but also an effective means to take away the victim's right for self-defence²⁴. However, it is impossible to call the International Community to account for passing this resolution.

22 D. Domazet: *Hrvatska i veliko ratište*. Udruga Sv. Jurja, Zagreb: 2002, pp. 282-283.

23 Dr. Robert Greenberg “*Na Balkanu jezik i država idu zajedno*”, Večernji list, Saturday, 9.11.2002, p. 29

24 See M. Thatcher. *Statecraft*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002, pp. 298-299

Why? Because within the scope of the crisis area, the space of determined chaos set by Resolution 713, additional resolutions and decisions established criteria and instruments of selective justice, which relieve the chaos determinants from their responsibility. The UN Security Council adopted the instruction on the work of The Hague Tribunal according to which all are equally guilty, while the difference in guilt will be nuanced by the number of indictments and the degree of penalty²⁵.

Equally important is the fact that controlled and selective memory results in not having the same criteria for those within the defined chaos and those outside the boundaries of the conflict. In this regard, the fundamental idea of freedom and sacredness of the victim or sacredness of life respectively is something completely irrelevant and unworthy for the controllers of determined chaos. Selective memory does not allow the existence and the comparison of these values with the values of the controllers of chaos²⁶. Values of different options within the area of "chaos" are exposed to the "dictatorship of relativism"²⁷. Therefore, it is possible that in a defensive war victims are indicted for crimes committed during defence, but not the oppressor. This completely distorts historic facts and creates virtual truths. This can be realized in processes in which the memory is controlled and managed at a global level.

Carla del Ponte, the Chief Prosecutor in The Hague, stated in early 2005 that the history of south-eastern Europe will be written after 2010 on the basis of the verdicts of The Hague Tribunal, or "peace will come when court

proceedings are completed and when historians will be able to verify the truth of facts that will be established by the judiciary."²⁸ The position of the Chief Prosecutor in The Hague has political weight because it suggests that "political correctness" in international relations will also in the future be evaluated in relation to The Hague Tribunal, respectively that international relations will be based on verdicts by the court in The Hague. In other words, the Prosecution in The Hague has also the task to serve as memory control about these events and to write down the official history of the successors of former Yugoslavia in The Hague, precisely, the IC treats the successors of former Yugoslavia according to the verdicts in The Hague.

The tasks of The Hague Tribunal are determined by the decisions of the UN Security Council on the work of the ICTY as an "instrument of imposing peace" until 2010. The efficiency of the ICTY is thereby limited by time, space, personnel and financial conditions. This is why the ICTY is "sentenced" to be an instrument of selective justice and truths about the war and wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, since it was neither established as a permanent court nor to punish the aggressors for the aggression and crimes committed during the aggression.

As an "instrument of imposing peace" The Hague Prosecution has the task: to equalize all parties to the conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in terms of their responsibilities for crimes through a selective selection of cases and by equalizing war crimes and crimes of war²⁹.

The Hague Prosecution executes its mission by carefully selecting the accused and by planning the announcement of the indictment, by using the same incriminations to the different conflict parties and in an order and by the number of verdicts that are published in the "right" moment to achieve least "damage" and most "benefits" for policy. Thus, the ICTY has become one of the most efficient instruments in "imposing peace", i.e. an instrument of the International Community to impose its will in the process of strengthening international or shaping the regional order.

The consequences of such use of The Hague Court and Prosecution is the equalization of the aggressor and victim by the media, of war crime and crime of war and the equal guilt of all participants in the conflict. Another consequence of the work of The Hague Tribunal is also the manufacturing of determined and chaotic memory.

It is no coincidence that historic events of the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, the Seven-Day war in Slovenia, the Homeland War, the war and wars in Bosnia and

25 Z. Tomac, presentation at Round Table "National Security", Association for Promoting Croatian Identity and Prosperity, Zagreb, 5th November 2002. Assessments like these: "I consider The Hague Tribunal a political court and it is good that it will close until 2008, because it was established only to salve the conscience of the International Community that did not prevent bloodshed in former Yugoslavia" (Dr. R. Greenberg, *ibid*) are for daily use and will not be encompassed by the form "manufacturing determined chaos". According to the criteria for controlling memory that are determined by the form "manufacturing determined chaos" there is simply no space for quoted points of view and they will not remain memorized.

26 The idea of freedom is one of the fundamental values of all democratic states. However, as countries with a developed democracy established national freedom in the 18th or 19th century and later led colonial wars, the idea of national freedom was kept suppressed. After World War II, 50 new states were established in the world and 800 million people were liberated from great colonial empires (Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium). These processes as well as break-ups of multinational states and the formation of new states after the 1990s are the consequence of democratic changes and globalisation. In the period from the collapse of colonial empires after World War II until the break-up of totalitarian communist systems, a large number of new countries were established, a period when many peoples fought for their national freedom. The number of UN member states increased after World War II from ca. 50 to nearly 200 at the beginning of the 21st century. Parallel to this process was the process of integration: the creation of the European Union was a long process that started in the 1950s, but was preceded by many associations and integrations. However, a condition for these processes was selective memory: major European powers, which built their power and strength on colonisation and exploitation of underdeveloped nations, forgot their own "dark sides" of history. They also did not allow these nations during the time of liberation to celebrate their own freedom to not endanger the interests of the powerful losers of the colonies. In order to achieve this, mechanisms of selective memory and the functioning of logic with double standards had to be established.

27 Pope John Paul II talked about "the dictatorship of relativism", and opposed relativizing human values.

28 During the lecture to students at the University Lausanne, according to La Liberté, 20th April 2005

29 A crime is a crime, regardless who committed it and that is why no crime should be justified. However, crimes also cannot be equated according to motives, dimensions, responsibilities and policies.

Herzegovina and Kosovo are interpreted in the media³⁰ primarily as a series of crimes and atrocities in the “bloody Balkan pub” and as a consequence of criminal policy and criminal enterprise. The equalization of events and occurrences that reflect the “dark side of history” with historical facts and the overall historical events about the formation of new independent states and their international recognition is a method of a planned and systematically manufactured fragmented truth and selective memory. The success of this method is ensured by the dominance of such information in cyberspace.

From the standpoint of the organization of the public knowledge, the manufacturing of determined chaos forms fragmented and selective knowledge. The manufacturing of determined chaos creates fragmented knowledge: a) by establishing mechanisms of access only to controlled (selected) documents and evidences, b) by controlling the presentation of selected messages, which is achieved by control of existing or by creating your own communication networks, c) information dominance manages social memory with the purpose of determined chaos.

Determinants of chaos do not falsify data and evidences. They usurp communication and access to data and documents; they manage communication with information superiority that prevents the development of oppositional information and opinion systems.³¹ A different knowledge is not possible, because existing communication capacities (media) do not have space for providing some other “image of the world”. This ensures information superiority, and as much as the amount of news is increasing so is the distance from facts and the truth.

Manufacturing Consent

According to Noam Chomsky, “manufacturing consent” – is the new art of democracy. In developed democracies, people can most efficiently be controlled by controlling the mind. Thoughts are the ones which can lead to actions and therefore should be kept on a leash. Chomsky believes that the media plays a crucial role in the system of indoctrination, along with the education system and universities. An effective system of indoctrination is the one, in which messages are accepted as memory instructions of how to behave, what to think and represent³².

We have named the form of public knowledge that occurs

in uncritical downloading of messages or indoctrination of information drives simply *manufacturing consent*. Or, manufacturing consent forms public knowledge which occurs in the acceptance of monitored and controlled information.

From the standpoint of information activities, media are figures of memorizing knowledge. Media as figures of memorizing have the task of promoting freedom and democracy. When democracy is reduced to a trivialisation of freedom, then it becomes an art of “manufacturing consent”³³. The main mechanisms of manufacturing consent are propaganda and the public relations industry³⁴.

Manufacturing consent works on the principle: message at the source must be transmitted and (without evaluation) accepted at the destination. All techniques of propaganda and the public relations industry are focused on not to be obstacles in the reception of transmitted messages: a) the message must be accepted as an instruction and a pattern of behaviour; b) the message must not be exposed to evaluation, specifically, principles and values, upon which the message is created, should not be questionable nor should the judgement of the person emitting the message be prejudiced; c) the message should be accepted as a recipient’s opinion in order to be stored without pre-evaluation.

The information strategy of these global, regional and local factors, who advocate a unitary state as the optimal democracy model for a multinational Bosnia and Herzegovina, use *manufacturing consent* techniques for interpreting the war and contemporary history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On behalf of such a democracy, they trivialise national freedom, while the rights of the constituent peoples are reduced to decoration of a unitary civil state.

The task of historical, political and other sciences is to tackle the investigation of truth about that period. From the standpoint of strategies on organization and presentation of (public) knowledge, our interest is to warn about strategies and their techniques aimed to manipulate and indoctrinate with news, if disposed documents and evidence are not available to the public, or that manufacturing consent strategies are achieved by reducing memory to fragments of which an incomplete and false picture of reality is constituted.

Cardinal pivotal points of the information strategy, which aims at manufacturing consent to a unitary state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are easily identifiable: a civil state model provides hegemony to the most numerous Bosniak people, and therefore the Bosniak leadership promotes a multi-ethnic, multicultural, multi-confessional state, but without the constituent people’s rights to fulfil those rights

30 Generally, they are media owned by transnational companies or media that advocate a liberal globalist philosophy; or journalists who have undergone training, seminars and scholarships of various organisations and who are in one way or another, either in idealistic or material terms, sponsored by umbrella global institutions.

31 When determinants decide to change some of their points of view into a new message, than they often use the method of “revelation” of new documents, a method that consists of accusing the opponent group for concealing and hiding documents crucial for the new “truth”. It is a method also used by The Hague Prosecution.

32 N. Chomsky, *Mediji, propaganda i sistem*, Zagreb: Marko Strpić, 2002

33 Walter Lippman’s phrase from the 1920’s (according to N. Chomsky, 2002, p. 18)

34 N. Chomsky, 2002, p. 16-17

and freedoms, yet only citizens; each request of the Serbs and Croats for constitutional (re)organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be declared as dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina on behalf of (open) Serbian or (hidden) Croatian appetites; all opponents of an unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina would be assumed as the worst enemies of democracy.

Confirmation of such an information strategy of Bosniak leadership can be found in collected documents and agreements on the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in attitudes by which they accepted or rejected individual solutions. Let us make a few examples.

Alija Izetbegović emphasizes that the aim of his policy is “the survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a single state.”³⁵ The aim was defined by Bosniak policy only when estimated that it was not possible to achieve the unity of the Muslim Corps in Yugoslavia. Izetbegović was to preserve Yugoslavia. He proposed an asymmetric federation³⁶, so that Bosnia and Herzegovina is “more tied to Serbia.”³⁷ Moreover, the document of the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina is being claimed from the International Community, states: “this Republic accepts and supports the Yugoslav community, of which the Republics of Croatia and Serbia are also an integral part.”³⁸

Izetbegović confirmed even in 2000 that “the survival of Yugoslavia suited the Bosniak people.” “My main motive to preserve Yugoslavia was that the Bosniak people were settled in a wide area from Novi Pazar to Zagreb. And any division of Yugoslavia leads to the division of Bosniak people that I feel strongly about. In the end, I was bound to take care of them, not only as a member of the people, but also as their elected president.”³⁹

As the elected president of the “Bosniaks” he advocated the preservation of Yugoslavia keeping in mind the overall interests of the Muslim agglomeration which stretched from Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and even to Croatia. Therefore he urged against the international recognition of Croatia⁴⁰, so that Croatia would remain part of Yugoslavia.

35 A. Izetbegović, Sjećanja, *Autobiografski zapis*, TKD Šahinpašić, Sarajevo, 2001, p. 461

36 See Appendix *Kronologija* 3.6.1991 also

37 F. Tuđman, *Hrvatska riječ svijetu*, Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1999, p. 330

38 See: *Platforma o položaju Bosne i Hercegovine i budućem ustrojstvu jugoslavenske zajednice*, Sarajevo 15.10.1991. The Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted this attitude on the Yugoslav community (which was not accepted by the Serbian members of Parliament) when a referendum on the independence of the Republic of Croatia was already held, and after the Republic of Croatia declared final termination of all ties with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 08.10.1991.

39 A. Izetbegović in an interview for *Radio slobodna Europa* on 13.6.2000., see ‘Bosna i Hercegovina. 1990-2025’, edited by M. Tuđman, UHIP, Zagreb, 2005, p. 54

40 See M. Libal, *Njemačka politika i jugoslavenska kriza 1991-1992*, Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2004, p. 102

At the same time, he wanted to believe that the Yugoslav National Army would remain consistent with the idea of Yugoslavia and not turn into an instrument of Greater Serbian policy, but would defend Bosnia and Herzegovina from Greater Serbian pretensions.

During JNA’s most severe attacks on Croatia, on 6th October 1991, Izetbegović sent a proclamation of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s neutrality in the “war between Serbia and Croatia”, because “this is not our war.”⁴¹ Despite his compromises with the JNA and Belgrade, Izetbegović had not realized that his concern for Yugoslavia regarding the issue of “not dividing the Bosniak people” was contrary to the Serbian national interests and a threat to the Greater Serbian concept, but also a sufficient reason why the Serbs did not accept the “historic agreement” of M. Filipović and A. Zulfikarpašić⁴² or the Platform on the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but were insisting on the separation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. the complete border demarcation with Bosniaks.

Only when the Muslims/Bosniaks faced the fact that they cannot achieve their unity within Yugoslavia, their main goal in terms of national interests changes into achieving a ‘unique’, i.e. unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which they will have the right to dominate, because Serbs and Croats have their nation-states, which is why the Bosniaks are entitled to their own. Only then Izetbegović gives up the Yugoslav idea, but not the unitary model of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s system.

As much as the Yugoslav idea, on which “manufacturing consent” was being built for the existence of Yugoslavia, was an illusion, and not only for the Bosniak leadership, so is also manufacturing consent in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a “single state” built on the counterfeit of manufacturing consent. For Izetbegović and the Bosniak leadership the “single state” of Bosnia and Herzegovina means unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina. Any re-defining of the unitary constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina is interpreted as the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The information strategy which broadcasted such messages was built by the Bosniak leadership from the first days of negotiations that preceded the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The International Community has set two conditions for the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina: a referendum⁴³ and an agreement on the principles for

41 See M. Tuđman, *Prikazalište znanja*, p. 149. This statement is more than questionable from the standpoint of the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because the JNA used the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the aggression on Croatia.

42 Serbian-Muslim ‘Historical Agreement’: Muhamed Filipović – Radovan Karadžić (2.8.1991).

43 Referendum as a condition for the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina is set in Opinion no. 4 of the Arbitration Committee of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia (11.1.1992.).

the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was followed by the first set of talks⁴⁴, which are known as Cutileiro's plan on the principles of the constitutional arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These talks began on 13th/14th February 1992 in Sarajevo. They were continued on 21st/22nd February in Lisbon when the initial agreement was reached: the external borders are fixed and the constitutional solution will be based on several entities which are based on ethnic principles⁴⁵. HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) has advocated a different formulation of the draft version of the first paragraph of principles "1. Bosnia and Herzegovina will be independent as a state union of three constituent peoples in their national territories."⁴⁶ Izetbegović was against Mate Boban's attitude that the "holder of sovereignty are only the people", because "sovereign people, but not the people in the ethnic, but in a European context, are the people as citizens of one state."⁴⁷

Talks continued on 28th February in Sarajevo⁴⁸. On 7th/8th March, the European Union proposes a draft of the future constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁴⁹ in Brussels. On 18th March 1992, under the supervision of the European Union, a statement on the future arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina was signed in Sarajevo:

"1. Bosnia and Herzegovina would be a state consisting of three constituent units based on national principles, taking into account the economic, geographic and other criteria" (Vjesnik, 19.3.1992).

After seven days, Alija Izetbegović asked the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina not to accept "the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina on ethnic principles", noting that he "had to sign an agreement, because the European Union asked him to as a prerequisite for obtaining international recognition."⁵⁰ Hence, Alija Izetbegović himself admits he agreed to a statement on principles of the constitutional arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to obtain international recognition, but that he never had the intention to accept such a solution. Even in 2000 he explained his acceptance for tactical and refusal for strategic reasons:

"There are strategies and tactics everywhere. People often do not see the difference and are mistaken. Our strategy

was: a complete, democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina. These Lisbon talks ... were ... five to six days before the referendum. I just told you what the referendum's importance for Bosnia and Herzegovina was. This meant to pass the Rubicon, and to be on this or the other side of the Rubicon. On this side of the Rubicon is aggression, and on the other side is the civil war. So it was extremely important to us that the referendum be held. In this situation, I gave verbal support to that document, but I refused to sign it ... specifically, the document contained also some positive things. It guaranteed the integrity of the Bosnia and Herzegovina state in its present internationally recognized borders, and the country's independence. However, it also had a negative side, the plan of ethnic regionalization which was unacceptable for us ..."⁵¹

Izetbegović openly admits that he was for Bosnia and Herzegovina as a unitary state even at cost of war; he agreed to the "reconstruction" of the constitution only conditionally until the state receives international recognition, because he was aware that the war option for constitutional changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina in case of international recognition will be named aggression, and not civil war.

Izetbegović is consistently pursuing his strategy of accusing Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatian policy, i.e. President Tuđman, for the "two-faced policy" towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a Croatian intent to "disintegrate" Bosnia and Herzegovina and create a Greater Croatia⁵² – all in order to have both, Croats and the International Community, to consent to the concept of an unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Here are some examples of indoctrination, which are constantly repeating in the media even though they are contrary to the facts. As we have already indicated, we are not interested in the historical and political discussions, but rather the way information strategies function which shape the public knowledge and produce memory of certain events.

Hence, Alija Izetbegović describes Croatian policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina:

"...the duplicitous policy of the Croatian Democratic Union led to further controversy. Fearing border changes and separation of parts of the territory under the control of breakaway Serbs, the Croatian political leadership assertively supports the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while consistently and systematically working on the disintegration of Bosnia and Herzegovina."⁵³

44 See: Chronology of the talks in Appendix. Also, A. Izetbegović, 2001, p. 108-111

45 Bosnia and Herzegovina, after independence, will be an independent state, composed of three constituent units. The territory of the constituent units will be determined on the basis of the 1971, 1981 or 1991 census (Večernji list, 25.2.1992.).

46 Vjesnik, 26.2.1992.

47 A. Izetbegović, 2001, p. 109

48 The version of the statement of principles, which is offered to Lisbon negotiators, brings Vjesnik on 27.02.1992.: "1. Bosnia and Herzegovina shall, upon achieving independence, be an independent, federal state, which will consist of three state-components called regions or provinces..."

49 "1. Bosnia and Herzegovina would be a state made up of a number of units based on national grounds, also taking into consideration the economic, geographic and other criteria" HINA (Croatian News Agency), EVA database, 10.3.1992.

50 See *Index of Positions along with Negotiation...*

51 A. Izetbegović, interview in *Radio slobodna Europa*, ibid, p. 55

52 A. Izetbegović: "Pogubnost dvoilične politike", ed. by Č. Ribičić. *Geneza jedne zablude*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk, 2001, p. 11-13

53 A. Izetbegović: "Pogubnost dvoilične politike", ibid, p. 12

The International Community has set two conditions for the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina: the referendum and an agreement on constitutional principles of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Izetbegović himself admits that he had wiled the second condition, and that without the international recognition there would be no Bosnia and Herzegovina and no “aggression” on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Without the Croats voting in the referendum, Bosnia and Herzegovina would not have gained international recognition⁵⁴ - and it is questionable whether Bosnia and Herzegovina would have survived as a state.

Izetbegović claims that the Croats voted in the referendum for fear that in case of a referendum failure in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there would also be “changes of borders and separation of parts of the territory controlled by the breakaway Serbs” in the Republic of Croatia. The duplicity of the Croatian policy according to Izetbegović and Mesić⁵⁵ lies also in the fact that President Tuđman and Milošević agreed in Karadžorđevo on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But common sense analysis can spot the contradiction of Izetbegović and Mesić arguments. If Presidents Tuđman and Milošević had agreed on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then why would “Croatian political leadership” be in fear of secession of the Croatian territories?⁵⁶ Almost a third of the Croatian territory was occupied; it is unthinkable that the agreement on the division was such that Croatia loses around 30% of its territory in order to receive about 20% of the territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

If, however, they did not agree on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the “Croatian political leadership” had “territorial appetites” towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, then the easiest way to achieve this was by political means, namely the Croats not voting in the referendum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Accordingly, “duplicity” was not to be found in Croatian policy, but in the unwillingness of Bosniak policy to deviate from the “civil”, i.e. unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is reflected in the way how

they have rejected the Croatian proposal of the referendum question⁵⁷.

Izetbegović accuses Croatian policy of duplicity also because of the formation of the HVO (Croatian Defence Council). During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia was constantly under the threat of Bosniak charges of having its forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for wanting to achieve through military its “territorial appetites” by helping the HVO⁵⁸.

“It does and, if necessary, completely blocks the supply of the Bosnian armed forces, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina establishes a mono-ethnic military formation of the Croatian Defence Council, formally independent, but really part of the armed forces of the neighbouring country.”⁵⁹

The first “mono-ethnic” military, or more precisely the party formation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was formed by the Muslims at the discretion of Alija Izetbegović in mid-1991. The “Patriotic League” had 120,000 people in February 1992, and according to the estimates of Sefer Halilović – Chief of Staff of the Patriotic League, the total forces of “enemies” counted: a) the forces of the Yugoslav Army six corps of Land Forces, b) the forces of the Serbian Democratic Party with the strength from 80,000 to 120,000 people, c) the “extremist forces of

54 Referendum would not have been valid if 50% of the voters could not vote, for there was about 43% of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

55 S. Mesić: “The territorial appetites justified with the concept of another aggression, the one of Milošević, should have served the Croatian political leadership as an ‘alibi’ for their claims” in C. Ribičić. *Geneza jedne zablude*, p. 7. Karadžorđevo as a topic is discussed elsewhere. We will not bring out the analysis of the conspiracy theory as this meeting in Karadžorđevo is being represented. Regarding the book of Č. Ribičić ‘Genesis of a Misconception’, it should be named ‘Misconception of a Genesis’, a genesis that multinational states can be maintained in a unitary concept.

56 Fact is that a third of Croatia was occupied, and until the international recognition of the Republic of Croatia there was a danger of separating the Croatian territories. However, after the international recognition of the Republic of Croatia in January 1992, in its ‘AVNOJ’ borders, it was hardly possible to change the borders, especially through violence. That is why the argument of Izetbegović, that the Croatian policy supported the referendum fearing of losing their own territory, serves more to justify his own rather than to describe Croatian policy.

57 HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) of Bosnia and Herzegovina proposed (9.2.1992) the following wording for the referendum question: “Are you for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state union of constituent and sovereign nations of Croats, Muslims and Serbs in their national regions (cantons)”. The explanation states among other things: “It follows from the proposed question that the future independent Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a unitary state, but a national state consisting of national cantons, Croatian, Muslim and Serbian cantons whose areas will be determined after the referendum by a special constitutional document”. See: dr Smail Čekić, *Agresija na Bosnu i genocid nad Bošnjacima 1991-1993*, Sarajevo: Ljiljan, 1994, p. 312. It is interesting that such a document is in the book about the aggression on “Bosnia” (the mere remaking of the state name of Bosnia and Herzegovina opens a series of questions), but equally surprising is the fact that the author quotes this document, which he fully discloses, in the following way: ‘Archives of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law in Sarajevo, inventory no. 2-768’ (S. Čekić, *ibid*, p. 313).

58 Thereby, Izetbegović apparently forgot, or ignored, the fact that the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina issued on 6th August 1992 an *Act amending the Act on Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, according to which the HVO is part of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina: “The Armed Forces of the Republic consist of the Army... An integral part of the Army are HVO troops and other armed groups placed under the unified command of the Army”, see Survey. A formulation of the HVO status defined in such a way is legally ambiguous, and is the devaluation of the agreement clause which was signed by Izetbegović 16 days prior to this Act. “The armed component of the HVO is an integral part of the unified armed forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. HVO will have their representatives in the joint command of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The interim civilian government, formed in conditions of war within the HVO, will be adjusted as soon as possible with the constitutional order of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, about which talks will immediately be initiated in the spirit of the principles from clause 1. of this Agreement.” See Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Zagreb, 21.7.1992.

59 A. Izetbegović, “Pogubnost dvoilčne politike”, 2001, p. 12, and conclusion: “Hypocrisy was complete; formal recognition of sovereignty and diplomatic relations, while simultaneously political and military subversion of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

the Croatian Democratic Union (strength of one-to two brigades).⁶⁰

Sefer Halilović issued on 25th February 1992 the “Directive to defend the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, i.e. to carry out military operations against the enemies of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁶¹, hence before a referendum on independence, before the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina and before the aggression on Bosnia had begun. The General Staff of the Patriotic League stated the following estimate on the enemies’ objectives, i.e. the Serbian Democratic Party and the “extremist forces of the Croatian Democratic Union”:

“The principal goal of these forces is a division of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and connection to its head states (nation-states). This objective will be achieved in two stages: The first stage consists of creating national confederal units in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the second foresees their connection to Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia⁶².

The General Staff of the Patriotic League gave this assessment and the operational plan of action in order to provide a military option for the implementation of Bosniak policy⁶³. The quoted position obviously shows that any request for federal regulation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered by the Bosniak leadership as illegitimate and a hostile act, and that the protagonists of such policy will be treated as enemies⁶⁴ in military and political terms.

On this basis, Bosniak policy implemented the indoctrination of media and led a media war: every Croatian option and policy advocating a version of the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a union of three constituent peoples, respectively three ethnic units, was declared the enemy.

The legitimate arguing for a federal and confederal model structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina was also accepted by the International Community with Cutileiro’s Plan in 1992, the Vance-Owen Plan in 1992/1993 and the Owen-

Stoltenberg structure plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a union of three republics. Therefore, the Bosniak information strategy, which should have ensured manufacturing consent to unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina, decided to discredit Croatia in the international circles with allegations about the involvement of the Croatian army in Bosnia and Herzegovina, claiming that Croatia wishes to ensure its political “appetites” through military actions.

Croatia was accused in the media of having 30,000 to 50,000 of its troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Izetbegović claimed in 1993, that there are four Guard Brigades only in the area of Mostar. The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina submitted to the United Nations Security Council “reports” against the involvement of the Croatian army in Bosnia and Herzegovina. United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Ghali in his letters to the Chairman of the United Nations Security Council reports that UNPROFOR “did not identify any single command post⁶⁵ of the Croatian army in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and gives an estimate that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are “approximately 3,000 to 5,000 soldiers in total.”⁶⁶

The strategy of manufacturing consent for the Muslim-Bosniak option is easier to uncover when seen what is being falsified and what is being unspoken. Research in the archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Army confirm the statements of the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were only volunteers as soldiers, natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

“The number of engaged members of the Croatian Army had never crossed the force of the formational Light Brigade of the Yugoslav National Army (1400-1800 people) supported by equivalent batteries of artillery and armoured company. They were never concentrated in one tactical direction or one place, but they were divided into smaller groups in order to ‘patch’ the oversized line of defence. With such forces one does not go invading and seceding another state. Their role was primarily a psychological one and really represents symbolic support.”⁶⁷

Accusation strategists of the Croatian aggression and international conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, insist on the share of the Croatian Army in the conflict between the HVO and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but

60 Sefer Halilović, *Lukava strategija*, Sarajevo: Maršal, 1997, p. 164-169. Hence, according to early Bosniak estimates in 1992 the “extremist forces of the Croatian Democratic Union” counted between 2000-5000 people, at a time when the Patriotic League had about 120,000 people.

61 See the quoted Directive in the survey. It accurately reflects in the military way the views of the Muslim leadership policy during 1991 and 1992, a period preceding the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

62 S. Halilović, *ibid.*

63 The Patriotic League (PL) was formed in mid-1991 by the decree of Alija Izetbegović. By the decision of the General Staff of the Patriotic League on 10th April 1992, the league is placed at disposal and becomes a member of the Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, according to the conclusions of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Vjesnik, 13.4.1992). Thus, the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina started and ended as a “mono-ethnic army”. The documents in this survey also confirm these facts, but nevertheless, the media portrayals of these facts remain absent, as also the public’s objective informing.

64 “I have decided ... After creating favourable conditions to move on to wider offensive actions, with the aim of breaking, destructing and expelling the enemy from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, S. Halilović, *ibid.*

65 Letter of the Secretary-General to the Chairman of the United Nations Security Council, Vjesnik 19.2.1994

66 In the letter of the Secretary-General to the Chairman of the United Nations Security Council is also stated “that in the past, UNPROFOR noticed a small number of armed men in uniforms of the Croatian Army in Bosnia and Herzegovina” Vjesnik 3.2.1994.

67 Davor Marijan: “Expert Opinion: On the War Connections between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991-1995)”. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 36 (1)211-247(2004), p. 241-242. Data refers to the conflict proportion of the Croatian Army and Croatian Defence Council during the period from July 1993 to April 1994.

suppress how many Muslims-Bosniaks from the Croatian Army were in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or Muslims-Bosniaks were sent from Croatia into the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to an official document of the Human Resources Department of the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, there were 928 Muslims in the Croatian Army, of which a good part joined the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶⁸ Croatia has permitted the establishment and unit trainings of the Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina at home: the 7th Border Brigade was formed in Klana near Rijeka on 27th June 1992; the First Border Battalion was established at the Zagreb Fair on 30th May 1992 from where it went to Travnik.⁶⁹ In late 1992, the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina asked the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia to assist in the mobilization of conscripts from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were located in Croatia.⁷⁰ Izetbegović personally requested additional training for 22 MiG and helicopter pilots for the Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁷¹ Throughout the war, and in times of conflict between the HVO and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 15,000 wounded Muslims-Bosniaks were treated in Croatian hospitals.⁷²

A particular problem are the mujahedeen ('holy warriors') who fought for the Islam in the units of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mujahedeen quickly organized a training camp for militants in Mehurići near Travnik. In December 1992, there was "only one bigger unit of Islamic fundamentalist volunteers, and nine months later, in October 1993, we already have at least a dozen of units."⁷³ Their presence and "the emphasis on a religious military

conflict only made things worse"⁷⁴, especially because they have committed a series of crimes against Croats in central Bosnia.

There are indications that they were not under the full command of the headquarters of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A compromise was reached when in 1993 the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina "officially established a Kateebat Al-Mujahedeen ('Holy warriors Squad') on 13th August under the personal order of the Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović, to whom the unit was directly responsible."⁷⁵ On the other hand, measures were successfully taken in Croatia to stop the logistical, financial and communication support to the mujahedeen with the help of humanitarian organizations, which was certainly not accepted by Bosniak policy. However, Bosniak leadership could not protest against it publicly, because the world public (or to be more precise, the Western one) did not approve the encouraging of a war for the Islam cause in Bosnia. Therefore, the additional motive of Bosniaks potentiating the presence of the Croatian Army in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also to neutralize the presence and actions of mujahedeen units in Bosnia and Herzegovina at least on the media level.

There is not enough space to count all logistical support which Croatia despite the embargo provided to the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or which was passed through for needs of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Without the logistical support, Bosnia and Herzegovina would have been defeated.⁷⁶ In addition, Croatia has taken the burden of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly Muslims. Throughout the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the conflicts between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council, the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina freely operated in Croatia against all international norms.⁷⁷

Data, figures and documents indicate that Croatia supported both, the Croatian Defence Council and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This assistance varied in intensity in the period from 1992 to 1995, but that even in the time of the greatest conflicts between the Army of

68 The Croatian Ministry of Defence, On the basis of the decision of the Minister of Defence, Class: 023-03/04.03/01, Record on documents takeover, 21.1.2005: "Records of members of Muslim ethnicity in the Croatian Army during the war period". The Military delegation of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has requested from the Croatian Ministry of Defence to engage Croatian Army officers "for better professional work, organization and greater efficiency in the fight against the Serb-Chetnik aggressor, and for the needs of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina", further "the Status of these officers to be solved as done before, by freezing (to have all emoluments as officers of the Croatian Army), and after the performed task to enable them to be further engaged in the Croatian Army" letter No. 05-6/93, Zagreb, 4.1.1993

69 Davor Marijan, *ibid*.

70 Military Delegation of the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia, letter no. 04-824/92, Zagreb, 18.11.1992

71 "Please approve room and training in the Republic of Croatia for the following persons, and for the demands of the air forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina". Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 9.8.1992. Signed by the President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegović and the Minister of National Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina Jerko Doko, Colonel Hasan Efendic, from the Military Delegation of the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb, submitting a new request to Defence Minister Gojsko Šušak for the retraining of pilots, No: 05-1179/92, Zagreb, 26.11.1992.

72 At the Hospital Centre Split alone was "a total of 3,991 people of Muslim ethnicity received, hospitalized, and after the treatment discharged to home care during 1992 and 1993". Split Hospital Centre. Director's Office, Class: 052-01/98-01/08. Reg. no: 2181-147-98-01-01-1. Letter to the Government of the Republic of Croatia, Office for Cooperation with the International Criminal Court, Split 17th June 1998. The figure of 15,000 casualties makes a formation of 5-7 brigades, which were provided with medical care by Croatia.

73 E. K. Kohlmann, *Al-Qaida's Jihad in Europe: The Afghan-Bosnian Network*, Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2005, p. 135

74 E. K. Kohlmann, *ibid*, p. 106

75 E. K. Kohlmann, *ibid*, p. 126

76 *A Protocol on cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina on establishing logistics centers in the Republic of Croatia for the reception and distribution of humanitarian aid sent to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina* was also signed, Zagreb, 25.02.1993. According to the protocol, logistic centers are set up in cities: Zagreb, Rijeka, Split, Ploče and Slavonski Brod.

77 "Besides, the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina freely sit in Zagreb, representatives of the government move freely throughout the whole territory of the Republic of Croatia not respecting basic international rules on announcing and seeking approval for their activities on the territory of another sovereign state, and in many places of Croatia there are several different offices and logistic centers of political organizations and the military that perpetrates crimes and aggression against the Croatian people". Letter from the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman to the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic dated 25/06/1993.

Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council, aid was not abolished. When the final financial balance of the costs of humanitarian, military and social assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Republic of Croatia is available, the Muslims-Bosniaks will be greater users of Croatian help than Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is no space in the media to show these facts.

The media is constantly placing the thesis on the involvement of the Croatian Army in the conflict between the Croatian Defence Council and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which should be an evidence of aggression and the international conflict in which the Republic of Croatia is involved against Bosnia and Herzegovina. The intensity of such a media campaign culminated in 1993 in order to conceal the real reason for the Muslim-Bosniak discontent: after the Vance-Owen plan (arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 10 provinces), the International Community advocates an Owen-Stoltenberg plan (union of three republics). Lord Owen is even ready to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina and form an independent Muslim state.⁷⁸ All three sides were familiar with the plan of the International Community. Both plans of the International Community were unacceptable for the Muslim-Bosniak leadership, which believed that any federal or confederal order of Bosnia and Herzegovina means “the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

Contrary to this, the Croatian side has no reasons for a militarily conflict with the Muslims-Bosniaks since it can accomplish its goals at the political table. For these reasons, the Muslim-Bosniak side wants to gain control over the largest possible territory by using the military. They fear to lose the political negotiations on the union of the three republics.⁷⁹ Therefore, they develop a media campaign and propaganda about the Croatian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to hide the goals of its military operations. In February 1994, the commander of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina reported about the realization of these military targets: “The Croatian Defence Council is eliminated from the area of Jablanica, Konjic, Fojnica, Kakanj, Zenica, Travnik and Bugojno. So, one complete province according to the Vance-Owen plan with headquarters in Travnik.”⁸⁰

General Rasim Delić, Chief of Staff of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, reports that “the Croatian Defence Council is eliminated” in military and political terms from Central Bosnia. And this is the result of the Croatian “aggression” against Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to agreements dated 21.7.1992, 21.9.1992, 25.4.1993 and

25.4.1993, the result of Croatian policy to organize the Croatian Defence Council and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina as two components of a single army and to form a joint command had little success, because it was contrary to the civil, unitary concept of order in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸¹ Historians would probably evaluate the signing of these agreements by Alija Izetbegović as “two-faced policy”, while Izetbegović would justify their signing for tactical reasons (because he would have lost the logistical, humanitarian and social support by the Republic of Croatia), and the non-enforcement of these agreements for strategic reasons (the placement of the Croatian Defence Council under joint command⁸² was the first step in the recognition of a federal system of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

In such a discrepancy between “tactics and strategies”, manufacturing consent creates a media and virtual image of reality. Alija Izetbegović claims: “In Bosnia there was no conflict of national parties, rather a conflict of democracy and fascism”⁸³, because from his point of view there is only one democratic option, i.e. a “unique” Bosnia and Herzegovina, in “which the sovereign people, ... the people as citizens of one state.”⁸⁴ Alija Izetbegović has the right to advocate his position on the arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but the information strategy that proclaims all other options as fascism and demonizes the opponents, calls for the withdrawal of its opponents’ democratic rights, i.e. has the effect of the trivialisation of freedom and the right to freedom of the Croatian and Serbian national community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The demonization of opponents is one of the first principles of leading a media war.⁸⁵ Izetbegović holds to this principle:

*“There is a phenomenon that deserves to be studied: in this war and the last one there were Chetniks and Ustashas. It does not matter how they were called, but they were there. But the Chetniks and Ustashas at the end of this century were in every respect worse than those from the Second World War.”*⁸⁶

There are several phenomena that should be studied.⁸⁷ On the one hand is to determine the events and historical

78 David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey*, Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1998, p. 220

79 Especially if the International Community determines to form the independent Muslim state.

80 Rasim Delić, *Armija ključ mira*, Sarajevo: Vojna biblioteka, 1994, p. 19. Quoted according to D. Marijan, *ibid*, p. 227

81 All quoted agreements can be found in the survey.

82 Reasoned decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (19.1.1993) sounds utterly cynical, by which the order of the Minister of Defence of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Božo Rajčić is being reversed (dated 16.1.1993) on the realization of mutual submission of troops of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council units, because the “Defence Minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not sign a solemn declaration - oath, that he had no legal authority to issue orders”, see documents in the survey.

83 A. Izetbegović, *Sjećanja*, p. 457

84 A. Izetbegović, *Sjećanja*, p. 109

85 See: Alvin and Heidi Toffler, *War and Anti-War*, Beograd: Paideia, 1998, p. 195-197

86 A. Izetbegović, *Sjećanja*, p. 457, Dnevni avaz, 8th of April 1999

87 Leaving aside the exclusivity of Alija Izetbegović, who considers his option as the democratic one, but those who do not share his political views, he calls fascists.

truth about these events; on the other is to determine the media portrayals of these events and what is true in the information presentations. Our thesis is that the information strategy produces images and memories of certain events according to the interests of the main protagonists, and that this media image only partially overlaps with real historical facts. The materials we bring in the appendix can be used for the interpretation and understanding of historical, political and other scientific studies, but also for the disclosure of information strategies in the function of different types of memory production.

Manufacturing Identity

The information strategy that shapes public knowledge and memory with the purpose to create a Croatian state and a federal Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have named manufacturing identity. Cardinal gravity points in the promotion of this strategy are the following:

- a) the world is in the process of comprehensive international and regional integrations, but at the same time is increasingly individualized on the national level; multi-national states are falling apart, and (minor) peoples achieve their sovereignty in their own country and membership in international organizations; the fundamental ideals in the strategy of manufacturing identity are national freedom, independence, a sovereign state and international recognition;
- b) multi-ethnic states, which are organized as unitary unions, i.e. reside on the hegemony of one nation, can survive only by force and they are not democratic, because all constituent peoples cannot achieve their national freedom and interests;
- c) Bosnia and Herzegovina as a democratic state can only be organized on the principles of constitutionality and territoriality of three nations, i.e. as a federation of three entities - regardless of how they are called (cantons, provinces, the union of three republics);
- d) the request of Muslims/Bosniaks for not altering the unitary constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered contrary to the national interests of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina i.e. their desire to maintain an unacceptable status quo - the status that the Croats had in the former Yugoslavia; territorial conquests of the Serbs both in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are unacceptable, and if they cannot be solved politically, they will be resolved militarily;
- e) none of the constitutional orders of Bosnia and Herzegovina can be imposed by force, because the history shows that everything built by force, sooner or later fails; as there is no agreement between the Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs on the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina (on external and internal borders),

the final decision on the subject will be brought by the International Community and the Croats can only take care of their negotiating positions.

This information strategy was operational in Croatian policy, which led to the international recognition of the Republic of Croatia, and which was pursued towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. This policy was largely developed by Dr. Franjo Tuđman.

The first Croatian president is commonly referred to as a politician and statesman, but the essential component of his thought and action is being ignored - that he was a historian. Dr. Franjo Tuđman did not pursue his policy for pragmatic or daily political reasons or situations, but on the basis of long-term historical judgments obtained over decades of studying European and Croatian history.

Yet in 1968, during the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union, he wrote about the need for unification of Europe - at a time when many considered it as an issue of science fiction:

*"...shaping European policy to revive Europe and to step out of the cleavage of two superpowers as an independent factor on the stage of international life - has become a historical necessity. The current situation is permanently unsustainable ..."*⁸⁸

*"The European Community, which in the form of the union of European countries, would by joint forces of European countries prevent further deterioration of the position of some European nations and could be the most suitable framework for the actual vivification of the idea of co-existence in today's world."*⁸⁹

He also provides an assessment about the need and the possibility of the German unification:

"Understandably, such a community is unimaginable without Germany. Therefore, Europe needs no fragmented and therefore justifiably dissatisfied, but nationally unified Germany ..."

*"... Germany also, and to a much greater extent, needs Europe. As things stand now, without the perspective of a united Europe and the union of European nations, it is difficult to see any real prospects of German unification"*⁹⁰.

Due to national tensions, Yugoslavia was a constant threat

88 F. Tuđman: „Europe in the gap between the East and the West. The idea of a European community contrary to dissection of European nations between the two world powers“, Forum (10-11)623-648(1968), and further: „Europe ... as a factor of peace and understanding, a balance in the world and security in Europe, the coexistence of the states regardless of differences in their political ideologies and contradictions in social systems, a factor of cooperation of small and large nations and the unity of plurality based on respect of the principle of self-reliance, equality and sovereignty of each nation in the European community life, which without any doubt would be a significant contribution and triumph of these principles in the world at all“, p. 629-630.

89 F. Tuđman, 1968, p. 644

90 F. Tuđman, 1968, p. 628-629

to European stability and security. After the rebellion of Kosovo Albanians, a state of emergency was declared for Kosovo in 1981, and the use of force and police resulted officially in ten dead and hundreds of wounded.⁹¹ Dr. F. Tuđman in his discussions in the 1980s writes about pacification of Yugoslavia according to the Scandinavian model, with the thesis that the statehood of nations is the key of peace in Europe.⁹²

Why is it necessary to point out these discussions and standpoints? First, to recognize that this is a matter of historical discussions and assessments, rather than of political programs, and second, this is a standpoint of all peoples' right to sit at the table of the International Community, third, the key to conflict resolutions in multi-ethnic states is solving problems peacefully, and fourth that Croatian policy was being led on the basis of such judgments.

Croatian policy was consistent on these postulates since the 1990s. At the inaugural session of the Croatian Parliament, the first one after the first democratic elections, on 30th May 1990, Dr. Tuđman said:

“Based on historical experience we believe that the Croatian national sovereignty - in a union with other nations of today's Yugoslavia – can be provided on a confederal basis, as a contractual alliance of sovereign states.”⁹³

During the “log revolution” in Croatia and euphoria to create Greater Serbia, the Croatian and the Slovenian presidencies assigned a draft of a confederal regulation of the relations between the Republics of Yugoslavia in July 1990. The model was drafted using the examples of “the confederation from history and the experience of the European Community.”⁹⁴ And during the proclamation of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, on 22nd December 1990, President Tuđman said:

“Although, based on the overall experience, we antagonize the maintenance of Yugoslavia in the present or some third form, we do not exclude, but rather offer a draft proposition of the possibility of transforming Yugoslavia into one Alliance, or perhaps more Alliances of sovereign Yugoslav states. The merits of this proposal we hold to be reasonable even for the other republics or

states and political points of view, which do not see any solution outside Yugoslavia ...”⁹⁵

Croatian policy was aware that “the destiny of any nation almost never depends on its will”, the circumstances are such that the International Community “does not accept the program of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the change of borders in Europe, but provides full support for democratic transformations.”⁹⁶ That is why Croatian policy offered a confederation of sovereign states, with the possibility of a peaceful separation after 5-10 years; therefore, Croatian policy advocated a democratic model for resolving the crisis and was against the use of force, either to maintain the existing system or to impose some other solution.⁹⁷

“Keepers of Yugoslavia, from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia -the Movement for Yugoslavia- to the Yugoslav Left, neither realized nor could accept that Yugoslavia could only survive if democratized, i.e. to be organized as a confederation. Thus, Yugoslavia was divided by those who would not allow its democratization⁹⁸, and not those who have claimed the sovereignty of nations in the multinational community. Although the image in the pro-Yugoslav and Serbian media is different: Croatia and Slovenia are being accused for the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Under the same pattern, although the circumstances were different, “keepers of Bosnia and Herzegovina” accuse Croatia and Croatians for the disintegration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they wanted to democratize it, i.e. to regulate Bosnia and Herzegovina as a federation.

The standpoint of Croatian policy and the information strategy of ‘manufacturing identity’ was consistent: “if Yugoslavia could only exist as a confederal union, Bosnia and Herzegovina can only exist as a community of the three constituent peoples ... under the supervision of the UN.”⁹⁹ The position of Izetbegović and the Bosniak leadership was the opposite. They agreed that a confederal organization leads to the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because a confederation means three states, which would result

91 Unofficial figures are much higher, with estimates of a few hundred dead.

92 F. Tuđman, *Nacionalno pitanje u suvremenoj Europi. Državnost nacija ključ mina Europe*, Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1990 (the first edition of this discussion was published abroad in 1980 in Croatian and English language, and then in German language)

93 F. Tuđman, *ZNA SE. HDZ u borbi za samostalnu Hrvatsku*, Zagreb: Executive Committee of the Croatian Democratic Union, 1992, p. 29 and further: „3. Turning to Europe and the Europeanization of Croatia. Simultaneously with the internal democratic transformation all necessary steps should be taken with the purpose of including Croatia in the European Community”.

94 „Confederation Model in Yugoslavia”. This proposal was discussed at sessions of the Presidency of Yugoslavia on 10th November and 16th November 1990. See Dr. Anđelko Milardović, *Dokumenti o državnosti Republike Hrvatske*, Zagreb: Alineja, 1992, p. 31-42

95 F. Tuđman, 1992, p. 84

96 F. Tuđman, 1992, p. 84

97 More about this: Davorin Rudolf, *Rat koji nismo htjeli*, Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 1999, p. 293-299

98 General position of Serbian policy, which was against the ‘federalization’ of the Yugoslav constitution, is that „confederation is not a state”. The Bosniak leadership took a similar position, but did not use the phrase, so it would not be equated with the expression of Pale leadership. Deprived of any sense of reality and knowledge about democracy, the leadership of the Yugoslav National Army called for the preservation of Yugoslavia by means of force: „The multiparty system led nations into conflicts ...destroyers of Yugoslavia assumed power and want cruelly to change the social system by introducing capitalism in its worst form ... Regardless of the views of the Presidency, we will strike with all our power, we cannot wait anymore, and there will be no pulling back. The betrayal of Yugoslavia is obvious, and confirmed by decisions of Slovenia and Croatia ... Traitors should be killed on sight without mercy and thinking ...” Chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army Blagoje Adžić, the Military Academy in Belgrade 07.05.1991. The document is also cited by Hrvoje Kačić, *U službi domovine*, Zagreb: Matice Hrvatska, 2003, p. 130

99 F. Tuđman: Die Welt, 24.5.1993 in F. Tuđman, *Hrvatska riječ u svijetu*, Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1999, p. 261-262

in Serbs wanting to join Serbia and Croats Croatia.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the Bosniak leadership interpreted every advocating of a (con) federal structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina politically and attacked it in the media as an intention to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Accusations for the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina precede the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The conspiracy theory in Karadžević, in which the 'division' of Bosnia and Herzegovina was allegedly agreed between Milošević and Tuđman, is one of those political myths to which many refer without any evidence, and contrary to facts. This myth is a product of information strategies, determinants of chaos and manufacturing consent.¹⁰¹ The myth of 'the division of Bosnia' in Karadžević (25.03.1991) was created after the 'division of Bosnia' in the trilateral meeting of Tuđman – Izetbegović – Milošević in Split on 12th June 1991 when during the "meeting, there were special talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and among other things about the possibility of its cantonization."¹⁰²

Almost every media wrote on the subject¹⁰³ in the days after. The possibility of the cantonal organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina was received negative and hostile by most media (especially the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and considered a "division" of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was not an option. About the meeting in Split, Tuđman said the following: "Even before this terrible war had begun ... Wanting to prevent this harm, I have openly spoken to Milošević and Izetbegović, individually and together in Split. I said that for the survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was no other solution than a confederate one that is acceptable to all three nations, which must be constituent. They had no understanding for it."¹⁰⁴ After the talks in Split, President Izetbegović stated about the cantonization of Bosnia and Herzegovina: "A discussion on all these matters is not possible with me."¹⁰⁵

100 F. Tuđman, 1999, p. 261-262, 273

101 Meeting in Karadžević deserves a separate discussion, therefore it is pursued elsewhere. See: Ivo Lučić, „Karadžević politički mit ili dogovor?“, Časopis za suvremenu povijest (1) 7-36 (2003) / Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb/

102 HINA, **Baza Eva**, 12.6.1991

103 For example: **Večernji list**: 'Bosnia as Switzerland' 13.6.1991; **Vjesnik**: 'Disintegration of Bosnia and Herzegovina is disintegration of Yugoslavia' 14.6.1991; **Večernji list**: 'They find cantonization uninteresting' 14.6.1991; **Globus**: 'Whispering fall of Bosnia' 14.6.1991; **Večernji list**: 'Bosnia shakes Croatia' 14.6.1991; **Slobodna Dalmacija**: 'Cantons – done deal?' 17.6.1991; **Oslobodenje**: 'No separation' 18.6.1991; **Vjesnik**: 'Everyone gets his own' 18.6.1991; **Danas**: 'All shades of Bosnia' 18.6.1991; **Danas**: 'Forcing Bosnia' 18.6.1991; **Oslobodenje**: 'Cantonization of Bosnia and Herzegovina: pro and contra', Nebulous ideas' 19.6.1991; **Vjesnik**: 'Cantonization not possible' 20.6.1991; **Borba**: 'How many cantons for Bosnia?' 20.6.1991; **Oslobodenje**: 'Bosnia and Herzegovina – one canton' 21.6.1991; **Oslobodenje**: 'Joint, but not a national state' 22.6.1991; **Arena**: 'Cuckoo egg for Bosnia?' 22.6.1991; **Oslobodenje**: 'Achieving national and other equality' 25.6.1991.

104 F. Tuđman, 1999, p. 254

105 According to **Slobodna Dalmacija**, 17.6.1991. A. Izetbegović's statement was not in Split. An official press release from the meeting in Split states that „the three presidents expressed a maximum level of openness and good faith to achieve a solution draft, which would be in common interest of all people“ HINA, Baza Eva, 12.6.1991

Izetbegović remained consistent to his attitude also during the negotiations on Cutileiro's plan. A plan according to which all three parties after two months of negotiations have agreed to a formula that the three constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina should get their own cantons within the recognized borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰⁶

From the standpoint of philosophy of the "generals after the battle", i.e. having in mind the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina obtained in Dayton, the question is whether the war in Bosnia could have been avoided?¹⁰⁷ Ambassador Cutileiro believes that the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina could have been avoided if President Izetbegović had shown more interest in the proposition for cantonization, and if Serbian leader Karadžević had been more patient and waited for the start of the cantonization and drawing of cards under the auspices of the European Community.¹⁰⁸

Could the information war also have been avoided?

From the standpoint of the information strategy of manufacturing identity, the Croatian party in Bosnia and Herzegovina was faced with two problems: how to suppress Serbian aggression and how to get the approval from the Muslims/Bosniaks to agree to talks and political solutions acceptable for the others; i.e. that Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot exist as a "unitary, unified, civil" state.

Opposing Serbian aggression of merging the territory to Greater Serbia, initially the whole territory and then the greater part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as opposing the aggression against Croatia from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the information strategy of manufacturing identity promoted values of national freedom and the creation of the Croatian state, unity of the Croatian corpus, sovereignty and constitutionality of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, support of the Republic of Croatia to Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc. This information strategy could not rely on the use of media networks being chaos determinants, because these communications were supervised even outside the bounded areas of crisis, in a world where other standards were valid.

This information strategy served the right of self-determination and as defence and support to the military strategy that ultimately led to victory and the liberation of occupied territories in the Republic of Croatia.

However, this information strategy had the effect of creating distrust of the Muslims/Bosniaks, who were

106 As already mentioned, Izetbegović accepted the plan for tactical reasons, i.e. for achieving international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and rejected the plan for strategic reasons – unacceptance of „ethnic division“ of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

107 A. Izetbegović answered to this question in 2000 as follows: „I think that the war could have been avoided if it had not been inevitable“ (!?) (Bosnia and Herzegovina 1990-2005, Zagreb, 2005, p. 45)

108 **Oslobodenje** 17.5.1992, according to F. Tuđman, 1999, p. 220

partners of the “referendum coalition”¹⁰⁹, because it was contrary to their political strategy, and it was in conflict with the strategy of manufacturing consent to the “civil” Bosnia and Herzegovina. The success of the information strategy of manufacturing identity in the fight against Serbian aggression in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina had negative effects for the Croatian part in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹⁰ Not because of the “territorial appetites”, i.e. the creation of Great Croatia, but because from the perspective of Bosniak national interests, the request for constitutionality and territoriality of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina was most efficiently neutralized with charges of dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to argue these demands as Croatian “intentions”, even then when joint economic development programs were suggested. The intentions of Croatian policy were also consistent in the economy plan. Rarely mentioned, if at all, is the proposal of President Tuđman and President Izetbegović to “presidents or prime ministers of Austria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia and Ukraine” to consider within the central European region the possibility of “cooperation in several vital economic projects.”¹¹¹

The Croatian development strategy was focused on Europe, the integration into Central Europe along with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosniak development plans were directed towards a union with the Muslim countries¹¹², which “have provided against the aggression ... significant political, financial and military aid”¹¹³, but also to emphasize the independence from the two other peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to emancipate their political and cultural

109 „Referendum coalition“ is the name D. Owen (1998) used for Croatian/Bosniak political unity in the referendum (end of February 1992), which was a condition for the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

110 The standpoint of Alija Izetbegović and his circle was that if Croatia and Serbia got into war, „it would be easier for Bosnia to reach its state“. JNA Lieutenant General I.M. notified president Tuđman of this in mid-1991; General I.M. who retired before 1990, told me about this in Fall of 2004.

111 Letter of President Tuđman to President Izetbegović dated 6.11.1992; President Tuđman estimated that the following projects are of interest to a wider range of countries, including Bosnia and Herzegovina: building lowland railroads and highways, the construction of an industrial free-trading zone, the project of further developing oil and gas pipelines to the countries of Central Europe, a project of development of tourism in the entire area of the Adriatic Sea and Central Europe, a project of environment protection. President Tuđman proposed a summit meeting in Brioni until the end of 1992. Experts should have previously considered the modalities of the implementation of these projects.

112 „Never in the last hundred years was the Muslim world so united as in the case of Bosnia. Everyone joined these efforts ... It was the broadest and most effective classification of civilization in favour of Bosnian Muslims“ is the rating of Samuel Huntington, with whom Izetbegović agreed (Memoirs, p. 182). Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) gave the Bosnian Muslims political support in the UN, in 1993 OIC has offered 18,000 troops to the UN peacekeeping forces (the West has agreed to 7,000). The value of military equipment and weaponry which the Islamic countries sent to the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina is unknown; the number of ‘freedom fighters’, mujahedeen, who fought in Bosnia and Herzegovina has also not been confirmed, - the estimates range around a few thousand. So it is not surprising that the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina proposes to the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia an agreement on arms production and trade (strictly confidential, No.: 47-25/92, dated 26.09.1992.) for the joint production of tanks and other weapons for Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan;

113 A. Izetbegović, Sjećanja, p. 182

identity. That is why Croatian proposals were welcomed with suspicion, regardless whether they were political, economic or cultural programs.

Bosnian Croats also sought their identity in its uniqueness, with the right to be a recognized political entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with all the collective rights of a constituent nation; they built their cultural identity for centuries as members of the Croatian people, who under the historical circumstances have lived in different countries. The insistence of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina on these objectives of national and cultural identity was constantly interpreted by the Bosniaks, who have built their ‘manufacturing identity’ from the 1990s on the identification with the Bosnian state, as an intention to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even when the Bosniak leadership proposed the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Namely, at the end of 1993 President Izetbegović has offered Western Herzegovina to Croatia: “you may declare the annexation of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia to Croatia, whereby Central Bosnia remains within the Muslim Republic”. President Tuđman refused this, because he took into account the entire Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and because he felt “the division was not in Croatia’s interest ... there are deeper common interests, also for strategic reasons, than the annexation of Western Herzegovina.”¹¹⁴ President Tuđman “due to misunderstandings and the unilateral notification of the Bosnian-Muslim public”¹¹⁵ spoke already in 1994 about the offer of the Bosniak leadership that Croatia can accede Western Herzegovina. Only when in 2002 Jacques Klein, the head of the UN Mission in Bosnia, spoke about this matter and when the statement was confirmed by Ivo Komšić, one of the intermediaries of Izetbegović’s offer, it provoked greater public interest and a comment of Izetbegović that “he was not being serious, just testing Tuđman’s real intentions towards Bosnia and Herzegovina.”¹¹⁶

“Croatia’s interest was not the division” but a “strategic alliance” with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and within it the solution of the constitutional status of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is why President Tuđman proposed and signed not only the public agreement on cooperation

114 F. Tuđman, Sjećanja, p. 182

115 F. Tuđman, 1999, p. 307, Interview given to the Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 16th 1994: “The political unity of Muslims and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a historical necessity”.

116 According to the statement of Komšić, Izetbegović proposed the annexation of Western Herzegovina to Croatia just before Christmas 1993. The plan of the International Community was still current regulating Bosnia and Herzegovina as a union of three republics; that was three months after Izetbegović signed a secret agreement on the Confederation with Croatia (14.09.1993), but also an agreement with Serbian leaders (09.16.1993) that Serbs can secede from the Union after a referendum, under the circumstance that in case of the Union’s disintegration, the rights of Bosnian membership in the United Nations is passed on to the Muslim Republic. Therefore, it is more likely that Izetbegović was ready to divide Bosnia in order to not accept a confederation. Besides, if he ‘was testing’ the intentions of President Tuđman, then he should have publicly acknowledged that the other one did not accept the offer on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

between the Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the Muslim Republic (14.9.1993), but also the secret agreement “on developing relations between the Bosniak Muslim Republic and the Croatian Republic within the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina in all areas with the aim of creating a common state, which will simultaneously enter into a confederal relationship with the Republic of Croatia” (14.09.1993).

However, two days later (16.09.1993) the Bosniak leadership signed an agreement with Serbian leaders, an agreement that assumes the disintegration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because it specifies that in case of the disintegration of the Union, all rights of the Union of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will automatically be transferred to the republic with a predominantly Muslim population.¹¹⁷

After the failure of the Owen-Stoltenberg plan on the organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a union of three republics, there was a change in the Croatian political strategy because it gradually withdrew the request of a Bosnia and Herzegovina that consists of three constituent units, i.e. that the Croats have the right to their constituent part. A compromise has been based on a solution that the Federation be organized on the canton principle, but without the division into two entities. The “compensation” for this concession of Croatian policy by the Bosniak side was to establish confederal relations between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

Such changes of Croatian policy occurred in circumstances in which the Bosniak side decided on a military solution, which resulted in the ethnic cleansing of Croats in central Bosnia. The Republic of Croatia has helped with supplies and weapons to both, the Croatian Defence Council and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbian aggression, but was against military intervention in the Bosniak-Croatian conflict, yet sought a political solution and agreed to compromises in order to stop the war between Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This change, the abandonment of their constituent unit, was hardly accepted by the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also the ruling party in the Croatian Parliament had difficulties to get the majority for the report on the Washington agreements which would confirm such a solution.¹¹⁸

117 „After finding a mutually acceptable solution to the territorial demarcation of the three republics comprising the Union, and during the first two years of its existence, a referendum must be prepared and executed. All three sides should agree on the date of the referendum’s execution. The question to the citizens of each of the republics would be whether they agree to remain in the Union or want to leave the Union. In case of the disintegration of the Union, all rights of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including membership in the United Nations, would be automatically transferred to the republic with a predominantly Muslim population“ (16.9.1993).

118 President Tudjman spoke on several occasions at the session of the Presidency of the Croatian Democratic Union and at the Members Club of CDU in the Parliament (25.01.1994), the Central Board of CDU (24.2.1994) and in the statement to the nation (03.03.1994) in order to gain support for his policy. See: F. Tudman. *ZNA SE. HDZ u borbi za učvršćenje hrvatske državne suverenosti*, Zagreb: Glavno tajništvo Središnjice HDZ-a, 1995, p. 76-101

Why? Because the “majority of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina saw the solution of national issues in the union with Croatia. It was unquestionable that Franjo Tuđman was for such an option.”¹¹⁹ However, his advocacy of such an option is not his obsession with the division of Bosnia as Izetbegović claimed: “He ... worked on the realization of Greater Croatia, because it was his combination. His sincere combination was not some kind of confederation, but to take a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”¹²⁰

“The combination” of the historian Tuđman and President Tuđman was that Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be maintained as a unitary, “civil” state, as a replica of “Yugoslavia in miniature”, after the processes of rapid democratization in Central and Eastern Europe have begun with the collapse of communism. He also did not believe in the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, if the Serbs seceded from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Because he firmly believed in his own assessments, he did not have to request or do anything about the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina: as a historian he evaluated the unsustainability and described the deleteriousness of hegemonic solutions in multinational states. That is why he requested the survival and equality-as constituent people- for Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He thereby supported them politically, because they were threatened by Serbs and Bosniaks.¹²¹

The Serbian political elite pursued its objectives by the territorial reshaping of the former Yugoslavia and the ethnic cleansing of occupied territories, so that all Serbs could live in one state. The Bosniak political elite identified with Bosnia and Herzegovina, leaving Croats (or Serbs) no space for political survival on an equal basis. Both of these policies were systematically destroying the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Izetbegović was not aware, or did not want to be aware, what it meant when the most numerous nation in a multinational state is identified with the state, “the interests of the Bosniak people were completely identical with the interests of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A strong and organized Bosniak people were the condition of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s survival. For me, the struggle for the Bosniak people always meant fighting for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those equal were not under any angle, but totally in the same axis”¹²².

The paradox is that Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatian policy are being accused of systematically breaking Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatian policy was the only party signing all plans of the International Community on the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because two conditions were fulfilled: three constituent nations and territoriality (cantons, provinces, union of

119 D. Marijan, *ibid*, p. 244

120 A. Izetbegović, *ibid*, 2005, p. 54

121 See conclusion on discussion of D. Marijan, 2004, p. 244

122 A. Izetbegović, *ibid*, 2005, p. 66

three republics). Croats gave up on the union of the three republics, and even on the concept of a third entity. The fact is that official Croatian policy has always been for a political and not a military imposition of a constitutional solution, regardless of the emotional expectations of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fact is also that regardless of the willingness of Croatian policy to compromises, there would be neither the Washington nor the Dayton Agreement.

Croatian concessions to achieve peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina politically did not eliminate but have increased the accusations that Croatian policy was dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatian political and diplomatic concessions, which led to the agreement of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its confederation with Croatia, and Dayton Agreements, did not lead to a sustainable solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina, so these concessions could not have been "honoured" as a success. Moreover, the confederation of the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was put in the second place in Dayton, and after 2000 the official policy of the Republic of Croatia has given up all Washington Agreements and the obligations under these agreements. Hereby did the information strategy of manufacturing identity lose its credibility, and the public knowledge started to take shape according to other strategies.

The information strategy of manufacturing identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina failed, because developments after Dayton showed that imposed constitutional solutions do not work and do not offer a sustainable development for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Still in 1990, Croatian policy considered the federation of three entities as the best solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Can Croatian policy still continue to be accused of the "division of Bosnia and Herzegovina" because it predicted what would happen if the interests of all three nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina were not satisfied? Will Croatian policy continue to be accused of the "division of Bosnia and Herzegovina", although there is no evidence that Croatia has worked politically, diplomatically and militarily to break down Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Finally, when did Croatian policy divide Bosnia and Herzegovina: in 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 or 1995? That is, was Bosnia and Herzegovina divided and when was it divided?

Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided in Dayton in 1995 "and the division was done badly."¹²³

As long as the ruling information strategies are trivializing the idea of national and personal freedom, while the agreement on a unitary Bosnia is produced, while the question is not answered on why the current structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not functional, and until a

solution is found that would satisfy all three nations - so long will cyberspace be dominated by information that is far from the documents, facts and truth about the war and the events that have defined proposals and solutions of the constitutional arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Manufacturing Oblivion

The information strategy that shapes public knowledge in the function of preserving Serbian hegemonic policy in Yugoslavia and the creation of their own nation-state from Yugoslavia we have named manufacturing oblivion.¹²⁴ Cardinal pivotal points in the international promotion of this strategy are as follows:

- a) The process of disintegration of Yugoslavia begins with the constitution from 1974, which instead of "the principle of state unity and state policy" "overemphasized the principle of national autonomy", which in practice turned into sovereignty of parts, i.e. republics. The introduction of the multi-party system legalized the request on a confederal organization of Yugoslavia, which led to its disintegration. A confederation is not a state and contrary to the Serbian national interest because the Serbian people "did not get the right to their own state";
- b) Any degradation of a unified Yugoslav state under the principle of sovereignty of the republics is undemocratic and discriminatory because it turns the Serbian people into a national minority in the republics who want to stand out from Yugoslavia. The foundations of modern civilization express the idea that the nations are sovereign because "the people is the supreme source of political power" and "there is no moral or legal basis" for someone to deprive the Serbian people the right to union and its national state.¹²⁵
- c) In Yugoslavia, only the Serbian people do not own their country; the resolution of Serbian statehood entails the abolition of autonomous provinces and the creation of a unified Serbian state encompassing all territories where the Serbs live.
- d) The Serbian people in Yugoslavia was threatened and in an inferior position. Republic borders at the second session of AVNOJ were determined at the expense of the Serbian people, and should be revised because "outside the territory of the Republic of Serbia live significantly more Serbs than there are Slovenians, Albanians and Macedonians in Yugoslavia, taken individually, and almost as much as the Muslims."

124 Models of information strategies, which are showed here, are hypothetical constructs that should be applicable as an analytical tool for the analysis of the formation of public knowledge. Manufacturing oblivion is a technique of information strategies which serve different hegemonic and expansionist policies.

125 „The establishment of a complete national and cultural integrity of the Serbian people is its historic and democratic right, regardless in which republic or province it is located“ stated in the SANU Memorandum, 1986

123 I. Lučić, "Tko (ni)je dijelio Bosnu?", p. 205 in: *Dr Franjo Tuđman – neoprostjena pobjeda*, Zagreb: UHIP, 2003, p. 169-212

- e) In order to keep them in an inferior position, the Serbian nation was constantly imposed with historical guilt, even though the Serbian people have been exposed to genocide in two wars and on the verge of physical extermination. There is a well-known conspiracy against the Serbs, whose creators and holders are mostly the Vatican, Germany, the Comintern, and Catholic nations in Yugoslavia: Slovenians and Croats.¹²⁶

Such an information strategy was to support the Yugoslav/Serbian hegemonic policy, i.e. its diplomatic, political and military strategy. As until the early 1990s Yugoslavia possessed a strong diplomatic network, one of the strongest military powers in Europe¹²⁷, it controlled most of the Yugoslav cyberspace. This strategy of manufacturing oblivion had sufficient success, especially because the International Community was not for the “break-up” of Yugoslavia but only for its “democratization”.¹²⁸

At the internal level, the level of national mobilization in creating the Serbian state that would encompass all territories where Serbs live, this information strategy used the following tools: a) charges of crimes against Serbs; emphasizing the real and fictional representations of genocide and atrocities to which the Serbian people was exposed by Turks, Albanians, Austro-Hungarian, Croats, Germans, etc. during the history; b) demonizing the enemies that threaten fate and future of the Serbian people (Croats and Muslims/Bosniaks primarily, and then the others); creating a climate that there is only one option for national survival and that is the “holy” war for territorial integrity of all Serbian regions; c) one who is not for a unified Serbian state against the “forces of evil” (“Ustashas, fascists, nationalists”), that one is the enemy of Serbian national interests; d) everything in the hostile media that is being said about Serbian atrocities and horrors is the enemy’s propaganda, misinformation and a lie.

Information strategy in the function of oblivion acted on two fronts: by showing the outside world its policy as a struggle for democratic rights and freedom, and on the domestic front it denied and abolished all misdeeds and crimes committed by Serbian troops in the conquest and ethnic cleansing of the territories in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The program of creating a unified Serbian state that would encompass all territories where Serbs live, was not

¹²⁶ All of these thesis are already in the SANU Memorandum from 1986.

¹²⁷ It is believed that in terms of military resources the JNA was the fourth power in Europe.

¹²⁸ The contradiction of the International Community’s standpoint is that the International Community was giving official support to political options and forces that were against the „democratization“ of Yugoslavia. The International Community did not mind to achieve its goals by relying on communist parties that have recently changed their terms, but not their programs and ideologies.

without the support of at least part of the International Community. Serbian policy built its position on the theory that the people, and not the republics, has the right to self-determination and secession. Support to this view was also given by the International Community in some of its imprecise wordings or proposals that were in favour of Greater Serbian policy:

- “Only nations of Yugoslavia can decide upon their own fate” (Brioni Declaration, Brioni, 07.07.1991)
- Foreign affairs ministers of the European Community: they have confirmed the right of every nation to self-determination, including the right to secession and alliance.¹²⁹
- On 13.07.1991 the Dutch Government proposed to members of the European Community a document¹³⁰ advocating that “the principle of self-determination for instance cannot only be related to the existing republics and at the same time be considered as inapplicable to national minorities within these republics”, i.e. “it seems to be that the current developments suggest a voluntary change of internal frontiers as a possible solution.”¹³¹

This document was not endorsed by other members of the European Community, but when the co-chairman of the London Conference on the former Yugoslavia, Lord Owen, discovered the existence of the secret Dutch proposal he stated: “It is incomprehensible that the proposal to change the borders of the republic was rejected by all eleven other members of the European Community ... My opinion has always been that the constant maintaining of the international borders of the six republics of the former Yugoslavia ... even before there had been any talks about the recognition of these republics, was greater folly than the premature recognition itself.”¹³²

Hans-Dietrich Genscher had a completely opposite view, for whom the invariance of the republican borders remained a key issue, because “any tolerance of the concept of Milošević of ethnically defined borders would mean threats to almost all European borders.”¹³³ However, contrary to the position of Genscher and German policy, German SPD adopted a Resolution of the parliamentary group SPD on the crisis in

¹²⁹ Declaration of Foreign Affairs Ministers of the European Community, dated 20.08.199, according to M. Libal, *German policy and the Yugoslav crisis 1991 – 1992*, Zagreb: Golden Marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2004, p. 56 M. Libal warns: „The resonant phraseology could not hide the fact that this very general and non-binding document could be interpreted by each side in its own way. And most importantly, the document did not resolve the contradiction between the aspirations for independence and territorial integrity of some *republics*, and the reference to self-determination of the *nations*, which will necessarily lead to a review of the existing borders” (ibid, p. 56).

¹³⁰ Netherlands chaired the European Community from July to December 1991.

¹³¹ D. Owen, *Balkan Odyssey*, Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1998, p. 66-67

¹³² D. Owen, *ibid*, p. 67-68

¹³³ M. Libal, *ibid*, p. 89

Yugoslavia, which states: "According to the tradition and out of beliefs, we support the right to self-determination of nations."¹³⁴

The information strategy of manufacturing oblivion does not intend to conceal its objectives, rather to promote them; it tries to "forget" illegal methods, means and crimes committed in achieving these goals, so that the "dark side of history" does not become public knowledge. There has always been an explanation and/or justification for shaping the public knowledge using techniques of manufacturing oblivion: "history is written by the victors"! Therefore, manufacturing oblivion is a technique of serving expansionist and hegemonic policy.

There are different forms of expansion and hegemony throughout history: conquest, colonization, protectorates, etc. All these forms of submission have left certain networks in the newly acquired lands: networks of people, cultural and even political institutions. Some form of multiculturalism is outlined in all these forms of submission, even in the negative ones¹³⁵; therefore, there is at least a minimum willingness of network existence in the conquered society and willingness for material and cultural (co)existence with conquered societies and cultures.

Vukovar and Srebrenica are examples of another kind of aggression and the unwillingness to multiculturalism of any kind. The aim of conquering Vukovar was to establish Vukovar as a *Serbian* town.¹³⁶ The aim of conquering Vukovar was: to be against a society already present there and to replace it with a *counter-society*¹³⁷; to replace it with a Serbian society, erasing all evidence of the cultural, political, historical existence of the old, previous society. Likewise, the goal of Serbian aggression against Croatia is making space for the counter-society: erasing collective memory and evidence of the previous Croatian society.¹³⁸ This conclusion is suggested by data on ethnic

cleansing¹³⁹ of the occupied territories in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as data on cultural genocide; data showing that 660 buildings - monuments of culture (126 of national or world importance) were destroyed in the aggression on Croatia only in 1991; 46 museums and galleries, 9 archives buildings and 22 libraries were put out of service due to destruction. Even 332 historical settlements¹⁴⁰ were bombed and destroyed.

The counter-society aims to explain its expansion on allegations as if nothing prior to counter-society ever existed in the area of expansion. Therefore, the task of policy in the context of counter-society was to establish collective oblivion (erase all traces, evidence and monuments of other social groups, nations and cultures). At the same time, along with collective oblivion and deletion of material evidence about others, there is an image of the existence and ongoing presence of the counter-society in the conquered territories.

The counter-society cannot admit its own role in the deletion of (historical) evidence of others and therefore justifies its aggression with defence of its national corps. The counter-society insists only on memories of its own existence in the areas where it exists or intends to expand; thereby memory takes a central place and a role in achieving the counter-society's objectives.

The form of memory of the counter-society is manufacturing oblivion: forgetting about the existence of other societies, and forgetting how to delete the evidence of their existence. All in contrast with this form of memory is disputed: the method of denial, marginalization, appropriation (falsification) or denial.

Vukovar in the Serbian interpretation was a place of defence against the enemy, "Ustashes", a place of victory. However, after the "victory" in 1991, this victory does not name its heroes or its victims. Why? "Manufacturing oblivion" is operational; victory is recorded in history, but not the winners because their task was to clean: all evidence of the existence of others. It is hard to celebrate the victory over the enemy that no longer exists and was not supposed to exist. Likewise, defeat is incorporated into the form of manufacturing oblivion. Defeat is also not admitted with the refusal to learn about the history of Vukovar¹⁴¹ after 1990. This is why the form of historical memory, which is

134 Admittedly, it is stated below: „The realization of the right to self-determination may, but must not lead to a state independence“, N. Ivanković, Bonn, Second Croatian front, Zagreb: Mladost, 1993, p. 187. SPD in the Resolution sharply criticizes Genscher: „We express criticism for the contradictory, confusing and partly directly harmful attitude of the Federal Government regarding the crisis in Yugoslavia. This applies in particular to the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs himself, whose policy first encouraged Serbia to the obstruction, and then Croatia to illusory behaviour“. (ibid, p. 189). SPD adopted this resolution on 16.10.1991.

135 For example, apartheid is the form in which multiculturalism is denied, but not physically abolished.

136 See D. Marijan „Bitka za Vukovar 1991“ (*Scrinia Slavonica* 2 (2002) p. 367-402). The article also provides data on the ethnic composition of the population from which it is evident that out of the 84.189 inhabitants of Vukovar there were 31.445 Serbs.

137 Term borrowed from I. Rogić. See: I. Rogić: „Vukovar '91 i praksa protudruštva“ in the collection „Vukovar '91, međunarodni odjeci i značaj“, ed. by J. Jurjević, D. Živić, B. Esih, Zagreb, Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2004, p. 147-158

138 JNA and the Serbian paramilitary forces 'liberated' Vukovar on 18th November 1991, so that Croatian survivors had space in 'free' Vukovar only in the camps and not in the cultural and political life of the city.

139 See A. Rebić ('Prognanici i izbjeglice kao strateško sredstvo velikosrpske agresije na Hrvatsku', in: *Dr. Franjo Tuđman – vizije i postignuća*, Zagreb: UHIP, 2002, p. 149-152) which discloses data of 700.000 exiles and refugees from the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina already in the summer 1992. Greater Serbian occupation of Croatian territory were aimed at ethnic cleansing, and those areas were ethnically cleansed: 282,000 Croats were exiled. The return of the exiles to their homes is still not fully completed.

140 According to J. Jurčević 'Uvod', p. 31, ed. by D. Rehak, *Putevima pakla u 21. stoljeće: kroz srpske koncentracijske logore*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo logoraša srpskih koncentracijskih logora, 2000

141 According to the Erdut Agreement the Serbs obtained the right that in the Croatian Danube region the history of the establishment of the Croatian national state will not be a subject in the curriculum till 2002.

developed on “manufacturing oblivion”, incorporates in the same way the consequences of victory and the consequences of defeat into the non-knowledge field.

Just a few examples of how the strategy of manufacturing oblivion denies every existence of facts or evidence of historical events:

S. Milošević: “Do you know that there was not a single camp in Yugoslavia or Serbia, not for the Croats and not for anyone. Neither for the Croats or the Muslims nor anyone.” (S. Milošević, *Vjesnik*, 3.10.2002)¹⁴².

“... when the propaganda about the existence of the camps in Serbia started, I was contacted by various foreign delegations that came on other occasions and asked me about the camps. Each of them I replied. ‘Yes, I have a duty helicopter, put your finger on the map wherever you want to go, there is nothing in Serbia’. And after two or three such responses, one of the delegations, who were Germans, wanted to go there. They had put a finger on the map to a mine in Aleksinac, went there and found ...” (S. Milošević, *Vjesnik*, 3.10.2002)¹⁴³.

Information about the camps under Serbian control and human rights violations in these camps during the aggression on the Republic of Croatia, was published by the Commission of the United Nations in 1995. According to the final report of the Commission, in the period from 1991 to 1995, about 480 camps under Serbian control were founded, in which military and civilian personnel were interned. Out of 480 camps, 300 camps were reported by one or more neutral sources, and about 180 camps were reported by non-neutral sources, and are therefore labelled by the Commission as “unconfirmed”.¹⁴⁴

Aggression against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as crimes committed during the aggression are hardly accepted by the Serbian public opinion, but also by the Serbian community in Croatia. Professors and former generals in their lectures at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade still call the Srebrenica mass massacre “Western lies” and “Muslim fabrications”¹⁴⁵. Serbian President Boris Tadić did not deny the crimes committed in Srebrenica, but he compared the Croatian liberation operation “Storm” with Srebrenica and demanded international condemnation

of Croatia for the crimes against the Serbs which were committed after the “Storm”¹⁴⁶. This is only a tactic of the new manufacturing oblivion, which is used to equate the truth about Srebrenica with lies about the “Storm”.

According to the Erdut Agreement Serbs obtained the right that in the Croatian Danube region the history of the establishment of the Croatian national state will not be a subject in their children’s curriculum until the end of the peaceful reintegration period from 1998 to 2002. The refusal of learning contemporary history of their own country is the commitment to the strategy of manufacturing oblivion, as well as the refusal to reconcile with the facts that Serbia committed aggressions against the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and that quite many Serbs participated in these aggressions. The scandal that emerged around “Annex to the textbook for recent history”, which should be used in schools in the Croatian Danube region¹⁴⁷, is not only an indicator of the unwillingness of the Serbian community to face the facts of recent history, but also the “readiness” of Croatian policy to accept the method of manufacturing oblivion in the educational process, and not to deal with the facts and truth.

The strategy of manufacturing oblivion is used not only to promote but also to protect expansionist policy. The Belgrade government, relying on the protection of national interests, achieved “an agreement with The Hague Tribunal, according to which the key evidence will remain under the veil of secrecy, for it would mean ‘protection measures’ for them. Only judges and no one else would be able to access this evidence.” The most important documents on the activities of the Yugoslav political and military leadership are exempted from public insight, “or the Supreme Defence Council (SDC), in the period from 1992 to 1999 ... Calling on the national interests, Belgrade has succeeded in not publishing some key written evidence from the trial of Slobodan Milošević, but they can only be seen by The Hague judges.”¹⁴⁸ Belgrade has succeeded that manufacturing oblivion, the non-determination and non-disclosure of truth, are kept in force. This contract shows that two information strategies are not mutually exclusive, but sometimes enter into short-term alliances or long-term ones at particular points. It is obvious that the two information strategies, manufacturing oblivion and manufacturing chaos, have some common points in determining the approach, in shaping the public knowledge and public “truths” about the war in the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Manufacturing oblivion is not a characteristic of counter-societies only. Nor is it a characteristic only of those who

142 S. Milošević, *Vjesnik* 3rd October 2002, p. 10; Phonogram, Second day of testimony of President Mesić in Haag: Confronting Milošević.

143 S. Milošević, *Vjesnik* 3rd October 2002, p. 10; Phonogram, Second day of testimony of President Mesić in Haag: Confronting Milošević

144 According to the same source, about 330 camps (200 confirmed and 130 unconfirmed camps) were located in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and approximately 80 (30 + 50) in the occupied territory of Croatia, and approximately 70 (40 + 30) in Serbia (60) and Montenegro (10). The report states that the Serbian camp system was located in three states (Serbia/Montenegro, occupied territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) and represented a whole, since the Serbian military aggression was a complete project (by J. Jurčević, *ibid*, p. 31-32).

145 *Vjesnik*, 28th and 29th May 2005

146 *Večernji list*, 2.8.2005

147 *Večernji list*, 28.7.2005, Zvonimir Despot: “Povijest koju piše politika”

148 *Vjesnik*, 28th and 29th May 2005, Jasna Zanić Nardini: ‘Štetna tajnovitost Haaskog suda’

lost their expansionist wars. *Manufacturing oblivion* is a characteristic of all those historical and political systems that are established on values or based on values, which were rejected - either by societies implementing such policies or these values have become internationally acceptable. However, in order to protect their own interests, manufacturing oblivion is still in use.

Instead of a Conclusion

Public knowledge is formed within cyberspace. Public knowledge is influenced by a number of information strategies with clear objectives of providing information superiority to its own side and to discredit the opponent's side. That is why cyberspace is saturated with information, partial information and misinformation. All these types of information shape the public knowledge. Public knowledge is a mixture of truth, half-truths and lies.

Public knowledge is also subject to rapid changes. Information enters cyberspace in the fastest way, but is also forgotten in the fastest way. Technical and scientific

knowledge, cultural resources and values are far more durable forms of knowledge which also have an effect on shaping the public knowledge. In terms of social and humanistic sciences they form their own judgments and knowledge over the years, after certain events took place, and therefore, if they have it, then they have an impact on public knowledge with considerable delay.

In order to help researching the truth about Bosnia and Herzegovina's modern history, about Croatian policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, we offer readers this survey of documents to help them shape their own knowledge of these events. In the introduction, we only wanted to warn about the effect of several information strategies that shape the public knowledge for many years now, and which should be carefully examined in order to establish evidence-based facts and the truth. That is the purpose of this survey of documents dealing with the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, documents, which have not been available to readers as a whole until now.

M. Tudman

**Declaration of State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 27 February 1991)***

Proceeding from our centuries-long life together, a long constitutional tradition and a legitimate decision the people and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who through their representatives elected at the free, democratic and multiparty elections, determined to establish a democratic state of Muslim, Serbian and Croatian peoples and members of other nations and nationalities living in it, hereby adopt the following

**D e c l a r a t i o n
of State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of
the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

1. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be a sovereign, united and indivisible democratic state of all its citizens, founded on the freedoms and rights of people and citizens, the rule of law and social justice.
2. The boundaries of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be unalterable.
3. Sovereignty shall be a right of all citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, exercised through an all-people's referendum and freely elected representatives. The sovereignty of citizens, exercised through the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, shall be considered inalienable, indivisible and indisputable.
4. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall make independent and sovereign decisions on the following:
 - preservation and rational use of its natural and acquired material and cultural assets;

* SOURCE: <http://www.hic.hr/dom/291/dom22.htm>; Sarajevo, 27 February 1991. During the session of the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the deputies discussed the proposed Declaration of State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, proposed by the Party of Democratic Action /SDA/. The SDA and the HDZ /Croatian Democratic Union/ voted in favour of the Declaration. The Serbian party, the SDS /Serbian Democratic Party/, was against and the Declaration was not voted in.

- organisation of its economic, legal and political systems and relations;
 - co-operation and association with other republics, based on full equality and mutual recognition of state sovereignty and territorial integrity.
5. The constitutional system of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be founded on the guarantees and equality of all forms of ownership, the exercise and guarantees of freedom, egalitarianism, ethnic and any other equality and all other human and civil freedoms and rights, a multiparty political system and parliamentary democracy, the rule of law and the preservation and promotion of nature and environment.
- A new Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, founded on these principles, must be adopted as soon as possible, within the next six months at the latest.
6. Firmly determined to resolve the Yugoslav crisis on the principles of equality, in a peaceful and democratic manner, the citizens, nations and nationalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina are determined to defend their peaceful life together and the sovereignty, indivisibility and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
7. In accordance with item five of Amendment LXXI, this Declaration shall enter into force at the time of its adoption and proclamation at the joint session of the Council of the SRBH /Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Assembly.

The BH Assembly: 6 items of the President of the Presidency, Alija Izetbegović on the future of SFRJ / Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / (Sarajevo, 27 June 1991)

Sarajevo- at the extraordinary and permanent plenary session of the BH Assembly, that commenced yesterday at 1730 hrs, Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic proposed to the Parliament to adopt 6 items in occasion of separation of Slovenia and Croatia from Yugoslavia. The session was previously abandoned by the envoys of the outnumbered opposition party SDP because the Assembly, not even this time, did not accept to discuss their proposal on the Resolution of the position of BiH in Yugoslavia.

Here are the 6 Izetbegović's items of proposals to the Parliament:

1. Slovenia and Croatia used their right to self-determination and BiH does not object to its legitimacy.
2. Within decision making on separation, there are some elements of unilaterality, therefore, from the governments of Slovenia and Croatia, we expect that they acknowledge the principle of reciprocity.
3. The BH salutes the readiness of these two republics to negotiate the integration of the Yugoslav community, whereby for the BiH, the basis of such negotiations is the platform Izetbegović-Gligorov, adopted at summit of the republic leaders in Stojčevac.
4. BiH shall respect the establishment of Yugoslavia, according to which this republic is sovereign and inseparable, and keep doing so till the new agreement on Yugoslavia.
5. The borders of BiH shall be opened towards Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro and Europe. "For that is our long path to nations that live in BiH."
6. If the negotiations on Yugoslavia do not terminate within 6 months, the BiH invites to the citizens referendum on the "relations option" with other Yugoslav nations.

Izetbegović, according to his words to James Baker in Belgrade, proposed that the USA directs its influence to Serbia in order to accept the proclamation of Mesić, to respect human and national rights of Albanians in Kosovo and to "the western part of Yugoslavia" (in order to accept the minimum of state competences of the Yugoslav community).

He asked the State Secretary of USA that "the international community focuses BiH, because the civil war, being the real danger, could priory outbreak in this republic. Baker agreed to it- as added by Izetbegović.

At the meeting with Tuđman and Milošević in Belgrade, Izetbegović, as stated yesterday, made the last attempt to persuade them to make compromises. Milošević said that he accepted the alliance of the sovereign republics within Yugoslavia as the state community. Tuđman kept his opinion, that is, that he and the Croatian leadership are tied with the referendum results, conducted in Croatia, which means, consent to discuss the alliance of the sovereign states that cannot be burdened by the institutional frame.

The resumption of the plenary session was scheduled for today, 0900hrs, whereby after yesterday's short sessions, separated for public as well as closed session of the envoy clubs of the leading SDA, SDS and HDZ were held.

**Serbian-Muslim "Historical Agreement":
Muhamed Filipović – Radovan Karadžić (2 August 1991)**

Text of the Serbian-Muslim Agreement

In the face of recent developments which have increased the threat of confrontation between our two peoples whose interests have never in history been conflicting and who have never entered into such a conflict, aware of our responsibility to the peoples we represent and all peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia, we have decided, with a view to future co-operation and peace, to establish and sign the following political Agreement:

1. Aware of the difficulties inherited and those caused by post-electoral political events, we have decided, in the spirit of openness and mutual respect, to promote the historical and political interests of our two peoples. This is not an agreement against anyone but for everyone and, as such, open to all who support the principle of co-existence in freedom and full equality.
2. We believe coexistence to be founded on mutual recognition of the sovereignty of individual peoples, the securing of full territorial integrity and political subjectivity of our Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and on it having the same constitutional and legal position as all other republics in our common state of Yugoslavia.
3. We believe Yugoslavia to be a historically justified state of republics and peoples enjoying full equality, and we will promote the preservation and development of this community.
4. We agree that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a legally and politically unified and democratically organised federal unit with legal jurisdiction over every part of its territory, provided, however, that the federal constitution and legislature constitute the foundation of the country's legal system and guarantee the equality of its citizens, peoples and republics.
5. It is in our interest to have the Croats live in full equality with us in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we hereby invite them to join this agreement. Regardless of the position of the Republic of Croatia within or without Yugoslavia, the Croat people in Bosnia and Herzegovina have full equality.
6. Mutual relations of citizens, peoples and republics in Yugoslavia shall be organised by a common constitution, with the application of European standards.
7. We are aware that this Agreement provides merely a political and historical foundation for our permanent and peaceful co-existence. Such a political agreement, however, provides us with an opportunity to find the most constructive and the most rational solutions for the functioning of federal, i.e. joint, organs: the monetary system, the single market, joint armed forces and foreign affairs.
8. We also believe that an optimal Yugoslav community incorporates all six republics and their original constituent peoples. Withdrawal of any people or republic from this community shall imply that an agreement had been reached, guaranteeing interests of each of the members in respect of the others.

Assembly of BiH /Bosnia and Herzegovina/ :
Memorandum of the Assembly of BiH
(Sarajevo, 11 October 1991)

Having considered various initiatives for solving the Yugoslav constitutional and legal crisis and having listened to the opinions and remarks of the representatives of all political parties, the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the highest body of authority of Republic, at the session on 11 October 1991 announces the following:

MEMORANDUM
(LETTER OF INTENTIONS)

1. Considering that the Republic of Serbia has adopted a new constitution, and that republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia have adopted decisions and measures based on plebiscites and referenda, thereby fundamentally and irrevocably changing the Constitution of Yugoslavia and creating a new legal and factual state of affairs, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina refers to the current Amendment LX to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This amendment, pursuant to which Bosnia and Herzegovina is (we quote) "a democratic sovereign state of equal citizens, peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Muslims, Serbs and Croats and members of the other peoples and nationalities who live in it", permanently defines the constitutional status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as relations in it and its relations with others.
2. Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue to strive for the survival of the Yugoslav community on new foundations, acceptable for all. In the meantime, it will also strive for the normal functioning of the existing common institutions, but its representatives will not attend sessions of the SFRJ Assembly and the SFRJ Presidency if they are not attended by representatives from all republics and regions. Any decisions made by these bodies in an incomplete composition do not bind Bosnia and Herzegovina.
3. Considering the ethnic makeup of its inhabitants, Bosnia and Herzegovina will not accept any constitutional resolution of a future Yugoslav community which does

not contain Serbia and Croatia at the same time. In the future integration - whatever its nature - Bosnia and Herzegovina must be connected to Serbia and Croatia in the same manner.

4. Bosnia and Herzegovina strives for the complete demilitarisation of its territory. Taking this as its long-term aim, Bosnia and Herzegovina supports the efforts for the consolidation of the cease-fire in the current conflict and the establishment of a permanent peace. If these efforts fail for any reason whatsoever, Bosnia and Herzegovina will do its utmost to remain neutral in the conflict which presumes that its citizens will not engage themselves on either side in the conflict and that its territory will not be used for war purposes.
5. The views expressed in this memorandum represent the will of the majority of deputies of this Assembly and as such they also represent the political will of the majority of the citizens of BiH and the compulsory basis for the conduct of state and political authorities of the Republic.
6. Proceeding from the rights of the Assembly majority to decide on the fate of the Republic as a whole, the Assembly also recognises the right of the Assembly minority to demand and represent every legitimate interest - ethnic, cultural, economic and social - on the condition that it is implemented without force and in a legal and democratic manner.
7. This memorandum will be made public by the Assembly at home and abroad.

Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina

**ASSEMBLY OF BiH
Platform on the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina and
the future organisation of the Yugoslav community
(Sarajevo, 15 October 1991)**

On early Tuesday, 15 October, the Assembly of BiH (without a representatives of SDS) adopted the Platform on the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the future organisation of the Yugoslav community:

Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina shall develop as a civic republic in which, in accordance with the norms of law-governed states and in accordance with international norms and documents, respect of all human rights and freedoms of all citizens, regardless of their national, religious or political affiliation, shall be guaranteed.

By the appropriate structure of the Assembly of the Republic, Bosnia and Herzegovina shall secure that the possibility of outvoting in the process of making decisions on issues most essential for the equality of all nations and nationalities living in the Republic is eliminated.

The economic development of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be based on free enterprise and market economy.

2. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a sovereign and indivisible State.
3. The borders of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are inviolable (which is in accordance with the decisions of the Helsinki Commission) and unchangeable (which is a specific need of this place and this time, in view of the clearly expressed territorial designs towards the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a democratic sovereign State of equal citizens, nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Muslims, Serbs and Croats and members of other nations and nationalities living in it. (Amendment LX)

The territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is integral and indivisible. The borders of the Republic can be changed by the decision of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina only in accordance with the will of the citizens of the entire Republic expressed previously in a referendum, if at least two thirds of the total number of voters votes for the changes (Amendment LXII).

Yugoslavia

1. As a modern law-governed State, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has the need and interest to realise its economic and political integration with any other such state. In that respect, the most natural and important is of course the political integration our Republic realises with the States - members of the present SFRY /Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia/. The shape and intensity of that integration needs to be determined by agreement as soon as possible, in accordance with the vital interests and political goals of our Republic and, naturally, of all other States – members of the association.
 2. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall strive towards a future Yugoslav community in which all human rights and freedoms are guaranteed and respected in all its parts, and for a future Yugoslav community consisting of all six republics. Also, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall strive towards a future Yugoslav community with:
 - a) an integral market for goods, services and capital,
 - b) common foreign affairs, and
 - c) common defence forces.
 - A) In the process of debate on the organisation of the future Yugoslav community, two documents (conventions) should be previously drafted and signed simultaneously:
 - Convention on mutual recognition of sovereignty, as well as inviolability and unchangeability of borders of the present Republics, and
 - Convention on establishment of a new Yugoslav community, which would contain the constitutive principles of that community.
- Both Conventions should be signed simultaneously, not afterwards.
- B) Because of the original structure of the national composition of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this Republic accepts and argues for a Yugoslav community which would comprise the republics of Croatia and Serbia.
 - C) If a majority of the republics explicitly put this as a condition, the convention/act on setting up the new Yugoslav community may be ratified by the European Community and relevant international institutions.
3. In the case of a conflict between two or more neighbouring republics within the Yugoslav community, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall advocate an arbitration by the international community, if an agreement in the country cannot be reached peacefully.

In case of a conflict between the republics of Croatia and Serbia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall always remain neutral, in accordance with

international norms. However, in such conflict, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall offer its services as an intermediary of good will, in order to resolve the conflict.

4. All common institutions or organisations at the level of the Yugoslav community must be composed adhering to the principle of parities of the republics.
5. The Territorial Defence forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be under the control of the Presidency of the Republic. In the case of an attack on the Yugoslav community from the outside, those forces shall be placed under joint command.

**Decision
on Establishment of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and
Herzegovina (24 October 1991)**

Deputies of the Club of Serbian Democratic Party and the Club of Serbian Restoration Movement at the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a legitimate representatives of Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the basis of constitutional right to self-determination, including the right to secession, at the session on 24 October 1991, adopted

I

The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina is hereby established as the supreme representative and legislative body of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina .

II

The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina consists of deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian Restoration Movement to the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Other deputies to the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Serbian nationality shall also become deputies to the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina by signing the declaration on accession to this assembly.

III

The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina shall review and decide on issues which relate to the attainment of equality of the Serbian people with other nations and nationalities living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the protection of the Serbian people's interests in the event that they be jeopardised by any decision of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

IV

Serbian deputies shall continue to work in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the working bodies to which they were elected, except in cases when the Assembly's acts being reviewed and adopted are found to jeopardise the equality and the national interest of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

V

The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina shall recognise the legal force of those acts of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina which do not oppose the interests of the Serbian people.

VI

The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina shall recognise federal regulations as well as those republic regulations which are consistent with the federal regulations, unless they undermine the equality and interests of the Serbian people.

VII

The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina shall adopt the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina pending the adoption of appropriate acts on its organisation and purview.

VIII

This Decision shall enter into force on the day of its adoption and be promulgated in the Serbian people's gazette "Javnost".

President of the Assembly
Momčilo Krajišnik

**The decision on the establishment of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna
(Grude, 18 November 1991)**

At the session of 18 November 1991 in Grude and on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, their democratically elected representatives hereby adopt the

**DECISION
on the establishment of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna**

Article 1

The Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna is established as a political, cultural, economic and territorial entity.

Article 2

The Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna consists of the territories of the following municipalities: Jajce, Kreševo, Busovača, Vitez, Novi Travnik, Travnik, Kiseljak, Fojnica, Skender Vakuf (Dobratići), 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).

Article 3

The Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna shall have its main office in Mostar.

Article 4

Other municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina may join the Community conditional on the approval by the founding municipalities.

Article 5

The Community shall respect the democratically elected government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as long as Bosnia and Herzegovina retains its independent statehood in relationship to the former or any other Yugoslavia.

Article 6

The Community shall also respect all existing international legal documents on which modern human relationships in the civilised society are founded.

Article 7

The Community shall be headed by the Presidency consisting of the representatives of Croatian people in the municipal authority, either the chief executives or presidents of municipal boards of the Croatian Democratic Union. The Presidency shall elect the President, two Vice Presidents and the Secretary.

Article 8

The organisation, operation and relationships to other communities shall be regulated through the statute.

This Decision shall come into force immediately.

Decision to verify the Serbian autonomous districts proclaimed in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 21 November 1991)

Based on the results of the Plebiscite of the Serbian people held on 9 and 10 November 1991, and pursuant to paragraph 2 of Article 1 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in compliance with the constitutional right of a people to self-determination and self-organisation, the Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at its session held on 21 November 1991, adopted the following

**DECISION
to verify the Serbian autonomous districts proclaimed in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

I

This is to verify the decisions proclaiming the following Serbian autonomous regions and autonomous districts in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

- The Autonomous Region of Krajina made up of the following municipalities: Banja Luka, Bosanski Petrovac, Čelinac, Glamoč, Ključ, Kotor Varoš, Kupres, Laktaši, Mrkonjić Grad, Prijedor, Prnjavor, Sanski Most, Skender Vakuf, Srbac, Šipovo, Titov Drvar, the Serbian municipality of Bosanska Krupa, and parts of Donji Vakuf and other municipalities in the region with a Serbian majority; the seat of the region will be in Banja Luka;
- The Serbian Autonomous District of Herzegovina made up of the following municipalities: Bileća, Čajniče, Gacko, Kalinovik, Ljubinje, Nevesinje, Rudo, Trebinje, Foča, and parts of other municipalities in the region with a Serbian majority; the seat of the district will be in Trebinje;
- The Serbian Autonomous District of Romanija and Birač made up of the following municipalities: Han Pijesak, Pale, Sokolac, Vlasenica, Olovo, Šekovići, and parts of Rogatica and other municipalities in the region with a Serbian majority; the seat of the district will be in Sarajevo; the Serbian Autonomous District of Semberija made up of the following municipalities: Bijeljina, Lopare, Ugljevik, and parts of other municipalities in the region with the Serbian majority; the seat of the region will be in Ugljevik, and the Serbian Autonomous District of Northern Bosnia, with the seat in Doboj, made up of parts of the following municipalities with a Serbian majority: Teslić, Doboj, Tešanj, Derventa, Bosanski brod, Odžak, Bosanski Šamac, Modriča, Gradačac, Gračanica, Lukavac, Srebrenik, Živinice, Banovići, Zavidovići, Maglaj and Orašje.

II

The Serbian autonomous regions and districts listed above are integral parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a federal unit of the joint state of Yugoslavia.

III

The rights and duties of the autonomous regions and districts, the manner in which they will exercise these rights and duties, the setting up of organs and other issues relevant for the exercise of the rights and duties of the Serbian autonomous districts shall be governed by separate regulations.

IV

The status of municipalities in the town of Sarajevo, as well as the parts of Sarajevo where the Serbs constitute a majority, shall be determined by separate regulations.

V

This decision shall come into force on the date of its publishing in the *Official Gazette of the Serbian People*.

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY
OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE
Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK

No. 37-02/91
Sarajevo,
21 November 1991

**Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina
Decision on the Recognition of the Republic of Srpska Krajina
(Sarajevo, 21 November 1991)**

Based on paragraph 2, Article 1 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted at its session of 21 November 1991 the following

**DECISION
On the Recognition of the Republic of Srpska Krajina**

We hereby recognise the Republic of Srpska Krajina as a federal unit of Yugoslavia.

I

The present Decision shall enter into force on the day of its adoption and be promulgated in the "Official Gazette of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina".

**PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY
OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE
IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
Momčilo Krajišnik**

Assembly of the Republic of Croatia
Conclusions on foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia
(Zagreb, 5 December 1991)

Having heard the reports of the president and the members of the Government of the Republic of Croatia at a joint session of all Chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia held on 5 December 1991, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia adopted the following

Conclusions

1. The report of the Government of the Republic of Croatia on its participation at the The Hague Conference and on other activities related to the international status of the Republic of Croatia, and on political conditions, and the state of the economy, is approved.
2. Because of the difficult economic situation and the state of war, the Government of the Republic of Croatia is required to examine the following matters: a) war profiteering, b) inappropriate salaries and other privileges of individuals in certain segments of the economy and in public enterprises owned by the Republic of Croatia, and the impoverishment of the direct producers, especially in the countryside, by the maintenance of unjustifiably low purchase prices for basic foodstuffs, such as milk, cereals, meat.
3. The Government of the Republic of Croatia is required to devote the utmost attention to refugees, whose number has already reached more than 560 thousand, and develop a program and all necessary measures to facilitate their return as soon as possible to the areas from which they were expelled.
4. In view of the obligation of the former JNA to withdraw from the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia, the Government of the Republic of Croatia is required to coordinate the negotiations on withdrawal to cover the entire territory of the Republic, so as to include those areas on which negotiations have not yet begun, such as the municipalities of Vis, Lastovo and others.
5. The proposal to station the international peace-keeping forces in Croatia is approved, provided their function is to protect the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, its territorial integrity and the establishment of the legal order of the Republic of Croatia. The peace-keeping forces may be deployed in the Republic of Croatia only temporarily, and the areas in which they will be deployed may not be excluded from the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia.
6. In view of the intensity and the extent of the criminal-genocidal character of the war against the Republic of Croatia and the ever more frequent cases of intentional destruction of archives and other documents, and of art treasures, the Government of the Republic of Croatia is required urgently to take all necessary measures to secure and protect such valuables.

7. The Government of the Republic of Croatia is required to inform the entire world public, through the United Nations Organisation that the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, with the aid of their army of occupation - the former JNA - are moving their citizens into the temporarily occupied areas of Croatia, and in that manner forcibly changing the demographic structure of those areas.
8. In accordance with the decision of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia of 8 October 1991, by which the legitimacy and legality of all bodies of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was revoked, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia does not recognise, and rejects, all activities of Ante Marković, Prime Minister of the former federal government, and of Budimir Lončar, a minister in that government, that could have consequences of any kind for the Republic of Croatia.
9. The Assembly supports the proposal of the Government of the Republic of Croatia for the establishment of an international tribunal for war crimes that would prosecute the military leadership (the former JNA) and all other criminals for the crimes committed.

Class: 018-01/91-01/04
Zagreb, 5 December 1991

ASSEMBLY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
President of the Assembly
Dr Žarko Domljan, m.p.

Peace Conference on Yugoslavia: Arbitration Commission opinion no. 1: "Yugoslavia is in the process of disintegration" (December 7th, 1991)

On November 20th, 1991 President of the Arbitration Commission received the following letter from Lord CARRINGTON, President of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia:

"We are faced with an important legal issue.

Serbia considers that those Republics which have declared or would desire to declare themselves independent and sovereign have seceded or would secede from Yugoslavia, which would otherwise continue to exist.

Other republics, on the contrary, consider that this is not a question of secession, but the question of disintegration or collapse of the SFRY as a result of concurring will of several republics. They consider that the six republics must be considered equal successors of Yugoslavia, with the provision that neither of them, nor a group cannot claim to represent its continuation.

I would like for Arbitration Committee to consider the matter in order to form any opinion or recommendation which it considers useful. "

Arbitration Committee reviewed submissions and documents submitted by Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Serbia and President of the collegial Presidency of Yugoslavia.

1) The Commission considers that:

- a) the answer to (this) question should be based on the principles of international law which serves to define the conditions under which an entity forms a state; in this regards, the existence or disappearance of the state is a question of facts, and the effects of its recognition by other countries are purely declaratory;
- b) state is generally defined as a community which consists of territory and population under an organized political authority which makes such a state sovereign;
- c) for the purpose of applying these criteria, form of internal political organization and constitutional provisions are simple facts, although the impact of government on the population and territory must be taken into assessment account;
- d) in the case of a federal type of government that includes associations with a certain degree of autonomy and which are affiliated for the purpose of participation in the exercise of political power within the frame of joint institutions in Federation, the existence of a state implies that the federal bodies represented parts of the Federation and to exercise effective control;
- e) according to the accepted definition in international law, the term "succession of state" means the replacement of one state by another in responsibility for international relations of a territory. Such occurrence is governed by principles of international law that the Vienna conventions of August 23rd, 1978 and of April 8th, 1983 were inspired by. According to these principles, succession should lead to a fair result, and interested states are free to determine its terms. Also, the peremptory norms of general international law, in particular in respect to fundamental human rights and the rights of nations and minorities, are imposed to all parties in succession.

2) Arbitration Commission establishes that:

- a) - although until now Yugoslavia retained its international appearance, especially within international organizations, the desire of republics for independency was manifested:
 - In Slovenia, a referendum was held in December 1990, followed by a declaration of independence on June 25th, 1991, which was suspended for three months and confirmed on October 8th, 1991;

- In Croatia, a referendum was held in May 1991, followed by a declaration of independence on June 25th, 1991, which was suspended for three months and confirmed on October 8th, 1991
 - In Macedonia, a referendum was held in September 1991 in favour of a sovereign and independent Macedonia allied with Yugoslav states;
 - In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a sovereignty resolution was adopted by the Parliament on October 14th, 1991, but the Serbian community of Bosnia and Herzegovina contested its validity.
- b) - The composition and functioning of the essential bodies of the Federation, such as the Federal Presidency, the Federal Council, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the Federal Executive Council, the Constitutional Court or the Federal Army, no longer meet the criteria for participation and representation inherent for a federal state;
- c) - Use of force has led to armed conflict between the different Federation elements, that within several months caused the death of thousands of people and led to considerable destruction. Federation and republic authorities proved powerless to ensure compliance with successive ceasefire agreements concluded under the auspices of the European Community and the United Nations.
- 3) Given this the Arbitration Commission is of the opinion:
- That the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is in a process of disintegration;
 - That the republics must solve the state succession problems as a result of this process (the collapse of Yugoslavia, our observation) according to the principles and rules of international law, in particular with respect to human rights and the rights of nations and minorities;
 - That those Republics that express such a wish, may jointly establish a new alliance with the democratic institutions of their choice.

R. Badinter, m.p.
December 7th, 1991

**Ministerial Council of the European Union: “Guidelines for recognition of the new states
in the Eastern Europe and Soviet Union”
(Brussels, 16 December 1991)**

According to the request of the European Council, the ministers estimated the development of opportunities in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union in order to adopt position with regard to the new states.

In this connection, they accepted the following guidelines for the formal recognition of the new states in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

“The Community and its member States confirm their attachment to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris, in particular the principle self-determination. They affirm their readiness to recognize, subject to the normal standards of international practice and the political realities in each case, those new States which, following the historical changes, have constituted themselves in the certain territory on the democratic basis, accepted the appropriate international obligations and have committed themselves in good faith to a peaceful process and to negotiations.

Therefore, they adopt a common position on the process of recognition of these new States, which requires:

- respect for the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the commitments subscribed to in the Final Act of Helsinki and in the Charter of Paris, especially with regard to the rule of law, democracy and human rights;
- guarantees for the rights of ethnic and national groups and minorities in accordance with the commitments subscribed to in the framework of the CSCE
- respect for the inviolability of all frontiers which can only be changed by peaceful means and by common agreement
- acceptance of all relevant commitments with regard to disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation as well as to security and regional stability
- commitment to settle by agreement, including where appropriate by recourse by arbitration, all question concerning State succession and regional disputes

The community and its members States will not recognize entities which are the result of aggression. They would take account of the effects of recognition on neighbouring States. The commitment to these principles opens the way to recognition by the Community and its members States, as well as the establishment of diplomatic relations, which can be conducted through the written contracts.

**Ministerial Council of the European Union: " Declaration on Yugoslavia"
(Brussels, 16 December 1991)**

The European Community and its member States discussed the situation in Yugoslavia in the light of their guidelines on the recognition of new States in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. They adopted a common position with regard to the recognition of Yugoslav republics. In this connection they concluded the following:

The Community and its member States agree to recognize the independence of all the Yugoslav republics fulfilling all the conditions set out below. The implementation of this decision will take place on January 15, 1992.

They are therefore inviting all Yugoslav Republics to state by 23 December whether:

- they wish to be recognized as independent States;
- they accept the commitments contained in the above-mentioned guidelines;
- they accept the provisions laid down in the draft Convention – especially those in Chapter II on human rights and rights of national or ethnic groups – under consideration by the Conference on Yugoslavia;
- they continue to support
 - the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Security Council of the United Nations, and
 - the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

The applications of those republics which reply positively will be submitted through the Chair of the Conference to the arbitration commission for advice before the implementation date.

In the meantime, the Community and its member States request the UN Secretary-General and the UN Security Council to continue their efforts to establish an effective cease-fire and promote a peaceful and negotiated outcome to the conflict. They continue to attach the greatest importance to the early deployment of a UN peace-keeping force referred to in UN Security Council resolution 724.

The Community and its member States also require a Yugoslav republic to commit itself, prior to recognition, to adopt constitutional and political guarantees ensuring that it has no territorial claims towards a neighbouring community State and that it will conduct no hostile propaganda activities versus a neighbouring community State, including the use of a denomination which implies territorial claims.

**Presidency and Government of the SR BiH:
Request to European Union for recognition of the sovereignty
and independence of BiH(Sarajevo, 24 December 1991)**

1. The Government of the SR BiH expresses the wish for SR BiH to be recognised as an independent state and appeals to the EC and its member states to recognise her according to the procedure and by the deadline foreseen in the Brussels Declaration on Yugoslavia.
2. BH states that it accepts all the obligations contained in the Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union adopted at the Council of Foreign Ministers in Brussels on 16 December 1991.
3. BiH accepts the Draft of the Hague Convention including, by all means, Heading II, which pertains to human rights and the rights of national and ethnic groups and which is being studied within the framework of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

Regarding the above, we take the opportunity to again emphasise that three equal constituent peoples live in BiH, which according to the census taken this year comprise: Croats 17.27%, Muslims 43.74% and Serbs 31.33%. Also, 5.51% of the population in this republic said they were Yugoslavs and only 2.15% of the population belong to other ethnic groups.

4. Our stand is that the issue of relations among the Yugoslav republics should be resolved in a peaceful manner. We appreciate and support efforts undertaken by the UN Secretary General and the EC and give our full support to the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

It is known that so far BiH has not made any obstructions to that plan. Here we especially emphasise that BiH does not have nor will it as an independent state have any territorial pretensions towards any neighbouring state and that it will not undertake any enemy propaganda activities against any neighbouring state including the use of names that would contain territorial demands.

That is why we propose that the EC and its member states recognise the sovereignty and independence of BiH.

**Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina:
Decision to proceed with the establishment of the
"Republika Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina" (21 December 1991)**

Proceeding from the constitutional right of nations to self-determination and self-organisation, the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina adopts at its session of 21 December 1991. the following

DECISION

**to proceed with the establishment of the
Republika Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina**

I

Preparations shall begin for the establishment of the Republika Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a federal unit comprised in the federal state of Yugoslavia.

II

In conformity with the results of the plebiscite of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Republika Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina shall be established not later than the Serbian New Year 1992.

III

Activities for the establishment of Republika Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina shall be conducted by the agencies of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

President of the Assembly of the
Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina
Momčilo Krajišnik

**The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia:
Conclusion (28 December 1991)**

At the joint session of all chambers of the Assembly held on 28 December 1991, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia adopted the following

Conclusion

1. The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia approves the "Declaration Guidelines for Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union" and "The Declaration on Yugoslavia" passed by the Council of Ministers of the European Community in Brussels on 16 December 1991.
2. In accordance with Article I of the Constitutional Decision on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Croatia of 25 June 1991, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia supports the request of the President of the Republic of Croatia for the international recognition of the independence of the Republic of Croatia submitted by the President of the Republic of Croatia to the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community on 19 December 1991, in accordance with the Declarations mentioned in item 1 of this conclusion.

Class: 021-03/91-05/04
Zagreb, 28 December 1991

ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
CROATIA
President of the Assembly
Dr Žarko Domljan m.p.

**The Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina:
Declaration on proclamation of the Republic of the Serbian people of Bosnia
and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 9 January 1992)**

The Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the legitimate, freely and democratically elected representative and protector of its rights and interests, in achieving its will, expressed by plebiscite, and its Decision, based on this, to commence the formation of the Republic of Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina, at its session held on 9 January 1992 hereby adopts a

**Declaration on proclamation of the Republic of the Serbian people of Bosnia
and Herzegovina.**

I

Pursuant to the plebiscite held on 9 and 10 November 1992, in which the Serbian people voted to remain in the common state of Yugoslavia, the Republic of the Serbian people of Bosnia and Herzegovina is hereby founded and proclaimed in the areas of the Serbian autonomous regions and districts, other Serbian ethnic entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including areas where the Serbian people are a minority because of the genocide conducted against it in the Second World War.

II

The republic is an integral part of the federal state of Yugoslavia as one of its federal units.

III

Territorial demarcation with the political communities of the other peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the resolution of other mutual rights and obligations shall be achieved peacefully and by agreement, while respecting ethnic, historical, legal, cultural, economic, geographical, communications, and other significant criteria, and honouring the principles and rules of international law.

IV

The foundations for the social, political and state system of the republic shall be regulated by its Constitution.

V

The Constitution of the Republic shall guarantee full equal rights and equality, and peoples and citizens shall be protected by law from any form of discrimination.

VI

The functions of the state organs of the Republic shall be performed by the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Council of Ministers until elections. The formation of these organs and institutions, which shall be established by the Constitution of the Republic.

VII

The headquarters of the organs of the Republic shall be in Sarajevo.

VIII

Federal regulations and the regulations of the former SR /Socialist Republic/ of Bosnia and Herzegovina, excepting those which the Assembly of the Serbian People deems to be in contravention of the Federal Constitution shall be valid in the Republic until its own Constitution, laws and other regulations are adopted.

IX

The organs of government of the former SR BH shall represent the communal organs of the national communities in the transitional period until a final territorial demarcation and resolution of other rights and obligations.

During the transitional period, the communal organs shall adopt necessary decisions and enactments by consensus.

X

This Declaration comes into force on the day of its adoption and shall be implemented on the day of any recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence. The implementation of the Declaration shall be postponed for an indefinite period of time on condition that those who submitted the request for recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence withdraw the said request by 15 January 1992.

XI

The Declaration shall be published in the *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

President, Assembly
of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina
Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK

**The Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Decision on referendum
invitation on the independency of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Sarajevo, 25 January 1992)**

Sarajevo, 25th of January (HINA) – the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina made in the early hours of this morning, after a marathon sessions, decision on invitation to referendum on the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The representatives of all parties voted pro it, except the Serbian Democratic Party of BiH, who, before that, left the premises. The referendum should be held on 29th of February and 1st of March this year, according to the decision.

The referendum question is: “Are you for the sovereign and independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state of equal citizens and nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, of Muslims, Serbs and Croats, as well as the members of other nations that live in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”

The Assembly of BiH also decided that the existing governor of the National Bank of BiH, Hajra Balorda, should be dismissed from duty.

Both decisions were made in the Bosnian-herzegovinian Parliament without presence of the representatives of the Serbian Democratic party of BiH, who left the premises this morning around 0300 hrs. All this was preceded by remarkably exhausting discussion on the agenda establishment, whereby in the assembly hall there were rough quarrels. The representatives of the Party of Democratic Action requested at the moment the deprivation of right to the President of the BH Assembly, Momčilo Krajišnik (SDS) to continue with session, asserting that he “obstructs the work of the Assembly”.

After Krajišnik stated that he did not have conditions to continue the meeting or to adjourn its resumption for Sunday at 1000 hrs, the representatives of SDS left the BH Assembly.

The Vice-President of the BH Assembly, Mariofil Ljubić was presiding the continuance of the session, at which the decision on referendum was made.

**The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Referendum
Question (9 February 1992)**

The Question for the Referendum

Are you in favour of a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state union of the constitutive and sovereign Croatian, Muslim and Serbian peoples in their national **areas** (cantons)?

YES

NO

In contrast to the question adopted on 25 January 1992 at the session of the Assembly of the SR /Socialist Republic/ of BiH, a referendum question formulated in this way incontrovertibly envisages a future independent BiH as a complex state union, with a legal foundation on the national sovereignty of the constitutive Croatian, Muslim and Serbian peoples. It follows from the question proposed that the future independent BiH is not a unitary state, but a state union composed of national cantons, Croatian, Muslim and Serbian, whose areas would be determined following the referendum by a special constitutional enactment. The proposed referendum question, in accordance with the sovereignty of the constitutive peoples, envisages that the Croatian, Muslim and Serbian peoples would authentically and directly exercise their sovereign rights in national cantons, and at the level of the state union of BiH, in instances which will be expressly determined in a separate constitutional enactment on the apportionment of rights and duties between the national cantons and the state union of BiH.

In the referendum question it is not necessary to specifically cite the equality of citizens and members of other peoples who live in contemporary BiH, because that is guaranteed and protected in the constitutional enactment, which will be issued following the referendum, as is done in all contemporary democratic states and state unions. This follows from the purpose of the referendum, which addresses the sovereignty and independence of BiH, its legal foundations and structure.

**Lisabon statement on Yugoslavia by Ministers of the Foreign Affairs of the countries
of the European Union (Lisabon, 17.2.1992)**

The Community and its member States welcome the recommendation made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Security Council on the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping force in Yugoslavia in accordance with the United Nations plan. They firmly hope that a favourable decision will be taken at an early date.

They call upon all parties to do everything within their power to facilitate the speedy and safe deployment of the United Nations peace-keeping force.

The Community and its member States consider that the joint and coordinated efforts of the United Nations peace-keeping force and the observer mission will constitute a major factor in establishing the conditions necessary for a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the crisis. Such a solution should be brought about through active participation by all parties concerned in the Conference on Yugoslavia. They also underscore the importance of continuing to respect strictly the arms embargo in force.

The Community and its member States express once again their full appreciation for the results already achieved within the framework of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia, under the chairmanship of Lord Carrington. In this respect, they emphasize the need for all participants to fully respect the commitments already undertaken with regard to the provisions of the draft treaty on the protection of human rights of minorities, and the unacceptability of any change of frontiers through force.

The Community and its member States note with satisfaction the constructive attitude of Serbia and will take it into account when reviewing the question of positive measures.

The Community and its member States express their support for the ongoing efforts within the framework of the Conference to promote dialogue between the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina aimed at achieving a constitutional solution which must take into consideration the legitimate concerns of all peoples involved within the inviolable frontiers of that Republic. In this context, they indicate their readiness to respond in a positive manner to the request by the Bosnian authorities for international supervision of the planned referendum in close coordination with the relevant institutions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The Community and its member States will continue to monitor very closely all developments concerning the possible recognition of other Republics.

**Cutileiro's plan: Izetbegović, Lasić and Karadžić
agreed on the "reconstruction" of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Sarajevo, 22 February 1992)**

SARAJEVO, 22 February (Hina) – At a press conference held immediately after their return from the negotiations on Bosnia and Herzegovina mediated by the representatives of the European Community, the representatives of the SDA /Party of Democratic Action/, the HDZ /Croatian Democratic Union/ and the SDS /Serbian Democratic Party/, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, Miro LASIĆ and Radovan KARADŽIĆ, informed journalists at Sarajevo airport that an agreement on the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been reached today at interparty talks in Lisbon.

At the meeting in Lisbon it was concluded that Bosnia and Herzegovina would remain within its current borders but that it would be subject to thorough decentralisation through the formation of partially self-governing ethnic units, SDA BH President Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ said at today's press conference in Sarajevo.

According to IZETBEGOVIĆ, "The concession on the part of the SDS was that they confirmed the integrity and indivisibility of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

"Our conception was to accept a degree of reorganisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, factoring in ethnic reasons, even though this was not our original concept", the SDA President explained. Pointing out that the "time of dénouement" was coming, IZETBEGOVIĆ stated that "there was no other path" and that "a foundation, or rather, a principle, had been established in Lisbon, thawing a situation which has lasted in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the past year". He added that this did not bring the holding of the referendum into question and expressed his conviction that the referendum would be a success and that Bosnia and Herzegovina would be independent and recognised.

Expressing his satisfaction with the Lisbon Agreement, HDZ representative LASIĆ said, "What we asked for in the Livno referendum has been fulfilled".

“We will invite the Croatian people to come to the referendum”, LASIĆ continued, pointing out that the HDZ’s request for an independent Bosnia and Herzegovina with recognized sovereignty of all three peoples, i.e. a Bosnia and Herzegovina made up of constituent units, had been accepted. According to LASIĆ, “there will be no dispersion or division of Bosnia and Herzegovina; it will, as has been jointly concluded, remain within its historical and present borders”. LASIĆ believes that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a "federation" with a common army, police force, central bank and legal system.

The President of the SDS, Radovan KARADŽIĆ stated, "The step we have taken is enormous and fateful for the situation in Bosnia". He qualified the agreement as an “enormous success of all three peoples and a triumph of tolerance”. KARADŽIĆ explained his satisfaction by saying that, "The principle of a non-unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina was promoted and as for the rest, we will reach an agreement." "Bosnia and Herzegovina will be composed of constituent units, which will eliminate the dominance of any one people”, KARADŽIĆ said, calling upon the people to “put their rifles back in the gun racks.” “We have accepted the immutability of borders”, he added, remarking that, “We do not seek to attach a single part of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia”.

Commenting on the announced proclamation of the so-called Bosnian Krajina on 28 February, KARADŽIĆ said, “The SDS will put an end to the process which could stand in the way of the agreement, there is no need to proclaim any krajinas”.

Asked whether the Serbs would come to the referendum, KARADŽIĆ replied that it was possible, adding that the situation had changed and that, “If there is time, an agreement should be reached on a new question for the referendum”.

**BH Patriotic League Main Staff Directive for the defence of BiH sovereignty
(Sarajevo, 25 February 1992)**

The military and political activities of the enemy (forces of disintegration of BiH) have so far to a large extent managed to disrupt the system of government and to establish strongholds in certain areas, thus creating conditions for the complete disintegration of the BH authorities and the breaking up of BH territory.

The main strongholds of the forces of disintegration are in the Banja Luka region, eastern and western Herzegovina and the Doboje region, while their main supporters are the SDS/Serbian Democratic Party/ with the JA/Yugoslav Army/ and the extreme wing of the HDZ/Croatian Democratic Union/.

In their activities up to now, they have managed to do the following: create a full political unity of the SDS and the JA; create parallel organs of government on the entire territory of BiH; form commands, staffs and units; partially establish their own information system and carry out the relocation of material reserves for their own needs. The reorganisation of the JA on the whole territory of BiH has created large concentrations of the JA, while the arrival of the Blue Helmets and the withdrawal of parts of the JA from the territory of the Republic of Croatia will make those concentrations still larger.

The combined forces of the enemy are as follows:

- Yugoslav Army: six corps of the KOV/Land Army/ (the Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Bihać, Titovo Užice, and parts of the Knin and Titograd corps), probably the strength of 2-3 KOV corps and one reinforced VAK/Air Corps/.
- Forces of the SDS/Serbian Democratic Party/ (80,000-120,000 men)
- Extremist forces of the HDZ (strength of one to two brigades)

The main goal of activities of these forces is the partition of BiH territory and joining their mother (national) states. They will try to achieve this objective in two phases: in the first phase national confederal units in BiH will be created, and in the second they will be attached to a Greater Serbia and a Greater Croatia.

Before general operations begin the following can be expected: further intensification of psychological-propaganda activities aimed at exacerbating inter-ethnic relations, carrying out of sabotage-terrorist actions, provocation of social unrest, sabotage, kidnapping and assassinations of the most prominent figures of the Muslim nation. With the start of general operations powerful air and artillery-rocket support is to be expected in all regions.

2. Our forces: organized in the BH PL units from platoons to detachments and brigades, with a combined strength of approximately 120,000 men. With the start of combat operations, one can anticipate a more substantial influx of volunteers,

members of the BH MUP /Ministry of the Interior/, soldiers of the JA, and forces of the Muslim people outside the territory of BiH, which would increase the strength of our forces to some 150,000. The main task for the forces of the BH PL is to protect the Muslim people and all BH citizens, to preserve the integrity and entirety of BiH, in order to ensure in the future the continued living together of all the nations and nationalities in the state territory of BiH. As combat operations begin, protect the population and simultaneously close off the main routes leading into the territory of BiH, with the massive use of demolition and barrier systems; within the republic, with certain forces in swift and energetic actions, block off and occupy military buildings (depots of weapons, ammunition and MES/Mines and Explosives/ and barracks), and thereupon arm the units that have been formed as soon as possible, continue planned operations with the aim of creating the greatest possible extent of free territory and ensuring the functioning of the legitimate organs of government. Pay particular attention to pulling out the population from threatened areas and organizing provisions for them.

3. With initiation of activities, call the people of Sandžak, Kosovo and Macedonia to show solidarity with our rightful fight and immediately begin with combat activities in order to disable the enemy forces and weakening its power on the BH territory. At the same time establish contact, co-operation and co-ordination in joint activities against the common enemy together with Croatian people in BiH. On international level the appeal should be sent to the progressive world public to protect BH sovereignty.
4. I have decided, to engage all BH Patriotic League forces, in co-operation with our neighbours, in swift and energetic action, to close off the main routes leading to the territory of BiH, and especially in the valleys of the Drina and Sutjeska rivers. At the same time, along internal axes, set up barrier systems and occupy convenient positions for the defence of the BH people, focusing on the axis leading from the general area of Banja Luka and eastern Herzegovina. With certain forces, in swift and energetic attacks, seize JA depots and dumps of ammunition, MES and weapons, block off barracks, prevent the penetration and spread of enemy operations throughout BiH. Once satisfactory conditions have been created, move to broader offensive operations with the objective of breaking up, destroying and expelling the enemy from the territory of BiH. The main forces should be in central Bosnia, with auxiliary forces in the Cazin-Prijedor and Tuzla sectors.

**Cutileiro's Plan: Proposal of the BH HDZ /Croatian Democratic Union/
 "On the Future Status of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a State"
 (Sarajevo, 25 February 1992)**

**Statement "On the Future Status
 of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a State"**

"At the talks held between representatives of the HDZ, SDA /Party of Democratic Action/ and SDS /Serbian Democratic Party/ on the future status of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state, the HDZ Delegation, which was led by Miro LASIĆ in Lisbon, presented views defining its understanding and acceptance of the future system of government.

"The principal request of the HDZ is preservation of Bosnia and Herzegovina within its historical borders, which are also its current borders, as an independent and sovereign state of the three constituent and sovereign peoples and citizens living in this territory. Pursuant to the proposal of the HDZ, as a multinational community, Bosnia and Herzegovina would be a state with divided sovereignty, part of which would belong to the regional (or cantonal) authorities, and the other part to the central (confederate or federal) government. Each government would be sovereign in its areas.

"Therefore the state-forming peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be sovereign and they would exercise their sovereignty in one or more integral units of the state. Regional or cantonal authorities (the authorities of its integral units) shall be sovereign, except in the part where sovereignty is transferred to the central (state) government. They shall be limited by the federal Constitution, but enjoy all the rights and all the power, except the power which has been delegated by the central government.

"The federal state of Bosnia and Herzegovina should ensure equality and sovereignty of peoples and citizens, the independence of the country, it should protect the freedoms and rights of the regions (or cantons).

“The highest government enactment would be the federal Constitution, which shall establish the state on the principles of equality, parity and consensual decisions on crucial national matters.

“At the top levels of state government the participation of the three peoples shall be based on equality – parity. This principle of equal rights is unalterable and cannot depend on the size of any of these ethnic groups. The composition of the state administration, judiciary, police and the armed forces should be proportional to the composition of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

“Bosnia and Herzegovina has its own single currency. The inalienable right (sovereignty) of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina is total (spiritual and material) communication with the entire body of the Croatian people. With reference to that, the Croats are asking for the right to dual citizenship of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. It should be guaranteed by constitutional law that Bosnia and Herzegovina will not accept or establish state-level relations with other countries which might be against the interests of the Croatian people.

“The regions, cantons, districts or counties shall be established in accordance with the will of the population and inter-ethnic agreement, taking into consideration the Croatian national interest, which is expressed not only through the current ethnic majority status, but also through Croatian historical rights and holy places of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All Croats in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall have their rights protected as stated in Article 2 (3) of the Draft Hague Convention.

“The state-level status model, proposed by the HDZ delegation in Lisbon, has been known and applied in various variations in the world today (United States of America, Switzerland, Belgium and so on). The United States of America have built (since 1787) a federal state in which the citizen is subject to two sovereign jurisdictions, and this model has been adopted by many countries characterised by prominent ethnic and historical differences. In these countries, a sovereign regional (or cantonal) government is established alongside the central (state-level) government. There must be a single legal system and the state must guarantee legal security to each citizen throughout the territory.

“Constitutional matters between the state government and the governments of its integral units should be resolved by a special constitutional court, which would include an impartial element not coming either from Bosnia and Herzegovina or from neighbouring countries. In order for the state-forming model, proposed by the HDZ, to take hold, consent (and verification) of all the three constituent peoples and political parties, which are their legitimate representatives, is necessary.

“The Croatian Democratic Union is not requesting any more rights for the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina other than those it believes also belong to the other constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Assembly of the Serb People in BiH: Decision on proclaiming the
Constitution of the Serb Republic of BiH (Sarajevo, 28 February 1992)**

Pursuant to section IV of the Declaration concerning the proclamation of the Serb People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Assembly of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the session held on 28 February 1992 made the

**Decision
on proclaiming the Constitution of the Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

We hereby proclaim the Constitution of the Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted by the Assembly of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the session held on 28 February 1992.

Number: 02-94/92
28 February 1992
Sarajevo

President of the Assembly
of the Serb People in BiH
Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK

**Final results of the referendum in BIH
(Sarajevo, 9 March 1992)**

Sarajevo, 9 March 1992 (HINA*)– the republic election commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina reported today the final and official results of the republic referendum, held on 29th of February and 1st of March this year, regarding the definition of status of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to data of the municipal election commissions, out of the total number of voters (3,253 847), 64,31% went to referendum and voted, which understands 2,073 568 of the citizens, who are entitled to vote.

Out of the total number of the valid voting slips, 2,061 932 of voters voted “PRO”, which understands 99,44%, while 6,037 of the citizens, that is, 0,29% voted “CONTRA”. There were 5,227 invalid voting slips, that is, 0,25% - as cited in the today’s announcement of the republic election commission from Sarajevo. (Hina)

* Source: HINA, /Croatian News Agency/ Eva database, news HNA3090111:1, 9 March 1992

**Cutileiro's plan; Statement of principles for the new constitutional structure
of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Brussels, 9 March 1992)**

Statement of principles for the new constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina

A. INDEPENDENCE

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina would be a state, composed of a certain number of constituent units, based on national principles and taking into account economic, geographic and other criteria.
2. Bosnia and Herzegovina would continue to have its existing borders and neither the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina nor the governments of the constitutional units will encourage or support claims to any part of its territory by neighbouring states.
3. Sovereignty resides in the citizens of the Muslim, Serb and Croat nations and other nations and nationalities, who realize it through their civic participation in the constituent units and the central organs of the republic.

B. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina and its constituent units would be governed in accordance with the following constitutional principles, as understood and generally practised among the democratic states of Western Europe and as set out in draft convention under discussion in the conference:
 - a) Respect for human rights at the highest standards as envisaged in the draft convention, respect for private ownership, the market economy and free enterprise;
 - b) The general and equal right to vote, free elections and secret voting;
 - c) Freedom for political and trade union activities;
 - d) A secular state system with full religious freedom and separation of church and state, separation of powers between the branches of government, the rule of law and a democratic and effective system of control and protection of constitutionality and legality;
 - e) International control and jurisdiction for the protection of human rights and freedom.

C. THE ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

1. The assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be composed of a chamber of citizens, which would be directly elected, and chamber of constituent units in which each of the constituent units would have an equal number of representatives.
2. The assembly, acting through the chamber of citizens and the chamber of constituent units, and the government, would have competence to legislate, to consider and adjust proposals from the constituent units and to administer in the following fields; central bank and monetary policy, foreign relations, general economic policy, economic relations including transport, energy supplies, pipelines and water management, whereby any of these sectors concerns more than one of the constituent units as well

as the other areas, later decided upon. Decisions concerning the flag and emblem, higher education, religion, macro-economic policy, decisions concerning relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and states neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina and other items to be decided upon, would be decided in the chamber of constituent units by a majority of the total number of the representatives in it. Remark; armed forces and order matters shall be discussed later.

3. The composition of the civil service and the judiciary of Bosnia and Herzegovina would reflect proportionally the national composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
4. In order to resolve constitutional questions between the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the constituent units, a special tribunal would be established, which would, for a period of not less than five years, include impartial elements drawn from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina and its neighbouring states. This tribunal will have only one member from each unit and the same number and one more drawn from outside. It takes decisions by simple majority.

D. THE CONSTITUENT UNITS

1. Within Bosnia and Herzegovina, constituent units would be established, which are defined in part E below.
2. The assembly and the government of the constituent units would have power, subject to any legislation in the limited fields specified above and in accordance with the procedures set out above, to legislate and to administer in matters of concern to the constituent units, namely, the administration of the services and officials of a constituent unit, expropriation of property for public use, land-registries, chambers of commerce, supervision of co-operative trade organizations, saving banks and credit institutions, supervisions of charitable institutions, social security, sickness insurance, conservation of the historic, artistic and cultural heritage, cultural institutions such as libraries, institutes and museums, the use of land, environmental controls, housing, markets, roads, emergency services, mining, hunting and fishing, nature reserves, aqueducts, pipelines, transport within the constituent unit, tourism, agriculture and forests, social assistance, education and schools, police, trade and other aspects of economic policy, security at public performances, hygiene, sport and recreation and other sectors to be decided. Every constituent unit would organize its institutions. The constituent unit can establish and maintain relations with other republics and institutions in that republic, if those relations do not jeopardize the independence and integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina as federal state.
3. All the institutions (civil service, the judiciary, etc), established by a constituent unit would reflect proportionally the national composition of the constituent unit.
4. Members of the nations who would be in the minority in the particular constituent unit would receive protections similar to that in article 2 (3) of the draft convention.

E. DEFINITION OF THE CONSTITUENT UNITS

A working group will be established in order to define the territory of the constituent units, based on national principles and taking into account economic, geographic and other criteria.

F. TRANSITIONAL STEPS

1. The constitutional law to modify the Constitution in order to give effect to these principles will be prepared and submitted to assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina as soon as possible.

Brussels, 9 March 1992

US/EC DECLARATION ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS

Brussels, 10 March 1992

Public statement on the recognition of Yugoslav republics

The Community and its member States and the United States reiterate their strong support for the UN Peace-keeping Plan, for the EC Peace Conference chaired by Lord Carrington and for the key principles underlying the search for a political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis at the EC Conference: no changes in the borders of the Yugoslav republics by force or absent mutual consent, strong protection for human rights and the rights of all national and ethnic groups in all republics.

The Community and its member States and the United States have agreed to coordinate their approaches to completing the process of recognizing those Yugoslav republics that seek independence.

The Community and its member States, bearing in mind its declaration on 16 December 1991, and the United States are agreed:

- (i) that the United States will, in this context, give rapid and positive consideration to the requests for recognition by Croatia and Slovenia in such a way as to support the dual-track approach based on the deployment of the UN peace-keeping force and the European Community Peace Conference chaired by Lord Carrington;
- (ii) that the Community and its member States and the United States will also coordinate their approach to Serbia and Montenegro, which have expressed the wish to form a common state, and lay particular emphasis on their demonstrable respect for the territorial integrity of the other republics and for the rights of minorities on their territory as well as their willingness to negotiate Yugoslav state succession issues at the EC Conference on the basis of the mutual agreement with the other four republics; and
- (iii) that positive consideration should be given to the requests for recognition of the other two republics, contingent on the resolution of the remaining European Community questions relating to those two republics. In this context, they strongly urge all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to adopt without delay constitutional arrangements that will provide for a peaceful and harmonious development of this republic within its existing borders. The Community and its member States and the United States also agreed strongly to oppose any effort to undermine the stability and territorial integrity of those two republics.

CUTILEIRO's Plan: Comments and Proposals of the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina /HDZ BiH/ in connection with the "Statement concerning the Principles of the New Constitutional Organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina"

On the eve of the continued talks between the SDA /Party of Democratic Action/, the HDZ BiH and the SDS BiH/Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina/, on the principles of the new constitutional organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, announced for Thursday, 27 February in Sarajevo, the HDZ BiH sent a memo, signed by the Deputy President of HDZ BiH Mate BOBAN, to Jose CUTILEIRO's at the Secretariat of the Conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels. The memo contained comments and proposals on the text of the "Statement on the Principles of a New Constitutional Order for Bosnia and Herzegovina". Published below are HDZ BiH's comments and proposals in their entirety.

"Following the message outlined in the 'Statement on the Principles of a New Constitutional Organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina', the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina hereby sends the following comments and proposals to the addressee:

A. Independence

1. Following its international recognition, Bosnia and Herzegovina will become an independent state union of three constituent and sovereign peoples in their territories.
2. No comment.
3. Members of the three nations, the Muslims, the Serbs and the Croats, will be granted authentic sovereign rights within the constituent units of the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina and through the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as defined by the constitutional act governing its establishment.

B. General Principles

1. Authorities in the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its constituent territories shall be organised in accordance with the following principles:

A, B, C, D and E no comment.

C. The Assembly and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. No comment.
2. The range of responsibilities (powers) of the Assembly of the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its other organs and their decision-making processes, shall be defined by a constitutional act adopted with the agreement of representatives of the three constituent and sovereign peoples.
3. The composition of the state administration, the judiciary and the armed forces of the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be proportional to the ethnic composition of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
4. A court shall be established to settle disputes between the authorities of the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its constituent units over their respective rights and responsibilities. An impartial body from outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina or any of the neighbouring countries may become part of the Court for a period of no less than five years.

D. Constituent units of Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. Three constituent units, whose territory is defined in chapter E of this text, shall be established within the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
2. The range of responsibilities (powers) of the Assembly and other organs of the constituent units of the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be defined by a constitutional act governing the establishment of the state union of Bosnia and Herzegovina, proceeding from the principles of their authentic sovereignty.
3. The administrative services, the police force, the judiciary and every national guard established by a constituent unit shall reflect the ethnic composition of the constituent unit.
4. No comment.
5. No comment.

E. Definition of constituent units

1. Accepted with the comment that the criteria defining the territories of the constituent units are vague.

F. Temporary Provisions

1. The constitutional agreement of the three constituent and sovereign peoples, on condition it is unanimously adopted by the delegations of all three constituent peoples, will be prepared and submitted for discussion to the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the shortest period possible."

**Cutileiro's plan: Text of the Statement of Principles for new Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Sarajevo, 18 March 1992)**

Statement of Principles for New Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina

A. INDEPENDENCE

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina would be a state, composed of three constituent units, based on national principles and taking into account economic, geographic and other criteria.
2. Bosnia and Herzegovina would continue to have its existing borders and neither the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina nor the governments of the constituent units will encourage or support claims to any part of its territory by neighbouring states.
3. Sovereignty resides in the citizens of the Muslim, Serb and Croat nations and other nations and nationalities, who realise it through their civic participation in the constituent units and the central organs of the republic.

B. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina and its constituent units would be governed in accordance with the following constitutional principles, as understood and generally practised among the democratic states of Western Europe and as set out in draft convention under discussion in the conference:
 - a. Respect for human rights at the highest standards as envisaged in the draft convention, respect for private ownership, the market economy and free enterprise;
 - b. The general and equal right to vote, free elections and secret voting;
 - c. Freedom for political and trade union activities;
 - d. A secular state system with full religious freedom and separation of church and state, separation of powers between the branches of government, the rule of law and a democratic and effective system of control and protection of constitutionality and legality;
 - e. International control and jurisdiction for the protection of human rights and freedom.

C. THE ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

1. The Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be composed of a chamber of citizens, which would be directly elected, and chamber of constituent units in which each of the constituent units would have an equal number of representatives.
2. The Assembly, acting through the chamber of citizens and the chamber of constituent units, and the government, would have competence to legislate, to consider and adjust proposals from the constituent units and to administer in the following fields: central bank and monetary policy, foreign relations, defence, general economic policy, economic relations, including, where any of the following affect more than one constituent unit, transport, energy supplies, pipelines and water management, and other items to be decided. Decisions concerning the flag and emblem, higher education, religion, matters concerning defence, macro-economic policy, important or general matters concerning economic policy, decisions concerning relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and states neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina and other items to be decided would be decided in the chamber of constituent units by a majority of four-fifths of the total number of the representatives in it.

3. The composition of the civil service and judiciary of Bosnia and Herzegovina would reflect proportionally the national composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
4. In order to resolve constitutional questions between the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the constituent units, a special tribunal would be established, which would, for a period of not less than five years, include impartial elements drawn from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina and its neighbouring states. This tribunal will have one member from each unit and the same number and one more drawn from outside. It takes decisions by simple majority.

D. THE CONSTITUENT UNITS

1. Within Bosnia and Herzegovina, constituent units would be established, which are defined in part E below.
2. The Assembly and the government of the constituent units would have power, subject to any legislation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the limited fields specified above and in accordance with the procedures set out above, to legislate and to administer in matters of concern to the constituent units, namely, the administration of the services and officials of a constituent unit, expropriation of property for public use, land registries, fire prevention, chambers of commerce, supervision of cooperative trading organizations, saving banks and credit institutions, supervision of charitable institutions, social security, sickness insurance, conservation of the historic, artistic and cultural heritage, cultural institutions, such as libraries, institutions and museums, the use of land, environmental controls, housing, markets, roads, emergency services, mining, hunting and fishing, nature reserves, aqueducts, water management, pipelines, transport within the constituent unit, tourism, agriculture and forests, social assistance, education schools, police, trade and other aspects of economic policy, security at public performances, hygiene, sport and recreation and other items to be decided. Each constituent unit would organise its own institutions. A constituent unit may establish and maintain relations and links with the other republics and with organizations in them provided that these relations and links are consistent with the independence and integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
3. All the institutions (civil service, the judiciary, etc.) established by a constituent unit would reflect proportionally the national composition of the constituent unit.
4. Members of the nations who would be in a minority in a particular constituent unit would receive protection similar to that in article 2(3) of the draft convention.

E. DEFINITION OF THE CONSTITUENT UNITS

A working group will be established in order to define the territory of the constituent units based on national principles and taking into account economic, geographical and other criteria. A map based on the national absolute or relative majority in each municipality will be the basis of work in the working group, and will be subject only to amendments, justified by the above-mentioned criteria. A copy is annexed to this statement.

F. TRANSITIONAL STEPS

1. Subject to the definition of the constituent units for the purpose of the future arrangements in accordance with part E of this statement, a constitutional law to modify the constitution in order to give effect to these principles will be prepared and submitted to assembly as soon as possible, and will have to be confirmed by a referendum of the people under international supervision.

This paper is the basis of further negotiations.

**Joint statement of the Ministers of foreign affairs of the EC on the
recognition of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Bruxelles, 6 April 1992)**

“The Community and its member states decided to recognize the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as of 7th of April 1992. The implementation measures of this decision shall be taken by each state individually, according to the international practice.

The Community and its member states also decided that the privileges of the positive measures, similar to those, guaranteed to other republics on 2nd of December 1991 and on 10th of January 1992 should be expanded to the Republic of Serbia. The Presidency, Commission and the Chairman of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia have been asked to discuss the implementation conditions of the decision with the Serbian authorities, according to the principles agreed between the Community and its member states.

The Community and its member states are also familiar with the report of its Presidency, related to efforts to achieve the solution of other republic matter. They expect those efforts will soon display results.”

**Dr. Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia:
Decision on the recognition of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent state
(Zagreb, 7 April 1992)**

Mr.
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ
President of the Presidency of
THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

It is with great honour that I inform you that in the capacity of the President of the Republic of Croatia, pursuant to Articles 94 and 99 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, and in keeping with the conclusion of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia of 27 March 1992 and the proposal of the Government of the Republic of Croatia of 6 April 1992, I have adopted the following

**DECISION
on the recognition of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent state**

1. The Republic of Croatia as a sovereign and independent state hereby recognizes the independence and sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia as Herzegovina as a union of its three constituent peoples.

International recognition implies guarantees of the sovereign rights of the Croatian people as one of the three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2. With this act of recognition we at the same time offer dual citizenship to members of the Croatian people who wish it, and propose that this issue be resolved by a bilateral agreement.
3. I propose that the governments of our countries begin talks as soon as possible on the establishment of diplomatic relations and comprehensive cooperation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

In Zagreb, 7 April 1992

President of the Republic of Croatia
Dr. Franjo TUĐMAN

**The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina:
Decision on the Proclamation of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Banja Luka, 7 April 1992)**

**Decision on the Proclamation of the Serbian Republic
of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina has proclaimed in Banja Luka the independence of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which "can enter into unions with other entities in Yugoslavia". According to a statement provided to Tanjug /news agency/ and signed by Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK, the Assembly was informed that Dr Biljana PLAVŠIĆ and Professor Nikola KOLJEVIĆ had submitted their resignations from their positions as members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which only three Muslim and two Croatian representatives remain.

The text of the statement for the session of the Assembly reads:

At a session of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina held in Banja Luka on 7 April 1992, a decision was adopted on the proclamation of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an independent republic, which may enter into unions with other state entities within Yugoslavia, and those created by the decision of other peoples within Bosnia and Herzegovina. The delegates of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina decided upon this step in accordance with their constitutional authority, and as a reply to the unprecedented manipulation of the Muslim people in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the SDA /Party of Democratic Action/ and SDP /Socialist Democratic Party/ leadership, as witnessed yesterday in Sarajevo. In adopting this decision the delegates of the Assembly considered the results of the 9 and 10 November 1991 plebiscite of the Serbian people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the activities so far carried out by and forced upon the Serbian people and their leadership within Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to protect the inalienable rights of that people. The Serbian people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have exercised their right to self-determination and secession.

Information was received at this session of the Assembly that Dr Biljana PLAVŠIĆ and Professor Nikola KOLJEVIĆ had submitted their resignations from their positions as members of the Presidency of the SR /Socialist Republic/ of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was a necessary consequence of the dissolution of the AVNOJ /Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia/ Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the proposal of the prime minister elect of the Government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, another two ministers were chosen and appointed, and the portfolio of Minister for the Economy and Finance was given to Petra MARKOVIĆ from Šipovo, and the portfolio of the Ministry of Roads and Communications was given to Nedeljko LAZIĆ from Bosanski Petrovac.

The delegates of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina decided that if necessary the Assembly would enter permanent session.

Representatives of Croatian and Serbian national community in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Agreement Boban - Karadžić (Graz, 6 May 1992)

Public announcement

Decisive in solving all issues in question by peaceful instruments and agreement, including the fixing the boundaries between two constitutive units, Croatian and Serbian in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the representatives of Croatian and Serbian national community in Bosnia and Herzegovina have confirmed that, in relation to working folder on fixing the boundaries, there are disagreements in the following issues:

1. In the city of Mostar the Serbian party finds that the river Neretva represents the boundary-line while the Croatian party finds that the entire city of Mostar is a part of the Croatian national unit.
2. South of the city of Mostar the Croatian party finds the boundary of Hrvatska Banovina, the area determined in 1939 as a part of the Croatian national unit. The Serbian party views the river Neretva as a boundary line between the Croatian and Serbian unit.
3. Both sides agree to deal with compactness of area and solid communications in fixing boundaries between constitutive units in the area of Kupres, as well as in the area of Bosanska Posavina (Derвента, Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Šamac, Odžak, Orašje, Modrič and Brčko).
4. Both sides are decisive to persist on principles, adopted at the conference of the European community on Bosnia and Herzegovina and related to it, both sides are in concordance with supporting the agreed criteria to define the determination of national territories on disputable and other areas, along with arbitrage of the European community.
5. By this agreement, the reasons to interrupt the Conference of European community on Bosnia and Herzegovina do no longer exist, therefore the both sides ask for urgent continuance of the conference. It is absolutely necessary that the arbitrage fixing boundaries is done by agreed deadline till 15th of May 1992.
6. By the previous agreement, the reasons for armed conflicts between Croats and Serbs on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina do not longer exist. General and permanent truce under control of European community is made public and comes into force on 6th of May 1992 at midnight.

President of the
Serbian State community
Radovan Karadžić

President of the
Croatian National Community
Mate Boban

**The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman
and the President of the Presidency of the RBiH Alija Izetbegović:
Joint statement (Zagreb/Sarajevo, 15 June 1992)**

The President of the Republic of Croatia dr. Franjo TUĐMAN and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, hereby express their wish to meet as soon as possible in order to discuss current issues and future relations between the two sovereign and independent states. Both parties express their regret that, in the current circumstances of an ongoing brutal aggression, in particular against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, President IZETBEGOVIĆ is unable to travel from Sarajevo. Hoping to be able to meet soon, the two presidents have decided to give the following

JOINT STATEMENT

1. Taking into consideration that the Republic of Croatia recognised the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognised the Republic of Croatia, both presidents hereby state that immediate steps need to be taken in order for diplomatic relations to be established at embassy level.

2. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina hereby expresses its gratitude to the Republic of Croatia for providing humanitarian aid and receiving and accommodating a large number of refugees, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina who were forced to abandon their centuries-old homes in the face of inhuman and barbaric attacks of the armed forces from Serbia and Montenegro and the Chetnik forces.

3. The Republic of Croatia has been supporting and assisting Bosnia and Herzegovina in the efforts it has undertaken to preserve its independence and curb the aggression, and will continue to do so in the future. The Republic of Croatia also supports the efforts of the legal Government and the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina to consolidate the defence of the Republic by integrating all arms and components of armed resistance into a unified armed force under the command of the BH Presidency, constituted in the spirit of item 4.

4. Both presidents fully agree that, once the war is over, a political solution to relations within Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on the principle of equality of the three constituent nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, must be found.

5. The President of the Republic of Croatia, dr. Franjo TUĐMAN expresses his support for the efforts made by the international community in order to end the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for the request sent by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the international community for help to be provided and efficient action taken in order to prevent further aggression and stop the war.

6. Both Presidents agree that diplomatic and consular offices of both countries should, mutually and within their jurisdiction, provide all necessary help and services to the citizens of the Republic of Croatia or the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in cases when their own offices are unable to do so. Steps taken as part of such mutual assistance shall be recognised as valid by both states.

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
CROATIA

Dr Franjo TUĐMAN

PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDENCY OF
THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

In Zagreb and Sarajevo, 15 June 1992

**Dr. Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia:
Letter to Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 6 July 1992)**

Dear Mr. President,

In response to your letter no. 4/92 of 5 July 1992, allow me to make the following points:

1. The Republic of Croatia has recognised the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Throughout our conduct we have endeavoured, and continue to endeavour, to abide by this resolution.

We have expressed our readiness to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, and we take this opportunity once again to propose that this be immediately done.

2. The Republic of Croatia cannot be indifferent to the fate of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Like the Muslim people, the Croats in BH are exposed to a war of genocide and conquest by Serbia, Montenegro and the former JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/. In the defence of the vital interests of the Croatian and Muslim people, the Republic of Croatia has willingly offered all the assistance that one sovereign state can offer another in defence against a common enemy. Practically all the humanitarian aid sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina has been transported through the territory and with the assistance of the Republic of Croatia. Irrespective of the very serious economic situation and the huge number of its own displaced persons, the Republic of Croatia has taken in and provided all possible assistance to hundreds of thousands of refugees from BH, for which you personally and the Presidency and the Government of BH have expressed gratitude.
3. The Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina has inflicted an enormous number of victims on both the Muslim and Croatian peoples. The greater part of the aggressor's operations continues to be directed at territories with Croatian majority populations, which is the best proof of the absurdity of the accusation about arrangements being made between Croatian and Serbian representatives to the detriment of the Muslim people.
4. Faced with Serbian aggression, the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina had to organise themselves. Only that way could territories be defended and survival be ensured in conditions where the central government was in effect not functioning.

5. The sense of insecurity was contributed to by certain unitarian and unitarianist tendencies within a segment of the Muslim leadership, which caused Bosnia and Herzegovina to be unprepared for effective defence. Because of this, there appeared among the Croats in BH some initiatives that territories inhabited by Croats should be annexed to the Republic of Croatia. It is well known that the response of the leadership of the Republic of Croatia to that was a recommendation that political solutions be sought together with an end to war through talks between representatives of the three peoples, in accordance with the proposals of the European Community Conference on the organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign state of three constituent peoples.
6. Disagreements between the constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be addressed through political means. We interpret the organisation of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna and the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ as initiatives within the framework of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and only as such do we support them.
7. With regard to your plan to address the Croatian people and explain to them “what is going on”, I am convinced that all the aforesaid is well known to the Croatian people in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, I am increasingly convinced, to the Muslim people too.

**The President of Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Alija Izetbegović : Joint Statement (Helsinki, 8 July 1992)**

The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Alija Izetbegović, and the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tuđman, have met, in accordance with the wish expressed already in their Joint Statement of 15 June 1992, on the occasion of the CSCE Summit held on 8 June 1992 in Helsinki. Also present during the talks were the Ministers of Foreign Affairs Dr. Haris Silajdzic and Prof. Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo, the Head of the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia Mr. Hrvoje Sarinic, and the Foreign Adviser of the President have given the following

Joint Statement

1. In consideration of the fact that both the States have recognized each other, they will establish, as soon as possible, diplomatic relations at embassy level. It has also been decided that the representatives of both Governments should meet as soon as possible to discuss topical questions of interest for both States.
2. In the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbian and Montenegrin forces have launched a new offensive in the immediate vicinity of the border with the Republic of Croatia (Bosanska Posavina), and there have also been continuous attacks of these forces on parts of the Republic of Croatia stretching from Slavonski Brod to Županja. All this is taking place at a time when the attention of the global public is drawn to the events in Sarajevo, where attempts are being made to establish an efficient airlift and an overland corridor to deliver humanitarian aid to the suffering citizens. Because of justified concern for the lives and survival of the citizens of Sarajevo, the continuation of brutal aggression in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and ethnical cleansing operations in the attacked by the aggressor still go unpunished and are being concealed.
3. In view of the foregoing, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia have common interests in the defence of their independence and territorial integrity from Serbian and Montenegrin aggression. Both Presidents have agreed that this common interest should be realized by ways and means envisioned in the United Nations Charter and underlying the Acts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
4. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina appreciates the efforts made by the international community and by the Republic of Croatia in providing help, and in particular the reception and accommodation of a great number of refugees, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
5. Both Presidents reiterate the commitment of their States to the principle whereby, after the cessation of war in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the internal system of this State will be set up democratically on the basis of equality of the three constituent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**CSCE /Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe/:
Speech by Dr. Franjo Tuđman, the President of the RH
/Republic of Croatia/ at the plenary session of the CSCE
(Helsinki, 9 July 1992)**

Croatia has adopted all the principles and values of the CSCE

“Mr President,
Your excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Allow me to express my gratitude to our esteemed hosts – the Government and the people of Finland – for their generous hospitality and the organisation of this meeting. It is my great honour to be in a position to address this highest gathering of the CSCE member countries.

We are faced with a historic responsibility to establish new forms of security and cooperation in the northern hemisphere and to form a new identity for post-communist Europe. Since the first Helsinki meeting in 1975, the area covered by the CSCE has gone through dramatic political and strategic changes. The bipolar world of yesterday has given way to a union of democratic countries that have opted for cooperation and common economic progress. However, they are threatened by these new instabilities. Apart from having expanded the CSCE with new member states, this conference has also accepted a fresh responsibility for the future of this part of the world.

The CSCE accepted fairly quickly the fact of the emancipation of the new democratic countries, and welcomed them into this great family of peoples. The CSCE was the first major international organisation to accept my country as a full member. Nevertheless, the decision to prevent the violation of the basic principles of the CSCE still seems inadequate, especially when it comes to stopping the aggression against the new member states of the CSCE, and preventing the massive suffering of civilians, genocide and the destruction of the cultural heritage and the economic bases of the new states.

Therefore, Croatia assigns great importance to the establishment of the CSCE Forum for Security Cooperation, with a stronger Conflict Prevention Centre, which, we hope, will develop effective mechanisms for conflict prevention and for the peaceful resolution of disagreements.

We particularly support the efforts directed at developing a CSCE peacekeeping mechanism. We also applaud the new authorisation of the CSCE to invite experts and equipment from NATO, from the Western-European Union and the European Community, in order to increase its overall ability to prevent conflict and resolve crisis situations.

Therefore, we would like to applaud the transformation of the CSCE into a regional agreement, in the sense of Article 8 of the United Nations Charter, which will make the CSCE an important link between European and global security.

Croatia shares the conviction of the member states that the basic concept of security must be based on human rights and progress, these being the basic preconditions for stable and lasting peace. Bearing that in mind, we have advocated the strengthening of the human dimension of the CSCE. Exactly for the same reason, and even in the most difficult times of great suffering and destruction caused by the Yugo-communist and Serbian aggression against Croatia, we have built into our Constitution and legislature all the elements of human minority rights, in order to ensure equality and the protection of all citizens of Croatia, and to strengthen our young democratic institutions and the rule of law.

We applaud in particular the solidarity of CSCE with the countries of eastern and central Europe in the period of post-communist transition and transformation. Countries such as Croatia and neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, that are suffering horrific loss of life and huge material destruction especially need such solidarity and help. The expansion of cooperation in economy, science and technology, as envisaged in the final document, will play an important role in the post-war reconstruction and development of Croatia. Therefore, we applaud the establishment of the Economic Forum and we hope that it will give a strong impetus to the economic transformation of those democratic countries that are founded on a market economy and privatisation.

Having joined the CSCE, Croatia has adopted all its principles and values. On behalf of my country, which is one of the youngest members of the CSCE, allow me to reiterate our deepest respect for the principles and decisions of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, as well as the Charter of Paris of 1990.

In that context, allow me to present to you once again, very clearly, the standpoint of my country on neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatia was among the first countries to recognise the sovereignty and the independence of Bosnia Herzegovina, and it fully respects the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatia supports the efforts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of the international community, to preserve its independence and to resist the common enemy. In our Joint Statement of 15th June, the President of the BH Presidency and I fully agreed on seeking a political solution for the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war is over, based on the principle of equality between the three constitutive peoples.

Mr President,
Your excellencies,

Allow me to turn your attention, as a statesman from a small country and as a historian, to what seems to be a lack of understanding for the very important roles of the awakened national awareness of the peoples of eastern and central Europe after the dissolution of the communist system. In the beginning, and in some cases even today, their just struggle for political and national emancipation has been interpreted as “retrograde nationalism”, “autarchic separatism” and “ethnic conflict”.

Allow me to point out that, on the one hand, the processes of European and global integration, and the creation of new states on the other, are only seemingly opposed. Small European and other peoples also strive for civilisational integration, however, they want to reaffirm their cultural and political identity, and to participate as equals in the historic post-war changes in Europe and the world. I would like to say with pride, in this context, that the unprotected but brave Croatian people have contributed considerably to the recognition of the rights of small peoples to their own identity and statehood, and to new relations in Europe.

I truly believe that the role of small countries and peoples in the new structure of international relations in which security is indivisible and equal for all will be the most important test of the new collective security and cooperation. Namely, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of almost all the new democratic states was, or still is, threatened by the remains of the old hegemonistic and communist regimes. These threats span from the unacceptable presence of foreign units, the occupation of territories and the encouragement of internal instability to terrorism and open aggression.

We in Croatia were aware from the very moment of the creation of a free and democratic state after the multi-party elections, that the transformation of the communist system into a parliamentary democracy and a market economy would be a long and painful process, especially in a multi-national community. It is for that reason that we tried to overcome the ever-increasing asymmetry of the political systems and the efforts to halt the inevitable democratic changes in the former Yugoslavia through negotiation and by recommending a confederacy of sovereign republics. We honestly wanted to, and still want to resolve all disputes by political means and based on the rules set by the international community.

My country, as well as neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, paid the highest price for the failure and the breakdown of the communist system in Europe and the breakdown of the multi-national Yugoslav federation.

The war and the humanitarian disaster in the former Yugoslavia are the greatest challenges to the new European order today. The aggression of Serbia and Montenegro against their neighbouring states is a crime against peace, a crime against humanity and an historical anachronism. It is also a very serious threat to the system of collective security, because it can spread to other countries. Any further tolerance of the aggression would endanger the very foundations of the new European and global order and create possibilities for the restoration of a totalitarian regime.

Therefore, this barbarian war of territorial conquests and the human tragedy in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina must be stopped without delay, with a decisive and collective action against the Serbian and the Montenegrin aggressors, in order to re-establish peace and create the conditions for a permanent and fair political solution. That is, indeed, the most important test of our capability and our will to act to defend the principles and values of the CSCE.

In the name of the innocent casualties of war, in the name of the hundreds of thousands of expelled people and refugees I would like to ask you all for your help, for peace. Let us do everything we can to make this the last war on European soil.

Finally, allow me to reassure you that Croatia will contribute fully to regional security and cooperation in south-eastern and central Europe, and the Mediterranean, within the principles and values of the CSCE and within the new collective security and integration throughout the CSCE area.

Thank you, Mr President!"

**The Government of the Republic of BiH
Opinions on the administrative and territorial structure of
Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 16 July 1992)**

The Platform adopted by the BH Presidency establishes that in the administrative and territorial sense, the Republic of BiH would be organised as a decentralised state, on the principles of a parliamentary, civic democracy. Its administrative and territorial units (regions) would be formed on the basis of four criteria: (1) economic, (2) cultural, (3) historical and (4) ethnic. Having accepted the task of drafting the entire concept of the administrative and territorial organisation of the Republic on the basis of these criteria, the Government of the Republic of BiH considered the results of a study of existing experience with administrative and territorial systems. In accordance with this, it adopted the principles of further development and legal regulation of an administrative and territorial system at its meetings held on 12 and 16 July 1992.

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina is an organic unity of diversity.

The decentralisation of the state authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be come about by respecting the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina, being a culturally, historically and politically distinct entity, is not just the sum of its diversities. On the contrary, it is an organic association of various politically, religiously and nationally distinct entities. The decentralisation of the state authorities would be carried out in accordance with that, through the municipalities and regions, in order to ensure that the natural, economic, cultural, historical, ethnic and political factors of the unity of diversity act as freely and harmoniously as possible. Any organisation of such administrative and territorial units in Bosnia and Herzegovina that would endanger this principle of unity of diversity, characteristic of the entire Republic, is not acceptable.

2. Recognising the historical experience of the development of the Republic /and of/ the existing gravitational centres

The principle of decentralising the state authorities cannot be carried out without respect for historical events that influenced the formation of a large number of regional centres during their long existence. Accordingly, a minimum of four regions can exist in the Republic of BiH, with administrative centres in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka and Tuzla. The regions, shaped according to these principles, are founded on natural, economic, cultural and historical reasons, regardless of their number. They would simultaneously reproduce the essence of the Republic of BiH, in which all citizens and peoples are equal. The relationship between the institutions of authority

on state, regional and municipal level would be based on the principle of the integrity of the legal order, economic efficiency and the equality of all citizens and peoples.

3. The regions would act as a factor of balanced economic development

The restoration of private ownership, as precondition for free enterprise and a market economy, would take place on the basis of the Constitution and laws, with full respect for the experiences of the developed world. An unnatural demographic change has occurred in the relationship between town and village in the existing regional centres, to the detriment of living and working in a village. This has caused many social tensions, which manifest themselves by having a negative influence on economic, cultural and political life in the Republic. Therefore, the regions would help to bring about equality in conditions of life and work in cities and villages.

4. The organisation of power in the municipalities, regions and the Republic is based on the standard protection of the individual

It is not possible to organise administrative and territorial units in the Republic based on the exclusive application of the ethnic criterion. Therefore, the right of the individual would be the focus of standard legal solutions, and all other rights, including the rights of peoples, would be based on that. Such a stance would confirm the general historical experience of co-existence in BiH, as do the results of all multidisciplinary research conducted so far in this area. Political, religious and national uniqueness in the Republic could be expressed in all forms of organisation which do not exclude the same rights of others, and would not endanger the development of the BH model of unity of diversity. All the peoples of BiH would have the right and the possibility to protect and develop their language, their national culture, upbringing and education, based on their cultural and historical heritage, at all levels of administrative and territorial organisation of the state.

The research indicates that there is a need for certain changes in the territorial structure of the municipalities. However, that is possible, and after the war is over it will be necessary to work on this, namely, to establish a single and stable democratic authority throughout the Republic, with due respect for acquired knowledge, and in order to optimise local government.

5. The effort to join ethnic rights and “ethnic territories” as part of the Republic is generating conflict and instability

Every attempt to designate administrative and territorial units based only on ethnic criteria in the single territory of the Republic of BiH is contrary to the cultural-historical, economic and political essence of the Republic of BiH. The present balance of numbers in the municipalities, regions and the entire Republic cannot be the source of one people having more rights than another. The cultural and historical background of all three peoples of BiH is inseparably connected to the entire territory of BiH. The encouragement of ideology and programmes of ethnic cleansing of territories are the main sources of aggression and terrorism against the Republic of BiH.

6. Bosnia and Herzegovina and its regions would establish links with the neighbouring countries and regions

While respecting natural, economic, cultural, historical and ethnic differences, the Republic would establish links with other countries. The individual regions of BiH could also do this with regions from other countries, in accordance with inter-state contracts. These links cannot be contrary to the integrity and the interests of the Republic as a whole, or to any of the peoples living there.

7. The competencies of the Republic are based on a unified system of state authorities

The fundamental constitutional and legal relations in the Republic must be regulated on the basis of a unified legislative, judicial and executive power in the entire territory of the Republic, with thorough decentralisation into regions and municipalities. That would, in particular, mean that the Republic:

- has a single defence and internal affairs;
- has a single policy of international relations;
- has a single legal system, and
- is based on a market economy and has an efficient economic system with a single monetary institution and currency.

The powers of the municipalities, regions and of the Republic would be specified in constitutional solutions, presented as the Platform of the Presidency and in this document, while respecting and protecting civil and human rights, and those of the equal peoples of BiH. A decision would be adopted on this, while respecting the principle of each citizen's right to direct and democratic expression.

REMARK: The drafting of the above principles will be done by expert groups.

**Agreement on friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
and the Republic of Croatia**

Zagreb, 21 July 1992

The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović, and the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr Franjo Tuđman, have concluded, after the talks between the delegations of the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia held in Zagreb on July 21, 1992, 1992, the following

**Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
and the Republic of Croatia**

The President of Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and President of the Republic of Croatia;

In consideration of the common interests of their countries in the protection of their independence and territorial integrity;

Seriously concerned about the continuing aggression by the rest of the Yugoslav People's Army of the former socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Serbian and Montenegrin regular and irregular military forces, against their areas;

Accepting the Resolutions of the United Nations Security Council No. 752 (1992) of July 15, 1992, No. 757 (1992) of May 30, 1992, No 758 (1992) of June 8, 1992, No. 760 (1992) of June 18, 1992, No. 761 (1992) of June 29, 1992, No. 762 (1992) of June 30, 1992 and No. 764 (1992) of July 13, 1992;

Accepting the opinions presented so far by the Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia, and in particular the opinions concerning the termination of existence of the former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, the need to terminate the membership of the latter in international organizations, and the principles to be followed in the solution of succession issues;

Aware of the need for agreement in resolving issues of vital importance for their mutual cooperation and joint opposition to aggression;

Have agreed as follows:

1. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the Republic of Croatia have agreed that the future state system of Bosnia and Herzegovina will proceed from the principle of full equality of the three constituent nations: Muslims, Croats and Serbs. The constitutional-political system of the country will be based on constituent units in the establishment of which due account will be taken of national, historical, cultural, economic, traffic and other elements.
2. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia will cooperate and come to agreement, proceeding from the respect of their particular interests and aware of the linked interests of the two countries, in matters of economic and financial cooperation, industrial and power supply cooperation, water resource use and protection of the environment, cooperation in the restoration of life in their areas, solution of property questions affecting physical and legal persons of one state in the other state, coordination of social activities in the two states, particularly in the sphere of labour and welfare policies, health, education, science, culture and physical culture, scientific and technical cooperation, cultural and educational cooperation, information, and in matters of region.
3. The state delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina express their gratitude to the Republic of Croatia for having received and provided for refugees from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina beyond the capacity of the Republic of Croatia.

Faced with the pressing problem of massive persecution, particularly of the Muslim and Croat population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia will cooperate in providing for refugees in the Republic of Croatia and other countries, collection of humanitarian and financial aid, construction of refugee centres in safe zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the return of refugees from the Republic of Croatia to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A separated protocol on cooperation will be signed for the purpose.

4. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia will also cooperate, proceeding from their common and particular interests, in the sphere of internal affairs and justice.
5. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the Republic of Croatia have agreed that they will, in order to sustain past cooperation, regularly meet at least twice a year, and that their Governments and individual ministries will meet periodically in order to examine the results achieved and possible outstanding issues, and endeavour to resolve all such issues as soon as possible within the scope of their decision making authority and/or to refer their proposals for the solution of such issues to other competent governmental bodies.
6. The armed component of the Croatian Defence Council (Hrvatsko Vijeće obrane) is an integral part of the united armed forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Croatian Defence Council will have its representatives in the joint command of the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Provisional civil authorities established in war-time conditions within the scope of the Croatian Defence Council will be made to conform, as soon as possible, with the constitutional-juridical system of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and talks pertaining to this matter will be initiated immediately in the spirit of the principles stated in Point 1 of this Agreement.

7. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia will reciprocally allow their citizens to acquire dual citizenship.
8. In consideration of the continuing aggression of the Serbian and Montenegrin military forces against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also largely against the Republic of Croatia from the contiguous areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the Republic of Croatia call upon the international community, and in particular the United Nations, the European Community and the United States of America, to take real and efficient steps to vigorously stop the aggression against their States, to prevent further loss of human life, persecution and expulsion of their citizens and the destruction of property.

With this objective in mind both States will sustain their past successful cooperation and continuous coordination of the defensive activities in the contiguous zones of the two States.

Aware of the fact that both States are threatened, unless aggression against them is urgently stopped, by further destruction and annihilation of their state entity and integrity, the two states will, should the efforts of the international community remain ineffective, take all necessary steps in order to establish broader cooperation in the military sphere and coordinate military operations in order to definitively repel the danger threatening them.

9. The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the Republic of Croatia have agreed to have a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two States at embassy level signed immediately.
10. The Governments of the two States will organize, within the shortest possible time, and as required, meetings and meetings of the ministries of the two States, in order to conclude agreements deriving from this Agreement in their sphere of competence.

In Zagreb, 21st July 1992

President of the Republic of Croatia

DR. FRANJO TUDJMAN

President of the Presidency of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC

**Presidency of RBiH: Decree on the armed forces of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 6 August 1992)**

Pursuant to Amendment LI, item 5, paragraph 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the BH Presidency passed the following

**Decree Law on changes and amendments to the Decree Law on the Armed
Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Article 1

Article 2 of the Decree Law on the Armed Forces of BiH (*Official Gazette of BH*, numbers 4/92, 7/92 and 9/92), is being changed to the following:

“The armed forces of the Republic are constituted by the Army of the Republic (hereinafter: the Army).

Units of the Croatian Defence Council and other armed units that place themselves under the single command of the Army are an integral part of the Army.

Apart from the Army, in a state of war, the armed forces are constituted by the police, company security and the security of other legal entities, customs units and other border organs, all of which are resubordinated to the single command of the armed forces”.

Article 2

A new paragraph 3 is added after paragraph 2 in Article 11, reading, “In a state of war, the Presidency of the Republic may transfer certain tasks of the command and control of the Army under Article 9, item 11 of this Decree to the commanders of the units and institutions of the Army and to Defence Staff commanders”.

The present paragraph 3 will become Article 4.

Article 3

In Article 15, paragraph 5 of the Decree is being changed to the following:

“When forming the units and institutions of the Army, and when manning the Army with soldiers, officers and professionals, care will be taken to ensure the equal

representation of all constituent peoples and representatives of other peoples in the Republic”.

Article 4

In Article 36 of the Decree, the words, “combined in the Republic’s Territorial Defence” are being changed to, “placed themselves under the single command of the Army of the Republic”.

Article 5

In Article 37 of the Decree, the words “Territorial Defence” are being replaced with the word “the Army”.

Article 6

In Article 39 of the Decree the word “sides” is being replaced with the word “forces”.

Article 7

This Decree shall enter into force of the day of its publication and shall be published in the *Official Gazette of BiH*.

PR Number: 1266/92
6 August 1992
Sarajevo

President
of the BiH Presidency
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

BH Presidency: The constitutional principles of the internal structure of the Republic of BiH (Sarajevo, 16 August 1992)

The joint commission of the Government and the Presidency of the Republic of BiH to draft a platform for participation in the international conference on the former Yugoslavia

The Drafting Group of the platform on political and constitutional principles of the internal structure of BiH

Political and constitutional principles of the internal structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a sovereign and independent state of its citizens, its constitutive and equal peoples, the Muslims, Serbs and Croats, and of other peoples who live there.

Due to its multinational composition, the Republic of BiH is the historically common state of its constitutive and equal peoples, the Muslims, Serbs and Croats, and of the other peoples living there. Apart from their individual national interests, the peoples also have interests that follow from centuries-long life together and the ethnical mix in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2. The Republic would be constituted on the principles of a parliamentary civic democracy, which, similarly to other countries in Europe and elsewhere, implies human rights and freedoms, a market economy, a multi-party system, pluralism of ownership and the principle of the division of power into legislative, executive and judicial.
3. The internal structure of the Republic is based on the idea of regional autonomy and local self-government. The regions are established on economic, cultural, historic and ethnic criteria. The regions would have autonomy in structuring and organising economic and cultural progress. The autonomous regions would set up their own assemblies, which consist of a chamber of citizens and a chamber of the peoples. The powers of the organs of the autonomous regions are determined by the Constitution and the law. The historic and cultural characteristic of the region is expressed through the autonomous organisation of educational, cultural and informative institutions. Several autonomous regions would be established in the Republic, decided upon by the citizens and the peoples at a referendum.

It is possible to establish several autonomous regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina based on economic, historic, cultural and ethnic criteria.

The creation of the following regions is considered an optimum solution based on historic continuity and scientific information: Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Mostar, Zenica, Doboje, Bihać, Gorazde and Trebinje.

The city of Sarajevo would have special status. The territorial organisation of the municipalities within the regions is based on ethnic, cultural and economic criteria. The new territorial organisation of the municipalities will primarily respect economic, cultural and ethnic criteria.

4. The state is sovereign in its entire territory, which is determined by its unique borders, recognised by the international community. The bases of the economic and the political system, a standard system of authority, national defence, security and the monetary system are part of the competences of the central state organs.
5. The Assembly of the Republic of BiH is the legislative organ. It is composed of two chambers: the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Peoples.

The Chamber of Citizens represents the citizens of the state as a whole, and the citizens elect its members through direct secret ballot. It has the authority to decide on all issues within the competence of the Assembly, except for those that relate directly to the equality of the constitutive peoples. Decisions in this Chamber are passed by a majority of votes.

The Chamber of Peoples is composed of representatives of the three constitutive peoples, the Muslims, Serbs and Croats. It is authorised to decide on issues that relate directly to the equality of the constitutive peoples, as determined in the Republic's Constitution.

Decisions in this Chamber are passed by _____.

6. The national rights and the national equality of Croats, Muslims and Serbs is guaranteed by the Constitution and laws.

National equality in the Republic is ensured through the election of an equal number of representatives for all three constitutive peoples in the Chamber of Peoples of the Republican Assembly and the Republican Presidency (principle of parity), and through consensual decision-making in all these organs.

The principle of parity applies during the election of the Government, the Constitutional Court, the chiefs of main and district staffs of the armed forces,

judges in the Supreme Court, diplomatic representatives and the managing boards of public enterprises and institutions (alternative).

The principle of the equal participation of all nations and nationalities in exercising authorities is also implemented in the organs of regions and municipalities, which is ensured through the adequate instruments incorporated in the Constitution, the laws and other regulations.

The group that prepared the text:

Dr Mirko PEJANOVIĆ, member of the BH Presidency – group coordinator;

Dr Miodrag SIMOVIĆ, Deputy Prime Minister of the BH Government;

Sahbaz DŽIHANOVIĆ, Secretary of the BH Government;

Dr Ćazim SADIKOVIĆ, prof.

Dr Mustafa IMAMOVIĆ, prof.

Dr Zdravko GREBO, prof.

Dr Ismet DAUTBAŠIĆ, prof.

Mariofil LJUBIĆ, Vice-President of the BH Assembly

Avdo ĆAMPARA, General Secretary of the BH Assembly

Mile AKMADŽIĆ, General Secretary of the BH Presidency

Ranko NIKOLIĆ, Minister of Justice and Administration

Hakija TURAJLIĆ, Deputy Prime Minister of the BH Government

(the text was completed on 16 August 1992, in preparation for the London Conference between 26 and 28 August)

**London Conference: Presentation of document which representatives of the
Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina will take to London
(Belgrade, 21 August 1992)**

The document which the representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina will take to the London Conference, the draft "constitutional agreement of Bosnia and Herzegovina" on future relations of the three peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina was presented in Belgrade today, Belgrade Radio reported.

The document of Serbian representatives at the London Conference says that the so-called Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina agrees that the other two ethnic communities establish a federation of states of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the framework of the existing outer borders, while the inner borders should be resolved at the conference in London.

The so-called Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina rejects the "territorial aspirations of neighbouring states to its territory and proposes a complete ceasefire and UNPROFOR supervision of the truce," the document goes on to say.

It also proposes signing of an agreement on the return of refugees, free movement of civilians and talks between the representatives of the ethnic communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Presidency and Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Adopted stands of the BH delegation on the London Conference (Sarajevo, 22 August 1992)

The Stands of Bosnia and Herzegovina in London

A joint session of the Presidency and Government of BiH adopted the stands of the delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Conference on Yugoslavia in London. The session was attended by representatives of parliamentary parties of Bosnia and Herzegovina and was held as part of the work of the BH Assembly.

As it was said during the debate, the BH delegation must have a stand on the future order of the state since there can be no stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina without answering this question. According to the adopted stand of the BH Presidency and Government, BiH will be a decentralised state with developed regional and local self-government, and sovereignty of its citizens and equality of its nations.

It also says that it must be explained in London that ethnic communities “never existed as constitutional categories” and that territorial delineation of ethnic cantons is impossible. According to the stand adopted today, the equality of nations will be ensured by a bicameral Assembly and parity in the organs of government at the republican level.

Another very important issue on which the BH delegation requested a clear stand for the London Conference was how to achieve peace. “The peace talks may succeed only by respecting all resolutions of the UN Security Council on the aggression against BiH, particularly Resolution 752 on the withdrawal of the aggressor and heavy weapons from the territory of BiH”. Alongside with this, the London Conference will be asked to establish checkpoints at roads leading to Serbia and Montenegro in order to prevent fresh aggressor weapons and troops from coming to BiH, and this would require fewer than 1,000 soldiers.

Bosnia and Herzegovina will insist on punishment of persons responsible for the aggression, genocide and war crimes in BiH, envisaging broad amnesty for all those who were not directly responsible for the crimes. One of the requests which will be presented at the London Conference includes the return of looted property because whole factories have been dismantled and taken to Serbia, as well as payment of war reparations.

**SDA/Party of Democratic Action/ and
HDZ/Croatian Democratin Union/ BiH:
Joint announcement from the meeting in Međugorje
(Međugorje, 27 August 1992)**

**Conclusions from the joint meeting of SDA and HDZ BiH officials,
dated 27 August 1992 in Međugorje**

The Bosnian-herzegovinian newspapers agency BH Press transmitted today the text of conclusions from the meeting of SDA and HDZ BiH officials, held on 27th of August this year in Međugorje. On behalf of SDA, the conclusions were signed by Doctor Ismet Hadžiosmanović, Muhamed Cero and Ćamil Salaković, while on behalf of HDZ, by Doctor Milenko Brkić, Mariofil Ljubić, Ivan Markešić and Željko Ćosić. In the preamble of the conclusions it is said that the accepted conclusions are in function of the implementation of the Friendship agreement, as well as the cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed by the President Tuđman and President Izetbegović.

After the thorough analysis of the agreement, further cited in the preamble, the conclusions are accepted and proposed to the Presidency of BiH. The first conclusion emphasizes that the constitutional-political arrangement of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be founded on the constituent units, whereby the natural, historical, ethnical, economic, demographic, transport and other principles would be respected. As proposed to the BiH Presidency within this conclusion, the Presidency should create 4 constituent units, which would consist of several regions.

In the second conclusion, as transmitted by the BH Press, the joint commission proposes that the War Presidency becomes the legislative power in BiH, whereby the War Government would have the executive power. According to the conclusion, the War Government would consist of representatives of the winning parties, that is, SDA and HDZ, upon the principles of parity. The Presidency and the government would decide on the foreign affaires matters, defence, monetary policy, general economic and economic relations as well as on all other issues, referring to two or more constituent units, such as transport, energetic matters, mail matters, water supplies and others.

At the republic level, unique armed forces, consisting of HVO and BH Army members would be established, having the joint parity command. Till the new democratic elections

in the constituent units, the BiH Presidency Regulation would summarize that the legislative body and the constituent unit assembly consist of representatives of the municipal war presidencies.

The executive power in the constituent units should be organized upon the proportional principle, that is, upon the election results of the winning parties. Assemblies and governments of the constituent units would have jurisdiction in the land-registries, space planning, residence matters, ecology, health and social insurance, social care, supervision of charitable institutions, education, science, culture, sports, recreation, protection of historical heritage, monitor duty and citizens safety, trade and tourism, agriculture and forestry, hunting and fishing, fire prevention, protection of national goods, transport within the constituent units, pipelines and aqueducts, mining, water supplies, electricity supplies, judiciary and general administration.

The legislative bodies of the constituent units will specify the number of jurisdiction by their regulations – as cited in the third conclusion from the meeting of the SDA and HDZ representatives. Pursuant to next conclusion, the legislative power in the municipalities consists of legally elected assemblies and the war Presidencies, elected by those assemblies. In the municipalities, where, due to the war, the legally elected legislative power was obstructed or suspended and temporary civil power established, where possible, the civil power shall be re-established as assembly or war Presidency. In the municipalities where the conditions are complicated, the war Presidencies shall be established by the party agreement, following the creation of space; those presidencies will appoint their executive bodies.

At the end of conclusions from the joint meeting of the SDA and BH HDZ officials, held on 27th of August in Međugorje, one claims that the BH Presidency shall start the realization of these conclusions immediately after consulting the regulations and legal acts.

Office of the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Statement on the Međugorje Agreement (Sarajevo, 9 September 1992)

Sarajevo, 9 September (HINA /Croatian News Agency/) – Following the publication of reports by the working groups of the Party of Democratic Action /SDA/ and the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina /HDZ BiH/, which worked on finding solutions to open military and political questions on the ground in Međugorje in late August, the Office of the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ issued a statement this evening, which was reported by BH Radio.

“These were party commissions which discussed other matters as well and they offered one view of the future constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” said the statement. Among other things, the statement says that the BH Presidency was given a report on the work of these groups but that it “neither initiated the work of the commissions nor had anything to do with it.” According to the statement, President IZETBEGOVIĆ was informed about the work of the SDA and HDZ BiH commissions “in an informal conversation during his last visit to Zagreb”. “The map of regional organisation of BiH which was included in the report, regardless of its good and bad sides, was obviously not made solely according to ethnic principles,” says the statement from the Office of the President of the Presidency of BiH as reported by BH Radio, adding that the “map should be viewed critically, alongside other proposals of this kind.”

**Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia:
Annex to the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation
(New York, 21 September 1992)**

The President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija IZEETBEGOVIĆ, and the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Franjo TUĐMAN, proceeding from the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia of 21 July, and following talks between the delegations of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia which were held on 21 September 1992 in New York during the 47th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations,

Mindful of the importance of the mutual interests of their countries in the protection of their independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, seriously concerned about the continuation of aggression by the remainder of the Yugoslav People's Army of the former SFRJ /Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia/ and Serbian and Montenegrin military regular and irregular forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and considering that the remainder of the so-called JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/ of the former Yugoslavia is still occupying territory of the Republic of Croatia to the south of Dubrovnik, that Serbian forces are attacking territory of the Republic of Croatia from the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that a part of the Serbian irregular detachments in Croatia, disguised as local police, are offering resistance to UNPROFOR which is implementing the peace plan of Cyrus VANCE;

Proceeding from the basic principles of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations which guarantees the legitimate right to self defence of sovereign states;

Welcoming the peace operation and humanitarian efforts of the United Nations;

Welcoming Resolution 777 of the Security Council of the United Nations and Resolution 47/1 of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the cessation of membership of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Prepared to continue to implement the conclusions of the London Conference and the relevant Resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations, and to actively promote the Geneva peace processes:

have agreed to sign:

ANNEX TO THE AGREEMENT
ON FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
AND THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

1. The diplomatic, political and humanitarian efforts of the international community have so far failed to stop the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, sovereign members of the UN. Neither did they alleviate the sufferings of the civilian population to any great extent. Hence the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia demand of the international community to take vigorous action to protect it from the aggression, in keeping with the provisions of Chapter VII of the UN Charter.
2. Once more we underline the need to increase efforts in order find a political solution to end the war and to further the principle of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an equal and integral community of three constituent peoples.
3. In keeping with the right to self-defence and to joint defence from aggression, a joint Committee will be set up in order to harmonize defence efforts, until the aggression stops completely.
4. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia will jointly seek the lifting of the embargo on the import of arms into the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, prescribed by Resolution 713 of the Security Council of the United Nations.
5. We will consistently and faithfully promote the policy of protection for human rights, seek out and punish war criminals, in particular the perpetrators of genocide, in keeping with customary and codified international law.

The Government of Republika Srpska and the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina: Protocol on Cooperation (Banja Luka, 22 September 1992)

**PROTOCOL
on Cooperation Between the Governments of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina**

On 22 September 1992 a joint meeting of the governments of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina was held in Banja Luka, attended by the Prime Ministers Branko Đerić and Zdravko Zečević.

Cooperation between the two republics in all areas of economic and social life was discussed. Agreement was reached regarding all the matters reviewed.

I

The talks proceeded from the fact that one nation lived in the territory of the two republics, traditionally bound by the same customs, religion and language and that there was never in history any real state border between them. But with the break-up of Yugoslavia, which was a state shared by all Serbian people, attempts are being made to divide the Serbs without recognising their right to self-determination and organisation of their own state.

The war that is raging unabated in these areas, and whose main goal is the extermination of the Serbian people, and international political and economic blockade, have made it necessary for the two republics to rely on each other.

II

The Government of both republics will analyse all current constitutional and legislative decisions through the relevant ministries and propose to the Assemblies whatever needs to be coordinated. This particularly refers to the establishment of the same form of government and a political system (identical parliamentary structure, the same way of regulating a multi-party election system, the matter of ownership and so on), establishment of the same state symbols.

III

Both sides agreed that there would be no border or border crossings between the republics. Trade between business partners shall not be encumbered with customs duty.

Customs records and formalities for trade with the SR /Federal Republic of/ Yugoslavia and foreign countries shall be done jointly by the by the Republika Srpska customs.

IV

Details regarding financial transactions and relations between the national banks and their relation to the National Bank of Yugoslavia shall be regulated by a payments agreement.

V

Both governments hereby instruct the relevant ministries to compile a detailed analysis of current industrial resources, changes in the conditions, possibilities and deadlines for their revival, procurement of production materials and marketing of finished products.

Priority will be to re-open sections of the Benkovac – Bijelina road for traffic, the railroad line, a single electric power transmission system will be ensured and a joint public enterprise established for the supply of petroleum and oil derivatives.

A joint concept of future economic development will be established, taking into consideration treatment and methods of privatisation, demographic, local, regional-urban and other forms of development.

VI

In war and in all other instances where the interests of the Serbian people are at risk, defence of the sovereignty, independence, territory and constitutional system of both republics shall be jointly organised and carried out, by organising and developing a single air force, anti-aircraft defence, forming joint forces for guarding the state borders and establishing a single command.

In order to provide for an effective defence, measures and solutions in development plans, defence plans and other documents shall be coordinated. The necessity and option of relocating special purpose industry to safe locations and starting up production shall be reviewed immediately.

MUP /Ministry of the Interior/organs shall cooperate in matters of state and public security, the exchange of information and provision of legal assistance. Replenishment and engagement of police units shall be planned jointly.

VII

Cooperation of both republics in the area of education, science and culture should be the principal factor in the spiritual bonding of a people for the moment living in two states.

This primarily implies establishing a single education system, planning a network of post-secondary schools and university departments, cooperation in the area of publishing, film and theatre companies, libraries, galleries, artists' associations, scientific institutes and archives, sport and physical education.

VIII

Cooperation in the area of health care and social welfare implies, first of all, construction of a system of health care and health insurance on the same principles, which will make these systems compatible, adaptability and closer ties in provision of health care and social welfare and full validity of health care documents and personal health insurance documents in both republics.

Both republics will especially help each other to provide care for the wounded and sick in the war operations zone, organise joint medical supply, collection and distribution of medicines and medical material through humanitarian organisations, organise and conduct preventive medical care and so on.

Both governments particularly stress the importance of establishing a single information system with an elaborate programme structure, which would make free flow of information possible. Technical equipment will be used to technically unite radio and TV broadcasting. *Srpski Glas* /Serbian Voice/ from Banja Luka and the *Javnost* /Public/ weekly will become joint newspapers.

Conditions will be created making it possible for the news agencies from both republics to become a single agency.

X

The relevant ministries, public enterprises, national banks and public auditing services shall be responsible for achievement of cooperation in all areas defined by this protocol.

XI

This protocol shall take effect immediately.

THE GOVERNMENT
OF REPUBLIKA SRPSKA

Number: _____

Date: 22 September 1992

PRIME MINISTER:

Branko ĐERIĆ

THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA

Number: _____

Date: 22 September 1992

PRIME MINISTER:

Zdravko ZEČEVIĆ

**London Conference : Text of the Joint Declaration of the
President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman
and the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić
(Geneva, 30 September 1992)**

**The Joint Declaration of the President of the Republic of Croatia
Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Federal Republic of
Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić**

Meeting under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in Geneva, the undersigned Presidents wish to announce the following:

1. The two Presidents reaffirmed the commitments of the International Conference in London on the inviolability of existing borders, other than through changes reached by peaceful agreement, and agreed to intensify work towards the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, on the basis of mutual recognition. All questions concerning succession to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be resolved within the framework of the International Conference, or, as appropriate, bilaterally.
2. Authorities of the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in close collaboration with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), will undertake urgent, joint measures to ensure the peaceful return to their homes in the United Nations Protected Areas of all persons displaced therefrom who so wish. To that end they propose the prompt establishment of a quadripartite mechanism - consisting of authorities of the Government of Croatia, local Serb representatives, representatives of UNPROFOR and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) - to assure that this process moves forward. Equally, Serb and Croat people formerly residing on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should have the right to return in peace to their former homes. Agreement was reached with regard to more resolute action concerning the return of displaced persons to their homes, and to allowing for a voluntary and humane resettlement of those persons wishing to do so between the two States.
3. The two Presidents agree that the Yugoslav Army will leave Prevlaka by 20 October 1992 in accordance with the Vance Plan. Security in the area will be

resolved by demilitarization and the deployment of United Nations monitors. The overall security of Boka Kotorska and Dubrovnik will be resolved through subsequent negotiations.

4. The two Presidents agree to establish a Joint Interstate Committee for the consideration of all open issues and for the normalization of relations between the sovereign Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In order that a durable peace may be established as soon as possible, particular attention will be given to normalizing traffic and economic links.
5. The two Presidents confirm their conviction that all problems between their two States must be settled peacefully. They pledge their best efforts to this end. In that connection, they will exert all their influence towards a just, peaceful solution of the current crisis enveloping Bosnia and Herzegovina.
6. The two Presidents declare their total condemnation of all practices related to "ethnic cleansing", and commit themselves to helping reverse that which has already happened. They also declare that all statements or commitments made under duress, particularly those relating to land and property, are wholly null and void. They urge all concerned parties to cooperate fully, promptly and unconditionally with current efforts, in particular by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and UNHCR, to free all detainees, close all detention centres, and assure safe passage of former detainees to secure and safe areas. They further urge all parties to facilitate the safe delivery of all humanitarian assistance.
7. The two Presidents welcome the early stationing of international observers on airfields in their respective countries as a confidence-building measure.
8. The two Presidents agree to meet again on 20 October with the Co-Chairmen. They express their gratitude to the Co-Chairmen for convening today's meeting.

**BH Presidency: Order of the President of the BH Presidency Alija Izetbegović
to lift the blockade of the city of Sarajevo
(Konjic, 16 October 1992)**

**PRESIDENCY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Office of the President**

Due to demonstrated need and pursuant to my responsibility and powers as the President of the National Defence Council and the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I hereby adopt the following

ORDER

1. The Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the BH Army and the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/) shall immediately begin preparations to lift the blockade of the city of Sarajevo by military means (in all future documents: the Sarajevo Operation, abbreviated to: Operation "S"). The Operation shall be prepared and carried out in the shortest time possible.
2. Jasmin JAGANJAC is hereby appointed commander of the Operation, with full authority, and Mirsad ĆATIĆ as his deputy. Other members of the Operation Staff are Zejnil DELALIĆ and Ferid BULJUBAŠIĆ.
3. Troops, material and technical equipment for the Operation as well as the zone of authority and responsibility shall be defined in a separate order. The draft proposal shall be prepared by the Operation Commander within seven days.
4. All activities to carry out the Operation shall be considered urgent and as having priority and all commands and staffs of the Bosnia and Herzegovina OS /Armed Forces/ are hereby ordered to aid the Operation in the requested scope.

Konjic, 16 October 1992

President
BH Presidency
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ
/signed/

ICFY / International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/: Text of the Joint statement of President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović and President of the FRY /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/ Dobrica Ćosić (Geneva, 19 October 1992)

Joint statement of the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, and the President of the FR of Yugoslavia, Dobrica ĆOSIĆ

Geneva, 19 October (Reuters/HINA /Croatian News Agency/) - President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and President of the FRY Dobrica ĆOSIĆ agreed during their meeting in Geneva today to work on normalising relations between the two states through mutual diplomatic recognition.

After their meeting at the Geneva Palace of Nations (UN), IZETBEGOVIĆ and ĆOSIĆ issued a joint statement in which they urged continuation of the peace process and condemned ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to the British News Agency Reuters, ĆOSIĆ left the meeting two hours before it ended, leaving high-ranking FRY officials to continue the negotiations on his behalf.

According to one of the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, Cyrus VANCE, Dobrica ĆOSIĆ felt "slightly indisposed". After leaving the meeting, ĆOSIĆ was kept up-to-date about the course of the negotiations in the nearby hotel where he was staying and at the end of the five-hour meeting, he formally approved the joint statement adopted by the two sides.

According to the declaration, ĆOSIĆ and IZETBEGOVIĆ "agreed to step up activities aimed at normalising relations between the FRY and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by mutual recognition."

They also confirmed their devotion to the principles of the London Conference in August on the resolution of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including the principle of inviolability of existing borders.

The joint statement, read out to journalists at the end of the meeting by Cyrus Vance, goes on to say: "The two presidents express their unconditional condemnation of all actions in connection with "ethnic cleansing" and promise to help alter the process in areas where it has already taken place."

The two presidents pointed out in their statement that both sides should continue the efforts to cease hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They also agreed on the urgent need to lift the blockade of Sarajevo and demilitarise the city.

The co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference Cyrus VANCE and Lord David OWEN assess this as a matter of priority, Reuters reported.

ĆOSIĆ and IZETBEGOVIĆ also expressed their support for the relocation of the aircraft belonging to Bosnian Serbs to the FRY so as to avoid violations of the UN ban on flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The joint statement contains ĆOSIĆ's position expressed at the meeting that the aircraft have already been grounded and are in hangars. Upon his return to Belgrade, according to his own statement, he intends to sign an agreement with the representatives of Bosnian Serbs to officially work out the relocation of the aircraft to airports in the FRY.

The two presidents also:

- agreed on the need to put under control all warring sides in BH and to "eliminate all armed gangs, paramilitary formations, criminals and mercenaries regardless of where they come from".
- call on all sides to cooperate with the International Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees on the release of all detainees, to shut down all prison camps and ensure safe passage of former detainees to areas of safety. They also call on all sides to help in the delivery of humanitarian aid to Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- noted that the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 780 on the establishment of a commission for war crimes and expressed their conviction that "all perpetrators of crimes committed during the armed conflict" must be brought to justice.
- agreed to meet again at a date to be set later on.

ICFY: The Joint Declaration of the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić

(Geneva, 20 October 1992.)

The Joint Declaration

The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr Dobrica Ćosić, and the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Franjo Tuđman, met at Geneva on 20 October 1992, under the auspices of the Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. The two Presidents reviewed the implementation of their joint declaration of 30 September and, in order to provide for its further implementation, declare as follows:

1. They note with satisfaction that various specific measures have already been taken to implement several fundamental issues covered in the joint declaration, that is, the agreement on Prevlaka; the stationing of observers at airfields in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the Republic of Croatia; and the establishment of a Joint Inter-State Committee and its five commissions.
2. They note that the Joint Committee has held its first meeting. In order to promote and enhance the work of the Committee, and with a view of ensuring conditions for normalization of relations, they agree to establish liaison offices of the Inter-State Committee in each other's capitals, Belgrade and Zagreb. Under the direction of the Committee, the liaison offices will co-ordinate work on all open questions between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and, as a priority, will address the following:
 - Reopening of road, rail and telecommunications links between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as re-establishing international links across the two countries;
 - Resolving matters of personal property, pensions and remittances, and other problems related to the economic well-being of their people;
 - Examining issues related to dual citizenship.
3. Reaffirming their commitment in paragraph 2 of their joint declaration of 30 September, the two presidents agree that the quadripartite mechanism established therein should start its work as soon as possible. Its priority task should be to organize and facilitate the return and the resettlement, under humane conditions, of displaced persons and groups. The two Presidents further agree that their representatives will provide for an exchange of information on missing persons.
4. The two presidents agree to establish a Joint Inter-State Commission for the consideration of the overall security of Boka Kotorska and Dubrovnik. Joint customs controls will be established on the border.
5. The two presidents agree to discuss, within their respective competencies, all elements concerning the implementation of the Vance plan at their next meeting with the Co-Chairman.
6. The two Presidents reaffirm their determination to exert all their influence towards a just, peaceful solution of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They urge all parties to the conflict to direct all necessary efforts towards a cessation of hostilities and the negotiation of constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of agreement between the three constituent peoples. With respect to the delivery of humanitarian aid, President Ćosić informed the meeting that his Government had made the necessary preparations for the secure delivery of such aid along the Belgrade-Sarajevo route.
7. The two Presidents express their gratitude to the Co-Chairmen for having convened today's meeting and agree to meet again on a date to be specified.

**HDZ/Croatian Democratic Union/ BiH:
Political charter of the Main Board of the HDZ BiH
(Posušje, 24 October 1992)**

At its meeting held on 24 October 1992 in Posušje, the Main Board of the Croatian Democratic Union BiH adopted the following:

Political charter

I

The Croatian Democratic Union is a constitutive part of the single Croatian Democratic Union in the same way as the Croatian people and its history in BiH make part of the same Croatian national corpus. Owing to the trust of the Croatian people, convincingly expressed at the elections, the HDZ BiH /Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina/, acts as its legitimate representative in BiH. Through its politics, it promotes the interests of the entire Croatian people in the way which reflects its vital interests, bearing in mind the political, economic, social and cultural features of its environment as well as the international context of the free nations of Europe.

II

Following the free and democratic elections in 1990, the HDZ BiH has supported the confederal relationship among the states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, as well as a proportional representation of the Croatian people in the internal organisation of BiH.

When, after Slovenia and Croatia, BiH became a victim of Greater Serbia's aggression, the Croatian Democratic Union of BiH rapidly organised the defence of its people and territory. Towards that aim, Croatian communities and the Croatian Defence Council were organised, which were the first to put up successful resistance to the aggressors.

With the generous help of the Republic of Croatia, the mother country of all Croats, greater losses were avoided and the living space secured in which life was organised, with the Croatian Defence Council as the provisional executive body of the government.

By successful defence and the establishment of a governmental structure in this territory, a total occupation of BiH and its annexation to the Greater Serbia were prevented.

III

The Croatian Democratic Union advocates an immediate cessation of hostilities in BiH and an internal organisation of BiH based on the following principles:

2. BiH is populated by three constitutive peoples having equal rights: the Croats, the Muslims and the Serbs.
3. In the internal organisation of BiH, the position of the Croatian Democratic Union is based upon the principles set by the European Community and the Tudman - Izetbegović agreement.

The Croatian Democratic Union wishes for BiH to be a state made of constitutive units, as it is the only way to have all civil and ethnic rights of the Croats guaranteed.

IV

In this crucial historical moment for the Croatian people, which has created its national state after 9 centuries, this charter reflects the unity and determination of the Croatian Democratic Union of BiH in its commitment to fight for and to secure the rights of the Croatian people in BiH which is a part of its historical and ethnic territory.

V

Because of the armed conflicts between the Croatian Defence Council and Muslim units, the HDZ of BiH invites representatives of the Muslim people to urgent talks in order to put an end to the conflict, to discuss the provisional lines of demarcation and the necessity to respect the civilian and military authorities created on the territory of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosna, until a definitive political and constitutional organisation in BiH.

These talks are essential for the prevention of future conflicts and for the survival of BiH as an independent and sovereign state.

Posušje, 24 October 1992.

Main Board of HDZ BiH

**Alija Izetbegović, the President of the Presidency of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina:
Letter to Dr. Franjo Tuđman, the President of the Republic of Croatia
(Sarajevo, 27 October 1992)**

**Letter by Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, the President of the Presidency of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Franjo TUĐMAN, the President of the
Republic of Croatia**

Mr. President,

Recent events in Bosnia and Herzegovina have compelled me to address you with this letter. HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ units have systematically provoked conflicts in Novi Travnik, Vitez and Prozor, in which there were casualties and destruction. All the roads through western Herzegovina have been closed, even for humanitarian aid. At the same time, a propaganda war against Bosnia and Herzegovina BiH and its legal authorities is being waged in the Croatian media. They have invented and are continually repeating news of an alleged coup d'état in BiH, speculating about the changes in the government and persistently ignoring the struggle by the BH Army against the Chetniks being waged under extremely unequal conditions. The idea is to morally finish off our people, who have suffered hard physical blows from the Chetniks, and leave us without any hope. It seems that the Croatian media have accepted this second part of the job.

As you know, the truth is that there has been no coup d'état in Sarajevo. The truth is also that the BH Army is fighting bravely in Goražde, Sarajevo, Konjic, Jajce, Gradačac, Žepa, Maglaj, Višegrad, Brčko and other places - and the whole world knows that, with the exception of the Croatian TV. Why are they ignoring this and spreading despair?

The truth is also that tanks fired at and entered the town of Prozor, but these were not the tanks of the BH Army. Our military equipment, which is of decisive importance in resisting the Chetnik invasion, has been stopped in Zagreb and Grude. The consequences are evident.

Negotiations about the future system of Bosnia and Herzegovina are going on in Geneva while at the same time a policy of *fait accompli* is being implemented by force, thus degrading the negotiations in London and Geneva and making them pointless. The HVO has crossed the line of legitimate defence against the Chetniks and embarked on the systematic destruction of legal civilian authorities and the establishment of quasi-state institutions.

Overall, there is a clear impression that they want to use the difficult situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, maybe the most difficult one in its history, to impose a solution which is contrary to the will of most of its citizens.

front against the HVO? Does this not remind you of that Chetnik story that we are bombing ourselves in Sarajevo?

Bosnia and Herzegovina will never accept division on exclusively ethnic grounds or any solution imposed by force. It has enough forces for its own resistance and enough friends in the world. Bosnia and Herzegovina considered Croatia and its people especially as being among these friends. In spite of all, we will continue to believe in this friendship and act accordingly.

We ask you kindly, Mr. President, to use your unquestionable influence to remove the obstacles along this road, so that our relations can develop in accordance with the Agreement on Friendship and Co-operation between our two countries.

Please receive the assurances of my highest consideration, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, says in the end of the letter signed by Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and published by Bosnia-Herzegovinian press service *Beč*.

ICFY: The draft of the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina produced by the working group of the Geneva Conference on the Former Yugoslavia

ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/: The draft of the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina produced by the working group of the Geneva Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (Geneva, 28 October 1992)

Proposed constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina

I – General Organisation

- A. BiH would be a decentralised state within the framework of its current international borders (i.e. the borders it had in the former SFRY /Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia/).
- B. BiH would be divided into seven to 10 autonomous provinces:
- a) The province borders would be determined in such a way that the provinces have the greatest possible geographical cohesion, while taking into account ethnic, geographical (i.e. natural features such as rivers), historical, transport (i.e. existing road and rail networks), economic, and other relevant factors. Many of the provinces (although this would not necessarily apply to all of them) would probably have a significant majority of one of the three main ethnic groups, while most of them would have substantial minorities;
 - b) The province borders would be set in the Constitution and would be unalterable without amendments that would require a significant majority (III.A.3.). Similarly, no province could secede without a constitutional amendment;
 - c) No province would have a name that would be specifically associated with any of the three main ethnic groups; d) There would be no border controls on the borders between the provinces, and full freedom of movement should be ensured throughout the country.
- C. The Constitution should take into account the fact that there are three main “ethnic” (national/religious) groups, and a group of “others”.
- D. The Constitution should include provisions whereby, on an interim basis, some of the constitutional bodies should have persons appointed to them by the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), and some functions should be under international supervision.
1. The above stated includes the following:
 - a) Constitutional Court (IV.A.d/c)
 - b) Ethnic balance and integration of military forces (V.A.2)
 - c) Non-discriminatory composition of the police (V.B.1/b/)
 - d) The International Commission for Human Rights for Bosnia and Herzegovina (VI.B.1)
 - e) Public defenders (protectors of citizens' rights against government autocracy) (VI.B.2) (Ombudsmen)
 - f) Human Rights Court (VI.B.3)
 2. Duration of these arrangements could be following:
 - a) Limited to a specific period (i.e. IV.A.2/b)
 - b) Defined by the ICFY or its successor (i.e. VI.A.2)
 - c) Determined by the objective factors (i.e. VI.B.5)
 - d) Unless otherwise specified (i.e. IV.A.3/c), until the Constitution is amended in order to repeal or amend relevant provisions whereby the significant majority should be determined in order for amendments to be adopted by the significant consensus of the groups(III.A.3/c).

II – Division of state functions

A. The central government would be solely responsible for the following:

1. Foreign affairs (including membership in international organisations).
2. National defence.
3. International trade (customs, quotas).
4. Citizenship (including dual) (VI.C.1-2).
5. Taxation generating revenue for the central government.

B. “Independent” bodies, incorporating representatives of all provinces, would be responsible for the following:

1. The central bank.
2. The infrastructure for international and inter-provincial communications: railways, canals, oil and gas pipelines, airspace control, and PTT /post, telegraph and telephone services/.

C. The central government and the provinces would share responsibility for the following:

1. Protection of the environment, whereby the central government would determine the basic standards that each province must meet.
2. The judiciary.

D. The provinces would generally be solely responsible for the following:

1. Education, including higher education (i.e. universities).
2. Cultural institutions and programmes.
3. Radio and TV.
4. Issuing permits for practising professions and trades.
5. The use of natural resources, e.g. agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing, and mining.
6. Healthcare, social services, and social security.
7. Provincial transport routes (e.g. local roads and airports).
8. Energy production.
9. Auditing commercial and savings banks and other financial institutions.
10. The police.

11. Taxation for generating revenue for the province's use.

III – Constitutions

A. Central:

1. To be agreed and adopted within the framework of the ICFY.
2. A supreme law of BiH and all provinces.
3. Difficult to amend (i.e. requiring a significant majority in both legislative houses, and possibly even a referendum requiring a significant absolute and/or relative majority), whereby the following provisions would be given particular protection (e.g. even greater majorities or even unanimous support would be required):
 - a) Provisions on human rights and the rights of groups and the corresponding procedural remedies;
 - b) The boundaries of provinces and allowing a province to secede;
 - c) Certain provisions for provisional international supervision.

B. Provincial:

Each province would adopt its own constitution, dependent only on the national constitution and in accordance with all the decisions of the Constitutional Court.

IV – State structure

A. Central government

1. Legislative bodies
 - a) Lower house: elected according to proportional representation in BiH as a whole (meaning that each group may form one or more parties, but parties with a wholly political, provincial, or ideological basis are also possible);
 - b) Upper house: representatives are appointed by the provincial government from among their ranks.
2. Executive bodies
 - a) The Presidency would consist of the governors of all the provinces, chaired by a president, without any executive functions other than the responsibility of appointing senior officials. Unanimous votes or consensus would not be required, so that potential paralyzes could be avoided;

- b) The president (mainly the ceremonial head of state) is elected by the Presidency and given a limited mandate, and the post is subject to rotation among the groups;
- c) The prime minister is elected by the Lower House of the legislative body;
- d) Ministers are appointed by the prime minister, with the approval of the Presidency, taking into account the need for balance among the groups; in any case, the minister of foreign affairs and the minister of defence must be from different groups;
- e) The state administration is organised according to the principle of balance among the groups.

3. The judiciary

- a) The highest court (or courts) of appeal will require balanced representation between the groups (courts of first instance and courts of appeal at the intermediate level would be at the level of the province).
- b) Court of human rights;
- c) Constitutional court, primarily for settling disputes.

B. Provincial structure (established under the constitution of each province)

1. Legislative body: if possible unicameral, possibly bicameral, but elected on different bases.
2. Executive authority: one governor for each province.
3. Judiciary: courts of first instance (civil, criminal, administrative, labour, etc.) and courts of appeal at the intermediate level.

V – Forces of the executive government

A. Military forces

1. Under the full control of the Executive Council of the central government.
2. The Staff requires balance between the groups and rotation in key positions; all units should be integrated (i.e. not founded according to affiliation with the groups); initial arrangements to achieve balance and integration would be supervised by the ICFY, and then by a responsible body to be determined by the ICFY.

B. Police

1. Provincial police: all uniformed police would be at the provincial or local level:
 - a) Police under the control of the executive provincial government; b) The police have to adhere to the same rules on non-discrimination etc. as the other branches of administration; initial arrangements regarding non-discrimination will be supervised by the ICFY, and then by a responsible body to be determined by the ICFY;
2. National police: only an administrative body (i.e. no uniformed, armed forces);

C. Other armed forces banned:

Except for the military forces and, where necessary, the police, no public or private armed units may be established in the country.

VI – Human rights and the rights of groups/minorities

A. Essential aspects

1. Source: the highest levels of internationally recognised rights stipulated in the documents of the UN, CSCE /Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe/ etc., which should be cited in the Constitution.
2. Types
 - a) General human rights, particularly civil and political rights;
 - b) The rights of groups, particularly “minorities”, including the requirement that balance be maintained between the groups in state decision-making bodies and in various central and provincial civil, police, and other services (or, as a minimum, a strict non-discrimination policy);
 - c) Economic, social, and cultural rights.

B. Procedural aspects:

General human, civil/political, and group rights should be protected by a series of domestic and international procedural arrangements.

1. An international human rights commission for BiH.
2. Four public legal officers, one from each group.

3. A court of human rights.
4. Unlimited access to courts granted to individuals and recognised groups in all circumstances.

C. Citizenship (closely connected with many provisions on human rights and the rights of groups):

1. BH citizenship should be determined by the central government in accordance with the Constitution and laws of BiH.
2. Dual citizenship should be allowed.
3. There will be no “provincial citizenship”.
4. There will be no official ethnic identification of citizens (e.g. on personal identity cards).

**The President of the RH Dr Franjo Tuđman:
Letter to the President of the RBiH Alija Izetbegović
(Zagreb, 30 October 1992)**

**Letter from the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Franjo TUĐMAN, to
President of the Presidency of the Republic of BiH, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ**

“Dear Mr President,

I received your letter dated 27 October 1992, in which you asked me to exert my influence in order to remove obstacles that are preventing effective implementation of the agreement which we signed on behalf of our states in Zagreb on 21 July and its annex signed in New York on 21 September 1992.

I categorically assure you that the Republic of Croatia and I personally are working consistently on the implementation of the principles we agreed on, and that the obstacles you referred to have, in fact, been caused by your side.

Croatia has recognised the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has also already appointed its ambassador to this state and is actively promoting the survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a single state which will be a constitutive community of three equal and sovereign peoples. Since one of them is the Croatian people, and since we are interconnected historically, spatially and economically, this is a long-term strategic interest of Croatia and, I am sure, of Bosnia and Herzegovina too. Although Croatia itself has been adversely affected by war and has been destroyed and terribly impoverished in many parts, it has borne an even heavier burden for Bosnia and Herzegovina in the material sense than Bosnia and Herzegovina itself, I would say. I would just like to remind you that even today we are taking care of more than five hundred thousand refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From the first day of Chetnik and Greater Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina rose up in an organised fashion to defend their land, and with the help of their mother country – the Republic of Croatia – and with many victims, they succeeded in liberating and defending most of the territory on which they live. Mr President you may rest assured that without this resistance Bosnia and Herzegovina would have become part of the Greater Serbia, that is, its third Yugoslavia.

I have kept encouraging the leaders of these Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and you and your associates – the leaders of the Muslim people – to reach an agreement and link up on the foundations of total equality, for the sake of defence now and, in future, for the sake of building the sovereign state of Bosnia and Herzegovina organised in such a way that it would satisfy the Croats, Muslims and Serbs alike. In this respect, the Croatian people have had a difficult experience with the ill-fated Yugoslavia, where, even in Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to Serbian and Muslim policies, their share of the total population was reduced and they were

second-class citizens, not only politically, but also economically, and in the spheres of culture, education and the media. Therefore the Croats in BiH cannot accept a state organised on these or similar principles which have caused them to become one of the most emigratory peoples in the world. The Croats have been well organised in defence against Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina, both in the military and in the civil/political sense, and I believe that you will find their legal representatives to be responsible and well-intentioned collocutors in the spheres of defence and the construction of your joint state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I would also like to ask you not to allow yourself to resort to any obvious tricks or to shift the blame to the Croatian media, and in particular, to stop certain sections of the Muslim forces that have taken up arms against the Croats.

I hardly need to remind you that, in addition to taking care of half a million refugees, all aid for Bosnia and Herzegovina is delivered through or from Croatia. The Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina keep urging us to do everything we can to prevent this aid from being used against them.

I assure you that the Republic of Croatia will implement all provisions of our agreement consistently. Only military action by the Muslims against the Croats might prevent us from doing this, which, I believe, neither you yourself nor the Muslim leadership will allow to happen. Full friendship and honest and active cooperation are of vital interest to both of our states, and therefore it is the duty of both you and me to work hard on them," reads the letter from the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Franjo TUDMAN to President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ.

**Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and
Assembly of the Republika Srpska: Prijedor Declaration
(31 October 1992)**

Believing that the right of a people to self-determination, i.e. the right of a people to freely determine its political status, is historical, natural, sacrosanct and non-alienable;

Confirming that the principle of permanent sovereignty of a people and nation over the territories which it inhabits guarantees national, social, cultural and economic development;

Finding that this right and principle have been legalised in numerous documents of the UN, OSCE and the Conference on Yugoslavia (the Human Rights Treaty, Resolution 1803 (XVIII) of the General Assembly of 14 December 1962 and others, the Final Act of the OSCE and others, the EC Brioni Declaration on Yugoslavia from 1991, the Principles of the London Conference on Yugoslavia (V) and others);

Stating that Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina are state entities which emerged after the secessionist dismemberment of the SFRJ /Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia/ by exercising the right to self-determination and the principle of permanent sovereignty of a people and a nation, and that they have the right to independently agree on cooperation;

Stressing their devotion to international norms, and in accordance with European efforts to strengthen international cooperation in all forms which both sides find useful and for the benefit of their people;

At a joint session held on 31 October 1992 in Prijedor, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Assembly of Republika Srpska hereby adopt the following

**DECLARATION
on cooperation and aspirations towards unification
of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina**

- i. The two assemblies proclaim that the legal systems in the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Republika Srpska shall be identical.
- ii. The two assemblies proclaim that citizens of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina shall have Serbian citizenship, and that state symbols shall be the same and in accordance with the historical continuity of the Serbian people.

The coat of arms shall be the traditional coat of arms of the Nemanjić dynasty with a crown, the flag Serbian – the red-blue-white tricolour, and the anthem *Bože pravde*.

- iii. The two assemblies proclaim that Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina shall form a defensive alliance with the task of providing equal protection to the freedom and integrity of the two republics until a final political solution is reached.
- iv. The two assemblies proclaim that the competent institutions in Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina should ensure that all educational levels have identical programmes.
- v. The two assemblies proclaim that the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Republika Srpska shall form a monetary and customs union.
- vi. The two assemblies proclaim the readiness of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Republika Srpska for all forms of association in the fields of culture, information, transportation, communications, social and health care, economic activities, trade, energy, ecology and so on.
- vii. The two assemblies proclaim that Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina shall arrange their mutual relations in the fields of fiscal policy and payment system policy.
- viii. The Assembly of Republika Srpska and the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina hereby decide that elections for the political bodies of both republics shall be postponed until the end of the war. After the end of the war, a referendum will be held to decide further forms of cooperation between these two republics, including the possibility of unification.
- ix. The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Assembly of Republika Srpska hereby entrust the competent organs of both republics with immediately forming corresponding joint bodies in order to achieve the proclaimed objectives. All forms of cooperation and association shall be initiated and harmonised by a coordinating committee which shall consist of the presidents of the republics, the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and the prime ministers of the republics.
- x. In order to develop and coordinate these forms of cooperation, the Assembly of Republika Srpska and the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina shall hold joint sessions.
- xi. All of these forms of cooperation will also be offered to other Serbian states.
- xii. An initiative will be launched for convening all-Serbian assemblies (of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Republika Srpska, Republic of Serbia and Republic of Montenegro), where political, economic, cultural and other issues of general interest for the whole Serbian people will be discussed.
- xiii. The assemblies of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina proclaim the determination of the Serbian people in these republics to unify their state. This unification will be postponed until the expiry of the UN plan for the protection of the Krajina.
- xiv. This Declaration shall be published in the official gazettes of both republics.

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA
Mile PASPALJ

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY
OF REPUBLIKA SRPSKA
Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK

Presidency of the RBH /Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/: The Law on Electing and Recalling Members of the RBH Presidency (Sarajevo, 24 December 1992)

Pursuant to Amendment LI, item 5, paragraph 3 to the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, hereby adopts the following

Decree law on amendments to the Law on Electing and Recalling members of the RBH Presidency

Article 1

In the Law on Electing and Recalling members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Official Gazette of the SRBH /Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, nos. 29/90 and 28/90 and the Official Gazette of the RBH, no. 2/92*), in Article 1, after paragraph 3 a new paragraph 4 shall be added and read as follows: "Members of the RBH Presidency during a state of war shall be elected by the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

Paragraph 4 shall become paragraph 5.

Article 2

During a state of war, provisions of Articles 4 and 5, paragraphs 4 and 5, Article 6, Articles 7 through 12 and Articles 15 and 16 of the Law on Electing and Recalling members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall cease to apply.

Article 3

The procedure of nominating and confirming candidates for the RBH Presidency and electing members of the RBH Presidency shall be carried out by applying the relevant provisions of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Official Gazette of the RBH, nos. 8/91 and 32/92*).

Article 4

This Decree law shall enter into force on the date of its publication in the *Official Gazette of the RBH*.

PR. Number 1397/92
Sarajevo, 24 December 1992

President of the RBH Presidency
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, sui manu

**Presidency of RBiH: Decision regarding the election of member of Presidency of RBiH
(Sarajevo, December 24th, 1992.)**

On the base of the LI Amendment, Paragraph 5, Item 3 of the Constitution of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the session held on December 24th, 1992, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina makes the following

Decision regarding the election of member of the Presidency of RBiH

I.

MIRO LASIĆ was elected the member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

II.

This decision is to be published in the Official Gazette of RBiH.

Number 02-111-920/92

Sarajevo, December 24th, 1992.

President of the Presidency of RBiH,

Alija Izetbegović, sui manu

**Presidency of RBiH: Decision on Presidency of RBiH member election
(Sarajevo, 24 December 1992)**

Pursuant to Amendment LI, paragraph 5, item 3 to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the meeting, held on 24 December 1992 brings the following

Decision on Presidency of RBiH member election

I

For the Presidency of RBiH member, Doctor Tatjana Ljuljić-Mijatović is elected.

II

This Decision is to be published in the "Official Gazette of the R BiH"

Number 02-111-921/92
Sarajevo, 24 December 1992

President of the RBiH Presidency
Alija Izetbegović, sui manu

Vance-Owen Peace plan: Draft Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (Geneva, 02–05 January 1993)

Draft Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina

We, the undersigned

Guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter, Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Declaration on the rights of minorities;

Referring to the Declaration on principles and the Declaration on Bosnia adopted by the International Conference on former Yugoslavia on the session held in London and Action Program regarding the humanitarian issues agreed upon on this meeting;

Respecting the Decision of the UN Security Council regarding the former Yugoslavia and

Reaffirming their acceptance of peace and security among succession states of the former Yugoslavia

We agree with the following:

I. DEFINING THE PROVINCE'S BORDERS

Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina to provinces shall be consistent with the enclosed map.

II. CONSTITUTIONAL FRAME FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Tripartite negotiations will continue in Geneva, under the auspices of the International Convention on former Yugoslavia, with the task of completing the state model of the Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with following principles:

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina will be decentralised state, and most government functions will be held by its provinces.
2. Provinces will not be international legal entities and will not be able to enter into agreements with foreign states or international organisations.
3. Full freedom of movement will be permitted throughout the Bosnia and Herzegovina, partly ensured by maintenance of internationally supervised roads.
4. The Constitution will recognize three „constitutional nations“, as well as a group of „others“.
5. All issues of substantial importance for each constitutional nation will be regulated by the constitution that in such matters can only be amended by consensus of constitutional nations, and regular government work will not be subject to veto of any of the groups.
6. Provinces and the central government will have democratically elected governmental bodies, democratically elected executive bodies and an independent judiciary. Presidency is to be constituted of three elected representatives of each of the constitutive nations. First elections will be supervised by United Nations/European Union/KESS.
7. Constitutional court, with a member from each group and the majority of non-Bosnian members which will initially be appointed by International Conference on former Yugoslavia, shall resolve disputes between central government and the provinces, and among the bodies of the central government.
8. Bosnia and Herzegovina will be progressively demilitarized under the supervision of UN/EU.
9. The constitution will guarantee the highest level of internationally recognized human rights, which will also guarantee their implementation through local and international mechanisms.
10. A certain number of international resources for supervision and control will be provided for the constitutional purposes, and will remain on the ground for at least until the three constitutional nations agree by consensus on its dismissal.

III. COOPERATION CONCERNING HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS

1. Maximum cooperation will be provided to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Red Cross Committee, UNPROFOR as well as to other humanitarian organisations engaged for providing help to refugees and displaced persons.
2. Full cooperation will also be provided to High Commissioner for Refugees in development and implementation of the program to return refugees and displaced persons to their homes.

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ

RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ

MATE BOBAN

witnesses: CYRUS VANCE

DAVID OWEN

APPENDIX

The following is the text of "The Constitutional Structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina", proposed by the co-chairmen on the October 27th, 1992 and November 16th in particular adopted by the Security Council (Resolution 787, Article 1) as a base for negotiations on political resolution of conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and slightly amended to take into account consultations with interested parties about this proposal, and in order to emphasise some additional points entered by the co-chairmen on January 2nd, 1993 in connection with the map of the proposed division to provinces, all as set out in the "Constitutional Principles for Bosnia and Herzegovina".

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia and Herzegovina will be a decentralized state with significant functions transferred to the 10 autonomous provinces.

I. THE OVERALL STRUCTURE

- A. Bosnia and Herzegovina will be decentralized state within present international borders (those which it had in former SFRY)
- B. Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided to ten autonomous provinces:
 1. Provinces borders are defined on the enclosed map. Most provinces will have significant majority of one of the three main ethnic groups, and majority of provinces will also have a significant representation of the minorities.
 2. Provinces borders will be determined by the Constitution and cannot be amended without the distinct majority. Likewise, none of the provinces will be allowed to separate without such a majority.
 3. None of the provinces will be able to bear the name which is specifically identified with one of the main ethnic groups.
 4. There will be no border control on inter-provinces borders and the full freedom of movement will be allowed throughout the country. Special inter-provinces pathways (to be marked on additional map) will be under the international supervision, in order to ensure free flow of traffic and to prevent military forces or certain war materials to move between provinces, until the Constitution is amended.
- C. Constitution will recognize three "constitutional nations" as well as a group of „others“.
- D. On transitional bases, the Constitution will allow for some of the constitutional bodies to be governed by the persons appointed by International Conference on former Yugoslavia, and certain functions will be under the international supervision.
 1. This includes:
 - a) Inter-provinces routs; b) Constitutional court; c) Progressive demilitarization of the country; d) Non-discriminatory

- composition of the police; e) International human rights commission in Bosnia and Herzegovina; f) Parliamentary protectors of citizens' rights against arbitrariness of state authorities; g) Human Rights Court
2. Term of this agreements will be: a) limited to a certain period; b) determined by the International Conference on former Yugoslavia or its successor; c) defined by objective circumstances; d) unless defined otherwise, valid until the amendments to the Constitution does not abrogates or amends provisional measures, for which the sufficient majority must be established in order for this to be reached only with a strong group consensus.

II. DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS

- A. Central government will have exclusive responsibility for:
1. Foreign affairs (including membership in international organisations)
 2. International trade (customs, tariffs)
 3. Citzenships (including dual)
 4. Taxation for central government purposes
- B. "Independent" authority composed of representatives of all provinces, responsible for:
1. Central bank: a) issuing of currency; b) regulative functions over provincial banks
 2. Infrastructure for international and inter-provinces communication: railways, canals, pipelines, air control, post, telephones and telegraphs
 3. Electrical transmission network
- C. Central government and provinces will share responsibility for:
1. Environmental control, in a way that central government will define minimum standards, and each province can make them more strict.
 2. Judiciary
- D. Provinces will in general be exclusively responsible for
1. Education, including higher education (universities)
 2. Cultural institutions and programs
 3. Radio and television
 4. Granting business and trade
 5. Use of natural resources: agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing, mining
 6. Health care, social services and insurance
 7. Provincial communications: local roads, airports
 8. Energy production
 9. Control of commercial banks, savings banks and other financial institutions
 10. Police
 11. Taxation for purpose of provinces

Provinces will not be allowed to establish official international relationships, except with the permission of the central government; they are not international legal entities.

Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina

The undersigned,

Accepting with welcome an invitation from co-chair of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on former Yugoslavia to participate in talks on the restoration of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Relaying on the constructive atmosphere of the negotiations held in Geneva from 2nd – 5th January and with the assistance of UNPROFOR Force Commander, General Satish Nambiar;

Having in mind principles of International Conference and the Resolutions of the UN Security Council, especially resolutions 752 and 787, relating to the withdrawal of foreign forces from Bosnia and Herzegovina;

In desire to end the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina without any further delay and to establish peace throughout the country;

In desire to make the arrangements to implement the cessation of hostilities and its supervision in order to guarantee its efficacy and durability;

We agree with the following:

1. Measures to achieve unconditional cessation of hostilities throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, as set out in Annex I.
2. Measures for the infrastructure rehabilitation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as laid out in Annex II.
3. Measures to open roads, as set out in Annex III.
4. Agreements on force separation, as set out in Annex IV.
5. Measures for demilitarization of Sarajevo, as set out in Annex V.
6. Measures for border control of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as set out in Annex VI.
7. Return of forces to certain provinces, as set out in Annex VII.

Sefer Halilović

Ratko Mladić

Milivoj Petković

Witnesses:

Radovan Radinović

Aton Tus

Cyrus Vance

David Owen

ICFY /International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/: Nine counts of the draft of 'Constitutional principles' that was conditionally accepted by Radovan Karadžić

(Geneva, 12 January 1993)

The nine counts of draft of 'Constitutional principles' that was conditionally accepted today by the leader of the Serbs in BiH Radovan Karadžić

- (1) Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be decentralized State, the Constitution shall recognize three constituent peoples, as well as a group of others, with most governmental functions carried out by its provinces.
- (2) The provinces shall not have any international legal personality and may not enter into agreements with foreign States or with international organisations.
- (3) Full freedom of movement shall be allowed throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, to be ensured in part by the maintenance of internationally controlled thoroughways.
- (4) All matters of vital concern to any of the constituent peoples shall be regulated in the Constitution, which as to these points may be amended only by consensus of these constituent peoples; ordinary governmental business is not to be veto-able by any group.
- (5) The provinces and the central Government shall have democratically elected legislature and democratically chosen chief executives and an independent judiciary. The Presidency shall be composed of three elected representatives of each of the three constituent peoples. The initial elections are to be United Nations/European Community /Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe supervised.
- (6) A Constitutional Court, with a member from each group and a majority of non-Bosnian members initially appointed by the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, shall resolve disputes between the central Government and any province, and among organs of the former.
- (7) Bosnia and Herzegovina is to be progressively demilitarized under United Nations/European Community supervision.
- (8) The highest level of internationally recognized human rights shall be provided for in the Constitution, which shall also provide for the insurance of implementation through both domestic and international mechanisms.
- (9) A number of international monitoring or control devices shall be provided for in the Constitution, to remain in place at least until the three constituent peoples by consensus agree to dispense with them.

**BH Ministry of the Defence: Order issued by Božo Rajić,
BH Minister of the Defence (Sarajevo, 16 January 1993)**

**Order issued by Božo RAJIĆ,
BH Minister of the Defence**

1. All Croatian Defence Council /HVO/ units that are currently in Provinces 1, 5 and 9, which have been declared Muslim provinces under the Geneva agreements, are subordinated to the Main Staff of the BH Army.
2. All BH Army units that are currently in Provinces 3, 8 and 10, which have been declared Croatian provinces under the Geneva agreements, are subordinated to the Main Staff of the Croatian Defence Council.
3. All units of the Serbian Army in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are required to withdraw with all personnel and equipment to Provinces 2, 4 and 6, which have been declared Serbian provinces under the Geneva agreements.
4. All units of the Croatian Defence Council, BH Army and Serbian Army that are currently in Province 7, for which a special status is envisaged under the Geneva agreements, are required to cease all hostilities unconditionally.
5. This order shall remain in force until the signing of a final agreement and a new order on the implementation of the Geneva Peace Agreement.
6. For the implementation of this order Minister of the Defence will hold the responsible Brigadier Milivoje PETKOVIĆ, Commander of the Main Staff of the Croatian Defence Council, Colonel Sefer HALILOVIĆ, Chief of the BH Army Main Staff and Colonel General Ratko MLADIĆ, Commander of the Serbian Army in the Republic of BiH. Božo RAJIĆ ordered this commanders to send him daily reports by 2000 hours at the latest.

This order enters into force immediately and the deadline for its implementation is 2400 hours on 20 January.

HVO's decision on subordination of HVO and ABiH units

MOSTAR - Croatian Defence Council information office of Croatian community Herceg-Bosna has issued a statement yesterday from special session of Croatian defence council of Herceg-Bosna, which we publish in its entirety:

In accordance with the agreements reached and signed in the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the peace agreement for BiH /Bosnia and Herzegovina/ (the Geneva Accords), at its special session held on 15 January 1993 in Mostar, the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ of HZ H-B /Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/ brought in the decision by which all units of the BH Army currently in the territories of provinces 3, 8, 10, which have been proclaimed Croatian pursuant to the Geneva Accords, shall be subordinated to the Command of the Main Staff of the Armed Forces of the HVO. All units of the Armed Forces of the HVO which are currently in the territories of provinces 1, 5, 9, which provinces have, pursuant to the Geneva Accords, been proclaimed Muslim ones, shall be subordinated to the Command of the Main Staff of the BH Army. The HVO units of Kiseljak and Kreševo, which municipalities belong to province 7, shall remain under the Command of the Main Staff of the HVO pending final agreement on the status of province 7.

The decision of Croatian Defence Council of Croatian community Herceg-Bosna (org. title HVO HZ Herceg-Bosna) states that it is temporary and will be valid until the final signing of the agreement on constitution and peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. 20th January of this year has been determined as the deadline for the implementation of the cited decisions, or five days from its adoption. In accordance with the decision of the Croatian Defence Council, Croatian Community Herceg-Bosna, HVO HZ HB Head of the Department of Defence gave the appropriate command today.

The decision of Croatian Defence Council of Croatian community Herceg-Bosna results from both the Geneva conference document, signed by the Croatian side expressing its readiness to respect it in full, as well as from the behaviour of the Muslim side in the region of Croatian community Herceg-Bosna, evident from the incidents with serious consequences in Central Bosna, especially in Gornji Vakuf and in some other places. Fierce attacks on HVO forces and settlements with Croatian population, conducted in the last several days by the members of BH Army in the Travnik province, arbitrary and aggressive actions by the Arif Pašalić, IV Corps commander of the BH Army, and some other officers from former JNA, know included in the command and units of BH Army, do not contribute to joint struggle against Serbian-Chetnik aggression. Such behaviour actually makes the defence against common enemy weaker and at the same time encourages and provokes conflict with Croats.

The purpose of the decision by HVO HZ Herceg-Bosna about the subordination of all units of BH Army to Croatian Defence Council, with accompanying command from the HVO HZ HB Defence department, is to prevent any kind of power dichotomy, anarchy and arbitrary takeover of authority, which is exactly what commands and BH Army authorities are trying to do in certain areas of Croatian community Herceg-Bosna, without any grounds and legal bases. At the same time, HVO HZ HB commits that all HVO units and commands in the area of provinces 1, 5 and 9 shall be subordinated to BH Army - General staff commandment and to act in accordance to Geneva conference document.

**RBiH Presidency decision regarding order issued by Božo Rajić, the Minister
of the Defence on 16 January 1993 (Sarajevo, 19 January 1993)**

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
PRESIDENCY

Pursuant to Article 8 of the Decree Law on the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Official Gazette of the RBiH /Republic of BiH*, no. 4/92), the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, upon the proposal by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, hereby adopts the following

**Decision
to invalidate the order by the Minister of Defence
of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

1

The order by the minister of defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Božo RAJIĆ, number 01/93 of 16 January 1993, is hereby declared invalid in its entirety as unconstitutional and illegal, as it has been issued by an unauthorised person.

2

The Presidency of the RBiH, as the supreme command of the RBiH Armed Forces, is authorised to issue such orders.

3

Publish this decision in the *Official Gazette of the RBiH*.

P - number 1402/93
19 January 1993
Sarajevo

President
of the Presidency of the RBiH
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ
/signed/

Explanation of the decision on the proclamation of the BH Minister's order invalid

The defence Minister Rajić Božo issued an order on the subordination of all Croatian Defence Council units that are, at this moment, located in the premises of provinces 1, 5 and 9, to the main staff of the BH Army of all units of the BH Army that are located in the premises of the provinces 3, 8 and 10, to the main staff of the Croatian Defence Council and that all units of the so called „Serbian Army“ in RBiH must retreat, with all manpower and equipment to the premises of the provinces 2, 4 and 6.

The said order orders that all units of the Croatian Defence Council, BH Army and the so called „Serbian Army“, being located in the premises of the province 7 must unconditionally stop all hostilities and that the order stays in force till the final agreement and signing the Geneva Agreement as well as the new order on the implementation of Geneva peace agreement.

The order also determines the persons in charge for its execution as well as its deadline.

Article 8 of the Regulation with the legal power on the Armed Forces of RBiH (Official Gazette of the RBiH, no 4/925) regulates that the Presidency of the Republic is the most highly ranked body to be in charge of the Army and responsible to command it, while the article 18 of the Regulation with the legal power on defence (Official Gazette of RBiH, no 4/92) regulates that the Ministry of Defence is in charge to deal with professional and staff affairs within the defence jurisdiction, regulated by the law, other decrees and general provisions for the purposes of the Armed Forces.

Since the Minister of Defence did not sign the solemn statement – oath, he, in legal terms, did not have authorization to issue an order, even if he had signed the solemn statement – oath, according to the Regulation with the legal power on the Armed Forces as well as the Regulation with the legal power on defence, this authorization is in exclusive jurisdiction of the Presidency of RBiH as the supreme command of the Armed Forces of the RBiH.

At the meeting of the Presidency, held on 19th of January 1993, as RBiH Government's proposal, this unconstitutional and illegal act was proclaimed invalid.

**President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman: Letter to
Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of
Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zagreb, 27 January 1993)**

Dear President,

The grievous events of the last few days, in which the Muslim extremists in Central Bosnia have been attacking Croatian settlements in an organised, criminal and brutal way, and shooting at civilians and defenders, force me to write this letter to you.

Last night, as you surely well know, 35 HVO soldiers were killed defending their villages around Busovača from attacks by Muslim units. The latter also burned a number of Croatian villages. This incident has deeply shaken the leadership of the Croatian people in BiH, who have asked Croatia and the entire international community for help.

Therefore, deeply concerned, I appeal to you to stop this brutal aggression because it could worsen to the extreme relations between Muslims and Croats in BiH, who have been bound in previous months in a large part of your country by the struggle against the common aggressor. If it is not stopped, it will also harm relations between our two countries and render completely impossible traffic along humanitarian corridors on which many lives in BiH depend.

Citizens of Croatia are wondering if the aggression on Croats in BiH is the answer to all the good that Croatia is doing for your compatriots:

- in protecting and accommodating half a million refugees;
- in organising, supporting and sending substantial humanitarian aid;
- in enabling the functioning of many of your State services in Croatian cities;
- in the entire support for defence from the Serbian aggression;
- in supporting the search for the most just solution at the Geneva Conference for the final organisation of BiH and the establishment of peace as soon as possible.

I use this opportunity to appeal directly to the Croatian and Muslim peoples in BiH to cease hostilities and achieve full cooperation in defence against the common aggressor and in seeking a way to achieve harmonious coexistence as equal constituent peoples in BiH.

I hope that your swift and energetic order to the Muslim forces to stop the aggression against Croats in BiH will enable Croats and Muslims in BiH to join their forces in defence against the Serbian and Montenegrin Yugo-communist aggressor. That is also a minimal condition to maintain in the Croatian public a willingness to continue caring for refugees and providing aid in general to BiH at huge sacrifice to ourselves.

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Joint statement by the President of the BH Presidency,
Alija Izetbegović and the President of HZ HB /Croatian Community of
Herceg-Bosna/, Mate Boban (Geneva, 27 January 1993)**

Joint statement on immediate cessation of hostilities between BH Army and HVO

President of the BH Presidency, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and the President Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Mate BOBAN have agreed and signed today in Geneva a joint statement on immediate cessation of hostilities between BH Army and HVO. The statement reads:

1. We order that the fighting between the BH Army and the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ be stopped immediately. We call on the Croats and Muslims to give their full support, because the fighting benefits only the aggressor.
2. Commanders of the BH Army Main Staff and the HVO Main Staff must immediately determine the responsibility for the outbreak of the fighting at all levels and form a joint command without delay.

Geneva, 27 January 1993

The document is signed by Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Mate BOBAN.

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Proposal of the Joint Statements of the President of the BH Presidency,
Alija Izetbegović and President of the HZ HB/Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/
Mate Boban, not being signed (Geneva, 1 February 1993)**

Mate Boban's proposal

Starting from the fact that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is internationally recognized as sovereign, independent and democratic state, having the intention to achieve permanent peace, to enable the refugees and expelled persons to return as soon as possible and, eventually, to disable every acquisition of any advantages, realized through the force and ethnic cleansing of the territory, Alija Izetbegović and Mate Boban, in the presence of the co-chairman of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, agreed to give the following statement:

We confirm our accordance with the principles of the future constitutional arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, established within nine paragraphs at the Geneva Conference, decisiveness for the peaceful solution of conflict and joint resistance to the aggression, if it continues. We order that the conflicts between the BH Army and HVO stop immediately. We invite the Croats and Muslims to a full support because the conflicts only benefit the aggressor.

Commanders of the main staff of the BH Army and the main staff of HVO are responsible to establish responsibility for the emerged conflicts at all levels and without postponing it and to form the joint command. We agree to immediately establish the free pass of people and goods as well as to remove all blockades on the roads. There is no dispute on the borders of provinces 3, 8 and 10, as proposed at the Geneva conference between the Croats and Muslims.

Till the new constitutional arrangement of BiH, the provinces shall temporary be governed by the special bodies, defined by the Geneva conference. They will consist of Croats and Muslims, based on the proportional number of each nation in each province.

We are convinced that this statement will remove all misunderstandings between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ's proposal

Proceeding from the fact that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is internationally recognised as a sovereign and independent state, and with the intention of establishing a lasting peace, enabling the soonest possible return of refugees and displaced persons, and preventing the gain of any advantages achieved by force and the ethnic cleansing of territories, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Mate BOBAN agreed in the presence of the co-chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to issue the following joint statement”

- We confirm our consent to the Principles of the future constitutional organisation of BiH, our commitment to a peaceful settlement of the conflict and our resolve to provide joint resistance to the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina should the aggression continue.

We hereby order that the conflicts between the units of the BH Army and the HVO cease immediately. Those who initiate these conflicts are working for the enemy. We therefore appeal to the Croatian and Moslem peoples and all other citizens to give full support to calming of situation because these conflicts are threatening the centuries-long harmonious life of these two peoples and benefit the aggressor alone. We shall immediately form a joint commission to implement this order, which will investigate where responsibility lies for the emergence of these conflicts. This commission shall form sub-commissions with the same task in the municipalities where conflicts have occurred. We will do everything to prevent the unauthorised activity of individual units or irresponsible individuals.

A joint command of the BH Army and HVO, as envisaged by earlier agreements, shall be formed without delay. The chief of staff of the joint command shall be from the ranks of the BH Army and his deputy from the ranks of the HVO. The staff formed in this way shall prepare a proposal for the composition of the commands of lower staffs and units as soon as possible. We agree that the free movement of people and goods be established immediately in liberated territory. All blockades on roads shall be lifted, and check-points, where they are necessary, shall be comprised of joint patrols. We agree, without prejudging the final solutions, that the borders of the provinces of Mostar and Travnik remain as proposed by the co-chairmen of the Conference, with the following conditions:

- official markings shall in future contain the name of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the name of the province. Neither state organs nor institutions that exercise public authority may bear a name or markings that mean, or could be interpreted to mean, laying claim to the province in question or its belonging to only one people.

In managing joint affairs, full equality shall be ensured of the Muslim, Croatian and all other peoples, as well as human and civil rights according to the standards accepted in the international community. Until a new constitutional order is established, the provinces shall be governed by provisional governing committees of the following national composition:

Mostar province - governor of the province and five members of the committee from the ranks of the Croatian people, a vice-governor and three members from the ranks of the Muslim people, and one member each from the ranks of the Serbian people and the category of "others";

Travnik province - a governor and four members from the ranks of the Croatian people, a vice-governor and four members from the ranks of the Muslim people, and one member each from the ranks of the Serbian people and the category of "others". All major decisions shall be adopted by a two-thirds majority, and others by a simple majority of the total number of members of the governing committee.

The existing municipalities shall continue to function within the frameworks of their present competencies, while applying the principle of proportional national representation in all their organs.

We consider that all the present disputed issues between the Muslim and Croatian peoples have hereby been resolved. All possible future disputed issues shall also be resolved through agreements.

**BH Army Main Staff and HVO/Croatian Defence Council/ Main Staff:
Mutual Agreement signed by the Chief of ABiH Main Staff and the Chief of
HVO Main Staff (Sarajevo, 11 February 1993)**

Based on the joint agreement between the Chief of the BH Army GŠ /Main Staff/ and the Chief of the HVO Main Staff, and with the aim of preventing further misunderstandings and conflicts between units of the BH Army and the HVO, and organising a common struggle against the aggressor, we hereby issue the following

ORDER

1. The commanders of the 3rd Corps of the BH Army and the HVO Central Bosnia Operative Zone (HADŽIHASANOVIĆ and BLAŠKIĆ) shall form a joint coordinating team consisting of three members from each side and headed by the above two gentlemen. The joint team shall have the following authority:
 - a) To issue joint orders.
 - b) To issue an order for units to immediately abandon positions between the HVO and the Army, fill in all trenches and bunkers built there and pull back troops to positions facing the aggressor.
 - c) To remove all barricades and obstacles in the zone of responsibility and urgently to ensure the return of the population to their homes, as well as unhindered communication along all roads (create conditions for the return of the legal authorities).
 - d) To issue an order for all units brought in from other areas to immediately withdraw to their positions before the outbreak of conflicts.
 - e) To visit all places where there have been conflicts, establish the situation, the reasons for the conflict and the level of responsibility of various individuals.
 - f) As a coordinating team, to solve immediately, on the spot and by personal example, all possible incidents which may occur.
 - g) To immediately and unconditionally release all captives, especially civilians.
 - h) The deadline for implementation is as follows: begin immediately and finish no later than 1200 hours on 15 February 1993, when a report in writing must be submitted.
2. The existing coordinating team of the BH Army and the HVO in Gornji Vakuf has the same tasks as described in item 1 of this order and shall transfer its authority also to the town of Bugojno.

3. The coordinating team formed in Mostar, headed by Mr. LASIĆ, Commander of the South-east Herzegovina OZ, and Mr. PAŠALIĆ, Commander of the 4th Corps, shall implement the tasks described in item 1 of this order within the zone of responsibility. They shall immediately focus their attention on the Konjic-Jablanica area.
4. All the coordinating teams described in items 1, 2 and 3 of this order also have the task of preparing proposals for the composition of the joint commands in the zones of responsibility, based on the agreement of Messrs. IZETBEGOVIĆ and BOBAN.
5. All commanders must take steps in their zones of responsibility as soon as possible to ensure that communications are open and accessible for normal communication. In case of any interruption of free and open communication, they must step in immediately and urgently report to the Main Staff of the BH Army and the HVO Main Staff. All transports which have been stopped should be allowed to continue immediately and the confiscated goods should be returned to their owners.

Chief of ABiH Main Staff
Sefer HALILOVIĆ

Chief of HVO Main Staff
Milivoj PETKOVIĆ

**The Vance-Owen plan: Agreement on future relations of
Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina
(New York, 3 March 1993)**

On 3 March 1993 in New York, ... the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, the Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haris SILAJDŽIĆ, the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Mate BOBAN, and the Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mile AKMADŽIĆ, signed an informal Muslim-Croatian agreement, which clarifies and establishes mutual relations in the transitional period of the implementation of the Vance-Owen peace plan as well as the role of the transitional Presidency as the main body for the implementation of the plan. Here is the agreement in its entirety.

Agreement

1. After President IZETBEGOVIĆ signed a comprehensive peace package, both parties agree that all provinces will be considered part of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and not national territory.
2. During the period of the transitional government, both parties agree to respect fully the authorised decisions of the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
3. After the peace agreements have been signed, the parties agree to display the current flag of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina along its international borders and on all public buildings until all the parties have passed a decision on their new flag in accordance with the new constitution.
4. The responsibility of the Presidency, the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the provinces will be in line with the letter and spirit of the constitutional principles accepted and signed by the parties.
5. In light of the letter regarding the supervision of heavy weapons written by General Nambiar on 1 March 1993, President IZETBEGOVIĆ has agreed to sign a military agreement.
6. The parties agree that the institution of the Presidency will be preserved during the period of the transitional government. The transitional Presidency will have nine members, that is to say, three representatives of each of the three constituent peoples. Since Constitutional Principle 7 envisages that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be demilitarised, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces will not continue to hold his post in the transitional Presidency.
7. The nine members of the transitional Presidency shall designate one member to hold the post of President of the Presidency. The President will act as head of state. Representatives of the constituent peoples will rotate at the post of President

every six months in accordance with the existing order of rotation (Muslim, Serb, Croat).

8. The transitional Presidency will pass decisions by consensus of its nine members either by a qualified majority of seven or a simple majority of five votes depending on whether these decisions refer to constitutional principles, especially important issues or the usual affairs of the Presidency. Should the members of the transitional Presidency be unable to reach agreement by a majority vote, they will seek advice from the Co-Chairmen, whose decision will be binding.
9. The parties have proposed the following six persons as members of the transitional Presidency: Fikret ABDIĆ, Mile AKMADŽIĆ, Franjo BORAS, Ejup GANIĆ, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Miro LASIĆ. The Co-Chairmen will ask the Bosnian Serbs to propose three Serbian representatives to participate in the work of the Presidency.
10. The parties agree that the continuity of the legal institutions of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be preserved during the transitional period as much as possible and in accordance with the nine constitutional principles.

**The Vance-Owen plan: Agreement on
Provisional Organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(New York, 25 March 1993)**

Agreement on Provisional Organisation

In New York on Thursday, the Muslim and Croatian delegations at the peace talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina signed a document entitled "Agreement on Provisional Organisation", which comprises part of the UN/EC peace plan. This organisation refers to an interim phase, from the general agreement of the three warring sides to the peace plan, to the holding of free elections. International mediators say this phase could last between one and two years. The document, which the Serbs have not signed, encompasses the following aspects:

TEMPORARY PRESIDENCY AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: The Presidency will comprise nine members, three representatives from each community (Muslims, Serbs and Croats). The function of head of state, which will rotate every six months, will be performed by one of the nine members who will serve as "president of the presidency". All three communities will have the opportunity to appoint their candidate when it is their turn. The presidency will have to appoint a prime minister and eight ministers, whose roles are indicated in the document.

BORDER COMMISSION: This commission will be responsible for examining any "border" alterations concerning the map of the division into provinces during the interim phase, and for providing opinions on the delineation of the 10 provinces, which will be incorporated in the future Constitution. As a UN commission, it will comprise five members, of whom three will be nominated by the three warring sides, while the other two will be assigned by the mediator of the Peace Conference.

SARAJEVO: The capital city will have an interim independent mayor in charge of the Council, the members of which will be appointed by the warring sides according to the breakdown of the city's population, as per the census conducted in 1991. The capital city will be managed "with the general responsibility of the presidency", but this must not have a bearing on the normal daily conduct of city affairs.

INTERIM PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS: Each of the 10 provinces will have a local government comprising a governor, vice governor, and 10 other members who will be appointed by the warring sides according to the ethnic breakdown of the population of each province, based on the 1991 census.

WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES: The province of Sarajevo will be demilitarised immediately. All Serbian forces will have to be withdrawn from the capital city to the three provinces that the Serbian community will control. Croatian forces present in the province of Sarajevo will have to be withdrawn to one of the two provinces where the Croats will be in the majority (in the north of the country). Muslim forces will have to be withdrawn to one of the provinces under their control, in the west of the republic. A demilitarisation process will be conducted in the nine remaining provinces

under the supervision of UNPROFOR, in accordance with the dates specified in the peace plan.

INTERNATIONAL BORDERS: These will initially be controlled by UNPROFOR, in coordination with the central government.

POLICE FORCES: Under the supervision of the provincial governments, their members will have to reflect the ethnic breakdown of the local population. There will be no armed and uniformed police forces at the national level.

PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE CESSATION OF ETHNIC CLEANSING: Human rights, to which all BH citizens shall be entitled, must be respected with the assistance of the provincial and national courts and an interim human rights court, with the presence of four ombudsmen (parliamentary commissioners appointed to protect the rights of citizens against maladministration by state authorities). Human rights observers and civilian police officers from UNPROFOR will be stationed throughout the country to ensure that the practice of “ethnic cleansing” is stopped.

INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITIES TO SUPERVISE ROADS: The free passage of people and goods will be ensured between the provinces and with the neighbouring republics of Serbia and Croatia, especially on roads under international supervision. To facilitate the fulfilment of this principle, UNPROFOR will gradually hand over control of the roads to the “international authorities for supervising roads”, which will include representatives of the central government and provincial governments.

The Vance-Owen plan: Izetbegović and Boban signed the entire Vance-Owen peace plan (New York, 25 March 1993)

The leaders of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims and Croats, on Thursday evening, signed the remaining documents of the Vance-Owen peace plan on Bosnia and Herzegovina, as reported by the world newspapers agencies.

“President Izetbegović and Mr. Boban signed both documents – the map and the agreement on the temporary power”- as stated by the spokesperson of the peace conference, Fred Eckhard. The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadžić, also being present at the first plenary meeting of the existing talks round, kept his earlier attitude – as added by Eckhard.

“Everything now depends on the international community” – stated Alija Izetbegović before signing the agreement.

From the persons close to the peace delegates, it can be found out that the Muslims would gain control over one additional province, within the project of the redacted map of the peace plan. The Croatian delegation, presided by Mate Boban had to sign both peace documents as well.

The plenary meeting in the presence of 3 delegations started as soon as Izetbegović arrived to the headquarters of the UN. No signature was expected from the Serbian side. The other member of the mission in UN, Ivan Mišić, stated that Izetbegović decided to initial the entire peace plan “after he got convinced by the USA that the peace plan would be implemented seriously.”

The Co-Chairman of the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance, estimated that the signatures of Muslims and Croats on the entire peace plan on Bosnia and Herzegovina, represent the “remarkable step forward”.

At the press conference in the headquarters of UN in New York, Vance expressed “regret” that the third party, the delegation of the Bosnian Serbs, headed by Radovan Karadžić decided not to sign the plan and returned home.

**The Vance-Owen plan: Terms of Alija Izetbegović regarding
the signing of the Vance-Owen peace plan
(New York, 25 March 1993)**

“In signing the Vance Owen peace plan for the Republic of BiH (the nine constitutional principles, the military agreement, the map of the proposed provinces, and the document on the interim phase), the BH state delegation:

1. Considers that the international community has been and shall continue to be, obliged to protect the independence and territorial integrity of BiH as a country under attack and in accordance with the UN Charter, international law, the decisions of the London Conference, and especially in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council pertaining to the aggression against BiH, irrespective of whether all sides sign these documents;
2. Our signatures on the proposed document will become invalid and we shall consider them void if the following conditions are not met:
 - a) if all sides, and especially the aggressor, do not sign the proposed documents without any amendments or conditions within a reasonable timeframe;
 - b) if the international community does not quickly take effective steps to put the signed documents into effect on the scale and in the manner dictated by the situation;
 - c) if the aggression continues;
3. None of the provisions of the signed documents can be interpreted or understood as deviating from the sovereignty of BiH as an independent and indivisible state entity. On the contrary, the signed documents should be interpreted and understood as confirmation and a vehicle for protecting and strengthening its integrity;
4. It goes without saying that those who have been declared war criminals or who are genuinely suspected of having incited, organised or perpetrated war crimes in BiH will not and cannot be appointed to senior positions in the state administration, either in the interim presidency or in the interim government;
5. The delegation of the BH Government expects and requests the international community and UN Security Council to continue efforts to establish a tribunal for war crimes committed in BiH and the former Yugoslavia;
6. Through today’s signing of the documents, the BH delegation is engaging in a peaceful attempt to halt the aggression and eliminate its effects, but at the same time it is not renouncing the legitimate right to self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter;
The Presidency and Government declare that if the peace efforts do not yield results, they will take all necessary measures to defend their people, and in that event would expect the Security Council to lift the arms embargo on BiH without delay;
7. The BH delegation expresses its gratitude to the United States and its special envoy in these talks, Ambassador Reginald BARTHOLOMEW, for their important contribution to efforts to overcome the difficulties that have arisen during these talks;
8. We are issuing this statement in connection with today’s signing of the documents, and we are submitting it to the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia with the request that it be included in the official documents of the Conference.”

**The President of the RH dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency
R BiH Alija Izetbegović: Joint Statement
(Zagreb, 27 March 1993)**

The President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo TUĐMAN, and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, following this evening's talks between the two delegations issued the following joint statement:

1. The Republic of Croatia welcomes the signing of the VANCE-OWEN plan by Mr. Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Mr. Mate BOBAN.
2. The President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo TUĐMAN, and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, demand the efficient and consistent implementation of the VANCE-OWEN plan by the international community, bearing in mind the bad experiences with the inefficacious implementation of the VANCE plan in the Republic of Croatia, which is being obstructed systematically by the Serbian side.
3. Both presidents draw the international community's attention to the continued aggression by Serbia and the SR /Federal Republic/ of Yugoslavia both on Bosnia and Herzegovina and on Croatia, which must be taken into account in planning the engagement of peacekeeping forces in BiH and the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia.
4. If the Serbian side does not fulfil the demands of the international community for the implementation of the VANCE-OWEN plan and continues with aggression, the presidents request that the embargo on imports of arms to Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina be lifted.
5. Presidents TUĐMAN and IZETBEGOVIĆ express their readiness for the closest possible cooperation in future between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and stress the need for comprehensive cooperation between the Croatian and the Muslim peoples in BiH in the implementation of the VANCE-OWEN plan, and especially in the event of continued aggression.

**The President of the BH Presidency, Alija Izetbegović, and the President
of the HZ HB /Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/, Mate Boban:
Joint Statement (Zagreb, 18 April 1993)**

Joint Statement on Croatian-Muslim Relations

The President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, and the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Mate BOBAN, discussed Croatian-Muslim relations today in Zagreb and then signed a joint public statement.

The statement reads as follows:

“First of all, all misunderstandings in the relations between the Croatian and Muslim peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be resolved by political means.

“Secondly, there is no reason for clashes between the BH Army and the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/.

“Thirdly, all units are hereby ordered to immediately stop clashes, release prisoners and eliminate causes through agreements at all levels.

“Fourthly, immediately establish the responsibility and intentions of units and individuals for starting the clashes.”

**BH Army and HVO/Croatian Defence Council/
Cease fire Agreement between HVO and BH Army
(Zenica, 21 April 1993)**

1. The BH Army and the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ are the legal military forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and have an equal status.
2. All commanders at all levels must observe and establish a complete and immediate cease-fire on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Any violations of the cease-fire for whatever reason are unacceptable. Both chiefs of the Supreme Commands should immediately issue orders that will be fully implemented.
3. A joint operations centre in Vitez has been formed at the level of the BH Army 3rd Corps and the HVO Central Bosnia Operations Zone, and a joint staff should be fully established in the coming days. At the beginning, the joint operations centre will be run by both deputy commanders and will include representatives of all brigades from both sides. It will be temporarily based in the existing Busovača Mixed Commission in Vitez, which will ensure close cooperation. UNPROFOR will provide all the necessary support, particularly with respect to security. Local joint commissions will be formed at the same time at the level of brigade commanders with the aim of providing full and immediate cooperation. The joint operations centre will start work on Wednesday 21 April and will immediately begin work in all areas. It will be in a position to give joint orders that will be immediately carried out on the ground.
4. The supreme commanders will meet every week in order to ensure the close and continuous cooperation of all their questions. Such meetings will be arranged alternately in Mostar or in Zenica. The next meeting will take place in Mostar.
5. Every day information will be gathered on the progress made at all levels. A joint report will be made every day at the level of Corps Commander and Operations Zone Commander, and both supreme commanders will be immediately informed.

Chief of BH Army Main Staff
Sefer HALILOVIĆ

Chief of HVO Main Staff
Milivoj PETKOVIĆ

witnesses:

Commander of the BH UNPROFOR
General Philippe MORILLON
Head of the ECMM Regional Centre, Zenica
Jean-Pierre THEBAULT

**Members of the BH Presidency, President and members of the BiH
Government (Croatian side): Statement
(Mostar, 21 April 1993)
Statement of BH Presidency members: Franjo Boras and Miro Lasić
and the President of the BiH Government Mile Akmadžić**

At the meeting of the Presidency members, President of the Government and the BH Government members from the Croatian side, held yesterday in Mostar, in relation to the aggression of the Muslim units, that is, the BH Army units to the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a following statement, which we reproduce in its entirety, is accepted:

“1. Herewith we notify the Croats in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who we represent as legitimate power bodies, as well as all relevant international factors that, due to the behaviour of the Muslim side, we are disabled and prevented in equal participation within the state power, which denies our right to homeland and state of BiH, in which the Croats are constituent nation.

2. The plan on Bosnia and Herzegovina as the exclusive Muslim state is realized under the demagogic propaganda platitude on the so called unique, integral BH state of citizens, which denies the rights of all three constituent nations to this state. The Muslim side issues decisions, which proclaims as state decisions without participation, consulting and even informing the legitimate representatives of the Croats within the power bodies, which are often directly in conflict with the Croatian interests as the constituent part of the state, such as the example of the open aggression of the Muslim units to HVO and the civil population in the Croatian areas. The idea of BiH as the exclusive Muslims state is directly confirmed by equalizing Croats with the Serbian aggressor and continuous media discrediting of the legal Croat officials.

3. By narrowing the constitutional-law frame, the proclaimed equality of the Croats in the Republic of BiH is entirely discredited, which actually becomes interest of the Muslim people only. The fact that the President of the Presidency, Alija Izetbegović after the expiry of the second mandate on 20th of December 1992 usurped the function contrary to the Constitution and without holding session of the Presidency, at which the agreement of all three constituent nations to such precedent would be demanded, shows the degree of denying right of the Croats in the BH Presidency.

4. The Muslim side prevented the Croatian officials in power from insight into the financial matters, which results in uncontrolled help from the international community for the entire BiH, however exclusively reserved for the Muslims. The parastatal establishments are formed as pure Muslims powers without participation of the Croatian representatives in the Presidency of the Republic which is in function of the BH Assembly – so called districts in the territory of the entire BiH and, eventually, the military aggression is carried out to Croats in BiH, along with devastation of civil, cultural and religious buildings, massacre, arrestment and expel of the Croatian civil population, which indisputably expresses the rejection of the Vance-Owen plan for the peaceful solution of conflicts in BiH.

5. The Croatian nation, represented through us in power does not consider legitimate all diplomatic-consular officials of the Republic of BiH, because they were appointed without agreement and participation of the Croatian side, which once again infringed the equality of Croats in BiH.

6. We officials of the Croatian nation within the power bodies of the R BiH Government neither abandoned nor we rejected the participation in the state power, but for all the above cited we request that the equality of Croats as the constituent nation that makes the Republic of BiH is guaranteed and enabled, if necessary through the arbitrage of the international factors – it is said in the statement that was signed in Mostar by the members of the BH Presidency, Franjo Boras and Miro Lasić, as well as the President of the BH Government, Mile Akmadžić.

**The President of the Presidency of the Republic of BiH Alija Izetbegović
and President of the HZ HB /Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/
Joint Statement on the Founding and Organisation of a
Joint Command of the BH Army and HVO /Croatian Defence Council/
(Zagreb, 24 April 1993)**

**Joint Statement of Presidents IZETBEGOVIĆ and BOBAN on
the Founding of a Joint Command of the BH Army and HVO**

Mr. Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Mr. Mate BOBAN issued – at the meeting convened in Zagreb on 24 April 1993 by the Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Lord David Owen in the presence of President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo TUDJMAN, Ambassador Peter HALL, Ambassador Herbert OKUN, Ambassador Geert AHRENS, Brigadier John WILSON, Brigadier MESSERVY-WHITING, Mr. Frederick ECKHART, Mr. d. LUDLOW, Mr. BRADE, Dr. Jure RADIĆ, Mr. Vladimir ŠEKS, Mr. Gojko ŠUŠAK, Dr. Zdenko ŠKRABALO, General Janko BOBETKO, Ambassador Zdravko SANČEVIĆ, Dr. Željko MATIĆ, Mr. Ivan JARNJAK, Dr. Branimir JAKŠIĆ, Brigadier Mile ČUK, Mr. Ejup GANIĆ, General Šefer HALILOVIĆ, Ambassador Bisera TURKOVIĆ, Ambassador Muhamed ŠAĆIRBEGOVIĆ, Mr. Kasim TRNKA and Major General Milivoj PETKOVIĆ – issued the following

Joint Statement

1. Pursuant to the Agreement concluded between Mr. Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, Mr. Haris SILAJDJIĆ, Mr. Mate BOBAN and Mr. Mile AKMADJIĆ in New York on 3 March 1993, the co-ordinating body made up of six members: Messrs. Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, Ejup GANIĆ and Fikret ABDIĆ, and Mate BOBAN, Mile AKMADJIĆ and Franjo BORAS, will start its work as soon as possible.

The co-ordinating body will work on the implementation of the Vance-Owen Plan as far as possible given the character of the provisions and current circumstances.

2. Regarding the resurgence of the conflict between the two armies (the BH Army and the HVO) in central Bosnia and some other parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that has resulted in massive killings and severe violations of international humanitarian law, all of which represents a threat of far-reaching political consequences, the co-signatories of this Joint Statement hereby order all BH Army and HVO military units to immediately cease fire and stop any hostilities in all the places in which these units are in mutual contact.
3. The co-signatories of this Joint Statement call on all the commanders and units of the BH Army and the HVO to comply unconditionally with all the agreements concluded so far between the Croatian and the Muslim peoples in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They call in particular on all military units of the BH

Army and the HVO to start implementing without delay the provisions of the Agreement stipulating that the BH Army and the HVO are equally legal units and establishing a joint command of these forces made up of representatives of both staffs. (Supplement 1).

4. The signatories of this Joint Statement reaffirm that the conflicts between the HVO and the BH Army forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are contrary to the policy advocated by the representatives of these two peoples, and their continuation would pose a serious threat to the achievement of their political aims, namely: independence, autonomy and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the framework of the Vance-Owen Plan, which the co-signatories accepted and signed, and success in the struggle against the aggressor who wants to dismember this country, occupy its territory and annex the occupied territories to a Greater Serbia.
5. The signatories of the Joint Statement strongly condemn any violation of the rules of international humanitarian law, irrespective of the perpetrator - and according to the information gathered so far both parties are to blame - and commit themselves to instigate urgently joint and individual investigations of each individual case of violation, raise without delay the issue of personal responsibility for the conflicts and the responsibility of perpetrators of crimes against the civilians. The signatories are also agreed that a special independent international commission should establish the facts.
6. The signatories for their part call for an end to mutual accusations that are developing into a media war.

Mate BOBAN

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

Witnessed by:
Dr. Franjo TUDJMAN

Zagreb, 25 April 1993 at 0045 hrs.

Annex 1

The Structure of the BH Army and HVO Command

1. The BH Army and the HVO will keep their respective identities and structure of command. Their activities will involve all types of staff, logistics, leadership, training, morale and identity.

2. They will establish a joint command that will be responsible for supervising the operations of military districts.
3. The joint command will comprise two supreme commanders – General HALILOVIĆ and General PETKOVIĆ, who will meet regularly, at least once a week. They will establish a permanent joint main staff that will have its quarters in Travnik and will include at least three senior officers appointed by each supreme commander. These officers will work together on a permanent basis to plan and supervise the operations of all units of the BH Army and the HVO.
4. The two supreme commanders will establish military districts with a joint staff; the areas of their operations will correspond to the requirements of joint operations, rather than provisional province borders. Their territories will not overlap. Each military district will have a commander and a deputy appointed by the joint command. In each case, one will be from the BH Army, and the other from the HVO.
5. Each military district will have operational control over all the BH Army and HVO units on its territory.

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

Mate BOBAN

General Šefer HALILOVIĆ

Major General Milivoj PETKOVIĆ

Zagreb, 25 April 1993 at 0045 hrs

**House of the Representatives of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia:
Appeal to Muslims and Croats in BiH to stop the conflicts
(Zagreb, 30 April 1993)**

According to article 113 of Rules of Procedure of House of Representatives of the Parliament of the Republic of the Croatia, The House of Representatives of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia, on the session on 30 April 1993 adopted

CONCLUSION

1. In order to protect human lives and defend the historical partnership and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Greater Serbian aggression, Muslims and Croats, the conflicting parties in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are called to immediately suspend all armed conflicts in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with the agreement signed by representatives of both peoples.
2. Conflicting parties which are still failing to honour the agreement are called to resolve all existing disagreements in a peaceful way through the civilian and military representatives of both peoples.
3. The Chamber of Representatives of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia emphasises that the historical partnership of the Muslims and Croats is a precondition for the survival of both peoples in the State territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the basis for preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its future.
4. Both peoples are called to resist with joint forces the Serbian imperialistic aggression whose objective is to annihilate both peoples and annex Bosnia and Herzegovina to a Greater Serbia.
5. With the aim of promoting a peaceful solution to existing disagreements and preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the friendly, neighbouring State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Chamber of Representatives of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia shall send a multi-party delegation on a mission of peace and good will.

Class: 800-01/93-01/07
Zagreb, 30 April 1993

CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
President of the Chamber of Representatives of the Parliament
Stjepan Mesić, m.p.

**The state delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Turkey:
Text of Joint declaration signed after official talks between Turkey and Croatia
(Ankara, 30 April 1993)**

Joint declaration on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia

After talks in Ankara, the state delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Turkey, headed by President Dr Franjo TUĐMAN and Prime Minister Suleyman DEMIREL respectively, signed a joint declaration on the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We hereby publish the declaration in its entirety:

"Turkey and Croatia are deeply concerned by the gravity of the situation in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Our two countries share the concern that any prolongation of this crisis may lead to a wider regional conflict and even a global conflict with unforeseeable consequences for the world order and civilisation.

"Turkey and Croatia are two countries in this region with a special interest in preserving peace and stability and in promoting the spirit of cooperation. Both countries are convinced that the current conflict in the region is not a consequence of historically generated ethnic, religious and cultural hatred.

"Turkey and Croatia share the view that the causes of the crisis in the region are the militant nationalistic expansionism and racist policies, whose aim is to create a Greater Serbia.

"Both countries strongly condemn the continued aggression by the SR /Federal Republic/ of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) against the independence, territorial integrity and unity of their neighbouring countries Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"They also strongly condemn the shocking practice of genocidal ethnic cleansing as a method of creating an ethnically homogeneous entity, as well as other crimes against humanity and international law.

"Turkey and Croatia believe that the policy of gaining territory by force, employed by the SR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), represents a real threat to the security of the countries in the region.

"Both countries believe that the key to restoring peace and stability in the entire region would be to stop the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and to find a political solution to the crisis.

"Turkey and Croatia are deeply disappointed by the inability of the international community to take decisive measures to stop the aggression against a sovereign member of the United Nations.

"In addition, Turkey and Croatia are saddened that the international community is still unable to, or does not want to, persuade the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan that has already been signed by the Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

"Both countries believe that to fail to punish Serbian aggression would lead to yet more internal instability, lack of trust, that it would shatter illusions and would be a source of frustration for Bosnian Muslims and Croats, all of which would lead to sporadic clashes breaking out.

"Turkey and Croatia believe that these clashes only serve the aggressor's aim and create an excuse to postpone more effective measures, thus undermining the long-term strategic interests of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, as well as those of the Muslim and Croatian communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"Both countries have agreed to set up a joint government mission of good will that would be sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to assess the situation between the Muslims and Croatian communities and to assist in setting up the process of restoring trust and introducing a mechanism to prevent further clashes.

"Turkey and Croatia are prepared to contribute significantly to the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of future efforts of the international scene. Our two countries have expressed their readiness immediately to consider ways, through a continuing dialogue between their two ministers of foreign affairs, of helping the international community to stop the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to find a lasting political solution under a United Nations mandate.

"To this end they are giving their support to the latest attempt by the co-chair of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to hold a meeting in Athena that would be attended by all sides in the conflict in order to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis. To this aim they are demanding immediate cessation of all military activities in this area.

"Turkey and Croatia firmly believe that, in the absence of any positive and cooperative approach and of a real and sincere agreement in Athens by the SR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to the implementation of the internationally agreed peace plan, the international community shall have no other choice but to impose peace through credible and effective military measures, to be decided by the UN Security Council."

The President of HZ HB /Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/ Mate Boban: Letter to the UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali (Mostar, 7 May 1993)

President of the HZ Herceg-Bosna asks the international community to stop the Muslim aggression against the Croatian people in BiH

MOSTAR – Regarding the expansion of the Muslim aggression against the Croatian people in a part of BiH historically populated by Croats, in a letter sent to the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Mate Boban, informed that, by rejecting the peace plan, the Muslim are implementing the idea of establishing a unitary, Muslim-oriented state.

Boban pointed out in the letter that he signed a Joint Statement on the Establishment of Peace and Implementation of the Vance-Owen Plan with Alija Izetbegović in Zagreb on 24 January 1993, detailing the obligations of both sides and that they also tried to stop the clashes between the two armies in the provinces 8 and 10, which the Muslim troops caused by planned attacks. At the peace talks on the Republic of BiH in Athens on 1st and 2nd May 1993 the Croatian delegation also informed the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference, Lord Owen, Vance and Stoltenberg and other international factors present that the Croatian side had fulfilled its commitments under the Statement.

"Despite the fact that the Croatian side has been repeatedly warning of a possible absence of honest intentions, these developments clearly indicate a dishonest and inconsistent approach to the peace efforts on the part of the Muslim side. This is a factual rejection of the peace plan and the implementation of the idea of establishing a unitary, Muslim-oriented state", the letter states.

It adds that the Muslim aggression in the provinces 8 and 10 started when Alija Izetbegović one-sidedly suspended the local temporary government and appointed Dr. Safet Ćibo, The President of Konjic, Jablanica and Prozor Municipality. Contravening the provisions on the organisation of the Republic of BiH in the transitional period. Safet Ćibo by his actions is trying to annul the plan which was signed, that he refers to as "so-called", the letter goes on, adding that a strong anti-Croatian campaign by all the Muslim media directed at a real non-implementation of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan, marked the start of brutal military aggression by Muslim units against the Croatian population and provinces 8 and 10 that the Croatian response to the aggression was a futile attempt to peacefully solve the problem.

Such attempt, the letter states, and the Statement of 25 April 1993, during which and even after the signing of the Statement the Muslim forces intensified attacks breaking the principles of the 1st, 3rd and 4th Geneva Conventions and the Convention on genocide.

The letter says that the Muslim forces prevented all international factors – UNPROFOR, ICRC, EC, UNHCR – from making a tour of inspection and establishing the facts in the area of the Jablanica and Konjic municipality from 16 April to this day despite the agreements reached several times between the Commanders in Chief of the two armies, Milivoj Petković and Sefer Halilović. In addition, the Croatian side made access possible to all the villages controlled by HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ units, where an on-site investigation by independent members of UNPROFOR, EC, ICRC established a situation which refutes the claims made by the Muslims.

" Please use your influence to make the Muslim side to immediately and urgently, by Tuesday, 11 May 1993, release several thousand captured Croats from the Muslim camps in Zenica, Konjic, Čelebić, Tarčin, Ovčari, Podorašac, Ostrožac and elsewhere, which include political officials of the Croatian people and priests and nuns; to enable Croats to move freely in the areas of Zenica, Konjic and Jablanica, urgent access to the occupied areas in Konjic and Jablanica Municipality to bury the dead, evacuate the wounded, sick and feeble and allow free movement for everyone; to stop the brutal treatment of the civilian population, cease destroying material goods and immediately stop all military attacks.

Ineffectiveness on the part of these international factors, who were given a mandate to protect and help the endangered population, will direct our efforts at measures that will effectively protect the Croatian population, property, sacral buildings, the historic and cultural heritage, and all the other rights of the Croats in BiH. We hope that your intervention with the Muslim leadership will effectively remove the reasons, and that we will not have to resort to the ultimate means for protection of our very existence, the wounded, elderly, sick and children" as letter points out, adding:

“Throughout this bloody war, before the international community, the Croatian people in BiH saw only their obligations, not asking for and often ceding their rights to others. Now is the moment to request for the first time equal treatment for the Croatian people, who have been treacherously, unscrupulously and religiously attacked. I am deeply convinced that you will personally see to it that this letter is discussed by all the UN and EC political structures, because the Croatian people in BiH do not have diplomatic representatives abroad”, says the letter of the President of the Croatian Community of Hercegovina to Boutros Ghali, in closing.

He sent the letter to the President and all the members countries of the UN Security Council, the EC Co-Chairman David Owen, Co-Chairman of UN Thorvald Stoltenberg, US Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Andrej Kozirev, Foreign Minister of the FR Germany Klaus Kinkel, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé, Australian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman and Mr. Alija Izetbegović.

**The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman:
Letter to the President of the Presidency of the BiH Alija Izetbegović
and the President of the HZ HB /Croatian Community Herceg-Bosna/ Mate Boban
(Zagreb, 10 May 1993)**

Alarmed and profoundly concerned by the renewed deepening of conflicts between Croats and Muslims in certain parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I wish to appeal to you with the following message:

After thorough and open talks on the night of 24/25 April 1993 in Zagreb you signed the Joint Statement on the elimination of any misunderstandings between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the formation of a joint command of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and HVO (Croatian Defence Council), a document co-signed by your subordinate general Sefer Halilović and Milivoj Petković:

This agreement was also co-signed by myself as a witness in presence of the Co-Chairman of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia Lord David Owen.

These conflicts did indeed cease in the days following the signing of the statement, but then they began to worsen again in alarming proportions, and if they continue to do so, they may provoke tragic consequences for both peoples and will play into the hands of none other than the Serbian aggressor.

Since then Croatia has already taken several steps in an attempt to prevent further conflicts:

1. The Croatian Parliament has assigned to Bosnia-Herzegovina a multi-party parliamentary delegation which has as yet not been able to visit the crisis area;
2. During my recent visit to Turkey we reached an agreement to send to Bosnia-Herzegovina a joint Turkish-Croatian governmental delegation which will embark in the next days on a mission of goodwill to calm the conflicts and restore mutual trust;
3. Yesterday, 9 May 1993, I agreed with Mr. Šetko Omerbašić, President of the Meshihat of the Islamic Community of Croatia and Slovenia, that he join the group of Croatian representatives and to Bosnia-Herzegovina, also with the task of acting in the interest of the establishment of peace and co-operation between Croats and Muslims.

I also wish to remind you of the co-operation agreements between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina which we signed in Zagreb on 21 July 1992 and in New York on 21 September 1992 and in which we agreed on your viewpoints in relation to the struggle against the Serbian aggressor assisted by the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

I most strongly condemn the armed conflicts between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, irrespective of which party has caused them.

I call upon you to do your utmost to put an immediate end to these conflicts, to ensure co-operation between Muslim and Croatian forces, i.e. between the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO in their joint struggle against the Serbian aggressor and the creation of the preconditions so that the peace making efforts of the international community will be feasible and successful.

In particular I appeal to all Muslims who have been offered protection and asylum in Croatia during this aggression to influence their compatriots to refrain from any conflicts with Croats and to ensure their mutual co-operation. I also call upon all Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina not to allow themselves to be fooled by provocations and to do their best to avoid this highly detrimental conflict.

Once again I appeal to you to immediately order all your commanders and units to end all conflicts without any delay and to start co-operation in the spirit of the agreements and statements already signed.

**BH Prime Minister Mile Akmadžić:
Letter to the UN Security Council
(Čitluk, 11 May 1993)**

Due to certain unverified, one-sided interpretations and unfounded standpoints in the Joint Statement on BiH /Bosnia and Herzegovina/, which the Security Council accepted in connection with the latest clashes in Mostar, members of the Presidency and Government of the Republic of BiH sent a letter from today's meeting in Čitluk to the UN Security Council, UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali and co-chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg. In the letter they stressed that calling the Croatian Defence Council "paramilitary units of the Bosnian Croats" was unacceptable, false and insulting because HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ units were established and defined as the first, and for a long time the only, regular defence army of the Republic of BiH.

"That, incidentally, is also well known to the Security Council, because in the fourth paragraph of the Statement, it asks that the HVO guarantee security to UNPROFOR. If these really were irregular paramilitary units, there would be no sense in asking them to guarantee security and to respect the decisions of the United Nations," said the letter, signed by the BH Prime Minister, Mile AKMADŽIĆ.

"The Statement explicitly mentions the alleged Croatian offensive against Mostar, Jablanica and Drežnica. UNPROFOR units can go to Jablanica and Drežnica and see for themselves that there are no conflicts there. UNPROFOR can enter those places, as opposed to Konjic and 18 Croatian villages in that region into which the Muslim army has for a month been preventing the entry of journalists and all international envoys in order to cover up crimes committed against the Croatian civilian population. That massacre is, on the other hand, not mentioned in a single word by the Security Council.

"We consider the terminological ambiguities expressed at the end of the second paragraph of the Statement as the grossest mistake and inaccuracy. The issue here is the naming of the parties that are co-signatories to the truce agreement as the "Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and the "Bosnian Croatian side," the letter says.

At the meeting in Čitluk, the attending Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, four Government ministers, the deputy and the assistant ministers of foreign affairs, as well as two members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, warned the Security Council that "abuse of the legitimacy and use of the name of Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina by only the

Muslim part of the authorities in Sarajevo is unacceptable, and we have already warned of this in the statement from the meeting in Mostar of 29 April, as well as in the note verbale of 6 May this year.

“We call to mind the conclusion that we deny the Muslim part of the Government in Sarajevo the legitimacy to take over solely for themselves institutions of authority, the right to represent, act on behalf of and use the official names in the organs of authority of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and embassies of the Republic of BiH in the world.

“We also call to mind that there is no such thing as the Bosnian Croat side in the Republic of BiH. The Croatian people are expressing their political will through representatives of the Croatian Democratic Union - the HDZ, according to the results of the democratic elections of the citizens of BiH from 1991, when, in a free vote of the Croatian people, that party was given full legitimacy to express the will of Croats in BiH and to represent their interests.

“The President of the HDZ of BiH, Mr Mate BOBAN, represents the political will of Croats in BiH also as the elected president of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna. It is completely unclear with what arguments the Croatian side is being accused in the Statement of conduct which is “completely inconsistent” with its signature on the Peace Plan for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We consider such an assessment one-sided and unfounded, because it is precisely the Croatian side, both during the negotiations and after the signing of the plan, which demonstrated a high degree of cooperativeness and readiness for the plan to start being implemented as soon as possible. By such a statement, the VS /Security Council/ refutes even itself, because following the signing of the Vance-Owen plan by the representative of the Muslim people, Mr Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, at a special session of the Security Council, tribute was paid to the delegates of the Croatian people for their overall contribution to the peace negotiations.

“On the other hand, the Muslim side has shown with its conduct and aggression against Croatian units and civilians (about which information and documents exist which have already been presented to the Security Council, the United Nations Secretary General, the foreign ministers of the European Community countries, and the international media) a lack of readiness to accept the plan, demonstrating the intent to change its provisions significantly through activities on the ground, including forcefully changing the demographic picture, and even ethnic cleansing of the Croatian population in parts of province 8 and province 10 of the Vance-Owen plan.

“Such terminological ambiguities and incorrect assessments could be the result of insufficient knowledge and wrong information, or on the other hand bias. In both cases, actions which are incompatible with the high reputation and international importance of the United Nations Security Council are involved.

“We hope that you will correct your mistake; it is certainly the result of false information. The Croatian people, one of the three constituent and state-building peoples in BiH, will, through their legal representatives, continue to cooperate completely rationally and constructively with all international factors, and especially the Security Council, on the establishment of peace and the creation of an independent Bosnia and Herzegovina,” said the letter, signed by BH Prime Minister Mile AKMADŽIĆ.

AGREEMENT ON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CONCLUDED BETWEEN GEN MILIVOJ PETKOVIC AND GEN SEFER HALILOVIC
ON 12 MAY 93
IN THE PRESENCE OF LT GEN PHILIPPE MORILLON
AND ECMM/HRC JEAN-PIERRE THEBAULT

Contracting Parties :

Gen. Sefer Halilovic

and

Gen. Milivoj Petkovic

Reconfirming their will to establish peace within the territory of Bosnia Hercegovina;

Reconfirming that all persons and property should be free from armed attacks and from any other hostile act;

Reconfirming also that the GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF 12 AUGUST 1949 AND THE PROTOCOL ADDITIONAL TO THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF 12 AUGUST 1949, AND RELATING TO THE PROTECTION OF VICTIMS OF INTERNATIONAL ARMED CONFLICTS (PROTOCOL 1) are fully applicable in the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

have agreed on the following :

ARTICLE 1

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Absolute freedom of movement to be restored and guaranteed, not only for UNPROFOR, ECMM and Humanitarian Aid agencies, but also for all logistic supply and support convoys of both parties on all routes and especially on the routes:

1. DOLJANI - MOSTAR - JABLANICA - KONIJIC - PAZARIC - TARCIN - KISELJAK - VISOKO - TUZLA and
2. POSUSJE - PROZOR - GORNJI VAKUF - TRAVNIK - ZENICA - VITEZ - BUSOVACA.

Freedom of movement will also be guaranteed for civilians to travel throughout the country.

Control of routes will be maintained by civilian police only. Check Points and route patrols will be manned by mixed police units with the assistance of UNCIVPOL who, in case of necessity, will resolve disputes between the police of the two sides. Military units will not exercise any control.

On a temporary basis, until the implementation of the Vance Owen Plan, these mixed units will be established in MOSTAR, TRAVNIK and ZENICA after agreement between the existing police forces.

ARTICLE 2

DEPLOYMENT OF UNPROFOR

One Company of the Spanish Battalion will be deployed and accommodated in MOSTAR at the airport until more suitable accommodation can be found. The deployment will be on both sides of the NERETVA river. Deployment will begin 1800 hours 12 May 1993.

The Company located in JABLANICA will continue to patrol the routes between JABLANICA-TARCIN, JABLANICA-KOSTAJNICA and start patrolling between OSTROZAC-TRUSINA-SEONICA-VRCI.

The British Battalion will continue to patrol the route JABLANICA-PROZOR-GORNJI VAKUF.

ARTICLE 3

WITHDRAWAL OF ARMED FORCES

In MOSTAR, all military units will be withdrawn and confined in their barracks: the BiH Army in the Southern Camp and in Konak Barracks, the HVO units and the HQ of the Operational Zone of South East Herzegovina in the Northern Camp and at the Heliodrom. The withdrawal will take place after the deployment of UNPROFOR and by 1200 hours on 13 May 1993. In the area of KOSTAJNICA and KONJIC, HVO units will be deployed in a few villages in the area marked on the attached map. BH Army will withdraw out of this area to their own villages.

ARTICLE 4

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

Both parties agree to the immediate release of all civilian detainees without any conditions and to be fully completed on 13 May 1993.

This will be followed by an exchange of all Prisoners of War. A list of all Prisoners of War will be presented to the International Committee of the Red Cross no later than 1200 hours 13 May 1993.

ARTICLE 5

RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSONS

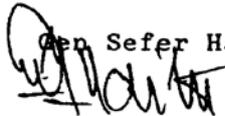
Both sides will provide all assistance in restoring displaced persons to their own properties or places of residence. Both sides also guarantee the safety and security of displaced persons.



ARTICLE 6

All areas of dispute will be solved by negotiations by both parties in the presence of UNPROFOR and ECMM.

signed:

Gen Sefer Halilovic


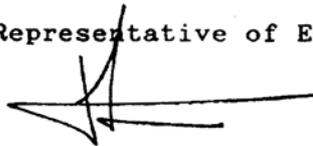
Gen Milivoj Petkovic


witnessed by:

Lt Gen Philippe Morillon
Representative of UNPROFOR



Ambassador Jean-Pierre Thebault
Representative of ECMM



12 May 1993



**The President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman:
Letter to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali
(Zagreb, 12 May 1993)**

Letter from Dr TUĐMAN to UN Secretary-General BOUTROS-GHALI

“Almost fifteen months have passed since UNPROFOR took up its peace mission on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Sadly, many of the goals in the Vance-Owen plan, which were included in your reports and confirmed in the appropriate resolutions by the Security Council, have not been achieved. I am therefore appealing to you to continue the operation to strengthen and reconfirm UNPROFOR's mandate.

I take this opportunity to express our gratitude for the tremendous effort put in by the United Nations, the UN member states, the UN Secretariat and the Security Council, as well as for the courage shown by the United Nations protection forces and UN agencies while carrying out their duties. We are deeply saddened by the loss of the lives of UNPROFOR military and civilian staff in the course of performing their noble work.

In the letter I sent to you on 19 March 1993 (S/25447) I expressed Croatia's overall stand towards UNPROFOR and invited the United Nations to take the necessary steps to improve the efficiency of UNPROFOR and in order to achieve the main goals of the Vance-Owen plan. With this in mind, I would like to confirm the stand of the Republic of Croatia and to present the following facts and newly arisen situations, which we consider of vital importance for a peaceful solution to the problem caused by the aggression against the Republic of Croatia and the crisis in the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia.

1. On the entire territory of the UNPAs "all paramilitary, irregular or volunteer units or other personnel would either be withdrawn from the UNPAs or, if resident in them, be disbanded and demobilised" as soon as possible, as stated in the Vance plan (S/23280, Annex III, paragraph 15d). The current situation in the UNPAs is not in line with these provisions. The Serbian police is heavily armed and constantly uses artillery against Croatian civilian targets, including old coastal towns, such as Zadar, Šibenik and Dubrovnik. Bellicose Serbian nationalists in the UNPAs use their military might not only to attack Croatian civilian and military targets, but also to terrorise the more moderate Serbs who are not in favour of their radical policies. The process of demilitarisation will also have an extremely positive effect on the peace process in the neighbouring republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
2. Croatia should be enabled to establish its state authority throughout the so-called "pink zones". I must stress that these areas are not UNPAs and are regarded as a temporary solution, which Croatia accepted voluntarily. In your report S/24188 of 26 June 1992 you said that steps must be taken in order "to ensure a step-by-step re-introduction of Croatian state authority to the parts that are currently under the control of Serbian forces. Almost a year after the adoption of Resolution 767 (1992), which set up the "pink zone", the

Republic of Croatia is still waiting for UNPROFOR to contribute actively to the successful completion of this goal. I would therefore like to draw your attention to the need to take the necessary steps in order to re-establish Croatian state authority in the "pink zones".

3. It is important that refugees begin returning to their homes as soon as possible. This is not only a political issue of the greatest importance, but also an economic matter. The endless stream of refugees is a heavy burden to the Croatian economy. The Republic of Croatia has already sent the General Assembly and the Security Council numerous documents that concern this matter. However, I would like to draw your attention once more to the fact that Croatia is accommodating over half a million refugees, 250,000 of whom are Muslims from our neighbouring Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In order to begin finally the process of effective completion of these goals, please allow me to point to several steps that need to be taken:

- a) A full implementation of Security Council Resolution 802 (1993) through decisive measures in order to speed up the negotiations being held under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia as the first step in the process of demilitarisation of all the zones under the protection of the UN (UNPAs).
- b) The establishment of complete control by UNPROFOR of the international border between the Republic of Croatia and SRJ /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/ (Serbia and Montenegro), which is currently in UNPA /sector/ East, as stipulated in Security Council Resolution 769 (1993), thus stepping up the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 757 (1992), 787 (1992) and 820 (1993) in particular.
- c) Opening of main railway lines and roads in the UNPAs, of oil pipelines and power lines as a way of establishing trust and because of their logistical importance to the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- d) Posting international monitors on the border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the UNPAs, as stipulated in your report S/24353 (paragraphs 21 and 22), in order to prevent military operations against these two republics and to assist the implementation of the Vance plan in Croatia and the Vance-Owen plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Vance plan for Croatia and the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina are the pillars on which the process rests. The success of a peaceful operation in the Republic of Croatia is directly linked to the success of a permanent peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and *vice versa*. While I understand perfectly the interconnectedness of the current peace process in these two republics, the peace process in Croatia must not be delayed because of the situation developing in Bosnia

and Herzegovina. On the contrary, it should serve as an example for the successful maintenance and restoration of peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The recent tragic clashes between Croatian and Muslim forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina show that any delay in support of and, if the need arises, forceful implementation of the peace plans could decrease the prospects of success.

The Republic of Croatia especially welcomes Security Council Resolution 815 (1993) which states that "the UNPAs are an integral part of the Republic of Croatia". This is an important foundation on which to build a comprehensive peace process in this area and a fact that must be acknowledged by all the sides involved in the conflict in the area of former Yugoslavia.

I would like to say once more that the Republic of Croatia considers the peace process the most favourable means of reaching an overall solution to the crisis. It is not only vital that all sides participate in this process, but also that they recognise the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the state members of the UN in this area. We would like minorities in the countries in this region to serve as a bridge for peaceful cooperation and not as a *casus belli*. With this in mind, we would like to inform you that the Croatian Government has prepared a package of various measures to establish trust, which are especially directed at normalising the situation in the UNPAs and at re-introduction the areas gradually into the Republic of Croatia. I would especially like to draw your attention to the recently established State Council for Normalisation of Relations between Croatia and Serbia and to its activities. At the same time, those who continue attacking towns, civilians or Croatian military or civilian forces should be aware of their responsibilities and should finally find themselves before the international court for war crimes.

Bearing in mind Security Council Resolution 815 (1993), which extends the mandate for an additional period of time ending on 30 June 1993, we would like our suggestions to be considered carefully when the new UNPROFOR mandate is being decided. I sincerely hope that the Republic of Croatia will not be put in a position where it must re-examine its decision to extend UNPROFOR's mandate, and I would therefore like to give my assurances that we remain, at this moment, dedicated to the peace process under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia," concludes the letter from President of the Republic of Croatia Dr Franjo Tudman.

**The President of the Ministers Council of the EC Niels Helveg Petersen:
Letter to the President of the RH Dr. Franjo Tuđman
(12 May 1993)**

**Letter of the President of the of the European Community Ministers
Council, Danish Minister of Foreign Affaires, Niels Helveg Petersen**

The President of the Ministers Council of the European Community, Danish Minister of Foreign Affaires, Niels Helveg Petersen addressed the letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia, Doctor Franjo Tuđman as follows:

« Your Excellency,

on behalf of the European Community and its member states I refer to you in relation to the situation in Central and Western Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The European Community and its member states are petrified by the constant Croatian attacks and violence towards the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially by the recent events in Ahmići and Mostar.

The Bosnian Croats signed the Vance-Owen peace plan, however it seems that they do not act in accordance with it. More over, reports on direct Croatian interference into the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina are disturbing.

The Community and its member states already warned the Croatian leadership that it won't be possible for the Croatian European friends to support Croatia if the violence, conflicts and ethnic cleansing, committed by the Croats, does not stop.

As to considering the development of closer relations to Croatia, the Community and its member states shall take into consideration the cooperation of the Bosnian Croats as well as the Croatian cooperation with the peace efforts and respect of the internationally accepted behaviour standards.

If the Croatian bad behaviour continues in the same measure, the international community must discuss further, more rigorous measures against Croatia, in accordance with those that we used as response to the Serbian interference and perpetration of horrors in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The European Community and its member states request for quick, clear and substantial declaration that would clearly show that the Croatian leadership not only does everything in order to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also that it is successful in it.”

**The President of the RH /Republic of Croatia/, Dr. Franjo Tuđman:
Letter to Niels Helveg Petersen, the President of the
Council of Ministers of the European Community
(Zagreb, 13 May 1993)**

Letter from the President of the Republic of Croatia

Your Excellency,

I have received your letter dated 12 May 1993, which the European Community and its member states sent to me as President of the Republic.

Just as the European Community and its member states are shocked by the most recent developments in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I am deeply concerned and am using all my influence to end the tragic events in the neighbouring country. The European Community and its member states are probably fully aware of some steps I have taken recently, since the outbreak of hostilities between the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It might be needless to repeat them here; all the same, I will outline them briefly in order to inform the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

1. On 24/25 April 1993, Lord David OWEN and I invited Mr Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Mr Mate BOBAN to a meeting in Zagreb. They were accompanied by their military commanders. A number of UN, UNPROFOR and European Community officials also attended the meeting. During the meeting, among other decisions, an order by Mr IZETBEGOVINĆ and Mr BOBAN was issued to all military units of the Army of BiH/Bosnia and Herzegovina/ and the Croatian Defence Council to cease hostilities immediately.
2. Fully aware of the possible disastrous consequences of the hostilities between the Croatian and Muslim forces in BiH, his Excellency Suleyman DEMIREL and I made a joint appeal, during my official visit to Turkey at the end of April, to the Croatian and Muslim leaders to end combat immediately. Furthermore, we agreed that a joint Croatian-Turkish peace mission would mediate between the Croats and Muslims in BiH. The mission is ready to do this in the next few days.
3. Last week, the Croatian Parliament sent a multiparty parliamentary delegation to BiH to mediate between the opposing sides, but the Muslim forces denied the delegation access to the crisis areas.
4. On 9 May 1993, I met with Mr Ševko OMERBAŠIĆ, Head of the Muslim religious community of Croatia and Slovenia. We agreed that he, together with some Croatian dignitaries, would go to BiH with the task of restoring peace and trust between the Croats and Muslims.
5. On 10 May 1993, I sent an important urgent message to Mr IZETBEGOVIĆ and Mr BOBAN to remind them of their agreement of 24/25 April 1993 and to strongly condemn the continuation of armed conflicts in BiH, as well as to demand from both sides that they cease hostilities and adhere to their obligations.

6. On 11 May 1993, the Croatian Government issued a determined statement urging Croats and Muslims in BiH to cease hostilities which threaten to have grave consequences for both peoples.
7. On 11 May 1993, the Croatian Council for Defence and National Security, under my chairmanship, urged all Muslim and Croatian military formations, involved in conflicts, to cease hostilities immediately, as they could only harm both sides, which would work to the advantage of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor. The Council agreed to propose to Mr IZETBEGOVIĆ and Mr Milo AKMADŽIĆ, Bosnian Prime Minister, to have a meeting with state delegations of Croatia and BiH in Mostar in the hope that this would help end the conflict and ease the tensions between the Croats and Muslims. It was proposed that the meeting be attended by the co-chairs of the Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. I offered to go to Mostar myself, at considerable personal risk, to help achieve positive results.

I would also like to suggest, if I may, that the European Community and its member states – before they prematurely blame only the Croats in Bosnia – be briefed on the contents of the meeting held on 11 May 1993 in Grude, which was attended by UNPROFOR officers, European Community Monitors and Croatian representatives in BiH, and on General Philippe MORILLON's statement issued during that meeting, as well as on the measures that were decided upon.

I would like to use this opportunity to emphasise certain important facts once again.

Croatia was the first to recognise the sovereign and independent Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to establish diplomatic relations with it. In this respect, Croatia is far ahead of some countries which are now putting themselves forward as the most fervent advocates of the independence of BiH. Likewise, Croatia has demonstrated its readiness to take part in peace endeavours of the international community and to observe internationally accepted rules of conduct during the difficult period in which the United Nations and the European Community have tried to resolve the political crisis through negotiations and peaceful means. The co-chairs of the Managing Board of the International Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia have often given Croatia credit for that.

It is also my duty, your Excellency, to draw your attention to the fact that your letter does not draw a distinction between the Republic of Croatia and the Croats who live in BiH. Croatia cannot be indifferent to the fate and welfare of Croats who live in BiH, but at the same time, it cannot be responsible for all the incidents and possible atrocities committed on the territory of another sovereign state – for the acts which have been allegedly committed by Croats on the territory which is not directly controlled by the Republic of Croatia. We are deeply concerned and we condemn all violations of human rights and of the provisions of international humanitarian law. If the persons responsible for such crimes were to be arrested on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, they would be handed over to the competent international and national courts. Croatia, however, cannot be considered responsible in any way for acts committed on the foreign territory by persons who are not Croatian nationals.

Your Excellency, I have to admit that I was very surprised by the new legal standard that the European Community has introduced into international law, which was referred to in the last section of your letter. One can therefore ask with good reason: How can anyone accuse Croatia of failing to do everything to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia and Herzegovina if they are aware of all the facts mentioned in this letter? The standard whereby the sincerity and appropriateness of the efforts made are judged on the basis of their success would be very difficult to apply to the activity of the United Nations and the European Community in the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia without coming to very interesting conclusions.

I would also like to inform you that Croatia shares the same policy towards developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina and disagreements between the Croats and Muslims, with Turkish and Albanian statesmen, whom I talked to during several recent official visits.

His Excellency Klaus KINKEL, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, is coming to Zagreb tomorrow to discuss the recent developments with me. Your Excellency, I assure you that I intend to discuss with Mr KINKEL all the issues openly and honestly, in the spirit of sincere cooperation with European Community member states.

I sincerely hope that this letter will clear up any existing misunderstandings.

Your Excellency, please accept the assurance of my highest esteem.

President of the Republic of Croatia
Dr Franjo TUĐMAN

**Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia:
Letter to the Government of the Republic of BiH
(Zagreb, 18 May 1993)**

Gojko ŠUŠAK: defeat of the greater-Serbian aggression pre-condition for peace

In connection with the statement from the session of the Government of the Republic of BiH of 13 May 1993, the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia sent a letter to the Ambassador of the Republic of BiH in the Republic of Croatia, Bisera TURKOVIĆ. We are publishing the letter in its entirety:

“Please pass this letter in connection with the “Statement of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the session of 13 May 1993” on to your Government. The Government of the Republic of Croatia is pleased to note that the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina deeply appreciates the fact that the Republic of Croatia was among the first to recognize the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of BiH, that the Republic of Croatia reacted strongly to the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro on the Republic of BiH, and that it has received a large number of refugees from BiH.

It is with equal pleasure that it accepts the commitment of the Republic of BiH to develop good-neighbourly relations on an equal basis with the Republic of Croatia as its largest neighbour.

We also welcome the decision of the Government of the Republic of BiH to accept the Vance-Owen plan in its entirety, but also the parts in the spirit of the IZETBEGOVIĆ-BOBAN agreement of 25 April 1993.

The Republic of Croatia has endeavoured and will endeavour to contribute to a peaceful solution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, especially to an end of the war in BiH. In that respect, we supported the Vance-Owen plan which ensures peace and the equality of all three constituent peoples in BiH, which is the basic precondition for peace and an end to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In connection with your statement from the session of 13 May 1993, which contains a certain amount of incorrect information, particularly the accusations laid to the account of the Republic of Croatia, which attempt to portray Croatia as an aggressor in BH, we would like to point out the following facts:

- 1. The allegations in point 1 that “the Government of the Republic of Croatia openly supports the unlawful actions of certain units of the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ in the latest clashes in Mostar and central Bosnia” are untrue. In this connection, we wish to point out that we know the facts of the crimes against civilians in the village of Ahmići near Vitez. These have been confirmed by representatives of the HVO; therefore, there is no cover-up involved. The Republic of Croatia supports the establishment of all the facts as soon as possible with the help of an international commission and the bringing of the perpetrators of the crime to justice. There is, however, a cover-up, but on your part, for example, of the recent crimes in Croatian villages around Konjic or the detention of more than a thousand Croats in the surroundings of Zenica.*

2. *Your following allegation is incorrect, or rather, untrue: "According to reliable information, the following units of the regular Croatian Army are on BH territory: the 113th Split Brigade and parts of the brigade from Metković (in the areas of Buna, Dubrava and Stolac), the 114th Split and the 123rd Varaždin Brigades (in the Lašva area) and one tank unit (in the Čvrsnica area)", because those, like all other units of the HV /Croatian Army/, are in the Republic of Croatia. International organisations (the UN and EU) can easily see for themselves the groundlessness of such accusations, and we invite them to conduct an immediate investigation on the spot and make a full report. The Republic of Croatia undertakes to give its fullest cooperation and assistance.*
3. *In order to be absolutely precise, we will point out the following: an insignificantly small part of Croatian Army units is located in the BH border area (on the border of the Republic of Croatia), in the Dubrovnik area. These units have been deployed in accordance with the principles of international law and with the knowledge of international organisations in order to protect the town of Dubrovnik and surrounding places from possible attacks by our common enemy, the Serbian aggressor. We are prepared to withdraw those forces to the RH /Republic of Croatia/ as soon as peace and security prevail in the Republic of BiH.*

In connection with point 3, we must warn you that no official representative of the Republic of Croatia spoke about turning the Republic of BiH into a confederation for the purpose of "carving it up", but in the sense of its division into provinces on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan as the guarantor of the equality of all three constituent peoples in BiH, and in that manner, of the preservation of the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Muslim leadership's continuous advocacy of a unified civic state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the non-acceptance of such a political option by the Croats in BiH is being used to accuse the Republic of Croatia of aggression and to equate it with Serbia and Montenegro. In addition, the international public would get the impression that there was a civil war in BiH. That would be the precondition for decisions to be adopted accordingly in international organisations that would favour your interests in creating a unitary civic Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4. *The Republic of Croatia is not waging a media war, but its press and media, which are not state-owned, transmit the information they receive from various sources and which editors consider express various viewpoints and provide accurate descriptions of facts and events. However, as an example of propaganda activity, we quote today's statement from the Press Centre of the BH Army in which the signing of the truce between General PETKOVIĆ and General MLADIĆ, at the initiative of General MORILLON, is being cited as proof and the "crown" of the cooperation so far between the HVO and the Chetniks, all the while forgetting that such a truce was also signed by General MLADIĆ and General HALILOVIĆ several days ago, also on General MORILLON's initiative.*

We sincerely hope that you will stop presenting such untrue accusations which draw attention away from the war in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, that is, from the greater-Serbian aggression, which this approach is helping. Its final defeat alone is the sole precondition for peace in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and throughout the former Yugoslavia", concludes the letter, signed by the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, Gojko ŠUŠAK.

**National Assembly of the Republika Srpska:
Declaration on the continuation of the peace process
(19 May 1993)**

Respecting the need to bring the political, ethnic and religious conflicts among the three peoples in ex-Bosnia and Herzegovina to an end and the civil war to cessation by finding a permanent and stable political solution and to end the suffering of the civilian population,

Believing that a normal and organised way of life can be built only on the basis of a people's right to self-determination based on which all peoples have the right to determine independently their political status, their economic, social and cultural development,

Believing that the peace talks can be effectively conducted only after hostilities end and a permanent truce is achieved,

Taking into consideration the real situation in Republika Srpska, the results of the referendum that was just held and the fact that the Vance-Owen plan has not been approved, having in mind the on-going peace process,

Pursuant to Article 70, paragraph 1, item 2 of the Constitution of Republika Srpska, the National Assembly of Republika Srpska passed at its session held on 19 May 1993
a

Declaration on the continuation of the peace process

I

Republika Srpska has ceased all military actions of its armed forces and is prepared to establish a permanent peace in accordance with the truce agreements that have been signed with the other sides in the conflict.

II

Republika Srpska hereby appeals for the continuation of the peace process and expresses its readiness to participate in all peace initiatives, and hereby invites all prominent persons in international politics to engage actively in solving the crisis and the armed conflict in ex-Bosnia and Herzegovina by offering new recommendations and solutions for peace.

III

All centralised and local organs of Republika Srpska shall work actively and in good faith on the continuation and further progress of the peace process.
The National Assembly hereby authorises its delegation to continue peace negotiations as representative of Republika Srpska.

IV

This declaration shall enter into force on the day on the day of its adoption, and shall be published in the *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska*.

No. 02-617/93
19 May 1993

President of the
National Assembly
Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK

**National Assembly of the Republika Srpska:
Decision to proclaim the results of the referendum
(19 May 1993)**

Pursuant to Article 70 Paragraph 1 item 5 of the Constitution of Republika Srpska, Articles 1,2,15 and 16 of the Law on the Referendum and Article 114 of the Rules of Procedure of the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska, the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska made the following decision at its session held on 19 May 1993:

**Decision
to proclaim the results of the referendum
held on 16 and 17 May 1993**

I

The Report of the Commission for Conducting the Referendum (which was held on 15, 16 and 17 May 1993 in Republika Srpska and on 16 and 17 May 1993 for the citizens of the Republika currently residing in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or abroad) in which the citizens of the Republika answered the following questions: "Are you in favour of the Vance-Owen plan?" and "Are you in favour of an independent Republika Srpska with a right to independently enter into relationships with other peoples and states?" is hereby adopted.

The Report of the Commission for Conducting the Referendum is an integral part of this decision.

II

Based on the Report of the Commission for Conducting the Referendum, the following is established and proclaimed:

- a) with a majority of 1,060,348 votes or 83.26% of the total number of registered voters and 96% of those who turned out to vote, the citizens of the Republika rejected the Vance-Owen Plan.
- b) with a majority of 1,061,140 votes or 83.37% of the total number of registered voters and 96% of those who turned out to vote, the citizens of the Republika voted for an independent Republika Srpska with a right to independently enter into relationships with other peoples and states.

III

Based on the stated results, the People's Assembly determines and concludes that the referendum was entirely successful and that the people of the Republika were free, politically mature and responsible in their declaration and decision to find the Vance-Owen plan with its current contents and in its current form unacceptable. Also, the

survival and independent state and legal development of the Republika is its explicit desire and decision.

IV

The People's Assembly determines that negotiations are an irreplaceable and the only acceptable way to end the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to find a fair and permanent political solution. It also determines that the peace process should continue in all intensity taking into consideration some positive aspects and solutions of the proposed plan.

The People's Assembly hereby authorises a delegation to pursue a continued and active participation in the peace process and concludes that it is necessary that it should appear in the negotiations as an official representative of Republika Srpska.

The Commission for Constitutional Issues will examine the means and the form of constitutional and legal presentation of the referendum decisions and will recommend passing appropriate legislation based on that.

VI

This decision comes into effect on the day on which it is passed and will be published in *The Official Gazette of Republika Srpska*.

Number 02-616/93
19 May 1993

President of the
People's Assembly
Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK, m.p.

The President of the HZ HB /Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/, M.Sc. Mate Boban: Letter to the President of the BH Presidency, Alija Izetbegović (Mostar, 31 May 1993)

Stop the madness!

MOSTAR — Regarding the recent developments and alarming reports from Sarajevo on harassment and the incomprehensibly bad treatment of Croats in this city, the President of HZ Herceg-Bosna, Mate Boban, sent a letter to the President of the BH Presidency, Alija Izetbegović. The letter reads as follows:

" I would kindly request and ask for your own influence to prevent any actions which could have a negative effect on relations between Croats and Muslims, which are very deteriorated as it is.

The Zagreb statement and its actual implementation in Međugorje, consistent observance and fulfillment of obligations, is the only possible way to resolve all matters and eradicate absurd and dangerous tensions. Everything that has been happening to the Croats in Sarajevo, constant accusations since the beginning of the war that they were responsible for the situation in that city, while simultaneously spreading fear by taking civilians to dig trenches, even on "no man's land", just implies the famous words as in Dante's Inferno: " Abandon all hope, ye who enter here!". Is that the ideal of a state? Where is freedom, right and safety? In their dignity in the defence of their identity and affiliation to their country the Croats in Sarajevo will not be humiliated or insulted.

Mr. Izetbegović, don't you think that all the tragic misunderstanding that we have been witnessing daily are destroying the possibility of coexistence for our two peoples, and at the same time preventing the international public from taking stronger and more efficient actions? Don't you agree that imputations and lies cannot be a basis for life for anybody, including your nation? Isn't it time for you to accept and understand that Croatian women and men will never give their consent to be released of freedom and to be unequal, not to anyone or anywhere?

Is it not time for you too to stop considering the entire act of Croatian sacrifice for BiH a battle for someone else and something else rather than the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina? Isn't it time for you to stop not recognizing the truth that Herzegovina is a constituent part of an integral BiH, and our struggle an attempt to perceive it anew on a firm and clear basis?

I consider you to be the most responsible interlocutor who can – if he wants to – do everything to reintegrate and strengthen the common interest and to make defence and the establishment of a common state possible. Therefore, stop this madness and madmen on your side and know that in us you will always have a sincere and resolute travelling companion on this calvary.

We wish you, Mr. Izetbegović, and all those of the Islamic faith within and outside of BiH, a happy Kurban Bairam, the holiday of sacrifice, which is a prerequisite for peace in and around us", it is stated at the end of Mate Boban's letter to Alija Izetbegović.

**Military commanders of three parties in BiH:
"General Agreement on cease fire in BiH"
(Sarajevo, 15 June 1993)**

The undersigned representatives to the parties,
Having considered the Decisions reached by the United Nations Security Council concerning former Yugoslavia, and in particular the Resolutions No. 824 and No. 836 (1993), as well as any other relevant Resolutions,
And having acknowledged the gravity of the present situation and wishing to bring to a conclusion the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina without further delay,
Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I
CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

1. As of 18/06/1993 at 1200 hrs all three parties shall issue written orders to their respective forces to cease fire and freeze any military activities, including military movements, development of the units and further fortification works.
2. Each party shall ensure that any such orders are signed by the chief commanding officer of each respective party. Authorised representatives of the chief commanding officers shall personally deliver these orders to the Brigade Commanders.
3. The parties thereto shall render the UNPROFOR their full co-operation in monitoring the cease-fire. Furthermore, each Brigade Commander of any of the Parties shall prepare a daily report for their chief commanding officers containing all the details pertaining to the military situation and to efforts made in attempt to maintain suspension of hostilities. All parties shall report on any case of violation of the cease-fire agreement to the UNPROFOR.
4. All issues pertaining to a cease-fire or any other subject shall be discussed at the meetings of the Joint military working group. The parties have agreed to delegate their authorised representatives who shall be available 24 hours a day in order to be able to deal with urgent matters (as judged by the UNPROFOR).
5. In a discussion to follow at the Joint military working group meeting a decision on time schedule and methods of separation of the forces shall be discussed in the most practical way.

ARTICLE II
BASIC PROVISIONS

1. The General Agreement comprises the provisions on cessation of hostilities contained in Article 1 as well as the basic provisions contained in this Article. All provisions of the General Agreement are in a legal concord.
2. All parties bestow their assurances of their undivided support to the General Agreement. Any attempt to impede or hinder the enforcement of any of the provisions herein contained by any of the parties shall be seen as violation of the General Agreement.
3. The parties acknowledge that unless the UNPROFOR ensure freedom of movement or unless they fail to observe the provisions and the spirit of this

agreement, deployment of the UNPROFOR troops, their security and their operations shall be under direct threat.

4. All parties accept to be obliged, inter alia, by the following:
 - (a) provisions of all previously signed agreements, unless all three parties decide in the presence of the UNPROFOR that any such provisions are not applicable any more;
 - (b) provisions of the Geneva Convention dated 12/08/1949 and Additional Protocols, as well as any other instrument of law of war and human rights protection;
 - (c) to allow delivery of humanitarian aid as well as to ensure freedom of movement to representatives of international humanitarian organisations with standard control methods applied;
 - (d) to prevent use of water supplies, gas supplies and electricity supplies as weapons, as well as to render an affirmative support to efforts invested in repair and maintenance of the facilities making water, gas and electricity deliveries possible.
 - (e) to supply the other parties with the lists of all prisoners of war and killed persons under their authority, as well as their respective whereabouts.
5. The parties agree to proceed with negotiations under auspices of the UNPROFOR in an attempt to resolve the crisis.

This General Agreement shall come into force on the day it is signed and it shall remain in force until any such time when all three parties shall decide differently in the presence of the UNPROFOR.

Drawn up at the Sarajevo airport on 15/06/1993 under the auspices of the UNPROFOR.

Signatories:

Lt. Colonel General Ratko MLADIĆ
General Rasim DELIĆ
General Milivoj PETKOVIĆ

Witnessed by the UNPROFOR reps:

Lt. Colonel General Lars-Eric WAHLGREN, Force Commander
Cedric THORNBERRY, Deputy Chief of Mission
Lt. Colonel General Philippe MORILLON, the UNPROFOR Commander for BiH

**Foreign Ministers of the European Community countries
Agreement on the “basic principles” for the resolution
of the conflict in BiH (Copenhagen, 20 June 1993)**

**Implications of the new peace plan for BiH
discussed at the EC ministerial meeting**

At their meeting yesterday in Copenhagen, the foreign ministers of the European Community member countries reached an agreement on the “basic principles” which must be observed when resolving the conflict in BiH, concluding that one of those principles must also be “preserving the territorial integrity of BiH”.

As part of the preparations for today’s meeting of heads of state or government of the Community member countries, Lord David Owen, the EC representative at the peace talks, informed the ministers of the situation in BiH.

It was pointed out at the meeting that due to the continuation of the fighting and deterioration of the situation, it was urgently necessary to end the war which has been going on for almost 15 months.

Evaluating the newly proposed peace plan for BiH, they established that the proposal to form three territorial units does not necessarily lead to the break-up of the republic and expansion of Serbia and Croatia at the expense of the Muslims. “That is crucial, to work on the preservation of BiH as a single state”, said the Danish Foreign Minister, Niels Helveg Petersen.

Lord Owen pointed out that part of what is referred to as “territorial integrity” is the idea that “territory is not acquired by force”, implying that the acceptance of this plan by the Muslims would preserve this integrity.

According to statements from diplomatic circles, reported by the Reuters Agency, the abandonment of the Vance-Owen Plan last week left the ministers with no other choice but to accept the Serbian conquests. They will therefore request Lord Owen to work out the most favourable solution possible for Muslims and to strengthen any new agreements by guarantees of protection of human rights and other elements from the abandoned plan.

In the frame of agreed support for the Muslims, according to what the head of Danish diplomacy had said, it was decided at the meeting to send the Croats a “serious warning for continuing the fighting, and stricter sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro were also announced.

At the meeting the heads of diplomacy of EC member countries expressed their full support for the efforts of Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg and requested that they continue efforts when the peace talks continue this week in Geneva.

It is expected that the participants in the two-day EC summit meeting, which is about to start in Copenhagen today, will formulate in more detail the principles which should strengthen a possible agreement ending the war in BiH.

**The President of the HZ HB /Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/, Mate Boban: Letter to International Officials
(Mostar, 22 June 1993)**

Letter from the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Mate Boban

Yesterday the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Mate Boban, sent a letter to the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, US President, Bill Clinton, Chairman of the UN Security Council, Don Juan A. Yanez-Barnuev, Chairman of the European Community Council of Foreign Ministers, Niels Helveg Petersen, Co-Chairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord David Owen, regarding the tragic situation of Croatian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the new Croatian initiatives for a peaceful resolution of the crisis, said the statement issued tonight by the Office of the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

In his letter Mate Boban said as follows:

“The political views of the Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been and still are clear and indisputable. As an independent and internationally recognized country with an international legal status, Bosnia and Herzegovina should and must be organized only as an association of the three constituent peoples with equal rights to Bosnia and Herzegovina and the right to a place within it. Internal arrangements can only be to the full and just fulfillment of the political will of all three peoples. We consider the external borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be indisputable and inviolable, while the internal demarcation lines can and must be subject to political negotiation. In that respect, the overall engagement of the Croatian delegation at the peace talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the high auspices of the United Nations and the European Community, which have continued for twenty months, has been very constructive from the outset and much respected by the highest international factors.

In the constructive efforts made by our delegation to reach an acceptable political solution to the crisis, we did not receive the support of other factors in this conflict. I would remind you that the Croatian side was the first to sign the Vance-Owen Peace Plan, considering it to be one of the possible models of political organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the ineffectiveness of the international community in carrying out the plan itself supported, i.e. obstruction by the other two sides in BiH to sincerely accept it, the Croatian side is willing to continue the peace talks based on the new proposals presented by the relevant international factors, including you.

These proposals are aimed at constituting Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state association of three peoples and their territorial-political units. At the peace talks in Geneva the Croatian side will present their view of the basic principles of constituting this association. In accordance with the instruction of the Co-Chairman of the Peace Conference, Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord David Owen, and pursuant to the conclusions of the meeting held on 16 June in Geneva, the highest political representatives of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted consultations on their proposals with the highest political representatives of the Muslim and Serbian peoples. During these talks it was established that there was a high degree of agreement and a high level of readiness of all three sides to stop the war and start a real and effective process of political resolution of the crisis.

There are, of course, still significant obstacles on this road. In the past few days part of the political leadership of the Muslim people shows a clear absence of will to find a peaceful solution to the crisis and is trying to respond to repeated appeals for peace and cooperation with war and aggression. The President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Alija Izetbegović, with an unconfirmed mandate of 20 December 1992, is the leader of this faction of the Muslim political leadership and therefore the Croatian people and their political leadership consider him to be the most responsible for the continuation of the war and aggression against the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The highest Croatian political interest is peace and freedom for all nations and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are on the threshold of possibly achieving this goal.

Please use all your influence to enable all three sides to come to the negotiating table, immediately and without any conditions, in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is the only way to stop this terrible, cataclysmic, tragedy with consequences for all three peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Europe in general. The Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their political leadership are completely at your service in that respect,” the letter from the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Mate Boban, concluded.

**The President of the RH /Republic of Croatia/ Dr. Franjo Tuđman:
Letter to the Presidency of the Republic of BiH
(Zagreb, 25 June 1993)**

On Friday, President of the Republic of Croatia Dr Franjo TUĐMAN sent the following letter to the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

For a considerable time now, the Croatian public has been greatly outraged and alarmed by the conflict between the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ and BH Army which degenerated into open aggression and misdeeds by the Muslim forces – the BH Army – against the Croatian people in parts of BiH which, according to the Vance-Owen plan, are areas where a democratic administration was supposed to be established in proportion to the ratio of the majority Croatian and other peoples, within the framework of the final constitutional organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In recent days I have been receiving alarming appeals from representatives of the Croatian people and local authorities, and civic and religious institutions from Central Bosnia calling on Croatia to do everything in its power to stop the tragedy of the Croatian people in Zenica, Kakanj, Vitez, Busovača, Kiseljak, Kreševo, Travnik, Konjic, and the areas of Žepče and Usora, where total ethnic cleansing is being conducted with the destruction of inhabited places and massacres of civilians. Over 100,000 Croats have already become refugees or are in mortal danger.

I wish to remind you that from the very first day Croatia has given all possible assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina; it has accepted and accommodated hundreds of thousands of refugees from BiH, primarily Muslims; and it was the first to recognise Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state and establish diplomatic relations with it. Furthermore, the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina freely hold sessions in Zagreb; representatives of these authorities move freely throughout the Republic of Croatia, disregarding basic international rules on announcing and seeking permission for their activities on the territory of another sovereign state; and in many places in Croatia, numerous different offices and logistical centres of political organisations and the military are in operation, and are committing crimes and aggression against the Croatian people.

All these matters were examined at a session of the Defence and National Security Council of Croatia, and it was concluded that the Presidency and Government of BiH should be given notice that Croatia cannot remain indifferent to the continued implementation of such a policy. Accordingly, if the aggression and crimes are not halted immediately, the Republic of Croatia will seriously re-examine its overall policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I am therefore appealing to the Presidency and Government of BiH to take the necessary decisive steps without delay to ensure that the persecution and suffering of the Croatian population are stopped immediately and that relations are normalised. For its part, the Republic of Croatia is willing to continue the comprehensive development of relations with BiH and to exert all the influence it can to achieve cooperation between all three peoples in BiH, and the Muslims and Croats in particular, on condition that the Presidency and Government of BiH demonstrate and prove the same willingness.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

**The President of the BH Presidency Alija Izetbegović:
Interview for RT /Radio Television/ BiH
(Sarajevo, 8 July 1993)**

SARAJEVO, 8 July (AFP/Hina) – Bosnia and Herzegovina will agree to transformation into a confederation if this is imposed on it and if, should it reject this proposal, it would mean being drawn into “an endless war,” said BH President Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ on Thursday in Sarajevo.

“Confederation in fact means ethnic division,” said IZETBEGOVIĆ in an hour-and-a-half long interview for BH Radio-Television. “Ethnic division is not acceptable to us or is certainly hard to accept. It can be acceptable only if it is imposed as a solution, if we simply do not have any other choice or if the alternative to agreeing to such a division is being drawn into an endless war,” said the BH President.

“It is a very bad option, this is all I can tell you at this point,” he added. The idea of a confederation is based on ethnic division, but “some persons want to hide behind words. Things should be given their name,” said IZETBEGOVIĆ. The President of the BH Presidency pointed out in the interview that the decision agreeing to a confederation cannot be made by one person. “This is a delicate matter which can be accepted only jointly,” he believes. However, he admitted that “ethnic division in BH has already been implemented by weapons and force.”

“In a sense it is futile to ignore this reality”, he said. During the international talks “they kept asking me: The Serbs and the Croats no longer want to live with you; how will you make them?” said IZETBEGOVIĆ, and added: “Actually, all the Serbian officials say that, and it’s similar with the Croats.”

“These are the facts and they should be taken into account”, he said. “We will work on establishing peace in BiH, people can be assured that we will not go in a direction that will lead us into endless war. BiH will not commit suicide,” he pointed out. “BiH will still exist in a way,” President IZETBEGOVIĆ added.

“Some people like to spread the illusion that we will fight until the BiH flag with the lilies is flying again in Banja Luka or in other places outside of BiH, but this is not reasonable. People should be told the truth,” IZETBEGOVIĆ added.

**Office of the President of the BiH: Alija Izetbegović's denial that he
"accepts confederalization of BiH"
(Sarajevo, 9 July 1993)**

The alleged Izetbegović's statement denied

Office of the President, Alija Izetbegović in Sarajevo denied on Friday his alleged statement that he "consents to the co federalization of BiH". As reported by the HINA correspondent from Sarajevo, in the denial of the office it is claimed that Alija Izetbegović "did not state such thing, neither he can accept such solution."

According to the denial's text of the office of the President of BiH, the accurate quote of his statement, given to the Radio-television of BiH, states:

"When we speak about co federalization, we must be clear, it is about the ethnic division of BiH. I think that the ethnic division is not our best choice. It is unacceptable or barely acceptable and can only be imposed as solution, given the condition there is no other choice, that is, if we set the choice – either that or the entrance to the never-ending war that would lead us to the point that we start to live in caves."

Izetbegović described the military situation, as stated by the HINA correspondent, as most difficult, having added that there are still chances that the BH Army keeps resisting successfully."

**BH Presidency: Statement after the meeting
held in Zagreb (Zagreb, 11 July 1993)**

At its meeting held in Zagreb on 11 July 1993, chaired by member of the Presidency Dr Ejup GANIĆ, the Presidency of the Republic of BiH discussed and further elaborated the Proposal for a Constitutional Order of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Agreement was reached that the organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a complex state is to be along the lines of a federal state, i.e. a federation ensuring equality of its citizens and the three constituent peoples.

The Presidency agrees that the territories of the federal units are not to be formed exclusively on ethnic principles and they cannot be considered ethnic territories. Agreement was also reached that the international legal status shall belong to BH, and that federal units cannot enter into international agreements and arrangements which compromise the interests and territorial integrity of BiH and other federal units.

This proposal will be sent to the Co-Chairmen of the International Peace Conference, Lord Owen and Stoltenberg, so that at the upcoming talks in Geneva the status of the proposed plan would be equal to other initiatives by the negotiating parties, aimed at establishing peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the next session the Presidency of the Republic of BiH will adopt a final position on the Proposal for a Constitutional Order of Bosnia and Herzegovina and decide on a strategy for the upcoming talks in Geneva.

**The President of the RH /Republic of Croatia/ Dr. Franjo Tuđman:
Letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali
(Zagreb, 16 July 1993)**

**Dr Franjo TUĐMAN's letter on the opening of the Maslenica bridge and Zadar
Airport and on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Today, the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Franjo TUĐMAN, sent a letter to the UN Secretary General, Mr Boutros BOUTROS-GHALI, to the Chairman of the UN Security Council, Sir David HANNAY, the Chairman of the EU Council of Ministers, Willy CLAES, and to the co-chairs of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Lord David OWEN and Thorvald STOLTENBERG.

"At the 16th session of the Republic of Croatia Defence and National Security Council, we discuss the situation regarding the opening of the Maslenica bridge and Zadar Airport, and the pressure applied on Croatia because of its intention to open these facilities and its supposed responsibility for the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On this matter, the Republic of Croatia's position is as follows:

- 1) Croatia is re-opening the Maslenica bridge and Zadar Airport for traffic in accordance with relevant resolutions by the UN Security Council and the Vance Plan, since this is crucial for the economic situation in southern Croatia, but also in order to supply humanitarian aid not only to Dalmatia but also to Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the Maslenica bridge was destroyed, all traffic had to go on ferries and across the Paški bridge, which is technically in such a poor state that experts have found that all lorry traffic across it must cease. This is yet another reason not to delay in redirecting traffic across the new, pontoon Maslenica bridge.

We would like to point out that the restoration of traffic is not some sort of military provocation but a peaceful, civilian action in times of need and that we are taking this after all direct and indirect negotiations with the local Serbs, with the help of representatives of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and UNPROFOR, were unsuccessful. Moreover, this is an opportunity to show good intentions and to put an end to the tactics of the Serbs prolonging negotiations, which contravene the spirit and the essence of the Vance Plan and the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.

We are therefore asking the international community and the UNPROFOR Command to extend all possible cooperation, on the basis of a general recognition of legitimacy and the necessity of our requests (which is not even contested by the latest statement by the President of the UN Security Council), in order to restore traffic, because this is of vital importance to Croatia, and to put pressure on the rebel Serbs to refrain from all military action against the Maslenica bridge, which is an entirely civilian, commercial and humanitarian facility.

We vehemently reject the part of the letter from the UN Secretary General from which one could conclude that approval is expected from not only local Serbs but also from the other state (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) for any type of activities undertaken by legitimate Croatian authorities inside the internationally recognised borders of the Republic of Croatia, and this includes the re-opening of the Maslenica bridge for traffic.

- 2) The Council believes that it is unreasonable to pressure and threaten Croatia concerning the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the following reasons:
- a) Croatia was the first to recognise the integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and continues to regard Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent country.
 - b) There have never been and there are no agreements between Croatia and Serbia on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 - c) Up to now, Croatia has willingly cooperated with the co-chairs of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in an attempt to find a solution. Croatia will support any solution that is accepted by the three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 - d) Croatia supports the principle of independence and territorial integrity for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that the war in BiH /Bosnia and Herzegovina/ could be stopped by reaching an agreement on establishing a system of government for the country that would involve a composite federal tri-partite state with three constituent peoples.
 - e) In accordance with item 8 of the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia signed on 21 July 1992, there are no regular Croatian Army units in Bosnia and Herzegovina except in border areas. Some men from Bosnia and Herzegovina who joined the Croatian Army by volunteering into the Croatian Army during the Serbian aggression against Croatia to defend the Republic of Croatia have now gone back and joined the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ in order to defend their ancient homeland.
 - f) The best confirmation of our positions has been already presented in Croatia's proposal, which we hereby confirm: that UNPROFOR keeps a thorough check of the borders, not only between BiH and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia but also between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the entire border, and not only the borders of the UNPAs.
- 3) Croatia is in favour of an effective and immediate end to the war in BiH and of reaching an agreement between the three constituent people on matters in the interest of preserving BiH and peace in Europe.

We also wish to remind you that Republic of Croatia carried the greatest burden with regard to the refugee crisis, which was caused by Serbian aggression against the Republic of Croatia and then against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Around 650,000 refugees, mostly Muslims, from Bosnia and Herzegovina have so far passed through the Republic of Croatia on their way to other European countries, and the Republic of Croatia is currently caring for over 250,000 expelled persons from the occupied territory in Croatia and for more than 280,000 refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, of which around 196,000 are estimated to be Muslim.

As a consequence of Serbian aggression, more than 200,000 Croats have been expelled from Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the effect of the Muslims offensive in Central Bosnia against Croatian areas and HVO forces has been the 40,000 Croats have been expelled, while 100,000 are still in danger.

- 4) Croatia has always been, and still firmly remains, prepared to negotiate about peace and a political solution for the UNPAs within the framework of the International Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the international community, and is in favour of restoring normal relations with all the countries that have been created in the territory of the Former Yugoslavia, which includes Serbia and Montenegro or, rather, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Statement of Presidents Dr. Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević
(Geneva, 17 July 1993)**

Statement of TUĐMAN and MILOŠEVIĆ

GENEVA – Following a meeting held organised by Thorvald STOLTENBERG and Lord OWEN, the co-chairs of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, President of the Republic of Croatia Dr Franjo TUĐMAN and President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ released the following statement:

1. All speculation on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina between Croatia and Serbia is completely unfounded.
2. The only way to achieve a lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina lies in the affirmation of the interests of all three constituent people and reaching agreement on the establishment of three republics within the framework of a confederation.
3. Expressing their satisfaction with the resolution of problems pertaining to the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik and Peruča, the presidents welcome the agreement reached on the cessation of hostilities, and consider that any individual or group responsible for violating the agreement must bear full responsibility.

The presidents highlight the importance of the agreement reached as an example of the resolution of disputes through peaceful means, and consider it an important step towards the normalisation of Croatian-Serbian relations as a whole.

**The Owen-Stoltenberg plan: The President of the BH Presidency
Alija Izetbegović retracts his "Yes"
(Geneva, 31 July 1993)**

IZETBEGOVIĆ withdrawing his "Yes" to the Owen-Stoltenberg plan

The President of the BH Presidency and the leader of the Muslim delegation at the Geneva talks, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, withdrew his acceptance of the peace plan according to which a "union" of three republics would be created in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On Friday, IZETBEGOVIĆ said he accepted the plan, but subsequently sent a letter to the peace mediators, asking for guarantees that the "union" would have the attributes of a state.

In his letter to peace mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, IZETBEGOVIĆ stressed that his advisors believed that the text of the plan did not clearly define the legal status of the new "union".

His legal advisor, Professor Francis Boyle from the University of Illinois, told the journalists that the agreement in its present form was not acceptable because it called into question Bosnia and Herzegovina's continued membership of in the United Nations.

Boyle pointed out that he had spoken with the Co-chairmen's legal advisor Paul Szasz, who confirmed his fears. He said Szasz "clearly stated that the purpose of the Owen-Stoltenberg plan was to divide the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina into three independent states".

Boyle said that the Co-chairmen's reply to IZETBEGOVIĆ, stating that the "union" would be a member of the UN, "was not worth the paper it was written on". "If we do not have any guarantees on the part of the Security Council and the Assembly General, our existence as an independent country is under threat", he added.

In spite of the disputes, IZETBEGOVIĆ continued negotiating with Radovan KARADŽIĆ and Mate BOBAN on the maps which would define the territories of all three republics.

Diplomats from the circles of the Geneva Conference stated that the discussions were steering towards a division which would give approximately half of the territory to the Serbs, 29 percent to the Muslims, including the main industrial centres currently under their control, and 21 percent to the Croats.

**The President of the Presidency of BiH Alija Izetbegović:
Letter to the President of RH Dr. Franjo Tuđman
(Sarajevo, 4 August 1993)**

Dear President Tuđman,

Regarding the mixture of Croatian and Muslim nations in the large parts of Bosnia as well as the inability to make a satisfying map of demarcation between those two nations; I suggest the following:

1. All the area that would belong to Bosnian and Croatian republic within the future BH Union, that is, the area from Neum at the sea till Orašje and Brčko on Sava, should remain the unique area.
2. The Muslims and Croats in this area should equally participate (parity) in the most important central power bodies (Presidency, Government, Supreme Court, etc), as well as in the main staff of the united HVO and BH Army. In the municipalities the power participation would be proportional.
3. The entire cultural autonomy of the national communities would be secured. Education, TV, radio and similar can be partially common, partially apart.

This would achieve the following:

1. The temporary tension would loose up and the growing tendency of relation aggravation between the two nations and two states would be stopped.
2. The joint usage of important capacities would be enabled, as well as assets in Central Bosnia and in the valley of Neretva, for which both nations are vividly interested and which would, in the contrary, be the cause to continue the conflicts and violence.
3. The communications would open and the help would come from all over the world.
4. Temporarily, the hurt of nations would be stopped and all citizens refugees could immediately start to return to their homes.
5. The Croatian nation in BiH would in the future live in 90% of the territory, where historically expanded, while, according to the current plan, the Croatian Republic would embrace the Western Herzegovina and less important parts of the Central Bosnia and Posavina.
6. The joint republic would gain a quality access to Sava and sea and it would surely have better conditions to obtain help and to rebuild the country.
7. One aggressor would once again be characterized, who, following his last attacks to Croatian towns and objects on Maslenica and Zemunik, shows that it won't quit.
8. Croatia would avoid economic and political difficulties in the internal and external plan, happened to increase and caused by the disturbed relations with the BH state.

Naturally, all this understands the leave of people who are guilty for the current situation, from both sides.

In one word, there are many serious reasons that this unnatural and artificially evoked conflict between two nations, being spread to two states, be eliminated as soon as possible.

The Muslim people stand for it. Please accept my expressions of respect.

Alija Izetbegović

**The President of the RH Dr. Franjo Tuđman:
Letter to the President of the BH Presidency Alija Izetbegović
(Zagreb, 10 August 1993)**

Further to your letter of 4 August 1993 which, unfortunately, I first learned of from the newspapers, allow me to set out for you the position of the Republic of Croatia:

Croatia recognised the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent and sovereign state, and it will support every decision which is agreed on by representatives of all three of its constituent peoples and which will lead to a lasting and stable peace in these parts as soon as possible.

The State of Croatia will welcome and support any initiative that is aimed at achieving close cooperation between the Muslim and Croatian constituent entities in the future Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but this agreement should be reached by the leaderships and legitimate representatives of these republics. Obviously, such an initiative inherently implies, first and foremost, the immediate and unconditional cessation of attacks by Muslim military units and ethnic cleansing of areas where the Croatian population has been living for centuries in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Good cooperation between the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a precondition for cementing good relations between the Republic of Croatia and the current Republic and future Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is of mutual interest." Thus ends the letter of President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Franjo TUĐMAN.

**ICFY /International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Izetbegović-Karadžić Bilateral talks on Eastern Bosnia
(Geneva, 17 August 1993)**

**Talks on the territorial demarcation between the three constituent parts
of the future Bosnian-Herzegovinian union of republics**

Auspicious was the word used by the spokesperson of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, John MILLS, to describe the atmosphere at today's bilateral meeting of the Muslim and Serbian leaders, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Radovan KARADŽIĆ, on the Muslim enclaves in Eastern Bosnia.

"The atmosphere was good", said MILLS, commenting on the meeting at which, as the global agencies report, the Muslim side for the first time presented its proposals for a future territorial demarcation within Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to MILLS, the talks on the territorial demarcation between the three constituent parts of the future Bosnian-Herzegovinian union of republics ran into some problems, too, such as the issue of Brčko, where the Muslims should gain access to the river Sava, the status of Sarajevo and the status of the three Muslim enclaves in Eastern Bosnia.

The general agreement reached on Monday on the provisional status of Sarajevo would enter into force only when a peace agreement was signed, say circles close to the Conference.

The Muslim delegation stated that "no progress was made" during the IZETBEGOVIĆ-KARADŽIĆ meeting. This was also confirmed by the spokesperson of the Bosnian Serb delegation Jovan ZAMETICA, who shifted responsibility to the Muslim side, which he says has placed "maximal demands on the entire territory".

"Nevertheless, the Serbian delegation is willing to take the issue of Srebrenica, Žepa and Goražde into consideration", ZAMETICA added.

In the early afternoon, the Muslim delegation met with the delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, Mills stated. The talks focused on the territorial demarcation between the Muslims and the Croats and lasted one hour and fifteen minutes, circles close to the Conference revealed.

A trilateral meeting, mediated by the co-chairmen of the Conference, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, has been scheduled for this afternoon.

**ICFY / International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/:
Basic decision on the establishment and proclamation
of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna
(Grude, 28 August 1993)**

**Basic decision on the establishment and
proclamation of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna**

Due to historical developments, the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina has had to face ruthless aggression which has put in jeopardy its historical and natural rights to existence and survival, its right to self-determination and its status of a constituent nation, its Christian and cultural identity, and its political and economic interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The rights of the Croatian people, as stipulated in the provisions on constituent peoples in the fundamental laws of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in existence thus far, have been exercised by the Croatian and other constituent peoples within a unitary state.

Deeming that the existing form of political and State structure does not guarantee the rights of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Croatian people is determined to defend those rights, among other ways, by establishing its own State in a part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and transferring a part of its constituent rights to a future union of republics. It agrees to participate in certain joint institutions and services of common interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as may be regulated in a tripartite constitutional agreement of constituent peoples.

In accordance with the above, and:

- proceeding from the inalienable, inexhaustible, indivisible and non-transferable right of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a constituent people,
- declaring that the Croatian people respects the equal rights of other constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina in existence thus far,
- aspiring to the resolution of all issues stemming from the past and future coexistence with the other constituent peoples on an equal footing, democratically and peacefully,
- accepting the fundamental international instruments on human and civil rights and liberties, and
- in accordance with the political decisions of the Croatian Democratic Union for Bosnia and Herzegovina as the legitimate representative of the political will of the Croatian people, the House of Representatives of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna hereby passes

BASIC DECISION

on the Establishment and Proclamation of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna

Article 1

The Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna is hereby established and proclaimed.

The Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, established pursuant to the Decision on the Establishment of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, shall be established and proclaimed as the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna (hereinafter: the Republic).

Article 2

The territory of the Republic shall cover the area of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna. The definitive State borders shall be defined by the Constitution of the Republic.

Article 3

The Republic shall be a unified and indivisible democratic State of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It shall be based on human rights and liberties, the rule of law and social justice.

Article 4

The sovereignty of the Republic shall be indivisible, inalienable and non-transferable. The Republic may exercise certain rights and fulfil certain obligations in the joint bodies of a union of the republics.

The Republic shall freely join a union of the republics.

Article 5

The people shall exercise its sovereign rights in the Republic. In the Republic, power shall derive from the people and shall be vested in the people as a community of free and equal citizens. The people shall exercise its power by electing its representatives and by direct decision-making.

Article 6

The State authority shall be constituted according to the principles of parliamentary democracy, and the organisational and functional division of powers into legislative, executive and judiciary powers.

Legislative power shall be vested in the House of the Representatives of the Republic. Executive power shall be vested in the Government of the Republic. Judiciary power shall be vested in independent courts.

Article 7

The Prime Minister and members of the Government of the Republic shall be elected and relieved from office by the House of Representatives, at the proposal of the President of the Republic.

Article 8

The President of the Republic shall represent the Republic in the country and abroad, symbolise its constitutive unity and ensure that all government bodies work in concert. The President of the Republic shall be the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic and shall appoint and discharge high-ranking military officials, after consultation with the Government of the Republic.

Article 9

The Republic shall have its own coat-of-arms, flag and anthem. The coat-of-arms, flag and anthem of the Republic shall be defined in the Constitution of the Republic.

Article 10

The city of Mostar shall be the capital of the Republic.

Article 11

Until the Constitution of the Republic has been enacted and its bodies constituted, the valid laws of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, as well as the laws of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in existence thus far, shall apply in the territory of the Republic, unless they are in contravention of the law of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna.

Article 12

The authorities of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna shall discharge the functions of State government until the election and appointment of the State authorities pursuant to the provisions of this Decision.

Until the election of the President of the Republic, the presidential duties shall be discharged by the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

Article 13

This Decision shall enter into force on the day it is passed.

Chairman of the House of Representatives
Perica Jukić

**ICFY/International Conference for the Former Yugoslavia/
Four proposals to UNPROFOR, the UNHCR and the ICRC form the delegation
of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna
(Geneva, 1 September 1993)**

Statement by Mate BOBAN in Geneva

The delegation of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna in Geneva on Wednesday evening published a statement by President Mate BOBAN, the head of the delegation, containing four proposals to UNPROFOR, the UNHCR and the ICRC, as a positive contribution to the new round of peace negotiations.

- “1. Croats support the unconditional delivery of humanitarian aid to Mostar and areas in Bosnia and Heregovina under Croatian control, and expect the Serbian and Muslim sides to do the same in areas under their control, especially in central Bosnia.
2. Croats call on the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) to visit all places of detention in areas under Croatian, Serbian and Muslim control in order to establish the real situation and the treatment of detainees.
3. Croats are ready, on their part, to hand over captured members of the Muslim army directly to the ICRC so that they are unable to attack Croats, and at the same time request the release of wounded and captured Croats who are being held by the Muslims.
4. Croats expect UNPROFOR, the UNHCR and the ICRC to inform the public in good time about the steps being taken by the Croatian, Serbian and Muslim sides to establish peace and find a political solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Despite these measures of good will on our part, certain media continue to ascribe the terrible problems in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina solely to the Bosnia Croats. We were as shocked as you were by the pictures from Jablanica. However, we must remind you that we have not had access to Jablanica since 1 April, when the Muslim army began its offensive there, and that all Croats have been ethnically cleansed from Jablanica since 20 April.

We do not wish to say that there were no violations of human rights on our part, which we condemn most strongly. At the same time, we notice that only the Bosnian Croats have taken steps, such as the ones listed above, in order for our side to contribute to improving the situation.

We are being reproached today in many reports even when we release people, while the other two sides are still prohibiting access to their camps. We must remind you that the Muslim army is holding at least 4,500 Croatian detainees in 34 camps, mostly in central Bosnia. We showed you the list yesterday.

Muslim crimes against Croats are a taboo topic for the media. We are deeply disappointed by such one-sided reporting. We must remind you that as a result of the Muslim offensive which began on 16 April, of the three communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosnian Croats have now become the community with the most casualties. Forty four percent of our population have fled or are displaced, while 1.5 percent have been killed.

We wish to underscore that the best way to stop the tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina is for the other two sides to undertake the same, unconditional measures as listed above, and for all steps to be undertaken for an agreement to be reached here in Geneva as soon as possible. To blame the side with the most casualties for everything, even for good will, will not help the situation either here or on the ground,” concluded the public statement by Mate BOBAN, the head of the Croatian delegation at the peace negotiations in GENEVA, carried by HBNA /Herceg-Bosna News Agency/.

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/: Joint Declaration of the President of the RH /Republic of Croatia/ Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of BiH Alija Izetbegović
(Geneva, 14 September 1993)**

Tuđman and Izetbegović – Joint Declaration

"The President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tuđman and the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović;

Accepting the principles of the London Conference and taking into consideration the constitutional arrangements proposed by the Peace Conference in Geneva for the future Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Taking into account the historical interests of the Croatian and Muslim peoples;

Resolved to immediately bring about a cessation of hostilities and the creation of conditions for durable peace in the area of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Ready to immediately embark on a normalization of relations with the Serbian people in the light of the proposed solutions of the Peace Conference in Geneva;

Have agreed that they shall:

I

1. Ensure an urgent cessation of all hostilities and military conflicts between units of the BH Army and HVO in accordance with the agreement of 30 July 1993, immediately and by 18 September 1993 at 1200 hours at the least.
2. Ensure the bilateral and unconditional dismantling of all detention camps and the release of detainees in territories under the control of the BH Army and the HVO immediately and by 1200 hours on 21 September 1993 at the least, with both sides assuming responsibility for providing them protection and care.
3. Ensure the mutual creation of conditions for the free and unhindered passage of all humanitarian convoys and the activities of charitable organizations.
4. Set up a Working Group for the supervision and protection of human rights in territories under the control of the BH Army and the HVO, in accordance with the principle and proposed arrangements of the Peace Conference on BiH.
5. Set up a Working Group for questions of territorial demarcation between the two republics in the envisaged Union on BiH including the question of access to the sea as a joint developmental concern.
6. Set up a Working Group for elaborating and monitoring the implementation of comprehensive measures for restoring and building confidence between and co-existence of the Croatian and Muslim peoples, including property and other activities and programs for overcoming mistrust.

II

With a view to regulating stable relations between the two states as their joint contribution to regional peace, Presidents Dr. Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović have decided to set up:

1. A Working Group to address humanitarian, status, material and other questions concerning the position of refugees and exiles from BiH in the Republic of Croatia and their return to Bosnia and Herzegovina.
2. A Working Group to draft intergovernmental treaties, including an agreement on the use of energy and harbor facilities, roads, communications and other economic potentials.
3. The two Presidents agree to bring their influence to bear to secure adequate support from international political and financial organizations for the restoration and development of the two states.

III

With a view to the urgent, comprehensive and bona fide implementation of all agreed measures and activities from this Joint Declaration, Presidents Dr. Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović have decided to appoint their personal commissioners with full authority and responsibility for ensuring the full implementation of agreement from this Declaration.

President Dr. Franjo Tuđman appointed Dr. Mate Granić, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia as his commissioner.

President Alija Izetbegović appointed Dr. Haris Silajdžić, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as his commissioner.

The two Presidents and their personal commissioners will ask for and ensure help and cooperation of international political, humanitarian, political and other organizations and factors with a view to full implementation of all measures of the Declaration, in the interest of establishing durable peace and stability in this part of the world.”

The Joint Declaration was signed by the President of Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman, the President of the Presidency of BiH Alija Izetbegović, and in concluding the Declaration the following persons participated: ing. Hrvoje Šarinić, dr. Željko Matić, dr. Miomir Žužul and Hidajet Bišćević from the RH, and dr. Haris Silajdžić, dr. Ejup Ganić, dr. Muhamed Filipović and dr. Ivo Komšić from the RBiH.

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Secret agreement on the confederation of the President of the Republic of Croatia,
Dr. Franjo Tudjman and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of
Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović
(Geneva, 14 September 1993)**

Secret agreement on the confederation

“Starting from the results of the Peace Conference on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its constitution as Union of the Republics, as well as the general regional and international fluctuations and historical interests of the Croatian and Muslim people in the area of the South-East Europe, the Presidents Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegović are in accordance that:

the relations between the Bosniak-Muslim Republic and the Croatian Republic within the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina develop in all areas in order to create a joint state that shall enter the co federal relation with the Republic of Croatia at the same time.

In light of this aim the both Presidents shall enable an urgent and integral implementation of all regulations from the Joint declaration unable to be postponed, signed on 14 September in Geneva.

The both Presidents are in accordance to maintain the ongoing consultations regarding the development of the regional and international opportunities in light of the emphasized readiness to establish the joint state of Croats and Muslims within the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its contemporary entrance into the co federal relation with the Republic of Croatia.

The both Presidents are in accordance to start the adequate political and diplomatic activity in order to question the international circumstances and support this joint initiative.

The both Presidents are in accordance to found a permanent working group in order to create political, legal and other institutional assumptions for the concretization of this initiative.”

(Signatures of the President Tudjman, President Izetbegović and their associates)

**ICFY /International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
 Joint Serbian-Muslim Declaration of
 Alija Izetbegović and Momčilo Krajišnik
 (Geneva, 16 September 1993)**

Joint Serbian-Muslim Declaration

Adopting the principles of the London Conference and taking into consideration the solutions proposed at the Geneva Peace Conference for the constitutional order of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina, determined to put an instant end to hostilities and to create conditions for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and convinced that the crisis must be resolved by political and not military means, we are prepared for an immediate normalisation of relations with the Croatian people in light of the solution proposed at the Peace Conference in Geneva, we have agreed to the following:

I

1. Ensure an instant end to all hostilities and military conflicts between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb Army in accordance with the agreement of 30 July 1993, immediately if possible and no later than by 1200 hrs on 18 September, and ensure the establishment of direct communications (hotline) between the military commanders at all levels.
2. Ensure the bilateral and unconditional closure of all prisoner-of-war camps and the release of all prisoners in territories under the control of the Army of BiH /Bosnia and Herzegovina/ and of the Bosnian Serbs, and immediately, starting from the release of the prisoners in Tarčin camp (207 prisoners) and Kula (207) prisoners. This ought to be done no later than by 1200 hrs on 21 September, on the proviso that both sides take full responsibility for the protection and care of the prisoners.
3. Create conditions on both sides for an unhindered and safe passage of humanitarian convoys and for the activities of humanitarian organisations, and for the safe and unhindered movement of all civilians.
4. Form working groups for the supervision and insurance of human rights in the territories under the control of the Army of BiH and the Bosnian Serb army, in accordance with the principles and solutions proposed at the Peace Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina.
5. Form a working group for unresolved issues pertaining to territorial demarcation between the two republics in the imaginary Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the territories of Brčko, Bosnian Krajina, the Neretva valley, eastern Bosnia and Mt Ozren, and taking into consideration the natural right of access to the sea of these two republics. This is added to the already undertaken obligations to seek a permanent solution for administration of the territory of Sarajevo in the next two years. After finding a mutually acceptable solution to the territorial demarcation of the three republics making up the Union, and in the first two years of the existence of the Union, a referendum must be prepared and held. All three sides must agree to the date of its holding and the question posed to the citizens of each of the republics will be whether they agree to remain in the Union or want to leave it.

In the event of a break-up of the Union, all the rights of the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including membership in the United Nations, shall automatically be transferred to the republic with a majority Muslim population.

II

In order to create stable relations and as a joint contribution to peace in the region, the signatories decided to form the following:

1. A working group which will deal with the humanitarian status and material and financial issues related to refugees and displaced persons from Bosnia and Herzegovina.
2. A working group for drafting agreements, including agreements on the use of energy, harbours, arterial roads, communications and other economic potential.

III

With a view to a speedy, comprehensive and authentic implementation of all the measures and activities envisaged by this Joint Declaration, the signatories decided to appoint commissioners with full powers and responsibility for the implementation of the agreements envisaged by this Declaration. Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ has appointed Haris SILAJDŽIĆ as his commissioner and Radovan KARADŽIĆ has appointed Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK as his commissioner. The signatories and the commissioners shall request and shall be ensured assistance and cooperation with international political, humanitarian and other organisations and factors, and all with the aim of a comprehensive implementation of all measures envisaged by this Declaration and in the interest of lasting peace and stability in that part of the world.

Finally, an agreement was reached for the co-chairmen of the International Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to invite the three sides in BiH to a meeting to be held at the Sarajevo airport at 1100 hours on 21 September, which will review the signing of a peace package as a whole, and which will, among other things, contain this Joint Declaration and the Joint Declaration the Croats and Muslims signed on 14 September. The co-chairmen will meanwhile tour the sides in the former Yugoslavia in an endeavour to reach further agreements.

(The Declaration was signed in Geneva on 16 September 1993 by Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK instead of Radovan KARADŽIĆ. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and David OWEN signed as witnesses. The signatures of Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ and Momir BULATOVIĆ are not on this Document. A facsimile of the signatures was published in *Večernji List*.)

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Agreement of commander of the Supreme command of the BH Army Rasim Delić and
the commander of the Main Staff of HVO/Croatian Defence Council/ Milivoj Petković
(Sarajevo, 17 September 1993)**

Delić and Petković: Agreement at the Sarajevo airport

Commander of the BH Army Supreme command, Rasim Delić and the commander of the HVO Main Staff Milivoj Petković met at the Sarajevo airport on Friday. The meeting was presided by the commander of the peace forces of UN for BiH, Francis Briquemont. As reported by the BH Radio, there was a word about realization of declaration, signed by Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegović.

The following was agreed:

1. The cease-fire will be realized, in accordance with the joint declaration on 18th of September, starting at 1200 hrs. The troops received orders that the officers for the communication with UN will make mutual contact on 18th of September in the early morning hours in order to solve the substantial difficulties on the field.
2. On 19th of September the commissions shall meet in order to realize the agreement on release of all prisoners.
3. As of 18th of September 1200 hrs, a free pass of all convoys with humanitarian aid will be enabled. The control of convoys shall be realized in accordance with all regulations of the joint declaration.
4. The evacuation continuation of wounded combatants from the hospital in Nova Bila will be enabled in accordance with the agreement, signed by commanders Delić and Petković.
5. Details concerning the repair of the bridge in Bijela are agreed in principle: this repair would be initiated by the UNPROFOR representatives on 22nd of September.
6. It is envisaged that, after the 21st of September, a meeting should be held, in presence of all representatives of HVO, BH Army and Serbian forces, at which all details concerning the implementation of the signed military agreement dated 30th of July this year would be agreed. The meeting at the highest military level would be held after signing the peace agreement.

**The Owen-Stoltenberg plan on the "Invincible":
Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Adriatic Sea, 20 September 1993)**

The agreement that was not signed on the aircraft carrier the "Invincible"

We, the undersigned,

Guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities,

Bearing in mind the Statement of Principles of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia at its session in London and the Action Programme on humanitarian issues adopted at that session,

Considering the decisions of the Security Council of the United Nations concerning the former Yugoslavia,

Affirming their commitment to peace and security among the successor states to the former Yugoslavia,

Hereby agree as follows:

1) Constitutional Agreement on the Union of the Republics of BiH

- a) The Constitutional Agreement is attached in Appendix I. The parties agree that it shall enter into force one week following the Security Council's acknowledgement of the present Agreement, confirms that the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina will retain its membership in the United Nations as stated in Security Council resolution 859 (1993), and authorises the United Nations to support the implementation of this Agreement.
- b) The three parties acknowledge that the Security Council will review the broader issue of sanctions in accordance with the overall solution of the major issues regarding former Yugoslavia. Irrespective of this, they acknowledge that, bearing in mind this Agreement and parallel to the Peace Plan, the Security Council will approve a gradual lifting of sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) given the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina provided that there is unambiguous evidence that all aspects of this Agreement are being properly implemented in particular the withdrawal of the forces to the agreed demarcation line of the three republics of the Union as determined in Annex A, Part I.

2) Termination of the Conflict

The Parties reaffirm the Agreement on Full Cessation of Combat Activities signed by the respective military commanders on 30 July 1993 which is attached in Appendix III, Part 1, and the Military Agreement on Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina signed by the respective military commanders on 11 August 1993 which is attached in Appendix III, Part 2, and agree to having the latter amended in accordance with Appendix III, Part 3, and that it will enter into force one day following the Security Council's authorisation of support for its implementation.

3) Cooperation on humanitarian activities

- a) The highest degree of cooperation shall be afforded the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Protection Forces, the European Community Monitoring Mission and other humanitarian organisations working to provide assistance to refugees and displaced persons.
- b) Full cooperation shall be afforded the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the planning and execution of the programme for the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes.

4) Preliminary Agreement with the Republic of Croatia on the implementation of the 1965 Convention on Transit Trade of Land-Locked States

When the Constitutional Agreement enters into force, the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina will conclude a Preliminary Agreement with the Republic of Croatia on the implementation of the 1965 Convention on Transit Trade of Land-Locked States as determined in the attached Appendix IV.

5) Agreement on the exchange of territory

- a) In a separate agreement the Muslim and Serbian sides agreed that the road linking Goražde and Žepa will be three kilometres wide (see the Constitutional Agreement, Annex A, Article 2.1.) and that there will be two crossings between points in the Serbian-majority Republic. Changes in the maps have also been agreed to (see Annex A, Part 1).
- b) Furthermore, it has been agreed that the Muslim and Serbian sides will establish a working group to discuss other issues regarding the territorial demarcation of the republics which will constitute the Union of the Republics of BiH regarding the regions of Brčko, Bosanska Krajina, the Neretva valley, eastern Bosnia and Ozren. They will bear in mind the natural right of the two republics to access to the sea. This is an addition to the earlier obligations to find a permanent solution regarding a two-year administration plan for the Sarajevo district. In the two years following an agreement on the territorial demarcation of the three republics of the Union a mutually agreed upon date will be set to hold a referendum in the Union of the Republics on whether the citizens of each member-republic accept

to stay in the Union or wish to leave it. If the Union falls apart all the rights of the Union of the Republics of BiH including membership in the UN will automatically go to the Muslim-majority Republic. (*footnote: "The detailed draft can be found in the Joint Muslim-Serbian Declaration signed in Geneva on 16 September 1993 and is attached as Appendix V."*)

- c) The Croatian and Muslim side have also agreed to set up a working group to deal with issues of the territorial demarcation of the two republics in the Union of the Republics of BiH in a way that would meet their respective development needs (*footnote: "The detailed draft can be found in the Joint Muslim-Croatian Declaration signed in Geneva on 14 September 1993 and is attached in Appendix VI."*)

6) Access to the sea

Separate agreements were concluded:

- a) Between the Muslim and Croatian side on access to the sea for the Muslim-majority republic by way of a road from Poplata to Neum through the Croatian-majority republic which will be managed by a separate body and whereby the Muslim-majority republic will retain land on the Adriatic coast, on the Kosa (Klek) peninsula-isthmus, and which establishes a joint administration of the two republics for the promotion of tourism in this region.
- b) The Croatian and Muslim side agreed that the port installations for the Muslim-majority republic will be between Višići and Čeljevo on the Neretva river and that the port will have the capacity to harbour ships from Ploče and other ports in the Adriatic and that the southern border of the Muslim-majority republic will be shifted further down to Rečica immediately above Višići. To start off there will be a road under a special administration in the direction from Rečica to Tasovčići to the exit of Čeljevo. The port will occupy land to the south of the buildings along the road to Čeljevo, to the west of the buildings along the road to Višići, to the north to the Višići urban area, and to the east along the Neretva. If the port is built, the Muslim-majority republic is expected to construct a flyover at the Čeljevo crossing and a new road in the agreed-upon direction to Rečica avoiding as far as possible existing settlements. This road, flanked by half a kilometre of land on each side and the port, will be part of the Muslim-majority republic.
- c) The Republic of Croatia agrees to a 99-year loan for specific port installations in the port of Ploče for the Muslim-majority republic while details on the management of the port installations will be determined in an agreement to be concluded between the Republic of Croatia and the Union of the Republics of BiH (see Appendix VII).

As soon as the relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) get back to normal, jointly with the Union of the Republics of BiH, an agreement on the exchange of territory will be concluded which will take into account the need for strategic guarantees for Dubrovnik and the strategic importance of Prevlaka for the bay of Kotor, the need of the Serbian-

majority republic for access to the sea in the region between Oštri Rt and Molunat and the need to have the Republic of Croatia territorially compensated for lost territory.

7) Political agreements

All parties agree that the first elections in the republics of the Union will be monitored by the UN and the European Community and will be held at the latest two years after the Constitutional Agreement enters into force. All the elections for the legislative bodies of the republics and municipalities will be on the principle of equal representation. All political parties registered in any of the republics can organise themselves and act freely in the entire territory of the Union of the Republics of BiH on condition that their activities be in accordance with the Constitutional Agreement.

Signed by:

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ
Radovan KARADŽIĆ
Mate BOBAN
Momir BULATOVIĆ
Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ
Franjo TUĐMAN

Witnesses thereof: T. STOLTENBERG, D. OWEN

**The Presidency of the BiH Republic /RBH/: A Decree Law on the Amendments to
the Law on the Election and Recall of RBH Presidency Members
(Sarajevo, 28 September 1993)**

Pursuant to Amendment LI, item 5, paragraph 3, of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina hereby adopts the

**Decree Law on the Amendments to the Law on the Election
and Recall of RBH Presidency Members**

Article 1

In the Law on the Election and Recall of the Members of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /SRBH/* number 21/90, 28/90 and 29/90 and the *Official Gazette of the RBH*, number 23/92), a new article, number 13a, is hereby added after Article 13 and shall read as follows:

Article 13a

In the time of war, a member of the RBH Presidency may be recalled if, for whatever reason, he has lost the confidence of the RBH Assembly.

The recall of RBH Presidency members shall be carried out in the manner prescribed by, and in accordance with, the protocols established for their election, unless stated otherwise by the Law on the Election and Recall of the RBH Presidency members.

Recall proceedings shall be initiated against RBH Presidency members at the proposal of no less than 20 delegates. The recall proposal shall be sent to the RBH Assembly or, in the time of war if the Assembly is unable to meet, to the RBH Presidency.

The recall of an RBH Presidency member will be decided on by the RBH Assembly in the manner prescribed by, and in accordance with, the protocols established for the election of RBH Presidency members.

Article 2

The Decree shall enter into force on the day of its publication in the *RBH Official Gazette*.

Number: 1556/93
Sarajevo, 28 September 1993

President of RBH Presidency
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, m.p.

**The Owen-Stoltenberg plan:
Peace agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina- the new edited version
(Geneva, end of September 1993)**

Peace agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina

We, the undersigned,

Guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities,

Bearing in mind the Statement of Principles of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia at its session in London and the Action Programme on humanitarian issues adopted at that session,

Considering the decisions of the Security Council of the United Nations concerning the former Yugoslavia,

Affirming their commitment to peace and security among the successor states to the former Yugoslavia,

Hereby agree as follows:

1) Constitutional Agreement on the Union of the Republics of BiH

- a) The Constitutional Agreement is attached in Appendix I. The parties agree that it shall enter into force one week following the Security Council's acknowledgment of the present Agreement, confirms that the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina will retain its membership in the United Nations as stated in Security Council resolution 859 (1993), and authorises the United Nations to support the implementation of this Agreement.
- b) The three parties acknowledge that the Security Council will review the broader issue of sanctions in accordance with the overall solution of the major issues regarding former Yugoslavia. Irrespective of this, they acknowledge that, bearing in mind this Agreement and parallel to the Peace Plan, the Security Council will approve a gradual lifting of sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) given the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina provided that there is unambiguous evidence that all aspects of this Agreement are being properly implemented in particular the withdrawal of the forces to the agreed demarcation line of the three republics of the Union as determined in Annex A, Part I.
- c) The directions agreed on in the Constitutional Agreement are in Appendix II, parts I and II.

2) Termination of the Conflict

The Parties reaffirm the Agreement on Full Cessation of Combat Activities signed by the respective military commanders on 30 July 1993 which is attached in Appendix III, Part 1, and the Military Agreement on Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina signed by the respective military commanders on 11 August 1993 which is attached in Appendix III, Part 2, and agree to having the latter amended in accordance with Appendix III, Part 3, and that it will enter into force one day following the Security Council's authorisation of support for its implementation.

3) Cooperation on humanitarian activities

- a) The highest degree of cooperation shall be afforded the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Protection Forces, the European Community Monitoring Mission and other humanitarian organisations working to provide assistance to refugees and displaced persons.
- b) Full cooperation shall be afforded the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the planning and execution of the programme for the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes.

4) Preliminary Agreement with the Republic of Croatia on the implementation of the 1965 Convention on Transit Trade of Land-Locked States

When the Constitutional Agreement enters into force, the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina will conclude a Preliminary Agreement with the Republic of Croatia on the implementation of the 1965 Convention on Transit Trade of Land-Locked States as determined in the attached Appendix IV.

5) Agreement on the exchange of territory

- a) In a separate agreement the Muslim and Serbian sides agreed that the road linking Goražde and Žepa will be three kilometres wide (see the Constitutional Agreement, Annex A, Article 2.1.) and that there will be two crossings between points in the Serbian-majority Republic. Changes in the maps have also been agreed to (see Annex A, Part 1).
- b) Furthermore, it has been agreed that the Muslim and Serbian sides will establish a working group to discuss other issues regarding the territorial demarcation of the republics which will constitute the Union of the Republics of BiH regarding the regions of Brčko, Bosanska Krajina, the Neretva valley, eastern Bosnia and Ozren. They will bear in mind the natural right of the two republics to access to the sea. This is an addition to the earlier obligations to find a permanent solution regarding a two-year administration plan for the Sarajevo district. In the two years following an agreement on the territorial demarcation of the three republics of the Union a mutually agreed upon date will be set to hold a referendum in the Union of the Republics on whether the citizens of each member-republic accept

to stay in the Union or wish to leave it. If the Union falls apart all the rights of the Union of the Republics of BiH including membership in the UN will automatically go to the Muslim-majority Republic. (footnote: "The detailed draft can be found in the Joint Muslim-Serbian Declaration signed in Geneva on 16 September 1993 and is attached as Appendix V.")

- c) The Croatian and Muslim side have also agreed to set up a working group to deal with issues of the territorial demarcation of the two republics in the Union of the Republics of BiH in a way that would meet their respective development needs (footnote: "The detailed draft can be found in the Joint Muslim-Croatian Declaration signed in Geneva on 14 September 1993 and is attached in Appendix VI.")

6) Access to the sea

Separate agreements were concluded:

- a) Between the Muslim and Croatian side on access to the sea for the Muslim-majority republic by way of a road from Poplata to Neum through the Croatian-majority republic which will be managed by a separate body and whereby the Muslim-majority republic will retain land on the Adriatic coast, on the Kosa (Klek) peninsula-isthmus, and which establishes a joint administration of the two republics for the promotion of tourism in this region.
- b) The Croatian and Muslim side agreed that the port installations for the Muslim-majority republic will be between Višići and Čeljevo on the Neretva river and that the port will have the capacity to harbour ships from Ploče and other ports in the Adriatic and that the southern border of the Muslim-majority republic will be shifted further down to Rečica immediately above Višići. To start off there will be a road under a special administration in the direction from Rečica to Tasovčići to the exit of Čeljevo. The port will occupy land to the south of the buildings along the road to Čeljevo, to the west of the buildings along the road to Višići, to the north to the Višići urban area, and to the east along the Neretva. If the port is built, the Muslim-majority republic is expected to construct a flyover at the Čeljevo crossing and a new road in the agreed-upon direction to Rečica avoiding as far as possible existing settlements. This road, flanked by half a kilometre of land on each side and the port, will be part of the Muslim-majority republic.
- c) The Republic of Croatia agrees to a 99-year loan for specific port installations in the port of Ploče for the Muslim-majority republic while details on the management of the port installations will be determined in an agreement to be concluded between the Republic of Croatia and the Union of the Republics of BiH.
- d) As soon as the relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) get back to normal, jointly with the Union of the Republics of BiH, an agreement on the exchange of territory will be concluded which will take into account the need for strategic guarantees for Dubrovnik and the strategic importance of Prevlaka for the bay of Kotor, the need of the Serbian-

majority republic for access to the sea in the region between Oštri Rt and Molunat and the need to have the Republic of Croatia territorially compensated for lost territory.

7) Political agreements

All parties agree that the first elections in the republics of the Union will be monitored by the UN and the European Community and will be held at the latest two years after the Constitutional Agreement enters into force. All the elections for the legislative bodies of the republics and municipalities will be on the principle of equal representation. All political parties registered in any of the republics can organise themselves and act freely in the entire territory of the Union of the Republics of BiH on condition that their activities be in accordance with the Constitutional Agreement.

To be signed by:

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ
Radovan KARADŽIĆ
Mate BOBAN
Momir BULATOVIĆ
Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ
Franjo TUĐMAN

Witnesses thereof: T. STOLTENBERG, D. OWEN

Owen-Stoltenberg peace package:

APPENDIX I

Constitutional agreement of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

I. The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Article 1.

The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina is composed of three constituent Republics and encompasses three constituent peoples: the Muslims, Serbs and Croats, as well as a group of other peoples. The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be a State Member of the United Nations, and as such it shall apply for membership in other organizations of the United Nations system.

Article 2.

The flag and emblem of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be specified by a law adopted by the Union Parliament.

Article 3.

- a) Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be determined by a law adopted by the Union Parliament.
- b) Every person who on the entry into force of this Constitutional Agreement was entitled to citizenship of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be entitled to be a citizen of a constituent republic as well as of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- c) Dual citizenship shall be allowed.
- d) Decisions about citizenship shall be made by the designated organs of the constituent Republics, subject to appeal to the competent courts.

Article 4.

Neither the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina nor any of the constituent Republics shall maintain military forces, and any forces existing on the date of entry into force of this Constitutional Agreement shall be progressively disarmed and disbanded under the supervision of the United Nations and the European Community.

II. Constituent Republics and their Responsibilities

Article 1

- a) The boundaries of the constituent Republics shall be as set out in Annex A, Part I. Except as provided in paragraph b) below, the boundaries of the Republics may be changed only by the procedure provided for amending this Constitutional Agreement.
- b) Marginal changes in the boundaries set out in Annex A may be made by the Presidency on the recommendation of the Boundary Commission, which shall receive evidence from those specifically affected by them. The Commission shall consist of five persons appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of whom three shall be persons recommended by representatives of the three constituent peoples.
- c) The areas specified in Annex A, Part II, even though within the territory of a constituent Republic, shall be under the jurisdiction of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the purpose of ensuring access by all citizens to the sea at Neum and to the Sava River.

- d) There shall be no border controls on boundaries between the constituent Republics, and there shall be free movement of persons, goods and services throughout the territory of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article 2

- a) Each of the constituent Republics shall adopt its own Constitution, which shall provide for democratic forms of government, including democratically elected legislative bodies, chief executive bodies and independent judicial organs, as well as for the highest standards of human rights and freedoms. No provision of these Constitutions may be inconsistent with this Constitutional Agreement.
- b) The initial elections in each constituent Republic shall be supervised by the United Nations and by the European Community.

Article 3

All governmental functions and powers, except those assigned by this Constitutional Agreement to the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina or to any of its institutions, shall be those of the Constituent Republics.

Article 4

All decisions taken by a competent governmental authority of any of the constituent Republics shall be accepted as valid by the other constituent Republics.

III. Common Institutions of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Article 1

- a) The Presidency of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall consist of the President, or an appointee of the legislative organ, of each of the constituent Republics.
- b) The Chairmanship of the Presidency shall rotate every four months among the members of the Presidency. The Chairman of the Presidency shall represent the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- c) The Presidency shall take all its decisions by consensus.

Article 2

- a) The head of the government of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be the Prime Minister, who shall be appointed and may be removed by the Presidency. The post shall rotate every year so as to be occupied in turn by the nominee of the President of a different constituent Republic.

- b) The Presidency shall also appoint and may remove a Foreign Minister. The post shall rotate every year so as to be occupied in turn by the nominee of the President of a different constituent Republic.
- c) The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister shall be representatives of different constituent Republics.
- d) Other ministers may be appointed by the Presidency. They and the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister shall constitute the Council of Ministers, with responsibility for the policies of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the fields of foreign affairs, international trade and the functioning of the common institutions, as well as any other functions and institutions that the Union Parliament may periodically specify by law.

Article 3

- a) The Parliament of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be composed of 120 representatives, one-third each to be elected by the respective legislative organs of the constituent Republics.
- b) The Union Parliament may by a simple majority of the members from each constituent Republic adopt laws within the competence of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article 4

The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall have the following courts:

- (i) A Supreme Court, composed of four judges appointed by the Presidency, no two of whom shall be from the same peoples, which, except as specified in subparagraph (iii) below, shall be the final court of appeals from the courts of the constituent Republics;
- (ii) A Constitutional Court, composed of three judges appointed by the Presidency, no two of whom shall be from the same constituent Republic, which shall be competent to resolve by consensus disputes among the constituent Republics, between any of these and the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina or any of its common institutions, and among any of these institutions. Should it not be possible to constitute the Court, or should the Court be unable to resolve a dispute, the case shall be referred for a binding decision to a standing arbitration tribunal composed of judges of the International Court of Justice or members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, of whom one each shall be selected by the President of each of the constituent Republics and two of whom shall be selected by the Presidency or, if it is unable to do so, by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community;
- (iii) A Court of Human Rights to be established in accordance with Resolution 93 (6)

of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, whose precise composition and competence shall be as set out in the agreed Annex B.

Article 5

Joint authorities between two or more of the constituent Republics may be established by the agreement of the Republics concerned if approved by a law adopted by the Union Parliament.

IV. International Relations

Article 1

The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall apply for membership in European and other international institutions and organizations, as decided by the Presidency.

Any constituent Republic may apply for membership in international organizations if such membership is not inconsistent with the interests of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina or of the other constituent Republics.

Article 2

- a) The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall remain a signatory to all international treaties in force for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the date of the entry into force of this Constitutional Agreement, unless the Union Parliament decides that steps to renounce any such treaty shall be taken. However, treaties entered into after 18 November 1990 shall be considered by the Union Parliament within a period of three months from the entry into force of this Constitutional Agreement and shall remain in force only if the Union Parliament so decides.
- b) The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall continue all diplomatic relations until the Presidency decides whether to continue or discontinue them.
- c) The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina may become a party to international treaties if such participation is approved by the Union Parliament. The Parliament may by law provide for participation in certain types of international agreements by decision of the Presidency. To the extent such participation would involve responsibilities that are to be carried out by the constituent Republics, their advance approval must be secured, except in respect of the treaties referred to in Chapter V, Article 3, below.
- d) Any constituent Republic may, if eligible, become a party to an international treaty if such participation is not inconsistent with the interests of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina or of either of the other constituent Republics.

V. Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Article 1

- a) Subject to Article 2 below, all persons within the territory of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be entitled to enjoy the rights and freedoms provided for in the instruments listed in Annex C.
- b) Should there be any discrepancy between the rights and freedoms specified in any of these instruments, or between any of these and the rights and freedoms specified in any other legal provisions in force, the provisions providing the greater protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms shall be applied.

Article 2

All courts, administrative agencies and other governmental organs of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the constituent Republics shall apply and conform to the rights and freedoms specified in the instruments listed in parts I and IV of Annex C. The rights specified in the instruments listed in parts II and III of Annex C shall be considered as aspirations to be attained as rapidly as possible; all legislative, judicial, administrative and other governmental organs of the central and republican governments shall take these rights into account in promoting, executing and interpreting any legislative provisions designed to be implemented or otherwise suitable for implementing such rights or in carrying out the functions of these organs.

Article 3

The Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall become a party to each of the international treaties listed in Annex C as soon as possible.

Article 4

All organs of the Union and Republican Governments shall cooperate with the supervisory bodies established by any of the instruments listed in Annex C, as well as with the International Human Rights Monitoring Mission for Bosnia and Herzegovina established by the United Nations.

Article 5

- a) All citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall have the right to settle in any part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They shall have the right to have returned any property of which they were deprived in the course of ethnic cleansing and to be compensated for any property which cannot be returned to them.
- b) The Union Parliament, as well as the legislative bodies of the constituent Republics, shall enact laws to assist in implementing these rights.

Article 6

To assist in implementing the rights and freedoms specified in this chapter and in particular in Article 5 a) above, ombudsmen shall be appointed who will carry out their functions initially as specified in Annex D, and thereafter as specified in a law adopted by the Union Parliament.

VI. Finances

Article 1

- a) At the proposal of the Prime Minister and with the relevant approval of the Presidency, the Union Parliament shall each year adopt a budget covering the expenditures required to carry out only those functions of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina relating to the maintenance of its common institutions and compliance with its international obligations, as well as such other functions as may from time to time be agreed by the Union Parliament.
- b) If no such budget is adopted in due time, the budget for the previous year shall be used on a provisional basis.

Article 2

- a) The expenditures provided for in the budget shall be covered in equal part by each of the constituent Republics, except in the event that other revenues are available or unless otherwise specified in a law adopted by the Union Parliament,.
- b) Other sources of revenues, such as custom duties, taxes for services or taxes on specified activities, may be determined by law.

VII. The Constitutional Agreement

Article 1

- a) This Constitutional Agreement may be amended by decision of the Union Parliament when such amendment has been approved by each of the constituent Republics according to its constitutional procedure.
- b) No amendment may be adopted that abolishes or diminishes any of the rights or freedoms specified in Chapter V.

Article 2

- a) This Constitutional Agreement may not be abolished and none of the constituent Republics may withdraw from the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina without the prior agreement of all of the constituent Republics. Such a decision

may be appealed to the Security Council by any of the constituent Republics, and the Council's decision shall be final.

- b) Should any of the constituent Republics withdraw from the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the areas specified in Annex A, Part II that are within the territory of such Republic shall remain a part of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article 3

This Constitutional Agreement shall enter into force when approved as part of the overall peace settlement by representatives of the three constituent peoples, and on a date specified by them.

Annex A, Part I

The boundaries of the constituent Republics

The boundaries of the constituent Republics shall be as indicated on the map below, subject to any changes that may be made in accordance with Chapter II, Article 1 b), of the Constitutional Agreement. The Boundary Commission shall ensure that the territory of the Republic with a Muslim majority shall not be less than 30% of the entire territory of the Union of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The road marked on the map linking Goražde and Žepa shall be a part of the Muslim-majority Republic, which will be responsible for its maintenance and police control.

As much of Gornji Vakuf as possible shall be in the Muslim-majority Republic, on condition that the Republic with the Croatian majority shall retain road access to Prozor from the northern side of Gornji Vakuf, and to Novi Travnik along the road from the village of Ploče towards the intersection to the north of Bistrica. It may be necessary to build new roads, and the Special Representative of the United Nations General Secretary shall, after relevant consultations, arbitrate in the event of a dispute.

Likewise, the Special Representative of the United Nations General Secretary shall be responsible for arbitration of the boundary between the Muslim-majority Republic and the Croatian-majority Republic at such a place where it follows the line drawn south of the Lašva River in Travnik to ensure that as many Croatian villages as possible, to the extent to which this is possible, are in the Croatian-majority Republic.

The Presidency may, at the request of any of the constituent Republics, decide that a certain religious or cultural feature located in another constituent Republic shall be placed under special protection and the competence of the requesting Republic.

Annex A, Part II

Areas under the jurisdiction of the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. The area defined by the present municipality of Neum and the part of the present municipality of Stolac that lies below the southern border of the constituent Republic that extends up through Sarajevo to Brčko on the Sava River.
2. The part of the railway line from Tuzla that passes across Brčko to the railway bridge on the Sava.
3. Those public buildings in the Sarajevo District and in the surrounding areas that are designated by the Presidency to be used by the Union Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Supreme, Constitutional and Human Rights Courts and the administrative institutions of the Union.

Owen-Stoltenberg peace package:

Appendix II

Arrangements Agreed Upon in Regard to the Constitutional Agreement on the Alliance of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. The name of each Constituent Republic will be determined by the competent authorities of that Republic;
2. Access authorities:
 - (a) Pursuant to Article III 5 of the Constitutional Agreement, as soon as this Agreement comes into force, Access Authorities will be established, authorized to assist in the implementation of Article II.1(d) of the Agreement which requests the freedom of movement for persons, goods and services on the whole territory of the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 - (b) The purpose of the existence of these Authorities will be to guarantee full freedom of movement in certain very important areas between and within Constituent Republics, as well as to and from these Republics and the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Serbia.
 - (c) Three persons appointed by the Presidency, one from each Constituent Republic, will make up these Authorities. The seat of these Authorities will be in Sarajevo or its vicinity.
 - (d) Even though these Authorities should start functioning as soon as possible after the coming into force of this Constitutional Agreement, there will inevitably be an initial period in which UNPROFOR will have exclusive

responsibility for the freedom of movement along the determined 'blue zones' around Sarajevo and "passages", and ensure freedom of movement along the key routes and railway lines on the whole territory of the country. After that, there will be a period when UNPROFOR's and the Authorities' responsibilities will overlap and during this period the Authorities' traffic police will take over UNPROFOR's responsibilities for certain zones. This transfer of responsibility will require the agreement of all members of the Authorities. The traffic police will be allotted to the Authorities by the police forces of the Constituent Republics.

(e) The following routes will be under control of the access authorities

- I. The road and railway line from Metković on the border of the Republic of Croatia to the city of Sarajevo.
- II. The railway line from Sarajevo to Doboj and Bosanski Šamac.
- III. *The Una railway line /Unska pruga/* which goes from Bosanski Novi, through Bihać and to the south towards the Croatian border.
- IV. The road from Nevesinje to the Mostar airport.
- V. The road from Srebrenica to Kladanj.
- VI. The road from Gorazde, through Čajniće and to the Montenegrin border.
- VII. The Sarajevo airport.
- VIII. *The Transit Road /Tranzitni put/* passing through the southern part of Sarajevo.
- IX. The road between Sarajevo and the crossing point north of Trnovo which allows access to Gorazde.
- X. The road between Bosanski Brod (via Derventa, Doboj, Zenica) and Sarajevo.
- XI. The road leading from the border with the Republic of Croatia, passing by Velika Kladuša (via Cazin, Bihać, Ključ, Jajce, Donji Vakuf) to Mostar.
- XII. The road between Donji Vakuf (via Travnik) and Zenica.
- XIII. The road that goes from Poplat to Neum.

II PART

A. Sarajevo area

1. During the period specified in section 2 (below), the area of Sarajevo will be established and its external borders will be indicated on the attached map. This border will be subject to change by the Commission for borders, in accordance with Article II. 1 (b) of the Constitutional agreement. The Commission would first have to consider the inclusion issues of places Čekrčić, Ratkovac, Ćatić and Draževići in the area of Sarajevo, and afterwards they will consider inclusion of Kiseljak and Kreševo.
2. It is planned that period in which the United Nations will participate in the government of Sarajevo area will last for two years. Parties commit to find permanent solution during this period. The period in which the UN will be present can therefore be reduced, if recommended by the Presidency, understanding that the United Nations participation in the government of Sarajevo area will at all times be such as determined by the United Nation's Security Council.
3. Sarajevo area will have functions and authorities as specified in the Constitution agreement for constitutive republics, but will not have representative at the Presidency. Municipalities in the Sarajevo area will have the same administrative functions and authorities as municipalities have according to current legislative, and will be subject to authority of United Nations administrator, which he will be able to enforce in exceptional circumstances. Laws adopted by the Union parliament shall also apply on Sarajevo area.
4. Sarajevo area will be governed by the UN administrator appointed by the secretary-general of the United Nations. UN administrator will be under the supervision of a special representative and the secretary-general and in close cooperation with the Joint Commission of Sarajevo area, which was established after the signing of Military treaty on peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. UN administrator will be advised by the advisory body consisting of four Muslim representatives, three Serb representatives and two Croat representatives and one minority representative in the area. The last representative shall be appointed by the co-chairman. Advisory body shall make recommendations by consensus.
5. UN administrator shall establish first instance courts and appellate courts in each of the municipalities included in the Sarajevo area. Appeals from these courts can be directed further to courts of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina republics in the same way as appeals from appellate courts in constituent republics.
6. Within the Sarajevo area, Commission for borders shall suggest new municipality borders taking into account following factors:
 - (a) borders that existed on January 1st, 1991;
 - (b) provisional changes of borders implemented after the January 1st, 1991;
 - (c) line of cease-fire;
 - (d) population distribution, according to census data and other sources;
 - (e) wishes of those particularly affected, as determined by plebiscite or otherwise;
 - (f) viewpoints of advisory body and UN administrator.

The Presidency will decide on the municipality borders proposed by the Commission for borders.

B. Mostar city municipality

1. During the period specified in section 2 (below), the Mostar city municipality shall be established and its external border will be indicated on the attached map. This border will be subject to change by the Commissions for borders, in accordance with Article II. 1 (b) of the Constitutional agreement.
2. It is planned that the period in which the European Commission will participate in government of the Mostar city municipality shall be two years. Parties commit to find permanent solution during this period. Period in which the European Commission shall be present can be reduced, if recommended by the Presidency, understanding that the European Commission participation in the government of Mostar city municipality will at all time be such as determined by the European Commission Ministry Council.
3. The Mostar city municipality, in which the buildings of the capital city with the predominantly Croatian population shall be located, will have administrative functions and authority specified in the Constitutional agreement for the constitutive

republics. The Mostar city municipality will have those administrative functions and authorities that municipalities have according to current legislative, and will be subject to authority of European Commission, used in exceptional circumstances. Laws adopted by the Union Parliament shall also be applied on the Mostar city municipality.

4. Mostar city municipality will be governed by the European Commission administrator appointed by the president of the European Commission. EC administrator will be under the supervision of special representative of UN secretary-general and in close cooperation with Joint Regional Commission, established after the signing of Military treaty on peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. EC administrator will be advised by the advisory body consisting of three Croats, three Muslim and three Serb representatives and one representative of minority living in the city; appointed by co-chairman.
5. EC administrator shall establish first instance courts and appeal court in Mostar city municipality. Appeals from these courts can be directed further to courts of Union Bosnia and Herzegovina republics in the same way as appeals from appellate courts in constituent republics.
6. Mostar city municipality shall be demilitarized by the Joint Regional Commission, in accordance with the Military treaty on peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. UNPROFOR and other UN specialised agencies shall participate in the city in the same way as in the rest of the country.

Owen-Stoltenberg peace package: APPENDIX III

Military treaties

Part one

Treaty on complete cessation of all combat activities between all parties to conflict from July 30th, 1993

THE UNDERSIGNED MILITARY COMMANDERS, as representatives of parties in conflict.

Taking into account decisions made recently by their principal commanders under the auspice of the International Conference on former Yugoslavia,

Bearing in mind their obligations under applicable resolutions of the Security Council, including ensuring the UNPROFOR safety and freedom of movement,

Recognizing the absolute urgency of the current situation and taking all measures to comply with this Treaty,

Have agreed on the following:

Article 1

Cessation of all combat activities

1. Starting immediately after the signing of this Agreement, forces of all three sides will stop the fire and all military activities, including the movement of army, deployment of forces and the establishment of fortifications.
2. The undersigned commanders must issue written orders ordering the discontinuation of combat activities as soon as possible upon signing this Agreement.

Article 2

Humanitarian aid and freedom of movement

The undersigned commanders should, as soon as possible, and immediately upon signing of this Agreement, issue written orders providing

- a) free passing of UNPROFOR;
- b) free passing of UNPROFOR convoys and their escort, subject to routine control of personnel number and weapons count entering and exiting the territory under control of one of the parties; and
- c) free passing of humanitarian aid convoys, subject to reasonable control of the convoy content and personnel escorting the aid at one checkpoint.

UNPROFOR recognizes that each party has a reasonable right to be concerned about movements within its own territory. UNPROFOR will give advance notice of the movement of convoys.

Article 3

Confirmation of adherence to this treaty

1. The undersigned military commanders will confirm to UNPROFOR the issuance of orders referred to in this Agreement. UNPROFOR will be given full support, allowing it to monitor the implementation of this Agreement. Parties can request assistance in the implementation of this Agreement from UNPROFOR officers on the ground.
2. The undersigned military commanders, or their authorized representatives, will continue to meet on daily basis at a certain time while their principal commanders of all parties involved are meeting in Geneva, or when necessary, at the express request of either party. In accordance with the recommendations given by the principal commanders of the parties in Geneva, they will discuss, among others, the draft of "Military Treaty on Cessation of Hostilities".
3. For urgent issues, military commanders and their representatives, authorised to make decisions, must be available 24 hours a day (and through reliable means of communication)

This Agreement, which is in accordance with the decisions of the principal commanders of all parties in Geneva, will enter into force upon its signing.

Composed at Sarajevo airport on July 30th, 1993 in two versions - in English language and the language of the parties. Where differences arise in the interpretation between the two versions, the English version will be used for verification.

To be signed by: R. Delić, R. Mladić, M. Petković,
as witnesses J. Cot, and F. Briquemont

Owen-Stoltenberg peace package: APPENDIX IV

Preliminary agreement between Republic of Croatia and the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics on the implementation of 1965 Convention on transit trade of landlocked countries

Republic of Croatia and the Union of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics

Taking into account that as successors of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which was a party to the Convention on Transit Trade of landlocked countries, concluded in New York on July 8th, 1965 (hereinafter referred to as the Convention), Republic of Croatia and the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics must each apply the provisions of the Convention,

Also taking into account that the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics should be considered "landlocked country" under the definition of the Convention and that in regards to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Croatia is a "transit country" according to the definition of the Convention

With desire to conclude the agreement, and that on the basis of reciprocity in accordance with Article 3 (1) of the Convention about the main seas mentioned in the Preamble of the Convention on transit trade and with Article 15 of the Convention, in order to establish rules, as foreseen in the second paragraph of Article 2 of the Convention, for transit traffic management and use of transportation means passing through Croatian territory between the territories of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina republics and the Adriatic Sea, and when passing through the territory of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina republics in transit between entry and exit located on Croatian territory, and also to regulate other things foreseen by the Convention.

Hereby give their approval as follows:

Article 1

- a) Transit freedom according to terms and conditions of this Preliminary Agreement will be given to both parties on the basis of reciprocity.
- b) Croatian port of Ploče and Rijeka are defined as those in which the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics will have access to, as provided by the Convention, and for the land traffic, roads or railways, between Ploče and Sarajevo, and Rijeka and Bihać special regulations will be adopted
- c) Roads on the territory of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics:
 - (i) Between Croatian border near Velika Kladuša (towards Cazin, Bihać, Ključ, Jajce, Donji Vakuf, Bugojno, Jablanica and Mostar) and Croatian border in the south, as well as between roads Donji Vakuf (towards Travnik) and Zenica, where the roads connect with the road under (II);
 - (ii) between Bosanski Brod (towards Derвента, Doboј, Zenica, Sarajevo and Mostar) and Croatian border in the south; will be the roads for which freedom of transit, in accordance with the Convention, shall be assigned to Republic of Croatia
- d) The same freedom of transit will be assigned to Republic of Croatia on the so called Una railway on the territory of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics between Bosanski Novi (towards Bihać) and the Croatian border in the south in direction of Knin.
- e) Referring to specific Croatian ports, roads and railways within the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics, and to special points of entry from Croatia and Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics, and from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia, is not intended to exclude facilitating both countries transit traffic through other ports or entry points.

Article 2

Parties will commence negotiations immediately, with the intention to conclude the agreement by December 1st, 1993, covering all aspects of the implementation of the Convention and this Preliminary Agreement, bearing in mind in particular the following:

1. Specification of primary traffic routes, roads and railways, from ports to towns specified in Article 1 (a);
2. Regulations managing transportation means on roads and railways referred to in 1 (Article 2 (2) of the Convention);
3. Existing exemptions or those yet to be determined, within the specified ports, which will be especially dedicated to traffic within the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics and could be permitted in terms of action and development, with the consent of the Republic of Croatia;
4. Possible imposing of special transit fees, tariffs, freight (Articles 3 and 4 of the Convention);
5. Special customs duties and other measures to facilitate transit traffic (Article 5 of the Convention);
6. Terms and conditions for storage of transit goods (Article 6 of the Convention);
7. Possible establishment of free zones in certain ports (Article 8 of the Convention);
8. Exceptions on the grounds of public health, safety and protection of intellectual property (Article 11/ of the Convention);
9. Exceptions in case of emergency (Article 12 of the Convention);
10. Agreement implementation during the war (Article 13 of the convention);
11. Resolution of disputes according to Article 16 of the Convention

Article 3

Until the conclusion of the agreement referred to in Article 2, Republic of Croatia and the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics will facilitate as much as possible mutual transit traffic as defined in this Agreement.

Owen-Stoltenberg peace package: APPENDIX V

Joint Declaration

Accepting the principles of London Conference and taking into account solution suggested on Geneva Peace Conference on constitution of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Resolute to immediately end all hostilities in order to achieve conditions for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Confident that the solution for crisis must be achieved by political, rather than military means,

Ready for immediate normalization of relations with Croatian people in light of solutions proposed at the Geneva Peace Conference

We agree to the following:

I

1. To ensure immediate cessation of all hostilities and military conflict between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb army in accordance with the Agreement dated July 30th, 1993, preferably immediately and no later than September 18th at 12 am, and to establish a direct communication (hot line) between military commanders at all levels.
2. To ensure bilateral and unconditional abolition of all detention camps and to release prisoners on territory controlled by the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serbs immediately, starting with the release of detainees at the camp Tarčin (207 prisoners) and Kula (207 prisoners). This should be done no later than September 21st at 12 am, with the proviso that both sides take full responsibility for the protection and care of detainees.
3. To create conditions on both sides for a smooth and safe passage of humanitarian convoys and activities of humanitarian organizations, and for safe and unobstructed movement of all civilians.
4. To establish working groups for monitoring and ensuring human rights in the territories controlled by the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb army in accordance with the principles and solutions proposed at the Peace Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina.
5. To establish a working group for unresolved issues of territorial demarcation between the two republics in the envisioned Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including regions of Brčko, Bosanska Krajina, Neretva valley, eastern Bosnia and mountain Ozren, and taking into account the natural right to sea access of these two republics. This is added to the existing commitments to search for a permanent solution for the administration of the Sarajevo area within next two years. After finding a mutually acceptable solution to the territorial demarcation of the three republics comprising the Union, and during the first two years of the existence of the Union, a referendum must be prepared and implemented. The date of the referendum must be acceptable to all three sides, and the referendum question to citizens of each of the republics will be if they want to remain or to leave the Union.

In case the Union collapses, all rights of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics, including the membership in the United Nations, will automatically be assigned to the republic with a predominantly Muslim population.

II

In order to create stable relations and joint contribution to the peace in the region, the undersigned have decided to establish:

1. A working group to deal with humanitarian status, material and other issues related to refugees and displaced persons from Bosnia and Herzegovina.
2. A working group for the preparation of agreements, including agreements on the use of energy, ports, traffic arteries, communication and other economic resources.

III

For reasons of fast, comprehensive and credible implementation of all measures and activities anticipated in this Joint Declaration, the signatories have decided to appoint commissioners, with full authority and responsibilities for the full implementation of the agreement set forth in this Declaration. Alija Izetbegović has appointed Mr. Haris Silajdžić as his commissioner. Radovan Karadžić has appointed Momčilo Krajišnik as his commissioner.

Signatories and commissioners will request and will be provided with assistance and cooperation of international political, humanitarian and other organizations and actors, all in order to fully implement the measures foreseen in this Declaration, in the interest of permanent peace and stability in this part of the world.

In the end, it was agreed that co-chairs of the International Peace Conference on the former Yugoslavia invite three sides of BiH to the meeting which will be held at Sarajevo airport Tuesday, September 21st at 11 am, where they will take into consideration the signing of the peace package as a whole, which will contain among other things, this Joint Declaration and the Joint Declaration signed on September 14th by Croats and Muslims. Co-chairs will in the meantime visit all sides of the former Yugoslavia in an effort to reach further agreements.

Signed by: Momir Bulatović, Alija Izetbegović, Radovan Karadžić, Slobodan Milošević and as witnesses Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen

Owen-Stoltenberg peace package: APPENDIX VI.

Joint Declaration

President of Republic of Croatia dr. Franjo Tuđman and Chairman of Presidency of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović

Accepting the principles of the London Conference, and taking into account the solutions proposed at the Geneva Peace Conference on the constitutional arrangements of the future Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Taking into account the historical interests of Croatian and Muslim people;

Determined to immediately end all hostilities and to create the conditions for a lasting peace in the area of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Convinced of the need for continued strengthening of trust between Croatian and Muslim peoples, and to take effective measures in this direction;

Ready to immediately normalize relations with the Serbian people in the wake of solutions proposed at the Geneva Peace Conference, have agreed to:

1. Ensure immediate cessation of all hostilities and military conflicts between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the HVO in accordance with the agreement of July 30th, 1993 immediately and not later than September 18th, 1993 at 12 am.
2. Ensure mutual and unconditional closing of all detention camps and release of prisoners in the territories under the control of the BH Army and the HVO, immediately and no later than September 21st, 1993 at 12 am, with both sides taking the responsibility for protection and care of prisoners.
3. Create conditions for free and hindered passage of humanitarian convoys and activities of humanitarian organizations on both sides.
4. Establish a working group to monitor and protect human rights on territories under the control of the BH Army and the HVO, in accordance with the principles and proposed solutions of the Peace Conference on BH
5. Establish a working group for issues of territorial demarcation between the two republics in the foreseen BiH Union, including the issue regarding the exit to sea as well as common development interests.
6. Establish a working group for the development and monitoring of the implementation of comprehensive measures for restoration and strengthening of trust and coexistence between the Croatian and Muslim people, including media and other activities and programs to overcome the mistrust.

For purpose of stable relations between the two countries as a joint contribution to regional peace, Presidents Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegovic decided to establish:

1. A working group to address humanitarian, status, material and other issues related to the status of refugees and displaced persons from BiH to Croatia and their return to Bosnia and Herzegovina.
2. A working group for the preparation of international agreements, including agreements on the use of electrical and port facilities, roads, communications and other economic resources.
3. The two presidents agreed to invest their influence in order to ensure adequate support of international political and financial organizations in reconstruction and development of the two countries.

For reasons of fast, comprehensive and credible implementation of all agreed measures and activities from this Joint Declaration, presidents dr. Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović have decided to appoint their personal commissioners, with full authority and responsibilities for the full implementation of the agreement set forth in this Declaration.

President dr. Franjo Tuđman has appointed as his commissioner dr. Mate Granić, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Croatia.

President Alija Izetbegović has appointed as his commissioner dr. Haris Silajdžić, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The two presidents and their commissioners will request and will provide help and cooperation to international political, humanitarian, political and other organisations and actors for purpose of full implementation of all measures in this Declaration, in the interest of establishing lasting peace and stability in this part of the world.

Signed by: F. Tuđman and A. Izetbegović, participated in the conclusion: H. Šarinić, M. Žužul, H. Bišćević, H. Silajdžić, E. Ganić, M. Filipović and I. Komšić

Owen-Stoltenberg peace package: APPENDIX VII

Agreement between Republic of Croatia and the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics enabling common access to Adriatic sea through the territory of Republic of Croatia

Republic of Croatia and the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics

Given that it is desirable that the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republics (hereinafter the Union), and in particular Muslim predominated republics have secured and unlimited access to the Adriatic Sea by land and air through the territory of Republic of Croatia (hereinafter Croatia)

HEREBY GIVE THEIR APPROVAL AS FOLLOWS:

Article 1

- a) Croatia will, for the duration of this Agreement, lease the land within the port of Ploče to the predominantly Muslim republic, including docks and related parts of the harbour as described in Annex A (hereinafter the Leased Area).
- b) Croatia agrees that the Leased Area will enjoy the status of a free zone in which custom duties and taxes imposed by Croatia will not be applied.

Article 2

- (a) Croatia will allow access to the Leased Area and from there:
 - (i) by ships from the Adriatic sea, through Croatian territorial waters provided that these ships comply with applicable international laws;
 - (ii) by ships and tugboats through Neretva river until the point where the rivers enters the predominantly Muslim republic;

- (iii) by railway between Ploče and Sarajevo to the point where this line enters the territory of the Union;
- (iv) by road between Ploče and Sarajevo to the point where this road enters the territory of the Union.
- (b) Ships, tugboats, cars, trucks and other vehicles that use the routes specified in paragraph (a) and carry the flag of the Union, or are marked with a label of the Union or predominantly Muslim republics will not be checked and they will not be entered by Croatian authorities.
- (c) Limitations on the size and specifications of the boats, tugboats, cars, trucks and other vehicles specified in paragraph (b) in connection with the traffic volume on routes specified in the paragraph (a) may be determined by a joint committee, established in accordance with Article 4.
- (d) Should the limits set in accordance with paragraph (c) restrict the volume of traffic that the Muslim majority Republic considers it necessary to maintain, then it may, at its cost and in accordance with plans approved by the Joint Commission, arrange for the capacity of the routes referred to in paragraph (a) to be increased.
- (e) With respect to any traffic or persons or goods carried out pursuant to this Article, all responsibilities for compliance with international laws and obligations shall be assumed by the Muslim majority Republic of the Union.

Article 3

Croatia grants to the Union and in particular to the Muslim majority Republic the right to authorize any types of aircraft to overfly the territory of Croatia, including its territorial waters, along the corridor specified in Annex B hereto, subject to such aircraft complying with any applicable international air traffic regulations.

Article 4

- (a) The Parties hereby establish a joint commission to assist in the execution of this Agreement in a manner that they will:
 - (i) establish rules and standards necessary for the execution of the Agreement, and in particular Article 2 (c), including any construction;
 - (ii) organize monitoring necessary to prevent abuse of the Agreement;
 - (iii) resolve, in accordance with Article 6, all disputes arising from interpretation and implementation of this Agreement.
- (b) Croatia and the predominantly Muslim republic will each appoint three members to a joint commission, and they will by mutual agreement appoint another three members, of which one will be appointed president. If in the relation of one or more appointments mutual agreement cannot be reached within 3 months, appointment shall be made by the United Nations Secretary-General requested by one of the Parties.
- (c) The Joint Commission will adopt their own rules on procedure. Decision making will require five compliant votes.

Article 5

This Agreement is impartial to the rights and obligations arising from the Preliminary Agreement between the parties to this Agreement for the execution of the 1965 Convention on transit trade of landlocked countries or any agreement that might be reached between the parties for execution or modification of this Preliminary Agreement.

Article 6

Unless otherwise agreed, any legal dispute concerning the interpretation of this Agreement, either party may submit to the International Court of Justice.

Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /RBH/: Decision on the Recall of RBH Presidency Members (Sarajevo, 20 October 1993)²⁴⁶

Pursuant to Amendment LI, items 5 and 3 of the RBH Constitution and Article 13a of the Law on the Election and Recall of RBH Presidency Members, at its session of 20 October 1993, the RBH Presidency adopted the following

Decision on the Recall of RBH Presidency Members

I

Franjo BORAŠ and Miro LASIĆ are hereby recalled as members of the RBH Presidency as of 20 October 1993.

II

This Decision shall be published in the *Official Gazette of the RBH*.

Number: 02-111-628/93
Sarajevo, 20 October 1993

President of RBH Presidency
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, m.p

Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /RBH/: Decision on the Election of RBH Presidency Members (Sarajevo, 20 October 1993)

Pursuant to Amendment LI, item 5, paragraph 3, of the RBH Constitution, at the proposal of parliamentary parties, at its session of 20 October 1993, the RBH Presidency adopted the following

Decision on the Election of RBH Presidency Members

I

The following persons shall be elected as members of the RBH Presidency:

- Dr Nijaz DURAKOVIĆ, from the Muslim side and
- Dr Ivo KOMŠIĆ and Stjepan KLJUJIĆ, from the Croatian side.

II

This decision shall be published in the "*Official Gazette of the RBH*".

Number: 02-111-629/93
Sarajevo, 20 October 1993

President of the RBH Presidency
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, m.p.

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Joint declaration of Mate Boban and Fikret Abdić about the end of conflicts
and unconstitutional changes in the Presidency of the Republic of BiH
(Zagreb, 21 October 1993)**

Joint declaration of Mate Boban and Fikret Abdić

Accepting the principles of the London Conference and taking into consideration the solutions proposed by the Geneva Peace Conference with regard to the constitutional system of the future Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina; mindful of the historical interests of the Croatian and Muslim people; convinced of the need to continually build trust between the Croatian and Muslim people and to take effective measures to this end; affirming the Declaration and agreements from Geneva between representatives of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, dated 14 September 1993, President of the HR HB, Mate BOBAN and the President of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, Fikret ABDIĆ, after hours-long talks held in Zagreb, late this evening signed the joint statement.

1. Invoking the good co-operation to date between the Croats and Muslims in the AP WB, which has been threatened by the BH Army's armed attacks on the legitimate government and the mainly civilian population of the AP, they are determined to make efforts to end all conflicts in the territory of the Union of Republics and to establish forthwith a lasting peace in the territory of the AP WB. To this end, the units of the Bihać HVO shall remain part of the armed forces of the AP WB.
2. We consider that the changes in the composition of the BH Presidency introduced by part of the Presidency led by Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ are unconstitutional and were brought about by force, as such changes can only be made if a member of the Presidency resigns or is recalled by the electoral body. This act has put an end to the last democratically elected institution of BiH, and is at the same time in direct contravention of the Geneva Agreement and the agreements of 14 September 1993 on creating the preconditions for new friendly relations and co-operation between the Croatian and Muslim people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
3. The signatories of this Declaration are in favour of strengthening and establishing the closest possible ties between the AP WB and the HR HB within the Union of BH Republics.
4. At the same time, we appeal to all sides firmly to respect the international law of war and international humanitarian law, and to ensure complete freedom of movement for humanitarian convoys and civilians and protection of human rights and freedom", stands in Joint Declaration of the President of the Croatian Republic Herceg-Bosna Mate Boban and the President of Autonomous Province of West Bosnia Fikret Abdić.

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/: Peace initiative of the President of the Republic of Croatia
Dr. Franjo Tuđman (Zagreb, 2 November 1993)**

Peace initiative of the President Tuđman

Deeply concerned by the impasse at the Geneva Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and by the failure of all other attempts made to stop the war and military conflicts in the area of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, I consider it my statesman's duty to suggest to the international community, in particular to all the relevant global factors, a peace initiative that would stop the war and all the associated horrors and open up the path to peace and understanding and to a resolution of the political and economic problems in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

**I. PROPOSAL FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE PLAN IN UNITED NATIONS PROTECTED
AREAS (UNPAS) IN CROATIA**

In order to achieve the speediest implementation of Security Council resolution 871 (1993) and all other resolutions referred to in that resolution, Croatia proposes the following:

1. The Croatian government is prepared to conclude within 15 days an agreement on the cessation of all hostilities with the representatives of the local Serbs, guaranteeing their local and cultural autonomy.
2. To this end, we propose at the same time the renewal of the work of the joint commissions in order to resolve all issues enumerated in the Vance plan, and the implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 871 (1993), with the participation of the representatives of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the European Community.
3. We propose the immediate normalization of overall social and economic life in the UNPAs through the following:
 - (a) The immediate opening of all road and rail communications throughout Croatia, and particularly along the routes Zagreb-Knin-Split, Zagreb-Slavonski Brod-Županja, Novska-Okučani-Pakrac-Daruvar, Sisak-Glina-Bosanski Novi, Osijek-Beli Manastir-Hungarian border, Osijek-Vukovar, Osijek-Vinkovci-Ilok, etc.;
 - (b) The opening of the Adriatic oil pipeline and the repair and beginning of regular operation of facilities for oil transport, and power and water supply, throughout Croatia;
 - (c) The immediate return, without further delay, of all displaced persons to their homes under the supervision and with the efficient assistance of UNPROFOR and the authorities of Croatia;
 - (d) The initiation of all steps necessary for the restoration of normal life in the UNPAs, including the reopening of all communications, the supply of goods to the entire population, i.e., including the Serbian population (without any discrimination), in the forthcoming winter period, the reinstatement of welfare and medical care, normal operation of schools, supply of electric power and other energy sources, the payment of pensions, the employment of all civil servants and the integration of all other activities into the overall economic and legal system of Croatia;
 - (e) The preparation of plans and the initiation of steps to achieve the equitable integration of the UNPAs into the economic reconstruction of Croatia.
4. For the sake of the political settlement of the conflict and normalization of overall social life, Croatia is prepared, within the scope of its constitutional and legal order, to ensure in the UNPAs the implementation of its regulations, as well as of international conventions concerning the rights and freedoms of the Serbian ethnic community. To this end the following steps will be undertaken:
 - (a) The provision of full local autonomy (self-government), within the framework of the constitutional law, in the Districts of Knin and Glina in which the Serbs account for the majority;
 - (b) The assurance of the right to cultural autonomy of the Serbian ethnic community throughout Croatia, and especially the right to education in their language and script in accordance with special curricula and the bilingual writing of toponyms in areas in which they are in the majority;

- (c) The scheduling of elections for local, district and municipal self-governmental authorities under international supervision;
 - (d) The establishment of special police administrations in the Districts of Knin and Glina, whereby the national composition of the police force should match the ethnic composition of the population according to the latest censuses.
5. In order to provide for full civil and political equality, and efficient safeguarding of the civil and ethnic rights of the Serbs in Croatia, Croatia is prepared to accept the establishment of a special international supervisory body, and of a special Human Rights Court, to which each citizen may apply after having exhausted the regular legal course, in order to safeguard their special rights, the Districts of Knin and Glina will be able to bring a constitutional action to the Constitutional Court of Croatia should they consider that human rights and liberties, or the rights of the ethnic community, have been violated in their areas.
 6. In order to create full confidence, Croatia is prepared to propose the use of a special international Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) supervisory mission for mediation between the minority and the majority population.
 7. Croatia is prepared to negotiate the political settlement of all outstanding issues except those that may affect its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

II. PROPOSAL FOR THE CESSATION OF WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In this fateful moment when there appears to be no escape from the tragic sequence of events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and when the orientation to the convening of new, time-consuming international conferences is not likely to produce results, I propose that international factors revive the work of the Geneva Conference on the basis of the agreements achieved thus far concerning the constitutional arrangements of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a Union of Republics.

In order to make such a revived Conference as efficient as possible, I suggest the participation, along with the Co-Chairmen of the Conference, of representatives of States which may have the most effective influence on the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the former Yugoslavia, i.e., France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United States of America, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

1. Thus convened anew, the Geneva Peace Conference should prevail upon all the three parties in conflict, under threat of sanctions and within 14 days:
 - (a) To sign an agreement on the immediate cessation of hostilities and all military actions. Should they fail to do so, the United Nations Security Council should be requested to adopt a resolution ordering such cessation under the threat of armed enforcement;
 - (b) To sign a declaration on the acceptance of the constitutional arrangement of the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the annexed agreements.
2. I propose that the controversial issues of delimitation between the Republics of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina be resolved through bilateral negotiations and, if no agreement can be reached, to entrust the final decision to a special (arbitration) body to be nominated by Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and other Conference participants.
3. I propose that all the parties in conflict should undertake immediately:
 - (a) To assure and guarantee free and unhindered passage of humanitarian aid to all parties in all areas where it is required;
 - (b) To exchange all detainees and disband all detention centres, and bear full responsibility for their treatment of detainees in accordance with the rules of international humanitarian law;
 - (c) To permit international supervision and freedom of movement to representatives of international agencies who will supervise the implementation of these steps.

4. The peace plan can be implemented by using North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in the role thus far played by UNPROFOR, with the authority to use force, air strikes included, against all those who violate the agreement on the cessation of hostilities or frustrate the delivery of humanitarian aid and international supervision of the implementation of the achieved agreements.

III. PROPOSED STEPS FOR THE PERMANENT CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE

If peace, once achieved, is to be sustained permanently and consolidated, I propose that all the States in the area of the former Yugoslavia should proceed – within the framework of the Peace Conference and under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General and Security Council – as follows:

1. Sign a solemn declaration on the reciprocal recognition of the independence and sovereignty of all newly emerged States within their internationally recognized borders;
2. Sign within three months an agreement on the succession to rights and obligations of all successor States of the former Yugoslavia pursuant to the decision of the Arbitration commission;
3. Start negotiating, within the scope of European integration processes, treaties between themselves and with other European States concerning the regulation and promotion of economic and traffic links and trade and other matters of interest for relations among sovereign and independent States wishing to establish good neighbourly relations, and also of interest for the stability of the international order in this part of the world;
4. Sign, within the framework of the Conference, a solemn declaration on the observance of the rights of national minorities and ethnic communities in accordance with international standards and conventions, with internationally controlled implementation of such an agreement;
5. Immediately begin negotiating an agreement on the regional security of countries in the area of the former Yugoslavia within the scope of the general CSCE conventional armaments limitation system;
6. I believe that the United Nations Security Council sanctions enforced in respect to certain States in the area of the former Yugoslavia should remain in force until all the results of the proposed peace process are achieved. As soon as the peace plan is achieved, the sanctions ought to be lifted forthwith.

I urge all international factors to consider these proposals and to take resolute measures to bring a halt to the conflict, and all steps required to bring peace and create the prerequisites for the establishment of a stable international order in the area, for the benefit of all the States in this part of Europe and in the world.

**Dr. Franjo Tuđman, the President of the RH:
Letter to Alija Izetbegović, the President of the Presidency of BiH
(Zagreb, 23 December 1993)**

“Immediately upon returning to Zagreb from Brussels – where only a few hours ago, together with the European Union ministers and the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, we discussed not only the termination of the war and establishment of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the future cooperation and friendly relations between the Croatian and Muslim people and their state communities including the cooperation of the Croatian and Muslim republics in the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina /BiH/, I received information on recent events, in particular those in Central Bosnia, which I found greatly disturbing.

You are well aware of the objectives of the *Bijeli put* /White Road/ action as well as of the fact that a similar convoy organised by the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb reached Maglaj already on Monday 20 December without there being any incidents. However, in spite of all the agreements reached by our commissioners, Mr SILAJDŽIĆ and Mr GRANIĆ, and repeated guarantees given by the commander and regional commanders of your forces, the humanitarian convoy *Bijeli put za Novu Bilu i Bosnu Srebrenu* /White Road for Nova Bila and Bosna Srebrena/ went through an ordeal unparalleled in the history of similar humanitarian actions.

I wish to remind you that it took *Bijeli put* more than ten days to travel some one hundred kilometres, that the members of the convoy spent fifty hours in an open field in the Bosnian winter for no valid reason, that in the end the convoy doctors were not allowed to assist the severely wounded in the Nova Bila St. Francis hospital, that simple drivers - volunteers, humanitarian doctors, friars, nuns and journalists were fired at.

I would also like you to explain why empty lorries which were on their way back were fired at, why the driver Ante VLAIĆ was killed and why several other persons were wounded, why some thirty empty lorries were seized and why they were used in the Muslim forces' military operations against the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/. All this took place while negotiations on peace and on the future of your and my people were ongoing in Brussels and Geneva. So far one of the most violent offensives by Muslim units against the remaining Croatian regions in Central Bosnia took place during these crucial and decisive talks. Up to now 24 persons were killed and 47 wounded, including a Japanese journalist, in the merciless attacks on Žepče, Vitez, Novi Travnik, Nova Bila, Busovača, Kiseljak, Kreševo and Uskoplje valley.

The intercepted message of Džemo Merdan, Deputy Commander of the 3rd Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows best the real objectives of the offensive: 1. ' . . . destroy all personnel, including women, children and old people in the territory

of Novi Travnik, Nova Bila, Vitez and Busovača in order to link up with the Muslim enclave of Stari Vitez-Kruščica. To this end use all available means, infantry, available chemical substances and all volunteers from Muslim countries in praise of Allah dž.š /Glorious be His sublime being/ . . . ' 2. ' . . . once the orders have been carried out force the Pavlovica-Gornji Vakuf direction with the support of the artillery from the 'S' side . . . '. All this, including the casualties of the *Bijeli put* convoy took place in the light of the recent three-partite Geneva agreement on the complete freedom of movement of humanitarian convoys in the BH territory and only a few hours before the festive ceasefire in Bosnia and Herzegovina entered into force.

Such inadmissible actions of your authorities and the criminal acts of the army units, including the numerous mercenaries – in complete defiance not only of our negotiations and mutual agreements but also of the fundamental principles of international war and humanitarian law – will have extremely negative repercussions on the future humanitarian endeavours of the international community and also on the course of the peace negotiations and overall future relations of our states and peoples. I would also like to warn you that the situation of nearly a quarter of a million of refugees and displaced persons from BiH who have found refuge in the territory of the Republic of Croatia and who are being cared for by Croatia from the very outbreak of the war does not depend entirely on the good will, capabilities and obligations undertaken by the Government of the Republic of Croatia but also on the disposition of the Croatian public.

With the inadmissible actions regarding the *Bijeli put* convoy and the overall merciless offensive in Central Bosnia you can be certain that you are fanning discontent in the Croatian public towards this policy of the Muslim leadership and it will not help deepen the understanding for the profundity of the BH tragedy. On the contrary, such actions have greatly damaged the interests of your compatriots and rendered their position more difficult not to mention how unfavourable they are in terms of the creation of friendly relations between the Muslim and Croatian peoples.

Hence I feel the need and it is my duty to once again invite you and request that, as a first step and sign, you immediately order your units a cessation of fire and of all attacks in the territory of Central Bosnia and so that the negotiations I referred to may resume in good faith.”

**ICFY/ International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia/
Draft proposal put forward by the Croatian delegation
to the Muslim Bosniak delegation
(Geneva, 19 January 1994)**

In order to stop the war and agree on long-term relations between the Croatian and the Bosniak Muslim people, at a meeting in Geneva on 19 January 1994 the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Franjo TUĐMAN, the President of the BH /Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Presidency, Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ, and the representative of the HR /Croatian Republic of/ Herceg-Bosna, Mile AKMADŽIĆ adopted the following:

Declaration

1. All fighting between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina must stop immediately and the agreement on the passing of convoys and other humanitarian matters must be honoured.
2. If a BH Union composed of three republics is set up, in line with the proposal at the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, it should form a confederation with the Republic of Croatia, in accordance with President TUĐMAN's proposal of 10 January 1994 and President IZETBEGOVIĆ's reply of 15 January 1994.
3. If, for any reason, the Union of the three republics does not come about, we propose a confederation between the Bosniak Muslim republic and the Republic of Croatia.
4. A joint committee will be chosen to decide on contentious issues such as demarcation and to decide on the 33.33% of the overall BH territory intended for the Bosniak Muslim people and the 17.5% of the overall BH territory for the Croatian people, and any other contentious issues presented by either side. A solution will be proposed within 30 days in the spirit of the European Union and the existing successes at the Conference.
5. Both peoples will attempt to reach agreements with the Serbian people at the Conference or in bilateral talks in order to end the war and to achieve conditions required for a lasting and stable peace in this area.

Dr Franjo TUĐMAN

Mile AKMADŽIĆ

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

House of Representatives of the Assembly of RH /Republic of Croatia/:
Resolution on Conducting Foreign Policy
(Zagreb, 2 February 1994)

Adopting the report of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister Mate GRANIĆ to the House of Representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia presented on 26 January 1994, the House of Representatives passed the following

Resolution

1. Confirming yet again the determination and consistence of Croatia to achieve lasting peace, safety and stability in this region primarily by political means, or through negotiations, and with respect and appreciation for both individual interests and the general interests and endeavours of the international community, especially the European Union and the United Nations, the House of Representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia expresses its support for the Joint Declaration of the Republic of Croatia and the FR /Federal Republic/ of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) of 19 January 1994, signed in Geneva on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Croatia by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mate GRANIĆ, and on behalf of the Government of the FR of Yugoslavia by Foreign Minister Vladislav JOVANOVIĆ.

2. The House of Representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia maintains that such a step is completely in accordance with the thorough endeavours of the international community, and especially with the European Union's Action Plan, and that it follows the basic meaning and represents a concrete step in the implementation of the Peace Initiative of the President of the Republic, Franjo TUĐMAN. Equally so, the Joint Declaration – as a first but important step toward the mutual recognition of the two sovereign states and a crucial act for a permanent settlement of the crisis in this part of Europe – is an important factor in the potential and desired stepping up of and effectiveness of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, and also the further implementation of Resolution 871 of the UN Security Council. The Joint Declaration thus paves the way to achieving a political solution for the temporarily occupied parts of the Croatian territory, which leads us to the final and unconditional inclusion of the UNPA territories in the universality of the system in the Republic of Croatia.

3. For this reason, the Assembly's House of Representatives applauds the Geneva Joint Declaration as a document of strategic interest for the Republic of Croatia. The Declaration expresses the conviction that this is an important and decisive step, which will contribute not only to the normalisation of the situation and relations between the two signatory states but also to the beginning of an overall normalisation of the situation, as a prerequisite for the establishment of a new international order and the promotion of stability and security throughout southeast Europe. An unequivocal recognition of all the states within their legitimate, international borders, in accordance with the UN Charter and the CSCE /Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe/ is a significant first step on this road.
4. The House of Representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia particularly emphasises that the Geneva Joint Declaration took place within the framework of numerous and diverse peace efforts by the President and the Government of the Republic of Croatia. Most important among these efforts are the repeated offers to Muslim representatives for a general normalisation of relations and cooperation of the two peoples and state entities, or negotiations on an alliance, as presented in the latest Croatian draft of the "Contractual Agreement on the establishment of lasting and comprehensive peace between the Croatian and the Bosniak-Muslim people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the foundations for coexistence". Expressing regret that the talks in Bonn-Petersburg, and then also the talks in Geneva based on an identical proposal did not yield results, we reiterate our call to both sides to continue the talks and conclude them successfully. This would lead to a gradual re-building of trust and would, with time, enable long-term cooperation beneficial to both peoples.
5. Based on this enduring proposal – and in the hope that such an agreement can be achieved in the interest of both peoples as well as peace in this part of Europe, and pursuant to the European Union Action Plan and the Peace Initiative of President of the Republic of Croatia – the Assembly's House of Representatives again calls on the Bosnian Muslims unconditionally and immediately to put an end to all offensive actions against territories and towns inhabited by Croats, especially in the territory of central Bosnia. A cessation of such hostilities would create more favourable conditions for a permanent settlement of the Croatian-Muslim relations, and for lasting, stable and friendly cooperation of the two states.
6. In the event that the Muslim side does not halt the offensive in central Bosnia, the Assembly's House of Representatives maintains that the Government and the President of the Republic ought to review and re-examine the current state of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of

Bosnia and Herzegovina, and take all appropriate steps in accordance with the assessment of the situation.

7. The Assembly's House of Representatives yet again most sharply condemns all atrocities, all the crimes and all acts contrary to International War and Humanitarian Law, regardless of which side perpetrated them. The House of Representatives also calls on all sides in Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately to close all detention camps and unconditionally release or exchange the remaining prisoners, and also applauds the statements of the President and the Government of the Republic of Croatia, who supported the establishment of an international war crimes tribunal for the crimes committed in the territory of the entire former Yugoslavia, and calls on them to cooperate closely with the tribunal in its activities. The House of Representatives once again calls on all sides to guarantee and confirm through their actions the freedom of movement of humanitarian convoys in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to demonstrate consistent readiness to honour all the norms and provisions of International War and Humanitarian Law. This would be a significant step forward in disabling the actions of all those whose primary goals are not peace, security and co-existence in these territories, but the continuation of war and prolongation of suffering.
8. The Assembly's House of Representatives is deeply appalled by the great suffering and is extremely concerned about the realistic threat for the survival of the Croatian people in its historic territories in Bosnia. Expressing readiness to help it at any moment, the House of Representatives encourages the President and the Government of the Republic of Croatia, pursuant to Article 10, Item 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, to do everything on the diplomatic, political, humanitarian and any other plane and to take advantage of all means in order to guarantee the enduring presence and to ensure a normal life worthy of humans for the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as envisaged in the basic documents of both the Republic and the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because no side and no people has the right to usurp Bosnia and Herzegovina in any way. With respect to this, the Assembly's House of Representatives also supports the letter of 30 January 1994 from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mate GRANIĆ, to the Security Council.
9. The House of Representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia calls on all parties to the conflict to persist consistently and to the end in the efforts aimed at arriving at a just and permanent solution acceptable to all three peoples by ending the war through negotiation and by political means.

**Presidential Defence and National Security Council:
A statement from the 36th session (Zagreb, 5 February 1994)**

The Council discussed the current foreign political situation in connection with the Resolution of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia of 2 February 1994 and the UN Security Council Presidential Statement of 3 February 1994. After hearing a report by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Mate GRANIĆ on the results of his official visit to Italy and the Vatican and his diplomatic contacts with other countries, and after discussing these and other matters, the Council adopted the following conclusions:

I

1. The Council seriously discussed the UN Security Council Presidential Statement and concluded that all necessary steps should be taken to explain to the UN Security Council all the controversial issues stemming from that statement concerning the granting of Croatia's request so that the UN Secretary General could file an authoritative report based on facts to the Security Council within the specified deadline.
2. It was decided that the UN Security Council Presidential Statement was issued based on an unfair request not based on facts submitted by Haris SILAJDŽIĆ and accusations, supported by some Muslim countries, that 30,000 members of the Croatian Army are engaged in the war in BiH, with the obvious intention of putting international pressure on the Republic of Croatia and all other parties to the conflict in BiH in order to achieve a political solution. In connection with this, the Council stressed that Croatia, in accordance with the provisions of its Constitution and the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation signed by the President of the Republic of Croatia and the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 12 July 1992, since the beginning of the Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, had provided support in the defence of the Croatian and Muslim peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thereby preventing the whole of Bosnia from becoming part of Greater Serbia. In addition, Croatia received more than half a million of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and is still providing care for 282,000 refugees, most of them Muslims.
3. The Presidential Council of Defence and National Security was surprised to receive both the accusations from the Sarajevo government and the UN Security Council Presidential Statement, considering the fact that Croatia, in the general opinion of the international community, has shown the greatest degree of cooperation in seeking a solution to end the war and a political solution to the crisis in BiH.

The Council believes that Croatia must continue to pursue its peaceful policies. The aim of these policies is to ensure the survival of the Croatian people in BiH, who had first been threatened by Serbian aggression and then by Muslim aggression, /policies/ that are in the direct interest of the Croatian people in BiH and in the interest of security of the Croatian state. In connection with this, the Council would stress the need for the international community to take effective steps to finally end the war caused by Serbian aggression and stop the offensive of the Muslim Armed Forces against Croatian areas in BiH, especially in central Bosnia, where several thousand Croatian civilians are in danger in several enclaves.

4. As for the accusations that elements of the Croatian Army are involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Council would stress that HV /Croatian Army/ units are located only along the border of BiH and Croatia - above Dubrovnik, near Stolac and the Neretva River, along the defence lines facing the Serbs, which is accordance with the above-mentioned Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of BiH and the Republic of Croatia.

The Council reiterates that Croatia allowed up to 2,000 volunteers, originally from BiH, to leave the Republic of Croatia in order to provide assistance to their compatriots in Bosnia so they may protect themselves from aggression and ethnic cleansing. The public knows that these volunteers, members of the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ did not engage in any operations to capture areas belonging to others, but to defend their centuries-old homes. The Croatian public supported them in this because they themselves and their compatriots from these areas had joined the HV to defend Croatia against Yugo-Communist and Serbian aggression. On the side opposing these Croatian volunteers, there are three-times more *mujahedin* fundamentalists from foreign countries fighting on the Muslim side and it is not only Croatia, but also Europe that is concerned about the strengthening and spreading of fundamentalism.

5. In connection with allegations that regular units of the Croatian Army are located in central and southern Bosnia, the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia will propose the necessary steps in the spirit of the request made in the UN Security Council Presidential Statement. Croatia has already expressed not only readiness, but is requesting international inspection of the real situation and the accuracy of the statements based on which further conclusions of the Security Council must be adopted.

II

1. The Council especially discussed the current requests put forward in the Resolution of the Croatian Assembly which mentions, among other things that, "... the Chamber of Deputies in the Assembly once again calls on Bosnian Muslims to unconditionally and instantaneously cease any offensive actions against the areas and towns inhabited by Croats, especially in central Bosnia", and "If the Muslim forces do not stop their offensive in central Bosnia, the Chamber of Representatives believes that the Government and the President of the Republic of Croatia should review and examine the current diplomatic relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in accordance with the evaluation of these relations, take all appropriate steps."
2. The Council is calling for an immediate and unconditional ceasefire and for the negotiations to continue to achieve a Croatian-Muslim agreement in the spirit of the draft agreement on establishing permanent and general peace between the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the foundations for future life together, which the President of the Republic presented at the meeting with the Bosnian delegation in Bonn on 10 January 1994.
3. If these efforts fail, Croatia should re-examine all its relations with the Government in Sarajevo, and the Government of the Republic of Croatia has also been tasked with compiling a record of all BH missions and organisations that are active in the Republic of Croatia. The Council believes that it is inadmissible that the Government of Sarajevo is using the territory of the Republic of Croatia for the organisation and logistics of its war operations that result in expelling and ethnically cleansing Croats.

4. The Council demands from the international community to proclaim the Croatian areas in BiH that are under threat protected zones and ensure the survival of the Croatian people.

III

1. The Council has approved the proposal to join the NATO Partnership for Peace program and supported the intention of the Republic of Croatia to join this process. In connection with this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been tasked with preparing a final proposal and taking specific steps in this direction.
2. In connection with the issues regarding the transformation of *Dalmacijacement* heard in recent days in regard to several trials in Italy, it was stated that there had been no irregularities on the Croatian side that would have violated the interests of the Croatian state. During the discussions with foreign partners, there were several offers made by the Italian side for capital to enter Croatia and it was agreed then that the transformation of *Dalmacijacement* be discussed in terms of Croatia's unequivocal support for privatisation. Officials of the Croatian government who took any sort of part in the negotiations regarding this sale had to take into account Croatia's struggle for international recognition, and Italy had a very important part to play in this in the European Community. It was a matter of enabling foreign capital to enter the Croatian economy, overcoming the socialist self-management system, and also a matter of direct financial reasons, and during the negotiations, the agreed price had been more than doubled. Since the sale never took place, any accusations about the Croatian officials not protecting the interests of the Croatian state are illogical.
3. The Council has been informed of the steps taken to implement the Declaration on the normalisation of relations between Croatia and the SR /Federal Republic of/ Yugoslavia and it was pointed out that it should immediately be implemented to avoid any kind of speculation. The Council stressed that the agreement in principle on the normalisation of Croatian-Serbian relations is not aimed against Muslims, but should be seen as a contribution towards a speedy resolution of the crisis in BiH.
4. The Council fully supports the efforts of the Republic of Croatia to resolve all controversial issues with the neighbouring Republic of Slovenia as soon as possible and stressed the need to resolve the problem of the Bay of Piran at the same time and link Croatia with Europe, said the statement.

**House of Representatives of HR HB /Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna/;
Declaration for independent BiH as a Union of legally equal republics
(Livno, 8 February 1994)**

As the heirs to the thirteen centuries of the Croatian people's culture and civilisation, as an integral part of Christian civilization, and as a people who are unreservedly committed to peace, guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter and all the resolutions of the Security Council we, the deputies of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna, in these fateful times for the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, hereby make the following

DECLARATION

I

The House of Representatives of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna, inasmuch as it is the only legitimate government of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the deputies of which were all elected in the first multi-party democratic elections, has the right and obligation to develop the national, religious, cultural and economic freedom and independence of Herceg-Bosna, as well as its historical and cultural heritage, and to bring to life its statehood.

We have defended, and continue to defend, the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its maintenance within its internationally recognized borders, as a state comprising three equal and constituent nations.

The Croatian people and its legal and legitimate representatives in the political, legislative and executive government of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina have proven their readiness to work in governmental bodies by voting in the referendum on the independence of the state in which they have been living for centuries, and have thus made the recognition of this state possible.

The righteousness of the views and activities of the legitimate representatives of the Croatian people in searching for a solution to the crisis of state in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been recognized at international peace talks from their very beginning up until the present date.

II

Bearing in mind the new situation and relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which we fully recognize, and taking into account the present international order, which we understand and accept as a dynamic process, we confirm our commitment to a lasting peace and our desire to end the war rapidly and to find a political solution to the state crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina by applying the following principles:

1. The survival of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent and internationally recognized state is only possible if the three equal and constituent nations (the Croats, the Serbs and the Muslims) give it their assent, both separately and collectively, through the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2. The Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna within the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina is to secure and guarantee the right of the Croatian people to self-determination and the attainment of statehood, but in so doing the rights must also be respected of the other two constituent nations (the Serbs and the Muslims) to do the same in accordance with the same principles.
3. All the rights of the Croatian people within the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of the internal constitution of the state, must be guaranteed by the Peace Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina with the international community acting as an intermediary. With regard to human and political rights, the highest international standards must be applied to the Croat nation, as well as to the other constituent nations (the Serbs and the Muslims). We are committed to the cultural, religious and national autonomy, as well as to the local self-government, of each nation in each of the three republics.
4. The Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be constituted as a democratic, multi-party parliamentary state which guarantees the freedom of each constituent nation and each citizen, as well as their basic rights, regardless of his or her nationality, religion, political convictions, sex or social status.
5. We guarantee that the entire legitimate political leadership of the Croatian people of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall fight and make a constant effort to defend all the national, cultural, economic and human rights of Croats beyond the confines of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna on the basis of reciprocal action on the part of the Croats and the other two constituent nations.

III

Mostar is the capital of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna and, as is the case everywhere in the civilized world, has all the rights that the capital city of a sovereign and constituent people should have. Mostar is a centre of communications and the political, religious, cultural, historical and scientific centre, as well as the centre in all other respects, of the Croatian people in the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna in the Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is an indivisible urban whole and must be a guarantee of the survival and the advancement of the Croatian people in the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna.

IV

The Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are the victims of Serbian and Muslim genocide and aggression. About 8000 Croats have been killed, and 25,000 wounded. The following areas, in which Croats formed a significant part of the population prior to genocide, have been ethnically cleansed: Bosanska Posavina (Derвента, Bosanski Brod, Odžak, Modriča, part of Bosanski Šamac), Bosnian Krajina (Teslić, Kotor-Varoš, Skender Vakuf, Banja Luka), Kupres, Jajce, Travnik, Konjic, Kakanj, Fojnica, Bugojno, Vareš. A total of 377 settled areas in which Croats formed an absolute or relative majority have been ethnically cleansed of their entire Croat population, sacked, burnt and destroyed. The deaths of 480 Croats, as the result of massacre of civilians, were recorded during the period beginning in May 1992 and

ending in January. There are 13,000 civilians and 1,900 members of the HVO in Muslim prisons. Almost 350,000 Croats have been expelled from their homes. The politicians of the world have been observing these heinous crimes in silence. It is for this reason that we demand that the European Union and the United Nations use all their influence as effectively as possible to bring an end to this tragedy.

V

We are committed to the respect of international human rights within the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demand the same of the other two constituent nations (the Serbs and the Muslims). We, the deputies of the Croatian people in the Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna, elected in the first democratic elections, have adopted the Declaration on the acceptance of documents on defence and respect of human rights.

We offer our absolute and unconditional support to the efforts made, at all levels, to ensure that humanitarian aid sent by international and other humanitarian organisations reaches its destination safely and unhindered, and shall take all the measures necessary to make sure it is delivered to those who need it, regardless of their nationality or religion.

We demand that soldiers from the HVO respect all the rules of international humanitarian law and of laws of war.

Similarly, we demand that the other two constituent nations (the Serbs and the Muslims) respect the rules of international humanitarian law.

VI

As guardians of a culture we are proud of and to which we are beholden, we categorically condemn all acts of violence and barbarism perpetrated against the historical and cultural heritage of each of the three constituent nations (the Croats, the Serbs, the Muslims) and other nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A culture, being the articulation of a particular people, is inextricably tied to that people and it is also of cosmic and general human value, and no people or individual may destroy his or her own culture, and especially not the cultural heritage of other people.

We demand that the bodies and organs of the Government of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna make the greatest efforts to preserve and defend the cultural and historical heritage in the territory under their rule.

Similarly, we demand that the other two constituent nations make an effort to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the territories under their control.

We appeal to all the international institutions concerned with the protection of the world's cultural heritage to help preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

VII

We salute the founding and the work of the Tribunal for War Crimes in the former Yugoslavia. We have no doubts as to its impartiality and we hope it will be prepared to condemn all crimes and do so efficaciously.

VIII

We are committed to a lasting peace and we accept and support the attempts of the President of the Croatian Republic, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, to bring the war to an end and to re-establish peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia.

We salute the signing of the agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) regarding the opening of governmental offices in Belgrade and Zagreb. We take this agreement as a sign that the process of re-establishing relations and of recognizing the legitimacy of each state has begun. As to those who have not yet accepted Dr. Tudman's peace initiative, we appeal to them not to address the state crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina by continuing the war.

Washington agreements: HVO and BH Army representatives have signed a document accepting the principles of the establishment of the Federal Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Split, March 12th, 1994.)

HVO and BH Army representatives have signed an agreement

After the talks in Split between commanders of BH Army and HVO, general Rasim Delić and general Ante Roso, and US mediator general John Galvin, the statement was released, parts of which we convey:

“Military representatives signed the document on acceptance of certain principles that should be followed in establishing the Federal Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This document strongly confirms and adds significant detail to the Framework Agreement signed in Washington. The preamble of this document reads:

"In the context of the Framework Agreement establishing the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the draft preliminary agreement on the principles and basis for the establishment of a confederation between Croatia and the Federation, we the undersigned determine the principles and actions to be followed in the establishment of the Federal Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. "

These items, virtually repeated from the Framework Agreement, are as follows:

- current command structures will remain in place;
- forces of the sides will disengage from one another immediately, with the aim of withdrawing a safe distance to be specified in the military agreement; and
- all foreign armed forces, except those present with the agreement of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina or the authorization of the U.N. Security Council, will leave the territory of the Federation.

Military leaders have agreed to adopt appropriate procedures and tasks that will be directed towards the transformation to the Federal army. Joint Chiefs of Staff, as defined by the commanders, will develop plans covering all military tasks. A significant part of the work of the Chief of Staff will include joint command, control and intelligence and operational plans. Close ties shall be maintained with UNPROFOR during this transformation.

Significant measures to restore confidence and initial agreement on forming the future of the Federal Army were mutually adopted, including the establishment of military field commanders and their deputies from the existing forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council.

Military leaders have further agreed to take additional steps in the development of the Federal Army in accordance with the Constitution elaborated in Vienna.

**Washington Agreements: The wording of the Framework Agreement on confederation of BiH and Croatia
(Washington, March 18th 1994)**

We hereby confirm the attached text of the Preliminary Agreement on the establishment of confederation between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, as agreed at the meeting of the Interim Committee in Vienna on March 4th to 14th, 1994.

Preliminary agreement establishes series of progressive steps in terms of economic cooperation between the Federation and Croatia, with the aim of establishing a confederation. Annex to this Agreement are agreements that guarantee Federation's unlimited access to the Adriatic Sea and to Croatia unrestricted passage through Neum.

We will do everything in our power to make this agreement a reality in context of an overall agreement in the region.

Alija Izetbegović

Franjo Tuđman

Washington, March 18th 1994

**The Washington Agreements: Agreement on the Cantonal
Organisation of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
in Central Bosnia (Washington, 18 March 1994)**

Agreement

The Federation shall include two parallel cantons in Central Bosnia in accordance with cantonal model 6 (canton with Bosniak majority) and 8 (canton with Croatian majority), as proposed in February 1994 on the map entitled "the Cantonal Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina" (see attachment). Definitive boundaries of the cantons shall be defined within the context of the entire agreement on the territorial demarcation of the Federation.

There will be full and unlimited passage to and through both cantons, including all types of communications and traffic equipment.

Haris SILAJDŽIĆ
Witness: Mate GRANIĆ

Krešimir ZUBAK

Washington, 18 March 1994

**Washington Agreements: Decision on declaration of Constitution and the Constitution of the BH Federation
(Sarajevo, March 30th 1994)**

Constitution of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation

On the basis of Article IX (1) and (3) of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation, Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation at the session of the Constituent Assembly held on March 30th 1994 made this

**Decision
on Declaration of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation**

The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation adopted by the Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation at the session of the Constituent Assembly held on March 30th 1994 is hereby declared.

The Constitution of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation shall come into force at midnight on March 30th 1994.

Ref number 1/94

March 30th 1994

Sarajevo

CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Holding that democratic institutions based on respect for human rights and freedoms best produce harmony among themselves and their communities,

Rejecting the violence of war,

Wishing to promote peace,

Desiring to support individual liberty and to develop a free market,

Guided by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Statement of Principles by the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) at its session in London, as well as the decisions of the United Nations Security Council relating to the former Yugoslavia; and

Based on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

The peoples and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, determined to ensure full national equality, democratic relations, and the highest standards of human rights and freedoms, hereby create a Federation.

I. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERATION

Article 1

1. Bosniaks and Croats, as constituent peoples, along with others, and citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the exercise of their sovereign rights, transform the internal structure of the territories with a majority of Bosniak and Croat population in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina into a Federation, which is composed of federal units with equal rights and responsibilities.
2. Decisions on the constitutional status of the territories of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with a majority of Serb population shall be made in the course of negotiations toward a peaceful settlement and at the ICFY.

Article 2

The Federation consists of federal units (Cantons). The methods and procedures for physically demarking the boundaries between the Cantons shall be established by Federation legislation. The Cantons shall be named solely after the after the cities which are the seats of the respective Cantonal governments or after regional geographic features.

Article 3

The official name of the Federation is The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article 4

The capital of the Federation shall be Sarajevo.

Article 5

1. The Federation shall have a flag, an anthem, a coat of arms, and a seal, as well as such symbols as the Legislature may decide in accordance with paragraph (2).
2. Approval of symbols shall require a majority vote in each House of the Legislature, including in the House of Peoples a majority of the Bosniak Delegates and a majority the Croat Delegates.

Article 6

- (1) Official languages of the Federation are Bosnian and Croatian language. Official alphabet is Latin.
- (2) Other languages can be used as a means of communication and in education.
- (3) Additional languages can be defined as official with of majority of votes in each house of the Parliament, including voting majority of the Bosnian delegates and a majority of Croatian delegates in the House of Nations.

II. HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

A. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1

Since the principles, rights and freedoms laid down in the instruments listed in the Appendix to this Constitution shall be applied on the entire territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the following provisions apply to the Federation.

Article 2

The Federation shall ensure the implementation of the highest level of internationally recognized rights and freedoms set forth in the documents listed in the Appendix. In particular:

- (1) All persons within the territory of the Federation shall enjoy the following rights:
 - a) to life;
 - b) to freedom, arrests and detentions are admissible only according to the law;
 - c) equality before the law;
 - d) freedom from discrimination based on race, colour, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinions, national or social origin;

- e) to fair criminal proceedings;
 - f) the prohibition of torture, cruel or inhuman treatment or punishment;
 - g) to privacy;
 - h) to freedom of movement;
 - i) to asylum;
 - j) to protection of family and children;
 - k) to property;
 - l) to fundamental freedoms: freedom of speech and of the press; freedom of thought, conscience and belief, freedom of religion, including private and public worship, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, including the freedom to form and belong to trade unions and the freedom to non-association, freedom to work;
 - m) to education;
 - n) to social security;
 - o) to health care;
 - p) to food;
 - r) to refuge, and
 - s) protection of minorities and vulnerable groups;
- 2) All citizens shall enjoy the following rights:
- a) to establish and belong to political parties, and
 - b) to political rights: participation in public affairs, equal access to public services, to elect and to be elected.

Article 3

All refugees and displaced persons have the right to freely return to their homes of origin and residence.

Article 4

All persons are entitled, in accordance with federal and cantonal legislation, to the overall return of assets which they were deprived during the ethnic cleansing and the overall compensation for property that cannot be recovered. All statements and commitments and guarantees given under duress, particularly those relating to the waiver of rights to land and other owned property are considered null and void.

Article 5

Entitlement and loss of citizenship of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina stipulated by the federal law are subject to the following conditions:

- a) No person shall be deprived of his citizenship arbitrarily or in a manner that the person would be left with no citizenship, and
- b) all citizens have the right to retain the citizenship of another country .

Article 6

All courts, administrative office bodies exercising public authorities and other bodies of federal government will respect the rights and freedoms provided in the documents listed in the Appendix. Human Rights Court will be established in accordance with Article IV.C. 18

Article 7

All relevant authorities in the Federation shall cooperate with all international bodies for monitoring human rights established for Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the supervisory bodies established by instruments listed in the Appendix.

B. FIRST APPOINTMENT AND FUNCTIONS OF THE OMBUDSMEN

1. General Provisions

Article 1

- 1) There are three ombudsmen: one Bosniak, one Croat and one of other nationality, appointed by the Federation's Parliament, in accordance with the law enacted three years after the entry into force of this Constitution.
- 2) Each Ombudsman, with the consent of the President, shall appoint one or more deputies. Each shall appoint deputies in municipalities with a population that does not reflect the ethnic composition of the canton as a whole. The relevant authorities shall endorse these efforts.
- 3) The term of the Ombudsman's office and its deputies shall be equal to the duration of term of the Supreme Court President and judges.
- 4) Each Ombudsman shall appoint additional staff according to the budget approved for this purpose by the Government of the Federation or at the beginning, by the Prime Minister.

Article 2

- 1) The Ombudsmen shall protect human dignity, rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, instruments listed in the Appendix, and the Constitutions of the cantons. They shall particularly act to eliminate the consequences of these violations of rights and freedoms, and in particular of ethnic cleansing.
- 2) In performing its functions, the Ombudsmen shall be governed by the law and the principles of morality and justice.

Article 3

Each Ombudsman shall perform his duties independently, except where the Constitution regulates otherwise. Ombudsmen can cooperate in the exercise of any of their duties.

Article 4

Ombudsmen shall be independent in the exercise of their duties, and no person or government body should interfere in those duties.

2. Responsibilities and authority of the Ombudsman

Article 5

Ombudsmen can investigate the activities of any institution of the Federation, cantons and municipalities, as well as any other institution or person that denies human dignity, rights and freedoms, including the cases of ethnic persecution or reverberation of the consequences.

Article 6

- 1) The Ombudsmen shall be entitled to initiate proceedings in the competent courts and to intervene in the on-going proceedings, including proceedings at the Court of Human Rights.
- 2) As provided in Article IV. C. 8, the Ombudsmen shall have the right to seek the assistance of the judicial police.

Article 7

- 1) In performing its duties ombudsman can review all official documents, including secrets, as well as judicial and administrative files, and request the cooperation of any person, including officials, especially the cooperation in obtaining relevant information, documents and files. The Ombudsmen may attend judicial and administrative proceedings, as well as meetings of other bodies, and may enter into any place of residence or work of the person deprived of their freedom to investigate it.
- 2) The Ombudsmen, their deputies and all persons performing investigations under paragraph (1) of this article, are required to keep the obtained information confidential, as well as all documents and files in accordance with applicable regulations, except as provided in Section II. B. 8.

3. Reports of the Ombudsman

Article 8

- (1) Each Ombudsman shall submit an annual report to the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, to the presidents of all cantons and the Conference on European Security and Co-operation.
- (2) The Ombudsman may, at any time, submit a special report to the relevant federal, cantonal, municipal or international body. Domestic institutions are obliged to respond within the time determined by the Ombudsman.
- (3) The Ombudsmen may include any material described in Article II. B. 5. in the reports referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this Article, and take measures to protect the confidentiality of the information.

4. Regulations of the Ombudsmen

Article 9

Ombudsman shall draw up regulations, independently or jointly, which shall determine their organization and manner of performing their duties. The regulations shall be published in the Official Gazette of the Federation. Federation's Parliament can amend these regulations.

III. DIVISION OF THE JURISDICTION BETWEEN FEDERAL AND CANTONAL AUTHORITIES

Article 1

Federation shall have exclusive jurisdiction to:

- a) manage foreign affairs;
- b) organize and conducting the defence of the Federation and to protect its borders, including the establishment of a joint command of all military forces in the Federation, supervision of weapons production and conclusion of military agreements;
- c) citizenship;
- d) determinate economic policy, including planning and reconstruction, and land use policy at the federal level;
- e) adopt regulations on trade, including customs, international trade and finance, trade within the federation, the rights relating to industrial property, standardization of products, securities and regulations on communications;
- f) adopt regulations regarding finance and financial institutions, including the establishment and monitoring of the currency of the Federation, making monetary and fiscal policies, and the establishment of the central bank;
- g) suppress international and inter-cantonal crime, especially terrorism, illicit drug trafficking and organized crime, and to cooperate with Interpol;

- h) award electronic frequencies for radio, television, and for other purposes;
- i) determine energy policy, including the distribution between Cantons and providing and maintaining the infrastructure; and
- j) finance activities of the federal government and the activities sponsored by the federal government, by taxation, borrowing or by other means.

Article 2

The jurisdiction of the federal government and the cantons shall be as follows:

- a) guaranteeing the implementation of human rights;
- b) health;
- c) environmental policy;
- d) communications and traffic infrastructure;
- e) social policy;
- f) enforcement of laws and other regulations on citizenship;
- g) immigration and asylum;
- h) tourism; and
- i) the exploitation of natural resources.

Article 3

- 1) According to the needs, jurisdictions from Article III. 2. can be performed jointly or separately, or by the cantonal authorities coordinated with federal government.
- 2) Accordingly, cantons and the federal government shall make mutual decisions on permanent basis with respect to their jurisdiction.
- 3) In exercising its powers when it comes to laws and regulations which are binding on the entire territory of the Federation, in accordance with this Constitution and the decisions of the Parliament, the federal government shall act respecting the jurisdiction of the cantons, the specific situation in individual canton and the need for flexibility in implementation. The federal government has the right to create policies and to adopt laws regarding each of these jurisdictions.
- 4) During the implementation of these powers, in accordance with this Constitution and its cantonal constitution, cantons shall address inter-cantonal council regarding harmonization of inter-cantonal issues and for consistent resolving of issues that include interests that are outside their cantonal borders, and shall implement, supplement and, if necessary elaborate or propose regulations to legislative bodies. The cantons have the right to determine policies and enforce the laws accordingly in regards to all of these jurisdictions.

Article 4

Cantons shall have all jurisdictions which are not expressly granted to the federal government. In particularly those relevant to the following:

- a) establishment and supervision of the police force whose uniforms shall have unique federal cantonal marks,
- b) determining education policies, including the adoption of legislation on education and providing education;
- c) determining and implementing cultural policies;
- d) determining housing policies, including the adoption of legislation on the regulation and construction of residential buildings;
- e) determining policies regarding the regulation and provision of public services;

- f) adoption of regulations on local land use, including zoning;
- g) adoption of regulations on local business and charitable activities and its promotion;
- h) the adoption of regulations on local power plants and ensuring their availability;
- i) determining policies regarding radio and TV stations, their construction including the adoption of regulations on radio and TV stations, as well as ensuring their functioning;
- j) implementation of social welfare policies and social welfare services;
- k) creation and implementation of policies for cantonal tourism, development of tourism resources;
- l) financing activities of the cantonal government or its agencies by taxation, borrowing or other means .

IV. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

.....

V. CANTONAL GOVERNMENT

.....

VI. MUNICIPALITY AUTHORITIES

.....

VII INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

.....

VIII AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

IX. APPROVAL AND ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CONSTITUTION AND TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Article 1

- 1) The Constitution of the Federation will be approved and promulgated by a Constituent Assembly comprising those representatives elected at the 1990 elections to the Assembly of the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina whose mandate is still valid.
- 2) Approval of the Constitution shall require a two-thirds majority of the constituent Assembly, including consensus between the delegation of the Croat people, comprising all representatives of the Croat nationality, and the delegation of the Bosniak people, and representatives of Bosniak nationality.
- 3) This Constitution shall enter into force at midnight of the day it is approved by the Constituent Assembly.

Article 2

- (1) The Constituent Assembly shall:
 - a) approve this Constitution, in accordance with Article IX. 1.;
 - b) elect an Interim Federation President, Vice-President, and Government, as provided in Article IX. 3. (3); and
 - c) enact an interim electoral law, in accordance with Article IX. 3. (4) and Article IX. 4. (1).
- 2) Any legislation adopted by the Constituent Assembly shall only remain valid until five months after the Federation Legislature is first convened, unless reconfirmed by that Legislature.

Article 3

- 1) Until the House of Representatives is first convened, its functions under this Constitution shall be carried out by the Constituent Assembly referred to in Article IX. 1. (1).
- 2) Until the House of Peoples is first convened, its functions under this Constitution shall be carried out by the Constituent Assembly. In decisions specifically requiring, votes by the Bosniak and Croat Delegates in the House, the votes of respectively the Bosniak and the Croat members of the Constituent Assembly shall be considered as fulfilling these requirements.
- 3) As soon as this Constitution enters into force, the Constituent Assembly shall elect an Interim Federation President and an Interim Vice-President, applying the provisions of Article IV. B. 2. in conjunction with paragraphs (1) and (2) above, as appropriate. These interim officials shall then nominate an Interim Federation Government, applying the provisions of Article IV. B. 5. in conjunction with paragraph (1) above, as well as Interim Judges for the Federation Courts, applying the provisions of Article IV. C. 6. (b). The interim President, Vice-President and the members of the interim Government shall carry out the functions of the corresponding permanent officials under this Constitution until they are replaced by the officials elected or appointed in accordance with Article IX. 4. (2).
- 4) Within thirty days of the entry into force of this Constitution, Interim Cantonal legislatures shall be established, consisting of five members of each Municipality Assembly who shall be elected by and from those members of each such Assembly elected in 1990 and whose mandate is still valid. These Interim Legislatures shall within 10 days elect all other transitional organs in accordance with this Constitution.
- 5) As soon as possible after the entry into force of this Constitution, each of the members of each Municipality Assembly elected in 1990 and whose mandates are still valid shall elect Interim Municipal organs in accordance with this Constitution.

Article 4

- 1) Elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Peoples shall be held within six months of the entry into force of this Constitution, and for the Cantonal Legislatures and for Municipal Governing Councils within five months of such entry into force. These elections shall be governed by a law to be adopted by the Constituent Assembly by a majority vote, including a majority of the Bosniak representatives and a majority of the Croat representatives, and shall be monitored by the United Nations and by CSCE.
- 2) Within two weeks after each House of the Legislature of the Federation are first convened, they shall elect the President and the Vice-President of the Federation. Within two weeks of such election, the President, with the concurrence of the Vice-President, shall nominate the Government, and the House of Representatives shall consider these nominations promptly.
- 3) No person who has been convicted of war crimes or against whom proceedings have been initiated concerning the commission of war crimes shall be elected to any public office within the Federation.

Article 5

- 1) All laws, regulations, and judicial rules of procedure in effect within the Federation on the day on which this Constitution enters into force shall remain in effect to the extent not inconsistent with this Constitution, until otherwise determined by the competent governmental body.
- 2) All international treaties and other agreements in force within the Federation on the day on which this Constitution enters into force shall remain in effect unless denounced by the President pursuant to Article VII. 4. (2).

Article 6

All persons holding any governmental office within the Federation on the day this Constitution enters into force shall continue to hold such office until removed there from in accordance with the applicable law, or until the office in question is abolished.

Article 7

The published results of the 1991 census shall be used as appropriate in making any calculations requiring population data.

Article 8

All proceeding pending in courts or administrative agencies functioning within the territory of the Federation on the day this constitution enters into force shall continue in or be transferred to other courts or Agencies to be established pursuant to this Constitution, in accordance with any legislation governing the competence of such courts or agencies.

Article 9

The following provisions relating to certain transitional international arrangements shall apply for the periods respectively specified.

- a) Until the Federation adopts the rules of procedure foreseen by Article IV. C. 3., the courts of the Federation may apply rules not inconsistent with this Constitution.
- b) For a transitional period, the President of the Supreme Court may make arrangements with appropriate international bodies to perform any of the functions assigned herein to the Judicial Police.
- c) For the first five years after the Constitution enters into force, three of the Judges of the Constitutional Court, who shall be foreigners who are not citizens of any neighbouring state, shall be appointed by the President of the International Court of Justice after consultation with the President and Vice-President of the Federation.
- d) I) The Human Rights Court shall operate within the framework of the mechanism established by the Council of Europe by Resolution 93 (6) of its Committee of Ministers, as that Resolution may be amended from time to time as long as that Resolution remains applicable to the Federation.
II) The Human Rights Court shall initially consist of seven Judges, three of whom shall be appointed and serve in accordance with the requirements of Article IV. C. 6. The Committee of Ministers of the council of Europe shall appoint four of the Judges of the Court in accordance with the above-cited resolution. These Judges shall be foreigners who shall not be citizens of any neighbouring state.
III) If the Court concludes that its business requires the participation of more judges to avoid undue delays in the disposition of cases, the President shall make arrangements with the Council of Europe for the appointment of additional judges, in accordance with the above-specified proportion of domestic and foreign judges.
- e) For a period of no less than three years and in any event until the Legislature of the Federation adopts a law relating to the appointment of the Ombudsman, these shall be appointed and may be removed by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) after consultation with the President and vice-President of the Federation.

Article 10

This Constitution shall apply in the District of Sarajevo and the Municipality of the City of Mostar while these are under international administration, except as otherwise decided by the international administrator, who may not derogate from the Chapter on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The President of Federation shall during the period of international administration consult with such administrators with a view to facilitating the full application of this constitution in such Municipalities as soon as the period ends.

Article 11

- 1) The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina elected in 1990 shall continue its work under the responsibilities stated in the Constitution of the Republic, until a final peace agreement concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina is reached and implemented.

- 2) The Presidency and the government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall maintain its powers under the existing Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina until a final peace agreement concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina is reached and implemented, provided that such powers may not interfere with any governmental powers established pursuant to this Constitution.
- 3) Until Interim Federation, Cantonal and Municipal officials are elected in accordance with Article IX. 3. of this Constitution, present administrative arrangements will continue in effect within the Federation, except in the Mostar City Municipality, which will be governed by a European Union Administrator for up to two years.

ANNEX TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FEDERATION

Human Rights instruments to be incorporated into the Federation Constitution

1. 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
2. 1948 Universal declaration of Human Rights
3. 1949 Geneva conventions I-IV on the Protection of the victims of War, and the 1977 Geneva protocols I-II thereto
4. 1950 European convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and Protocols thereto
5. 1951 Convention relating to the Status of refugees and the 1966 Protocol thereto
6. 1957 Convention on the Nationality of Married Women
7. 1961 European Social Charter and the Protocol 1 thereto
8. 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness
9. 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination
10. 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its 1966 and 1989 optional protocols thereto
11. 1966 International Covenant on Economic, social and Cultural Rights
12. 1979 International convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
13. 1981 (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of all forms of Intolerance and of discrimination Based on Religion and Belief
14. 1984 Convention against torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading treatment or Punishment
15. 1987 European Convention on the Prevention of torture and Inhuman or Degrading treatment or Punishment
16. 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child
17. 1990 Convention on the rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families
18. 1990 Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE
19. 1990 Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation on the rights of Minorities, paras. 10-13
20. 1992 (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities
21. 1992 European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages

We, the heads of delegations of the high-level Transition Committee, endorse the above Constitution, which was developed and agreed at our meeting in Vienna between March 4 and March 14, 1994. We hereby undertake to propose this Constitution for the approval of the Constituent Assembly described in Chapter IX. upon our mutual agreement.

1991

- 27th February:** SDS BiH refused to sign the "Declaration of sovereignty and indivisibility of Bosnia and Herzegovina", supported by the HDZ and the SDA.
- 11th April:** At the session of the SR BiH Assembly, several municipalities in the area of north-western Bosnia expressed their intention to join the so-called Krajina in Croatia.
- 26th April:** The "Communities Assembly of Bosanska Krajina Municipalities" was established, centered in Banja Luka, with Serbian political prefix.
- 6th May:** SDS BiH declares SAO (SAO = Srpska Autonomna Oblast – engl. Serbian Autonomous Region) Ozren in village Bosansko Petrovo (at the foot of Mount Ozren).
- 3rd June:** Alija Izetbegović and Kiro Gligorov announced a joint proposal entitled "Platform of the future Yugoslav community"
- 24th June:** Serbs from the occupied territories of Croatia and the SR BiH ("Government of the RSK – Republic of Srpska Krajina" and "Executive Council of the SAO Bosanska Krajina") signed a cooperation agreement in Banja Luka with the ultimate goal to unite these areas in one "state". Referendum on the issue of unification was to take place no later than September 1st, 1992.
- 27th June:** The "Joint session of the SAO Krajina and Bosanska Krajina Assembly" was held at Bosansko Grahovo, at which the "Declaration of unification" (subsequently withdrawn at the intervention of top officials of SDS BiH) was adopted.
- 7th/8th July:** "Brioni Agreement" was signed.
- 13th July:** The Netherlands, as an EU presiding country, proposed that the recognition the republics of Yugoslavia are to be postponed until internal borders are changed by mutual agreement.
- The talks began in Sarajevo between Bosniak representatives, Muhamed Filipović and Adil Zulfikarpašić, of which Alija Izetbegović was aware, with the leadership of the SDS BiH (R. Karadžić, N. Koljević and M. Krajišnik), the purpose of which was to achieve the Serb-Muslim settlement on the future status of BiH in the future Yugoslavia.
- 8th August:** The Declaration of EC Foreign ministers on Yugoslavia was adopted in The Hague.
- 12th August:** S. Milošević, R. Karadžić, N. Koljević M. Krajišnik, A. Zulfikarpašić and M. Filipović reached a consensus on the "Initiative for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis" (aka Belgrade initiative, or "Historic agreement between Muslims and Serbs") in Belgrade. Pressured by the protests of Croats from Bosnia, Izetbegović has later renounced the Initiative.
- 3rd September:** EC has adopted a "Declaration on the integrity of borders" and, at the proposal of the Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, has appointed Lord Peter Carington as a President of the "Peace Conference on Yugoslavia."
- 10th September:** SR BiH Presidency has asked the EC to send observers to BiH.
- 16th September:** Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) Bosanska Krajina and SAO Herzegovina were founded.
- 26th September:** During the 4th Session of the Peace Conference in The Hague, Lord Carrington requested that the EC economic assistance should not be referred to Yugoslavia until the acceptable long-term solution on the new constitutional structure of SFRY is reached.
- 1st October:** JNA is attacking Dubrovnik area, leveling the village Ravno as well as 5 other villages in the Herzegovina region
- 15th October:** Assembly of SR BiH has adopted a "Platform on the future organization of the Yugoslav community" according to which SR BiH is ready to join Yugoslavia if both Croatia and Serbia should do so.
- 18th October:** At the meeting in The Hague, ICFY delivers a plan for the resolution of the crisis titled "Frameworks for the general solution of the Yugoslav crisis."
- 22nd October:** SAO Romanija was founded, centered in Sarajevo.
- 24th October:** At the Assembly "the representatives" of the Serbian Democratic Party (BiH) and the Serbian Renewal Movement adopted the "Decision on the establishment of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina" and the decision by which the Bosnian Serbs are to remain in Yugoslavia.

28th October: SAO of South-East Bosnia was founded.

5th November: SAO of North Bosnia was founded, centered in Doboj.

9th/10th November: A "plebiscite of the Serbian people in BiH" was held, at which 95% of Serbs voted "for Yugoslavia with equal nations, which would consist of Serbia, Montenegro, SAO Krajina, SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, as well as other nations who choose to do so".

12th November: Croatian community Bosanska Posavina was founded.

18th November: Croatian community Herceg-Bosna was founded.

20th November: Bosnia and Herzegovina requested for UN forces to be sent to BiH.

21st November: In Sarajevo, the "Assembly of the Serbian people of BiH" has adopted a "Decision on the verification of the proclaimed Serbian autonomous regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (SAO Krajina, SAO Herzegovina, SAO Romanijska-birčanska, SAO North Bosnia). They have also adopted a "Decision to recognize the Republic of Srpska Krajina as a federal unit of Yugoslavia" and a "Decision on preparations for the formation of Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

7th December: Badinter's Commission published its opinion No. 1: "Yugoslavia is in the process of disintegration".

16th December: Foreign Affairs Ministers of the EU member states adopt the "Principles for the recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," and the "Declaration on Yugoslavia".

24th December: Croatia, Slovenia, BiH and Macedonia have applied for international recognition by the EC.

1992

9th January: At a meeting in Sarajevo the "Assembly of the Serbian People of BiH," has declared the "Republic of Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a federal unit of Yugoslavia".

10th January: "Serbian municipality of Bihać" was founded.

25th January: R BiH parliament announced a referendum to be held on February 29th – March 1st-3rd. Serbian parties boycotted the debate and the decision to announce a referendum.

27th January: Croatian community of Central Bosnia was founded.

4th February: JNA has attacked Mostar defended by the HVO forces.

13th/14th February: At the residence "Konak" in Sarajevo talks were held between the EC and the leading national parties in BiH (Izetbegović, Mahmutčehajić, Kadić, Boban, Stanić, Lasić, Karadžić, Koljević, Krajišnik)

21st/22nd February: Talks which started in Sarajevo on February 13th/14th were continued in Lisbon (Izetbegović, Silajdžić, Lasić, Stanić, Karadžić, Koljević, Krajišnik). An agreement was reached: the outer borders are to remain unchangeable, constitutional organization shall be based on several entities based on ethnic principles and the negotiations with the help of EC shall continue.

28th February: EC and International community talks from February 21st/22nd were continued in Sarajevo.

Assembly of the Serbian People of BiH has issued a decision on the declaration of the Constitution of Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

29th February: Croats and Muslims vote in large numbers on the referendum for the independence of BiH (out of 3,253,847 registered voters, 2,073,568 voters voted on the referendum, or 64.31%). 2,061,932 voters voted for the independence, or 99.44% of the total number of votes.

3rd March: R BiH declares its independence.

7th/8th March: At the meeting in Brussels, following the meeting from February 28th, the EC proposed a draft proposal for the future constitutional structure of BiH (cantons based on nationalities). Proposal was accepted by Croats and Muslims, and rejected by members of the Serbian delegation.

11th March: The Assembly of the Serbian people of BiH unanimously rejected the proposal of the constitutional structure of BiH proposed by the EC on March 8th.

18th March: Under the supervision of EC representatives, following the meetings of main political party representatives from 7th /8th March, an agreement was signed in Sarajevo on the future organization of R BiH with three autonomous units determined by ethnic criteria.

25th March: Alija Izetbegović asked citizens of R BiH not to accept "the division of BiH on ethnic principles," emphasizing that he "had to sign the agreement because the EC has required him to do so as a prerequisite for obtaining international recognition".

27th March: Srpska Republic of BiH was declared.

The BiH government asked UN to send military observers to oversee the ceasefire in Bosanski Brod.

30th March: 6th round of negotiations on the future of BiH was held in Brussels. The proposed working group (three members of BiH, three members appointed by the EC), should propose a new map of the internal structure of BiH on the basis of national, geographic, economic, religious, cultural and historical criteria.

5th April: JNA, with the majority of Serbian nationality members, began the siege of Sarajevo.

6th April: In Brussels, EC foreign ministers adopted a joint statement on recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Yugoslav army began the siege of Sarajevo.

7th April: At the suggestion of the Croatian government, in accordance with the Conclusion of the Croatian Parliament, President Tuđman delivers the "Decision on the recognition of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent state".

Assembly of the Serbian People of BiH delivered in Banja Luka a decision for declaration of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

UN decides to send 14,000 troop members to the former Yugoslavia.

U.S.A. decides to give international recognition to Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

10th April: 7th round of discussions between the representatives of the International Community and R BiH were held in Sarajevo with no visible progress.

27th April: Serbia and Montenegro form the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

2nd May: In Lisbon (Guimaraes), negotiations between International community and R BiH (eighth round) on the regulation of R BiH, commenced on the April 29th, have ended in a failure. Izetbegović didn't accept the Cutileiro plan on the organization of BiH in cantons / provinces.

Bosnian Serbs attack Sarajevo from all available weapons.

22nd May: Bosnia and Herzegovina became a member of the United Nations.

27th May: 16 people were killed and 140 wounded by the fired mortar shell while waiting for the bread at Vase Miskina street in Sarajevo.

30th May: The UN Security Council has imposed an embargo against Serbia and Montenegro.

15th June: Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović signed a joint declaration on the establishment of diplomatic relations at the embassy levels.

29th June: French aircraft landing opens the air connection to Sarajevo, 24 hours after a brief visit by the French President Francois Mitterrand to the capital of BiH.

The UN Security Council approved the deployment of thousands of "blue helmets" at Sarajevo airport, which Serbs have evacuated, but whose forces were then distributed around the airport.

2nd July: The European Community establishes a humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo.

3rd July: Croatian community Herceg-Bosna is established.

Under the leadership of Lord Carrington, discussions on BiH were resumed in Sarajevo (Lukavica). Carrington accused Izetbegović for the failure to reach an agreement.

4th July: The Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia issued a Declaration on Yugoslavia, which has determined the fall of SFRY.

10th July: Western European Union (WEU) decided to introduce maritime surveillance at the Adriatic sea because of the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. NATO decides to join in with their naval forces monitoring the compliance with the embargo.

13th July: UN Secretary General proposed to the UN Security Council to send additional 500 troop members (with 1,100 observers).

17th July: In London, representatives of Croats, Serbs and Muslims have signed the first of many (unimplemented) agreements on a cease-fire in Bosnia.

21st July: In Zagreb, presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović signed an "Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia".

2nd August: An American newspaper ("The Guardian") revealed the existence of Serbian prison camps. The Security Council soon confirmed the existence of the camps located in areas of BiH under Serbian control.

4th August: The United Nations requested the warring factions to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international organizations access to detention camps in the former Yugoslavia, particularly in BiH.

16th August: The Presidency of BiH has adopted the document on constitutional principles of the internal structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

26th/27th August: At the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in London, Serbia is called the aggressor, and the recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the FRY was requested.

28th August: Negotiations in London were concluded. Serbs have refused to put their heavy weapons under the UN control.

3rd September: In a presidential statement, UN Security Council has called for an urgent implementation of all commitments made at the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, because London conference "has established a framework within which ... a comprehensive solution to the crisis can be achieved".

International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) was set up in Geneva, co-chaired by the UN delegate Cyrus Vance and European Union delegate Lord David Owen.

10th September: Alija Izetbegović made a promise during the discussions with David Owen and Cyrus Vance in Sarajevo to attend an ICFY meeting in Geneva on September 18th if Serbs should stop their attacks.

13th September: Alija Izetbegović informs the co-chair Vance Owen, in writing, that the Presidency of BiH is no longer ready to participate in the meeting scheduled for September 18th in Geneva. After additional pressure, he agrees to send Haris Silajdžić to attend the meeting.

14th September: UN approved the deployment of thousands of additional "blue helmets".

18th September: Leaders of three national communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina attended the peace negotiations in Geneva, but have refused to meet directly.

21st September: In New York, presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović signed the First Amendment to the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia.

29th September: The new round of Geneva negotiations starts, to which Alija Izetbegović comes for the first time. Presidents Tuđman and Čosić sign the joint statement fully condemning all acts of ethnic cleansing.

4th October: Leader of Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadžić threatens to leave the peace talks if the UN Security Council imposes "no-fly zone" over BiH.

8th October: Representatives of the Bosnian Croats, Serbs and Muslims propose different views of the territorial organization of BiH.

- 9th October:** The UN Security Council adopted a resolution banning flights over the territory of BiH.
- 19/20/21st October:** The Geneva meeting was held with the warring sides and representatives of ICFY. At a press conference, Alija Izetbegović supports the co-chairmen proposed draft of BiH constitutional structure (later VOPP).
- 27th October:** Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen present a draft of constitution for Bosnia and Herzegovina to the international public, proposing a decentralized state organized in seven to ten autonomous provinces. Serbs reject the draft, seeking strict ethnic division of BiH.
- 30th October:** In a letter to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, BiH Ambassador Muhamed Šaćirbej writes that the BiH Government accepts the "principles" of the Constitution, which stipulates the division of BiH to seven or ten provinces.
- 31st October:** The Assembly of the Republic of Srpska Krajina and the Assembly of the Republic of Srpska have adopted in Prijedor the "Declaration on cooperation and aspirations for unification of the Republic of Srpska and Republic of Srpska Krajina".
- 2nd November:** At the session of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska, it was decided that a delegation of RS will no longer participate in the negotiations in Geneva until the existence of the Republic of Srpska is acknowledged as well as the right of the people for self-determination. Proposal of the internal structure of BiH of October 27th was rejected.
- 16th November:** International community starts to implement the maritime embargo against Serbia and Montenegro in a stricter manner.
- 8th December:** The leaders of the Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs present greatly different maps, disclosing their own plans for the establishment of provincial structure of BiH once the political solution was reached.
- 16th December:** A meeting was held in Geneva with foreign ministers of 29 countries regarding the crisis in Bosnia. U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger has pointed out Karadžić and Milošević as possible war criminals.
- 17th December:** Co-chairmen of the ICFY met with presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović in Zagreb, Mr. Mate Boban was also present. The purpose of the meeting was to consolidate the standpoints of Muslims and Croats from BiH and to persuade Izetbegović to accept negotiations with the SDS, which were to be held on January 2nd, 1993. David Owen pointed out Ejup Ganić, a member of the BiH Presidency, as a key opponent of the proposed VOPP.
- 20th December:** Slobodan Milošević wins the elections in Serbia.
- 27th December:** Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović met with co-chairmen of ICFY.
- 29th December:** Parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia dismissed Prime Minister Milan Panić, accused of selling off Serbian interests.

1993

- 2nd-5th January:** The Peace Plan developed by the international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen was presented to the participants of the Geneva Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. The adoption of constitutional principles and the cessation of hostilities are demanded from the warring parties. A map was proposed, according to which BiH should be organized as a country with 10 provinces. For the first time, Alija Izetbegović, Radovan Karadžić and Mate Boban sit together.
- 4th January:** Croatian leader Mate Boban signed the integral Vance-Owen peace plan, which Muslim and Serbian sides refuse to sign. Negotiations were suspended.
- 7th January:** Alija Izetbegović, during the discussions in Geneva, was opposed to the proposed map, which, according to him was legitimizing the results of ethnic cleansing.
- 8th January:** A member of Serbian forces kills the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Hakija Turajlić in the UN vehicle in Sarajevo.
- 10th/12th January:** Geneva peace talks are continued, with the assessment that this is the "last chance". Serbian President Milošević appeared for the first time in Geneva and on January 12th manages to persuade the Bosnian Serbs to accept the proposed constitutional arrangements for BiH.

- 12th January:** Croats accept the entire VOPP (constitutional principles, proposed map and the cessation of hostilities), Bosnian Muslims signed the constitutional principles and the cessation of hostilities while Bosnian Serbs signed the cessation of hostilities and have only conditionally accepted the constitutional principles of the Vance Owen plan.
- 14th January:** The EC foreign ministers gave the representatives of Serbs from Bosnia a six-day ultimatum to accept the proposed plan.
- 15th January:** Co-chairmen of the ICFY and presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović met in Zagreb.
- 18th January:** **President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Dobrica Ćosić sends a letter to the UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, informing him about the "aggression of the Muslim forces" on January 16th, 1993 on the territory of the FRY. D. Ćosić notes that the aggression happened at a time when the Geneva Conference created the conditions for the start of a peaceful resolution of the war crisis in BiH.**
- 21st January:** New U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher has expressed doubts about the effectiveness of the proposed VOPP.
- 23rd/30th January:** Negotiations in Geneva, which started on January 23rd, were suspended after Serbs and Muslims refused to sign the key parts of the peace plan. Vance and Owen go to New York to seek the support of UN Security Council.
- 1st February:** U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher refused to support VOPP at a time when negotiations were transferring from Europe to the United Nations.
- 6th/7th February:** Negotiations on VOPP were held in New York, between the warring sides. The most receptive was the Croatian representative Boban while Karadžić and Silajdžić acted destructively regarding the VOPP.
- 10th February:** The United States provided conditional support to the VOPP and have appointed special envoy for the peace talks, Reginald Bartholomew, while the Russian Federation was requesting observer status for Vitaly Churkin as a special envoy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.
- 22nd February:** The United Nations adopted a decision on the establishment of an international tribunal to prosecute individuals who have severely violated human rights on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.
- 27th/28th February:** Alija Izetbegović refused to accept the offered version of VOPP maps during the special meetings with the co-chairmen of the ICFY held in New York.
- 1st March:** U.S. planes started to deliver humanitarian aid to the endangered population of eastern Bosnia.
- 2nd March:** The New York meeting was held with the co-chairmen of the ICFY, Alija Izetbegović, Mile Akmadžić, Mate Boban and Radovan Karadžić.
- 8th March:** Alija Izetbegović signed the military part of the Agreement for Peace in BiH.
- At a meeting in Brussels, foreign ministers of EU member states gave their firm support to the VOPP.
- 11th March:** In Paris, French President Mitterrand, along with Owen and Vance, asked Milošević to pressure the Bosnian Serbs to accept the proposed maps from VOPP.
- 15th March:** RBiH parliament provided support for the peace process and the continuation of negotiations in New York.
- 16th/25th March:** Under huge international pressure, at a meeting in New York on the March 25th, Bosnian Muslims (Alija Izetbegović) signed the entire peace plan (*Agreements on BiH, Agreement on Peace in BiH dated January 30th, Maps of provinces and the Agreement on transitional arrangements dated March 25th*), leaving the Serbs as the only party that refused to sign it.
- 22nd March:** Bosnia and Herzegovina filed a lawsuit against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the International Court of Justice in The Hague.
- 31st March:** The UN Security Council adopted the resolution No. 816 on the use of force for the purpose of implementing the no-fly zone over BiH.
- 2nd April:** Norwegian Foreign Minister, Thorvald Stoltenberg agreed to undertake the duty of Cyrus Vance (76) as an UN representative at the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.
- 3rd April:** National Assembly of the Bosnian Serbs, at a session in Bileća, has categorically rejected the organizational structure of BiH consisting of ten provinces, as proposed by the Vance-Owen plan.

- 5th April:** During the one-year war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, according to the official report of the Bosnian government, 130,000 people were killed - of which more than 8,000 in Sarajevo. According to the research of a European Community mission, 20,000 women were raped. More than 1.5 million people became refugees or displaced persons. Many of them found refuge in Croatia.
- 12th April:** Start of NATO's operation "Prevention of flying" in order to comply with the no-fly zone set by the NATO on October 9th, 1992 in BiH.
- 17th April:** At the UN Security Council, an agreement has been reached with the adoption of the Resolution No. 820, on tightening the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, if Bosnian Serbs do not accept the plan on April 26th.
- 21st April:** Eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica with its immediate surrounding is proclaimed the "demilitarized zone" under the protection of the United Nations.
- 24th April:** On the sidelines of the meeting in Zagreb, Alija Izetbegović has repeated to Lord Owen his readiness for territorial settlement with the Serbian side in BiH, but only after the referendum is held in Russian Federation.
- 25th April: The President of the Presidency of RBiH and the president of the HZ HB, signed in Zagreb a Joint Statement on the formation and organization of the joint command of the Army of BiH and HVO.**
- 26th April:** Intensified UN sanctions are applied after the National Assembly of the Bosnian Serbs, at the session in Bijeljina, refused to accept the VOPP.
- 29th April:** Vance and Owen convened a meeting in Athens with the three leaders of national groups in BiH and presidents of the neighboring states formed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, at which Radovan Karadžić signed the Vance-Owen plan, leaving the final decision on the acceptance of the plan to the self-proclaimed Serbian parliament.
- 1st May:** U.S. President Bill Clinton decided on the "additional measures" if the leaders of Serbs in BiH do not accept the Vance-Owen plan.
- 2nd May:** At the summit in Athens, Radovan Karadžić signed the VOPP.
- 6th May:** National Assembly of the Bosnian Serbs, at the request of Ratko Mladić and Biljana Plavšić, has refused to ratify the peace plan signed by Karadžić, shifting the final decision-making regarding this issue to a referendum scheduled for the 15th and 16th of May.
- At the meeting with three EU member states (Denmark, Belgium, United Kingdom) in Brussels, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that VOPP didn't fail completely, and that some parts of VOPP could be used in the future.
- 7th May:** After Srebrenica, on April 21st, UN established additional five "security zones" (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Žepa, Gorazde and Bihać);
- 9th May:** Conflicts between Croats and Muslims start in Mostar.
- 10th May:** EC foreign ministry council has fully accepted VOPP.
- 11th May:** RBiH parliament (without the presence of Serbs representatives from Bosnia and Herzegovina) accepted the Vance-Owen peace plan unconditionally.
- 16th May:** At the referendum held in the Republic of Srpska, which was not recognized by the international mediators, 96% of Bosnian Serbs voted against VOPP.
- 17th May:** Heads of the diplomacy of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and France (Christopher Hurd, Juppe, Kozirjev) began talks on a new diplomatic initiative (later called The joint action) to resolve the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of the existing VOPP.
- 18th May:** At a meeting in Međugorje, in the presence of co-chairmen Owen and Stoltenberg and presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović, representatives of Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina achieve consensus on the VOPP implementation.
- 22nd May:** The United States, Russia, France, Britain and Spain issue the "Joint action", which envisages the protection of "security zones", and reject military intervention.
- President of the Presidency of BiH, Alija Izetbegović evaluates the plan "unacceptable", while the Bosnian Serbs, who control about 70% of Bosnia and Herzegovina, welcome it.

4th June: UN Security Council adopted the Resolution No. 836 by which certain areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina are proclaimed as protected.

12th June: A new round of talks started in Geneva. Co-chairmen schedule the first meeting with the entire Presidency of BiH in an attempt to force Izetbegović to negotiate the constitutional structure of BiH, which would also respect ethnic principles.

16th June: Presidents Tuđman and Milošević, during the meeting in Geneva, reached an agreement on the principles of the organization of BiH as federal or confederate state respecting the interests of the three constituent nations.

17th June: Owen declares that VOPP and war have gone too far to have a just solution.

U.S. President Bill Clinton confirmed that United States would not oppose regulation of BiH based on ethnic principles if that would lead to peace.

18th June: The Security Council approved deployment of additional 7,600 "blue helmets".

20th June: During the BBC broadcast, David Owen announced a new peace plan for the first time, noting that his greatest concern in achieving peace are Muslims who refuse to negotiate.

At a meeting in Copenhagen, EU foreign ministers supported the solution that was equally acceptable to all three parties in BiH.

At a meeting with the EC representatives (Foreign Minister of Belgium, Denmark and the United Kingdom), Alija Izetbegović rejects their proposal to participate in the negotiations for peace in BiH, emphasizing the termination of the siege of Sarajevo as a condition.

23rd June: Constitutional proposal for confederation was issued. Proposal in five points was presented to seven members of the BiH Presidency, who arrived to Geneva without Izetbegović. Presidents Tuđman, Bulatović and Milošević were also present at the meeting.

24th June: The plan on confederate arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina is disclosed, supported by both mediators, Lord Owen and Stoltenberg.

27th June: New peace talks began in Geneva. Croats and Serbs have supported the proposed Owen-Stoltenberg Plan. The meeting was held at the level of presidents of states.

30th June: Alija Izetbegović accepts the proposed plan provided that it is confirmed by the BiH parliament. Negotiations regarding the maps are initiated, held on a naval ship "Invincible".

7th July: In a letter to Lord Owen, Alija Izetbegović wrote that the proposals from the Geneva meeting held on 23rd June can hardly be accepted.

9th July: At the session held at the BiH Embassy in Zagreb, the BiH Presidency rejects the proposal of co-chairman of the ICFY on confederate structure of BiH consisting of three organizational units.

13th July: Organization of Islamic Conference offers 18,000 soldiers who would participate in protecting the "security zones".

17th July: At the ICFY meeting in Geneva, presidents Tuđman and Milošević, in collaboration with the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY, release a statement denying the existence of the intent to divide BiH among Croats and Serbs. Alija Izetbegović did not want to come to the meeting.

20th July: The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on the discussions and negotiations held on July 17th and 18th, proposes the federal organizational structure with constituent units that would not exclusively be determined by the ethnic principles.

27th July: New decisive round of negotiations is opened in Geneva, at which Serbs and Croats gave their support to the proposal of the mediators regarding the creation of a new "Union", uniting the three ethnic Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

29th July: ICFY co-chairmen propose a "Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina", which would consist of three constituent units.

- 30th July:** Izetbegović agrees to the constitutional proposals on the "Union," which must now be approved by the parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Negotiations focus is turned back on the maps.
- 2nd August:** Izetbegović boycotts the peace negotiations, with a condition to return if Serbia retreats from the two strategically important mountains above Sarajevo.
- 3rd August:** A meeting was held in Geneva between the co-chairmen of the ICFY and presidents Tuđman, Bulatović, Milošević and Izetbegović.
- 9th August:** Negotiations continue, but Izetbegović refuses to negotiate directly with Serbs and Croats, if Serbs do not withdraw from Igman and Bjelašnica.
- 11th August:** Replacing Reginald Bartholomew, Charles Redman becomes a U.S. special envoy for the former Yugoslavia.
- 16th August:** After one-week long bilateral negotiations, all parties agree to negotiate directly with each other. Mediators announce a trial agreement on placing Sarajevo under the UN control once the final peace settlement is reached.
- 18th August:** Three sides (Izetbegović, Karadžić, Boban) negotiate the details of the agreement on Sarajevo, defining the UN mandate for two years.
- 19th August:** Wishing to complete the negotiations concerning the maps, mediators summon the presidents of Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, Tuđman, Milošević and Bulatović to Geneva, in order to encourage parties in BiH to accept the proposal.
- 20th August:** International peace mediators presented the parties negotiating the peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina a compromising map on the structural organization of BiH, which completed the peace agreement that was negotiated for almost a year.
- 23rd August:** At the gathering in Zenica, Alija Izetbegović said that he will suggest to the RBiH parliament to reject the proposed peace plan.
- 27th/28th August:** At the session of the RBiH parliament, Muslim representatives practically rejected the proposed peace plan by presenting the objections.
- 29th August:** Owen-Stoltenberg peace plan is introduced (OSPP).
- 31st August:** The meeting with the co-chairmen of the ICFY and presidents Tuđman, Bulatović, Milošević and Izetbegović took place in Geneva.
- 1st September:** Peace negotiations on peace in BiH were resumed in Geneva. Negotiations ended on September 2nd without achieving any settlement.
- 14th September:** An agreement was reached between the Croatian and Muslim parties in BiH, and a secret agreement was signed between Croatia and RBiH on confederation of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 15th September:** At the meeting in Montenegro, Alija Izetbegović offered Momčilo Krajišnik secession and independence of the Republic of Srpska, if Bosnian Serbs give part of their territory to Bosnian Muslims.
- 16th September:** An agreement was reached between the Serbian and Muslim sides in BiH which, pursuant to the referendum, enables secession of the republics from the composition of the Union of BiH Republics.
- 20th September:** On the British warship "Invincible," located in international waters of the Adriatic Sea at the time, presidents Tuđman, Bulatović, Milošević and Izetbegović try to reach a peace agreement, under the chairmanship of the ICFY co-chairmen.
- 21st September:** After returning to Sarajevo, Izetbegović stated that he is not prone to accept the offered peace plan.
- 28th September:** After Izetbegović's introductory remark, BiH parliament rejected the Owen-Stoltenberg plan and has demand the return of the territory and access to the sea.
- 30th October:** At the special meeting of the European Council, a "Declaration on the situation in the former Yugoslavia" was released.
- 5th November:** Lord Owen represents a document titled "Joint Action on the Former Yugoslavia," to the Foreign Ministers of EC member countries which later became known as the "EU Action Plan".

29th November: A meeting was held in Geneva between foreign ministers of EU member countries and presidents Tuđman, Bulatović, Milošević and Izetbegović and Karadžić and Boban.

3rd December: Yasushi Akashi was appointed special envoy of the UN Secretary for the former Yugoslavia.

9th December: At a meeting in Belgrade, Mate Boban meets the requirements of the co-chairmen of the ICFY on granting concessions to the Bosnian Muslims. Haris Silajdžić, who "participates in negotiations but from Sarajevo" increases territorial claims because of which negotiations fail again.

20th December: President Tuđman sends a letter to the co-chairmen of ICFY, emphasizing that secession of Serbian Republic from BiH is unacceptable according to the agreement between Bosnian Serbs and Muslims. He requests that such matters should be decided by consensus of all sides in BiH.

21st December: A meeting took place in Geneva between the co-chairmen of the ICFY and presidents Tuđman, Bulatović, Milošević and Izetbegović and Karadžić and Boban.

22nd December: EU ministers and co-chairman of the ICFY met in Geneva with presidents Tuđman, Bulatović, Milošević and Izetbegović and with Karadžić and Boban. EU ministers request at least 1/3 of the territory for the Muslim Republic. "Christmas truce" is achieved.

1994

9th January: Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović met in Bonn in order to achieve a lasting and comprehensive peace between Muslims and Croats in BiH. President Tuđman proposed a contractual agreement for establishing a lasting and comprehensive peace between Croats and Bosniak-Muslims in BiH.

14th January: The BiH Presidency has refused the "contractual agreement for establishing a lasting and comprehensive peace between Croats and Bosniak-Muslims in BiH" offered in Bonn. Confederation between the RH and RBiH as two sovereign and internationally recognized states was proposed.

18th January: Negotiations of all warring sides in BiH started in Geneva.

1st February: In her speech, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright requested at least 40% of the BiH territory for the Bosnian Muslims, directly undermining the "EU Action Plan".

5th February: A grenade fell on the Markale marketplace in Sarajevo, 68 people were killed and nearly 200 wounded.

9th February: A cease-fire between Serbs and Muslims was reached in Sarajevo, the UN established a zone excluded of heavy weapons in radius of 20 km around the city, under the NATO's ultimatum to Serbs with a deadline on February 20th at 24.00 hours, under a threat of air strikes.

10th February: A truce was concluded between Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims.

11th February: Serbs and Muslims begin to put heavy weapons under the UN control.

12th February: The second round of negotiations was held in Geneva (resumed negotiations from January 18th). No agreement was reached on the proposed maps. Karadžić agreed to the Union of Republics and a two-year transitional period of UN in Sarajevo.

17th February: Russia transferred its troops hurriedly from UNPA Sector East (RH) to Sarajevo.

21st February: NATO withdraws its decision on emergency air strikes on the city of Sarajevo.

28th February: The first air strike of NATO forces in Operation "No fly zone" in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the American airplanes shot down four Serbian airplanes over the Banja Luka area.

1st March: After three days of negotiations, at the instigation of Washington, a framework agreement was reached between Sarajevo and Zagreb on the establishment of the Croatian-Muslim Federation of BiH.

12th March: Military BiH peace agreement was signed in Split, which later became an integral part of the Washington Agreement.

13th March: The final agreement on the constitution of the Federation is reached in Vienna.

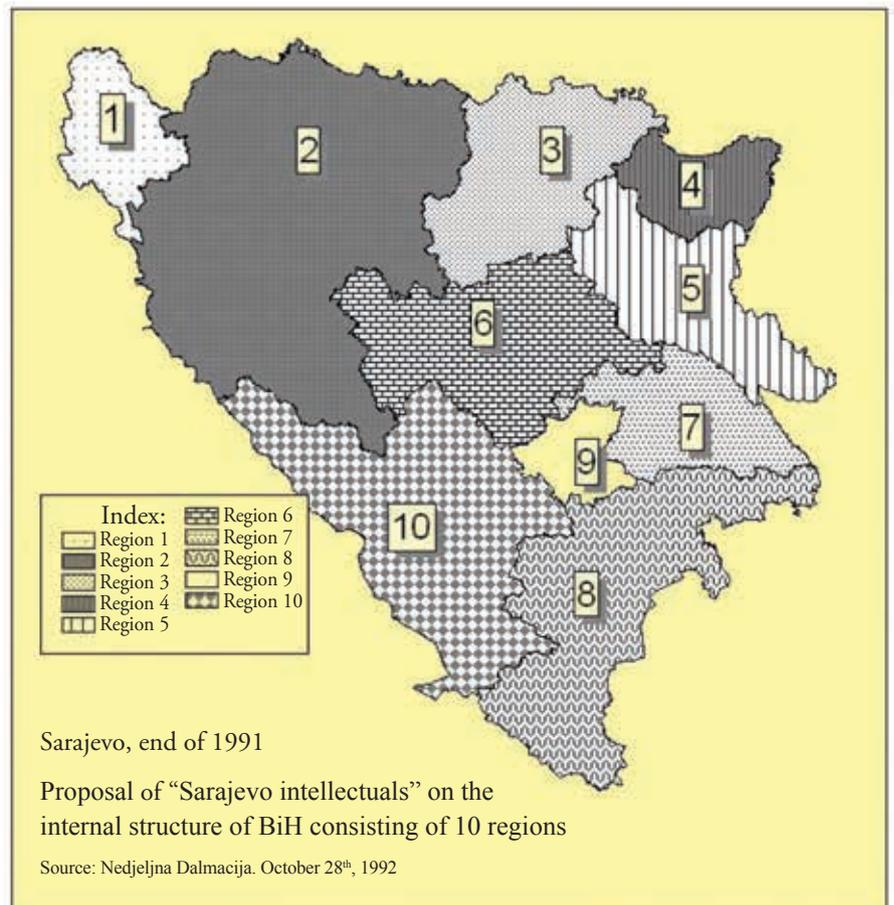
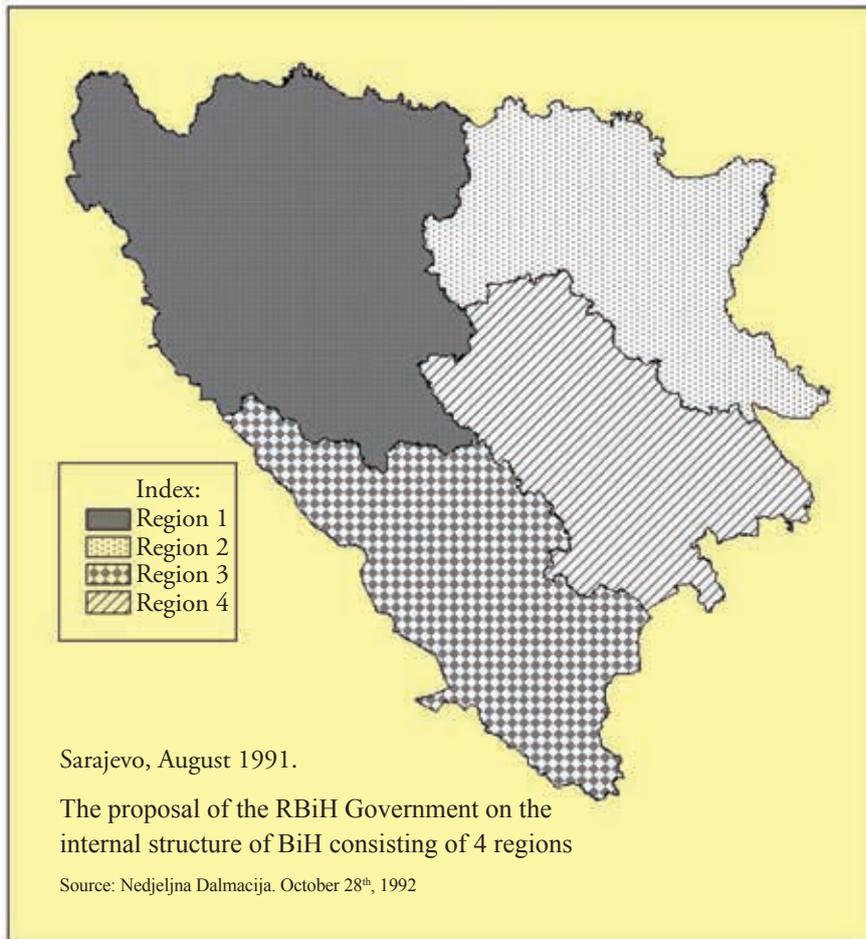
- 15th March:** Charles Redman submits an "ad hoc" report to the EU group (France, Germany, Great Britain) on the development of the Croatian-Muslim talks.
- 18th March:** Washington agreements on the creation of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were signed (Draft Constitution of the BiH Federation, Preliminary agreement on the establishment of a confederation between the Federation and the Republic of Croatia, the Agreement provides the Federation access to the Adriatic Sea through the territory of Republic of Croatia and agreement by which Croatia receives a right of passage through the municipality of Neum).
- 22nd March:** Bosnian Serbs request determination of the borders between the BiH Federation and the Republic of Srpska and that Republic of Srpska is recognized as an independent state.
- 29th March:** Serbs begin with the attacks on the UN Security Zones.
- 30th March:** The Constituent Assembly of the BiH Federation has adopted the Constitution of the Federation.
- 10th April:** The first bombing, unprecedented since the founding of NATO in 1949: two U.S. F-16 aircrafts bombed the Serbian positions in the area of Goražde, one of the six security zones that the Serbs were attacking from March 29th.
- 11th April:** The second bombing of Serbian positions in the area of Goražde by NATO aircrafts for the purpose of protecting the UNPROFOR staff.
- 16th April:** British NATO aircraft was shot down above Goražde.
- 19th April:** In his letter to EU, Foreign Minister Lord Owen mentions the establishment of the "Contact Group".
- 20th April:** At the UN request for the use of air strikes aimed at defending the population of BiH against Serbian attacks, NATO gives its "general consent".
- 22nd April:** NATO issues an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs who were bombing Goražde.
- 26th April:** The first official meeting of the Contact Group was held in London.
- 7th May:** The negotiations between Bosnian Croats and Muslims started in Vienna in order to determine structural organization principles of the BiH Federation.
- 11th May:** The negotiations in Vienna between Bosnian Croats and Muslims were completed by adopting the structural organization principles of the BiH Federation cantons.
- 12th May:** U.S. Senate passed the unilateral abolition of the arms embargo in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 13th May:** The first meeting of the Contact Group was held in Geneva attended by the Ministers of three EU countries. The development of interior organizational structure of BiH was initiated.
- The Russian Duma adopted a resolution by which it is requested from Boris Yeltsin to engage in repealing the sanctions against Serbia.
- 24th May:** In Taloaru (France), two-day negotiations on peace in BiH started, organized by the Contact Group. The foundation for the Contact Group peace plan was created and the 58% of the BiH territory for Federation was reduced to 51%.
- 2nd June:** Minister Čurkin expressed satisfaction with the proposed map of the BiH proposed by the Contact Group.
- 8th June:** The agreement was reached in Geneva between the Federation and "the Serbian side from BiH" on the one-month truce starting on June 10th.
- 1st July:** Radovan Karadžić called the BiH map, proposed by the Contact Group, degrading.
- 5th July:** **A meeting of ministers of the Contact Group member countries was held in Geneva, at which a border chart between BiH Federation and "Serbian side in BiH" was settled.**
- 19th July:** At the Contact Group meeting, a document titled "The elements of the constitution of the BiH Union" was adopted.
- 28th July:** Bosnian Serb Parliament refused to accept the Contact Group peace plan.

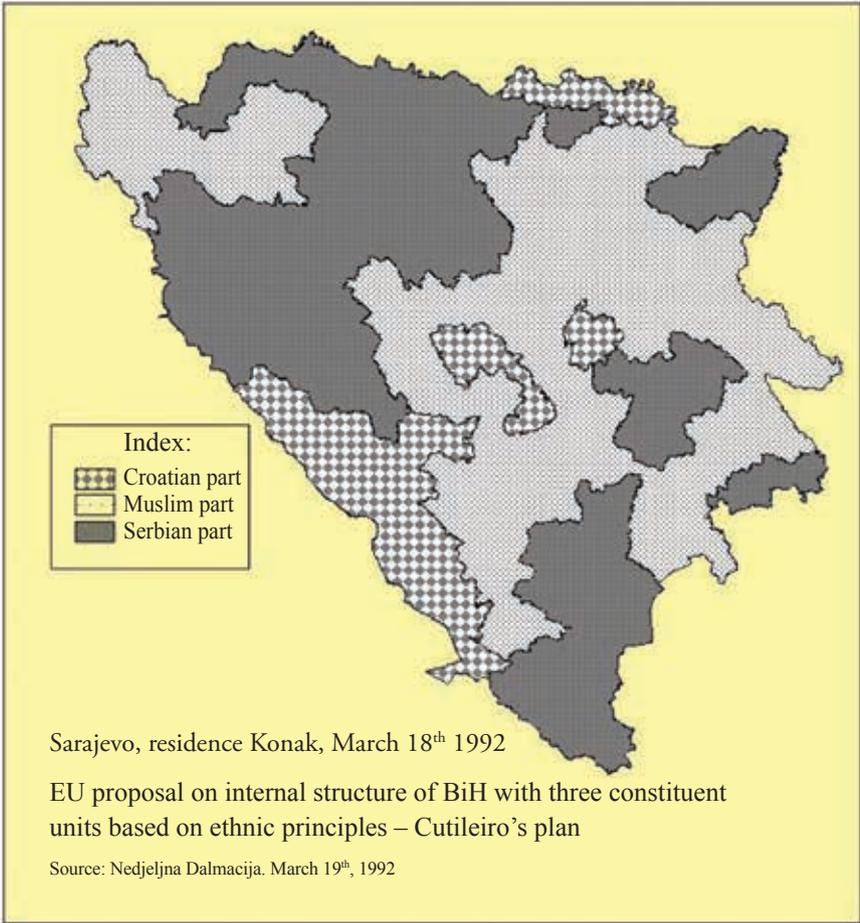
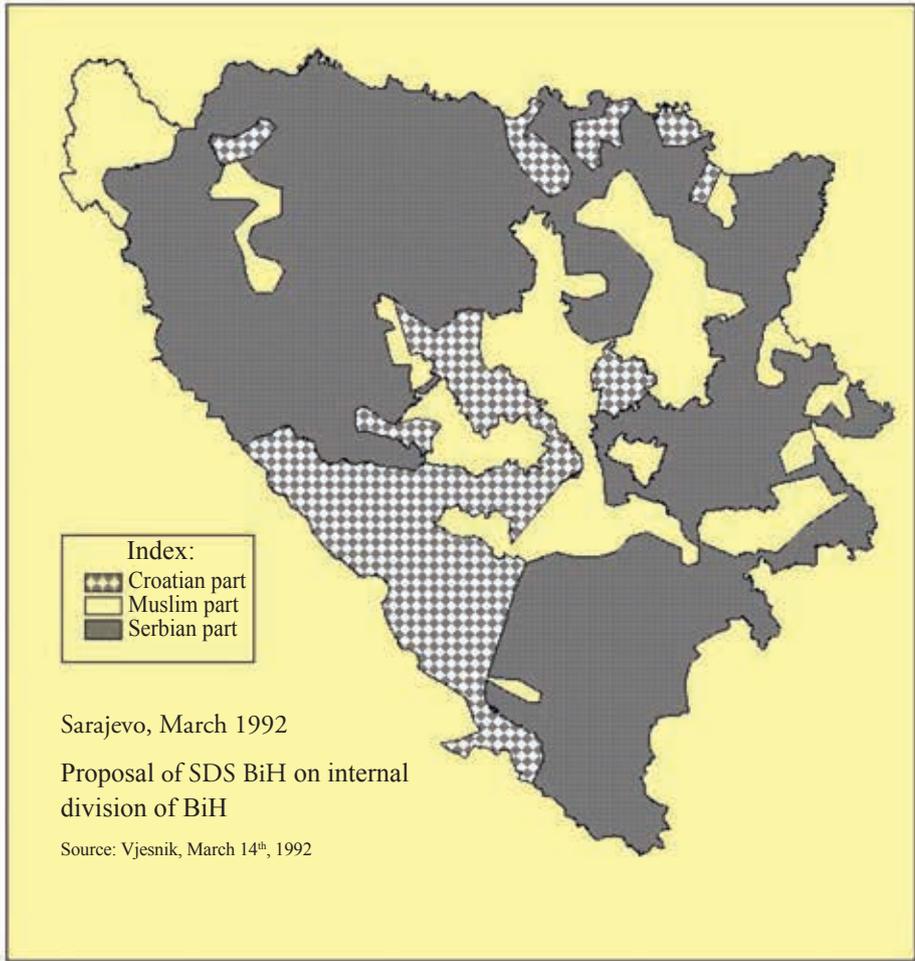
- 30th July:** At the ministerial meeting of the Contact Group in Geneva, the adoption of the plan by the Croatian-Muslim delegation was welcomed and the rejection of the Plan by the Bosnian Serbs was condemned. Existing sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro were tightened and new sanctions were introduced.
- 3rd August:** The Bosnian Serb Parliament has once again refused to accept the Contact Group plan, and has announced a referendum on the acceptance and/or rejection of the proposed Plan for the 27th and 28th of August.
- 4th August:** The authorities in the FRY impose sanctions against the Serbs in BiH due to rejection of the Plan.
- 5th August:** NATO aircraft attacked the Bosnian Serbs positions armed with heavy weapons located on the outskirts of Sarajevo. Serbs took the weapons from the warehouses controlled by UNPROFOR.
- 17th November:** Contact Group meeting was held in London, at which no solutions were offered for BiH.
- 18th November:** At the joint session of the R BiH parliament and the BiH Federation parliament, the Contact Group peace plan was accepted and the demarcation map was proposed.
- 2nd December:** At the ministerial meeting of the Contact Group in Brussels, the adoption of a confederation of Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs was proposed, if accepted by all sides in BiH. A possibility of re-establishment of the internal organizational structure borders of BiH was announced.
- 4th December:** In a letter to Alija Izetbegović, U.S. President Bill Clinton stated that the Confederation of Bosnian Serbs and Serbia is not supported by the U.S.
- 24th December:** With the mediation of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, a cease-fire in Bosnia has been signed, which entered into force on January 01st, 1995.

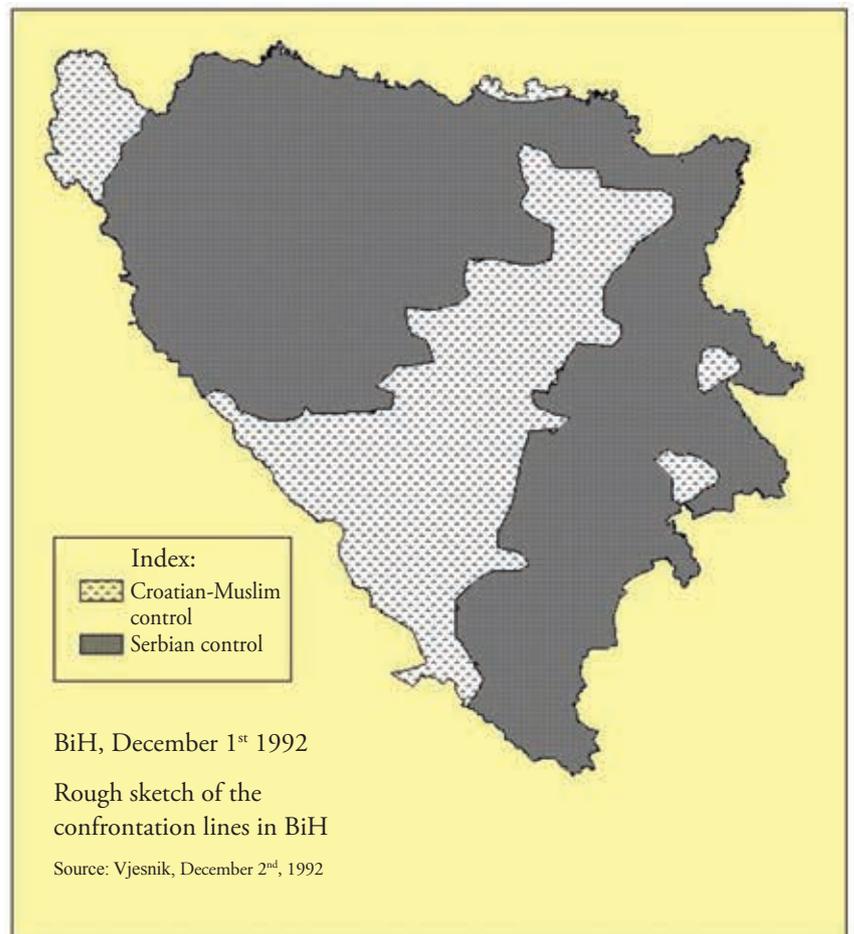
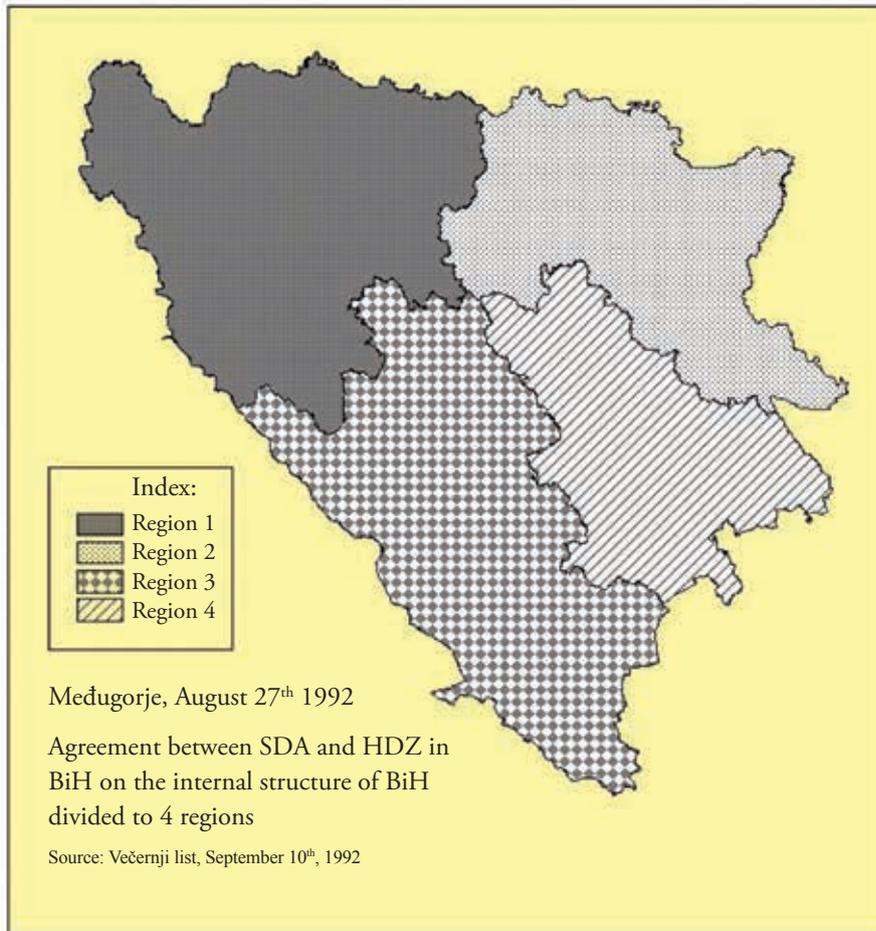
1995

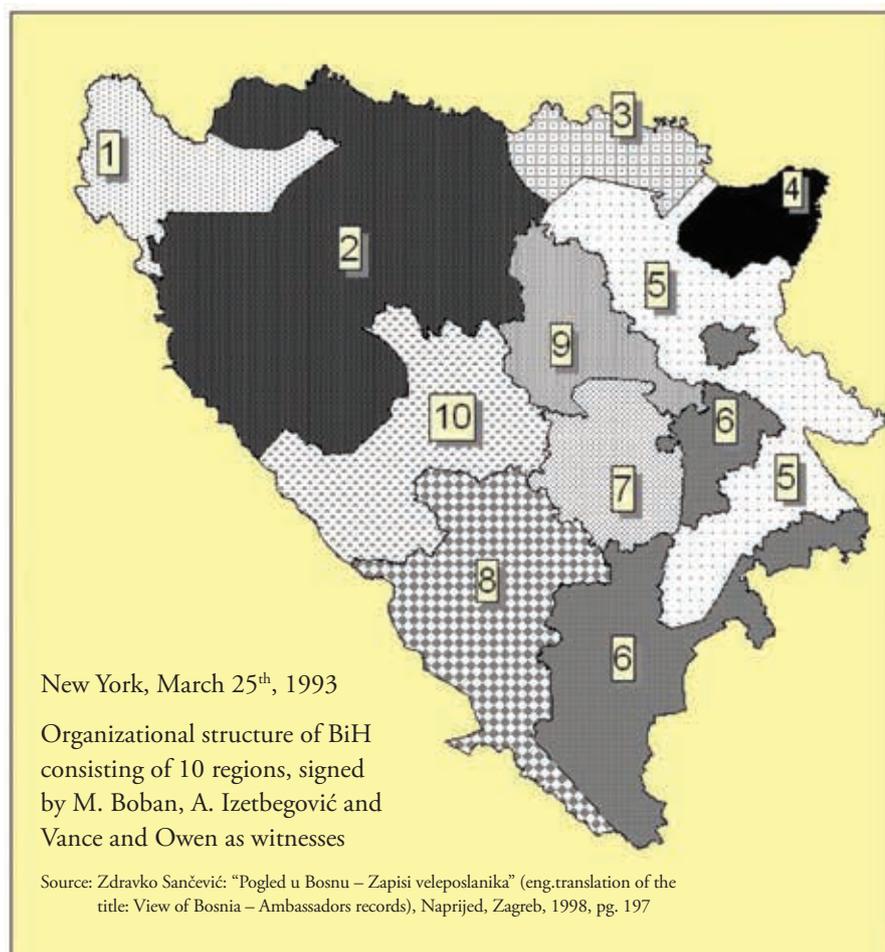
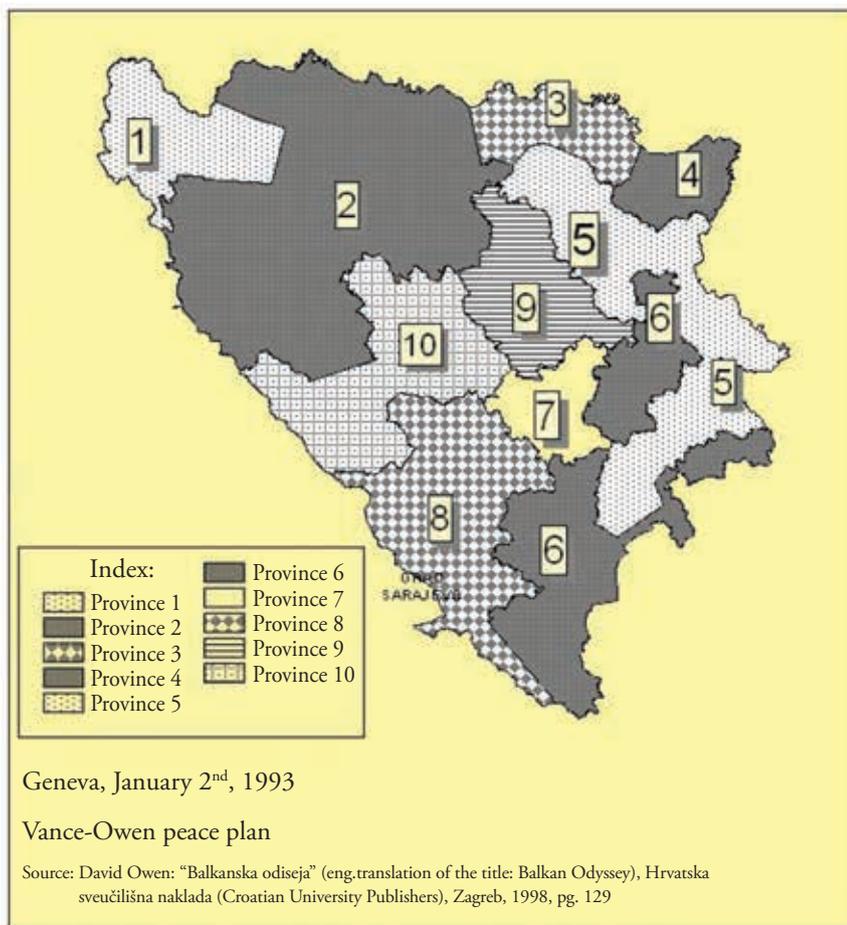
- 5th February:** A meeting was held in Munich between the representatives of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnian Croats and Bosnian-Muslims dedicated to providing support to the project of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both delegations gave their support to 9 points plan.
- 6th February** Ministerial EU summit in Brussels accepted the French proposal on a Tuđman-Izetbegović-Milošević summit. The Bosnian Serbs have rejected this proposal.
- 13th February:** Bosnian Serb Assembly rejected the Contact Group peace plan and demanded that Milošević does not recognize both the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 1st May:** End of truce, poorly respected, introduced in the December 24th, 1994., after completion of the mission of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter in the former Yugoslavia;
- 16th May:** In his report to the UN Security Council, the UN Secretary-General stressed that on the present day, in BiH, 162 UN peacekeepers got killed and 1,420 have been injured.
- 25th May:** Bosnian Serbs bombed Tuzla and Sarajevo killing 71 people, while 150 people were wounded.
- 26th May:** The Bosnian Serbs have kidnapped UN soldiers. More than 370 "blue helmets" were detained. Last were liberated on June 18th.
- 27th May:** Through State Department's announcement, because of the refusal of the Bosnian Serbs to accept the offered plan, the Contact Group has "decided to temporarily put an end to its mission."
- 3rd June:** The "Rapid Reaction Force" (RRF) was established in support of the UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR).
- 13th June:** Lord David Owen has relinquished the position of ICFY co-chairman to Swede Carl Bildt.
- 11th July:** Srebrenica fell to the Bosnian Serbs, while Žepa was occupied on July 25th.
- 19th July:** Allied forces of Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia, begin a powerful attack on Bihać area.
- 22nd July:** In Split, BiH and Croatia signed the Declaration on Implementing the Washington Agreement, joint defense from the Serbian aggression and achieving political solutions in line with the efforts of IC.

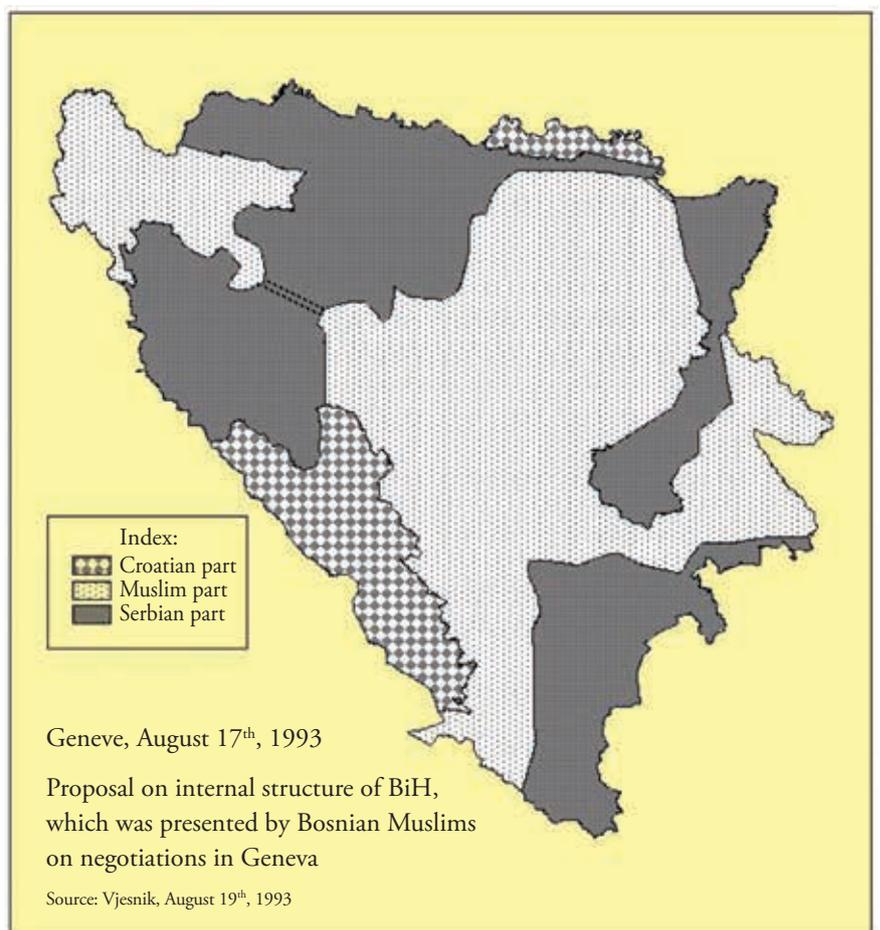
- 23rd July:** In the presence of President Tuđman and Izetbegović, and the German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, the EU Directorate of Mostar was formally presented. The first "European head" was Hans Koschnik.
- 5th August:** Croatian army returns the so called Krajina to the Croatian authorities. Croatian and Bosnian armed forces liberate Bihać enclave.
- 13th August:** Washington proposed a new diplomatic initiative under the influence of the Contact Group peace plan (U.S., UK, France, Germany, Russia), under the leadership of Richard Holbrook.
- 28th August:** Bombing of marketplace in Sarajevo attributed to the Bosnian Serbs: 41 people killed and 84 wounded;
- 29th August:** Bosnian Serbs have conferred to Slobodan Milošević the authority to conduct the peace negotiations on their behalf. The document was signed by S. Milošević, R. Karadžić, Patriarch Pavle and Episcopo Irenaeus.
- 31st August:** NATO began air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets.
- 8th September:** In Geneva, the foreign ministers of Croatia, Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina have agreed on the basic principles of the future constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 14th September:** After 14 days of NATO air strikes on Serbian positions around the capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Operation "Decisive Force"), the United Nations and the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina entered into an agreement on unblocking Sarajevo.
- 26th September:** In New York, at their second meeting, the foreign ministers of Croatia, Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina have agreed upon constitutional principles of settling the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 5th October:** Through mediation of Richard Holbrooke, a cease-fire agreement has been reached in BiH.
- 10th October:** A cease-fire agreement has been signed in BiH.
- 12th October:** Through the intercession of Washington, a 60 day cease-fire agreement for the whole territory of BiH has set into force;
- 1st November:** Peace talks on the termination of the war in Bosnia began in Wright-Patterson base in Dayton (Ohio, USA).
- 10th November:** The Dayton Agreement on Implementing the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is signed.
- 21st November:** After 21 days of negotiations at Wright-Patterson base in Dayton (Ohio, USA), a global BiH peace agreement is initialed by presidents Alija Izetbegović, Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević.
- 23rd November:** UN terminates international sanctions against "Yugoslavia" and allows the gradual abolition of the arms embargo to all states created on the territory of former Yugoslavia.
- 3rd December:** U.S. President Bill Clinton gives its approval to the departure of the first NATO international implementation troops in BiH intended to replace the "blue helmets".
- 5th December:** 32 NATO Ministers confirmed the plan on the deployment of 60,000 members of the International Implementation Forces (IFOR) to BiH.
- 8th December:** A Conference on "Implementation of the Peace Agreement in BiH" begins in London, and brings together some fifty countries and international organizations.
- 14th December:** Agreements on BiH, agreed upon and initialed in Dayton on November 21st, are signed in Paris.

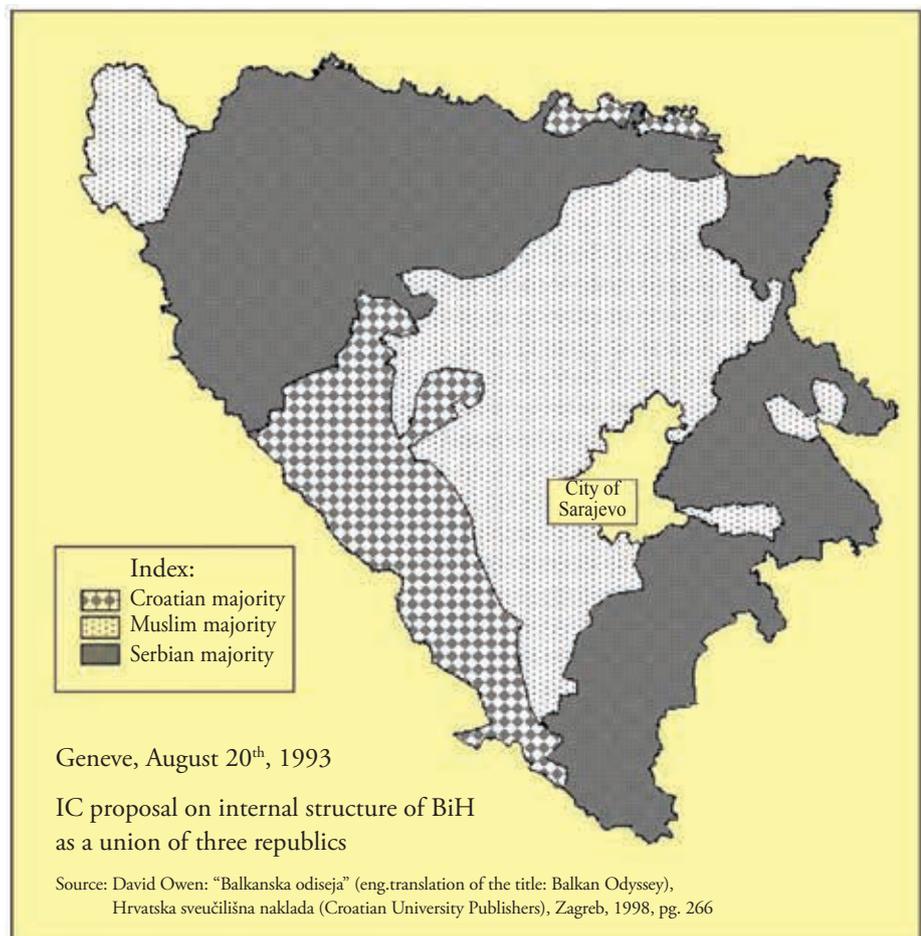
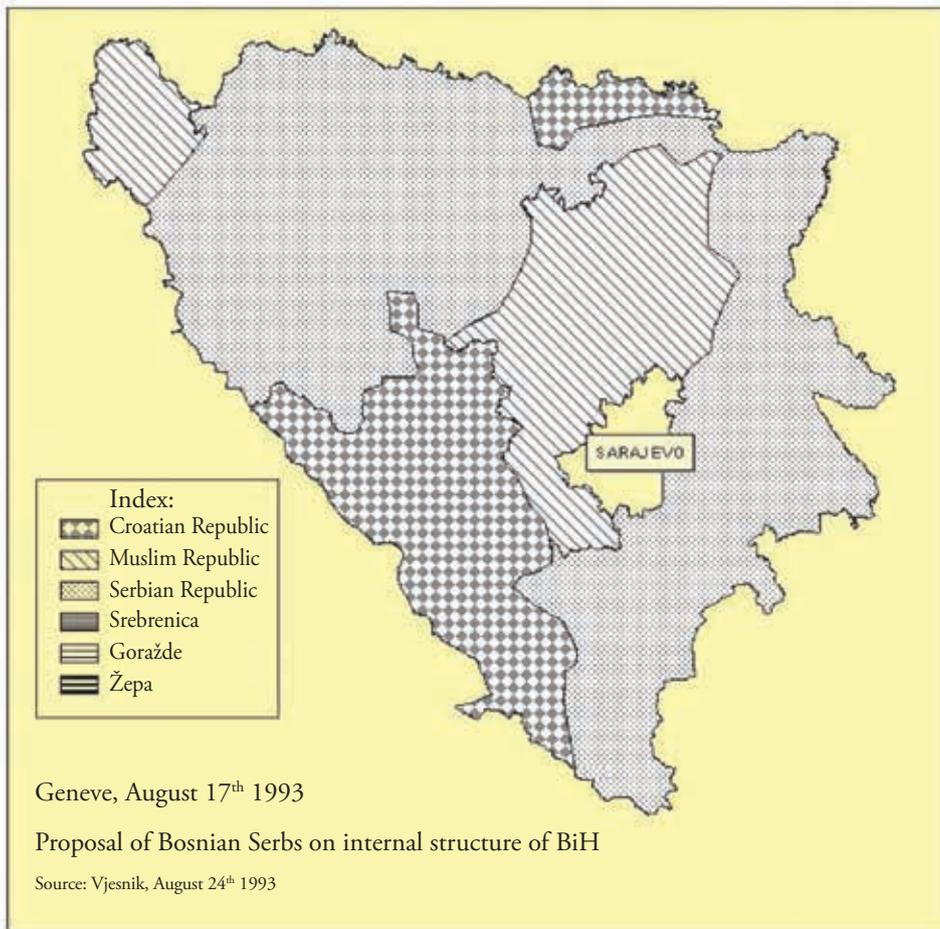


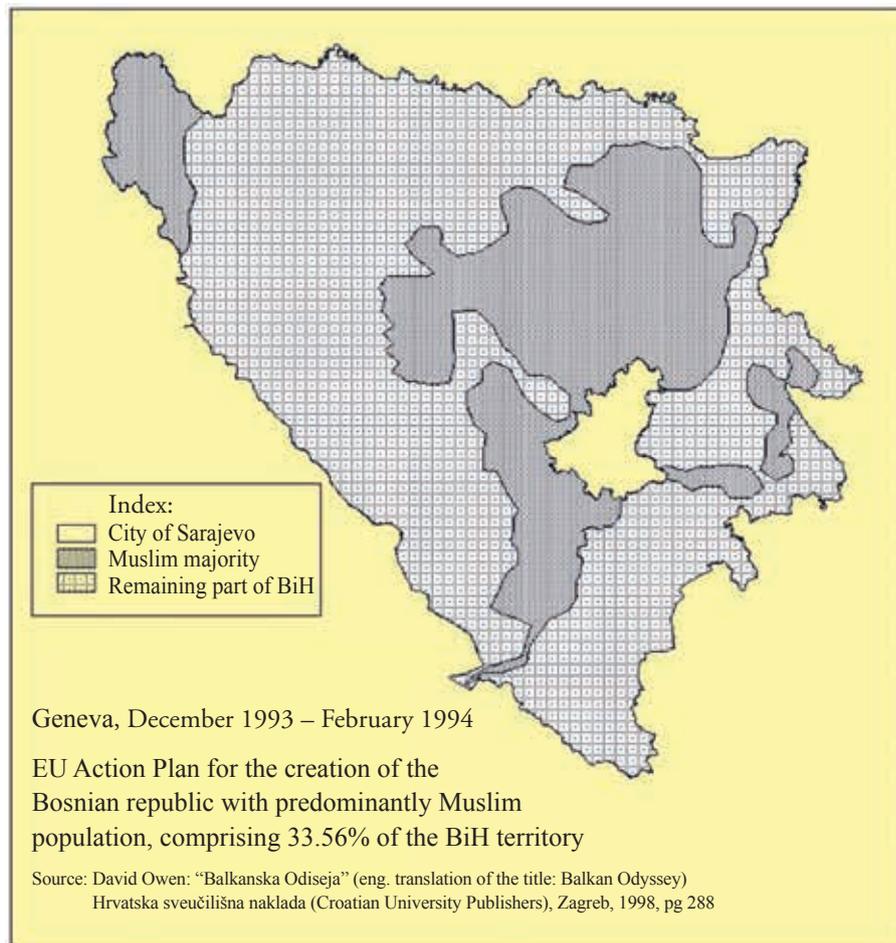
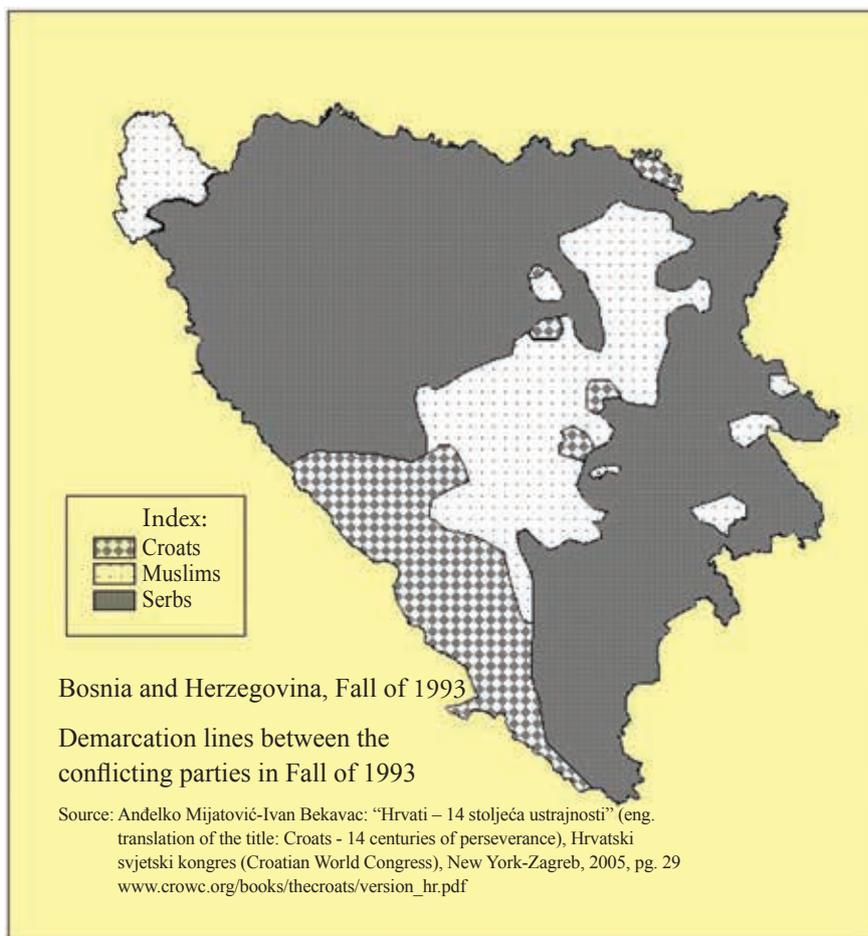


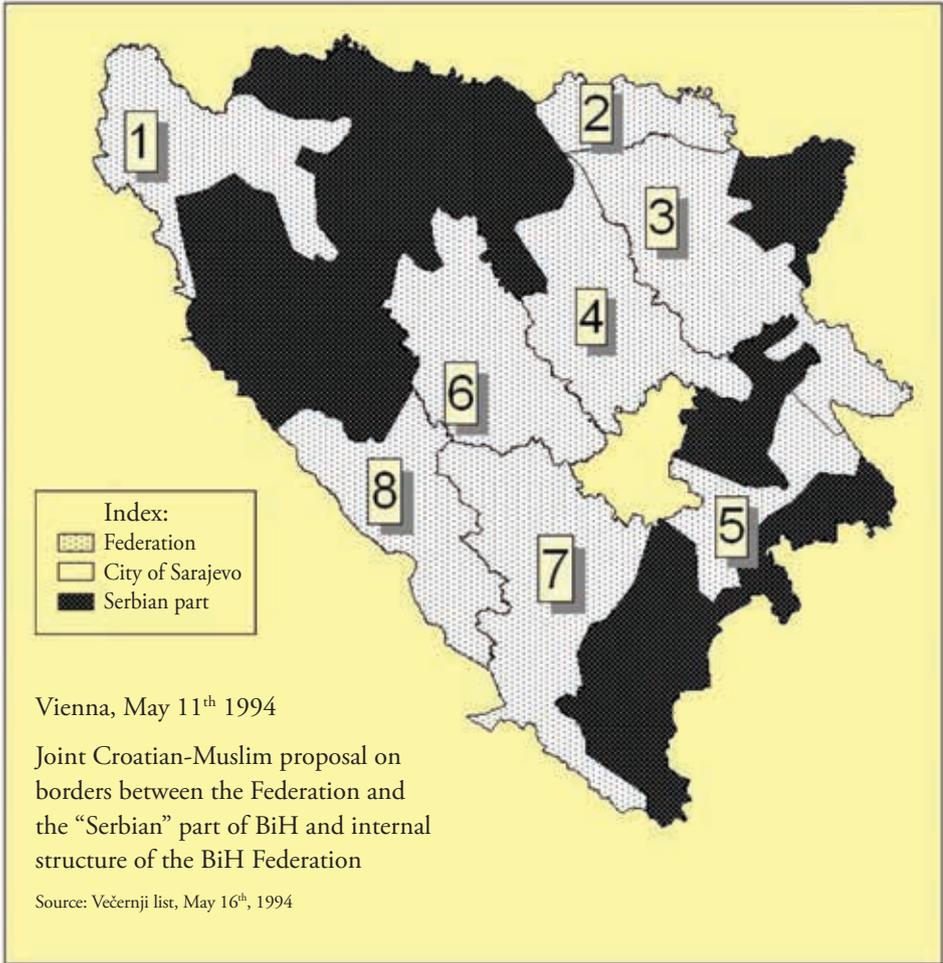
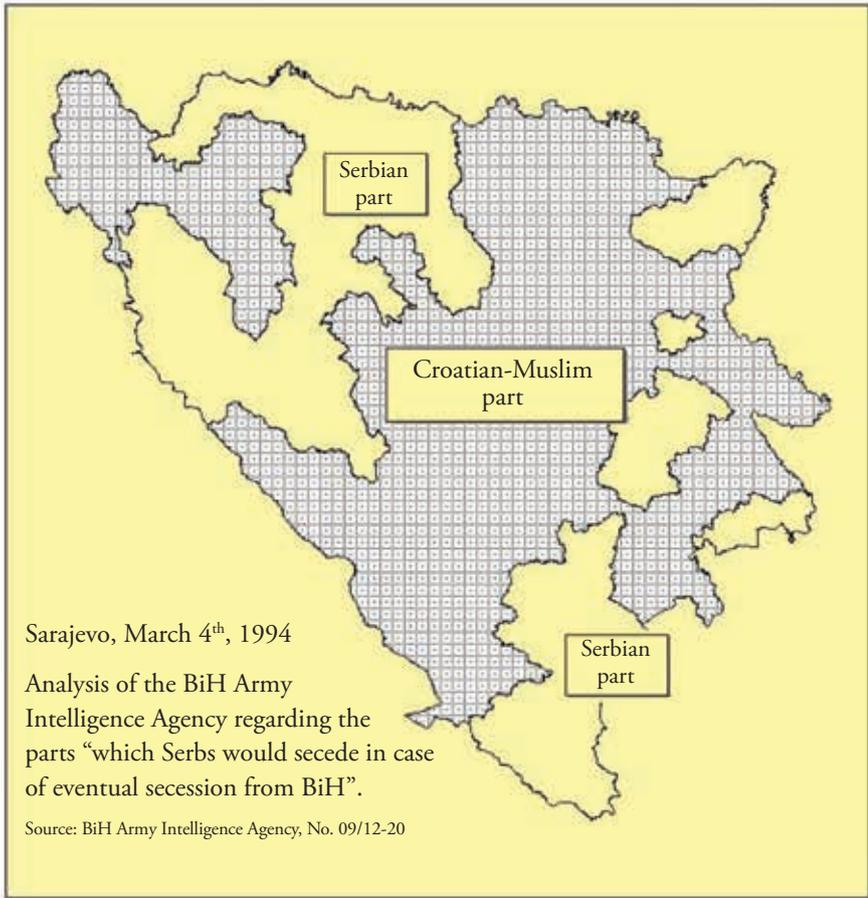


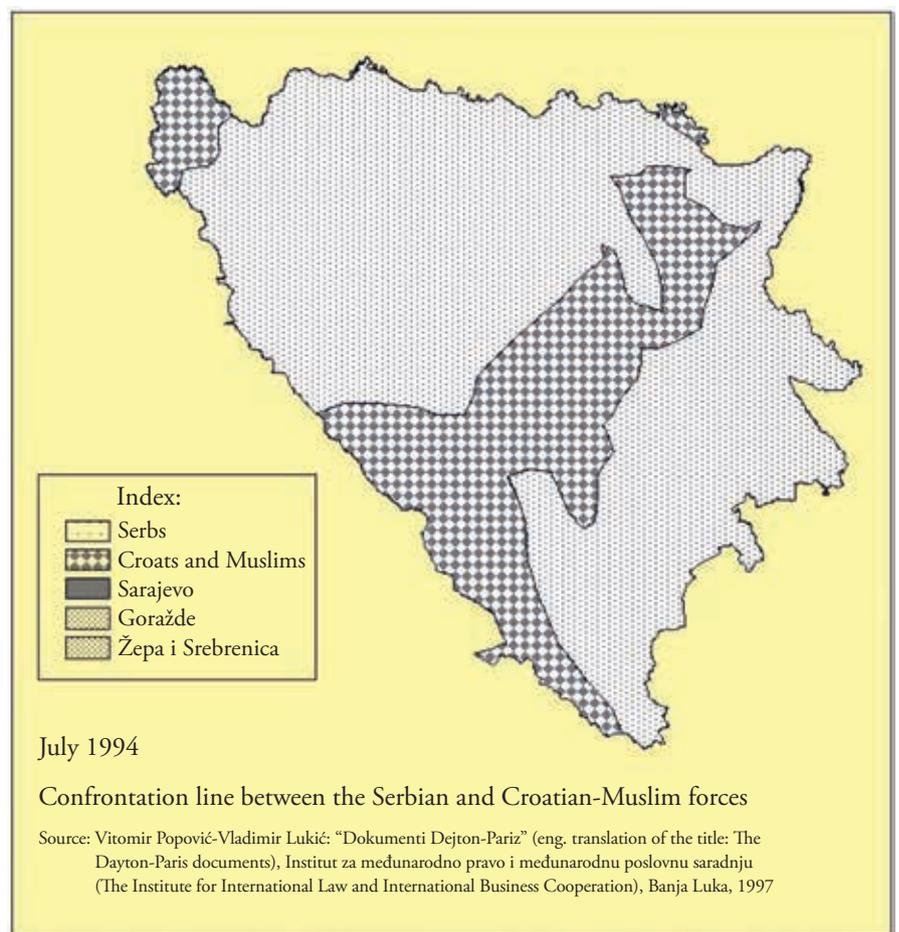
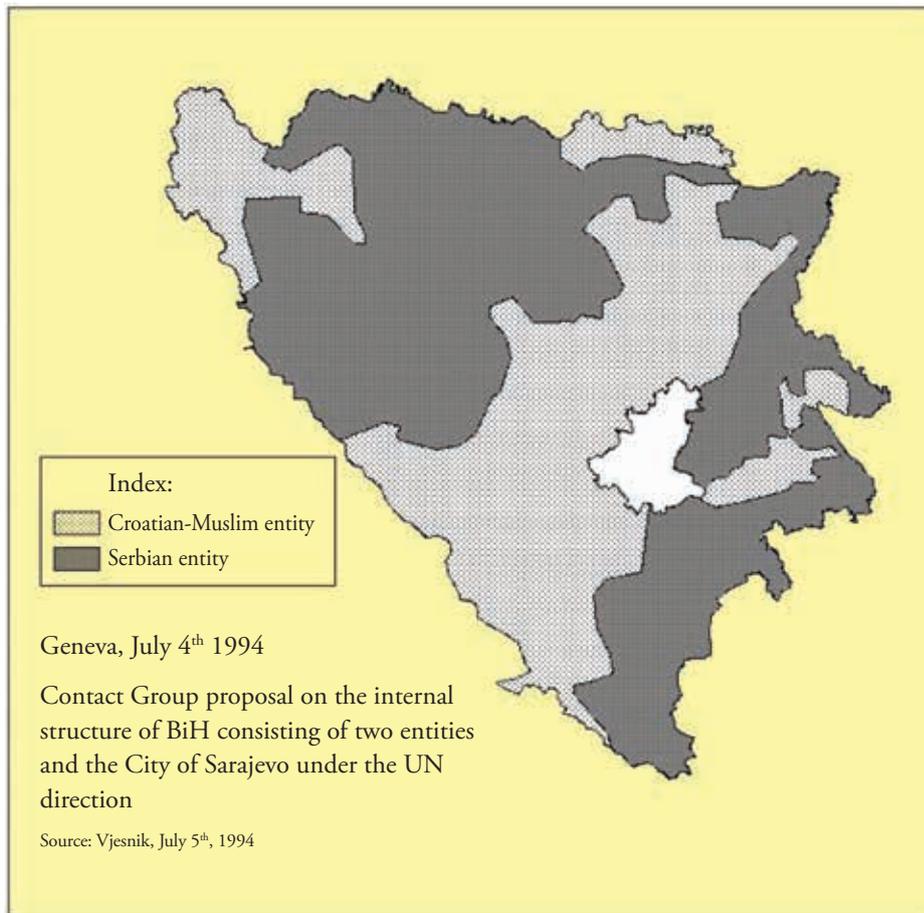


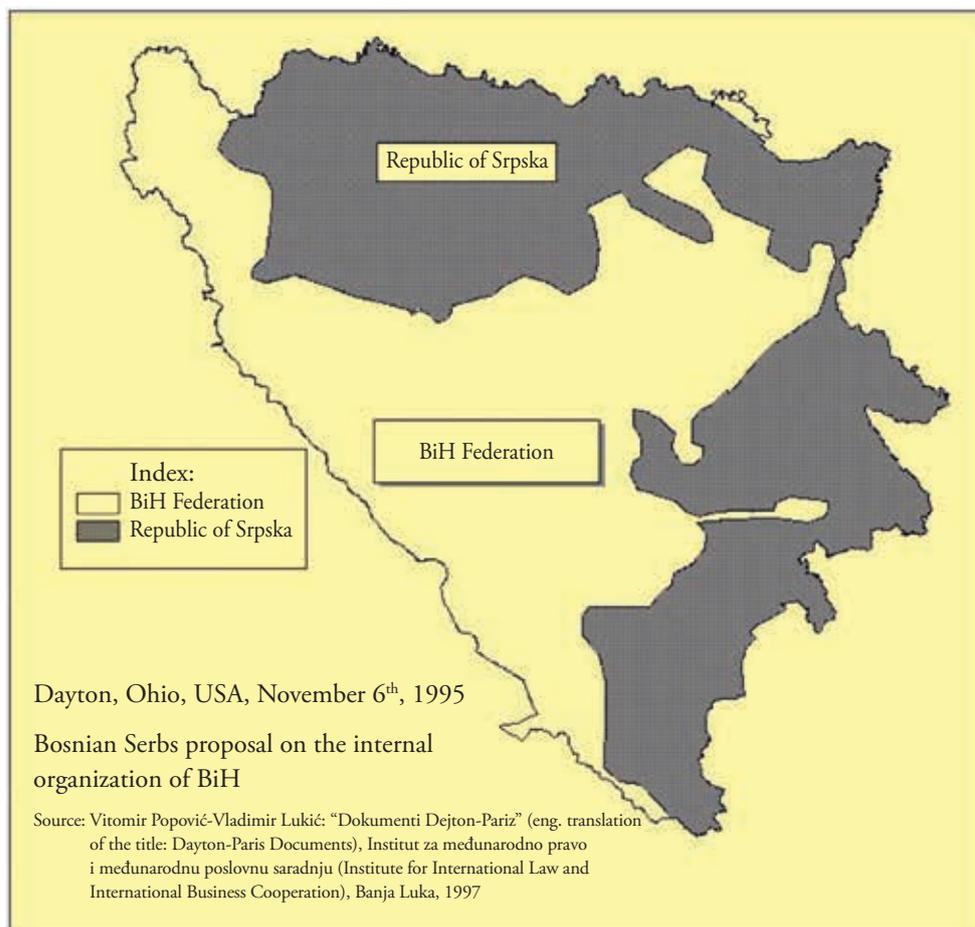
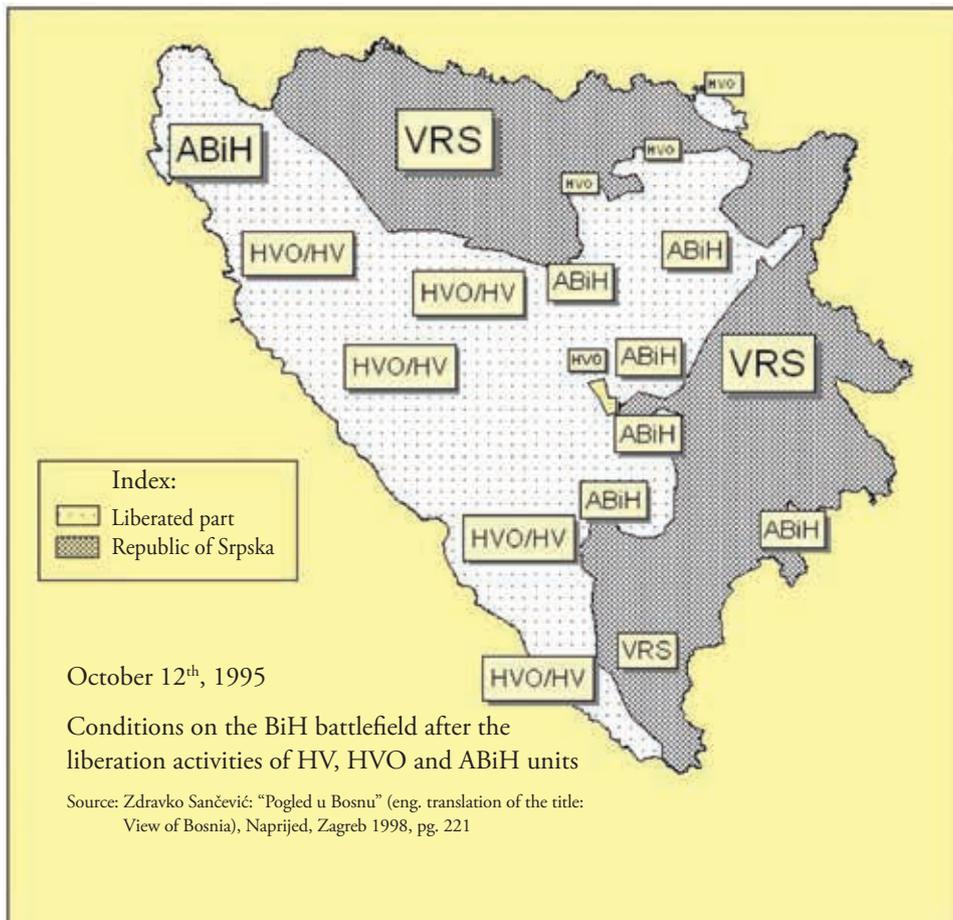


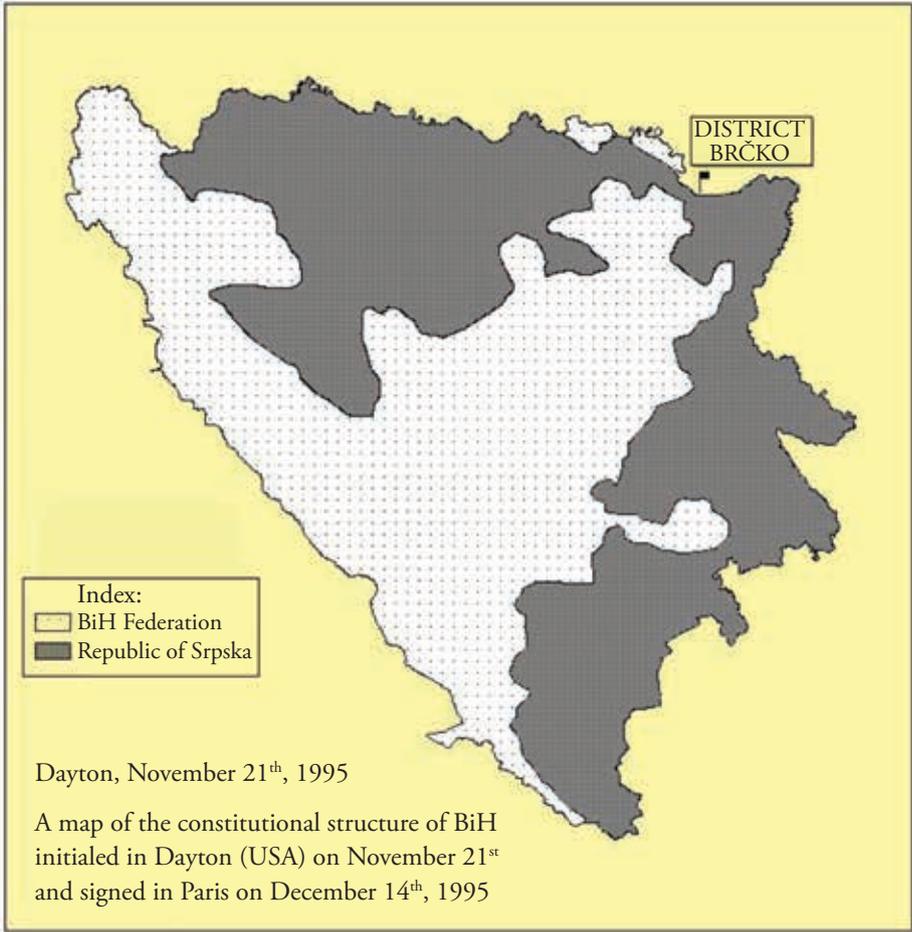
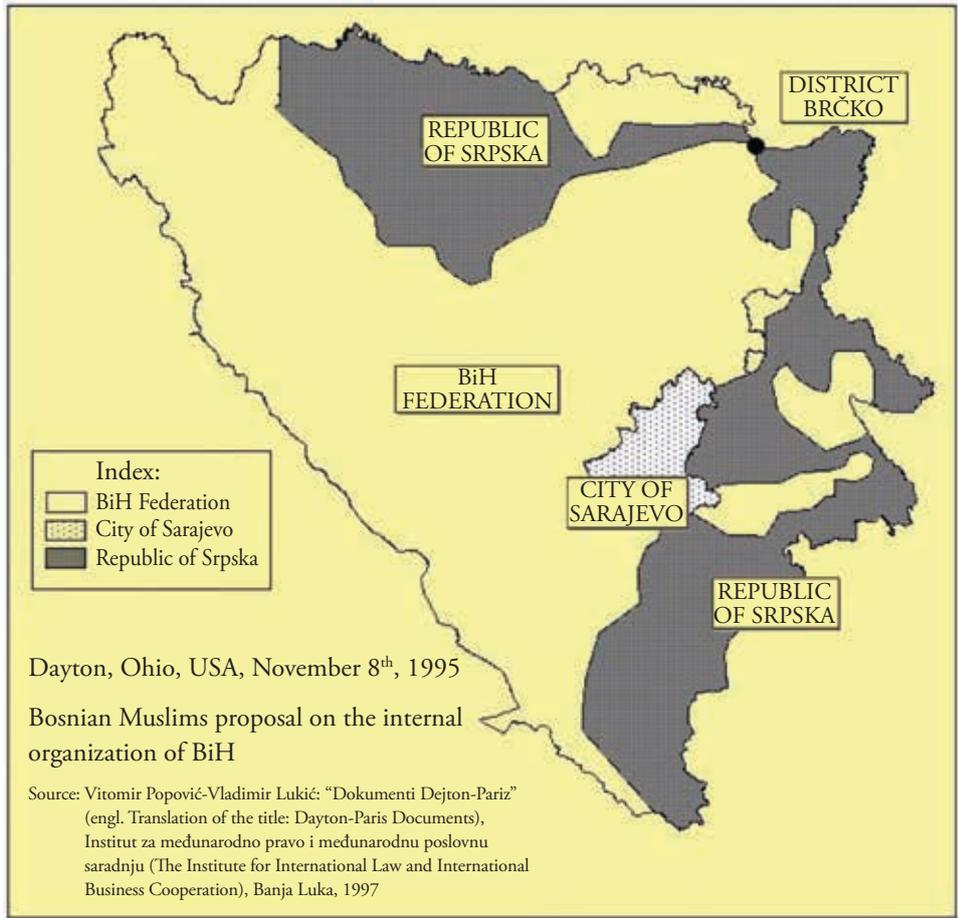












formacije sa teritorije BiH izvode 1/4 u do-
briji istočne Hercegovine i oko Dubrovnika.

te dejstva se na Mostar i pravci c. Crnogla-
v - s. Ravno i s. Slano - Ivala. Po dubini s
ina Lištica, Čitluk, Ljubuski, Grude, Posušje
Sljeme i o. Šibenik.

Herjaku vatrenu podršku izvodi različitim art
anin u vatrene grupe sastava 2-3 oruđa, nano
jivanjem 5-10 projektila i brzim premeštanjem
e vatre uglavnom je postigao slučajnim popoci
izvršene korekture, odnosno obezbeđenja preciz-
nosti.

oije je koristio za izviđanje klipnim avionim
te u daljnjim napadnim dejstvima očekivati je n
osinje, Crnoglav - Stolac, s. Trebinjska - s.
s. Slano - s. Ivala - Popovo polje, sa verov
i u širi rejon Stone uz pomoć muslimanskeg Bi
ne Hercegovačkog korpusa i izbijanjem u Popov
jne uslove sa dalja dejstva u dubinu teritori
e.

26.05.1992. godine sve snage na prostoru ist
inuju se pod jedinstvenu Komandu Hercegovačk
1.brTO - Bilećka, 472.atbr - Trebinjska, 10.
br - Nevesinjska, 13.nap, 13.sposp, 13. lap P
b, 13.atb, PZ Kude NK i PZB, OŠTO Borci, te O
O Ljubinje koji se predpočinjavaju 23.brTO i
lužio sam nastaviti sa odlučnom odbranom na
ovac, s. Klepci, na sadašnjoj liniji odbrane
ovati odbranu u zoni 23.brTO, a sa 472.atbr o
liniji: s. Velja Međa - s. Trebinjska - s. Or
s. Grebi - s. Kaldurdevići - Visočnik.

oprediti prodor neprijatelja kroz zonu odbre
nu Hercegovinu.

200 težila izati na organizaciji VOJ-a i pr

**THE TRUTH ABOUT
THE AID OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
TO MUSLIMS OF BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA AND
ARMY OF BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA
(MUSLIM- BOSNIAK ARMY)**

FACTS

formacije sa teritorije BiH izvode 1/4 u do-
brini istočne Hercegovine i oko Dubrovnika.

te dejstva se na Mostar i pravci c. Crnogla-
v - s. Ravno i s. Slano - Ivala. Po dubini s
na Lištice, Čitluk, Ljubuski, Grude, Posušje
Sljeme i o. Šibenik.

terjaku vatrene podršku izvodi različitim art
anin u vatrene grupe sastava 2-3 oruđa, nano
jivanjem 5-10 projektila i brzim premeštanjem
e vatre uglavnom je postigao slučajnim pogodi
izvršene korekture, odnosno obezbeđenja preciz

oije je koristio za izviđanje klipsnim avionim
te u daljnjim napadnim dejstvima očekivati je n
osinje, Crnoglav - Stolac, s. Trebinjska - s.
s. Slano - s. Ivala - Popovo polje, sa verov
i u širi rejon Stone uz pomoć muslimanskeg Bi
ne Hercegovačkog korpusa i izbijanjem u Popov
jne uslove sa dalja dejstva u dubinu teritori
e.

26.05.1992. godine sve snage na prostoru ist
inuju se pod jedinstvenu Komandu Hercegovačk
1.brTO - Bilećka, 472.atbr - Trebinjska, 10.
br - Nevesinjska, 13.nap, 13.sposp, 13. lap P
b, 13.atb, Pj Kude NK i PjB, OTO Borci, te O
O Ljubinje koji se predpočinjavaju 23.brTO i
lužio sam nastaviti sa odlučnom odbranom na
ovac, s. Klepci, na sadašnjoj liniji odbrane
ovati odbranu u zoni 23.brTO, a sa 472.atbr o
liniji: s. Velja Međa - s. Trebinjska - s. Or
s. Grebi - s. Kaldurdevići - Visočnik.

sprediti prodor neprijatelja kroz zonu odbre
nu Hercegovinu.

200 težakih i ostali na organizaciji VOJ-a i pr

– Preface	304
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia in arming Bosnia and Herzegovina army	305
– Weapons packed in food products' packaging and loaded into UNHCR trucks	342
– Formation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army troops on Croatian territory	361
– Bosnia and Herzegovina Army training centres in the Republic of Croatia	390
– Training of Bosnia and Herzegovina pilots in the Republic of Croatia	397
– Logistic centres of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina established in the Republic of Croatia	413
– Humanitarian organizations on the territory of the Republic of Croatia responsible for collecting aid for Bosniak people in Bosnia and Herzegovina	438
– Aid sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina through ports in the Republic of Croatia	454
– Treatment and hospitalization of wounded soldiers of BiH Army and civilians (mostly Bosniaks – Muslims) in hospitals in the Republic of Croatia 1992 – 1995	478
– Refugees and displaced persons from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia	531
– Refugees in times of Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992	541
– Refugees in times of aggression of ABiH against HVO	545
– Extraterritorial education of Bosnia and Herzegovina students (Muslims) in the Republic of Croatia	554
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to the Bihać enclave during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina	571
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of sport	615
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of culture	619
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the electric power sector	621
– Aid of the Republic of Croatia in maintaining and enabling telecommunication connections of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the world (Republic of Croatia enabled free telecommunication not only to Croats in BiH, to Muslims-Bosniaks as well)	627

Never in the history of warfare, has one nation - (Croats) helped the other - (Bosniak-Muslims) so much—even when the latter turned their army - (BH Army) - against Croats - (HVO) – in BiH.

And the Croats were” led” by Dr. Franjo Tuđman, as they say in “authoritarian” way.

Never in the history of warfare, has a commander of one army (HVO) permitted convoys of weapons (and other things) of the other army (BH Army) to pass, even when that same army (BH Army) had used those same weapons (and other things) to attack those who gave the permission .

And convoys for BH Army included:

Weapons

Ammunition

Soldiers

Petrol

Raw materials

Food

Medications

Mujahedeen („humanitarian workers“)

Etc.

Even when Croats were forced out of the municipalities, BH Army received almost all of its logistics from Croatia or through Croatia and through Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia.

Even when some units from BH Army and some members of that Army were killing Croats, civilians and captured members of HVO, this army (BH Army) received almost all of its logistics from Croatia or through Croatia and through Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia.

This kind of behavior was never before recorded in the history of warfare.

Everything has its measure, even war crimes.

The factual ratio of crimes in HVO and BH Army conflict is as follows:

1. At least seven times more Croatian civilians and members of HVO were killed by “some” members of BH Army, then Muslim-Bosniak civilians and captured members of BH Army were killed by members of HVO.
2. At least seven times more Croats for forced from their homes by BH Army then Muslim-Bosniaks were forced from their homes by HVO.

I really do not care about the fact that this data does not correspond to manufactured lies. This is or will become a problem of those who lied, those who kept the truth from being told?

You thought that I’m justifying crimes and revenge?

No, I’m only establishing material facts.

AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA IN ARMING BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARMY



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

2092

(Of which 881 document with the quantified arming
data for A BiH, with 9820 military items)

Excerpt from the table of quantified data regarding arming of A BiH TO /territorial defence/ from the Republic of Croatia

Category:	Category name:	Arms type:	Arms type name:	Full name:	Calibre:	Quantity:
2	Ammunition	5	Missile	Delivery note no.7	MINE RPG-7	2
1	Weapons	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.95	MINE TMA-3	3
1	Weapons	8	Landmine materials	Delivery note no.95	MINE TMRP-6	37
1	Weapons	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.95	MINE TMM-1	36
2	Ammunition	5	Missile	Delivery note no.95 (missile for multi-pipe missile launcher)	107 mm	200
2	Ammunition	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.24/93 (nitrocellulose)	Kilogram	11500
2	Ammunition	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.24/93 (acetone 95%)	Kilogram	5040
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.1	7,62*54 mm	1069200
1	Weapons	5	Missile	Delivery note no.1 (hand missile launcher)	RPG-7	84
3	Military equipment			Delivery note no.1 (battery)		476
1	Weapons	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.1 (stand for machine gun „MPG“)		9
1	Weapons	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.1 (rifle)	7,62*39 mm	28
1	Weapons	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.1 (rifle)	7,62*39 mm	20
1	Weapons	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.1 (light machine gun)	7,62*54 mm	10
3	Military equipment	7	Communication equipment	Delivery note no.1 (radio station)	PRC-25	20
1	Weapons	4	Antiaircraft	Delivery note no.1 (ANTI-AIRCRAFT cannon, 2-pipe)	23 mm	2
2	Ammunition	2	Artillery	Delivery note no.1 (gunpowder for howitzer 105 mm)	Kilogram	2850
2	Ammunition	2	Artillery	Delivery note no.1 (gunpowder for howitzer 105 mm)	Kilogram	7525
2	Ammunition	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.1 (plastic explosive)	Kilogram	6720
2	Ammunition	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.1 (TNT explosive)	Kilogram	36143
2	Ammunition	4	Antiaircraft	Delivery note no.1	23 mm	7056
2	Ammunition	2	Artillery	Delivery note no.1	MINE 120 mm	2102
1	Weapons	6	Anti-armour	Delivery note no.1/94 (training hand grenade)		33
2	Ammunition	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.10 (TNT explosive)	Kilogram	27965
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.10 (detonation plug 1/100)	TIP-1101	3500000
1	Weapons	5	Missile	Delivery note no.10 (launcher)	SPG-9	7
2	Ammunition	5	Missile	Delivery note no. 10	MINE RPG-7	696
2	Ammunition	5	Missile	Delivery note no.10	MINE SPG-9	1272
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.105	7,62*39 mm	1000000
2	Ammunition	5	Missile	Delivery note no.108	MINE RPG-7	40

2	Ammunition			Delivery note no.11 (black gunpowder no.1)	Kilogram	1275
2	Ammunition	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.3 (explosive „heksolit“)	Kilogram	6965
1	Weapons	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3 (light machine gun)	7,62*39 mm	140
2	Ammunition	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3	MINE RPG-7	5094
1	Weapons	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.3 (igniters)	UTU-M78	12
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3	7,62*39 mm	1394000
1	Weapons	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.3 (igniters)	PD M-572	700
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3 (cartridge cap (1) BERDAN)	7,62*39 mm	11200000
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3 (cartridge cap (6))		70000
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3 (cartridge cap (7))		70000
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3 (cartridge cap (8))		139776
3	Military equipment	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3 (missile laser scope)	TF-B ATEM	14
1	Weapons	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3 (launcher)		14
1	Weapons	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3 (stand for missile launcher)		14
2	Ammunition	2	Artillery	Delivery note no.3 (powder charger for bullets)	122 mm	3300
2	Ammunition	2	Artillery	Delivery note no.3 (powder charge for mines)	130 mm	300
2	Ammunition	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3 (missile)	SA-16 IGLA	14
1	Weapons	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3 (launcher)	SA-16 IGLA	3
3	Military equipment	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3 (power supply source for launcher)	SA-16 IGLA	40
1	Weapons	5	Missile	Delivery note no.3 (hand missile launcher)	RPG-7	112
2	Ammunition	4	Antiaircraft	Delivery note no.3	23 mm	14280
2	Ammunition	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.3 (TNT explosive)	Kilogram	49397
2	Ammunition	2	Artillery	Delivery note no.3	MINE 82 mm	100
2	Ammunition	2	Artillery	Delivery note no.3	MINE 60 mm	96
1	Weapons	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3 (automatic rifle „AK-47“)	7,62*39 mm	160
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3	7,62 mm	40600
1	Weapons	8	Mines and explosive materials	Delivery note no.3 (hand grenade)	M-91	2990
1	Weapons	4	Antiaircraft	Delivery note no.3 (ANTI-AIRCRAFT machine gun, 2-barrel)	14,5 mm	2
1	Weapons	4	Antiaircraft	Delivery note no.3 (ANTI-AIRCRAFT machine gun, 4-barrel)	14,5 mm	1
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3	7,9 mm	49400
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3	7,62 mm	9800
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3	7,62 mm	49000
2	Ammunition	1	Infantry	Delivery note no.3	7,9,mm	49400

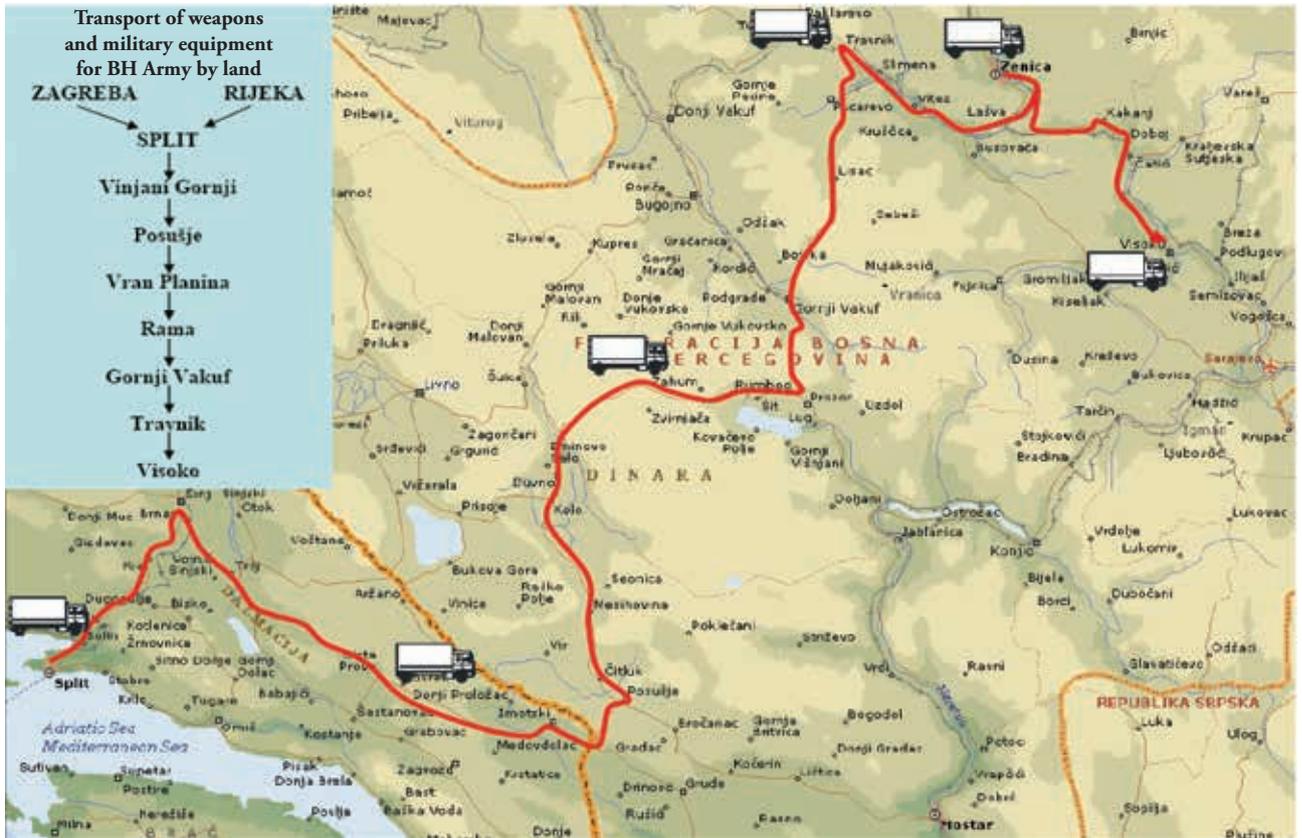
Transport of weapons and military equipment for BH Army by aircrafts

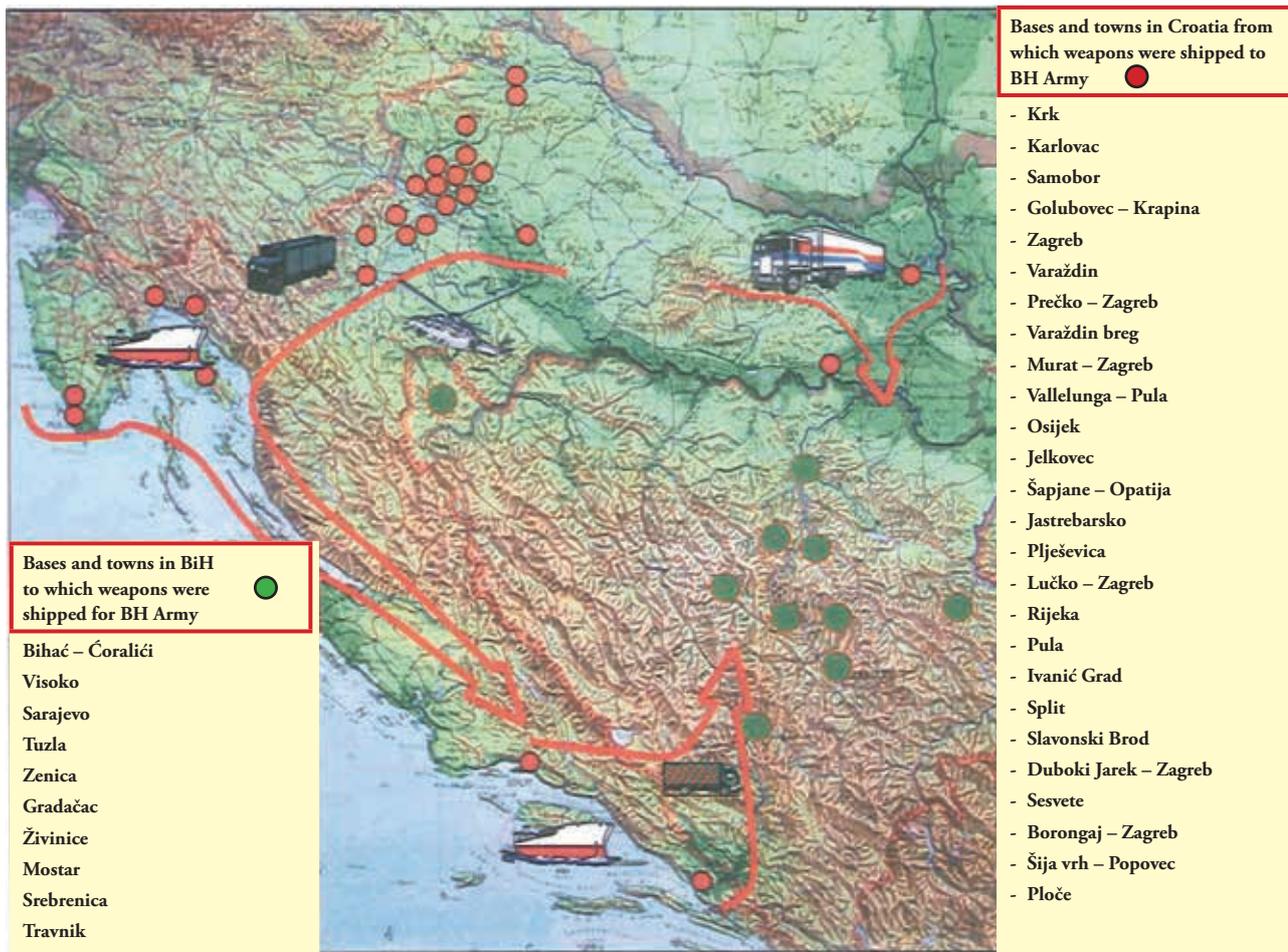


Transport of weapons and military equipment for BH Army by helicopters



Transport of weapons and military equipment for BH Army by land from Split





BULLET, 12.7 mm	100000	60000	25000	15000
BULLET, 14.5 mm	50000	30000	12500	7500
BULLET, 82 mm BST	500	300	125	75
MISSILE, 107 mm	3000	1800	750	450
MISSILE, RPG-7	990	600	250	140

EQUIPMENT THAT WAS TRANSPORTED FOR THE PURPOSES OF BH ARMY

/1. KRAJIŠKA BRIGADE AND HVO JAJCE / ARE LOCATED IN WAREHOUSES DRINOVCI AND GABELA SLoB/central logistic base/ GRUDE. CLASS 003-05/92-01/252, REFERENCE NUMBER 512-07-06/92-01/252, ORDER OF THE CROATIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE, FROM 29th OCTOBER 1992.

1. BULLET 7,62 x 54 30000 pcs.
2. BULLET 12,7mm DŠK 30000 pcs.
3. BULLET 14,5mm 20000 pcs.
4. MISSILE 107 mm 800 pcs.
5. MISSILE RPG-7 30000 pcs.
6. LASER RANGEFINDERS 2 pcs.
7. L R L - 107 mm 4 pcs.
8. MACHINE GUN, 14,5mm ANTI-AIRCRAFT .. 3 pcs.

ASSISTANT COMMANDER

FOR LOGISTICS

/Stamp: CROATIAN DEFENCE COUNCIL
-General Stuff-/

/ signed /
Ante Jelavić

/coat of arms/
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
41 000 ZAGREB, Opatička 1

Zagreb, 16 December 1992
Class: 003-05/92-01/252
Delivery number: 512-07-06/92-01/252

Administration for technical issues and traffic

ORDER

For issuing material for the needs of the BH Army Armed forces – logistics centre
Visoko:

1. Round 7.62 x 39	2.250.000 /handwritten – 1080.280/
2. Mine 120 mm	1.900 /handwritten + 116/

Persons in charge to take over the material are gentlemen Emir Bešliagić, Tarik Šabić and Šeta Šuajb.

Assistant Minister of RH Defence
Lieutenant General
Ivan Čermak
/signed and stamped/

/coat of arms/
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
41 000 ZAGREB, Opatička 1
Administration for technical issues and traffic

Class: 803-05/92-01/989
Delivery number: 512-07/92-678
Zagreb, 16 December 1992

Command of SLoB MORH

Extract
From the MS allocation for special purposes

Ordinary number	Code	Material name	Measure unit	Approved	Issued	Remark
1	63	Round 7.62 mm, plain round for AP and PM without frame	Piece	1169720.00	1.169.720	6/SPC
2	107	Mine 120 mm for MB, instantaneous, <i>fugas</i> heavy	Piece	2016 /circled/	2.01 E	5/PN

Concluded with ordinary number 2 (two)

Remark: on 16th of December 1992, the material shall be taken over by gentlemen Emir Bešliagić, Tarik Šabić or Šeta Šujab. The documentation should be sent to the storage by fax.

Supply coordinator
Mladen Beović
/signed and stamped/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



/handwritten: attn. Mr. Rojs

MAIN STAFF

LOGISTICS SECTOR - SLoB /Central Logistics Base/

Number: /handwritten: 06-01-723/93/

Date: 1 March 1993

Overview of MS material equipment sent
to the CENTRAL BOSNIA OZ /Operations
Zone/ and seized by the BH Army

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA /RH/
Minister Gojko ŠUŠAK, attn.

I FINANCES:

1. Cash advance of 75,726,260 HRD /Croatian dinars/
2. Advance fuel coupons, 7,000,000 HRD

II MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:

a) Weapons and ammunition

1. AK-47 automatic rifles	67
2. <i>Gorenje</i> automatic rifles and silencers	55
3. Hunting carbines	10
4. M-72 light machine guns	2
5. M-57 light machine guns	1
6. M-76 military sniper rifles	1
7. /illegible/ Heckler & Koch	1
8. RPG /antitank grenade launchers/ - 7	1
9. 9.3 mm bullets (Makarov)	19,190
10. 22 mm /?calibre/ bullets	25,000
11. Remington bullets	2,000
12. 7.62 x 39 bullets	157,200
13. 7.62 x 51 bullets	550
14. 7.62 x 54 bullets	26,120
15. 12.7 mm DŠK /heavy machine-gun/ bullets	20,100
16. RPG-7 rounds	99
17. RB-100 /hand-held launcher/ rounds	584
18. TTM /impact rifle grenades/	50
19. 64 mm <i>zoljas</i>	6
20. 120 mm MB /mortar/ shells	100
21. 122 mm D-30 shells	200
22. 122 mm VBR /multiple rocket launcher/ rockets	100

b) FUEL, OIL, LUBRICANTS, BATTERIES AND TYRES

1. Super 3 oil	1056	1
2. Super 5 oil	402	1
3. UK-2 oil	60	1
4. ATF-3 oil	60	1
5. <i>Hidraol</i> oil	240	1
6. HIP-90 oil	200	1
7. AL anti-freeze	536	1
8. List-2 grease	90	1

9. Batteries, various amperages	38
10. ASOL oil	420 1
11. Oil additives	70 1
12. Car tyres	11

c) COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT

1. Motorola DC-35 radios	15
2. Motorola chargers	10

III QUARTERMASTERS SUPPLIES

a) QUARTERMASTERS EQUIPMENT

1. Camouflage jackets	1500
2. Camouflage trousers	1200
3. Camouflage shirts	1200
4. Camouflage vests	900
5. Camouflage caps	1100
6. Long underwear (set)	1500
7. Socks	2100
8. Kit bag	750
9. M-77 windbreaker	850
10. Raincoats	450
11. Belts	900
12. Waist belts	530
13. Gloves	300
14. Sweaters	1100
15. Canisters	50
16. Mattresses	50
17. Sleeping bags	320
18. Mess cans	550
19. Cutlery	50
20. Mats	820
21. Flak jackets	7
22. White belts	40
23. Cuffs	300
24. VP /Military Police/ car stickers	50

b) FOOD

1. Cheese	1200	kg
2. Sugar	2050	kg
3. <i>Pik Vrbovec</i> paste	1600	kg
4. <i>Pik Vrbovec</i> Cold cuts	6600	kg
5. Powdered milk	300	kg
6. Beans	3000	kg
7. Soap	840	kg
8. Tinned fish	4600	kg
9. Potatoes	5200	kg
10. Cigarettes	1370	kg

ASSISTANT CHIEF FOR LOGISTICS,
HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ MAIN STAFF
Ante JELAVIĆ
/signed and stamped/

CLASS: 803-85/93-03/06
 NUMBER: 512-21-02-93-/handwritten: 317/
 Zagreb, /handwritten: 5 March/ 1993

EXTRACT
 DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL EQUIPMENT FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES

No	Equipment	Unit	Requested	Approved	Issued -Received	Note
	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	7.62 x 39 mm bullets, regular	pcs		100,000	100,800	240/D.J. ¹
2	152 mm bullets, TFG ² , M43, p/p ³	pcs		1,000	1,000	130/VB ⁴
3	Nitrocellulose	kg		11,500	11,500	24/93/Pop ⁵
4	Acetone	kg		5,000	5,040	..
Up to and including number 4 (four).						
1. For the loading of equipment under item 1, the vehicle will report at D.J., item 2 at Prečec and items 3 and 4 at Popovec. 2. The equipment will be handed over to /?Šuajb/ ŠETA, Emir BEŠLAGIĆ or Galib MULIĆ. 3. For drivers and vehicles see the attachment.						
Up to and including number <u>4</u> (<u>four</u>)						
REMARK: The equipment will be collected on <u>6 March 1993</u>						

Supplies Co-ordinator
 Mladen BEOVIĆ
 /signed and stamped/

¹ D.J. /expansion unknown/
² TFG /contact-fuse shells/
³ p/p /expansion unknown/
⁴ VB /expansion unknown/
⁵ /?POP/ /?Popovec/



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
41000 Zagreb

CLASS: 803-05/93-03/06
NUMBER: 512-21-02-93-317/1

Zagreb, 6 March 1993

INSTRUCTION

to issue material equipment for Grude CPoB /Logistics Base/:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | 7.62 x 39 mm bullets, ordinary | 100,000 |
| 2. | 152 mm bullets, ordinary | 1,000 |
- Up to and including number 2 (two).

The equipment will be collected by Mr Šuajb ŠETA from Sarajevo.
The /?vehicles/ will be collected by the following vehicles:

1. Truck, registration ZE 113-758/82-72 ZE
Driver: Enver FEJZIĆ, ID number 9850/89, Zenica.
2. Truck, ZE 873-15/85-31 ZE
Driver: Emin DŽINIĆ, ID number 698/83, Žepče.
3. Truck, registration ZE 847-05/20-98 ZE
Driver: Munib ALISPAHIĆ, ID number 167/91, Busovača.
4. Truck, ZE 846-02/85-32 ZE
Driver: Stipo BLAŽEVIĆ, ID number 803/89, Busovača.
5. Truck, registration MD 413-60
Driver: Bedrudin OMERAGIĆ, ID number 1689/91, Gradačac.
6. Truck, DAH 571E/DAH 569E
Driver: Sulejman KALAJDŽIĆ, ID number 3539/87, Sarajevo.

Emir BEŠLAGIĆ from Visoko and Galib MULIĆ from Gradačac (ID number 600/91) are responsible for escorting the convoy.

MB/MB

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
OF CROATIA /RH/
CONFIDENTIAL
COPY _____



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE /MORH/
CROATIAN ARMY /HV/ MAIN STAFF
COMBAT ARMS ADMINISTRATION

CLASS: 213-01/93-02/04
NUMBER: 512-06-04-93-87

Zagreb, 5 March 1993

Subject: Order to issue MTS /material
and technical equipment/

**To: Maintenance and Transport
Administration, MORH**

Immediately issue the following MTS for the Grude Logistics Base:

- 7.62 x 39 mm bullets, ordinary	100,000
- 152 mm rounds, TFG /contact-fuse shell/ and p/p /expansion unknown/ for M43 gun	2,012

BI/ČG

Done in 2 (two) copies

Sent to:

- Addressee
- Archives

Chief
Major General
Ivan BASARAC
/signed and stamped/

/handwritten:

5 March 1993, 1710 hours

Verbal order by Mrs ŠIPRAK and Mr PRIBIĆ that 1,000 be issued. Items?
/initialled//

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BH ARMY
ZAGREB LOGISTICS CENTRE
Zagreb, 6 March 1993

THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
Colonel Vladimir ZAGORAC, attn.

Dear Sir,

We are sending you the list of trucks and drivers who will collect the following material and technical equipment /MTS/:

1. 100,000 bullets, 7.62 x 39 mm
2. 1,000 x 152 mm shells (howitzer)

Metković border crossing.

Materiel and technical equipment under item number one will be delivered to Pazarić and under item number two to meet the needs of the 1st and 2nd BH Army Corps and the 106th and 107th HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ units.

Mr Šuajb ŠETA from Sarajevo will be in charge of collecting the MTS, and Mr Emir BEŠLAGIĆ from Visoko and Mr Galib MULIĆ, ID number 600/91, from Gradačac for escorting the convoy.

List of trucks:

1. Driver: Enver FEJZIĆ, ID number 9850/89, Zenica
Vehicle: Truck, registration ZE 113-758/82-72 ZE.
2. Driver: Emin DŽINIĆ, ID number 698/83, Žepče
Vehicle: truck, ZE 873-15/85-31 ZE.
3. Driver: Munib ALISPAHIĆ, ID number 167/91, Busovača
Vehicle: Truck, registration ZE 847-05/20-98 ZE.
4. Driver: Stipo BLAŽEVIĆ, ID number 803/89, Busovača
Vehicle: Truck, ZE 846-02/85-32 ZE.
5. Driver: Bedrudin OMERAGIĆ, ID number 1689/91, Gradačac
Vehicle: Truck, registration MD 413-60.
6. /handwritten: Driver: Sulejman KALAJDŽIĆ, ID number 3539/87, Sarajevo
Vehicle: Mercedes truck, registration DAH 571E, trailer registration DAH 569E.

Thank you for your assistance,
Regards,

BH ARMY
ZAGREB LOGISTICS CENTRE
Co-ordinator
Azim KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ

/coat of arms/
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
41 000 ZAGREB
Administration for technical issues and traffic

Class: 803-05/93-03/06
Delivery number: 512-21-02-93-329/1
Zagreb, 8 March 1993

Command of SLoB MORH

Extract
From the MS allocation for CPoB Grude

Ordinary number	Code	Material name	Measure unit	Approved	Issued	Remark
1	1206	Round 152 MK mm, for M-43, TFG, p/p	Piece	1000.00	995	630 128/illegible

Concluded with ordinary number 1 (one)

365 133/V

Remark: on 8 March 1993, the material shall be taken over Mr Šeta Šujab. The documentation should be sent to the storage by fax.

Administration for technical issues and traffic

/handwritten: UZ /signed for//

Chief
Mladen Vragotuk
/signed and stamped/

Fax marks /illegible/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BH ARMY
LOGISTICS CENTRE ZAGREB
8 March 1993

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Respected,

We kindly ask you to approve the transport of material-technical resources to the following vehicles and for the needs of BH Army, logistics centre Visoko:

1. Vehicle: BOT 305C/BOT 302c, eighteen-wheeler Mercedes
Driver: Fejzić Kasim, number OK 335/90 Fojnica
2. Vehicle: DAH 571E/ DAH 569E eighteen-wheeler Mercedes
Driver: Javorat' Alija, number OK 2264/89 Visoko
3. Vehicle: Mercedes DAH 575E/DAH576E eighteen-wheeler
Driver: Nadarević Faruk, number OK 7560/91 Prijedor
4. Vehicle: Mercedes DAH 584E/DAH 570E eighteen-wheeler
Driver: Bajtarević Samir, number OK1194/85 Visoko

The transport relation is ZAGREB-METKOVIĆ-VISOKO.

The persons in charge to take over the MTS are Mr. Šeta Šuajb from Sarajevo, whereby in charge for the convoy escort gentlemen Lokvančić Samir from Ilidža and Šabić Tarik from Gračanica.

Logistics centre Zagreb
Coordinator
Azim Karamehmedović, B.S.E.Engr.
/signed/

/coat of arms/
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
41 000 ZAGREB

Class: 803-05/93-03/06
Delivery number: 512-21-02-93-329
Zagreb, 8 March 1993

ORDER

For issuing the material-technical resources for the needs of CPoB Grude:

1. Round 152 mm, plain round 1.000 pieces

Concluded with ordinary number 1

On 8 March 1993 the resources shall be taken over by Mr Šeta Šuajb. The vehicles are taken over by the following vehicles /as written/:

1. Truck, registration number BOT 305C/BOT 302C
Driver: Fejzić Kasim, OI no 335/90, Fojnica
2. Truck, DAH 571E/DAH 569E
Driver: Javoraš Alija, OI no 2264/89, Visoko
3. Truck, registration number DAH575E/DAH 576E
Driver: Nadarević Faruk, OI no 7560/91, Prijedor
4. Truck, registration number DAH 584E/DAH 570E
Driver: Bajtarević Samir, OI no 1194/85, Visoko

The transport relation is Zagreb-Matković-Grude
Border crossing: Metković
Date of transport departure from Zagreb: 8 March 1993

Gentlemen Lokvančić Samir from Ilidža and Šabić Tarik from Gračanica are in charge for the convoy escort.

MB/MB

In accordance with the above cited:
Colonel
Vladimir Zagorec
/signed/

Administration for technical issues and traffic
Chief
Mladen Vragotuk, B.S.E. Engr.
/signed/



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
ZAGREB

TECHNICAL TRAFFIC ADMINISTRATION

CLASS: 803-05/93-03/06
NUMBER: 512-21-02-93-473
ZAGREB, 30 March 1993

COMMAND OF THE CENTRAL LOGISTICS
BASE /SLOB/ OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA /MORH/

EXTRACT

DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIEL EQUIPMENT /MS/ FOR
GRUDE CENTRAL LOGISTICS BASE /CPOB/

No	Code	Equipment	Unit	Approved	Issued	Remark
1	63	Ordinary 7.62 mm AP ¹ and PM ² bullets, no clips	pcs	3,019,600.00	3,019,600	763/SPC ³
2	742	Automatic 7.62 mm rifle with folding butt	pcs	3,000.00	3,000	" "
3	583	RPG-7 hand-held launchers	pcs	30.00	30	" "
4	584	Shape charge shells for RPG-7	pcs	240.00	240	288/D.J. ⁴
5	966	9K14 M-K <i>Maljutka</i> rockets	pcs	50.00	50	" "
6	974	TNT	kg	30,625.00	0	" "

Up to and including number 6 (six).

Note: The equipment will be collected on 30 March 1993 by Mr Šuajb ŠETA who will report to the SLoB MORH Command at the Borongaj barracks for the necessary documentation.

CHIEF
MAINTENANCE AND
TRANSPORT ADMINISTRATION
Mladen VRAGOTUK
/signed and stamped/

¹ AP /automatic rifle/

² PM /light machine-gun/

³ SPC /expansion unknown/

⁴ D.J. /expansion unknown/



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
ZAGREB

Zagreb, 31 March 1993

MILITARY POLICE ADMINISTRATION
Fax number: 467 - 269

NOTE

We hereby inform you that a convoy (of eight vehicles) will leave Jankomir (cargo terminal) for Metković and that a Military Police escort needs to be provided.

The convoy leaves Jankomir on 31 March 1993 at 1930 hours.

A police escort needs to be provided for the convoy.

The escort must report to Convoy Leader Samir LOKVANČIĆ or Mr Šuajb ŠETA at Jankomir by 1915 hours on 31 March 1993.

For any further information please call 67376.

ASSISTANT MINISTER OF DEFENCE

Colonel General

Ivan ČERMAK

/signed and stamped/

/header/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CROATIAN COMMUNITY HERCEG BOSNA
CROATIAN DEFENCE COUNCIL /further in text HVO/

MAIN STAFF /further in text GS/

LOGISTICS SECTOR – SLOB

Number: /handwritten/ 06-01-1411/93

Date: 7 April 1993

Permit to pass freely (undisturbed)

GS HVO has approved a free pass to MTS as follows:

- Bullet 7,62x39	963.800 pieces
- Bullet 12,7mm DŠK	6.500 pieces
- Rocket RPG -7	1.048 pieces
- Automatic gun –AK-47	305 pieces
- Launcher RPG -7	27 pieces
- Rocket MALJUTKA	7 pieces
- PRM-1	500 pieces

The materials are transported in relation Grude – Srebrenica, by the trucks with the registration plates as follows:

- VI – 10-31/11-47	driver Mahura Salem
- VI – 63-91	driver Ćurt Fahrudin
- MD – 419-23	driver Sejdić Nusret

The convoy escort is Mr. Bešliagić Emir and Mr. Baćević Evledin

We are asking for undisturbed and free pass.

Head assistant of the Main Staff HVO for Logistics
Colonel Ante Jelavić
/signed and stamped/

Strictly Confidential Number: 07/1600/93
Zagreb, 18 February 1993

TO: SUPREME COMMAND CHIEF OF STAFF
SARAJEVO

1. Two medium-sized Mi-8T transport helicopters were purchased for the needs of the BH Army. The helicopters were received in accordance with regular procedures and on 17 February 1993 our crews flew them to Visoko Airport where they were received by the Tuzla Air-Force Group and subsequently transferred to Tuzla Airport.

Since Tuzla Airport meets all material and personnel criteria required for regular operation I propose that the helicopters be stationed at Tuzla Airport.

Limited amounts of fuel and lubricants dictate that helicopters be used economically. It has therefore been regulated that their use can only be authorised by the Supreme Command Staff.

2. The purchase of two more Mi-8T helicopters is under way and should be completed by the end of this month. Owing to considerable obstructions and hindrances encountered in the process due to well-known reasons, exact delivery dates cannot be guaranteed with any degree of certainty.

I propose that, initially, these two helicopters also be stationed at Tuzla Airport.

3. The purchased AB-206 helicopter is undergoing repairs and should be ready soon. It will then be sent to you. The crew have completed training and are waiting for the flight.

4. Airlifts to the Bihać Krajina have been disrupted since 30 December 1992. We are doing everything in our power to reactivate them but are failing due to political reasons. Taking into consideration the information and reasons we have been given, I cannot tell you with certainty when this will be resolved.

The crews are undergoing a training programme to increase their level of flying competence and the results are very good.

5. I will remain at this location until the above has been carried out, after which I should immediately leave for Tuzla in order to organise the activities there.

COPY:

1. Files
2. Chief of ŠVK

CHIEF OF RV AND PVO ADMINISTRATION

Salko BEGIĆ

/signed/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Zagreb, Savska cesta 41/XI,
Phone: 041/537-161, 537-160, fax: 536-702
MILITARY DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

TO PROCUREMENT SERVICE

Zagreb,

Our no.: 05-215/93

Your no.:

Subject: Request for procurement of combat materials for purposes of 5th Corps

In order to maintain positions and create conditions for the extension of offensive actions, it is necessary to immediately and urgently obtain and deliver the following items to the 5th Corps:

Nitro-glycerine powder NGP 0,51	1000 kg
NGP 0,21	1000 kg
NGP161	500 kg
NGP 261	5000 kg
Black powder of fine granulation up to 0.5	300 kg
Trinitrotoluene	5000 kg
Mortar 120 mm	20 pcs
Mines for mortar 120 mm	800 pcs
Mine igniters for mortar 120 mm	1000 pcs
Missiles LRC 107 mm	300 pcs
Bullet for 100mm tank gun, tank T-55 current	100 pcs
- //- armoured	100 pcs
- // - cumulative	100 pcs

Preferably large quantities of bullets for AP/PAP 7.62 mm and 7.9 mm for Mortar

When procuring, take into consideration listed sequence of demands indicating the urgency for procurement of gunpowder and mortar 120 mm.

Assistant military attaché for 5. Corps

/stamp: illegible/brigadier

Hajrudin Osmanagić

/signed/

NO. 4/92

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
ARBiH
4th Corps Command
Number: 01-1398/93
Mostar February 26th 1993

Defence of the Republic
Military secret
Confidential
U R G E N T!

Delivers information
Response to the request.-

To the Headquarters of Military Command Operational Sector Republic of
BiH
To: Sefer Halilović

Regarding your act nr. 14/75-14 from the February 25th 1993 we inform you on following:

1. Commander of the First Mostar Brigade did not introduce me to the information which he received from you. On my request for the mentioned information he replied that he received it from you and that it's for him only.
2. On the day of February 27th 1993 ARBiH 4th Corps Main Coordinator for the logistical security on the relation ARBiH 4th Corps and SDA Center at Zagreb (Hasan Čengić) delivered the documentation and he doesn't want to coordinate any longer because of the parallel distribution of the money by the VK headquarters.
Mr Oručević Safet successfully performed major jobs for us until now regarding the entrance of the goods with HVO.
3. Please, you did not answer me in writing regarding my conversation to you about the behavior of the 1st Mostar Brigade Commander.
4. Regarding your act 02/16-104 from February 24th 1993 I inform you that the President of the regional committee for Herzegovina Mr. Zijo Demirović publicly stated that the military leaders are engaged in politics and that applies to the 1st Mostar Brigade Commander who is publicly saying that he received a power from Sarajevo (ARBiH Headquarters and Government) for

the organization of the administration and the economy at the Mostar territory.

I am of the opinion that you should clear up the situation and inform us in writing what is behind the Mr. Hujdur Midhat's visit as a 1st Mostar Brigade Commander which he performed at the ARBiH Headquarters and BiH Government.

Commanders of the 7th Brigade "Suad Alić", Brigade "Neretvica" and Brigade "Neretva" are already expressing disapproval regarding the presentation of medal "Zlatni Ljiljan*" and awarding the money to the 1st Mostar Brigade.

Commander
Mr Arif Pasalić
/Signed/

/Round seal/

* Zlatni Ljiljan – Golden Lily / most prominent military medal for the accomplishments at the defence of BiH.

Date, 22nd March 1993

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

ŠVK R BiH Armed Forces – Sarajevo

To the attention of

Chief of ŠVK R BiH Armed Forces Sefer Halilović

I am sending a proposal for unloading of MTS which will depart from Zagreb tomorrow (maybe). Total quantity of MTS is reduced for 25%, portion which should be taken by Croatia or in Grude.

Upon arrival, the resources for Tuzla would be partially returned to Visoko for distribution among 3rd Corps and other formations.

This would be done in cooperation with Hazim and resources in Pazarić would be distributed among 1st and 8th Corps (based on the agreement).

Type of MTS (Materials and equipment)	TOTAL	PAZARIĆ	2 ND CORPS TUZLA
RPG – 7	75	25	50
Mine for RPG – 7	7500	2000	5500
Laser distance finder	38	10	28
Launcher for S-2M	9	3	6
Rocket S-2M	50	15	35
Launcher TF-8	8	3	5
Device for control of launcher	3	1	2
Rocket TF-8	190	50	140
Round 7,63 x 39	750.000	250.000	500.000
Automatic rifle	75	75	
Round 12,7 DSSK	30.000	10.000	20.000
Mine PMA-1	1500	300	1200

Possible purchase 4.000.000 round 7,62 x 39 * 25% = distribution 1.000.000 Pazarić + 2.000.000 Tuzla.

RD/HA/HH

Commandant

Rasim Delić

/round seal of Croatian State Archive/

Requisition slip number 288

Date: 30 March 1993

Goods delivered : 0000 SPECIAL PURPOSES
From the warehouse : 20 VP /Military Post/ 1085/14 Zagreb - Duboki Jarak, Zagreb

No.	Code	GOODS	Unit	Authorised	Issued
1	/?381/	Shaped charge shells for RPG-7 launcher	pes	240.0	240 ✓
2	966	9K14 M-K <i>Maljutka</i> rockets	pes	50.0	50 ✓

Order - Authorisation : 512 - 21 - 02 - 93 - 473

Date : 30 March 1993

NOTE: The equipment will be collected by Mr Štujb ŠETA.

The equipment is meant for the Grude CPoB /Central Logistics Base/
/stamped/

GOODS RECEIVED BY:
S/illegible/r LOKVANČIĆ
7310/89 Iliđža
/signed/

ISSUED BY:
Mirsad MALAGIĆ
/signed/

CHECKED BY:

/a signature/

RECORDED BY:

/a signature/

/stamp: The Republic of Croatia, /?Ministry of Defence/ /illegible/
/initialled/

Republic of BiH
ARBiH
Center for Logistics Zagreb
Zagreb March 15th 1993

Republic of Croatian
Ministry of Defence
Zagreb

Respected,

Please meet our wishes and issue us a necessary documentation for the transport of the equipment on the Zagreb-Metković relation, for the needs of ARBiH – Center for Logistics Visoko, for the following vehicles:

1. Driver: SELIMIĆ SMAJO, number OK 1108/90 STOLAC
Vehicle: BOT 525C/DAH 664E
Transports: 4520 pairs of boots
2. Driver: HAJDAROVIĆ ASIM, number OK 509/81 STOLAC
Vehicle: DAH 662 E/DAH 660E
Transports: 4820 pieces of fur lined camo coats
3. Driver: OMANOVIĆ MURAT, number OK 17/88 STOLAC
Transports: 400 pieces of camo pants, 4960 pieces of fur lined camo coats.
4. Driver: PALISLAMOVIĆ ALIJA, number OK 1430/82 VISOKO
Vehicle: VI 271 10/10 67 VI
Transports: 7000 pieces of camo pants, 2500 pairs of boots, 500kg of anesthetics, personal computer 1 piece.

Convoy leader is Mr. HUSIKA EJUB, number OK 12944/80 ZENICA.
In hope that you will meet our wishes, kind regards,

ARBiH
Center for Logistics Zagreb
Coordinator
AZIM KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ, dipl ing
“Signed”

SUPREME COMMAND OF BH ARMED FORCES

Attn. Chief of Staff

Sefer Halilović

In attachment of the document I am submitting the proposal of the possible distribution of TMS which are arriving to Pazarić and Tuzla.

Command of the 2nd Corps would, in return transport, return the TM Sand reserve which would remain in Visoko to 3rd Corps OG7 South.

Automatic rifles that remain in Section LoB of 1st Corps should be left for arming of Supreme command chieftains and the 1st Corps during the exiting and visit of units and return them if the aforementioned persons should be returning to Sarajevo

PROPOSAL OF DISTRIBUTION
TMS
WHICH ARE RECEIVED IN PAZARIĆ AND TUZLA

TMS TYPE	TOTAL	PAZARIĆ		2.CORPS (TUZLA)			SOUTH Doboj	RESERVE
		1.CORPS	4.CORPS	2.CORPS	3.CORPS	OG-7 OKŠO		
Ppg-7 launcher	75	17	8	20	15		5	10
Projectile for RPG-7	7500	1500	500	2500	1500		300	1200
Laser rangefinder	38	7	3	12	8		5	3
Launcher for S-2-M	9	2	1	3	2		1	-
Missile S-2-M	50	10	5	18	12		5	-
Launcher TF-8	8	3	-	2	1		1	1
Device for testing launchers	3	1	-	1	1		-	-
Missile TF-8	190	40	10	60	30		10	40
Bullet 7,62x39	750000	200000	50000	300000	150000		50000	-
Automatic rifle	75	75	-	-	-		-	-
Bullet 12,7 DŠK	30000	10000	-	20000	-		-	-
Mortar Mine -1	1500	200	100	700	400		100	-

NOTE: Automatic rifles which are received by the Section LoB 1.Corps in Pazarić should not be distributed without the order of the Chief of Supreme Command. Those are intended for the chieftains and escort of Supreme Command who are leaving Sarajevo.

COMMANDER

Rasim Delić

/handwritten text: illegible/

/stamp: Croatian State Archive/

/coat of arms/
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR
SERVICE FOR PROTECTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER

VERY SECRET

Class; 511-20-01300-99/
Operational number; 45-917/1
Zagreb, 10th of May 1999

OFFICE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
CROATIAN REPORT SERVICE
Principal of HIS, Mr. Tomislav Družak

Subject: Assistance of SZUP MUP of RH in formation of communication systems of OS BiH during 1992

In the early 1992, a logistics centre has been formed in Zagreb, under surveillance of Service, a centre that had a task to equip and train the Armed Forces of BiH, precisely the HVO and TO units (origin of BH Army creation), to use radio-communication systems and form a flexible communication network. It has been decided that, save the equipping the OS at tactical level (VHF and UHF stations, repetition infrastructure) to approach the creation of strategic short-wave digital network with crypto protection as supplement to destroyed and continuously attacked phone communication infrastructure.

The financing and supply of radio-communication equipment has been led by Muradif and Šaban Pajt, since 1997, the citizens of USA, over the company MIS, with its seat in Vaduz, Liechtenstein. The task of logistics centre was to combine, program and synchronize the components of radio-communication system that, after a short storage, were urgently directed to end destinations in BiH.

During 1992 and 1993, in several occasions, the equipment was systematically and well organized shipped to most jeopardized areas and major cities, whereby it was picked up in Zagreb by authorized persons of HVO and TO of BiH. Such as, in period from 20th May till 5th July 1992, the following persons were picking up the equipment; Muminović Alija, Šadić Miralem, Mitrečić-Palić Silvija, Hajdarević Zlatko, Vuković Ivica, Polak Tomislav, Ramić Ibrahim, Venlc Tomislav, Porobić Narcis, Kunalić Mirsad, Sejmen Sead, Jaganjac Amir, etc.

Places, where to equipment was sent to, were; Banovići, Bihać, Bosanska Krupa, Brčko, Čelić, Derventa, Doboj, Drežnica, Foča, Gornji Vakuf, Gradačac, Gračanica, Jablanica, Kakanj, Kalesija, Kladanj, Konjic, Kotorsko, Livno, Lukavac, Maglaj, Modriča,, Mostar, Odžak, Orašje, Sarajevo, Srebrenik, Stjepan Polje, Teslić, tešanj, Tuzla, Visoko, Vitez, Zenica I Živinice.

Further list of radio-communication and informatics (referring to equipment) that was sent to BIH only in one circle of supplying, from 19th of June till 5th of July 1992, is enclosed. Save the above cited radio-communication equipment, over the logistics centre, the satellite phones JRC were sent to BIH, whose prepaid and functioning was agreed over British Telecom, used by persons from the highest peak of state of BIH.

During the fist war years in BIH, the system outgrew the initial role of military-logistics communication; therefore it also covered economic and humanitarian segments.

Eventually, the aim of equipping and training of OS BIH at that moment was to reinforce fight against the great-Serbian aggression, give it one new logistics and technical component, informatively and in terms of command connect HVO and TO BIH, and, eventually, ease the tough position of Croatia at the beginning of the war for the Homeland.

After the beginning of conflict between HVO and BH Army, the HVO terminated to use the system, while BH Army kept utilising it along with other crypto protective algorithms and keys.

Sincerely,

Enclosure;

1. Copies of lists of radio-communication and information equipment 53 pages

Principal of SZUP
Brzović Ivan
/signed and stamped/

Delivered to:

-HIS
-Files

Device	Pieces	S.N. /Serial number/	Place
Batteries CM-87	12		Bihać
Battery clamps - pair	2		Bihać
Antenna AH-7000	1		Bihać
Antenna KV broadband	1		Bihać
Antenna MB-1300 DC	1		Bihać
Vertical antenna VHF	2		Bihać
Hyundai computer 286/12	1	10420457	Bihać
Icom BM-71E	10		Bihać
Icom H-10	1	11862	Bihać
Icom H-10	1	11867	Bihać
Icom H-10	1	11930	Bihać

20th June 1992

Mostar

Device	Pieces	S.N./Serial number/	Place
BNC connectors	10		Mostar
Duplexer	1		Mostar
HYUNDAI 286/12	1	10520009	Mostar
ICOM BM71 speed charger	20		Mostar
ICOM CM87 battery	12		Mostar
ICOM EX704 programmer	1		Mostar
Icom H10	1	7011671	Mostar
Icom H10	1	7011672	Mostar
Icom H10	1	7011673	Mostar
Icom H10	1	7011674	Mostar
Icom H10	1	7011675	Mostar

20th June 1992

Sarajevo

Device	Pieces	Serial number	Place
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	3575	Sarajevo
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	3578	Sarajevo
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	3579	Sarajevo
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	3580	Sarajevo
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	3602	Sarajevo
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	3603	Sarajevo

20th June 1992

Zenica

Device	Pieces	Serial number	Place
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	6543	Zenica
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	6550	Zenica
Antenna AH-7000	2		Zenica
Vertical antenna VHF	8		Zenica
Electronic push button	1		Zenica
Hyundai computer 286/12	1		Zenica
Icom H-10	1	11811	Zenica
Icom H-10	1	11812	Zenica
Icom H-10	1	11813	Zenica

20th June 1992

Visoko

Device	Pieces	Serial number	Place
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	6796	Visoko
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	6797	Visoko
Alinco DJ-F1E	1	6799	Visoko
Canon FX270 fax	1		Visoko
Crypto Phone 7000 Telsy	1		Visoko
Duplexer for RP-1510	1		Visoko
HF modem	1	4N2NO	Visoko
Hyundai computer 286/12	1		Visoko
Icom AH-7000 antenna	3		Visoko
Icom BM71E speed charger	40		Visoko
Icom CM87	24		Visoko
Icom EX704 programmer	1		Visoko

LIST

The MTS /Material and Technical Equipment/ in the depots of the Lučko Air Base which belongs to the BH Army – 5th Corps, and is controlled by the Bihać District Office based in Zagreb. The list was drawn up on 13 and 14 January 1993. The situation in our depots is as follows:

1. 120 mm mortar shell.....	748
2. 82 mm mortar shell.....	10
3. 60 mm mortar shell.....	466
4. 120 mm shell fuse.....	500
5. 100 mm tank shell.....	50
6. 82 mm mortar.....	3
7. M 57 hand-held launcher + a scope.....	2
8. /word missing/ (out of order).....	2
9. 7.9 mm light machine-gun with two spare barrels.....	5
10. 20 mm A-1 PAT /anti-aircraft gun/ with a drum magazine and a scope..	1
11. 14.5 mm PAT with a spare barrel and scope.....	5
12. 20 mm PAT round.....	300
13. 107 mm rocket.....	43
14. Anti-tank high-explosive armour-piercing mine.....	304
15. M 70 shell, 76 mm for ZIS /field gun/.....	3
16. M 57 RB /hand-held launcher/ shaped-charge shell with charges.....	11
17. RPG /rocket launcher/.....	1,035
18. TNT plastic explosive.....	2,000 kg
19. Plastic explosive.....	30 kg
20. Binoculars with a 50 x 65 tripod.....	1
21. Thompson rifle.....	1
22. Max 1 rifle.....	2
23. Max 2 rifle.....	1
24. H&C 7.62 x 51 mm rifle.....	2
25. M76 7.9 mm sniper rifle with a scope.....	1
26. 7.62 mm PAP /semi-automatic rifle/.....	4
27. 7.62 mm AP /automatic rifle/.....	10
/word missing/.....	15
/?rocket container/ for Osa /M79 hand-held rocket launcher/.....	10
14.5 mm round.....	5,174
12.7 mm round.....	196 crates
7.92 mm round.....	760
7.62 x 39 mm round.....	136,500
/?crates/ ???...	7
Artillery binoculars.....	1
7.62x54 mm round.....	1,200
7.9 mm Subsonic round.....	2,700
7.9 mm round.....	3,000
/word missing/ /?grenade/.....	3,000
Pijani Ustaša rifle-launched hand grenade.....	156
Box for a 7.9 mm ammunition belt.....	11
Box for a 14.5 mm ammunition belt.....	20
Army sleeping bag.....	40
Army helmet.....	5
Army blanket.....	100
Army boots.....	2,200 pairs
Army vest.....	13 packs
Camouflage jackets and trousers (new).....	70 boxes
DDR army jackets and trousers.....	200
Army gloves, caps, knitted caps.....	300

/stamp:

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
 B I H A Ć DISTRICT
 ZAGREB HEADQUARTERS/

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MILITARY ECONOMY REPRESENTATIVE BODY
Number: 05Đ3942-93
ZAGREB

We forward the Bihać district office letter

5th Corps of the BH Army
Attn Commander

Within our last shipment, we sent you the following:

EK	3570 pieces
Basic charging for 120	3096 pieces
DK	31000 pieces
Additional charging for 120	3804 pieces
Starter for 120 mm	487 pieces
Round 7.62 x 39 mm	50050 pieces
Round 7.62 x 51	2931 pieces
Round 12.7 mm 100 pieces in cartridge case	185 pieces
Round 5.45	300 pieces
Round for gun 7.62	1400 pieces
Round calibre 45	345 pieces
Round 38 special	50 pieces
Round for gun 7.65	100 pieces
Round 76 mm for ZIB	1 piece
Starter for round 76 mm	3 pieces
UN-illegible	12 pieces
Plastic explosive 5 x 500 gr	2,5 kg
Starter IMA-4	4 pieces
ROB SUZ	1 piece
Explosive IDAC	8 pieces
TNT 92 pieces x200 grams	18400 grams
SED-2	325 pieces
Starter for ROB	94 pieces
Scope for RB M-57	3 pieces
Scope for RBR 90 mm	3 pieces
NSB-3	2 pieces
Trombone bullet	12 pieces
Drunken Ustasha	45 pieces
Cylinder for 7.9 mm	3 pieces
Ammunition box for 7.9 mm	1 piece
RAP for NSB-4A	1 piece

Round 7.9 mm SONIC

2625 pieces

We kindly ask for confirmation of MTS delivery and difficulties if any in relation to reception.

The UNHCR truck number 10379.

Breza 13/7

Biban

On behalf of military attaché

Hajrudin Osmanagić

/stamp of receipt/

Military delegation of the

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

In the Republic of Croatia

Received-delivered by TLF, RRV, RV, PACIDA, Package

On 29th of May 1993

/signed/

Delivery note no.1

DATE: 17th November 1994

300. SLoB

/handwritten: "R" illegible/

Goods delivered: 0005 SPECIAL PURPOSES

From warehouse: 180 VALLELUNGA PULA

No.	Code of goods	TITLE OF GOODS	Units	Approved	Issued
1.	3254	GUNPOWDER /illegible/ FOR HOWITZER 105MM	KG	2850.0	2850
2.	3253	GUNPOWDER /illegible/ FOR HOWITZER 105MM	KG	7525.0	7525
3.	967	PLASTIC EXPLOSIVE	KG	6720.0	6.720
4.	974	TNT EXPLOSIVE (IN SHELL)	KG	36.143.0	36.143
5.	622	BULLET 23 MM	TON	7056.0	7.056
	107	MINE 120MM FOR MB /mortar/ TF HEAVY	TON	2102.0	2.102

Order-Approval: 512-32-02/94-200-48

Date: 17th November 1994

NOTE: 1085-01-5/1-94-555

Received by:

Issued by:

Controlled by:

Registry entry by:

/Signed/

M. MARJANOVIĆ

/signed/

/Stamp of Ministry of

/signed/

Defence of RH/

18th November 1994

Requisition slip number 763

Date: 30 March 1993

Goods delivered : 0000 SPECIAL PURPOSE
from the warehouse : 10 VP /Military Post/ 1085/13 Zagreb – Prečko, Zagreb

No.	Code	GOODS	Unit	Authorised	Issued
1	583	RP-7 hand-held launcher	pcs	30.0	30 +
2	63	7.62 x 39mm bullet, regular round for PAP, AP and PM	pcs	3019600.0	3,019,600 +
3	742	7.62mm automatic rifle AK-47	pcs	3000.0	3,000+

Order - Authorisation : 512210293473

Date : 30 March 1993

NOTE: The equipment will be collected by Mr Šuajb ŠETA.

Equipment is for the Grude CPoB /Central Logistics Base/

GOODS RECEIVED BY:

Šuajb ŠETA
/?Block/ 677/92 Sarajevo
/signed/

ISSUED BY:

/a signature/

CHECKED BY:

/a signature/

RECORDED BY:

/stamp: The Republic of Croatia, Central /illegible/

/handwritten: "R" /illegible//

Requisition slip number 5

Date: 4 July 1994

300th SLoB /Central Logistics Base/

Goods delivered : 0005 SPECIAL PURPOSE - M
From the warehouse : 110 Prečko SPC /expansion unknown/, Zagreb

No.	Code	GOODS	Unit	Authorised	Issued
1	583	RPG-7 hand-held launchers	pcs	157.0	157 ✓
2	1118	7.62 mm x 39 mm AK-47 automatic rifles, wooden butt	pcs	830.0	830 ✓
3.	742	7.62 mm x 39 mm AK-47 automatic rifles, folding butt	pcs	1,270.0	1,270 ✓
4.	2879	7.62 mm x 39 mm light machine guns	pcs	210.0	210 ✓

Order - Authorisation : 512 - 32 - 02 - 94 -01/1

Date : 4 July 1994

NOTE: The equipment will be collected by an authorised representative of the PN-M /expansion unknown/ on 5 July 1994.

GOODS RECEIVED BY:

Šuajb ŠETA
/illegible/ diplomatic ID
/illegible/0000455
/signed/

ISSUED BY:

Jerko KOVAČEVIĆ
/signed/ 5 February

CHECKED BY:

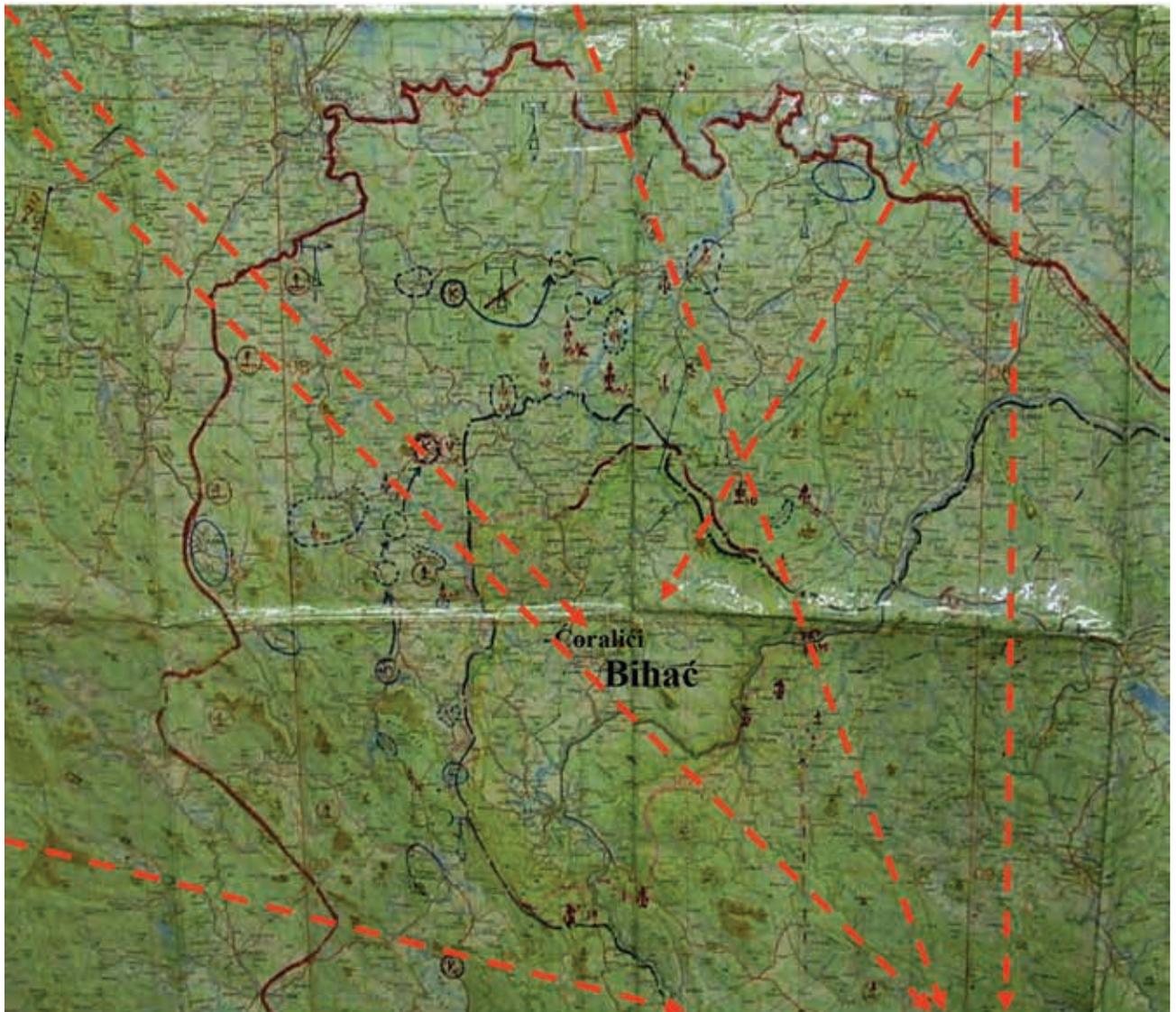
/a signature/
/stamped/

RECORDED BY:

/stamp: The Republic of Croatia /illegible/ Zagreb /illegible//

/initialled/

Map: 5th Corps of BH Army– VRS and RS PZO /air defence/ around Bihać enclave



VRS and JNA forces have concentrated their PZO /air defence/ forces on the temporarily occupied Croatian territory and part of the Unsko-Sanski Canton and thus impeded overflights of aircraft and helicopters towards BiH.

<http://www.slobodanpraljak.com>

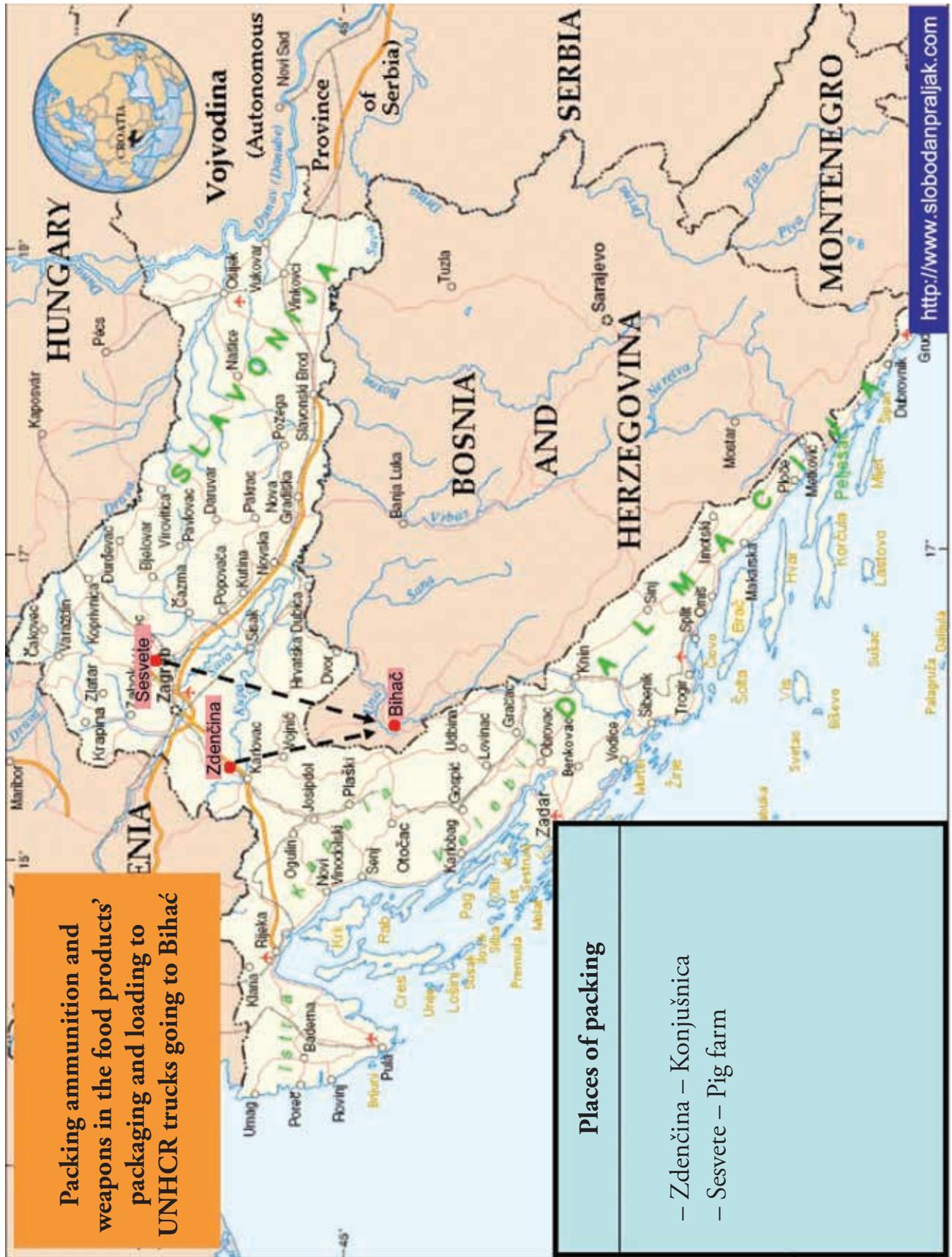
WEAPONS PACKED IN FOOD PRODUCTS' PACKAGING AND LOADED INTO UNHCR TRUCKS



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

Documentation consolidated in subcategory – support in
arming BH Army by the Republic of Croatia



Packing ammunition and weapons in the food products' packaging and loading to UNHCR trucks going to Bihać

- Places of packing
- Zdenčina – Konjušnica
 - Sesvete – Pig farm

SUBJECT: Notice of transport to 5th Corps of BH Army

DELIVERS

By gasoline tank truck (aluminium tank), license plate UNHCR 10236, on 24th June 1993 we have delivered to you the following:

1. Spare barrel for light machine gun M 53	14 pcs
2. RPG7 launcher	4 pcs
3. RB M 57	5 pcs
4. Light machine gun M 53	18 pcs
5. Machine gun BROWING 7.9 mm	4 pcs
6. Machine gun stand 7.9 mm	3 pcs
7. Machine gun BROWING 12.7 mm	2 pcs
8. Stand for BROWING 12.7 mm	1 pcs
9. Machine gun 7.9 DSK	1 pcs
10. SP MAX II 12.7 without optics	6 pcs
11. SP Anti-Materiel Rifle without optics	1 pcs
12. Mortar 60 mm	1 pcs
13. Mortar 82 mm	3 pcs
14. Mortar 120 mm	6 pcs

Concluded with number 14.

Note:

Do not use more than five additional charges in the 120mm mortar.

Please give one 12.7 mm rifle to Major General Vlado Šantić since good cooperation is established between GS HVO and Bihać.

Delivered to:

1. 5th Corps
2. VEP/Military economic mission/

13
Breza
7
Biban
Bajo

stamp:
Military delegation of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
in the Republic of Croatia
RECEIVED - /illegible/
Date: /illegible/
Received by: /illegible/

We are forwarding the act of Bihać county office
for the military attaché Hajrudin Osmanagić.

EMBASSY OF THE R BIH IN RH
MILITARY ECONOMY REPRESENTATIVE BODY
Zagreb, Savska road 62 E/V

No 05- 4147/93
14th June 1993

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
MILITARY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Association of Bihać district citizens

Attn. 5th Corps of the BH Army Bihać

SUBJECT: report and notifications

1. On 3rd of June 1992, by an UNHCR truck 10367, the following equipment has been directed to the address of the International humanitarian organization to help the Muslims of BIH:
T-shirt – long sleeve 4 000 pieces
T-shirt - short sleeve 2 000 pieces
Boots and shoes 790 pairs
2. We kindly ask you to reply what have you received and the quantity of the received by the fax sent on 4th of June 1993 and signed by Mr. Kadija Alagić.
3. On 9th of June 1993, 7 packages of fish (5.480 kg) have been directed by the UNHCR truck, registration plates 10352 to the address Bijeli mantil. Within this shipment from UB9, the following was present:

Trotol bullets 200 grams	10 pieces
Round 7.62 x 54	555 pieces
Round 7.9	450 pieces
Round 7.62 x 51	1500 pieces
MRUD	1 piece
Temporary trombone mine	20 pieces
Cumulative trombone mine	1 piece
Flashing trombone mine	4 pieces
ROĐ tear gas	1 piece
“Drunken ustasha”	36 pieces
Launcher charging	3 containers
Digital clock mechanism mine	4 pieces
Round 7.62 x 39	143.515 pieces

We have been notified that you received the above cited shipment.

4. Referring to your letter “Notification on MTS reception”, evidentiary number 03713-182/1 /illegible/, dated 2nd of June 1993, we inform you that the error occurred during packing; therefore we revised the list according to your corrections in the above cited letter, for those corrections, as well as the MTS quantity in storage, match your inventory lists.
5. Referring to your letter confidential number 02/illegible-1672-1, dated 19th of May 1993, we inform you that we are not able to find 1st degree detector and system battery TR B ATEM at the moment and that we are searching for it as well as the for the detector for detection from the air.

EMBASSY OF THE R BiH IN RH
Zagreb, 16th of August 1993
Strictly confidential number 05-02-12/93

Notification on the sent shipment

Attn Commander of the 5th Corps
Ramiz Dreković

We inform you that on 16th of August 1993 a shipment of the following content and by following vehicles was directed to you:

1. UNHCR Truck, registration plates 10345 – fish cans (4 palettes) 6200 kg
Flour (3 palettes) 2100 kg
2. - - - - 10343 – fish cans 82 palettes) 3100 kg
kids package (6 palettes) 1200 pieces
3. - - - - 10073 - fish cans (2 palettes) 2790 kg
kids package (4 palettes) 800 pieces

In the above cited shipment, we sent the following for the “Bijeli mantil”:

1. PAN 14.5 mm 4 pieces
2. Round 14.5 mm 248 pieces
3. Military disguise pants 248 pairs
4. Disguise hat 8 pieces
5. Reconnaissance hat 3 pieces
6. Packages for Ismet Mujanović 2 pieces
7. Packages for Dr Sabulić 1 piece
8. Mine for MB 60 mm 386 pieces
9. Trombone mine 4 pieces
10. PB mine “pâté” 3 pieces
11. ROB 390 pieces
12. Round 12.7 mm 17230 pieces
13. PPM a-3 1 piece
14. Underpants 1 piece
15. RPG-7 8 pieces
16. MB 82 mm basis 2 pieces
17. USA bullet-proof helmet 37 pieces
18. Frames purse 20 pieces
19. Wool socks 120 pairs
20. Military belt 50 pieces
21. T-shirt (short sleeve) 17 pieces

Remark: on 11th of ? the group from Bihać arrived to Zagreb:

1. Čović Uzair - Delija

2. Kličić Husnija from Kličić
3. Dizdarević (other unknown)
4. Dizdarević Nisvet – Rambo
5. Dervišević Senad from Cazin
6. Pasin (other unknown)

II. N RV and PVO Neđad Suljić, if he arrives with UNPROFOR, let him come to Zagreb and report to the Embassy of R BiH in RH, Pantovčak 96, for the reasons of security of other conditions to travel to Sarajevo. The information should be handed over IMMEDIATELY.

III. The reporters from USA shall contact the commander in the next few days:

1. Ms Samantha Power
2. Ms Laura Litter
3. Mr Ben Lohen
4. Mr George Stankovski

The persons under numbers 1 and 4 show sympathy for the R BiH, having a recommendation from Breza 13/7, written on the small paper.

IV On 10th of August 1993, at 1635 hrs we sent you a notification on the previous shipment and repeated it on 16th of August 1993.

FOR FREE and INDEPENDENT BiH

On behalf of military attaché
Hajrudin Osmanagić

Packed merchandise till 15th of March 1993 within a humanitarian aid and driven to Kadija Alagić.

1. El. igniter EDK-8	5000 pieces	
2. UTMA-4 starter	6 pieces	
3. "Maljutka" guidance system (with periscope)	1 piece	/handwritten 15 th of March 1993/
4. Starter for the temporary 60 mm and 120 mm mine	20 pieces	
5. Nitro-glycerine "TNT"	50 pieces	
6. Round 7.9 mm	10600 pieces	
7. Temporary mine M-73 60 mm	132 pieces	
8. Temporary mine 82 mm	28 pieces	
9. Trombone mine	42 pieces	
10. MRUD	3 pieces	
11. Training clock starter	2 pieces	
12. Trombone bullet	300 pieces	
13. Basic charging for 120 mm	16 pieces	
14. Additional charging for 120 mm	bags, 24 pieces	
15. Doboš for PM M-53, 7.9 mm	6 pieces	
16. School mines with starters and wire	10 pieces	
17. "Drunken ustasha" bombs (package)	131 pieces	
18. Round 7 x 64 mm (for carbine)	80 pieces	
19. Boxes with lids for brewery	5 pieces	
20. Rocket charging	3 pieces	
21. Round 12.7 mm (in cans and cartridge cases)	3600 pieces	
22. Round 7.92 mm (7 cans x 450 pieces)	3150 pieces	
23. Round 7.62 x 54 mm	1850 pieces	
24. Starter for the hand training bomb M-75	288 pieces	
25. EP IDAO M-71	Illegible	
26. Round 7.62 mm x 51 mm (NATO)	4300 pieces	
27. Hand bomb "Kašikara"	45 pieces	
28. Round 5.56 mm	60 pieces	
29. Round 7.62 mm (for the gun)	30 pieces	
30. Mortar 60 mm	1 piece	
31. Military shirt (short sleeve)	180 pieces	
32. Military disguise hat (winter hat)	300 pieces	
33. Officer coat	10 pieces	
34. Military sock (winter sock)	390 pairs	
35. Scarf (under hat)	399 pieces	
36. Reconnaissance military hat	20 pieces	
37. Military gloves	200 pairs	
38. Round 7.62 x 39 mm	68000 pieces	

Till 25th of February 1993 the following has been driven to K.

1. Box "PLIVA" Zagreb, Croatia	1175 pieces	
2. Boxes of haring	20 pieces	
3. Boxes with corks	5 pieces	
4. Mail in the PTT bags	1 piece	
5. Socks, hats, under-hats, gloves, coats, shirts etc (in boxes)		12 pieces
6. Bihać mail (boxes)	3 pieces	
7. Big boxes, addressed to Š.O. Bihać district, att. Babić Nermin		2 pieces
along with 2 boxes containing:		
a) small boxes for air group	3 pieces	
b) small boxes for 111. BK	1 piece	
c) small boxes for Š.O. Bihać district, att. Babić Nermin		4 pieces
8. Box for Šehić Sead	1 piece	
9. Box for Husić Šemso	1 piece	

In total 1218 boxes packed

/stamp/ REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
 BIHAĆ DISTRICT
 HEADQUARTERS ZAGREB

/coat of arms/
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BIHAĆ DISTRICT OFFICE
/stamp of receipt/
Military delegation of the
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
In the Republic of Croatia
Received-delivered by TLF, RRV, RV, PACIDA, Package
On 29th of May 1993
/signed/ /handwritten 29/

5th Corps of BH Army
Attn. Commander
41 000 Zagreb, Našička no 12
Tel: 041/ 33 44 84
 041/ 33 33 82
Fax: 041/ 33 79 06

Your mark	Our mark	Date
-----------	----------	------

Within our last shipment we sent you the following:

EK	3570 pieces
Basic charging for 120	3096 pieces
DK	31000 pieces
Additional charging for 120	3804 pieces
Starter for 120 mm	487 pieces
Round 7.62 x 39 mm	50050 pieces
Round 7.62 x 51	2931 pieces
Round 12.7 mm 100 pieces in cartridge case	185 pieces
Round 5.45	300 pieces
Round for gun 7.62	1400 pieces
Round calibre 45	345 pieces
Round 38 special	50 pieces
Round for gun 7.65	100 pieces
Round 76 mm for ZIB	1 piece
Starter for round 76 mm	3 pieces
UN-illegible	12 pieces
Plastic explosive 5 x 500 gr	2,5 kg
Starter IMA-4	6 pieces
ROB SUZ	1 piece
Explosive IDAC	8 pieces
TNT 92 pieces x200 grams	18400 grams
SED-2	325 pieces
Starter for ROB	94 pieces
Scope for RB M-57	3 pieces

Scope for RBR 90 mm	3 pieces
NSB-3	2 pieces
Trombone bullet	12 pieces
Drunken Ustasha	45 pieces
Cylinder for 7.9 mm	3 pieces
Ammunition box for 7.9 mm	1 piece
RAP for NSB-4A	1 piece
Round 7.9 mm SONIC	2625 pieces

/handwritten/

We kindly ask for confirmation of MTS delivery and difficulties if any in relation to reception.

The UNHCR truck number 10379.

Breza
Biban
/signed/

/handwritten 27th of January 1994/

STATEMENT

I, Senad Palić, born on 7th of July 1957 in the village of Oštrožnica, SO Bosanska Krupa, under full moral and material responsibility, fully aware of a meaning of this statement, confirm the following:

1. On 20th of June 1993, in the barrack of the Croatian Army, at request of Mr Šeta Šuajb and by approval of Mr Ibrahim Hadžić, I started to pack the military equipment, weapon and ammunition with a group of people, dedicated to the Republic of BiH, for the needs of ŠVK of the BH Army.

Weapon, ammunition and equipment were packed as follows:

On 21st of June 1993, within two palettes of cold meat tray, 1 palette of beans and 1 palette of soups, the following was packed:

Wasp (weapon) containers	15 pieces
RPG 7	4 pieces
PPM pâté	2 pieces
Round 7.65 for the gun	50 pieces
EP IDAO M /!	1 piece
TN 500	1 piece
Round 243 Winchester	500 pieces
Round 308 Winchester	20 pieces
MRUD	2 kpl
MRUD	2 pieces (incomplete)
Round 12.7	54 pieces
Artillery lanyard	6 pieces
Trombone bullet 7.62	20 pieces
Trombone bullet 7.9	29 pieces
“Man” round 7.9	15 pieces
ICU “sljemofon”	1 piece
ROB	37 pieces
RBR 64 mm “wasp” weapon	27 pieces
EK	11 pieces
Additional charging for 120 mm	3 bags
Drunken Ustasha	2 pieces
PEP	5 kg and 250 grams
Trotil corks	5 pieces
Trombone mine, temporary	54 pieces
Trombone cumulative mine	29 pieces
BRK M 79	5 pieces
Base for Maljutkas	2 kpl
Maljutka shell	18 pieces

Box for launching the Maljutka	4 pieces
DK 8	5000 pieces

On 2nd of July 1993, within 12 palettes of cold meat tray, the following was packed:

RPG 7	351 pieces
ROB	999 pieces
SP 12.7 MAKS II	9 pieces
IC helmets?	2 pieces
IC optics – passive scope	1 kpl
Caesium 133	1 box

On 14th of July 1993, within 4 palettes of cold meat tray with a red ribbon, the following was packed:

Cumulative RPG 7	280 pieces
Caesium 133	1 can

On 21st of July 1993, within 8 palettes of powdered milk, the following was packed:

Round 7.62 x 39	49625 pieces
SP 12.7 MACS II	3 pieces
Cumulative RPG 7	62 pieces
Temporary RPG 7	28 pieces
IC helmets?	1 piece
Mine-detector	1 piece
Battery refill 4.5 V	10 pieces

On 26th of August 1993, within 10 palettes of children packages, the following was packed:

RPG 7	345 pieces
Round 12.7	4280 pieces
Round 14.5	2890 pieces
Green vest	87 pieces
Shoulder straps	3 pieces
Military disguise shirt	6 pieces
Winter wool gloves	99 pieces
Military belt	113 pieces
Epauettes	49 pieces
Military shirts	90 pieces

I emphasize that the job, that was supposed to be done, was often risky and dangerous for all the people, although we took all the necessary measures of safety.

The storage was officially entitled to GS HVO of the Bihać region.

I could do my work unobstructedly, due to valid papers that I was in possession of. Besides, before my arrival to Zagreb, I used to perform responsible duties in the armed forces of R BiH.

I was the Chief of Staff of 511 Bosanska Krupa brigade and Assistant Commander for the moral education. I was directed to Zagreb from the Bihać region in order to help the supply and delivery of combat material to the Bihać region. I perform the same job nowadays, according to the 5th BH Army corps task.

Within this statement I cannot write about people in Croatia that were generously helping us in these issues for the reasons of their safety.

Besides me, other participated in performing these jobs:

Nijaz Bibanović, having performed command duties in the BH Army

Faruk Omanović, currently involved in command duties in the 5th corps of the BH Army

Aladin Beširević at the time of performing the cited jobs was the manager of our warehouse.

Osman Omanović – Hega, currently Deputy Commander of the 1st Bosnian-Herzegovina Liberation brigade within the 5th Corps of the BH Army.

I am not forced to give this statement, fully aware of the situation. I also state that we were handing over the fully packed palettes to the group, being in charge for the transport and loading to plains for Sarajevo. Further destiny of the transport remains unknown to me.

All the above cited people within this statement can confirm my words and also provide written statements that they were performing this job, including a remark that, apart from me, nobody knew that the job is being performed for the needs of SARAJEVO, but they thought that the job is being done for the needs of the 5th corps of the BH Army.

I managed this job for the needs of the 5th BH Army corps, as well as the cited packages for ŠVK in Sarajevo all the way till September 1993, as we had to switch to other working methods, which are not the subject of this statement, for the reasons of safety.

I provide this statement at request of Mr Šeta Šuajb

In Zagreb, 27th of January 1994

Sui manu of the statement provider
/Senad Palić signed/

/handwritten 10th of August, at 1600 hrs
10th of August 1993/

EMBASSY OF THE R BIH IN RH
SP, Zagreb, 10th of August 1993
Strictly confidential 05-02-07/93

Subject: notification on the sent shipment, to be delivered

To the Command of the 5th Corps
Attn Commander R Dreković

On 9th of August 1993, 10500 kilograms of rice was sent to the address of "Bijeli Mantil"
by the UNHCR truck, no 10376.

Further on, by the UNHCR truck no 10465 – 6 packages of fish
- 4 packages of soya-bean – 1344 kilograms
- 3 packages of flour – 2400 kilograms

By the UNHCR truck 10368 – 8 packages of fish

The following was packed within the same shipment and in the same truck:

1. Round 20 mm	180 pieces
2. Round 14.5 mm	1213 pieces
3. ROB "kašikara" weapon	192 pieces
4. Starter for ROB	4130 pieces
5. Round 12.7 mm	2325 pieces
6. Round 7.62 mm x 39	75640 pieces
7. Round 7.62 mm x 54	5850 pieces
8. Round 357 MAGNUM	75 pieces
9. Round 9 mm PARA	1100 pieces
10. Round 7.62 mm TT	140 pieces
11. Round 9x18 mm for a gun	50 pieces
12. Round 6.35 mm	100 pieces
13. AP 7.62x39	9 pieces
14. Round 7.62 mm x 51	913 pieces
15. Round 7.9 mm	36584 pieces
16. MRUD	10 pieces
17. RBR 64 mm "wasp"	10 pieces
18. PEP	82,5 kilograms
19. Trotil 100 and 200 grams bullet	136,7 kilograms
20. Initial hunter cap pistol?	3000 pieces
21. PPRM-2A /mines/	8 pieces
22. Starter 1 cap	16 pieces
23. EDK no 8	425 pieces
24. DK no 8	100 pieces
25. BRK M-79	15 pieces
26. SD-2	300 metres
27. Markers with springs	6 pieces
28. PAT 14,5 mm KPL	1 piece
29. MGL 40 mm – round	30 pieces
30. Cumulative trombone mine	2 pieces

31. Temporary trombone mine	3 pieces	
32. Ammunition box for round 14.5 mm with cartridge cases		4 pieces
33. Browning machine gun	1 piece	
34. AP 7.62 x 51 FAL with optics	1 piece	
35. PM M-72 7.62 mm x 39	1 piece	
36. PM 7.9 mm M-53	1 piece	
37. PAP 7.62 x 39 mm	8 pieces	
38. Artillery scope PAB 2 AT	1 piece	
39. /illegible/ gun-carriage MB 120 mm	6 pieces	
40. /illegible/ camouflage	99 pieces	
41. Conductor for "wasp"	7 pieces	
42. Optical scope for "wasp"	2 pieces	
43. Camouflage hat	50 pieces	
44. Reconnaissance hat	8 pieces	
45. Frame for AP 7.62 mm x 39	15 pieces	
46. Slow-burning fuse	39 m	
47. APi 9 mm PARA AGRAM	1 piece	
48. MAKAROV gun with two frames and 16 bullets		1 piece
49. APi 9 mm ERO with 3 frames	1 piece	
50. Silencer for AGRAM	2 piece	
51. Motorola "RADIUS P210"	1 piece	
52. Frame for AP 7.62 mm x 51	4 pieces	
53. Charger for Motorola GP 300	30 pieces	
54. PTR "Maljutka"	30 pieces	
55. MGL 40/6	1 piece	
56. Plastic explosive	2,5 kilograms	
57. Set of "APHA" uniforms /for the Commander of Breza/		3 pieces
58. Purses for frame 7.62 mm with RAP	2 pieces	
59. Beret	2 pieces	
60. Truncheon for the military police	28 pieces	
61. Shoulder straps for military police	60 pieces	
62. Battery lamp with implants	2 pieces	
63. Belt for VP (white)	60 pieces	
64. Combat and military literature with manuals		
65. Small package for BRKO the informer in Cazina brigade		
66. Daily press and a box for RIZO ĆATIĆ from Bos. Krupa		

Concluded with number 66

Delivered to:

1. The Command of the 5th Corps
2. Archive of the military attaché and Bihać district office

Remark: The list was made by Breza 13/7

FOR FREE, INDEPENDENT AND INDIVISIBLE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Military Attaché of RiB H in RH
Hajrudin Osmanagić

EMBASSY OF THE R BiH IN RH
Military-economy representative body
Zagreb, 26th of July 1993

DEFENCE
ARMY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Notification on transport, to be delivered

1. On 26th of July 2007, to the address of the "Bijeli mantil", the following has been directed by the UNHCR trucks;

UNHCR 10357 – 7 palettes (cold meat tray, 3 palettes, fish – 4 palettes)

UNHCR 10356 – 10 palettes (cold meat tray)

UNHCR 10351 – 11 palettes (10 palettes of peas and 1 palette of cold meat tray)

2. The content of these palettes is the following:

RKZ 82 mm	12 pieces
KZ 82 mm	1 piece
Shirt, pants, vest	3 sets for the command
RPG – 7, launcher	3 pieces
Optics for RPG	3 pieces
Initial hunter cap	47000 pieces
ROB	1290 pieces
Round 12.7 mm in cartridge case	1300 pieces
Round 12.7 mm in bulk	1020 pieces
RB M-57	5 pieces
Hand radio device Motorola "Radius P-210"	3 pieces
Charging for hand RU P-210	1 piece
IC optics for SnP 7.9 mm M-76	1 piece
Compass	10 pieces
IC device	1 piece
Cartridge case for round 7.9 mm	2 pieces
Ammunition box for 7.9 mm	2 pieces
LPD	2 pieces
Hand radar PRD-1 (2 two battery implants)	1 set
RUP 3 (+ 2 spare batteries)	3 pieces
Drafts for assignment – to Commander	Envelope
Transparent linen	1 piece
Charged frame for AP	79 pieces
Cylinder for PM M-53	2 pieces

FN – LAC M2	1 piece
RAP for PM M-53	2 pieces
Silencer	1 piece
Purse for frames 7.62 mm	12 pieces
Temporary trombone mine	2 pieces
Trombone bullet 7.62 mm	12 pieces
Ammunition box 7.62 x 54	2 pieces + 6 cartridge cases
Frames for SnP 7.9 mm M-76 loaded	16 pieces
Round 7.62 x 51 (NATO)	551 pieces
Round 7.92 mm	1900 pieces
Round 7.9 mm	4433 pieces
Round 7.62 mm x 54	775 pieces
Round 7.62 x 39	40874 pieces
7.62 x 39 mm Round cartridge (within the cartridge you can find a chemical element Cs 133 – Caesium 133. We don't know a thing about this element. – We ask you to examine the possibilities and usage in allotted production. Allegedly, it should be placed in slow projectile, such as trombone mine. I am sorry for not being able to provide you with more information. It would be the best if we send you the entire documentation on this element. We shall obtain it in several days.)	
Hand radio-device Motorola "RADIUS GP-300"	197 pieces
Battery for hand RU GP-300	197 pieces
Charging for battery for GP-300	118 pieces
Optics for SnP 7.9 mm M-76	1 set
Purse for frames 7.62 mm	3 pieces
Package for Mr Mustafa Zjakić	1 piece
Package for Mr Ramadan Krešić-Ramo	1 piece
Frames for 9 mm para machine-gun	1 piece
Hand cups	1 pair
H & K automatic rifle 7.62 x 51	1 piece
PAP 9 mm para "MERLIN"	1 piece
"Thompson" automatic rifle + 10 frames and one purse	1 piece
AP 5.45 mm	3 pieces
Frame for AP 5.45	15 pieces
Round 5.45 mm	240 pieces
Mine 82 mm	53 pieces
Round 40 mm (BOFORS, as written)	1 piece
Mine 60 mm	26 pieces
PM M-72	3 pieces
SnP 308 Winchester + 2 frames	1 piece
Optics for SnP 308 Winchester SSG	1 piece
Round 38 spl	325 pieces
Compass	1 piece
Round for a gun, 7.62 mm	679 pieces
Automatic weapon "PLETER" with silencer	7 pieces
Automatic weapon "ZAGI"	1 piece
Round 308 Winchester	65 pieces

SnP 7.9 M-76	11 pieces
Optics for SnP M-76	11 pieces
“Gorenje” rifle	4 pieces
RBR 64 mm “ZOLJA”	1 piece
AP 7.62 x 51 FAL	1 piece
MGL 40 mm	1 piece
MGL grenade 40 mm	45 pieces
Silencer for SnP 7.9 mm M-76	1 piece
AP 7.62 x 39	50 pieces
7.62 x 54 Cartridge case box	2 pieces
Cartridge case for 7.62 x 54	2 pieces
PM M-84	1 piece
Optics for SnP	6 pieces
Optics holder	1 set
Initial cap	450 pieces
IC optics for SnP	1 piece
Silencer for AP “SCORPION”	4 pieces
Frame for SnP M-76	23 pieces
RAP (purse for frame) 7.9 mm	3 pieces
RAP for RBR 90 mm	1 set
Optics for RB M-57	1 piece
Mine 60 mm	27 pieces
Cartridge belt	5 pieces
Frame for AP 7.62 x 39	85 pieces
Purse for frames 7.62 x 39	20 pieces
Round 7.62 x 54	14815 pieces
Round 7.62 x 39	2051 pieces
Round 7.9 mm	245 pieces
Round 12.7 mm	8790 pieces
Round 20 mm	1198 pieces
Cumulative mine M-57	19 pieces
Charging for cumulative mine M-57	20 pieces
Laser range-finder	1 set
Round 12.7 x 99	160 pieces
Round 7.62 x 54	5 pieces
Round 7.62 x 51	9 pieces
Round 7.9 mm	27 pieces
Round 7.62 x 39	2042 pieces

3. We kindly ask you for your feed-back information on the receipt of the shipment, according to the item quantity.
4. There is a transparent in the shipment. We ask you to take a picture of the humanitarian aid arrival and its distribution among people, along with this transparent. This was asked by the donator, precisely the Government of Indonesia. We are connected with them through their ambassador in Hungary.

5. It is necessary to send us a fax to the Bihać district office, if Merhamet district received food, directed to the Bihać hospital, according to sorts and quantity. This is necessary because the donators do not accept the UNHCR dispatch note. We shall also fax you the merchandise specification, mostly consisting of items, we pack the combat material within.

Concluded with the number 5

For free and independent BiH!

Delivered to:

1. 5th Corps
2. VEP

Breza

We forward the letter to Bihać district office

For mil
Hajrud

/stamp of receipt/
MILITARY DELEGATION
OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Received on 26th of July 1993
/signed/

FORMATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARMY TROOPS ON CROATIAN TERRITORY

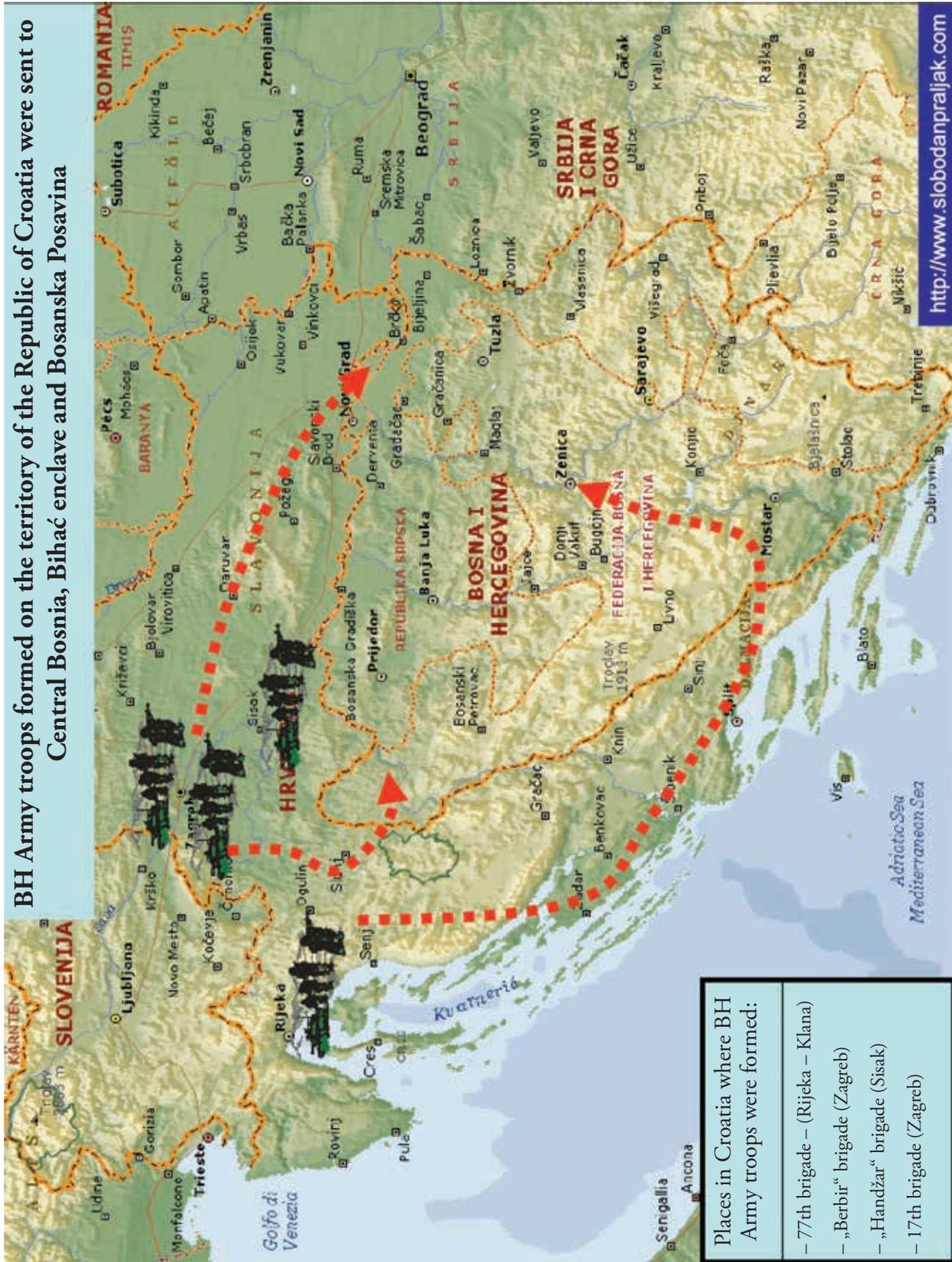


FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

158

BH Army troops formed on the territory of the Republic of Croatia were sent to Central Bosnia, Bihać enclave and Bosanska Posavina



- Places in Croatia where BH Army troops were formed:
- 77th brigade - (Rijeka - Klana)
 - „Berbir“ brigade (Zagreb)
 - „Handžar“ brigade (Sisak)
 - 17th brigade (Zagreb)

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Savska Cesta 41/XI
Tel. 041 537-161, 537-160, Fax: 536-702
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA MILITARY MISSION
TO THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

To: THE MAIN STAFF OF THE CROATIAN ARMY Zagreb, 26 January 1993
COMMANDER OF THE ARMY Our no: 05-829/93
General Janko BOBETKO Your no: _____

The Military Mission of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia would like to express its highest esteem for the Commander of the Army, General BOBETKO, and would like to request a meeting urgently in order to resolve the following matters:

1. To continue discussions and to agree the setting up of a collection centre or camp in the areas of Lika and Kordun, where the Croatian and Serbian population lives close by, and to form later larger centres and groups the strength of a brigade battalion, to break through into the 5th Corps zone of responsibility;
2. The purchase and other ways of procuring military equipment;
3. Cooperation between the Croatian Army and the 5th Corps and their coordinated actions which have as their aim the breaking through and maintaining of the Croatian corridor – 5th Corps zone of responsibility;
4. Maintaining the airlifts between Croatia and the 5th Corps;
5. Any other matters.

The meeting would be attended by the Assistant Secretary for Military Affairs for the 5th Corps, Brigadier Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ.

We thank you in anticipation and please accept the assurance of our highest esteem.

MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

/signed/
SECRETARY FOR MILITARY AFFAIRS
Colonel Hasan EFENDIĆ
/stamped/

CRISIS STAFF FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA /BH/

Strictly confidential

Split, Tolstojeva street 28

Number: 02-290/92

Split, 18 October 1992

R E P O R T

On the work of the Crisis Staff for BH – Split

Between 6 April until 18 October 1992

The Crisis Staff for BH – Split was established as part of the Split branch of the Party of Democratic Action /SDA/ of Croatia, on 6 April 1992, on the day enemy aggression against BH began. From 29 September 1992 onwards, following a decision of the Main Committee of the Crisis Staff for BH – Split, the Crisis Staff was working independently of the SDA, i.e. the Split branch of the SDA, as a result of a non-statutory assembly session which was attended by only 6% of Split SDA branch members.

Very brisk activity in the following sectors ensued immediately after the BH – Split Crisis Staff was established, mobilizing volunteers, Muslims and Croats born in BH and starting a record of their details, equipping and sending them to battlefields throughout the Republic of BH, collecting humanitarian aid, technical equipment and materiel and other kinds of aid for BH, organising a reserve communications system oriented toward BH and laying the basis for logistics support for several municipalities in BH and coordinating this support from within the zone of Split. Activities also included coordinating medical and humanitarian aid, encouraging the international public to help BH, dismantling the information blockade of BH and launching the war information service “Republic of BH”, establishing the *Merhamet* MDD /Muslim Charitable Society/ and cooperation with all domestic and international humanitarian organizations, cooperation with the IVZ /Islamic Religious Community/ on religious and educational matters; cooperation with social and political organizations and parties of the Republic of Croatia through the Split branch of the SDA; cooperation with military and civil authorities in Split and in the Republic of Croatia; reception and housing of refugees in cooperation with the Regional Social Welfare Office and reception of refugees and displaced persons; cooperation with foreign and Croatian news services.

1.

Military issues – Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The organisation of calling and receiving volunteers, Muslims and Croats who were born in BH, with the help of all mass media (Radio Split, TV Marijan, *Slobodna Dalmacija* and others) started immediately once the Crisis Staff for BH was established. The help of the 6th Split Operations Zone was significant during these activities. Precise records, lists and documents of volunteers were kept. The plan and programme of the Crisis Staff were drafted and approved by the military and civil authorities of the town of Split and the Republic of Croatia. Close communication was established which is still in place to date.

By 18 April 1992, the 1st Split independent company had been established as the first military formation to help the BH Armed Forces. It was despatched to the areas of Livno and Tomislavgrad on the same day, consisting of 81 volunteer and eight officers. They were transferred in three phases. The 6th Split Operations Zone lent its direct support in establishing the company, supplying it with arms, ammunition, military outfits and daily rations.

Logistics, lead by Mr. Muhamed MUHAREMOVIĆ, and a medical board first lead by Dr. Džemal BOZO and later by Dr. Omer STUPAC were established as part of the work of the KVŠ / Military Crisis Staff/.

Following the departure of the 1st Split Company all volunteers and later on the conscripts who had signed up were recorded and registered in proper lists and sent to the following units according to their own wishes: OS /Armed Forces/ BH and OS of the Republic of Croatia:

- OS BH, Visoko volunteers' admission camp – 142 volunteers;
 - OS BH, Livno – Tomislavgrad – 89 volunteers;
 - HV /Croatian Army/ Žrnovnica rocket base - 12 volunteers;
 - OS BH, Northern Bosnia, Zagreb – Borongaj barracks – 34 volunteers;
- (all from the *Ivan Lučić – Lavčević* GP /construction company/ Split;
- OS BH, 1st Bosnia and Herzegovina *Kralj Tomislav* Corps– Baško Polje – 157 volunteers;
 - OS BH, 1st Mostar Independent Battalion – 118 volunteers;
 - HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ Grude – 22 volunteers;
 - HV – 126th Sinj Brigade – 12 volunteers;
 - OS BH, Tešanj, Čapljina and Stolac – 56 volunteers;
 - OS BH, Tuzla – 31 volunteers;
 - Other towns and places in BH – Bugojno, Jajce, Zenica, Doboj, Zavidovići and Bihać – over 70 volunteers and conscripts;
 - HRM /Croatian Navy/ - Northern Bosnia – Bihać and Cazin – 120 volunteers (with the help of officer Adem HAMZIĆ);

Eight-hundred and sixty-two volunteers altogether were recorded and despatched to battlefields and into units in BH. /handwritten/ (Over 2000 volunteers were recorded and despatched in the OS BH and the HVO by the end of 1992)

Through the KŠ /Crisis Staff/ volunteers registered and mobilised in Pula, Rijeka, Varaždin and Zadar were transferred. This was a significant number of fighters.

Among the volunteers despatched through the KVŠ Split were also women and foreign citizens from Algiers, France and Turkey who were sent to the volunteers' admission camp of the OS BH.

The main task of the KVŠ was to realise the plan and programme which it still holds at present. The basis of this programme was the reception and transport of humanitarian and other aid to places which the aggressor had not occupied. A special aspect of the KVŠ welfare service was helping the families of fighters and the injured by visiting them and giving them aid with the support of the Split *Merhamet*.

A successful blood donation drive to meet the needs of the forces of the OS BH and the OS RH was successfully organised in May with the help of the Split Red Cross. The response was excellent, with refugees from BH taking part.

Successful cooperation was established with companies in Split whose workers joined the OS BH and the OS RH as volunteers. They are the following companies: GP *Ivan Lučić Lavčević*, the shipyard, *Konstruktor*, *Vijadukt* Zagreb and the *Djale*

hydroelectric power plant. All their workers who joined as volunteers have been kept on their payroll and their salaries are being paid out to their families on producing certificates issued by us. They have received and housed some of the families at their own expense and provided them with healthcare and social benefits.

Cooperation with the military and civil organs of Split and the Republic of Croatia is maintained daily and is beneficial to both sides. Several actions of calling-up and transporting conscripts who had left BH or were stranded in the RH were realised jointly.

The KVŠ /Military Crisis Staff/ did everything possible and assisted to successfully construct a back-up communications system with BH in association with the *Ante Jonić* amateur radio club in Split. A radio station was put into operation in the hospital at Firule, in Split, and the foundations were laid by radio for setting up a logistics system for delivering medical and humanitarian aid and other needs to BH. The line with BH was kept open, including the MUP /Ministry of the Interior/, Ministry of Health, the Presidency, R /Republic/ of BH Government and R BH bureaus abroad. Many messages were exchanged by radio between BH citizens and others (some 20,000 messages), convoys heading for Split with refugees were monitored, preparations were made for receiving and accommodating them and there were interventions to protect the convoys. Numerous appeals were received from towns under siege or attack and made public or conveyed to competent institutions or officials, the world was encouraged to provide aid to the people in peril, lists of priority needs, for medicine and other supplies, were broadcast to the world, etc. KŠ /Crisis Staff/ member Mirza ČEMAN was selflessly involved in all this.

On a number of occasions the KŠ closely cooperated with and sent its representatives to meetings with the UN High Commissioner at the *Marijan* hotel and took part in the fair distribution of humanitarian aid to the towns of BH. The first humanitarian aid to our towns of Livno and Tomislavgrad was sent by this KVŠ and its men went into these towns despite the danger and delivered aid, risking their own lives.

Early on, at the beginning of the aggression against BH, the KŠ issued a host of public announcements both locally and to the world, pointing out the essence of the Chetnik-Fascist aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its horrors. It immediately warned of the need to stop the aggression and nip it in the bud, because the aggressor dealt harshly, in a barbaric and genocidal manner, with unarmed non-Serb civilians, initially with the ethnic cleansing of occupied villages and towns and by creating concentration camps. In order to better break the information blockade of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the wartime newspaper *Republika BH* began coming out (Džemaludin ALIĆ, Alija DŽAFO, Ahmet MUMINOVIĆ and Safer MUMINOVIĆ).

Zufer HUSOVIĆ, the commander in Hrasnica, Mehmed MALKOČ, commander of the KVŠ in Split and Alija DŽAFO, president of the Split KŠ, were among the first persons featured in it. The paper was well received by those defending the R BH and its people.

2.

Other operations and activities of the Split Crisis Staff for BH

In its work on organising and gathering humanitarian aid, bringing together all patriotic Muslims and Croats from BH, the city of Split, Dalmatia and the Republic of Croatia, the Crisis Staff developed a lively and dynamic activity that frequently

exceeded its organisational and material capabilities. Since the Crisis Staff did not employ a single professional or have any systematic financial assistance from the state, at times it was overburdened and unable to simultaneously fulfil the numerous requests from citizens, defenders, their families, refugees, expelled persons, carters and various humanitarian institutions out of objective and sometimes subjective reasons. The entire range of humanitarian, organisational, transport, administrative and office activities (certificates, permits, requests for financial and other aid, registration, deregistration, supplies, sending appeals, delivering messages, establishing contact, etc.) was done by this Crisis Staff, which for a time was the de facto bureau of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where all of its citizens, whether they were refugees, defenders, wounded, mothers, children or the sick and feeble, sought assistance in food, clothing or money, assistance to travel onwards or be provided with adequate accommodation, etc. This is how more than 10,000 people passed through this Crisis Staff, directly or indirectly. More than 2,000 tonnes of humanitarian aid in the form of food, medicine, clothes, footwear and other items was collected, transported, sent and distributed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many owners of vehicles volunteered their fleets for this, many families took in refugees, many people were able establish contact, receive referral and be informed of their rights and responsibilities. Only this Staff took aid directly to refugees: women who had just given birth, or to those who were so ill they could not come to collect the humanitarian aid (this was done by Mevludin DURGUTOVIĆ – Hadžija) and only in this Crisis Staff was it possible for those travelling onward to get some money for petrol or the cost of a ticket, only from this Crisis Staff was it possible to phone or send a fax to relatives and friends abroad, etc. Many other important things also went on in the sole room of the Staff.

Representatives of the Split KŠ for BH regularly visited the wounded in the hospital at Firule, issued certificates for humanitarian aid deliveries, provided assistance to HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ members in various towns, attended prisoner exchanges, organised public rallies against the aggression on BH, provided transportation for humanitarian aid and security for the aid convoys, lobbied for various travel documents on behalf of BH citizens going about their business in Croatia and other countries, received and provided assistance to representatives of various municipalities who conducted a variety of defence and humanitarian aid tasks, cooperated with the IVZ /Islamic Religious Community/ on registering volunteers, gave basic instructions, provided accommodation and transportation to foreign journalists going to the front in BH, issued certificates to members of the BH OS /armed forces/ (certified and extended permits), visited refugee camps, and provided refugees with letters of guarantee and took charge of them at the Croatian border.

I believe the work of the Split Crisis Staff for BH ought to be discussed at the highest level - the Government and BH OS. The very existence of this Crisis Staff for BH in Split alleviated the suffering, fear, lack of organisation and disinformation of the refugees and families of those defending BH. Its work can be denied only by those wishing to advance their own careers, because its activities complemented the activities of the future BH Government Bureau in Split. This Staff can change its name if crisis staffs have been done away with in the R BH, but the essence of its work is closely linked with the liberation and defence of BH from aggression. This is why it is a crime against the people to negate its work, as some individuals have done. It is necessary, and I recommend that the most successful segments of its work, such as military and propaganda, be included in the work of the future BH Government

Bureau in Split, and the work of the amateurs who selflessly, without an personal gain, used all of their intellectual and material potential, and became involved in the defence of the internationally recognised Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina be recognised. These men now feel lonely and abandoned. Their work cannot and must not be underestimated or forgotten, because there are documents to back it up. That is how they led and are leading the joint struggle against a common foe.

President of the Crisis Staff for BiH
Split
Alija DŽAFO

To:

- Government of the Republic of BiH
- Hasan EFENDIĆ, military attaché
- Bureau of the Republic of BH in Croatia
- Files

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
SARAJEVO

Number:

Sarajevo, 2 June 1992

FAX 041/451-226

To: General STIPETIĆ

Citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina who are residing in the Republic of Croatia have informed us that organised activities are under way to form units that would join the armed forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In connection with this, we ask for your help in receiving these men at the Borongaj barracks in Zagreb (there are 300 men from Rijeka, 300 from Ljubljana and around 5,500 from Germany). These men should rally at the Borongaj barracks and be provided with uniforms and prepared for movement to Bosnia and Herzegovina by Saturday (6 June 1992).

The men who have already rallied in Zagreb have made a request for the units to be manned with military personnel. As we are unable to transfer men from Sarajevo to Zagreb, we ask you, if you can, to man this unit with 10 officers, if possible those who were born in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (because of their familiarity with the territory).

Thank you for your cooperation.

MINISTER
Jerko DOKO
/signed and stamped/

/circled number 283/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HEZEGOVINA
SUPREME COMMAND STAFF OF THE ARMED FORCES
SARAJEVO

Strictly confidential no.: 02/1445-1

Sarajevo, illegible December 1992

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC

OFFICIAL SECRET

Strictly confidential

To the Command of the 3rd Corps OS RBiH
ZENICA

In relation to your 17th December 1992 letter no. 05/233-1, referring to the engagement of a certain number of seniors, being part of the Croatian Army, having expressed their wish to join the OS RBiH, our stand is as follows:

1. The offer should be accepted, if this act does not disturb the relationship with the OS R Croatia.
2. The invitations of the seniors should be carried out by you.
3. After the arrival of the seniors and conducted interview, please submit a proposal for adequate duty appointment.

/Illegible/

handwritten

/for the/ CHIEF OF THE
SUPREME COMMAND
STAFF OF THE OS

RBiH

Sefer Halilovic

/stamped and signed/

Made and delivered in one copy:

1. To the Command of 3rd Corps, by modem
2. To the archive

/handwritten:/

CV ŠVK RBiH

Department KE

Delivered 01 04

19 December 1992

/signed/

/Handwritten: #47?/

/Stamp:/

MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN
THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

RECEIVED – SENT via:

TLF /Telephone/ - RRV /Radio Relay Communication/ - RV /Radio
Communication/ - PACTOR - PACKET - SAT /Satellite/

Date: 24 December 1992

Received by: /a signature/

24 December 1992

05-2813/92

To the Commander of the 17th brbr /Mountain Brigade/
/Handwritten: - forward to Commander Fikret ĆUSKIĆ/

Subject: Approval for relocating the DG /Sabotage Group/ from Travnik to Bihać district

On the basis of two concurrent requests from Mr Fahrudin ALAGIĆ, Mr Nefrid VUKALIĆ and Mr Ahmet ĆEKIĆ for approval from this attaché, as well as the Command of the 5th K /Corps/ for transferring the 40-man Sabotage Group to the Bihać District, following certain consultations, we hereby approve the Group's request.

Before sending this to the Group Commander and the Group, issue a combat task for carrying out certain tasks while travelling through the enemy's combat deployment.

Furthermore, before sending it to this attaché, submit to the assistant attaché the first and last names of the group members, place of insertion into the Bihać area, type and quantity of weapons they will be carrying and call signs, so that we can send them to the Command of the 5th Corps in order to avoid any problems with identification of the DG and persons in the group and internal fighting.

Assistant Military Attaché
Brigadier
Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ
/signed and stamped/

/Handwritten:/ According to OMANOVIĆ: VUKALIĆ and ĆEKIĆ are not managing logistics by the book, they do not return to the unit but wander around Zagreb.

ARMY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
COMMAND OF THE 1ST BERBIR BATTALION
COMMANDER
Slavko TOMANJIK
Zagreb, 17 May 1993

To:
THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
MILITARY ECONOMIC REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE ZAGREB
DEPUTY MILITARY ATTACHÉ H. OSMANAGIĆ
ASSISTANT FOR SECURITY DŽ. TOPIĆ

Subject: BRIEF

Since this is my first communication with the new leadership of the VEP /Military Economic Commission/,

I do not know if you are aware of the existence and activities of my unit, I wish to provide you some characteristics and specific information about the unit I command, and in the near future I will send you a detailed annual report on the activities of this unit on the joint defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1. The 1st Berbir Battalion was founded in Zagreb on 30 May 1992, as part of the what was the TO R BH /Territorial Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/, at a time when the VK / Supreme Commander/ commanded the GŠ VK OS R BH /Main Staff of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/. The Battalion went through a number of crises and difficulties, however it has survived to this day, and currently, without including the wounded and convalescents, has 120 men.

During the war it made its way through the entire Bosnian Posavina (Derвента, Bosanski Brod, sabotage operations, Bosanska Gradiška), and is today on the Orašje warfront as part of the Orašje HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ OZ /zone of operations/, as the only registered unit of the R /Republic/ of BH Army.

Our main problems have been MTS /materiel and technical equipment/, which we obtained by various means, by asking and begging, and only our wartime achievements and successes, for which there have been numerous praises from senior commanders of the HV /Croatian Army/ and HVO /Croatian Defence Council/, made it possible for us to survive somehow.

Unfortunately, I must say that so far those competent in the ARBH and in the RH have had no understanding or interest for our existence, our readiness to fight, let alone for visiting to our fighters, who wage war and die with the symbols of the ARBH, without ever having seen an official representative of our Army.

It is understandable that this creates the feeling being undervalued and abandoned by the GŠ VK ARBH among the men. I expect you will understand that a unit that was able to survive a year without direct logistical support from the ARBH, while continuously taking part in all war operations on the warfronts in the aforementioned areas, incurring casualties lower than the understandable and tolerated percentage, deserves more attention and support.

On 8 October 1992, in a sabotage operation, the unit successfully infiltrated the occupied part of Bosnian Krajina, near Bosnska Gradiška, inflicted losses in men

and material to the enemy, and returned to the free territory with minimal losses, a feat unequalled by any other unit. At the end of this brief, I wish to ask for a reply in a reasonable amount of time as to whether there is any interest in ARBH for this unit to continue to exist, and when we can expect real instructions and coordination?

If you conclude that the unit should continue to exist on this part of the warfront as a unit of the ARBH, the shortages of the following MTS should be alleviated:

- A system of links and communications for normally carrying our tasks considering that we always borrow everything, Motorolas (Jeza, Alkino) Rup /mobile radio/ 1 and Rup 2, possibly a video camera, and pm mobile phone.

- Please send new men who volunteer to join the army to the unit and elevate it at least to the level of battalion or company.

- Please allow torn uniforms, boots and other equipment to be exchanged.

- If you can, help us with money to cover the costs of visiting the wounded, religious services, etc.

At the very end, we invite you to visit the unit as part of the commemoration of its first anniversary, to be held in Orašje on 30 May 1993.

For an independent and free Bosnia and Herzegovina!

Commander
Slavko TOMANJIK
/signed/

UNIT LIST (77. BRIGADE)

77. BRIGADE

NO.	FIRST AND LAST NAME	RANK	POST	COMPANY	/ILLEGIBLE/
1	POROBIĆ MUSTAFA	COLONEL	BRIGADE COMMANDER	HV	01.04.
2	SIVIĆ ADEM	MAJOR	1. BATT. COMM. BRIGADE DEP. COMM.	HV	01.04.
3	KRIŽANOVIĆ VLADO	CAPTAIN – 1. CLASS	COMMAN. OF 1. COMPANY 1. BATTAL	HV	10.04.
4	CVIJANOVIĆ DRAGO	SERGEANT	1. PLATOON COMMANDER	HV	10.04.
5	KLASAN IVICA	CAPTAIN	DOCTOR	HV	10.04.
6	DELIBEGOVIĆ ARIF	CAPTAIN	HEAD OF COMMUNICATIONS	AUTORELEJ RI.	10.04.
7	KLASAN JOSIP	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	HV	10.04.
9	MAČINKOVIĆ MARJAN	SOLDIER	SOLDIER – MARKSMEN	HV	10.04.
10	KAJTAZOVIĆ IBRO	SOLDIER	RADIOMAN	HV	10.04.
11	AJANOVIĆ ENVER	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.
12	ČOLIĆ HASAN	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.

List of 77. Brigade members is 20 pages long

13	MARINKOVIĆ ŠIMO	SOLDIER	QUARTERMASTER	HV	10.04.1992	„ „
14	BEGIĆ HASAN	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
15	MARČETA MATO	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
16	JOZIĆ ILIJA	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	HV	10.04.1992	„ „
17	HODŽIĆ KASIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
18	VEDILINIĆ MUSTAFA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
19	PAŠUKAN ALDIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
20	MARKOVIĆ DRAGO	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
21	DERVIŠEVIĆ HALID	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
22	FRANK ALAN	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
23	TUKIĆ FERID	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
24	ČOLIĆ JOZO	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
25	MARIĆ VITO	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
26	CINDRIĆ SLAVKO	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	HV	10.04.1992	„ „
27	HALILOVIĆ FEHIM	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
28	AHMIĆ SULEJMAN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
29	MUJIĆ ASIF	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
30	KADIĆ HASAN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
31	PEKIĆ SEAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„ „
32	BUKOVČAN MATEUS	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
33	JUKIĆ HAMDİJA	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „
34	KUDIĆ IBRAHIM	SOLDIER		HV	10.04.1992	„ „

35	BERBEROVIĆ MUJO	SERGEANT	PLATOON COMMAND.	HV	10.04.1992	„ „
36	GLAD JOSIP	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	HV	23.04.1992	„
37	AKSAMIJA ABDULAH	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
38	ALAGIĆ ESAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
39	ALEKSEVIĆ KASIM	SOLDIER		NOVOTEHNA	23.04.1992	„
40	ALIČKOVIĆ SALIH	SOLDIER		HIDROELEKTRA	23.04.1992	„
41	ALIČIĆ EMIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
42	ALUKIĆ EMIR	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
43	ANDRIĆ BLAŽ	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
44	ARNAUTOVIĆ SENAD	SOLDIER		RIJEKACESTA	23.04.1992	„
45	BABIĆ SREĆO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
46	ARNAUTOVIĆ MIRSAD	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	RIJEKACESTA	23.04.1992	„
47	BABIĆ ANTO	SOLDIER		HŽP	23.04.1992	„
48	BABČA SLAVKO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
49	BABIĆ TATJANA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
50	BADURINA ANITA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	
51	BARJAKTAREVIĆ MEHMED	SOLDIER		SAFETY	10.04.1992	
52	BAJRIĆ MUNIB	SOLDIER		HŽP	10.04.1992	„
53	BAJRIĆ HAMDIIJA	SOLDIER		VULKANLIJEV	10.04.1992	„
54	BAJRIĆ MUHAMED	SOLDIER		VULKANLIEV	10.04.1992	„
55	BARAMOVIĆ EDIN	SOLDIER		ČISTOĆA	10.04.1992	„
56	AMIDŽIĆ ŠEMSUDIN	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	AUTORELEJ	10.04.1992	„
57	BARAMOVIĆ ELVEDIN	SOLDIER		ČISTOĆA	10.04.1992	„
58	BARIĆ BEGZADA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
59	DŽAKULIĆ HUSEIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
60	DŽULUBIĆ EMIR	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
61	DŽULUBIĆ ESMIR	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
62	DAUTOVIĆ NEDŽAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
63	DELIĆ MERIMA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
64	GLUHAJIĆ AGAN	SOLDIER		GRADŠPED	23.04.1992	„
65	HAMAS ENES	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
66	BRZIĆ RUFET	SERGEANT	PLATOON COMMAND.	UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
67	BAŠIĆ SAHIB	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	JADRANKOLOR	23.04.1992	„
68	KOVAČEVIĆ MUHAMED	SOLDIER		ANTIOKSID PULA	23.04.1992	„
69	MAHMIĆ MEHO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	15.06.1992	„
70	KOSTADINOVIĆ NATAŠA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
71	BARJAKTAREVIĆ NERMIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
72	GLUMČEVIĆ SEJFUDIN	SOLDIER		HŽP	23.04.1992	„

73	HAMIDOVIĆ RASIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
74	MURIĆ HASAN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
75	PANDŽIĆ SAMIR	SOLDIER		GP KRK	23.04.1992	„
76	PASTUOVIĆ ZLATKO	SOLDIER		TVORNICA PAPIRA	23.04.1992	„
77	MURSELOVIĆ AHMO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
78	AHMETOVIĆ AHMET	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	GRADITELJ	23.04.1992	„
79	BAKRAČ MUHAREM	SOLDIER		BRODOGRADILIŠTE	23.04.1992	„
80	BALEN BERISLAV	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
81	BANĐEN ANTONIO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
82	GLLAREVA ŠEVČET	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	14.05.1992	„
83	DELIĆ HAMID	SOLDIER		BRODOGRADILIŠTE	23.04.1992	„
84	GACHI ADAM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
85	IKANOVIĆ MUHAMED	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
86	BARTULOVIĆ IVICA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
346	GRAŠAREVIĆ FERID	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
347	GRAŠAREVIĆ FERIDA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
348	HABIBOVIĆ HAJRUDIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
349	HALILOVIĆ ESAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
350	HALILIOVIĆ HAZIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
351	HABIBOVIĆ IBRAHIM	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
352	GRGUREV IVAN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
353	HAJDAREVIĆ SMAJO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
354	HAMIDOVIĆ RASIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
355	JAPALAK NEHRUDIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
356	KANTAREVIĆ SEAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
357	KARAMOVIĆ SALIH	SOLDIER		3. MAJ	10.04.1992	„
358	KARARIC EDIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
359	MERDANIĆ MIRSAD	SOLDIER		KONSTRUKTOR	10.04.1992	„
360	TARANIŠ NEDŽAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
361	MUJAK RAMIZ	LIEUTENANT	PLATOON COMMANDER	UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
362	KUDIĆ RASIM	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
363	KRLIČEVIĆ SENAD	SOLDIER		HIDROELEKTRA	10.04.1992	„
364	KREZI SAMI	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„

365	KOŠTIĆ FERID	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
366	MESANOVIĆ NIHAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
367	MEŠANOVIĆ AVDO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
368	MEŠANOVIĆ SENAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
369	MEŠANOVIĆ HAMDO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
379	TANJIĆ SAMIR	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
371	OMEROVIĆ ZAIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
372	MEHINAGIĆ MEHMED	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
373	MEHIĆ ABID	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
374	SALIBAŠIĆ SAFET	SOLDIER		HŽP	10.04.1992	„
375	RUŽIĆ MILJENKO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
376	PUKOVIĆ RIZVAN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
377	PUSIĆ ANDRIJA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
378	RAHMANOVIĆ MEHMED	SOLDIER		VIKTOR LENAC	10.04.1992	„
379	RAJKOVIĆ JASMIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
380	POBRIĆ MUHAMED	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
381	POROBIĆ HUSEIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
382	POROBIĆ MIDHAT	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
570	MAŠIĆ RAMO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
571	SAVARIN MIRKO	SOLDIER		LUKA	23.04.1992	„
572	SEJDIĆ MIRSAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
573	SELMIĆ DERVIŠ	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
574	SELMIĆ EMIR	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
575	TRAVLJANIN SUAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
576	ŠEVČET BEZJAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
577	PAČIRI FARDIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
578	ŠIŠIĆ HALIL	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
579	TUFEKČIĆ NERMIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
580	TRNAČEVIĆ IBRAHIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
581	MILOŠ VEDRANA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
582	MIJATOVIĆ IVICA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
583	KUDIĆ ZAIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
584	KUDIĆ FADIL	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
585	HODŽIĆ ASIM	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
586	HODŽIĆ ESAD	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
587	HAVIĆ DAMIR	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
588	HUJIĆ ĐENAN	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
589	HALILČEVIĆ EHINJA	SOLDIER		JELA	23.04.1992	„
590	HADŽIEFENDIĆ MURIZ	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„

591	DERVIŠEVIĆ HASAN	SOLDIER		NOVOTEHNA	23.04.1992	„
592	DUGIĆ EDIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
593	BRKIĆ PERO	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
594	BOJKIĆ HALID	PRIVIAT		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
595	BRAJIĆ HILMIJA	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	23.04.1992	„
596	DURMIŠEVIĆ HUSEIN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
597	ELKASOVIĆ HUSEIN	LIUTENANT	PLATOON COMMANDER	ČISTOĆA	10.04.1992	„
598	IBRIŠEVIĆ JUSUF	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER	TORPEDO	10.04.1992	„
599	HRVIĆ SAMIR	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
600	HAVIĆ DEAN	SOLDIER		UNEMPLOYED	10.04.1992	„
601	HAVIĆ HARIS	SOLDIER			10.04.1992	„
602	KIRKIĆ REDŽO	SOLDIER			10.04.1992	„
603	KEČO ESAD	SOLDIER			10.04.1992	„
604	MARIĆ JOZO	SOLDIER			10.04.1992	„
605	MATANOVIĆ JASMINKA	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
606	MIJATOVIĆ VLADIMIR	SOLDIER		LUKA	23.04.1992	„
645	MILETIĆ MIRKO	LIEUTENANT	PLATOON COMMANDER		23.04.1992	„
646	JAVOR DRAGOMIR	CORPORAL	SQUAD COMMANDER		23.04.1992	„
647	DELIĆ ZAFIR	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
648	DERVIĆ MUJAGA	SOLDIER		KONSTRUKTOR	23.04.1992	„
649	GRAČANI MUHAREM	SOLDIER		NOVOTEHNA	10.04.1992	„
650	JOZIČIĆ JOSIP	SOLDIER		RIJEKAMONTAŽA	23.04.1992	„
651	KADRIJ NEDŽMADIN	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
652	KARVIĆ ĆAMIL	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
653	KARAHODŽIĆ MUSRET	SOLDIER		RUTIL	10.04.1992	„
654	PETONJIĆ MIJAT	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
655	SALKAMOVIĆ RASIM	SOLDIER		BRODOGRADILIŠTE	10.04.1992	„
656	SIMUENOVIĆ VJEKOSLAV	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
657	TORIĆ IZET	SOLDIER		BRODOGRADILIŠTE	10.04.1992	„
658	VIBEK JOSIP	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
659	ŠARIĆ TAHIR	SOLDIER		ČISTOĆA	10.04.1992	„
660	ŠEHERIJA DAMIR	SOLDIER		3. MAJ	10.04.1992	„
661	ŠIBONJIĆ DEJAN	SOLDIER			23.04.1992	„
662	ŠPAGO HALIL	CAPTAIN – 1. CLASS	LOGISTIC COMMANDER		10.04.1992	„
663	RUŽNIĆ RASIM	SERGEANT MAJOR	LOGISTICS OFFICER	JADRAN	10.04.1992	„
664	/handwritten:/ MAČKIĆ ISMET / handwritten/	/handwritten:/ STAFF SERGEANT		/handwritten:/ UNEMPLOYED	/handwritten:/ 10.06.1992	

CRISIS STAFF
FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – SPLIT

SDAH–Split branch
General Committee
Military Crisis Staff and
Crisis Staff

SPLIT, TRG REPUBLIKE 4/3
Phone: 058/362-528 and 362-015
ACCOUNT NO.: 34400-678-31044 SDK SPLIT
FOREIGN CUR. ACCOUNT: 34400-620-21-7081-6904661

In Split, 1st June 1992

- Anent to the defiant and hostile proceedings of Dr. Sadik Rakanović and Nusret Ibrahimović, that they will abolish the Military Crisis Staff for assistance to BiH in Split, because, as they say, they formed it with the help of journalist of Slobodna Dalmacija, Miomir Štrbac, announced its abolition.

On the basis of such act of hostility, the above associations conclude the following:

- that the abolition of the Military Crisis Staff for providing help to the BH Army and the people would be a disaster, and that this is a hostile act towards the homeland of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Abolition of the Military Crisis Staff and its activities, as the first and only of its kind in Croatia, would be considered a WAR CRIME by the BH Army and the people, as well as by all associations and domiciles of Bosniaks in Split and Croatia.

To prevent this, all mentioned associations are reaching the final:

DECISION

1. That Military Crisis Staff, at SDAH/Party of Democratic Action Croatia/ - Split branch, continues its activities because its previous work and contribution in helping the just battle of the people and the BH Army has been immense.
2. Military Crisis Staff officer, Mr. Mehmed Malkoč, is appointed as the Commander of the Military Crisis Staff of which the colonel Hasan Efendić, military attaché at the BiH Embassy in Zagreb, will be informed.

Conclusion: - As volunteers, employees of the Military Crisis Staff and its officer, Mr. Mehmed Malkoč, have, above all, fairly, correctly and professionally completed their tasks.

- they have sent over 2,000 Muslim and Croatian volunteers to the battlefields across BiH, and were helped by all military and civilian structures of the town of Split and Croatia, and thus greatly contributed in the defence of the sovereignty of the homeland of BiH and support to BH Army.

This decision is effective immediately.

Military Crisis Staff secretary
Sabrina Sadiković

/signed/

President of SDAH –Split branch
Alija Džafo

/signed/

/Round stamp: Crisis Staff for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Split, Trg Republike 4/3 /

COMMENTARY ENCLOSED WITH THIS DECISION

- After submitting the Report on the Work of the Military Crisis Staff of the Split branch of the SDAH /Party of Democratic Action of Croatia/, and continuing their cooperation with the military attaché with R /Republic/ of BH Embassy in Zagreb, Colonel Hasan EFENDIĆ, the KVŠ and its personnel received praise and acknowledgement, and support for their future work.

- During a review of the work of the Split branch of the SDAH on 27 September 1992, the KVŠ received the same praise and acknowledgement from SDAH Commission in Zagreb, and

- The KVŠ received praise for their work and activities, their immense assistance to the people and BH Army in the defence of the sovereignty of this recognised state from the Military Delegation of the BH Army, consisting of Colonel Rifat BILAJAC, Beno FABIJAN and Said RIZVIĆ, and from all the military and civilian authorities in Split.

- All personnel of the KVŠ were and still are volunteers, their desires and sentiment being to help the Homeland of BiH. For their effort, work and contribution they have not and will not ask for anyone's recognition; this has been and will remain a desire to help the people and BH Army. Our only wish remains to save the Homeland of BiH, and to have the diligent work of the Bosniaks in the Diaspora, in the Republic of Croatia, acknowledged.

REMARK: - As these are solely military matters, all this information should be preserved and kept safe from unauthorised persons, in order to protect the KVŠ and its personnel.

In Split, 28 December 1993

Commander of the KVŠ and Member of
the Main Staff in Split for supporting the
BH Army
Mehmed MALKOČ
/signed/

STAMP:

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MINISTER ASSISTANT OFFICE
Ref. no.: 05/-2
Zagreb, 20th January 1998

FIKRET /Himzo/ ĆUSKIĆ
Brigadier General
Commander of the 5th Corps of BH Army
Born on 29th February 1956 in Banja Luka



photo

Before the war Brigadier General Fikret Ćuskić was an active military person of JNA with the rank of Major. He graduated from the Academy of KOV /land army/ in Belgrade, specialty - artillery, and his last service was in Varaždin.

After the outbreak of war in Croatia, he joins HV, where he had the rank of an officer. In early 1992 he goes to BiH where he participates in organizing the Muslims of Bosanska Krajina.

In BH Army he served as a commander of the 17th Krajiška Brigade, later Viteška, and then as a Commander of the 312th Motorized Brigade, which committed atrocities against Croats in Travnik municipality in conflicts between HVO and BH Army.

In the first half of 1993, together with generals Alagić and Mahmuljin, he was working on the reorganization of the 3rd Corps of BH Army and its reconfiguration into 3rd and 7th Corps of BH Army. By forming the 7th Corps he is appointed as the Chief of Staff of the same Corps, where he remained until its abolition in early 1996. Simultaneously, he held the position of commander of OG "South", which operated on the west Bosnia battlefield.

After the abolition of the 7th Corps, he was appointed as the Chief of operations in the 5th Corps of BH Army. At that time, considering himself degraded, dissatisfied with his status, as well as with the rank of colonel, he declared that he was forced to leave the army. However, in June 1996 he was appointed as a Deputy Commander of the 5th Corps of BH Army. During the fifth anniversary of BH Army, on 15th April 1997, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier general. During 1997 he attended a high military training in Turkey. He was awarded "Zlatni ljiljan"/gold lily/ medal.

After the transfer of General Atif Dudaković to ZZ VF/Joint Command of Federation Army/, on 4th November 1997, he was appointed to the position of Commander of the 5th Corps of BH Army.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARMY
"HANDŽAR" UNIT
COMMITTEE FOR CROATIA – ZAGREB
REBROVAC 3 No. 2 phone: 237-423 fax: 237-423

Captured soldiers of "Handžar" unit in the breach on "Cazinska Krajina"

1. Čehić Nermin
2. Čehić Smail
3. Kantarević Mensur (Fes)
4. Mehić Suad
5. Smailagić Jasmin
6. Murić Hamdija
7. Dedić Hasan (betrayed Fes's group of 70 people in the village of Rakovica)
8. Torman Hasan
9. Sudetić Plavšić Danijel (joined the Chetniks)
10. Duraković Hase
11. Bajrić Rahman
12. Oraščanin Edhem
13. Dizdarević Husnija
14. Begić Hasib
15. Burzić Hilmija – handwritten: Vojnić hospital
16. Dizdarević Agan
17. Blagajčević Samir
18. Šumić Mustafa
19. Topčagić Ferid
20. Golubović Zarif (escaped from Drniš on 29th December 1992)
21. Bešić Emir (escaped from Drniš on 2nd December 1992)
22. Ilmić Senad – escaped
23. Župančić Robert – escaped
24. Nezirević Senad – escaped
25. Našić Husein – escaped
26. Bečić Irfan – escaped
27. Jusić Ibro (located in the camp on Svilaj)
28. Šabanagić Ferid (located in the camp on Svilaj)
29. Gaši Rešid – escaped

Stamp: ARMED FORCES OF BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA „HANDŽAK DIVISION“

Killed:

1. Čaušević Suad
2. Horvat Ivica – handwritten: in Zagreb – alive
3. Ljubić Nedeljko
4. Horvat Želimir
5. Duraković Husnija
6. Samardžić Mujo
7. Duraković Nurija

Died in Bihać:

1. Arapović Ekrem – Srki
2. Bećirbašić Elvedin – Edo
3. Mašinović Suad – Casin
4. Grgić Vijenčislav – Grga

BH Army officers from HV with emoluments

4th January 1993

05-6/93

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
ZAGREB

Military delegation of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia expresses its high appreciation to Croatian Ministry of Defence and is requesting, in order to achieve better professional services, organization and greater efficiency in the fight against Serbo-Chetnik aggressor, and for the purposes of Armed forces of BiH Republic, to allow the engagement of the following HV officers:

- AVDIĆ ISMET, Colonel who works in the area of Rijeka - Gospić
- AHMET PUŠKAR, Major of the Western brigade in Dubrovnik
- Dr. RAKANOVIĆ SADIK, Colonel who works in the military hospital in Split.

Please solve the status of these officers as before, by freezing (to have all emoluments as HV officers), and upon completion of the tasks enable their further engagement in HV.

Thank you in advance.

Sincerely!

SECRETARY FOR MILITARY AFFAIRS IN
THE OFFICE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

/signed/

Colonel Hassan EFENDIĆ

Number / 1810/92
Date; 29 October 1992

Pursuant to decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the proclamation of general mobilization, herewith I

ORDER

Driver Agović Fahro from Hrasnica, shall, by bus of «Centrotrans», Sarajevo enterprise, registration plates SA 279-597, transport soldiers, according to Armed forces of HV command, under the command of Dedić Senad, member of the HV for the Republic BiH, Ministry of Defence of the Main Staff of Armed forces-Special unit, to the hotel «FAMOS», Igman, as follows:

1. Blagajčević Muhamed
2. Dog Đina, property of Blagajčević Muhamed
3. Ljubijanac Mehmed
4. Ramić Husein
5. Midža Kasim
6. Dadić Senad
7. Crnkić Hajrudin
8. Čelenka Atif
9. Blagajčević Esad
10. Konjić Damir
11. Christopher James Watkins
12. Kaltak Samir
13. Šahinović Samir
14. Osman Sabre
15. Plamen Končev Penev
16. Kesadić Enver

Military Attaché of the R BiH in the
Republic of Croatia
Hasan Efendić
/signed and stamped/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Zagreb, Savska cesta 41/XI
Phone: 041/537-161, 537-160, fax 536-702

/coat of arms/

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
ZAGREB, RADNIČKA CESTA 228
Phone: 041/232-482

Number: 05-674/92
On 12 November 1992

Pursuant to decision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia number 512-0316/92-1139, Class 314 and authorization, number 4/92, dated 23 September 1992 of the Office of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia, on the transmission of jurisdiction, I issue the following

ORDER

The group (armed and equipped) of 25 men and 3 guides shall be directed from the area of Sljeme near Zagreb to the region of Bihać at direction Zagreb-Karlovac-Ogulin, in order to be inserted in the region of Bihać.

The time of departure and stay on the march-route till their insertion in the region lasts from 13th till 16th of November 1992. /handwritten ASIM BAŠAGIĆ/

The list of the group :

- | | | |
|-------|--|----------------------|
| 1. ① | Kovačević (son of Rizah) Šemsudin | PM-37832 AP 171/67 |
| 2. ② | Mešinović (son of Hasan) Hasib- | AP 16854 |
| 3. ③ | Čejvanović (son of Arif) Zarif | PM 10267 |
| 4. ④ | Kajtezović (son of Ibrahim) Munib | FAL 7/116666 |
| 5. ⑤ | Burzić (son of Nurij) Rifet | VS 11394 |
| 6. ⑥ | Begić (son of Ćamil) Zenin | AFR 3707 PM 70163 |
| 7. ⑦ | Beganović (son of Mehmed) Jusuf | AP 86250 APR BM 4222 |
| 8. ⑧ | Bašagić (son of Sinan) Asim | FALL 116516 |
| 9. ⑨ | Alibić (son of Sulejman) Rifet | AP 315235 |
| 10. ⑩ | Alukić (son of Muharem) Emir | VS 45541 + AP |

/illegible/

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 11. Amidžić (son of Šaban) Mirsad | PM 23068 |
| 9. 12. Dautović (son of Zarif) Sakib | AP 218487 + SNIPER 40474 |
| 10. 13. Merdanović (son of Husein) Mirsad | PM 23068 |
| 14. Mujašević (son of Avdo) Refik | AP 2253823 |
| 11. 15. Odobačić (son of Sulejman) Nezir | AFR 4222 PM 37832 |
| 16. Porčić (son of Bajro) Esad | AP 4476 |
| 12. 17. Rekanović (son of Bajro) Hikmet | AP 164815 |
| 13. 18. Sadiković (son of Hasim) Emir | AP 113103 |
| 14. 19. Samardić (son of Asim) Nijaz | AP 54580 |
| 15. 20. Skukan (son of Mladen) Nenad | AP 194144 113103 + 556 |
| 21. Šakanović (son of Fadil) Osman | STAER 144598 i APR 1639 |
| 16. 22. Šakanović (son of Osman) Osman | AP 489466 |
| 17. 23. Šarić (son of Alaga) Rifet | VS 46542 + AP 2538 23 |
| 18. 24. Šarić (son of Nezir) Mesud | FALL 121400 + APR BM 4476 |
| 19. 25. /Dražanović (son of Mehmed) Zahid | APR 3707 handwritten/ |

/illegible/

SNIPER 194598

Guides:

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Balčinović Esad | /handwritten | 1. Velagić Nijaz AP 194144/ |
| 2. Babić Zulfid | /handwritten | 2. Ružinić Mirsad APR TA 1639/ |
| 3. Rošić Kasim | /handwritten | 3. Grošić Zijad AP 164854/ |

/handwritten + 2 guides from HV (Croatian Army)/

This order bears the internal character for the composition of OS R BiH /armed forces of R BiH/; it serves to be shown as proof of direction in the Republic of BiH to the bodies of civil and military power of the Republic of Croatia on a relation of movement through the Republic of Croatia; the above cited order must be destroyed in case of movement through the temporary occupied territory by the Chetnicks or in case of capturing and any contacts with Chetnicks; the order must not be found in hands of Chetnicks in any case.

Concerning all other issues act upon the oral order of the military attaché.

Military Attaché of R BiH in the Republic of Croatia

Colonel Hasan Efendić

/Signed and stamped/

1685
23 September

RE: Mobilisation of military conscripts –
citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ministry of the Interior
of the Republic of Croatia
To the Police Administration of the city of Zagreb

Certain problems and misunderstandings have occurred in recent times when taking in and deporting military conscripts who are citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and who are currently staying in the Republic of Croatia, /a task being carried out/ by the Ministry of the Interior as instructed by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

They have occurred because only one of the following three officials of the Government of the Republic of Herzegovina in Zagreb /?were authorised to/ be in contact with the police and could give permission to take over conscripts:

1. Dr Šemso TANKOVIĆ
2. Tomo KRSTIČEVIĆ
3. Miljenko BRKIĆ

As the Office of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb also has a Military Attaché, Colonel Hasan EFENDIĆ, as well as a military mission, we would hereby like to inform you that the aforementioned or any person he authorises may have legitimate contacts of any kind with you and may issue valid documents.

The documents we issue shall be certified with our stamp, as in the attachment to this letter.

We hope that we will be able to achieve full cooperation and eliminate all the current misunderstandings.

Yours faithfully,

Military Attaché of the Republic of BiH
Colonel Hasan EFENDIĆ
/stamped and signed/

Copy: The police administration of
the Pešćenica sports hall

THE R /Republic of/ BH MILITARY MISSION
in the RH /Republic of Croatia/
Strictly confidential /no./ 05-3578/93
Zagreb, 19 April 1993

/Handwritten: project Š/

To the President of
the R BH PRESIDENCY

RE: Update on the *Kobra* project

The *Kobra* project, which was verbally approved by you and in writing by the NŠ /Chief of Staff/ of the VK /Supreme Command/, Mr HALILOVIĆ, has come to a complete standstill.

The project is of great importance as it would significantly reinforce the R BH Army with a good-quality, well-equipped unit, trained for special tasks. If this project were to be realised successfully, it would also have a significant effect on the way combat operations are performed, at the front and in its immediate rear, and especially in the PZT /temporarily occupied territory/ and beyond.

What matters is that the project is achievable, that funding has been promised by reliable donors, whom you have met in person, that we have the specialised staff and the area where it will be set up has also been partly agreed, but depends on your decision.

Mr President, I would therefore like to ask you to give the green light, so that the project can start as soon as possible.

I would also like to suggest that the PASSA /expansion unknown/ is changed, because of illness and a considerable delay to the project.

Yours faithfully,

SECRETARY FOR MILITARY AFFAIRS ATTACHED
TO THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BiH IN THE RH
Hasan EFENDIĆ

To:

One copy to the /Chief of staff/ of the R BH OS /Armed Forces/ VK /Supreme Command/

HE/SP

/stamp:

MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN
THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Received /illegible/ via:

TLP /Teleprinter/; RRV /Radio Relay Communication/; RV /Radio
Communication/; /illegible/; packet; SAT /satellite phone/

Date: 19 April 1993 at _____ hours

Received by: /a signature/ /

/handwritten: #1639/

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARMY TRAINING CENTRES IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

120



/Fax marks/ July 00 1000 14:04 headquarters SDA Sarajevo
page 1

fax: 071 510007

Party of democratic action
Sarajevo
Maršala Tita street no. 7-a/IV

/stamp/
SDA
Party of Democratic Action Sarajevo
NO: 1258/91
Date: 8th of July 1991

List of candidates for training of specialists in MUP of the Republic of Croatia

/handwritten/
Dr. Brajko Brnčić

/round stamp of SDA/

Secretary of the SDA
/signed/

Sarajevo, 8th of July 1991

List of candidates for training of specialists in MUP of the Republic of Croatia
/ list of persons with their names, father's name, date of birth and address/

1. Sofić (Safet) Naim	born	19.12.1962., St. Partizanska Fojnica 139
2. Mukoča (Ibrahim) Samir	"	21.05.1969., Pločari Polje Fojnica
3. Mukoča (Alija) Halid	"	21.05.1962., Pločari Polje Fojnica
4. Omerčević (Refik) Amir	"	18.09.1964., Ragole 25, Fojnica
5. Bukvić (Adem) Samir	"	07.02.1969., Pločari Polje nn, Fojnica
6. Tulumović (Ibro) Maid	"	08.01.1969., Sčitovo Polje nn, Fojnica
7. Mešić (Fadil) Mustafa	"	20.03.1963., Rike Vrička 35, Fojnica
8. Huzbašić (Mustafa) Ibrahim	"	23.05.1969., Pridola nn, Fojnica
9. Fejzić (Avdo) Munib	"	16.09.1968., Dusina nn, Fojnica
10. Kurta (Alija) Muradif	"	01.01.1969., Ostružnica 34, Fojnica
11. Nuhanović (Alija) Haris	"	20.12.1969., Sčitovo Polje nn, Fojnica
12. Bigdanić (Ibro) Rusmir	"	09.09.1963., Alanporka 38, Fojnica
13. Pašić (Behazija) Refik	"	16.06.1969., Pridola nn, Fojnica
14. Ramić (Ibrahim) Zihnija	"	28.04.1969., Cemernica, Fojnica
15. Durić (Avdo) Latif	"	20.11.1971., Rijeka 24, Fojnica
16. Mujin Nijaz	"	03.08.1970., Kozica nn, Fojnica
17. Čehajić (Esad) Suad		1970., Orodjac, Visoko
18. Genjac (Sulejman) Zihnija		1963., Podrinje, Visoko
19. Spahić (Ibrahim) Fuad		1964., Podvinjci, Visoko
20. Imamović (Ćamil) Ibrahim		1967., H. Muzaferija 8, Visoko
21. Javorovac (Hilmo) Sele		1966., Selo Čitluk, Visoko
22. Sehić (Avdo) Selver		1963., Selo Kološići, Visoko
23. Bašić (Nusret) Dženan		1970., Selo Srhinje, Visoko
24. Džafić (Muhamed) Sead		1968., Selo Ginje, Visoko
25. Mahmut Spahić (Husein) Hasan		1967., Selo D. Seoča, Visoko
26. Bučuk (Ismet) Izet		1965., Selo M. Trnovci, Visoko
27. Huseljić (Halid) Adem		1971., Selo Tušnjići, Visoko
28. Šaljić (Derviš) Dževad	"	01.01.1971., St. Sulje Jahića 59, Sar
29. Bašović (Islam) Behudin	"	25.09.1963., St. Izeta Čamore 100, Ilidža
30. Bašović (Islam) Fahrudin	"	28.10.1974., St. Izeta Čamore 100, Ilidža
31. Bašović (Islam) Džemko	"	14.01.1967., St. Izeta Čamore 100, Ilidža

456. Hukić Safet
457. Hukić Sulejman
458. Kasapović Mevsudin
459. Mrakoviović Šahim
460. Huseinović Ibrahim
461. Zukić Fuad
462. Dedić Fahudin
463. Bešić Ševal

1971., Bijelašnička 124, Ilidža
1968., Bijelašnička 124, Ilidža
1969., Barska 30L, Ilidža
1959., Sl. Suha, Živinice
1965., Sl. Zelenika, Živinice
1963., Sl. Bašigovci, Živinice
1968., G. Dubrane, Živinice
1969., Gračanica-Živinice

/handwritten:

Concluded with ordinal number 463 you shall receive the resumption to this list in 7 days.

Rasim Muharemović
SDA Sarajevo /

/signed and stamped/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
ARMED FORCES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
COMMISSION FOR CROATIA - ZAGREB

Number: 8/92

Date: 3 August 1992

/stamped/

S U B J E C T : AUTHORIZATION

Mr Nijaz HADŽIOSMANAGIĆ from Zagreb is hereby authorized by the *Handžar* Division - Lukavica 2nd Forward Squad, to collect, with full material and legal responsibility, military and medical equipment on its behalf.

C O M M A N D E R

Logistics Service
Tasim KRČEVIĆ
/signed and stamped/

O P E R A T I O N S O F F I C E R

Nijaz HADŽIOSMANAGIĆ-TADIĆ
/signed/

/Handwritten document/
Plešivica: Tuesday, 22 September 1992

R E C O R D

MTS /material and technical equipment/ - left over after a group from Slovenia (165) visited – A group staying in Plešivica between 8 September and 22 September 1992

1. 60-mm MB /mortar/ - 4, and 8 cases of charges
2. M53 PM /light machine-gun/ - 15 (3)
3. PAP /semi-automatic rifle/ - 47
4. AP /automatic rifle/ - 78
5. *Zolja* /hand-held rocket launcher/ - 32 (2)
6. Makarov pistol – 40
7. RB /?hand-held launcher/ - 2, and 18 shells
8. BR /?rocket launcher/ - 450 (50)
9. 7.62-mm ammunition - 18,000
10. 7.9-mm ammunition – 20,000
11. pistol ammunition – 1,200
12. Binoculars – 3
13. Magnetic compass – three

/Written sideways on page:/

Note: This MTS was transferred from Plešivica to Lučko, escorted by VP /military policeman/ Jasko in a Borongaj HV /Croatian Army/ lorry. For VP Jasko's service, and in the presence of Aladin, 1,000 ATS Austrian schillings/ were given (four /unclear/).

The weapons listed under nos. 1-13 were handed over by Safet HOZANOVIĆ and taken over by Silvija MITREČIĆ-PALIĆ. The handover was witnessed by Safet PAJALIĆ, Meho HUSETIĆ, Emin TATAREVIĆ and Muhamed ALIĆ.

Handed over by:
Safet HOZANOVIĆ

Taken over by:
Silvija MITREČIĆ-PALIĆ

Witnesses:

/four signatures/

PS The weapons listed under nos. 1-13 will be transferred to a warehouse, and it is the responsibility of Nijaz BIBANOVIĆ and Senad PALIĆ to transfer the weapons to the Bihać regional headquarters, to Commander Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ. Safet HOZANOVIĆ, Silvija MITREČIĆ-PALIĆ and the aforementioned witnesses have been notified of this. Also inform Mr Vinko TONDINI.

/handwritten document/

Major
Smail DEDIĆ
25 September 1992
Jastrebarsko

Statement on the training of BH
volunteers in Jastrebarsko

In mid-May, I believe I received a phone call from Silvija, whom I did not know. She asked if I could try to arrange, through the Commander of the Military Training and Education Centre /COOV/, accommodation and a 15-day training course for 20 people from Bosnia and Herzegovina. I asked the Centre Commander about that and he said he would ask his superiors. Approximately two to three days later, he called me and ordered me to receive 35-40 people, provide them with food and accommodation and draft an activity plan for 10-15 days. I did that, and I appointed Senior Lieutenant Marijan IVEZIĆ and Junior Lieutenant Smiljan ČUBALIĆ to train the group. All other issues were dealt with by Silvija.

The second group arrived either in the middle or at the beginning of June. There were 32 men, who left for Borongaj after 15 days of training. Another group of 30 men came immediately after them and, ten days later, a third group consisting of 40 members of the HOS /Croatian Defence Forces/. I was in charge of accommodation, food and training. These three sub-groups were merged into one and sent with guides to Bosnia and Herzegovina via Slunj.

At the beginning of July, the *Handžar* Division, which was on the Posavina front, asked me to organise a passage for them to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Through the 3rd OZ /operations zone/, I organised for them to be accommodated on Mt Plješivica and fed in the barracks, for which they were charged extra. There were 150 men on Plješivica. They had brought weapons with them. At the same time, Enes and Eko brought a group of 350 men to Zdenčina. I had nothing to do with them.

Both groups left with guides at the same time. I do not know the exact time of their departure.

While I worked with these men (groups) I did not record their numerical strength or the dates of their arrival and departure, so I cannot be precise about the times. At the time, I did not consider it important to keep any records.

Major
Smail DEDIĆ
/signed/

TRAINING OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA PILOTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

Documentation consolidated in subcategory – Training
centres of the BH Army in the Republic of Croatia

Training centres in the Republic of Croatia in which BH Army pilots were trained
1991 - 1992





P R E S I D E N C Y
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
THE PRESIDENT

Sarajevo, 9 August 1992

TO THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA /RH/

Z A G R E B

Please authorise the persons listed below to stay in the Republic of Croatia and attend the training required by the BH Air Force.

1. Major Nedžad SULJIĆ, MIG-21, former squadron commander
2. Major Goran BULUT, "Orao" /Eagle/, former squadron commander
3. Major Antun SOMBORAC, MIG-21, former squadron commander
4. Captain 1st Class, Josip BARUNOVIĆ, MIG-21, former squad commander
5. Captain 1st Class, Mirzan SEČIĆ, MIG-21, former assistant squadron commander
6. Captain Mirsad FAZLIĆ, MIG-21, former assistant regiment commander
7. Captain Hidajim GAZIBEGOVIĆ, MIG-21, former squad commander
8. Lieutenant Goran STANOJEVIĆ, MIG-21, former assistant squadron commander
9. Lieutenant Suad NIJEMČEVIĆ, MIG-21, squadron pilot
10. Lieutenant Jasminko BEŠIĆ, MIG-21, pilot
11. Lieutenant Anto GRGIĆ, MIG-21, pilot
12. Captain Meho MERDANIĆ, MI-8 helicopter pilot
13. Captain Hajrudin AGIĆ, Gazelle helicopter pilot
14. Lieutenant Besim KORČIĆ, MI-8 helicopter pilot
15. Lieutenant Samir SULJEVIĆ, Gazelle helicopter pilot
16. Lieutenant Šemsudin BEŠLAGIĆ, Gazelle helicopter pilot
17. Lieutenant Samir BEGANOVIĆ, G-4 (*Super Galeb* /Super Seagull/) pilot
18. Lieutenant Edvin IFTIĆ, *Galeb* /Seagull/ pilot
19. Lieutenant Zejto RASTODER, Gazelle helicopter pilot
20. Reserve Lieutenant Suad PEČENKOVIĆ, pilot, propeller aircraft and *Galeb*
21. Reserve Lieutenant Tedi BAIER, pilot, propeller aircraft and *Galeb*
22. Civilian employee, Zvonko BIRJUKOV, pilot, propeller aircraft

As you can see from the above data, most of the men were members of the former JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/. We have carried out preliminary checks and selection.

Please inform us of your decision as soon as possible.

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Jerko DOKO
/signed and stamped/

PRESIDENT OF THE
BH PRESIDENCY
Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ
/signed and stamped/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
SUPREME COMMAND STAFF of OS
MANAGEMENT RV AND PVO
NO. 516/92
27 December 1992
ZAGREB

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
strictly confidential

Files

TRAINING OF PILOTS AND TECHNICIANS
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

ORDER:

Based on the needs that have been pointed out, as well as realized agreements with the command of RZ and PZO of the Republic of Croatia, the following pilots and technicians from the RV and PVO of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be directed to the Republic of Croatia for training and task execution.

1. Pilots for AN-2 airplanes;
 - IFTIĆ EDVIN
 - PEČENKOVIĆ SUAD
 - GAZIBEGOVIĆ HIDAJEM
 - BEŠLAGIĆ ŠEMSUDIN
 - GRGIĆ ANTE
 - NJEMČEVIĆ SUAD
 - BEŠIĆ JASMIN

2. Pilots for the Casa-212 airplanes;
 - BULUT GORAN
 - BEGOVIĆ SAMIR
 - SINANOVIĆ ESAD
 - BARALIĆ AMIR

3. Technicians for the maintenance of the Casa-212 airplanes;
 - GRIGIĆ ŽELJKO
 - ALAGIĆ MUHAMED

4. Technicians for the maintenance of the AN-2 technicians;
 - MEHMETAGIĆ AMIR

5. Bulut Goran shall be appointed commander of the group, responsible for the coordination of all tasks, related to the training and security of the groups work. The training shall be executed according to the agreed plan of training between HRZ and PZO and RV and PVO OS R BiH.

DELIVERED to:

- Files
- Supreme Command Staff Sarajevo (The RV and PVO management)
- Airforce Bihać
- Airforce Tuzla
- Bulut Goran
- Command of HRZ and PZO
- Military delegation of the RBiH in the Republic of Croatia

Chief of the management of RV and PVO
Salko Begić

/stamped and signed/

/stamp:

Armed Forces of the Republic of
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Air Force Group Command
B I H A Ć
Strictly confidential number 02/3-11
Date: 23 November 1992/

Retraining pilots in the
Republic of Croatia.-

Brigadier Goran BULUT

Based on the recently observed requirements, with a view to the most efficient possible functioning of airlifts between the Republic of Croatia and the Bihać region, and based on the information received from our representatives and co-ordinators in the Republic of Croatia on the possibilities of retraining pilots for CASA-212 and AN-2 aircraft, I hereby issue the following

O R D E R :

1. Retrain the following pilots on CASA-212 aircraft:
 - Goran BULUT - Commander of a group of people in Zagreb, in charge of organisation
 - Mirzan ŠEČIĆ - in charge of flight issues
 - Hidajim GAZIBEGOVIĆ - pilot

2. Retrain the following pilots on AN-2 aircraft:
 - Samir BEGANOVIĆ - pilot
 - Suad NIJEMČEVIĆ - pilot

Retraining will be carried out in agreement with the Command of HRZ and PZO /Croatian Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence/, in accordance with their abilities, requirements, plans and retraining programmes.

AS/AM

Done in two copies and

s e n t :

- Brigadier BULUT
- archives

C O M M A N D E R
B R I G A D I E R
Nedžad SULJIĆ
/signed and stamped/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
SUPREME COMMAND STAFF OF OS
MANAGEMENT RV AND PVO

Zagreb, 8 March 1993
07-1242/93

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
OFFICIAL SECRET
Strictly confidential

TRAINING OF PILOTS AND TECHNICIANS
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

ORDER:

Based on emerged needs and realized agreements with the Command RZ and PVO of the Republic of Croatia, the following pilots and technicians from the RV and PVO of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be directed to the Republic of Croatia for training and task execution;

1. To the higher level of training and execution of the specified tasks for the airplane, the following pilots:
 - BULUT GORAN
 - BEGA VOIĆ SAMIR
 - SINANOVIĆ ESAD
 - BARALIĆ AMIR

For the maintenance of the simulator on the CASA-212 airplane, the pilots:

- Capt. Kulić Omer, flight instructor
- Capt. Taševac Osman, flight instructor

For the maintenance of the CASA-212 airplane, the technicians:

- GRIGIĆ ŽELJKO
- ALAGIĆ MUHAMED

2. For the execution of the specified tasks and maintenance of the simulator on the An-2, pilots:

- IFTIĆ EDVIN
- PEČENKOVIĆ SUAD
- GAZIBEGOVIĆ HIDA JEM, also a flight instructor
- TAŠREVAC NUSRET, also a flight instructor
- NJEMČEVIĆ SUAD
- BEŠIĆ JASMIN

For the maintenance of the An-2, technicians:

- MEHMETAGIĆ AMIR

3. All the pilots shall go through training and maintenance of the simulation on the UTVA-75 and PAJPER-18. The following persons are appointed as flight instructors:

- SINANOVIĆ ESAD
- PEČENKOVIĆ SUAD
- TAŠEVAC NUSRET

4. Bulut Goran shall be appointed commander of the group, responsible for the coordination of all tasks, related to the training and security of the groups work.

The training shall be executed according to the agreed plan of training between HRZ and PZO and RV and PVO OS R BiH.

By this order, the order, strictly confidential no. 516/92 dated 27 December 1993, is declined.

DELIVERED TO:

1. Files
2. Staff VK OS RBiH / The RV and PVO management
3. Command of HRZ and PZO
4. Military delegation of the RBiH in the RH
5. Commander Bulut Goran

Chief of the management of RV and PVO
Salko Begić

/signed and stamped/

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
SUPREME COMMAND of HV

Class: 803-05/92-03/26
Delivery number: 5120-04/13-92-14
Zagreb, 24 July 1992

/handwritten/
forwarded to Mister Praljak –
he will try to decide

DEFENCE
MILITARY SECRET
Strictly confidential

Attn. MINISTER OF DEFENCE

Additional training for the TO BiH members on the AN-2 airplane
- Request for approval -

3 pilots and technicians of the TO BiH arrived to the HRZ and PZO unit, due to additional training on the AN-2 airplanes and pursuant to oral agreement. It concerns pilots who, on the BiH territory, would fly for the needs of defence; therefore is that task rather urgent, due to a constant need for TO BiH evacuation and TO BiH supply. We request from you an urgent approval for the above cited training or to authorize us to issue the approval.

TM/JB

URGENT – BY COURIER

DELIVERED TO:

1. ATTN.
2. FILES

DEPUTY COMMANDER
GS HV COMBAT SECTOR
General-Major
Petar Stipetić

/signed and stamped/

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
VP/military post/ 3045 Pula
Pula, 2nd June 1994

Attn. Commander of HRZ/Air Force/ and PZO /Air Defence/
Major General
Imra Agotić

Report: Special flights

On 1st June 1994 at 13:41 the aircraft C - 212 CASSA, designation T- 9 ABA has landed. Arrival route LJUBLJANA - ILB - CRES - PULA. Crew Musić and Baralić (according to the information, it is Amir Baralić, former JNA pilot - my note). The aircraft was parked in a hangar. At 19:13 the aircraft C - 550 designation T-9 BiH has landed, the same route as above. Crew Kulić, Habibović and the mechanic Mahmutović. At 20:13 C - 550 left on the route CRES - ZAGREB - HUNGARY - ANKARA. Crew Kulić and Musić.

Habibović, Mahmutović and Baralić settled in Duga Uvala. On 2nd June 1994 at 15:45 C - 550, T- 9 BiH has landed. Arrival route ANKARA - BULGARIA - HUNGARY - ZAGREB - CRES - PULA. Crew Kulić and Musić. Unloaded 16 carton boxes (explosives). They filled 600l = 480 kg = 144 USD of fuel from us. They boarded the unloaded cargo in the CASSA located in hangar. At 16:19 HANSA JET, designation TC - LEY (Turkey) has landed. Arrival route ANKARA - BULGARIA - HUNGARY - ZAGREB - CRES - PULA. Crew Nedim and Džemil - co-pilot. Unloaded 29 boxes (22 small, 4 large and 3 with optical devices). They filled 1000 l = 800 kg = 240 USD of fuel from us. Cargo that was brought was reloaded into CASSA located in the hangar. HANSA JET aircraft took off towards Zagreb at 17:02. The same crew, Nedim and Džemil. According to the statement, they will be staying at the Hotel Intercontinental in Zagreb. At 16:56 CASSA 212 took off with cargo towards destination BiH. Route PULA - CRES - SPLIT - BiH - SPLIT - PULA. Crew Kulić, Musić and the mechanic Mahmutović. They returned to Pula at 19:36. According to the statement of Captain Kulić, on the return route, over the territory of BiH, a pair of single-engine fighters passed them by (not sure of the type). At 19:54 C- 550 T- 9 BiH took off towards Ljubljana via ILB. Crew Kulić, Habibović, Mahmutović. At 20:02 CASSA 212 T - 9 ABA took off towards Ljubljana on the same route. Crew Musić and Baralić.

Commander of the 92 ZB /Air Base/
Colonel
Vladimir Mikac

Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /RBH/
Air Force Group Command
BIHAĆ

Strictly confidential number: 01/31-3
Date: 22 January 1993

Query,-

To: RBH Military Commissioner in the
Republic of Croatia /RH/
- Colonel Salko BEGIĆ
- Brigadier Goran BULUT

As you have not replied to our query, strictly confidential number 01/31-1 of 14 January 1993, please provide answers to the questions below for the purpose of synchronization with the command and control system of the Bihać Air Force Group.

1. Send us telephone numbers of the facilities where our people, currently accommodated in Zagreb, can be reached, their exact addresses in Zagreb, Velika Gorica and Pula, and the most convenient times for contacting them (by mobile phone).
2. Are CASA and AN-2 training programmes proceeding as planned and when are they scheduled to finish - for both the pilots and the technical staff?
3. We had requested authorization from the Supreme Command Staff to send the remaining two helicopter pilots (Mustafa KAHRIĆ and Zejto RASTODER) for retraining. Why was the authorisation issued only to be cancelled by them after 6 (six) days. The explanation was that other crews are being trained on the AB-206. We would be interested in knowing which crews these are and whether the helicopter is functioning at all.
Have our crews been planned for (we have a total of five helicopter pilots).
4. Who will fly over the UTVA unmanned aerial vehicle and P-18 and when (please inform us of the exact time of the flight so that we can organise the handling) Have the GPS-100 been installed in the aircraft? If not, install them. We have been informed by Šubet that four to five GPS-100s have been purchased.
5. Please check whether ŠEČIĆ's status has been resolved and when we can send him for CASSA training with GAZIBEGOVIĆ.
6. What is the status of airport equipment purchase (ZRNS /ground-based radio navigation systems/, minor).
7. Please be informed that we are installing engines into Blanik and Vuk L-13 gliders. These motor gliders will be used to train pilots at Čoralići airport.

MÄ/AM

Done in two copies
and sent to:

- Files
- RBH Military Commissioner in RH

COMMANDER

Brigadier
Nedžad SULJIĆ

/handwritten: 881/
/handwritten: Combat Arms Administration
Authorise.
/a signature//



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA /RH/
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
ZAGREB

COMMAND OF HRZ AND PZO /Croatian
Air-Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence/

Class: 035-01/92-01/92
Number: 5120-20/01-92-53
Zagreb, 21 July 1992

DEFENCE
MILITARY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Retraining of BH TO /Territorial Defence of
Bosnia and Herzegovina/ members on AN-2 aircraft.–

RH MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
CHIEF OF HV MAIN STAFF
General Anton TUS

Based on the HRZ and PZO Command file, Class: 035-01/92-01/09, number 5120-20/01-92-48 of 17 July 1992, please inform us of your position on and authorisation for the retraining of three pilots and one member of BH TO ZTS /Aviation Technical Profession/ to be organised and carried out by the HRZ and PZO Command, in accordance with the attached plan and programme.

Awaiting your urgent reply,

Yours faithfully,

JC/DH

COMMANDER
Major General
Imra AGOTIĆ
/signed and stamped/

Assistant Military Attaché
in the Republic of Croatia
Brigadier Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ

MILITARY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Zagreb, 25 November 1992

W A R N I N G

To: Air Force Group

Re: sending passengers to Zagreb.

Taking into consideration that you, the Air-Force Group commanders, are in charge of the final phase in the handling of passengers travelling to the Republic of Croatia, I am most seriously warning you to adhere to my earlier instructions because the passengers might, indeed, end up in prison rather than at their final destination.

AMENDMENT of the previous instruction and request:

All aircraft passengers, regardless of who they are (this applies to both the Croats and the Muslims), unless they are citizens of Croatia (i.e. possess a certificate of Croatian citizenship), must have their documents, letters of guarantee or transit visas via Croatia to other countries, issued in Croatia.

As regards pilots and technicians you are sending for retraining, prior to their departure you must take a statement from all of them containing the following information:

- Military background information,
- Information on combat operations in Croatia, where, when, against which targets and at whose orders,
- Date of leaving the former so-called JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/.

Note: All officers who left after 10 November 1991 cannot receive any treatment in Croatia and should therefore not be sent there.

Officers whose military background does not meet the standards, who are suspected of having been active in the Republic of Croatia, will not be allowed to train in the Republic of Croatia. Should their activities be proven, criminal proceedings will be initiated against them. False statements will be taken as aggravating circumstances. This must be seriously taken into account because people's fates are at stake.

Remark:

Based on the conversation with AGOTIĆ and MAČEK and their conclusion that, when appointing pilots to be trained on CASA aircraft, pilots who have done a lot for the BH Republic and the Bihać region are not being taken into consideration, which may cause complications. They have acknowledged the right and the authority of the VG Commander to appoint /pilots/ through strict subordination but are drawing attention to this issue which should be taken into account. They consider the training on AN-2 aircraft to be basic and necessary for transition to other types of aircraft.

Brigadier Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Armed Forces Supreme Command

Conf. number 07-1836/93.

ZAGREB, 26th February 1993

REPUBLIC DEFENCE

OFFICIAL SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

PILOT TRAINING.-

ORDER

In order to improve the professional flying competences of RV /Air Force/ and PVO /Air Defence/ pilots of Bosnia and Herzegovina OS /Armed Forces/ I hereby,

ORDER

1. To conduct the IFR theoretical training of pilots who have completed or are conducting trainings on the aircrafts An-2 and CASA - 212.

Trainings will be conducted according to the curriculum, and in accordance with ICAO regulations by:

- Capt. BOŽIĆ MIRKO

- Capt. KULIĆ OMER, Training instructor of professional pilots

2. To conduct a written exam with the candidates upon completion of the training. Candidates who successfully pass the theoretical exam are to be referred to practical training in order to obtain an IFR authorization.

Upon successful completion of training, please issue a certificate of examination for IFR authorization to the candidates, which can be used for military purposes, and the validation of mentioned authorization should be performed upon the cessation of the war in the Republic of BiH and the fulfilment of other conditions in accordance with the law on air navigation.

Head of administration of Air Defence

Salko Begić

/signed/

Submitted to:

1. Capt. KULIĆ OMER

2. ARCHIVES

/handwritten signature/

Round stamp: REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
ARMED FORCES SUPREME COMMAND
OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF BiH IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
secretary for military issues



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
ZAGREB

HRZ AND PZO /Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence/ COMMAND
MIXED TRANSPORT SQUADRON - PLESO /AIRPORT/
Zagreb, 4 January 1993

HRZ AND PZO COMMANDER
Major General
Imra AGOTIĆ

Report on cargo transport
to Čoralići airport.-

In the period between 15 and 31 December 1992, the following tasks were carried out from Pleso and Pula airports: transport of weapons, uniforms and medical materials to Čoralići airport near Cazin.

Transport was done by AN-2 and C-212 aircraft with the assistance of HRZ /Croatian Air Force/ and RZ BH /Air Force of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ crews.

In the same period, the following flights were carried out for the purpose of retraining crews for C-212 aircraft:

C-212 173 flights 37.50 hours (daily)

For HVO BH /Croatian Defence Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina/:

AN-2	2 flights,	2.00 hours - 1 ton of cargo,	6 passengers	+ 3 wounded
C-212	4 flights,	2.40 hours - 5 tons of cargo,	22 passengers	+ 8 wounded
TOTAL:	6 flights	4.40 hours - 6 tons of cargo,	28 passengers	11 wounded

Crew:

AN-2	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
C-212	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours

For BH TO /Territorial Defence/

AN-2	14 flights,	14.00 hours - 6.5 tons of cargo,	22 passengers	+ 8 wounded
C-212	12 flights,	8.40 hours - 15 tons of cargo,	68 passengers	+ 27 wounded
TOTAL:	28 flights	22.40 hours - 21.5 tons of cargo,	90 passengers	+ 35 wounded

Crew:

AN-2	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	PEČENKOVIĆ - GAZIBEGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	PEČENKOVIĆ - IFTIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	IFTIĆ - GAZIBEGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	IFTIĆ - GAZIBEGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours

C-212 RAJTAR - HRGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
RAJTAR - ZRNA	1 flight, 2.00 hours
RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours
RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours
RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 2.20 hours
RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 2.20 hours
RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 2.20 hours

For recording purposes (for Dr BAJIĆ)

AN-2 aircraft, crew POLANEC - SOKIĆ 2 flights, 3.50 hours

In this period, a total of 208 flights and 71.00 hours of training flights were carried out, 27.5 tons of useful cargo flown to Čoralići Airport and 118 passengers and 46 wounded transported to Croatia.

JH/SH

C O M M A N D E R
M a j o r
Josip HRGOVIĆ
/signed/

05 April 1993

07-

AUTHORIZATION

Authorizing Mr. BONJAŠ DRAŽEN and his deputy KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ HARIS, to retrieve the communication frequencies each month in the HRZ /Croatian Air Force/ and PZO/Air Defence/ Headquarters, for purposes of Intelligence centres in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to distribute them to the Intelligence centre in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The authorization is issued on the basis of a verbal agreement reached between Commander of the HRZ and PZO and Chief of administration of BH RV /Air forces/ and PVO /Air Defence/ Armed Forces on 9th March 1993.

Secretary for Military Affairs at the
Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
in the Republic of Croatia

/signed/

Hasan EFENDIĆ

Round stamp: partially illegible

LOGISTICS CENTRES OF THE ARMY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ESTABLISHED IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

834

Str. confidential number: 02-80-149/93
Sarajevo, 12th July 1993

Ministry of Defence, deciding on the request of the Armed Forces Supreme Command for the provision of the issuance of credentials for the personnel of Military economic mission, on the basis of Article 18 / Decree on defence (R BiH Official Gazette no. 4/92, 9/9 and 19/92), issues this

DECISION

1. In order to perform activities and tasks within the scope of the Armed Forces Supreme Command outside of the territory of the Republic, following persons are appointed, namely:

- In Zagreb Military Economic Mission

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Hajrudin Osmanagić | 4. Haris Karamehmedović |
| 2. Dževad Topić | 5. Senad Kubat |
| 3. Muradif Pajt | 6. Blanka Vučak |

- In the Logistics Department of the Armed Forces Supreme Command R BiH Zagreb

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Hasan Čengić | 12. Mustafa Rizvanović |
| 2. Azim Karamehmedović | 13. Mevludin Sinanagić |
| 3. Šeta Šuajb | 14. Abdulkarim Šeta |
| 4. Senaid Memić | 15. Fadil Zorluk |
| 5. Nešad Šabić | 16. Muzafer Memić |
| 6. Emir Bešlagić | 17. Elvedin Močević |
| 7. Ejub Husika | 18. Alem Mujezinović |
| 8. Samir Lokvaničić | 19. Haris Zametica |
| 9. Tarik Šabić | 20. Faruk Fojzić |
| 10. Mustafa Behmen | 21. Mustafa Powlakić |
| 11. Enis Memić | |

- In the Logistics Department of the Supreme Command of BH Armed Forces Split

1. Refik Duran
2. Zahid Muhamerović

2. The persons referred to in Item above shall be appointed for a limited time until the moment of the election and appointment of permanent staff in the Mission - Logistics department, or until there is a need for their work.

3. To the persons from Item 1 of this decision, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will issue temporary credentials and they will be limited to the period referred to in previous Item.

Reasoning

Supreme Command of BiH Armed Forces has submitted an application for the issuance of credentials for the Military economic mission personnel in Zagreb and Logistics Departments in Zagreb and Split. The application requests the issuance of the aforementioned credentials of a temporary nature and its limitation to the period up to the definitive appointment in the Mission, or Logistics department.

Pursuant to the above, and based on the Article /illegible/ Decree on Defence, it was to be decided as stated in the disposition of this decision.

DELIVERED TO:

1. /illegible/ R BiH
Sarajevo
2. Supreme Command of BH Armed Forces
3. For the Records
4. Archives

DEPUTY MINISTER

Munib Bisić

/signed/

/round stamp: illegible/

Embassy
of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Zagreb

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
521 – MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AMB/ZAG/2146

Stamp:

Received: /handwritten:/ 16th July 93		
Classification mark	/illegible/	
314		0316
Reference number	/illegible/	/illegible/
521/0316-53-2935		

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina expresses appreciation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia and has the honour to ask to forward the information to the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia and other responsible institutions of the Republic of Croatia.

Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has appointed a number of persons to work in a) Military economic mission in Zagreb and b) in Logistics department of the Supreme Command of Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb.

Following persons are working in the Military economic mission:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Hajrudin Osmanagic | 4. Haris Karamehmedovic |
| 2. Dzevad Topic | 5. Senad Kubat |
| 3. Muradif Pajt | 6. Blanka Vucak |

In the Logistics department of the Supreme Command of Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Hasan Cengic | 11. Enis Memic |
| 2. Azim Karamehmedovic | 12. Mustafa Rizvanovic |
| 3. Suajb Seta | 13. Mevludin Sinanagic |
| 4. Senaid Memic | 14. Abdulkarim Seta |
| 5. Nead Sabic | 15. Fadil Zorluk |
| 6. Emir Beslagic | 16. Muzafer Memic |
| 7. Ejub Husika | 17. Elvedin Mocevic |
| 8. Samir Lokvancic | 18. Alem Mujezinovic |
| 9. Tarik Sabic | 19. Haris Fejzic |
| 10. Mustafa Behmen | 20. Mustafa Pavlakic |

And in the Logistics department of the Supreme Command of Armed forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Split following persons:

1. Refik Duran
2. Zahid Muharemovic

Necessary actions will be taken in the forthcoming period to regulate the residency of the persons employed in these departments, in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Croatia.

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina uses this opportunity to repeat the expressions of the deepest respect to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

Zagreb, 15th July 1993

/Round Stamp of Embassy/

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
of the Republic of Croatia

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
 IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
 Military Mission
 Zagreb, 31 July 1993

P A Y R O L L
 for JULY 1993

Number	FULL NAME	POST	AMOUNT IN DEM /Deutschmark/
1.	Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ	Assistant Military Attaché	950
2.	Dževad TOPIĆ	Assistant Military Attaché	900
3.	Senad KUBAT	Assistant Military Attaché for IPD /information and propaganda/	900
4.	Blanka VUČAK	Secretary of the Military Attaché	350
5.	Avdo HALILOVIĆ	Chief for Mobilisation /on standby/	400
6.	Stjepan KOZJAN	TC /expansion unknown/ Commander /on standby/	400
7.	Dr Himzo TURKANNOVIĆ	Assistant VA /Military Attaché/ for Medical Service /on standby/	400
8.	Fabijan BENO	Assistant VA	500
9.	Fikret BUNIĆ	driver /on standby/	300
10.	Vahida UŠTO	Finance Administrative Officer	500
11.	Amir JAGANJAC	Deputy Chief of CV /communications centre/	500
12.	Dražen BONJAŠ	CV operator	500
13.	Haris KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ	CV operator	500
14.	Sabahudin KAIM	CV operator	500
15.	Nail HUIĆ	Assistant Chief of the Split Branch Office	350
16.	Abid IZMIRLIĆ	Deputy Chief of the Split Branch Office	350
17.	Zahid MUHAREMOVIĆ	Assistant Chief of the Split Branch Office	350
18.	Razija SARAJLIĆ	Chief of General Services	400
19.	Suada PAŠIĆ	typist	350
20.	Almedina HAURDIĆ	Administrative Officer	350
21.	Edhem VUKOVIĆ	Driver in the General Services	300
total			10,050

For payment by this payroll 10,050 /ten thousand and fifty DEM/. That employees are actually employed and that their salaries are individually paid in accordance with the receipts attached to this payroll, is certified and approved by

drawn up by
 Vahida UŠTO
 /a signature/

for the MILITARY ATTACHÉ
 Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ
 /a stamp and a signature/

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Military delegation

Zagreb, 06th August 1993

SPECIFICATION
of expenditure of funds received from Mr. HASAN ČENGIĆ

Input

29th July 1993 20.000 DEM (Deutsche Mark)

Output

31st July 1993	personal income of employees	8.711.- DEM
5th August 1993	phone bill for July 1993	3.864.- DEM
5th August 1993	rent for August 1993	7.425.- DEM

Total: 20.000.- DEM

Debt balance on 06th August 1993 Ø

Drafted by

Ušto Vahida

/handwritten text in German:

Hasan Čengić has telephoned for the salaries for BiH

Embassy in Croatia 20 000 DM,

Mü, 8th December 1995, BAV /

/the memo of Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Zagreb/

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MILITARY ECONOMIC MISSION
ZAGREB, Savska c. 62 E/V
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL NO.: 05-15/93
Zagreb, 08 July 1993

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
SARAJEVO

SUBJECT: Proposal for obtaining accreditations for persons from Military economic mission – Zagreb

By the Order of Directorate of Intelligence Affairs, Strictly confidential number 02/76-2-14 from 8th August 1993 and the Order 02/76-2-22 from 13 June 1993, following persons are appointed for the work in the Military economic mission - Zagreb in the Republic of Croatia:

1. OSMANAGIC /Alija/ HAJRUDIN – JMBG (Personal identification number) 1901950390507
address: Ivane B. Mazuranic no.8, Jasterbarsko, Zagreb – diplomatic passport required
2. TOPIĆ /Cazim/ DZEVAD – JMBG 0709955173537
address: Cikoseva 2 – Zagreb - already possesses diplomatic passport
3. KUBAT /Asim/ SENAD – JMBG 3103961192182
address: Maksimirska – Zagreb - service passports
4. VUCAK /Mladen/ BLANKA – JMBG 0801981175009
address: Hainzlova 47, Zagreb – service passport
5. PAJT /Ibrahim/ MURADIF – JMBG 1409955334318
address: Drage Gervaj SA 10/10 – diplomatic passport
6. KARAMEHMEDOVIC /Hasan/ HARIS – JMBG 2204962150014
address: Zahradnikova 30, Zagreb – service passport
7. DURAN /Avdo/ REFIK – JMBG 0312960140009
address: Split, Visoka ulica 34 – service passport
8. MUHAREMOVIC /Rasim/ ZAHID – JMBG 2503955171516
address: Split, Visoka ulica 34 – service passport

Please submit this request to the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb.

Stamp:

MILITARY DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

RECEIVED - SUBMITTED via:
TLF - SAT
Date: 08 July 1993. at _____ hours
Received by: /signature: illegible/

For MILITARY ATTACHÉ:

Hajrudin Osmanagic

/signed/

Stamp: EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – ZAGREB
MILITARY DELEGATION

RH – Zagreb, Pantovčak 96, Phone: 3841 448-779, 448-798

MILITARY DELEGATION OF THE BiH REPUBLIC
 IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
 ASSISTANT MILITARY ATTACHÉ
 Harjudin Osmanagic
 Number: 05-2551/92
 Zagreb, 21st December 1992

STRICTLY CLASSIFIED

NS VK/Supreme Command Chief of Staff/ of R BiH
 Armed forces
 Attn: Sefer Halilovic

- For the commander of the 5th Corps
- For the president of IO/Executive Committee/ of Bihać County

LOGISTICS REPORT, -

/partially illegible/, received and mostly transported TMS for Bihać County

1. So far, especially after the formation of the Bihać County Office and Military Attaché, activity was developed on:
 - a) obtaining TMS for the purposes of armed combat
 - b) the organization of transport by aircrafts procured and owned by Croatian Air Force of TMS, MES, ammunition and special purposes supplies, communication equipment, production for specific use and more.
 - c) the transport of humanitarian aid goods by UNHCR vehicles

Formation of the Bihać County Office has proved to be a good decision regarding these issues, since it has established good connections with the Croatian Air Force command, representatives of UNHCR, as well connections with disorganized Diaspora, and connections (partially and far from the needs and possibilities) with heritage clubs.

2. So far, mainly transported to Bihać region, and some quantities are in stock of the following equipment:

2.1. Armament:

1. Missile launcher TF-8 2 pcs
2. Laser rangefinder 3 pcs
3. Rifle AK 47 1000 pcs
4. Machine gun M-37 10 pcs
5. RPG-7 launcher 20 pcs
6. LRL 107 mm 5 pcs
7. PAM DSKM 12,7 5 pcs
8. PAM 14,5 5 pcs
9. PAT 20 mm 1 pcs
10. AP 7,62 mm 500 pcs
11. Strela 8-2 M launcher 2 pcs
12. Mortar 81 mm 4 pcs
13. Mortar 60 mm 10 pcs
14. Stand for Moljutka 1 pcs

- 15. Sniper rifle 12,7 mm 17 pcs
- 16. Sniper rifle 7,9 mm 5 pcs
- 17. Digital compass 20 pcs

Communication equipment:

- 18. small RV type Ajkum Motorola 200 pcs
- 19. mobile phones 15 pcs
- 20. satellite phones 2 pcs
 - Eltim system connection 1 pcs
 - bottles with oxygen and oxydol 250 pcs
- 21. bullet 7,62 x 39 1,700,000 pcs
- 22. bullet ZIS 76 mm 65 pcs
- 23. missile RPG 1,461 pcs
- 24. missile TF-S 40 pcs
- 25. bullet 7,62 x 54 60,000 pcs
- 26. bullet DSK 12,7 mm 50,000 pcs
- 27. missile 107 600 pcs
- 28. mines for mortar 60 mm 360 pcs
- 29. mines for mortar 20 mm 300 pcs
- 30. bullet 7,9 mm 30,000 pcs
- 31. missile S-2M 9 pcs
- 32. tank bullet 100 mm 90 pcs
- 33. mine for mortar 81 mm 140 pcs
- 34. PTM-3 200 pcs
- 35. ROB (various) 4000 pcs
- 36. bullet 14,5 mm 51,000 pcs
- 37. missile "Moljutka" 2 pcs
- 38. rifle grenade small bullet 12,000 pcs
- 39. bullet for RBR 3,600 pcs

2.3. PRODUCTION FOR SPECIFIC USE:

- 40. detonator cap DK-8 36,000 pcs
- 41. black gunpowder 120 kg
- 42. markers 11,600 pcs
- 43. hunting detonation plug 18,200 pcs
- 44. EDK-8 10,700 pcs
- 45. DK-12 1,000 pcs
- 46. PENTHRITE 125 kg
- 47. basic charge for mortars B2, 120 mm 24,000 pcs
- 48. igniters for mortar mines 40 pcs
- 49. tank side clutches 2 pcs

2.4. Taken from the club "UNA"

- 50. Machine gun 7,9 mm 1 pcs
- 51. "ZOLJA" 5 pcs
- 52. RB with optics 4 pcs
- 53. hollow charge M-57 5 pcs
- 54. hollow charge M-81 1 pcs
- 55. OSA/ wasp 1 pcs
- 56. charge for OSA 2 pcs
- 57. RPG-7 1 pcs + 12 missiles
- 58. mortar 82 mm - instantaneous mines 18 pcs
- 59. mortar – 60 mm 24 pcs
- 60. mine igniters 16 pcs
- 61. PAP 2 pcs
- 62. AP 2 pcs
- 63. zolja 3 pcs
- 64. bullet 7,62 x 39 mm 1800 pcs

2.5. For arming the unit called "Handzar"

- 65. bullet 7,62 mm 100 pcs
- 66. sniper 9 pcs
- 67. ROB 350 pcs
- 68. 7,62 mm 30,000 pcs
- 69. sniper bullet 360 pcs

2.6. For arming the unit called "UNA" brigade

- 70. AP 261 pcs
- 71. bullet 7,62 mm 76,000 pcs
- 72. sniper rifle 12 pcs
- 73. ROB 1,400 pcs
- 74. sniper bullet 480 pcs
- 75. bullet 7,62 mm 12,000 pcs
- 76. Zolja (grenade launcher 4 pcs
- 81. Gun various 3 pcs
- 82. Mortar 82 mm 1 pcs
- 83. Mortar 82 mm mines 20 pcs
- 84. 2000 uniforms and boots are delivered to Corps, and in the warehouse are approximately 5000 uniforms and 6500 boots

In addition to all these resources, UNHCR vehicles are almost daily transporting approximately 100 tons of cargo, organized by the Bihać County Office in Zagreb.

2.7. Problems in dealing with diaspora

In the former Yugoslavia and Europe, by the initiative of the great patriots and like-minded, organization of a large number of heritage clubs has occurred.

The same people, with their individual actions, have destroyed the concept of a single bank account for the purposes of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the wounded and the assistance for victims in Bosnia, because they opened their own bank accounts which are not under control.

Persons authorized to withdraw money from the bank accounts are neither registered with the Attaché, nor with the Government Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so the citizens often point out that they are deceived, because all the clubs have created stamps, honours and other papers for themselves which serve as tools for the facilitation of money collection.

Please use your influence on the responsible persons and authorities to make certain regulation-decree so that the authorizations of a military character could be transferred to the Attaché.

So far, I went three times to Germany (Stuttgart, Friedrichshafen and Munich) and ones to Ljubljana at the invitation of the organizers about the mentioned subject.

Problems are the same everywhere, the spirit of the workers for donations is good, but the lack of agility and negligence of the BH missions, or lack of their formation, causes a large number of self-appointed offices, bureaus which are committing crime.

For the same purpose it is necessary to officially and publicly authorize persons and representatives of BH authorities in each country as soon as possible, to whom our citizens can address, especially because their visas have expired, need renewal of passports or the issuance of new ones, as well as the resolution of other issues.

Some regions and municipalities have obliged the citizens from their area, with their decisions, to the compulsory payments to the bank accounts which they offered and thus automatically prevented the payments to the single bank account.

Since we are not represented by protocol in the Republic of Croatia, all problems stem from this basic problem - not having credentials:

- Illegality of working in another country
- Maintaining an illegal radio connections, of which we have been warned
- Formation of car pool and vehicle registrations
- Registrations, shelters for the wounded, transit centres, etc.
- Making arrangements with representatives of HV on the basis of official appreciation, not alleviation
- Achieving the rights on diplomatic immunity as marking their premises and vehicles according to international rules for diplomatic representatives
- Approach towards the representatives of BH citizens and businesses that existed before the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, as well as the newly formed associations

MILITARY DELEGATION was mainly dealing with this issues.

Please urgently address the issue of credentials.

I outlined other issues in a previous report.

FOR FREEDOM OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA!

Assistant Military Attaché

Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ

/signed/

Round stamp: illegible

Embassy of the Republic of BiH in Croatia
VEP/Military economic mission/ Zagreb, 10th September 1993
Strictly confidential 05-02-36/93

Information about the possibility
of obtaining TMS for BH Army

Supreme Command of Armed Forces of the BH Republic
attn. Commander R. Delic
attn. Chief S. Halilovic

On 10th September 1993 we were visited by Mr. Sasa Ipavić, owner of VAN MOPPESA SA company in Lugano, Switzerland and Mitja Zoman from Slovenia with a suggestion and information. Mentioned gentlemen are in connection with Iran's representatives, and directly in connection with the Deputy of Imam Zanjani, with General Sattari, and some other Iranian gentlemen with high state authorities. Iran State delegations will be coming to Switzerland, including mentioned gentlemen, on Monday 13th September 1993 and will be staying for a week.

Iranian representatives are willing to help BiH and BH Army by arming them with light weapons and equipment, in mobilizing their people and in strengthening some Corps if the BH Army, to help BiH and the nation with food and commissary equipment. They are not willing to assist financially because they have lost confidence, but they are willing to pay procurement orders directly to the supplier upon the receipt of the goods somewhere in BiH.

As they require an official representative of BH Army with the specific request, and they agreed that it can be me and some other persons from the Military economic mission, I am asking for the ASAP, and not later than by 13th September 1993 (Monday), delivery of instructions with a requirement list and guidelines for discussion.

From the aforementioned gentlemen we may request weapons, commissary equipment and manpower, and they require a requirement list of weapons and equipment, place of delivery, specified person who will inform them that the goods are received, and after that they will pay the procurement order.

Due to the above mentioned reason, they have requested me to come to Switzerland to conclude concrete agreements.

According to the above mentioned, I am asking permission for the following persons to travel to go: Kubat Senad from Military economic mission, and Delić Muharem and Vehabović Zijad from the logistics who were previously working on this plan with Mitja Zamani who worked with Hasan Čengić.

There is nothing to lose except for the travel costs, and I think we are dealing with a very tempting offer and extremely serious people who have, so far, prove to be good, and that it would be should go to this meeting and make all the specific arrangements. If you have any information that could help us, as BiH delegation, please send them to us.

For the free, whole and undivided BiH.

Military attaché
Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ
/signed/

Stamp: Military Delegation of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Republic of Croatia

RECEIVED-SUBMITTED via:

RLF-HRV-RV-PACTOR-PAKET-SAT

Date: 11th September 1993

Received by: 2769

Work report

On 15th October 1992 I came for a meeting with the Secretary for Military Affairs at the Military delegation of BiH in Croatia, Zagreb Koturaška 51, Colonel Hasan Efendić, to report to work in the Military delegation as the Commander of recruitment mobilization centres, for which I was issued a decision on 2nd November 1992.

It was presented to me that recruitment mobilization centres in Zagreb, Rijeka, Split and Ljubljana will be established, and that I'm assuming the function of Commander of the same. Halilovic Avdo from Orahova - Bosanska Gradiška, who got the decision for the position of the officer for mobilization, which is the narrowest cooperation with the assigned project of recruitment mobilization centres, of which the main centre will be in Zagreb and other auxiliary was also present during the conversation. On the same day we got an assignment to get in touch with Mr. Mandarelo Stipe, HV Army officer, about previously agreed location - HV Medical barracks "Blato" located along the highway to Karlovac, near the exit from Zagreb. Location was reviewed and assessed as suitable.

On 17th October 1992, I am submitting a report to the Secretary and until further notice I am waiting for approval for the organisation and work of the centre. I have no authority or commands for further actions, and with that my work on this project is completed.

On 20th October 1992, I received an assignment go to Slavonski Brod together with Karišik Meho, Deputy Secretary and Halilovic Avdo, and deliver to 103rd Derвента Brigade a one-time allowance of 90,000 DM and to collect data from the commander Bošić Marijan and his associates about the situation after the fall of Bosanska Posavina, and about soldiers, wounded and killed. Enver Mujkić, commander of the 101st Bosansko Brodska brigade is also present, and the issue of commander Poher is discussed, who leads 400 soldiers to central Bosnia. A written report on all mentioned issues is submitted to the Secretary.

On 23rd October 1992, according to the order of the Secretary and his deputy, I work together with Halilović Avdo on the opening of the non-resident account for the Military delegation for which it is necessary to obtain a court decision for entry in the registry of our institution in Zageb. The court decision is with Mr. Tanković Šemso, delivery of which the Secretary has taken upon himself. On 27th October 1992 upon the order of the Secretary, I am composing and sending a fax to Sarajevo, to the acting Defence Minister Bisić Munib, with the exact specification and description of the segments of which recruitment mobilization centre will consist, with a note that he should establish contact and obtain permission from the Ministry of Defence of Croatia, in order to approve the formation of the centre on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. On 30th October 1992 I am receiving the instructions and orders from the Secretary, to carry out the formation of Prijedor-Kozarac Brigade together with Kubat Senad and Halilović Avdo, carried out in cooperation with Tersić Fehret and operating group Orašje.

On 6th November 1992, I'm appointed as member of military commission for recruitment, and I receive the order to form a team of medical experts, their mobilisation and referral to the Suhodol military hospital.

On 10th November 1992, the Secretary reported that the recruiting mobilization centre will not be located in Zagreb, but somewhere in the interior, because that is attitude of the Croatian government represented by Colonel Miroslav Pavlović who proposed to locate the centre in Jablanovac, some 30 km from Zagreb, in the existing HV facilities. The complete adaptation of the facilities is needed and Colonel Pavlović takes this task upon himself. I completed the inspection of the site with Osmanagić Hajrudin, assistant of the Secretary, and Senad Kubat, deputy commander of the centre. It was assessed that the location is good but that it needs massive adaptation, and significant financial resources.

Colonel Pavlović pledged that he would handle everything regarding the realization of the Centre, which will become operational until 31st December 1992, and will have the capacity / illegible / people in transit every seven to max. ten days. I made a complete logistics plan for the maintenance of this Centre together with Beno Fabian, and presented it all to Mr. Hasan Čengić and in writing to the Secretary. I do not know who misunderstood whom and why the project was not implemented but I responsibly claim that I had no authority or opportunities for implementation except for those actions that I have previously mentioned.

When I realized that this project will not be implemented, through my acquaintances I found a very convenient and functional facility, located in Dubrava, at an affordable price, and together with Beno Fabian and Topic Đevad, assistant attaché, I presented it to our Secretary who said he would send a request to the Supreme Command in Sarajevo from where the funds will be acquired. To this day I was not given any reasons for the failure to implement this plan.

On 19th November 1992, I had a conversation, together with Halilovic and Kubat, with the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, Morić Josip and his assistant, Poslek Stjepan, who gave us clear instructions on how to legally implement the mobilization and recruitment of the BiH citizens in Croatia, which is contained in the Minutes of the Meeting submitted to the Secretary. Project assumed almost immediate mobilization of approximately 20,000 BH citizens of military age. Authorized and competent people seemed to be not interested in the project, at best, and in the eyes of Croatian authorities we appeared not be serious and disorganized. On 18th November 1992, I also composed a letter to the Ministry of Defence of Croatia requesting contact and a meeting for the purpose of resolving the issues regarding the mobilization of BH citizens in Croatia.

On 20th November 1992, I met with Karišik Meho and Kubat Senad at Orašje battlefield, and we have discussed the current situation with Metuzović Đuro, commander of OG and with brigade commanders, afterwards we leave for Đakovo to OZ in order to talk to General Stipetić, Colonel Kolak and Brigadier Štefanek.

On 23rd November 1992, I met with Kubat and Halilović in Karlovac in a refugee camp, we have discussions with camp inmates and representatives of the High Commissioner for refugees and the International Red Cross, who prohibit us any military agitation of those people, a small number volunteers for mobilization. On 27th November 1992, according to the written order of the Secretary and his Deputy, I am part of the Commission for mobilization ...

...

Šipad space in Zagreb, which was prevented by the Croatian Ministry of Internal affairs. In the period from 28th November 1992 until the end of December, I performed various assignments, according to the daily orders of the Secretary.

On 13th January 1993 I went to OZ in Đakovo with Beno Fabian because of the realization of the recruiting mobilization centre and to OG in Orašje, to visit the troops in order to synchronize and coordinate Military delegation and HVO Orašje. A centre in Đakovo was formed, in which training of instructors will be performed first, who will later train the mobilized, with new shifts every fifteen days consisting of fifty to a hundred military conscripts for BiH.

Training was successfully completed by twelve instructors. One doctor, one nurse and three administrative persons were sent to the Centre. However, when the Military delegation should have complied with the agreed commitments, in terms of the most basic logistical support (uniforms, boots, training weapons, beds, mattresses, etc.), almost nothing was done, and even the payment for the first month was delayed for 40 days. Due to the failure to fulfil the obligations, that project fell through. So I will not further describe my working responsibilities from day to day, which I have daily written in my records, I can only reflect on this work with the observation that I performed every given assignment within my authorities. The last month I was engaged in the care of the wounded in the Czech Republic.

Finally I would like to say that I did not join this Military delegation with the intention to receive "salary" rather with the desire to thus engage in defence of BiH, and if this report is an orientation for my further eligibility in engagement, I think I should be utilized according to my skills since my biography clearly shows my abilities.

Sincerely, Dr. Stjepan Kozjan

/signed/

Stamp: ARMY of REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
2. CORPS COMMAND
TUZLA

REPUBLIC DEFENCE
MILITARY SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

CLASS:
REF. NO.: 02/570-1
TUZLA: 07th March 1993

Based on the needs and in accordance with Article 3 of the Decree on the mobilization of the general public, I give the following

AUTHORIZATION

which authorizes Mr. MUHIĆ FADIL, Major of 107th HVO Brigade Gračac, Army of the Republic of BiH, to conduct, in the name and for the account of 2nd Corps Command, the procurement of armaments, military equipment, material assets, financial assets and other items for the defence purposes of BiH.

On the basis of this authorization, Mr. MUHIĆ FADIL is entitled to conclude contracts in order to perform the assigned tasks and to take all necessary legal actions, without limitation, on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and Slovenia, for which this authorization is valid.

This authorization is valid until its cancellation.

COMMANDER
Hazim Šadić
/signed/

Stamp:
ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
2. CORPS COMMAND

/handwritten: 1./

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1.	HUSIKA EJUB	8 JAN 1993	DEM	500	SALARY FOR 12/92
2.	ZORLAK FADIL	6 JAN 1993	DEM	200	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
3.	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	7 JAN 1993	DEM	1000	WAGES FOR DRIVERS
4.	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	7 JAN 1993	HRD	12000 (1 DEM=560 HRD)	WAGES FOR DRIVERS
5.	KALAJDŽIĆ SULEJMAN	8 JAN 1993	DEM	6000	CONVOY FOR VISOKO
6.	BUBIĆ MUHAMED	8 JAN 1993	DEM	7900	SECOND PORTION OF THE COST FOR VESTS FOR / illegible/
7.	HORMAN IZET	5 JAN 1993	DEM	500	TRANSPORT OF TELECOMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT /illegible/
8.	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ AZIZ	22 DEC 1992	DEM	300	FUEL AND TRIP TO AUSTRIA
9.	SELIMOVIĆ MIDHAT	23 DEC 1992	DEM	2500	CONVOY FOR VLASENICA
10.	ŠAHBAZ ŠEMSUDIN	21 DEC 1992	DEM	1800	CONVOY AND WAGES FOR DRIVERS TO VISOKO
11.	MAHMUTOVIĆ SELVER	21 DEC 1992	DEM	900	BILL FOR HOTEL IN ZAGREB
12.	MUJEZINOVIĆ ALEM	22 DEC 1992	HRD	350000 (1 DEM= 520)	WAGES FOR WAREHOUSE WORKERS
13.	ZORLAK FADIL	22 DEC 1992	HRD	50000 (1 DEM=520)	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
14.	ZORLAK FADIL	21 DEC 1992	DEM	1000	GAS FOR THE HOUSE
15.	ZORLAK FADIL	9 DEC 1992	HRD	200000 (1 DEM = 470)	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
16.	KALAJDŽIĆ SULEJMAN	6 JAN 1993	DEM	500	SALARY FOR 12/92
17.	RIZVANOVIĆ MUSTAFA	3 JAN 1993	DEM	500	SALARY FOR 12/92
18.	MUJEZINOVIĆ ALEM	31 DEC 1992	DEM	300	SALARY FOR 12/92
19.	HORMAN IZET	31 DEC 1992	DEM	300	TRANSPORT OF TRUCKS (1) FOR /illegible/
20.	ZORLAK FADIL	31 DEC 1992	DEM	200	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES

/handwritten: $\Sigma = 24.400$ DEM ; 612.000 HRD/

/handwritten: 2./

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1.	ZORLAK FADIL	31 DEC 1992	DEM	500	SALARY FOR 12/92
2.	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	31 DEC 1992	DEM	700	SALARY FOR 12/92
3.	SINANAGIĆ MEVLUDIN	31 DEC 1992	DEM	500	SALARY FOR 12/92
4.	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	31 DEC 1992	DEM	500	SALARY FOR 12/92
5.	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ AZIM	30 DEC 1992	DEM	200	TRIP TO AUSTRIA

6	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ AZIM	28 DEC 1992	DEM	110	FUEL AND OFFICE SUPPLIES
7	LOKVANČIĆ SAMIR	30 DEC 1992	DEM	7000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS AND CONVOY WITH EQUIPMENT FOR VISOKO
8	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	30 DEC 1992	DEM	350	BILLS AND CAR REPAIR
9	RIZVANOVIĆ MUSTAFA	30 DEC 1992	DEM	700	DEBTS ACCORDING TO BILLS /illegible/ CONVOY FROM 11/92
10	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	30 DEC 1992	HRD	400000	WAGES FOR WAREHOUSE WORKERS
11	FEJZIĆ FARUK	28 DEC 1992	DEM	1500	OFFICIAL TRIP ZG-VI-ZG
12	ČEPALO ABDULAH	28 DEC 1992	DEM	400	WAGES FOR DRIVERS FOR DONJI VAKUF
13	ŠABIĆ TARIK	28 DEC 1992	DEM	1000	OFFICIAL TRIP ZG-ST-ZG
14	ZORLAK FADIL	27 DEC 1992	HRD	100000 (1 DEM= 550)	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
15	LOKVANČIĆ SAMIR	27 DEC 1992	DEM	150	PAYMENT ACCORDING TO BILLS FOR /illegible/
16	LOKVANČIĆ SAMIR	27 DEC 1992	HRD	10000 (1 DEM=550)	PAYMENT ACCORDING TO BILLS FOR /illegible/
17	PALISLAMOVIĆ ALIJA	26 DEC 1992	DEM	840	WAGES FOR 12+1 DRIVERS FROM VISOKO
18	VEHABOVIĆ MIRHAD	17 DEC 1992	DEM	1700	WAGES AND ARRIVAL OF 3 TRUCKS FROM SPLIT
19	VEHABOVIĆ MIRHAD	17 DEC 1992	DEM	1000	WAGES AND ARRIVAL OF 3 TRUCKS FROM SPLIT
20	FEJZIĆ FARUK	17 DEC 1992	DEM	700	OFFICIAL TRIP ZG-VI-ZG

/handwritten: $\Sigma = 17.850 \text{ DEM}; 510.000 \text{ HRD}/$

/handwritten: 3./

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
 CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
 ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1	KALAJDŽIĆ SULEJMAN	17 DEC 1992	DEM	8000	CONVOY OF MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT FOR VISOKO
2	ŠABIĆ TARIK	16 DEC 1992	DEM	2000	DEBT FOR PERSONAL EXPENSE FOR CONVOY ON 23RD OF NOVEMBER
3	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	17 DEC 1992	HRD	200000	WAGES FOR NINE WAREHOUSE WORKERS
4	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	21 NOV 1992	HRD	300000 (1 DEM = 400 HRD)	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
5	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	21 NOV 1992	DEM	1000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
6	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	22 NOV 1992	DEM	300	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
7	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	18 NOV 1992	DEM	300	REPLACING THE BROKEN DRIVER'S WINDSHIELD
8	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	24 NOV 1992	HRD	135000	CAR MAINTENANCE
9	KALADŽIĆ SULEJMAN	26 DEC 1992	DEM	4000	CONVOY OF 6 EIGHTEEN WHEELERS /ILLEGIBLE/ FOR VISOKO
10	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	26 DEC 1992	DEM	1300	ARRIVAL OF 4 EIGHTEEN WHEELERS (ŠAJA'S TRUCKS)
11	HUSIKA EJUB	16 DEC 1992	HRD	2000000 (1 DEM = 400 HRD)	CONVOY FOR VISOKO
12	HUSIKA EJUB	16 DEC 1992	DEM	5000	CONVOY FOR VISOKO
13	LOKVANČIĆ SAMIR	16 DEC 1992	DEM	2500	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FOR CONVOY FOR VISOKO
14	MEŠETOVIĆ SAUDIN	13 NOV 1992	DEM	1300	SECOND-HAND TIRES FOR TRUCKS
15	MEŠETOVIĆ SAUDIN	14 NOV 1992	HRD	2704000 (DEM = 390 HRD)	SECOND-HAND TIRES FOR TRUCKS
16	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ AZIM	14 NOV 1992	DEM	250	EXPENSES
17	FRLJAK VEJSIL	21 NOV 1992	HRD	45000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
18	ČIZMO ŠEMSUDIN	21 NOV 1992	HRD	150000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
19	HEDŽIĆ MURADA	13 NOV 1992	HRD	40000	WAGES FOR THE FIVE WAREHOUSE WORKERS
20	ŠAHINPAŠIĆ SENAD	15 NOV 1992	DEM	5000	EXPENSES

/handwritten: Σ = 30.950 DEM; 5.574.000 HRD/

/handwritten: 4./

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1.	HADŽIĆ IBRAHIM	13 NOV 1992	DEM	150000	PURCHASE OF WHEAT FOR KRAJINA
2.	TINJIĆ DŽEVDET	13 NOV 1992	DEM	250000	NEEDS FOR TUZLA AND BUGOJNO
3.	TINJIĆ DŽEVDET	13 NOV 1992	USD	250000	NEEDS FOR TUZLA AND BUGOJNO
4.	ALIĆ ESAD	14 NOV 1992	HRD	45000	ADVANCED PAYMENTS FOR WAGES IN WAREHOUSE
5.	ZORLAK FADIL	22 OCT 1992	DEM	900	GAS FOR THE HOUSE
6.	ZORLAK FADIL	22 OCT 1992	HRD	50000	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
7.	ZORLAK FADIL	3 NOV 1992	DEM	400	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
8.	ŠABIĆ NEŠAD	9 NOV 1992	DEM	12000	CONVOY FOR GRADAČAC
9.	MUŠANOVIĆ MIRALEM	9 NOV 1992	DEM	400	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
10.	ZORLAK FADIL	9 NOV 1992	DEM	300	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
11.	ŠAHIĆ DŽEMAL	2 NOV 1992	DEM	300	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM BREZA
12.	GANIĆ ASIF	2 NOV 1992	DEM	300	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM VISOKO
13.	MUŠANOVIĆ MIRALEM	3 NOV 1992	DEM	400	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM "CENTARTRANS"
14.	ZORLAK FADIL	3 NOV 1992	DEM	400	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM ILIDŽA
15.	ZORLAK FADIL	25 OCT 1992	DEM	1800	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM ILIDŽA
16.	ZORLAK FADIL	25 OCT 1992	HRD	80000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM ILIDŽA
17.	ČIZMO ŠEMSO	25 OCT 1992	HRD	50000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM VISOKO
18.	ČIZMO ŠEMSO	25 OCT 1992	DEM	1000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM VISOKO
19.	ŠAHIĆ DŽEMAL	25 OCT 1992	DEM	400	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM BREZA
20.	ŠAHIĆ DŽEMAL	25 OCT 1992	HRD	80000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS FROM BREZA

/handwritten: Σ = 418.600 DEM; 250.000 USD; 350.000 HRD/

/handwritten: 5./

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1.	MUŠANOVIĆ MIRALEM	25 OCT 1992	DEM	400	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS "CENTARTRANS"
2.	MUŠANOVIĆ MIRALEM	25 OCT 1992	HRD	20000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS "CENTARTRANS"
3.	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ A.	12 NOV 1992	DEM	5200	RENT FOR THE WAREHOUSE
4.	LOKVANČIĆ SAMIR	18 OCT 1992	DEM	14000	CONVOY
5.	ČIZMO ŠEMSO	20 OCT 1992	HRD	56000	WAGES FOR 14 DRIVERS FROM VISOKO
6.	SKULIĆ MUKIB	20 OCT 1992	HRD	15000	WAGES FOR 14 DRIVERS FROM TEŠANJ
7.	MANDRA SALEM	20 OCT 1992	DEM	200	REPARATION OF TRUCK
8.	ZORBIĆ NIJAZ	25 OCT 1992	DEM	16000	PURCHASE OF MT EQUIPMENT AND /illegible/ FOR PDV
9.	LOKVANČIĆ SAMIR	21 NOV 1992	DEM	100	FUEL
10.	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	18 NOV 1992	DEM	200	WAGES FOR WAREHOUSE WORKERS

11.	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	18 NOV 1992	HRD	150000 (1 DEM = 460 HRD)	WAGES FOR WAREHOUSE WORKERS
12.	ALIĆ ESAD	18 NOV 1992	HRD	70000 (1 DEM = 460)	WAGES FOR WAREHOUSE WORKERS
13.	KALAJDŽIĆ SULEJMAN	12 DEC 1992	DEM	350	TRIP AND REPAIR OF "MERCEDES"
14.	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	16 DEC 1992	DEM	7700	CONVOY OF MT EQUIPMENT
15.	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	16 DEC 1992	HRD	5150000	CONVOY OF MT EQUIPMENT
16.	SINANAGIĆ MEVLUDIN	6 DEC 1992	DEM	250	CURED MEAT
17.	SINANAGIĆ MEVLUDIN	6 DEC 1992	DEM	850	CAR MAINTENANCE, TIRES
18.	EFENDIĆ HASAN	5 DEC 1992	DEM	10000	SALARIES FOR MILITARY /illegible/
19.	JAŠARPAHIĆ MUNIR	5 DEC 1992	DEM	650	CONVOY TWO DRIVERS VISOKO
20.	EFENDIĆ HASAN	5 DEC 1992	DEM	1600	CONVOY, 3 TRUCKS /illegible/ FOR HRASNICA

/handwritten: Σ = 57.500 DEM; 5.461.000 HRD/

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1.	ŠAHIMPAŠIĆ SENAD	4 DEC 1992	DEM	40000	100 PCS MORTARS, 130 MM
2.	MEŠETOVIC SAUDIN	4 DEC 1992	DEM	35000	SPARE PARTS FOR TRUCK, VISOKO REGION
3.	MEŠETOVIC SAUDIN	7 DEC 1992	DEM	15000	SPARE PARTS FOR TRUCK, VISOKO REGION
4.	POŠKOVIĆ ASAF	18 NOV 1992	DEM	100	ADVANCED PAYMENT FOR WAREHOUSE WORK
5.	HEDŽIĆ MURADA	18 NOV 1992	HRD	40000 (1 DEM = 400)	SECOND ADVANCE PAYMENT FOR WAREHOUSE WORKERS
6.	SELMANOVIĆ ALIJA	18 NOV 1992	DEM	400	WAGES FOR 4 DRIVERS FROM HRASNICA
7.	HAVIĆ IBRAHIM	18 NOV 1992	HRD	38000	ADVANCED PAYMENT FOR WAGES FOR WORKERS / illegible/
8.	ZORLAK FADIL	8 DEC 1992	HRD	50000 (1 DEM = 470)	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
9.	HAVIĆ IBRO	20 NOV 1992	DEM	800	WAGES FOR WORK IN THE WAREHOUSE
10.	POŠKOVIĆ ASAF	20 NOV 1992	DEM	100	WAGES FOR WORK IN THE WAREHOUSE
11.	ZORLAK FADIL	18 NOV 1992	HRD	50000 (1 DEM = 400 HRD)	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
12.	ZORLAK FADIL	21 NOV 1992	HRD	60000 (1 DEM = 415 HRD)	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
13.	MUJEZINOVIĆ ALEM	29 NOV 1992	HRD	20000 (1 DEM = 430 HRD)	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
14.	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ AZIM	3 DEC 1992	DEM	200	EXPENSES FOR TRIP TO WIENA
15.	RIZVANOVIĆ I MEMIĆ	14 NOV 1992	DEM	350 (each 175,00)	WAGES FOR 19 WORKERS, IN 2 DAYS, /illegible/
16.	HUSIKA EJUB	3 NOV 1992	DEM	3200	CONVOYS AND WAGES FOR DRIVERS
17.	MEŠETOVIC SAUDIN	17 NOV 1992	HRD	4375000 (1 DEM = 398 HRD)	OIL AND FLUID FOR /illegible/ FOR LC VISOKO
18.	JAŠARPAHIĆ MUNIR	17 NOV 1992	DEM	1500	SPARE PARTS FOR TRUCKS FROM VISOKO/ PHONE BILL
19.	ČELEBIĆ NIHAD	20 NOV 1992	DEM	1850	17-DAYS /illegible/ FOR 5 TRUCKS FROM VISOKO AND / illegible/
20.	JAŠARPAHIĆ MUNIR	19 NOV 1992	DEM	2200	PAYMENT OF RESIDUAL DABTS FOR DRIVERS AND / illegible/ FROM VISOKO

/handwritten: Σ = 100.700 DEM; 4.633.000 HRD/

/handwritten:16./

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1.	POVLAKIĆ MUSTAFA	15 APR 1993	DEM	2300	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
2.	PECIKOZA FAHRUDIN	19 APR 1993	DEM	5000	EXPENSES FOR "FAZLA"
3.	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ AMIR	19 APR 1993	DEM	300	HONORARIUM FROM 10 FEB TILL 10 MAR
4.	SINANAGIĆ MEVLUDIN	19 APR 1993	DEM	3000	DEBT ACCORDING TO BILL FROM 10/92
5.	POVLAKIĆ MUSTAFA	21 APR 1993	DEM	2200	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS
6.	DŽELILOVIĆ MUSTAFA	21 APR 1993	DEM USD	9400	CIGARETTES AND /illegible/ FOR 8 AND 9 MOUNTAIN BRIGADE OF RBH ARMED FORCES
7.	DŽELILOVIĆ MUSTAFA	21 APR 1993	USD	6300	FOR DEPUTIES 8 AND 9 MOUNTAIN BRIGADE
8.	HUSIKA EJUB	22 APR 1993	DEM	6000	CONVOY, 6 EIGHTEENWHEELERS FOR GORAŽDE
9.	KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ AZIM	22 APR 1993	DEM	330	EXPENSES ACCORDING TO THE BILLS
10.	ZORLAK FADIL	23 APR 1993	DEM	500	HOUSEHOLD
11.	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	23 APR 1993	DEM	200	WAGES FOR WAREHOUSE WORKERS
12.	PAJT BURADIF	24 APR 1993	USD	11900	2 TACTICAL SNIPERS 12,7 FOR /illegible/
13.	NEDŽAD ŠADIĆ	24 APR 1993	USD	18600	FOR MT EQUIPMENT FOR 208 MOUNTAIN BRIGADE OF RBH ARMED FORCES
14.	POVLAKIĆ MUSTAFA	26 APR 1993	DEM	2500	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS (22) CONCLUDED WITH 26 APRIL
15.	ZORLAK FADIL	27 APR 1993	DEM	500	HOUSEHOLD
16.	MOČEVIĆ ELVEDIN	29 APR 1993	DEM	800	OFFICIAL TRIP TO PLOČE
17.	RIZVANOVIĆ MUSTAFA	29 APR 1993	DEM	200	PARTS FOR CARS AND BILL FOR THE FUEL
18.	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	29 APR 1993	DEM	1000	ADVANCED PAYMENT FOR CONVOY IN GRUDE
19.	REĐEDOVIĆ TAHIR	29 APR 1993	DEM	1040	/illegible/
20.	LOKVANČIĆ SAMIR	29 APR 1993	DEM	6200	DEBT ACCORDING TO THE BILLS FROM /illegible/ CONVOY
21.	BEŠLAGIĆ EMIR	29 APR 1993	DEM	2000	DEBT ACCORDING TO THE BILLS FROM /illegible/ CONVOY
22.	POVLAKIĆ MUSTAFA	1 MAY 1993	DEM	2000	DEBT FOR 18 DRIVERS CONCLUDED WITH 1 MAY 1993

/handwritten: 17./

ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CENTER FOR LOGISTICS SUPREME COMMAND HEADQUARTERS
ZAGREB — SAMOBOR GROUP

Received from Hasan Čengić through Šeta Šuajb:

NR.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DATE	CURRENCY	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
1.	ČEDOMIR NOVAK	4 MAY 1993	DEM	15000	RENT UNTIL 12 DEC 1993
2.	ŠABIĆ TARIK	3 MAY 1993	DEM	7000	TO BE DELIVERED TO BEŠLAGIĆ AND /illegible/
3.	POVLAKIĆ MUSTAFA	4 MAY 1993	DEM	2000	WAGES FOR THE DRIVERS (20) CONCLUDED WITH 6 MAY 1993
4.	ŠABIĆ TARIK	4 MAY 1993	DEM	3000	TO BE DELIVERED TO HUSIKA
5.	ZORLAK FADIL	8 MAY 1993	DEM	300	HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
6.	UŠTO VAHIDA	10 MAY 1993	DEM	12000000 HRD 9000 DEM	RENT AND PHONE FOR /illegible/ MISSION
7.	POVLAKIĆ MUSTAFA	11 MAY 1993	DEM	2000	WAGES FOR 20 DRIVERS CONCLUDED WITH 11 MAY 1993
8.	SINANAGIĆ MEVLUDIN	13 MAY 1993	DEM	2000	1320 FOR SUFA'S APARTMENT AND 680 FOR EXPENSES
9.	MEMIĆ MUZAFER	13 MAY 1993	DEM	200	WAGES FOR WORKERS AND 100 FOR EXPENSES FOR /illegible/

handwritten: 051-212-231-211-145-211-149
FAX 212-086

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
Government
Department for economic and humanitarian affairs in Zagreb
Rijeka Logistic centre

/fax message:/ UNSKI LJILJANI EV MU 08.JUN.93 8:31 S.001

/Handwritten text:/

EQUIPMENT BORROWED FROM ZAGREB

1. GENUINE MILITARY SNIPER WITH SNIPER EQUIPMENT
CAL. 7.9 MM WITH IC DEVICES AND - NIGHT DEVICE
PRICE – 2.500 DM.
IN ADDITION, ORIGINAL SNIPER BULLETS
PRICE – 8.000 DM.
2. AUTOMATIC RIFLE - KRAGUJEVAC – CAL. 7.62 MM
WITH FOLDING BUTT
8 PCS, EACH AUTOMATIC RIFLE 2 FRAME + 60 BULLETS
PRICE PER PIECE 500 DM.
3. 26 GRENADE LAUNCHERS, PRICE 120 DM.
4. 1 PCS ŠARAC (MACHINE GUN 42) WITH 1.500 BULLETS
AND cartridge belt+ 1 SPUŽ, PRICE 1.500 DM.
5. 1 PCS RUSSIAN SNIPER „DOBOŠAR“

/logo/

Louis Féraud

PARIS

MUSLIM CHARITABLE SOCIETY „MERHAMET“ THE RED CRESCENT
52000 PULA 43.Istarske divizije 8

TEL./FAX.: 052 45-008

MUSLIM CHARITABLE SOCIETY
„MERHAMET“ THE RED CRESCENT
PULA

/text in Arabic/

Date: 09th August 1992

Our sign:

Your sign:

/stamp of Croatian State Archive/

Handwritten: CRISIS STAFF
T.O. ZENICA
HALIL MEHTIĆ
VEHICLE
DO 154-908

„SHIPPING DOCUMENT“

WE ARE SENDING TRANSPORT FOR THE CRISIS STAFF T.O. ZENICA BY THE CHAUFFEUR ĆEMAN
HIDAJET TO THE LIABLE PERSON IN THE CRISIS STAFF ZENICA - HALIL MEHTIĆ

TRANSPORT INCLUDES:

1. 38 PACKAGES OF BOOTS
2. 120 PCS OF MASKS
3. 120 PCS OF BACKPACKS
4. 20 PCS OF TENT WINGS
5. 50 PCS OF WAIST BELTS
6. 10 PACKAGES OF BANDAGES
7. 50 HELMETS
8. 1 PACKET OF SOCKS

Stamp: illegible

DELIVERED BY:

Signature: illegible

RECEIVED BY:

Signature: illegible

BANK ACCOUNTILLEGIBLE..21207 (SDK PULA).....
FOREIGN CURRENCY ACCOUNT/MONEY ORDER: ...ILLEGIBLE..... (ISTARSKA BANKA PULA)



BIHAĆ DISTRICT CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION

41000 Zagreb, Našička Street 12

Tel: 041/ 33 44 84

041/ 33 33 82

Fax: 041/ 33 79 06

To the Embassy of the Republic of
Bosnia and Herzegovina /RBiH/ in
Zagreb

Your sign

Our sign UB.336/PZ

Date 10 September 1993

/handwritten: AMB/ZAG-3951-HO

Subject: Information concerning
Jankomir warehouse no. 8

Goods belonging to the RBiH/Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/: uniforms, boots, sleeping bags, bags, belts and other equipment, are stored in warehouse number eight at the Jankomir Customs Terminal. At rough estimate, there are 30,000 pieces of each item, valued at approximately 20,000,000 German marks.

The Croatian MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ has been inspecting the goods and since no official has appeared on behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina to sign the record, the goods could be classified as nobody's property and seized.

They tried to classify the goods as the ownership of the Bihać District Citizens Association but since the goods are not the property of the Bihać District Citizens Association and their provenance cannot not be proven, we are asking for an accredited person from the embassy, i.e. someone with immunity who can later on be referred to as the owner of the goods, to come forward and sign the record in order to prevent the seizing of the goods.

As the Croatian MUP's inspection is almost completed and as they are looking for a signatory, we hereby request that a competent member of the BH Embassy staff come to the warehouse and solve this problem.

Yours faithfully,

Bihać District Citizens' Association
Zdenko POROBIĆ
/signed and stamped/

/Handwritten document:/

Ministry of Defence

attn. Mr. Zagorac

Please issue the necessary documents for the below listed transport:

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. PU 147 671 PU 298D Solomon Nevio | b) igniters - ø 160 | pcs 3792 |
| a) Mortar ø 120 | pcs 12 | |
| b) RAP ø 120 | pcs 8 | |
| 2. PU 937 F PU 286 Franković Milovan | 7. PU 147-672 PU 2837 BILJUH DEJAN | |
| a) Mortar ø 120 | pcs 10 | |
| b) RAP - ø 120 | pcs 14 | |
| a) Charge ø 120 | pcs 1800 | |
| b) Sighting devices ø 120 | pcs 22 | |
| 3. PU 717 E PU 299 B Carić /illegible/ | 8. PU 716 E PU 226 D Jakovčić Erkolo | |
| c) Mine ø 120 | pcs 544 | |
| d) igniters - ø 160 | pcs 2304 | |
| a) ammunition 7,6 /illegible/ | pcs 1.008.000 | |
| 4. PU 703 E PU 223 D Čalović Vjeran | 9. VI 7686 VI 1097 Fežić Kasim | |
| a) Charge ø 120 | pcs 13 600 | |
| 5. PU 904 T PU 284 D Milovan Vladimir | a) Ammunition 7,6 | pcs 352 820 |
| a) Mine ø 120 | pcs 544 | |
| b) igniters - ø 160 | pcs 544 | |
| 6. PU 128-921 PU 3290 Pamić /illegible/ | b) Hand grenade | pcs 3840 |
| a) Mine ø 120 | pcs 552 | |
| | c) Mine ø 120 | pcs 2460 |
| 7. PU 714 E P290 D Bastijanić Eduard | | |
| a) Mine ø 120 | pcs 824 | |
| 8. VI 1038 VI 6588 TAHTO OMER | | |
| a) Mine ø 120 | pcs 790 | |
| 9. PU 950 F PU 229 O Valčić Vinko | | |
| a) Mine ø 120 | pcs 790 | |

Head of the convoy: Šahić Nešad

Rijeka –Split-Visoko Sendić Senad

Please respond urgently by fax on: 051 – 421 766

Best regards

Karamehmedović Asim

/signed/

Rijeka 11th August 1992

At 10:00 am/

9:58AM

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
SUPREME COMMAND OF BH ARMED FORCES
SARAJEVO

NUMBER 02/1091-500
ON 22nd DECEMBER 1992

AUTHORIZATION

WHICH AUTHORIZES MR. VENCESLAV - VINKO TONDINI TO EXECUTE COLLECTION OF BIDS ON BEHALF OF THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARMY FOR PROCUREMENT OF THE EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONS FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARMY.

AUTHORIZATION IS ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED AND CAN NOT BE USED FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

CHIEF OF SUPREME COMMAND
OF BH ARMED FORCES
SEFER HALILOVIĆ
/signed/

Stamp:

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Ministry of defence
BH Army

/Handwritten:

This is to certify that Mr. Alija Izetbegović
took 30,000 DEM (Deutsche Mark) from
Fatih Ali Hamarain for the purpose of salaries.

Vienna, 22nd August 1993

/signed by Alija Izetbegović/

/ logo/

VIENNA

HILTON

/handwritten:

This is to certify that the Mr. Alija Izetbegović received DEM 60,000 (sixty thousand) from Dr. Fatih Ali Haramain for the purpose of requirements in Zagreb.

Vienna, 22nd August 1993/

/signed by Alija Izetbegović/

On 14 September 1993, in the hotel «President» in Geneva, a meeting was held, attended by the following participants:

Mr Alija Izetbegović, President of the Republic of BiH
Mr Ejup Ganić, Vice President of the Republic of BiH
Mr Haris Silajdžić, Minister of foreign Affaires in the Government
Mr Elfatih Hassanein, Director of TWRA organization

Having made the following decisions:

1. The Administration board of the TWRA organization is to be extended by two additional members as follows; Mr Irfan Ljevaković and Mr Đurđević Dervis.
2. The stockholders of the anticipated bank are the following:
 - SDA
 - International community for help to the BH Muslims
 - TWRA
 - Merhamet
 - Gazi Husrefbeg's Medresse
 - Cultural society Preporod
 - Organization for providing help to Split families
 - And a certain number of stockholders from the Islamic world
3. The supervisory board of the anticipated bank should be supplemented with Mr Teufik Velagić from Vienna
4. The financial report on obtained and spent means for providing help to the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be prepared.
5. Mr Ejup Ganić, Vice President of the BH Presidency, along with Mr Fatih should continue his journey to Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia.

Übersetzung aus dem Serbokroatischen

Am 14.9.1993 wurden im Hotel "President" in Genf bei der Besprechung unter Anwesenheit von:

Herr Alija Izetbegovic, Präsident der Republik BiH,
Herr Ejup Ganic, Stellvertreter des Präsidenten der Republik BiH,
Herr Haris Silajdzic, Außenminister der Regierung und
Herr Elfatih Hassanein, Direktor der Gesellschaft TWRA,

folgende ENTSCHEIDUNGEN getroffen:

1. Der Vorstand der Gesellschaft "TWRA" wird um zwei Mitglieder erweitert, das sind: Herr Irfan Ljevakovic und Herr Djurdjevic Dervis.
2. Die Aktionäre der neuen Bank in Gründung werden:
 - SDA,
 - Internationale Gesellschaft für Hilfe den Muslimen von BiH,
 - TWRA,
 - Merhamet,
 - Medresse von Gazi Husrefbeg (Koranschule in der Gazi Husrefbeg-Moschee *)
 - Kulturverein "Preporod"
 - Organisation für Hilfe der Schiitenfamilien (Fundamentalistische Glaubensrichtung des Islams *),
 - und eine bestimmte Anzahl der Aktionäre aus der Welt des Islams.
3. Der Aufsichtsrat der Bank in Gründung wird durch Herrn Teufik Velagic aus Wien ergänzt.
4. Ein Finanzbericht über Ein- und Ausgaben der Mittel für Hilfe den Muslimen von Bosnien und Herzegowina soll vorgelegt werden.
5. Herr Ejup Ganic, Stellvertreter des Präsidenten der Präsidentschaft von BiH wird die Reise nach Malaysia, Brunei und Indonesien mit Herrn Fatih fortführen.

Übersetzt durch:

Pavlovic



München, den 7.12.1995

* Vermerk des Übersetzers

HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA RESPONSIBLE FOR COLLECTING AID FOR BOSNIAK PEOPLE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

276

List of domicile countries of humanitarian organizations

1. Austria
2. Australia
3. Belgium
4. BiH
5. Denmark
6. Egypt
7. GB
8. Finland
9. France
10. Italy
11. Iran
12. Ireland
13. Israel
14. Japan
15. Canada
16. Qatar
17. Kuwait
18. Hungary
19. Malaysia
20. Monaco
21. Nigeria
22. Netherland
23. Norway
24. Germany
25. Pakistan
26. Saudi Arabia
27. Sudan
28. Slovenia
29. Spain
30. Sweden
31. Switzerland
32. United Arab Emirates
33. USA
34. Vatican

Out of 234 foreign humanitarian organizations based in Croatia, 114 were active in Bosnia and Herzegovina, of which only 31 exclusively in Bosnia and Herzegovina. 117 humanitarian organizations operated on the territory of the Republic of Croatia that dealt with refugees and displaced citizens of BiH.





*REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Ministry of Labor and Welfare
Welfare department
Section for humanitarian aid*

Register

*of representative offices of foreign legal entities
registered in the Republic of Croatia
for humanitarian activities*

With data on:

Registration

Branch offices

Legal representatives

Number of employees

Custom exemption certificates

Field of activities

Activities/form of aid

Storage area

Operation supervision

(for official use only)

Zagreb, May 1996

X

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Ministry of Labor and Welfare
Section for humanitarian aid

*LIST
of representative offices of foreign legal entities
dealing with humanitarian aid
with addresses / alphabetical index*

No./pg	Name and address of the representative office	
1.	A.D.E.H, Rennes Miševac 53 21220 Trogir	Phone: 021/888-038 Fax: 021/888-038

2. A.I.C.F (INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST HUNGER), Washington
 Begovićeva 1 Phone: 021/356-816
 21000 Split Fax: 021/356-972
3. A.I.C.F., Paris
 Svetog Martina 12 Phone:
 21312 Podstrana Fax:
4. A.T.L.A.S., Paris
 Kralja S. Držislava bb Phone: 021/373-790
 21311 Stobreč Fax: 021/373-790
5. ACTION NORD SUD, Lyon
 Sunčana ulica 1 Phone:
 20000 Dubrovnik Fax:
6. AiBi, Milano
 Ilica 147/149 Phone:
 10000 Zagreb Fax:
7. AIDE DIRECTE, Geneva
 Josipa Anića 21 Phone:
 10000 Zagreb Fax:
8. AL HARAMAIN, Pakistan
 Vrtlarska 4 Phone: 01/172-218
 10000 Zagreb Fax: 01/171-454

In the period 1992 – 1995, 234 humanitarian organizations from 34 foreign countries operated on the Croatian territory

Along with local humanitarian and government organizations, these organizations were the most important factor in providing help to citizens of BiH, especially to Muslim people.

STRUCTURE OF USERS OF CUSTOM EXEMPTION CERTIFICATES AND NUMBER OF ISSUED
 CERTIFICATES BY CATEGORIES OF USERS

User category	certificates for goods				certificates for vehicles			
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1992	1993	1994	1995
Humanitarian organizations	1	64	213	203	5	33	17	21
Foreign legal entities	-	7	20	18	-	-	-	1
Religious groups	1	47	168	68	1	18	-	16
Other domestic legal entities	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1
Red cross	4	34	50	27	2	35	37	19
HVIDR-a	-	8	3	-	-	14	7	3
Caritas	-	7	97	67	5	34	61	45
Welfare services and institutions	4	31	64	35	2	14	17	6
Others (municipalities, schools, Fire departments)	1	26	5	10	1	18	11	11
TOTAL NO OF CERTIFICATES	11	224	622	428	16	166	150	123

* humanitarian aid in form of food, hygiene supplies, cloth and footwear, furniture, technical equipment, heating supplies etc.

/coat of arms/
Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Zagreb

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
OFFICE FOR THE EXPELLED PERSONS AND REFUGEES
Professor Ph.D. Adalbert Rebić , Head
Z A G R E B

Republic of Austria 14

Zagreb, 19 April 1994

AMB/ZAG/04-12204/94

Dear Mr. Rebić

Once more we would like to express our gratitude on today's phone call from the Office for the Refugees of the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb as well as on the information on increasing number of the Bosniak-Herzegovina citizens, which, by the help of UNHCR, keep arriving on the border of the Republic of Croatia, with aim to reach the third country.

We appreciate and accept, in the most special manner, the offered cooperation between the Office for the expelled persons and the refugees, and the Embassy, by which the control of organizations work should be introduced, dealing with forwarding civilians from the Bosnia and Herzegovina. It shall be our pleasure to present you the report on the substantial proposals of the Ministry for Refugees, work and social protection of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the future cooperation in this area.

Hereby, we submit you the copy of our memo number AMB/ZAG/04-12203/94, addressed to the UNHCR, as information on some activities of UNHCR on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Sincerely yours

Ambassador
Bisera Turković
/signed and stamped/

/memo marks Zagreb, Pantovčak 96, p.p. 1056, phones; (+385 41) 449-528, 449-655,429-831, 429-832, Fax: (+395 41) 441-899

MILITARY ECONOMIC MISSION

Savska Cesta 62E/V

Number: 05-3946/93

Zagreb, 26 May 1993

/in English: COORDINATION COUNCIL
FOR HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES

Dr Mohamed Abdel Hay Soliman /as in original/
GENERAL SECRETARY/

Mr Ibrahim HADŽIĆ, Office of Bihać District

Mr Fadil MUHIĆ, Logistics Centre of the 2nd Corps

Mr Azim KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ, Deputy Chief of VEP /Military Economic
R /Republic of/ BH Embassy in the RH /Republic of Croatia/ Mission

RE: Information concerning institutions and people who are authorised to contact humanitarian organisations and to take over humanitarian aid for the R BH Army

Organised aid to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is of vital importance to its inhabitants and its Armed Forces.

In order to improve the delivery and distribution of humanitarian aid to R BH Army units, organs of the State Administration and the military command have divided municipalities and towns by territory into zones of responsibility of the five R BH Army corps.

1. The 1st Corps, with its headquarters in Sarajevo, will include the following towns: Breza, Centar Sarajevo, Čajnice, Foča, Kreševo, Novi Grad-Sarajevo, Novo Sarajevo, Olovo, Pale, Rogatica, Rudo, Sokolac, Stari Grad – Sarajevo, Trnovo, Visoko, Vareš, Višegrad and Vogošća.

2. The 2nd Corps, with its headquarters in Tuzla, will include the following towns: Banovići, Bijeljina, Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko, Derventa, Doboj, Gračanica, Gradačac, Kalesija, Kladanj, Lopare, Lukavac, Maglaj, Modriča, Odžak, Orašje, Srebrenica, Srebrenik, Teslić, Tešanj, Tuzla, Šekovići, Ugljevik, Vlasenica, Zvornik and Živinice.

3. The 3rd Corps, with its headquarters in Zenica, will include the following towns: Banja Luka, Bosanska Dubica, Jajce, Kakanj, Kotor Varoš, Laktaši, Mrkonjić Grad, Novi Travnik, Prnjavor, Skender Vakuf, Srbac, Šipovo, Travnik, Vitez, Zavidovići, Zenica, Žepče and Bosanska Gradiška.

4. The 4th Corps, with its headquarters in Mostar, will include the following towns: Bileća, Čapljina, Čitluk, Gacko, Grude, Jablanica, Konjic, Široki Brijeg, Livno, Ljubinje, Ljubuški, Mostar, Neum, Nevesinje, Posušje, Prozor, Stolac, Tomislavgrad and Trebinje.

5. The 5th Corps, with its headquarters in Bihać, will include the following towns: Bihać, Bosansko Grahovo, Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Novi, Bosanski Petrovac, Cazin, Drvar, Glamoč, Ključ, Prijedor, Sanski Most and Velika Kladuša.

The R BH Army civilian and military institutions have specified offices and persons who are the only ones authorised to collect humanitarian aid donated for the towns in their corps' area and to confirm the identity of the people to whom the aid is handed over as members of the R BH OS /Armed Forces/ and whose families are currently in the Republic of Croatia.

With this in mind, we hereby inform you of the following:

- The Office of Bihać District and Mr Ibrahim HADŽIĆ, Našička 12, Zagreb, tel.-fax: 041 334-484 and 041 317-938, will be the only ones authorised to take over humanitarian aid for the R BH Army on behalf of the 5th Corps, with its headquarters in Bihać.

The Logistics Centre of the 2nd Corps and Mr Fadil MUHIĆ, Ilica 150, Zagreb, tel.-fax: 041 578-623, will be the only ones authorised to take over humanitarian aid for the R BH Army on behalf of the 2nd Corps, with its headquarters in Tuzla.

Since the procedure of selecting institutions and authorised persons to take over humanitarian aid for the R BH Army is ongoing for the other three corps, we would like to inform you that we will let you know on time as soon as they are selected. Until then, you may get in touch directly with the aforementioned offices, the Military Economic Mission or Mr Azim KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ, Deputy Chief of VEP.

To:

1. Coordination Council for Humanitarian Agencies
2. Office of the Bihać District, Našička 12
3. Logistics Centre, 2nd Corps, Ilica 150
4. Mr Azim KARAMEHMEDOVIĆ, Deputy Chief of VEP
5. R BH Embassy in the RH, Zagreb
SK/SP

For the MILITARY ATTACHÉ
Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ

/handwritten 16 September 1993/

PROCLAMATION

We, below signed, would like to publicly state that Croatian Caritas, Merhamet and Mešihat cooperate in many various ways, in spite of all those who keep deny the existence of this cooperation.

Since the beginning of the war, Merhamet, Mešihat and Croatian Caritas work together and make joint efforts in order to ease sufferings of numberless victims, successfully performing their duties.

Since the political interests of the world are in conflict and malicious, we are decisive in our obligation to ease this tragic hurt of innocent individuals, no matter whether they are Orthodox, Muslims or Catholics.

This proclamation concerns those whose intentions are to break the good will among people of various origins. We intend to preserve the pre-war relations that enabled a peaceful coexistence with other individuals of various affiliations, ethnic or religious.

Therefore, eventually, we would like to express once again our deepest concern over permanent actions that only make this holocaust difficult, which includes the innocent ones. Once again, we most sincerely invite all those to whom this may concern in order to reconsider detrimental consequences of such actions.

In Zagreb, 16 September 1993

On behalf of Mešihat
Mr Šefko Omerbašić
/signed and stamped/

On behalf of Merhamet
Doctor Izet Aganović
/signed/

On behalf of Croatian
Caritas
nun Andjelita Šokić
/last name illegible/
/signed and stamped/

/stamp of the Croatian State Archive/
Fax marks-illegible
June 10, 1993
/handwritten 2622/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
ŠVK OS RBiH IKM
Number: 110/13-48
Zenica, 9 June 1993

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
MILITARY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

To the Main Staff of HVO

Subject: Realization of announced flights of the BH Army helicopters

The humanitarian flights of BH Army helicopters are just now reaching its realization in order to transport the wounded persons on relation:

Tuzla – Split – Tuzla.

All flights have been announced, approved and controlled by UNPROFOR and authorized state and military bodies of the Republic of Croatia.

Since the flights for evacuation of wounded and sick children from Tuzla in the following days have been announced, we hope that you would take a favourable attitude regarding the above cited subject and do your best to guarantee the realization of announced flights.

In the following period, due to mutual interests and in order to safeguard flights of your and our planes, we expect the adequate cooperation.

We kindly ask for your urgent reply to this letter, in order to be able to start the realization.

JK/VR

Deputy Commander
M.S. Stjepan Šiber
/signed and stamped/

/handwritten
deliver your reply to fax number 99 871 144 6274/



THIRD WORLD RELIEF AGENCY

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وكالة إغاثة العالم الثالث

NAME: HASAN CENGIC

الإسم: حسن جنجيج

رقم Nr.	Date تاريخ	AMOUNT المبلغ			REMARKS بيانات
		USD دولار	DEM مارك	AND OTHERS عملات مختلفة	
41	17.12.1992	--	--	512.636.000 LIT	Medikamente F.R. INBOS Gorizia
42	19.12.1992	500.000	01.000.000	--	Hasan in Zagreb - movstak
43	22.12.1992	--	--	512.636.000 LIT	Blding material F.R. INBOS - TBM - SRL Gorizia
44	04.01.1993	--	00.600.000	--	Hasan with Huso
45	07.01.1993	150.000	--	--	Transport F. sugar GBH. Dusky wien
46	11.01.1993	--	250.000	--	Shose F.R. BH Kogarsko - Tekstiln Juvsko
47	11.01.1993	250.000	--	--	Konserven D.RBH. Str. Huzd - Vignat Vukov
48	12.01.1993	--	01.000.000	--	Hasan - Salim - Husainyakh + Thinyan
49	25.01.1993	--	01.000.000	--	Hasan in Hilina - Mup - together to Zagreb
50	08.02.1993	--	01.000.000	--	Hasan from Sukarno
51	28.02.1993	--	500.000	--	Received by Sabit Nesad
52	04.03.1993	--	01.000.000	--	Received by Mup to Hasan
53	18.03.1993	--	007.914.60	--	Ro - Testoon Zagreb
54	18.03.1993	--	--	287.843.500 LIT	Blding material F.RBH. Gorizia
55	18.03.1993	--	142.345.35	--	Blding material F.RBH. Simal Zagreb
56	18.03.1993	--	053.096	--	Blding material F.RBH. Gorizia
57	18.03.1993	--	106.267	--	Kupex Trading Antal - Basel
58	18.03.1993	--	152.857	--	Kupex Trading Antal - Basel
59	18.03.1993	--	031.050	--	Kupex Trading Antal - Basel
60	18.03.1993	--	070.903	--	alluminiumlegierungen TLM TAL Zagreb
					المجموع الكلي

3



THIRD WORLD RELIEF AGENCY

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وكالة إغاثة العالم الثالث

NAME: SABIC SALIM

الإسم: سالم شليبيج

رقم Nr.	Date تاريخ	AMOUNT المبلغ			REMARKS بيانات
		USD دولار	DEM مارك	AND OTHERS عملات مختلفة	
21	14.04.1994	025.000	--	--	To. D. Mustafa Taserg
22	14.04.1994	002.000	--	--	To. D. Zebir's Family
23	No date	--	250.000	--	Mandalikna Zagreb
24	No date	--	350.000	--	Mandalikna Zagreb
25	No date	050.000	--	--	Mandalikna Zagreb
26	No date	150.000	--	--	ZVONKO
27	No date	--	300.000	--	SDA
					المجموع الكلي

2



THRD WORLD RELIEF AGENCY

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وكالة إغاثة العالم الثالث

NAME: FAHIM SEJARI

الإسم: فهيم سيجري

رقم Nr.	Date التاريخ	AMOUNT المبلغ			REMARKS بيانات
		USD دولار	DEM مارك	AND OTHERS عملات مختلفة	
1	No date	-	01 000 000	-	PURCHASE OF TRUCKS FOR MERHAMED
2	27. 01. 1993	-	502 000	-	PURCHASE OF TRUCKS FOR MERHAMED
3	11. 02. 1993	-	01 000 000	-	PURCHASE OF TRUCKS FOR MERHAMED
4	25. 05. 1993	-	500 000	-	PURCHASE OF TRUCKS FOR MERHAMED
5	04. 05. 1994	-	01 000 000	-	PURCHASE OF 15 TRUCKS
			04 002 000		المجموع الكلي



THRD WORLD RELIEF AGENCY

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وكالة إغاثة العالم الثالث

NAME: ELBERT DELMAN

الإسم: إيلبرت دلمان

رقم Nr.	Date التاريخ	AMOUNT المبلغ			REMARKS بيانات
		USD دولار	DEM مارك	AND OTHERS عملات مختلفة	
1	09. 12. 1992	-	929 000	-	Clouthes for refuges BH.
2	28. 12. 1992	-	308 100	-	Winter clouthes for refuges BH.
3	07. 01. 1993	-	02 430 000	-	Winter clouthes for refuges BH.
4	10. 03. 1993	-	02 600 000	-	Clouthes for refuges BH.
5	03. 05. 1993	-	01 000 000	-	part of payment for clouthes BH
6	24. 05. 1993	-	01 000 000	-	port of payment for clouthes BH
7	04. 06. 1993	-	00 700 000	-	The rest of the payment for clouthes BH
8	17. 06. 1993	02 000 000	-	-	for clouthes for refuge BH.
		02 000 000	08 957 100		المجموع الكلي

CERTIFICATE

confirming that Hasan ČENGIĆ was given 500,000 (five hundred thousand) German marks by Dr Fatih HASSANEIN for the needs of the *Medunarodna Zajednica* /International Community/, Zagreb.

Taken over by:

/signature of Hasan ČENGIĆ/

Vienna, 25 June 1993

DIE ERSTE

Austrian Savings Bank- Bank

Graben 21, 1011 Vienna, Post-office box 162
Phone no. 531 00 ext., Fax no. 63 93 77
Telegrams: grabenspar wien
Telex Foreign Operations 11-4012, DVR 0031313

Vienna, 19th March 1993/GAE

INTERNATIONAL CREDIT TRANSFER
DEBIT ADVICE
Ref. No. 19031993/021115

THIRD WORLD RELIEF AGENCY
USD- TRANSACTIONS ACCOUNT 680
PRINZ EUGENSTR. 36/4/2
1040 VIENNA

ACCOUNT NO.: 513-64476

RECIPIENT:

MULTICOM INFORMATION

SYSTEMS LTD

ACCOUNT NO.: 258427034

REASON FOR PAYMENT:

20 SATELLITE PHONES FOR
BOSNIA

HASAN CENGIC

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ORDER OF
18th MARCH 1993, WE CARRIED OUT THE
FOLLOWING MONEY TRANSFER ON YOUR
BEHALF:

USD**600.000,00***

WE CHARGE YOUR USD-ACCOUNT:

USD	600.000,00
+UESP	5,22
+TELEX	39,17
+DURGB	756,53
+USD transaction fees	12,62
VALUE 19.03 USD	600.813,54

COMMISSIONED BANK:

VERWALTUNGS U PRIVATBANK, VADUZ

SINCERELY,
DIE ERSTE
Austrian Savings Bank- Bank

DIE ERSTE

Austrian Savings Bank- Bank

Graben 21, 1011 Vienna, Post-office box 162
Phone no. 531 00 ext., Fax no. 63 93 77
Telegrams: grabenspar wien
Telex Foreign Operations 11-4012, DVR 0031313

Vienna, 8th January 1993/PFK

INTERNATIONAL CREDIT TRANSFER
DEBIT ADVICE

Ref. No. 08011993/066671

THIRD WORLD RELIEF AGENCY
USD- TRANSACTIONS ACCOUNT 680
PRINZ EUGENSTR. 36/4/2
1040 VIENNA

ACCOUNT NO.: 513-64476

RECIPIENT:

ALBERT EDELMANN GMBH

D-6670 ST. INGBERT

ACCOUNT NO.: 200975003

ACCOUNT AT:

J. HENRY SCHROEDER BANK AG

CENTRAL 2

CH.-8021 ZUERICH

REASON FOR PAYMENT:

RG. DATED 23rd DECEMBER 1992 DEM 2.110.000,--

RG. DATED 5th JANUARY 1993 DEM 320.000., --

WINTER CLOTHES FOR REFUGEES

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ORDER OF
7th JANUARY 1993, WE CARRIED OUT THE
FOLLOWING MONEY TRANSFER ON YOUR
BEHALF:

DEM**2.430.000,00**

WE CHARGE YOUR USD-ACCOUNT:

EXCHANGE RATE 61,20734 OF 8th JANUARY

VALUE USD 1.487.338,36

+UESP 5,20

+VZI 594,93

+TELEX 17,33

VALUE 08.01 USD 1.487.955,82

COMMISSIONED BANK:

SCHROEDER BANK, ZUERICH

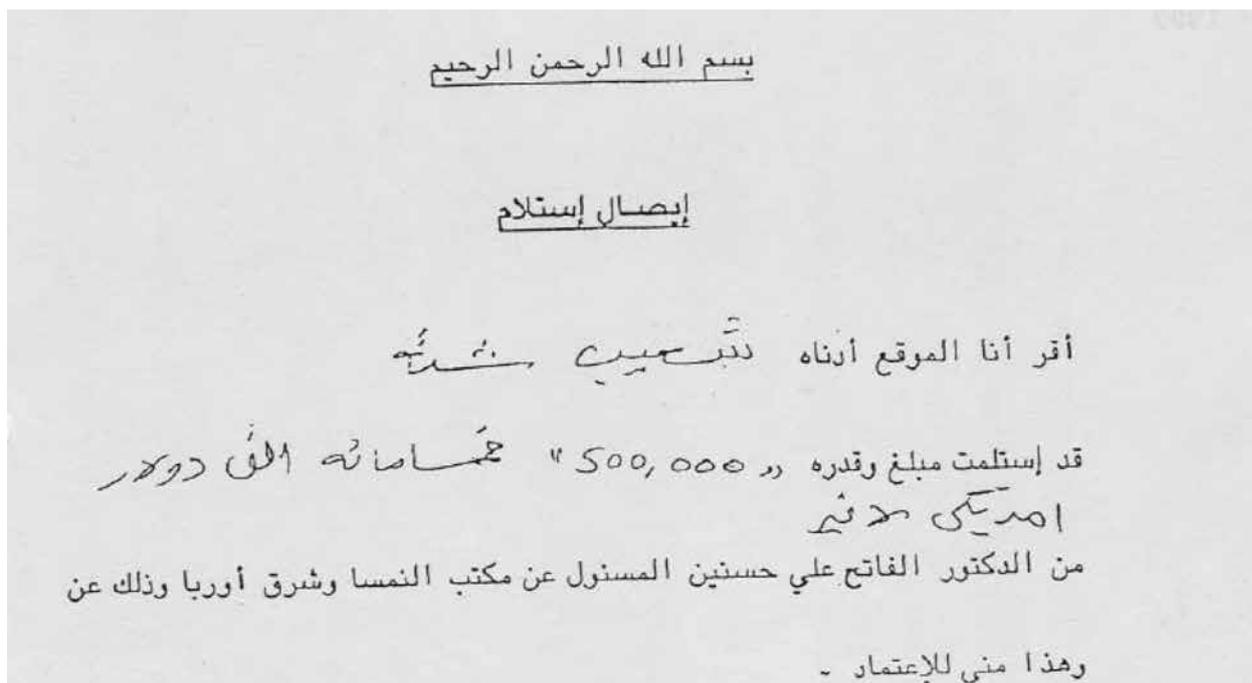
SINCERELY,

DIE ERSTE

Austrian Savings Bank- Bank

A-1040 WIEN, PRINZ EUGEN-STRASSE 36/4/2
VIENNA - AUSTRIA

/handwritten text in Arabic/



/handwritten: ŠETA ŠUAJB/

signed by: Šeta Šuajb

20th April 1993 /

CERTIFICATE

Confirming that ŠETA ŠUAJB has received from dr. FATIH EL HASANEINA through SUKARNA the amount of USD 500,000 (five hundred thousand US dollars) for the purpose of delivering the amount to HASAN ČENGIĆ.

MONEY RECEIVED BY

/signed: Šeta Šuajb/

WITNESS

SINANAGIĆ MEYLUDIN

/signed: Sinanagić M./

MONEY ISSUED BY

AID SENT TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA THROUGH PORTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

223

PORTS:

- Raša
- Pula
- Rijeka
- Split
- Ploče

Humanitarian aid sent to BiH through Croatian ports 1992 – 1995



Traffic in port of Ploče during the war amounted to 601,133,307 kg of humanitarian aid.

/handwritten: January 1993/

No.	Arrival date	Departure date	Ship registered in	Ship's name	Cargo type	General cargo	Bulk cargo	Liquid cargo	Agent Forwarder	Direction of movement
1.	03.1.	5.1.	Malta	EIPIDA	Beans pallets	1,000,020 28,250			Jugoagent	Transit
2.	1.11.	14.1.		Atlantic moon	Potatoes	3,631,320	2,179,800 1,451,520		Jadroagent	Import Transit
3.	4.1.	9.1.		Cecilia	Potatoes	2,841,473			Jadroagent Interšped	Hvar
4.	11.01.	14.1.		Tavros	Wheat flour	2,446,281			Adriaagent Interšped	Transit
5.	14.01.	16.1.	Croatia	Hvar	Flour	600,00			Jadroagent Transadria	Transit
6.	3.01.	13.1.	Croatia	Primošten	Beech sawn timber	2,400,847			Jadroagent Interšped	Transit
7.	13.01	14.1.	Spain	Aragon	Hum. Aid	113,800			Jadroagent	Transit
8.	5.1.	12.1.	Russia	Sibirskiy	Flour	3,019,800			Adriaagent Intereuropa	-II-
9.	2.1.	3.1.	Croatia	Podunavlje	Fuel Dz			2,170,019	Jadroagent	-II-
10.	22.12.	9.1.	Turkey	Admiral Sadik Altincan	Hum. Aid	4,538,129			Transadria Interšped	-II-
11.	25.1.	26.1.	Croatia	Transporter 2	Tank wagon	290,000 118,270				-II-
12.	17.1.	18.1.	Croatia	Orjula	generalni	955,880			Jadroagent	-II-
13.	11.1.	11.1.	Croatia	Transporter 2	Wagons	290,00			Transadria Plo	-II-
14.	18	18.1.	-II-	-II-	Wagons	312,000			-II-	-II-
15.	15.1.	15.1.	-II-	-II-	-II-	290,000			-II-	-II-
16.	22.1.	22.	-II-	-II-	-II-	340,000			-II-	-II-
17.	16.1.	23.1.	Italy	Genca Otawo	Flour	2,490,173			Adriaagent	-II-

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
01.01.93	EIPIDA	BEANS PALETS	1,000 28 ">R	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
01.01.93	ATLANTIC MOON	POTATOES	3,631		
04.01.93	CECILIA	POTATOES	2,841	INTERŠPED	IMPORT TO CROATIA
03.01.93	PRIMOŠTEN	BEECH TIMBER	2,400	INTERŠPED	EXPORT TO BIH
13.01.93	ARAGON	HUM. AID	113		
13.01.93	IRIS	FLOUR	1,000	INTERŠPED	BIH
16.01.93	GENCA OTTAVO	FLOUR	2,490	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
17.01.93	ORJULA	GENERAL CARGO	955		
22.01.93	BILBYS	WASHERS	772		
02.01.93	PODUNAVLJE	DIESEL FUEL	2,170	INTERŠPED	ENERGOPETROL PLOČE FOR BIH P1.0E7.ARIH
05.01.93	SIBIRSKIY	FLOUR	3,019	INTEREUROPA	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
09.01.93	EARLY BIRD	FLOUR	5,550	INTEREUROPA	HIGH SAUDI COMMISSARAT PLOČE
20.01.93	SAETTA	DIESEL FUEL	19,116	INTERŠPED	ENERGOPETROL PLOČE FOR BIH
26.01.93	VALE	BEANS	904	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
03.01.93	PRIMOŠTEN	BEECH SAWN TIMBER	2,400	INTERŠPED	EXPORT TO BIH
09.01.93	ADMIRAL SADIK ALTINCAN	HUM. AID	4,538	INTERŠPED	BIH
11.01.93	TRANSPORTER 2	WAGONS	290	TRANSADRIA	REFUGEE CAMP – RAIL. STATION ČAPLJINA
11.01.93	TAVROS	FLOUR	2,446	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
14.01.93	HVAR	FLOUR	600	TRANSADRIA	CARITAS MEDUGORJE
15.01.93	TRANSPORTER 2	WAGONS	290	TRANSADRIA	
18.01.93	TRANSPORTER 2	WAGONS	312	TRANSADRIA	REFUGEE CAMP – RAIL. STATION ČAPLJINA
22.01.93	TRANSPORTER 2	WAGONS	340	TRANSADRIA	REFUGEE CAMP – RAIL. STATION ČAPLJINA
15.01.93	PUĆIŠĆA	BLANKETS TIN METAL STRIPS	41 168	TRANSADRIA	UNHCR METKOVIĆ ENERGOINV. ČAPLJ.
26.01.93	GEORGIOS 2	HUM. AID	1,459	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
25.01.93	TRANSPORTER 2	WAGONS TANKS	290 118	TRANSADRIA	REFUGEE CAMP – RAIL. STATION ČAPLJINA
25.01.93	ADMIRAL SADIK ALTINCAN	HUM. AID	952	INTERŠPED	BIH
08.01.93	URTE	FLOUR	2,850	INTERŠPED	BIH

FEBRUARY

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
19.02.93	PODUNAVLJE	PETROL 98	3,379		ENERGOPETROL PLOČE
14.02.93	LIPA	HUM. AID	606		
06.02.93	IVA	EMPTY BOXES	136		TRANSP. WITHIN REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
01.02.93	ZVIJEZDA MORA	HUM. AID	452	INTEREUROPA	
16.02.93	RIJEKA	CONSTRUCTION	936	INTERŠPED	EXPORT FROM BIH
24.02.93	SV. JOSIP	EQUIPMENT	703	TRANSADRIA	EQUIPMENT FOR UNPROFOR
21.02.93	SV. JOSIP	EQUIPMENT	703	TRANSADRIA	EQUIPMENT FOR UNPROFOR
18.02.93	ANI	EMPTY BOXES	170		TRANSPORTATION WITHIN REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
22.02.93	KAPETAN VIJEKO	SUGAR	505	INTERŠPED	BiH
15.02.93	PUĆIŠĆA	BLANKETS	79	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
09.02.93	KAPETAN VIJEKO	SUGAR	505	INTERŠPED	BiH
17.02.93	ČIKOLA	FLOUR	3,222	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
25.02.93	DIMITROS G	FLOUR	900	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ

MARCH

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
19.03.93	BOSUT	COAL	4,302	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
04.03.93	PUĆIŠĆE	BLANKETS	84	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
19.02.93	CRIMMITSCHAU	FLOUR	9,252	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
28.02.93	SV. JOSIP	VEHICLES	941	TRANSADRIA	EQUIPMENT FOR UNPROFOR
26.02.93	SV. JOSIP	EQUIPMENT	1,152	TRANSADRIA	EQUIPMENT FOR UNPROFOR
05.03.93	SV. JOSIP	EQUIPMENT	659	TRANSADRIA	EQUIPMENT FOR UNPROFOR
01.03.93	LEON	FLOUR	450	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
20.03.93	PUĆIŠĆE	OIL RISE FLOUR	113 101 320	TRANSADRIA	CARITAS METKOVIĆ

APRIL

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
07.04.93	HRELJIN	HUM. AID	340	JADROAGENT	IRC METKOVIĆ
20.04.93	BOSUT	COAL	4,389	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
25.04.93	SV. JOSIP	VEHICLES	771	TRANSADRIA	VEHICLES FOR UNPROFOR
13.04.93	BOBARA	BEECH SAWN TIMBER	405	INTERŠPED	EXPORT TO BiH
18.04.93	OSOR	BEECH SAWN TIMBER	885	INTERŠPED	EXPORT FROM BiH
21.04.93	ANI	FLOUR	108	INTERŠPED	BiH
10.04.93	JAMES LYKES	HUM. AID	1,017	INTERŠPED	RED CROSS CROATIA GREEN CRESCENT BiH
25.04.93	DOLI	SUGAR	853	INTEREUROPA	
25.04.93	STELLA LYKES	HUM. AID	3,714	INTERŠPED	RED CROSS CROATIA GREEN CRESCENT BiH
16.04.93	SPRANTE DIAMOND	FLOUR	7,852	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ

MAY

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
01.05.93	LABOR	DIS. HOUSES	690		
15.05.93	DANALITH	HUM. AID	1,061		
21.05.93	HRELJIN	HUM. AID	170	JADROAGENT	
11.05.93	BEATA LEONHARCDT	HUM. AID	1,875	INTERŠPED	RED CROSS CROATIA GREEN CRESCENT BiH
08.05.93	PUĆIŠĆA	THIN METAL STRIPS	600	TRANSADRIA	ENERGOINVEST ČAPLJINA
03.05.93	GREENLAND SAGA	POTATOES ONIONS	1,312 50	INTERŠPED	BiH
17.05.93	PUĆIŠĆA	WOODEN PALLETS	96	INTERŠPED	PORT OF PLOČE
07.05.93	NAISSAAR	HUM. AID	2,985	CRO TRADE	HIGH SAUDI COMMISSARIAT PLOČE
24.05.93	MAKSIM RILSKIY	ANIMAL FEED	2,095		

JUNE

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
05.06.93	VICKO	FLOUR	5,033	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ
05.06.93	VIJERA	BEECH TIMBER	1,554		EXPORT TO BiH
11.06.93	SAN EVANS	HUM. AID	3,764	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ BiH
02.06.93	OBROVAC	SODIUM LYE	841	TRANSADRIA	IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
02.06.93	ALEX	WINE	1,341		IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
17.06.93	LETILIA LYKES	FLOUR	2,262	INTERŠPED	RED CROSS CROATIA GREEN CRESCENT BiH
28.06.93	VIDEMIA	WINE	1,339	DELBAR	IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
30.06.93	BRIBIR	HUM. AID	538		

JULY

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
02.07.93	ALEX	WINE	1,250		IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
08.07.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,411	INTERŠPED	
10.07.93	PUČIŠĆA	CANNED FISH	389	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ BiH
14.07.93	MAONA MA 5	CONTAINERS	722		IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
13.07.93	KAPETAN VIJEKO	FLOUR,PASTA	465	TRANSADRIA	CARITAS MEĐUGORJE
18.07.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,520	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
21.07.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,479	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
02.07.93	PUČIŠĆA	CANNED FISH	428	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ BiH
17.07.93	TRAGARA	FLOUR	4,028	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ

AUGUST

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
16.07.93	ARAB HIND	WHEAT FLOUR BLANKETS	3,025 1.2	TRANŠPED (NO LONGER EXISTS)	HIGH SAUDI COMMISSIONER PLOČE
09.08.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,556	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
14.08.93	SUE LYKES	FLOUR LENTIL	1,197 75	INTERŠPED	BiH
14.08.93	COLUMBIA ERRE	DIESEL FUEL	4,783	LUKA PLOČE	ENERGOPETROL PLOČE
16.08.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,559	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
20.08.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,512	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
05.08.93	BRIJ	FLOUR	14,562	INTERŠPED	UNHCR METKOVIĆ BiH
17.08.93	LATANIA	SUGAR	1,415 100	INTEREUROPA INTERŠPED	BiH
25.08.93	BOBARA	SUGAR	808	INTERŠPED	BiH

SEPTEMBER

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
05.09.93	KAPETAN VIJEKO	SUGAR	1,010	INTERŠPED	BiH
20.09.93	MLAKA	COAL	3,297	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
26.09.93	MLAKA	COAL	3,281	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
31.08.93	ARAB HIND	WHEAT	6,548	TRANŠPED (no longer exists)	HIGH SAUDI COMMISSIONER PLOČE
12.09.93	CRES	CONTAINERS	322		PORT OF PLOČE
31.08.93	USTRINE	SUGAR	202	INTERŠPED	BiH
03.09.93	PODUNAVLJE	DIESEL FUEL	3,523		ENERGOPETROL PLOČE
29.09.93	TRANSPORTER SILNI	ELECTRIC- MOTOR TRAIN	143	TRANSADRJA	IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
30.09.93	OLIB	SODIUM LYE	418		TRANSPORT WITHIN REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
22.09.93	HVAR	SUGAR	1,019	TRANSADRIA	PRODEX GRUDE

OCTOBER

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
02.10.93	MLAKA	COAL EMPTY CONTAINERS	3,262 240	TRANSADRJA	RIJEKA UNPROFOR, CANADA
04.10.93	OŠLJAK	DIESEL FUEL	1,158		IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
03.10.93	SV. JOSIP	VEHICLES AND EQUIPMENT	480	TRANSADRJA	EQUIPMENT UNPROFOR
02.10.93	VALIO	DIESEL FUEL	1,587	DELBAR	ENERGOPETROL PLOČE
10.10.93	MLAKA	COAL	3,297	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA

10.10.93	BOBARA	WHEAT	1,022		METKOVKA METKOVIĆ
16.10.93	OŠLJAK	DIESEL FUEL	1,193		IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
17.10.93	MLAKA	COAL EMPTY CONTAINERS	3,365 420	INTERŠPED TRANSADRIA	RIJEKA UNPROFOR, CANADA
24.10.93	MLAKA	COAL EMPTY CONTAINERS	3,327	INTERŠPED TRANSADRIA	RIJEKA UNPROFOR, CANADA
17.10.93	SV.JOSIP	VEHICLES	355	TRANSADRIA	EQUIPMENT UNPROFOR
26.10.93	SANTA NINA	VEHICLES	3,488		
07.10.93	LESLIE LYKES	HUM. AID	10,354	INTERŠPED	RED CROSS CROATIA GREEN CRESCENT BiH
23.10.93	LOUISE LYKES	HUM. AID	1,856	INTERŠPED	BiH
13.10.93	RUTH LYKES	OIL	453	INTERŠPED	BiH
26.10.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,610	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA

NOVEMBER

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
17.11.93	VEŽICA	COAL	3,568	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
19.11.93	OBROVAC	SODIUM LYE	710	TRANSADRIA	IMPORT TO REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
14.11.93	KAPETAN VIJEKO	FLOUR OIL	501 71	INTERŠPED	BiH
22.11.93	VALIO	DIESEL FUEL	1,530	DEL BAR	ENERGOPETROL PLOČE
27.11.93	MLAKA	COAL	3,326	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
06.11.93	ANDREY BUBNOV	BAUXITE	3,024	PORT OF PLOČE	EXPORT FROM REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
18.11.93	COSTAS S	FLOUR	5,263	INTERŠPED	BiH
08.11.93	JOHN LYKES	HUM. AID	7,348	INTERŠPED	BiH
02.11.93	LETITIA LYKES	HUM. AID	2,386	INTERŠPED	BiH

DECEMBER

DATE	SHIP'S NAME	CARGO TYPE	TONS	FORWARDER	SHIPPED TO
03.12.93	PUČIŠĆA	FLOUR	600	NERETVAŠPED	METKOVKA METKOVIĆ
06.12.93	MLAKA	COAL	3,307	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
11.12.93	MLAKA	COAL	3,300	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
23.12.93	KNIN	COAL	22,968	INTERŠPED	RIJEKA
02.12.93	MARJORIE LYKES	HUM. AID	3,618	INTERŠPED	BiH
03.12.98	ARAB HIND	HUM. AID	927	TRANŠPED (no longer exists)	HIGH SAUDI COMMISSARIAT PLOČE
24.12.93	KAPETAN VIJEKO	BOVINE MEET	596	INTERŠPED	BiH
29.12.93	SABRI	CRYOLITE	1,025		

TAPE RECORDING
172. SESSION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
HELD ON 24TH OCTOBER 1992

Session started at 13,00 hours.

The session was chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, President of the Presidency.

IZETBEGOVIĆ:

We have six points on the agenda.

Are there any objections to this agenda? Is there any surplus in it? There are many materials. These are necessary things we have to do today.

Point 1.

There are enough of us for a quorum.

Regulation on Travel Documents

Manner in which to regulate the status of our citizens who are outside the Republic. You have the Regulation here. Are there any problems here?

GANIĆ:

The reporter is here, Government representative.

IZETBEGOVIĆ:

Is there anyone from the Government.

LAGUMDŽIJA:

I don't know if there is any need for explanation.

IZETBEGOVIĆ:

Are there any questions? This was discussed by the Government, was it not?

Tape 4/1 MLJ

PEJANOVIĆ:

... now our consolidation. If possible... if not there could be consequences, meaning I'm not sufficiently informed and this should not be taken into account.

ZLATKO:

Mr. President, I apologize for interrupting the session uninvited, but this is urgent. Petroleum came down to Split these 20,000 tons from Turkey. There is an order that the petroleum is to be sent to Procurement directorate for which they say that I have sent. I do not remember this. Does anybody know. They are waiting on the phone for an answer. Sarajevo Procurement directorate.

GANIĆ:

We can keep the petroleum for the city of Sarajevo, and then we'll see.

ZLATKO:

Directorate for commodity reserves is republics, is it not?

X:

There is Procurement directorate at the City assembly and they handle some basic food products. However, for the Republic's purposes our Directorate for Commodity Reserves of BiH Government

ZLATKO:

There is a Directorate for humanitarian aid, but this is not humanitarian. Enes can go outside so he can see or Zlatko with Silajdžić how best to resolve this.

T4/2

X:

Because this petrol for Merhamet. Now Čengić is asking me from above what to do. Petroleum will enter the terminal and the destination must be known.

PEJANOVIĆ:

If it's Merhamet's, then it's Merhamet's.

IZETBEGOVIĆ:

I don't know. The Government knows to whom it was sent. If it is sent to the Republic, then it is Republic's. If it is sent to the charity organization, then it is there's. If it is sent to the Republic, then it is known where it should go.

X:

Good, I apologize for entering like this.

IZETBEGOVIĆ:

Let them examine if it is for Merhamet. Donor knows for whom it is intended.

PEJANOVIĆ:

It should be given to those to whom it was sent.

KLJUJIC:

In principle, everything is clear. Let me tell you something private now. This evening I tried to calm, because they come to me, that is to the Italians so I went to the Italians and cast them out. Let me tell you now it is a heterogeneous group. Some listen, some say "fuck you" to be frank, this is how they behave. It is their jargon and accordingly I tried to say patience to those more sensible, hold your horses, that Kruxško should go to



REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

1st MOSTAR BRIGADE



GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
To Mr Rusmir MAHMUTČEHAJIĆ personally
SARAJEVO

Your ref:
Our ref: 1051/1
Mostar, 21 November 1992

Subject: Distribution of fuel (D₂ diesel) from the port of Ploče

On 20 November 1992 we were in Ploče, where we found out, among other things, the following:

A ship from Turkey carrying D₂ diesel for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina had arrived in the port of Ploče; approximately 6,000 tonnes were unloaded. We found out that the fuel had not yet been allocated, yet it was being requisitioned and distributed. Mr Tomo KRSTIČEVIĆ from Zagreb (telephone 041 276 786) gave orders for distribution, so the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ and the port of Ploče requisitioned approximately 1,000 tonnes of D₂ diesel.

COMMANDER
/handwritten: for/ Arif PAŠALIĆ
/signature and stamp/

MILITARY DELEGATION OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
RECEIVED – SUBMITTED through:
TLF – RRV, RV, PACTOR – PACKAGE - HOUR
Date: 21st December 1992 at 05,00 hours
Received by: /signature illegible/

ARMY OF BiH REPUBLIC
5th CORPS COMMAND
Con. 06/1547/2
Date: 19th December 1992

MILITARY SECRET
TOP SECRET
Copy no. 1

Regulation of the procurement of fuel,
REQUEST, delivered.-

MILITARY DELEGATION ZAGREB
(Brigadier Hajro Osmanagić)

On the basis of the Act no. 02/733-393, High Command informs us that we have available 200,000 liters of fuel D-2 at the terminal "INTERINE" Rijeka.

We're requesting that in contact with the supplier we call upon Mr. Pero Sandrak , an officer from "Energopetrol". We ask you to check and examine ASAP the possibility of taking over the fuel through the authorized person so that we can plan and import the fuel.

We request an urgent response!

BS/SÄ

Issued in 2 copies
And delivered.-
- Military delegation
- a/a

Assistant commander for
logistics

cap. Bećir Sirovina

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
SUPREME COMMAND OF MILITARY FORCES
SARAJEVO

/handwritten: 846-1/

26th October 1992

Subject: 200 tons of diesel fuel D2
200 tons of motor gasoline MB98

In connection with your letter no: 02/773-279 from 5th October 1992, please acquire from MDD "MERHAMET" Sarajevo a certificate- approval for exemption of 200 tons of diesel fuel D2 and 200 tons of motor gasoline MB98 stored at the warehouse in Split (INA warehouse). Certificate must be signed by Mr. EDAH BEČIRBEGOVIĆ.

When you receive the requested certificate, please send it to Mostar via satellite fax SDA, Mostar.

Best regards,

Brigade commander

Arif Pašalić

/signed/

/stamp: BH Army First Mostar Brigade Command Mostar/

ENTRY-OUTGOING DISPOSITION

Referent

Mario Mucić

We kindly ask you to execute the below cited issues according to this order. We herewith declare that we are familiar with your fees and general conditions of issues within port business, therefore we agree to them unconditionally.

Number of disposition: 3/775

Importer-exporter

ENERGOPETROL

Position

Conclusion

Transport vehicle
offload

From/to

Warehouse

Conditions of load and

Ship

USSR BH
/circled/

Terminal TT

Number of CZ card
T-555/93

Custom declaration

Custom attest

Agent

Import

Transit/circled/

Export

Distribution

Custom application number IOT – 87/14 August 1993

Carriage truck	Number of container	Number of kolet	Art of packing	Weight in kg	Art of merchandise	Mark, dimension	B7L
"COLUMBIA ERRE"			Liquid	4.783	132 kg diesel fuel	"D2"	

Enclosures

Costs to be invoiced

Description of work that needs to be done

Please offload the merchandise in the warehouse TTT

Stamp and signature of CZ
/signed/date and hour
17 August 1993, 1030 hrsSignature and stamp
of the consignee
/signed and stamped/

ADRIATIC-AGENT Ltd.
 MEĐUNARODNA POMORSKA AGENCIJA
 INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING AGENCY
 58340 PLOČE, Kralj Tomislav square 22, P.O.B. 100
 TELEPHONE: 79-662, 79-622 (ZIP CODE 058)
 FAX: 79-602 • TELEX: AGENT RH 26-238

ZAPISNIK O ČINJENIČNOM STANJU – STATEMENT OF FACTS AND
 I VREMENSKA TABLICA – TIME SHEET

M_{is.} "COLUMBIA ERRE"

Date 15th August 1993.-

	Date	Hour
Arrived	14/08	1200
Berthed	14/08	1430
Commenced	14/08	1648
Completed	15/09	0312
Sailed	15/08	0915

Notice of readiness tendered 14.08.93 at 1200 HRS
 Nor accepted 14.08.93 at 1430
 Line or charter Party
 Cargo GASOIL 4,783,132 MTNS
 Operation DISCHARGING
 Way of calculating laydays AS PER C/P

Date	Day	Worked			Layday used					Time allowed		
		Time	Gangs	Hatches No.	Time	Interruptions	Days	Hours	Minutes	Days	Hours	Minutes
14/8	SAT	1200,,,	,,	TANKER ARRIVED PLOČE ROADS								
		1312,,,	,,	PILOT ON BOARD								
		1312-1430	,,	BERTHING TIME								
		1512,,,	,,	HOSE CONNECTED								
		1648	,,	COMMENCED DISCHARGING								
		1648-2400	,,	DISCHARGING								
15708	SUN	0000-0312	,,	DISCHARGING								
		0312,,,	,,	COMPLETED DISCHARGING								
		0712	,,	DISCONNECTED HOSE								
Total time used		Days..... Hours..... Minutes.....		REMARKS								
Time allowed		Days..... Hours..... Minutes.....										
Danguba		Days..... Hours..... Minutes.....										
Demurrage- Dispatch		Days..... Hours..... Minutes.....										
AMOUNT												

Shippers – Receivers:

Agency:

Master:

/signature illegible/

/signature illegible/

/signature illegible/

/stamp: illegible/

/stamp: RAVENNA VI S.p.A.

RAVENNA/

Ordinal number: 19/01/93
Disposition number:

direction
country

Company "PORT OF PLOČE" KARDELJEVO

Name of the ship: SAETTA Flag: Malta
 Port of registry and ship-owner: _____ Type of cargo Diesel fuel
 Planned manipulations: _____ Tons: 19,116,437
 Realized manipulations: _____ Tons: _____
 Arrived: 20.01.1993 Started: _____
 Completed: 22.01.1993 Sailed: 22.01. at 09,30
 The amount of daily loading - unloading according to the contract _____
 Saving _____ Demurrage: _____
 Sailed from: _____ Sailed: _____
 CAPACITY _____ SHIPPING AGENCY IS: Interšped - Ploče
 BRT: 14.926 AGENCY IS: Atlantic Adriatic - agent
 NRT: _____ LOADING-UNLOADING CONDITIONS: _____
 /Handwritten: completed/

ISSUES

Number	Number of department-protocol	Date	Description	Remark
1.	Port pilotage		+ 25%	4) \$ 1,022.14
2	Berthing - departure		+ 25%	5) \$ 1,328.41
3	/illegible/	80	/illegible/ x 3,50	6) \$ 273.50
4.	Tires: \$	600		7) \$ 678,84
5)	Port fee			8) \$ 28,174.00
	BiH Government			
	Ministry for freight traffic and Entrepreneurship BiH – 41000 Zagreb			
	Savska 41		/illegible/	
1.	Port fee:			
	kg 19,116, 437 x 1.50		7	28,676.16
2.	Kg 19,116,437 x 1.50		8	28,674.66

DIRECTLY MANIPULATION
TRANSIT TO BiH

/logo/ Interšped

International and domestic spedition

58340 PLOČE, Trg Kralja Tomislava 23 * CROATIA Ploče

PLOČE 20th January 1993

Disposition no: /illegible	DP – PORT OF PLOČE				Position number: 35-0012		
Storage: SCZ TERMINAL OF "ENERGOPETROL" PLOČE	Please perform below indicated works on our account. We declare that we are familiar with your tariffs and list of your Ordinance which we unconditionally accept.				Officer: /illegible/		
Pier number:	Brt.	Bill of loading:	Hatches number:	B/L number:			
Name of the ship: "SAETTA"	Ship's arrival Day Hours	Port of load-unload	Daily norm:	Origin of cargo: ITALIA			
Flag:	Start date for calculating laydays Day Hours	Wagon:	Daily savings:	No obstacles:			
Capacity:	Delivery of notice of readiness Day Hours	Truck:	Daily demurrage:	Insurance:			
Description of works to be performed: Ship "SAETTA" arrived at the terminal of "ENERGOPETROL" Ploče diesel fuel D-2: 15,316,815- /illegible/ in transit to BiH. Cargo /illegible/ loaded in placed tank trucks, which are to be transported to users in BiH. Tank trucks must be weigh the tare and weighted after loading, and the capacity (liters) of the tank tracks shall be compared by "Adriainspekt" Ploče.							
Attachments:							
Custom documents: /illegible/		Customs declaration: Customs shipping letters number: Customs registration number: Cert.No .16 dated 20 th January 93			IMPORT EXPORT TRANSIT		
Document's number	Label	Number Quant.	Type of packaging	Weight Kg-m ²	TYPE OF GOODS	Order Port-station	Connect. document number
	QUANTITY:			15,356,815	DIESEL D-2		

/stamp: DP "LUKA PLOČE"

SECTOR "LUČKE USLUGE"

CUSTOMS ZONE-CUSTAT'S ZONE/

Signature

Date and signature (operations)

Client's Stamp and signature

/stamp: "Interšped" PLOČE

International and domestic spedition/

Ordinary number: 28/02/93 Direction
Number of disposition ground

Enterprise «PORT PLOČE» KARDELJEVO

Name of the ship: «Podunavlje» Flag:
Registration port and owner of the ship Art of merchandise 19 3 98
Anticipated manipulations: Tones. 3, 379 398
Realized manipulations: Tones
Arrived on: 19 February 1993 Started at:
Terminated on: 21 February 1993 sailed off:
Quantity of daily load-offload according to the contract
Saving: Waste:
Arrived from: Sailed to:

Capacity: Dispatcher:

BRT: 2758

Agent; illegible /signed/

Conditions of loading cargo and offloading cargo: terminated

Table of problems

Ordinary number	Number of department for protocol	Date	Description	Remark
1.	Illegible		25 472	507 199
2. surtax			25 474	459 673
			“INA”, oil refinery	
			Rijeka	
			Illegible 14/8 10	
				5.960 720
Port fee				
Kg 3.379 398 x			1.50	
			Energopetrol Ploče	
Kg 3.379.398 x 1.50				5.958.962

26 236 Port Ploče YU
26 429 JADRAG RH

Ploče, 19 February 1993

Phone no 01 264 REF: 08

For: Port Ploče
 Commercial sector
From: JADROAGENT – Ploče

REF: MT Podunavlje – ETA 19/1115, port fee

The above cited ship is arriving to this port 19/1115 in order to offload 3.379.398 kilograms MB-9B for receivers of ENERGOPETROL Sarajevo. Herewith please bear in mind that the port fee shall not be charged to the ship, but transferred to the costs of Refinery Rijeka.

Sincerely

26 236 Port Ploče YU
26425 JADRAG RH

Telex: 317D, received on 01/00/00 at 2135, duration: 01 min 55
Ending: 13

DIRECTLY MANIPULATION

EXPORT TO BiH

CARGO OWNER:

“ENERGOPETROL” PLOČE

/logo/ Interšped Ltd.

International and domestic spedition

58340 PLOČE, Trg Kralja Tomislava 23 * CROATIA Ploče

PLOČE, 8th September 1994

Disposition no: /illegible	DP – PORT OF PLOČE				Position number:		
Storage:	Please perform below indicated works on our account. We declare that we are familiar with your tariffs and list of your Ordinance which we unconditionally accept.				Officer:		
Terminal -Energopetrol SCZ							
Pier number:	Brt.	Bill of loading: Bl.No.1	Hatches number:	B/L number:			
Name of the ship: “OŠLJAK”	Ship's arrival Day Hours	Port of load-unload	Daily norm:	Origin of cargo:			
Flag:	Start date for calculating laydays Day Hours	Wagon:	Daily savings:	No obstacles:			
Capacity:	Delivery of notice of readiness Day Hours	Truck:	Daily demurrage:	Insurance:			
Description of works to be performed: The ship "Ošljak" arrived at the terminal of Energopetrol Ploče as per Bill of Lading No. 1/06.09.1994 1,085,532 kg of motor gasoline MB-98. Neatly load the cargo into tank trucks which will be shipped to the customers in BiH. Volumes are determined by "Adriainspekt"-Ploče. For further clarifications, please contact us.							
Attachments:							
Custom documents: I-		Customs declaration: ICD-e 2338/06.09.1994 Customs shipping letters number: /illegible/ Customs registration number: /illegible/			IMPORT EXPORT TRANSIT		
Document's number	Label	Number Quant.	Type of packaging	Weight Kg-m ²	TYPE OF GOODS	Order Port-station	Connect. document number
		Liquid		1,085,532	MOTOR GASOLINE MB-98		
/illegible/		/illegible/					

SCZ stamp and signature

/stamp: DP “LUKA PLOČE”

SECTOR “LUČKE USLUGE”

CUSTOMS ZONE-CUSTAT'S ZONE/

Date and signature (operations)

/stamp: DEPARTMENT IMPORT – EXPORT

Interšped PLOČE

International and domestic

Spedition Ltd./

Client's Stamp and signature

BiH EXPORTS ABROAD

/illegible/ Interšped Ltd.

International and domestic spedition
58340 PLOČE, Trg Kralja Tomislava 23 * CROATIA Ploče

EXIT DISPOSITION

SHIP AGENT: ADRIA AGENT PLOČE

PLOČE, 02nd October 1994

Disposition no: /illegible		DP – PORT OF PLOČE			Position number: 35-TRANSIT		
Storage: SHORE 5 SCZ		Please perform below indicated works on our account. We declare that we are familiar with your tariffs and list of your Ordinance which we unconditionally accept.			Officer: PM		
Pier number:		Brn.	Bill of loading:	Hatches number:		B/L number: L	
Name of the ship: "MLAKA"		Ship's arrival Day Hours	Port of load-unload	Daily norm:		Origin of cargo: SAD	
Flag: CROATIA		Start date for calculating laydays Day Hours	Wagon:	Daily savings:		No obstacles:	
Capacity:		Delivery of notice of readiness Day Hours	Truck:	Daily demurrage:		Insurance:	
Description of works to be performed: Stone coal for coking in stock SCZ "Luka Ploče" which arrived by ship "FRA MURA" will be loaded to ship "MLAKA" cca 3,400 tons. Cargo owner is RMK /Mining metallurgical plant/ Zenica BiH with "SALBATRINGEXPORT" Robbova 14 Ljubljana and the end customer "PROMSTAIK" SRL MILANO Italy							
Control of draught, loading and quantities shall be determined by RGH "INSPEKT" Ploče							
Attachments: Decision c-ce Ploče number 413-01/93-01/1228 dated 01 st March 1993							
Custom documents: T-202/93			Customs declaration: Customs shipping letters number: I0T 158/01.05.93 Customs registration number: xxxxxxxx			IMPORT EXPORT TRANSIT	
Document's number	Label	Number Quant.	Type of packaging	Weight Kg-m ²	TYPE OF GOODS	Order Port-station	Connect. document number
m/b "MLAKA"		bulk		xxxxxxx	STONE COAL		
				3,262,583			

/illegible/

SCZ stamp and signature

5.10.93. at 7,30

Date and signature (operations)

/ illegible/

Client's Stamp and signature

/logo/ Interšped Ltd.

EXIT DISPOSITION

International and domestic spedition

58340 PLOČE, Trg Kralja Tomislava 23 * CROATIA Ploče

PLOČE, 25th October 1993

Disposition no: 3/951	DP – PORT OF PLOČE				Position number: 35-TRANSIT		
Storage: SCZ	Please perform below indicated works on our account. We declare that we are familiar with your tariffs and list of your Ordinance which we unconditionally accept.				Officer: PM		
Pier number:	Brt.	Bill of loading:	Hatches number:	B/L number: L			
Name of the ship: “MLAKA”	Ship's arrival Day Hours	Port of load-unload	Daily norm:	Origin of cargo: SAD			
Flag: CROATIA	Start date for calculating laydays Day Hours	Wagon:	Daily savings:	No obstacles:			
Capacity: /illegible/	Delivery of notice of readiness Day Hours	Truck:	Daily demurrage:	Insurance:			
Description of works to be performed: Stone coal for coking in stock SCZ “Luka Ploče” which arrived by ship “FRA MURA” will be loaded to ship “MLAKA” cca 3,500 tons. Owner is RMK /Mining metallurgical plant/ Zenica with SALBATRINGEXPORT Ljubljana and the end customer is PROMETALIK SRL MILANO							
Cargo arrived by ship “FRA MURA” according to IOT 158/01.05.92.							
Control of draught and loading shall be performed by INSPEKT RGH Ploče							
Attachments: Decision c-ce Ploče number 413-01/93-01/1328 dated 22 nd October 1993							
Custom documents: T-202/93		Customs declaration: Customs shipping letters number: IOT 158/01.05.92 Customs registration number: /illegible/			IMPORT EXPORT TRANSIT		
Document's number	Label	Number Quant.	Type of packaging	Weight Kg-m ²	TYPE OF GOODS	Order Port-station	Connect. document number
m/b “MLAKA”		bulk		XXXXXXXX	STONE COAL		
				3,327,666 kg			

/illegible/
SCZ stamp and signature

26.10.93 at /illegible/
Date and signature (operations)

/illegible/
Client's Stamp and signature

/logo/ interšped
International and internal spedition
Ploče

EXIT DISPOSITION
CARGO OWNER: ŠIPAD SARAJEVO
INVOICE TO: ŠIPAD SARAJEVO

PLOČE, 04th January 1993

Disposition no: 3/12		DP – PORT OF PLOČE			Position number: 3/illegible/		
Storage: Terminal wood		Please perform below indicated works on our account. We declare that we are familiar with your tariffs and list of your Ordinance which we unconditionally accept.			Officer: B.F.		
Pier number:		Brt.	Bill of loading:	Hatches number:		B/L number:	
Name of the ship: m/b "PRIMOŠTEN"		Ship's arrival Day Hours	Port of load-unload Alexandria/Ploče	Daily norm:		Origin of cargo: BiH	
Flag:		Start date for calculating laydays Day Hours	Wagon:	Daily savings:		No obstacles:	
Capacity: /illegible/		Delivery of notice of readiness Day Hours	Truck:	Daily demurrage:		Insurance:	
Description of works to be performed: According to the order of the cargo's owner Šipad Sarajevo please perform palletizing, packaging and loading of the following amounts of beech timber for the customer EL FATH Egypt. Cargo should be loaded to above the mentioned ship according to the lists of your storage service. For any questions please contact us.							
Attachments:							
Custom documents:			Customs declaration: Customs shipping letters number: Customs registration number: according to specification			IMPORT EXPORT TRANSIT	
Document's number	Label	Number Quant.	Type of packaging	Weight Kg-m ²	TYPE OF GOODS	Order Port-station	Connect. document number
309,322 pcs		2,048,648 m3			BEECH TIMBER	EGYPT	

/illegible/
SCZ stamp and signature

Date and signature (operations)

Client's Stamp and signature
/Stamp: illegible/

OD "LUKA PLOČE"
LOADER
DISP 3/922

MB "EL AMRIA"
2

CARGO OWNER –
INTERŠPED

CONCLUSION

COMMISSION

Origin of cargo: ŠIPAD – SARAJEVO

Type of cargo: BEECH EDGED LUMBER

Attachment: _____

Storage: TERMINAL FOR WOODS

Arrival document: ACCORDING TO SPECIFICATION

Customs document: _____

DELIVERY OF CARGO FROM STORAGE No. 1

No.	Transportation means No	Arrival date	Quantity		Parcel weight		Total weight		Cargo mark	Manipulation description
			Quantity	Type	Gross	Net	Gross	Net		
MB	EL AMIRA		60292	PIECES	725797	m ³				
		ADDITIONAL WORKS			1. QUANTITY OF 286,000 m ³ CUT IN PORT					
					2. FULL QUANTITY PACKED IN PORT					
					3. QUANTITY OF 101,000 m ³ CLEANED IN PORT					
					4. FULL QUANTITY TIED IN PORT BANDAGES STRIPS OF 19m/m (1944 strips)					
					5. FULL QUANTITY COVERED WITH ROOF PANELING					
					6. FULL QUANTITY AFTER PACKING LOADED TO CLOSED WAREHOUSE					
					PACKAGE OF GOODS STARTED 22-1-93 AND ENDED 6-3-93					

CARGO REMARKS

/illegible/

17th January 1994

Goods issued by stockman

Goods received by forwarder:

/signature illegible/

/signature illegible/

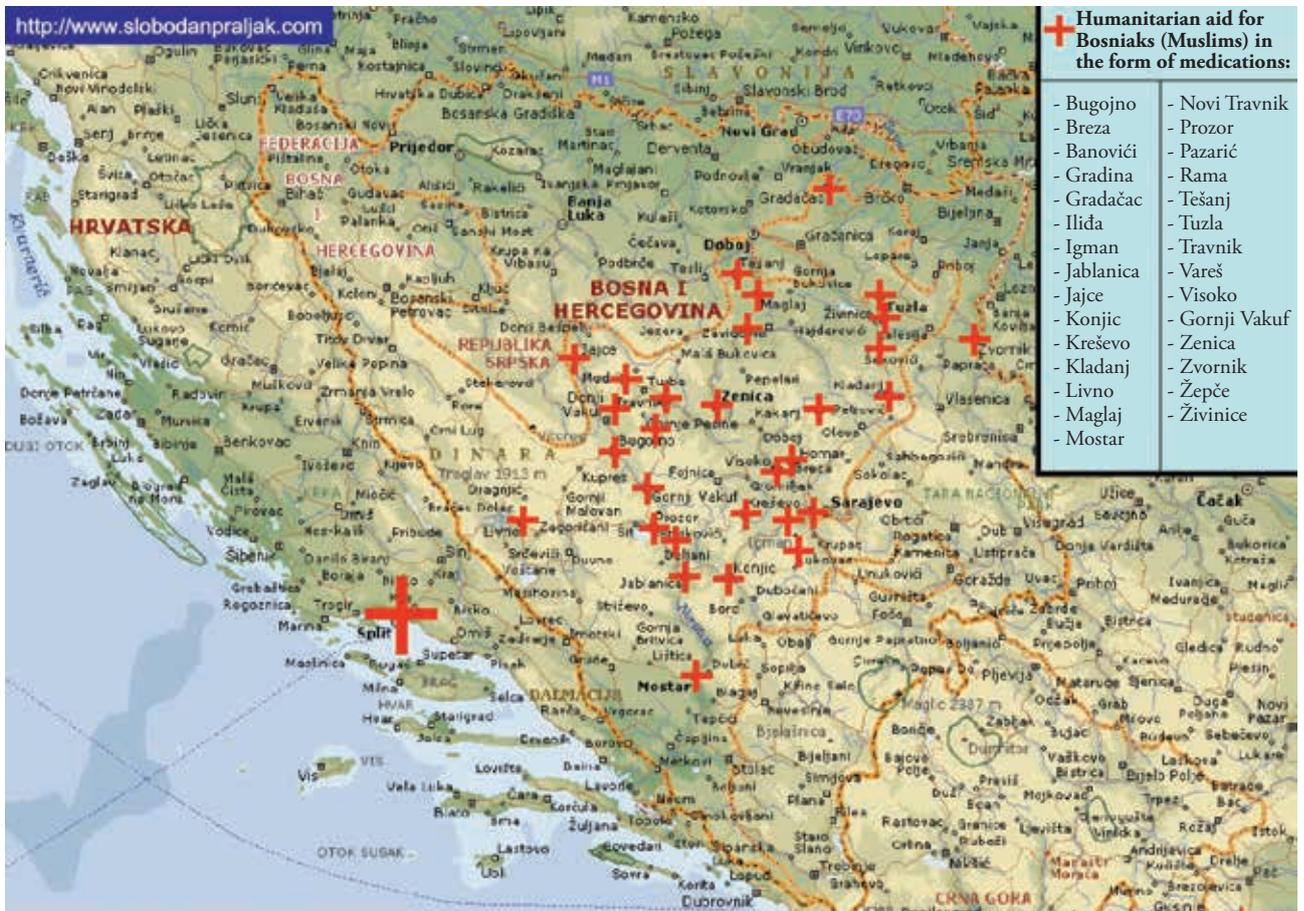
**TREATMENT AND
HOSPITALIZATION OF WOUNDED
SOLDIERS OF BiH ARMY AND
CIVILIANS
(MOSTLY BOSNIAKS – MUSLIMS) IN
HOSPITALS IN THE REPUBLIC OF
CROATIA
1992 – 1995**



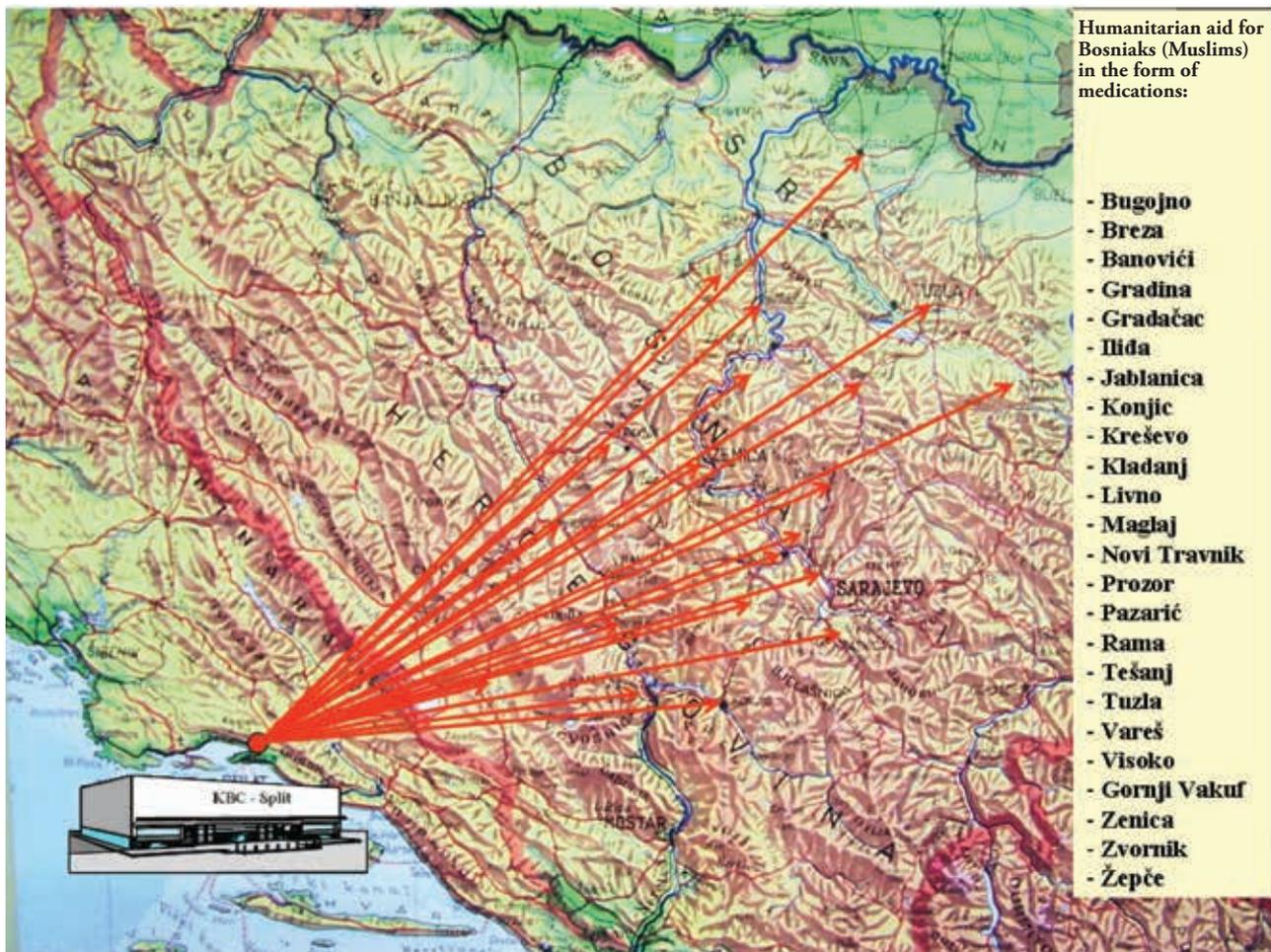
FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

1180 + lists of Croatian hospitals



Humanitarian aid in form of medications delivered to the Clinical Hospital Center Split and distributed to BiH as humanitarian aid for Bosniaks.



Humanitarian aid for Bosniaks (Muslims) in the form of medications:

- Bugojno
- Breza
- Banovići
- Gradina
- Gradačac
- Ilida
- Jablanica
- Konjic
- Kreševo
- Kladanj
- Livno
- Maglaj
- Novi Travnik
- Prozor
- Pazarić
- Rama
- Tešanj
- Tuzla
- Vareš
- Visoko
- Gornji Vakuf
- Zenica
- Zvornik
- Žepče

/coat of arms/
/handwritten MK 520/3/
(on the left side Croatian text, on the right English)
CLINICAL HOSPITAL SPLIT
58 000 SPLIT, Spinčićeva 1
CROATIA
Telephone (058) 515-055
Fax: 365 738
Principal's office
Class: 052-01/98-01/08
Operational number: 2181-147-98-01-01-1

Split, 17 June, 1998

The Government of the Republic of Croatia
Department for cooperation with international criminal court
Attn Snježana Bačić, Chief

Dear Madame,

Pursuant to your 15 June 1998 letter, number 15-06/98, we shall fulfil your request; therefore we deliver you information on patients and wounded soldiers from 1992 and 1993, presuming they are Muslims.

Nevertheless, within our medical documentation there is no field "nationality", therefore we decided to cite those patients and wounded soldiers that came from the area of BIH, or were refugees from BIH in Croatia, bearing characteristic Muslim names.

During 1992 and 1993, the employees of health care centre KB "Firule" in Split, in composition of organizational units "Firule", "Križine" and Spa, provided medical services, actually, implemented hospitalization of civilians and military persons of Muslim nationality.

A protocol was conducted for each individual patient, whereby the same were evidenced in protocol books of reception with all relevant indicators. Regarding that all protocols and entire documentation should have been processed digitally, in information centre of KB "Firule" Split, a programme has been created, and accordingly, all relevant indicators (identification data, time of reception and release, diagnosis, patient condition by release etc) were put in the system.

Pursuant to processed material, it is visible that during 1992 and 1993, 3.991 persons of Muslim nationality have been registered, hospitalized and released to obtain the home care after necessary medical treatment, according to the following localities:

Locality "Firule".....3.329
Locality "Križine".....619
Locality Spa.....45

In total: 3.991

All cited data can be used before the International criminal court in The Hague, following the usual procedure.

Sincerely yours,

Principal of the KB Split
Dr. sci. Mihovil Biočić
/signed and stamped/

/logo/ Association of Croatian Physicians Volunteers 1990 – 1991

Zagreb, Ksaver 200, phone: 01 4603 710, fax: 01 4677 087

E-mail: uhld90_91@unhld.hr

Ref. no. 01-11-05/048 no. 124/05

Lieutenant General
Slobodan Praljak
Kraljevec 35, Zagreb

SUBJECT: DATA DELIVERY

Dear Sir,

In line with your request received through the Office for cooperation with Haag tribunal within the Ministry of Justice in Republic of Croatia, we are submitting in the attachment:

1. Preliminary report for the project “Efficiency analysis of war health care” – project leader prof. dr. Andrija Hebrang
2. Data about treated BH citizens during the warfare in BiH in the period between 1992 and 1995, which were treated in health institutions in the Republic of Croatia, namely: Clinical Hospital Dubrava, General Hospital Slavonski Brod, General Hospital Karlovac, General Hospital Vinkovci.

With best regards,

President of the UHLD 90/91

Dr. Juraj Njavro

/signature illegible/

/stamp:

ASSOCIATION OF CROATIAN
PHYSICIANS VOLUNTEERS
1990 – 1991/

AMBULANCE STAFF FOR CENTRAL AND NORTHERN DALMATIA
SPLIT, 10 April 1992

DELIVERY NOTE

For the needs of MC Bugojno, at request of Doctor Tamin Akram, the following has been issued:

1. Medicaments (specification enclosed)

Received by:
Dr. Tamin Akram
/signed/
/handwritten/

/round stamp/

Handed over by:
Mr. ph. J. Portolan
M. Županović, vms
/signed/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 02nd June 92

DELIVERY NOTE

At the request of Children's embassy in Sarajevo (as recommended by Dr. Đ. Hazo), and with the approval of mr.sc.dr. G. Dodig, for the purpose of Health Center Breza, Clinical Hospital Center Split issues the following:

1. Medications (specification attached)
2. Medical supplies (specification attached)

NOTIFICATION: The above listed was submitted to authorized driver Senad Bišćević, in vehicle "Opel record" license plates PD 326-71.

RECEIVED BY:
Dr. Đ. Hozo
Senad Bišćević

ISSUED BY:
Mr.ph. J. Portolan
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed /

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT
1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 06th July 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of "Gradina" War Hospital in Tuzla, at the request of Dr. Hilmija Efendić, and upon approval of mr.sc.dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

1. Diagnostics and reagents – issued from the Blood transfusion department (specification attached)
2. Diagnostics – issued from the Medicinal Laboratory Diagnostics department (specification attached)
3. Supplies – taken from the Hemodialysis department's warehouse, namely:

- Plivadial S 135	204 pcs
- Av lines	200 pcs
- Needles 1,6	500 pcs
- Solution P _{10E} à 10 L	50 pcs
- Solution P _{10A} à 10 L	20 pcs
4. Medications (specification attached)

NOTIFICATION: Since CHC /Clinical Hospital Center/ Split is unable to fully supply requested amounts, we have asked the organization "Doctors without Borders" and we have forwarded your request.

RECEIVED BY:
Dr. Hilmija Efendić
/signed/

SUBMITTED BY:
Mr. ph. J. Portolan
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 01st July 92

/handwritten: 450/

/handwritten: 441/

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/ Gornji Vakuf, at the request of the director Dr. Abdul Granić through assignee Mr. Siver Šaćir and at the approval of dr. G. Dodig we issue the following:

1. Medications (specification attached)
2. Medical supplies (specification attached)

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. Abdul Granić

Sivro Šaćir

/signed /

ISSUED BY:

Mr. ph. J. Portolan

M. Županović, senior nurse

/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 09th October 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of RB /War Hospital/ Igman and Ilidža Military Forces Staff, including also Hrasnica, Butimir and Sokolović Kolonija, and at the request of the dr. Džana Šaćić and at the approval of dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1. Medications (specification attached) | |
| 2. Gauze pads 15x15, 460 x 250 | 3 boxes |
| 3. Gauze pads 10x10, 320x250 | 2 boxes |
| 4. Individual bandages 13x6, 550 pcs | 1 box |
| 5. Individual bandages 5x5, 2000 pcs | 2 bags |

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. Đana Šaćić

ISSUED BY:

Mr. ph. Mina Rašetina

M. Županović, senior nurse

/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 03rd June 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/ Jablanica at the request of the dr. Vlatka Ljuban and dr. Alija Šuko, and at the approval of dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| 1. X-ray fixers à 20 l (for 38 l) | 3 cans |
| 2. X-ray films 24x30/100 pcs | 5 packs |
| 3. Oxygen tank of 10 l | 3 pcs |
| 4. Oxygen tank of 5 l | 3 pcs |

NOTIFICATION: We have replaced empty for full tanks, as well as filling at CHC /Clinical Hospital Center/.
Listed material will be transported to Jablanica health center by Mr. Safet Begić in the ambulance with license plates no. KNJ /handwritten: 107-04/

RECEIVED BY:
Dr. Vlatko Ljuban
Safet Begić
/signed/

ISSUED BY:
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 14th July 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of Jajce Hospital and at the request of dr. Ismet Šehalić, and at the approval of dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

1. Medications (specification attached)
2. Medical supplies (specification attached)

NOTIFICATION: "Doctors without borders" also issued medications and medical supplies (specification attached) for the purpose of Jajce Hospital

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. Ismet Šehalić

/signed/

/signed/

ISSUED BY:

Mr.ph. Mina Rašetina

M. Županović, senior nurse

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 17th June 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/ Kruščica, Jajce municipality, and at the request of dr. Sakib Meštrovac, at the approval of dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

- | | | |
|--|----------------|---------|
| 1. Medications (specification attached | | |
| 2. Sterile gaze pads | 33x35 à 10 pcs | 140 pcs |
| 3. Sterile gaze pads | 14x16 à 10 pcs | 10 pcs |
| 4. Elastic bandages, various | | 60 pcs |
| 5. Bandages 5x7 | | 100 pcs |
| 6. Bandages 8x5 | | 50 pcs |
| 7. Bandages 10x4 | | 50 pcs |
| 8. Johnson – Johnson pads | | 1 scat |

NOTIFICATION: All issued material is submitted to the authorized persons, namely:
Meštrovac Adem, Joldić Nesib and Gulić Nesib.

RECEIVED BY:
Dr. Sakib Meštrovac
/signed/

ISSUED BY:
Mr. ph. J. Portolan
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 20th May 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/ Konjic at the request of dr. Sulejman Mulić and at the approval of Mr.sc. dr. G. Dodig we issue the following:

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Medications (specification attached) | |
| 2. Surgical gloves, sterile | 100 pairs |
| 3. Bandages 7x5 | 100 pcs |
| 4. Bandages 10x10 | 100 pcs |

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. S. Mulić

/signed/

ISSUED BY:

Mr. ph. J. Portolan

M. Županović, senior nurse

/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 03rd June 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health centers/ Kreševo and Tarčin, and at the request of Merhamet – Split, we issue the following:

1. Jacutin, emulsion à 1000 ml 2 pcs

NOTIFICATION: Listed material can only be used with physician's instructions.

RECEIVED BY:
Salko Šemović
(Merhamet-Split)
/signed/

ISSUED BY:
Mr. ph. J. Portolan
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT
1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 30th October 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/ Kladanj , and at the request of dr. Muradif Šarić we issue the following:

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Medications (specification attached) | |
| 2. Pads 15 x 15, 460 x 250 | 2 boxes |
| 3. Powder milk (donation of dr. Jakob) | 1 box |
| 4. Clothes (donation of friar Oreč) | 1 box |
| 5. Injection of 5 ml à 100 pcs (Medical Staff Zagreb) | 10 boxes |

NOTIFICATION: Listed material was submitted to Mr. Ahmed Rustenović, ID number: 658/91 SUP Kladanj.

Listed items are issued as humanitarian aid!

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. M. Šarić

A. Rustenović

/signed/

ISSUED BY:

Mr. ph. J. Portolan

M. Županović, senior nurse

/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

KBC /CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER/ "FIRULE" SPLIT

/handwritten: 457/

/handwritten: 448/

NEUROPSYCHIATRY
OB /GENERAL HOSPITAL/ LIVNO
DELIVERY NOTE

DONATION

SPLIT,
15TH April 1992

DELIVERY NOTE NO:

WAREHOUSE:

DEPARTMENT:

ROOM:

DELIVERY NOTE DATE	ARTICLE	UNIT CONTO	QUANTITY REQUESTED QUANTITY ISSUED	PLANNED PRICE VALUE
	NEUROCIL TBL à 25 mg	PCS	90	
	NEUROCIL TBL à 100 mg	PCS	180	
	FLUPHENAZINE DECANOATE 25mg/ml	PCS	40	
	HALOPERIDOL à 2 MG TBL	PCS	300	
	HALDOL à 40 TBL X 1 MG	PCS	545	
	HALOPERIDOL 5 à 5 AMP x 1 MG	SCAT	60	
	HALDOL DECANOAS 50 MG/ML à 3 AMP	SCAT	8	
	HALDOL DECANOAT 50 MG/ML	PCS	1	
	HALDOL 10 MG/ML à 3o ML	PCS	5	
	HALOPERIDOL 30 ML 0,2%	PCS	10	
ISSUED BY:	RECEIVED BY:	REGISTERED BY:		
/signed/	/signed/			

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 19th June 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/ Maglaj, at the request of dr. Abdulkerim Mulasmaić, and at the request of Pharmacy Maglaj, and at the approval mr.sc.dr. G. Dodig we issue the following:

1. Medications (specification attached)

NOTIFICATION: Material is submitted to Safet Smaić, authorized for Merhamet Maglaj by Isić Mujo.

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. Abdulkerim Mulasmaić

Safet Smaić

/signed/

ISSUED BY:

Mr. ph. J. Portolan

/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

/handwritten: 975-1/

Effendi Adem SMAJIĆ
Rijeka
Fax: (051) 36 098

9 November 1992

Dear Effendi Adem,

We have been in contact with Mr Rasim IMAMOVIĆ and Mr KENAN since Saturday regarding the takeover of seven tonnes of intravenous fluids and medicines. We would be grateful if you could keep the goods, because it is difficult to hire a lorry to go from Rijeka to Mostar.

Hauliers are not eager to take goods to Mostar, because it is in a war zone.

We wish to inform you that we need the goods very much, because operations at Podvelež are under way.

We wish to inform you that we will contact you by telephone.

Mahsuz Selam /warm greetings/.

Assistant Commander for Logistics
Edin BATLAK
/signed and stamped/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 5th January 93

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/Pazarić (Ambulance), at the request of dr. Mirza Iblizović we issue the following:

1. Medications (specification attached)

NOTIFICATION: Items are issued as humanitarian aid.

RECEIVED BY:
Dr. Mirza Iblizović

ISSUED BY:
Mr. ph. M. Rašetina
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT
1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 15th May 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of Tešanj Hospital, at the request of dr. Mehmedalija Ajanović, and at the approval of dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1. Medications (specification attached) | |
| 2. Sterile pads 33 x 35 à 10 pcs | 50 pcs |
| 3. Bandages 8 x 5 | 100 pcs |
| 4. Bandages 12 x 10 | 200 pcs |
| 5. Sterile pads (JOHNSON) 10 x 10 à 1200 pcs | 2 boxes |
| 6. Cramer splint (cotton coated) | 15 pcs |
| 7. Milu mil à 300 g x 12 | 10 boxes |
| 8. Milu mil à 1000 g | 10 pcs |

NOTIFICATION: On recommendation of dr. Mohamed Članjak, President of Tešanj municipality, materials are submitted to Mr. Azem Bašić. Mr. Bašić has received the material in vehicle with license plates: DO-155-821.

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. Mehmedalija Ajanović

Azem Bašić

/signed/

ISSUED BY:

Mr. ph. Jadranka Portolan

Marija Županović, senior nurse

/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 12th June 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of DZ /Health Center/, respectively RB / War Hospital/ Tešanj, and at the request of prof. dr. Ekrem Ajanović and at the approval of mr.sc.dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

1. Medications (specification attached)
2. Medical supplies (specification attached)
3. Powder milk, various 1 box

NOTIFICATION: Listed items are submitted to Mr. Atif Nakić, authorized by prof. dr. E. Ajanović and the President of HVO Tešanj.

RECEIVED BY:
Prof.dr. E. Ajanović
Atif Nakić
/signed/

ISSUED BY:
Mr. ph. J. Portolan
M. Županović, vms
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, 1st September 92

DELIVERY NOTE

For the purposes of KMC /Clinical Medical Center/ Tuzla, at the request of dr. H. Efendić Hilmija and at the approval of mr.sc.dr. Goran Dodig we issue the following:

1. Medications (specification attached)
2. Medical supplies (specification attached)
3. Pads 10x10 à 120 pcs 18 boxes
4. Pre Nidal milk à 330 g 12 pcs

NOTIFICATION: Listed materials are submitted to Mr. Esad Tutundžić, authorized by the MUP /Ministry of Interior/ Brčko.

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. H. Efendić Hilmija
Esad Tutundžić
/signed/

ISSUED BY:

Mr. ph. Mina Rašetina
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, July 3rd 1992

DELIVERY NOTE

For the needs of DZ /Health Center/ Vareš, at the request of Health Center director Dr. Jasenka Karamehić and director of RZ /Working Community/ of DZ Sarajevo, Nenad Babić, on the recommendation of the commandant of the operational defense staff of the Vareš municipality Borivoje Malbašić and pastor Mijo Muljić, the following is issued:

1. Medicines (specification attached)
2. Consumable medical material (specification attached)

NOTE: We are asking the Above mentioned individuals as same as other DZ Vareš commissioners, before picking up the medicines and medical materials at KBC /Clinical Hospital Center/ Split, to come by Medical Staff for Herceg – Bosna in Tomislavgrad so we could realize their needs in agreement with us.

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. Jasenko Karamehić

Mr. Hišam Elaquad

/signed/

DELIVERED BY:

Mr.ph. Jadranka Portolan

M. Županović, senior nurse

/ signed /

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, July 24th 1992

DELIVERY NOTE

For the needs of DZ /Health Center/ Visoko, and for the needs of the War Hospital, on dr. Sead Mehičević's request, and on dr. Goran Dodig's approval, the following is issued:

- I. 1. Medicines, various.....10 cardboard boxes
(part of the donation from "Sestra Ančela")
- II. 2. Medicines, various.....7 cardboard boxes
(part of the donation from Lyon and Cremlont Ferrant from Mrs. Miray Petric
and Mr. Ivan Čulić)
- III. 3. Medicines, various.....48 cardboard boxes
(Most of the donation from "Santa Lucija" parrish from Perrugia, in organization
of Mirjana and Marko Soldo, via dr. M.Rakić).
- IV. 1. Medicines, various.....1 cardboard box
(contents from various donations)

NOTE: honored addressee, we were not able to realize the request per your specification, and we have advised Mr. Šefik Sablica to take unprocessed donations which were intended for KBC /Clinical Hospital Center/ Split from donators from diaspora.

Hence, the subject material is a donation received from donators but it has not been processed. We hope that you will have at least some use from it.

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. Sead Mehičević
Šefik Sablica
/signed/

DELIVERED BY:

Mr.ph. Mina Rašetina
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, October 16th 1992

DELIVERY NOTE

For the needs of RB /War Hospital/ Zvornik, upon request from prof. dr.sci. Ismail Hadžiahmetović, CHC /Clinical Hospital Center/ Split is issuing the following:

1. Medicines (specification attached)
2. Compresses 15x15, 460x250.....1 box
3. Compresses 10x10, 320x250.....1 box
4. Bandages various.....1000 pcs

NOTE: The subject material was taken up by Mr. Muriz Rahmanović (personal identification number 1508959183896) by IMV type van, license plate no. ZV 338-05.

RECEIVED BY:

Dr. I.Hadžiahmetović

Muriz Rahmanović

/signed/

DELIVERED BY:

Mr.ph. Mina Rašetina

M. Županović, senior nurse

/ signed /

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

/round seal with an illegible description/

/handwriting: RECEIVED BY: /handwriting illegible/

MEDICAL STAFF FOR CENTRAL
AND NORTH DALMATIA
Split, June 15th 1992

DELIVERY NOTE

For the needs of Central Bosnia HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ (Žepče, Zavidovići and Maglaj), that is for the needs of DZ /Health Center/ Žepče, (over radio-amateur Edo Koljatić), via Mr. Jasenko Mandura from Šibenik, and on approval of mr.sc.dr. G.Dodig, the following is issued:

1. Medicines (specification attached)
2. Kramer intraoral appliance, cottoned (small + large).....20 pcs
3. Elastic band, various.....150 pcs
4. Sterile compresses 33x35 à 10 pcs.....50 pkg
5. Sterile compresses 14x16 à 10 pcs.....50 pkg
6. Bandages 5x7.....40 pcs
7. Bandages 10x10.....18 pcs
8. Jonson-Jonson compresses, synthetical à 1200 pcs.....2 boxes
9. Gloves no. 7 (sterile).....500 pcs

RECEIVED BY:
Jasenko Mandura
/signed/

DELIVERED BY:
Mr.ph. J.Portolan
M. Županović, senior nurse
/signed/

/stamp: CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER – SPLIT

1 – national crest/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CROATIAN COMMUNITY OF HERCEG-BOSNA
CROATIAN DEFENCE COUNCIL
DEFENCE DEPARTMENT

SECTOR FOR HEALTHCARE

NO. 02-5/2-65/39

Mostar, 08 June 1993

HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ Mostar war hospital
Central storage of medicines and ambulance of HZ H-B
Shipment of medicines and medical supplies for Army of BiH

1. Penbritin	amp	500mg	9x50 pcs	3sc
2. Penicillin VK	tbl	500mg	x500	1sc
3. Zinnat	susp	125mg/5 ml	x35 pcs	4sc
4. Axoren	tbl	10mg	15x360 pcs	2sc
5. Neomicin	amp		40pcs	
6. Phenobarbiton	amp	200mg	x100	1sc
7. Phenobarbiton	tbl	30mg	x1000	1sc
8. Phenitoin	tbl	100mg	x1000	1sc
9. Heparin	amp			80sc
10. Nisatidin	amp	100mgx60		1sc
11. Trental	amp	4x15ml		4sc
12. Lasdol	amp	900mg	x100	1sc
13. Syntocinon 5		6x 1ml		20sc
14. Methergin	amp	6x 1ml		20sc
15. Paracetamol	tbl		48pcs	50sc
16. Ergomimet	tbl	5mg	x10	20sc
17. Metronidazol salt		35x 100ml		2sc
18. Dettol salt		12x 500ml		5sc
19. Ammonium salt 1%			51	2sc
20. Citrosil salt		12 x 1L		1sc
21. Benzalkonium Chloride 50 %	1L		2pcs	
22. Benzyl benzoate salt	1L		2pcs	
23. Canesten vag. Creme 1%		35g		5sc
24. Infusion fluids				1 pallet
25. Rinfuz medicines				2 boxes

Head of Medical Headquarters of HZ-HB

Colonel

Dr. Tugomir Gverić

/signed and stamped/

**Number of wounded soldiers and civilians of dominantly Muslim nationality in some hospitals
in the Republic of Croatia 1992 – 1995**

Split – Firule	3.329
Split – Križine	619
Split – Toplice	43
Zagreb	2.982
Karlovac	849
Slavonski Brod	2.730
Vinkovci	81
TOTAL:	10.623

HOSPITAL SPLIT-FIRULE										
R. BROJ	MBR	PAC	JMBG	DAT_RO	SPOJ	KAT_OS	ZANIM	ZAPOS		
1	ANI-92-123679	BARIUŠAJ NISAD			M	A				
2	ANI-92-134197	PAJEVIĆ HASIBA		18.07.53	F	IS1	housewife		husband works at elementary school "BRATSTVO I JED." MOSTAR	
3	ANI-92-143719	KURTOVIĆ OMER		08.06.51	M	A	worker			
4	ANI-92-156638	NOŽIĆ ALIJA, OSMAN		10.06.49	M	JZ	soldier		TO BIH - MOSTAR /territorial defence/	
5	ANI-92-161661	BEGIĆ ŠEFIK, EMIR		04.10.88	M	IS1	child			
6	ANI-92-175158	POBRIĆ MUJO, BAJRO		13.10.70	M	A	policeman		MUP-MOSTAR / ministry of interior/	
7	ANI-92-180083	MUSA GRACIJEVA		11.11.72	F	J				
8	ANI-92-182196	KAPIDŽIĆ AGNESA, RAMIZ	1012967155022	10.12.67	F	IS1	mechanical technician			
9	ANI-92-187955	ZEC SENAD		28.10.79	M	I	pupil			
10	ANI-92-200477	BAJRAMOVIĆ ELHAD		16.06.64	M	A	soldier		HVO - STOLAC	
11	ANI-92-209056	PEHLJ ALIJA, PŠABAN	0702945150003	07.02.45	M	A			HEP "HERCEGOVINA" MOSTAR	
12	ANI-92-215145	LETO IBRAHIM, AHMET		01.01.59	M	JZ	soldier		HVO - ČAPLJINA	
13	ANI-92-227132	BULJINA NERMIN		01.01.81	M	A	pupil			
14	ANI-92-233221	BIJELIĆ SEAD, ALIJA		01.01.65	M	JZ	soldier		HVO - MOSTAR	
15	ANI-92-239764	HORMAN HAMID		01.01.54	M	A	soldier		HVO - KONJIC	
16	ANI-92-250050	VUK MUSTAFA	0602942150016	06.02.42	M	D	pensioner			
17	ANI-92-251173	FIŠIĆ RAMIZ, HUSO		17.02.63	M	J	soldier		HVO - MOSTAR	
18	ANI-92-267138	GAČANIN ALMEDIN		10.08.86	M	IS1	child			
19	ANI-92-269340	MRAKOVIĆ AMIR, MUJO		19.01.91	M	IS1	child			
20	ANI-92-274027	PECO ELVEDIN, PMUSTAFA	1110960150035	11.10.60	M	JZ	painter		HVO - LIVNO	
21	ANI-92-277897	MRŠA DENAD, PFIKRET		30.03.70	M	A	soldier			
22	ANI-92-293910	GAŠTAN FIKRET		01.01.60	M	IS1				
23	ANI-92-304808	MARIĆ EDIN		01.01.65	M	A	soldier		TO BIH - MOSTAR	
24	ANI-92-322834	HODŽIĆ SALIH, ČAMIL		07.11.57	M	JV	soldier		TO BIH - ŠARAJEVO	
25	ANI-92-324244	SALIĆINOVIĆ ENIZ, ZIHNIJA		01.01.80	M	A	pupil			
26	ANI-92-324707	MULIĆ ISMET, ŠERIF		03.06.57	M	A	mason		artisan	
27	ANI-92-355149	OMANOVIĆ FIKRET		24.12.71	M	A	soldier		TO BIH - ZENICA	
28	ANI-92-358044	ZUHRIĆ NIHAD, SAFET		01.01.87	M	A	child			
29	ANI-92-376921	DAHIĆ ADIL, ADIL	2204960173068	22.04.60	M	J	soldier		TO BIH - OLOVO	
30	ANI-92-418921	GOLOŠ MURAT, HALIL		23.01.69	M	J	soldier		HVO - MOSTAR	
31	ANI-92-428508	ALIŠIĆ MURIS, MEHMED		03.07.90	M	IS1	child			
32	ANI-92-446625	ĐUGUM ENISA, RMEHO		14.04.36	F	IS1	housewife			
33	ANI-92-449488	KEBO ALMIR, MEHMED		01.10.78	M	IS1	pupil		father Mehmed construction company Herzegovina	
34	ANI-92-470161	POTUROVIĆ FIKRET		01.01.60	M	JV	soldier		HVO - JAJCE	
35	ANI-92-480905	KRAJINIĆ SABINA, NURJIA	1909927196257	19.09.27	F	IS1				
36	DJK-92-60806	ŠEHIĆ ADMIR, SALKO		28.07.81	M	PRA	pupil		father Salko SOUR "INGRO"-BUGOJNO,TRGOPROMET	
37	DJK-92-74054	JERLAGIĆ ZINA, NIJAZ		05.06.90	F	PRA	child		father works at SDK TOMISLAVGRAD	
38	DJK-92-80820	ČAKAR EVELIN, EFED		25.03.90	M	PRA	child		father works at RO "BOSNA" LIVNO	
39	DJK-92-105890	PAJEVIĆ IRFAN, EMIN		01.05.91	M	NEZ	child			
40	DJK-92-111484	RAMIĆ AMILA, ŠEFIK		27.08.91	F	SAM	child		entrepreneur	
41	DJK-92-121855	BUREK ERVIN, DERVIŠ		29.11.88	M	IS1	child			
42	DJK-92-124651	BOŠKAILO MAK, ESAD		28.09.91	M	IS1	child			

HOSPITAL SPLIT-FIRULE										
R. BROJ	MBR	PAC	JMBG	DAT_ RO	SPOL	KAT_ OS	ZANIM	ZAPOS		
3303	INT-93-262485	SENDIĆ FATIMA, SALIH		01.01.46	F	A				
3304	KIR-93-262220	SENDIĆ FATIMA, SALIH		01.01.46	F	A				
3305	DJK-93-267260	REDŽIĆ HASIB, ŠERIF	0705989190028	07.05.89	M	IS1	child			
3306	DJK-93-266585	REDŽIĆ HASIB, ŠERIF	0705989190028	07.05.89	M	IS1	child			
3307	PLU-93-281840	KAPETANOVIĆ JASMINA, OSMAN		24.10.42	F	IS1				
3308	ODK-93-259853	HASANBEGOVIĆ MIRZA, ESAD		01.02.84	M	IS1	pupil			
3309	ZAR-93-290718	PLAVUŠKIĆ FAHRUDIN, SMAJO		26.08.64	M	IS1				
3310	ZAR-93-290130	ĆUSTOVIĆ ARNELA, AVDO		10.12.91	F	IS1	child			
3311	ORT-93-301754	ISAK SEMKA		15.03.08	F	A	housewife			
3312	NEO-93-316539	JURIĆ M, LEJLA		03.10.93	M	IS1	child			
3313	INT-93-325472	DELIĆ SMAIL, SMAIL		20.08.41	M	IS1				
3314	INT-93-325399	GRDO FADILA, P.MEHO		25.08.16	F	IS1				
3315	NRL-93-342113	ĆUSTOVIĆ ARIJ, BEGO		13.03.32	M	IS1				
3316	DJK-93-6593	ČOLAKOVIĆ AMRA, EKREM		10.09.73	F	IS1				
3317	DJK-93-6577	ČOLAKOVIĆ ARMIN, ALIJA		03.01.93	M	IS1	child			
3318	ONK-93-59717	KEVRIĆ SABIRA, TAHIR		12.07.30	F	D				
3319	KIR-93-387845	ŠEHIĆ ŠEMSO, ŠERIF		05.06.33	M	IS1				
3320	PSH-93-376434	KASANOVIĆ ALMA, SULEJMAN		05.11.76	F	IS1				
3321	URO-93-376350	SMILHODŽIĆ AMAR		05.07.70	M	IS1				
3322	ORL-93-376012	ŠPUREN AHMO, MEHO		15.12.55	M	IS1				
3323	GIN-93-397752	HEGANOVIĆ ZILHA, IBRAHIM		10.08.71	F	IS1				
3324	PLU-93-306910	ŠAHBAS HASAN, SELIM		24.04.34	M	IS1	precision mechanic			ŠAHBAZ HASAN ARTISAN LIVNO
3325	NEO-93-404079	HEGANOVIĆ M, ZILHA		23.12.93	M	IS1	child			
3326	GIN-93-407676	DERVIŠIĆ LATIFA, HASAN		25.10.56	F	IS1				
3327	ORL-93-409078	ŠPUREN AHMO, MEHO		15.12.55	M	IS1				
3328	PSH-93-414151	OSMANOVIĆ MAIDA			F	IS1				
3329	NEO-93-414854	DERVIŠIĆ Ž, LATIFA		30.12.93	F	IS1	child			

HOSPITAL SPLIT KRIZINE									
No.	Patient	id. no.	department	date of admittance	date of release	final diagnosis	comment	DoD	
1	RAHMAN ABDUR	6434	orthopedy	5.10.1992	20.11.1992	991			
2	FADILA ALJOVIĆ	6568	thoracic surgery	9.10.1992	23.10.1992				
3	ETHEM ALIĆ	8446	traumatology	23.12.1992	19.2.1993	820			
4	HANKIJA BARJAKTAREVIĆ	5617	neurology	3.9.1992	21.9.1992	434.0			
5	ENVER BAJRAMOVIĆ	5822	orthopedy	11.9.1992	21.11.1992	730.0			
6	SENAD BELKO	5875	orthopedy	14.9.1992	19.10.1992	881.0			
7	HALID BAJRIĆ	5903	intensive care unit	15.9.1992	20.9.1992	818.1			
8	ZJAJO BARHUDIN	6072	surgical intensive care	21.9.1992	1.10.1992	532.0			
9	HALID BAJRIĆ	6084	surgical intensive care-ENT	20.9.1992	26.1.1993	991			
10	FAHRUDIN BAŠOVIĆ	6150	orthopedy	24.9.1992	26.9.1992	825.0			
11	HANKIJA BARJAKTAROVIĆ	6609	neurology	12.10.1992	29.11.1992	434			
12	HUSO BJELAVAC	6901	orthopedy	22.10.1992	4.11.1992	897			
13	EMINA BOROVIKIĆ	7024	ophthalmology	28.10.1992	23.11.1992	366			
14	MOHAMED BAN FARHAT	7173	thoracic surgery	2.11.1992	23.11.1992	550			
15	BEJDO BUNAR	7854	neurology	30.11.1992	8.12.1992	295			
16	BELMA BAŠIĆ	7870	general surgery	30.11.1992	7.12.1992	540			
17	SAFET BEGLEROVIĆ	8520	general surgery	28.12.1992	18.2.1993	949			
18	ALMIR BEGLEROVIĆ	8525	general surgery	28.12.1992	18.2.1993	948			
19	SALJI ČOLAKOVIĆ	5565	urology	1.9.1992	14.9.1992	600.0			
20	RIJET ČARDAKOVIĆ	6115	internal-gastro	23.9.1992	14.10.1992	531.7			
21	IBRAHIM ČELIKOVIĆ	6367	orthopedy	2.10.1992	8.10.1992	820.0			
22	HILMO ČUSTOVIĆ	6808	thoracic surgery	19.10.1992	20.11.1992	908			
23	SMAJO ČEVRA	7112	surgical intensive care	30.10.1992	9.11.1992	540			
24	ASIM ČAMPARA	7351	plastic surgery	9.11.1992	24.11.1992	953.1			
25	ADEM ČIZMIĆ	7961	orthopedy	3.12.1992	23.12.1992	891.0			
26	ZINAJDA ČATIĆ	8379	internal-haematology	21.12.1992	23.12.1992	174.8			
27	SEJHUDIN ČEMER	8454	internal-haematology	24.12.1992	8.1.1993	577			
28	ZINAJDA ČATIĆ	5762	internal-gastro	9.9.1992	23.9.1992	174.8			
29	ZINAJDA ČATIĆ	7693	internal-haematology	23.11.1992	25.11.1992	174			
30	AZRA DEDIĆ	5926	general surgery	15.9.1992	25.9.1992	540.9			
31	MIRSADELJIĆ	5966	general internal	17.9.1992	24.9.1992	586			
32	MIRSADELJIĆ	6157	plastic surgery	24.9.1992	22.10.1992	991.2			
33	HASAN DEMIROVIĆ	6740	orthopedy	16.10.1992	1.11.1992	823			
34	AZRA DEDIĆ	7725	general surgery	24.11.1992	7.12.1992	540			
35	VAHIDA DUVNJAK	7743	neurology	25.11.1992	16.12.1992	309			

HOSPITAL SPLIT-KRIZINE

No.	Patient	Id. no.	Department	date of admittance	date of release	final diagnosis	comment	DoD
596	BELMA KULALGIĆ	6008	plastic surgery	12.10.1993	22.10.1993	882.2		
597	MUJESIRA KADENIĆ	6028	thoracic surgery	13.10.1993	20.10.1993	217		
598	MEHO KOVAČIĆ	6223	internal nephrology	21.10.1993	29.10.1993	585		
599	ARNIR KLAČ	6496	internal cardiology	3.11.1993	12.11.1993	414		
600	MIRZA KOZARIĆ	6939	plastic surgery	25.11.1993	8.12.1993	929.0		
601	ERMINA KADIJEVIĆ	7278	thoracic surgery	13.12.1993	24.12.1993	174.4		
602	ERMINA KADIJEVIĆ	7614	thoracic surgery	30.12.1993	14.1.1994	174		
603	ALISA LAKAČA	7313	thoracic surgery	14.12.1993	17.12.1993	540.9		
604	MUSTAFA MORIĆ	5413	ICU-SICU-internal	13.9.1993	29.9.1993			
605	REŠAD MUJAKOVIĆ	7011	thoracic surgery	30.11.1993	1.12.1993	550		
606	ERMINIJA MILETIĆ	7126	internal cardiology	6.12.1993	17.12.1993	425.9		
607	REFIK OMERAGIĆ	7367	plastic surgery	17.12.1993	13.1.1994	707		
608	MUHAMED PAFULOVIĆ	5670	orthopedy	24.9.1993			HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	
609	MALDA RELJANOVIĆ	5272	neurology	6.9.1993	24.11.1993	293		
610	SELIM SMAJLOVIĆ	5323	general internal	8.9.1993	1.10.1993	571		
611	VASVA SALKOVIĆ	6579	orthopedy	8.11.1993	15.11.1993	820		
612	HERMINA SMERNJAK	6819	neurology	21.11.1993	25.11.1993	434		25.11.1993
613	AID SULTANOVIĆ	7066	plastic surgery	1.12.1993	8.12.1993	924.0		
614	TADA ŠALINOVIĆ	7271	ICU	13.12.1993	14.12.1993	577		14.12.1993
615	HAMZALIJA TAHIĆ	5186	general surgery	1.9.1993		150		8.9.1993
616	SARAFIN TEKLIĆ	5598	internal haematology	21.9.1993	24.9.1993	157		
617	SARAFIN TEKLIĆ	6019	internal gastro	12.10.1993	12.11.1993	576		
618	SARAFINA VRANJEŠ	5202	thoracic surgery	2.9.1993	8.9.1993	574		
619	ILKA ŽULJ	5769	internal gastro	29.9.1993	13.11.1993	585		

HOSPITAL SPLIT-TOPLICE						
No.	id. no.	NAME AND LAST NAME	DOB	GENDER	OCCUPATION	EMPLOYMENT
1	527	HUMA DURAKOVIĆ, POK. ALIJA	15.3.2009	F		
2	588	IBRAHIM KOLUDER	25.3.1943	M	ENGINEER	POST OFFICE MOSTAR
3	620	HALIDA SEFEROVIĆ, POK. SMAIL, ISLAMOVIĆ	14.10.1949	F		
4	627	DJULA OMERHODŽIĆ, R. DIZDAREVIĆ	11.4.1905	F		
5	634	ENVER JAKUPOVIĆ, SALKO	27.3.1946	M		HVO
6	672	ZUHRA KALENDER	13.12.2024	F		COMMUNITY OF SOCIAL AND CHILD CARE
7	724	HALIDA SEFEROVIĆ, POK. SMAIL, ISLAMOVIĆ	14.10.1949	F		
8	875	MUSTAFA HRUSTANBEGOVIĆ, POK. HASAN	18.8.1942	M		HVO BIH
9	885	HUSEIN BOBIĆ, SALKO	17.12.1968	M		HVO BIH
10	902	NEDIJA AGIĆ, NEDIJA	10.7.1947	F	HOUSEWIFE	
11	912	FAHRUDIN BAŠOVIĆ, ISMET	8.10.1963	M		
12	928	SMAIL GULIAJ, POK. JUSUF	25.11.1939	M	PENSIONER	
13	929	SAFET MEKIĆ	15.3.1941	M		
14	946	MIRSAD MUSTAPIĆ, KADRIJA	19.4.1967	M	SOLDIER	TO /TERRITORIAL DEFENCE/BIH, SPEC. UNIT HRASNICA
15	956	MIRSAD DELIĆ, SALE	9.5.1971	M		MUP /MINISTRY OF INTENAL AFFAIRS/ BIH
16	967	SALKO RAHMANOVIĆ, HAMID	3.7.1949	M		
17	971	MEHMED KATIĆ, EJUB	1.1.1951	M		TO BIH
18	996	BAJRO TANOVIĆ, POK. ZEĆIR	24.10.1947	M		TO BIH
19	1000	ESMA LEHOVAC, RAGIB, R. ČATIĆ	10.4.1934	F		
20	1017	SALIH MEŠINOVIĆ, RAMO	28.2.1968	M	SOLDIER	TO BIH, UNIT ŠERIĆI
21	1042	ZEKERIJA RIBIĆ, RIZAH	5.2.1954	M	SOLDIER	HVO - BH ARMY, 108 BRIGADE
22	1055	ASIM ČAMPARA	19.11.1931	M		HVO - TO BIH
23	1067	ISMET OREČ, HUSO	14.5.1958	M		BH ARMY
24	1075	EMIR ZJAJO	10.10.1953	M		HVO BIH
25	1081	ZINETA BROJNA, DESTO	27.1.1962	F		
26	1089	SULEJMAN DEDIĆ, POK. ŠAĆIR	17.5.1944	M		BH ARMY
27	1098	ALMIR PALALIĆ, NAZIF	15.10.1970	M		TO BIH D. VAKUF
28	1143	ADEM ČIZMIĆ, RAMO	24.1.1963	M		BH ARMY, I KRAJINA BATALION
29	70	VASVA ZAHIROVIĆ, HARIS	6.10.1987	F		
30	73	ADELA SALČIN, IRMAN	30.1.1970	F	PUPIL	FATHER IN BH ARMY
31	101	SENAD BARALIJA	7.1.1971	M		BH ARMY, I MOSTAR BRIGADE
32	107	MIRSAD ILRAH, MUHAREM	24.9.1965	M		HVO, PETAR KREŠIMIR IV BRIGADE
33	122	SADIK ADŽIJAJ, KAMBER	20.6.2027	M		
34	123	FIKRET POTUROVIĆ, OSMO	8.12.1958	M		BH ARMY

HOSPITAL SPLIT-TOPlice

No.	Comment	Married state	Place of birth	Apartment	Temporary residence	Date of admittance	Date of release
35		Married		Maglaj, Mišunici 26		20.1.1993	9.2.1993
36		Unmarried		Mostar		20.1.1993	9.2.1993
37		Married		Sarajevo		21.1.1993	25.1.1993
38	refugee, ID no. 60216-3372, Makarska	Married		Prozor	Makarska	26.1.1993	2.3.1993
39				Počitelj		15.3.1993	30.6.1993
40		Unmarried		Livno		3.8.1993	4.9.1993
41	refugee from Sarajevo	Married		Sarajevo	Split, Škrabe 16	10.8.1993	16.9.1993
42		Married		Mostar, Kolodvorska st. 48		30.8.1993	4.10.1993
43		Married		Vitez		9.12.1993	24.3.1994

HOSPITAL "ZAGREB-DUBRAVA"														
R. Br.	ID no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of mother/father	Date of birth	Place of birth	Gender	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	State of admittance	Date of release	Reason of release	Comment
1	38604	ABAZ	MUSLIĆ	DŽEMIL	12.12.1969	ZENICA	MALE	ZENICA	I.G.Kovačića st 40	13.9.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis: E2919	14.9.1992	Sent to: Sveti Duh, Zagreb	Date of wounding- 13.09.1992
2	ANR-5272/92	ABAZ	BRDAR		1.1.1960		MALE	DERVENTA		30.6.1992	/illegible;/ type of injury:SO, diagnosis E991.2	1.7.1992	Sent to: Slavonska Požeža	Date of wounding- 30.06.1992
3		ABDEL	GOLIĆ	AGO	24.5.1971	DERVENTA	MALE	DERVENTA		15.7.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis:	17.7.1992		Date of wounding- 15.07.1992
4	2956	ABDULAH	JEGIĆ	MUSTAFA	20.3.1961	DERVENTA	MALE	SLAVONSKI BROD	Željeznička st. 12	10.8.1992	emergency urology; diagnosis	18.8.1992		Date of wounding- 10.08.1992
5	7418	ABDULAH	KASUMOVIĆ		1.1.1957	DERVENTA	MALE	DERVENTA	H.Kokića 78	27.6.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: BO , diagnosis:	27.6.1992		Date of wounding- 27.06.1992
6	ANR-2451/92	ABDULAH	HAVIĆ		1.1.1955		MALE	BOSANSKI BROD		23.4.1992	/illegible;/ type of injury:EO, diagnosis /illegible/	24.4.1992	Sent to: died	Date of wounding- 23.04.1992
7	16477	ABDULAH	ČAMĐIĆ	MUJO	1.1.1929	MODRIČA	MALE	MODRIČA	/illegible/ Sепtemбар	16.5.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: BO , diagnosis: E/illegible/	23.5.1992	Sent to: Zagreb	Date of wounding- 16.05.1992
8	8472	ABDULMANEF	SMAJLOVIĆ		1.1.1973	BOSANSKI DUBOČAC	MALE	BOSANSKI BROD	BOSANSKI DUBOČAC	12.7.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: OP , diagnosis:	12.7.1992		Date of wounding- 12.07.1992

HOSPITAL "ZAGREB-DUBRAVA"

R. Br.	ID no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of mother/father	Date of birth	Place of birth	Gender	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	State of admittance	Date of release	Reason of release	Comment
9	37952	ABDURAHMAN	DJEDOVIĆ	IBRO	4.9.1957	KITAČ	MALE	ZAGREB	Bogišićeva st. 22	9.9.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: SO, diagnosis:	11.9.1992		Date of wounding- 09.09.1992
10	KIR-18952/92	ABID	KADRIĆ	SALIH	3.11.1953	VIŠEGRAD	MALE	MODRIČA	Željeznička st. 12	29.5.1992	emergency traumatology, type of injury: EO, diagnosis E991.9	3.6.1992	Sent to: Čakovec	Date of wounding- 29.05.1992
11	27268	ADAM	MRKONJIĆ	ALIJA	8.5.1958	KOTORSKO	MALE	DOBOJ	Kotorsko	9.7.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: 991.9	13.7.1992		Date of wounding- 09.07.1992
12	34546	ADAM	MAJSTORIĆ	JOZO	1.1.1968	KORAČE	MALE	KORAČE	Koraće	19.8.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: 923	21.8.1992	Sent to: Sveti Duh, Zagreb	Date of wounding- 19.08.1992
13	27607	ADAM	LIPOVAC	IVAN	18.9.1957	KORAČE	MALE	BOSANSKI BROD	Koraće 64	11.7.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: SO, diagnosis: 991.9	22.7.1992		Date of wounding- 11.07.1992
14	28282	ADAM	JANJIŠ	MARKO	10.2.1972	DERVENTA	MALE	DERVENTA	N. Lužani 107	15.7.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis:	17.7.1992		Date of wounding- 15.07.1992
15	3471	ADEM	BAŠCAUŠEVIĆ		1.1.1960	DOBOJ	MALE	ORAŠJE	Orasje 39	27.4.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis:	27.4.1992		Date of wounding- 24.04.1992
16	9786	ADEM	EMIĆ	SULEJMAN	3.9.1948	ODŽAK	MALE	ODŽAK	Rede Probića BB	1.8.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis:	1.8.1992		Date of wounding- 01.08.1992

HOSPITAL "ZAGREB-DUBRAVA"														
R. Br.	ID no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of mother/father	Date of birth	Place of birth	Gender	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	State of admittance	Date of release	Reason of release	Comment
17	10017	ADEM	BAŠČALUŠEVIĆ		1.1.1956		MALE	BOSANSKI BROD		3.4.1992	emergency surgery; E991.2	23.4.1992	Sent to: HOME	Date of wounding- 03.04.1992
18	KIR-25973/92	ADEM	JAŠAREVIĆ	AHMET	5.2.1974	SLAVONSKI BROD	MALE	BOSANSKI BROD	Skele-Lamele 2	4.7.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis:	13.7.1992		Date of wounding- 04.07.1992
19	KIR-12609/92	ADEM	SIVIĆ	MURE	12.1.1955	CAZIN	MALE	GROSU-PLJE	Zdenska Vas 42	26.4.1992	emergency traumatology; type of injury: SO, diagnosis E991.2	30.4.1992	Sent to: Zagreb	Date of wounding- 26.04.1992
20	NEP-92/6460	ADEM	BAJRAMOVIĆ		1.1.1967		MALE			18.5.1992	/illegible/, diagnosis	1.6.1992		
21	PRIJEPIS	ADEM	VEHABOVIĆ		1.1.1950		MALE	BOSANSKI Kobaš	Bosanski Kobaš	30.11.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis:	16.12.1992		Date of wounding- 28.11.1992
22	36053	ADEM	VEHABOVIĆ		1.1.1950		MALE	BOSANSKI Kobaš	Bosanski Kobaš	28.11.1992	/illegible/ type of injury: EO; diagnosis: E991.9	30.11.1992	Sent to: /illegible/	Date of wounding- 28.11.1992
23	ANR-27011/92	ADIL	KARAMEHIĆ		1.1.1960		MALE			9.7.1992	/illegible/, diagnosis	12.7.1992	Sent to: Nova bolnica, Zagreb	Date of wounding- 09.07.1992
24	32276	ADIS	MUJKIĆ	FAHIR	1.1.1981	GRADAČAC	MALE	MODRIČA	Modrički Lug	8.8.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis: 891	11.8.1992		Date of wounding- 08.07.1992
25	KIR-18358/93	ADMIR	MURATOVIĆ	NEVLUDIN	26.6.1968	BRČKO	MALE	BRČKO	/illegible/	28.6.1993	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis: E981	14.7.1993		Date of wounding- 28.06.1993

HOSPITAL "ZAGREB-DUBRAVA"

R. Br.	ID no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of mother/father	Date of birth	Place of birth	Gender	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	State of admittance	Date of release	Reason of release	Comment
26	7291	ADMIR	OGREŠIĆ		1.1.1969	BOSANSKI BROD	MALE	BOSANSKI BROD		25.6.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: SO , diagnosis:	25.6.1992		Date of wounding- 25.06.1992
27	16584	ADMIR	TALETOVIĆ	FASIM	4.5.1974	GRADACAC	MALE	/illegible/	Baduševska st. 12 A	17.5.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis:	27.5.1992	Sent to: Požega	Date of wounding- 17.05.1992
28	KIR-31542/93	ADMIR	MARATOVIĆ	MEVLUDIN	26.6.1968	BRČKO	MALE	BRČKO		7.11.1993	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis: E991			
29	KIR-20305/92	ADMIR	KRIJEŠTANAC	VEHBIJA	23.6.1967	BRČKO	MALE	BRČKO	J.Karežovića 10	8.6.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis: E991, 8.881	10.6.1992		Date of wounding- 08.06.1992
30	ANR-2170/92	ADMIR	SLABIĆ	HUSEIN	10.3.1957		MALE	BOSANSKI BROD	1. Maja st. 19	16.4.1992	/illegible; type of injury: EO, diagnosis	22.4.1992	Sent to: Požega	Date of wounding- 16.04.1992
31	11364	ADMIR	TIHIĆ	MEHMED	18.6.1961	SIJEKOVAC	MALE	SIJEKO-VAC	Sijekovac 150	30.8.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO , diagnosis:	30.8.1992		Date of wounding- 30.08.1992

HOSPITAL "ZAGREB-DUBRAVA"														
R. Br.	ID no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of mother/father	Date of birth	Place of birth	Gender	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	State of admittance	Date of release	Reason of release	Comment
2958	27441	ŽELJKO	RAVLJIĆ		1.1.1966		Male	DER-VENTA		18.7.1992	/illegible/, type of injury: EO, diagnosis: E992	25.7.1992		Date of wounding-18.07.1992
2959		ŽELJKO	ŠPALAT	ANTO	6.4.1966	SLAVONSKI BROS	Male	BOSANS-KI BROS	A. Šantića st. 15		/illegible/, type of injury: EO, diagnosis: /illegible/			Date of wounding-08.06.1992
2960	28647	ŽELJKO	SEDLO	IVAN	8.8.1972	SLAVONSKI BROS	Male	SLAVONSKI BROS	H. Lucića 6	17.7.1992	emergency surgery, type of injury: SO, diagnosis	7.8.1992		Date of wounding-17.07.1992
2961	4859	ŽELJKO	PILIPOVIĆ	BLAŽ	19.4.1964	BOSANSKI BROS	Male	BOSANS-KI BROS	Dobojska str. 1	10.5.1992	/illegible/, type of injury: U; diagnosis:	10.5.1992		Date of wounding-10.05.1992
2962	8337	ŽELJKO	PITEŠE		1.1.1960	BOSANSKI BROS	Male	BOSANS-KI BROS	/illegible/ 210	10.7.1992	/illegible/; diagnosis: E 911.9	10.7.1992		Date of wounding-10.07.1992
2963	7962	ŽELJKO	PUDIĆ		1.1.1969	DERVENTA	Male	DER-VENTA	/illegible/	17.5.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO; diagnosis: 991.9	17.5.1992		Date of wounding-17.05.1992
2964		ŽELJKO	STIPIĆ	MARKO	1.1.1973	GRADACAČAC	Male	HRVATSKA TIŠINA	Gredice /illegible/	27.5.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: BO; diagnosis:	27.5.1992		Date of wounding-27.05.1992
2965	24752/92	ŽELJKO	SUŠIĆ	PEJO	1.1.1962	DERVENTA	Male	DUNAR	Brezica /illegible/	30.6.1992	emergency surgery, type of injury: EO, diagnosis	10.7.1992	Sent to: Bjelovar	Date of wounding-30.06.1992
2966	ORT-1610/92	ŽELJKO	SMAJIĆ	IVAN	15.2.1959	SLAVONSKI BROS	Male	BOSANS-KI BROS	Moše Pijade 14	22.4.1992	/illegible/; type of injury: SO, diagnosis: E991.9	23.4.1992		Date of wounding-22.04.1992
2967	KIR-19257/92	ŽELJKO	SOLDAN	PETAR	25.2.1964	SLAVONSKI BROS	Male	NOVO SELO	Novo Selo 136	31.5.1992	emergency traumatology; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: E 991.9	1.6.1992	Sent to: Zagreb	Date of wounding-31.05.1992
2968	PRIJEPIS	ŽELJKO	SOLDAN	PETAR	25.2.1964	SLAVONSKI BROS	Male	NOVO SELO	Novo Selo 136	5.9.1992	emergency ENT; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: E993	11.9.1992		Date of wounding-29.06.1992
2969	KIR-29298/92	ŽELJKO 1	ĐAKOVIĆ	LUKA	10.4.1967	DERVENTA	Male	DER-VENTA	I. Gbrića 24	19.7.1992	emergency surgery; type of injury U, diagnosis E951	21.7.1992		Date of wounding-19.07.1992
2970	27623	ŽELJKO 1	BOŽIĆ	ŠIMO	24.9.1955	SLAVONSKI BROS	Male	BOSANS-KI BROS	Šijekovac 274	24.7.1992	/illegible/; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: E991	26.7.1992	Sent to: Zagreb	Date of wounding-24.07.1992
2971	PRIJEPIS	ŽELJKO 1	SOLDAN	STJ-EPAN	1.1.1964	NOVO SELO	Male	SLAVONSKI BROS	S. Radića 115	22.2.1993	emergency ENT; type of injury: SO, diagnosis: /illegible/	3.3.1993		Date of wounding-29.06.1992
2972	3798	ŽELJKO 1	SOLDAN	STJ-EPAN	12.8.1964	NOVO SELO	Male	SLAVONSKI BROS	S. Radića 115	29.6.1992	emergency ENT; type of injury: SO, diagnosis: /illegible/	29.6.1992		Date of wounding-29.06.1992
2973	PRIJEPIS	ŽELJKO 1	SOLDAN	STJ-EPAN	12.8.1964	NOVO SELO	Male	SLAVONSKI BROS	S. Radića 115	29.6.1992	/illegible/_ENT; type of injury: SO, diagnosis:	29.6.1992		Date of wounding-29.06.1992
2974	PRIJEPIS	ŽELJKO 1	SOLDAN	STJ-EPAN	12.8.1964	NOVO SELO	Male	SLAVONSKI BROS	S. Radića 115	22.2.1993	emergency ENT; type of injury: SO, diagnosis:	3.3.1993		Date of wounding-29.06.1992

HOSPITAL "ZAGREB-DUBRAVA"

R. Br.	ID no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of mother/father	Date of birth	Place of birth	Gender	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	State of admittance	Date of release	Reason of release	Comment
2975	13055	ŽELJKO 1	SUŠIĆ	PEJO	1.6.1969	DERVENTA	Male	BREZICI	Brezici	3.10.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: E911.9	3.10.1992		Date of wounding-03.10.1992
2976	PRIJEPIŠ	ŽELJKO 1	SOLDAN	STJ-EPAN	1.1.1964	NOVO SELO	Male	SLAVONSKI BROD	S. Radića 115	29.6.1992	emergency_ENT; type of injury: SO, diagnosis:	11.7.1992		Date of wounding-29.06.1992
2977	4041	ŽELJKO 1	TROMIĆ	IVO	1.1.1965	SLAVONSKI BROD	Male	BOSANSKI BROD	I.L. Ribara 85	4.5.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis:	4.5.1992		Date of wounding-04.05.1992
2978	11948	ŽELJKO 2	ĐAKOVIĆ		1.1.1967	DERVENTA	Male	BOSANSKI BROD		8.9.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: E 991.9	8.9.1992		Date of wounding-08.09.1992
2979	7516	ŽELJKO 2	SOLDAN	STIPE	12.8.1964	NOVO SELO	Male	NOVO SELO	Novo Selo 136	29.6.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: SO, diagnosis: /illegible/			Date of wounding-29.06.1992
2980	11586	ŽELJO	BARŠIĆ	ANTE	10.8.1958	KORAČE	Male	BOSANSKI BROD	Koraće	2.9.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: EO, diagnosis:	2.9.1992		Date of wounding-02.09.1992
2981	8735	ŽELJO	TOMIĆ	JOZO	25.8.1973	DERVENTA	Male	DERVENTA	Bijelo Brdo	16.7.1992	abdominal surgery; type of injury: SO, diagnosis: 991.2	16.7.1992		Date of wounding-16.07.1992
2982	34348	ŽELJO	STOKRP		1.1.1962		Male	/illegible/	/illegible/	23.9.1992	/illegible/; type of injury: EO, diagnosis: /illegible/	2.10.1992	Sent to: KBC Rebro Zagreb	Date of wounding-23.09.1992

HOSPITAL "NOVA BOLNICA-ZAGREB"											
No.	reg. no.	Name	Surname	Name of father/ mother	ID no.	Date of birth	Place of birth	Gender	Occupation	Employment	Married status
1	10041	Esad	Čolaku	Nazmi		15.9.1973	Prizren	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Married
2	10060	Jusuf	Burković	Ahmet	1408966184259	14.8.1966	Živinice	Male	solider	TO BiH /Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina/	Unmarried
3	10085	Arif	Tatarević	Kasim		1.1.1956	Bosanska Krpa	Male	solider	TO BiH /Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina/	
4	10212	Vahid	Arnautović	Hasan		13.1.1974	Gradačac	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Unmarried
5	10264	Husein	Hasić	Ahmed		16.3.1973	Erlangen, Federal Republic of Germany	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Unmarried
6	10294	Rusmir	Alagić	Aziz		1.1.1968	Modriča	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Unmarried
7	10320	Sejdo	Agić	Mehmet	2006971180876	20.6.1971	Bijeljina	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Unmarried
8	10580	Zaim	Buljina	Himzo		17.3.1957	Jablanica	Male	civilian		Married
9	10592	Rasim	Bradarić	Adem		25.4.1946	Maglaj	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Divorced
10	10609	Suad	Pjanić	Adem		7.10.1973	Kozarac	Male	solider	TO BiH /Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina/	Unmarried
11	11057	Smailj	Topić	Ibrahim		10.7.1972	Cazin	Male	solider	TO BiH /Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina/	Unmarried
12	11129	Nijaz	Korčić	Esad	2509964110031	25.9.1964	Bihac	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	
13	11192	Nezir	Durmišević	Rado		29.1.1962	Kamenica	Male	solider	TO BiH /Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina/	Married
14	11348	Hakija	Srna	Ismeta		2.3.1962	Bosanski Šamac	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Married
15	11404	Selim	Hurčić	Selim		1.1.1966	Brežice, Slovenija	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Married
16	11416	Smail	Nurkić			1.1.1973		Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	
17	11702	Nurija	Nadarević	Hase		1.3.1951		Male	civilian		
18	11714	Mirsad	Balić	Safet		2.1.1966	Travnik	Male	solider	TO BiH /Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina/	Unmarried
19	11742	Edmir	Kurović	Adem	3107974110016	31.7.1974	Bihac	Male	solider	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Unmarried

HOSPITAL "NOVA BOLNICA-ZAGREB"

No.	Residence	Address of the residence	Date of admittance	Sort of admittance	Date of release	Reason for release	Comment
152	Tuzla	Svojat žvnce 75/250r	8.10.1992	Transfer	29.10.1992	Improved condition	Transfer from medical center in Slavonki Brod after being wounded in Bosanska Posavina
153	Maglaj	Misurić 133	9.10.1992	Transfer	21.1.1993	Improved condition	Transfer from the hospital in Zenica after being wounded
154	Bosanski Novi	Suhaća	9.10.1992	Transfer	26.2.1993	Improved condition	Transfer from the hospital in Bihać for further treatment
155	Gornji Teslić		16.10.1992	Transfer	4.8.1993	Improved condition	Transfer from the hospital in Zenica after being wounded near Magalaj
156	Kiseljak	Han Ploča	21.10.1992	Transfer	6.11.1992	Improved condition	Transfer from medical center in Slavonki Brod after the treatment of the wound
157	Orašje	Skojevska 9	4.1.1993	Transfer	21.1.1993	Improved condition	Transfer from Jordanovac hospital where he came from Osijek after being wounded in Bosnia
158	Maglaj	Ulica Davida Đurića b.b.	29.10.1992	Transfer	9.11.1992	Improved condition	Transfer from the hospital in Žepče

HOSPITAL SLAVONSKI BROD

Ordinal no.	Clinic	Year	No.	Department	Surname	Name	Maiden name	ID no.	Date of birth	Gender	Insurance category- / content below as written/	Occupation
1	Maternity hospital	1994	893	Department of gynecology	ABU SAFIJA IPTHAL	AFIF		403974125940	4.3.1974	F	IS1	
2	Department of surgery	1992	29652	Department of surgery	ADEMOVIĆ NESIB	HUSEIN			1.4.1968	M	SAM	solider
3	Department of internal medicine	1994	3178	Department of internal medicine	ADEMOVIĆ SIDIK	ALIŠAN		405937123329	4.5.1937	M	J	
4	Department of surgery	1994	9308	Department of surgery	ADEMOVIĆ SIDIK	ALIŠAN		405937123329	4.5.1937	M	J	
5	Department of neuropsychiatry	1994	1818	Department of neuropsychiatry	ADEMOVIĆ SIDIK	ALIŠAN		405937123329	4.5.1937	M	J	
6	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	1992	5710	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	ADILOVIĆ MEHMED				1.1.1953	M	SAM	
7	Department of surgery	1993	141	Department of surgery	AĐULOVIĆ ATIFA	OMER		0	16.2.1940	F	IZB	
8	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	1992	2139	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	AĐULOVIĆ FERID	ZAIM		0	5.11.1936	M	SAM	
9	Department of surgery	1992	11049	Department of surgery	AĐULOVIĆ FERID	ZAIM			5.11.1936	M	SAM	
10	Department of surgery	1992	11395	Department of surgery	AĐULOVIĆ FERID	ZAIM		0	5.11.1936	M	SAM	
11	Department of pulmonology	1994	1099	Department of pulmonology	AĐULOVIĆ HANUMICA			503920307118	5.3.1920	F	D	pensioner
12	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	1992	380	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	AĐULOVIĆ IBRAHIM	MEHMED		0	9.12.1952	M	RAD	welder
13	Department of surgery	1992	2006	Department of surgery	AĐULOVIĆ IBRAHIM	MEHMED			9.12.1952	M	RAD	welder
14	Department of surgery	1992	2980	Department of surgery	AĐULOVIĆ IBRAHIM	MEHMED		0	9.12.1952	M	RAD	welder
15	Department of surgery	1992	15347	Department of surgery	AĐULOVIĆ ZAIM				1.1.1926	F	SAM	
16	Department of infectious disease	1993	2006	Department of infectious disease	AHMETAGIĆ ENSAR	ELYTR		3012984302133	30.12.1984	M	A	pupil
17	Department of internal medicine	1992	9514	Department of internal medicine	AHMETAGIĆ FATIMA	MUJO		1803935307103	18.3.1935	F	UMI	
18	Department of surgery	1992	16089	Department of surgery	AHMETASEVIĆ SUAD	HUSEIN			24.6.1970	M	HV	

HOSPITAL SLAVONSKI BROD

Ordinal no.	Clinic	Year	No.	Department	Surname	Name	Maiden name	ID no.	Date of birth	Gender	Insurance category- / content below as written/	Occupation
19	Department of otorhinolaryngology	1992	2329	Department of otorhinolaryngology	AHMETOVIĆ ALMIN	MUHAMED			18.3.1969	M	ZAN	caterer
20	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	1992	34702	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	AHMETOVIĆ AMIR				2.2.1968	M	RAD	
21	Department of surgery	1992	41392	Department of surgery	AHMETOVIĆ AMIR			0	2.2.1968	M	RAD	
22	Neonatology	1994	5298	Department of gynecology	AHMETOVIĆ AZRA	DŽEHVA		0	17.4.1994	F	A	child
23	Department of urology	1993	2329	Department of urology	AHMETOVIĆ ĆAMIL	HAJDO			1.1.1938	M	JZ	
24	Department of urology	1993	2972	Department of urology	AHMETOVIĆ ĆAMIL	HAJDO		0	1.1.1938	M	JZ	
25	Department of urology	1993	3301	Department of urology	AHMETOVIĆ ĆAMIL	HAJDO		0	1.1.1938	M	JZ	
26	Department of surgery	1993	28225	Department of surgery	AHMETOVIĆ FADIL	ŠEMSO		2607937123328	26.7.1937	M	IS1	
27	department of ophthalmology	1993	1693	department of ophthalmology	AHMETOVIĆ HASIB	DŽAFER		0	6.11.1937	M	J	
28	department of ophthalmology	1993	2360	department of ophthalmology	AHMETOVIĆ HASIB	DŽAFER		0	6.11.1937	M	J	
29	department of ophthalmology	1994	2428	department of ophthalmology	AHMETOVIĆ HASIB	DŽAFER		0	6.11.1937	M	J	
30	Department of gynecology	1993	513	Department of gynecology	AHMETOVIĆ HASIBA	HAŠIM		2304951125942	23.4.1951	F	IZB	
31	Department of gynecology	1993	10884	Department of gynecology	AHMETOVIĆ HASIBA	HAŠIM		2304951125942	23.4.1951	F	J	lawyer
32	Department of internal medicine	1992	6585	Department of internal medicine	AHMETOVIĆ NURIFA	ASIM	BAJRIĆ		14.1.1957	F	NEZ	housewife
33	Department of surgery	1993	10801	Department of surgery	AHMETOVIĆ SEMIR	MIRSAĐ		0	8.8.1990	M	A	child
34	Department of surgery	1992	27433	Department of surgery	AHMETOVIĆ SEVAĐ	FADIL			15.6.1970	M	SAM	
35	Department of infectious disease	1994	1578	Department of infectious disease	AHMIĆ DALIDA	SAMIR		0	15.4.1991	F	IS1	child
36	Department of surgery	1992	24844	Department of surgery	AHMIĆ ISMET	MUHAREM			10.12.1969	M	SAM	waiter
37	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	1992	5264	Department of anesthesiology and reanimation	AHMIĆ JASMIN	MEHMED			1.1.1964	M	SAM	

HOSPITAL SLAVONSKI BROD

Ordinal no.	Clinic	Year	No.	Department	Surname	Name	Maiden name	ID no.	Date of birth	Gender	Insurance category- / content below as written/	Occupation
38	Department of neuropsychiatry	1992	7518	Department of neuropsychiatry	AHMIC MEHRUDIN				1.1.1963	M	SAM	
39	Department of surgery	1992	26096	Department of surgery	AHMIC MUSTAFA				1.1.1964	M	SAM	
40	Department of otorhinolaryngology	1993	5389	Department of otorhinolaryngology	AJANOVIĆ MIRSAD				1.1.1960	M	J	
41	Department of pediatrics	1993	7245	Department of pediatrics	AJDAREVIĆ FERDI	RIBANA		0	1.3.1993	M	I	child
42	Department of pediatrics	1994	661	Department of pediatrics	AJDAREVIĆ FERDI	RIBANA		0	1.3.1993	M	I	child
43	Department of pediatrics	1994	6460	Department of pediatrics	AJDAREVIĆ MUSTAFA	RIBANA		0	2.5.1994	M	I	child
44	Department of pediatrics	1994	9530	Department of pediatrics	AJDAREVIĆ MUSTAFA	RIBANA		0	2.5.1994	M	000	child
45	Neonatology	1993	3046	Department of gynecology	AJDAREVIĆ MUŠKO	RIBANA		0	1.3.1993	M	I	child

HOSPITAL VINKOVCI

Ordinal no.	Reg.no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of father/mother	Date of birth	Gender	Occupation	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	Sort of admittance	Date of release	Reason for release	Comment
1	ICU 440/92.	MIRKO	KLARIĆ		02.06.1962.	male	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ BiH officer	Donja Mahala	D. Ribara 21	21.10.1992.	Emergency	28.10.1992.	Transfer to surgery	transported from BiH
2	ICU 422/1992.	MARKO	KLARIĆ	IVO	09.05.1964.	male	member of the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Donja Mahala	B. Ribara	12.10.1992.	Emergency	15.10.1992.	Transfer to surgery	transported from BiH
3	ICU 434/92.	ŽELJKO	TOMIĆ	STANKO	25.05.1960.	male	ratni zarobljenik	Novi Grad		17.10.1992.	Emergency	22.10.1992.	Handed over to military police	transported from BiH
4	ICU	KRUNO	DOMINKOVIĆ		24 godine	male	member of the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Orašje	Bukova Greda	24.07.1992.	Emergency	27.07.1992.	death	transported from BiH
5	ICU 577/92.	RAIMOND	VAN DER LINDEN		04.04.1968.	male	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/-104 brigade			30.12.1992.	Emergency	03.01.1993.	Transfer to Nova bolnica Zagreb	transported from RB Tolisa
6	ICU 569/92.	PAVO	ORKIĆ		1952.	male	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/-106 brigade	Matići	Omladinska 13	26.12.1992.	Emergency	30.12.1992.	Transfer to surgery	transported from RB Tolisa
7	ICU 05/1993.	PAVO	ORKIĆ		1952.	male	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/-106 brigade	Matići	Omladinska 13	03.01.1993.	Emergency	08.01.1993.	Transfer to surgery	
8	ICU	ALEN	PRGIĆ		1972.	male	solider of OS BiH HVO / Armed Forces of the BiH Croatian Defence Council/	Orašje	Ugijara	03.09.1992.	Emergency	06.09.1992.	death	transported from BiH
9	ICU 342/1992.	ILJJA	JURIĆ	MARIJAN	06.03.1969.	male	member HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Donja Mahala	Sportska 10	03.09.1992.	Emergency	08.09.1992.	Transfer to Nova bolnica Zagreb	transported from BiH
10	ICU 330/1992.	PEJO	KESIĆ			male	member of the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Domaljevac		30.08.1992.	Emergency	30.08.1992.	death	transported from BiH

HOSPITAL VINKOVCI

Ordinal no.	Reg.no. of the patient	Name	Surname	Name of father/mother	Date of birth	Gender	Occupation	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	Sort of admittance	Date of release	Reason for release	Comment
11	ICU 385/92.	PAVO	DŽIJAN		1979.	male	child	Orašje	Bok	22.09.1992.	Emergency	24.09.1992.	Home care	transported from BiH
12	ICU 394/1992.	MARKO	POROBIĆ	MARIJAN	24 godine	male	member of the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Orašje	Ugljara	26.09.1992.	Emergency	26.09.1992.	death	transported from BiH
13	ICU 392/1992.	PEJO	KNEŽEVIĆ		30 godina	male	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/-106 brigade	Orašje	Ugljara	26.09.1992.	Emergency	27.09.1992.	Clinical hospital Osijek-neurosurgery	transported from BiH
14	ICU 397/1992.	IVO	BIJELIĆ	MATO	35 godina	male	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/-106 brigade	Orašje	Kopаница 85	27.09.1992.	Emergency	27.09.1992.	death	transported from BiH
15	ICU 319/92.	MARKO	KOPIĆ		1932.	male	exile	Oštra Luka	B.Jelačićа 3 50	26.08.1992.	Emergency	27.08.1992.	Transfer to surgery	transported from PB Cerna
16	KIR. 1043	MARKO	KOPIĆ		1932.	male	civilian	Oštra Luka	B.Jelačićа 3 50	27.08.1992.	Transfer form ICU	29.08.1992.	Transfer to Nova bolnica Zagreb	
17	ICU 257/92.	LUKA	RAGIĆ		1958.	male	exile	Bok	Posavska 34	01.08.1992.	Emergency	04.08.1992.	Transfer to Nova bolnica Zagreb	transported from BiH
18	ICU 211/92.	ĐURO	VINCETIĆ		1982.	male	dijete	Donja Mahala	M. Trifunovića 1 19	14.07.1992.	Emergency	16.07.1992.	Transfer to Klaićeva hospital	transported from BiH
19	ICU 186/1992.	JOSO	MIŠKOVIĆ		1968.	male		Matići	Ulica Oslobođenja i84	26.06.1992.	Emergency	03.07.1992.	Transfer to surgery	transported from BiH
20	KIR. 636/92	JOSO	MIŠKOVIĆ		1968.	male	pripadnik HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Matići	Ulica Oslobođenja i84	03.07.1992.	Transfer form ICU	08.07.1992.	Transfer to Nova bolnica Zagreb	
21	ICU 188/1992.	ANTO	VIDOVIĆ	ILJJA	30.09.1964.	male	pripadnik HVO /Croatian Defence Council/	Bok	27 Jula 1 34	27.06.1992.	Emergency	30.06.1992.	Transfer to Clinical hospital center REBRO, Zagreb	transported from BiH

HOSPITAL VINKOVCI

Ordinal no.	Name	Surname	Date of birth	Gender	Occupation	Residence	Address of residence	Date of admittance	Sort of admittance	Date of release	Reason of release	Comment
73	STOJAN	STEVANOVIĆ		male	HVO /Croatian Defence Council/-106. brigade	Orašje	Oslobodjenja 18	22.08.1992.	Emergency	27.08.1992.	House care	
74	MILAN	MAKSIMOVIĆ	1958.	male	member of the HVO/Croatian Defence Council//	Oštra Luka	Bukova Greda	17.08.1992.	Emergency	20.08.1992.	Transfer to Nova bolnica, Zagreb	
75	ANDELKO	KRIŠTIĆ	1973.	male	member of the HVO/Croatian Defence Council//	Oštra Luka	Kralja Tomislava 59	29.09.1992.	Emergency			wounded in Bosnia
76	PAVKA	DABIĆ	1937.	female	civil	Orašje	Matići 320	19.09.1992.	Emergency			transported from Orašje
77	LJUBA	DŽIJAN	1944.	female	civil	Orašje	Bok	22.09.1992.	Emergency			transported from Bosnia
78	RADOVAN	MIŠKOVIĆ	1968.	male	HVO/Croatian Defence Council/-106 brigade	Orašje	Jenjići	08.10.1992.	Emergency			transported from Vidovica
79	HUGDIN	PRNJAVORAC		male	member of the HVO/Croatian Defence Council//	Orašje	8.april 48	20.08.1992.	Emergency			transported from Arambašići
80	LUKA	KOPIĆ	1962.	male	member of the HVO/Croatian Defence Council//	Oštra Luka		07.09.1992.	Emergency			transported from Posavina
81	RADOVAN	MIŠKOVIĆ										

/fax marks 04/02 94 19:03 phone 385 41 434 985 IOM ZAGREB, handwritten 1126
1252/ 001

Facsimile cover sheet

To: Marija Zupanovic/Ivanka
Demirovic – Zuljevic
Company: Clinical Hospital Centre Split

Fax: 058/365-738

From: IOM Zagreb
Company: Special Medical program
Phone: (385 41) 434 993
Fax: (385 41) 434 985

Date: 04 February 1994
Pages including this
Cover page: 3

Comments:

We send you the list of patients that have been provided with further medical treatment abroad within our medical program. We must emphasize that this list does not include patients that, in the period they had been examined in Split till the moment of travel, were transferred to further medical treatment in Zagreb. According to our registrar, they departed from Zagreb in our organization. We hope that this list would be useful for statistics. For all additional information you can always turn to our office in Zagreb. Once again, we thank you for the cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordan Čustović
Ph.D. Jos Vandelaer
/signed/

NAME OF A PATIENT	BORN (YEAR)	GENDER	CITIZENSHIP	COUNTRY OF TRAVEL	DATE OF DEPARTURE	ESCORT	DATE OF RETURN
Barudanović, Jasenko	1958	M	BA	Saudi Arabia	15.12.1993	Wife and daughter	
Bilavčić, Anto	1968	M	BA	Finland	24.01.1994	No one	
Buhovac, Ivica	1970	M	HR	Hungary	21.06.1993	No one	22.07.1993
Erceg, Zoran	1959	M	HR	USA	14.12.1992	No one	26.03.1993
Grcić, Edvin	1971	M	BA	Denmark	22.12.1993	No one	
Hodžić, Ragib	1967	M	BA	Saudi Arabia	15.12.1993	No one	
Ivkov, Siniša	1957	M	HR	Finland	16.04.1993	No one	
Jagatić, Mato	1968	M	BA	Switzerland	27.05.1993	No one	06.07.1993
Jandrić, Manuela	1986	M	BA	Denmark	27.10.1993	Mother and two sisters	
Kasalo, Zoran	1972	M	HR	USA	18.01.1993	No one	
Kavazović, Ejub	1961	M	BA	USA	01.06.1993	No one	
Kmetaš, Alija	1961	M	BA	Saudi Arabia	15.12.1993	Wife and two daughters	
Krišto, Luka	1968	M	BA	USA	07.12.1993	Nurse	
Marić, Edin	1965	M	BA	USA	21.09.1993	Father	
Marjanović, Ivica	1960	M	HR	USA	18.01.1994	Wife	
Marjanović, Marko	1974	M	HR	USA	18.01.1994	No one	
Mijić, Marko	1954	M	BA	Switzerland	25.05.1993	No one	
Perić, Marko 1	1968	M	BA	Switzerland	25.05.1993	No one	05.11.1993
Perić, Marko 2	1968	M	BA	Switzerland	24.01.1994	No one	
Papić, Željko 1	1963	M	BA	Hungary	04.05.1993	No one	16.06.1993
Papić, Željko 2	1963	M	HR	Hungary	22.10.1993	No one	12.11.1993
Radić, Alen	1975	M	HR	Hungary	06.04.1993	No one	25.05.1993
Raspudić, Josip	1972	M	BA	USA	20.07.1993	No one	08.09.1993
Sain, Robert	1972	M	BA	Denmark	27.10.1993	No one	
Salan, Elvedin	1966	M	BA	Finland	14.10.1993	No one	
Siladžija, Haris	1988	M	BA	Italy	11.01.1994	Mother and brother	
Sirguc, Merima	1991	F	BA	Italy	21.10.1993	Mother	
Tantula, Aldin	1983	M	BA	Finland	27.01.1994	Mother and two brothers	

Tartaragić, Dževada	1964	F	BA	Switzerland	14.04.1993	No one	01.07.1993
Veladar, Mersiha	1979	F	BA	Denmark	24.11.1993	Mother, father, brother	
Vujica, Aleksandra	1989	F	BA	Czech Republic	27.11.1993	Mother, sister	
Zec, Senad	1978	M	BA	Finland	16.12.1993	Two brothers	
Zerdo, Husein	1968	M	BA	USA	20.07.1993	No none	

FROM

PHONE NO. : 00 871 1446255

PØ2

/Bosnian coat of arms/ Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

President of the Presidency

CLINICAL CENTER FIRULE – SPLIT

Dr. Mihovil Biočić

In the name of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I thank you personally and the staff of your clinic, as well as all others who have helped to care for dr. Ejup Ganić and his entourage who got hurt in a serious car accident. As many times before, your competence and commitment to the humanly vocation of a doctor has given results when it was most needed. This will not be forgotten here.

With expressions of reverence and best wishes,

Sarajevo, July 9th 1995

/signed/

Alija Izetbegović

JZU MEDICAL CENTER
GRADAČAC
Number: 34/94
Date, 31st March 1994

CLINICAL HOSPITAL CENTER
SPLIT

LETTER OF APPRECIATION

JZU /Public Medical Institution/ Medical center Gradačac, as well as all Medical center's employees express their warmest and most earnest gratitude for the wholehearted and selfless help given to us by the CHC /Clinical Hospital Center/ Split.

In these hard times for an entire BiH and for this suffering people every help is most welcomed, and especially knowing that we're not forgotten and alone in these hard times.

Our staff and our patients are aware of everything that you do and that you have done for us, and we express our big and warm gratitude for everything that you're doing and what you have done in the past times for this entire area.

We also thank Mr. Buna Zanini for his selfless sacrifice and hard work that he's undertaken in these hard times.

DIRECTOR:

Mehić dr. Sead

/signed/

/round seal with an inscription – PUBLIC MEDICAL INSTITUTION
MEDICAL CENTER GRADAČAC/

PAZARIĆ

Medical staff for Central and Northern Dalmatia

SPLIT

LETTER OF APPRECIATION

To the citizens of Split, people of the Republic of Croatia and your humanitarian organization, we send expressions of appreciation from the people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina who are forced to reside on the territory of Pazarić and surrounding villages. Thousands of needy people will be informed who to thank for the medicines and medical material which was delivered to us by your kind people in good condition and precisely as listed.

The respectable quantities delivered to us by you are of course valuable, but our thankfulness would be no smaller should those quantities have been much less. Your gesture makes us aware that we're not alone and that is what's most important today and which gives our people the energy to finish what has been started.

Withal, we're asking you to receive our representative, pharm.tech Izmirlija Ismet, and to arrange future modalities of cooperation.

With respects and gratitude

Med.univ. IBLIZOVIĆ Dr. MIRZA

71243 Pazarić, Tel. 898 668

/signed/

Pazarić, 12th August 1992

REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS FROM BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

511 + tables of refugees and displaced persons



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA /RH/
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

CLASS: 008-02/92-02/01
Number: 5120-25-92-04

Zagreb, 1 April 1992
0935 hours

Ministry of Information
(to be sent to the media)

S T A T E M E N T

To all media and journalists reporting on military activities and the displaced people: please take into account certain elementary issues which are of relevance for our defence and security. It is necessary to protect the identity of the Croatian soldiers in combat positions and the people in war zones, particularly those under temporary JA /Yugoslav Army/ occupation or in camps outside of Croatia.

We hereby appeal to all editors and journalists not to include in their pieces, reports or programmes the names of people and places or other similar information which could harm the defence of the Republic of Croatia or cause even greater suffering and tragedy to the people and families of those who remain captive. Certain reports based on conversations conducted with a group of exchanged men from Vukovar failed to do so, which could have severe consequences for those who are still in captivity.

The Ministry of Defence therefore expects all media staff in positions of responsibility not only to act in accordance with the principles of their profession and within the legal regulations, but also with a feeling for the situation and the time in which seemingly trivial details can cause even greater human tragedy.

Assistant RH Minister of Defence
for Brigadier
Slobodan PRALJAK
/a signature/
/stamped/

/Coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia/

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
OFFICE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
OFFICE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES

/translators note – original in English/

ZAGREB, Republike Austrije 14, CROATIA

Tel./Phone (38 41) 171-153, 173-699, int.117, Telefax/Fax. 172-109, 420-918

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET/FACSIMILE COVER SHEET /translators note – original in English/

date	Date /original in English/	29.6.1993
organization	Company/original in English/	Anti-war campaign Croatia
to	to/original in English/	Mr. Alex Melbourne
fax. no.	Fax no. /original in English/	271 143
from	from/original in English/	Josip Esterajher
Pages incl. this cover page	Pages incl. this cover page/original in English/	5

Dear Mr. Melbourne,

We're sending you a letter by which the office replies to the letters regarding the position of Muslim refugees in Croatia. Once again we would like to point out that Croatian Government hasn't changed its policy towards refugees, and that not one person with refugee status will be left without our office's care.

With respects,

Josip Esterajher

/signed/

/COAT OF ARMS/

Msgr. Dr. Franjo Komarica
Bishop of Banja Luka

No. 169/93

Banja Luka Nov.4, 1993

Dr. Jadranko Prlić
President of the Government HR HB
M O S T A R

Subject: Appeal regarding the evacuation of refugees from Vareš

Dear Mr. President,

I have just received a telephone call from Mr. Ostojić the authorised Minister speaking on behalf of the president of the RS, he requested that I convey the following information to you as soon as possible – of course with the expectance of your urgent response:

1. They are conducting all possible measures to receive the inhabitants from Vareš. The entire population is on the move, approximately 90% Croats and 10% Serbs. They are **attempting to** care for all equally. They are temporarily being accommodated in Sokac, some in buildings and some in tents. They are being assisted by UNHCR who are providing blankets and **food**. The people are frustrated, hungry and cold. The temperatures are below zero from the afternoon until morning, the people are inadequately dressed, most of them are elderly and children. The travel from Vareš to Sokac is very tiresome and passes through forests and wasteland. URGENT HELP IS NEEDED!

2. He is appealing through you to the Government of HR-HB:

- It is necessary to agree upon measures for proving for these people with you – he is not sure of their exact number, he thinks there are between 5 – 10,000 people! – So please respond and let them know what their ad hoc command should do!

- He suggests, or rather pleads, that you send fuel as soon as possible, approximately 3 **tons or** one tank truck, as well as a convoy of buses to transport the refugees through eastern Herzegovina to Herceg-Bosna.

- Therefore, I would request that you let me know s soon as possible what you have decided to do because he is waiting for an answer from us!

May God help us all – and good people!

Gladly being at the disposition for all noble activities in stopping the evil and confirming the good and humane – with respect – my kindest regards,

Franjo Komarica
(signed)

/handwritten: B.Č./

/Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/

*Embassy
of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Zagreb*

UNHCR, Zagreb
Att. Mr. Jacques Mouchet, High Commissioner
Fax. No. 530 101

AMB/ZAG/04/-12203/94

Zagreb, 19.04.1994.

Subject: RESETTLEMENT BOSNIAKS TO THIRD COUNTRIES

We've received a report from an associate of the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on intensified activities of the UNHCR staff on islands of Brač and Hvar. UNHCR staff is grouping refugees explaining them that the conditions are not yet right for their safe return to Mostar. They point out that Mostar is not safe neither for Croats nor for Serbs, not to mention, as they emphasize, for Muslims. They point out that Muslims cannot even enter Mostar and that they should be patient and not to be fooled by the prepared return convoys.

UNHCR staff is promising refugees that, should the Social services centers of the Republic of Croatia cancel their refugee status, that special convoys to some other countries will be organized for Muslim refugees.

We also have information on continued UNHCR activities in collective refugee camps : "Gašinci", "Savudrija", "Učka", "Varaždin", "Obonjan" and others, which refer to daily UNHCR work on relocating and resettling of Bosniak people – refugees (with regulated refugee status) from the Republic of Croatia to third countries.

We are asking you to deliver us prompt information on your representatives' work with the refugees in the field. We also want to know the reasons and aims for relocation of refugees and the grounds for UNHCR's evaluation of refugees being unsafe in the Republic of Croatia so that their relocation is being continually executed.

Given that the information we receive from refugees are correct, in our opinion, UNHCR acts contrary to its mandate, stirs political instability, unsettlement and panic within refugees, and unfoundedly stimulates and performs further resettlement.

According to some documents we've received, an increasing number of civilians, Bosniaks and Croats, with the help of UNHCR, are leaving Banja Luka, Prijedor, Teslić and other towns of Bosanska Krajina. After transitory stay at the collective refugee camp "Gašinci", they leave for third countries through UNHCR resettlement programs. We also ask for information regarding the above.

Ambassador
Bisera Turković
/signed/

/round seal with an inscription: "AMBASADA ZAGREB,2, Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina /

Co:

- UN – CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
- INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATIONS
- INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS COMMITTEE
- INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF RED CROSS AND RED CRESCENT ORGANIZATIONS

Zagreb, Pantovčak 96, p.p. 1056, Telephones: (+385 41) 449-528, 449-655, 429-831, 429-832, Fax: (+385 41) 441-899

/coat of arms/
Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Zagreb

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
OFFICE FOR THE EXPELLED PERSONS AND REFUGEES
Professor Ph.D. Adalbert Rebić , Head
Z A G R E B

Republic of Austria 14

Zagreb, 19 April 1994

AMB/ZAG/04-12204/94

Dear Mr. Rebić

Once more we would like to express out gratitude on today's phone call from the Office for the Refugees of the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb as well as on the information on increasing number of the Bosniak-Herzegovina citizens, which, by the help of UNHCR, keep arriving on the border of the Republic of Croatia, with aim to reach the third country.

We appreciate and accept, in the most special manner, the offered cooperation between the Office for the expelled persons and the refugees, and the Embassy, by which the control of organizations work should be introduced, dealing with forwarding civilians from the Bosnia and Herzegovina. It shall be our pleasure to present you the report on the substantial proposals of the Ministry for Refugees, work and social protection of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the future cooperation in this area.

Hereby, we submit you the copy of our memo number AMB/ZAG/04-12203/94, addressed to the UNHCR, as information on some activities of UNHCR on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Sincerely yours

Ambassador
Bisera Turković
/signed and stamped/

/memo marks Zagreb, Pantovčak 96, p.p. 1056, phones; (+385 41) 449-528, 449-655,429-831, 429-832, Fax: (+395 41) 441-899

The Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Faced with the burning problem of mass expulsion of population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is a result of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina and a systematic operation of “ethnic cleansing” of certain areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- Determined in the intention to protect and help anyone who needs protection and help, in harmony with the norms of international humanitarian rights;
- Having established that the Republic of Croatia has, even beyond its capacities, taken care of and provided necessary protection and help to most of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina,;
- Expressing readiness for future cooperation in solving the problem of reception and organising of accommodation of new refugees, and organised return and repatriation of all those who can return to the territory of their state;

have signed this

**PROTOCOL ON COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA AND THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN
SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES FROM BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA**

1. The Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has expressed readiness to organise refugee centres in the safe areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina for reception of new refugees as the Republic of Croatia has no more capacities, in terms of accommodation or finance, to receive new refugees. International community shall be asked for help in organising and financing such refugee centres.
2. The Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall organise return of refugees to safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which shall be proclaimed as such by the competent authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and that will especially apply to men between 18 and 60 years of age, and women between 18 and 55 years of age, except mothers with children under 14.

Dr. Franjo Gregurić
President
(signed)

Jure Pelivan
President
(signed)

3. The Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are ready to sign with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees a tripartite agreement on taking care and return of Bosnian and Herzegovinian refugees.
4. The Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall request more humanitarian aid from international community, especially for Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as reception in neighbouring European countries of new refugees, who will not be taken care of in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Government of the Republic of Croatia is not able to cover the costs of transportation of international humanitarian aid, which is sent directly to Bosnia and Herzegovina.
5. The Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Government of the Republic of Croatia shall provide maximum assistance to the Directorate for Refugees of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by giving professional advice and sharing their experience in work with displaced persons and refugees in the Republic of Croatia.
6. The Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have agreed to coordinate in future all activities, with the purpose of a more precise presentation of the situation to the international community, in order to gather a more significant quantity of international humanitarian aid and financial assistance.
7. The Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have agreed that the key to the solution of this humanitarian problem of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina is to put a stop urgently to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and in that respect, they shall continue their joint activities of inciting other activities of the international community.

Signed in Zagreb, 22 July 1992

For the Government of the
Republic of Croatia

Dr. Franjo Gregurić
President
(*signed*)

For the Government of the
Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina

Jure Pelivan
President
(*signed*)

ŠEFKO OMERBAŠIĆ

Zagreb

October 2005

Interview was recorded, the recording is kept under the code

somerbasic

31.9 MB

Duration:

01:39:57

**Transcript of the interview and the recording are stored in
the Central Military archives of
MORH (Croatian Ministry of Defense)**

The conversation was held in Zagreb

1/28

ŠEFKO OMERBAŠIĆ

Who else was there, Čermak, Zagorec? Did President Tudman know about all of this?

Yes, he knew.

Šušak was there, was he not?

Šušak was the one who was making decisions about this. I do not know anymore who was working more on this, the three of them and President Tudman. And these weapons from Croatia were the aid with which Bosnia was saved, what could be saved. There was a huge Serbian force there, enormous amount of weapons, it was almost impossible. I forgot to say this, trains which were seized in Croatia, large portion of those weapons went to Bosnia, to the Patriotic League, or to TO (Territorial Defense), which was still in the preparation stage. And it went with the knowledge of the state leadership because people were summoned to arm themselves as much as possible, to get organized. Financial transactions in dinars also helped for those who went from Croatia to Bosnia. It didn't go only into the hands of the Croats, but it went also to Muslims. Of course there were plenty of embezzlement, or theft but most was still used for the purpose, for the procurement of weapons and everything. I know in the beginning even before the war started in Bosnia people were selling cows, selling cattle, selling anything to get guns to defend themselves because memories from World War II were still fresh in Bosnia, when mostly Muslims were killed in the war. You wanted to ask me something?

I just wanted to ask you, this what we are talking about now, for which time period does it relate, approximately?

To 1992. All of it. Especially from the beginning to the end. The Crisis Staff lasted until the September of 1992 when he came here for the first state visit, the official Alija Izetbegović. Then he signed an agreement with Tudman and then actually the Crisis Staff stopped working and then they took over, then the delegation came, I think first diplomatic, and then military, and then the military delegation took over. But still the Islamic community, and humanitarian "Merhamet" remained to work with these humanitarian organizations from the Arab, Islamic world to care for the large number of refugees. 300,000 Croatia, especially in Zagreb, there were 17 refugee camps just in Zagreb.

How many people have passed through here?

In Zagreb!? In Croatia approximately 300 000, in Zagreb, I think it was more than 170 000. We had, in the mosque, we had placed up to 25 000. Everything was in the area of 10 thousand square meters, as they say packed. When the war started in Bosnia lot of volunteers on their own initiative, or organized through the HV went to Bosnia to defend. There were more Croats than Muslims. But also Muslims came and went. The mosque was the center through which people were coming and going, because....

5/28

<http://www.slobodanpralj.com>

Total number of sheets in the possession of the Archive is between 2,791,750 and 6,615,500 sheets of text!



Archived materials placed in registers are difficult to count for couple of reasons, such as:

- **sheet number is determined by the number of processed cases**
- **type, size (A3, A4) and paper thickness**
- **time frame of document processing**
- **type of document storage (in paper sleeve, PVC foil)**

Pursuant to the above, our estimate is that one register contains between 250 and 500 sheets.

REFUGEES IN TIMES OF SERBIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN 1992



FACTS

www.slobodanpraljak.com



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

ZAGREB

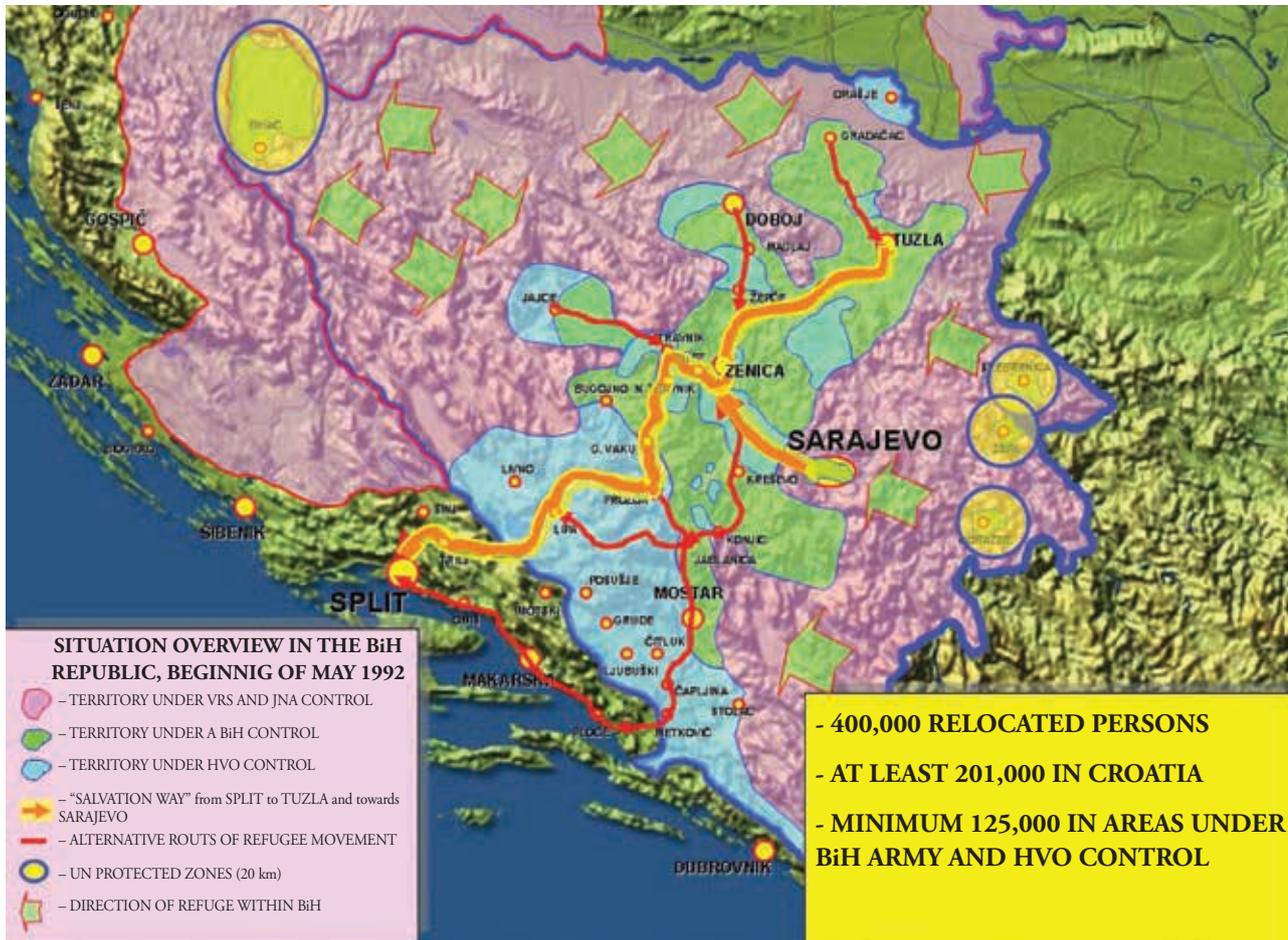
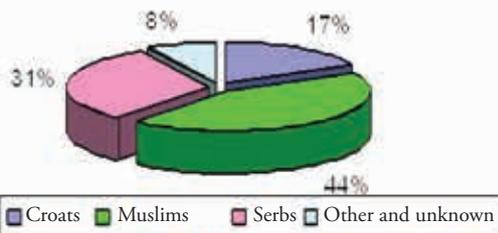
BELGRADE

SARAJEVO

POPULATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN 1991

- 4,377,033 HABITANTS
- 760,853 CROATS
- 1,902,956 MUSLIMS
- 1,366,104 SERBS
- 347,121 OTHER AND UNKNOWN

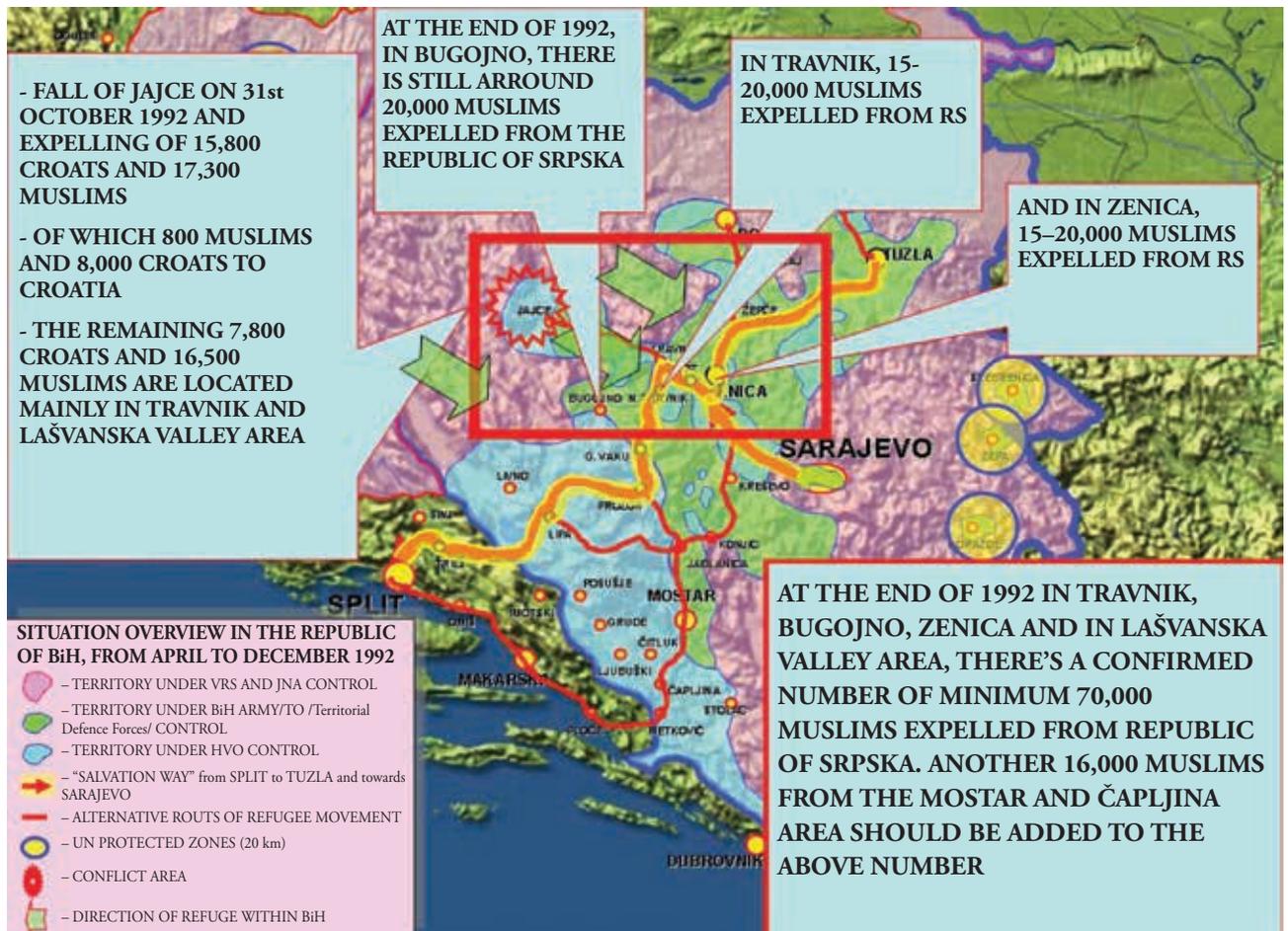
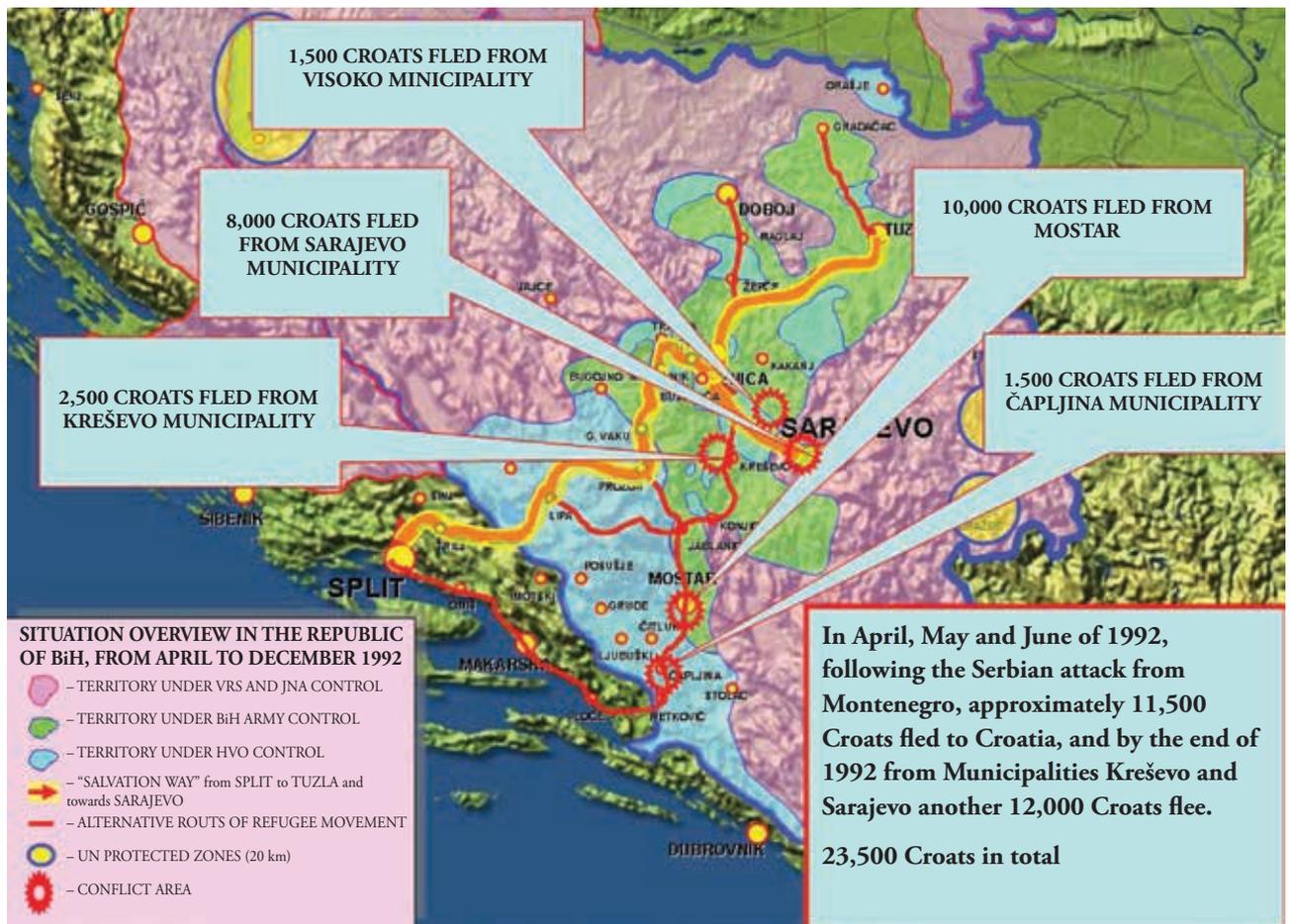
Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991



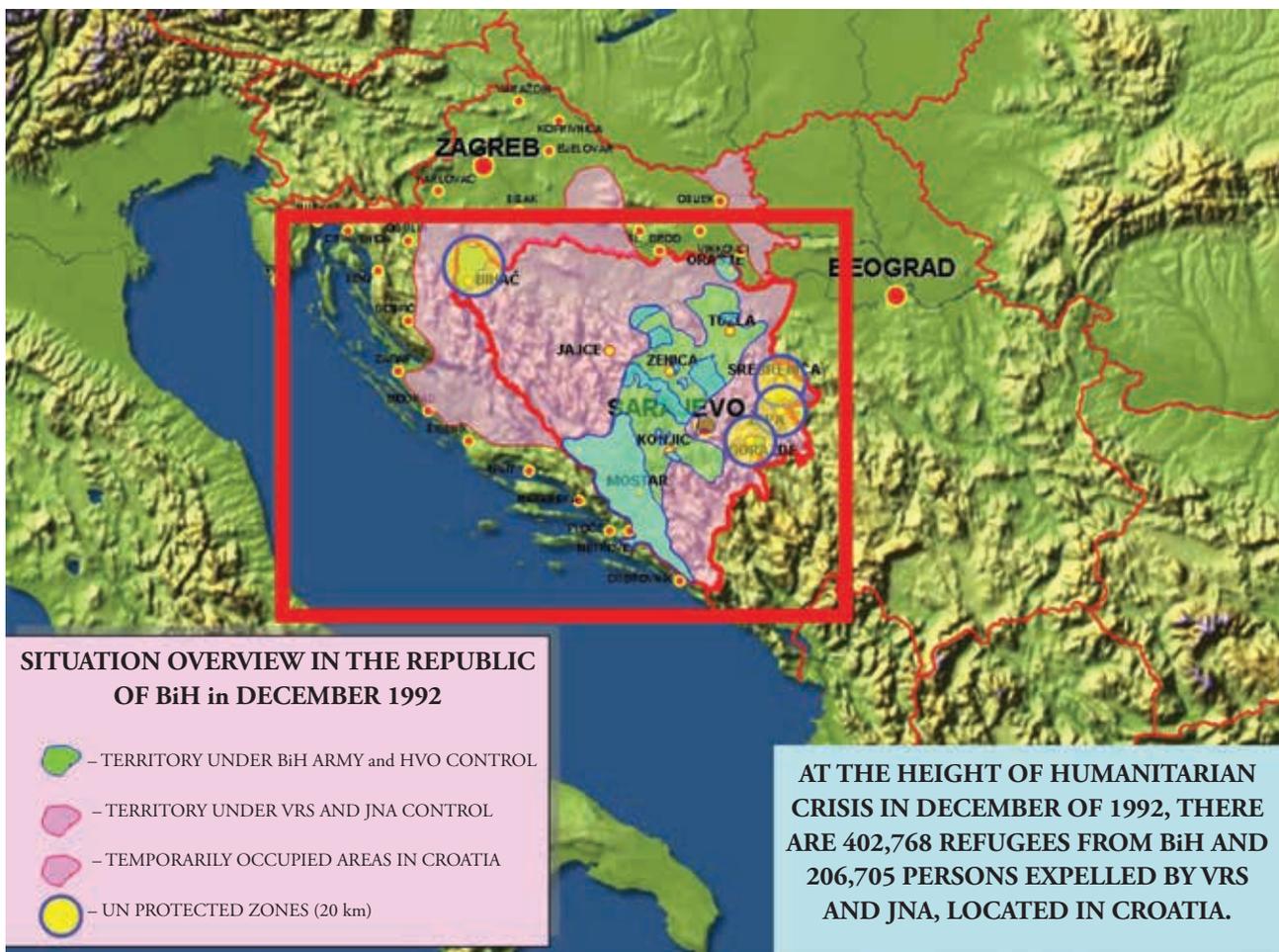
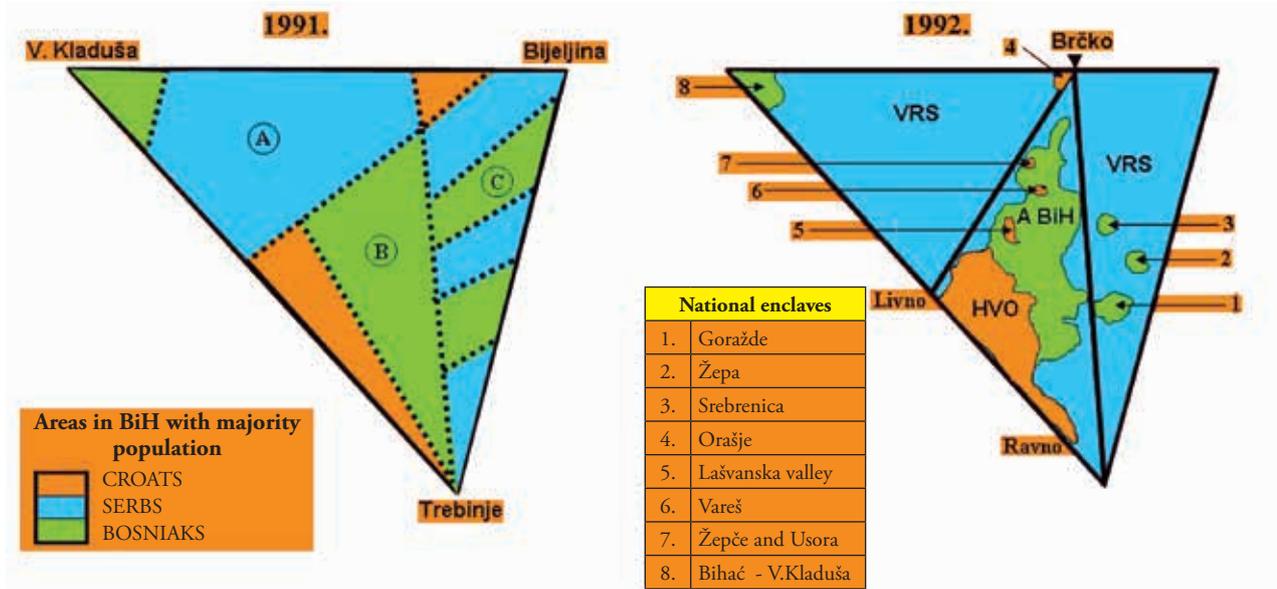
SITUATION OVERVIEW IN THE BiH REPUBLIC, BEGINNING OF MAY 1992

- TERRITORY UNDER VRS AND JNA CONTROL
- TERRITORY UNDER A BiH CONTROL
- TERRITORY UNDER HVO CONTROL
- "SALVATION WAY" FROM SPLIT TO TUZLA AND TOWARDS SARAJEVO
- ALTERNATIVE ROUTES OF REFUGEE MOVEMENT
- UN PROTECTED ZONES (20 km)
- DIRECTION OF REFUGE WITHIN BiH

- 400,000 RELOCATED PERSONS
 - AT LEAST 201,000 IN CROATIA
 - MINIMUM 125,000 IN AREAS UNDER BiH ARMY AND HVO CONTROL



Aggression of JNA, Serbia and Montenegro, then attack of Muslim Army (A BiH) on Croats (HVO) 1992-1995 “minority” population have been cleansed from the area occupied by the aggression

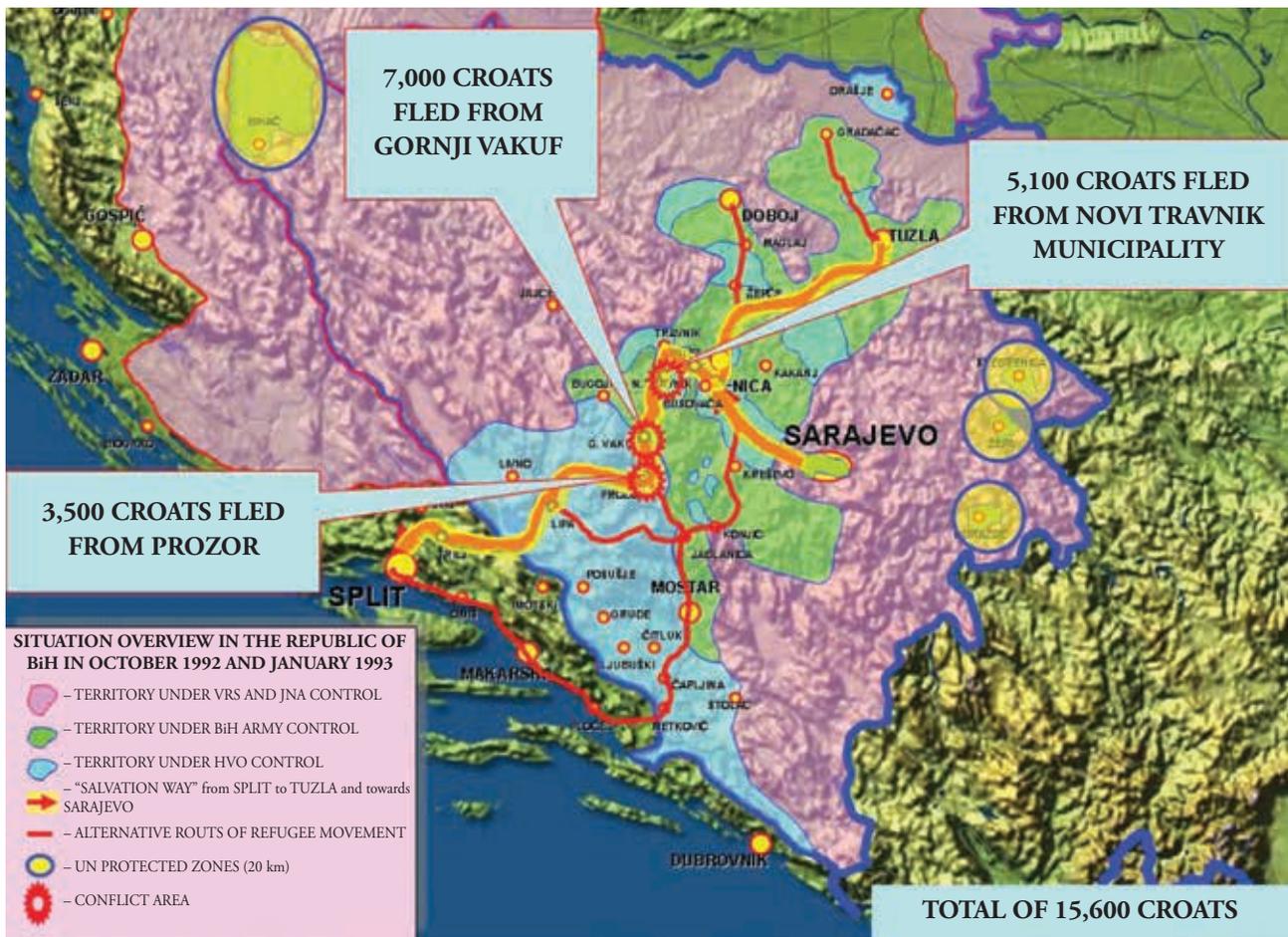


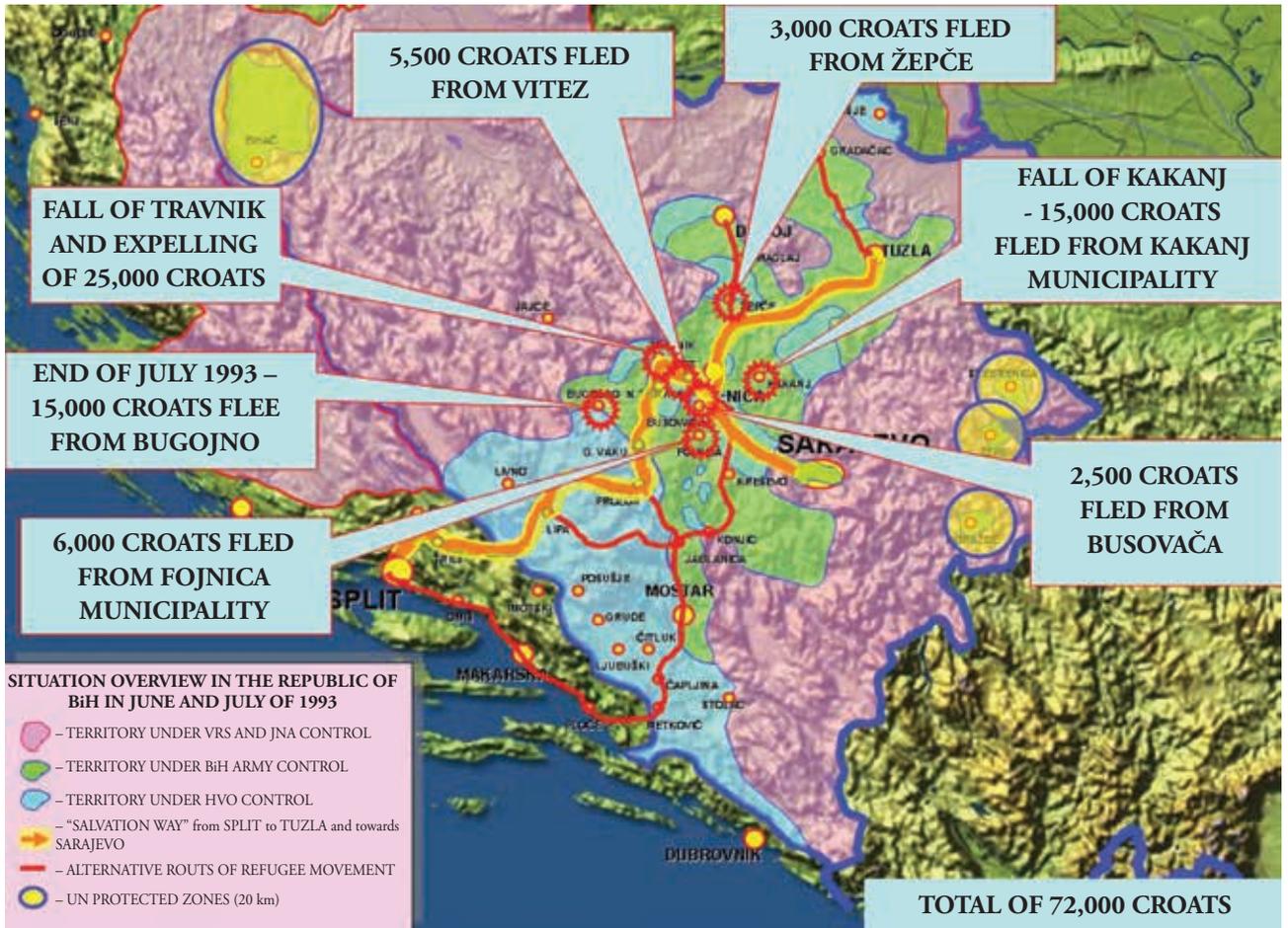
REFUGEES IN TIMES OF AGGRESSION OF ABiH AGAINST HVO



FACTS

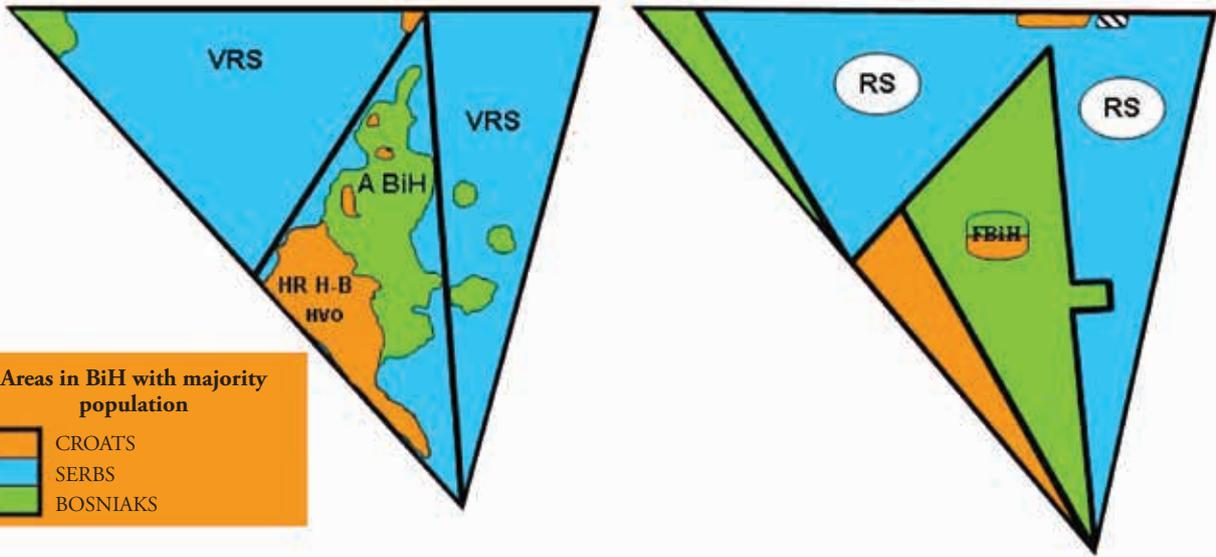
www.slobodanpraljak.com





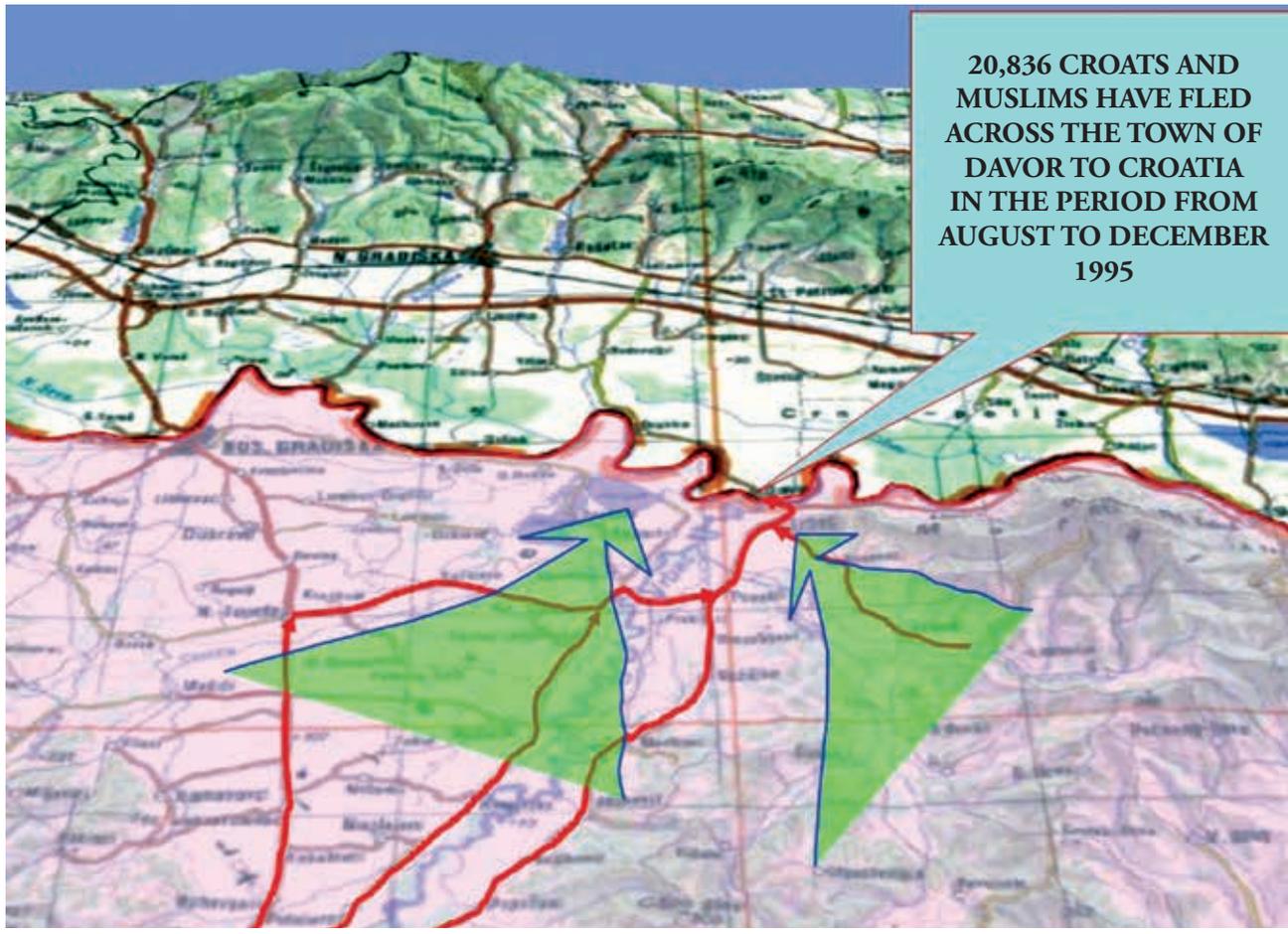
1993.

1995.

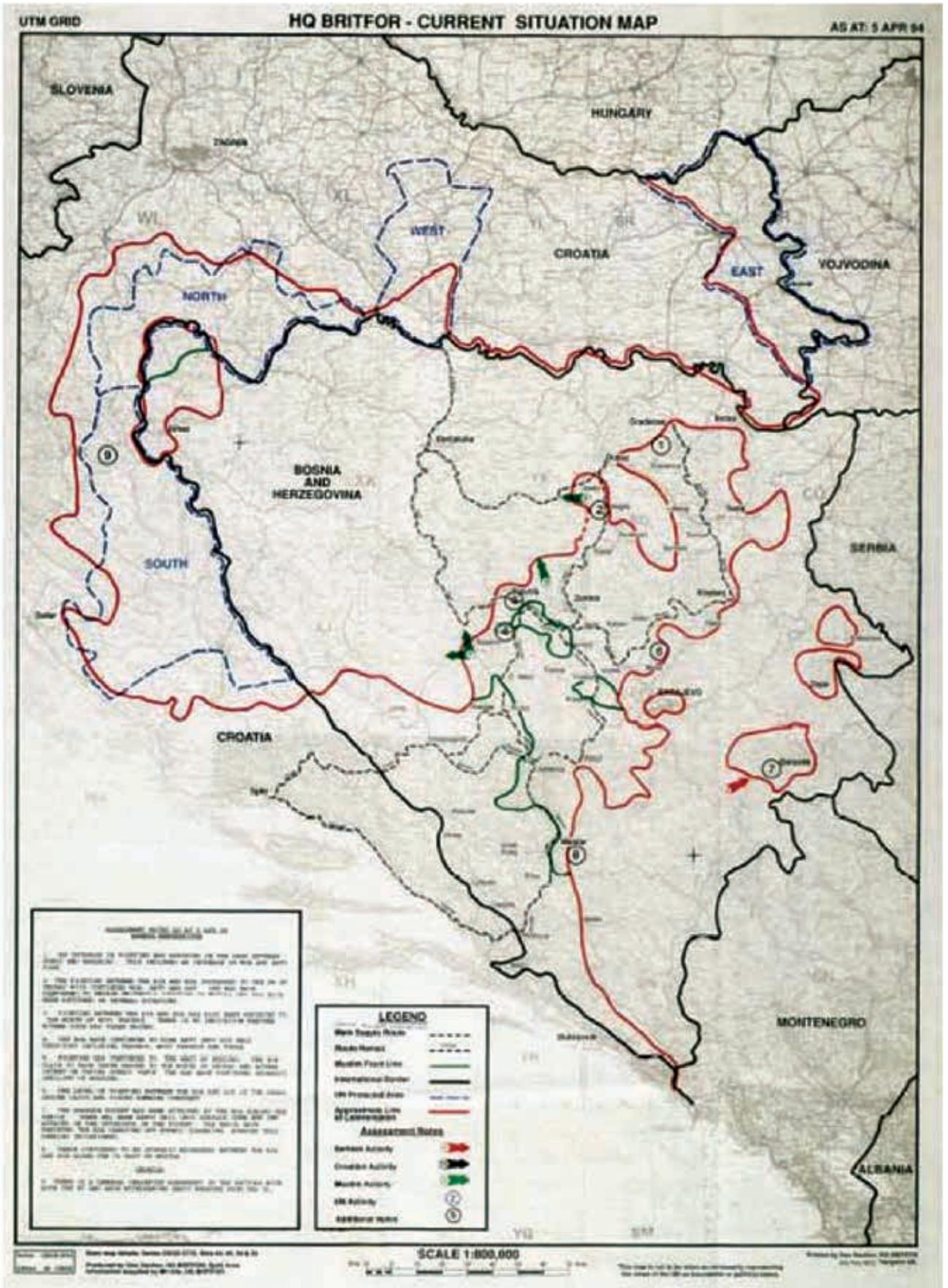




20,836 CROATS AND MUSLIMS HAVE FLED ACROSS THE TOWN OF DAVOR TO CROATIA IN THE PERIOD FROM AUGUST TO DECEMBER 1995



REFUGEE ROUTES FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

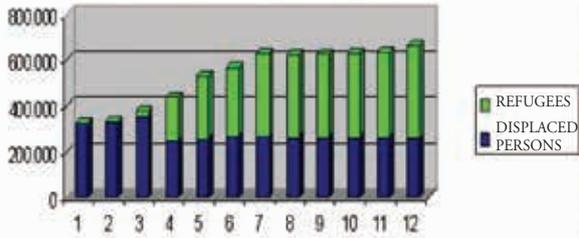


BRITFOR HEADQUARTERS'S MAP

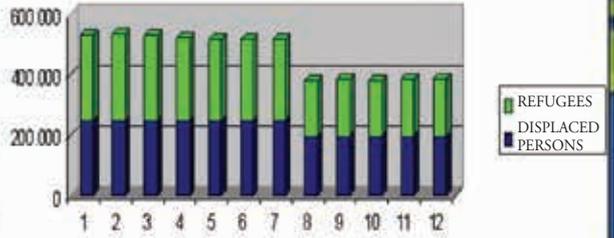


CROATIA

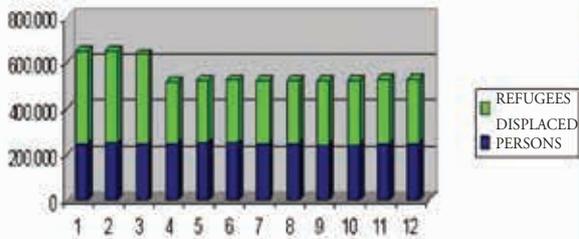
REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN CROATIA IN 1992



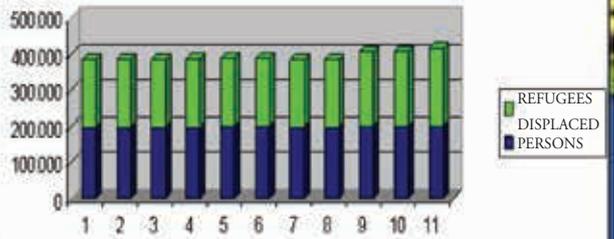
REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN CROATIA IN 1994



REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN CROATIA IN 1993



REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN CROATIA IN 1995



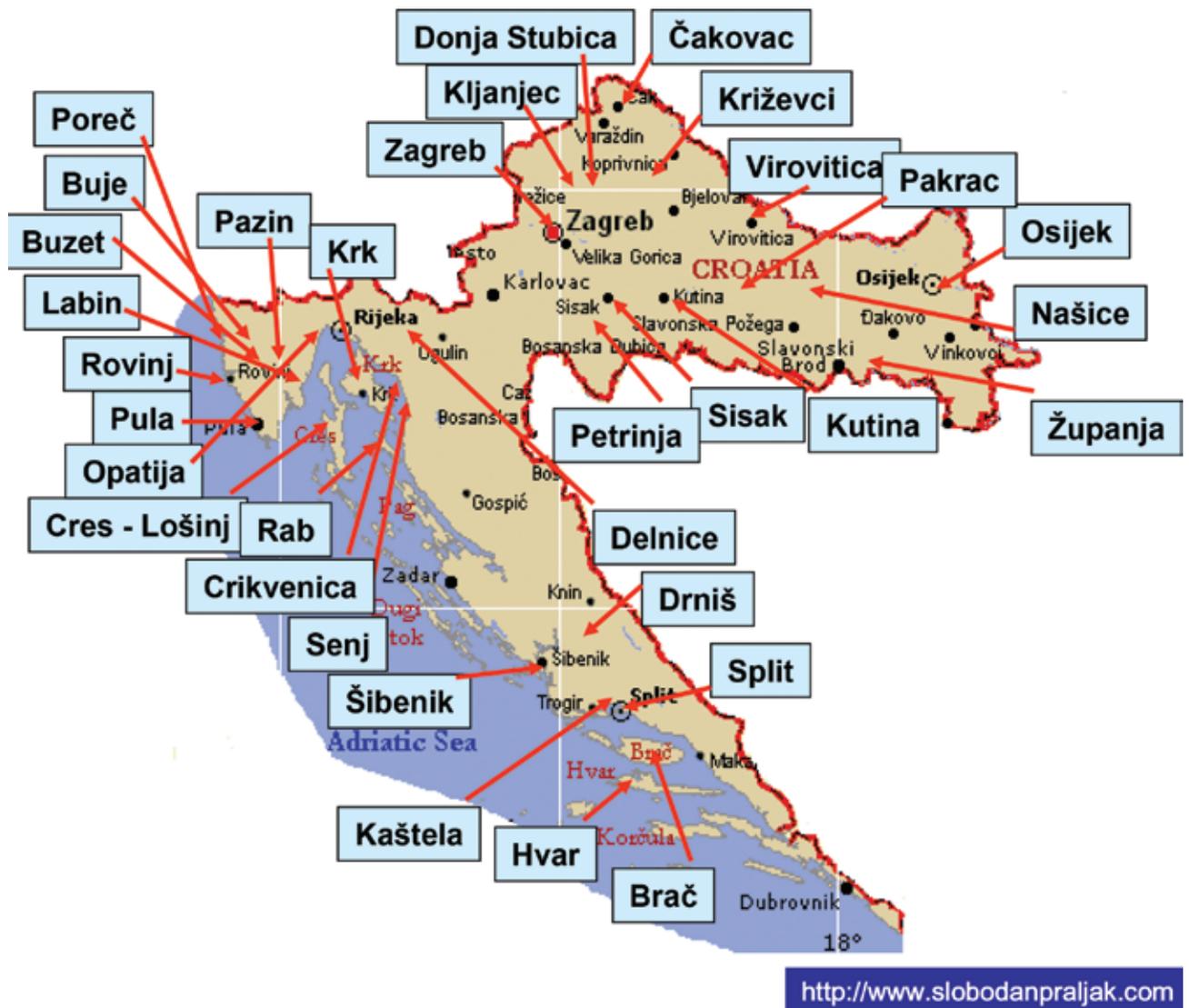
EXTRATERRITORIAL EDUCATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA STUDENTS (MUSLIMS) IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

67



/coat of arms/

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Class: 019-04/92-01/03

Number: 5030104-92-7

Zagreb, 27 April 1992

/stamp of receipt/

/Republic of Croatia

Ministry of Culture and education

1 July 1992

602-01/92-01-05/128

532-05/3-92-01

Ministry of education, Culture and Sports

Ministry of Finance

Subject: Obligatory instruction on comprehension of expelled and children refugees of pre-elementary, elementary and secondary school age from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the adequate education programs in the Republic of Croatia

At the meeting, held on 24 April 1992, the Government of the Republic of Croatia has been notified on directing the obligatory instruction to the competent bodies and educational institutions, related to the comprehension of expelled and children refugees of pre-elementary, elementary and secondary school age from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the adequate education programs in the Republic of Croatia. At the meeting, held on 23 April 1992 the coordination for social activities supported the directing of the obligatory instruction, in order to organize an every day' life and education for the expelled children and refugees as soon as possible.

For the Government of the Republic of Croatia meeting, in agreement with the vice President, Dr. Mate Granić, it has been agreed that the preliminary list of expenses should be made, related to the costs of accommodation of 70,000 children, because these expenses cannot be settled by means for the school system, provided by the state budget. The monthly expenses count 84 millions HRD (Croatian Dinar), whereas for the manuals, additional 116 million HRD should be provided.

The Government has brought the following conclusion:

-the expenses of comprehension of expelled children and children refugees from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the education and schooling system of the Republic of Croatia in total of 84 millions HRD per month, as well as the expenses of manual in amount of 116 millions HRD are necessary to be included in the sum-total of the accommodation of the expelled children and refugees and request the help from the international community as well.

-the Ministry of Finance is obliged to provide the loans in dynamics, mutually agreed with the Ministry of education, Culture and Sports, in order to promptly organize the comprehension of children in the system of education and schooling of the Republic of Croatia.

Secretary

Gordan Radin

/signed and stamped/



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
CULTURE AND SPORT**

Zagreb, Trg Burze 6
Telephone: 041/411-122•Fax 041/410-492

Class: 602-01/92-01-05/128

Number: 532-05/3-92-01

Zagreb, 1 July 1992

MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Zagreb
Katančičeva 5

Subject: Payment of costs for internally displaced students of elementary and secondary schools incurred between January and April 1992.

At its session held on 24 April 1992, the Government of the Republic of Croatia adopted a conclusion in which the Ministry of Finance in coordination with the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport is tasked with providing funds to pay for the costs incurred from enrolling displaced and refugee students in elementary and secondary schools in the Republic of Croatia.

Since the Funds for elementary and vocational education have paid from their regular sources (material expenditure funds) for the costs incurred for the enrolment of these students in elementary and secondary schools, you should provide funds to pay for these costs.

If the Funds are not given this money, they will be unable to continue their regular work.

Please find enclosed the materials from the Elementary Education Fund and the Vocational Education Fund with a detailed list of costs for displaced and refugee students for the period from January to April 1992.

MINISTER

Vesna GIRARDI-JURKIĆ

/signed/

List of requests for for payment of costs for displaced pupils from 01 January to 28 May 1991

No	Name of municipality or school	Food	Transport	Request to pay costs of other material costs (heatin, cleannig etc.)	Writing materials and textbooks	Total
1.	Brač	26,600	-	-	-	26,600
2.	Buje	-	-	-	16,069	16,069
3.	Buzet	283,500	-	-	-	283,500
4.	Cres-Lošinj	-	64,200	182,070	-	246,270
5.	Crikvenica	-	4.422,460	1.620,137	-	6.042,597
6.	Čakovec	1.400,000	-	-	-	1.400,000
7.	Delnice	118,000	120,885	-	-	238,885
8.	Donja Stubica	-	-	545,740	-	545,740
9.	Drniš	-	-	965,000	-	965,000
10.	Hvar	-	-	-	18,285	18,285
11.	Kaštela	830,720	1.375,000	3.375,000	1.250,000	6.830,720
12.	Klanjec	188,695	-	-	-	188,695
13.	Križevci	283,000	-	-	-	283,000
14.	Krk	-	1.602,917	886,000	-	2.488,917
15.	Kutina	1.455,552	3.581,754	-	-	5.037,306
16.	Labin	210,440	548,118	-	-	758,558
17.	Našice	682,500	-	-	-	682,500
18.	Opatija	1.652,025	-	782,400	-	2.434,425
19.	Osijek	1.452,994	-	-	-	1.452,994
20.	Pakrac	-	-	1.015,000	-	1.015,000
21.	Pazin	243,350	-	-	-	243,350
22.	Petrinja	-	-	870,000	-	870,000
23.	Poreč	-	1.028,000	505,000	-	1.533,000
24.	Pula	-	350,592	-	-	350,592
25.	Rab	232,200	210,900	-	-	443,100
26.	Rovinj	885,100	1.164,464	-	-	2.049,564
27.	Senj	598,500	593,176	-	-	1.191,676
28.	Split	-	-	1.616,040	-	1.616,040
29.	Šibenik	47,400	-	-	29,140	76,540
30.	Virovitica	376,050	380,610	-	-	756,660
31.	Županja	409,500	200,000	-	-	609,500
32.	Zagreb	27.006,008	-	-	-	27.006,008
33.	Sisak	-	-	-	316,337	316,337

Total-municipalities		38.382,134	15.643,076	12.362,387	1.629,831	68.017,428
34.	Školska knjiga (unpaid invoices)	-	-	-	29.727,707	29.727,707
Total		38.382,134	15.643,076	12.362,387	31.357,538	97.754,135

**Costs for displaced and refugee pupils in elementary schools for the period from
January to June 1992**

Between January and June 1992, the professional service of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport - Elementary Education Fund has received requests (invoices) to pay costs incurred by displaced and refugee pupils in elementary schools, as follows:

The invoices related to displaced pupils were for the following costs:

- Increased cost of feeding pupils - 38,382,134 Croatian dinars;
- Increased cost of transporting pupils - 15,643,076 Croatian dinars;
- Increased material costs in elementary schools with an increased number of classes - 12,362,387 Croatian dinars;
- Obligatory textbooks for displaced pupils - 31,357,538 Croatian dinars.

This came to a total of 97,745,135 Croatian dinars.

All these sums have been taken from invoices sent by the municipal secretariats for social activities and *Školska Knjiga IP /Publishing Enterprise/,* Zagreb.

The requests related to increased material costs of elementary schools (municipalities) who enrolled a greater number of refugee pupils from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, according to recorded requests, came to 43,359,238 Croatian dinars.

The Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Government of the Republic of Croatia has been informed of these facts in a dispatch (CLASS: 431-03/92-01-230, Number: 532-05-3/9-92-01) of 15 June 1992. The officials of the Office informed us verbally that the Office would not be able to provide funds to pay these costs. Since no special resources were set aside in the state budget of the Republic of Croatia for 1992 so that the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport could pay these costs, please take this fact into consideration and ensure that these invoices are paid.

We would add that we were forced to pay 29,727,707 Croatian dinars for textbooks for displaced pupils from the funds for joint programmes at Republic level.

Please find enclosed a list of requests to pay costs for displaced pupils, received from 1 January to 28 May 1992.

/Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/

Embassy

of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Zagreb

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
OFFICE FOR REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS
Republike Austrije 14
41 000 ZAGREB

=====

AMB/ZAG – AK – 7097A – 02/93

Zagreb, 17th December 1993

Subject: Data on children/students - citizens of the Republic
of Bosnia and Herzegovina who are attending regular
classes in the Republic of Croatia
(Link: Our memo No. AMB/ZAG – AK – 6804A – 02/93 from 17th December 1993)

We request again, for the purposes of the Government and the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to submit the data on students who are attending regular classes in the Republic of Croatia.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN/STUDENTS – BiH CITIZENS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
STUDENTS ATTENDING REGULAR CLASSES

TOTAL NUMBER	IN PRESCHOOL INSTITUTIONS	IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS	AT UNIVERSITIES

Please note that we are asked to collect and deliver the data urgently, preferably until 1st January 1994.

Ambassador
Biserka Turković

/signed/

/round seal with an inscription: AMBASADA ZAGREB, 2,
Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina /

41000 Zagreb, Pantovčak 96

Phone: (385 41) 449-528, 449-655, 429-831

(handwritten: R. Lalić)

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
OFFICE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES
Ulica Republike Austrije 14, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia
Phone: ++385 41 173 699; fax ++ 385 41 173 109

Class: 019-04/93-06/6
No: 50407-01-93-2

(handwritten: Urgent)

Ms. Olga Lui
Ms. R. Šimunović)

Zagreb, January 12, 1994

Stamp:

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORT
Received: 17-01-1994
Class: 022-03/94-01-07
Number: 380-2-2/4-94-01

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
Attn. Minister, Ms. Vesna Girardi - Jurkić

Dear Minister,

The Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina requested from us via Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deliver them the data on the number of children attending regular school program. Since the pupils who attend regular school program are not within the competence of the Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, we do not have any data on them.

Please send the requested information to the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a copy of reply both to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and this Office.

With best regards,

HEAD OF THE OFFICE

Prof. dr. Adalbert Rebić (*signed*)

Round seal: Republic of Croatia
Government of the Republic of Croatia
Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees
Zagreb

Copy to be sent to:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Consular Affairs Department

Class: 022-03/94-01-07
Number: 532-02-2/4-94-01
Zagreb, 18 January 1994

The GOVERNMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
OFFICE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS
AND REFUGEES

Zagreb
Ul. Republike Austrije 14

Subject: Number of pupils from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
in the Republic of Croatia

Pursuant to your memo (Class 019-04/93-06/6), by which you are requesting the information on education of pupils refugees from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia, for the needs of the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we inform you as follows:

The pupils refugees from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia continue their education in two ways, as follows:

1. Most pupils are comprehended (voluntarily and upon the personal request) in the schooling system of the Republic of Croatia, within the existing facilities and human capacities of schools, where they are being educated according to the education programs of the Republic of Croatia, that provide the exact education expenses as they provide for the pupils of the Republic of Croatia (teachers wages and other material expenses). In such manners, 32.006 pupils refugees from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are educated in the academic year 1993/94, whereas 25.012 in the elementary schools and 6.994 in the secondary schools. 2.800 children from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been comprehended in the pre-elementary institutions (the information are dynamic and change in continuum).
2. Part of the pupils is comprehended in special organization of schools of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, on which the above cited Ministry hasn't got any information, for the reason of spontaneous organization of such schools. The Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina disposes on information on such schools and pupils and most probably, the engaged humanitarian organizations. Smaller number of pupils, willing to attend some secondary school that is already full capacity, are given this possibility, just like the pupils citizens of the Republic of Croatia, by matriculation in educational programs by personal needs, separately paid, accordingly. The Ministry of Science and Technology disposes on information on students from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, accordingly, the information can be obtained in the cited Ministry.

Sincerely yours

Minister
Mr. Vesna Girardi-Jurkić
/signed/

/Stamp: REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION/

INDUSTRIAL-CRAFTS SCHOOL
SLAVONSKI BROD

RECEIVED: 22-03-1993		
Classification code	/illegible/	
602-05/9301-243		
Reference number	/illegible/	Time
1502-2/93-01		

Number: 383/93

On 18th March 1993

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
ZAGREB

- Mrs Šutalo

Subject: Status of conditionally enrolled students – requested.

Please reply in writing to the following question:

DO CONDITIONALLY ENROLLED STUDENTS HAVE?

Answer 1) Status of regular students with the right to:

- a) health insurance
- b) child benefit
- c) survivor's pension
- d) transport privileges
- e) exemptions on tax and other rights

or

Answer 2) They do not have the status of regular students with the rights from the responses under No.1 until they pass the differences in the curriculum, or until the fulfilment of the conditions under which they were enrolled

or

Answer 3) They do not have the status of regular students but have the following rights:

1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1 e (circle which)

Answer 4) They have the status of regular students with the rights under the Item 1 -

until the last day of the deadline for passing the differences in the curriculum, then those who pass, still have the status of regular students until the end of the school year, and those who do not pass lose the status of regular students.

SECRETARY:

/Mato Augustinović, LL.B./
/signed/

/round seal with an inscription: INDUSTRIAL-CRAFTS SCHOOL,1,
SLAVONSKI BROD
Coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia

PROGRAMMES OF THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FUND RESULTING
FROM THE WAR FOR THE PERIOD
JANUARY TO JUNE 1992

In the first half of this year, the Vocational Education Fund has continued paying costs incurred as a result of the war. The Fund paid part of these from the monies paid to it by the State Budget for material expenses, and the other part from resources it had received for the programme to improve the standard of living of pupils and students. In addition, the Fund paid the salaries of displaced persons employed in vocational education institutions. However, these expenditures do not have the character of new expenditures, as do those that the Fund pays for from the resources allocated for material costs and improvement of the standard of living of pupils and students. Enclosed with this financial report is a list of resources for each type of expenditure that the Fund has already paid in the first half of this year, a list of resources for the obligations that those in charge of this programme have sent to the Fund, but which it could not pay because of the shortage of cash, and a list of the resources needed to pay for the obligations that are expected to be received by the Fund, with a request to pay these from the resources set aside for the period from January to June 1992.

1. The costs caused by the war that the Fund is paying out of the resources that it gets from the state budget for material costs are as follows:

a) Costs of transporting refugee students

Some student refugees are staying in places at a distance from the school where they are temporarily enrolled. For this reason, these students use public transport. Transport companies send the invoices for transport services provided to refugee students to the Fund. In the previous period, the Fund paid 24,199,472 Croatian dinars to these companies and the total of invoices received that the Fund failed to pay because of the shortage of cash was 8,616,340 Croatian dinars. It is expected that more invoices for the costs of transporting refugee students will be received by the Fund, amounting to 1,600,000 Croatian dinars, which means that the Fund will have to pay a total of 34,415,812 Croatian dinars for this purpose in the first half of this year.

b) Cost of hot meals for refugee students

Secondary schools in which refugee students are temporarily enrolled have organised hot meals. About 1,260 refugee students are provided with hot meals and the price of one hot meal is 60 Croatian dinars. Earlier this year, the Fund paid 8,821,267 Croatian dinars for this purpose, but there are still unpaid obligations for this purpose, because of the shortage of cash, amounting to 1,008,229 Croatian dinars. These amounts refer to hot meals for the period from January to May 1992 and it is possible to expect further invoices for hot meals for 15 days in June of this year amounting to 1,134 Croatian dinars. Therefore, the Fund will have obligations related to hot meals for the period from January to June of this year amounting to 10,963,496 Croatian dinars.

c) Textbooks for refugee students

The Fund has paid for the costs for buying textbooks that were handed out almost entirely to refugee pupils while only some were given to refugee university students. In the first half of this year, 47,931 textbooks were handed out and the Fund paid 3,367,243 Croatian dinars in that period. However, the Fund still has unpaid obligations for textbooks amounting to 26,304,854 Croatian dinars. Almost the entire sum owed is to *Školska Knjiga*, that is, 26,291,940 Croatian dinars. This unpaid obligation of the Fund to *Školska Knjiga* stems partly from textbooks handed out to secondary schools in 1991 and partly from the textbooks handed out in 1992. Consequently, the Fund spent 29,672,097 Croatian dinars for textbooks in the period from January to June 1992.

d) Equipment (furniture and teaching aids) because of increased enrolment of displaced pupils and students

It was not possible to hold classes at all or for long periods of time in many secondary schools and in some university departments in the areas affected by war operations. Because of this, there was increased enrolment of pupils and students and an increased number of displaced pupils and students were accommodated in residential halls for pupils and students in the areas that were relatively peaceful. This situation resulted in the need to create the necessary conditions, i.e. to purchase furniture (chairs, desks) and the necessary equipment (photocopiers and so on) in order to enable the teaching of a large number of pupils and students and their accommodation in residential halls for pupils and students. In addition, it was

necessary to obtain the financing to make desks and chairs for several secondary schools in the areas affected by war operations in order to enable them to start classes as soon as the state of war ceases.

In connection with this, the Fund spent 52,213,774 Croatian dinars in the previous period and still has 10 million dinars of outstanding obligations.

e) Other costs incurred as a consequence of the war

In addition to the above costs, the Fund has incurred other costs as a consequence of the war. These are related to:

- Costs for teachers travelling to Baška on the island of Krk and Stubičke Toplice where classes were held for several secondary schools located in the areas affected by war operations;
- Displacement allowance for teachers who are staying and teaching classes in Hungary where several secondary schools have been opened temporarily;
- Supplementary tutoring for displaced pupils;
- Other costs for public utilities because classes were re-located to different areas.

In the first half of this year, the Fund spent 5,621,624 Croatian dinars for these costs and still has obligations that have not been paid, because of the shortage of cash, amounting to 3,260,742 Croatian dinars. It is apparent from the above that the Fund's costs for this purpose will be a total of 8,882,366 Croatian dinars for the period from January to June of this year.

2. The second group of costs arising from the war consists of those that the Fund pays from the resources that it gets from the State Budget for the improvement of the standard of living of pupils and students. Some displaced pupils and students are being provided with board and lodging in residential halls for pupils and student centres. Residential halls for pupils and student centres normally pay most of these costs from the resources they get from the Fund as a subsidy, and the rest from the payments made by pupils and students. However, the Fund also pays for the costs of displaced pupils and students in residential halls and student centres.

In the last five months, about 2,516 displaced pupils on average stayed in residential halls every month and 1,070 displaced university students used the

accommodation service during the same period. Displaced students had about 167,000 meals a month in that period. The Fund paid 25,025,107 Croatian dinars on behalf of the pupils for their board and lodging in residential halls for pupils from January to May of this year. The Fund paid 29,701,006 Croatian dinars on behalf of displaced students to student centres in the first five months of this year (for board and lodging). In other words, the Fund paid 54,726,113 Croatian dinars for this purpose from January to May of this year on behalf of pupils and students. It is expected that the Fund's obligation for this purpose for June of this year will be 13,778,612 Croatian dinars, meaning that the Fund's total expenditure for this purpose for the first half of the school year will be 68,504,725 Croatian dinars.

Based on everything stated above, the Fund paid 148,949,493 Croatian dinars for obligations arising from the war in the foregoing period, it has not yet paid 49,190,165 Croatian dinars for this purpose because of a shortage of cash, and it is expected that further invoices for this purpose amounting to 16,512,612 Croatian dinars will be received by the Fund for the first half of this year. Therefore, the Fund's costs incurred as a consequence of the war will be 214,625,270 Croatian dinars for the first half of this year.

— ... —

LIST OF RESOURCES REQUIRED FOR THE FUND'S OF VOCATIONAL PROGRAMMES EDUCATION
RESULTING FROM THE WAR, JANUARY TO JUNE 1992

					In Croatian dinars
No.	Programme	Resources spent from 1 January to 30 June 1992	Unpaid obligations	Expected obligations	Total
a	b	1	2	3	4
1.1.	Transport of displaced pupils	24,199,472	8,616,340	1,600,000	34,415,812
1.2.	Hot meals for displaced pupils	8,821,267	1,008,229	1,134,000	10,963,496
1.3.	Textbooks for displaced pupils	3,367,243	26,304,854	-	29,672,097
1.4.	Equipment	52,213,774	10,000,000	-	62,213,774
1.5.	Other costs	5,621,624	3,260,742	-	8,882,366
1.6.	Total (1.1.-1.5.)	94,223,380	49,190,165	2,734,000	146,147,545
1.7.	Part of the costs of board and lodging for displaced pupils and students - the so-called payable amounts	54,726,113	-	13,778,612	68,504,725
1.8.	TOTAL (1.6. + 1.7.)	148,949,493	49,190,165	16,512,612	214,652,270

/Stamp:

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION/

RECEIVED: 22-02-1993		
Classification code	/illegible/	
602-05/93-01-/097		
Reference number	/illegible/	Time
380-02-1/93-01		

Extraterritorial elementary schools of the R BiH
Contact phone: 058 638 217 Split

Subject: Submission for the review of the curriculum for extraterritorial
elementary schools for refugees from the R BiH

Dear Sirs,

we deliver for your review the curriculum used by the self-organized elementary schools for refugees from the R BiH.

The new version is currently being drafted, and will be modified for schools which have yet to begin its work. When we get the aforementioned version, we will send it to your Ministry for review.

We would like to use this opportunity to thank you for the support you have given us.

With respect,

Sutivan, 14th February 1993

for Initiative committee

/signed/

Government of the Republic of Croatia
Ministry of Culture and Education
Sector for primary schools
41000 Zagreb

REDUCED CURRICULUM

SUBJECT: Bosnian language

CLASS: I

(5 classes per week)

Introductory class
Pre-writing exercises
First letters
Learning letters
Exercises for first letters

Elementary reading
Block letters
Writing exercises
Reading

Reading
Writing block letters
Fast reading

Nouns
Transcribing
Dictation
Sentences

Cursive
Initial letters
Reading
Speaking games

Sentences
End of the sentence punctuation
Expressing skills
Vocabulary

Naming of properties
Retelling

REDUCED CURRICULUM

SUBJECT: Bosnian language

CLASS: III

(5 classes per week)

Repetition of previous 1st class curriculum.
What is the poet saying in the Illyrian poem.
Composing sentences LK /Art/ based on objects or images.
Composing sentences based on objects, retelling of experiences.
Retelling stories according to plan. Sentence, emphasized words within the sentence.
Reading comprehension.

Use of capital letters in the names of holidays. Expression and creation.
Dictation for exercising spelling rules. Retelling of experience, reading by the assigned roles.
Question and exclamation sentences.

REDUCED CURRICULUM

SUBJECT: Bosnian language

CLASS: V

(3 classes per week)

REPETITION OF CURRICULUM

About Bosnian language. Writing exercise (testing the level of literacy). Folk epic poems.

Writing words with “ije”, “je”, “e”, “i” (Ijekavian replacement of the vowel “jat”).

Informative types – news. Mak Dizdar: “Pjesme”. Vesna Parun: “Ja volim”. Variable and invariable words. Reading out loud.

A.G.Matoš: “Kod kuće”. Danko Oblak: “Modri prozori”. Speaking. Retelling. Declinations – nominative and vocative.

Repetition of curriculum. Predicate in the sentence. Ismet Bekric: “Očev kaput”. Karel Čapek: “Poštarev san”. Dative,

genitive. Dinko Šimunović: “Srna”. First written essay. Collective correction of the first essay. Mato Lovrak: “Družina

Pere Kvržice”. Letter writing. Numbers. Enclitics and proclitics. Character description. Invariable word types. Exam.

Systematization of grammar knowledge. Systematization of literature knowledge. Final grades for second semester. Individual correction of the first essay.

REDUCED CURRICULUM

SUBJECT: Bosnian language

CLASS: VIII

(3 classes per week)

About Bosnian language. Repetition of curriculum. Writing exercise - testing the level of literacy. T.Ujević: “Ove su riječi

crne od dubine”. Repetition about complex sentence. Word, sentence, text. Multiple complex sentence. Word root. Mak

Dizdar: “Krinovi”. A.B.Šimić: “Opomena”. Word composition using suffix and prefix – derivatives.

Word composition by compounding and connecting – compounds and semi-compounds. D.Cesarić: “Vočka poslije

kiše”. A.G.Matoš: “Nokturno”. Replacement of the vowel “jat” in Ijekavian dialect. Repetition and testing of curriculum

knowledge. Accent – classification by length and melody. Jure Kaštelan: “Konjanik”. Izer Sarajlić: “Pjesme”. Ivan Slamnig:

“Barbara”. Language as a mean of communication. Vowel system of Bosnian language. Describing – humorous description.

Describing – technical description. Balog: “Žirafa se ožirafila”. L.Paljetak: “Mačka kod psihijatra”. Style: different types of

style. “Hasanaginica”, folk ballad.

AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA TO THE BIHAĆ ENCLAVE DURING THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

1790

Confidential no. 298-07/13
DATE: 19 June 1992

Statement regarding the raid
by members of a US OG /Una-Sana Operations Group/ special unit
on Ćoralici Airfield

To the Bihac OK ŠTO /District Territorial
Defence Staff/ Commander

In the late evening of 14 August 1992 we were expecting the arrival of an aircraft from the Republic of Croatia which was supposed to transport cargo for the armed struggle in the region.

The preparation procedure for the reception of the aircraft went as usual until around 2200 hours. Between 2200 and 2300 hours I was conducting preparations with the pilots who were supposed to be sent to Zagreb for retraining, so that I was away from the room which served as an OAC /expansion unknown/.

When the preparation was completed I went to the aforesaid room and noticed a number of armed men on the stairway of the building. When I asked what was going on, they replied "nothing". Two armed soldiers were standing at the entrance to the room and they let me in when I introduced myself. Four armed men, five pilots, Bihac OkŠTO Commander, Major OSMANAGIĆ, and Mr ŠARGANOVIĆ were all in the room. These two men were having a very acrimonious argument. I waited a couple of minutes to see what the dispute was about and when I realised that it was about the reception and provision of security for the cargo which was arriving by plane, I tried to join in. When I said: "Mr ŠARGANOVIĆ, since I am the Commander and the person responsible for work and order at the airfield, allow me to join the discussion", the response I got was "You be quiet, no one asked you anything". My further insistence on being present was followed by a threat that I would be arrested if I continued to interfere. The response to my question by whose authority and order Mr ŠARGANOVIĆ was doing what he was doing was: "I'm carrying out the order I received from my Commander, Ramiz DREKOVIĆ". Further in the course of the debate which was reduced to improper and very often insulting statements by Mr ŠARGANOVIĆ addressed at me personally and Major OSMANAGIĆ, I was "arrested" five times and relieved from my present duty ten times.

At around 0200 hours I learned that the aircraft would not be arriving for technical reasons and I informed the gentlemen present of this. Upon hearing this, Mr ŠARGANOVIĆ jumped up and said he would have me shot. Thanks to the engagement of the people present who were close to him he abandoned this plan, with a firm promise to me personally that he would first have me relieved of duty and then shot. Since a number of civilians, medical personnel and ten pilots were present in the aircraft building complex throughout the debate, on several occasions I asked Mr ŠARGANOVIĆ to allow me to send them out of the danger zone. He did not grant me this but ordered that no one was to leave the yard before 0400 hours.

When passions had subsided at around 0300 hours, we set off for Bihać. My vehicle was escorted by the vehicle of Mr ŠARGANOVIĆ, who in fact brought me to the Command Post.

For information, the deployment of "forces" was as follows:

- Airfield security and members of Šargan's unit (around 20 men) were in the building and the yard of the building.
- Šargan's men (around 10) were deployed around the yard of the building.
- Members of the Cazin OpŠTO VP /Military Police/ were around all of us at a distance of around 100 metres.
- Members of the 101st Muslim Krajina Brigade were present around all of us at a greater distance.

I would point out that all the men had loaded guns, that they all had each other in their sights and had a gun gone off by accident, there would have been bloodshed in that room in which at least twenty innocent persons would have lost their lives.

AM/SN

C O M M A N D E R
Major
Nedžad SULJIĆ
/signed/

/stamp:
Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
DISTRICT TERRITORIAL DEFENCE STAFF
SP /Strictly Confidential/ number 05/204-illegible/
20 June 1992
B I H A Ć

Order for the Retraining of Pilots

To: Air Squad Commander

Due to the fact that the Air Squad needs to carry out tasks on Antonov-2 aircraft and due to the lack of personnel qualified to fly the above aircraft, I hereby issue the following

ORDER :

1. That the following pilot officers be sent to the Republic of Croatia to be retrained on ANTONOV-2 aircraft:
 - A. 1. Captain Mirsad FAZLIĆ
 2. Lieutenant Edvin IFTIĆ
 3. Lieutenant Samir BEGANOVIĆ
 4. Lieutenant Senad NIJEMČEVIĆ
 5. Lieutenant Šemsudin BEŠLAGIĆ
 6. Lieutenant Samir SULJEVIĆ
 7. Lieutenant Suad PEČENKOVIĆ (will be sent later)
- B. TECHNICAL PERSONNEL
 1. Sergeant 1st Class Nedžad JAHIĆ
 2. Staff Sergeant Fuad MUJAGIĆ
 3. Staff Sergeant Irfan KARABEGOVIĆ
2. I hereby appoint Captain Mirsad FAZLIĆ Commander of the above group. He will be held responsible to me for co-ordinating the entire group in the course of the training.
3. Group Commander Captain Mirsad FAZLIĆ is to contact Lieutenant Edvin IFTIĆ and, when possible, /word missing/ with him through the organs of the Croatian Army, in order to carry out the training and execute tasks relevant for the BH Republic, as co-ordinated by this staff and the BH Republic TO /Territorial Defence/ Staff.
4. You are to rely on organs of the Croatian Army for logistical support and on the *MEŠIHAT* and *MERHAMET* organisations for financial support.
5. Reports are to be sent upon arrival to the destination and subsequently at 1800 hours every day.

COMMANDER
Major
Hajrudin OSMANAGIĆ
/signed and stamped/

/stamp:

Armed Forces of the Republic of
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Air Force Group Command
B I H A C
Confidential number 01/6-52
Date: 1 October 1992/

MILITARY SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

Information on the loading
of cargo.-

To: cargo loading team
at Lučko Airport

Taking into consideration the recently observed requirements and with the aim of eliminating any irregularities, we are sending you the following

I N F O R M A T I O N

In future, while loading cargo on to aircrafts flying from Zagreb to Čoralići Airport, adhere to the following:

All shipments loaded on to the aircraft for combat purposes are to be addressed to recipient commands. This must be verified by a dispatch note.

Shipments intended for institutions or organisations are also to be sent with dispatch notes.

Do not send private shipments (for private persons) because they will be seized and their contents used for combat purposes.

Inform all personnel working on aircraft dispatch of this order and act in accordance with it.

NS/AM

Done in three copies and

sent to:

- group of pilots
- loading staff
- a/a /files/

COMMANDER
Brigadier
Nedžad SULJIĆ
/signed and stamped/

/handwritten: Strictly Confidential 04/80-1/?/
3 October 1992/

DISTRICT DEFENCE STAFF
BIHAĆ
Report

In the Bihać Municipality area, which includes the Municipalities of Bihać, Cazin, Velika Kladuša and Bosanska Krupa, since the aggressor's attack on Bosanska Krupa on 21 April 1992, 2,223 persons have been wounded or killed, and of this number 1,994 were slightly or seriously wounded and 229 persons were killed.

The greatest number of casualties among members of the OS R BH /Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ and MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ was in the general area of Bihać in the regions of Grabež (227 persons), Sokolac (72 persons), Golubić (153 persons) and Lohovska Brda (68 persons), etc.

The greatest number of casualties among civilians and Civilian Protection members was in the central area of Bihać.

/handwritten: 29 September 1992/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
THE OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Zagreb, Savska Cesta 41/XI
Tel. 041/537-161, 537-160, Fax 536-702



ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
ZAGREB

TO ALL UNITS
OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Zagreb, 28 October 1992
Our No.: 1334/92
Your No.: _____

SUBJECT: Pass.

Please /issue passes/ for the following gentlemen:

1. Nehroad MATIN – passport no. 092908
2. Mohamed KAZEMROHANI NEJAD – passport no. 092909
3. Davud NAGHASH CHIMEH – passport no. 092910
4. Tofigh MOKHTARI – passport no. 052733
5. Mohmood TALEBLOO – passport no. 075832

who are accredited official journalists of the Iranian State Radio and Television and who are travelling in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
You must provide all the necessary assistance and cooperation for them.

COMMANDER
Brigadier Mehmed KAVAZBAŠIĆ

/signed/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BIHAĆ DISTRICT
BIHAĆ DISTRICT ASSEMBLY

Number: 01/S-012-19/98/92
Bihać, 3 November 1992

Pursuant to Articles 6 and 13 of the Bihać District Statute, taking into consideration the proposal of the Bihać District Executive Committee for the opening of the Bihać District Office with its headquarters in Zagreb, at its session of 1 November 1992, the Bihać District Assembly adopted the following

DECISION
on the opening of the Bihać District Office with its headquarters in
Zagreb

Article 1

The Bihać District shall open an office with its headquarters in Zagreb in order to carry out activities which are of relevance for the Bihać District.

Article 2

The scope of activities of the Office shall be defined by the District Executive Committee.

The Office will carry out activities which fall within its scope of activities in accordance with the instructions provided by the Bihać District Executive Committee and Assembly.

Article 3

Ibrahim HADŽIĆ from Bihać, residing in Zagreb, is hereby authorised to take all steps necessary to set up and open the Bihać District Office with its headquarters in Zagreb.

Article 4

This decision shall come into effect on the day of its adoption.

PRESIDENT OF THE DISTRICT ASSEMBLY
Irfan LJUBIJANKIĆ
/signed and stamped/

MIXED TRANSPORTATION
SQUADRON LUČKO

25th November 1992

COMMANDER OF THE CROATIAN AIR FORCE AND AIR DEFENCE
major general
IMRA AGOTIĆ

Transportation of cargo to the
airport Čoralići, REPORT.-

In the period from 16th November until 25th November 1992 following tasks have been performed at the airport Lučko: transportation of weapons, uniforms and sanitary material to the airport Čoralići in Cazin.

Flying for the purposes of HVO BiH: (flying done by the aircraft type AN-2)

1. Polanec – Rastija	1 flight	2.10 hours
2. Polanec – Rastija	2 flights	2.00 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL	3 flights	4.10 hours
TOTAL CARGO:	1 tonne	

Flying for the purposes of BiH Territorial defence: (by the aircraft C-212):

1. Rajtar – Hrgović	2 flights	1.20 hours
2. Rajtar – Zrna	2 flights	1.20 hours
3. Hrgović – Zrna	1 flight	0.40 hours
4. Zrna – Hrgović	1 flight	1.30 hours
5. Hrgović – Zrna	1 flight	0.40 hours
6. Rajtar – Hrgović	2 flights	1.20 hours
7. Rajtar – Zrna	2 flights	1.20 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL	11 flights	8.10 hours
8. Pečenković - Bešlagić (AN-2)	2 flights	2.00 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL	13 flights	10.10 hours
TOTAL CARGO:	11 tonnes	

-2-

On the return flight from the airport Čoralići, 53 passengers were transported (including 10 wounded), 12 shell cases for howitzer of 203 mm, and a certain quantity of various goods.

JH / SH

COMMANDER
Major
JOSIP HRGOVIĆ

/signed/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
ARMY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

BIHAĆ VG /Air-force group/

Confidential number: 12/24-2

Date: 6 December 1992

MILITARY SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

List of passengers for the Republic
of Croatia, for authorisation.-

MILITARY MISSION IN
RH /Republic of Croatia/
Assistant Military Attaché
Brigadier H. OSMANAGIĆ

In accordance with your request and the request submitted by the authorities in the Republic of Croatia, we are sending you the list of potential air passengers for Zagreb. The list was drafted on the basis of requests submitted by regional institutions.

We ask that you URGENTLY inform us which of the persons listed we may send to Zagreb and that you see that they be received.

List of passengers with documents:

1. Dane ŠAMAC – permission issued by the Office for Expelled Persons and Refugees and authorisation issued by the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia
2. Kata ŠAMAC
3. Sandra ŠAMAC
4. Danijela ŠAMAC
5. Emina ŽIVNIĆ – letter of guarantee (Mara KARAMATIĆ, ID number 9415047, Samobor)
6. Snježana ŽIVNIĆ-DOLIĆ
7. Igor DOLIĆ
8. Iva DOLIĆ
9. Anela ORAŠČANIN – transit visa
10. Merima ORAŠČANIN
11. Zlata LIPOVAČA
12. Tanja JURIĆ – authorisation of the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia
13. Mile OREŠKOVIĆ
14. Milka OREŠKOVIĆ
15. Kristina JURIĆ
16. Stjepan ŽIVKOVIĆ – construction permit (of 26 November 1982, Republic of Croatia)

List of persons-passengers as requested by the 5th Corps Command, the Bihać GS HVO /Main Staff of the Croatian Defence Council/ and the Bihać municipality, without the required documents

1. Nura MUSETA – 5th Corps request of 24 November 1992
2. Sadika MIDŽIĆ – 27 November 1992
3. Elvis MIDŽIĆ
4. Alvis MIDŽIĆ
5. Dr Ibrahim MUJIĆ – request of Fikret ABDIĆ and 5th Corps, 3 November 1992
6. Alma HOSIĆ – request of 5th Corps of 22 November 1992
7. Sead KURTIĆ – District Assembly, 26 November 1992
8. Indira JURIĆ
9. Ćamila ĆEHIĆ
10. Adem MUSTEDANAGIĆ
11. Mario KA/SS/ILASI
12. Sead KURTOVIĆ – 25 November 1992
13. Amir BEGIĆ
14. Zehra BEGIĆ
15. Alma BEGIĆ

Patients for medical evacuation from Bihać District, proposal of the Medical Evacuation Commission - we do not have the required documents for these patients:

1. Senija ŽIRIĆ – of 11 November 1992
2. Redžo NUHANOVIĆ – of 18 November 1992
3. Enes ERDIĆ – of
4. Selma MUSLIĆ
5. Rasema BRAKIĆ – of 25 November 1992
6. Irma MIŠKIĆ
7. Emina MIŠKIĆ
8. Husein GRAŠIĆ
9. Ernad BEGIĆ
10. Mirsada BEGIĆ
11. Medžid SULEJMANOVIĆ
12. Meho JAPIĆ
13. Zlatan SALIHOVIĆ
14. Zuhdija JUSIĆ
15. Mumin BAJRIĆ
16. Fatima REDŽIĆ
17. Mihajlo MASLIĆ
18. Zuhdija MAHMIĆ
19. Zlatka ŠEHIĆ
20. Smail ALAGIĆ
21. Ajša DINKO
22. Atif FERIZOVIĆ
23. Hasan ŽDRALIĆ
24. Ilijaz VELADŽIĆ
25. Alvin DURAKOVIĆ
26. Dino DERVIŠEVIĆ
27. Aida DERVIŠEVIĆ
28. Adem VELADŽIĆ
29. Kasim VELADŽIĆ – of 2 December 1992
30. Kenan HAJDAREVIĆ
31. Indira HAJDAREVIĆ
32. Anel KULENOVIĆ
33. Sadeta CENANOVIĆ
34. Merima KAJTEZOVIĆ
35. KAJTEZOVIĆ - mother
36. Edhem MUJĐŽINOVIĆ
37. Zejna ALIJAGIĆ
38. Dževad ICANOVIĆ
39. Halida ICANOVIĆ
40. Aladin SULEJMANOVIĆ
41. Dejana STEVIĆ
42. Rajko STEVIĆ
43. Emina DOLIĆ
44. Mahmut DEMIROVIĆ
45. Zlatko ČANDAR with family – of 19 November 1992 - Military Attaché
H. OSMANAGIĆ

Done in two copies and
sent to:

- Military Attaché
- a/a /files/

COMMANDER
Brigadier
Nedžad SULJIĆ

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

B H A R M Y
5TH C O R P S

Strictly Confidential number: 02/1738-1

Date: 6 December 1992

MILITARY SECRET

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Priority for ub/s /war materiel/
in air transport

MILITARY MISSION IN RH /Republic of Croatia/
Assistant Military Attaché
Brigadier H. OSMANAGIĆ

For the needs of the 5th Corps and in order to continue with successful combat operations, as a priority for air transport from the Republic of Croatia, send us as many 107 mm LRL /light rocket launcher/ missiles as possible, which we are in dire need of at present.

For a free R BiH /Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/

BZ/IM

Two copies made and send to:

- VM /Military Mission/ in the RH
- files

C O M M A N D E R
Ramiz DREKOVIĆ

/handwritten: BEGIĆ - you will monitor and take steps/
/initialled/

Armed Forces of the Republic of
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Air-Force Group Command
B I H A Ć

MILITARY SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

... Confidential number ... 01/6-129
Date 8 December 1992

Activities – Requests of
UNMO /UN Military
Observers/ representatives
at Čoralići Airport.–

To: Military Envoy of RBiH /Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina/ to RH /Republic of Croatia/

VK /Supreme Command/ of RBH OS /Armed
Forces/, Sarajevo
(for information)

An UNMO team has been deployed at Čoralići Airport. It is currently composed of three members, but as of 10 December 1992 their number will be increased to five. Their task is to check the air cargo arriving from the Republic of Croatia, which must consist of humanitarian aid. So far, there have been no objections to or irregularities in their work, but certain omissions have been observed which, in view of better co-operation, must be dealt with.

These are as follows:

Flights arriving at Čoralići Airport from Zagreb or some other airport must be announced to the representatives of UNMO (or UNPROFOR) in order for them to be authorised and classified as legal humanitarian flights.

Since our Command has no means of directly communicating with either Pleso Airport or the Military Mission, we have not been informed of either the departure times or the number of the aircraft which are supposed to arrive here.

We demand that, at least six hours prior to their departure, using the existing digital communications, you send us the exact departure times of aircraft flying to Čoralići Airport.

This will enable us to notify the UNMO representatives of the flights and obtain flight authorizations from them and their representatives in Zagreb.

If possible, please try to establish contact with the UNMO team here in Zagreb and arrange the flight announcement and authorisation protocols with them. UNMO representatives at Čoralići Airport have received a request from their superiors in Zagreb to clarify the circumstances which led to the violation of the UN Security Council Resolution.

The document pertains to flights on 1, 2 and 4 December (a total of six flights, five CASA-212 and one AN-2).

The flights occurred at the given times, the cargo was checked and everything was regular. However, /?due to their absence/, they were treated as a violation of the Resolution. Please inform us urgently should you have any concrete proposals or arrangements.

Please send us feedback on the list of potential passengers we sent you for authorisation.

FOR A FREE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

NS/AM

Done in two copies and
sent to:

- - archives
- RBH Military envoy

COMMANDER
Brigadier
Nedžad SULJIĆ

/stamp:

MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF

/illegible/
2000 hours
/a signature/

/Coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia/

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
ZAGREB

HRZ /Croatian Air Force/ AND PZO /Air Defence/ COMMAND
MIXED TROOP CARRIER SQUADRON LUČKO

CLASS:

REF. NUMBER:

Zagreb, 17th December 1992

COMMANDER OF THE CROATIAN AIR FORCE AND AIR DEFENCE
major general
IMRA AGOTIĆ

Transportation of cargo to the
airport Čoralići, REPORT.-

In the period from 1st until 15th December 1992 following tasks have been performed at the airport Pleso -
transportation of weapons, uniforms and sanitary material to the airport Čoralići in Cazin.

Flying for the purposes of HVO BiH:

1. LALIĆ – SOKIĆ	2 flights	2.10 hours
2. PEČENKOVIĆ – IFTIĆ	1 flight	1.10 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL:	3 flights	3.20 hours

Flying for the purposes of TO BiH /Territorial Defence/:

1. MARKAČ – SOKIĆ	2 flights	2.30 hours
2. ŽAGAR – MARKAČ	2 flights	2.00 hours
3. LALIĆ – ŽAGAR	2 flights	1.30 hours
4. HRGOVIĆ – ZRNA	2 flights	1.30 hours
5. RAJTAR – ZRNA	2 flights	1.30 hours
6. RAJTAR – ZRNA	2 flights	1.30 hours
7. RAJTAR – ZRNA	2 flights	1.30 hours
8. RAJTAR – ZRNA	2 flights	1.30 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL:	16 flights	13.30 hours

9. PEČENKOVIĆ – IFTIĆ	2 flights	2.10 hours
10. RAŠTIJA – IFTIĆ	2 flights	2.10 hours
11. PEČENKOVIĆ – BEŠLAGIĆ	2 flights	2.10 hours
12. IFTIĆ – BEŠLAGIĆ	2 flights	2.00 hours
13. PEČENKOVIĆ – BEŠLAGIĆ	2 flights	1.30 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL:	10 flights	10.00 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL FOR BiH TERRITORIAL DEFENCE:	26 flights	23.30 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL FLIGHTS:	29 flights	26.50 hours

Flying for the purposes of HRZ and PZO:

1. RAJTAR – HRGOVIĆ	1 flight	1.00 hour (ZAGREB – ĐAKOVO)
2. ZRNA – HRGOVIĆ	1 flight	1.00 hour (ĐAKOVO – ZAGREB)
3. RAJTAR – ZRNA	2 flights	1.20 hours (ZAGREB – KRK – ZAGREB)
4. RAJTAR – HRGOVIĆ	2 flights	5.30 hours (ZAGREB – TIRANA – ZAGREB)
5. RAJTAR – HRGOVIĆ	1 flight	2.30 hours (ZAGREB – TIRANA)
6. HRGOVIĆ – RAJTAR	1 flight	3.00 hours (TIRANA – ZAGREB)
7. HRGOVIĆ – RAJTAR	2 flights	5.30 hours (ZAGREB – TIRANA – ZAGREB)
8. POLANEC – SOKIĆ	2 flights	3.00 hours (dr. BAJIĆ)
9. Terminated flights	5 flights	3.20 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL:	17 flights	26.10 hours
<hr/>		
TOTAL FLIGHTS: FROM 1 st -15 th DECEMBER 1992	46 flights	53.00 hours

JH/DH

COMMANDER
Major
JOSIP HRGOVIĆ

/handwritten: 19 December 1992/
/a signature/
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
SUPREME COMMAND STAFF OF THE
ARMED FORCES
S A R A J E V O

/handwritten: # 429/
DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
OFFICIAL SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Confidential Number: 02/738-296
Sarajevo, 18 December 1992

- to the Command of the Bihać Air-force Group /VG/
- to Mr Salko BEGIĆ, for information

Pursuant to Article 77 of the Decree Law on Service in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Article 10 of the Decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on commissions, promotions and the regulation of service-related military personnel issues during a state of war (*Official Gazette of the RBH*, number 11/92), and based on the demonstrated needs and on the proposals submitted by superior commanding officers, I hereby issue the following

ORDER

1. That the following pilots and technicians be sent for aircraft and helicopter retraining in the Republic of Croatia - Zagreb:

For AN-2 aircraft:

1. Goran STANOJEVIĆ (pilot, 3rd category, SBO /expansion unknown/)
2. Suad NIJEMČEVIĆ (pilot, 4th category, SBO)
3. Jasminko BEŠIĆ (pilot, 4th category, SBO)
4. Željko GRIGIĆ (aircraft-engine mechanic)
5. Muhamed ALAGIĆ (aircraft-engine mechanic)
6. Emin TANKOVIĆ (aircraft-engine mechanic)

For AB-206 helicopter:

1. Meho MERDANOVIĆ (pilot, 2nd category, SBO)
2. Besim KORČIĆ (pilot, 4th category, SBO)
3. Samir SULJEVIĆ (pilot, 4th category, SBO)

For CASA-212 aircraft:

1. Goran BULUT (pilot, 1st category, SBO)
2. Mirzan ŠEČIĆ (pilot, 1st category, SBO)
3. Hidajim GAZIBEGOVIĆ (pilot, 2nd category, SBO)

2. That this task be carried out immediately. That the Bihać VG Command establish contact with Mr Hasan EFENDIĆ and Salko BEGIĆ who will, together with the representatives of the RZ and PZO /Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence/ of the Republic of Croatia, organise the training and accommodation of the personnel.

3. That regular reports be submitted on the carrying out of this task.

EN/ZČ

CHIEF OF STAFF
SUPREME COMMAND OF OS RBH /Armed
Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/
Sefer HALILOVIĆ

/stamp:

/stamp:

MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

RECEIVED - SUBMITTED by
TLF - RRV - RV (FACTOR) - PACKET - SAT*
Date: 18 December 1992

Received by _____ /a signature/

* TLF /telephone/
RRV /Radio Relay Communication/
RV /Radio Communication/

SPECIFICATION OF OBTAINED MATERIALS FOR PRODUCTION FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES ON 31ST
DECEMBER 1992

1. Detonation cap – DK 8	31.791 pieces
2. Electric detonation cap – EDK 8.....	8.135 pieces
3. Detonation cap 8 with retarder.....	4.000 pieces
4. Priming black gunpowder.....	107,5 kg
5. Bullet for RBR M 57.....	3.600 pieces
6. Markers with spring.....	13.180 pieces
7. Hunting initial cap RWS.....	18.200 pieces
8. Napalm powder.....	50 kg
9. Plastic explosive – Pentrite – PEP.....	117,5 kg
10. Samples of mine fuse for mortar 60 mm and 82 mm.....	37 pieces
11. Mine fuse for mortar 120 mm TF.....	300 pieces
12. Mine fuse for mortar 120 mm, proximity with turbine.....	100 pieces
13. Hunting cartridge 12.....	7.800 pieces
14. Hunting cartridge 16.....	5.200 pieces
15. Propelling charge for mortar mine 60 mm.....	2.200 pieces
16. Propelling charge for mortar mine 82 mm.....	4.000 pieces
17. Propelling charge for mortar mine 120 mm.....	2.000 pieces
18. Secondary charge for mortar mine 60 mm.....	8.000 bags
19. Secondary charge for mortar mine 82 mm.....	10.008 bags
20. Nitro-glycerine gunpowder – NGB 021	225 kg
21. Nitro-glycerine gunpowder – NGB 051	75 kg
22. Trinitrotoluene bullet TNT 200	126 pieces
23. Reinforced ammonal	100 pieces
24. Detonation fuse.....	600 meters
25. Slow-burning fuse.....	27 meters

Concluded with number 25.

Responsible for the accuracy Senad Palić
/signed/



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
ZAGREB

HRZ AND PZO /Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence/ COMMAND
MIXED TRANSPORT SQUADRON - PLESO /AIRPORT/
Zagreb, 4 January 1993

HRZ AND PZO COMMANDER
Major General
Imra AGOTIĆ

Report on cargo transport
to Čoralići airport.-

In the period between 15 and 31 December 1992, the following tasks were carried out from Pleso and Pula airports: transport of weapons, uniforms and medical materials to Čoralići airport near Cazin.

Transport was done by AN-2 and C-212 aircraft with the assistance of HRZ /Croatian Air Force/ and RZ BH /Air Force of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ crews.

In the same period, the following flights were carried out for the purpose of retraining crews for C-212 aircraft:

C-212 173 flights 37.50 hours (daily)

For HVO BH /Croatian Defence Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina/:

AN-2	2 flights,	2.00 hours - 1 ton of cargo,	6 passengers	+ 3 wounded
C-212	4 flights,	2.40 hours - 5 tons of cargo,	22 passengers	+ 8 wounded
TOTAL:	6 flights	4.40 hours - 6 tons of cargo,	28 passengers	11 wounded

Crew:

AN-2	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
C-212	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours

For BH TO /Territorial Defence/

AN-2	14 flights,	14.00 hours - 6.5 tons of cargo,	22 passengers + 8 wounded
------	-------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------

C-212	12 flights,	8.40 hours - 15 tons of cargo, 68 passengers + 27 wounded
TOTAL:	28 flights	22.40 hours - 21.5 tons of cargo, 90 passengers + 35 wounded

Crew:

AN-2	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	PEČENKOVIĆ - GAZIBEGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	PEČENKOVIĆ - IFTIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	MARKAČ - ŽAGAR	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	IFTIĆ - GAZIBEGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	IFTIĆ - GAZIBEGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours

C-212	RAJTAR - HRGOVIĆ	2 flights, 2.00 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	1 flight, 2.00 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 1.20 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 2.20 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 2.20 hours
	RAJTAR - ZRNA	2 flights, 2.20 hours

For recording purposes (for Dr BAJIĆ)

AN-2 aircraft, crew POLANEC - SOKIĆ 2 flights, 3.50 hours

In this period, a total of 208 flights and 71.00 hours of training flights were carried out, 27.5 tons of useful cargo flown to Čoralići Airport and 118 passengers and 46 wounded transported to Croatia.

JH/SH

COMMANDER
Major
Josip HRGOVIĆ
/signed/



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE OF
THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Z A G R E B

Zagreb, 2 March 1993
Our No: 07-1940/93
Your No: _____

SUBJECT: REQUEST for helicopter overflights.-

You are kindly requested to authorise the flight of two Mi-8 T helicopters over the territory of the Republic of Croatia, including one technical landing. They were acquired by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for humanitarian purposes, to provide supplies for and take care of its endangered citizens.

We are planning the helicopter overflights between 10 March and 14 March 1993.

We would enter the air space of the Republic of Croatia from Hungary via the R-22 corridor, with the technical landing at Lučko Airport.

The flight would continue along the following route: Lučko - Crikvenica - Sali - island of Šolta - Aržano, leaving the RH air space and entering the RBH territory.

In addition to the overflight authorisation, you are kindly requested to authorise relevant airport services to allow us to fly over the area without hindrance.

We thank you for your understanding.

Yours sincerely,

DIRECTOR OF RBH OFFICE IN RH
Šemso TANKOVIĆ
/signed and stamped/

MILITARY MISSION OF THE RBH /Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/
IN THE RH /Republic of Croatia/
ZAGREB, 23 March 1993
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL NO. 05-2937/93

To the N SVK OSRBH /Chief of the Supreme Command Staff of the Armed Forces
of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ - SARAJEVO
Sefer HALILOVIĆ

SUBJECT: Notice and proposal to open a humanitarian air corridor for the 5th Corps
from the RH or the Republic of Slovenia, using our own aircraft,
and a mobilisation assembly point and sector in the RH.

1. Since 30 December 1992 there has not been a single flight for the 5th Corps so that the 5th Corps logistics has been relying solely on its own sources: war booty and special purposes production. Supply with expendable combat material from special purposes production has been reduced, or stopped due to many reasons, since delivery of raw material has been discontinued: gunpowder, explosives, cartridges, fuses, etc.

2. Measures are being taken to open a humanitarian air corridor which we would use to transport humanitarian aid and the wounded from the 5th Corps, and once they have been treated and cured, to transport them back as able-bodied troops or personnel for the OS RBH /Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/. We would also use it minimally for logistics delivery of combat material, weapons, ammunition and raw material for special purposes production, either by dropping it by parachute or by transporting it to the airfield in Cazin.

We propose that this problem be resolved at the highest level – the level of state presidents of the RBH /Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/, Republic of Croatia and Republic of Slovenia and representatives of UNPROFOR, UNHCR and the International Red Cross, because the Bihać – Cazin Krajina is completely isolated.

Since land convoy transport has been reduced to a minimum and there are long periods when not even this road is available and it is unsafe for transport of troops and specific goods.

3. So far we have been using humanitarian convoys for transport of military material by repacking it as food at the greatest risk of it being uncovered, thereby risking the stopping of humanitarian transport, which we will have to keep using in greatest secrecy when the opportunity arises.

As this transport was also almost stopped, and it is absolutely exposed to risk due to searches by the Police and the army of the so-called SAO /Serbian Autonomous District/ Krajina, we ask that everything be done at the highest level as soon as possible to open a humanitarian air corridor.

4. Due to impossibility of transport, we still have not provided doctors from the Bihać – Cazin region in accordance with the order we have received.

Also, Mr Himzo PEČENKOVIĆ still has not been transported to Bihać due to the reasons stated above and he is currently working on tasks in the 5th Corps logistics and is linked up at the Bihać District Office until his departure for Bihać.

5. Please discuss the matter of mobilisation assembly points and sectors at presidential level between the states of BH and the RH /Republic of Croatia/, on the

edge of the so-called SAO Krajina in the RH from which axes lead to the zone of responsibility of the 5th Corps. A large number of v/o /conscripts/ are asking to be sent to the 5th Corps, and from this edge from Banija, Kordun and Lika the road-corridor could be "softened up", infiltrating armed groups into the zone of the 5th Corps, and this would resolve a number of matters:

- a) surplus of v/o in the RH
- b) combat reinforcement for the 5th Corps
- c) partial resolving of the matter of logistics.

Talks on this matter have been conducted with representatives of the HV /Croatian Army/, but their response was always that there is no agreement at the highest level and that due to this they were limited in resolving this matter.

For that purpose, we propose that this task be carried out urgently and absolutely, since the present state of the vegetation will also facilitate it.

This way we would resolve part of the logistics for the 5th Corps, particularly if we use pack and tow animals, which we plan to do.

FOR A FREE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA!

SECRETARY FOR MILITARY MATTERS
AT THE OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Hasan EFENDIĆ

Military delegation of R BiH in RH
Zagreb, 24th of March 1993
Strictly confidential, no. 05-2946/93

Handwritten a/a, code /illegible/

To the commander of the 5th corps

Subject: notification on direction of BG to the zone of responsibility of the 5th corps

On 22nd of March 1993, in the early morning hours, the group of fighters, counting 14 members under the command of Omanović Osman that we wrote earlier about, was directed to the zone of responsibility of the 5th corps. The same group is armed with 14 AP, 28 RAB, 10 zoljas, one rifle 9 mm PARA MERLIN, 2 7,9 mm snipers, 1 AUTO gun, 1 gun and it is dressed in uniforms.

Execute the receipt of the above cited and deliver the report!

Assistant Military Attaché
Hajrudin Osmanagić

Strictly Confidential number 01/1-1690-2
Date, 19 May 1993

Logistics Report
on receipt of a shipment of ub/s /war materiel/
through UNHCR.

EMBASSY OF THE R BiH /Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/
in the RH /Republic of Croatia/
MILITARY ECONOMIC MISSION
(to H. OSMANAGIĆ and I. HADŽIĆ-B. personally)

Regarding your document Strictly Confidential no. 05-3858/93 of 18 May 1993, we hereby inform you that we have received this shipment on 17 May 1993 with some small differences in relation to your list, which are not important. There was no problem with the receipt of the equipment, however, we caution you again that it is necessary to exercise maximum secrecy regarding this channel, engaging the smallest possible number of persons to carry out this work.

We also ask that you do everything you can to send us, as a matter of priority, the following equipment in the next shipment, in addition to what you have prepared:

1. 7.9 mm bullet50,000
2. M-30 7.62 mm bullet (for M-84 PM /light machine-gun/)20,000
3. Detonating cap no. 12 with a delay mechanism for
a ROB /hand grenade/ (packed in a 40x40x50 cm box,
3 boxes, around 60 kg)12,000
4. NGB-051 nitroglycerine gunpowder.....100 kg
5. Additional charge for a 120 mm shell.....500 sets
6. Sighting mechanisms for MB /mortar/-120 mm, type NSB-4.....6 sets
7. TNT.....1,000 kg
8. Hexogen-explosive.....50 kg
9. Rocket fuel.....50 kg

This is ammunition that we absolutely lack and material needed in special purposes weapons and ub/s industry.

FOR A FREE R BiH!

SM/JR

5TH CORPS
COMMANDER
Ramiz DREKOVIĆ

Two copies made
and sent to:

1. a/a /files/
2. VEP /Military Economic Mission/ in RH

/stamp/

<p>MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA RECEIVED - SENT by: TLF - RRV - RV - PACTOR - PACKET - SAT Date: at hours Received by: /signed/</p>
--

/expansions:

TLF - Telephone
RRV - Radio Relay Communication
RV - Radio Communication/

Armed Forces of the
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
5th CORPS

Number 06/13-1495-2

Date: 19 May 1993

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
MILITARY SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

Procurement of dental material.-

BIHAĆ DISTRICT OFFICE
Zagreb seat
Našička Street 12
Fax: 041/33-79-06

The following dental material need to be purchased and delivered to the 5th Corps:

1. Local anaesthetic with vasoconstrictors, ampoule a 2ml
2. Local anaesthetic without vasoconstrictors, ampoule a 2ml
3. Dental cement - powder and liquid
4. Temporary cavity filling material (Cavit, Lumicon)
5. Zinc Oxide powder and clove oil
6. Ca(OH)₂ paste (Calxyl, Cinacal)
7. Devitalizing substance for tooth pulp
8. Cresol formaldehyde
9. Tripsan paste
10. Septomixin Forte, Foxalmin
11. Kerr needle (canal reaming instrument), number 15-65
12. Nerve needles
13. AH 26 paste
14. Haemostatic sponges
15. Dose of Amalcap 1, Dose of Amalcap 2
16. Heliosit, original packaging, three capsules colour 20, 22, 35, 36
17. Heliomolar, original packaging, three capsules, colour 20, 30, 36.
18. Steel drills number 12, 16, 18
19. Diamond bores for turbines for conservative treatment
20. Interdental filling polishing strips
21. Dental mirrors (without handle)
22. Iodoform gauze - strip
23. Medicinal alcohol

We urgently need the above materials and we therefore ask that you procure and deliver them in the above quantities.

Please inform us on the delivery method in due course.

FOR A FREE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA!

SK/SS

COMMANDER
5th CORPS
Ramiz DREKOVIĆ

Done in two copies and
delivered to:

1. a/a /files/
2. addressee

/stamp:

**MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA**
RECEIVED - SUBMITTED by
TLF - RRV - RV - PACTOR - PACKET - SAT*
Date: _____
Received by _____ /a signature/

* TLF /telephone/
RRV /Radio Relay Communication/
RV /Radio Communication/

REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BIHAĆ DISTRICT ASSEMBLY

Bihać, 24 May 1993

BIHAĆ DISTRICT OFFICE
Z A G R E B
Našička Street 12

We kindly ask that you arrange the payment of the following items purchased for the Bihać Radio and Television:

1. MODULATOR - 1
2. INTEGRAL CIRCUIT, TDA 56 60 P - 2
3. MODULATOR ELECTRONIC SCHEMATICS

The payment will be made to Mr MAKAR's TV Repair Shop, Kolodvorska Street, Dugo Selo, via Mr Dražen BONJAŠ (telephone 314 - 129), who will deliver the above material to the Bihać District Office in Zagreb by 24 May.

The received materials must URGENTLY be sent to Bihać (or Velika /?Kladuša/) via a representative of an international organisation from the territory of the Bihać District.

Yours faithfully,

President of the District Assembly
Ejub TOPIĆ, MS of electrical engineering

/stamp:

**MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA**
RECEIVED - SUBMITTED by
TLF - RRV - RV - PACTOR - PACKET - SAT*
Date: 24 May 1993
Received by _____ /a signature/
/handwritten: +2031/

* TLF /telephone/
RRV /Radio Relay Communication/
RV /Radio Communication/

ARMED FORCES OF THE
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA
5th CORPS

Strictly Confidential Number: 06/2-1880-1
Bihać, 5 June 1993

DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
MILITARY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Request for the purchase of
powder and explosives.–

BIHAĆ DISTRICT OFFICE
with its seat in Zagreb
Našička Street 12
Fax: 337 - 906

You must URGENTLY purchase and deliver the following types of powder and explosives:

- TRINITROTOLUENE (TNT or TROTYL) 10,000 kg
- NITROGLYCERINE POWDERS /NGB/:
 - NGB, type 021 400 kg
 - NGB, type 051 400 kg
 - NGB, type 081 400 kg
 - NGB, type 231 400 kg
- NITROCELLULOSE POWDERS /NCB/:
 - NCB, type 35 200 kg
 - NCB, type 37 200 kg
 - NCB, type 40 200 kg
- CELLULOIDE (material used for packing and storing additional powder charges, resistant to outside humidity) 500 m²
ROCKET PROPELLANT CHARGE, for 107mm and 128mm LRL /light rocket launcher/ projectiles 500 kg

Items under number 1 are to be given priority and be delivered urgently.

FOR A FREE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA !
/illegible/S/IM

Done in two copies and

sent to:

- a/a /files/

- Addressee

/stamp:

**MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE**

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

RECEIVED - SUBMITTED by

TLF - RRV - RV - PACTOR - PACKET - SAT*

Date: 5 June 1993

Received by /a signature/

/handwritten: *2147/

* TLF /telephone/

RRV /Radio Relay Communication/

COMMANDER

5th CORPS

Ramiz DREKOVIĆ

RV /Radio Communication/

Embassy of R BiH in R Croatia
VEP
Pg. No. ---- 05-4258/93

DEFENSE OF REPUBLIC
MILITARY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL
URGENT

/handwritten: 25th June/

SUBJECT: Information about the transport of 5th Corpus of A BiH
- to be delivered

On 24 of June 1993, by the oil tank truck, license plate UNHCR 10236 (aluminum cistern) we delivered to you the following:

1. Spare tube for PM M 53	14 pcs
2. RP 67 launcher	4 pcs
3. KB M 57 (hand launcher)	5 pcs
4. PM M 53	18 pcs
5. Machine gun Browing 7,9mm	4 pcs
6. Base for machine gun 7,9mm	3 pcs
7. Machine gun "Browning" 12,7mm	2 pcs
8. Base for machine gun Browing 12,7mm	1 pcs
9. Machine gun 7,9mm DSK	1 pcs
10. SP MAX II 12,7mm without optics	6 pcs
11. SP HAND GUN without optics 20mm	1 pcs
12. Mine thrower 60 mm	1 pcs
13. Mine thrower 82mm	3 pcs
14. Mine thrower 120mm	6 pcs

Concluded with number 14.

REMARK: In MB 120mm do not use more than 5 (five) of additional loadings.
Please, hand one of the guns 12,7mm to Major General Vlado Santic,
for there has been a good cooperation between HVO and the District
Office of Bihac.

DELIVERED TO:

1. 5. Corpus
2. VEP

Breza 13
7

Biban
Bajo

Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia
and Herzegovina /R BiH/
5th Corps Command
Strictly Confidential Number 02/13-2581-2
15th July 1993

Military Secret
Strictly Confidential
Radio Package

Request for transport of equipment.-

Military and Economic Mission
Z A G R E B
Attn: "Breza" - 17/3

Please contact Mr Dražen BONJAŠ and find ways of urgently transporting the following equipment:

Stationary TS-950 SDX HF /transceiver/,
220/120 V transformer for the TS-950 SDX,
VHF RU /radio set/, Icom 200T,
VHF RU, JRC-202S25,
UHF RU, JRC-402S25, for digital communication 4800 Bd,
ZYXEL telephone modem,
Floppy disc drive for BICOM Notebook,
PACTOR controller,
TNC controller for digital communication, 4,800 Bd,
SWR/POWER meter,
Gas soldering iron 2,
Butane gas, small bottles,
Soft solder wire, 10-kg coil,
Headphones for stereo Hi-Fi 2,
Hand-held radio set, MTK HS-10 2,
Triplexer,
Vertical 3-band antenna 3,
HF Antenna, W-8010,
Antenna wire 2 x 50m,
/?Fritzel balun/, 50/600 ohm,
VHF/UHF node for digital communication 4,800 Bd,
PTK cable.

We insist that as many PTK cables as possible be transported.

- Please contact Mr Mustafa DIZDAREVIĆ in Munich, telephone number 9949891409669, who has access to some of the funds intended for the 5th Corps, and organise transport (Mr BONJAŠ and Mr DIZDAREVIĆ are already in touch).
- Possible transport solution via "White Coat".

SI/SM

Copy:

- VI, Zagreb

- a/a /files/

/stamp:

**MILITARY MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA**

RECEIVED - SUBMITTED by
TLF - RRV - RV - PACTOR - PACKET - SAT*

Date: 15 July 1993

Received by /a signature/

* TLF /telephone/
RRV /Radio Relay Communication/
RV /Radio Communication/

C O M M A N D E R
Ramiz DREKOVIĆ



/handwritten: 31 July 1993/
**BIHAĆ DISTRICT
CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION**

41000 Zagreb, Našička 12
Tel: 041/ 33 44 84
041/ 33 33 82
Fax: 041/33 79 06

Unski ljiljani Club
c/o M. ČAVKIĆ
Görzer Strasse 105a
81549 Munich

Your number:

Our number:

Date:

RECEIPT

It is hereby confirmed that members of the *Unski ljiljani* /Lilies of the River Una/ from Munich handed over 50,000 detonator caps to the Bihac District Office in Zagreb, to be used by the BH Army's 5th Corps operating in the Bihac Region.

In Zagreb, 31 July 1993.

Goods handed over by:
Mustafa ČAVKIĆ /signed/
Ale DERVIŠEVIĆ /signed/

Goods received by:
Senad PALIĆ
/signed/

/stamp:
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA
B I H A Ć DISTRICT
ZAGREB HEAD OFFICE/

ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
5th CORPS
Strictly confidential number: 06/801-2
9 February 1994

/handwritten: I. HADŽIĆ/

Information on the shipments
received from the Bihać District
Office in Zagreb, AMENDMENT

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina /R BiH/ in the Republic of
Croatia /RH/
V.E.P. /Military Economic Mission/

As our document, strictly confidential number 06/801-1 of 3 February 1994, with reference to the request submitted by Mr Bajo HADŽIĆ on 1 February 1994, failed to include the shipments handed over directly to the members of the NVI /expansion unknown/, please find the data listed below:

Goods arrived on 7 September 1992

=====		
1. Training round for M-57 RB /rocket launcher/: 5 x 192		960
2. Training round for M-66 impact rifle grenade:		
4 x 240		960 basic charges
4 x 240		960 mine simulators
		4 x 240
3. Gunpowder :	30 x 2.5 kg	75 kg
4. Erze /expression unknown/ :	18 x 1,000	18,000
5. Detonating caps, No. 8 :	30 x 100	3,000
	1 box	10,000
6. Hand grenade fuse :		4

Goods arrived on 9 September 1992

=====		
1. Training round for M-57 rocket launcher : 8 x 192		1,536
2. Training round for impact rifle grenade:		
a) original boxes:	6 x 240	1,440 basic charges
	6 x 240	1,440 mine simulators
		6 x 240
b) unpacked boxes (mine simulators, coils, basic charges)		10
3. Gunpowder :	13 x 2.5 kg	32.5 kg

Goods arrived on 19 November 1992

=====	
1. Basic charge for 7.62 mm impact rifle grenade,.....	5,040
2. Mine simulators	10,050
3. Coils	10,050
4. Electric detonating caps No 12	1,260
5. Electric detonating caps No 8	1,300
6. Detonating caps No 8	4,000
7. Basic charge for 82mm and 81 mm round	1,980
8. Basic charge for 60mm round	2,000
9. Basic charge for 120 mm round	2,000
10. Additional charge (60, 82 and 81 mm) boxes	10

FOR A FREE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA !

BS/ZL

Copy:
- Addressee,
- a/a /files/, 5th Corps Command
- a/a, Logistics

COMMANDER
Brigadier
Atif DUDAKOVIĆ

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BiH
5TH C O R P S
BIHAĆ KM /Command Post/
Strictly confidential no. 01/7251-3
10 November 1994

10119409
DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
MILITARY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Request for assistance in TMS /materiel and technical equipment/.

To: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA,
Mr Franjo TUĐMAN

Under a complete blockade, Croats and Muslims organised in the units of the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ and the 5th BH Army Corps in the Bihać area have been fighting constant Chetnik attacks for the third year running. A counteroffensive announced by the criminal KARADŽIĆ is being carried out by the united Serbian forces from the quasi-state creations of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina (the Lika, Banija, Kordun and the Slavonia Corps). Artillery and tanks have been re-grouped because, based on the Zagreb agreement, they were pulled out 20 kilometres from the line of contact and taken to the Željezno Polje and Ličko Petrovo Selo sectors.

In recent days, several thousand artillery and tank shells have fallen on the villages of Skočaj, Zavalje, Vedro Polje and the suburbs of Bihać and the Chetnik air force attacked the town itself with rockets.

It is clear that Chetniks intend to capture Željava airport and the plateau above Bihać via Zavalje village and link up with the forces from Ličko Petrovo Selo putting the whole town and the area into a very difficult situation.

HVO and 5th Corps soldiers are determined to fight the Chetniks and prevent them from achieving their goals.

In order to prevent the Chetniks from achieving their goals and protect the population of the area, the following should be done:

1. The HVO should use their helicopters to transport the MTS to a new area.
2. Enable Colonel Senad PALIĆ to contact UNPROFOR (UKBAT) commanders through HV /Croatian Army/ liaison officers.
3. Send us the intelligence information on Chetnik activities directed against us, which you manage to obtain, in a timely fashion.
4. We need the following types of ammunition:
 - a) Infantry weapons: 7.62 mm bullets; 7.62 mm M-30 bullets; 7.9 mm; RPG /anti-tank grenade launcher/ shells.
 - b) PA /semi-automatic/ ammunition: 12.7 mm; 14.5 mm; 20 mm; 30 mm (PRAGA).
 - c) Tank shells: 76 mm ZIS;
 - d) Tank shells: 100 mm (T-55).
 - e) Explosives (TNT).

Sent to:

- Addressee
- Files

C O M M A N D E R
Brigadier General Atif DUDAKOVIĆ
/signed and stamped/

Armed Forces of
the Republic of BiH
5TH C O R P S
Strictly confidential no: 06/7363-3
Date: 19 November 1994

PRIMTS10.ZAG
DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
STATE SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Receipt of MTS /materiel and technical equipment/
from Zagreb.
Notification.

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BiH
ZAGREB

We received the following MTS as part of air shipments on 18/19 November 1994:

1. 7.62 mm bullets for AP /automatic rifle/	86,750
2. 7.62 M30 bullets	30,780
3. 7.62 x 51 mm bullets	4,850
4. 7.9 mm bullets	22,700
5. RPG /anti-tank rocket launcher/ shells - high explosive	287
6. TNT	540
7. Plastic explosives	3 kg
8. RoB /hand-grenade/ fuses	7,800
9. UT M68-P1 fuses	10
10. A package with r/d /spare parts/ for a PC	1 box

Up to and including number 10 (ten).

If at all possible, please send footwear and socks in these shipments.

FOR A FREE AND UNDIVIDED REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA!

ZL/ZL

Made in two copies and sent to:

- Embassy of the Republic of BiH in Zagreb PR /expansion unknown/
- Files of the 5th Corps
- Files of the Logistics Unit

C O M M A N D E R
Brigadier General Atif DUDAKOVIĆ

Bihać District Citizens' Association /UGOB/
Zagreb, Našička Street 12

Number

Zagreb, 4 December 1994

REPORT ON THE WEAPONS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT DESTROYED
IN THE EXPLOSION OF THE MTV1 HELICOPTER

On 3 December 1994, the following weapons and equipment burned down in
the explosion of a helicopter at the Lučko Air Base:

1. 7.62mm x 39 bullet	132,000
2. 7.62mm x 51 bullet	9,600
3. RPG 7 /anti-tank grenade launcher/	306
4. TF8 rocket (Green Arrow)	20
5. T N T	370 kg
6. Military boots	200 pairs
7. Military socks	750 pairs

Up to and including item number 7 (seven).

The inspection was carried out by a commission composed of the following persons:

Ibrahim HADŽIĆ BAJO
/signed/

Salko BEGIĆ

On behalf of UGOB
President

Niaz BIBANOVIĆ
/signed/

/signed/
Mehmed HUSETIĆ

Kadija ALAGIĆ

Senad PALIĆ
/signed/

/stamp: Bihać District Citizens' Association - with the seat in ZAGREB 2/

Armed Forces of
the Republic of BiH
5TH C O R P S
D.T. number: 06/7947-3
Date: 23 December 1994

PRIMTS22.ZAG
DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
STATE SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Receipt of MTS /material and technical equipment/ from Zagreb.
Notification.

For a "FRIEND"

We received the following MTS as part of an air shipment on 22/23 December 1994:

a) PACKAGE I

- RB /hand-held rocket launcher/-RPG /anti-tank grenade launcher/-7V set ...	27
- 7.62 mm AP /automatic rifle/ bullets.....	110,000
- 40 mm NGL /expansion unknown/ shells	1,620
- 40 mm NGL rifles	5
- High-explosive shells for RPG-7V	198
- ROB /hand grenade/ fuses	2,500
- TNT	450 kg
- PCF /plastic/ explosive	143.4 kg
- Bags (zip, plastic)	2

Send the following in the coming shipments:

- Silk or synthetic thread number 020, 030, 040 50
- Hand sewing thread 20
- 22 mm nails for fixing boots 5 kg
- Analgesic drug in amps depending on the packaging
- First aid bags depending on the packaging
- Other MTS in accordance with previous reports and requests.

FOR A FREE AND UNDIVIDED REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA!

BI/AK

Made in two copies and sent to:

- Addressee "PR" /Friend/
- Files of the 5th Corps Logistics Unit

COMMANDER
Brigadier General Atif DUDAKOVIĆ

BH Army
Corps
P 06-2/1-10
Of January 1995

PRIMTS11ZAG
Defence of the Republic
Army secret
Strictly confidential

Receipt of MTS from Zagreb
Notification, to be delivered

For "FRIENDS"

Within an air shipment on 20/21st of January 1995 we received the following:
Package

Round 7,62 mm for the AP	197 400 pieces
AP 7, 62 mm (AK-47)	400 pieces
Mine (temporary) for RPG	360 pieces
Mine (cumulative) for RPG	360 pieces
Package of drugs for veterinary medicine	14 pieces
Plastic canister OXIDEN	3 pieces
Battery 3R-12-4, 5 vol	240 pieces
Lamp	220 pieces
Shoes material	7 pieces
Bucket of glue for shoes	1 piece
1 set of panels	6 packages
Various toners	11 pieces
Lined uniforms	80 pieces
Military boots	100 pairs
Hunt cartridge case	24 000 pieces
Initial cap	100 000 pieces
Gunpowder NC	7 pieces (4 bags, 3 boxes)
Starter for MB	120 pieces
Package for Minister Vriadžić?	2 pieces
Package for general Dudaković	1 piece
Package for 3 rd corps command	2 pieces (1 box, 1 bag)
Package for MUP	

In the next shipments, please send the priorities:

- ammunition 12, 7 mm Browning
- ammunition 20 mm for PAT
- ammunition 30 mm for PRAGA
- ammunition 40 mm for BOFORS

- round 30 BsT 02 mm
- filters for fuel and oil for motor vehicles; GOLF; MERCEDES, TAM, ZASTAVA
- inner tyres for motor vehicles; dim "10" "16"

We also urgently need material for work of NVI according to earlier delivered specifications (priority TNT explosive)

Spring cord 0.8 or a spring Ø 8 inner height 22, power 1, 5 kp, 20 000 pieces necessary

FOR FREE AND INTEGRAL REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Zs

Made in two copies

Delivered to:

Addressee "PR"

A/a logistics section of the 5th corps

a/a of the 5th corps command

Commander
Brigadier General
Atif Dudaković

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
/emblem of the 5th Corps of the
Army of the Republic of
Bosnia and Herzegovina/

/stamp:

Armed Forces of the
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
5th CORPS

Confidential Number 08-3/02-126

Date: 4 March /?1995/

/handwritten: Gone by helicopter/

Confirmation of the delivery of MTS
/material and technical equipment/

Bosnia and Herzegovina Club
Munich

We hereby confirm that on 3 March 1995 we received, via the Bihać District Citizens' Association in Zagreb, materiel and technical equipment delivered by the Bosnia and Herzegovina Club according to the following specifications:

1.- Two-way radio, YAESU FT-2400H	15	
2.- Two-way radio, YAESU FT-416	10	
3.- Quick charger, NC-42S	10	
4.- Tone squelch unit, FTS 17A	10	
5.- NiCd battery, FNB-26	10	
6.- Electronic tube, 4CK250B	10	
7.- Receiver, IC-R7100	7	
8.- Receiver, IC-R100	15	
9.- Power-swr Meter Revex W570	10	
10.- Rectifier, ALINCO DM-130MVZ	25	
11.- Coaxial cable, RG-58	1,100	metres
12.- Coaxial cable, RG-213	200	metres
13.- Aerial rotator, YAESU G-2700SDX	5	
14.- Aerial, YA-30 with /?spanning/ set	4	
15.- Aerial, AH-7000	40	
16.- Co-linear antenna, CXL-2-2C	5	
17.- Co-linear antenna, CXL-70-8	3	
18.- Linear amplifier, THP HL-130U	2	
19.- Linear amplifier, THP HL-350V DX	1	
20.- Two-way radio, YAESU FT-736R	1	
21.- Amset Interface, IF-100	1	
22.- Universal multimeter	7	
23.- Interface, IF-232	2	
24.- Aerial rotator, G-5600B	1	
25.- SWR-Wattmeter, CMX-3	1	
26.- SWR-Wattmeter, CMX-2	1	
27.- Drills	2	
28.- Drill stand	2	

Up to and including number 28 (twentyeight)

We would like to thank our esteemed donors - members of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Club from Munich who have provided the communications equipment and materiel and technical equipment much needed by the RBH Army's 5th Corps.

The Bosnia and Herzegovina Club has been providing support throughout the war and has greatly contributed to the strengthening of combat power and readiness of the RBH Army's 5th Corps in the defence of the Bihać District and, by virtue of that, to the defence of our homeland, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in general.

FOR A FREE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA!

MR/MR

Copy:

- Bosnia and Herzegovina Club
- UGOB /Bihać District Citizen's Association/, Zagreb
- Department for P and MFP /?Financial operations/
- a/a /files/

Commander
Brigadier General
Atif DUDAKOVIĆ

primts75.zag
5th CORPS COMMAND
Strictly Confidential: 06-2/1-53-1
Date: 24 July 1995

/handwritten and circled: 209 /
DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
ARMY SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Notification on the MTS /materiel and
technical equipment/ received from Zagreb

To: "FRIENDS"

We have received the following material and technical equipment as part of
the air cargo shipment on 23/24 July 1995:

1. 30mm Praga rounds.....	413
2. 20mm rounds.....	2,388
3. TNT explosives	500 kg
4. UTU M78 fuses	720
5. ROB /hand grenade/ fuses	1,000
6. Nails	21.20 kg
7. Rocket fuel	136
8. Groundsheets	100
9. Belts	2 packets - VELADŽIĆ
10. 12.7 B bullets	4,000
11. Oxygen bottles	6
12. BY 120 M80 fuses	168
13. Packet for Ivan PRŠA	1
14. 7.62mm PAPs /semi-automatic rifles/	1 - number 483638
15. <i>Zolja</i> RBRs /hand-held rocket launchers/	5
16. Infra-red binoculars	4
17. Hand-held binoculars - used	1
18. Laser meter	1
19. Infra-red monocular	1
20. Aerosol	60 litres

Up to and including number 20 (twenty)

In future shipments, in addition to regular requests, please give priority to the
following:

- 7.62 x 39 bullet for AP /automatic rifle/, 7.62 x 54 (M30) bullet, 7.9 x 57 bullet
- 40mm round for NGL /expansion unknown/
- rounds for RPG-7v /anti-tank grenade launcher/, additional charges for RPG-7v
- ammunition belts for M53 PM /light machine-gun/
- oxygen - oxidul, PVC and canvas stretchers
- batteries and spare parts for motor vehicles in accordance with the previously provided specification
- inner tubes, sizes 13, 14, 15, 16 x 100 = 400

BI/ZS

Done in two copies and
sent to:

- addressee - "PR"
- a/a /files/, 5th Corps Logistics Section
- a/a, 5th Corps Command

C O M M A N D E R
Brigadier General
Atif DUDAKOVIĆ

/both pages stamped with the stamp of the Croatian State Archives, Zagreb/

**Delegations of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
and Federation of BiH:**

**Declaration on implementation of an agreement from Washington
and joint defence against Serb aggression (Split, 22 Jul 1995)**

SPLIT DECLARATION

The delegation of the Republic of Croatia, led by the President of the Republic of Croatia dr. Franjo Tuđman, the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia Herzegovina led by the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović and by the President of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Krešimir Zubak, after their talks in Split on July 22nd 1995, adopted a

DECLARATION

on the implementation of the Washington Agreement, joint defense against Serb aggression and reaching a political solution congruent with the efforts of the international community

Confirming their strong commitment and political will to strengthen the cooperation and alliance of the Croatian and Bosniac nations in these fateful moments for the survival of both nations, faced with the increasing violence in the occupied territories of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the uncertainty of the peace process and the inefficacy of the international community ;

Having established that the occupying of and the attacks on the UN "safe areas" in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the joint operations by Bosnian and Croatian Serbs against the UN "safe area" in Bihać, the armed provocations in other areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the refusal of all peace plans by the Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, are part of a unified and joint strategy of continuing aggression and attempt to maintain occupation of territories in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina with the aim to create a "Great Serbia", under the leadership and with the full responsibility of the political and army leadership of the "FRY" (Serbia and Montenegro) ;

Having established that the continued aggression and violent attempts to keep control of the occupied territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, as well as the inadequate results of the peace process, command the leaders of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to fully examine the situation in the region from the standpoint of safeguarding the national survival of the Croatian and Bosniac people and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina ;

Expressing their irrevocable support to the implementation of the Washington Agreement on the establishment of the Federation, as well as its confederal linking to the Republic of Croatia ;

Convinced that such a strong, internationally established, territorially viable, economically developed and democratically organized Federation is an irreplaceable governmental and political framework, the historical interest and the safest form of security and realization of equal national, political and other interests of the Croatian and Bosniac nations ;

Convinced also that on the basis of the realization of such a Federation of the Croatian and Bosniac nations and with the assistance of the international community, a solution to the crisis can be reached and the ground laid for a new, balanced regional order as a guarantee of peace, stability, security and development ;

Calling on the Croatian Serbs to reexamine their current militant policy and to accept the peaceful reintegration in the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia, and the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Contact Group plan ;

Calling on the "FRY" (Serbia and Montenegro) to give up aggression with the aim of creating a "Great Serbia", to stop giving military assistance to the extremists in Knin and in Pale and to agree to the mutual recognition of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina within their internationally recognized borders ;

Confirming their readiness to actively contribute to the efforts towards an urgent revival of the peace process on the basis of acceptance of the Contact Group Plan in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the peaceful reintegration of the temporarily occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia ;

Underlying in particular that any prolongation of the existing ineffectiveness of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the non-application of the UNCRO mandate in Croatia will lead to the decision to call off the prolongation of their mandate in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina;

Supporting the decision to send Rapid Reaction Forces and jointly establishing that all questions concerning their arrival, mandate and deployment must be organized by way of a special agreement in accordance with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina ;

Underlying the common viewpoint that any decision on lifting the arms embargo must be applied simultaneously to Bosnia-Herzegovina and to Croatia ;

Convinced that the "FRY" (Serbia and Montenegro) carries a special responsibility for the continuation of the crisis and judging that it is necessary to maintain and reinforce the United Nations Security Council sanctions system ;

Refusing ideas about renewing or creating any kind of new "Yugoslav" state community, considering them to be parallel and spare variations of Great-Serbian hegemony, and supporting normalization in the region on the basis on sovereignty, independence and integrity ;

Confirming their interest in the urgent implementation of the aforementioned principles of the Declaration, agreement has been reached on :

1. Widening and strengthening of the defense cooperation on the basis of the Agreement on friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of July 21st 1992.

In this respect, the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have called upon the Republic of Croatia to extend urgent military and other assistance in the defense against aggression, especially in the area of Bihać, which the Republic of Croatia has accepted.

Agreement has also been reached on the continuation of cooperation and constant coordination of defense activities between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Agreement has been reached as well on the cooperation between the main headquarters of the Croatian Army and the joint headquarters of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council for the sake of coordination of defense activities in the areas of command, logistics, military-industrial production, communication systems, information and analytical needs and other areas.

2. Creation of a political-legal expert group with the duty to urgently analyze and submit proposals for the integration of the functions of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities.
3. Addressing an invitation for a meeting of the group of 22 member states of the "Friends of the Federation" on the highest level, in view of urgent donations and assistance in the face of the humanitarian and refugee catastrophe and to examine long-term joint reconstruction and development strategies.
4. Maintaining regular and constant political consultations aiming at the realization of the principles and agreements of this Declaration, as well as the preparation of legal, political and other foundations for the establishment of confederal ties with the republic of Croatia.

Dr. Franjo Tuđman
President of the Republic of Croatia

Alija Izetbegović
President of the Presidency
of the Republic of
Bosnia-Herzegovina

Krešimir Zubak
President of the
Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Haris Silajdžić
Prime Minister of the Republic of
Bosnia-Herzegovina

*/Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/
Embassy
of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Zagreb*

AMB/ZAG/03-13018/95

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb expresses its respect to the General Staff of the Croatian Army and has the honour to submit the act of the General of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Army, Rasim Delić, addressed to the General of the Croatian Army Guard, Zvonimir Červenko.

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina uses this opportunity to repeat its highest respect to the General Staff of the Croatian Army. /handwritten: N.R./

Zagreb, 17th September 1995

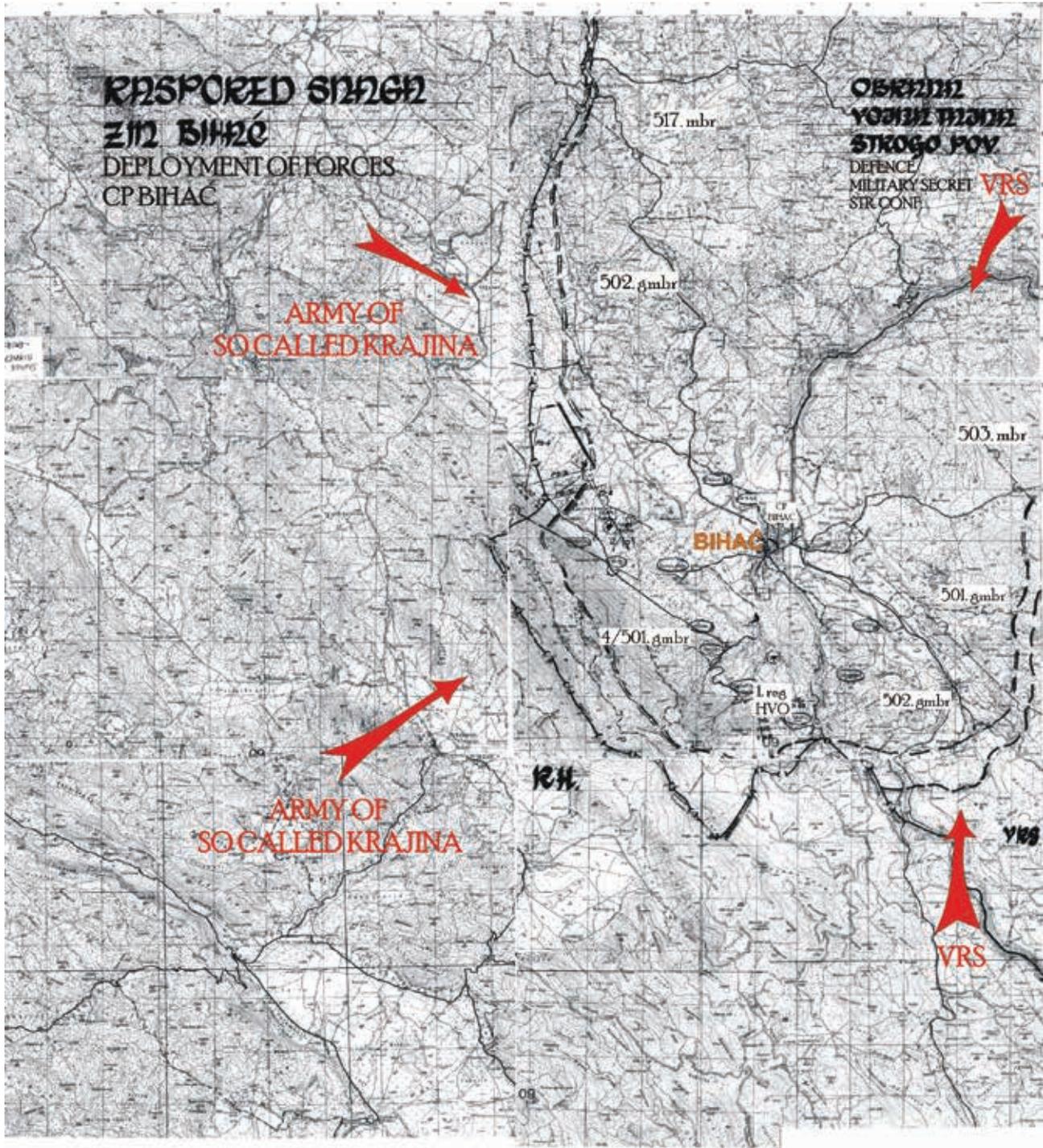
/round seal with an inscription:

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
EMBASSY
ZAGREB

Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /

GENERAL STAFF
OF THE CROATIAN ARMY

Zagreb, Pantovčak 96, p.p. 1056, Phone: (+385 41) 44 95 25, 44 96 55, 42 98 31, 42 98 32, fax: (+385 41) 44 18 99



Index:

- CP - command post
- mbr - mountain brigade
- gmbr - glorious mountain brigade
- reg - regiment
- RH - Republic of Croatia
- VRS - Army of Republic of Srpska

AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA TO MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE AREA OF SPORT



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

3

SPORTS – BARCELONA 1992

- 10 representatives from BiH, who were preparing in Croatia at the expense of the state budget, participated at the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona:
- ARCHERY
 - Mirjana Horvat – air rifle
- ATHLETICS
 - Dragan Mustapić – discus throw
 - Kada Delić – 10 km race walk
 - Mirsada Burić – 3 and 5 km running
 - Zlatan Saračević – weight throw
- SWIMMING
 - Janko Gojković 100 m freestyle and 100 m butterfly
 - Anja Margetić 100 m freestyle and 100 m butterfly
- JUDO
 - Vlado Paradžik up to 60 kg
- KAYAK AND CANOE FLATWATER
 - Aleksandar Đurić
- WEIGHTLIFTING
 - Mehmed Skender over 100 kg

**Mediterranean Games
June 1993**

/round seal with an inscription:

BASKETBALL FEDERATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /

**BASKETBALL FEDERATION
OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

71000 SARAJEVO, Mis Irbina 10

Phone: 071/272-312 & 216-182

24th May 1993

105/93

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE

Please issue visas for our basketball players who are participating at the Mediterranean Games in your country, France - Montpellier, in the period from 10th June 1993 to 27th June 1993, namely:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. AVDIĆ SAMIR, BH 000059 | 15. MARKOVIĆ NENAD, BH 289753 |
| 2. FIRIĆ GORDAN, BH 026503 | 16. BAJRAMOVIĆ MENSUR, BH 289754 |
| 3. BEČIRAGIĆ ADIS, BH 026508 | 17. ALIHODŽIĆ DŽEVAD, BH 09972786 |
| 4. BEGOVIĆ SENAD, BH 026419 | 18. DELIBAŠIĆ MIRZA, BH 000055 |
| 5. MAŠNIĆ ILIJAS, BH 026666 | 19. KREHIĆ IBRAHIM, BH 026134 |
| 6. PRIMORAC MARIO, BH 106641 | 20. ĐURIĆ RANKO, BH 039646 |
| 7. MUTAPČIĆ EMIR, BH 106641 | 21. MIHALJČIĆ JOVAN, BH 026248 |
| 8. HALIMIĆ EMIR, BH 026579 | 22. ROKVIĆ JOVICA, BH 000040 |
| 9. BILALOVIĆ SABAHUDIN, BH 078589 | 23. RADONJIĆ GORAN, BH 026213 |
| 10. SELESKOVIĆ SAMIR, BH 026667 | 24. KNEŽEVIĆ ZDRAVKO, BH 026437 |
| 11. KRUPALIJA ADNAN, BH 292105 | 25. DELIBAŠIĆ SLAVICA, BH 288627 |
| 12. OVČINA ELVIR, BH 292105 | 26. ĐELILOVIĆ HUSEIN, BH |
| 13. BUKVA SEJO, BH 289755 | 27. RAGUŽ VLADO, BH |
| 14. MRŠIĆ DAMIR, BH 289752 | |

Secretary General KS /BASKETBALL FEDERATION/ R BiH

Knežević Zdravko

/signed/

/stamp: BASKETBALL FEDERATION

OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

SARAJEVO, logo/

/round seal with an inscription:

BASKETBALL FEDERATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Coat of arms of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /

BASKETBALL FEDERATION
OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

71000 SARAJEVO, Mis Irbina 10

Phone: 071/272-312 & 216-182

Date _____

Number _____

Handwritten:

2. BIH HOO

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1- AVDIĆ SAMIR 000059 | 18- DELIBAŠIĆ MIRZA 000055 |
| 2- FIRIĆ GORDAN 026503 | 19- KREHIĆ IBRAHIM 026134 |
| 3- BEĆIRAGIĆ ADIS 026508 | 20- ĐURIĆ RANKO 039646 |
| 4- BEGOVIĆ SENAD 026419 | 21- MIHALJČIĆ JOVAN 026248 |
| 5- MAŠNIĆ ILIJAS 026666 | 22- ROKVIĆ JOVICA 000040 |
| 6- PRIMORAC MARIO 106641 | 23- RADONJIĆ GORAN 026213 |
| 7- MUTAPČIĆ EMIR 106641 | 24- KNEŽEVIĆ ZDRAVKO 02643 |
| 8- HALIMIĆ EMIR 026579 | 25- DELIBAŠIĆ SLAVICA 288627 |
| 9- BILALOVIĆ SABAHUDIN 078589 | 26- DELILOVIĆ HUSEIN 026 |
| 10- SELESKOVIĆ SAMIR 026667 | 27- RAGUŽ VLADO |
| 11- KRUPALIJA ADNAN 292105 | 28- AKŠAMIJA ALMIR |
| 12- OVČINA ELVIR 292105 | |
| 13- BUKVA SEJO 289755 | |
| 14- MRŠIĆ DAMIR 289752 | |
| 15- MARKOVIĆ NENAD 289753 | |
| 16- BAJRAMOVIĆ MENSUR 289754 | |
| 17- ALIHODŽIĆ DŽEVAD 09972786 | |

This is how Croatian leadership helped BiH to present itself as a Mediterranean country in the summer of 1993, all this as part of the plan of the President Franjo Tuđman about "dividing" BiH and "annexing" its southern (Mediterranean) part to Croatia???

AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA TO MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE AREA OF CULTURE



FACTS

Total number of documents on
www.slobodanpraljak.com

4

After the outbreak of war and the siege of Sarajevo, a large number of artists from Bosnia and Herzegovina temporarily sought shelter or stayed in the Republic of Croatia or after a short stay went to third countries. Let us mention just some of them:

Writers Mile Pešorda, Miljenko Jergović, Dževad Karahasan, Darko Lukić, dramatist and Vice Dean at the Academy of Dramatic Arts in Zagreb (came in January 1993).

Actors: Hasija Borić, Jasna Beri, Daria Lorenci, Tarik Filipović, Sandra Bagarić (arrived to Zagreb in 1992), film director Antonio Nuić (author of "Sve džaba", arrived to Zagreb in 1992), a film producer Boris T. Matić (refugee from Doboj), actor and director Zijah Sokolović ("Glumac je glumac") who works as an artist between Austria and Croatia and constantly acts and directs at the theatre in Zagreb "Teatar Exit".

Popular singers: Kemal Monteno, Senad od Bosne, Indexi, Edo Maajka.

Painters: Mersad Berber, Ljubo Perčinlić (refugee from Zenica).

Architects: couple Sejo and Lejla Kurtić (refugees from Cazin).

Athletes: tennis player Ivan Ljubičić (refugee from Banja Luka), "Cibona" basketball player Damir Omerhodžić-Markota, basketball coach Jasmin Repeša.

Minister of Culture, Zlatko Vitez, helped the popular singer Kemal Monteno, Senad od Bosne and vocal-instrumental group "Indexi" to get a certificate of citizenship upon arrival to Croatia and on the basis of that to also get Croatian passports which enabled them to freely travel the world. "Indexi" held a successful concert in the hall "Lisinski" in Zagreb.

Rebelled Serbs destroyed the house of painter Mersad Berber in Sarajevo, rich library and many paintings disappeared in flames, he found safety in Zagreb, where he freely created and collaborated with the director Georgij Paro on the scenography for "Osman" by Gundulić in the Croatian National Theatre (1992).

Director Tomislav Durbešić, directed Giraudoux's play "The Trojan War will not take place" in besieged Sarajevo in 1994/1995 at Kamerni teatar 55, which was performed on the same day and the same hour in Sarajevo and Zagreb. Sarajevo's play was performed in Zagreb (in Zagreb Theatre "Kerempuh") in 1995.

Minister of Culture in the government of the Republic of Croatia, Zlatko Vitez, accepted the invitation to attend the premiere of this piece as a head of delegation of the Croatian Ministry of Culture. He prepared for the trip to besieged Sarajevo where he was to attend Durbešić's play. Due to fierce shelling of Sarajevo, flight by UNPROFOR's plane was cancelled and the delegation did not arrive to the premiere.

After Tomislav Durbešić, Croatian director Peter Veček also directed in 1996 at Kamerni Teatar 55 in Sarajevo.

Sarajevo war theatre SARTR performed the play "Sklonište" in 1994 in Zagreb (Marija Grgičević "Sarajevans delighted Zagreb", Večernji list, 19th September 1994, and Dalibor Foretić "Theatre as a fact of life," Novi list, 20th September 1994 "Humour of the war theatre").

Zagreb Theatre group "Histrion" had a guest appearance in 1995 in Mostar with the play "Krlježijada", in the part of the city mostly settled with Croats and were prepared to perform the play on the left (Bosniak) coast. Mr. Amir Bukvić, director of the Cultural Centre in Zagreb, mediated in the organization of the guest appearance. Performance did not take place on the other side of the city due to the refusal of the Bosniak side.

A group of actors from Zagreb (Zvonko Trojanac, Mladen Crnobrnja, Ena Begović, Branko Vukušić) engaged in gathering aid for colleagues from endangered theatres in BiH. They responded to the call for help of the Bosnian theatre director in Zenica, Radovan Marušić, and the Mostar Theatre, and were sending them food aid, cigarettes and construction material (for the theatre in Mostar, asbestos panels for damaged roof) in the war years 1992-1995.

Guest performances of Sarajevo "Kamerno pozorište 55" and SARTR during the 1992-1995 war in Croatia, continued in peace with performances of the National Theatre from Sarajevo, Young Theatre from Sarajevo, Bosnian Theatre from Zenica, Theatre from Tuzla and Mostar ("Tvrđava "by Meša Selimović and" Hasanaginica ") in the Republic of Croatia.

The first Cultural Centre of BiH in the world was opened in 1994 in Zagreb, a writer and actor from Zagreb, Amir Bukvić, became the first director and at the same time the cultural attaché at the Embassy of BiH in Zagreb. The following year, on 21st August 1995, the Croatian Cultural Centre was opened in Sarajevo.

When asked why the Bosnians occupied prominent positions in culture and arts specifically in Zagreb, popular singer (rapper) Edo Maajka answered: "Zagreb was the largest refugee centre (...), Zagreb is at a fine position, there is no language barrier, Ljubljana and Vienna are close, Bosnia is close, so why go any further"!?

AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE ELECTRIC POWER SECTOR



FACTS

www.slobodanpraljak.com

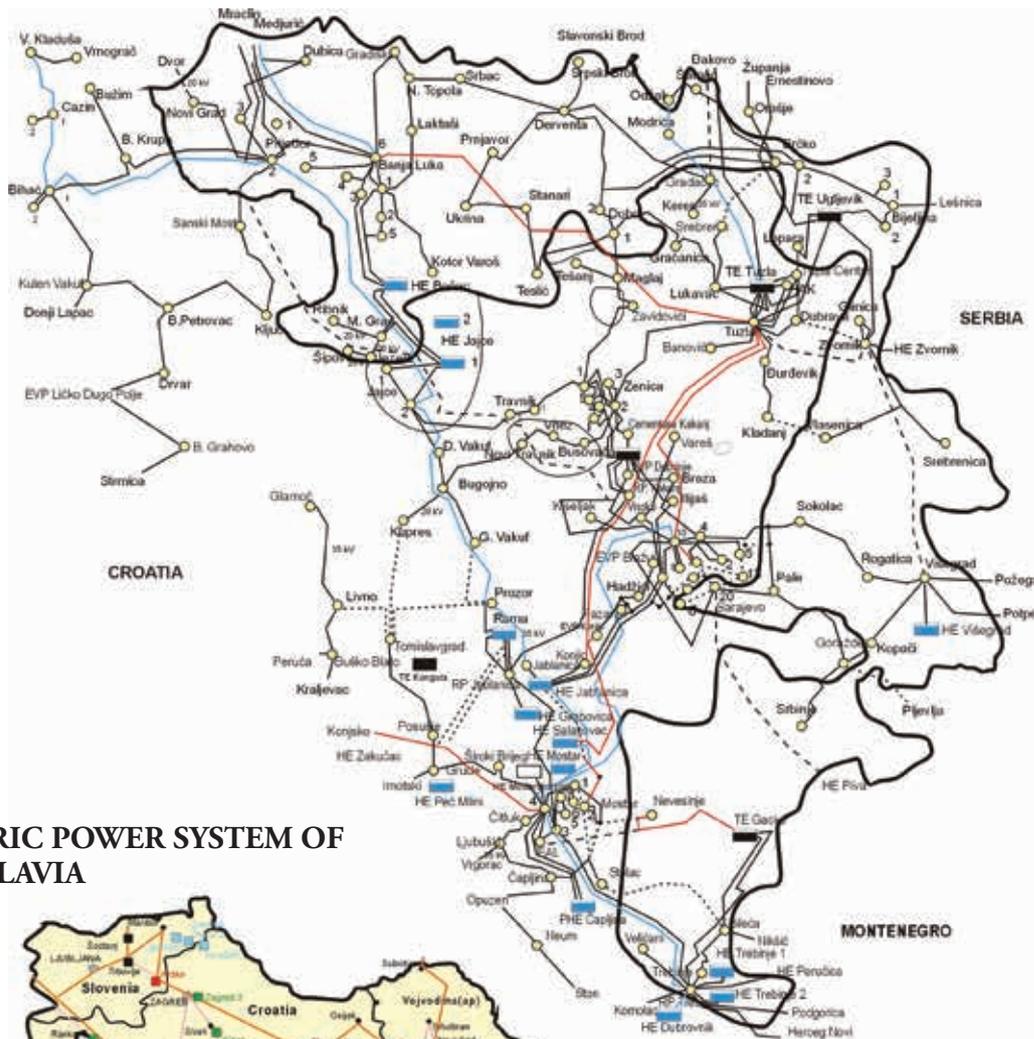
AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE ELECTRIC POWER SECTOR

Electric power systems of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina remain connected after the aggression against Croatia and BiH - in parts that were not occupied.

In addition to enabling the stability of the electric power system of unoccupied territory of BiH, Croatian electric power company Elektroprivreda has supplied more electricity to BiH than vice versa.

Dispatchers were negotiating this constantly and protocols were arranged between the two internationally recognized countries.

ELECTRIC POWER SYSTEM OF BiH



ELECTRIC POWER SYSTEM OF YUGOSLAVIA



OVERVIEW OF PRODUCTION, DELIVERY AND COLLECTION OF ELECTRICITY handwritten: IN 1992

Month	Production of hydropower	Delivery to HEP*	Collected from HEP			Trade balance JP HZ HB-HEP	Delivery to Bosnia			Consumption				
			Herzegovina	Trans. Bosnia	Total		From SP KT HB	From HEP	Total	Opuz.-Caplj.-Lj.-Ci.-Mo.	110 KV Kralj.-Grud.	110 kV B.Blat.-Liv.	110 kV Neum	Total
VII	157.391	55.504	17.284	978	18.262	37.242	101.887	978	107.863	6.571	7.494	2.464	439	17.294
VIII	175.758	103.938	23.567	3.243	26.910	77.029	71.820	3.243	75.063	13.813	6.639	2.777	438	23.667
IX	180.226	109.913	23.405	273	23.678	86.235	70.313	273	70.595	13.415	6.978	2.330	486	23.409
X	140.588	73.938	30.544	20.339	50.883	22.975	75.710	20.339	96.019	18.127	8.547	3.338	532	30.544
XI	212.981	78.913	41.109	22.076	18.162	15.729	139.068	22.076	156.144	25.124	11.369	3.915	701	41.109
XII	227.239	102.278	37.397	6.053	26.910	39.419	124.361	6.063	130.426	30.837	20.108	5.369	1.083	57.397
Total	1.103.163	525.904	193.406	52.972	23.678	279.627	578.159	52.972	631.131	107.983	61.135	20.593	3.695	193.406

Month	Production of hydropower NEUM-PREG	Exchange "JP EP HZ HB"			Delivery to Bosnia Transit		
		Delivered	Received	Trade balance	From EP HZ HB	From HEP	Total
VII	157.391	55.504	17.284	39.220	101.587	970	102.865
VIII	175.758	100.9388	23.667	30.271	71.020	3.243	75.064
IX	180.226	109.913	23.405	86.508	70.319	233	70.506
X	149.568	77.958	30.544	43.314	75.710	20.339	96.049
XI	212.981	78.913	41.109	37.068	134.068	22.076	136.144
XII	227.239	102.378	57.397	45.991	124.361	6.063	130.424
Total	1.103.163	525.004	193.406	331.598	578.159	52.972	631.131

Note:

Total supply of electricity from "JP EP HZ HB" for Bosnia should be reduced for the amount of 31.359 MWh, the amount that was spent by Prozor, Jablanica and Konjic during the period from July to December 1992.

From this follows that 546,800 MWh of "JP EP HZ HB" and 52,972 MWh of HEP (Croatian Electricity Company) was delivered to Bosnia during the period from July to December 1992, or a total of 599,772 MWh.

*HEP /Croatian Elektroprivreda/

EDIN OMERAGIĆ

Born on 31st of July 1944 in Mostar, son of Muhamed,

At request of General Slobodan Praljak's defence team, against which the criminal procedure is conducted before the International criminal tribunal for the crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, I was warned that my statement must be true, according to my best knowledge and recollection, therefore, on 20th of July 2005 in Mostar, I give the following

STATEMENT

I have known Slobodan Praljak since the school days as he came to Mostar in the 3rd grade.

After graduating from the Faculty of electric engineering in Sarajevo, at the very beginning of 1970, my first position was in UNIS, factory Konjic (Igman Konjic). In late 1971, I was transferred to EDP Elektro-Hercegovina Mostar, economic unit Konjic, where I stay till early 1977, as I was elected Assistant manager for technical matters in RO Elektro-Hercegovina Mostar, a position to which I was elected several times. I was at this position at the beginning of the war, in 1992. In the time of these mandates, I was the member of the Executive Board of Elektroprivreda BiH Sarajevo, and after the 1990 reform, I was elected President of the Administration Committee of Elektroprivreda BiH Sarajevo.

By decision of the Crisis staff Mostar, confirmed by the decision of HVO from 15th of May 1992, I become Manager of Elektro-Hercegovina.

I was not a member of any political party.

By establishing the Elektroprivreda of HZ-HB, I was appointed Head of Management for Exploitation and management in November 1992.

During 1992, in the war with JNA and the Serbs, the aforementioned controlled the hydro plant Mostar, which, by its production, enabled electric power for the left Mostar bank and through the TS /transformation station/ 110/35/10 kV Mostar 2 (Opine) for Nevesinje, and in very small quantities, for the right Mostar bank through one 10 kV cable which was connected from the aforementioned power transformer station to the right Mostar bank through the Hasan Brkić bridge. When the Hasan Brkić Bridge was destroyed, the entire right Mostar bank remained without electric power-supply. Earlier, the JNA and the Serbs damaged the TS Mostar 4 (Čule) as well as TS Mostar 1 (Raštani), so that the right Mostar bank remained without any possibility to get electric power-supply.

In the war with Serbs, all who successfully crossed from the left Mostar bank to the right Mostar bank, whereas on the left bank, only Serbs and detained Muslims remained.

Mostar received electric power on 23rd of June 1992 at 15:15 hrs through 110 kV power-transmission lines Opuzen-Čapljina-Ljubuški-Čitluk-TS Čule-Mostar, which were repaired immediately after liberation of Čapljina and Mostar. Not all consumers in

Mostar received electric power with bringing power-transmission lines into operation, regarding that the significant number of plants and lines of 10 kV and 0,4 kV voltage, especially aerial ones, were damaged.

The damages on the left Mostar bank were significantly bigger, since the consumers on the left bank were supplied with electricity, most often through the air networks, the repair of which started immediately, however, lasted longer, which resulted in displacing the JNA from the left Mostar bank.

Municipalities of Grude, Široki Brijeg and Posušje had electric power through the 110 kV power transmission line Imotski-Grude. While visiting the electric power plants, many power failures were established on all power transmission lines, by which the hydro plants Rama, Grabovica and Salakovac were connected to the electric power system. In agreement with the Croatian electric power industry (HEP), which should have made certain adjustments on some power transmission lines, connection of 220 kV network has been executed in order to enable the mutual exchange and delivery of electric power and secure the electricity for these areas through 220/110 kV transformation as well as 110 kV power transformation line in Croatia, since in these areas there wasn't any TS 220/110 kV that would run properly. This was the only way of enabling electric power for these areas, regarding that with the rest of the electric power system in BiH the necessary connections were not possible.

The TS Mostar 1 (Raštani) was completely destroyed by the JNA and the Serbs. The headquarters of Elektroprijenos (Electric transmission) were in the same station before the war. This TS has been gradually repaired, including the construction of temporary connections, and on 30th of December the switch on the power transmission line 110 kV TS Mostar 1 – TS Mostar 2 was repaired, which represented safer electric supply of the left bank.

EPHZHB was paying the personal incomes (salaries) to employees whole time, in distribution, transmission and production from Konjic, Jablanica, Prozor towards Mostar, regardless the national affiliation.

In early April 1993 I was in Jablanica together with the Head of Management for transmission and Deputy Head for Management for production of electric energy due to hand over of disjunction plant 220 kV in Jablanica (RP Jablanica). This plant should have been transferred, in record, from the Management for production to the Management for transmission of electric power, along with the employees and crews which managed this centre according to the orders from the dispatch centre. The hand over meant only the change in authority, not the change of the crew, regardless the fact that the crews were mainly Bosniaks. During the hand over itself, resistance by the present employees could be felt. The hand over was eventually executed in record, after which, along with the aforementioned persons I left this plant. The deputy Head of management for production had an office in Jablanica to which he returned immediately and the Head of Management for transmission and I, following the short stay in TS 110/10 kV Jablanica, headed towards Mostar. We were in the hydro plant Salakovac, as the deputy Head of Management for production came and told us that we must abolish the record on hand over because he was visited by the BH Army commander for Jablanica immediately after he returned to the office and ordered him to abolish the hand over, threatening that he would blow up the plants if he does not do it so.

The electricity transmission system and discontinuation of the operation of certain plants starts to be jeopardized by a diversion on 220 kV TS Mostar 3 (Jasenica) – Salakovac power transmission line. The diversion has been carried out by the Bosniaks on 8th of May 1993. The pillar, damaged by the diversion, was repaired in 3 or 4 days.

Due to damage of the power transmission line by which the hydro plant Rama is connected to 220 kV RP Jablanica, on occasion of the combat actions on 9th of May 1993, the hydro plant Rama stopped operating and could not supply the electric power system with electric power all the way till the end of Bosnian-Croatian conflict, as well as after that, regarding the fact that the several months long repair was necessary.

I remember the date exactly, it was 10th of May 1993, as the crew from the hydro plant Salakovac was taken to detention in Jablanica by the BH Army and another crew was brought. The hydro plant Grabovica was still running for a while, however, pursuant to orders of the centre, forwarded from Sarajevo to Kakanj; EPHZHB did not have any ability to control its production at the time.

I remember that, in late May 1993, we received a warning and the information that the BH Army intended to inundate Bijelo Polje, therefore the Elektroprivreda /Electric power system/ of HZ HB reacted by opening the basic vent to the hydro plant Salakovac and decreased the level of water and disabled the flood. The hydro plant Salakovac was operating for the last time in early June 1993. After cessation of the hydro plant Salakovac production, Elektroprivreda of HZ HB had at disposal only the possibility of production of CHE Čapljina.

Disablement of the transmission lines, which also means the inability of production of hydro plants, resulted in shortage of electric power in these areas. From the aforementioned it is visible that the BH Army, through its activities, was practically cutting off electric power in the areas where EPHZHB was managing electric power supply. Due to inability of production and delivery of the electric power in June 1993, the limits of electric power delivery were introduced in all municipal areas in which the EPHZHB was managing supply. That was the case with Mostar, as on the west, so on the east side.

With taking Raštani, as well as the TS Mostar 1, the BH Army side did no longer have the possibility to enable the electric power for the left Mostar bank.

After only CHE Čapljina was capable of producing and regarding that, the major number of power-transmission lines of various voltage levels were disabled, the volume of work on exploitation and management, the volume of work in the board for exploitation and management was significantly decreased, Board for exploitation and management was abolished in terms of organization and the rest of the work volume on exploitation and management was transferred to Management for transmission of electric power.

I had findings, although I was not performing this work, that later, the left Mostar bank was insured by a certain quantity of electric power through the 10 kV power-transmission line, connected to TS 110/35/10 kV Mostar 5 (Rodoč).

Approvals for leaving Mostar, as well as crossing the border for civilians were given by the civil authorities and for the soldiers, by the HVO commanders. I personally was obtaining permits from the HVO due to the need of managing affairs.

I did not see Slobodan Praljak during the war, but only in June 1992 in Široki Brijeg, as he told me; “You can go now to Mostar through Žovnica”, by which he meant that the road was free and that JNA was pressed from Mostar.

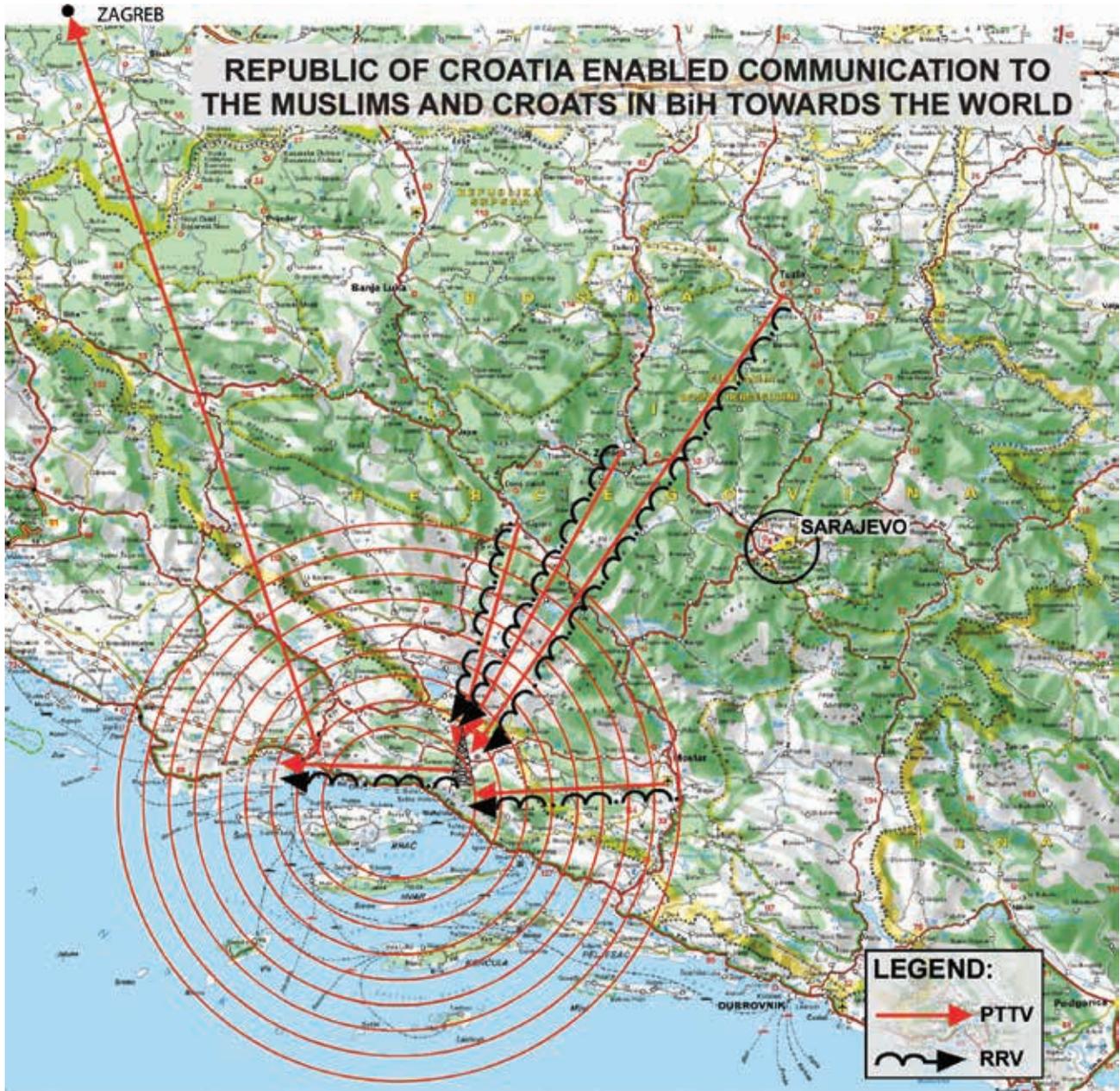
Edin Omeragić
/signed/

**AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF
CROATIA IN MAINTAINING AND
ENABLING TELECOMMUNICATION
CONNECTIONS OF BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA WITH THE WORLD
(Republic of Croatia enabled free
telecommunication not only to Croats in
BiH, to Muslims-Bosniaks as well)**



FACTS

www.slobodanpraljak.com



Cross-examination by the Accused Praljak:

Q. [Interpretation] Mr. Saric, for the sake of time, as regards telecommunications in the former Yugoslavia, the centre for communications with the world was Belgrade, yes?

A. No. There was also Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Skopje, who had direct lines to other countries. The largest international switchboard was in Belgrade, but there were also international switchboards in Ljubljana with direct connections to Austria and Italy, in Zagreb with connections to Hungary, and in Skopje which had connections with Greece and Bulgaria.

Q. But Belgrade controlled all communications?

A. Yes, Belgrade had absolute control.

Q. So the network was concentrated towards the republican centres; Sarajevo, Popo [phoen], Bosnia-Herzegovina, Zagreb for Croatia, and so on. These were the transit centres.

A. Yes.

Q. And they were connected with coaxial cables to start with?

A. Yes.

Q. And these are cables which can transmit large numbers of telephone conversations all at once.

A. Yes.

Q. After that, electromagnetic waves, high frequency electromagnetic waves were used, and let it be said they have a very small angle. They cannot go behind a hill.

A. Yes.

Q. So they need relays from hill to hill until they come to the end user; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. In 1992, the Serbs destroyed the bridge in Rastani and the relay at Velez, thereby cutting off all communication between Mostar and the world; is that correct?

A. No. There was also the western part towards Stolac, but I know what you're trying to say.

Q. Well, but for the most part towards Sarajevo, Jablanica, Konjic there was nothing, and then they hit the AXI central switchboard.

A. Yes.

Q. So then it was moved -- it was moved to avoid being completely destroyed by bombing, and in this way communication between Mostar and the rest of the world disappeared.

A. Partly, yes.

Q. And the two lines which we call "parica," which were going underneath the customs bridge, and when that fell, there was a cut-off in telephone communications.

A. Yes.

Q. So the HVO brought a coaxial cable which they set up between Mostar and Siroki Brijeg and then they set up a relay towards Sveti Juraj overlooking Makarska, and from Makarska to Split.

A. Yes.

Q. A coaxial cable can have a greater or smaller capacity; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. It's expensive.

A. Yes.

Q. It's sensitive.

A. Yes.

Q. So a smaller capacity cable was laid. It wasn't very well-protected.

A. It was portable.

Q. Yes, and a very small number of numbers, starting 058 Mostar, existed for links to Split and so on.

A. 120 at the most.

Q. Yes, 120 at the most. All communications with Central Bosnia had also been cut off.

A. Yes.

Q. So you couldn't reach that by phone, that area. You -- well, there were attempts in Tomislavgrad and elsewhere to try and link up because they had been oriented towards Sarajevo and now they were trying to reach Split.

A. Yes.

Q. That was the situation in 1992 when we managed to beat back the Serbs.

A. Yes.

Q. There were no public telephone lines. Those 120 telephone numbers were very fiercely contested. People vied for those numbers, and the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina had some of those telephone numbers; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. In that army, in Vranica, you concentrated the two strongest, most important headquarters of the 4th Corps, which from -- went from Konjic and Jablanica to Stolac and the 41st Mountain Brigade, and you put that -- and you were one of the most important people in that staff. You were the chief of communications; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. I have no further questions. Thank you for this information.

AN ESTIMATE OF WAR DAMAGES IN CROATIA

**Direct and indirect expenses of the
war for the period 1991-2005, and
a forecast to 2015 in domestic and
international prices**

formacije sa teritorije BiH izvode 1/4 u do-
brini istočne Hercegovine i oko Dubrovnika.

te dejstva se na Mostar i pravci c. Crnogla-
v - s. Ravno i s. Slano - Ivala. Po dubini s
na Lištice, Čitluk, Ljubuski, Grude, Posušje
Sljeme i o. Šibenik.

Herjaku vatrenu podršku izvodi različitim art
anin u vatrene grupe sastava 2-3 oruđa, nano
jivanjem 5-10 projektila i brzim premeštanjem
e vatre uglavnom je postigao slučajnim popoci
izvršene korekture, odnosno obezbeđenja preciz-
nosti.

oije je koristio za izviđanje klipsnim avionima
te u daljnjim napadnim dejstvima očekivati je n
osinje, Crnoglav - Stolac, s. Trebinjska - s.
s. Slano - s. Ivala - Popovo polje, sa verov
i u širi rejon Stone uz pomoć muslimanske 11
ne Hercegovačkog korpusa i izbijanjem u Popov
jne uslove sa dalja dejstva u dubinu teritori
e.

26.05.1992. godine sve snage na prostoru ist
inuju se pod jedinstvenu Komandu Hercegovačk
1.brTO - Bilećka, 472.atbr - Trebinjska, 10.
br - Nevesinjska, 13.nap, 13.sposp, 13. lap P
b, 13.atb, P1 Kude NK i P10, OTO Borci, te O
O Ljubinje koji se predpočinjavaju 23.brTO i
lužio sam nastaviti sa odlučnom odbranom na
ovac, s. Klepci, na sadašnjoj liniji odbrane
ovati odbranu u zoni 23.brTO, a sa 472.atbr o
liniji: s. Velja Međa - s. Trebinjska - s. Or
s. Grebi - s. Kaldurdevići - Visočnik.

oprediti prodor neprijatelja kroz zonu odbre
nu Hercegovinu.

200 težila izati na organizaciji VOJ-a i pr

PREFACE	634
INTRODUCTION	635
1. DIRECT WAR DAMAGES	636
1.1. Casualties, disabled people, dissociated families, and freedom restrictions.....	636
1.1.1. Military and Civilian Deaths.....	636
1.1.2. Military and Civilians Wounded, and Permanently Disabled	637
1.1.3. Displaced Persons and Refugees	639
1.1.4. Emigration.....	641
1.1.5. PTSD, Other Mental Disorders and Mental Suffering	642
1.2. Movable and Immovable Property	643
1.2.1. Industry-Related Damages	643
1.2.2. Damages in Agriculture, Forestry, Food- and Wood-Processing Industry	643
1.2.3. Infrastructural and Telecommunication Damages	644
1.2.4. Residential Real-Estate Fund.....	644
1.2.5. Natural Resources and Environmental Damages.....	644
1.2.6. “Legally” Stolen Property	645
1.2.7. Belgrade's Occupation of the Monetary System	645
1.2.8. Damages on the Cultural, Health Care, Educational, and Religious Property	645
1.3. Military Expenses	645
1.4. Landmine Clearance	646
1.4.1. Landmine Clearance Expenses	646
1.4.2. Landmine Casualties	647
2. INDIRECT WAR DAMAGES	648
2.1. The Methodology of Measurement	648
2.2. Interpretation of Results	648
2.3. Indirect Damages in the Tourism Industry	652
CONCLUSION	653
LIST OF TABLES	655
LIST OF FIGURES	655
BIBLIOGRAPHY	656

1. To explore and to get familiar with the basic facts about their own past is not just a question of elementary decency of government officials but are rather their duty and the foundation of the bright future of Croatian state.

Especially in regards to the tragic war facts experienced by the Croatian people in the previous century.

Although in the period from 1945 – 1990 many facts were not supposed to be known, it remains unclear why in free Croatia **first and last names** of the following people are still unknown:

- a) Murdered opponents of the Belgrade regime between the two world wars?
- b) Those killed in World War II?
 - by Chetniks?
 - by Ustahas?
 - by Partisans?
 - by Germans?
 - by Italians?
- c) Those killed by the communist regime after the World War II?
- d) Croats killed in exile?
- e) Killed and murdered during the Croatian homeland war?

Though the efforts of individuals are commendable, such a comprehensive task cannot be carried out by an individual.

2. This text is an attempt to calculate war damages inflicted on Croatia by Serbian aggression.
3. I was the Head of the research and was assisted by two young bright economists who have carried out a tremendous workload. My duty was only to manage the work and to determine the framework of the research.

We agreed that I will not mention their names because the fact that they were part of this research might harm their career advancement. How sad is the last sentence?!

If and when they decide to reveal their names publicly, will give me a great joy, until then all possible errors should be laid on me.

Slobodan Praljak

The purpose of this paper is to collect and estimate the total war damages Croatia and Croatian economy suffered due to the Homeland War. The main idea is to display the damages in two different ways. This implies, where possible, an assessment of total damages in domestic prices and on the basis of Croatian living standard. On the other hand, the paper presents an estimate of the total damages in terms of the prices of the most developed countries in order to achieve internationally comparable standard, and, consequently, provides the real magnitude of the losses.

The paper is divided in two sections. The first section discusses direct damages incurred as a consequence of war-related activities, while the second section reports indirect damages incurred due to foregone economic activity. Direct damages, therefore, include material destruction of property, valuation of human losses, military expenses, refugee accommodation expenses, mine clearance expenses, and health care expenses. On the other hand, indirect damages include losses incurred due to foregone economic activity caused by the war. The potential growth rate of GDP, or growth rates of comparable transition economies not affected by the war, serves as a comprehensive measure of indirect losses. Those growth rates are compared with Croatian growth rates, and give us total indirect loss irrespective of its cause.

This estimation method of indirect expenses is much more acceptable than any other method. The industry-specific estimation method is time-consuming, and the data would be more erroneous due to displacement of people (as important production factor) as well as all other detrimental effects induced by the war. The before mentioned imbalances vanish after we estimate the potential Croatian GDP over the 1990 GDP, given the growth rates of comparable transition countries (Slovenia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland, where the weight for each country may differ). As all negative effects of war-related activities in terms of foregone economic activity (dynamic dimension of the loss, section 2 of the paper) have been encompassed with this measurement, it is only left to estimate the static dimension of the loss – the loss of production factors, labor (L) and capital (K).

We discuss labor factor losses in section 1.1 as human losses (dead, wounded, disabled and displaced people, in addition to mental disorders and mental suffering caused by the war). Section 1.2 turns to capital losses (destroyed and stolen property, that is, direct damages in industry, agriculture, forestry, monetary system, as well as on civil property, natural resources, environment, and historical and cultural heritage). We do not deal with the losses incurred as a consequence of destruction and theft; we just measure the extent of confiscated, damaged, and destroyed private and state property. Section 1.4 discusses the issue of mine clearance, which is divided among the human (labor factor) losses, and mine clearance expenses. Again, we do not measure foregone earnings due to the unused land, since this it is covered in section 2 as one of the dynamic losses. The issue of mine clearance is discussed in a separate section due to its capital and human dimension (it wastes resources). Section 1.3 treats the total military expenses on soldiers and their equipment.

1. DIRECT WAR DAMAGES

Direct war damages are divided in three categories: human losses, property losses, mine clearance expenses and military expenses.

1.1. Casualties, disabled people, dissociated families, and freedom restrictions

This section discusses military and civilian deaths, wounded and permanently disabled, displaced persons and refugees, emigration and war-caused mental disorders.

1.1.1. Military and Civilian Deaths

Table 1: Measurement for dead and missing persons

Category	Number of persons	Estimate under scenario C (\$)	Estimate under scenario B (\$)	Estimate under scenario E (\$)
Deaths	12,131	2,426,200,000	36,393,000,000	3,032,750,000
Imprisoned and missing	2,251	450,200,000	6,753,000,000	562,750,000
Total	14,382	2,876,400,000	43,146,000,000	3,595,500,000

In Table 1 we sum the number of dead and imprisoned and missing persons since those in the latter category are not only found alive, but their bodies are usually exhumed from the mass graves.

There are several different methods of estimating the value of human life. Some authors include foregone earnings and investments in education in addition to expenses coming from the fact that the human life is not an asset or investment. Other authors value the human life according to the average value of life insurance schemes, while the third group measures the subjective value of human life. Irrespective of the method used in the valuation of human life, human casualties and sufferings are strongly reflected on the society's future earnings potential since people produce and create on the basis of their time-consuming investment in skills. The following is the list of some estimates of the human life:

- A. The Copenhagen Consensus estimates the value of human life at \$100,000¹.
- B. According to the research on automobile safety, the human life is worth approximately \$3,000,000². The paper estimates the implicit value of human life from \$2.6 to \$3.7 million.
- C. A General Motors engineer Edward C. Ivey measures expenses of a fatal traffic accident caused by fire. His cost-benefit analysis, involving discounting all future earnings of a victim of the average age and the average monthly salary, estimates the value of human life at \$200,000.
- D. The average life-insurance compensations amount from \$20,000 for car accident victims to \$1,000,000 for railroad accidents victims.

¹ "The Economist special report," Copenhagen Consensus, June 5th 2004, p. 64-65.

² Mark K. Dreyfus & W. Kip Viscusi, Rates of Time Preference and Consumer Valuations of Automobile Safety and Fuel Efficiency, J. Law & Econ. 38, p. 79-102 (1995).

E. In the U.S., a National Guard soldier is subject to \$250,000 life insurance benefits. This estimate is the most reliable.

The measurement of the value of life according to foregone earnings in Croatia would give us unrealistically small figure. Thus, we have to use one of the five mentioned scenarios. Table 1 presents measurements according to scenarios B, C, and E. Since only scenario E provides an estimate of the value of life of a military services member (in that case the U.S. National Guard member), we believe scenario E provides the best possible estimate.

1.1.2. Military and Civilians Wounded, and Permanently Disabled

Table 2: Expenses of wounded and permanently disabled in the Homeland War

Category	Number of persons	Expenses (in 2003 domestic prices in \$)	Expenses (in 2003 German prices in \$)
Permanently disabled in the Homeland War	32,249 ³	23,176,710,300	30,959,040,000
Number of wounded	48,677 ⁴	40,398,694	212,389,112
Total	-	23,217,108 994	31,171,429,100

Analysis of the figures in Table 2:

The first column presents expenses of permanently disabled persons in the Homeland War in domestic prices. The average retirement compensation of a Croatian Homeland War veteran in 2003 is HRK 5,076.70, with the average age at the time of disability of 29⁵. Therefore, if the life expectancy of the average male in Croatia is 72 years, the average permanently disabled male will receive $(72 - 29) \times 12 \times \text{HRK } 5,076.70 = \text{HRK } 2,619,577 = \$415,800$. If we include all foregone earnings (given the average monthly salary in September 2005 of HRK 4,417), we obtain $(65 - 29) \times 4,417 \times 12 = \text{HRK } 1,908,144 = \$302,880$. Thus, the total expenses per permanently disabled person are \$718,680. Multiplying the latter figure with the number of registered Homeland War veterans (retirees), we get the total of **\$23,176,710,300**.

In the second column we use the U.S. insurance companies' estimate of the total expense of permanent disability of a person between 25 and 30 years old. The analysis was made for life insurance services providers, and the figure states the expense of \$960,000 per disabled person. Then, the total amounts to **\$30,959,040,000**.

The expenses of wounded persons are calculated in the following way. The Professor Hebrang's paper provides the baseline data that allow us to estimate the total number of hospitalization days of Croatian soldiers. The price of one hospitalization day is obtained in the following way: using the total number of hospitalization days for all patients during the year, and the total hospital expenses (including equipment, accommodation, food expenses, and employees' salaries, which indirectly represent the total expenses of all services provided

³ In "The Current State of the Pay-As-You-Go Retirement Scheme" (Stanje sustava mirovinskog osiguranja temeljenog na generacijskoj solidarnosti), The Annual Report of the Croatian Pension Insurance Institute (HZMO), Table 7, the average retirement compensation is HRK 5,076.70.

⁴ Professor Andrija Hebrang: "An Effectiveness Analysis of the Wartime Health System" (Analiza učinkovitosti ratnog zdravstva) (preliminary report), Zagreb, October 2003, p. 2.

⁵ Ibid, p. 11.

by hospitals in terms of baseline health care, surgery, specialist treatment, therapy, etc.), we obtain the price per one patient. The figure is obtained for Croatian and German hospitals.

These data are available for only 27,532 wounded persons in the Homeland War⁶. However, on the basis of this sample, we are able to estimate the data for the whole population of hospitalized wounded persons (due to the large sample of 27,532 hospitalized persons, representing 90.2% ($27,532 \div 30,520 = 0.9020$) of the population, there is no need for any statistical adjustments). The rest of the wounded persons not included in this source ($48,677 - 30,520 = 18,175$) were not hospitalized, therefore, we assign them 1 hospitalization day. Using the data from the former analysis we obtain the following estimates:

Table 3: The total number of hospitalization days for wounded persons

Duration	Average of the category (in days)	Number of wounded (for 90.2% in the sample)	Relative frequency (%)	Number of hospitalized wounded (in the population)	Number of wounded not included in the source	All wounded	Total number of days
Not hospitalized	1	18	0.07	20	18,157	18,177	18,177
More than 2 months	90 ⁷	969	3.51	1,072	0	1,072	96,524
1-2 months	45	1,232	4.48	1,367	0	1,367	61,507
1 month	30	2,264	8.23	2,510	0	2,510	75,311
15-21 days	18	2,984	10.84	3,309	0	3,309	59,558
8-14 days	11	5,930	21.54	6,574	0	6,574	72,310
1-7 days	4	14,135	51.34	15,668	0	15,668	62,671
Total	-	27,532	100.00	30,520	18,157	48,677	446,058

Table 3 shows estimates of 48,677 wounded persons and 446,058 hospitalization days. Using the price of one hospitalization day (including all hospital services) we can easily obtain the total expenses of wounded persons.

The Financial Report of the Croatian Pension Insurance Institute (HZZO) states the price of one hospitalization day in 2003 of HRK 570.58⁸. This figure covers all expenses, including accommodation and medication expenses, surgery treatments, and employees' salaries. The total expense can be calculated as follows: $446,058 \times \text{HRK } 570.58 = \text{HRK } 254,511,773.60 = \text{\$40,398,694}$. However, we should not undermine severe conditions of wounded persons as well as the fact that such circumstances require more surgery treatments than the ones at the time of peace. Moreover, the expenses should be evaluated in internationally comparable prices.

Therefore, we perform an analysis of the medical expenses in Germany in 2003. The total expenses of German hospitals amounted to €64,688 billion, or \$73,097,440,000 (using 2003 Euro/Dollar exchange rate of 1.13). In the same year, as patients used 153,518,000 hospitalization days, it is easy to calculate that the price of one hospitalization day amounted to $73,097,440,000 \div 153,518,000 = \476.15 . Thus, in German prices the total expense for wounded persons in the Homeland War is $446,058 \times \$467.15 = \text{\$212,389,112}$.

⁶ Table 3 uses the data from Professor Andrija Hebrang: "An Effectiveness Analysis of the Wartime Health System" (Analiza učinkovitosti ratnog zdravstva) (preliminary report), Zagreb, October 2003, p. 68.

⁷ The author's estimate (average duration of hospitalization is assumed to be 3 months).

⁸ The Croatian Pension Insurance Institute (HZMO), The Financial Report of the Croatian Pension Insurance Institute (HZMO) in 2003.

1.1.3. Displaced Persons and Refugees

Table 4 presents either direct or indirect evaluation of the support for displaced persons and refugees on the basis of German estimates of the support expenses.

Table 4⁹: Expenses for displaced persons and refugees

Month	Displaced persons	Refugees	No. of persons × no. of months	Estimate A (\$)	Estimate B (\$)
1991.12	550,000	0	550,000	535,839,040.09	478,427,714.37
1992.1	324,238	872	325,110	316,739,327.86	282,802,971.31
1992.2	330,787	1,276	332,063	323,513,307.58	288,851,167.48
1992.3	356,627	16,579	373,206	363,596,990.54	324,640,170.13
1992.4	247,278	193,415	440,693	429,346,389.27	383,344,990.42
1992.5	258,054	274,366	532,420	518,711,675.87	463,135,424.88
1992.6	269,351	299,197	568,548	553,909,481.03	494,562,036.64
1992.7	265,786	363,270	629,056	612,859,569.46	547,196,044.16
1992.8	262,690	362,306	624,996	608,904,103.10	543,664,377.76
1992.9	262,642	364,154	626,796	610,657,758.14	545,230,141.19
1992.10	263,779	367,366	631,145	614,894,783.56	549,013,199.61
1992.11	264,194	370,371	634,565	618,226,728.14	551,988,150.13
1992.12	260,705	402,768	663,473	646,390,428.09	577,134,310.79
1993.1	252,703	401,412	654,115	637,273,370.38	568,994,080.70
1993.2	253,246	399,566	652,812	636,003,918.98	567,860,641.95
1993.3	252,458	386,284	638,742	622,296,182.09	555,621,591.15
1993.4	250,325	269,005	519,330	505,958,706.71	451,748,845.28
1993.5	254,263	271,096	525,359	511,832,476.84	456,993,282.90
1993.6	254,791	272,869	527,660	514,074,232.54	458,994,850.48
1993.7	248,206	277,054	525,260	511,736,025.82	456,907,165.91
1993.8	246,985	279,049	526,034	512,490,097.48	457,580,444.18
1993.9	246,451	276,548	522,999	509,533,240.24	454,940,393.07
1993.10	246,801	278,383	525,184	511,661,982.60	456,841,055.90
1993.11	248,888	281,462	530,350	516,694,972.57	461,334,796.94
1993.12	249,972	281,318	531,290	517,610,770.20	462,152,473.40
1994.1	249,011	281,455	530,466	516,807,985.90	461,435,701.69
1994.2	248,352	284,155	532,507	518,796,435.86	463,211,103.45
1994.3	248,244	281,817	530,061	516,413,413.51	461,083,404.92
1994.4	247,185	272,383	519,568	506,190,578.88	451,955,874.00
1994.5	247,078	267,140	514,218	500,978,326.40	447,302,077.14
1994.6	247,419	266,728	514,147	500,909,154.45	447,240,316.47
1994.7	247,068	266,056	513,124	499,912,493.83	446,350,440.92
1994.8	196,870	183,038	379,908	370,126,432.81	330,470,029.29
1994.9	197,507	184,851	382,358	372,513,352.17	332,601,207.29
1994.10	196,075	184,299	380,374	370,580,434.61	330,875,388.05
1994.11	196,512	187,188	383,700	373,820,799.43	333,768,570.92
1994.12	195,189	187,670	382,859	373,001,452.82	333,037,011.45

⁹ The monthly data on the number of displaced persons and refugees from January 1992 to November 1995 are obtained from the Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees, The Government of Republic Croatia, Zagreb, 1998. The non-starred figures are from Narodne novine No. 92, p. 2120, July 7, 1998. The starred figures are estimated using the method of linear interpolation (between two known figures, the number of displaced persons and refugees increases by the same amount every month).

1995.1	195,255	187,784	383,039	373,176,818.32	333,193,587.79
1995.2	195,626	188,230	383,856	373,972,782.86	333,904,270.41
1995.3	195,802	188,230	384,032	374,144,251.35	334,057,367.28
1995.4	195,825	189,531	385,356	375,434,162.06	335,209,073.27
1995.5	197,592	188,672	386,264	376,318,783.60	335,998,913.93
1995.6	198,661	188,606	387,267	377,295,959.16	336,871,392.11
1995.7	200,782	188,217	388,999	378,983,365.01	338,378,004.48
1995.8	197,337	187,038	384,375	374,478,420.07	334,355,732.20
1995.9	197,510	208,646	406,156	395,698,620.31	353,302,339.56
1995.10	197,510	208,663	406,173	395,715,182.60	353,317,127.32
1995.11	198,672	214,746	413,418	402,773,644.14	359,619,325.13
1995.12	194,234*	210,432*	404,666	394,246,983.63	352,006,235.39
1996.1	189,797*	206,117*	395,914	385,720,323.13	344,393,145.65
1996.2	185,359*	201,803*	387,162	377,193,662.62	336,780,055.91
1996.3	180,922*	197,488*	378,410	368,667,002.11	329,166,966.17
1996.4	176,484*	193,174*	369,658	360,140,341.61	321,553,876.43
1996.5	172,047*	188,859*	360,906	351,613,681.10	313,940,786.69
1996.6	167,609	184,545	352,154	343,087,020.59	306,327,696.96
1996.7	162,066*	175,901*	337,967	329,265,296.12	293,986,871.53
1996.8	156,523*	167,257*	323,780	315,443,571.64	281,646,046.11
1996.9	150,980*	158,613*	309,593	301,621,847.16	269,305,220.68
1996.10	145,437*	149,969*	295,406	287,800,122.69	256,964,395.26
1996.11	139,893*	141,326*	281,219	273,978,398.21	244,623,569.83
1996.12	134,350*	132,682*	267,032	260,156,673.74	232,282,744.41
1997.1	128,807*	124,038*	252,845	246,334,949.26	219,941,918.98
1997.2	123,264*	115,394*	238,658	232,513,224.78	207,601,093.56
1997.3	117,721	106,750	224,471	218,691,500.31	195,260,268.13
1997.4	115,958*	101,415*	217,373	211,776,178.99	189,085,874.10
1997.5	114,194*	96,081*	210,275	204,860,857.67	182,911,480.06
1997.6	112,431*	90,746*	203,177	197,945,536.35	176,737,086.03
1997.7	110,667*	85,412*	196,079	191,030,215.03	170,562,692.00
1997.8	108,904*	80,077*	188,981	184,114,893.72	164,388,297.96
1997.9	107,140*	74,742*	181,883	177,199,572.40	158,213,903.93
1997.10	105,377*	69,408*	174,784	170,284,251.08	152,039,509.89
1997.11	103,613*	64,073*	167,686	163,368,929.76	145,865,115.86
1997.12	101,850*	58,738*	160,588	156,453,608.44	139,690,721.82
1998.1	100,086*	53,404*	153,490	149,538,287.13	133,516,327.79
1998.2	98,323*	48,069*	146,392	142,622,965.81	127,341,933.76
1998.3	96,559*	42,735*	139,294	135,707,644.49	121,167,539.72
1998.4	94,796	37,400	132,196	128,792,323.17	114,993,145.69
1998.5	93,033*	32,065*	125,098	121,877,001.85	108,818,751.65
1998.6	91,269*	26,731*	118,000	114,961,680.54	102,644,357.62
1998.7	89,506*	21,396*	110,902	108,046,359.22	96,469,963.59
1998.8	87,742*	16,062*	103,804	101,131,037.90	90,295,569.55
1998.9	85,979*	10,727*	96,706	94,215,716.58	84,121,175.52
1998.10	84,215*	5,392*	89,608	87,300,395.26	77,946,781.48
1998.11	82,452*	58*	82,509	80,385,073.94	71,772,387.45
1998.12	80,688*	0*	80,688	78,610,809.71	70,188,222.96
Total	-	-	31,742,784	30,925,496,347.09	27,612,050,309.90

Source: Narodne novine, July 7, 1998, no. 92, p. 2120, The Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees, The Government of Republic Croatia, Zagreb 1998, www.emz-berlin.de.

The figures in Table 4 are obtained either from official sources or derived from a regression model for the months for which the data are unavailable. According to the “Kralj Zvonimir

Fund” data, while supporting displaced persons and refugees, Croatia incurred over \$2 million in refugee-related expenses, including \$1,133 million for food and accommodation expenses. However, in order to put the analysis in the worldwide perspective, we make use of German monthly refugee-related expenses. Estimate A uses the monthly expense per person in 1995 of DM 1,400¹⁰. Estimate B uses the expense of DM 1,250 per month per refugee¹¹. We sum the number of displaced persons and the number refugees for each month, and calculate two series of estimates. As we do not have intention to inflate the figures, we proceed with the lower figure of **\$27,612,050,309.90**.

1.1.4. Emigration

The Homeland War, and consequent unfavorable business environment, caused significant emigration. Until May 1998, 283,000¹² people left Croatia. Each employed citizen generates a certain surplus for the whole society. If a citizen leaves, the country loses entire benefits of its educational investment. Abstracting from the health care and pension insurance contribution, we utilize the average September 2005 monthly salary of HRK 4,417. This is the monthly amount the country loses due to emigration, since otherwise the emigrant would earn and spend this amount during his working cycle. If we take 35 years to be the average age of an emigrant (emigrants are mostly younger people, including Serbs who emigrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia), then the expected working cycle of an emigrant is 30 years (up to age 65). Therefore, the total loss per emigrant amounts to $30 \times 12 \times \text{HRK } 4,417 = \text{HRK } 1,590,120 = \$257,300$; multiplying the latter figure with the number of emigrants we obtain $\$257,300 \times 283,000 = \mathbf{\$72,815,900,000}$. In this measurement, however, one should include the initial decrease in income, as well as its later slower growth, both of which were under severe influence of emigration. As we estimate dynamic losses in section 2 of the paper, we do not include these losses here. On the other hand, educational costs of 283,000 emigrants are not included in our dynamic analysis.

It follows that the total emigration-related losses equal to the losses from their educational investments. Assuming the educational pattern of an average emigrant resembles the pattern of the whole population¹³, and using the average educational cost per student, we obtain the following estimates:

Table 5: Educational costs of emigrants

Education	Category average (duration)	Relative frequency	No. of emigrants	Costs of primary and secondary education (HR), in \$	Costs of tertiary education (HR), in \$	Total (HR), in \$	Costs of primary and secondary education (EU), in \$	Costs of tertiary education (EU), in \$	Total (EU), in \$
Less than 7 years	4	15.76	44,601	970.88	0.00	970.88	79,675,315.13	0.00	79,675,315.13
Primary schooling	8	21.75	61,553	1,941.76	0.00	1,941.76	109,958,001.53	0.00	109,958,001.53
Secondary schooling	12	47.06	133,180	2,912.64	0.00	2,912.64	237,913,726.52	0.00	237,913,726.52
College education	12+3	4.08	11,546	2,802,542.21	13,078,491.82	15,881,034.02	20,626,604.42	206,272,279.30	226,898,883.72
University education	12+6	7.82	22,131	5,371,539.23	25,067,109.31	30,438,648.55	39,534,325.15	395,355,201.98	434,889,527.13
Total	-	100	283,000	8,179,906.72	38,145,601.13	46,325,507.85	487,707,972.74	601,627,481.28	1,089,335,454.02

¹⁰ Cf. Kl. Anfrage Nr 1054, Ismail Kosan, September 4, 1996.

¹¹ Cf. Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats von Berlin 2000.

¹² Narodne novine, No. 92, p. 2121, July 7, 1998.

In Table 5 we use the estimate of educational costs of an average European Union student – €15,000 for a university student, and €1,500 for an elementary school student (columns in the table using these data are denoted by EU). In Croatia, a university student costs HRK 7,000 per student, while an elementary and a high school student cost HRK 1,500¹⁴ (columns denoted by HR). As we measure the costs in dollars, we use the following exchange rates: HRK/€ = 7.36, and HRK/\$ = 6.18. We obtain the total of **\$46,325,507.85** in domestic prices, and **\$1,089,335,454.02** in the EU prices. These estimates reflect the remaining emigration losses (since the dynamic analysis in section 2 encompasses the labor factor losses).

1.1.5. PTSD, Other Mental Disorders and Mental Suffering

From 15% to 40% persons involved in the war suffer from PTSD. There is no reliable figure due to the large number of those who have never registered or required some professional help. However, the most reliable data are on PTSD-caused suicides. Since 1991, 1,370 war veterans took their own lives; the average of 91.3 war veterans per year. As we estimate the war damages in Croatia up to 2015, we assume that additional 913 war veterans will commit suicide. This is the best assumption we can make due to the low quality of data, and as the derivation of the trendline is not possible. Therefore, we make use of the linear estimation method. Again, method E is implemented, and the value of life is estimated at \$250,000. The results are presented in the following table:

Table 6: Number of PTSD-caused suicides, and forecasts

Period	No. of suicides	Expenses (in \$)
1991-2005	1,370	342,500,000
2006-2015	913	228,250,000
Total	2,283	570,750,000

In this section we should discuss the second perspective of damages caused by freedom restrictions (imprisoned civilians and soldiers). Therefore, one would need the data on the duration of imprisonment of Croatian soldiers and civilians who were later released (emphasizing *released* because a number of prisoners were killed in concentration camps and prisons, and therefore are included in Table 1). Also, we would need the average daily wage rate an imprisoned person was forced to forego. However, the expenses coming from the foregone economic activity are included in the measurement of indirect war damages in section 2. In addition, one should stress mental sufferings of imprisoned persons, however, these expenses are hard to quantify, and, for purposes of the more objective economic analysis, we leave those subjective categories out of the analysis.

The third part represents mental sufferings of the families who lost their loved ones or have a wounded family member (some estimates cite 200,000 families). For the same reason, however, mental sufferings are hard to quantify. Around 50,000 to 70,000 families lost a family member (either being killed or permanently disabled) who was prior to the war the primary income source for the family. Since those income losses were discussed in section

¹³ The data on the educational pattern in Croatia are derived from the 2001 Census published by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

¹⁴ According to Družić et al. (2003), pp. 393-414.

1.1.2., we will not pursue the analysis further. Again, we leave out subjective sufferings of those families for the purposes of obtaining objective damage estimates.

1.2. Movable and Immovable Property

Movable and immovable property, either state- or privately-owned, was considerably damaged in the war. The analysis is divided among damages in industry, agriculture and forestry, health care sector, monetary sector, on infrastructure and telecommunications, residential units, natural resources, property owned by Croatian residents abroad, and cultural and historical heritage.

1.2.1. Industry-Related Damages

The following damages relate to the damages on plants, buildings, inventory and motor vehicles.

Table 7: Industry-related damages

Industry	Damages (in \$)
Metallurgy	187,000,000
Nonmetallic mineral mining (stone quarrying)	80,000,000
Chemicals	41,000,000
Textile	27,000,000
Rubber	660,000,000
Oil & gas (INA)	161,400,000
Total	1,156,400,000

Source: The Ministry of industry, shipbuilding and energetics, Zagreb, Document Category: 422-03/92-01/03; File No.: 526-01-92-3, February 12, 1993.

1.2.2. Damages in Agriculture, Forestry, Food- and Wood-Processing Industry

This section presents damages to the lost or stolen livestock, destroyed crops, destroyed food- and wood-processing industry plants, and expenses incurred due to the deterioration of cultivable areas and woodland.

Table 8: Damages in agriculture, forestry, food- and wood-processing industry

Industry	Damages (in \$)
Agriculture and food-processing industry (1993 average) ¹⁵	780,000,000
Forestry and wood-processing industry	630,000,000
Total	1,410,000,000

¹⁵ M.Pavković, "War Damages in Croatia" (Hrvatske ratne štete), Defimi, Zagreb, 1997, p. 67 and p. 69.

1.2.3. Infrastructural and Telecommunication Damages

Table 9: Infrastructural and telecommunication damages

Transport type	Damages (in \$)
Railroad	353,000,000
Road	351,000,000
Maritime	38,000,000
Waterway	90,000,000
Air ¹⁶	94,000,000
Telecommunications and media ¹⁷	528,000,000
Energy grids ¹⁸	680,000,000
Oil pipelines ¹⁹	24,100,000
Water supply management ²⁰	196,980,000
Total	2,355,080,000

1.2.4. Residential Real-Estate Fund

In the Homeland War 171,461 residential units in the Real-Estate Fund have been either damaged or completely destroyed²¹. By the end of the war, 183,526 residential units have been either destroyed or significantly damaged. In 1991, the average size of the residential unit was 70.4 squared meters²². Therefore, we can easily estimate the total number of destroyed or significantly damaged squared meters as $183,526 \times 70.4\text{m}^2 = 12,920,230.4 \text{ m}^2$. If the average price of a squared meter of a residential unit is €1,000, the total damages amount to €12,920,230,400 or **\$15,116,669,500**. A previous analysis of the damages in the Real-Estate Fund cites the total amount of **\$3.8 billion**; however, this figure is considerably lower than real damages²³.

1.2.5. Natural Resources and Environmental Damages

In this section we analyze devastated natural resources and natural beauties. In the section on mine clearance expenses we included the costs of the landmine contaminated areas. The remaining pollution is not easy to determine. The wood exploitation, as a renewable source of energy, is included in the dynamic assessment of the losses (indirect damages, that is, the

¹⁶ The figures in the first 5 rows are from Josip Kovačević et al., "War Damages and Reparations" (Ratne štete i reparacije), Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1993, p. 100.

¹⁷ Josip Božičević, "War Destruction in Transports and Communications in Croatia" (Ratna razaranja i štete u prometu i vezama Hrvatske), Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (HAZU), Zagreb 1992.

¹⁸ Božidar Javorović, "The Great Serbian Invasion and Croatian Defense" (Velikosrpska najezda i obrana Hrvatske), DEFIMI, Zagreb, 1995, p. 294.

¹⁹ The Ministry of industry, shipbuilding and energetics, Zagreb, Document Category: 422-03/92-01/03; File No.: 526-01-92-3, February 12, 1993.

²⁰ M.Pavković, "War Damages in Croatia" (Hrvatske ratne štete), Defimi, Zagreb, 1997, p. 69

²¹ The Ministry of Construction and Environment Protection, "Survey of damaged residential units by municipalities" (Pregled oštećenih stanova po općinama), October 1992.

²² Družić et al., "Croatian Economic Development" (Hrvatski gospodarski razvoj), using the Central Bureau of Statistics data.

²³ Josip Kovačević et al., "War Damages and Reparations" (Ratne štete i reparacije), Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1993, p. 100.

foregone economic activity). The only non-renewable source we mention here is the oil exploitation in the Đeletovci field, which INA estimated at \$215.6 million for 1992 and 1993. If we assume that the exploitation in the next two years of occupation continued at the same pace, the total amounts to **\$531.2 million**.

1.2.6. “Legally” Stolen Property

This section includes the assets of Croatian companies that Serbian authorities transformed in separate legal entities prior to the war (this especially concerns INA, Končar, and electro-energetic plants).

Table 10: Confiscated and destroyed property abroad

Property type	Damages (in \$)
Electrical plants ²⁴	1,000,000,000
Oil plants (INA) ²⁵	143,800,000
Total	1,143,800,000

1.2.7. Belgrade's Occupation of the Monetary System

In January 1991 Serbia carried out a financial coup, occupied the monetary system of the former country and took away \$1.4 billion²⁶. At that time Croatia participated in the joint GDP of the former country at 25.5%²⁷, and, therefore, Croatia lost **\$357 million**.

1.2.8. Damages on the Cultural, Health Care, Educational, and Religious Property

Table 11: Damages on the cultural, health care, educational, and religious property

Area	Damages (million \$)
Education, religion and culture ²⁸	2,500
Health care	2,300
Total	4,800

1.3. Military Expenses

The data on military expenses vary from one source to another. One of them cites the figure of \$8,248,000,000²⁹ for the period 1991-1994. If we add military expenses for 1995 of \$1,894,000,000, the total military expenses amount to **\$10,142,000,000**. However, as the great part of imported weapons has not been officially registered due to embargo restrictions, we

²⁴ An estimate from M. Pavković, “Croatian War Damages” (Hrvatske ratne štete), Defimi, Zagreb, 1997., p. 64.

²⁵ The Ministry of Industry, Shipbuilding, and Energetics, Zagreb, Document Category: 422-03/92-01/03; File No.: 526-01-92-3, February 12, 1993.

²⁶ Ozren Žunec, “The War in Croatia 1991-1995, Volume I” (Rat u Hrvatskoj 1991.-1995. 1. dio), p. 3.

²⁷ Družić, I. and Sirotković, J., “Introduction to the Croatian Economy” (Uvod u hrvatsko gospodarstvo), p. 114.

²⁸ All figures from M. Pavković, “Croatian War Damages” (Hrvatske ratne štete), Defimi, Zagreb, 1997, p. 89 (1992 average estimate).

²⁹ According to Military Balance.

use the following estimation method. We multiply the total number of days spent in military with the annual cost per soldier in the EU (including equipment expenses). We estimate the total number of days spent in military at 100,000,000 (using the data of the Croatian War Veterans Investment Fund, where investment shares were allocated according to the number of days spent in military). The annual cost of a soldier in the EU is \$70,000³⁰, while in the U.S. and in the U.K. varies between \$100,000 and \$200,000. Using the EU cost per soldier, we obtain the following estimate: $100,000,000 \times (70,000 / 365) = \mathbf{\$19,178,082,191}$. Further analysis is not feasible due to data confidentiality and generally unfavorable conditions in Croatia at the time (1991-1995).

1.4. Landmine Clearance

We discuss the issue of landmine clearance in the separate section simply because it contains both material losses in terms of landmine clearance expenses and human losses in terms of dead and permanently disable persons.

1.4.1. Landmine Clearance Expenses

There are several different estimates of landmine clearance expenses. The Croatian Mine Action Center states the price of HRK 6.70 plus VAT per squared meter. However, we believe that this figure is understated; even landmine clearance companies state that the price of HRK 10 underestimates the true costs (RTL). Some international agencies estimate the cost at €1.53 per squared meter³¹, that is, \$1.79 in November 2005 exchange rate. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the price per squared meter is KM 3³², that is, \$1.76 in November 2005 exchange rate. Other estimates include €1.70³³ and \$1.99 per squared meter. As the prices plunged at this level in the past two years (before they even reached the figure of €2,5 per squared meter), we believe the fair price is \$1.99 per squared meter.

The next is to determine the total landmine area. In the beginning of the clearance process, there were 5,980 squared kilometers of the suspected landmine area³⁴. According to the 2003 data, 26.09% of the suspected landmine area was contaminated. Therefore, we make use of this fraction in the estimate of the landmine-clear territory. As of today (December 2005), there are 1,174 squared kilometers of the suspected landmine area left to be examined. Therefore, 4,806 (5,980 – 1,174) squared kilometers are examined. If we use the same share of contaminated area, we obtain the estimate of 1,253 (4,806 × 26.09%) squared kilometers of landmine-clear territory. At least 30% of 1,174 square kilometers of the suspected landmine area is contaminated (according to the Croatian Mine Action Center). Hence, $1,174 \times 30\% = 352 \text{ km}^2$. The data for the rest of 822 (1,174 – 352) squared kilometers are completely unknown. Again, assuming that 26.09% of the area is contaminated, we obtain additional 214.5 (822 × 26.09%) squared kilometers. As a result, the total contaminated area is 1,819.5 (1253 + 214.5 + 352) squared kilometers. Using the price of \$1.99 per square meter, we obtain the total expense of **\$3,620,805,000**.

The same figure in domestic prices is $1,819,500,000 \text{ m}^2 \times (6.70+22\%) \div 6.30 = \mathbf{\$2,360,729,048}$. These are the total expenses up to 2009.

³⁰ Thompson, J.A.: Common Interest, Common Responsibilities, www.rand.org.

³¹ Landmine Monitor Report 2003, Croatia.

³² Implementation Completion Report, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Emergency Landmines Clearance Project (Credit 29050-BA).

³³ International Trust Fund for Demining and Mine Victims Assistance.

³⁴ Narodne novine, No. 92, p. 2138, July 7, 1998.

Further analysis can be performed if we break down the total expenses in the amount actually spend so far and the amount that is expected to be spend up to 2009. As of today, the landmine clearance expenses amount to **\$1,625,717,778** ($1,253,000,000\text{m}^2 \times (6.7 + 22\%) \div 6.30$) in domestic prices, and **\$2,493,470,000** in international prices.

1.4.2. Landmine Casualties

According to the Croatian Red Cross data³⁵, in the period of 1991-2003, 414 persons were killed by the landmines, 975 persons were permanently disabled and 275 suffered minor injuries. However, a part of these casualties were included in the measurement of section 1.1. The second available source (the Croatian Mine Action Center) states 263 landmine casualties from 1998, including 100 deaths. The latter figure is more reliable since it does not include war casualties.

Using these figures, we will estimate the number of permanently disabled persons up to 2009, when the process of mine clearance is expected to complete. According to the Croatian Mine Action Center data, there were 1,664 landmine casualties (the figure excludes casualties who were not registered), out of which 1,250 survived the accident. 78% suffered severe injuries, while the rest were permanently disabled ($975 \div 1,250$). If we assume the same fractions after the war, then out of 163 casualties who survived the accident ($263 - 100$), 127 are permanently disabled, and 36 suffered minor injuries.

However, one should not overlook the additional 4 years needed to remove all the landmines from the rest of the contaminated area. Since we do not have enough data for a more precise measurement, we use the linear estimation method. We need to estimate the average number of casualties per year. For the period 1998-2005 (8 years) we obtain the average of 16 ($127 \div 8$) permanently disabled persons, and 12.5 ($100 \div 8$) dead persons per year. Accordingly, in the next four years we expect 64 permanently disabled and 50 landmine-caused deaths. We disregard medical care expenses for the casualties with minor injuries, since they are negligible relative to the total expense.

Using the same estimation method for the value of human life, we obtain the following expenses:

Table 12: Expenses of landmines casualties (in \$)

Category	No. of persons	U.S. prices (in \$)		Domestic prices (in \$)	
		Expenses per person	Total	Expenses per person	Total
Permanently disabled (1998-2005)	127	960,000 ³⁶	121,920,000	718,680 ³⁷	91,272,360
Dead (1998-2005)	100	250,000 ³⁸	25,000,000	250,000	25,000,000
Permanently disabled (2006-2009)	64	960,000	61,440,000	718,680	45,995,520
Dead (2006-2009)	50	250,000	12,500,000	250,000	12,500,000
Total	227	-	220,860,000	-	174,767,880

³⁵ www.hcr.hr.

³⁶ See section 1.1.2. for further details.

³⁷ See section 1.1.2. for further details.

³⁸ See section 1.1.1. for further details.

Therefore, the total human losses caused by landmines are **\$220,860,000**.

Table 13: Total landmines expenses in Croatia

Expense type	Expenses in domestic prices (in \$)			Expenses in international prices (in \$)		
	Up to 2005	2005 -2015	Total	Up to 2005	2005 -2015	Total
Mine clearance	1,625,717,778	735,011,270	2,360,729,048	2,493,470,000	1,127,335,000	3,620,805,000
Human losses	116,272,360	58,495,520	174,767,880	146,920,000	73,940,000	220,860,000
Total	1,741,990,138	793,506,790	2,535,496,928	2,640,390,000	1,201,275,000	3,841,665,000

2. INDIRECT WAR DAMAGES

2.1. The Methodology of Measurement

The indirect war damages can be measured as a decrease in GDP below the level where it would be if the war did not happen. There are several scenarios we can use. Assuming that the war did not happen, ask yourself what would have been the income level? We could expect a fall in GDP due to market transition processes and the “lost decade” (in the 1980s the economy was gradually weakening). As a result, we should compare the Croatian economic development with the development of comparable countries.

- I. Scenario: The Croatian 1990 GDP is multiplied by the Slovenian growth rates. We measure the gap between the potential and the actual income, and discuss when we expect the actual GDP to return to its potential path.
- II. Scenario: The same as before, but instead of Slovenian growth rates, we use the weighted average of Hungarian, Slovenian, Czech, Polish and Slovakian growth rates.
- III. Scenario: The same as before, but Slovenian growth rates have a weight of 50%, while the rest of countries 12.5%. The rationale for the procedure is the fact that prior to the war and before the transition period, Slovenia was the country that highly resembled Croatia.

To save space, we proceed with the detailed presentation of the third scenario. In order to make it comparable, we state the final results for the first two scenarios.

Note:

The damages in tourism industry and the losses due to the business operation shrinkage are also included in this section. In addition, the costs of bankrupt companies and lost markets for Croatian businesses are also part of this estimation (some are the consequence of the war, and some are the consequence of the process of economic transition). As a result, we do not discuss these issues separately.

2.2. Interpretation of Results

Using the available data on GDP growth rates, and the procedure described in scenario III, we obtain annual weighted growth rates. We repeat the same procedure for the forecasted period, while making use of the available growth rate forecasts. For the years where forecasts were unavailable, we use the author’s estimates that highly resemble historical growth rates.

The growth rate series is used to estimate the potential GDP, that is, the GDP Croatia would accomplish if there was no war. The difference between the actual and the potential GDP provides an estimate of the foregone economic activity – \$85.7 billion up to 2004. If we extrapolate the losses up to 2015, and use the estimated growth rates, we obtain the loss of \$194.8 billion. For comparison purposes, scenario I estimates total damages at \$87.6 billion up to 2004, and \$187 billion up to 2015. Scenario II estimates total damages at \$84.5 billion up to 2004, and \$199.3 up to 2015. As one can easily spot, the divergences are insignificant – up to 2004 the relative divergence is 3.6%, and up to 2015 is 6.5%. The data and results for scenario III are presented in the following tables:

Table 14: Growth rates of selected countries

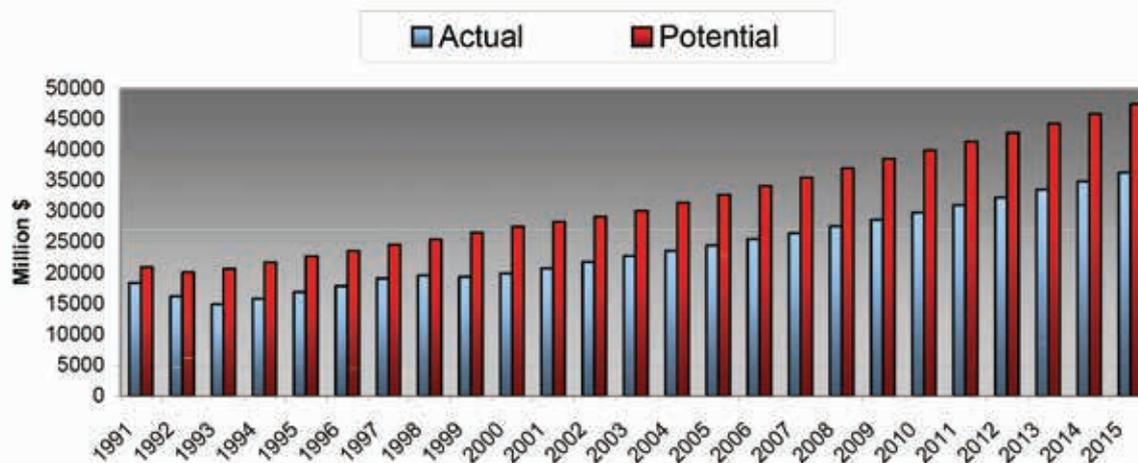
GDP growth rates (%)		Croatia	Slovenia	Czech Republic	Slovakia	Hungary	Poland	Weighted growth rate
Historical data	1991	-21.1	-8.9	-11.6	-14.6	-11.9	-7	-10.1
	1992	-11.7	-5.5	-3.3	-6.1	-3.1	2.6	-4
	1993	-8	2.8	0.6	7.6	-0.6	3.8	2.8
	1994	5.9	5.3	3.6	6.2	2.9	5.2	4.9
	1995	6.8	4.1	5.9	5.8	1.5	7	4.6
	1996	5.9	3.6	4.2	6.1	1.3	6	4
	1997	6.8	4.8	-0.7	4.6	4.6	6.8	4.3
	1998	2.5	3.6	-1.1	4.2	4.9	4.8	3.4
	1999	-0.9	5.6	1.2	1.5	4.2	4.1	4.2
	2000	2.9	3.9	3.9	2	5.2	4	3.8
	2001	3.8	2.7	2.6	3.8	3.8	1	2.8
	2002	5.2	3.3	1.5	4.4	3.5	1.4	3
	2003	4.3	2.5	3.7	4.2	3	3.8	3.1
	2004	3.7	4.3	3.8	5.5	4	5.4	4.5
Forecasts	2005	3.7	3.9	4.3	5.8	3.7	4.3	4.2
	2006	4.2	3.7	4.4	6.5	4	4.2	4.2
	2007	4	3.5	4.7	7	3.7	4.1	4.2
	2008	4	3.5	4.1	7.1	3.7	4.3	4.2
	2009	4	3.5	3.9	6.5	3.5	4.3	4
	2010	4	3.5	3.5	5	3.5	4	3.8
	2011	4	3	3.5	5	3.5	4	3.5
	2012	4	3	3.5	5	3.5	4	3.5
	2013	4	3	3.5	5	3.5	4	3.5
	2014	4	3	3.5	5	3.5	4	3.5
	2015	4	3	3.5	5	3.5	4	3.5

We multiply the estimated growth rates with 1990 Croatian GDP. The measurement is provided in the following table.

Table 15: An estimate of foregone GDP up to 2015

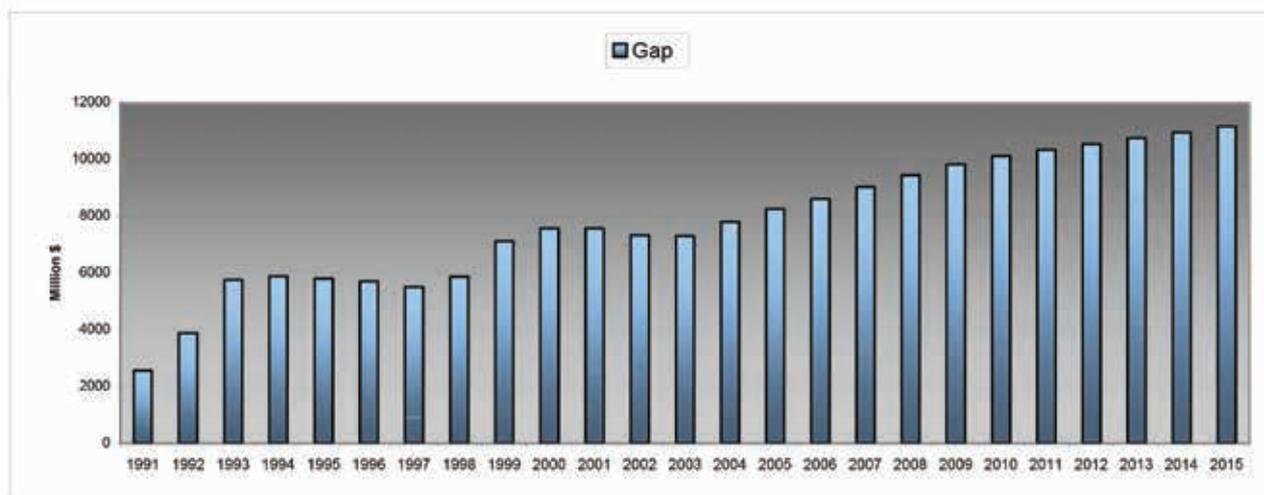
Million \$	Actual	Potential	Gap	Cumulative
1990	23,345			
1991	18,419	20,990	2,571	2,571
1992	16,264	20,153	3,889	6,460
1993	14,963	20,722	5,759	12,219
1994	15,846	21,735	5,889	18,109
1995	16,923	22,730	5,806	23,915
1996	17,922	23,639	5,717	29,632
1997	19,141	24,658	5,518	35,149
1998	19,619	25,497	5,878	41,027
1999	19,442	26,561	7,119	48,146
2000	20,006	27,580	7,574	55,720
2001	20,767	28,339	7,572	63,292
2002	21,846	29,189	7,343	70,635
2003	22,786	30,090	7,304	77,939
2004	23,629	31,440	7,812	85,751
2005	24,503	32,765	8,262	94,012
2006	25,532	34,153	8,621	102,634
2007	26,554	35,584	9,030	111,663
2008	27,616	37,060	9,445	121,108
2009	28,720	38,552	9,832	130,940
2010	29,869	39,998	10,128	141,068
2011	31,064	41,398	10,334	151,402
2012	32,306	42,846	10,540	161,942
2013	33,599	44,346	10,747	172,689
2014	34,943	45,898	10,955	183,644
2015	36,340	47,505	11,164	194,809

Figure 1: Actual and potential GDP



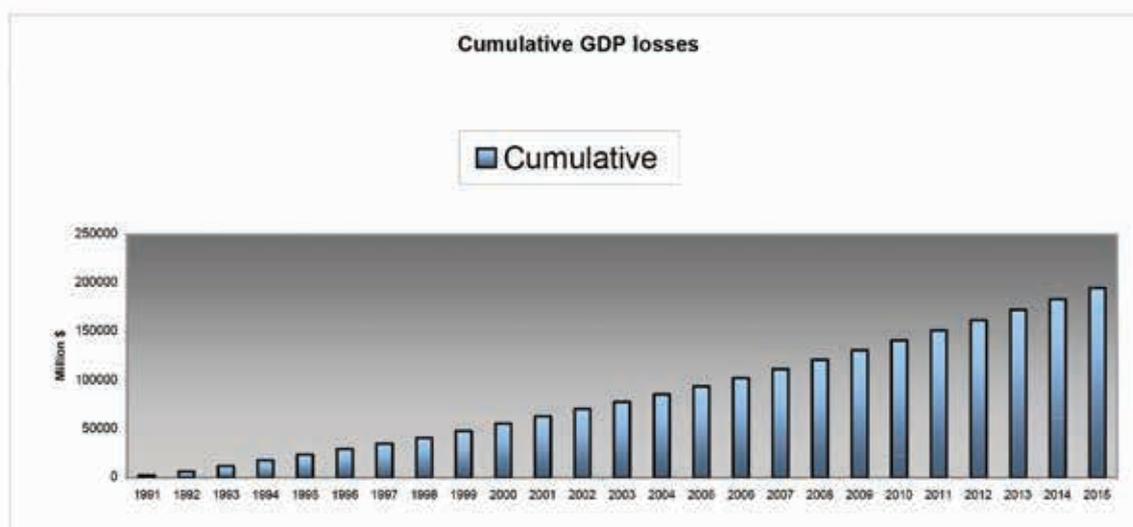
It is easy to spot the huge gap between the actual and potential GDP.

Figure 2: GDP losses over years



After the first few years, the gap gradually began to close. However, the banking system crisis coupled with the introduction of VAT, induced the gap to the new highs. The infrastructural projects the coalitional government started (road building) reversed the negative trend. In 2004 the gap again rallied in the absence of infrastructural projects and as a consequence of the increase in the country's foreign debt.

Figure 3: Cumulative GDP losses



Of course, the positive difference between Croatian growth rates and growth rates of other comparable countries will cause the cumulative GDP losses to follow the geometrical path, the trend which should be stopped as soon as possible.

2.3. Indirect Damages in the Tourism Industry

Since tourism is the most important Croatian export industry, as well as the industry severely affected by the war, we will separately analyze its losses. While interpreting the results of the analysis, one should bear in mind that the estimated damages encompass the total tourism-related expenses, including secondary effects on the associated services and businesses.

Table 16: An estimate of war damages in the tourism industry

	Year	No. of overnights, in thousands	Damages, in thousands \$	Cumulative, in thousands \$
Historical data	1989	67,298		
	1991	10,424	5,744,304	
	1992	10,724	5,713,974	
	1993	12,909	5,518,518	
	1994	19,976	4,267,327	
	1995	12,886	5,696,570	
	1996	21,456	4,303,008	
	1997	30,314	3,078,224	
	1998	31,288	3,146,043	
	1999	26,563	3,823,645	
	2000	21,377	5,924,760	
	2001	43,404	1,835,898	
	2002	44,692	1,927,838	
	2003	46,635	2,796,013	
	2004	47,797	2,744,398	56,520,519
Forecasts	2005	51,143	2,277,841	
	2006	53,189	1,989,394	
	2007	55,316	1,689,409	
	2008	57,529	1,377,425	
	2009	59,830	1,052,961	
	2010	62,223	715,519	
	2011	64,712	364,579	
	2012	67,301	-399	
	2013	69,993	-379,975	
	2014	72,793	-774,735	
	2015	75,704	-1,185,285	63,647,255

Source: Croatian National Bank, Central Bureau of Statistics.

To obtain the total damages, we first calculate the foregone number of overnights in the period 1990-2004. To do so, we compare the actual number of overnights with the most successful pre-war year (1989). Second, we use the balance of payments data in order to estimate the total revenues per overnight. This procedure for 2004 yields the loss of more than \$56 billion in the tourism industry and associated services. In the following period (2005-2015), we assume the 4% average growth rate of overnights (only in 2005 we use 7% on the basis of actual, but preliminary data). Also, the average revenue per overnight is assumed to be at 2004 level. In this way we obtain the cumulative damages from 1991 to 2015 of more than \$63 billion.

CONCLUSION

As we stated in Introduction, the total damages are divided among two time periods – up to 2004, and from 2005 to 2015. We estimated the damages both in domestic and international (European, U.S. or U.K.) prices. We summarize the results in the following two tables:

Table 17: Total damages in domestic prices (in \$)

Damage category	Period		Total
	1991-2004	2005-2015	
1.1.1. Dead and missing persons	3,595,500,000	0	3,595,500,000
1.1.2. Wounded and permanently disabled	23,217,108,994	0	23,217,108,994
1.1.3. Displaced persons and refugees	2,000,000,000	0	2,000,000,000
1.1.4. Emigrants	46,325,508	0	46,325,508
1.1.5. PTSD	342,500,000	228,250,000	570,750,000
1.1. Total human losses	29,201,434,500	228,250,000	29,429,684,500
1.2.1. Industry	1,156,400,000	0	1,156,400,000
1.2.2. Agriculture, forestry and related industries	1,410,000,000	0	1,410,000,000
1.2.3. Infrastructure and telecommunications	2,355,080,000	0	2,355,080,000
1.2.4. Residential real-estate funds	3,800,000,000	0	3,800,000,000
1.2.5. Non-renewable natural resources	531,200,000	0	531,200,000
1.2.6. Property of Croatian companies abroad	1,143,800,000	0	1,143,800,000
1.2.7. Occupation of the monetary system	357,000,000	0	357,000,000
1.2.8. Historical and cultural heritage, health care system property	4,800,000,000	0	4,800,000,000
1.2. Total property losses	15,553,480,000	0	15,553,480,000
1.3. Total war expenses	10,142,000,000	0	10,142,000,000
1.4.1. Landmine clearance	1,625,717,778	735,011,270	2,360,729,048
1.4.2. Landmine casualties	116,272,360	58,495,520	174,767,880
1.4. Total losses from landmines	1,741,990,138	793,506,790	2,535,496,928
1. DIRECT WAR DAMAGES	56,638,904,638	1,021,756,790	57,660,661,428
2. INDIRECT WAR DAMAGES	85,751,000,000	109,058,000,000	194,809,000,000
TOTAL DAMAGES	142,389,904,630	110,079,756,790	252,469,661,420

Table 18: Total damages in international prices (in \$)

Damage category	Period		Total
	1991.-2004.	2005.-2015.	
1.1.1. Dead and missing persons	3,595,500,000	0	3,595,500,000
1.1.2. Wounded and permanently disabled	31,171,429,100	0	31,171,429,100
1.1.3. Displaced persons and refugees	27,612,050,310	0	27,612,050,310
1.1.4. Emigrants	1,089,335,454	0	1,089,335,454
1.1.5. PTSD	342,500,000	228,250,000	570,750,000
1.1. Total human losses	63,810,814,860	228,250,000	64,039,064,860
1.2.1. Industry	1,156,400,000	0	1,156,400,000
1.2.2. Agriculture, forestry and related industries	1,410,000,000	0	1,410,000,000
1.2.3. Infrastructure and telecommunications	2,355,080,000	0	2,355,080,000
1.2.4. Residential real-estate funds	15,116,669,500	0	15,116,669,500
1.2.5. Non-renewable natural resources	531,200,000	0	531,200,000
1.2.6. Property of Croatian companies abroad	1,143,800,000	0	1,143,800,000
1.2.7. Occupation of the monetary system	357,000,000	0	357,000,000
1.2.8. Historical and cultural heritage, health care system property	4,800,000,000	0	4,800,000,000
1.2. Total property losses	26,870,149,500	0	26,870,149,500
1.3. Total war expenses	19,178,082,191 approximate figure	0	19,178,082,191
1.4.1. Landmine clearance	2,493,470,000	1,127,335,000	3,620,805,000
1.4.2. Landmine casualties	146,920,000	73,940,000	220,860,000
1.4. Total losses from landmines	2,640,390,000	1,201,275,000	3,841,665,000
1. DIRECT WAR DAMAGES	112,499,436,550	1,429,525,000	113,928,961,550
2. INDIRECT WAR DAMAGES	85,751,000,000	109,058,000,000	194,809,000,000
TOTAL DAMAGES	198,250,436,550	110,487,525,000	308,737,961,550

At the end, the figure of the total war damages in Croatia looks really astonishing. The fact that the figure represents between 7.5 and 9 annual gross domestic products (2004 GDP) probably tells us more than the figure itself. It is also interesting to note that although the direct damages are of great proportions, Croatia will suffer a loss related to the foregone economic activity for a long period of time.

It is also worth to emphasize that these kinds of estimates are hard to perform. The author was constrained by using only the aggregated data, and had to formulate certain assumptions that made the estimation possible. The author's intention was to use only reliable data sources and objective assumptions that would not bias the result in any direction. Therefore, we hope that potential errors are minimized.

Finally, although Croatia has suffered enormous losses and, unfortunately, additional losses will incur in the future, a quick solution to the problem is not feasible.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Measurement for dead and missing persons	636
Table 2: Expenses of wounded and permanently disabled in the Homeland War	637
Table 3: The total number of hospitalization days for wounded persons	638
Table 4: Expenses for displaced persons and refugees	639
Table 5: Educational costs of emigrants	641
Table 6: Number of PTSD-caused suicides, and forecasts	642
Table 7: Industry-related damages	643
Table 8: Damages in agriculture, forestry, food- and wood-processing industry	643
Table 9: Infrastructural and telecommunication damages	644
Table 10: Confiscated and destroyed property abroad.....	645
Table 11: Damages on the cultural, health care, educational, and religious property	645
Table 12: Expenses of landmines casualties (in \$)	647
Table 13: Total landmines expenses in Croatia	648
Table 14: Growth rates of selected countries	649
Table 15: An estimate of foregone GDP up to 2015	650
Table 16: An estimate of war damages in the tourism industry	652
Table 17: Total damages in domestic prices (in \$)	653
Table 18: Total damages in international prices (in \$)	654

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Actual and potential GDP	650
Figure 2: GDP losses over years	651
Figure 3: Cumulative GDP losses	651

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Božičević, J.: *War Destruction in Transports and Communications in Croatia (Ratna razaranja i štete u prometu i vezama Hrvatske)*, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (HAZU), Zagreb, 1992.
2. Cf. *Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats von Berlin 2000*.
3. M.K. Dreyfus and W.K. Viscusi, Rates of time preference and Consumer Valuations of Automobile Safety and Fuel Efficiency, *J. Law & Econ.* 38, pp. 79-102 (1995).
4. Družić, I. et al.: *Croatian Economic Development (Hrvatski gospodarski razvoj)*, Zagreb, 2003.
5. Družić, I., Sirotković, J.: *Introduction to the Croatian Economy (Uvod u hrvatsko gospodarstvo)*, Zagreb, 2002.
6. Hebrang, A.: "An Effectiveness Analysis of the Wartime Health System" (Analiza učinkovitosti ratnog zdravstva) (preliminary report), Zagreb, 2003.
7. The Croatian Pension Insurance Institute (HZMO): *The Financial Report of the Croatian Pension Insurance Institute (HZMO) in 2003*, Zagreb, 2004.
8. *Implementation Completion Report, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Emergency Landmines Clearance Project (Credit 29050-BA)*.
9. Javorović, B.: *The Great Serbian Invasion and Croatian Defense (Velikosrpska najezda i obrana Hrvatske)*, DEFIMI, Zagreb, 1995.
10. Kosan, I.: Cf. *Kl. Anfrage Nr 1054*, 1996.
11. Kovačević, J. et al.: *War Damages and Reparations (Ratne štete i reparacije)*, Zagreb, 1993.
12. Landmine Monitor: *LM Report 2003 Croatia*, 2003.
13. The Ministry of Construction and Environment Protection: *Survey of damaged residential units by municipalities (Pregled oštećenih stanova po općinama)*, 1992.
14. Narodne novine: *Narodne novine No. 92*, July 7, 1998.
15. Pavković, M.: *Croatian War Damages (Hrvatske ratne štete)*, DEFIMI, Zagreb, 1997.
16. *The Economist special report, Copenhagen Consensus*, 2004.
17. Thompson, J.A.: *Common Interest, Common Responsibilities*.
18. Žunec, O.: *The War in Croatia 1991-1995, Volume I (Rat u Hrvatskoj 1991.-1995., 1. dio)*.

Occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia - cities in a war zone -
no economic or tourist activities



- I - Dubrovnik area – most of the hotels were burned and destroyed during the aggression
- II – Occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia
- III – The area in which refugees and displaced persons were housed in all of the hotels - from BiH and Croatia (upon their departure all the hotels were devastated). During that whole period and for years afterwards, tourism - the main economic sector was dead.
- IV – During the war from 1991- 1995 almost entire economy was dead in these cities. They were exposed to bombing and the majority of large industrial facilities were destroyed.
- V – Economic activities in other cities were diminished for many reasons, which need further explanations.

formacije sa teritorije BiH izvode 1/4 u do-
brini istočne Hercegovine i oko Dubrovnika.

te dejstva se na Mostar i pravci c. Crnogla-
v - s. Ravno i s. Slano - Ivala. Po dubini s
ina Lištice, Čitluk, Ljubuski, Grude, Posušje
Sljeme i o. Šibenik.

terjaku vatrene podršku izvodi različitim art
anin u vatrene grupe sastava 2-3 oruđa, nano
jivanjem 5-10 projektila i brzim premeštanjem
e vatre uglavnom je postigao slučajnim popoci
izvršene korekture, odnosno obezbeđenja preciz-
nosti.

oije je koristio za izviđanje klipnim avionima
te u daljnjim napadnim dejstvima očekivati je n
osinje, Crnoglav - Stolac, s. Trebinjska - s.
s. Slano - s. Ivala - Popovo polje, sa verov
i u širi rejon Stone uz pomoć muslimanske 11
ne Hercegovačkog korpusa i izbijanjem u Popov
jne uslove za dalja dejstva u dubinu teritorij
e.

26.05.1992. godine sve snage na prostoru ist
injuju se pod jedinstvenu Komandu Hercegovačk
1.brTO - Bilećka, 472.atbr - Trebinjska, 10.
br - Nevesinjska, 13.nap, 13.sposp, 13. lap P
b, 13.atb, PZ Kude NK i PZB, OŠTO Borci, te O
O Ljubinje koji se predpočinjavaju 23.brTO i
lužio sam nastaviti sa odlučnom odbranom na
ovac, s. Klepci, na sadašnjoj liniji odbrane
ovati odbranu u zoni 23.brTO, a sa 472.atbr o
liniji: s. Velja Međa - s. Trebinjska - s. Or
s. Grebi - s. Kaldurdevići - Visočnik.

oprediti prodor neprijatelja kroz zonu odbr
nu Hercegovinu.

200 težila izati na organizaciji VOJ-a i pr

APPENDICES

- **General Jacques Paul Klein's statement– who was dividing and disintegrating Bosnia and Herzegovina**
 - **Ambassador Herbert Okun's statement– who is responsible for the survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina**
 - **Testimony given by Ambassador Jose Cutileiro for the Hague Tribunal in the Karadžić case, about the fact that Alija Izetbegović reneged the signed agreement from Lisbon because he wanted a unitary BiH.**
 - **Simulations – for better apprehension**
-

formacije sa teritorije BiH izvode 1/4 u do-
brini istočne Hercegovine i oko Dubrovnika.

te dejstva se na Mostar i pravci c. Crnogla-
v - s. Ravno i s. Slano - Ivala. Po dubini s
ina Lištica, Čitluk, Ljubuski, Grude, Posušje
Sljeme i o. Šibenik.

terjaku vatrene podršku izvodi različitim art
anin u vatrene grupe sastava 2-3 oruđa, nano-
jivanjem 5-10 projektila i brzim premeštanjem
e vatre uglavnom je postigao slučajnim popoci
izvršene korekture, odnosno obezbeđenja preciz-
nosti.

oije je koristio za izviđanje klipnim avionima
te u daljnjim napadnim dejstvima očekivati je n
osinje, Crnoglav - Stolac, s. Trebinjska - s.
s. Slano - s. Ivala - Popovo polje, sa verov
i u širi rejon Stone uz pomoć muslimanske 81
ne Hercegovačkog korpusa i izbijanjem u Popov
jne uslove sa dalja dejstva u dubinu teritori-
e.

26.05.1992. godine sve snage na prostoru ist
inuju se pod jedinstvenu Komandu Hercegovačk
1.brTO - Bilećka, 472.atbr - Trebinjska, 10.
br - Nevesinjska, 13.nap, 13.sposp, 13. lap P
b, 13.atb, P1 Kude NK i P10, OTO Borci, te O
O Ljubinje koji se predpočinjavaju 23.brTO i
lužio sam nastaviti sa odlučnom odbranom na
ovac, s. Klepci, na sadašnjoj liniji odbrane
ovati odbranu u zoni 23.brTO, a sa 472.atbr o
liniji: s. Velja Međa - s. Trebinjska - s. Or
s. Grebi - s. Kaldurdevići - Visočnik.

oprediti prodor neprijatelja kroz zonu odbre
nu Hercegovinu.

200 težila izati sa organizacijom VOJ-a i pr

Večernji list- Tuesday 6th March 2007

Interview with Jacques Paul Klein, a former interim director of UNTAES:

IZETBEGOVIĆ OFFERED HERZEGOVINA TO TUĐMAN

Jadranka Jureško - Kero

Retired U.S. General Jacques Paul Klein, who from 1995 to 1997 was interim director of UNTAES for the Croatian Danube region, and then Deputy High Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations Office often speaks to American public about the experiences from this period. After the lecture held at Columbia University in New York regarding the economic problems in the new countries of Southeast Europe, Jacques Klein for Večernji List commented current and former political events in Croatia and Bosnia.

VL: How do you comment on the verdict of the International Court of Justice which granted Serbia the amnesty from direct responsibility for genocide in Srebrenica?

KLEIN: Before making a final decision, I would like to study (review) the verdict, since I haven't had time to do it yet. I am confident that not all sides can be equally satisfied with the verdict, but the court decision should not disrupt the efforts to enhance political and economic relations in Southeast Europe. The term genocide is obviously interpreted differently. What happened in Rwanda (IZETBEGOVIĆ told me that Croats were a BIG PROBLEM so he wanted to get rid of them by offering them Herzegovina) is genocide over the genocides. Also in Srebrenica! Ratko Mladic is a criminal and I'm not sure that he needed the command from Serbia to kill because he wanted to kill anyway. No, it is not giving amnesty of responsibility to Serbia, I'm just telling the facts. It is a shame that he and Karadzic are not in The Hague!

VL: Well, why not? Many in Croatia and the former Yugoslavia claim the tribunal in The Hague has not fulfilled the role for which it was founded 14 years ago. Croatia met all the requirements, our generals are awaiting trial, and Serbian war criminals ...

KLEIN: Yes, I know. It is a political court! And while I was in Bosnia I reacted strongly to the fact that there is no political will to arrest Karadžić.

VL: At the lecture you emphasize that Tuđman, Izetbegovic and Milosevic were telling one thing when speaking with you alone, and another in front of their people or the public. What about the claim that Izetbegović offered Tuđman to affiliate Herzegovina!

KLEIN: In politics, there is the reality that many do not understand or do not want to see. There were many occasions when they used to say the same thing: I would have done as you suggest Mr. Klein, but if I tell this to my people, I will lose support. (I think that the BiH is an experiment, on paper everything looks good, but in reality implementation is SLOW) No, I will not single out anyone, I had a similar experience with all of them. And after I was told by President Tuđman, that Izetbegovic indeed offered a separation of Herzegovina, I openly raised this question to the President of Bosnia in Sarajevo. He replied that it Croats are big problem and he wanted to get rid of them and thought that this is the best way, but Tuđman declined the offer.

VL: And today, Tuđman and not Izetbegovic is accused of a dividing the Bosnia. Do you believe in the survival of this country!

KLEIN: I sincerely think that Bosnia and Herzegovina is still an experiment. Everything on paper, all the agreements and laws seem idyllic, but the implementation of it in reality is slow. Some say Dayton is dead. But I ask them: Do they really want an Islamic state in the heart of Europe? I think we need to accelerate the integration of Southeast Europe, including Bosnia, to the European Union. The Bosnian conflict in the nineties is not the only one in history. In America we had a civil war and afterward, we continued to live together!

Interview conducted by: Jadranka Jureško Kero (Večernji list, 06. 03. 2007)

78 OBZOR / Večernji list reminiscences
Interview with American Ambassador Okun

Interview by Jadranka Juresko-Kero in the Vecernji List, Zagreb April 15, 2006
Translated from Vecernji List by Hilda M. Foley

American Ambassador Herbert S. Okun speaks about Milosevic, Tudjman, the war, the negotiations...

Tudman saved Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ambassador Herbert S. Okun has spent a full thirty six years in the service of the State Department and American diplomacy. Born in New York 76 years ago to a immigrant Russian Jewish family, he did not continue his father's successful tradition in the food supply branch, the manufacture and distribution of food, but instead received his education at the prestigious American universities Stanford and Harvard and from his 25th year on devoted his life completely to diplomacy. He spent his first time in Croatia in 1957 as a tourist. He was immediately impressed by the beauty of Hvar and Dubrovnik. He returned to our country in 1990, first as the executive director of a nonprofit financial group that offered help in the establishment of a free market in the post-communist countries of the eastern block. Soon after, he exchanged his voluntary role with one of official duty as the deputy of Cyrus Vance, the special emissary of the United Nations' Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali., actively spending time in the areas of former Yugoslavia from 1991-1993. Today he lectures international relations at Yale and John Hopkins.

Interviewer: Once you commented that you already realized during the first meeting with Milosevic that one is dealing with a man of bad character, capable of anything!

- Yes, I met Milosevic in Belgrade on Dec. 12, 1990. I arrived with a group of business people and Cyrus Vance and I had a private meeting with Milosevic. Observing how he talked and acted I could not come to any other conclusion than Milosevic being a common gangster. You know, those types from Mafia movies with cigars in their mouths, who try to express themselves very theatrically but in reality are selling fog. The American ambassador at that time in Belgrade, Warren Zimmerman, spoke of Milosevic as a charming person. I was shocked. I said to him: "Don't you see that he is a gangster?" Unfortunately I was right, because it was soon apparent that the war and all the crimes were initiated by Milosevic, that he was a liar and a politician who did not honor agreements or his signature.

Interviewer: You were the vice-chairman of the International Conference for former Yugoslavia in the negotiations regarding the arrival of UNPROFOR in Croatia. Could the war have been prevented in Croatia if the West had intervened in time?

- When I was in Belgrade in 1990 I asked everyone - from Milosevic to ordinary people, taxi drivers, waiters - do they think it will come to war, they all answered, can you imagine, that this is not possible.

My experience told me that this was not correct, that war was coming because I did not trust Milosevic.

I asked him for instance on the eve of elections in Serbia if the JNA (Yugoslav National Army) has a considerable role in the country. He answered that it does not. "Mr. Okun", he said, "we are building democracy". The next day I saw his picture with the JNA generals in the Politika (newspaper).

I warned that one cannot trust him. But Milosevic knew how to manipulate the foreign media and politicians. He constantly kept repeating that "Croats are making necklaces from fingers of Serb children". Just imagine such statements! The West tried to stop the war more than is known or deduced in public, but Milosevic did not want it. Lord Carrington and Cyrus Vance offered a plan for the so-called peaceful separation of all sides in Yugoslavia, but while Croats accepted discourse plans, were signing everything and showing that they want peace, in Belgrade everything was the opposite.

Interviewer: What were your impressions of President Tudjman?

- I can say openly that I liked Tudjman because he was a serious politician who kept his word. True, he had a rigid style of behavior which many falsely interpreted, especially western journalists, but all my experiences with Tudjman are positive. After all, Tudjman, who led his country in war, with an imposed arms embargo, could not act like Gandhi. He was cooperative, wanted peace and actively participated in negotiations in the Haag, Geneva and Zagreb. They resented that he changed street names from the communist times and while he was doing that, Milosevic was killing Croats in eastern Slavonia.

I was with Tudjman when the exodus of Croats from Ilok began. He said to me: "Mr. Ambassador, do something, it is terrible what my people are experiencing". Then Vance called Milosevic but he answered that he does not know what he is talking about, that he has nothing to do with Ilok. That man never spoke the truth. Tudjman was intelligent; he knew history, and speaking openly, with his leadership Croats through Operation Storm and other military actions saved Bosnia Herzegovina. At a meeting in Sarajevo in 1991 Izetbegovic told me that he will demand of the JNA to leave BiH and I asked him: "Where is your army, who will defend you if the JNA does not comply?" I quickly realized that in Bosnia only the Croats offered organized defense and saved it from downfall, something often kept quiet by the media as well as politicians.

Interviewer: You created the Vance plan which stopped the war in Croatia. Did you have difficulties in the realization of the plan?

- After some fifteen armistices pronounced by the EC which no one honored, we turned to a different logic, and that was that the armistice is not declared by us but by the opposing sides. At that time the Serbs were already prepared for the Bosnia campaign and had therefore relatively quickly accepted the armistice. When I presented the contents of the plan to Tudjman, he immediately asked several questions, such as the status of the police which had warned about the vulnerability in the plan. Later on, these questions were shown to be correct, as the Serb side used it to evade their obligations.

Excerpt from the testimony of Ambassador Jose Cutileiro on 19th February 2013 in the Karadžić case before the ICTY, The Hague, Netherlands

Mr. Karadžić: On 16th of February, 1993, Ambassador Cutileiro wrote a commentary published in the "International Herald Tribune" which endorsed the Vance-Owen Plan and noted that President Alija Izetbegovic's reluctance to accept that the real Bosnia is utterly different from the Bosnia of his wishful thinking has contributed as much as have the dreams of Greater Serbia and the Croatian hegemony to the continuation of the war. Ambassador Cutileiro believed this to be true then and believes it to be true now. In a letter to "The Economist" in December 1995, Ambassador Cutileiro wrote:

"After several rounds of talks, our principles for future constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina were agreed by all parties - Muslims, Serbs and Croats - in Sarajevo on March 18th, 1992, as basis for future negotiations. These continued, maps and all, until the summer when the Muslims reneged on the agreement. Had they not done so, the Bosnian question might have been settled earlier with less losses of mainly Muslim lives and land. To be fair, President Izetbegovic and his aides were encouraged to scupper the deal and to fight for a unitary Bosnian state by well-meaning outsiders who thought they knew better." Ambassador Cutileiro believed this to be true then and believes it to be true now.

Ambassador Cutileiro: What I'm trying to say is that the only way of getting an arrangement to Bosnia was to adhere to the -- what had been agreed in March. In that way or in some other way. And if you look at the Dayton Agreement, and if you look at the maps in the Dayton Agreement, you realize, as my letter to "The Economist" shows, that after three years of a lot of tragedies, you didn't move far from what we had foreseen. Bosnia is what it is. It's not another thing. And you -- the Serbs ideally would have preferred that Bosnia didn't become independent. The Croats would have preferred to annex part of Bosnia or to make it some kind of -- and the Muslims, in particular President Izetbegovic and his people, thought that they could have a unitary state. So the -- if you look at the agreement of March 1992 and you look at the Dayton Agreement slate, well, I was there and I didn't think that we could go into other thing --

Ambassador Cutileiro: You cannot take bits of political discourse during some kind of meeting of an Assembly from one side or the other and present them. When I see that, I'm not surprised by that. I think the three sides had a discourse that was complicated with their own basis, if you want to --

Ambassador Cutileiro : The idea was to introduce some kind of common-sense rationality into all that business. That's what the agreement is for. What they said in their Assembly, I wasn't there. I didn't hear him. I'm not surprised, but I'm not shocked either.

Mr. Tieger: The short answer, I take it, Ambassador, is that in fact the desire to or objective to unify the Bosnian Serb entity with Serbia and Montenegro was not envisioned by the Statement of Principles?

Ambassador Cutileiro : On the contrary. It's clear. I suppose it is said somewhere in Statement of Principle that they shouldn't try to -- neither Croats nor Serbs should try to get into either Croatia or Serbia.

Mr. Tieger: For example, did you know that they considered areas where the Serbs had been a majority before World War II should be Serbian irrespective of which ethnic group was the majority in that area now?

Ambassador Cutileiro : Taken out of context. All that's affirmations of a very nonsensical nature, but we were in Bosnia. The three groups had their own historical memories that were sometimes were very peculiar to an outsider, and everybody was trying to scramble to get what he could from this. So I wouldn't -- I'm not surprised from -- by what I'm hearing, but I don't think that if there had been a strong political will from the top to -- to get this thing through, we might have gotten it through. By the way, in Dayton, if I may go back to that, in Dayton with different perhaps details, certainly many details are different, but we -- we got to that -- the point -- the basic point of this story is: Could we have a unitary Bosnia or did we have to have a tripartite Bosnia? My conviction in the end, during the time I was there, is that only a tripartite thing would work, and that was also the conviction of Dick Holbrooke in the end. That's all.

Mr. Karadžić: [Interpretation] Yes. How is this in keeping with what you stated of me informing you of having issued such an order?

Ambassador Cutileiro : Yes, I suppose -- it's here. At least this is the English translation, so I believe it's an accurate translation.

Mr. Karadžić: How is this in keeping with your understanding of my position during the negotiations?

Ambassador Cutileiro : It fits. I mean, what you told me is what is here.

Mr. Karadžić: [quotes]"I, however, accepted that in its existing borders, Bosnia cannot be integral, but in its existing borders this means that we won't join a single part to either Serbia or Croatia."

Ambassador Cutileiro : That is actually touches that one fundamental aspect of the conference itself. The point of the conference was to give as much autonomy as possible to the Serbs and the Croats in the majority Muslim state without, without, infringing the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Simulation of statistical data if JNA and Serbia had attacked France or USA instead of Croatia

Selected statistical data and simulation based on the data comparison

Croatia – Selected statistical data and simulation based on analyzed percentage ratio for USA and France

CONSEQUENCES OF AGGRESSION AGAINST CROATIA

	ACTUAL DATA		SIMULATION FOR USA AND FRANCE BASED ON PERCENTAGES	
	Croatia	Percentage of total population	USA	France
Total population	4,495,902	100.0%	316,668,567	65,951,611
Displaced persons from Croatia	260,705	5.8%	18,362,740	3,824,353
Refugees from BiH and SRY (1992)	402,768	9.0%	28,368,938	5,908,313
Total no. of refugees and displaced persons (1992)	663,493	14.8%	46,733,087	9,732,960
Total number of killed and missing persons during the JNA and Serbia aggression	14,499	0.3%	1,021,236	212,690
Total no. of soldiers killed and missing during the JNA and Serbia aggression	7,896	0.2%	556,154	115,829
Total number of civilians killed and missing during the JNA and Serbia aggression	6,603	0.1%	465,082	96,861
Total number of soldiers wounded during the JNA and Serbia aggression	31,141	0.7%	2,193,414	456,816
Croatian war veterans who have committed suicide after the war* (1991-2012)	2,482	0.1%	174,820	36,409

Croats in BiH – Simulation based on the analysis of percentage ratio for USA and France

ACTUAL DATA FOR BIH

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Total population: 4,377,033

Total of Croats (17,4%): 759,906

Percentage of total number of Croats in BiH

Category	Count	Percentage
Croat civilians killed in BiH (1991-1996)	2,484	0.3%
Croat soldiers killed in BiH (1991-1996)	5,919	0.8%
Total number of Croats killed, died or missing in BiH (1991-1995)	9,909	1.3%
Total number of Croats wounded in BiH (1991-1996)	20,649	2.7%

SIMULATION FOR USA AND FRANCE BASED ON PERCENTAGES

USA

Total population: 316,668,567

54,977,503

179,712
428,226
716,894
1,493,909

France

Total population: 65,951,611

11,449,999

37,428
89,185
149,305
311,132

**Registered refugees and displaced persons in Croatia after the JNA
and the Serbian aggression against Croatia and BiH**

Date of registration	Displaced persons from Croatia	Refugees from BiH and SRY in Croatia	TOTAL NUMBER IN CROATIA
1 st Dec 91	550,000	-	550,000
1 st Dec 92	260,705	402,768	663,493
1 st Jun 93	254,791	272,869	527,660
1 st Aug 94	196,870	212,056	408,926
1 st May 95	210,592	188,672	399,264
31 st May 96	167,609	184,545	352,154
1 st Mar 97	117,721	106,750*	224,471
4 th Apr 98	94,796	37,400**	126,181

* The total number of refugees from BiH and FRY was 147,000 of which 106,750 were registered in the care system, and 40,250 people were not included in the care system

** Total number of refugees from BiH and FRY was 139,000 of which 37,400 were registered in the care system, and 101,400 were not included in the care system

**Registered refugees and displaced persons – simulation for USA in proportion
to Croatia - after the hypothetical aggression against the USA**

Date of registration	Displaced persons in USA	Refugees from BiH and SRY in USA	TOTAL NO. IN USA
1 st Dec 1991	38,739,214	-	38,739,214
1 st Dec 1992	18,362,740	28,368,938	46,733,087
1 st Jun 1993	17,946,188	19,219,510	37,165,698
1 st Aug 1994	13,866,526	14,936,151	28,802,676
1 st May 1995	14,833,034	13,289,100	28,122,134
31 st May 1996	11,805,529	12,998,415	24,803,944
1 st Mar 1997	8,291,671	7,518,929	15,810,600
4 th Apr 1998	6,676,950	2,634,267	8,887,551

Source: Population of USA was taken from www.cia.org on July 15th, 2013

**Registered refugees and displaced persons - simulation for France in proportion
to Croatia - after the hypothetical aggression against France**

Date of registration	Displaced persons from France	Refugees from BiH and SRY in France	TOTAL NO. IN France
1 st Dec 1991	8,068,100	-	8,068,100
1 st Dec 1992	3,824,353	5,908,313	9,732,960
1 st Jun 1993	3,737,599	4,002,790	7,740,388
1 st Aug 1994	2,887,940	3,110,707	5,998,647
1 st May 1995	3,089,231	2,767,681	5,856,912
31 st May 1996	2,458,702	2,707,141	5,165,843
1 st Mar 1997	1,726,881	1,565,945	3,292,826
4 th Apr 1998	1,390,588	548,631	1,850,983

Source: Population of France was taken from www.cia.org on July 15th, 2013

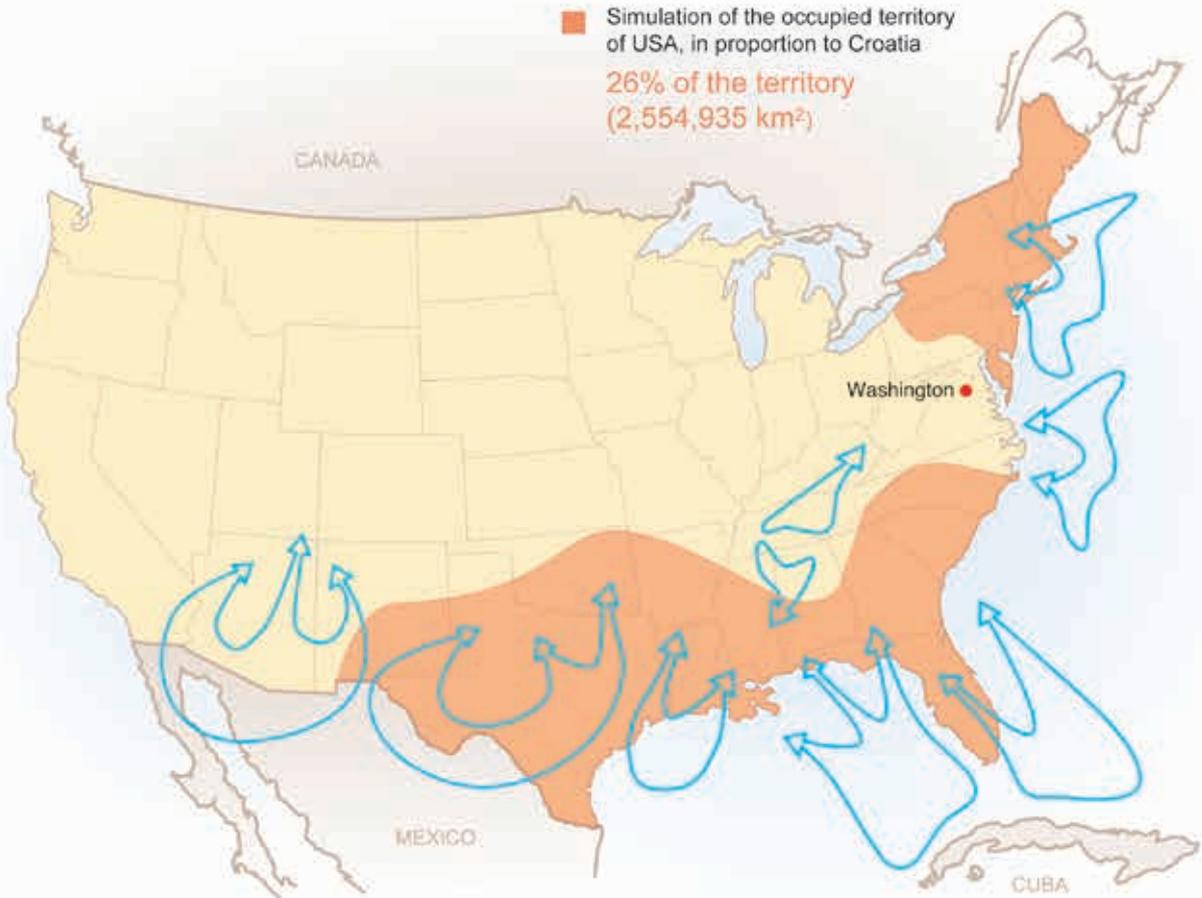


CROATIA

- ➔ Attacks from BiH, Serbia and Montenegro on Croatia in 1991
- Occupied territory of Croatia in 1991
26% of the territory (14,700 km²)

USA

- ➔ Simulation of the attacks from neighboring countries on USA, in proportion to Croatia
- Simulation of the occupied territory of USA, in proportion to Croatia
26% of the territory (2,554,935 km²)



CROATIA
56,542 km²
4,495,900 inhabitants

USA
9,826,675 km²
316,668,567 inhabitants

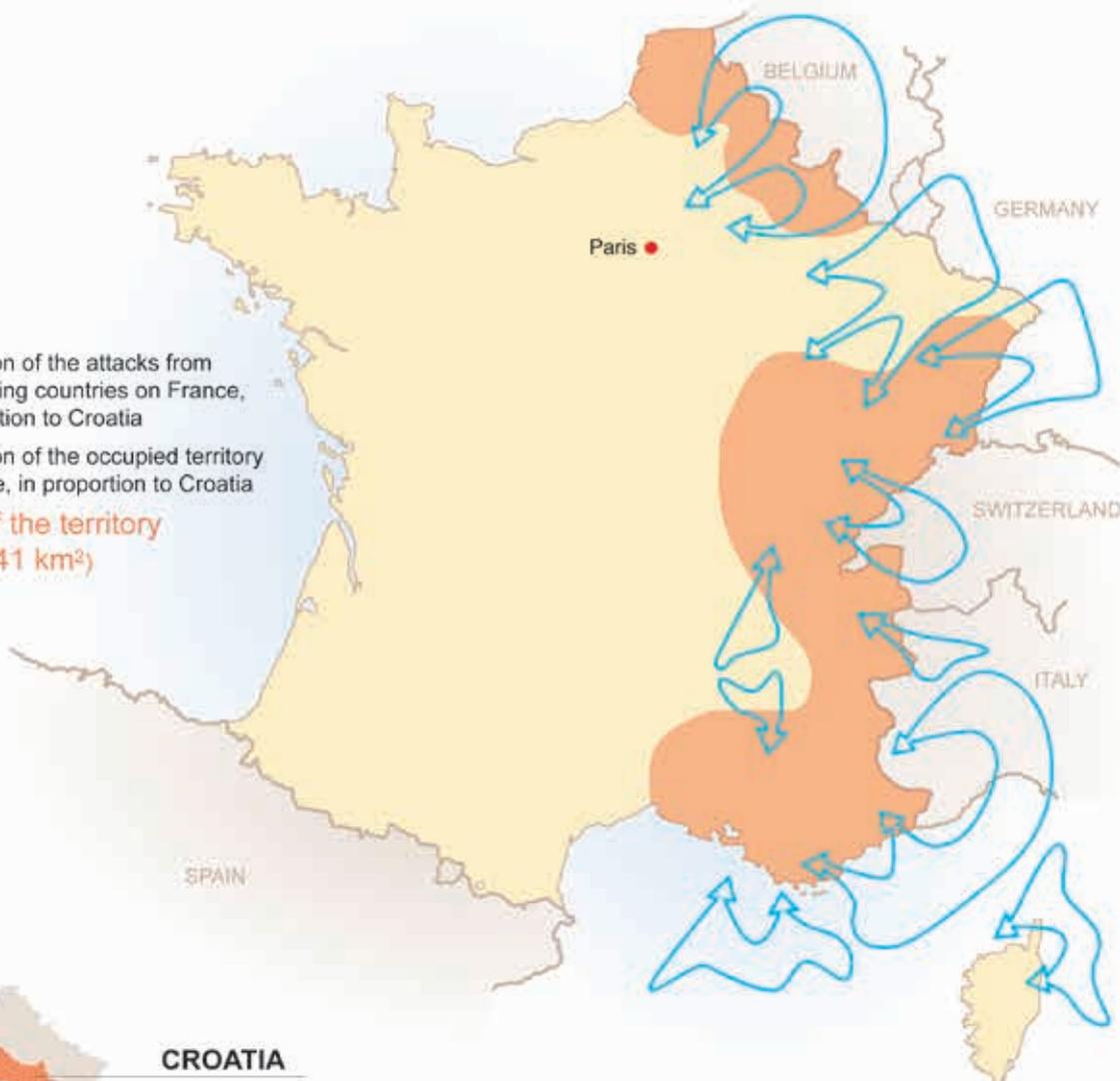


CROATIA

- ➔ Attacks from BiH, Serbia and Montenegro on Croatia in 1991
- Occupied territory of Croatia in 1991
26% of the territory (14,700 km²)

FRANCE

- ➔ Simulation of the attacks from neighboring countries on France, in proportion to Croatia
- Simulation of the occupied territory of France, in proportion to Croatia
26% of the territory (143,441 km²)



CROATIA
56,542 km ²
4,495,900 inhabitants
FRANCE
551,695 km ²
65,951,611 inhabitants

I was born on January 2nd, 1945 in Čapljina.

Primary and high school education (Realna gimnazija) – 4 years – Rama, 6 years Široki Brijeg – 2 years Mostar.

University of Zagreb:

I have graduated the eight-semester studies from the following fields:

- a) Faculty of Electrical Engineering – profession, MS in Electrical Engineering (weak current – telecommunications).
- b) Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences – Professor of Philosophy and Sociology.
- c) Theatre and Film Academy – profession, Director.

Professional experience:

- As a student I worked in Stockholm company „Akla“ and I was washing dishes in restaurants, and during my student years I have worked for five summers as a waiter in Germany, Titisee.
- Head of laboratory for electronics – Technical high school “Nikola Tesla”–Zagreb.
- I taught “Fundamentals of electrical engineering”, “Theory of electrical engineering”, “Theory of automatic regulation” to Associate students.
- In 1973 – I became “Freelance artist“, living on honorarium.
- I worked as a director in theaters in Croatia and BiH, I have directed two TV movies, a serial for children, one feature film and documentaries.
- I participated in establishing HDZ (political party – Croatian Democratic Union).
- I was a General Secretary of HDS (political party – Croatian Democratic Party).
- In spring of 1991, I withdrew from political activities.
- As a volunteer soldier I went to Sunja (near Sisak) and on September 5th, 1991 I was appointed Defense Commander of Sunja.
- November 26th, 1991 – I received the rank of Colonel of Croatian Army (HV).
- March 10th, 1992 – I was promoted to Brigadier of Croatian Army (HV).
- March 14th, 1992 – I left Sunja to become an Assistant Minister of Defense of Croatia for IPD – Informative–psychological activities.
- April 3rd, 1992 – I received the rank of Major General.
- From April 11th, 1992 to May 07th, 1992 I went to BiH (Herzegovina) as a volunteer and performed a duty of the Commander of Operational Zone of Southeast Herzegovina – Čapljina – Mostar – Jablanica –Konjic.

- On October 27th, 1992 I’ve been appointed at VONS – (Vijeće obrane i nacionalne sigurnosti RH) Croatian Council of Defense and National Security.
- June 1st, 1993 – I requested to be released from Croatian Army due to my transfer to BiH.
- June 15th, 1993 – I was released from my duties in Croatian Army.
- July 24th, 1993 – I was appointed Commander of HVO – (Hrvatsko vijeće obrane) Croatian defense council.
- November 9th, 1993 – I withdrew from my duties as a Commander of HVO.
- I returned to Croatian Army.
- Later I performed various functions in Croatian Army, including the Head of the Military Cabinet of the President of Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tuđman.
- As a volunteer I participated in military action „Oluja“/Storm/ on route Hrvatska Kostajnica – Dvor na Uni.
- At my personal request, I retired on December 1st, 1995.
- After my retirement, I worked as a director (manager), and later as Chairman of Supervisory Board in the factory „Chromos boje i lakovi “ – cooperating with “Sigma” from Amsterdam (marine paints).
- In early April of 2004, I was in custody in The Hague, accused for many atrocities.
- On May 29th, 2013, by the first instance verdict, I was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Slobodan Praljak

CONTENT OF THE WEB PAGE www.slobodanpraljak.com:

- Slobodan Praljak's opening statement at the beginning of the main hearing of the criminal proceeding before the ICTY on April 27th, 2006.
- War documents – overview of war documents by monographic units (100 monographic units published so far, with 55,000 authentic documents which can be searched via search engine by title, author, place of origin and date of origin)
- 3 video galleries: war videos, video of General Slobodan Praljak's testimony, videos of cross-examination of General Slobodan Praljak's witnesses.

Total duration time of video materials exceeds 1,400 hours with over 8,000 pages of description and content of war videos with associated transcripts of video galleries related to the trial before the ICTY.

- Statements about Slobodan Praljak and wartime events – 188 statements, with English translations, published so far.
- Testimonies and expert findings of professor Slobodan Janković regarding the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar, prof. Vlado Šakić regarding the socio-psychological aspects of war and prof. Josip Jurčević regarding the historical aspects of war.
- Trial documents – court decision, judges' opinions, trial transcripts, final filings (submissions), documents presented to defense witnesses of dr. Jadranko Prlić
- Slobodan Praljak's letter against Carla del Ponte, selection from books and press publications, transcripts, 58 audio recordings
- Publications on war – monographic overview of major war events in BiH and their consequences.

WEB PAGE STATISTICS

Until March 2014, web page had more than 7,000,000 visits from over 140 countries, reviewing more than 12 Tb of web content in over 60,000 different files (documents, video materials, photos, texts...).

Web page www.slobodanpraljak.com provides free download.

A BiH / BH Army	Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina	IZM / IKM	Separate Command Post / Forward Post / Divisional Command Post
ABHO	Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Defence	JNA / JA	Yugoslav People's Army / Yugoslav Army
Allah dž.š.	Allah j.sh. /Jalla Shanuhu/	KČ	Company Commander
AP WB	Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	KM	Command Post
AP ZB	Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	KO	Detachment Commander
B/D	Combat Activity	KOG	Counterintelligence Group
bbr	Mountain Brigade	KOS	Counterintelligence Service
bbt	Mountain Battalion	KOV	Land Army
BH PL	BH Patriotic League / Patriotic League of BiH	KOV	Land Army
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina	KPJ	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
br	Brigade	KŠ	Crisis Staff
c/o	Defence Line	KV	Platoon Commander
CCCH	Chief of Command of Central Headquarters	KVŠ	Military Crisis Staff
CLoB	Central Logistics Base	KZ	Cryptographic Protection
COOV	Military Training and Education Centre	LARD	Light Artillery Rocket Division
CV	Communication Center	LoB	Logistics Base
CZ	Civil Protection	LRL	Lightweight Rocket Launcher
DG	Sabotage Group	M/V	Motor Vehicles
DM	Deutsch Marks	MAD	Mixed Artillery Division
DŠK	Degtyaryov-Shpagin Calibre	MB	Mortar
DVD	Volunteer Fire Department	mbr	Mechanised Brigade
EC	European Community	MKBJ	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
ECMM	European Community Monitor Mission	MKCK / MCRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
EEC	European Economy Community	MO	Ministry of Defense
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	MORH	Ministry of Defense of The Republic of Croatia
Gbr	Guards Brigade	MOS	Muslim Armed Forces
GS	Main Staff	MP	Military Police
GS HVO	Croatian Defense Council Main Staff	MRUD	Directed Fragmentation Mine
h/o	Chemical Weapons	MTBR	Motorised Brigade
HBNA	Herzeg-Bosnian News Agency	MTS / TMS / MS	Material and Technical Equipment / Technical and Material Equipment / Material Equipment
HIS	Croatian Information Service	MVP	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
HIT	Department Store	MZ	Local Community
HOS	Croatian Defense Forces	MZ / IC	International Community
HR-HB	Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia	NDH	Independent State of Croatia
HRM	Croatian Navy	NŠ	Chief of Staff
HRSS	Croatian Peasant Workers' Party	NŠVK	Supreme Command Chief of Staff
HRT	Croatian Radio and Television	OAC	Operative Administration Center
HRZ	Croatian Air Force	ObP	Intelligence and Security
HTV	Croatian Television	OG	Operative Group
HV	Croatian Army	Okb	Armored Battalion
HVO	Croatian Defense Council	OkŠO	District of Defence Staff
HZ-HB	Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia	OKŠTO	District Territorial Defense Staff
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross	ONO	All People's Defence
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia	OPG	Operative Group
IFOR	Implementation Force	OpŠO	Municipal Defense Staff
IO	Executive Committee	OpŠTO	Municipal Staff of Territorial Defense
IO	Executive Committee	OS	Armed Forces
IPD	Informative Political Activity / Informative Propaganda Activity / Informative Psychological Activity	OSMP / OSPP	Owen-Stoltenberg Peace Plan
		OZ	Operative Zone

OZ JIH	Operative Zone of South-East Herzegovina
p/m	Infantry Weapons
PAT	Anti-Aircraft Gun
Pdo	Anti-Terrorist Squad
PNŠ	Assistant of Chief of Staff
POČ	Anti-Armour Company
POG	Anti-tank shell / Anti-Armour Group
PZO / PVO	Air Defense
PZT	Temporarily Occupied Territory
RBiH	Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
RH	Republic of Croatia
RPG	Rocket-Propelled Grenade
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RRV	Radio Relay Communication
RS	Republic of Srpska
RSK	Republic of Serbian Krajina
RT	Rocket Artillery
RTB	Radio-Television Belgrade
RTS	Radio -Television of Serbia
RV	Radio Communication
RV / PVO	Air Force / Air Defense
SANU	Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences
SAO	Serbian Autonomous Region
SAO Krajina	Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina
Sb	Independent Battalion
SDA	Party of Democratic Action
SDAH	Party of Democratic Action-Croatia
SDB	Service of National Security
SDB / DBJ	State Security Service / State Security of Yugoslavia
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
SFRJ / SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SIS	Security Informative Service
SJB	Public Security Station
SKC	Split Clinical Center
SKH	Alliance of Communists of Croatia
SKJ	Alliance of Communists of Yugoslavia
SKOJ	Yugoslav Communist Youth Association
Smtb	Independent Motorised Battalion
SN.SL. / Sn.Sl.	Medical Service
SO PN	Special Unit for Particular Purpose
SPABAT	Spanish Battalion
SR BiH	Socialist Republic of BiH
SRJ	Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Crna Gora)
SVK / VSK	The Serbian Army of Krajina / Army of Srpska Krajina
SZUP	Office for the Protection of the Constitutional Order
ŠVK	Supreme Command Staff
TANJUG	Telegraphic Agency of New Yugoslavia
TKT	Secret Commanding of Troops
TLF	Telephone
TO	Territorial Defense

tt	Trig Point
UB	Security Administration
UGOB	Bihać District Citizen's Association
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Forces
UZP / ZZP	Joint Criminal Undertaking
Vb	Vitez Brigade
VBR	Multiple Rocket Launcher
VEP	Military Economic Mission
VES	Military Occupational Speciality
VG	Military Garrison
VK / KV	Supreme Commander / Military Command
VOMP / VOPP	Vance-Owen Peace Plan
VONS	Council of Defense and National Security
VRS	Army of Republic of Srpska
VT	Firing Positions
WEU	Western European Union
WWII	World War II / Second World War
ZNG	Assembly of National Guard
ZRNS	Ground-based Radio Navigation System
ZTS	Aviation Technical Professions
ZZ VF	Joint Command of Federation Army
Ž/S	Living Force