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Update

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Muslims, Croats and Serbs in Bosnia

1998 Populations:

Bosnia: 3,366,000

Bosnian **Croats**: 740,000 (0.22)

Bosnian **Muslims**: 1,279,000 (0.38)

Bosnian **Serbs**: 1,346,000 (0.4)

Overview

The former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia has been beset by civil war since its mainly **Muslim** population voted to secede from the Yugoslav Federation in March 1992. The independence move was opposed by ethnic **Serbs** living in Bosnia who wanted to remain aligned with the **Serb**-dominated government of Yugoslavia. Ethnic **Serbs** have reportedly been aided in their armed resistance by troops and supplies from **Serbia** and Montenegro.

Ethnic **Croats** living in Bosnia favored the secession from Yugoslavia, but wanted to unite with **Croatia**, rather than remain in a **Muslim**-dominated Bosnian state. A few months after the **Muslim-Serb** conflict erupted, fighting also broke out between **Muslims** and **Croats**. During their conflict with the **Muslims**, and in spite of the recently stalemated conflict between **Croatia** and the **Serb**-dominated Yugoslavia, the **Croats** formed a temporary anti-**Muslim** alliance with Bosnian **Serbs**. In early 1994, however, the Bosnia's **Croats** and **Muslims** announced agreement on an anti-**Serb** alliance.

Chronology

9 A.D.: The Roman Empire established control over the large province of Illyricum, which contained the entire territory of Yugoslavia, with the exception of Vojvodina, under one authority. Roman rule lasted five centuries and the greatest Roman influence was found in towns along the coast. Much of the interior areas preserved their own traditions and were frequently invaded by other outsiders.

6th and early 7th Centuries: Croats from Ukraine migrated into areas directly south of Slovenia and along Adriatic coast including Dalmatia and Croatia. Serbs settled in regions of present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina.

602: Slavs from Ukraine and southern Russia invaded the Balkans. Slavs in the Balkans eventually split into several distinct groups: Slovenes in the northwest, Croats to the south, and Serbs to the southeast.

8th Century: Slovenes submitted to domination by German Franks and were converted to Roman Catholicism.

9th Century: Croat areas were divided with northern Croats near Slovenia under the control of the Franks and Dalmatia under the control of the Eastern Empire.

10th Century: Croats overcame domination of outside powers and began to develop sense of common identity. Both Croat regions united under Tomislav in about 924. He was recognized by the pope as king of the territory which he expanded inland to include parts of Bosnia. Tomislav's kingdom lasted about 200 years.

Other areas of Bosnia separated from Serbia began to develop their own identity.

11th Century: Yugoslavia was divided into Eastern and Western Roman Empires of Diocletian and Theodosius. This created a predominantly Roman Catholic western half and Eastern Orthodox eastern half.

12th Century: Bogomilism, a Christian heretical faith from Bulgaria, gained popular support as a form of opposition to proselytization efforts by Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christians. Religious struggles with Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches persisted for about 200 years.

1102: After a succession struggle, Croatian nobles handed power over to the king of Hungary with the Pope's blessing. They retained close ties to Hungary until 1918.

Late 13th Century: Slovenes came under control of the Hapsburg Empire, but were subjected to numerous Turkish raids along with other Slav regions.

14th Century: The Turkish conquest of Yugoslavia led to the conversion of large numbers of Bosnia's population to Islam. Eastern areas including most of Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia remained Eastern Orthodox. Northern regions of Croatia and Slovenia remained Roman Catholic.

1389: The Serbian army was defeated by Turks in the Battle of Kosovo. This led to Muslim influence in the Kosovo region.

First Half of 15th Century: Bosnian noble Stephen Vukcic gained control of lands in the southern part of Bosnia, and adopted the title of Herzog, the German equivalent of duke. The name Herzegovina derived to distinguish the region under Herzog's rule.

1459: The Serb defeat at Smederovo led to Turkish occupation of Serbia. This occupation lasted 350 years. Only Montenegro resisted the Turkish advance and remained under Serbian control.

During the first 200 years of occupation, Turkish rule was tolerant towards Serbian culture and religion.

Most **Serbs** left cities and towns to Turkish administrators and emigrants and migrated to rural, agrarian villages where they enjoyed substantial autonomy.

1483: Hercegovina fell to the Turks. Islamized nobles and peasants in Bosnia and Herzegovina were rewarded with land and other privileges while Christian nobles were killed and Christian peasants oppressed.

1526: The Turkish defeat of Hungarians and their king's death led to Turkish control of most of **Croatia**.

1699: The Habsburgs regained control over southern **Croatia**, northern Bosnia, Vojvodina, and the area along northern **Serbia**. Habsburg-controlled lands were settled by **Croat** peasants, Germans, and **Serb** refugees from Ottoman rule.

17th Century: The Centralization campaign of the Habsburgs led to the imposition of German as the official language in Slovenia and to an increasingly feudal state of serfdom for most Slovenes.

1691-mid-18th Century: **Serbs'** support of Habsburgs' attempts to force Turks out of **Serbia** led to reprisals from Turkish administrators and **Serb** migration to Habsburg-controlled Vojvodina. Turkish administrators became increasingly repressive of the **Serb** population as the central government's ability to control them from Constantinople declined.

Early 18th Century: Christian peasants revolted against Islamic nobles.

1804-1813: A **Serbian** revolt took advantage of the Turks' weakness during the Russian occupation of the Balkan provinces. The **Serbs** briefly established their own government in Belgrade. Russia withdrew its troops after being invaded by Napoleon in 1812 and the Turks moved against **Serbs**. The **Serbs** were defeated in 1813.

1809-1815: The period of Napoleonic control over Slovenia led to a brief improvement in material living conditions, educational opportunities, and language rights for most Slovenes. Although control was formally returned to the Habsburgs following Napoleon's defeat, the Slovene sense of nationalism and independence remained strong.

1817-1882: The second **Serbian** revolt forced Turks to grant **Serbs** considerable autonomy. By 1830, **Serbs**, with Russian support, forced the Turks to grant **Serbia** the status of an autonomous principality. Russian protection continued, with **Serbia** gaining full independence from Turkey in 1878 and the **Serbian** ruler assuming role of king in 1882.

Serbia's independence from Turkey was first recognized at the Congress of Berlin as a reward for supporting Austria by declaring war on Turkey and supporting Bosnian peasant uprisings in 1876.

1850: The Turkish government overthrew the Bosnian aristocracy and assumed direct control of local administration.

1875: Rebellions by Christian serfs escalated to a state of general revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1876: **Serbia** and Montenegro declared war against Turkey in support of Bosnia-Herzegovina revolt.

1877-1878: Russia entered the war against Turkey and the Turks were defeated in January 1878. The

Russian-dictated Treaty of San Stefano was signed in March 1878 and provided for recognition of an autonomous government in Bosnia-Herzegovina. With the Treaty of Berlin in July 1878, the Habsburg and British governments responded to the threat of Russian influence in the Balkans by placing Bosnia-herzegovina under temporary administration of Austria-Hungary.

1882-1905: Period of Austro-Hungarian control and dominance over **Serbia** and its economy.

1903: The assassination of **Serbian** King Alexander and his wife led to the parliamentary election of King Peter Karadjordjevic. Karadjordjevic initiated a process of domestic liberalization and moved towards increasing independence in international economic relations.

1908-1914: Austria annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina outright in 1908 to counter **Serbs'** expansionist aims. Annexation was opposed by both **Serbia** and Montenegro, with diplomatic support from Russia and Britain. Germany supported Austria's annexation, forming the outline for the major alliances to take shape during World War I.

Under annexation, Bosnians were denied self-rule as Austro-Hungarian officials were brought in from other areas to administer the territory. Nationalist tendencies in Bosnia became widespread and divided local population with Easter orthodox **Serbs** wanting to unite with **Serbia**, Catholics wanting to remain part of Austria-Hungary, and **Muslims** divided or opposed to both positions.

1911-1913: An alliance between Bulgaria, Greece, **Serbia**, and Montenegro defeated Turkey in the first Balkan War in 1912. Then, a dispute between **Serbia** and Bulgaria over sharing Macedonia led to war between the two former allies, with Greece, Montenegro, and Romania supporting **Serbs**. The defeat of Turkey in July 1913 extended the area of **Serbian** control southward to include most of present-day Macedonia.

1914, Origin of World War I: Following the assassination of Habsburg Archduke Franz-Ferdinand by a Bosnian **Serb** supporter in Sarajevo on July 28, Austria issued ultimatum to **Serbia**. **Serbia** rejected the ultimatum and Austria declared war on **Serbia**. Germany aligned with Austria while Britain, France, and Russia aligned with the **Serbs**.

In December 1914, **Serbia** endorsed **Croatia's** original idea of "Yugoslavism", calling for unification of **Serbs**, **Croats**, and Slovenes into a single state.

1915-1917: The secretly-signed Ally Treaty of London, April 26, 1915, granting territory of Dalmatia and western Slovenia to Italy, was uncovered and provided the impetus for the peoples of Yugoslavia to resist takeover by yet another foreign power.

The Yugoslav Committee was organized by Ante Trumbic to fight for the creation of a Yugoslav state with **Serbs**, **Croats**, and Slovenes as equal partners. **Serbian** Premier Nikola Pasic sought to unify groups under **Serbian** leadership, but moderated his position after the fall of Russian Tsars in 1917 and the resulting loss of Russian support for **Serbia**. The July 20, 1917, Declaration of Corfu called for creation of an independent kingdom of **Serbs**, **Croats**, and Slovenes with government by a constitutional, democratic monarchy, and equal rights for **Muslims** and Christians. The question of equal partnership or **Serbian** control was left unresolved by the Declaration.

End of World War I: A **Croatian**, **Serb**, and Slovene National Council was formed in Zagreb on October

29, 1918. It declared secession from the Austro-Hungarian empire and began working towards unification. Local assemblies in Bosnia and Herzegovina decided to join the unification drive. Montenegro renounced its sovereignty in November 1918, and joined the unification effort. King Alexander proclaimed the formation of the Kingdom of **Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** in Belgrade on December 1, 1918.

Following the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Western Allied Powers agreed to the creation of a unified Yugoslav state consisting of **Serbia, Montenegro, and northern Macedonia**. It was officially known as the Kingdom of the **Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes**.

Territorial disputes with Allied Powers persisted over areas which Allies had promised to Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria, and Romania. Most Yugoslav demands for territory were eventually met, except for the Italian-controlled areas of Styria, Carinthia, Istria, Fiume, and Zadar in the northern Adriatic coastal areas. Approximately 720,000 Yugoslavs remained outside of Yugoslavia's borders, while more than 1 million non-Slavs were included within Yugoslav borders.

January 1919: Regional socioeconomic differences persisted and grew as the more-developed northern regions of Slovenia, **Croatia**, and Vojvodina became industrial centers, while **Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro** remained rural, agrarian societies. A Land Reform Manifesto initiated the removal of feudal arrangements in Macedonia and Montenegro, and the distribution of land from large estate-holders to peasants throughout rural Yugoslavia. Land reform was not completed until 1940.

28 January 1921: **Serbs** in the Constituent Assembly, with strong opposition from **Croats**, imposed the Vododan Constitution which enacted policies of strict centralization.

1929: King Alexander imposed a dictatorship on Yugoslavia after **Croat** Constituent Assembly member Stjepan Radic was assassinated by a Montenegrin. Five other deputies were also killed. Political parties and most political rights were abolished.

Croatian Ustase separatists fled to Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Germany.

September 1931: Alexander ended the dictatorship and permitted some political party activity, but most restrictions on rights remained in effect. Political laws and restrictions had the effect of weakening **Serb**-dominated parties while strengthening non-**Serb** parties during the 1930s.

Hostility between Yugoslavia and Italy strengthened with Mussolini's support for *Ustase*. Bulgaria harbored the Macedonian terrorist group, IMRO.

9 October 1934: King Alexander was assassinated by IMRO, with reported financial backing by *Ustase*, during a trip to Marseille, France.

1935-1937: Milan Stojadinovic was elected Premier in May 1935, with support from **Serbian** radicals, Slovene populists, and **Muslims**.

Stojadinovic signed treaties with Italy and Bulgaria in 1937. Italy agreed to stop supporting the *Ustase* in exchange for recognizing Italian claims on Albania. The agreement was reportedly breached by Italy. Stojadinovic also held talks with Hitler in Germany.

1939: Dragisa Cvetcovic was elected Prime Minister and replaced Stojadinovic. Cvetcovic reached an

agreement with **Croatia** on August 26, 1939, uniting **Croatia**, Dalmatia, and seven other predominantly **Croat** districts into a single province with substantial autonomy.

Under pressure, Cvetcovic joined the German-led Anticomintern Pact, effectively joining the Axis alliance. Army officers opposed to the Pact staged a coup on March 26-27. They proclaimed Peter II King and General Dusan Simovic Prime Minister. Although Simovic said Yugoslavia would honor the Pact agreement, he said Yugoslavia would not join the Axis war effort. Axis powers invaded Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941.

After Yugoslavia's defeat, Germany annexed northern Slovenia and placed **Serbia** under its direct military authority. **Croatia** was declared a nominally 'independent' state. Italy was given control of southern Slovenia and Montenegro. Italian-controlled Albania was given control over Kosovo. Bulgaria received southeastern Macedonia, eastern **Serbia**, and part of Kosovo. Hungary was given most of Vojvodina.

World War II: *Ustase* proclaimed independence in **Croatia** shortly before German invasion and *Ustase* leader Ante Pavelic was flown in from Italy to assume leadership. The **Croatian** state included the territory of **Croatia** and Bosnia-Herzegovina. With nearly 1/3 of the population in the **Croatian** state being **Serbs**, *Ustase* initiated an anti-**Serb** campaign of massacres, expulsions, and forced conversions to Catholicism. **Croatian** concentration camps were established for **Serbs**, Jews, and **Croatian** political opponents.

Former Yugoslav Royal Army members in **Serbia** led by Col. Draza Mihailovic formed Cetnik Detachments of the Yugoslav Army of the Fatherland. Although the Cetniks were forming armies and stockpiling arms with British assistance, Mihailovic did not advocate immediate uprising for fear of harsh oppression by German occupation forces. Cetniks at times even collaborated with German authorities and the German-controlled government.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia organized uprisings against German occupation after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Communist Partisan forces led by Josip Broz Tito began fighting in July 1941 in **Serbia**, Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. Efforts to join forces with Cetniks failed due to ideological differences and in November 1941, the Cetniks attempted and failed to overrun the Partisans' headquarters. For two years, the Partisans' resistance was unsuccessful, with defeats in **Serbian** forcing a retreat into Bosnia, and a forced retreat into Montenegro in February 1943. In addition to German forces, Partisans faced counter-resistance from Italian forces, **Croatian Ustase**, and the Cetniks. The Partisans became more successful after Italy's defeat to the Allies in June 1943 and their withdrawal from Yugoslav territory. Allied leaders Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin switched support from Cetniks to Partisans, due to the Cetniks' reluctance to fight the Germans, and the exiled Yugoslav King Peter reached an agreement with the Partisans in the summer of 1944, calling on all Yugoslavs to respect the Partisans, and causing many Yugoslavs to switch allegiances from the government in exile to the Partisans. Although Tito's Council for National Liberation included members of Yugoslavia's prewar parliament and called for the formation of a constituent assembly after Belgrade was liberated by Soviet troops on October 20, 1944, Tito was installed as Prime Minister.

1945-1946: With Germany's defeat, *Ustase* leader Ante Pavelic and numerous **Croat** civilians fled **Croatia** and attempted to surrender to Allied forces in Austria. Allied forces rejected the **Croats'** surrender and forced the return of approximately 250,000 **Croats** to Yugoslavia, where many were immediately executed by Partisans. Cetnik leader Mihailovic was captured and executed as a traitor by the Partisans.

The Communist-organized People's Front (Narodni Front) weakened and suppressed other political parties and won elections. The Constituent Assembly of November 29, 1945, formally abolished the Yugoslav

monarchy and established the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. A new Constitution was unanimously approved by the Assembly on January 31, 1946. It established six constituent republics of **Serbia**, **Croatia**, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina were created within **Serbia**. The authority of individual republics was subordinated to the central government in most substantial matters, and in areas left to republics' authority, they were still monitored by the central government.

1945-1948: Government persecution of **Serbian** Orthodox and **Croatian** Catholic churches occurred. **Serbian** Orthodox Church property was confiscated while schools and convents were closed. **Croatian** Catholic archbishop Alojzije Stepinac openly supported the creation of an independent **Croatian** state during World War II and opposed harsh policies of **Croatian** government only weakly. After publicly voicing anticommunist sentiments, Stepinac was arrested and sentenced to 16 years' hard labor in 1946.

1948: Disappointment with the amount of actual aid from the Soviet Union and Yugoslav efforts to pursue independent foreign relations on a regional level led to a break with the Soviet Union and isolation from neighboring communist states.

1952: The official policy of decentralization led to increasing local autonomy in various regions. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the central government still retained most effective control, though less direct than before.

1966-1972: **Moslems** in the Bosnian League of Communists successfully pressured the governing League of Communists party in Belgrade to elevate their official status from that of a national minority to constituent nation by 1971.

1970: The government granted concessions in response to **Croat** and Slovene demands regarding allocations from the Federal Investment Fund and increasing the republics' autonomy.

Tito's apparent concessions to nationalist demands were limited, however, as he responded to student demonstrations in Zagreb and **Croatian** leaders' apparent support by arresting more than 400 students and purging **Croatian** Communist Party leaders.

1974: The **Moslems'** national status was established in the new Yugoslav constitution after they successfully argue that their status as a nation would dilute conflict between **Serbs** and **Croats** in Bosnia.

October 1990: The **Serb** Democratic Party was established in Bosnia and declared itself the representative of Bosnian **Serbs**. The **Serb** National Assembly and **Serb** National Council were established in Banjaluka, Bosnia. This was followed by the establishment of six **Serb** Autonomous Regions in Bosnia: Bosanska Krajina, Northern Bosnia, Northeastern Bosnia, Romanija, Herzegovina, and Old Herzegovina. These autonomous regions were eventually declared parts of '**Serb** Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina'.

1991 March: **Croatian** President Franjo Tudjman and **Serbian** President Slobodan Milosevic agreed on principle to dividing Bosnian territory to unite republics with **Croatian** and **Serbian** communities in Bosnia.

25 June 1991: **Croatia** and Slovenia proclaimed independence.

27 June 1991: Fighting erupted in Slovenia after the Yugoslav army sent tanks to crush its independence bid. Rising tension in **Croatia**, where the **Serbian** minority opposed independence moves, soon turned

violent.

July 1991: Following the outbreak of war between **Croatia** and **Serbia**, **Croat** President Tudjman publicly proposed a **Serb-Croat** division of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a solution to **Serb-Croat** conflict.

August 1991: Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic disclosed ongoing deliveries of arms from **Serb**-dominated Yugoslav National Army to **Serb** communities in Bosnia.

3 October 1991: **Serbia** and its allies used emergency powers to take control of the collective Yugoslav presidency without **Croatia**, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina attending sessions.

20 December 1991: Bosnia-Herzegovina applied to the European Community (EC) for recognition as a sovereign state.

21 December 1991: Bosnian **Serbs** proclaimed their own republic after a referendum against independence from Yugoslavia.

24 December 1991: Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia and **Croatia** formally applied for EC recognition.

15 January 1992: EC date from which its 12 members may recognise and set up full diplomatic relations with any of the four former Yugoslav republics which have declared independence.

3 March 1992: Bosnian independence was confirmed in a **Moslem-Croat** referendum boycotted by the **Serbs**.

4 April 1992: The first **Serb** barricades appeared in Sarajevo and were dismantled after a residents' march challenged masked gunmen.

6 April 1992: The EC recognised Bosnia-Herzegovina as independent. Fighting erupted in Sarajevo as a **Serb** siege began.

7 May 1992: **Serb** forces were reported to have control of about two-thirds of Bosnian territory. Before the war, **Serbs** were the dominant population in about 60% of Bosnian, but mainly in rural areas.

27 May 1992: A mortar attack on a bread queue in Sarajevo killed at least 20 people and wounded 70. This attack caused international outrage.

30 June 1992: Relief flights reached Sarajevo for the first time.

3 July 1992: An international relief airlift to Sarajevo began.

17 July 1992: Leaders of the three warring factions in Bosnia signed in London the first in a series of abortive ceasefires.

29 July 1992: **Serbs** were reported to control about 70% of Bosnian territory.

6 August 1992: The World was shocked by television pictures of emaciated captives in **Serb**-run detention

camps in Bosnia.

20 August 1992: Croats were reported to control most of the remaining territory not under **Serb** control, mostly in eastern areas along the Adriatic coastal area of **Croatia**.

28 August 1992: London peace talks ended with Bosnian **Serbs** offering to hand all heavy weapons to the United Nations.

3 September 1992: An international conference, chaired by U.N representative Cyrus Vance and E.C. representative Lord Owen opened in Geneva.

7 October 1992: Bosnian **Serb** forces captured Bosanski Brod on the **Croatian** border thereby gaining control of the vital North Bosnian corridor.

The U.N. Security Council decided to establish a war crimes commission to investigate atrocities in Bosnia and **Croatia**.

9 October 1992: The Security Council banned military flights over Bosnia.

23 October 1992: Croat forces trying to expand a newly declared ethnic mini-state ransacked the town of Prozor and expelled the **Moslem** majority. This splintered the alliance between **Coats** and **Moslems** against the **Serbs**.

28 October 1992: International mediators proposed a new-style Bosnian state with a central government and 10 autonomous regions.

Muslims were reported to be holding only 10% of Bosnian territory.

November 1992 to March 1993: Croat-Moslem skirmishing spread in central Bosnia. Each side traded accusations of provocations and forcible subordinate of each other's units.

16 November 1992: The U.N. Security Council authorized a naval blockade of **Serbia** and Montenegro, the remaining Yugoslav republics, for Belgrade's support of Bosnian **Serbs**.

30 November 1992: Croats were reported to be holding more than 20% of Bosnian territory.

16 December 1992: Foreign ministers and officials from 29 countries met in Geneva to discuss the Yugoslav crisis. U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger named Karadzic

and **Serbian** President Slobodan Milosevic as potential defendants in future war crimes trials.

3 January 1993: Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen announced a proposal to divide Bosnia into 10 provinces, mostly along ethnic lines.

4 January 1993: Croat nationalist leader Mate Boban signed the Vance-Owen peace package because it awarded **Croats** all the territory it sought on the battlefield. The **Moslem**-led government and the **Serbs** refused to sign the agreement and the peace process was suspended.

20 January 1993: The self-styled parliament of the Bosnian **Serbs** accepted Vance-Owen peace plan on power sharing in Bosnia.

6 February 1993: Bosnian **Moslem** and **Serb** leaders rejected the Vance-Owen maps of division of Bosnia.

1 March 1993: American planes began airdrops of food over Bosnia.

11 March 1993: **Moslems** surrounded a U.N. relief convoy to Konjevic Polje and held British U.N. troops hostage for a day.

19 March 1993: A U.N. aid convoy led by Morillon reached the **Moslem** east Bosnian town of Srebrenica which had been under an 11-month **Serb** siege.

25 March 1993: Under immense international pressure, the Bosnian government added its signature to the peace plan, leaving **Serbs** as only side refusing to sign it.

30 March 1993: A Bosnian war crimes court sentenced two Bosnian **Serbs** to death for murder, rape and robbery in the civil war.

31 March 1993: Aid officials suspended a Srebrenica evacuation after five children and two women died in a crush to board a convoy.

The Security Council authorised the use of force against planes violating the no-fly ban over Bosnia.

April 1993: A full-blown **Croat-Moslem** war erupted in central and southwest Bosnia. **Croat** irregulars massacred **Moslem** villagers in Ahmici, setting off a cycle of attack and reprisal.

3 April 1993: The Bosnian **Serb** parliament rejected maps drafted in the Vance-Owen peace plan.

4 April 1993: Bosnian **Croats** demanded the withdrawal of **Moslem** troops from provinces designated for **Croat** self-rule under a U.N. peace plan. Fierce fighting began across central Bosnia between the former allies.

5 April 1993: The U.N. announced a plan to evacuate up to 15,000 **Moslems** from Srebrenica.

12 April 1993: NATO jets began enforcing a no-flight zone over Bosnia.

17 April 1993: The U.N. Security Council agreed to tighten sanctions against **Serbia** and Montenegro if Bosnian **Serbs** did not accept peace plan by April 26. The **Serb** parliament rejected the plan on April 26 and sanctions come into effect.

30 April 1993: The Bosnian **Serb** leader Radovan Karadzic signed Vance-Owen plan, but the Bosnian **Serb** assembly rejected it on May 6.

9 May 1993: **Croats** laying siege to **Moslem**-populated east Mostar, started rounding up and expelling **Moslems** from the entire Herzegovina region.

16 May 1993: A Bosnian **Serb** referendum, dismissed by mediators as a sham, voted by 96 percent to reject the peace plan.

June 1993: The Bosnian army launched a counter-offensive against the **Croats**. The wrested six key towns over the ensuing six months and turned the tide of war against **Croats** across central Bosnia.

12 June 1993: A fresh round of talks began with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic under pressure to accept ethnic partition.

17 June 1993: Owen said the Vance-Owen plan was dead, telling a news conference the war has gone too far for an honourable solution.

12 July 1993: The main body of a 300-man U.S. troop unit arrived in Macedonia. Shells killed 12 at a communal tap in the Dobrinja suburb of Sarajevo.

27 July 1993: A final attempt at peace talks began in Geneva, where **Serbs** and **Croats** expressed support for the mediators' proposal to create a new 'union' of three ethnic mini-states.

30 July 1993: Izetbegovic agreed to constitutional proposals for the 'union,' pending parliament's approval. The talks turned to borders.

2 August 1993: Izetbegovic began a fresh boycott of the peace talks, making his return conditional on **Serb** withdrawal from two strategic mountains over Sarajevo.

16 Aug 1993: Mediators announced a tentative accord to place Sarajevo under U.N. control after the final peace settlement. Izetbegovic said he now accepted the partition of Bosnia.

September 1993: **Serb**, **Croat**, and **Moslem** leaders tentatively agreed to split Bosnia into a union of three ethnic republics. But, the **Moslem** assembly rejected it as a recipe for **Moslem** isolation.

27 September 1993: Maverick **Moslem** leader Fikret Abdic declared the Bihac enclave in northwest Bosnia autonomous from Sarajevo.

28 September 1993: Izetbegovic ordered the army to quell rebel **Moslems**.

29 September 1993: The Bosnian **Moslem** parliament rejected the proposed peace deal, demanding the return of land and access to the Adriatic.

21 October 1993: Rebel **Moslem** leader Abdic signed alliance pacts for his province with **Croats** and **Serbs**.

25 October 1993: The U.N. found evidence that **Croat** soldiers committed a massacre in the **Moslem** village of Stupni Do in central Bosnia.

26 October 1993: The Bosnian government cracked down on a crime ring within the Bosnian army. One hundred forty-six soldiers were arrested under suspicion and one of two ring leaders was killed in a shoot-out in Sarajevo.

4 November 1993: The **Moslem**-led army captured the town of Vares in an offensive against **Croat** forces in central Bosnia.

18 November 1993: All three combatants pledged to allow safe passage for aid convoys in Bosnia in U.N.-mediated discussions.

3 December 1993: Izetbegovic returned from four days of Geneva peace talks and said little was achieved. He opposed the split of Sarajevo.

11 December 1993: EC foreign ministers invited the warring parties and presidents of **Serbia**, **Croatia** and Montenegro to Brussels for peace talks on December 22.

21 December 1993: Mediators Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, who took over from Vance, scheduled a new round of top-level peace talks in Geneva.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said in Geneva that **Serbs** and **Croats** had reached agreement on a new Bosnian map which would satisfy **Moslem** demands for a third of the territory of Bosnia.

5 Jan 1994 : The Commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia, Belgian General Francis Briquemont, a stern critic of the U.N.'s Bosnia policy, quit--officially because of exhaustion. British General Sir Michael Rose, a special forces veteran, was named as his successor.

11 January 1994: NATO warned **Serbs** of air strikes if Tuzla airport was not opened.

18 January 1994: - NATO leaders extend a threat of air strikes to include forcing Bosnian **Serbs** to allow the opening of Tuzla airport and the rotation of Canadian troops out of Srebrenica.

18 January 1994: The Commander of U.N. troops in the former Yugoslavia, French General Jean Cot, was sacked after openly disagreeing with Boutros-Ghali over air strikes.

19 January 1994: Yugoslavia and **Croatia** agreed to normalise ties. Bosnian **Serbs** and **Croats** signed a similar pact. Talks between **Serbs**, **Moslems** and **Croats** on ending the war in Bosnia achieved nothing as Bosnia's **Muslim**-led Government rejected the proposed division of Bosnia.

24 January 1994: The International Olympic Committee appealed for truce from February 5 to March 6, to cover the period of the Winter Games in Lillehammer.

2 February 1994: **Croatia** had up to 5,000 regular troops in Bosnia, according to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali.

3 February 1994: The U.N. Security Council gave **Croatia** two weeks to begin pulling its troops out of Bosnia or face possible economic sanctions.

4 February 1994: Mortar bombs killed nine people in a food queue in **Serb**-besieged Sarajevo.

8 February 1994: **Croatian President Franjo Tudjman**, under threat of U.N. sanctions for waging a proxy war of expansion against **Moslems**, sacked Boban as an obstacle to peace talks.

23 February 1994: Bosnian **Croat** and **Moslem** forces agreed to a general ceasefire under U.N. auspices in Zagreb.

25 February 1994: The Truce took effect.

1 March 1994: Croatian, Bosnian **Croat** and **Moslem** representatives signed a U.S.-brokered preliminary agreement in Washington on establishing a federation confederally linked to **Croatia**.

13 March 1994: Bosnian **Moslems** and **Croats** ended 10 days of follow-up talks in Vienna with agreement on constitutional details of a federation.

18 March 1994: Tudjman and Bosnian **Moslem** President Alija Izetbegovic formally signed an agreement at a Washington ceremony presided over by U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Late July 1994: Bosnia and **Croatia** agreed to accept a U.N.-proposed partition of Bosnia which would leave 49% of Bosnia under control of Bosnian **Serbs**, and the rest under **Muslim-Croat** control. Fighting continued as the Bosnian **Serbs** refused to accept the plan and threatened to escalate the war further. Moves by Bosnian **Serbs** to reimpose the siege of Sarajevo were met with international opposition, including pressure from **Serbia** to accept the plan.

2 August 1994: **Serbia** formally disavowed support and even threatened Bosnian **Serb** leaders for their refusal to accept the partition plan.

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8 August 1994: The Bosnian **Serbs'** assembly rejects the latest international peace plan for Bosnia and invites its people to back the decision in a referendum. The referendum is scheduled for August 27 & 28. (The Herald)

9 August 1994: Bosnian **Serbs** receive an ultimatum handed down by UNPROFOR commander Michael Rose saying that they have to move three artillery pieces out of the security zone around Sarajevo until midnight or face having them blasted by NATO airstrikes (Evening Standard).

26 September 1994: Security Council condemns the Bosnian **Serbs'** ethnic cleansing and imposes economic sanctions on the Bosnian-**Serb** controlled part of Bosnia(Federal News Service). The Council resolves that **Serbs** should freeze financial assets held in their countries by Bosnian **Serbs** or entities under their control (Federal Information Systems Corporation).

November 1994: Fighting with Bosnian **Muslim** and **Croat** forces allied against **Serbs** and a renegade **Muslim** enclave escalated around Bihac, in the northern part of Bosnia along the **Croatian** border. During the next few months, **Muslim** and **Croat** forces briefly achieved some of their greatest battlefield victories and temporarily drove **Serbs** out of the area, creating the "Bihac pocket" which remained surrounded by **Serb**-held territory. Fighting in this area continued even throughout the winter, when fighting in most other areas of Bosnia subsided during a four-month ceasefire.(the latest from Steven Kurth's chronology)

22 November 1994: President Clinton says, the US would no longer enforce the arms embargo which denies the Bosnians the right to defend themselves(Daily Mail).

24 November 1994: Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic demands NATO airstrikes against **Serb** artillery firing on the UN protected **Moslem** town of Bihac in northwest Bosnia. The Bosnian **Serb** Army offensive on the Bihac pocket is supported by the rebel **Serbs** holding territory in neighboring Bosnia (Reuters).

November 1994: Bosnian **Serb** leaders Radovan Karadzic and **Serb** army commander Gen.Ratko Mladic sign with former US president Jimmy Carter and UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi a ceasefire agreement (Reuters).

14 February 1995: The UN Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia charges the Bosnian **Serb** commander of the Omarska "death camp" with genocide against Bosnian **Muslims** and **Croats**. It also indicts 20 other **Serb** commanders (Nassan & Suttolk edition).

14 February 1995: Bosnian **Serb** parliament rejects the latest peace plan put forward by the big powers. The plan offers a 50-50 division of Bosnia between a **Muslim-Croat** confederation and the Bosnian **Serbs** who hold some 70% of the land (The Herald).

8 March 1995: Bosnia and **Croatia** establish military alliance to oppose rebel **Serbs**. The **Croat**-Bosnian military pact is designed to counter a similar pact by **Serb** rebels in Bosnia and **Croatia**. The **Croatian**-Bosnian military pact raises concern among the UN officials and Western nations about the possibility of all-out war if President Tudjman goes through with his threat to expel the 12,000 UN peace keepers from **Croatia** on 03/31.

24 March 1995: Observers in Belgrade are increasingly more vocal in their claims that Milosevic has allegedly already decided in favor of the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and **Croatia** within their international borders and that he is merely waiting for a suitable moment to announce this to the public (BBC).

25 May 1995: NATO bombs the headquarters of the Bosnian **Serbs** near Pale (CNN). The Bosnian **Serbs** respond by a wave of UN hostage taking (The Herald: 06/12).

27 May 1995: The parliamentary speaker of the self-declared **Serb** Republic in Bosnia, Momcilo Krajisnik, says that a decision by the President of **Serbia** to recognize Bosnia would be contrary to the interests of the **Serb** nation and would directly serve the interests of the **Serbs'** enemies (BBC).

31 May 1995: Foreign ministers of the NATO countries urge the United Nations to strengthen its crumbling opposition in Bosnia and pledge to use the alliance's military muscle to help reinforce the beleaguered UN forces there (International Herald Tribune).

2 June 1995: President Clinton announces his decision to commit troops to help the UN operations in Bosnia (The Independent).

2 June 1995: Slobodan Milosevic refuses the US brokered peace settlement to recognize Bosnian government and release UN hostages in exchange for the lifting of the economic sanctions imposed on

Yugoslavia (The Herald).

21 July 1995: The Bosnian crisis conference which takes place on 21 July shows unity among major Western leaders on the Western approach to be adopted toward the escalating crisis in the region. Foreign Secretary Malcom Rifkind promises 'substantial and decisive' action should the **Serbs** attack the so-called 'safe heaven' of Gorazde.

22 July 1995: According to analysts, the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, and the ethnic cleansing following the fall of Srebrenica, have destroyed the prevailing international approach to the Bosnian crisis based on humanitarian aid and use of UN forces to maintain 'safe areas'. The Bosnian conflict, believe analysts, enters a new stage with escalated military intervention by the big Western powers (The Herald).

23 July 1995: The Bosnian **Serbs** answer the West ambiguous warning to halt their attacks on the so-called UN 'safe areas' by renewing their assault on the eastern enclave of Zepa. Bosnian **Serb** military commander Gen. Ratko Mladic warns that his force is prepared to seize other UN 'safe areas' in eastern Bosnia taking all of them by the autumn, unless the Bosnian troops stop launching attacks from the enclaves (The Observer).

23 July 1995: The situation around Bihac, continues to be tense with heavy troop build-ups by both **Croats** and **Serbs**. The other 'safe area', the central Bosnia town of Tuzla, currently hosts thousands of refugees from Srebrenica and the eastern enclave of Gorazde (The Observer).

23 July 1995: Croatia agrees to a Bosnian government request for urgent military assistance, particularly in Bihac (The Observer).

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7 August 1995: Croatia's conquest of Knin on June 7 triggers an open power struggle in the pan-**Serbian** camp between the key **Serb** military commander, Gen.Ratko Mladic and the Bosnian **Serb** leader Radovan Karadzic .

9 September 1995: The warring parties in Bosnia agreed to a peace deal brokered by Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke. The Bosnian **Serbs** accepted for the first time the terms of the five nation Contact group. According to these terms, **Serbs** should receive 49% of territory and the **Muslim/Croat** federation 51%. The agreement on the basic principles for peace negotiations guarantee the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single sovereign state, but made up of two distinct entities. The agreement allows the Bosnian **Serbs** and **Croats** to have political links with their ethnic parties elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia but political confederation with either side is strictly forbidden (The Herald).

1 November 1995: Peace talks between leaders of **Serbia**, **Croatia** and Bosnia began in Dayton (The Financial Times 11/02/95). The leaders initiated an agreement designed to end 43 months of war (Agence France Presse: 11/21/95). The leaders agreed to reconvene in Paris in early December to sign the final documents (Deutsche Presse Agentur 11/21/95).

3 January 1996: The Bosnian government criticized NATO for failing to protect civilians from abduction by separatist **Serbs**. The **Moslem**-led government said 16 of its citizens have been kidnapped while traveling through the **Serb**-held suburb of Ilidza, to the west of the city along roads opened by NATO forces implementing the Bosnian peace plan. (Reuters World Service)

31 January 1996: Bosnian parliament decided that Bosnia will be run by a transitional central government by Hasan Muratovic until general elections are held to choose the government of the Bosnian republic that will include members from both the **Moslem-Croat** and **Serbian** entities (1/31/96: Agence France Presse).

1 February 1996: An administration was appointed for the **Moslem-Croat** half of Bosnia, as a step in building the complex political structure envisaged for the country by the Dayton peace plan. (The Reuter European Community Report).

8 February 1996: Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic of the Bosnia's **Moslem**-led central government accused the **Serbs** of blackmail by breaking off contacts in response to the detention of senior **Serb** officers accused of war crimes. Muratovic told Reuters that the government will continue to arrest suspected war criminals where possible, and will abide by the findings of the U.N.-appointed war crimes tribunal in The Hague. (Reuters World Service).

9 February 1996: The mayor of the **Croat** part of Mostar demanded again that Mostar be the **Croat** capital. (Times Newspaper Limited).

26 February 1996: Talks between Bosnia's Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic and his **Croatian** counterpart Zlatko Matesa aimed at unblocking progress within the **Moslem-Croat** federation made some progress on economic and legal accords firming up the federation but encountered difficulties on issues concerning arms deliveries (Agence France Presse).

3 March 1996: Bosnian **Muslim** rebel Fikret Abdic formed a new party to stand in the federation elections. (BBC)

6 March 1996: Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's former prime minister, announce his plans to run against President Alija Izetbegovic in the forthcoming elections on a platform of ethnic harmony and an end to religiously-based politics (International Herald Tribune).

4 April 1996: The international War Crimes Tribunal arraigned its first top Bosnian **Croat** officer and, in separate actions, condemned **Serbia** and **Croatia** for the bloodbath that engulfed the former Yugoslavia. Tihomir Blaskic, 36, a general officer in the **Croatian** and the Bosnian **Croat** armies, arrived in The Hague on his own after the U.S. government heavily pressured **Croatia** to cooperate (Newsday).

9 April 1996: 3,000 to 4,000 **Muslims** walked toward their homes in the **Serb** dominated area near Brcko trying to put pressure on American military officers in the region to push the **Serbian** authorities to comply with the Bosnian peace agreement by allowing the refugees back home. (International Herald Tribune).

10 April 1996: Bosnian **Serb** leaders said, they will not attend a reconstruction conference as part of an overall Bosnian delegation, and demanded separate representation (Reuters World Service).

19 April 1996: NATO officials and diplomats said, pressure is growing on NATO troops to arrest war crimes suspects now that Bosnia's former warring parties have complied for the most part with demands to get their troops off the battlefields (Agence France Presse).

19 April 1996: A World Bank official said, Bosnia must build government institutions and take full advantage of \$1.8 billion in reconstruction aid pledged for 1996 if it hopes to secure additional funding (The

Reuters European Business Report).

8 May 1996: A trial of a Bosnian **Serb** charged with torturing and murdering his **Muslim** and **Croat** neighbors opened before the first international war crimes tribunal since the postwar judgments at Nuremberg and Tokyo (The Washington Post).

18 May 1996: The Bosnian **Serb** parliament endorsed the dismissal of a moderate, Rajko Kasagic, as **Serb** prime minister and backed his replacement by a little-known apparatchik, Gojko Klickovic. (Agence France Presse).

20 May 1996: Mr Carl Bildt, the international peace envoy to Bosnia, said he believed Mr Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian **Serb** leader, was losing his grip on power after he agreed to relinquish significant authority on political, constitutional and other powers to his deputy, Mrs Biljana Plavsic.(Financial Times).

14 June 1996: Bosnian Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic said sanctions would be imposed against the Bosnian **Serbs** unless hardline **Serb** leader Radovan Karadzic was ousted from power by July 1.(Agence France Presse).

21 June 1996: **Serb** media reported that a local board of the **Serb** Democratic Party nominated Radovan Karadzic as candidate for president of the Bosnian **Serb** Republic in the forthcoming elections. (The Washington Post).

28 June 1996: US Secretary of State Warren Christopher said, G7 member states and Russia adopted an action plan to ensure the success of Bosnia's first post-war general elections, set for mid-September. (Agence France Presse)

30 June 1996: Major powers said hardline Bosnian **Serb** leader Radovan Karadzic would have to quit immediately or face sanctions for violating the Bosnian peace agreement.(Reuters World Service)

20 July 1996: - US envoy Richard Holbrooke said that Bosnian **Serb** leader Radovan Karadzic had agreed to step down as head of his political party and give up all public duties. (The Boston Globe) Karadzic signed an agreement pledging to step down July 19. Alexa Buha, the Bosnian **Serb** foreign minister, has been named as the new chairman of the SDS. Biljana Plavsic, the Bosnian **Serb** vice president, would take over as acting president. (07/15: Facts on File World News Digest)

23 July 1996: Under US pressure on the Bosnian leadership, Bosnia and **Serbia** move a step closer to normalizing relations. Talks between a senior Bosnian delegation and top **Serbian** leaders took place in Belgrade for the first time since the start of the Bosnian conflict in April 1992 (Agence France Presse).

1 August 1996: U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Kornblum said Bosnian **Muslim** and **Croat** officials agreed on a plan to dismantle the **Croat** minstate known as Herzeg-Bosna. The two parties agreed to put together an implementation plan ensuring that they would build a unified central institution after the elections scheduled for Sept. 14. (The Washington Post)

2 August 1996: The OSCE mission chief Robert Frowick said the hardline **Serb** party of Radovan Karadzic could still be barred from Bosnia's elections if it breaks a pledge that Karadzic stays out of campaigning.(Agence France Presse)

4 August 1996: The United States drew up plans for a commando raid to capture former Bosnian **Serb** leader Radovan Karadzic in his Pale stronghold and deliver him to the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague. (Agence France Presse)

24 August 1996: The Joint List of five opposition parties in Bosnia -Hercegovina sent a public appeal to the OSCE asking it to oppose manipulation of voters by the Party of Democratic Action, the SDA which is the ruling **Muslim** party in Bosnia -Hercegovina.(BBC)

5 September 1996: More than 2,000 supporters of the Bosnian **Serb** ruling party rallied in a Sarajevo suburb. With Karadzic posters and **Serb** flags, supporters of the hardline **Serb** Democratic Party (SDS) gathered in Dobrinja, the last **Serb**-toehold in the Bosnian capital. The rally was addressed by three candidates of the extreme nationalist party and a **Serb** Orthodox priest. (Agence France Presse)

16 September 1996: Provisional figures from international agencies monitoring the Bosnian border said that 20,000 people crossed into **Serb** areas along special secure routes. They constituted less than 10 percent of the mainly **Moslem** refugees and displaced people eligible to vote in **Serb**-held areas. (Agence France Presse)

20 September 1996: The main nationalist parties that led Bosnia into war four years ago won elections for federal and regional parliaments. Candidates of the **Moslem** Party of Democratic Action (SDA), **Serb** Democratic Party (SDS) and **Croatian** Democratic Union (HDZ) also captured three seats on a new collective presidency in Bosnia's first post-war vote on September 14. (Reuters World Service)

28 September 1996: At a forum organized by the Islamic community in **Croatia**, member of the Bosnian Presidency and vice-president of the Bosnian federation, Ejup Ganic called on all **Croat** refugees to unconditionally return to central.(BBC)

6 October 1996: Bosnian **Serb** politicians boycotted the inauguration of the country's new joint presidency and parliament. (Los Angeles Times)

8 October 1996: Political activity other than voting was barred for soldiers in the **Moslem-Croat** Federation (Agence France Presse).

11 November 1996: The Bosnian **Serb** president, Biljana Plavsic, announced the replacement of the entire general staff, and swore in Major-General Pero Colic as army chief. (The Guardians) The move by Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic to fire the powerful head of her army was the latest volley in a long-standing battle between civilians and soldiers in the Bosnian **Serb** leadership. Mladic, who personally directed the notorious onslaught on the **Muslim** enclave of Srebrenica last year, was fired along with his senior deputies over the weekend. (Los Angeles Times 11/11/96).

20 November 1996: General Ratko Mladic, defied dismissal as commander of the Bosnian **Serb** Army with the support of his senior generals. He met President Biljana Plavsic to discuss a compromise. The attempt to sack Mladic revived the struggle for power between Pale, the hardliners' wartime stronghold outside Sarajevo, and the northern industrial city of Banja Luka which is the new government seat. (Reuters World Service)

22 November 1996: The World Bank mission director in Bosnia Rory O'Sullivan said the international

community's goal of spending about \$ 900 million in reconstruction aid in 1996 was on track. He said, 98% of those funds have been allocated to Bosnia's **Moslem-Croat** Federation.(The Reuter European Business Report)

27 February 1997: Croatian police arrested the leader of Mostar's paramilitary mafia, Mladen Naletilic, near Split. In a coordinated action against organized crime, Bosnian **Croat** police arrested five **Croat** men and issues warrants for another three. The arrests come after Western diplomats met **Croatian** government officials and expressed their "strong concern" over the attacks on NATO-led peacekeeping troops in Mostar.(Reuters)

27 February 1997: Tensions in the divided southern town of Mostar, contested by **Moslems** and **Croats** during their 1993-94 war, rose with the **Croat** police firing on a group of **Moslem** civilians who wanted to visit a graveyard in the **Croat** part of town. (Reuters)

19 March 1997: Explosions damaged the minaret of the local mosque in Stipanici a southern Bosnia-Herzegovina town settled by **Croats** and **Muslims**. The act was harshly condemned in a joint statement by Bosnian federation President and Bosnian **Croat** leader Kresimir Zubak, as well as by the Herceg-Bosna Canton government and Tomislavgrad municipal leadership. (BBC)

8 May 1997: The UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague investigating atrocities issued its first conviction. A Bosnian **Serb** tavern owner, Dusan (Dusko) Tadic, was found guilty on 11 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his role in herding his **Muslim** neighbors and other civilians into **Serbian** prison camps and torturing them for what the court called their religion and their politics. (International Herald Tribune)

3 July 1997: Biljana Plavsic dissolved the Bosnian **Serb** parliament, which was dominated by hardliners, and called for fresh elections. The hardliners headed by Krajisnik first rejected her decision, then retaliated by calling for presidential elections as well.(Agence France Presse)

7 July 1997: Following a battle with hardline **Serbs** who endangered her life Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic invited for a private talk one of her principal hardline foes, Momcilo Krajisnik.(Agence France Presse)

8 July 1997: The entire Bosnian **Serb** military leadership met Tuesday in Banja Luka with the President of the **Serbian** Republic Biljana Plavsic. Details of the talks were not revealed. Plavsic has accused the army leadership of interfering in politics, contravening the "laws and constitution". (Deutsche Presse-Agentur)

8 July 1997: **Serbian** President Slobodan Milosevic invited Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic to meet top hardliner Momcilo Krajisnik in Belgrade.(Agence France Presse)

11 July 1997: The Bosnian **Serb** Defence Ministry expressed its support for the army's commitment to defend the republic's interests despite efforts by Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic to keep the army out of the leadership crisis. A statement by the ministry said the army is obliged to get involved in politics when the security of the republic is at stake.(BBC)

21 July 1997: Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic was thrown out of the **Serb** Democratic Party and called on to resign. The move came after Plavsic told a German magazine she would be prepared to arrest former Bosnian **Serb** leader Radovan Karadzic.(Newsday)

21 July 1997: Tension in the **Serb** part of Bosnia has risen since NATO raided a northwestern town on July 10, capturing one war-crimes suspect and killing another who resisted arrest. (Newsday)

28 July 1997: Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic said that extradition of her predecessor, Radovan Karadzic, or of any Bosnian **Serb**, would be unconstitutional. (BBC)

13 August 1997: The new NATO supreme commander for Europe, U.S. General Wesley Clark, called on suspected war criminals in Bosnia to surrender "voluntarily and soon".(Deutsche Presse-Agentur).

22 August 1997: Bosnian **Serb** army leaders weighed into the political crisis in the **Serb** Republic with a fierce attack on President Biljana Plavsic and a threat to use force.(Agence France Presse)

23 August 1997: The Bosnian **Serb** military staff based in Bijeljina warned Biljana Plavsic that it would move against her to prevent the Republika Srpska splitting in two. Biljana Plavsic has wrested control of the Banja Luka police from officers loyal to Radovan Karadzic. (The

Independent)

23 August 1997: The UN started re-training Bosnian **Serb** policemen in Banja Luka to create a "non-political" police force as part of efforts to defuse conflict within the **Serb** community and to consolidate a peaceful, democratic society. (The Independent)

28 August 1997: Bosnian **Serb** president Biljana Plavsic inaugurated her new political party. (Agence France Presse)

29 August 1997: The U.S.-led NATO alliance moved troops into Brcko and four other towns on behalf of Bosnian President Biljana Plavsic. With NATO backing, Plavsic has now split the ethnic **Serb** entity in two, and can claim to control half the army's general staff, some of the news media and something under half the territory.(Newsday)

12 September 1997: After successfully averting a **Serb** boycott of Bosnian municipal elections, western mediators put pressure on Franjo Tudjman, the **Croatian** president, to make sure the main **Croat** party took part as well. A decision by the **Serb** Democratic Party not to boycott the elections followed talks in Belgrade between Mr Westendorp and Slobodan Milosevic, the Yugoslav president. Bosnia's first local elections for seven years, cost \$14m and were monitored by 2,500 observers. (Financial Times)

15 September 1997: Opposition parties who support Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic beat her ultranationalist rivals in her stronghold. Meanwhile, the hardline **Serb** Democratic Party (SDS), which wanted to oust Plavsic from power, was leading in its own stronghold of Pale in eastern Bosnia but lost votes to another extreme right-wing party. The local elections were expected to determine which **Serb** faction would wield the upper hand in a two-month power struggle which has threatened to split the Bosnian **Serb** entity.(Agence France Presse)

15 September 1997: Thousands of refugees streamed across Bosnia's former front lines to stake their claims to return to the homes they were expelled from during the civil war. In a huge protest against Bosnia's ethnic partition by nationalists, many traveled and queued for hours to vote for local councils in places where they once lived.(The daily Telegraph)

24 September 1997: Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic and her hardline rival Momcilo Krajisnik agreed to elections in order to end their long-running power struggle and test their respective backing. The two rivals agreed to hold legislative and presidential elections on November 15 in the **Serb** state. Additional elections were held on December 7 for Krajisnik's seat on Bosnia's tri-partite presidency. (Agence France Presse)

22 November 1997: Voters in the **Serb**-run half of Bosnia went to the polls, supervised by the international community, in an attempt to end a deep power struggle that has split Republika Srpska (RS). The vote on November 22 and 23, supervised by the OSCE, led to the election of 83 members of parliament through a system of proportional representation. Forty-nine parties, coalitions and independent candidates ran in the election. (Agence France Presse).

3 December 1997: The preliminary results of the elections in the **Serbian**-controlled half of Bosnia - Herzegovina indicated that Karadzic's **Serbian** Democratic Party and its allies in the **Serbian** Radical Party would not win enough seats to control the 83-member legislature. Until now, hardliners have used their comfortable majority in Parliament to obstruct the U.S.- mediated peace plan for Bosnia and to challenge President Biljana Plavsic, who is strongly supported by the West. (International Herald Tribune).

29 December 1997: Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic nominated economics professor Mladen Ivanic as premier-designate. Plavsic addressed the inaugural session of the new Bosnian **Serb** parliament on 27th December (BBC).

19 January 1998: Deputies of the Bosnian **Serb** Republic People's Assembly, who supported President Biljana Plavsic, elected a new cabinet led by Milorad Dodik. (BBC) Dodik, whose party of Independent Social Democrats has only two delegates in the 83-seat Bosnian **Serb** parliament, was able to form a government of national unity with the support of **Moslem** representatives. (01/19/98 Financial Times).

20 January 1998: Bilijana Plavsic nominated Milorad Dodik as Prime Minister elect of the new **Serb** Republic government. (BBC)

16 February 1998: German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel urged former Bosnian **Serb** leader and war crimes suspect Radovan Karadzic to surrender to the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia. (Agence France Presse)

25 February 1998: The top international envoy to Bosnia criticized the major nationalist parties' overwhelming influence in politics, saying there was more pluralism in the country's **Serb** -run entity than in its **Moslem-Croat** Federation.(Agence France Presse)

3 March 1998: Bosnian **Serb** Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said that his government has accomplished more in a month than the previous government achieved in two years. He says that the international community's attitude towards the **Serbs** had changed because he and President Biljana Plavsic are cooperating, instead of obstructing, the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. (BBC)

14 March 1998: Bosnian **Serb** President Biljana Plavsic said she is prepared to stand again as president in the next elections, which she expects will take place under OSCE regulations. She also said that she had not been maintaining contact with her rivals in Pale, Bosnian **Serb** leader Momcilo Krajisnik and the former Bosnian **Serb** ruling party - who have frequently objected to OSCE election regulations. (BBC)

23 March 1998: Bosnian **Serb** Prime Minister Milorad Dodik says that the future of the republic depends on the full implementation of the Dayton Agreement. He also made clear that Brcko, currently under international supervision, was "the main goal of the **Serb** Republic" and that he would resign if the town was not given to the **Serb** side. (BBC)

3 April 1998: NATO's helicopters, dozens of tanks and armored cars, and 500 troops were sent into the Bosnian village of Pale and surrounded the headquarters of Radovan Karadzic, in an attempt to push him to surrender to the Hague tribunal. (The Guardian)

28 April 1998: International officials pushed Bosnia and **Croatia** to do more in repatriating the many remaining refugees of the 1991-95 Balkan conflicts. The officials said these countries must do so despite a disturbing upsurge in violent incidents aimed at blocking refugee returns. (Agence France Presse)

28 April 1998: Up to 50,000 **Croatian Serb** refugees were inside Bosnia, hoping to be able to go back to their native Krajina region. In northern Bosnia **Serbs** and **Moslems** blocked a busy highway as they accused each other of carrying out a weekend grenade attack.(Agence France Presse)

3 June 1998: A new party, the Bosnia-Herzegovina **Croatian** Democratic Union was founded by Kresimir Zubak, the **Croat** member of Bosnia's joint presidency. Zubak says, the new political party would back Bosnia's peace process, but not at the expense of those it aims to represent. The new party was created out of the **Croatian** Democratic Union (HDZ), set up in 1990, and intends to contest the September 12-13 elections. (Agence France Presse)

6 June 1998: A Sarajevo daily commented that the split in the main Bosnian **Croat** party - the Bosnian wing of **Croatia's** ruling HDZ - broke the monolithic power it has wielded since before war broke out in 1992. The daily says, Bosnian **Croat** leader Kresimir Zubak's supporters form the moderate "pro-Bosnian" faction of the HDZ, while the pro-Zagreb faction is based in the southern Hercegovina region.(BBC)

12 June 1998: President Alija Izetbegovic announced that he will run for another term in Bosnia's inter-ethnic presidency when elections take place on September 12-13.(Agence France Presse)

19 June 1998: Delegates of the **Croat** National Union (HNZ) called all **Croat** parties to join the **Croat** Democratic Alliance in order to achieve better success at the forthcoming elections.(BBC)

19 July 1998: The Chairman of the New **Croat** Initiative NHI , Kresimir Zubak said that by unambiguously supporting the return of refugees and displaced persons and the constitutive status of **Croats** throughout Bosnia -Herzegovina, his party has become a political threat to the monopoly of the **Croatian** Democratic Union HDZ - the **Croatian** and the Bosnian **Croat** ruling party (BBC)

2 September 1998: The leader of the ruling **Croatian** Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the defence minister of the federation of B-H, Ante-Jelavic said at an election rally attended by 5,000 participants at the center of Capljina that his party supported the Dayton peace agreement and added that the freedom and sovereignty of Bosnian **Croats** would remain the party's ultimate goal (BBC).

7 September 1998: The OSCE remove 4 HDZ candidates from canton election list because of alleged biased reports on the **Croatian** Radio-TV (BBC).

8 September 1998: The New **Croat** initiative NHI party founded by Bosnian-**Croat** member of Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina Kresimir Zubak said that it was unable to hold an election rally in the southern Bosnian town of Mostar. The NHI said that the **Croatian** Democratic Union HDZ - the Bosnian **Croat** and the **Croatian** ruling party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, hampered his party's activities.(BBC)

14 September 1998: Bosnia's second post-war national elections took place 13 and 14 September.(The Scotsman)

26 September 1998: Election results confirmed the victory of the extreme nationalist candidate Nikola Poplasen as president of the Bosnian **Serb** Republic. Ante Zelovic, the leader of Bosnia's branch of **Croatia's** ruling nationalist party, was elected as the **Croatian** member of the Bosnian Presidency. The **Muslim** member of the Presidency remained Alija Izetbegovic who favors strong national government.(The New York Times)

21 October 1998: Mirza Hajric, an aide to Mr.Izetbegovic said that Sarajevo set itself the goal of wooing back 20,000 non-**Muslim** refugees this year. Mr.Hijric admitted that fewer than half this number were likely to return to Sarajevo. But he complained that far fewer ethnic minorities were returning to **Serb-**, or **Croat** held territory than to Muslem controlled areas, which were absorbing 80% of all refugees (Financial Times),

28 December 1998: Bosnia's two main social democratic parties merged in order to confront their dominant nationalist rivals in upcoming local elections. The new party which unlike its rivals eschews politics along ethnic lines took the name SDP-BiH. (Agence France Presse)

31 December 1998: The US and its European allies which oversaw Bosnian politics rejected Dragan Kalinik as President Poplasen's nomination for premier. (Agence France Presse)

9 March, 1999: International representatives in Bosnia-Herzegovina dismissed on March 5 the **Serb** republic's president Nikola Poplasen after he refused to permanently appoint the pro-Western caretaker prime-minister Milorad Dodik.(Inter Press Service)

9 March 1999: The international community's top representative in Bosnia Carlos Westendorp announced plans to place the key town of Brcko under neutral control. The move was immediately rejected by the Bosnian **Serb** parliament. The parliament also rejected the sacking of Poplasen. Westendorp said the decision to remove Poplasen was 'final and irrevocable' but he was prepared to discuss the decision to make Brcko a neutral district. A handful of small demonstrations passed without violence. (Inter Press Service)

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Risk Assessment

Two distinct periods stand out in a review of the state of human and collective rights in Bosnia, beginning August 1994 and ending July 1999. The first period outlines war-related human and collective rights abuses in the final war year, that is from August '94 through November '95. Reports from this period do not differ substantially from previous reports on 'ethnic cleansing', massacres and mistreatment of civilians. Thus reports of 1995 reveal the most terrifying massacre in the Bosnian war, assessed by Richard Holbrooke as "the biggest single mass murder in Europe since World War II", the capture of Srebrenica by the Bosnian **Serbs** and the follow-up execution of thousands of **Muslims**, which caused the change of the prevailing

humanitarian aid strategy adopted to the Bosnian crisis by the international community and led to the active NATO's involvement in a war against the Bosnian **Serbs**.

The second period reflects the situation of the three ethnic groups, the **Serbs**, the **Croats** and the **Muslims**, within the political framework of confederated Bosnia set up in late 1995 by the Dayton peace accord. Reports of 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999 point to problems of mutual accommodation of the ethnic groups and the uneasy process of building of a multiethnic democracy. The links that binds these two distinct periods are the principles of the Dayton Peace.

To some analysts the Dayton Peace Accord may seem to sanction the policy of ethnic cleansing, as it draws internal confederal boundaries along ethnic lines and carves up Bosnia into two parts, the **Moslem-Croat** federation and the Bosnian **Serb** republic. However, the Dayton agreement guarantees the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single sovereign state, within which the Bosnian **Serbs** and **Croats** are allowed to have political links with their ethnic parties elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. Political confederation with either side is strictly forbidden.

The first problem with the arrangement is the apparent reluctance on behalf of the authorities in both parts of Bosnia, - the **Serb** republic, and the **Muslim-Croat** federation -, to accept back and accommodate returning refugees. According to aides to Alia Izetbegovic, few ethnic minorities are returning to the **Serb** and **Croat** controlled areas. The most serious refugee problem is **Moslem** returnees to the **Serb** dominated area near Brcko, who on several occasions in 1996 and 1997, unsuccessfully attempted to get back home. The problem with the internal refugee flows in Bosnia is additionally complicated by the nearly 50,000 **Croatian Serb** refugees residing in Bosnia who expect to be able to return back soon to their native Krajina region in neighboring **Croatia**.

The second problem which Bosnian ethnic groups experience at present is the still existing inter-ethnic tension between **Serbs** and **Muslims**, **Croats** and **Muslims**, and **Serbs** and **Croats**. From 1995 through 1999 there have been incidents such as **Serb** refugees protesting against the planned return of Bosnian **Muslims**; **Muslims** launching grenade attacks on **Serbian** villages; extremist groups of the Bosnian **Croats** carrying out attacks on the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and claims that only **Serbs** and **Croats** have been indicted by The Hague Tribunal.

The third problem which the Bosnian multiethnic community is expected to solve is the building of multiethnic democratic institutions. Although this problem is equally important for both halves of Bosnia, it is more serious in the **Muslim-Croat** federation. Both communities in this part of the country have been trying since the 1996 elections to cooperate on the implementation of a plan to build unified central institutions, and dismantle the **Croat** ministate known as Herzeg-Bosnia. While many political agreements on this question have been achieved, problems still remain. A special problem with the building of new institutions is the status of two Bosnian cities, - Brcko in the **Serb** republic; and Mostar in the **Muslim-Croat** federation. Both of these cities have special importance for the two parts of post-Dayton Bosnia. The arrangement of their status is likely to continue to inflame inter-ethnic tension.

The outcomes of the 1998 presidential and parliamentary elections which displayed an overwhelming support for the nationalist parties in the republic do not promise a fast or easy solution to the inter-ethnic problems outlined above. It is very likely that during the next electoral period, Bosnia will continue to experience inter-ethnic conflicts. While the equality of the three ethnic groups has been established institutionally, the group which is most victimized appears to be the Bosnian **Muslims**. The refugee problem is likely to remain unresolved, with the official authorities creating administrative problems and retarding the

process of refugees' return and accommodation. Accordingly, the international supervision and mediation will continue to play an important role in the Bosnian political process and especially in the point of building of democratic multi-ethnic institutions.