Croatia, a former republic of Yugoslavia, has been a self-declared independent state since 25 July 1991. The Croats trace their roots back many centuries, and the depth of this resurgent nationalism helps explain why and where Yugoslavia split as it did. As Croatia and its people try to make a success of their new state, they can take hope in the notable progress already made in economic restructuring, democratization, and a rapprochement with their European neighbors.

This third edition of Historical Dictionary of Croatia relates the history of this country through a detailed chronology, an introduction, a bibliography, and cross-referenced dictionary entries on significant people, places, and events; institutions and organizations; and political, economic, social, cultural, and religious facets.

53. **Switzerland**, by Leo Schelbert. 2007.
54. **Contemporary Germany**, by Derek Lewis with Ulrike Zitzlsperger. 2007.
69. Cyprus, by Farid Mirbagheri. 2010.
To my late professors:
L. Apostel and
Dr. J. Kruithof
Contents

Editor’s Foreword   Jon Woronoff   xi
Acknowledgments    xiii
Reader’s Note      xv
Acronyms and Abbreviations   xvii
Chronology        xxvii
Introduction      liii
THE DICTIONARY   1
Bibliography      361
About the Author  453
The Republic of Croatia, to outside observers, is one of those new countries that resulted from the collapse of the former Yugoslavia. To its own people, however, it is a very old country that is finally getting another chance to forge a nation. The Croats trace their roots back many centuries, and the depth of this resurgent nationalism helps explain why Yugoslavia split as it did and, to some extent, where it did. Of course, the demise was messy and much remains to be done to overcome that phase of its history and to satisfy all concerned. But Croatia has returned, and its people are trying in often difficult circumstances to make a success of their new state. Indeed, there has been notable progress as regards economic restructuring, democratization, and a rapprochement with their neighbors and with Europe more broadly, and there is finally some hope for the future.

This is now the third edition of the *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Croatia* and, as in the previous editions, it is particularly useful in helping us understand what happened and why. To do this, it covers a far more extensive period than just today’s Croatia, reaching back to much earlier times and showing how long and hard the struggle was, not only politically but also socially, economically, even linguistically. The basics are summed up through an introduction that presents the land, the people, and their history. That history is rather complicated, so fortunately it can be traced year by year in the chronology. But most of the information again appears in the dictionary section, with hundreds of useful entries on persons, places, events, institutions, political parties, minorities, and other matters. The list of acronyms is also useful, providing names both in the original and in English. Those who want to know more can then turn to the substantial bibliography that includes much of the relevant English-language literature.
This third edition, considerably expanded as well as updated, like the second, was compiled by one of the few foreign specialists on Croatia (and Yugoslavia more generally), Robert Stallaerts, who very sadly passed away just after completion of the manuscript. During his long career, he studied those countries for more than three decades. His experience in the region included several years at the Institute of Economics in Belgrade. He also attended courses in Dubrovnik and Zagreb, in present-day Croatia. Insight into the situation at the grassroots level was gained while acting as interpreter at a humanitarian project in Savudrija. But his main activity was as a researcher at the Institute for Southeast European Studies of the State University of Ghent in Belgium. There and elsewhere he worked extensively on Yugoslavia and Croatia, with special interest in the interaction between ethics and economics and the economics of self-management and participation. But Stallaert’s knowledge of the country extended far beyond these specializations, and we are grateful that once again he has given us both an overall and a detailed view of a country that deserves to be better known—and is, thanks to his efforts.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor
Acknowledgments

This dictionary claims no originality in research results. It owes a great deal to most of the publications on the history of Croatia, which are listed in the bibliography. I am especially grateful to the persons and institutions in Croatia with which I corresponded and which supplied me with ample data and advice. To single out some of them would be unfair to the rest. Nevertheless, a special word of gratitude I owe to Tomislav Markus for his constructive criticism on the first edition of this dictionary, and the editor for editorial help. I cannot forget to mention the helpful discussion with the cultural adviser of the embassy of Croatia in Brussels. However, the many remaining shortcomings are totally mine.

The Croatian language uses the Latin alphabet. However, some letters are marked by diacritical signs and indicate specific sounds. In domestic names and concepts, I have preserved the original spelling. The specific notations can approximately be summed up as follows:

- c = ts pronounced as in “cats”
- Ć = tj “tulip”
- Č = ch “child”
- Đ = dj “bridge”
- Š = sh “shell”
- Ž = zh “leisure”

In the alphabetical order of the dictionary, I have ignored the influence of the diacritical signs; for example, c, Ć and Č are treated as equal.

The Cyrillic alphabet can easily be transcribed in the Croatian Latin version. This has been systematically done in the dictionary.

Birth and death names (when available) of prominent figures in Croatian history have been added to their entries next to their names.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARK</td>
<td>Antiratna Kampanja Zagreb—Antiwar Campaign Committee Zagreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARSH</td>
<td>Asocijacija Regionalnih Stranaka Hrvatske—Association of Croatian Regional Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASH</td>
<td>Akcije Socijaldemokrata Hrvatske—Social Democrat Action of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVNOJ</td>
<td>Anti-Fašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavija—Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCI</td>
<td>Croatian Cultural Institute—Matica Hrvatska (MH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEFTA</td>
<td>Central European Free Trade Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHC</td>
<td>Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights—Hrvatski Helsinski Odbor za Ljudska Prava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNB</td>
<td>Croatian National Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPY</td>
<td>Communist Party of Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWC</td>
<td>Croatian World Congress—Hrvatski Svjetski Kongres (HSK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Dalmatinska Akcija—Dalmatian Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Demokratski Centar—Democratic Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHK</td>
<td>Društvo Hrvatskih Književnika—Croatian Writers’ Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Deutsche Mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DZS</td>
<td>Državni Zavod za Statistiku—National Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTT</td>
<td>Free Territory of Trieste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HAZU  Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti I Umjetnosti—Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences
HBOR  Hrvatska Banka za Obnovu I Razvoj—Croatian Bank for Reconstruction and Development
HČSP  Hrvatska Čista Stranka Prava—Croatian Pure Party of Rights
HDS  Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka—Croatian Democratic Party
HDSSB  Hrvatski Demokratski Savez Slavonije i Baranje—Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja
HDZ  Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—Croatian Democratic Union
HGK  Hrvatska Gospodarska Komara—Croatian Chamber of Commerce
HHO  Hrvatski Helsinški Odbor za Ljudska Prava—Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
HINA  Hrvatska Izvještajna Novinska Agencija—Croatian News and Press Agency
HIS  Hrvatska Izveštajna Služba—Croatian Intelligence Service
HKBO  Hrvatska Kreditna Banka za Obnovu—Croatian Credit Bank for Reconstruction
HKDS  Hrvatska Kršćanska Demokratska Stranka—Croatian Christian Democratic Party
HKDU  Hrvatska Kršćanska Demokratska Unija—Croatian Christian Democratic Union
HMI  Hrvatska Matica Iseljenika—Croatian Homeland Foundation
HNB  Hrvatska Narodna Banka—Croatian National Bank
HND  Hrvatski Nezavisni Demokrati—Croatian Independent Democrats
HNS  Hrvatska Narodna Stranka—Croatian’s People’s Party
HOS  Hrvatske Oružene Snage—Croatian Armed Forces
HPSS  Hrvatska Pučka Seljačka Stranka—Croatian People’s Peasant Party
HR  Hrvatski Radio—Croatian Radio
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HRK</td>
<td>Hrvatska Kuna—Croatian Kuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRTV</td>
<td>Hrvatski Radio i Televizija—Croatian Radio and Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSK</td>
<td>Hrvatsko-Sprška Koalicija—Croat-Serb Coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSK</td>
<td>Hrvatski Svjetski Kongres—Croatian World Congress (CWC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSLS</td>
<td>Hrvatska Socijalna Liberalna Stranka—Croatian Social-Liberal Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSP</td>
<td>Hrvatska Stranka Prava—Croatian Party of Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSS</td>
<td>Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka—Croatian Peasant Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSU</td>
<td>Hrvatska Stranka Umirovljenika—Croatian Pensioners Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HTV</td>
<td>Hrvatska Televizija—Croatian Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUS</td>
<td>Hrvatska Udruga Sindikata—Croatian Association of Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HV</td>
<td>Hrvatska Vojska—Croatian Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HVEP</td>
<td>Hrvatsko Vijeće Europskog Pokreta—Croatian Council of the European Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HVO</td>
<td>Hrvatsko Vijeće Obrana—Croatian Defense Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICTY</td>
<td>International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDS</td>
<td>Istarski Demokratski Sabor—Istrian Democratic Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAZU</td>
<td>Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti I Umjetnosti—Yugoslav Academy of Arts and sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNA</td>
<td>Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija—Yugoslav (People’s) Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRT</td>
<td>Jugoslovenski Radio I Televizija—Yugoslav Radio and Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KFOR</td>
<td>United Nations Forces in Kosovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNSH</td>
<td>Konfederacija Nezavisnih Sindikata Hrvatske—Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOS</td>
<td>Kontra-Obavještajna Služba Jugoslovenske Vojske—Intelligence and Information Office of the Yugoslav Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCY</td>
<td>League of Communists of Yugoslavia—Savez Komunista Jugoslavije (SKJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIBRA</td>
<td>Stranka Liberalnih Demokrata—Party of Liberal Democrats of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LNG</td>
<td>Liquefied Natural Gas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS</td>
<td>Liberalna Stranka—Liberal Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td>Matica Hrvatska—Croatian Cultural Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUP</td>
<td>Ministarstvo Unutrašnjih Poslova—Ministry of the Interior (term used for Croatian Police Forces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDH</td>
<td>Nezavisna Država Hrvatska—Independent State of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSHV</td>
<td>Obaveštajna Služba Hrvatske Vojske—Intelligence Service of the Croatian Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OZNA</td>
<td>Odeljenje za Žaštitu Naroda—State Security Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEOP</td>
<td>Pan-European Oil Pipeline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PfP</td>
<td>Partnership for Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHARE</td>
<td>Poland and Hungary Action for Restructuring of the Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Republika Srpska—Serbian Republic (Bosnia-Herzegovina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSK</td>
<td>Republika Srpska Krajina—Serbian Republic of Krajina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAA</td>
<td>Stabilization and Association Agreement—Sporazum o Stabilizaciji i Pridruživanju (SSP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBHS</td>
<td>Slavonsko-Baranjska Hrvatska Stranka—Slavonian-Baranian Croatian Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>Socijaldemokratska Partija—Social Democratic Party—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDPH-SDP</td>
<td>Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske-Stranka za Društvene Promene—Social Democratic Party-Party of Democratic Changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDS</td>
<td>Srpska Demokratska Stranka—Serbian Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDSS</td>
<td>Samostalna Demokratska Srpska Stranka—Serbian Democratic Independent Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFRJ</td>
<td>Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija—Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIS</td>
<td>Sigurnosno Izveštajna Služba—Security Information Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNS</td>
<td>Srpska Narodna Stranka—Serbian National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNV</td>
<td>Srpsko Narodno Vijeće—Serbian National Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SONS</td>
<td>Stožerni Odbor za Nacionalnu Sigurnost—Joint National Security Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRP</td>
<td>Socijalistička Radnička Party—Socialist Labor Party of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Srpska Radikalna Stranka—Serbian Radical Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSH</td>
<td>Stranka Socijalista Hrvatske—Socialist Party of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSSH</td>
<td>Savez Samostalnih Sindikata Hrvatske—Association of Independent Unions of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SZUP</td>
<td>Služba za Žaštitu Ustavnog Poretka—State Service for the Protection of the Constitutional Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCIVIL</td>
<td>United Nations Civil Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNPA</td>
<td>United Nations Protected Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNPROFOR</td>
<td>United Nations Protection Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNS</td>
<td>Ured za Nacionalnu Sigurnost—National Security Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAES</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VUS</td>
<td>Vjesnik U Srijedu—The Wednesday Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YUTEL</td>
<td>Yugoslav Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAVNOH</td>
<td>Zemaljsko Anti-Fašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Hrvatske—Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNG</td>
<td>Zbor Narodne Garde—National Guard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Borders of Croatia in 1991
Croatia in the Eighth to Ninth Centuries
Croatia in the 10th to 11th Centuries
Croatia in the Mid-19th Century
The Banovina of Croatia
Chronology

395  The Roman Emperor Theodosius dies. His empire is divided into eastern and western parts. The frontier cuts the future “South Slav lands” into two spheres of influence along a line still disputed today.

c.a. 550  The Slavs cross the Danube and arrive on the Adriatic shores.

614  The Slavs conquer the ancient Roman town of Solin near Split.

641  The Christianization of Croatia begins under the rule of Pope John IV, who was a native of Dalmatia. He sent Abbot Martin to the Croatian lands.

680  Pope Agathon concludes a treaty with the Croats.

800  The Croatian territory becomes a Frankish vassal state; delegates are present at the coronation of Charlemagne.


852  Trpimir signs a document as Dux Chroatorum.

864–876  Reign of Domagoj.

878–879  Reign of Zdeslav.

879–892  Reign of Branimir as the first independent ruler of Croatia. Pope John VIII recognizes the Croat national church.

892–910  Reign of Mutimir, firstborn son of Trpimir.

925  Ecclesiastical Synod of Split.

935–945  Reign of Krešimir.
948–952  Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus of Byzantium composes *De Administrando Imperio*.

960–968  Krešimir II incorporates some regions of present-day Bosnia into his kingdom.

969–997  Stipan Držislav, son of Krešimir, gained the support of Byzantium and bore the title *Rex Dalmatiae et Croatiae*.

997–1001  Civil war. Venetians seize Dalmatian cities.

1007–1018  Krešimir III regains Dalmatia.

1058–1076  Krešimir IV unifies the territories of present-day Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Croatia.


1076–1089  Reign of King Dmitar Zvonimir, last strong ruler of the early Croatian kingdom.

1091  King Ladislav of Hungary invades Slavonia.

1102  The Pacta Conventa inaugurates a personal union between Hungary and Croatia.

1242  Bela IV issues the Golden Bull of the free town of Gradec (Zagreb).

1301  The Arpad line of Hungarian kings dies out. Charles of the Neapolitan Angevins is chosen as Croatian king.

1389  The Ottomans defeat the Slavs and Albanians at the battle of Kosovo.

1409  King Ladislav sells hereditary rights over Dalmatia to Venice.

1463  The Ottomans conquer Bosnia.

1468  Ottoman raids on Croatia.

1482  The Ottomans conquer Herzegovina.

1491  Maximilian I of Austria gains much influence in the Croatian lands through his dynastic policy.
1493  The Ottomans defeat an army of Croats in the field of Krbava.
1519  In a visit to Croatia, Pope Leo X declares it the sturdiest of shields and the ramparts of Christendom.
1526  The Ottomans defeat the Hungarians at Mohacs.
1527  The members of the Croatian Sabor elect Ferdinand of Habsburg as their king.
1573  Execution of Matija Gubec, the leader of a large-scale peasant revolt.
1578  Military reorganization of the Vojna Krajina under Karl von Štajerska. Vienna administers the region without interference of the Croatian ban or Sabor.
1591  The Croats defeat the Ottomans in the battle of Sisak.
1593–1606  Massive immigration of Orthodox and Catholic Vlachs into Croatia and Slavonia.
1595  New victory of Croats and the Austrians at Petrinja; the lands north of the Kupa are definitively saved.
1606  Peace treaty between Austrians and Ottomans defines long-lasting frontiers.
1619–1637  Reign of Ferdinand II of Habsburg. The Vojna Krajina of Karlovac and Varaždin are administratively divided.
1683  Defeat of the Ottoman Army at Vienna.
1699  The Treaty of Karlovci liberates most of Slavonia and Croatia.
1712  The Croatian Sabor signs the Pragmatic Sanction.
1745  Three Slavonic Županije are formed, which send representatives to the Croatian and Hungarian Sabor.
1767–1779  The Croatian Royal Council acts as the executive power in Croatia.
1779  Rijeka is made directly dependent to Hungary as a “separate body.”
1797  Napoleon conquers Dalmatia.

1809  Creation of the French Illyrian Provinces, which included Istria, Dalmatia, and other parts of present-day Croatia.

1815  The Congress of Vienna returns all Croatian territories to Austria.

1832  Janko Drašković publishes a book that defends the political union of all Slovene, Croatian, and Bosnian territories under the Hungarian crown. Illyrian should be the language of this federal unit.

1835  Ljudevit Gaj publishes Novine Horvatke and Danica, the first Croatian newspaper and literary magazine.

1839  Sharp polemics arise on the Serbo-Croatian language problem.

1842  The cultural institution Matica hrvatska is founded.

1843  Metternich forbids the use of Illyrian symbols.

1847  The Croatian Sabor decides to substitute Croatian for Latin.

1848  The Sabor decides on the restoration of the integrity of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia. Ban Jelačić and the Sabor decide to dissolve the union between Croatia and Hungary in favor of Austroslavism or the federalization of the monarchy.

1848–1849  Ban Josip Jelačić assists the Habsburg regime with a military intervention to crush the Hungarian revolt.

1861  Austria dissolves the Croatian Sabor as it refuses cooperation in the central parliament.

1867  Creation of the dual monarchy by the Ausgleich (Agreement) between Austria and Hungary.

1868  The Croatian Sabor concludes the Nagodba with Hungary, obtaining some form of autonomy, but Istria and Dalmatia remain under Austria, and Slavonia under Hungary.

1873  Nomination of Ban Ivan Mažuranić, who initiates a Croat-friendly cultural policy.

1878  By the Conference of Berlin, Austria-Hungary is granted the right to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1880–1903  Permanent polemics in the press between Serbs and Croats on the position of the Serbian minority, the language, and to whom Bosnia-Herzegovina belongs.

1881  The Vojna Krajina is reintegrated in the Croatian lands. Only the port of Rijeka remains directly under Hungary.

1883  Following anti-Hungarian riots, the new ban, Karoly Khuen-Hédervary, tries to suppress rising Croat nationalism.

1895  Stjepan Radić and other young intellectuals are expelled after a riot against Hungarian rule. Many immigrate to Prague and will adhere to the Pan-Slavic movement.

1903  Riots force Hungarian-minded Ban Khuen-Hédervary to resign in favor of T. Pejačević.

1904  The brothers Stjepan and Ante Radić found the Croatian People’s Peasant Party.

1905  Croats and Serbs agree on a common Yugoslav policy in the Resolutions of Rijeka and Zadar.

1908  Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbia’s protest is supported by the Pan-Slavic and Yugoslavian movement.

1912  Students strike in Zagreb and the Sabor is dissolved.

1914  28 June: In a spectacular attack, the young Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip kills Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo. Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia, and in August World War I begins.

1915  A Yugoslav Committee is formed in London. It is headed by the Croat Ante Trumbić.

1917  20 July: The Yugoslav Committee and Nikola Pašić, prime minister of the Serbian government, sign the Declaration of Corfu.

1918  5–6 October: The National Council of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs takes over government functions in Zagreb. The Croatian Sabor proclaims independence from defeated Austria and adheres to the common South Slav State. 1 December: The Kingdom of Serbs,
Croats, and Slovenes is proclaimed and the Serbian Karađorđević dynasty installed.

1919 20–24 April: In Belgrade, the Socialist Workers’ Party of Yugoslavia is founded at the “Unification Congress.”

1920 20–24 June: The Socialist Workers’ Party, now called Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), holds its Vukovar Congress. 12 November: By the Treaty of Rapallo, Italy acquires Istria, Rijeka, Zadar, and several Adriatic islands. 28 November: The Croat People’s Peasant Party of Stjepan Radić obtains a majority of votes in Croatia-Slavonia in the elections for the Constituent Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

1921 28 June: Declaration of the “St. Vitus” Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.


1929 6 January: King Alexander installs a dictatorship. The name of the state is changed to Yugoslavia. Ante Pavelić, a member of the Party of Rights, founds the Ustaša movement.

1934 October: Assassination of King Alexander in Marseille by Macedonian and Croatian separatists.

1936 9 September: Tito is elected organizing secretary of the CPY. The party henceforth follows a unitary line on the Yugoslav question.

1939 26 August: Dragiša Cvetković and Vladko Maček sign the Sporazum. Croatia becomes an autonomous Banovina within Yugoslavia.

1941 6 April: The Germans attack Yugoslavia. 10 April: The Independent State of Croatia is proclaimed. Ante Pavelić takes over the government.

1943 November 1943: The second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) decides on a federal organization for the future Yugoslavia.
1945 7 March: In Belgrade, Tito forms the provisional government of the Democratic Federation of Yugoslavia. May 8: Fall of Zagreb.

1946 Trial of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac.

1948 The Cominform conflict opposes Tito to Stalin. Yugoslav Stalinists—among them the Croat Andrija Hebrang—are purged.

1952 First step in the introduction of the Yugoslav system of self-management, mainly characterized by factory councils.

1954 Fall of the communist leader Milovan Đilas, who started to plead for cultural and political pluralism.

1955 Great economic reform.

1966 Fall of the conservative centralist leader Aleksandar Ranković.

1967 Declaration on the status of the Croatian literary language.

1967–1972 The “Croatian Spring” claims economic, cultural, and political autonomy. After long hesitation, Tito finally crushes the Croatian leadership.

1974 The new constitution decentralizes major powers to the republics and autonomous provinces.

1980 4 May: Death of Tito.

1981 June: Street demonstrations, strikes, and riots in Kosovo.

1982 The Kraigher Commission presents a proposal for a long-term stabilization program.

1986 Slobodan Milošević becomes president of Serbia and puts into practice a nationalist Memorandum, which is presented by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

1987 The publication of the 57th issue of Nova Revija marks the beginning of the “Slovene Spring.”

1988 The Yoghurt Revolution in Novi Sad brings supporters of Milošević to power.
1989  **February:** The Yugoslav Association for a Democratic Initiative (UJDI) is set up under the direction of Branko Horvat.  **1 March:** The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) is founded.  **March:** The Bosnian Croat Ante Marković becomes prime minister of the federal government and proposes liberal economic reforms.  **December:** The Eleventh Congress of the Croatian League of Communists speaks out in favor of multiparty elections in April 1990.

1990  **January:** The Slovene and Croatian delegations leave the Extraordinary Fourteenth Congress of the League of Communists.  **February:** First the Slovenes and then the Croats withdraw their troops from Kosovo.  **8 and 22 April:** The first multiparty elections in Slovenia result in victory of the Democratic-United Opposition of Slovenia (Demokratična Opozicija Slovenije, DEMOS).  **22 April and 6 May:** Multiparty elections in Croatia give victory to Franjo Tuđman and his HDZ.  **30 May:** First session of the new Croatian multiparty Parliament (Sabor).  **6 June:** The Assembly of Knin proposes creating a Community of the Communes of Northern Dalmatia and Lika.  **17 August:** Referendum on Cultural Autonomy of the Serbs of Kninska Krajina. They get support from Serbia.  **1 October:** The Serbs in the Kninska Krajina proclaim their autonomy.  **October:** Slovenia and Croatia present a “Model of a Confederation in Yugoslavia.”  **November:** The federal government invites the Constitutional Court to investigate the constitutionality of Slovene and Croatian laws.  **3 December:** The minister of defense of the federation, Veljko Kadijević, threatens all who form paramilitary units.  **21–22 December:** The Croatian Parliament accepts a new Croatian constitution. Croatia is defined as a sovereign state.

1991  **2 March:** First incidents and shooting at Pakrac.  **31 March:** Incidents in Plitvice between Serbs and Croats and intervention of the Army results in deaths.  **8 April:** Trial of the Croatian minister Martin Špegelj.  **2 May:** Deadly clashes between Croatian police forces and insurgent Serbs at Borovo Selo.  **12 May:** Referendum in Knin about political autonomy and adherence to Serbia.  **15–17 May:** The Federal Presidential Council does not elect the Croat Stipe Mešić as its new president.  **19 May:** Referendum on the sovereignty of Croatia in a Yugoslav confederation.  **20 May:** The European Community (EC) declares
that future cooperation will depend on the maintenance of the unity of the country. 25 June: Declaration of Independence of Slovenia and Croatia. 27 June: Military intervention of the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) in Slovenia. 7 July: In Brioni, the EC mediates an agreement on ex-Yugoslavia. 13 July: First open attack of the Yugoslav Army on the Croatian forces near Vukovar in Eastern Slavonia. 18 July: The Yugoslav Army announces its intention to withdraw from Slovenia. 3 August: The Government of Democratic Unity is established in Zagreb by the agreement of eight parties represented in Parliament. 25 August: The Yugoslav Army and Serbian paramilitary organizations attack Vinkovci and Vukovar. 7 September: Opening of the EC Peace Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague. 16 September: Bosanska Krajina becomes an autonomous Serbian region in Bosnia. Three other regions follow and fortify the strategic position of the Croatian Serbs. 25 September: The United Nations (UN) imposes an embargo on the transit of weapons to Yugoslavia. The Security Council unanimously confirms Resolution 271, concerning possible UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia. 7 October: The moratorium on the independence of Slovenia and Croatia comes to an end. In Zagreb, the presidential palace is bombed. 8 October: As the three-month moratorium period elapses, the Sabor declares that the competences of all federal institutions on Croatian soil have expired and that the Yugoslav Army is considered to be an occupying force and has to leave Croatia. Cyrus Vance is appointed UN mediator in the new reconciliation talks. 18 November: Fall of Vukovar. 22 November: Croatian Party of Rights (Hrvatska Stranka Prava, HSP) leader Dobroslav Paraga is arrested in Zagreb. 13 December: Massacre at Vocin in Slavonia by Serb Militiamen. 16 December: Genscher tells his EC colleagues that Germany will announce the recognition of Croatia on December 19.

1992 3 January: The 15th armistice brokered by Cyrus Vance between the war parties is at last respected. 7 January: A MiG from the Yugoslav Army shoots down a helicopter with UN observers above Varaždin. 15 January: The EC follows the advice of the Badinter Commission and recognizes Slovenia and Croatia. 6 February: Zagreb accepts the Vance proposal on the settlement of the war in Croatia. 15 February: President Dobrica Ćosić of Yugoslavia and President Franjo Tudman of Croatia reach an agreement on the Vance proposal.
21 February: The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 743 on sending a peacekeeping force (UNPROFOR) to Croatia in execution of the Vance proposal. 28 February: Milošević declares before the Serbian Parliament that the war is over. 29 February: A referendum is held on the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina. 2 March: Bosnian Serbs in Sarajevo reject the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina and take up arms. 7 April: The United States recognizes Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. 27 April: Serbia and Montenegro form the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. 15 May: The Security Council passes Resolution 752 on Bosnia-Herzegovina: any intervention—such as the Croatian military involvement—has to be stopped. In Croatia, UN troops take over the Baranja. Paramilitary organizations in the UNPROFOR area in Croatia are to be disarmed. 22 May: Admission of Croatia as a member of the UN. 30 May: Resolution 757 of the Security Council introduces an embargo against Yugoslavia. It again urges Croatia to abandon any military involvement in Bosnia. 2 June: The secretary-general of the UN, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, condemns in his report the actions both of Serbian and Croatian armies. 17 June: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia sign an agreement on a defense alliance. 30 June: Resolution 762 installs a mixed commission to settle the question of the “pink zones” in Croatia. 3 July: Bosnian Croats constitute the autonomous region of Herzeg-Bosna. 9 July: The Western powers send a military convoy into the Adriatic Sea to observe the embargo against Yugoslavia. 2 August: Tuđman is reelected president with 56.7 percent of the votes. The HDZ wins the parliamentary elections. 7 August: Resolution 769 authorizes UNPROFOR to act as a customs and immigration authority in the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs). 12 August: Tuđman forms his new government. 26 August: Opening of the peace conference in London under the chairmanship of John Major and Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Lord Carrington resigns and is replaced by Lord Owen. 27 August: Closing of the London conference with programmatic statements to be put into practice by permanent negotiations in Geneva. 3 September: First session of peace talks in Geneva under the guidance of David Owen and Cyrus Vance. 30 September: Presidents Tuđman and Ćosić agree to condemn ethnic purification and to stabilize relations between the two countries. 6 October: Security Council Resolution 779 extends the mandate of UNPROFOR and brings the Peruća dam and the Prevlaka peninsula under its control.
Security Council Resolution 780 sets up a commission to investigate war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. **20 October:** Tuđman and Ćosić open communication centers in Belgrade and Zagreb. **28 October:** Tadeusz Mazowiecki presents a report on the violation of human rights and ethnic purification. **27 November:** In Sarajevo, Croatia and the Serbian Autonomous Regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina sign an agreement on ending hostilities. **27 December:** In Geneva, Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović meet about the problem of their relations and those with Yugoslavia. **28 December:** American Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke meets Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granić, who insists on the reintegration of the Krajina into Croatia.

1993  **2 January:** Peace talks continue in Geneva on the Vance-Owen plan.  **4 January:** The Croat Bosnian leader Mate Boban signs the Vance-Owen peace plan.  **22 January:** The Croatian Army attacks the pink zone in the Maslenica area.  **25 January:** Security Council Resolution 802 condemns the Croatian attack in the Maslenica area and orders a truce.  **5 February:** Peace talks broken off on January 30 in Geneva continue in New York.  **7 February:** Local and regional elections in Croatia.  **19 February:** Security Council Resolution 807 prolongs the UNPROFOR mandate until March 31.  **22 February:** Security Council Resolution 808 approves the establishment of an International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to judge those responsible for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.  **30 March:** Security Council Resolution 815 extends the UNPROFOR mandate until June 30.  **2 April:** Cyrus Vance resigns as UN mediator and is replaced by Thorwald Stoltenberg.  **6 April:** Geneva agreement between Zagreb and the Serbs of the Krajina on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 802.  **25 April:** The EC foreign ministers reprimand the Croats for attacks in Bosnia and threaten with sanctions. Tuđman mediates an agreement between Boban and Izetbegović.  **25 May:** Security Council Resolution 837 creates a War Crimes Tribunal for former Yugoslavia.  **14–15 June:** Referendum in the Republic of Krajina on union with the Serb Republic of Bosnia. 16 June: In Geneva, Tuđman and Milošević defend the division of Bosnia into three Republics along ethnic lines.  **5 July:** President Tuđman declares he will not flatly refuse talks with the Serbs on territorial corrections in the Dubrovnik and Prevlaka region.  **17 July:** Agreement between Zagreb and Knin on security
matters around the Maslenica bridge, the Zemunik airport, and the Peruća dam, all in line with the agreement of 6 April and Resolution 802. **19 July:** Croatian Serbs shell Zemunik airport. **20–22 July:** Croatian Serbs break off negotiations on Maslenica-Zemunik. **27 July:** The first meeting of 17 opposition parties confronts a representative of the HDZ. **30 July:** The Security Council requests that the Maslenica bridge be placed under UNPROFOR control. **1 August:** The Krajina Serbs shell the Maslenica bridge. **August 4:** The second meeting of 17 opposition parties decides to follow a common strategy against Tuđman and the HDZ government. **28 August:** Solemn proclamation of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosna in Gruda. **6 September:** The Croats take three villages from the Krajina Serbs near Gospić after shelling of the town. **10 September:** The Krajina Serbs shell Karlovac. Stoltenberg appeals to Tuđman to stop the Medak offensive. **11 September:** The Krajina Serbs shell a suburb of Zagreb. **12 September:** The Serbs shell Jastrebarsko, Samobor, and Kutina. They make public a list of 50 more targets. Tuđman announces a unilateral 24-hour armistice. **16 September:** According to the Serb Press Agency, the Croatian Army shells the Krajina headquarters at Knin. **17 September:** The Serbs shell Zadar, Šibenik, and Biograd. **18 September:** UN officers report destructions and deliberate killing during the Croatian retreat from Kajina villages. **20 September:** The journal *Erasmus* publishes an open letter of six intellectuals (among others, Ivo Banac and Vlado Gotovac) to President Tuđman urging his dismissal. **22 September:** The Croatian Defense and Security Council questions the prolongation of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia. **23 September:** The Croatian government threatens with an ultimatum that UNPROFOR must leave until 30 November 1993. **26 September:** Croatian refugees hold a protest meeting in Zagreb against UNPROFOR. **28 September:** Tuđman demands a change in the UNPROFOR mandate before the UN General Assembly. **1 October:** NATO decides to give air protection to UNPROFOR in Croatia if needed. **4 October:** Security Council Resolution 871 extends the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia for six months. The lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia is tied to a cooperative attitude of Belgrade in the Croatian problem. **7 October:** UNPROFOR accuses the Croatian Army of scorched-earth tactics and cruelties during the offensive in Medak. **8 October:** Being hostile to a global approach, Tuđman presents his new proposals to resolve the crisis with the help of NATO during the Con-
ference of the Council of Europe in Vienna. **15–16 October:** Second convention of the HDZ. Tuđman preserves the function of president of the party and starts reorganizing the HDZ. **1–2 November:** Secret negotiations in Oslo between Zagreb and the Krajina Serbs are broken off. **2 November:** In a spirit of national conciliation, Tuđman declares to offer the Serbs in Croatia the status of ethnic community instead of that of national minority. **3 November:** The UN makes public that local Serbs refuse to allow experts to excavate a mass grave with the supposed remains of 200 murdered patients and personnel of the Vukovar hospital. **4 November:** Zagreb and Krajina Serbs sign an armistice for Eastern Slavonia. **17 November:** Opening of the ICTY at The Hague. **20 November:** Serbian and Croatian intellectuals—among them Josip Manolić and Nikica Valentić—participate in a common dialogue in Zagreb. **29 November:** The EC proposes to alleviate sanctions against the Serbs in exchange for more territory in Bosnia and a *modus vivendi* in Croatia. **12 December:** The first round of presidential and parliamentary elections in the Krajina, declared illegal by Zagreb. **22 December:** The EC summons former Yugoslav leaders to appear in Brussels.

**1994 9 January:** Tuđman and Izetbegović negotiate on a Croatian–Bosnian confederation at Petersburg near Bonn without result. 19 January: In Geneva, Tuđman and Milošević make a common declaration on the normalization of relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia. **23 January:** In the fourth round of the presidential elections in the Krajina, Milan Martić finally defeats Milan Babić. **28 January:** An observer of UNPROFOR declares that 3,500 regular soldiers of the Croatian Army participate in the battles of Central Bosnia. **2 February:** Boutros Boutros-Ghali informs the Security Council on the presence of 3,000 to 5,000 Croatian soldiers in central and southern Bosnia. **3 February:** The Security Council threatens Croatia with sanctions if it does not stop its intervention in Bosnia within two weeks. Croatian Ambassador to the UN Mario Nobilo threatens that sanctions imply a renewal of the war. **4 February:** Pope John Paul II summons Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granić to silence weapons in Bosnia. **7 February:** Croatia and Slovenia sign an agreement on mutual cooperation. **11 February:** Mate Granić and Haris Siladžić adopt a joint declaration on a cease-fire in Bosnia within two weeks. **14 February:** Tuđman pays an official visit to Romania. **22 February:** The nonaligned movement votes in
favor of UN sanctions against Croatia. 25 February: The cease-fire goes into effect between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia. 28 February: Tuđman pays an official visit to Albania. 1 March: In Washington, Mate Granić, Haris Siladjić, and Krešimir Zubak reach a preliminary agreement on a Muslim-Croatian federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a confederation of it with Croatia. 18 March: In Washington, the Constitution of the New Federation of Muslims and Croats and a Declaration on a Confederation are signed. 22 March: Croats and Krajina Serbs meet in the Russian embassy in Zagreb without immediate result. 30 March: Croats and Krajina Serbs sign a cease-fire going into effect on 4 April. 1 April: The UN extends UNPROFOR’s mandate by six months. 30 April: Stipe Mesić and Josip Manolić found the party of the Croatian Independent Democrats (HND). 30 May: A new monetary unit—the kuna—is introduced. 17 July: Presidents Franjo Tuđman, Alija Izetbegović and Suleiman Demirel of Turkey issue a joint declaration at Brioni. 21 August: The Muslim government conquers the Bihać region, and Fikret Abdić seeks refuge in the Croatian Krajina. 10–11 September: Pope John Paul II visits Croatia but cancels his visit to Sarajevo. 15 September: Tuđman and Izetbegović discuss further arrangements of the proposed confederation. 23 September: Parliament passes a critical resolution on UNPROFOR: without major changes, it will be tolerated only 100 days more until 10 January, 1995. 1 October: The Security Council passes Resolution 947 extending the mandate of UNPROFOR to 31 March 1995. 14 October: The International Monetary Fund (IMF) approves credits to Croatia. 9 November: The Krajina Serbs and Fikret Abdić attack the Bihać region. 19 November: The Security Council passes Resolution 958, allowing air strikes on Croatian soil with the consent of Tuđman. 21 November: NATO bombs Udbina, an air base of the Croatian Serbs. 27 November: Croatia threatens with intervention in the Bihać region. 2 December: Zagreb and the Croatian Serbs of the Krajina sign an agreement on economic matters.

1995 11 January: Tuđman announces the decision not to extend the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia. 19 February: Milošević rejects the Contact Group proposal to recognize Croatia in internationally recognized borders. 31 March: The UN Security Council renews the mandate of its troops in Croatia under the name UN Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO). 29–30 April: Tihomir Glagojević, a Serb
of the village of Smrtić in Western Slavonia, is shot dead by a Croat refugee. In revenge, on the following days, Croat drivers were killed. This in turn was a reason to start Operation Bljesak (Flash) of the Croatian Army, which conquered within hours the main town Okučani and the whole Western Slavonian region. 1 June: David Owen resigns and is replaced by Carl Bildt. 11 July: The “free haven” Srebrenica falls under a Bosnian Serbian attack led by General Ratko Mladić. Eleven thousand Bosnian men are still missing. 20 July: Bosnian Serbs, joined by Croatian Serbs, begin an offensive against the northwest Bosnian region of Bihać. 22 July: In Split, Tuđman and Izetbegović sign a defense agreement against the Serbs. 28 July: Bosnian Croat and Croatian troops capture Grahovo and Glamoč in western Bosnia, south of the Krajina. 3 August: UN convened talks are held at Geneva between the Zagreb government and the Knin Serbs. Croatian Serbian leader Mate Babić agrees on the proposal of American Ambassador Peter Galbraith to reunite Croatia and the Krajina region in a peaceful way. 4 August: The Croatian government launches Operation Storm (Oluja) in the Krajina region. 5 August: The main town Knin is conquered by the Croatian Army without much resistance from the Croatian Serbs. Benkovac falls also, and within 48 hours Petrinja and Glina. 8 August: End of the Oluja Offensive, wholly victorious for the Croats: the whole Krajina and Dalmatian region is reincorporated into Croatia. Tens of thousands of Croatian Serbs flee from Croatia into Bosnia and Yugoslavia. 26 August: Tuđman boards the first “Freedom Train” from Zagreb to Split, passing by Karlovac and Gospić, and halting at Knin. 9 September: The West summons Croats and Muslims to stop their offensive after conquering more than half of the Bosnian territory. Tuđman and Izetbegović meet at Zagreb. 10 October: A 60-day armistice in Bosnia comes into effect. 29 October: The parliamentary elections for the House of Representatives gives a majority of seats to the HDZ with 45 percent of votes. 1 November: Beginning of the peace talks between all Yugoslav parties under American and European patronage in Dayton at the Wright-Patterson military base. 11 November: Successful negotiation round in Dayton between Tuđman and Milošević, ending in a 14-point agreement on the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia under condition of the deployment of a UN Transitional Military Force (UNTAES). Thorvald Stoltenberg mediated on the field with Croatian
Serbs. 21 November: Successful finish of the Dayton talks with the reaching of a general peace agreement, ending officially the Bosnian war. 14 December: Official signing in Paris of the peace agreement agreed on at Dayton by the presidents of Croatia, Bosnia, and Yugoslavia and by representatives of the United States, the UN, and the European Union. Tuđman and Izetbegović sign an Agreement on the Establishment of a Joint Cooperation Council between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

1996 1 January: Croats and Muslims attack each other in Mostar. 13 January: U.S. President Bill Clinton visits Zagreb. 3–4 February: U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher makes a tour in the Balkan states. 17 February: The presidents of Croatia, Bosnia, and Yugoslavia participate in the first evaluation round of the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords at a conference in Rome. 18 February: Richard C. Holbrooke resigns from his official function as assistant secretary of state to become an informal adviser. 22 February: Richard J. Goldstone replaces Louise Arbour as head of the ICTY at The Hague. 3 April: Crash of an airplane in Dubrovnik, carrying an American delegation among which are Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown and leading business executives. 2 June: U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher meets at Geneva with the presidents of Croatia, Bosnia, and Yugoslavia and once more insists on the thorough implementation of the Dayton accords. 16 July: The Muslim-Croat federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United States sign a military aid agreement. 6 August: Bosnian and Croatian parties agree on joint administration in Mostar. 3 October: Izetbegović and Milošević agree to establish full diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Bosnia.

1997 3 January: Ivica Kostovic, vice-president of the Croatian government, transmits to Jacques Klein, head of the UNTAES mission, a “Letter of Intent about the Peaceful Reintegration of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and West Srijem.” 22 January: Presenting the “State of the Union of Croatia in the year 1966,” President Tuđman rejects all rumors about imminent constitutional changes. 16 March: Local elections and elections for the Sabor in the formerly occupied regions of Croatia, giving the Serbs some minority representation. 24 March: The HDZ initiates a trial against the magazine Feral Tribune of Split, because in its edition of that day, the paper had insulted the party in an interview with HSP leader
Josip Vuković. Earlier, *Feral Tribune* had been brought to trial by President Tuđman himself for personal offense. **13 April:** In the general elections for the House of the Counties (Županijski Dom), the HDZ obtains a convincing victory with 43 percent of votes, as it does in the counties and in most cities. **6 June:** Meeting of Richard Holbrooke at Split with Izetbegović and Tuđman. The presidents present a joint statement to strengthen the federation. Holbrooke insists on the reintegration of refugees. **8 June:** The train for Vukovar with Tuđman on board symbolically brings an end to the Patriotic War and the reintegration of the region into Croatia. **15 June:** In the first round of the presidential elections, sitting President Tuđman defeats with 62 percent of votes his opponents, the Social Democrat Zdravko Tomac and the Liberal Vlado Gotovac. **8 October:** Bosnian Croat leader Dario Kordić and nine other indicted Bosnian Croats surrender to the ICTY at The Hague under pressure from Zagreb. **December:** The Sabor accepts a law proposal that prohibits any larger association with ex-Yugoslavia or Balkan countries.

1998  **5 January:** Croatian authorities restore by a peaceful transition process their rule on the former UNTAES region of Eastern Slavonia. **24 January:** Vlado Gotovac, former president of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (Hrvatska Socijalna Liberalna Stranka, HSLS), founds a new Liberal Party to the left of the HSLS of Budiša, offering a much clearer profile of an opposition party against the HDZ regime. **21–22 February:** Fourth General Sabor of the HDZ. The statutes are changed and Tuđman is confirmed as president. **13 March:** With its 50th issue, the quality weekly *Tjednik* disappears. On the other hand, the first issue of a new daily, *Jutarni List* (Morning Journal), rolls from the presses. **3 May:** The influential politician and ex-minister Gojko Šušak dies. **10 September:** Beginning of the revision of the juridical process of the “Gang of Sodolovce.” These Serbs of a small village in Eastern Slavonia were put on trial earlier and condemned in absentia to strong penalties but without much proof. **2–4 October:** The pope visits Croatia for the second time since its independence. **28 October:** An agreement on the “Specific Relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina”—called the most important after the Washington and Dayton agreements—is signed in Zagreb. **3 December:** A session of the National Council of the HDZ decides that Drago Krapina becomes general secretary of the HDZ and Ivo Sanader one of its secretaries.
1999  January: Zagreb and Montenegro agree to reopen the border crossing on the Prevlaka peninsula. 4 March: Beginning of the trial against Dinko Sakić, commander of the Jasenovac camp during World War II, who fled to Argentina where he was visited by Tuđman during his election campaign. On 8 July, the court accuses Sakić of personally having killed a victim during a firing squad on 77 prisoners. 20 April: Yugoslav soldiers enter a demilitarized zone separating Croatia and Montenegro. 26 June: A meeting of the general HDZ council decides to found an Association of the Defenders of the Patriotic War under the name of “Gojko Šušak.” 24 November: The Parliament declares President Tuđman temporarily incapacitated because of serious illness. The Speaker of Parliament, Vlatko Pavletić, assumes presidential powers. 10 December: President Tuđman dies after a long period of terminal care. Of foreign statesmen, only the Turkish President Suleiman Demirel appears at the funeral.

2000  3 January: In the parliamentary elections, the front of six opposition parties—in fact, a coalition of two major parties, the SDP and HSLS and a coalition of four minor parties—defeats the 10-year-long ruling HDZ. 12 January: Interim President Vlatko Pavletić of the HDZ announces that Social Democrat Ivica Račan will be asked on January 22 to form a new government. 24 January: First presidential election round: The HDZ candidate Mate Granić is eliminated by HSLS runner Dragiša Budiša and Croatian People’s Party (Hrvatska Narodna Stranka, HNS) candidate Stipe Mesić. 7 February: In the second round of the presidential elections, Stipe Mesić beats the Liberal candidate Dražen Budiša. High officials such as the American and German ministers of foreign affairs, Madeleine Albright and Joschka Fisher, attend the inaugural ceremony of President Mesić. 6 March: Around 5,000 demonstrators gathered outside the U.S. embassy in Zagreb to protest against the 45-year jail sentence imposed on the chief of the Bosnian Croat Army (HVO), Tihomir Blasković, for his role in the Ahmići massacre in Bosnia in April 1993. 15 March: Convention of the HDZ. Election of a new party president, Ivo Sanader. 12 July: Fifteen high-ranking army officers are charged with misappropriating Defense Ministry funds. July: A survey by the Ministry for European Integration finds 77.6 percent in favor and 7.9 against Croatia’s integration into the EU. August: Milan Levar, a Special Forces commander during
the Croatian Patriotic War and witness at the ICTY at The Hague, is murdered. **12 September:** General Ivan Andabak—responsible for the destruction of the old bridge of Mostar—and retired general Tihomir Oresković—suspected in connection with the Levar murder and the 1991 Gospić war crimes—are arrested. **2 November:** Croatian police charges the late president’s daughter Nevenka Tuđman with graft. **24 November:** Summit in Zagreb of the European-sponsored Pact for Stabilization. **30 November:** During a protest meeting against the EU Summit, former officer Mladen Rogic is arrested because he wears a cap with the fascist “U” (Ustaša) symbol.

**2001**

**17 February:** Mass demonstrations take place in Split, expressing solidarity with General Mirko Norac, who is accused by the ICTY for alleged war crimes against Serb civilians in Gospić in 1991. **16 March:** A kilo and a half of dynamite explodes in front of the city administration building in Zagreb, at about the time Mayor Milan Bandić signs an order for the reconstruction of a recently mined monument to Partisan heroes at the cemetery of Mirogoj. **9 April:** The Assembly of the Istrian District in Pazin proclaims autonomy and the Italian language acquires equality with Croatian in places where a sizable Italian group is living. An Istrian identity is introduced and the principle of regionalism reaffirmed, implying strong support to free interregional cooperation with Italy and Dalmatia. This is presented as in line with the regionalization tendencies in the European Union. **4 May:** Stjepan Mesić is greeted by booing civilians at the Draževac military barracks near Split. The same day, two alderman of the Croatian Democratic Union assault him in the Split city council. **14 May:** The Croatian Foreign Minister Tonino Picula and the representative of the European Commission of Foreign Affairs, Chris Patten, sign a preliminary Agreement on Stabilization and Association. **20 May:** In the local elections, the HDZ obtains an unexpected victory. **June:** the Istrian Democratic Alliance (IDS) walks out of government, reducing the former six-party government coalition to five parties. **17 June:** General Sabor of the HDZ fixes new programmatic policy guidelines. **15 July:** After a long parliamentary debate, deputies back Račan in a vote of confidence on the question to extradite to the ICTY two army officials accused of war crimes: General Ante Gotovina accused for neglect and alleged killings of Serbs during the Patriotic War, and General Rahim Ademi, similarly
in command during the 1993 uncontrolled actions in the Medak region near Gospić. Dražen Budiša—president of the HSLS, the government’s main coalition partner—opposes the extradition. During a preliminary government meeting, his Liberal ministers had voted in favor of the government decision. In consequence, Budiša resigns as party president of the HSLS after the voting of Parliament. **21 July:** A Government Commission on the frontiers of Croatia signs a preliminary document on the frontiers with Slovenia. Similarly, an agreement is reached on the nuclear plant of Krško. **7 August:** The government announces the dismissal of 3,800 policemen. **26 August:** General Ademi delivers himself to the ICTY and pleads “not guilty.” On the other hand, General Gotovina goes into hiding. **30 August:** Deputy Prime Minister Goran Granić and the chief prosecutor of the ICTY, Carla del Ponte, have a secret meeting. **9 October:** The Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague announces that 15 more people are under investigation for crimes committed in Croatia. These include Montenegrin officials Momir Bulatović and Branko Kostić, given their role in the attacks on the Dubrovnik region. **18 October:** The Croatian ambassador to NATO and former staff leader of the Croatian Army, General Antun Tuš, admits that he had given an order leading to liquidation of Serbs in the town of Bjelovar during the Patriotic War. **20 October:** Twenty thousand protest at the central square of Zagreb following an appeal of the Central Command for the Defense of the Dignity of the Patriotic War. Veterans of the War demand that the government preserve their rights and a take defensive stand in the cooperation with the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague. A tract was distributed with a list of names of “Anti-Croats.” **23 October:** After the death of 23 patients in dialysis units, Prime Minister Ivica Račan accepts the resignation of Minister of Health Ana Stavljenić-Rukavica. **28 October:** On a visit to Israel, President Mesić apologized to the Jews for injustice committed against them on Croatian soil during World War II.

**2002**  **20 January:** Zagreb Mayor Milan Bandić resigns due to a car accident in which he tried to flee from the police. **24 January:** The Croatian government puts a ban on transport of oil from neighboring Slovenia and Bosnia. **2 February:** The congress of the Social-Liberals (HSLS) elects Dražen Budiša as party leader. **12 February:** The trial of Slobodan Milošević before the International Criminal Tribune for
former Yugoslavia at The Hague is opened. 18 February: The popular TV program *Latinica* is not aired because it is announced that it should treat the question whether Croatia needs a law to prohibit symbols of the Ustaša movement. 27 February: Five ministers resign in protest against the way their party treated them after the reelection of Dražen Budiša as party leader. 1 March: The bank account of the independent weekly *Feral Tribune* is frozen due to a court decision that imposes considerable monetary penalties. 21 March: Prime Minister Ivica Račan presents to the Sabor the new vice-president, Dražen Budiša, and the new ministers, Hrvoje Vojković and Marija Kovač. 21–22 April: Ivo Sanader defeats his rival Ivica Pašalić and is reconfirmed as president of the party at the seventh convention of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). 23 April: For the first time since the Homeland War, a Croatian minister of foreign affairs pays a visit to his colleague in Belgrade. 24 April: The Sabor fires Radovan Ortynski, the state prosecutor, after his revelations before the Parliament of corruption in business and politics. 13 May: The ministers of foreign affairs of the 19 NATO countries approve the participation of Croatia in the Action Plan for Membership (Map-plan). 15 June: The main council of the Croatian National Union (Središnji odbor HDZ-a) fires Ivica Pašalić for malpractice as director of the Croatian Foundation of State Union (Zaklad Hrvatskog državnog zavjeta), an institution that managed important resources granted by the immigration. 18 June: The Serb leader and president of the Serbian National Council Milorad Pupovac declares his organization does not approve the results of the Population Census of 2001, officially published a day before. 5 July: Prime Minister Ivica Račan is dismissed because of his inability to govern further with his coalition partner of the Social-Liberals (HSLS) and the vice-president of the government, Dražen Budiša, president of that party. 9 July: The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) expels Ivić Pašalić from the party. 10 July: The president of the republic, Stipe Mešić, reappoints Ivica Račan to form of a new government. 13 July: The Great Council of the Social-Liberal HSLS excludes from its ranks six Members of Parliament, four ministers, and two vice-ministers. 30 July: The Sabor approves the reformed government of Ivica Račan. 16 October: In Lisbon, the Croatian Democratic Union is accepted as a member of the European People’s Party. 30 November: At a convention in Zagreb, the youth organization of the HDZ gets a new start. 5 December: Croatia, on the one hand, and Bulgaria, the Czech
Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, on the other, sign at Zagreb the agreement on the accession of Croatia to the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA).

2003 21 February: Prime Minister Ivica Račan submits Croatia’s application for EU membership to the acting president of the EU, Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis. 24 February: Regular formal political dialogue meeting of the EU with Croatia in Brussels. 1 March: The agreement of Croatia and Central European countries on the CEFTA goes into force. 12–13 March: Official visit of Chris Patten, member of the EU Commission, to Croatia. 21 June: Thessaloniki Summit of EU confirms the strategy of a Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP). 9 October: Prime Minister Ivica Račan hands over the Answers to the Questionnaire of the Commission. 22 October: In Strasbourg, Ivo Sanader has a meeting with the Italian prime minister and sitting president of the European Union, Silvio Berlusconi. 23 November: The ruling coalition of Ivica Račan loses the parliamentary elections. 23 December: The Sabor approves the new government of Prime Minister Ivo Sanader.

2004 5 February: At its Congress in Brussels, the European People’s Party urges that accession negotiations of Croatia to the European Union should start as quickly as possible. 29 March: Prime Minister Ivo Sanader and Minister of Foreign Affairs Miomir Žužul pay a visit to the Croatian emigrants in New York. 20 April: Croatia receives the Avis: a positive opinion of the European Commission on the request to begin the accession negotiations. 24 April: At the ninth HDZ convention in Rijeka, Sanader is again elected party president and Jadranka Kosor is the new vice-president. 18 June: The European Council grants Croatia the status of official candidate for EU membership. 29 August: Ivan Lacković Croata, a well known painter of the so-called naïve school, dies. 29 October: In Rome, Prime Minister Sanader presents a Declaration of Croatia on the occasion of the signing of the treaty establishing a constitution for Europe. 16–17 December: The European Council agrees on the opening of the accession negotiations on 17 March 2009, on the condition that there is full cooperation with the ICTY

2005 2 January: In the first round of the presidential elections, Stipe Mesić and Jadranka Kosor qualify for the second round. 16 Janu-
ary: Stipe Mesić wins the second and final round of the presidential elections. 1 February: The Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) enters into force. 16 February: Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović becomes minister of foreign affairs and European integration. 16 March: The opening of the accession negotiations is postponed. 26 April: First meeting of the Stabilisation and Association Council. 4–5 April: The Sabor proclaims two days of official mourning for the death of Pope John Paul. 13 April: Ivo Sanader opens a memorial park for late President Tuđman at Velika Gorica. 16 April: In the local elections, the HDZ wins the most mandates of all parties: in the regional parliaments (županije), 9 of 24; in the cities, 50 of 124; and in the communes, 185 of 426. 26 April: Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte of the ICTY meets Sanader in Luxembourg. 16 May: Justice Minister Vesna Škare-Ožbolt signs contracts with lawyers to provide free legal assistance to Roma to assist in the settlement of that community’s status issues. 19 July: The HDZ is received as a member of the International Democratic Union (IDU). 5 October: The accession negotiations of Croatia to the European Union start officially. 30 October: The “screening” stage of the accession negotiations begins. 5 December: Second meeting of the Joint EFTA–Croatia Commission in Geneva.

2006 11 March: Slobodan Milošević dies in his cell in The Hague. 28–29 March: Visit of president of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili. 7 May: U.S. Vice-President Dick Cheney endorses Croatia’s aspirations of membership to NATO in presence of Prime Minister Sanader. 7–8 May: Visit of President Mesić to Georgia. 12 June: Science and research, the first chapter of the accession negotiations, is formally opened and provisionally closed at an Accession Conference. 18 October: The so-called screening process of Croatia by the EU is concluded. 8 November: The annual European Commission report on accession is critical of Croatia’s progress toward EU membership and strongly advises tackling corruption and intolerance of non-Croats.

2007 1 April: Ivica Račan resigns as party president of the SDP for health reasons. 29 April: Death of Ivica Račan. 2 June: An extraordinary convention of the SDP elects Zoran Milanović as party president. 24 October: The construction of the coastal Pelješac bridge starts. 6 November: The European Commission issues its yearly report on Croatia’s progress toward EU membership. 25 November: The Croatian
Democratic Union (HDZ) wins the parliamentary elections but needs coalition partners to obtain a majority.

2008 1 January: Croatia serves as a nonpermanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations. 12 January: The Sabor approves the second government of Prime Minister Ivo Sanader. 12 February: The EU Council adopts the new accession partnership. 26 August: Sanader and Slovenia’s Prime Minister Janez Janša meet at Bled in order to discuss bilateral problems between the two countries. 25 September: The U.S. Senate ratifies the accession document of Croatia to NATO. 26 September: General Vladimir Zagorec is arrested in Vienna at the request of Croatia. 6 October: Ivana Hodak, the daughter of lawyer Zvonimir Hodak and former Vice Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak, is killed in the center of Zagreb. 11 October: The Croatian Parliament supports the government’s proposal by appointing Tomislav Karamarko and Ivan Simonović as the new government ministers of the interior and the judiciary and Vladimir Faber as the acting head of police. 23 October: Ivo Pukanić, the main editor of the weekly Nacional, and his marketing manager, Niko Franjić, are murdered in a bomb attack in the center of Zagreb. 24 October: The Croatian Association of Unions (HUS) demands a delay in privatization of the shipyards. 24 October: U.S. President Bush signs the agreement endorsing Croatia as a NATO member. 30 October: The seventh meeting of the Accession Partnership proceeds with four chapters closed and 21 opened. 5 November: The European Commission publishes its annual report on Croatia’s progress toward EU membership. 19 December: At the Intergovernmental Accession Conference of the EU with Croatia in Brussels, Slovenia expresses its reservations regarding 11 negotiating chapters.

2009 19 January: President Mesić apologizes to the Slovenes for a remark on their role in World War II and the determination of the frontiers. 23 January: Slovenia’s Prime Minister Boris Pahor rejects an invitation of Sanader to discuss frontier problems during the handball world championship. 5 February: The city of Pločč condemns the initiative of a local priest, Petar Mikić, to give subventions (financial assistance) if newborn receive ancient Christian names. 7 February: The police services declare that they have solved the murder of Ivana Hodak. 14 February: Sabor Vice-President Vladimir Šeks rejects the
allegations of the Croatian Helsinki Committee that he lied before the court and should step down. **24 February:** The Slovenian and Croatian prime ministers have a consultation at the castle of Mokrice about frontier problems. **27 February:** The Czech presidency of the EU hands over to the Croatian Minister of Justice Ivan Šimonović a formal warning that Title 23 of the *acquis* (Justice and Human Rights) will not be opened if 23 requested documents are not delivered to the ICTY. The Croatian authorities hide this from the local press for a week. **1 March:** Slovene Prime Minister Borut Pahor proposes to the Czech prime minister and European Union sitting president Mirek Topolanek to delay the Interstate Conference on the accession of Croatia, planned for 27 March. **2 March:** General Vladimir Zagorec, former head of the enterprise RH Alan, created to secretly procure arms for Croatia, is condemned by a tribunal in Zagreb to seven years of prison for theft and fraud. **6 March:** President Mesić criticizes the hiding or destruction of the 23 background documents on the strategic goals and use of arms and ammunition during Operation Storm, requested by the ICTY. **3 April:** During the NATO summit at Strasbourg, Croatia accedes as a full member to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. **17 May:** Elections are held in towns and regions (županije).
Croatia, a former republic of Yugoslavia, has been a self-declared independent state since 25 July 1991. As a new state in the heart of ex-Yugoslavia and lying to the west of the Balkans, it still participates in the turbulent history of the Balkan Peninsula. Croatia’s politicians and most of the population wholeheartedly are striving to throw off the Balkans’ burden. In fact, they finally realized their history-long dream to restore the ancient Croatian state, which had already flourished in the early middle ages. But the new independent state inevitably remains located in a highly sensitive area and it seems futile to cut off Croatia’s development from the other areas of the Balkans. Even for Croats, this would be difficult in relation to Bosnia-Herzegovina, a region that at least in part spent a long period in history under their rule.

It is no wonder that the dissolution of Yugoslavia provoked a host of questions about frontiers, economic and social heritage, suitable institutions, and the relationship between the new entities. National history has been a worshipped treasure to feed ambitions and to justify all sorts of claims. If only to understand the endless negotiation and reconciliation processes, one should thoroughly study the history of the peoples of former Yugoslavia. Croatia is certainly no exception and, for example, any interpretation of the patriotic independence war in the first half of the 1990s is highly colored by the Croatian perception of history. History will still certainly play a dominant role in the ideology and political behavior of the Croats for a long time to come.

**LAND, PEOPLE, AND LANGUAGE**

Croatia’s area is boomerang-shaped, one leg lying along the Adriatic Sea, the other in the Pannonian plain. On its western frontier lies Slovenia, in
the north lies Hungary; in between the two legs lies Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the eastern side, Croatia has a border with Serbia and in the southeast with Montenegro, both united in the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Croatia’s area covers 56,538 square kilometers. The Adriatic coast is 1,778 kilometers long, with 66 inhabited islands.

There are several geographic zones that were integrated into and separated from the country at different periods. Regions now outside Croatia were sometimes seen as an integral part of the country. This is particularly the case for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia now consists of Croatia proper, Slavonia, Istria, and Dalmatia. The earlier frontier region against the Turkish Empire, the Vojna Krajina, initially came under Austria until the end of the 19th century.

Bordering on the Adriatic Sea, a large part of the country has a Mediterranean climate. Even the Pannonian plain enjoys a mild continental climate. The central mountain belt that links the Pannonian and Adriatic regions with the Karst plateaus of Lika, Krbava, and Gorski Kotar endures harsher climatic conditions.

A total of 4,784,265 residents were recorded in the population census of 1991. Of these, 78.1 percent declared themselves to be ethnic Croats and 12.2 percent Serbs. Other minorities included mainly Hungarians, Italians, and citizens of the other ex-Yugoslav republics. The population of Croatia in some districts is highly concentrated, especially in the large towns on the Adriatic and in Zagreb and Slavonia. Half of the Serb minorities lived in the regions along the frontier with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Especially in the latter, inhabitants of the earlier Military Border (Vojna Krajina) tended to form autonomous concentrations, controlling the militia and administration. They were swept away during the internal war by the offensive of the Croatian Army in August 1995. As the return of the population was only marginal, the figure of the census of 2001 of 4,437,460 for the total population of Croatia is 6.1 percent lower than that for 1991. The number of registered Serbs dropped to about 200,000 or 4.5 percent of the population of Croatia. The number of citizens who declared themselves ethnically of Croatian nationality rose to 89.6 percent. So in Croatia, the war homogenized the population.

The specific identity of the Croatian nation has been both advocated and denied on ethnic, linguistic, and historical grounds. Some ethnic and historical arguments for both interpretations will be given in the
section on history. Here we will try to explain something about the language puzzle.

The declaration on the Croatian Language of 1967 states clearly and without reservation: that Croatian is a separate language and has to be protected from the imperialistic intrusion of Serbian. There are clear differences in the vocabulary, morphology, and grammar of the two languages. Some words are used in one and not in the other. Some grammatical constructions—especially verbal forms—are preferred in one language and not in the other. And there exist što-, ča-, and kajkavian variants, according to the expression that is used for the word what. Serbian favors rigidly the što- variant; the situation is much less clear in the Croatian language area. Related to this is the differentiation in e-, i-, or iješćakavian, depending on how an original “jat” sound of the old Church Slavonic was interpreted and pronounced later. Serbian uses the harsh ekavian variant, while Croatian opts for the soft ije- pronunciation and writing. Supporters of the Croatian autonomous language theory have always stressed the specific characteristics and peculiarities of their language.

However, “Yugoslavists” have pointed to the common origin of the Slavic languages and welcomed the attempts of the Illyrian school in the 19th century to create a common South Slav language. Students of the origin of the South Slav language disagree about the question of the common base of the South Slav language. Early documents seem to indicate a common base, but they are rare and display differentiations even at an early stage. Gradually there emerged a Croatian version of Old Church Slavonic with its own characteristics. Moreover, there is an intense discussion on the origin and use of the Cyrillic and the Glagolitic alphabet. The latter was used in Croatian areas, especially on the islands where the most inscriptions on stone monuments are preserved, the former in other South Slav regions. Both languages soon developed their own particularities.

The attempt to create a common language for the South Slavs by the Illyrians can be regarded as highly artificial. However, this can be said of any effort to create a standard language. Without doubt, the Illyrians acted under the influence of a romantic nationalistidea to unite the South Slavs. The South Slav languages must still have been fairly close to one another for such an attempt to be successful. Under the communists, the difference between Croatian and Serbian was said to be no
more than the difference between British and American English. This short discussion can be closed with the observation that at the moment the need for a Croatian standard language is strongly felt. Moreover, a commission to change street names was installed by the Tudman regime, and rehabilitated strongly nationalistic figures from the World War II National Croatian State period. The post-Tudman regime restored the balance without giving up the Croatian identity and national Croatian language.

HISTORY

Origin and Ethnic Nature of the Croats

The early history of Croatia tends to be mystified, as it has to play a justifying role in politics. Archaeologists did considerable work, especially around the Adriatic Sea, but they could not really mold the various theories into a decisive structure.

A much-debated question concerns the origin and ethnic nature of the Croats. There is some consensus on the fact that the Croatian tribes emigrated from the Caucasian regions and then crossed the Danube to reach the Adriatic Sea. But were they really Slavs, or can they be considered to be descendants of an Iranian Sarmatian tribe? What is the role of Gothic influences and the relationship to other peoples such as the Alans and Avars? The discussion of this question is narrowly related to views on the formation of a national Croatian state and its ideological justification. Earlier defenders of the Yugoslav idea—a common state for all South Slavs—generally defend the common origin of Serbs and Croats, their common language, and the fact that differentiation was late and relatively unimportant. Croatian historical tradition supports the thesis that the Croats were a separate new tribe that functioned as an upper class above the proto-Slavs who immigrated together or arrived perhaps earlier on the shores of the Adriatic.

There are four important sources reporting on the earliest history of the Croatians. The Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea, writing during the reign of Emperor Justinian the Great (527–565), described how the Slavs crossed the Danube around 531. Constantine Porphyrogenitus composed his De Administrando Imperio in the middle of the
10th century. According to him and his informers, Croats and Serbs asked his predecessor, Emperor Heraclius (610–641), to settle in Dalmatia. Constantine wrote that the “Slavs” invaded Dalmatia under Avar leadership. He described in great detail how and why another army went to conquer Solin (the ancient town lying near the present-day town of Split). This second eruption could have been the invasion of the Croats. Two other early commentators seem to confirm this thesis. The first is the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea* (Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina). Earlier versions of the manuscript got lost and many passages were rewritten and filled in later. It also informs us about the Gothic influences on the Croatian people. A last early source on the settlement of the Croats in Dalmatia—*Historia Salonitana*—was written by Archdeacon Thomas of Split around 1268. It also describes the Ostrogothic inroads into the Croatian lands and lends some support to the “Gothic” thesis on the origin of the Croats. As mentioned above, some “South Slav or Yugoslav” historians vigorously attacked the thesis that the Croats should have been a distinct ethnic group.

Once settled, the Croats constantly had to fight against the influence of the Byzantine Empire and the mainly Gothic invasions from the west. The Byzantine influence remained decisive in some coastal cities of the Adriatic, especially in the eastern part of what has been called “Red Croatia.” This is the land south of the Cetina River. The Croat reign was firmly installed in “White Croatia” above the Cetina, while Frankish influence was dominant in “Pannonian Croatia.” However, around 800, “White Croatia” turned into a vassal state of Charlemagne. Croat subjects attended his coronation as emperor in 800.

The Early Kingdom

In 845 began the reign of the Prince Trpimir. He was the founder of a dynasty that would bring the early medieval Croatia to its height of power. Trpimir signed a donation document with his title of *Dux Chroatorum*. Branimir (879–892) has been considered the first independent ruler of Croatia. Pope John VIII officially recognized the Croatian Church and the Croatian nation. The strength of the reign and the territorial expansion provided enough reason for Tomislav to call himself *Rex Chroatorum*, King of the Croats. However, this territorial expansion soon caused ecclesiastical difficulties, as exemplified by
the Synod of Split of 925. The national church with its liturgy in the Croatian language had to give way to the Latin clergy of the Dalmatian coastal cities. A new dynasty, the Krešimirovci, then came to power. The greatest internal conflicts were at last surmounted by Krešimir II (960–968), who incorporated Bosnia into his kingdom. His follower, Stipan Držislav (969–997), gained the support of Byzantium and bore the title Rex Dalmatiae et Croatae. When he died, civil war broke out and Venice took the opportunity to seize the Dalmatian cities. Around 1060, Krešimir IV succeeded in again unifying Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Croatia. King Dmitar Zvonimir (1076–1089) acted as the last strong ruler of Croatia.

Though interesting from an aesthetic point of view, attested by some magnificent archaeological remnants, not much is known about social history. Politicians in the postcommunist Croatian society tended to glorify this period of the early Croatian kingdom, especially the figures of Branimir, Zvonimir, and most of all, Tomislav. The idea of a national unified state has to be seen in the first place as a product of the romantic and nationalistic ideology of the middle of the 19th century, recaptured in the first phase of the postcommunist period. However, the Croatian medieval kingdom has to be perceived as based on a feudal system, where personalized and decentralized relationships were the rule, rather than a strong centralized administration and state. For example, a king or ruler always bore the title of several regions that could easily change ownership.

Under Hungary and Austria

Up to 1100, Hungarian influence had been growing to the point that the Croatian nobility deliberately chose to establish a personal union between Croatia and Hungary (Pacta Conventa). Earlier, the Hungarian King Ladislas had already invaded Slavonia. This initiated a long period of Hungarian domination on the Croatian scene. However, the Hungarians granted the Croats some autonomy in local administration.

The next mortal danger for Croatia and the Western world came from the east: the Turkish invasion. This is the cause of problems lasting until the present day, as will be explained below. The South Slav peoples suffered a first blow at the famous battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389. The Ottomans conquered Bosnia in 1463. The first
inroads within Croatia followed within five years. Herzegovina fell in 1482. In need of a strong protector, the Croats recognized Maximilian I of Austria as their king. Nevertheless, the Turks defeated a Croatian Army in the field of Krbava. The Croats then elected Ferdinand of Habsburg as their king. His dynasty would govern most of the Croatian lands until the end of World War I. The Austrians created an extended military zone between the regions dominated by the Turks and the lands they controlled.

In fact, Croatia was to be divided into quite separate parts until the 1880s. In the early times, the military zone (Vojna Krajina) received a special status. Much of the new population had fled from the regions occupied by the Turks. Among them were many orthodox Vlachs (who later accepted the Serbian nationality) and Italians. The inhabitants received autonomy and prerogatives in return for their protective role against the Turks; they were not placed under the direct control of the Croatian feudal or postfeudal nobility. In later times, the military zone came under the direct military and administrative control of Austria. The Vojna Krajina was precisely the region where there lived a majority of Serbs, who declared themselves independent at the beginning of the Tuđman regime and who were ultimately chased out by a military offensive of the Croatian Army as late as August 1995.

The full Croatian identity could not be restored until the middle of the 19th century. Half a century earlier, the French occupation helped to revive the ideal of unification, not only of Yugoslavia, but first of all, of Croatia. In 1805, the Dalmatian coast fell under French rule and, in 1808, the independent Republic of Dubrovnik was abolished. In 1809, southern Croatia, the military frontier, and civil Croatia on the right bank of the Sava River became united in the Illyrian Provinces. However, after the retreat of the French troops, these regions returned to Austria. A strong movement for autonomy in coastal Dalmatia under the influence of Italy resisted unification with interior Croatia (or “Croatia Proper”). However, Hungarian nationalists, eager to create a Great Hungarian State, were more and more hostile to the idea of an independent or even autonomous Croatia. In 1827, they succeeded in having the Croatian Council or Diet introduce the Hungarian language as a compulsory subject in higher education. The politically dominant circles in the Austrian monarchy supported Croatia’s political and territorial fragmentation. As a reaction against these forces, Croatian
nationalist feelings and resistance were rising and strengthening the ideological base.

The Revival of Croatian Identity

A first intellectual movement that organized the resistance against Magyarization in the direction of a general South Slav resurrection was the Illyrian movement. Its ideological leader, Ljudevit Gaj, created the Illyrian language, meant to become the vehicle of all South Slav peoples. He published the first Croatian newspaper and literary magazine, *Novine Horvatke* and *Danica*. The Illyrians enjoyed the support of part of the Sabor, the Parliament of Zagreb. Around the same time, the Matica hrvatska was founded. This was a cultural institution that contributed greatly to awakening the national consciousness of the Croats. The Matica stimulated the study of Croatian ethnology and history, published books, and promoted public libraries. Ten years earlier, Count Janko Drasković had already defined the great Croatian political national program. He had pleaded for a union of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, the Vojna Krajina, the region of Rijeka and Bosnia, on the one hand, and the Slovene regions, Kranjska, Koruška, and Štajerska, on the other. All this, of course, irritated the Hungarians, who founded a political party, an example immediately followed by the Illyrians. Accused of being Russophile, the use of Illyrian symbols was banned by Metternich.

The revolutionary year 1848 brought new hopes for the Illyrians. Metternich was dismissed, the Austrian emperor now guaranteed freedom of the press, and a new ban (or governor) was appointed to Croatia. Ban Jelačić underwrote the Illyrian ideals and granted autonomy to the lower administrative levels of Croatia. The political and administrative ties with Hungary were practically broken. The revolutionary Hungarians revolted against the emperor in Vienna. Jelačić supported the Austrians and, with Russian help, the Hungarian uprising was crushed. A new constitution defined a more favorable position for Croatia, and the Croatian church no longer remained under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian bishopric. However, once the political situation in the monarchy was stabilized, a new period of Austrian absolutism set in.

Around 1861, three currents emerged in the Sabor of Zagreb. First, the Hungarian party defended close cooperation with the homeland.
The Illyrians pleaded for a united Croatia in a trilateral federation of equal partners with equal rights. A last radical faction stood for total autonomy and even total independence. Out of this current grew the Party of Rights, of which the leading figures were Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik.

In 1867, Austria and Hungary came to terms with one another and signed the Ausgleich. The regulation of relations between Hungary and Croatia were left to the Nagodba, agreed on one year later. In fact, it was a retrograde document that again set precise limits to the autonomy of Croatia. Open rebellion by members of the National Party was followed by repression. Only a minor change of the document was accepted in 1869. It is in the shadow of this unfavorable document that Croatian political parties would strive in vain for more autonomy for Croatia until World War I. The only, but important, achievement in this period was the administrative unification of all Croatian lands, with the exception of the region of Rijeka. It remained under the direct government of Hungary.

Under the First Yugoslavia

Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo in June 1914 by a member of a secret Serbian organization. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. As a final result, the Habsburg monarchy collapsed. During the war, representatives of the Serbs and Croats signed a document in Corfu to establish a new state on the ruins of the old empires. Slovenia and Croatia were the demanding parties to a reluctant Serbian prime minister. The Slovenes and Croats had good reasons to press their brother Slavs into a union. First, they feared a resurrection of any Hungarian or Austrian construction. Second, internal social uprisings were imminent. The example of the Russian Revolution was fresh in mind. Third, and most important, Italian forces were threatening to occupy the northern coast of the South Slav countries. In fact, during the war, the Allies had already promised Italy some territorial compensation in this area. The Serbs were hesitating between a common South Slav state or Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greater Serbia on the other. They had a longer tradition as an independent state with their own army and central administration. They ultimately saw the new state as just a means of
gathering all Serbs into one country and only ceded under condition that they got their king on the throne of the new country.

From the beginning, opposite tendencies clashed in the new South Slav state, called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Croats and Slovenes longed for a federation with full autonomy of its parts; the Serbs wanted a centralized country. Stjepan Radić, leader of the Croatian People’s Peasant Party, protested against the new constitution and was ultimately shot in the Parliament in Belgrade in 1928. King Alexander installed his dictatorship and strengthened the central administration of his kingdom, now officially called “Yugoslavia.” At last, political circles came to understand that common life in Yugoslavia would be impossible without some form of decentralization. The Croatian leader Vladko Maček and the Belgrade politician Dragiša Cvetković concluded an agreement, the Sporazum, that created an autonomous Croatian region, the Banovina. This solution could not really prove its usefulness, as the imminence of World War II distorted all relationships.

The German Nazi regime invaded the country and found broad sections of Croatia eager to collaborate. They installed the Ustaša regime of Ante Pavelić and created the nominally “Independent State of Croatia.” During this period, it was especially the work of the Ustaši to convert, expel, or murder some 600,000 Serbs living in Croatia. At the end of the war, the victorious communist partisans took revenge on the Croats in a massive slaughter and drove them into exile in a long-term hostile emigration. Memories of these clashes were largely exploited by the propaganda machines of both sides in the war for independence of the former Yugoslav republics. Even the late president Franjo Tuđman was, as a historian, largely involved in these discussions on the quantity and ethnicity of victims.

**Under the Second Yugoslavia**

After the war, the communists under Tito tried to further contain destructive nationalist forces and renewed at first the centralist tradition of state organization. Moreover, it was projected that through economic growth and development of a feeling of solidarity, nationality problems would wither away. In the 1960s, the introduction of the idea of self-management paved the way for some autonomy in all sectors of society.
The economic reforms in the 1960s were accompanied by a limited widening of political democratization. In 1966, a real political breakthrough took place with the fall of Alexander Ranković, the conservative right hand of Tito and head of the interior services.

With the Declaration on the Status of the Croatian Literary Language of 1967, the Croatian Spring was setting in. Public demonstrations, strikes, and riots for cultural, economic, and political autonomy followed. Communist Croatian political leaders, such as Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Miko Tripalo, backed some of the claims of the Croatian national movement. In the early 1970s, Tito intervened and forced the Croatian political leadership to resign. However, it seemed that decentralizing forces were not wholly defeated, or at least the official leadership—probably on advice of Tito’s second-in-command, Edvard Kardelj—took over the decentralizing strategy. Thus, though official leaders were purged, the new Constitution of 1974 met most of the decentralizing demands. Croatia and the other republics obtained a high degree of autonomy. And federal decisions regarding matters of common interest were to be made by consensus with equal rights for all republics. This constitution in fact opened the way to the later statehood of republics and autonomous provinces.

It was exactly this almost-complete statehood that was demanded by rioting Albanians in 1981. At the same time, debt problems became pressing. Decentralized decision making had made it possible for firms to conclude contracts for loans far above any reasonable level. Soft budget constraints, falling profitability, and consumption of capital through wages and other collective advantages caused inflation and debt-repayment problems. Political leaders now systematically blamed the other republics for the economic problems. Nationalism became rampant. Especially in Serbia, the economy was in danger of collapsing. Slobodan Milošević stimulated the national feelings by mass demonstrations in Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Montenegro. He managed to reduce the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina. In Novi Sad and Titograd, he purged resistant communist leaders through a so-called antibureaucratic revolution. In Kosovo, he brought the government and civil services under Serbian control. In the League of Communists, he also pleaded for economic and political recentralization. The Slovenes and Croats declared their solidarity with the Albanians of Kosovo and resisted any centralization of power in the federation. At last, the
Toward an Independent and Integrated Nation

In the same year, elections in Croatia and Slovenia institutionalized the deep rift between the western and eastern parts of the country. The opposition front was elected in Slovenia. In Croatia, the Croat nationalist party of Tuđman obtained a majority. Yugoslavia split. Could it die without war? The answer depended on two opposite and irreconcilable views. Tuđman had always publicly insisted that only the historical frontiers of the republics could be the practicable and pragmatic frontiers of the new states. Milošević argued that all Serbs in every region of Yugoslavia had the right to choose whether or not they wanted to live in a Serbian state. As mentioned earlier, about half of the 13 percent of Serbs in Croatia lived in concentrated frontier areas near Bosnia (the former Vojna Krajina and Western Slavonia) and near Serbia (in Eastern Slavonia). The Serbs of the Vojna Krajina organized a referendum and proclaimed autonomy.

This was the start of a war between the Yugoslav Army, Serbian militias, and the Croatian militia and army in the three regions. During the six-month war in 1991, at least 10,000 people died and the Serbs occupied about 30 percent of Croatia. Only agreement on intervention of the United Nations and the imposition of the so-called Vance plan could stop the fighting and freeze the situation. The Vance plan for Croatia created United Nations Protected Area (UNPA) zones. These zones included several sectors, covering Eastern and Western Slavonia and the Krajina. In theory, UN troops had to disarm all militias in these areas and prepare the conditions for the return of the refugees.

There were also some “pink zones,” territory conquered by the Yugoslav Army without ethnic Serbian population concentrations, especially south of the Krajina. Permanent Serbian provocations in these areas led to a new short-lived Croatian offensive at the end of January 1993. As a reaction, the Serbs in the Krajina brought back under their control the heavy weapons handed over to the UN under a previous agreement. A new agreement was concluded that implied a setback in the long-term settlement of the problem. The Serbs in the Krajina were officially rec-
ognized as negotiating partners and this could be explained as some sort of official recognition of their statehood.

A second Croatian offensive in September 1993 intended to free the Gospić region from shelling. Following another agreement, United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) stepped in to prevent further fighting.

Though Croatia was officially recognized by the European Community, the United States and the United Nations did not, as the integrity of the entire territory had not been achieved. On the other hand, there was permanent speculation about Croatian territorial ambitions in the south of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In April 1992, a referendum on the independence of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was boycotted by the Bosnian Serbs. The coalition of Muslims and Bosnian Croats could easily outvote the Serbs. The subsequent declaration of independence of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian state was followed by civil war, pitting Muslims and Croatian Bosnians against the Serbs. Soon, however, the Muslim–Croatian front cracked and an autonomous Herzeg-Bosna under Croatian control was formed in the southern part of the new country. Official circles in Zagreb confirmed the recognition of the territorial integrity of the Independent State of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But what were the real intentions of the Croatian nationalists? Would local combatants respect this official proclamation?

The Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina—though well intentioned and opposing the three-sided nationalism—seemed to complicate the situation even more. The division into 10 areas was most favorable to the Bosnian Croats and they were the first to sign. It strengthened them in the belief that they could and should operate as sole and absolute masters in the areas assigned to them. Armed clashes in the region of Mostar can be interpreted as ethnic cleansing by the Croat forces. However, the Vance-Owen plan was rejected by the Americans, presumably on humanitarian grounds: the great victims of the war, the Muslims, were not sufficiently compensated for their suffering, and moreover, the plan was still composed along unacceptable ethnic lines.

The next proposal that followed the Vance-Owen plan, providing an even more outright division along ethnic lines and including the possibility of leaving the union within two years, gave perhaps both too much and too little to the Croatians. Although Herzeg-Bosna might
join the mother country (Croatia), the proposal could have had adverse implications for the case of the Croatian Krajina. Applying the same principles as in the Bosnian case, the Krajina might easily have ended up within Serbia. In this scenario, the Krajina could have opted first for a confederation with the other parts of Croatia, and later in a referendum granted itself autonomy and even joined a Greater Serbian State. Moreover, a move in this direction had in reality already been made, although so far not officially supported by Serbia. The threat of the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia to take seats in a common parliament crucially endangered the implementations of any international proposal. And occasional meetings of all Serbs in the Belgrade Parliament functioned as a real prefiguration of a Greater Serbia.

Ultimately, military force decided the matter in Croatia. By a unilateral double offensive of Croats in 1995, the integrity of the country was restored with the exception of Eastern Slavonia. Operation Flash (Bljesak) liberated Western Slavonia in May in a few hours, and Operation Storm (Oluja) with on offensive on Knin in August expelled some 150,000 Serbs from the Krajina without much resistance. Soon, on 26 August, a “freedom train” departed from Zagreb to Split over Knin, the official consecration of the fact that the whole region was now back under governmental control.

The Serbs of Eastern Slavonia seemingly felt defenseless and an agreement was signed on 12 November with the government of the Republic of Croatia. It requested the Security Council of the United Nations to set up a Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES). Within two years, the peaceful transition was fulfilled and UNTAES ended formally on 15 January 1998. Finally, the territorial integrity of Croatia within its earlier frontiers of communist Yugoslavia was restored.

Somewhat earlier, another “peace train” had departed from Zagreb, this time to Vukovar, the Eastern Slavonian town that had been destroyed at the beginning of the war. In a speech on 8 June 1997 at the war-shattered Vukovar railway station, Tuđman pleaded for reconciliation. All Serbs and minorities should be granted their civil and ethnic rights on the condition that they accept the Croatian state and the Croatian people to be sovereign in this state. Peaceful reintegrations and the return of Serbs in individual cases was granted; however, he also warned that not all the 150,000 to 200,000 refugees were welcome in
order to avoid the previous problems. Effective 16 January 1998, the Security Council of the United Nations established a support group of 180 police monitors for a single period of up to nine months to continue monitoring the police in the Danube region, particularly in connection with the return of displaced persons and the respect of human rights.

The Dayton Peace Accords of December 1995 further consolidated the situation in the whole region. Under American and European supervision, the three presidents—Tuđman, Milošević, and Izetbegović—were forced into an agreement. Tuđman obtained here probably from Milošević—given the successful Flash and Storm operations—the assurance of a definitive peaceful return of Eastern Slavonia, still under Serb control. But of course, the main purpose of the conference was a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the military side, a NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) had to guarantee safety and stability. On the political side, a Bosnian state was set up composed of the Serbian Republic and the Federation of Muslims and Croats. This last federation was strongly sponsored by the Americans. But still in 2001, the Bosnian Croats erected a council to defend their autonomy, and Ante Jelačić, the Bosnian Croat member of the federal presidency, had to be suspended by the High Representative Wolfgang Petritsch. While under the Tuđman regime, the Bosnian Croats had always reckoned at least on the silent support of their mother country, but now both President Stjepan (Stipe) Mesić and Prime Minister Ivica Račan officially rejected the moves of the Bosnian Croats.

**Politics after the Domestic War**

Of course, this has to be explained by the political evolution in the mother country itself. After a first period of glorification related to the restoration of the integrity of the country, the star of President Tuđman and his party, the Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica, HDZ), was waning. First of all, economic hardships worsened. The country had invested very heavily in war operations. Moreover, the privatization process was accompanied by scandals of personal enrichment and even corruption. Social differences increased while unemployment rose and pensions declined. After 10 years, the regime had used up its internal resources and creativity. Tensions arose even within the leading party, the HDZ. Though the fame of Tuđman
as father of the new homeland was still intact, his charisma could not survive his death. Being ill for a long time, and finally declared unable to reign, he died much like Tito on December 10, 1999.

The following elections on 3 January 2000 were convincingly won by an opposition front of six parties. The most important partners were the Social Democrats of Ivica Račan and the liberals of Dražen Budiša, accompanied by the small but influential party of Stipe Mesić and three minor parties. Mesić himself, an early companion of Tuđman, had broken away from him earlier and erected his own party without the expected success. He had to await the death of Tuđman before he was more or less unexpectedly elected president in two rounds. In the first round, the HDZ candidate was eliminated. In the second round on 13 February 2000, Mesić defeated the liberal candidate Budiša. Just like Tuđman, a known and severe dissident since the Croatian Spring of the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, Budiša had been long been tipped as president and the first half of the new power tandem Budiša-Račan of post-Tuđman politics.

Moreover, the new prime minister and Social Democrat Račan and the new president Mesić agreed to put their electoral promises into practice. The strategic lines of the policy of the new regime included the following: weakening the presidential regime, changing the aggressive policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, and liberalizing the economy, freeing it from the scandals of privatization, while improving the position of the lower classes. The first year of the new coalition saw some skirmishes between Račan and Mesić on the reduction of presidential powers, but an honorable agreement for both could be reached. Collaboration with international economic organizations was intensified and economic programs were set in motion. Tribunals began doing serious work on extremist activities during the 1991–1995 domestic war. Collaboration with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague was honored; the political image of Croatia was substantially improved. Unfortunately, the honeymoon promises could not be wholly fulfilled as the economy did not show the expected takeoff and new problems arose with the ICTY.

On 8 June 2001, ICTY indicted Ante Gotovina and Rahim Ademi. This was the occasion for a patriotic organization, the Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War, to start a second round of protests and mass rallies. Ademi surrendered, but Gotovina
fled abroad. This would be a further bone of contention in the relations with the ICTY and the European Union (EU). The ratification process of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement that was signed on 29 October 2001 between Prime Minister Račan and the European Union risked being blocked by some European countries and was indeed postponed. It lingered until 2005 when it finally came into force. But also within the coalition, the problem was perceived in a different way. It nearly came to a government crisis in 2001 when Dražen Budiša, the president of the Liberal Party and Račan’s main coalition partner, opposed the extradition of the generals. Dražen Budiša gave his dismissal as president of the Liberal Party. The Liberals further supported the government and Račan survived a parliamentary vote on 15 July 2001. But Budiša came back as president of the Liberals and even entered the government as deputy prime minister on 21 March 2002. He replaced his party mate Goran Granić, whom he characterized as too subservient to Račan. Three months later, on 3 July 2002, Parliament had to vote on an agreement with Slovenia about the Krško nuclear plant. This question was still inherited from the time of the collapse of Yugoslavia and Račan had managed to find a bilateral solution. While the Liberal ministers of his coalition approved of the decision, the majority of the Liberals voted against and Budiša left the government.

Račan hastily formed a new government that entered into function on 30 July 2002. His program remained essentially the same, though it was a little more focused on certain social projects. It was clear that the social component needed a higher priority if he wanted to be elected for a second four-year term. On 21 February 2003, Račan submitted Croatia’s application for its EU accession to Greek Prime Minister Costas Simites, who held the presidency. In June, Croatia signed the Declaration of the Balkan Summit at Thessaloniki, in which adherence to the EU principles and mutual cooperation between the western Balkan countries was expressed once more.

In the meantime, the HDZ was trying to recover from the electoral defeat of 2000. The evolution of the party was possible in various directions, but was finally determined by a few personal initiatives. First, several high-ranking personalities left the party because they were of the opinion that the HDZ could not properly function anymore. For example, Mate Granić and Vesna Škare-Ožbolt left the HDZ and founded a new party. Second, some members thought the party needed a new
image and sought a more moderate and democratic course. This was the idea of the current party leader, Ivo Sanader. And thirdly, hard-liners found that the party should not give up the frank and patriotic ideals of the initial founders and President Tuđman in particular. This was the line of Ivo Pašalić, a close collaborator and adviser of the late president. At the party convention of 2002, Pašalić challenged the leadership of Sanader. He was finally defeated by the unexpected switch of another long-term right-winger and founder of the party, Branimir Glavaš. Pašalić left the HDZ with his loyal right-wingers and established a new party.

The new moderate course of the HDZ appealed to the general public and the party obtained a victory in the parliamentary elections of 2003. The opposition coalition of the previous election had fallen apart, first and foremost due to the rivalry between the coalition partners. It had been the merit of the Račan regime to give Croatia a more appealing and democratic image and to open it to the world. With the help of international organizations, it promoted an export-led model of growth and led the country out of the depression inherited from the previous government. However, it had not been possible to reform the economic structures distorted by perverse privatization practices and corruption. The employment rate did not substantially rise and unemployment remained at a high level. The need of imports to support the growth process led to an excessive use of foreign resources and an ever-expanding foreign debt. Finally, under influence from the international organizations, reduced government spending in the first years cut into the social benefits of the lower strata, which was in part the electoral base of the coalition.

Ivo Sanader could only form his government with the support of some earlier opposition coalition partners, the Liberals and the Peasant Party. It was inaugurated on 23 December 2003. Sanader’s policy could be characterized as one of continuity with slightly specific characteristics. In the international field, a breakthrough had been made by the previous government, and Sanader quickly confirmed his adherence to this course. The internal political process proceeded perhaps smoother because, for his old friends, Sanader maintained some rhetoric that referred to the common patriotic past and ideals. Sanader was thus not confronted with the massive internal resistance that Račan and the Social-Democrats always had to fight. On the other hand, Sanader was
not free of renewed pressure from the ICTY. It was now mainly concentrated on the Gotovina case but issued some new indictments as well.

On 20 April 2004, the European Commission adopted a positive opinion on Croatia’s application for EU membership and, in December, it declared that accession negotiations with Croatia could be opened on 17 March 2005, if the condition of full cooperation with the ICTY were met. A day before the deadline, the start of the accession negotiations was postponed. A meeting brokered by the EU between the ICTY’s Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte and Prime Minister Sanader was needed to clear the situation. Accession negotiations to the EU could finally start on 3 October 2005. The “screening process” of Croatia by the EU was completed a year later. In the meantime, the opening had already been cleared for one of the 34 chapters of the Acquis Communautaire, a body of laws and regulations that is supposed to incorporate European values and deeper policy options. From then on, the negotiations were in full swing, accompanied by semiannual evaluations and intense diplomatic activity. They were expected to be concluded in 2009, when a referendum would be held in Croatia.

The first Sanader government also continued the economic policy of the previous government. It resulted in reasonable growth and low inflation but was driven by a high input of foreign resources and a growing debt position.

In the parliamentary elections of 2007, the HDZ consolidated its leading position and Sanader could start a second term with the support of the same coalition partners. His program now could be labeled: the continuity of the continuity. Its main aim was to finish the EU accession negotiations in 2009. In 2008, Sanader also submitted Croatia’s application for full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Since 2000, it had been admitted to the Partnership for Peace and cooperated in many other programs to integrate the military into the NATO framework. It was expected that the process would smoothly guide Croatia to full membership.

In the autumn of 2008, Croatia was faced with an international financial crisis. Sanader first tried to reassure the general public and promised that deposits or savings would be guaranteed to an amount of 400,000 kuna (approximately €55,000). In the second place, the government budget was substantially adjusted by lowering provisions for investments in infrastructure and ecological projects. This not only heavily
affected the construction sector but spread to related industrial activities. Unemployment inevitably rose and government expenses for social outlays increased, while government income from taxes decreased due to the lower economic activity. While exports also fell as a consequence of the international crisis, it was more and more difficult for the authorities to find the financial resources to service debt on the international money markets. This was the more pressing because in the course of 2009, a substantial amount of a decade-long growing external public debt had to be repaid. In the spring of 2009, the government presented an antirecession proposal containing 10 guidelines, which did not really convince most observers, who expressed the opinion that the Sanader government bought time till after the May 2009 local elections.

Moreover, at the end of 2008, Croatia was shocked by violent attacks on journalists, lawyers, and businessmen. Sanader reacted by replacing his ministers of justice and the interior and the head of the police, but doubt arose in EU circles as to whether Croatia, confronted with these new challenges, was really ready to enter the EU. A further blow was the blockade in November 2008 of the EU accession procedures by Slovenia. This neighbor country and member of the EU refused to open some chapters of the EU negotiations, arguing some Croatian documents prejudged the fixation of disputed frontiers between the two countries. The planned intergovernmental conference planned for March 2009 was postponed and at least the timing of the whole EU accession procedure was seriously endangered.

At the NATO summit of 3 April 2009, Croatia was accepted as a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This again fostered the hope that despite the diplomatic clash with Slovenia, accession procedures still could be completed by the end of year.
ADEMI, RAHIM (1954– ). Croatian general indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). He was born in Vuciturn (Kosovo) and attended the Military Academy of the Yugoslav National Army (Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija, JNA). He worked at the Ministry of the Interior in Croatia from 1991. On 5 December, he was appointed chief of staff of the Gospić military district and he was the military commander at the Medak pocket offensive, which lasted from 9 to 17 September 1993. On 23 September 1993, he was promoted to the rank of general. However, during and after the Medak offensive, serious irregularities occurred on and around the battlefield.

The ICTY indicted General Ademi on charges of crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war. The ICTY delivered an extradition demand to the Croatian government in the summer of 2001. In contrast to General Ante Gotovina, who at the same time was charged with war crimes in another offensive against the Krajina Serbs, Ademi surrendered himself voluntarily and went to The Hague to defend himself before the tribunal. The Croatian government praised his attitude and promised him support.

Ademi was convinced that he was not guilty and was being sacrificed because of his Albanian descent. Under time pressure, in 2005 the ICTY finally referred the case back to a court in Croatia. On 30 May 2008, contrary to the co-accused General Mirko Norac, Ademi was acquitted by the Zagreb court of responsibility for atrocities committed against Serb prisoners by Croat troops during Operation Medak Pocket.
ADLEŠIĆ, ĐURĐA (1960– ). Vice-president of the interior in the second government of Ivo Sanader. Born in Bjelovar, she studied literature and philosophy in Zagreb. In her native town, she founded the local section of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) in 1990. In 1995, she was for the first of three consecutive times elected to Parliament. In 2000, at the ninth convention of the HSLS, she was also chosen vice-president of the party. In 2006, she became president of the united HSLS and Liberal Party (LS). After the elections of November 2007, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) needed the votes of the coalition between the HSLS and the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) to obtain a majority in the Sabor, and Prime Minister Sanader asked Adlešić to be vice-president of the interior.

AGATHON, POPE. Around 680, Pope Agathon and the Croatian Duke Borko made an agreement. The Croats promised that they would not attack the surrounding peoples. Probably, the remaining Latin habitants of Dalmatia were first meant to profit from this arrangement. In return, the Croats would receive God’s protection and the support of St. Peter in case of a foreign invasion. According to the chronicler Archdeacon Thomas, the agreement was mediated by Archbishop John of Ravenna. Modern historians such as Nada Klajić express much doubt about the authenticity of this story.

AGENCY FOR RESTRUCTURING AND DEVELOPMENT / AGENCY ZA RESTRUKTURIRANJE I RAZVOJ. The main task of the Agency for Restructuring and Development of the Republic of Croatia was to foster the application of the Law on the Transformation of Socially Owned Enterprises. It defined transformation programs and provided supporting services. The agency participated in studies on the development of particular branches of the economy, taking into account the strategic components of development, privatization, and joint venture investments of both domestic and foreign investors.

During the first phase of transformation, the socially owned enterprises could autonomously choose the model of transformation and the partners interested in investment. After 30 June 1992, the second phase of the transformation process began. The agency itself then initiated the transformation of enterprises through new ownership re-
lations and management organs. By 20 November 1992, the Agency for Restructuring and Development had made 910 approvals for intended enterprise transformations. The capital in enterprise shares amounted to approximately DM9 billion.

In February 1993, new regulations were adopted that restricted the preference rights of the employees (present or former) of an enterprise to buy shares up to 50 percent of the social capital, while the other part had to be obligatorily placed in the financial market for public sale. The agency was integrated in the Croatian Privatization Fund.

**AGRICULTURE AND FISHING.** The policy toward agricultural development under the communist regime was one of slight discouragement. Private estates were limited to an area of 10 hectares, incentives for agricultural production were low because of regularly fixed prices, and the possibilities of mechanization were poor. The percentage of the farming population within the total population had declined from 62.4 percent in 1948 to 15.2 percent according to the 1981 census.

The regime of President Franjo Tudman lifted the limitations on the size of the farms and paid special attention to promoting the development of agriculture. Although Croatia still imported food, experts estimated that it had the potential to produce more than enough to satisfy the needs of the population.

Of a total of 3,224,000 hectares of arable land, 63 percent were under cultivation: about 1,500,000 hectares were fields and gardens or 46 percent of the arable land; 400,000 hectares were meadows or 13 percent; 73,000 hectares were vineyards or 2 percent; and 71,000 were orchards, equal to 2 percent. The rest of the arable land included 1,115,000 hectares of grazing land or 36 percent, 20,000 hectares (0.55 percent) of ponds and reed patches, and 15,000 hectares (0.45 percent) of fish ponds.

In 1995, the Parliament adopted the Green Strategy. In particular, progress in agriculture needed to be reviewed in terms of farm enlargement and privatization. However, recent agriculture sector performance has been modest with moderate growth rates and a gradual decline of the sector’s contribution to GDP. According to a recent World Bank study, the underlying incentive structure for crop
production changed little from 1995 to 1998 and the composition of crop production remained fairly stable. More change had taken place in the livestock sector, notably in the dairy sector, where some productivity gains have been achieved. One remaining problem was the mined agricultural fields in the region of Podunavlja.

The Ivica Račan government again tried to reform agriculture, but at the end of 2001, he had to admit that the effects were not wholly successful. Moreover, some changes in price and trade policy were introduced as a result of Croatia’s negotiations for membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO). The prices of agricultural products rose on an annual basis about 5 percent (and even more for industrial agricultural products) just before Croatia became a member in November 2000 and afterward they stagnated, or even fell. On 1 January 2002, the second year of Croatia’s membership in the WTO, 27 agreements and lower import taxes went into effect and will probably affect agriculture especially. Accordingly, agricultural workers demanded an increase in the amount of subventions foreseen in the state budget of 2002.

Nevertheless, several factors still make investment in agriculture attractive: the potential for production and processing is only partially utilized; good opportunities exist for the production of healthy and ecologically safe food; and there is a possibility of developing fisheries.

The most important agricultural products for export are livestock, wheat, beef, corn, and fruits. Imported agricultural products include oil seeds for light oils, livestock, coffee, and fruits.

The adjustment of agricultural and fishery policy to the European Union (EU) falls under chapters 11 and 13. In its November 2008 evaluation report, the European Commission staff observed that the implementation of the administrative and control system for agriculture is still at an early stage. Although a national program for the development of the Land Parcel Identification System was adopted in November 2007, many other administrative measures still have to be prepared. This is particularly true for the market organization through administration of quotas, price reporting, monitoring, and direct payment. A national strategy for rural development was adopted in May 2008, but the implementation of investment schemes complementary to EU funds faces difficulties. Similar problems are observed in the
fishery chapter. New legislation has been adopted, but the implementation is still awaited for management of the fishing fleet. The administrative capacity and equipment of the fisheries inspection services requires substantial strengthening. State aid is still structured in an incompatible way with the acquis. See also CENTRAL EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT; ECONOMY.

AHRENS, GEERT. Negotiator in the peace talks between the Zagreb authorities and the Krajina Serbs of Knin. On 17 July 1993, the conflicting parties reached a provisional agreement on an armistice in the regions of Maslenica, Zemunik, and Peruča. The negotiations had to build on the earlier Geneva agreement of 6 April 1993 and Resolution 802 of the United Nations (UN) Security Council. The Croats would withdraw military forces brought in during the Maslenica offensive of January 1993, while the Krajina Serbs would place heavy weapons in the region under the control of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Security and freedom of movement on the Maslenica bridge, the Zemunik airport, and the Peruča dam were to be guaranteed. UNPROFOR would take over military and police control in the region. At the end of the month, both parties claimed that the conditions had not been met by the other party. Hostilities resumed and the Maslenica bridge was bombed again by the Krajina Serbs. Operation Storm ultimately decided the matter by force.

AKASHI, YASUSHI. United Nations (UN) secretary-general’s special envoy for Yugoslavia from the end of 1993 until October 1995. He mediated in several armistices between the Croatian government and the Serb rebels—for example, in 1995 before, during, and after Operation Flash and Operation Storm. Akashi was succeeded as special UN envoy by Kofi Annan, who was later to become the secretary-general of the UN.

ALBANIA (RELATIONS WITH). At the end of the communist regime, Croatia supported the Kosovo Albanians in their resistance to the Serbs. For this reason, Albania and Croatia found in each other a natural ally.

After Croatian independence, the good relations persisted. Albania recognized Croatia on 21 January 1992 and established official
diplomatic relations on 25 August 1992. During a visit of a delegation of the Albanian Ministry of Transport, it was agreed that as of September 1993 a regular maritime line should connect Rijeka with Drač in Albania.

Under the Ivica Račan government, relations even intensified, not only bilaterally but also in the framework of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe. On 3 April 2009, the two countries entered side by side into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as full members.


ALBONA (REPUBLIC OF). The Miners’ Republic of Labin in Istria lasted only for a few weeks. In 1920, Istria was ceded to Italy and fascist forces began harassing the radical leaders of the local miners. The union secretary, Giovanni Pipan, called to arms. The miners formed their Red Guards and seized control of the town of Labin. The Italian Army suppressed the rebellion in April 1921.

ALEXANDER, KING. See KARADORĐEVIĆ, ALEXANDER.

ANGEVIN DYNASTY (1301–1382). The dynasty of the Angevins ruled over the Croatian lands from 1301 until 1382. The kings were first faced with the task of establishing their authority in the crown lands. The rivalry between the Croatian families and their alliances with Venice was their second problem. The rise of the Serbian empire was a third problem. And finally, the second king had no heir.

Charles Robert from Naples of the Anjou dynasty was presented in Zagreb as the new king by the Croat noble Pavle Subić. As Subić recognized Charles Robert publicly as his sovereign, he received in return the title of ban of Croatia. While the king devoted his attention to strengthen his power in the Hungarian part of his kingdom, Subić reigned autonomously over Dalmatia. In 1311, Subić attacked Zadar to take it back from the Venetians. He died the next year and was succeeded by his son Mladen II. The Venetians made use of internal rivalries between the Subić and Nelipić clan to seize Šibenik and Trogir.
The Croatian nobility now appealed to King Charles Robert and he seized the opportunity to invade Croatia with his army. To protect themselves against the king, the Nelipići accepted Venetian help. This allowed Venice to establish its authority in Split (1327) and Nin (1329). In 1331, Steven Dušan became king of Serbia and again the Croatian nobility appealed to the Venetians. This also weakened the position of the king in the question of the royal-free towns. The Croat nobles asserted that these towns were no longer royal territory since the dynasty of the Arpads was extinct. Charles Robert died in 1342.

The second and last king of the Anjou dynasty was Charles Robert’s son Louis I. He personally led an army of 30,000 men to the stronghold of the Nelipići, the fortress of Knin. The Subić family in their turn invoked Venetian assistance to fight the king and their rival clan, the Nelipići. Despite the king’s support, Zadar fell to the Venetians. Louis’ brother, the king of Naples, was assassinated and consequently the Hungarian monarch concluded an eight-year truce with the Venetians in 1348.

Mladen III, a Subić, married the sister of the Serbian king Steven Dušan and brought a force of Serbians to his stronghold of Klis. Other Croats and Hungarians prepared for a general war against the Serbs and the Subići of Klis. The fortress was conquered and Mladen III fell back on his old clan holding of Bribir. Steven Dušan died in 1355 and the Serb danger declined. In the next period, all coastal cities accepted the Hungarian rule of King Louis. In 1358, Venice had to give up Zadar. The Hungarian king restored the Croat position in the Adriatic of the earlier Croat national kings.

In 1370, the king inherited the Polish throne. He had no sons, so he adopted Charles of Durazzo, who functioned from 1371 until 1376 as duke and ban of Croatia and Dalmatia. A new ban, Nikola Sec, served as ban under Louis when Charles left for Naples. King Louis fell ill and died in 1382. His wife, Elisabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia, took over the reign of the kingdom.
The first president of ZAVNOH was the poet Vladimir Nazor. After the surrender of Italy in September 1943, the ZAVNOH made the decision to join Istria, Rijeka, Zadar, and the Adriatic islands to the Croatian state. In May 1944, following the declarations at the second session of the AVNOJ in Jajce on 29 November 1943, the ZAVNOH proclaimed the Federal State of Croatia an integral part of the Democratic Federation of Yugoslavia. In the Croatian Constitution of 1990, this decision was considered as contributing to the tradition and continuity of Croatian statehood.

ANTI-FASCIST COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA / ZEMLAJSKO ANTI-FAŠISTIČKO VIJEĆE NARADNOG OSLOBOĐENJA JUGOSLAVIJE (AVNOJ). The second session of this organ on 29 November 1943 has been of special historical significance. The council decided that the peoples of Yugoslavia should live in a federation of six republics: Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Frontiers between the republics were to be considered of secondary importance and should be decided on later. Tito once said, “Frontiers do not exist to divide the republics and the people, but to unite them.” Decisions of the AVNOJ were supposed to be first prepared and afterward confirmed by its regional sections. In Croatia, this organ was called the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia.

ANTIWAR CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF ZAGREB / ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA ZAGREB (ARK). The Antiwar Campaign Committee of Zagreb was founded in the early summer of 1991. It was the hub of a network of various opposition, refugee, humanitarian, and activist organizations. Activities included mediation among refugees, conflict resolution training, and public lectures and discussions on human rights. It cosponsored peace initiatives with Suncokret and other peace groups in Croatia and Yugoslavia. It published ARK-zin magazine, a forum for opposition journalism. In recent years, the activity of the center decreased as war and its consequences faded away.
ANTUNOVIĆ, ŽELJKA (1955– ). Vice-president of the Sabor. Born in Virovitica, she studied at the faculty of international economics in Zagreb and at Harvard University. Her political career began in the municipal council of Zagreb in 1993. The next year, she entered the highest organs of the Social-Democratic Party (SDP). In 1995, she was elected to Parliament for the first of four consecutive terms. In 2000, under the new Ivica Račan government, she became vice-president of the government for social work and human rights. In 2002, she was appointed minister of defense, which post ended in 2003 with the election defeat of the Ivica Račan coalition. In 2004, she became vice-president of the SDP. In 2008, she was chosen vice-president of the Sabor.

ARALICA, IVAN (1930– ). Contemporary writer of historic novels. He was also a member of Parliament during the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) regime and was known for his highly nationalistic stance in ideology and literature. In a highly sarcastic literary book, he strongly criticized the easily recognizable but defenseless opposition leaders, such as Stipe Mesić and Ivica Račan. The planned official promotion of his book at the Frankfurt Book Show of 2001 elicited the protest of many other Croatian editors and, following this campaign, the promotional initiative was dropped. His earlier historic novels also show a nationalistic flavor, but their literary qualities have been generally recognized.

ARBA. See RAB.

ARCHITECTURE. Many civilizations and peoples have passed along the shores of the Adriatic. Though war has until recently threatened the cultural heritage, much of the rich architectural history of Croatia has been preserved. The threat now mainly comes from the pollution of the environment. Illyrian vestiges were largely destroyed by invaders. Examples of ancient Roman architecture are still numerous, though sometimes neglected or integrated into later architecture. Renowned are Diocletian’s palace in Split, the arena of Vespasian, and the
Temple of Augustus in Pula, and the remnants of Solin near Split, which still give an impressive view of a complete Roman town. Sisak, in Roman times known as Siscia, is proud to show its old center in an archaeologically and architecturally reconciled way. The Euphrasius Basilica in Poreč is a remarkable example of Byzantine art on Istrian soil.

Early Croatian Christian churches such as the one in Nin display typical local architectural characteristics based on original concepts. St. Donatus church in Zadar, the biggest pre-Romanesque building on the Yugoslav Adriatic, is outstanding in form and construction. St. Jacob’s Cathedral in Šibenik exemplifies the local interpretation of Renaissance and early Gothic canons. Several beautiful Renaissance and Baroque monuments were built in the old town center of Dubrovnik: the Franciscan Monastery, Sponza Palace, Rector’s Palace Court, and the Church of Our Savior.

Austro-Hungarian rule and the Counter-Reformation strongly influenced architecture in the Zagreb and Pannonian regions. The colors of the official Maria-Theresan buildings—mostly schools and fortifications—still dominate the villages, especially in Slavonia.

Modernist architecture is exemplified by the complexes built during the communist regime in Zagreb and Split. The Franjo Tudman regime showed a preference to restore monuments and old Habsburg houses in the center of Zagreb.

ARKAN (1952–2000). Željko Ražnjatović—known as “Arkan”—was the leader of the Serbian paramilitary formation “The Tigers.” He was born in Brežice, a small town in Slovenia near the frontier with Croatia. He spent much of his life abroad and was said to mix in criminal circles. After his return to Belgrade, he became the president of the fan club of Belgrade’s Red Star football team. He used the group to establish, on 11 October 1990, a paramilitary organization known as the “Serbian Volunteer Guard,” or “ARKAN’s Tigers.”

His group was active at the end of 1990 in the region of Knin. During an action near Dvor na Uni, Arkan was captured by the Croatian police forces. He was put in jail, but, according to the former minister of the interior Josip Boljkovac, freed in the summer of the next year by the highest Croatian authorities for DM 1 million.
With his Tigers, Arkan fought and killed like a wildcat in Eastern Slavonia in 1991–1992. He contributed to the ethnic cleansing of the region and the affirmation of the new Serbian Republic. When, as a result of the Vance Plan in early 1992, the Yugoslav Army withdrew, he stayed in a former military camp in Erdut. In 1992, he also loaned his services to the Bosnian Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Croatia, his militia also served as the personal guard of the so-called president of the Serbian Republic of Krajina, Goran Hadžić. During an internal rebellion of the Serbs in the village of Mirkovci just before the commemoration of two years of Serb rule on 22 July 1993, Milan Martić, interior minister of the Serbian Republic of Krajina, threatened to call upon Arkan and his troops to crush the local revolt. Arkan indeed appeared on the second anniversary of the Serb occupation of Mirkovci, but peace had already been restored. Arkan’s gang early in October 1993 escorted the then president of the Krajina, Goran Hadžić, into the Baranja and provoked an incident with Belgian Blue Helmets. In Belgrade, he founded the Party of Serbian Unity and he organized a massive campaign for the Serbian elections of December 1993. In September 1995, he operated again in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the region of Sanski Most. He was finally elected representative in the Belgrade Parliament.

Already on 30 September 1997, Arkan was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for the cruel intervention of his gang in Bosnia, but only on 30 March 1999 was the indictment made public and delivered to the Republic of Yugoslavia. Nine months later, on 15 January 2000, he was murdered in front of a restaurant in Belgrade. Some say this was done by members of the mafia underground and others maintain it happened on the orders of Slobodan Milošević, supposedly because Arkan knew too much and was dangerous at The Hague.

**ARMED FORCES.** The desire to create a national Croatian Army in modern times coincides with certain revolutionary or at least very turbulent periods in the history of the Croatian nation, when in fact the chances for the establishment of an autonomous or independent nation were real. This happened roughly three times.

The first attempt took place during the Revolution of 1848. A proposal was made to create a centralized army to replace the feudal
military system. This was, of course, opposed by the regional provinces (županije) because it threatened their traditional autonomy. However, National Guards were organized in March 1848. These units became the core of national regiments. Their primary function was to defend the national unity of Croatia against Hungary in the confines of the Habsburg Empire. However, the ban of Croatia himself, Josip Jelačić, opposed the idea of the creation of a national army and the regiments were dissolved in 1849. In the end, the idea was totally discarded by the Habsburg monarchy, which imposed a more centralist policy from Vienna.

During World War II, Croatia enjoyed limited autonomy within the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) under the Ustaša regime of Ante Pavelić. With the approval of the Germans, Pavelić organized the Croatian Home Guard (Hrvatsko domobranstvo), a military force that functioned as the Croatian Army. The name Domobrani (Guards) was taken from the designation for the Croatian section of the Royal Croatian–Hungarian Home Guard, the common armed forces in the Habsburg monarchy. It bears the important connotation that it is a defense force, thus in principle not operating on foreign soil. Initially, it was composed of 16 infantry battalions and two cavalry squadrons and counted only 16,000 men. Croatian generals of the former Yugoslav Army joined the command structure, as well as old generals still from the Austrian-Hungarian time. This is one of the reasons it was weak and inefficient. Later it was extended and reached 130,000 men, and under Italian tutelage, it disposed of a small air and sea force. Beside this national army, the Ustaša organized from the beginning a much more efficient and regime-trustworthy Ustaška Militia (Ustaška vojnica). The two military forces were finally merged to the end of the war in the Croatian Armed Forces (Hrvatske oružane snage, HOS) and were composed of about 200,000 men. When the NDH collapsed, the army, accompanied by many civilians and preceded by the Germans, fled to the Austrian border. However many Croats were handed over around Bleiburg to Josip Broz Tito, who had built up his own Partisan Forces in the war and later transformed them into the new Yugoslav Army.

The third attempt to create a Croatian Army was on the occasion of the transformation of Croatia from a communist to a multiparty system, which ultimately led to independence. To a certain extent,
the scenario of the formation of a Croatian Army in World War II was repeated or even copied. At least the same terminology was used. Franjo Tuđman formed first a National Guard, this time mainly from the local police forces, stressing the fact that he was creating a defensive force and fighting a homeland war. Along with them, there operated private militias, such as those of the Croatian Party of Rights, which called its paramilitary units somewhat mystifyingly the Croatian Armed Forces (Hrvatske oružane snage, HOS). Finally the National Guard and some militias were united and disciplined in the forces of the Croatian Army (Hrvatska Vojska, HV). Tuđman also built up a security system with a host of intelligence services that controlled military and civilians and at times clashed among themselves.

After the Homeland War, the army was reduced and professionalized to better fit the requirements of a modern army. Many transformations were induced by programs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) since Croatia was granted on 25 May 2000 a Partnership for Peace and received a candidate status to enter the NATO as a full member. This happened at the NATO summit of 3 April 2009.

ARPAD DYNASTY (1102–1301). The House of Arpad ruled from 1102 until 1301. According to tradition—challenged by some historians—the Hungarian dynasty acquired the Croatian lands by the Pacta Conventa. Consequently, the Hungarian Arpad kings took an oath to respect the rights of the land and the people of the Croatian–Dalmatian kingdom. The Arpad kings used to place these lands under the rule of relatives and granted them the title of duke of Croatia and Dalmatia.

The first duke was Koloman’s son, Stefan, and when he succeeded his father as king of Hungary, he appointed his own son Geza as duke. The duke had his seat most of the time in Knin and later in Zagreb. The duke appointed the ban, called the Sabor together, headed the army, and coined the money.

After the death of Geza, the Byzantines invaded Dalmatia and held Croatia in their grip from 1168 to 1180. After the death of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus in 1180, Croat-Hungarian sovereignty was restored but soon challenged by Venice. The eighth
Croat-Hungarian king, Bela III, gave several župe (districts) in fief to reward the Croatian nobles in their struggle with the Venetians. This signified the introduction of the feudal system in Croatia.

In 1196, the Serbs invaded the country during the secession struggle following the death of Bela III. Andreas, his younger son, became duke of Croatia and countered a Serbian invasion. In 1202, the Venetians made use of the passing of the Fourth Crusade to conquer Zadar. Andreas promoted the growth of towns in Pannonian Croatia. In 1209, Andres recognized Varaždin as a free royal city. Before then, only Sisak and Križevci had obtained that status. Until the end of the century Zagreb-Grič, Vukovar, Petrinja, Samobor, Požega, Virovitica, and Osijek would follow.

Bela IV was the last king who had a separate coronation as king of Croatia and Dalmatia. Bela’s reign was brutally disrupted by the Mongol invasion in 1241. It broke Arpad royal power and that of the Croatian great nobility and was in favor of the new developing towns. In 1242, Bela IV granted his Golden Bull to the free town of Zagreb-Gradec. The king and the Sabor came to an agreement that there would be two bans, one for Slavonia and one for Dalmatia and Croatia.

From then on, the two regions embarked on a widely divergent development that lasted for centuries. The bishopric of Zagreb would depend on the Hungarian See until the end of the 19th century. In 1248, Pope Innocent confirmed the right of the Croats south of the Kupa to use Glagolitic in church rituals. The use of the Glagolitic alphabet for administrative and literary purposes deepened the cultural rift between Dalmatia and Slavonia. At the same time, Slavonia became culturally and politically more and more integrated with Hungary. Dalmatia strove for political autonomy.

In 1270, the Croatian Sabor refused to recognize the successor of Bela IV, Stefan V. The same happened in 1272 to the son of Stefan, Laslo the Cuman. The Sabor granted the title of hereditary ban of Croatia to Pavle Šubić, a Croatian noble. He actually acted as the “kingmaker.” After some years of quasi-autonomous rule, Šubić accepted Charles Robert from Naples of the Angevin dynasty.

ART. Through the ages, the territory of Croatia was influenced by a number of peoples and civilizations that left their mark on the region
and inspired locals to absorb them in a creative way. The first signs of artistic activity date back to the prehistoric period and consist mainly of clay vessels and human and animal figurines. Objects of the **Vučedol** civilization of the Bronze Age (2000 BCE) found near **Vukovar** can be admired in the Archaeological Museum of **Zagreb**. One of them is the famous cult vessel in the shape of a dove. The oldest remnants in situ are found in Roman architecture on the Adriatic coast. The palace at **Split**, the ancient town of **Solin**; and the arena at **Pula** are but three of the most famous. Remarkable remnants of the Roman civilization are conserved in the Archeological Museum of **Zadar** and **Pula**.

Roman architecture is supplemented by Christian churches of a later era—for example, the church of Nin, Sveti Donat in Zadar, and many other religious buildings in Split and **Dubrovnik**. Early medieval art is exhibited by the Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments in Split. This art is continued in the creations of the Italian Renaissance on Croatian soil. **Sculpture** and **painting** enriched the architectural environment. The paintings of Blaž Jurjev and Nikola Božidarević, both from the 15th century, are of admirable beauty. Miniature painting also became a Croatian speciality. These masters can be admired in the Pinacotheca of Old Masters in the Rector’s Palace in Dubrovnik. Due to warfare, the cultural glory diminishes somewhat and ends definitively with the fall of the republic and art-city Dubrovnik at the beginning of the 19th century.

From then on, the political and cultural center shifted toward the north, toward the Zagreb region. This city slowly built up its civil culture, in the beginning imitating Austrian and Hungarian models. The cultural awakening brought about by the **Illyrian** movement created the conditions for a new cultural flourishing. Meanwhile, the Dubrovnik Circle with the artist Vlaho Bukovac remained active. In the 1890s, he was the leader in Zagreb of the so-called multicolorist school, which used impressionistic and pointillist techniques. Its works are exposed in the Gallery of Fine Arts in Dubrovnik. The best-known Yugoslav sculptor is probably the expressionist **Ivan Meštrović** (1883–1962). He has his own foundation with a studio in Zagreb and a permanent exhibition in Split.

After World War I, the brutal confrontation and better communications with the outside world shaped art in a more modern and dynamic
mold. Without really following the pace of European art centers and creating exceptional and avant-garde products, art advanced at a decent pace. Expressionism, constructivism, cubism, futurism, and Cézanne seduced Croatian artists, among them Josip Račić, Miroslav Kraljević, Vladimir Becić, Oskar Herman, and Jo Klek (Josip Seissel). The Modern Gallery in Zagreb gives an exhaustive picture of this period. Still, refinement of the national tradition remains a characteristic of the interwar period. In a romantic environment, more attention was paid to the folk culture that earlier had been preserved in rural areas. An original contribution to painting is the so-called peasant primitive painting of the Zemlja and Hlebina school. Krsto Hegedušić and Ivan Generalić developed a characteristic style that reminds one of Pieter Breughel and modern cartoons.

After World War II, in the early years of the communist period, most Croatian artists had to bow to socialist realism, but some and perhaps the most valuable continued to build on their interwar experience. In the 1950s, artists engaged in numerous experiments in contemporary modern art. The Zagreb Museum of Contemporary Art offers an overview. It shows works from the exhibition of the Extat group in 1951 and Gorgona in 1977, as well as installations of Slobodan Braco Dimitrijević (1982). The Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka exhibits the works of the New tendency, the New Painting, Neo-Geo, mixed media, and conceptual art.

Like most other art forms, painting followed modern international style movements, while in monasteries icon and religious painting was preserved. The Icon Collection of the Orthodox Church of Dubrovnik is one of the most prominent. In addition, the famous Mimara collection in Zagreb shows international art and especially a selection of French impressionists. See also LITERATURE; MUSIC.

ARTUKOVIĆ, ANTE (1899–1988). Minister of interior under poglavljak Ante Pavelić in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). In this function, he was in charge of the police and paramilitary units that imposed the Ustaša system of terror. These forces established death camps where they murdered large numbers of men, women, and children, including Serbs, Jews, gypsies, and Muslims. The most infamous concentration camp was Jasenovac. At the end of the war, Artuković fled to that part of Austria occupied by the Western
Allies, then illegally entered Switzerland, made his way farther to Ireland, and finally reached the United States in 1948. Thirty-eight years later, on 12 February 1986, he was finally arrested and sent on a plane back to Yugoslavia. His trial in Zagreb began two months later and on 14 May 1986, he was found guilty of murder by the court and condemned to death. He died in a hospital in 1988.

ASSOCIATION OF CROATIAN REGIONAL PARTIES / ASOCIJACIJA REGIONALNIH STRANAKA HRVATSKE (ARSH). The Association of Croatian Regional Parties brought together all regional parties, including the Istrian Democratic Parliament and Dalmatian Action, among others. In Opatija near Rijeka, they accepted a common declaration on the regional organization of the Republic of Croatia (Deklaracija o regionalnom ustroju Republike Hrvatske). First, they asked for the recognition of all existing European documents that regulate the rights of local self-government and cooperation. Second, they rejected the Croatian construction of županije and opted for a system of six to eight larger regions. These regions would have the right to autonomous legislation and participation in the government of the central state. The unity of the state is expressed by a common defense, foreign policy, monetary unity, and common state organization. This conception implies at least a federal system and is contrary to the existing Croatian constitution.

Three developments under the Ivica Račan government pointed in the direction of the realization of these ideas without, however, showing a decisive breakthrough of regionalism. First, the Istrian Statute granted more room to regionalization in Istria. Second, the overtures to Europe brought into the scope the model of a cooperation of European regions. Third, the much-debated House of Counties (Županijski Dom) was abolished. However, it is not clear whether the disappearance of this traditional institution will lead to further reforms along the lines desired by the regionalists.

ASSOCIATION OF CROATIAN WAR INVALIDS OF THE HOMELAND WAR / ZAJEDNICA UDRUGA HRVATSKIH VOJNIH INVALIDA DOMOVINSKOG RATA (HVIDRE). This national association of local organizations of war invalids of the Croatian Homeland War (1990–1995) defends the interests of these
former fighters. Without success, it has been trying to amend the Law on the Defenders of the Homeland War. During the year 2001, it was very critical of the Ivica Račan government and its policy toward the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia. This was also the main reason for its president, Marinko Liović, to resign and leave this function to Damir Varaždinac.

AUSGLEICH. This agreement, signed in 1867 by Austria and Hungary, created the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The relations between Hungary and Croatia were left to be negotiated. They were regulated one year later by the Nagodba. Vienna maintained direct control over the lands of Dalmatia and Istria. Croatia itself remained closely bound to Hungary.

AUTONOMY. Regional forces in Croatia striving for autonomy reflect historical conditions. Several reasons for these tendencies can be found in contemporary Croatia. They originate from the lack of continuity of the common historical experience over the national territory. The centrifugal tendencies took different expressions. First, the claims of the Krajina Serbs evolved from cultural and territorial autonomy. They go back to the special status in history of the Vojna Krajina, the one-time Military Border of Croatia as a defense against the Ottoman Empire that stretched through Bosnia into some parts of Croatia. But other regions were allergic as well to the central grip of the capital, Zagreb.

While still timid in Slavonia, where a regional party was founded without much electoral success, autonomist tendencies are outspoken in Dalmatia—structured around the political movement Dalmatian Action (Dalmatinska Akcija)—and by far the strongest in the peninsula Istria. Here, the local political movement Istrian Democratic Parliament (Istarski Demokratski Sabor, IDS) defeated the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and is the largest party in the region. One has to keep in mind that Istria only joined Yugoslavia and Croatia after World War II. The region had been under strong Italian influence during the occupation of World War II—in fact, more or less a constant in the whole medieval and modern history of Istria.
There are two more basic reasons for discontent among Istrian politicians. First, although Istria had not been directly damaged by the last Serbo-Croatian war, it nevertheless suffered from the economic recession, especially from the decline in tourist revenue. Secondly, the further development of the privatization process centralized economic decisions over Istrian resources in the state organs of Zagreb. The Istrian Democratic Parliament therefore threatened not to apply in Istria laws adopted centrally in Zagreb. It joined the opposition front against the Franjo Tuđman regime, and after electoral victory even went into the government and provided some ministers. However, because of discontent about the Istrian Statute, it again left the government coalition of six parties of Prime Minister Ivica Račan.

Now some intermediate political solution seems to have been found, but regional problems will certainly remain on the Croatian agenda. This is especially so since the European Union has inserted an important chapter on regionalization in its access conditions. Istrian and other regional movements will without doubt exploit this opportunity to highlight their interests.

**AVARS.** Nomadic people who invaded Dalmatia for the first time in 569. In 582, they captured Byzantine-held Pannonia. They launched new raids in 592, 598, 600, 601, 602, and 611. In 626, they attacked Constantinople unsuccessfully. This was a people of warriors said to live and conquer new regions in close association with the Slavs, who then suddenly disappeared from the historical records. Perhaps they were even the masters of the Slavs, in a close master–slave relationship. This, in fact, fits in with observations of Procopius and other Byzantine writers who characterized the Slavs as peaceful. Later on, Avars and Slavs were mixed and even described as one people. Though not acceptable for all historians, the name Avar could have changed into Havar and then Harvat, close to the later Hungarian term Horvat for the Croats (now Hrvati, sing. Hrvat, in Croatian). It has to be stressed again that this explanation of the name Horvat has not been generally accepted, but the close association between the two peoples is more than incidental.
BABIĆ, GORAN (1944– ). Born on the Island of Vis. Poet, playwright, and novelist. He participated in editing the journals Pitanja and Oko. The journal Most/The Bridge published a selection of his translated poetry. He was heavily criticized for his support of Stipe Šuvar and his White Book.

BABIĆ, MILAN (1956– ). Ex-mayor of Knin and one of the most influential leaders of the Krajina Serbs. Former member of the Communist Party and delegate at the 14th congress of the League of Communists in 1991. After the collapse of the Communist Party, he joined the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). Assisting Jovan Rašković, he was the second-ranking political leader in Knin. He transformed the Serb resistance movement into a well-armed and highly motivated militia. Babić organized the referendum on political autonomy of the region from August to September 1990, and defended the town with Milan Martić and Lazar Mačura against the Croatian militia. In doing so, he received assistance from the Yugoslav Army. He became president of the self-proclaimed Parliament of the Serbian Republic of Krajina (Republika Srpska Krajina, RSK). Later on, Babić clashed with Slobodan Milošević, when Belgrade seemed to retreat under pressure from the international community and refused, or at least postponed, a union with the Krajina.

Babić himself refused to accept the Vance plan and was not eager to receive the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops in the Krajina. Consequently, the Parliament of the RSK dismissed Babić as its president during its second session in Glina in favor of Milan Paspalj. Babić tried to restore his position in the presidential elections of late 1993, but he lost them to his rival Milan Martić, who was backed then by Milošević. Until the spring of 1995, Babić fulfilled the function of minister of foreign affairs of the RSK. Sometime after Operation Flash, in consequence of which Borislav Mikelić had to resign, Babić succeeded in taking over the function of prime minister of the RSK.

The evening before the beginning of Operation Storm, American ambassador Peter Galbraith negotiated with Babić about a peaceful incorporation of the Krajina into Croatia. But it seems President
Franjo Tudman had already made his decision to use violence after the failure of peace talks with other Serb leaders in Geneva. At the start of the offensive, Babić fled from the Krajina to Belgrade.

In 2004, he was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 13 years in prison. He was also asked to testify in the Milan Martić case but was found dead in his Hague prison cell on 6 March 2006, probably having committed suicide.

BADINTER ARBITRATION COMMISSION. The Badinter Commission was set up by the European Community (EC) in the autumn of 1991 and worked within the framework of the Peace Conference on Former Yugoslavia. It was composed of constitutional experts of five member countries and chaired by Robert Badinter of the Constitutional Court of France. One of its first tasks was to work out the general criteria candidates should meet to be recognized as independent states. The commission has given further advice to the EC concerning the concrete application of these criteria. It has arbitrated on questions concerning the economic and financial inheritance of former Yugoslavia. One major problem was the division of the rights and obligations of the National Bank of Yugoslavia after splitting into Republican National Banks. The new Yugoslav government regarded the opinion of the commission as only advisory and not at all final. Only with the fall of Slobodan Milošević and the coming to power of the Serbian opposition could major progress be made in the practical management of the many files. The disappearance of Franjo Tudman and the fall from power of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) facilitated as well the communication between Belgrade and Zagreb on these inheritance questions.

BAJRAMOVIĆ, MIRO. Member of the Croatian paramilitary organization Autumn Rain of Tomislav Merčep. He was the first to admit Croats practiced “ethnic cleansing” on the Serbs in 1991. He conceded he was responsible personally for the death of 86 people, of whom he himself killed 66 men and 6 women. Moreover, he accused Merčep of having participated in the raids. The events happened in Gospić, Slano, Pakračka polja, and Zagreb. He also accused Ivan
Vekić of having known about all this. A judicial investigation was started but soon stopped.

After new confessions of Bajramović in an autumn 1997 issue of *Feral Tribune*, the investigation was reopened and excavations started on the site, also by the *International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia* (ICTY). Although the results were inconclusive, there was a strong belief of most observers that in the five-year lapse, any evidence would have been removed. In February 2008, Bajramović testified before the ICTY.

**BAKARIĆ, VLADIMIR (1918–1983).** This communist leader was born in Gorica in the vicinity of Zagreb. He joined the communist movement in 1932 and was arrested and prosecuted several times. During World War II, he was commissar of the General Headquarters and Partisan Detachments of Croatia. After the war, he became the regional head of the Communist Party in Croatia and a member of the Politburo. He was prime minister of the government of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Later he held the highest functions in the federation: he was a member of the presidency of the Central Committee of the *League of Communists of Yugoslavia* and of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of *Yugoslavia*. Bakarić was a theoretician of the economic aspects of the socialist system of self-management. During the *Croatian Spring*, he pinned himself down in a rather conservative position. Tito entrusted him with the continuation of the centralist line following the 1972 purges in Croatia. After the death of the Slovene Edvard Kardelj, Bakarić was generally seen as the immediate successor of Tito. However, a collective presidency was installed before Tito died in 1980.

**BALKAN STABILITY PACT.** See STABILITY PACT FOR SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE.

**BAN.** The *ban* and the *Sabor* are considered to be the two typical and traditional institutions of Croatian statehood. Ever-diminishing shares of Croatian historians connect the institution of the *ban* with the hypothesized Persian descent of the *Croats*. The title was used for the first time in Europe when the Croats arrived in southeast Europe. It is supposed that under King Petar Krešimir, there were three
bans: one in Croatia proper, then meaning the countries of Lika, Gačka and Krbava and the littoral; a second in Pannonian Croatia; and a third in Bosnia. The ban or viceroy performed the highest executive duties in the Croatian state. Though the Pacta Conventa of 1102 recognized the authority of the Hungarian king, it is supposed by most Croatian historians that the position of the Croatian ban and Sabor were not really affected. After 1538, the state organization of Slavonia and Croatia were unified in the sense that one ban and one Sabor became the constitutional organs of both regions. On the other hand, Dalmatia had been sold to Venice and the hinterland was lost to the Ottomans.

With the establishment by the Austrians of the Military Border, the ban and the Sabor lost authority even over this part of the Croatian territory. Compensation was later offered by the creation of a region called Banija that came under the direct jurisdiction of the ban. The unfavorable trend of division of Croatian lands was not reversed until 1880, when the union of almost all former regions stood on the political agenda. The famous ban Josip Jelačić played a very important role in the unification. Only Dalmatia remained under direct Austrian rule until 1918. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, proclaimed on 1 December 1918 after World War I, was politically and administratively characterized by strong centralization. The function of the ban was only implicitly revived during the so-called Banovina Croatia established in 1939 just before World War II.

BANAC, IVO (1947–). Born in Dubrovnik, professor of history at Yale University. He was editor and now member of the editorial board of the journal East European Politics and Society. He received a prize for his study of the nationality question in Yugoslavia. In the autumn of 1993, he wrote an open letter to President Franjo Tudman in the journal Erasmus together with five other Croatian intellectuals. They criticized Tudman’s policy and asked him to resign. Banac also severely criticized the irregularities during Operation Storm in 1995. For all this, he was fiercely attacked in the official newspaper Vjesnik of 26 August 1997. He broke with the politicians of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) whom he earlier supported and became more critical of Croatian politics in general. He entered the presidency of the alternative Liberal Party (LS) and the
presidency of the Croatian branch of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights. Banac also began teaching at the George Soros’s Central-European Open University. In 1998, Banac was given the Josip Juraj Strossmayer prize by the Zagreb book exhibition Inter-liber for a study of the Infobiro politics in Yugoslavia (“Tito against Stalin”).

BANDIĆ, MILAN (1955– ). Mayor of Zagreb. He was born in Bandića Brig near Grude (Bosnia-Herzegovina) and studied at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb. Bandić became a member of the Communist Party and later of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). He was elected mayor of Zagreb in 2000 and reelected in 2001 and 2005. As Zagreb generates about 30 percent of Croatia’s income and the city had a budget of 7.38 billion kuna (approximately $1 billion) in 2007, he is one of the most influential political decision makers of the country. After the death of Ivica Račan, he was one of the candidates for the presidency of the SDP, but he was defeated by Zoran Milanović. The relations of Bandić with other party leaders of the SDP remained rather strained. As a mayor, he accomplished mainly major infrastructural works. Otherwise, he was implicated in many personal scandals, including corruption, threatening journalists, and rude behavior. He was also involved in a dubious motor accident and replaced for some time. Nevertheless, he campaigned for a fourth term in the local elections of May 2009.

BANIJA. Region south of the town of Petrinja. Once reconquered from the Ottomans at the end of the 17th century, it was placed under the direct jurisdiction of the ban and therefore called Banija. In the first years of Croatian independence, it was again a disputed region, as the Serbs wanted to integrate it in the autonomous region of the Serbian Republic of Krajina (RSK). It came under the control of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) as Sector North. In 1995, it was liberated by the Croats in Operation Storm.

BANKING. During the first decade of Croatian independence, the banking system went through a deep transformation, at times accompanied by serious crises and ending up with a dominant role in the private and foreign sector. In 1990 and before the transition, 28 banks
in social ownership were active. Most of them underwent privatization. The new regime also relaxed the conditions to start up new banks. By 1994, 49 banks were already active, reaching a peak of 60 in 1997. In the bank crisis of 1998 and 1999, 14 collapsed and, at the end of 2000, only 43 banks were still active. After this crisis period, bank concentration increased further with the two largest banks disposing of half of total assets, and the four largest of 62 percent. The number of banks continued to decline and finally stagnated up to the end of 2005, when 34 banks were still in operation. One more went into a merger in 2006, with no change in 2007.

Bank privatization followed a particular pattern given the specific properties of the banking system in communist Yugoslavia. Banks were founded by the big enterprises in social ownership, and in turn granted credits to them. Of course, this was not a very sound principle for organizing a new banking system, especially when larger enterprises did not perform very well.

The transformation process in the banking sector was accompanied by major crises. At the end of the communist period, the banking sector was already in a state of a crisis. High inflation and the dubious lending practices meant that by the end of 1990, 13 of the 28 banks struggled with insolvency. The problem was solved by the new Croatian authorities by using what has been called a linear sanitation of the banks. The mechanism worked as follows: the government blocked the old deposits in foreign exchange and recognized it as a public debt. On this base, it issued bonds that it forwarded to state companies. They in turn used them to reduce debts to the banks. The banks could now readjust their balances. This operation solved the temporary solvency problems of the banks and restored their rentability on paper, though nothing had been done in depth to change the operation of the sector. However, trustworthiness of the banks was restored and foreign exchange deposits of savers returned to domestic banks. However, because no structural measures were taken, the recovery of banks proved only short term.

During the stabilization policy in October 1993, it was discovered that four of the larger banks were insolvent, and three of them revealed liquidity problems. One went through a sanitation procedure in 1995, two were taken over by the government in March 1996, and the fourth got an injection to restore liquidity somewhat later. In
1996, it was publicly admitted that the banks had to go through the sanitation procedures because their activity since 1991 had shown major weaknesses. Their losses exceeded their capital base because the big enterprises did not pay off their debts. The Split Bank was confronted with an amount of 2.3 times more in unrepaid loans than its own guaranteeing capital, the Rijeka Bank 1.4 times, and the Croatian Economy Bank Zagreb (Privredna Banka Zagreb, PZB) 2.7 times. The share of unrepaid loans in its total loan holdings had risen to more than 16 percent in the case of Split Bank and almost 30 percent for Rijeka Bank, and this share was unknown but certainly higher in the case of the PZB. These three banks were responsible for one fourth of the total of bad loans of all banks. Almost 90 percent of these loans of the three banks were granted to a few enterprises in the state property sector.

The sanitation process of the three largest banks went through the following stages. A larger part (55 percent) of the loans were taken over by a special state agency (Državna agencija za osiguranje štednih uloga i sanaciju banaka) and the remaining was written off against the bank capital. Then a recapitalization was pushed through to ensure a minimal level of owned capital. However, the total balance amount of assets of the banks ended at a lower level, and for example, Privredna Banka was downgraded from the largest bank to the second largest. Third, the shares of the earlier founding enterprises were transferred to the Privatization Agency, with the goal of selling them later, offering them on the capital market, and eventually attracting foreign buyers. Finally, the management of the banks was replaced. It was accountable to the agency and had to follow the advice of auditors and foreign experts. To a certain degree, the transformation of these banks again proved a success, but soon problems arose with other banks.

During the whole sanitation period, interbank interest rates were relatively high and the liquid banks could realize high profits in mutual bank transactions. Once the sanitation procedures had been carried out, the interest rates fell back and the banks reoriented their policy providing loans to enterprises and the public. When in 1997 the economy also recovered through high reconstruction demand, these credits boomed. Highways and cars proved a high priority. Moreover, newly founded private banks allowed much risky lending
to the corporations that had established them. When the growth of the economy happened to slacken again due to external bottlenecks, the banks ended up in considerable difficulties. In March 1998, the first regional private bank collapsed, soon followed by others to reach a climax in February and March 1999. Over the whole period, 14 banks were affected. Some went into bankruptcy, and others got last-minute urgency loans. The difficult situation of the financial sector induced the authorities to look for foreign investors, a policy that had been resented earlier for nationalistic reasons.

The integration of foreign banks progressed slowly in the beginning. Though one foreign bank was opened in 1994 before the end of the war, others awaited the outcome of the Dayton agreement of 1995. Four foreign banks began operations in 1996, two in 1997, and three more the next year. Most were newly founded banks, whose market share was low. This changed drastically in 1999, when two larger banks after sanitation by the state went into foreign hands and, in 2000, when the majority of shares of two more large banks were sold to foreigners. Foreign banks held almost 85 percent of total bank assets, and a year later even 90 percent. In 2000, the number of foreign banks reached 20, the same as for local Croatian banks, the three remaining state-owned banks not taken into account. In 2007, for the first time, there were more foreign banks (16) than domestic (15).

**BANOVINA CROATIA.** The Banovina Croatia came into existence through an agreement between the Serb politician Dragiša Cvetković and the Croat Vladko Maček. The so-called Sporazum, a decree of 26 August 1939, on the Croatian Banovina defined its territory, its competences, and its organization.

The Croatian Banovina contained the Banovinas of Sava and Primorje and the districts of Dubrovnik, Šid, Ilok, Brčko, Gradačac, Derventa, Travnik, and Fojnica. Its capital was Zagreb. So, along with the region around Zagreb, the Banovina covered Slavonia, the Dalmatian coast, and parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Within the competences of the Banovina were agriculture, trade, industry, mining, forestry, construction, social and health policies, sports, justice, education, and local administration. All other fields remained under the national state organs in Belgrade. This was also the case for national security and public order. Belgrade organized the secret
information services and countered antistate propaganda. In order to finance its obligations, the Banovina collected taxes and managed its budget autonomously.

Legislative competence was shared by the Parliament (Sabor) of the Banovina and the king. Executive power was exercised by the ban in the name of the king. The representatives of Parliament were chosen by free and secret elections. Minorities had to be represented in Parliament. The king appointed the ban. It was the prerogative of the Constitutional Court of the State to decide on the constitutionality of the laws of the Banovina and to arbitrate in conflicts of competence between the kingdom and the Banovina.

**BANSKI DVOR.** The court of the ban in Zagreb, during the Franjo Tudman regime, and also the official residence of the president. Now it is the seat of the government.

**BARANJA.** The region between the confluence of the Danube and Drava rivers. Its main town is Beli Monastir. At its south frontier lies Osijek.

After World War II, the region was administratively integrated in the Republic of Croatia because Croats were more numerous than Serbs and the region gravitated toward the city of Osijek. The area was further colonized by Croatian partisans and war veterans. The question of how this affected the character of the region has been thoroughly disputed during the independence crisis. The Serbs from Belgrade argued that the colonization had injected artificially Croatian influence, while the Croats complained of Serbinization, as the colonists originated mainly from the Krajina.

The Baranja was invaded by the Serbs in August 1991. In execution of the Vance plan, the area received the status of a United Nations Protected Area (UNPA). In March 1992, UN troops from Belgium and Russia were deployed and cautiously took control of the region. However, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was not able to restore the prewar situation. Croatian refugees did not return to their homes. In October 1993, President Franjo Tudman insisted before the UN Security Council that the UNPROFOR mandate should be changed. This only provoked renewed hostility from the Serbs. Finally, just before and during the Dayton negotiations in
November 1995, Tudman and Slobodan Milošević came to an agreement on the peaceful transition of Eastern Slovenia and the Baranja. Local Serbs reluctantly accepted the results of the negotiations, which were laid down in the Erdut agreement. A United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES) took over the authority for a period of two years and a few months. Thereafter, the region was finally fully re-integrated in the political and territorial system of Croatia, and given some monitoring of international observers in the fields of human rights and the return of refugees.

BAROMIĆ, BLAŽ (ca. 1440–ca. 1505). Born in Vrbnik. In 1493, he achieved the printing of a Glagolitic breviary in Venice. The following year, he initiated the first Croatian Glagolitic printing press in Senj and produced the first printed Glagolitic missal in Croatia.

BAŠĆANSKA PLOČA. The Plaque of Baška is the oldest extant long document written in Croatian Glagolitic. It was found on the island of Krk, a center of Glagolitic writing. Even today, the plaque cannot be wholly read and exactly dated. It is supposed to be from about 1100. It was part of the rood of the Church of Saint Lucy in Jurandvor near Baška on the island of Krk. The plaque contains information about the donation of land to the church by King Zvonimir. The witnesses who guarantee the veracity of this act are Pribinež of Vinodol, Jacob of the Islands, and the prefects Desimir of Krbava and Martin of Lika. “Whoever refutes this may be cursed by the Lord and the Apostles and the Evangelists and Saint Lucy.” The text also mentions the name and actions of two Benedictine abbots. Abbot Držiha wrote the act and Abbot Dobrovit built the church “in the time of Prince Cosmas who ruled the whole district and it was then that the monastery of Saint Nicholas in Otočac was united with the Church of Saint Lucy.”

The language of the plaque is a Croatian vernacular retaining only a few elements of Old Church Slavonic. It can be regarded as a starting point of Croatian literature.

BIČANIĆ, RUDOLF. He was the vice-governor of the Interwar Yugoslav National Bank and was involved with the Yugoslav government.
in exile from 1941 to 1944. He is the author of the influential book *Ekonomska Podloga Hrvatskog Pitanja* (The Economic Background of the Croatian Question) that described the economic position of Croatia in Yugoslavia.

**BIOGRAD (NA MORU).** Original Slav settlement between Zadar and Šibenik, the town where the late medieval Croatian kings were crowned. In 1125, it was conquered and destroyed by the army of the Venetian doge Domenico Michieli. It never recovered and lost its historical role.

**BJELOVAR.** Little town 80 kilometers east of Zagreb in Western Slavonia. During and after Operation Flash in the beginning of May 1995, temporary detention camps for Serbs were established here. Already in 1991, irregular police action had been taking place. Four Croatian policemen arrested and killed seven Serbs on 3 October 1991.

**BLEIBURG.** Carinthian town in Austria near the Slovenian border, symbol of the tragedy caused by the communist repression of the Ustaši. At the end of World War II, the Ustaša regime collapsed and the Croatian Army fled to Austria. It was disarmed by the Allies and handed over to the Yugoslav partisans. This was the beginning of a massacre among soldiers and civilians, particularly in the vicinity of Bleiburg and Maribor. Especially in later emigration circles, Bleiburg became a place of pilgrimage and a symbol of Croatian suffering.

**BOBAN, MATE (1940–1997).** Ex-leader of the Bosnian Croats, born near Grude. He became a member of the League of Communists in 1958. He was, however, known as a Herzegovinian nationalist. He founded the Herzegovinian Democratic Union (HDZ) but soon joined the Sarajevian-based Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ-BiH). He became vice-party president and flanked President Stjepan Klujić. When the latter was dismissed, Boban assumed the function of president. Relations with the Bosniacs (Bosniaks—the Muslim ethnic majority of Bosnia) cooled and a gradual reconciliation was
effected with the Bosnian Serbs. Boban was also very loyal to President Franjo Tudman.

Boban established the Community of Herzeg Bosna, the Croat-dominated part of Herzegovina. On 19 April 1993, he declared that his province should most probably become a part of Croatia, a consequence of the quasi nonexistence of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. With the reconciliation of Muslims and Croats under American pressure after their war in central Bosnia, Boban’s star faded and he was officially dismissed as leader of the Bosnian Croats. Following the Dayton agreement, a two-part state was adopted, a Federation of Muslims and Croats and the Serb Republic (RS). Nevertheless, in Herzegovina some separatist tensions persisted. The new Stipe Mešić–Ivica Račan regime definitively opted for a thorough recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina in its Dayton structure.


Born at Sisak, he was one of the founding members of Franjo Tudman’s HDZ. Being a general and chief military commander, he was a member of the Council for Defense and National Security. In January 1993, he led the military action in the Maslenica region and was the brain behind the September 1993 Gospić-Medak offensive. When he retired as military commander, he successfully took part in the elections and became member of Parliament for the HDZ. Among other posts, he served as president of the parliamentary war veterans’ committee.

On 12 February 2001, he spoke in support of General Mirko Norac and against his extradition to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at the Split rally organized by the Main Headquarters for the Protection of the Dignity of the Homeland War, which gathered between 100,000 and 150,000 people. In fact, Bobetko himself was named as possibly being indicted by the ICTY for his role in the Medak offensive, together with Generals Rahim Ademi, Ante Gotovina, and Mirko Norac.

Sticking to his ultra-rightist opinions, he remains one of the leading opposition leaders against the Stipe Mešić–Ivica Račan regime.
BOGOMILISM. The Bogomils rejected both the Catholic and Orthodox canons of Christianity. Inspired by old Christian sources, they preached an original dualism similar to what is supposed to be found in some Persian doctrines. There is only very limited written evidence of the spread of this heretical dualistic belief in Croatia. In a letter dated 11 October 1200, Pope Innocent III declared that the Bogomils of Dalmatia had fled to Bosnia, where Ban Kulin had accepted them wholeheartedly.

Among the known heretics were the brothers Aristodes and Matthias of Zadar, painters and sons of a Greek (?) father, Zorobabal. Because of their preaching, they were banned from the town and went to Split, another stronghold of Bogomilism. Here they obtained protection for some time, but they were ultimately expelled again. The story repeated itself in Trogir.

The lapidation in 1085 of the Catholic Archbishop Raineri by the Kačići, the most famous tribe of the Neretvans, is probably connected to the strong influence of Bogomilism in the region. In 1221, the pope sent his legate Acontius to pacify the same region. The inhabitants—pirates of Omiš and the surrounding area—continued sporadic rebellions for ages. In 1225, the Roman Catholic clergy in Split was unable to prevent the election to power of a Bogomil duke, Peter, Duke of Hum. Acontius was sent, put a ban on the town, and closed the churches for more than a year.

BOLJKOVAC, JOSIP (1921– ). Born near Karlovac. He graduated from the Law Faculty of Zagreb University. He participated in the Partisan War (1941–1945) and was after the war employed by the Ministry of the Interior (1945–1963). Then, he was appointed mayor of Karlovac and he was also seated in the Parliament of Croatia (1963–1969).

He was a founding member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and was elected for this party to the House of Counties. He served as the first minister of the interior of the Republic of Croatia (1990–1991) under Franjo Tuđman. Boljkovac supported Stipe Mesić in his struggle at the left wing in the HDZ.

Much later, he declared that the Homeland War had not been necessary, a remarkable allegation for a former official of the HDZ. For
this, he was strongly criticized by Ivić Pašalić, the former adviser of President Franjo Tuđman.

**BORDERS OF CROATIA.** The issue of the Croatian borders is a very sensitive one. The country gained its independence in a period of conflict with the neighboring republics.

The Croatian border is 2,028 kilometers long. The greater part is among Europe’s oldest borders. This is particularly so in the segments running along the Drava River, which traditionally has been the dividing line between the Croatian and Hungarian political entities. Across the Drava, where the Croatian territory extends along the left bank of the river, the border also has a historical origin: it is the former Military Border, a borderland that was gradually joined to civil Croatia after its dissolution in the period 1873–1881. The border in Međimurje partly relies on the Mura River. It was finally fixed after World War I when Međimurje, formerly a part of Hungary, was included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. However, the inclusion of Međimurje in Hungary was questionable anyway because in the past it had been Croatian for considerable stretches of time. Notwithstanding efforts at Magyarization, the majority of the population has always been considered to be Croatian.

The border in the Baranja is one of the more recent segments of the Croatian–Hungarian border. It was first drawn in 1920, following the stipulations of the Peace of Trianon and has no historical precedents. The southern part of what was formerly the Hungarian district (zupanija) of Baranja was then included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes as the logical hinterland for the city of Osijek. It was an ethnically mixed area, settled not only by Hungarians but also by a considerable number of Croats and Germans and a smaller number of Serbs. It can be regarded as a division of territories between victors and vanquished of World War I.

The Croatian–Slovene border is one of the old European borders. The border areas along the Sutla River, Mount Žumberak, and the Kupa River follow lines that had divided the historical lands of Carinthia and Styria (now Austria) from Croatia for several centuries. The Slovene border of Međimurje also mostly corresponds to the earlier limits of the Croatian region, aside from several villages in the Međimurje municipality of Strigovo that were assigned to Slovenia.
when the borders were redrawn in 1945. The Croatian–Slovenian border in Istria was fixed after the end of World War II, more precisely in 1954, when the provisional Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) was finally divided between Italy and Yugoslavia. The part of the FTT that had been occupied by Yugoslavia was divided between Croatia and Slovenia on the basis of ethnic criteria. In 1956, there was a small correction when some villages in the Buje municipality were joined with Slovenia.

The longest Croatian border is that with Bosnia-Herzegovina. Its present position results from the Ottoman occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The western frontier follows the Una River and the northern frontier the Sava River, the historical borders of Croatia and Slavonia since the Peace of Karlovci was concluded in 1699 between the Austrian emperor and the Ottomans. Following another war, the Treaty of Požarevac of 1718 corrected the eastern border by extending the Croatian territory eastward, whereby Croatia gained all of Srijem.

The Peace of_svistovo of 1719 was of particular importance for the Croatian–Bosnian border along the upper course of the Una River. After Croatia regained the largest part of Lika in 1699, the treaty gave Croatia Kordun and the Lika Pounje area. In 1945, the border with Bosnia was partly modified in the Bihać region. The southern section of the border between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina follows the demarcation line of Venetian Dalmatia and the Republic of Dubrovnik with the Ottoman Empire. It is identical to the Mocenigo line—which gave Venetian Dalmatia its final shape in 1718—and the borders of the Ragusan Republic, fixed in 1699.

The present interruption of the Croatian territory at Neum also goes back to 1718, when Bosnia-Herzegovina was given access to the sea. It was a concession of Dubrovnik to the Ottoman Empire to create a better defense zone against the Venetian Republic. At the present time, in Neum Croatia has obtained transit rights in exchange for use by the Bosnians of the port of Ploče.

The border of Croatia with Serbia is of a more recent date. In 1945, the communists decided to divide Srijem on an ethnic basis. Another part of the Croatian–Serbian border goes back to the old Croatian border with Hungary, reconfirmed by the Peace of Karlovci when the Turks were forced to leave Slavonia and Srijem.
In conclusion, Croatia officially inherited the borders fixed by the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ). They were established by the communist leaders of the future Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija, FNRJ). Yugoslavia was for the first time composed of six republics. Minor changes and corrections of the republican borders took place afterward. However, we have seen that most Croatian borders have much older historical roots. For this very reason, some politicians of the Franjo Tudman generation saw this as a supplementary historical justification for the existence of an independent state of Croatia within these borders. One of the minor points of discussion could then be the frontier corrections carried out during the communist regime. But this is only a minor issue in comparison with the claims of the Serbs in the 1990s who wanted to draw new frontiers on ethnic grounds. According to their vision, all areas where Serbs lived —of course, also the Serbs living on Croatian territory—should belong to the territory of the Serbian state. Of course, if need be, there could also be found historical justifications for these ethnic frontiers—for example, by pointing to the creation by the Austrians of the Military Border, which was mostly inhabited by Serbs.

BOROVO SELO. Small village near Vukovar, known in communist time for its shoe manufacture. It was a place where one of the first bloody incidents happened. Borovo Selo was dominated by the local Serbs. On 1 May 1991, two Croatian policemen were arrested. When the next day, the Croats decided to send a big patrol, 12 Croats and 3 Serbs were killed. Finally, the Yugoslav Army restored order, but it was the sign for paramilitary organizations in the neighborhood, both Serbs and Croats, to intensify their actions.

BOSANSKA POSAVINA. Border area in Bosnia around the Sava. According to the population census of 1991, here in this region lived 138,741 Croats. In 48 villages, the population consisted only of Croats. In a letter to the Croatian Sabor of September 1993, the representatives of Bosanska Posavina described the region as a cultural entity with a majority of Croatian people in Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Šamac, Brčko, Derventa, Doboj, Gradačac, Modriča,
Odžak, and Orašje. Croatians colonized Posavina 13 centuries ago. The Franciscan brothers have been present for seven centuries. Bosanska Posavina is a historical Croatian space as it was also part of the Croatian Banovina. These arguments were presented to prevent its transformation into Serb territory by the Owen-Stoltenberg plan. However, the final Dayton agreement of 1995 granted most of its territory to the Bosnian Serbs. Brčko received a special status in the construction of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian state.

BOŠKOVIĆ, RUĐER JOSIP (1711–1789). Physician and philosopher. He was a native of Dubrovnik and a Jesuit. He taught at several universities. He founded a large observatory in Milan and published on mechanics, optics, geophysics, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy. His most important contribution in the field of theoretical physics, Philosophiae Naturalis Theoria (Theory of Natural Philosophy), was published in Vienna in 1758. Specialists hold that this work laid the foundations of modern atomic physics.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (RELATIONS WITH). The Croats are one of the three constituent peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina and as such have always had close ties with their ethnic counterparts in Zagreb. In the course of history, large parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina were integrated in the Croatian political and cultural entity. The regions below the Sava River—Bosanska Posavina—and the Bosnian lands along the Adriatic Sea—Herzegovina—have been continuously populated by Croats especially and been under strong Croatian influence.

The examples of the Croatian Banovina immediately before World War II and the proclamation of the state entity of Herzeg Bosna by Mate Boban in the 1990s, illustrate the wish for close relations with the motherland Croatia. There is also the well-known meeting between Franjo Tudman and Slobodan Milošević in Karadordevo, where the division of Bosnia along the Banovina lines was discussed and according to Tudman agreed upon. The Tudman regime, which officially defended its own sovereignty within the earlier republican frontiers of Tito’s federation, encouraged its Herzegovinian fellow Croats to stress their Croatian identity and to strive at least for autonomy and, if possible, for accession to Croatia.
Only the pressure of the Americans and the Dayton peace agreement could finally temper Croatian aspirations toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Still, the Croatian attitude toward Bosnia-Herzegovina was one of the basic reasons for Stipe Mesić to leave Tuđman’s Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). In fact, before Dayton, the Americans had agreed to a confederation of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; after Dayton, only special relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were allowed, symmetrical to the relations of the Serbian Republic (Republika Srpska, RS) with Serbia. Only under the Stipe Mesić–Ivica Račan regime has Croatian policy fundamentally changed and Croatia has fully recognized the existence of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian state in its present structure.

Since Croatia became independent in the early 1990s, there have always been very intense diplomatic relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Tuđman repeatedly met Alija Izetbegović at crucial moments, as at the Dayton negotiations, and on other occasions bilateral issues were settled. But relations remained difficult and strained. In turn, the new Croatian president Stipe Mesić was very well received by the population during his first visit to Sarajevo. The Ivica Račan government signed a treaty with the Bosnian government to ensure the transparency of its financial support to the Croat section of the Bosnian Army. Mesić repeatedly declared Croatia had no more territorial ambitions toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and wanted only to develop full bilateral and regional cooperation. An Interstate Council for Cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been installed. Every six months it brings together the highest officials under both presidents. The speaker of the Croatian Parliament, Zlatko Tomčić, insisted on cooperation at the state level and not with individual entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. An agreement on the return of refugees was concluded and a first common project was planned: the rebuilding of a Croatian village in Bosanska Posavina, which will be financed on an equal basis by the Croatian authorities, the Serbian Republic (Republika Srpska, the Serb Bosnian entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Another sign of mutual confidence between the two countries was the decision of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian presidency to let Zagreb control the
air space above 3,000 meters as soon as the Stabilization Force (SFOR) handed this competence over to civil authorities.

But it is the Bosnian Croats of Herzegovina who still seem to complicate the relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. As late as December 2001, the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina criticized the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia for recognizing the state status of the federation, in which they saw a threat to the integrity of Herzegovina. The Herzegovinian party of the Croatian Christian Democrats of Bosnia-Herzegovina urged the Bosnian Croatian representatives to leave their posts in the federation. On 4 February 2002, Ante Jelavić, the head of the Herzegovinian Croatian Democratic Union, rejected an offer by the high representative, Wolfgang Petritsch, to make Mostar the capital of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Jelavić saw it as a ruse to bind too closely the Community of Croatian Herzegovina to the Federation of Bosnian-Herzegovina and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian state.

After Germany and Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina is the largest export market for Croatia. In 2000, Croatia exported to Bosnia-Herzegovina $495 million or 11.2 percent of its exports. However, Croatia’s imports from Bosnia-Herzegovina are relatively insignificant. With only $117 million or 1.5 percent, Bosnia-Herzegovina does not even figure in the list of the top 10 importing countries to Croatia.

BOŠNJAK, BRANKO (1923–). Former philosophy professor of Zagreb University and member of the Praxis group. He specialized in the philosophy of religion.

BRAČ. Third largest of the Adriatic islands, lying just off Split. It shared a common history with its neighbor Hvar. The archaic name Brattia probably stems from the Illyrian Brentos—green.

BRANIMIR. Pope John VII wrote a letter to Prince Branimir, dated June 7, 879. The pope recognized Branimir’s “earthly power.” This had been regarded by some as the first international recognition of the statehood of the Croatian territory.
BRČIĆ, IVAN. Priest from Zadar and one of the fathers of the revival of the knowledge of the Glagolitic tradition in the middle of the 19th century. His Čitanka staroslovenskoga jezika (Old Slavonic Reader, 1859) for the first time clearly differentiated between the original old-style oval shaped Glagolitic and the native Croatian angular lettering.

BREŠAN, IVO (1936– ). Playwright. The Performance of Hamlet in the Village of Mrduša Donja, Commune of Blatuša received the Sterijina Prize for a contemporary dramatic text at the Yugoslav theater festival of 1972. Since then, it has been performed more than a thousand times.

BRIONI. Island group lying on the southwest point of Istria near Pula. It was a residence of Tito and transformed into a national park. During the communist period and after, it functioned as a conference place where essential decisions were made. One of them was the deliberation on the Aleksandar Ranković case. It was also the place where the leaders of ex-Yugoslavia discussed their problems under the mediation of the European Community in 1991. See also BRIONI AGREEMENT.

BRIONI AGREEMENT. Agreement reached on the island of Brioni under the mediation of the European Community between the ex-Yugoslav parties (7 July 1991). The army accepted an armistice in Slovenia, while Slovenia and Croatia withheld for three months any measures that would have furthered their independence.

BUDAK, MILE (1899–1945). Writer and Croatian official representative in the Nazi Berlin during Pavelić’s Independent State of Croatia (NDH). He was again the subject of discussion when the Franjo Tudman regime decided to honor him as a writer with a street name.

BUDIŠA, DRAŽEN (1948– ). Zagreb philosophy student who was elected to the leadership of the Student Federation in 1971. He led an important student strike during the Croatian Spring. During the
repression of the nationalistic movement, he was sentenced and put in jail.

Two decades later, with Croatia being an independent republic, he became the leader of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS). He was elected member of Parliament for this party. From August 1991 to February 1992, he served as minister without portfolio in the Government of National Union. In the presidential elections of 2 August 1992, Budiša became the most successful challenger of Franjo Tuđman. While the president obtained 56.7 percent of the votes, Budiša ended up second with 21.8 percent, far in advance of other opposition candidates such as Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Dobroslav Paraga. After the death of Tuđman, Budiša was considered to be the principal candidate in the 2001 presidential elections. Unexpectedly, Stipe Mesić was victorious in those elections. Budiša continued to be president of the HSLS, one of the opposition parties under Tuđman, and from 2000 on a member of the government coalition.

However, Budiša always showed a rather independent attitude, inclining to the center right. In 1997, he clashed with Vlado Gotovac and other more left-wing oriented liberals as Božo Kovačević, who finally left the HSLS and founded an alternative Liberal party. Conserving his right-center orientation, Budiša also supported in 2001 the Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Honor of the Homeland War and rejected the extradition of General Mirko Norac to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The HSLS ministers who had supported this decision of the Ivica Račan government were condemned by Budiša and the highest organs of the Liberal party, but at the same time it was clear the party was much divided on the question. Budiša resigned as president of the party in the autumn of 2001, but returned after an internal election in the beginning of February 2002. He provoked a further political crisis, but finally became vice-president in the government of Ivica Račan. After a few months, however, in the summer of 2002, Račan resigned as prime minister and threw Budiša and his party out of his government.

**BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS.** Membership in the two most important Croatian business associations is legally compulsory. Companies and
individual businesspeople have their own and partly joint organization. A company (poduzeće) is an entity separate and distinct from its owners. The owners of the company are not personally liable for its debts, thus having limited liability. The status of the individual businessperson (samostalni privrednik) implies sole proprietorship, indicating a business operated by a person as his or her own personal property. This type of enterprise is an extension of individual ownership.

The Croatian Chamber of Commerce is the association of all companies such as manufacturing firms, banks, financial institutions, insurance organizations, and workshops. They have to register their activity at the court and automatically become members of the organization.

The Alliance of Associations of Independent Businessmen is an independent organization of associations and alliances whose aim is to promote the common interest of all independent businesspeople. They have a common representation in the Croatian Chamber of Commerce. In addition, there are several regional associations.

Voluntary business associations act as representatives of certain professional groups or regional interest groups. Among the most prominent are the Club of Managers of Zagreb, Entrepreneurs’ Club of the Bank of Zagreb, Croatian Managers’ Association (CROMA), Association of Hotel Managers of Croatia, Croatian Association of Dealers in International Trade, Gold, and Foreign Exchange (Forex), and others.

BUSINESS FRAUD AND CORRUPTION. In the two years before 2002, the criminal police registered 17,000 white-collar crimes and questioned 8,000 persons suspected of corruption, having embezzled from the state budget or firms more than HRK 9.222 billion.

– C –

ČAKAVIAN. Variant of the Croatian language, an alternative to kajkavian or štokavian. According to the equivalent for the word what, the variants use the expressions što, kaj, or ča. The ča variant was used most on the Dalmatian islands.
CARITAS. Coordinating center in Zagreb for 11 Croatian branches of the local relief agency, operating through local parishes and through branches in Banja Luka, Mostar, and Sarajevo. The activities included distribution of food, medical supplies, and clothing. European branches supplied funds that took care of orphans and of raped and abused women, and that contributed to the rebuilding of homes and schools.

CARRINGTON PLAN. Project proposed by Lord Carrington during the Conference of the Hague. The independence of Slovenia and Croatia would only be recognized as part of a general agreement on the future of ex-Yugoslavia. The relations between the new entities and the problem of minority rights should be settled first. The plan was presented at the fourth session of the conference on 4 October 1992. See also VANCE-OWEN PLAN.

CARTULARY OF ST. PETER’S ABBEY. The Benedictine monastery of St. Peter was built in the village of Selo, present-day Sumpetar, county of Poljica, near Split. The consecration of its church was performed in 1080 by Archbishop Laurence of Split. It came into being at the time after the Lateran Council of 1059, when the Roman Catholic Church was passing through a period of radical reforms. They were designed to reestablish its spiritual prestige and authority vis-à-vis the hereditary prerogatives of secular feudal rulers. A vigorous campaign was initiated to eradicate corruption, simony, and the widespread practice among the clergy of all ranks of taking concubines or marrying. The founder of the church, Petar Crni (Black Peter), provided the monastery with land and a workforce, and later the monastery’s possessions increased with endowments from other sources. There is a record in the monastery cartulary of all these purchases, donations, and lawsuits concerning various pieces of land. The monastery was probably destroyed by the Tartars during their invasion of Croatia in 1242, but its cartulary was preserved. The codex was written in Latin, mostly in Carolingian script. There also exists an epitaph of Petar Crni, alluding to difficulties probably between glagolaši (priests using the Croatian vernacular) and the Latin party.
CATHOLIC CHURCH. The Catholic Church welcomed Croatian independence in 1941. But after the victory of the partisans, a difficult period began for the Catholic Church because it was identified with the pro-Fascist Ustaša regime. Its bishop, Alojzije Stepinac, was put on trial in the autumn of 1946. He publicly declared that Croatians have the right to a national state and was apparently seen as the symbol of Croatian nationalism. Of course, the church was one and perhaps the only institution to gather anticommunist forces and to disseminate an ideology and practice of resistance. In 1952, the Vatican sent a harsh note to the communists and diplomatic relations were suspended. The promotion of Stepinac to archbishop and head of the Croatian church could be explained as an outright declaration of war on the new regime.

In the 1960s, a period of adjustment and relatively stable relations followed. The signing of the Vatican–Belgrade agreement in June 1966 more than symbolized this new area. It consecrated the new model of the Vatican’s adjustment to new political and ideological realities.

Though an interested participant, the role of the church in the Croatian Spring was not particularly impressive. The wish to maintain good relations with the authorities kept it from official revolutionary intervention. There was also a depoliticizing effect of the priority of the eschatological sphere.

Of course, the church welcomed the end of communism and political pluralism. The Vatican always lobbied in that sense and recognized the independence of the new state of Croatia even before most European countries. Zagreb Archbishop Franjo Kuharić (1970–1997) entertained close relation with the Franjo Tudman regime. The complete rehabilitation of Stepinac was initiated and the Vatican declared him beatific (beatus). The paper Slobodna Dalmacija published in 1992 a series praising Archbishop Stepinac and freeing him from earlier communist accusations. After spending two years in power, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) officially pursued a Christian Democratic profile and tried to benefit from this image in international contacts.

The relations with the new Stipe Mesić–Ivica Račan regime were strained. In the autumn of 2001, Zagreb Archbishop Josip Bozanić
(1997– ) criticized the social policy of the new government in name of all Croatian bishops. After a first strong reaction of the government expressed by Goran Granić, the vice prime minister competent for religious affairs, both President Mesić and Prime Minister Račan found it necessary to play down the incident. In fact, it seemed more to divide the governing coalition than affect the position of the clergy. Especially the more conservative clergy of the Dalmatian cities showed themselves at times in strong support of the present opposition parties, particularly the HDZ and the Democratic Center (DC). A reconciliation meeting was held in December 2001, where both parties—Prime Minister Račan and most concerned ministers on the one side, and Archbishop Božanić and most bishops on the other—agreed to intensify contacts and improve communication. Račan promised to strictly adhere to the agreement with the Vatican, dismissing among other things earlier rumors about abolishing religious education in children classes of state schools.

The population census of 2001 showed that almost 88 percent of the population declared itself to be Catholic. The church now counts four archbishoprics (Zagreb, Rijeka, Split, and Zadar) and 11 bishoprics (Dubrovnik, Đakovo, Gospić, Hvar, Križevci, Krk, Poreč, Požega, Šibenik, Varaždin, and the Army Church Office). The church leaders consult each other in the Croatian Conference of Bishops (Hrvatska biskupska konferencija, HBK).

Since independence, four agreements were signed between Croatia and the Vatican to guide relations and church life in Croatia. Because the church worked with limited personnel under the communist system and was not wholly imbued by the ideas of Vatican II, it still has a somewhat conservative image and lacks the sensitivity to take up the duties of a modern church. In the light of the new circumstances and opportunities, there is a lack of priests and laymen to fulfill all the tasks. In primary and secondary schools, religious education can be followed as an optional subject and 90 percent of the pupils do so. To prepare laymen for this task, religious schools were opened, along with the old theological faculty of Zagreb and a newly established one in Split.

In addition, nuns opened their own Catholic schools and have the opportunity of working in hospitals, old people’s home, and prisons. On the parochial level, the church forms pastoral groups and assis-
tance committees. Caritas is the Catholic organization that organizes material and spiritual support to the poor and deprived. It operates both on the national and international level. The church of Croatia is also involved in the ecumenical movement and has regular contacts with the Muslim, Orthodox, and other religious communities.

CAVTAT. Sea town, about 16 km south of Dubrovnik. It was already founded by the Illyrians and under Greek and Roman occupiers known as Epidaurum and Civitas. When the Avars and Slavs devastated the town, its habitants fled to the little island Lave (Laus), the present old town of Dubrovnik.

CENTER FOR CULTURE OF PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS. This center in Zagreb engaged in efforts to protect human rights, served as witness of illegal actions against Croatian civilians, and advocated the rights of minorities in Croatia. It published books on mediation, nonviolent conflict resolution, and conscientious objection, and translated reports of international human rights organizations into Croatian. With researchers in other former Yugoslav cities, the center was conducting studies into the media’s treatment of the war. It is still engaged in the education and learning processes of nonviolent actions.

CENTER FOR WOMEN VICTIMS OF WAR. This center in Zagreb provided psychological assistance, trauma recovery, humanitarian aid, financial support, and information on health and legal problems to women refugees of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia—especially victims of rape—without regard to nationality. It also helped women to emigrate and provided financial aid and letters of guarantee. It established shelters for women with exceptional need.

CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA / DRŽAVNI ZAVOD ZA STATISTIKU REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE. The bureau annually undertakes about 220 statistical research studies on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The bureau checks, processes, analyzes, and publishes data according to areas and branches of activity, as well as territorially by districts.
Every year, the bureau issues the *Statistical Yearbook*, and about 40 documents on different areas of statistics. The *Monthly Statistical Bulletin* contains data on current economic evolutions. The *Bulletin* informs with high frequency the interested public on ongoing research. Theoretical and specialized statistical studies are published in the series *Studies and Analyses*. The *Statistical Yearbook of Croatia* and the *Monthly Statistical Bulletin* appear in English versions. The publication *Population According to Ethnic Group by Settlement* has an appendix in English.

**CENTRAL EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (CEFTA).**

On 20 July 2001, under the Ivica Račan government, Croatia submitted its official request to adhere to the CEFTA. On 5 December 2002, Croatia, on the one hand, and Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, on the other, signed the agreement on the accession of Croatia in Zagreb. It entered into force on 1 March 2003.

**CERVA, AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS.** See CRIJEVIĆ, ILIJA.

**CESAREC, AUGUST (1893–1941).** Born in Zagreb. He was one of the most gifted writers of the period between the two world wars. His themes show his high commitment to social problems. Already in 1910, he published his first story *Iz svijeta potlačenih* (From the World of the Outcasts). Together with Miroslav Krleža, he edited the revolutionary journal *Plamen* (Flame), which was banned by the authorities. Then he went to Prague, but returned soon and collaborated to Krleža’s journal *Književna republika* (1923–1927). Between 1938 and 1940, he published prose and theater works. One of his dramas was awarded the Demeter prize. In World War II, he was one of the victims of the Kerestinec case.

**ČESMIČKI, IVAN (1434–1474).** Janus Pannonius, humanist, writer of odes and epigrams in Latin. He is one of the best known humanists in Croatia.

**ČEŠNAJ, IZIDOR (1939– ).** Croatian Army officer, commander of the headquarters of the operational zone in Gospić. In the midst of
the Medak offensive, he was replaced for health reasons by General Rahim Ademi, who was later indicted for war crimes.

**CETINA. River** ending in the Adriatic near the town of Omiš, south of Split. In early historical-geographical writings, it is supposed to divide White Croatia in the north from Red Croatia in the south.

**ČETNIK.** Serbian nationalist. Supporter during World War II of the Serbian General Draža Mihailović. The word četa means military company or detachment. The četniks first fought against the German occupiers and obtained the support of the Western Allies. Later they turned against communist partisans and Croats.

Nowadays, many Croats use the term četnik as a general denomination for all Serbian nationalists. In Serbia, Vojislav Šešelj and his paramilitary organization claim to be the heir of Draža Mihailović. Vuk Drašković was as well identified with the četnik movement of Mihailović.

**CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.** See CROATIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

**CHERSO.** See CRES.

**CHINA.** See PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (RELATIONS WITH).

**CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE CROATS.** Every theory on the early history of the Croats is subject to a high degree of uncertainty and divergent opinions. This is true especially of the Christianization of the Croats. It has to be seen as a continuous process with various episodes.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus praises the contribution of Emperor Heraclius (610–641) “sending priests from Rome and making bishops of them and christening the Croats.” The Franciscan historian Dominik Mandić likewise defends the thesis that Christianization began as early as 640. In that year, John of Solin (Ivan Solinjanin) was elected as the new pope of Rome. In 641, he sent Abbot Martin to Dalmatia to start the process of Christianization. However,
in this and some later periods, the Dalmatian towns were under the direct influence of the Byzantine Empire. It can be conjectured that the emperor—who regarded himself as a representative of God on Earth—would not have remained passive in conversion policies.

Other historians consider the influence of the Frankish reign in the beginning of the ninth century as decisive. They argue further that a strong church organization in Dalmatia had been introduced by John Pope X as late as 914 to 928. Perhaps also another date should be remembered. In 879, Pope John VIII sent a letter to Branimir. The pope recognized Croatia as an autonomous state and stressed the return of the Croatian people to the mother church of Rome. However, some historians have doubts about the truthfulness of these stories.

Moreover, there is a whole discussion on the role of the Slav apostles Methodius and Cyril in the Christianization of Croatia. It is partly related to the question of the introduction of Glagolitism—Cyril is not the creator of Cyrillic but used the Glagolitic—and the use of the national language in church services.

Earlier historians stressed the strong national Slavic character of the heritage of Methodius and Cyril and their opposition to the Latin party in the coastal towns under strong Byzantine influence. Recent investigation points to complementary processes. It is not unlikely that the Byzantines have supported the national church movement, especially in the north of the Adriatic where Italian political and religious concurrence was very threatening. Opposition to a national church in fact has come mainly from the patriarchate of Aquilea and the pope of Rome.

CHRONICLE OF THE PRIEST OF DIOCLEA / LJETOPIS POPA DUKLJANINA. The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea (Duklja, Doklea, or other variants) was written in the 12th century in Latin. The manuscript has been translated into Slavic and then again into Latin by Marko Marulić, though not too literally. The oldest published version is the Italian translation under the title Il regno degli Slavi oggi corrotamente detti Schiavioni done by Mavro Orbini, a Benedictine priest from Dubrovnik. A variant of the original Latin manuscript was published by Ivan Lučić in Amsterdam, De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex. The chronicle tells the story of
Croatia and Dalmatia from near the end of the ninth century to the middle of the 12th.

This early history of Croatia suggests the existence of one Greater Croatia, divided into Red and White Croatia, or North and South Croatia. The whole coastal area (primorje) of the Adriatic running from the Raša River in Istria to Drač in present-day Albania should have belonged to one Croatia, Red or White. In this interpretation, the Neretvan lands, Zahumlja, Travunja, and Duklja (Dioclea) were all parts of Red Croatia, sometimes called “High Dalmatia.” The northern coastal region from Istria to Split is White Croatia, or “Low Dalmatia.” Only the interior, called Transmontania or Zagorje, was Serbian land containing a part of present-day Bosnia to the west of the Drina and the state Raša (Serbia proper) to the east of it.

CIBALIA. See VINKOVCI.

ČIČAK, IVAN ZVONIMIR. During the Croatian Spring, he was the first student elected pro-rector of the University of Zagreb without being a member of the Communist Party. As a victim of Tito’s political repression, he sat in prison from 1971 to 1974. Later he worked as a journalist and became known for his critical commentaries in the journal Danas. At the end of the communist regime, he participated in the first series of demonstrations for more democracy and political freedom. Under the Franjo Tuđman regime, he preserved his critical and oppositional role. He left Danas when its editorial policy came under growing political pressure through a state privatization policy. He became the first president of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights. From then on, he was frequently discredited by regime forces. For example, the government-biased daily Vjesnik accused Čičak of being an informant of the former Yugoslav intelligence services. But on the other hand, he was awarded the 1997 Bruno Kreisky award for achievement in the field of human rights.

The 11 August 1997 issue of Feral Tribune published an interview with him in which he repeated the themes of a much earlier interview to Der Spiegel, recalling the 1991 Karadžorđevo meeting between Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević when they agreed on a plan of ethnic division of Bosnia, the subsequent ethnic cleansing, and the resettlement of refugees. Čičak added the hypothesis that also the Krajina Operation...
Storm was a planned action at least known in advance to the Yugoslav generals and resulting in a lack of resistance and a quasi-voluntary emigration of the Serbs. The interview inspired the public prosecutor of the state to accuse Čičak of alleged “dissemination of false information” in contravention of Article 191 of the Croatian Criminal Code. Čičak faced a sentence of six months of imprisonment. In an interview with the paper Večerni List on 13 September 1997, HDZ official Ivč Pašalić accused Čičak of high treason and defended the intervention of the prosecutor. An international solidarity action of human rights activists and lawyers seems to have been successful, because the charge was ultimately dropped.

Still in April 2000, he was threatened by right-wing supporters for having given information to the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia.

CILIGA, ANTE (1898–1992). Born at Šegovići near Pula, and student of philosophy and history at the universities of Prague, Vienna, and Zagreb. He joined the Socialist Party of Croatia in 1918 and participated in the Republic of Albona in 1921. From 1922 to 1925, he was secretary-general of the Communist Party of Croatia, and editor of its journal Borba. From 1926 to 1936, he resided in the Soviet Union, the last years in Siberian concentration camps because he was suspected of Trotskyism. Of this experience, he wrote The Russian Enigma (London, 1940). Back in Yugoslavia, he was betrayed by the Communist Party of Croatia and thrown into the Ustaša concentration camp of Jasenovac. He survived and immigrated to Western Europe: Berlin, Switzerland, and Rome. In the 1970s, he was editing an emigrant magazine, On the Threshold of a New Dawn. In 1990, he returned to Croatia.

CINEMA. The first Croatian film was shot in 1919 and dealt with a great historical theme: the peasant uprising of Matija Gubec. Another important production was made by Oktavijan Milić in 1943: a reconstruction of the life of the composer Vatroslav Lisinski. In the first years after World War II, the film industry was dominated by socialist realism. From this doctrine, the Zagreb Film School of Animated Film could easily escape and became world famous with films by Dušan Vukotić, Vatroslav Mimica, and Joško Marušić.
Each year the Film Festival of Pula shows the new Croatian productions and awards its “Zlatna Arena” (Golden Arena). In 2000, the film Maršal of Vinko Brešan won this prize. The same film also got awards at the Berlin, Bratislava, Karlovy Vary, and other film festivals.

In recent years, film production in Croatia has regained its good reputation, not least due to the products of the still-creative Zagreb animation school. A winner of the Best Croatian Film Award, Fine Dead Girls (Fine mrtve djevojke, 2002) of Dalibor Matanić has been named as one of the best Croatian movies. Other recent highly praised films include A Wonderful Night in Split (Ta divna Splitska noć, 2004) of Arsen A. Ostojić, The Border Post (2006) of Rajko Grlić, and Armin (2007) of Ognjen Sviličić.

CITIES. The major Croatian cities are Zagreb (approximately 950,000 inhabitants), Split (200,000), Rijeka (200,000), and Osijek (120,000). Statistics vary considerably according to whether one considers only the center of the city or includes the broad agglomeration around it.

COMINFORM CONFLICT. Conflict between Stalin and Tito in 1948. Stalin accused the Yugoslav communists of nationalist tendencies and the aspiration to dominate a Balkan federation. Tito first tried to defend his pure communist intentions, but then broke away from the international communist movement. This process was internally accompanied by purges against orthodox communists. Several leaders were discarded and deported to the island Goli Otok, the Yugoslav Siberia. About 2,600 Croatian communists were sentenced. It was a very severe illustration of a revolution that “eats its children.” Along with Bleiburg, it remained one of the tightest taboo themes under the communist regime. However, it gave the impetus to return to Marxist sources, leading to the introduction of the self-management idea, as well as to doctrinaire developments by thinkers such as Milovan Djilas, Edvard Kardelj, and the Praxis group.

CONSTANTINE, THE PHILOSOPHER. See CYRILLUS.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS (905–959). He was born the second son of Leo VI and became emperor of the Byzantine
Empire in 913. He reigned with some interruption until 959. He wrote a book about the administration of the empire—*De Administrando Imperio*—dedicated to his son and giving him advice on how to handle the nations surrounding the Byzantine Empire.

Constantine was the first to have differentiated clearly between Croats, Serbs, and other peoples living on the shores of the Adriatic. He was also the first writer to mention the Croats by their own name. Earlier writers contented themselves with the general indication “Slavs” (Sclaveni, Slovenes). Constantine gave a mythological account of the descent of the Slavs and Croats and their arrival on the Adriatic. Five brothers—Klukas, Lobelos, Kosentzis, Muchlo, and Chrobatos (Croat)—and two sisters (Tuga and Buga) led the Croats to their present homeland. According to Constantine, the Croats entered Dalmatia during the reign of Emperor Heraclius in the period 610–641.

Constantine’s definition of the territory of the Croats on the Adriatic is far more restrictive than that in the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*. Constantine spelled out in detail some other interesting events of Croatian history up to the mid-10th century.

**CONSTITUTION OF 1990.** On 22 December 1990, a new constitution of the Republic of Croatia was promulgated by all three chambers of the Croatian Parliament.

The Republic of Croatia was established as the national state of the Croatian nation and a state of members of other nations and minorities who are its citizens: Serbs, Muslims, Slovenes, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Hungarians, Jews, and others, who are guaranteed equality with the citizens of Croatian nationality and the fulfillment of ethnic rights in accordance with the democratic norms of the United Nations and the free-world countries.

State power in Croatia is entrusted to three bodies: legislative (Parliament), executive (president and government), and judicial.

The supreme head of the Republic is the president, who is elected for a term of five years. According to the constitution, the president appoints the prime minister, and, on the proposal of the prime minister, other ministers of government. These appointments are subject to confirmation by the chamber of representatives.
Under this constitution, Parliament is the highest legislative body and consists of two chambers: the Chamber (House) of Representatives, having between 100 and 160 members, and the Chamber (House) of Counties.

**CONSTITUTION OF 1974.** This last communist constitution integrated the amendments of the early 1970s. The autonomy of the republics and the autonomous provinces were strengthened. Consultation and reconciliation procedures at the federal level were complicated and time consuming.

In fact, this constitution laid the base for far-reaching autonomy and potential independence of the republics. It can be interpreted itself as a last answer to earlier manifestations of separatism, such as the **Croatian Spring.** Tito’s principal adviser, Edvard Kardelj, had understood that repression was untenable in the long run and only decentralization could bring a solution to the nationalistic issue.

**CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OF 1971.** The 1971 amendments to the communist Constitution of the Republic of Croatia were very controversial. Supporters of the reforms thought the statehood of the republic should be reinforced and hence the amendments should be applauded. Especially controversial was the proposed First Amendment in which the rights of Serbs and other nationalities in Croatia were specified. “The Croatian nation (*narod*) in history through its historical aspirations, in community with the Serbian nation (*narod*) and nationalities in Croatia . . . realized in the national liberation war and socialist revolution its own national state—the Socialist Republic of Croatia. . . . The Socialist Republic of Croatia is a sovereign national state of the Croatian nation (*narod*), the same of the Serbian nation (*narod*) in Croatia, and the state of the nationalities that live in it.”

Critics pointed out that in this formulation, the statehood of Croatia before 1918 was not recognized. But second and more important, the formulation implied that Croatia was not the national state of the **Croats.** It stated that Croatia was the state of Croats and Serbs.

In 1963, the Croatian constitution did not mention the Serbs in Croatia as a constituent nation of the republic. In 1971 this was
now explicitly done in order to guarantee the rights of the Serbs in Croatia.

Though granting equal rights to the Serbs and other nationalities, the 1990 constitution did not grant the Serbs the status of constituent nation of the republic. Croatia is defined in this last constitution as the historical state of the Croats.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OF 2001. Through a change of the 1990 Constitution of Croatia, on 28 March 2001, the Lower House or House of Counties (Ţupanijski Dom) of the Croatian Ša-bservable was abolished.

CONSTRUCTION. After a long time of very low domestic investment in construction during the war period up to 1995, the situation did not fundamentally change until the beginning of 2000. The situation is one of surplus capacity in relation to demand for construction services. Especially from 1997 on, the construction of houses nearly stagnated at the same level.

The new government has started a program of social housing construction. Moreover, public investment in traffic infrastructure has to revitalize construction. Several highways are projected, among them the major project Zagreb–Split.

CORRUPTION. See BUSINESS FRAUD AND CORRUPTION.

CORVINUS, MATHIAS. See KORVIN, MATIJA.

COUNCIL FOR DEFENSE AND NATIONAL SECURITY / VIJEĆE ZA OBRANU I NACIONALNU SIGURNOST. After the independence of Croatia, this council was created by President Franjo Tudman to handle state military security issues by a select staff and to take the main decisions in this field. With the exception of some general declarations to the press, the results of the sessions were kept highly confidential. Little by little, the files of some meetings were revealed. A detailed description of a September 1993 meeting on the Gospić offensive, with compromising data for both President Tudman and General Janko Bobetko, were revealed by

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (RELATIONS WITH). From its independence, Croatia always expressed the wish to leave the diplomatic frame of the Balkans and to integrate into Europe. The first step is then usually membership of the Council of Europe. However, informants of the council gave Croatia bad marks, pointing to Franjo Tuđman’s policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and the lack of internal democracy, especially the infringement on the rights of minorities and refugees.

Nevertheless, after some initial delays implying the rejection of the membership of Croatia, the Europeans changed tactics and decided to use full membership as a carrot and to try to influence the developments from within. The Republic of Croatia became a member of the Council of Europe on 6 November 1996. It took upon itself to bring into force 21 obligations that condition the accession of Croatia into Europe.

On 26 September 2000, the Parliament of the Council of Europe followed a proposal of its informant that it would no longer be necessary to monitor Croatia officially. On 6 November 2001, the Sabor gathered in presence of the president of the Parliament of the Council of Europe, Lord-Russell Johnston, to evaluate once more the progress made and to consider steps still to be taken. This was also done by the minister of foreign affairs of Croatia, Tonina Picula, in his introductory speech. Croatia now participated in all organs of the council and the way for further integration was included in the government’s strategic options. In Picula’s view, the change of regime after the January 2000 elections had irreversibly brought Croatia within the range of European democratic nations.

COUNCIL FOR RADIO AND TELEVISION / VIJEĆE ZA RADIO I TELEVIZIJU. This body of communication specialists and politicians decides on the licenses for radio and television stations. See also CROATIAN RADIO; CROATIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION; CROATIAN TELEVISION.
CRES. Second-largest Croatian island near the eastern side of Istria. It shares a common history with the nearby island of Lošinj.

Cres was already settled in the Neolithic period. About 1200 BCE it was colonized by the Illyrians. At the end of the third century BCE, the Romans built on the channel between Cres and Lošinj the fortification of Absorus, present-day Osor. This name was sometimes used for the whole island. The Slavs occupied the island in the early seventh century and at times shared government with the Byzantines. In 842, it fell into the hands of the Saracens. In the early 10th century, it became a part of the kingdom of King Tomislav. During the following centuries the Venetians dominated the region. In 1815, the island came under control of Austria. The Treaty of Rapallo in 1920 granted Istria and the surrounding islands to Italy. Cres finally joined Yugoslavia by the Treaty of Paris in 1947.

CRIJEVIĆ, ILIJA (1463–1520). Aelius Lampridius Cerva, Croatian humanist and writer of neo-Latin poetry.

CROAT–SERB COALITION / HRVATSKO-SRPSKA KOALICIJA (HSK). In 1905, two leading Croatian Yugoslavs Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbić founded the Croat–Serb Coalition with their Serbian fellow citizens living in the Habsburg Empire. They formed a further alliance with the Hungarian Independence Party led by Francis Kossuth. From then on, Hungarians supported the Croat–Serb coalition against the Croatian nationalists in Croatia and Slavonia. In the last Croatian elections in 1913 before World War I, the Croat–Serb Coalition won the majority of seats in the Sabor. The Croatian Serb Svetozar Pribićević was elected Speaker of the Sabor.

CROATIA PROPER. Up until World War I, the territory of present-day Croatia was described as the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia. The broader region around Zagreb and Varaždin was called Croatia proper.

CROATIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES / HRVATSKA AKADEMIIA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI (HAZU). The present Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences was during the commu-
nist regime a republican branch of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences. However, the original Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences was founded by Josip Strossmayer on Croatian soil and, though South Slav in principle, it was Croatian in character and activity, as reflected in its publications.

CROATIAN ARMED FORCES / HRVATSKE ORUŽENE SNAGE (HOS). The Croatian Armed Forces was the paramilitary organization of the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP). Ante Prkačin, once the head of the general command of the HOS, declared before the court in the trial of Dobroslav Paraga that he did not know exactly what the abbreviation HOS meant. The O might stand for oružene (armed), obrambene (defense), or osloboditeljske (liberation) forces. The paramilitary forces helped the Croatian National Guard and the Croatian Ministry of the Interior (MUP) in their fight against the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian paramilitary organizations. Some HOS soldiers shocked public opinion by openly wearing Ustaša symbols. The HOS displayed a tendency to launch uncontrolled armed actions. The MUP took measures to bring it under better control. Paraga and other leaders of the HSP were later brought before a military court on charges of terrorism and violation of the constitutional order.

CROATIAN ARMY. The regular armed forces of Croatia were created by a transformation of the Croatian National Guard. At first, regional territorial units and paramilitary formations such as the Croatian Armed Forces, the military arm of the Croatian Party of the Rights, played a major role in the fighting. Later, a general headquarters of the Croatian Army was formed and autonomous forces were more or less disciplined. By the beginning of 1993, the Croatian Army consisted of five professional brigades and reserve forces, with a total of about 100,000 men. There was also a small naval force. The armed force’s main need was aircraft. Of four MiGs, one did not return in September 1993 from the Gospić offensive. The Croatian Navy consisted of fast attack craft, such as Corvette class ships, landing ships, and mini-submarines.
Some 40,000 armed police units formed the nucleus of the police and the now existing paramilitary forces, which can be expanded to a 150,000-strong Croatian Army.

The Stipe Mesić–Ivica Račan regime initiated a reduction program of army and police forces, both for budget and political reasons. At the end of 2001, the chief commander of the Croatian Army, General Petar Stipetić, confirmed that the internal and external security in the country was more than satisfactory. However, in February of the same year, there had been rumors of insubordination against the Račan government because of the extradition of a Croatian general to the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia.

In the international field, Croatia was preparing its cooperation against terrorism after the attack of 11 September 2001. It facilitated the Kosovo operations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and was invited to the Partnership Peace. Finally, it acceded to full membership of the NATO in April 2009.

CROATIAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT / HRVATSKA BANKA ZA OBNOVU I RAZVOJ (HBOR). The Croatian Credit Bank for Reconstruction (HKBO) was established by law on 12 June 1992 and founded by the Republic of Croatia, which is also its exclusive owner and controller. The starting capital amounted to HRK 3.7 billion. Its name and function were changed to the present ones (HBOR) in December 1995. The bank acts as a development bank, primarily established to finance the reconstruction and development of the Croatian economy. A significant part of the bank’s lending volume was used for shipbuilding. Several ministers are members of the bank’s supervisory board under the presidency of the Croatian minister of finance.

In December 2006, a new act was passed on the operations of the bank. Its main activities continue to be lending to the local economy, credit export insurance, and financing of foreign trade. See also BANKING; FOREIGN DEBT; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND; WORLD BANK.

CROATIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE / HRVATSKA GOSPODARSKA KOMORA (HGK). The Chamber of Commerce is a public institution with the aim of defending the interests of its mem-
bers and of the economy of Croatia. It has official organizational tasks and acts as a representative of business for communication and negotiation with the government and the trade unions. The chamber critically examines drafts and legal regulations. It attempts to reach the best pragmatic solutions and is engaged in negotiating collective agreements. The Croatian Chamber of Commerce is a union of 20 regional chambers, each representing an industrial center in the different counties (županija): Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, Osijek, Zadar, Pula, Karlovac, Sisak, Varaždin, Bjelovar, Dubrovnik, Otočac, Čakovec, Šibenik, Vukovar, Koprivnica, Krapina, Požega, Slavonski Brod, and Virovitica. The Croatian Chamber of Commerce also has representatives in many countries abroad. Its aim is to provide information and establish contacts with foreign business partners.

To the chamber in Zagreb is attached a Permanent Arbitration Court that through arbitration, conciliation, and mediation tries to find a solution to conflicts between contracting parties.

CROATIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY / HRVATSKA KRŠČANSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA (HKDS). The Croatian Christian Democratic Party is a small Catholic party that concluded an agreement on cooperation with the Christian Democrats of Međimurje and the Christian National Party (KNS). Its presidency criticized the policy of Franjo Tuđman toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbs in the Serbian Republic of Krajina.

CROATIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION / HRVATSKA KRŠČANSKA DEMOKRATSKA UNIJA (HKDU). Since the elections of August 1992 were not very successful for these parties, the Croatian Democratic Party (HDS) and Croatian Christian Democratic Party (HKDS) decided to unite in a Croatian Christian Democrat Union (HKDU). However, some members of the HDS walked out before this happened. Many joined the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and some formed a new Party of the Croatian Rights under the leadership of Ivan Gabelica. The regional sections of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party (HKDS) of Međimurje and Opatija seized their autonomy. The HDS totally merged in the HKDU, while the HKDS retained its identity. The function of president of the HKDU was performed by Croatian Spring dissident, intellectual, and writer Marko Veselica.
At one point, there was some competition to join Christian international organizations as the governing party Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) also tried to do, increasingly assuming a Christian Democrat profile. But this policy of the authoritarian-led HDZ was not well received by the international community.

Under the new Stipe Mesić–Ivica Račan government, the HKDU continued to play its opposition role. It was very critical of the policy of cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and it supported the Headquarters for the Defense of the Honor of the Dignity of the Homeland War in its resistance to the extradition of Croatian generals.

CROATIAN COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT / HRVATSKO VIJEĆE EUROPSKOG POKRETA (HVEP). The Croatian Council of the European Movement is a nongovernmental and nonparty organization. It promotes the integration of Croatia into Europe. It organizes seminars and invites important European personalities, and it holds exhibitions and disseminates publications about the Council of Europe and the European Union. The European Movement Croatia (EMC) was founded in Zagreb on 23 June 1990 and benefited from the growing interest in access to the European Union under the Ivica Račan government.

CROATIAN DEFENSE COUNCIL / HRVATSKO VIJEĆE ORBAN (HVO). The Croatian Defense Council was the military arm of the political entity of Herzeg Bosna of the Croatian Bosnians of Herzegovina under the leadership of Mate Boban. It received substantial resources from the motherland Croatia. In a first period, it fought with the Muslims against the Bosnian Serbs, but in the second phase, the allies attacked each other, especially in Mostar and in the middle and west of Bosnia. Both parties engaged in ethnic cleansing. Finally the parties were reconciled by the diplomatic intervention of the United States, proposing a Muslim-Croat Federation. The Dayton agreement of the end of 1995 recognized the HVO as the legitimate military formation of the Croats of Herzegovina. However, it had to be brought under a common command in the framework of the Muslim-Croat Federation. To date, it is still not clear what really has been achieved by this military integration.
CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF SLAVONIA AND BARANJA / HVATSKI DEMOKRATSKI SAVEZ SLAVONIJE I BARANJE (HDSSB). This regional party has its seat in Osijek and aims at decentralizing political life. Before the 2005 local elections, it was first created as a nonpolitical organization by the right-oriented Branimir Glavaš, and he was followed by regional Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) politicians. Ivo Sanader removed Glavaš. In the local elections, Glavaš entered a coalition with the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) and won the majority in the Osijek-Baranja Regional Parliament (Osječko-baranska županija). The party has organized its recent activities according to the program adopted on 7 June 2007. Its president is Vladimir Šišljagić.

CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY / HRVATSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA (HDS). The Croatian Democratic Party was a Christian Democratic opposition party founded and presided over by Marko Veselica, a well-known dissident of the Croatian Spring. Following any lack of success in elections, the party was merged in December 1992 with the Croatian Christian Democrat Union (HKDU).

CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION / HRVATSKA DEMOKRATSKA ZAJEDNICA (HDZ). The Croatian Democratic Union held a secret founding meeting on 17 June 1989, in which Franjo Tuđman was chosen president. In the beginning, it was seen by Tuđman more as a movement than a political party. However, on 5 February 1990, the party was registered and its activities officially legalized. The leading bodies of the HDZ are the president (Predsednik), the vice-president (Zamenik predsednika), the presidency (Predsedništva), the Central Board (Središni Odbor), the National Council (Nacionalno Vijeće), and finally the Convention (Opći Sabor) as the highest constitutional body of the party. Their composition and competences are in principle defined by the statute of the party, but were in practice not always clearly differentiated. There also exist important executive functions such as the general secretary and the political secretary.

The first convention of the party was held on 24–25 February 1990 and the ideological program was defined and accepted. Tuđman
was confirmed as president of the party, Josip Manolić was elected president of the Executive Board, and Stipe Mesić got the function of general secretary of the party.

The party obtained an overwhelming victory in the first multiparty elections of 22 April and 6 May 1990 and won 197 political mandates or 60 percent of the seats in the Sabor. The same was more or less true in 1992, 1995, and 1997. The party dominated the political life of Croatia for almost a decade. In 1990, Tuđman was appointed by the Sabor as president of the Republic of Croatia; in 1992, he was confirmed in that function by general elections.

A mass party with various ambitious personalities has a lot of trouble preserving its homogeneity. As early as 1992, there were three strongly competing currents. The right wing considered itself the authentic, original, and “right” side of the HDZ, which had contributed most to the massive electoral victory of the party at the first multiparty elections. The right wing contended that it had not received the number of government posts it deserved, since many seats were given to newcomers of the left and the “new managers” of the HDZ. The left in turn accused the right of being overly conservative, extremist, and even antidemocratic. In its view, the right wing advocated a policy that would govern Croatia by sheer ideology and force, and this would drive the country into isolation. It complained that the right wing had always dominated in internal elections because of procedural inequalities. Others thought the lines of division were not so clear. Probably only the following principle was true: the further away party leaders were from the center in Zagreb, the more they were nationalistic and right-wing oriented. And proportionately, they were a majority.

At the beginning of September 1993, Mesić on the left and Branimir Glavaš on the right openly fought a bitter struggle in the press. Left-wing oriented Josip Manolić threatened to split the party or to leave. In the middle of October, the party held its second convention. The leaders announced the transformation of the HDZ from a movement into a real party with a Christian Democratic outlook, probably to build bridges with similar parties in Germany, Austria, and Belgium. The first significant move came from the right. The conservative county prefect Glavaš had accepted an amendment that deprived members of their right to vote if they were not elected to
the presidency of the party, but only participated in the deliberations on behalf of their high political position. As most left-wing figures such as Mesić and Manolić were in this situation, their political influence was curtailed. However, the most significant move came from President Tuđman himself. He presented his preferred list of candidates and completely recentered the party. The representatives of the extreme right wing retired or were voted out. Tuđman tried to close the ranks of the party on a center position. A new statute and party program were adopted, giving the HDZ a Christian Democratic flavor. But this move was not as radical as had been predicted in the period before the convention.

In the month of April 1994, the party and the regime were shaken by a deep crisis. The presidents of both Houses of Parliament, Mesić and Manolić, revolted and left the HDZ. They could not agree with the president’s policy toward Bosnia and disliked some internal party practices. Though the HDZ’s parliamentary majority was not threatened, the departure of Mesić and Manolić was a significant moral and political blow.

However, Operations Flash and Storm in 1995 restored the popularity of the president and the party, and led to a new victory in the elections. But further internal conflicts and scandals in the privatization processes undermined the electoral base of the HDZ in the long run. Gradually, the national euphoria withered away and the existential economic and social conditions of life became the center of attention of the citizens.

Until then, Tuđman was able to hold the balance between more moderate party managers and political right-wingers. If not reflecting the real situation in the party, this would at least be good window dressing for the general public and international observers. After the end of 1996, this image was more difficult to maintain. Internal protests and dismissals of more moderate party leaders could no longer be contained. A first sign of dissention was the dismissal by Tuđman of his minister of the interior Ivan Jarnjak because he was too permissive during the massive protest meeting in favor of Radio 2001 in Zagreb in November 1996. The moderate Jarnjak disappeared from the public stage into an intelligence service as president of the Service for the Protection of the Constitutional Order (SZUP).
Even more clearly related to the problematic internal situation of the country was the resignation of the minister of defense, Andrija Hebrang. His intention had been to reform the ministry and to get rid of the Šušak heritage with its compromising links to Herzegovina and to make financing and services more transparent. He encountered resistance from three generals whom he wanted to dismiss. The first was Vladimir Zagorec, the director of Alan, an organization that was responsible during the war for the secret procurement of military equipment. The second was Markica Rebić, head of the military intelligence service for the interior (SIS), and the third was Ljubić Česić-Rois, who was the link to the Bosnian Croat forces (HVO). However, Zagorec convinced Tuđman that dangerous information about the former activities of the ministry could fall into the wrong hands. In September 1988, Tuđman even ordered two investigations on Hebrang, one by the Ministry of Defense itself and the other in the party. Allegedly, he had too close relations with American officials and U.S. ambassador William Montgomery. Hebrang resigned.

A last achievement of the regime was the peaceful integration of Eastern Slavonia. But the HDZ government began to lose popular support due to the economic crisis of 1998 banks that collapsed or limited credit to the public and to the increasing corruption and inefficiency of the privatization practices, accompanied by the laying off of workers and the enrichment of tycoons, and the government was criticized by the public. In this period, the relations between the two dominant factions within the HDZ became even more strained. On one side stood the former prime ministers Hrvoje Šarinić and Franjo Gregurić with their technocratic and managerial style. They were opposed by Ivica Pašalić, who was to play a very prominent role in the party divisions. A Herzegovinian himself, he was a protégé of the right-wing minister Šušak and had been entrusted with the post of general secretary of the party in 1992. Then he had been appointed senior adviser to Tuđman for internal affairs and as such had been very close to Markica Rebić, head of the SIS, the intelligence service of the Ministry of Defense responsible for the operations in Croatia itself. Pašalić was in some manner implicated in the troubles of the Dubrovačka Banka, Croatia’s fifth-largest bank. At least, he had close relations with the tycoon Miroslav Kutle, one of the mayor players in this crisis. An investigation was undertaken by the authori-
ties, but much remained unclear. Miroslav Tuđman, who was a more scientifically minded and politically sophisticated personality than his father Franjo, resigned as head of the Croatian Intelligence Service (HIS) in February 1998, allegedly because the case could not be properly handled by his services. Šarinić also threatened to resign for the same reason, but under pressure from Tuđman finally withdrew his resignation. The case was also linked to the dismissal of the director of the Croatian Radio and Television (HRT) Ivica Mudrinić, who was said to be under the thumb of Pašalić. At Šarinić’s instigation, the director was replaced by Ivica Vrkić.

During the fourth convention on 21–22 February 1998, elections to the Central Board strengthened the right wing. With the exception of Foreign Minister Mate Granić, who came in third, all those elected were considered right-wingers: Gojko Šušak, Vladimir Šeks, Ivan Aralica, Pašalić, and Drago Krpina. Tuđman himself was confirmed as party president. Later Granić complained to Tuđman that Pašalić prevented him from being elected to vice-president of the party.

The second and last conflict between Šarinić and Pašalić broke out at the end of September 1998. Šarinić and Gregurić accused Rebić and Pašalić of preparing their political assassination by abuse of the intelligence service. The Security Information Service (SIS) had allegedly leaked sensitive information to the weekly magazine Imperial. An investigation was held by the National Security Board (UNS), a security service closer to the moderates within the party. The report was discussed both by a parliamentary commission and the National Council (Nacionalno vijeće) of the HDZ. It was significant that another report by the HIS was read in the party and not in Parliament. The HDZ majority in the commission of the Sabor found the accusation of Šarinić unfounded. Šarinic walked out of the party meeting and resigned all his functions at the beginning of October. He was followed by Gregurić. Hard-liners had won the party battle.

Now it was their task to prepare the elections, though in new circumstances: for the first time the opposition parties succeeded in building a coalition and threatened to push the HDZ from power. And they were confronted with another adversity: the death of Tuđman. But the party could not really digest the death of its leader, President Tuđman, and lost the elections at the beginning of 2000 to the coalition of six opposition parties. The HDZ could not achieve
the victory of its candidate Mate Granić in the presidential elections either. Many observers predicted the total collapse of the party. After the election defeat of 2000, Mate Granić and Vesna Škare-Ožbolt left the HDZ and on 2 April 2000 founded a new party, the Democratic Center, intended to be more moderate and to leave behind the scandals of the HDZ government period.

During the fifth party convention on 29–30 April 2000, Ivo Sanader was chosen as the new president of the party. Though he had still spoken at the Split rally in very nationalistic terms, he slowly shifted to a more moderate course. He realized that the only way to return to power was to distance himself from the former HDZ policy that was characterized by overly nationalistic rhetoric, a privatization process that favored party-related industrial tycoons, and a certain disdain for democratic institutions and the democratic West. The new course was not applauded by all party members. Some felt that the values of the founders and supporters of the new Croatia were in danger. Right-wing supporters again rallied around Pašalić. On 21 April 2002, during the seventh HDZ convention, Pašalić challenged Sanader for the leadership of the party, but was defeated by a narrow margin, in part due to the unexpected switch of the right-wing Slavonian leader Glavaš. Pašalić left the HDZ and with other right-wing companions founded his own party, the Croatian Bloc. When it became clear that the HDZ could win the next elections in 2003 if it defeated the SDP, many of these right-wingers returned to the HDZ.

As the Ivica Račan government encountered many difficulties in pushing through the promised economic and social reforms, the HDZ initially found it relatively easy to stabilize its position and even to improve it. It was more successful than expected in the local elections. It handily exploited the rivalry between Račan and the Liberal leader Dražen Budiša. Still the largest individual party of the country, the HDZ could make a comeback in national politics if it succeeded in destroying the rather weak coalition.

At the legislative elections of November 2003, the party won 34 percent of the votes or 66 of 151 seats in Parliament. Although it failed to win a majority, it was invited to form a government under the leadership of Sanader thanks to the support of other minority parties.
The next challenge to Sanader’s moderate course came just before the local elections of 2005. The influential right-wing HDZ member and founder Glavaš had his own election list drawn up by what he first called a civil organization, but which happened to be a regional political movement: the Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (HDSSB). At the last minute, this was revealed to Sanader and Glavaš was expelled from the HDZ. Though Glavaš won the elections in the region of Slavonia, he was neutralized in national politics. Further harm for Sanader was avoided by Glavaš being charged with war crimes and his parliamentary immunity lifted.

At the same time, the press pointed to another supposedly dangerous threat to Sanader. Andrija Hebrang had been attributed the ambition to become party leader. One of the levers to do this would be Hebrang’s intervention during a physicians’ strike. However, this remained pure speculation because Sanader appealed to the court to ban the strike without recourse to Hebrang, who as minister of health had signed the disputed collective agreement.

One of Sanader’s main problems was the struggle with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) regarding the extradition of Ante Gotovina, strictly tied by the European Union (EU) to the beginning of the accession procedures. After a direct confrontation with Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte in April, the matter reached a final solution and on 3 October 2006 the accession negotiations were started. In the parliamentary elections of 2007, Sanader was able to reaffirm his and his party’s government position. From then on, Sanader began to behave as the absolute leader of the HDZ. He controlled all major decisions and even seemed to decide on the selection of future presidential HDZ candidates. It would be no surprise if he himself succeeded Mesić.

CROATIAN ETHNIC GROUPS. Several Croatian ethnic groups can be discerned in different locations. The Croats consist of the Bunjevci and Šokci (living in Serbia/Vojvodina and Hungary), Slavonci, Zagorci, Međumurci, Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gorani, Istrian (most in Croatia but some living in Slovenia), Gradinscani (in Austria and Hungary), Dalmatinci, Konavljani, Bokelji (in Montenegro), Janjevci (in Kosovo), and so on. All these Croatians groups represent a richness of dialects, national costumes, habits, and folk songs.
CROATIAN FUND FOR DEVELOPMENT / HRVATSKI FOND ZA RAZVOJ. The fund was established as the financial intermediary to implement the Law on the Transformation of Socially Owned Enterprises. During the first phase of transformation, the socially owned enterprises were free to choose a model of transformation of their ownership relations and management bodies. After the deadline of 30 June 1992, firms not being engaged so far in the transformation process came under the jurisdiction of the Croatian Fund for Development and the Pension Insurance Funds as new legal owners. This approach made the Croatian Fund for Development a special kind of holding company in which the state was holding a dominant position.

The Croatian Fund for Development was obliged to put on sale all stocks or shares it gained by transformation of ownership. On the basis of a contract, the fund could entrust the management of a company in a domestic or foreign person. The companies could be leased out by a public auction or by public bidding.

One of the functions of the fund was to cofinance development programs. The fund could finance a maximum of two thirds of the total estimated value of investments, while the investor provided at least 25 percent of the investment him- or herself. Both forms of credit and noncredit financing were possible, along with factoring services. Other functions of the fund were the establishment of a capital market and even more regional development.

All these functions of the fund were taken over by the Croatian Privatization Fund and the Croatian Bank for Reconstruction.

CROATIAN GUARANTEE AGENCY (CGA) / HRVATSKA GARANCIJSKA AGENCIJA (HGA). This financial institution was founded by the Republic of Croatia, which is liable for the obligations of the agency. Its goal is to promote small- and medium-sized enterprises through the support of investment financing by guaranteeing loans granted by banks and other institutions and by offering financial subsidies to reduce the lending costs of enterprises. The main criteria for giving support are the profitability of the project and the business capability of the enterprises.
CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (CHC) / HRVATSKI HELSINŠKI ODBOR ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA. The Croatian Section of the Helsinki International Federation actively monitors human rights abuses and regularly presents reports on the situation in Croatia. It was founded in 1992 and first presided by Ivan Zvonimir Čičak. It has its headquarters in Zagreb and six regional subsidiaries. At the time of its founding, the rights of the Serbs as a minority was the main problem, along with media control, the independence of the judiciary, and the position of other minorities such as gypsies (Roma). On each of these problems research has been done, publications were distributed, and the public and politicians were informed and incited to action. For example, at the end of 2001, the president in function, Žarko Puhovski, warned the public and authorities against the segregation of Roma in the region of Medimurje. The critical attitude of the organization has not always been appreciated by the authorities. At a meeting on 26 September 2008, Ivo Banac, president of the HHO since November 2007, had to admit the organization was in financial difficulty due to a lack of donations and could not pay the wages of its staff for five months. Banac cut projects that needed funds and could not find new donors.

CROATIAN HOMELAND FOUNDATION / HRVATSKA MATICA ISELJENIKA (HMI). Cultural institution whose main function is to intensify the contacts with Croatian émigrés. It showed earlier a strong nationalistic flavor, for example, during the Croatian Spring, but also under the Tudman regime. It publishes the journal Matica.

CROATIAN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS / HRVATSKI NEZAVISNI DEMOKRATI (HND). The party was founded in April 1994 by Stipe Mesić and Josip Manolić after they left the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). Slavko Degorica was a third important personality who left the HDZ for this party. Taking with them the presidents of both Parliaments and 16 more representatives, the HND at first seemed to threaten the parliamentary majority of
the HDZ. However, the breakthrough of the HND did not really take place. In 1995, *Operations Flash* and *Storm* fueled nationalistic pride and the HDZ triumphed in the ensuing elections.

**CROATIAN INSTITUTE OF HISTORY / HRVATSKI INSTITUT ZA POVIJEST.** This independent scientific institute in Zagreb publishes the journals *Povijesni prilozi* (Historical Contributions) and *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* (Journal of Contemporary History).

**CROATIAN JOURNALISTS’ ASSOCIATION / HRVATSKA NOVINARSKA DRUŠTVA (HND).** This organization protects the interests of journalists and the freedom of the press. It has worked out a code of conduct for journalists. It issues a professional journal *Novinar* (The Journalist) and periodic information. Each year, a prize is awarded for the best journalistic work or lifetime achievement. In 2001, the latter was awarded to the emigrated Croatian-Spanish journalist Luka Brajnović.

**CROATIAN NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM.** The present Croatian Natural History Museum was founded in 1986. Its history goes far back into the past. There were already museums with natural history items in the second part of the 18th century, for example, the Museum of Ivan Aletin in Dubrovnik. Generally, these museums were the reflection of the interests of dedicated individuals, not of institutions, who collected rarities with great passion. As for the natural history items, there were mainly preserved fish, reptiles, insects, and birds, as well as plants, ferns, and marine algae. The peak of the development of museums in Croatia took place in the 19th century. Even then, the main collectors were keen amateurs, but gradually the motives and criteria for collecting changed. All this is related to the beginnings of the Croatian Revival in the 1830s and the prevailing spirit of empiricism and scientism in Europe in general. With the establishment of natural history museums in Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Zadar, and other places, there was a strong tendency to show the flora and fauna of Croatia and its regions.

More concretely, the origin of the present Croatian National History Museum is situated in 1828 when the leading personality of the Croatian Revival, Ljudevit Gaj, requested the foundation of
the Learned Society, that is, the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the foundation of the National Museum in Zagreb. In 1836, the Croatian Parliament followed Gaj’s suggestion to establish these institutions. But the decisions of the Sabor remained temporarily unfulfilled because they were not confirmed by the central government in Vienna. In the meantime, the natural history collection progressed under the protection of the Agricultural Society founded in 1842.

The National Museum really functioned as of 1846. In that year, the Croatian government bought and decorated a special palace where the Agricultural Society was installed with the museum collections, which were opened to the public. Finally in 1866, the central government in Vienna confirmed the existence of the growing institution and put it under the direction of the newly founded Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences. Very soon, the National Museum departments were transformed into two distinct museums of natural history: the Croatian Zoological Museum led by the important paleomalacologist Spiridion Brusina and the Geological-Mineralogical Museum led by the geologist Georgius Pilar. After the death of Pilar in 1893, the great paleoanthropologist Dragutin Gorjanović Kramberger, who studied the Krapina Neanderthals, separated his Geological-Paleontological Museum from the other collections.

Thus at the end of the 19th century, there existed three natural history museums in Zagreb: the Croatian National Zoological Museum, the Geological and Paleontological Museum, and the Mineralogical and Petrographic Museum. This favored the independent development of the different natural history disciplines. The situation continued until the 1980s when a tendency arose for a new integration. In their full maturity, the museums were suited to making a new, relatively strong professional and scientific institution. The integration took place in 1986 when the United Croatian Natural History Museum was created. It is the national and central museum for natural history collections and museums in the Republic of Croatia. By a special decree, the Ministry of Culture legalized this function in 1993.

The Croatian Natural History Museum has an important exploration center. It gathers explorers for its projects and scientific programs. Its aim is to be a strong database for Croatian zoology,
geology, paleontology, mineralogy, petrography, and botany. In the museum there are more than 2,500,000 natural specimens and about 35,000 titles of professional and scientific literature.

The museum is a nonprofit state institution financed by the Republic of Croatia and the city of Zagreb.

CROATIAN NEWS AND PRESS AGENCY / HRVATSKA IZVJEŠTAJNA NOVINSKA AGENCIJA (HINA). The Croatian News and Press Agency has its headquarters in Zagreb. It produces daily about 200 news items in Croatian and since 1991 administers a large database called EVA about Croatia. HINA also publishes business and English news selections.

CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS / HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA (HSP). Today’s Croatian Party of Rights can be traced back to the earlier party, better understood as the Party of the Historical Rights of Croatia. Ante Starčević was the father of the party and the founder of its ideology. The historical rights refer to the legal and moral reasons that justify the independence and autonomy of Croatia. This (rather romantic) theory stresses the continuity of the statehood of Croatia. According to this perspective, in the course of history Croatia has always been an autonomous subject. It has deliberately chosen its destiny and alliances on its own terms. Any bond could be supposedly broken if the conditions imposed by the Sabor were no longer fulfilled. In the case of Habsburg rule, Croatia is considered to have been bound only by a personal union with the king. This union was freely chosen and this contract could be discontinued whenever the interests of Croatia so required. Concretely, this implied the virtual independence of Croatia from the Habsburg regime and especially Hungary.

Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik defended this position more or less clearly in the Sabor as early as 1861. In 1871, Kvaternik organized an armed uprising against Austria and was killed in this rebellion. Ante Starčević chose a more cautious strategy and led his party to victory in the elections of 1884. However, due to the Austrian and Hungarian resistance, the HSP could not fully realize its political program. After the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in World War I, the radical Croatian-nationalist ideas were taken over by the Croatian
**People’s Peasant Party.** Together with all other political parties, the Croatian Party of Rights was ultimately dissolved by King Alexander on 6 January 1929.

After the collapse of the communist regime, some intellectuals founded a new party on 25 February 1990, under the name Hrvatska Stranka Prava. The first president, Dobroslav Paraga, acknowledged the historical bounds with the older HSP from before 1929. He rejected any connection with the later Ustaša regime.

Soon dissensions within the Croatian Party of Rights led to repeated splits. The former secretary Krešimir Pavelić became leader of the Croatian Democratic Party of Rights (HDSP). Some other smaller parties appeared, all claiming to offer the right interpretation of Ante Starčević’s ideology.

Dobroslav Paraga and the HSP had to appear before the military court on the allegation of insubordination. Paraga was dismissed as president of the party.

On 17 September 1993, the leaders of three parties, meeting in Kutina, began preparations for a new union on a broad common pravaški (Croatian rights) program. The initiative came from the new leaders of the HSP, President Boris Kandare and Copresident Ante Đapić, who invited the leaders of the Croatian Pure Party of Rights (HČSP), Ivan Gabelica, and of the Croatian National-Democratic League, Petar Badovinac and Bosiljko Mišetić. Later, other “state-building” parties, such as the Croatian Democratic Party of Rights and even the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) might join. Eight years later, however, the Croatian Party of Rights, the Croatian Pure Party of Rights, and the Croatian Party of Rights—1861 are still independent parties. The HDZ never sought adhesion to the Parties of Right bloc.

Though ideologically strong, the party has never obtained the electoral success of its historic predecessor and still finds itself at the ultra-right of the political spectrum. Probably at the expense of the HDZ, it tripled its low-level representation in the local 2001 elections in comparison with 1997. The present president of the party is former copresident Ante Đapić. He is known for his strong opposition to cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and other strongly nationalistic standpoints.
In the 2005 local elections, Đapić formed a coalition with the former HDZ politician and now independent regionalist Branimir Glavaš and became mayor of the city of Osijek.

**CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS—1861 / HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA—1861 (HSP-1861).** This party of the family of rights parties was founded on 31 May 1995. Its president is former Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) president Dobroslav Paraga. The party stresses its adherence to the historical 1861 party line and pretends to be more faithful to the original ideas of Ante Starčević.

**CROATIAN PEASANTS PARTY / HRVATSKA SELJAČKA STRANKA (HSS).** After the disintegration of the communist regime, the ideas and traditions of the Croatian People’s Peasant Party (HPSS) were supposed to be continued by a new Peasant Party, the Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka (HSS). However, efforts to revive the party in the postcommunist period were not too successful. Not until mid-September 1992 did party leader Drago Stipac feel that the new HSS was constituted and could work in continuity with the prewar HPSS. In the previous years, four to five parties had been claiming to be the heirs of the HPSS. Another member of the presidency, Tihomil Rađa, maintained that the Croatian state could best be organized along the lines of Stjepan Radić’s own alternative design of the 1921 constitution. Some new dissenters claiming they represented more truthfully the ideas of the HPPS appear regularly on the stage.

Strangely enough and in full contrast with the early prewar period, the party did not appeal to the broad masses. Its electoral results were meager and to observers and supporters rather disappointing. Facing a bleak future, the party decided in 1999 to participate in an opposition front of four parties that should also join the coalition of the Social Democrats of Ivica Račan and the Social-Liberals of Dražen Budiša. This opposition front defeated the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), and the HSS could enter the government coalition and provide the minister of agriculture. In the May 2001 regional and local elections, it obtained a relative success with the appointment of 8 župans (governors) and 133 mayors.
So far the HSS has acted as one of the most loyal partners of Prime Minister Račan. Given Croatia’s strategic choice for integration into the European Union and into the world market by adhesion to the World Trade Organization, Croatia’s market for agricultural products will be confronted with much more competition and it is not clear how the party will cope with this problem. The first frictions in the government coalition on this problem already came into the open.

CROATIAN PEOPLE’S PARTY / HRVATSKA NARODNA STRANKA (HNS). At the beginning of the 1990s, the party was founded by Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Ante Miko Tripalo, both well known dissidents from the Croatian Spring. At the time, observers expected the party could have been a real sparring partner for Franjo Tuđman’s Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). However, the party failed completely in the first multiparty elections of 1990, and ended up only in the fourth place with 6 percent of the votes in the 1992 elections.

Before the 2000 elections, the party acceded to the front of four smaller opposition parties that together with the Social Democrats (SDP) and Social-Liberals (HSLS) formed a coalition of six opposition parties. The formation won the parliamentary elections and the party entered the government. Party president and university professor Vesna Pusić became an influential political decision maker. To the credit of the party, it can also be mentioned that it was accepted in the European Association of Liberal Democratic and Reformist Parties.

CROATIAN PEOPLE’S PEASANT PARTY / HRVATSKA PUČKA SELJAČKA STRANKA (HPSS). The HPSS was founded on 22 December 1904 by the brothers Ante and Stjepan Radić in Hrastovica near Sisak. Its declared goal was to further the interests of the Croatian peasants and to defend the autonomy of Croatia within a freely chosen federal union with the other peoples of Yugoslavia. Radić even had plans to create an independent Croatian Peasant Republic, inspired by the institutional setup of the republics in the Soviet Union.
The party became the biggest political formation in Croatia during the interwar era. Except for a short period when party leader Radić was minister of education, it refused to cooperate with Belgrade. In November 1927, Stjepan Radić concluded an agreement with Svetozar Pribićević, leader of the Independent Democratic Party, the party of the Serbs living in Croatia. This Peasant–Independent Democratic Coalition practiced systematic obstructionism in the National Assembly of Belgrade. Nationalist passions and ethnic tensions rose to the point that Radić was shot in Parliament by the Serb Montenegrin Puniša Račić during a tumultuous session on 20 June 1928.

Vladko Maček took over the leadership of the Peasant Party and continued to refuse any cooperation without a major change of the constitution of the kingdom. King Alexander abolished the parliamentary system and proclaimed a dictatorship on 6 January 1929. All activity of the political parties was banned and remained illegal until the assassination of the king in Marseilles on 9 October 1934. The party then repeated some years of fierce opposition under the regime of the new regent. Finally, on 26 August 1939, Maček reached an agreement with the Belgrade politician Dragiša Cvetković. The Sporazum granted autonomy to Croatia in the form of a self-administered Banovina inside Yugoslavia. This settlement of the Croatian nationality problem was undermined by the imminence of World War II. Already under pressure of Ustaša propaganda, some of the supporters of Maček’s party criticized the project for not going far enough. At the beginning of World War II, the Independent State of Croatia was created and Maček was invited by the Germans to take power. He refused. He only agreed to call for benevolent neutrality toward the new Ustaša regime, led by the Ustaša poglavnik (head of state) Ante Pavelić. The Croatian People’s Peasant Party likewise opposed all cooperation with the communist partisans. The passivity of the HPSS led to its political downfall.

At the end of the war, Maček immigrated to the United States, where he could write in peace his memoirs: In the Struggle for Freedom. The party continued to work with émigrés and only at the beginning of the 1990s, it handled over its responsibilities to its branch in the fatherland, now renamed Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, HSS).
CROATIAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY / HRVATSKO FILOSOFSKO DRUŠTVO. This society in Zagreb publishes Filozofska Istraživanja (Philosophical Investigations) and Synthesis Philosophica (Philosophical Synthesis).

CROATIAN PRIVATIZATION FUND (CPF) / HRVATSKI FOND ZA PRIVATIZACIJU (HFP). The fund is the successor to the Croatian Fund for Development and has been established to continue and complete the privatization process. Privatization was first conducted under the Law on the Transformation of Enterprises in Social Ownership (1991) and then continued under the Privatization Law (1993).

The fund’s managing body is the fund’s Management Board. The fund’s president and vice-presidents form the fund’s Steering Council. The Supervisory Board has been established to supervise the work of the fund.

CROATIAN RADIO / HRVATSKI RADIO (HR). The Croatian Radio transmitted its first program from Zagreb and has more than 50 regional radio stations. Its ideological evolution is similar to that of the Croatian television. Many new local radio stations have sprung up and are broadcasting programs to local audiences. Each local community has a radio frequency at its disposal. Licenses are issued by the Council for Radio and Television.

CROATIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION / HRVATSKI RADIO I TELEVIZIJA (HRTV). HRTV, in communist times the public self-management radio and television organization of Croatia, was turned into a state-owned national television and radio-organization in the 1990s. HRTV had three radio and two television national channels. HRTV’s center is in Zagreb. The structure of HRTV also included five regional TV studios, which produced and transmitted their programs within the programming scheme of the HRTV.

CROATIAN REPUBLIC OF HERCEG-BOSNA / HRVATSKA REPUBLIKA HERCEG-BOSNA. The Croatian Republic of Herzeg Bosna was officially proclaimed on 28 August 1993. This region
of Bosnia-Herzegovina existed informally much earlier as the Croatian ethnic entity under the leadership of **Mate Boban**.

**CROATIAN REPUBLIC UNION / HRVATSKA REPUBLIČKA ZAJEDNICA.** An association of citizens who share ideas of the historical state rights of Croatia without officially adhering to one of the Croatian rights parties.

**CROATIAN SLAVONIC.** Compared to **Old Church Slavonic**, Croatian Slavonic is a common Slavonic influenced by Croatian vernacular in the fields of phonetics, morphology, syntax, and, above all, vocabulary. This hybrid language was later semiartificial in comparison with the ordinary language of the people. It was used in acts of the church and in the **Glagolitic** literature.

**CROATIAN SOCIAL-LIBERAL PARTY / HRVATSKA SOCIJALNA LIBERALNA STRANKA (HSLS).** The party was founded on 20 May 1989, even before the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)** and the legalization of the multiparty system in December 1989. The **president** of the HSLS was **Dražen Budiša**, a former **Croatian Spring** leader. In the first years of the **Franjo Tudman** regime, the HSLS developed into the second and most ambitious opposition party, though quantitatively its success in the **elections** was disappointing and it lagged far behind that of the HDZ.

The Social-Liberals participated in the **Government of National Union**, in which Budiša obtained a ministerial portfolio. The 1992 elections following this government returned the absolute power to the HDZ and the HSLS opted for a period of strong opposition. In 1993, the ideological leader of the party, **Božo Kovačević**, even declared that the party was on the point of switching to extraparliamentary action, such as holding protest meetings in the street. In the autumn of 1993, the party left the **House of Representatives** because its draft on the electronic media was not placed on the agenda.

Lack of a major success in the 1995 elections and the long opposition period led to heated internal discussions about policy matters, especially about cooperation with the HDZ and the policy toward Bosnia. In 1997, Dražen Budiša clashed with the other leading intellectual of the Croatian Spring, **Vlado Gotovac**. In 1998, Božo
Kovačević and other left liberals decided to leave the HSLS and to found an alternative Liberal Party (LS).

With a view to the 2000 parliamentary elections, the HSLS reached a cooperation agreement with the Social Democrats (SDP) of Ivica Račan: Budiša would run for president and Račan for prime minister. They worked together with a bloc of four other parties to form an opposition front of six. This formation won the parliamentary elections and Račan got the post of prime minister, but unfortunately Budiša lost the presidential elections to Stipe Mesić. During the whole period of the Mesić–Račan regime, this incident remained a major setback in the cooperation of the coalition partners. Budiša regularly stressed the autonomy of the HSLS and, finally, a major conflict broke out about the extradition to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia of the generals Ante Gotovina and Rahim Ademi. The Liberal ministers in the government were instructed by their party to vote against the governmental decision of extradition. Not all Liberal ministers did so. Vice Prime Minister Goran Granić and other Liberal ministers abstained during the decisive vote on 7 July 2001. Minister of Transport Alojz Tušek even voted in favor of the governmental proposal and was consequently thrown out of the party. The HSLS was divided on the whole issue, the party could not make a decision on a substitute for Tušek in the government, and Tušek just stayed in power.

Budiša resigned as president and Jožo Radoš became ad interim president of a radically divided HSLS. The threat to the Račan government was temporally averted by a positive vote of confidence—supported by most HSLS Parliament members—in the autumn of 2001. But the division of the Liberals was no longer a threat to the government.

On 15 December 2001, Budiša prepared his comeback as president of the party and gave an interview to the papers in which he criticized both Vice Prime Minister Goran Granić and the ad interim president of the HSLS Radoš. The latter was accused of not preserving the autonomy of the party and the former should resign for his submissive attitude to Račan, if Budiša were to become president of the party again. In early February 2002, Budiša in effect returned as party president and began reforming the internal decision-making organs of the party, the small and the large council. The HSLS ministers
were summoned to defend their policies before these organs and their fate would then be decided upon. There was another government crisis when, on 3 July, Parliament had to vote on an agreement with Slovenia about the Krško nuclear plant. While the Liberal ministers approved of the decision, the majority of the Liberals voted against and Budiša and the Liberals quit the government. The Liberals split and the ex-minister of defense under Račan, Radoš, founded the Liberals of Croatia—Libra.

In the parliamentary elections of 2003, the HSLS won two seats in a coalition with the Democratic Center of Mate Granić that won one seat. It supported the HDZ government of Ivo Sanader. Budiša was not reelected personally and resigned totally disappointed as party leader on 17 December 2003. The party maintained its two seats in the elections of 2007 in a coalition with the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS), which obtained six seats. Again, it joined the HDZ government.

CROATIAN SPRING. The emergence, flourishing, and death of this Croatian national mass movement during the late 1960s and early 1970s can be divided into three periods, finally ending in some sort of resurrection 20 years later.

First, and more or less only a precondition for the movement, was the breakthrough of communist reform at the top of the League of Communists after the fall of Aleksandar Ranković in 1966. From then on, intellectuals could cautiously express Croatian national interests.

Croatian writers and intellectuals set off the critical phase of the process by issuing the Declaration on the Croatian Language on 17 March 1967. This linguistic issue quickly opened the discussion on the problematic relations between Belgrade and Croatia in general. The intellectuals and the Matica hrvatska openly propagated nationalistic aspirations through publications and meetings. The party leadership of Croatia was divided into conservative and progressive wings. The tenth plenum of the Central Committee in January 1970 was clearly marked by the affirmation of the nationalist and progressive viewpoints. On the federal level, the Croatian party leaders paid at least lip service to Croatian interests. Among others, reforms in the economic, commercial, and foreign exchange regimes were urged.
On 22 November 1971, students and other groups went on strike. Mass demonstrations followed. The movement was suspected to have strong connections with émigrés. In Sweden, Yugoslav ambassador Vladimir Rolović was murdered.

Tito—clearly under strong influence of his secondhand man Edvard Kardelj—decided to break the resistance and summoned the Croatian party leadership to his presidential residence at Karađorđevo. The pressure and discussions led to the dismissal of the progressive leadership of the Communist Party of Croatia and was followed by the repression of the leaders of the mass movement. The party leaders, Savka Dabčević-Kučar, Miko Tripalo, and Dragutin Haramija, offered to resign. Intellectuals and students were put on trial, sentenced, and imprisoned. Among them were Franjo Tuđman, Dražen Budiša, Marko Veselica, Ivan Zvonimir Čičak, Šime Đodan, Vlado Gotovac, Ante Paradžik, Hrvoje Šošić, Bruno Bušić, Ante Todorić, and Jozo Ivičević. The cultural institution Matica hrvatska was banned and did not resume its activity until 1990. Nationalist writings were taken out of circulation. A new docile and conservative republican leadership was brought to power.

However, on the institutional level, constitutional reforms were pushed through that responded to the nationalist aspirations and strengthened the power and statehood of the republics. Most of the banned leaders of the Croatian Spring made a comeback at the end of the 1980s and under the Tuđman regime. At a 30-year memorial of the Croatian Spring at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Zagreb, Savka Dabčević-Kučar stressed that the Croatian Spring had not been a narrowly nationalist but above all a broad reformist and even revolutionary movement. This was equally the opinion of Latinka Perović, the leader of the Serbian Spring—a social movement around the same time in Serbia, more or less comparable to the Croatian Spring, though more directed only to economic reform and less nationalistic. In Perović’s interpretation, the right forces in the 1990s that were responsible for the destruction of Yugoslavia and defended the idea of ethnic cleansing and brutal war were not the heirs of the mainstream of the Croatian Spring. It was certainly true that a plurality of forces had been active in the Croatian Spring, even though most observers agree that nationalism had been a dominating feature.
CROATIAN TELEVISION/HRVATSKA TELEVIZIJA (HTV).
The Croatian Television functioned under the communist regime as the republic unit of the Yugoslav Radio and Television/Jugoslovenski Radio i Televizija (JRT). The federal institution supervised the regional stations and organized the exchange of programs. The first conflicts arose about a film sent by Belgrade to the Croatian Television that was subtitled in the Cyrillic alphabet, not in Latin as usual. The Croatian Radio and Television broke away from Belgrade during the change of the political climate and the electoral victory of the anticommmunist opposition parties. During the Franjo Tuđman regime, the HTV came strongly under control of the government and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). This resulted in numerous disputes, even before the courts, between critics of the more independent written press and the authorities.

The election victory of the opposition front and the coming to power of the government of Ivica Račan on 27 January 2000 gave another orientation to television policy. From abroad, Croatian Le Monde correspondent Mirko Galić was attracted to lead the television. After a short period, new problems arose and the discussion about the functioning of the media and especially television in Croatian society resumed. But after a public selection procedure, Galić was again given confidence and the opportunity to serve a second term. However, it was no surprise that complaints about certain programs, also from human rights organizations, continued in the highly politicized Croatian media climate.

CROATIAN WORLD CONGRESS (CWC) / HRVATSKI SVJETSKI KONGRES (HSK). The Croatian World Congress is an organization that tries to unite all Croatian associations and institutions around the world. It was established in 1993. The CWC is a nongovernmental organization (NGO) and is not affiliated with any party. Its main goal is to contribute to the worldwide successful functioning and promotion of the Croatian heritage. This is done by national branches, manned by volunteers, that concentrate on the five following working areas: humanitarian activities, reconstruction and investment, the promotion of culture and education, relations with the homeland and public relations, and by lobbying and issues relating to youth.
The CWC aims to be the voice of the estimated 4.5 million Croats living outside Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has a personal advisory envoy to the United Nations and is an NGO in special consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) since 1998. In the homeland, this is possible through the seats in Parliament reserved for émigrés. One of the achievements of the CWC was the contribution of $1 million to the financing of the “Island Connection” (Otočna veza) for Dalmatia. It grants scholarship to students as well and supports the promotion of Croatian books. It published a *Worldwide Directory of Croatian Associations and Institutions* (Adresar hrvatskih udruga i ustanova u svijetu).

Although it is a nonpartisan organization, at the establishment of the new Republic of Croatia and with its quasi-nationalistic aspirations, it showed a certain Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) flavor. In the period of the Ivica Račan government, relations with the regime were strained. The CWC reacted fiercely to the removal of the Canadian returnee Ante Beljo from the *Matica hrvatska* (Homeland Foundation). Relations improved again substantially with the coming to power of Ivo Sanader.

CROATIAN WRITERS’ ASSOCIATION / DRUŠTVO HRVATSKIH KNJIŽEVNIKA (DHK). The earliest Writers’ Association in Croatia was founded in 1900. The present Croatian Writers’ Association promotes the interests of its members and literature in general. It organizes several literary manifestations and publishes the journal *Most/The Bridge*, a journal of translations.

CROATS. The name and origin of the Croats is a much debated theme. This debate was of course significant in the discussion about the justification of a Yugoslav or Croatian state.

National-Croat historians sometimes defend the thesis that the Croats were a non-Slavic people who invaded the Croatian lands when Slavs were already settled there. The origin of the Croat people would thus have an Iranian source. Only scattered evidence has been collected in favor of this interpretation. The name of the Croatians supposedly had been found for the first time in an inscription on the Bogostan rock (Iran) dating from 520 BCE. It figured there written in cuneiform as Harauvati, one of the 23 peoples who recognized
the authority of Emperor Darius. Other ethnic and linguistic characteristics of the Croatian people can be explained by the supposed Iranian origin. The clan and leadership organization of the Croats (and their names) could be traced back to Iranian customs. But even specialists who defend these theories—they were especially popular in emigrant circles in the 1950s and 1960s, but recently revived in the homeland—usually acknowledge an interaction with Slavic tribes during the migration in the early Middle Ages. However, when arriving on the Adriatic, the Croats would have formed a separate leading stratum on top of Slavs who probably arrived earlier. This opinion can also be derived from the first more or less mythical traditions and sources on the arrival of the Slavs to the Adriatic.

Another interpretation rests on the confusion between Avars and Croats. In the sixth century, the Avars invaded Pannonia and Dalmatia. Probably they were accompanied by and ruled over Slav peoples. Ultimately the Avars were defeated by Byzantium and Charlemagne and seemed to disappear. One explanation is that their name changed from Avar to Harvar, and then to Horvat. This last is close to the equivalent for Croat, Hrvat.

To complicate matters even more, some defend the Gothic origin of the Croats. They point especially to the Glagolitic script that could be Gothic in origin.

Historians who favor the interpretation of a pan-Slavic settlement of the South Slav countries reject the theories about a separate origin of the Croats. The Croats were Slavs and the differentiation only came later when branches of the same people had settled on different territories.

No decisive answer can so far be given to this question. No clear ethnic lines can be drawn in a continuing process of migration, interaction, and assimilation of peoples and cultures. At most, one can ascertain a common history for a certain period of time in a certain area. In that way, the development of a Croatian nation can be observed and defended. But in that way, one can imagine a rationale for a South Slav state as well. Numerous linguistic interpretations of the word Croat (Hrvat) and its variations have been presented. None of them has obtained firm corroboration by archaeological findings or the consent of the scientific community.
CROATS IN YUGOSLAVIA/VOJVODINA. The largest Croatian minority in the present Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is still living in Vojvodina, as this region was once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of Croatia. During the Croatian–Serbian war and under the regime of Slobodan Milošević, this population enjoyed no special rights as a minority. In fact, the contrary was true; it was discriminated against.

In 2001, under the new Serbian regime, relations with the motherland Croatia improved considerably and perhaps the Croats in Vojvodina will soon receive the status of a national minority, since the Serbian law on the rights of minorities was passed in the February 2002.

CUSTOMS SYSTEM. On 8 October 1991, the first Customs Law of the Republic of Croatia and a Law on Customs and Tariffs came into force. The Customs Law was based upon unrestricted exchange of goods. There were certain limitations for the protection of domestic producers.

In July 1999, a new Customs Duty Act was issued, which went into force on 1 January 2000 (Narodne Novine Republike Hrvatske/Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, no 78/99, 94/99 and 117/99) and prescribed the prevailing rules and tariffs.

Adherence to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in November 2000 again lowered the barriers for trade. Croatia harmonized its Custom Tariff Act and assumed the obligation to gradually reduce the customs protection level. The customs protection level for agricultural and food products will be reduced in a seven-year period until 2007 from the current average rate of 33.7 percent to 16.4 percent. The level has already been lowered to 24.3 percent in 2001. The internal prices for agricultural products seem to have been affected by foreign competition. Agricultural producers repeatedly have pointed to this development and demanded more protection. In accordance with the WTO, antidumping levies might be imposed by the Croatian state.

To be imported, certain goods needs a license issued by the appropriate ministry in order to ensure state security and to protect the lives and health of people, animals, and plants, as well as the environment.
The Customs Act prescribes a single customs declaration, the content and form of which have been adjusted to the documents used in the European Union. The customs value declaration is in harmony with the customs assessment rules defined in the 1994 General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

According to the association program of Croatia to the European Union, all exports from Croatia to that region were freed from custom duties, ceilings, or quotas, except some types of fresh fish, canned sardines and anchovies, wine and baby-beef products, which are exported on the basis of quotas.

Croatia has concluded a preferential trade regime with some neighbor countries, such as Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Hungary. On 1 March 2003, an arrangement on Croatia’s accession to the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) went into force.

Croatia is a signatory of the ATA Convention on the Temporary Admission of Goods. Assistance and detailed information on this and related fields are provided by the Croatian Chamber of Commerce.

It goes without saying that with the accession to the European Union (EU), the whole system will go through a major revision. Chapter 29 of the acquis, Customs Union, regulates the matter. This is a very complicated and extended dossier, all the more so because Croatia will form part of the outer frontiers of the EU. Not only will the internal tariffs have to be adopted, a whole control system for third parties must be built up as well. The November 2008 evaluation of the EU Commission staff found that good progress had been made in customs legislation. The new regulation on the customs tariff for 2008 had entered into force and aligned the Croatian tariff with the 2009 Combined Nomenclature. Most of the fees charged by the customs authorities had been abolished. Some discrepancies with the acquis in allocation of quotas, duty relief, and duty exemptions remained. Effective implementation of customs rules and the fight against corruption still needed more attention.

CVIJIĆ, KRSTO (1930– ). Born in Nova Gradiška (Slavonia), journalist and historian. He is a collaborator of the Royal Institute for International Relations at London, editor of the BBC World Service
(1964–1969), journalist of *The Economist* (1969–1990), and editor of the periodical *The World Today* (1984-). In the autumn of 1993, with five other Croatian intellectuals, he wrote an open letter to President Franjo Tudman. They criticized his policy and asked him to resign, clearly with no other result than disdain in the local press. Cvijić writes a column in the Croatian journal *Nacional*.

**CYRILLIC ALPHABET.** In the Balkans, language questions are always closely intermingled with state politics. It is not easy to draw the general lines of history on the basis of national schools that supply their own interpretations. The question of the origin of the Cyrillic alphabet is no exception. Older linguists supposed that the Cyrillic alphabet had been devised by St. Clement of Ohrid. More recent research assumes that he remained faithful to the Glagolitic tradition of Cyrilrus and Methodius. The invention of Cyrillic is now placed later and ascribed to Bulgarian Slavic apostles, working between 885 and 993. The oldest Cyrillic inscription has been found on the gravestone of Emperor Samuel of Bulgaria, erected by his parents and brother in the year 993. The close geographical and cultural ties of Bulgaria and its capital Preslav with the Byzantine Empire contributed to this new creation. The Cyrillic alphabet is a modification of the Glagolitic by the use of Greek uncial letters as suitable corresponding letters could be found for the Slavic sounds.

In Bosnia and Dalmatia, a variant to the Bulgarian original developed and was called “Bosanica.”

The directive of the Franjo Tudman regime to grant exclusivity to the Latin alphabet disregarded this historical development.

**CYRILLUS.** Cyrilrus and his brother Methodius are called the Slav apostles. Born in Thessaloniki to a Byzantine functionary as Constantine and Michael, they were also very well acquainted with the local Slavic dialect. Constantine was educated in the highest church circles of Constantinople and soon got the surname “The Philosopher.” His brother Michael performed a high function in the Byzantine state administration but soon went into a monastery. After other important state missions, Constantine was invited with his brother to take up a mission to Pannonia at the request of King Rotislav and the Byzantine authorities. Rotislav wanted to counter the influence
of the Frankish missionaries in Moravia. He asked the support of the Byzantines in the Christianization of his country in the Slavic language. After their stay and work in Rotislav’s country, Cyril and Methodius were invited by the pope to Rome and probably passed through Croatia. It is not clear whether and how their stay in Croatia influenced the local Christianization process and the use of the Slavic language in services.

The name of Cyril has been wrongly associated with the Cyrillic alphabet, which has been devised by his followers in Macedonia or Bulgaria. It is more probable that Cyril used the Glagolitic alphabet, which according to some sources he created himself. Other historians maintain that the Glagolitic alphabet is much older and of local Croatian origin. At least, it is now believed that the followers of Cyril and Methodius contributed to the strengthening of the national Croatian church. Regular clashes with the pope, the patriarch of Aquilea, and the Latin party in the coastal towns under Byzantine influence did not eradicate this national movement for ages.

– D –

DABČEVİĆ-KUČAR, SAVKA (1923– ). Leader of the Croatian Communist Party before and during the Croatian Spring and victim of Tito’s repression. In the postcommunist period, she resumed her political ambitions and became president of the Croatian’s People’s Party. As this party did not obtain the expected success, she remained in Parliament as a respected but marginalized politician. Her candidacy in the presidential elections of 2 August 1992 was also a failure. As a living example of the proper functioning of the opposition and the parliamentary system, Dabčević-Kučar was included in a mission under the guidance of the president of the Sabor, Stipe Mešić, to visit the Council of Europe and to plead for the admission of Croatia as a full member.

ĐAKOVO. Town in Eastern Slavonia. The cathedral in Romanesque Gothic style was erected by Bishop Josip Strossmayer in the middle of the 19th century.
DALMATIA, HISTORY OF. Dalmatia is a region along the Adriatic coast. Its name traces to the Delmata, an Illyrian tribe that conquered the northwestern part of the Balkans around 1000 BCE.

The Roman Province of Dalmatia was created in the year 10 CE by the division of the province of Illyria into Pannonia and Dalmatia. It was still larger than the Dalmatia of later times, as it included a part of Istria, Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania. In 297 Dalmatia was divided into Dalmatia proper and Prevalitania.

After the decay of the Roman Western Empire, Dalmatia was overrun by the Goths. Odoacer in 481 and later Theodoric ruled over Dalmatia proper. The Byzantines fought the Goths and the Slavs invaded the peninsula. During the reign of Empress Irene (797–802), the Franks conquered the greater part of Dalmatia. After the peace of Aachen in 812, the towns of Dalmatia again came under influence of the Byzantine Empire. When Vasilius I came to the throne in 867, Dalmatia became formally a theme (province) of Byzantium. In the second part of the ninth century, the Trpimir dynasty began to assert its aspirations and power. In the next period, Tomislav (910–928), Drzislav (970–997), and Krešimir IV (1058–1073) all integrated Dalmatia into their Croatian kingdom.

A new period began in 1102 when Dalmatia as part of Croatia opted for a personal union with Hungary. However, in 1420, the Hungarian King Ladislas sold his hereditary rights to Venice, and Dalmatia became separated from inner Croatia for 500 years. In 1797, by the Peace of Campo Formio, Dalmatia came under Austria and was conquered somewhat later by Napoleon. It was incorporated in the Illyrian provinces, a small prefiguration of the later Yugoslavia. After Napoleon’s fall, Dalmatia returned under the direct rule of Austria until 1918.

Though there were some regional forces under the First and Second Yugoslavias, Dalmatia was never accorded the status of an autonomous province.

DALMATIA, LITERATURE OF. In the 15th and 16th centuries, a new literary school arose in the cities and towns along the Dalmatian coast. They chose as their model the Renaissance and humanist literature of Italy and adapted it into a flourishing Croatian literature. Not surprisingly, most writers resided in Split or Dubrovnik, taking
advantage of the prosperity of a wealthy class of educated merchants and landowners, and of the ample possibilities of international exchange. Especially Marko Marulić of Split, a whole school of writers of Dubrovnik brought Croatian literature to a height, comparable to other Western national cultures. See also DRŽIĆ, MARIN; GUNDULIĆ, IVAN.

Dalmatia, Regions of. The geographic term Dalmatia covered different territories in different historical periods.

The region derives its name from an Illyrian tribe, the Delmata. The Roman province of Dalmatia consisted of the territory between the Raša River in Istria and the Mat River in Albania. In the Byzantine period, it was restricted to the towns and islands on which the Byzantine Empire exercised its authority—Zadar, Trogir, Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Kotor, and the islands of Krk, Cres, Lošinj, and Rab. Zadar remained over the centuries the seat of the authorities of Dalmatia. In the Middle Ages, Klis, Knin, and Biograd were other leading centers in Dalmatia. In 1409, King Ladislas of Naples sold his hereditary rights as king of Dalmatia to Venice. Venice became the master of the Dalmatian shores. After various wars with and occupation by the Ottomans, Dalmatia’s territory was extended inland. At the turn of the 19th century, Dalmatia was conquered by Napoleon and included in the Illyrian provinces. From 1814 to 1914, the greater part of Dalmatia came under Austrian government. Around 1880, Dalmatia was united with Pannonian Croatia in the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia.

Dalmatian Action / Dalmatinska Akcija (DA). Regional party that strives for the autonomy of Dalmatia. The president is Mira Ljubić-Lorger. The party is a member of the Association of Croatian Regional Parties.

Danas. Danas (Today) was a more or less independent journal under the communist regime. As a follower of VUS (Vjesnik U Srijedu—The Wednesday Magazine) banned by the communists for being Croatian nationalistic, Danas grew into a respectable journal, sometimes highly critical of the communist regime. Under the new regime, the government closed it down for financial reasons.
it reappeared as Novi Danas, it was denied access to the distribution network. Ultimately, it was caught in the maze of the privatization policy and its board of directors was replaced by representatives of the Agency for Restructuring and Development. It was then finally more or less loyal to the Franjo Tuđman regime, but it retained some of its editorial independence and was more critical than sometimes suggested abroad.

ĐAPIC, ANTE (1958– ). Ante (Anto) was born in Čaprazlije, near Livno (Bosnia and Herzegovina), but spent his youth in Osijek, where he obtained a degree in law at the university. In 1989, he became a member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). In 1991, he joined the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) and was appointed vice-president. For some time, he was the commander of the paramilitary organization of the party, the Croatian Armed Forces (Hrvatske Oružene Snage, HOS). He was first elected to the Sabor in 1992, and reelected in 1995, 2000, 2003, and 2007. In 1993, he became president of the HSP. He clashed with the former president, Dobroslav Paraga, who founded his own Croatian Party of Rights-1861. In 2000, Đapić campaigned for president without much success. On the occasion of the local elections of the Osijek-Baranja region in 2005, he made an agreement with the new regionalist party of Branimir Glavaš and became mayor of Osijek. In January 2009, he resigned as member of the Sabor but remained president of the party.

DAYTON AGREEMENT (1995). The Dayton Peace Accord was concluded on 21 November 1995, after three weeks of negotiations between the presidents of Croatia, Franjo Tuđman, of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, and of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milošević. It was mediated by high United Nations, European, and above all American officials, among which Richard C. Holbrooke played a considerable role. The agreement brought an end to war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and fixed its institutional setup: one state with two entities, on the one side the Serb Republic and on the other the Federation of Muslims and Croats. Along with peace in the region and secure borders, the accord was important for Croatia, because just before and then during the negotiations, Tuđman and Milošević
reached an agreement on the peaceful transition of *Eastern Slavonia* into Croatia. It is still a matter of speculation why Milošević did give in but probably he preferred a global accord and especially a quasi-autonomous status of the Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia. Moreover, he must have been aware of the growing military strength of Croatia. Just before the Dayton negotiations, the northeastern part of Bosnia was conquered by a common offensive of Bosnians and Croats. From then on, the bordering *Krajina* in Croatia was undoubtedly the next target and impossible to defend by the Serbs.

*DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO*. Treatise written by *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* around 952. Especially in chapters 29 through 31, the emperor wrote in detail about the descent and the arrival of the *Croats* on the Adriatic coast. He continued the history up to his time.

The Croats originally came from *White Croatia*, a land whose position is not exactly defined but supposed to be on the other side of the Carpathians. A clan of five brothers—Klukas, Lobelos, Kosentzis, Muchlo, and Chrobatos—and two sisters—Tuga and Buga—with their people arrived from White Croatia in *Dalmatia* and found it under the rule of the *Avars*. The Croats defeated the Avars and became the rulers of Dalmatia. The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (610–614 CE) gave them his approval, or even invited them to occupy Dalmatia. Some Croats left the coast again and conquered *Pannonia*. Later the Croats had to bow temporarily to the Franks, but they mastered them finally as well. The Croats became independent and asked to be christened by Rome.

Constantine presents an interesting picture of Croatia in the middle of the 10th century. He sketches both the internal organization in *županije* and the geographical relations with other Slavic settlements. Croatia stretched from the Cetina River along the Adriatic coast to the town of Labin in *Istria*. Inward, it reached farther than the frontiers of Dalmatia and in the east, it bordered Serbia. Croatia was subdivided into 11 *županije*, which can be identified as Livna, *Cetina*, Imotski, Pliva, Pset, Primorje, Bribir, Nona, *Knin*, Sidraga, and one unconfirmed, Nina. These regions fell under the immediate jurisdiction of the king. Three more *županije* stood under the authority of the *ban*: Udbina (Krbava), *Lika*, and Otočac. The following peoples
surrounded the Croats: the Serbs, Neretvans or Pagani, Zahumljans, Travunjans, Konavljans, and Dukljans. All the peoples living around the Adriatic coast with the exception of the Dukljans were described as Serbs. Upper Bosnia is defined as Serbian land.

DECLARATION OF CORFU. On the island of Corfu, the South Slavs of the Habsburg Empire and the Serb government reached an agreement on the future organization of a new state of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The new state would be a kingdom. The questions of the future state organization and the majority required in the constituent assembly would be settled later. The Corfu Declaration was signed on 20 July 1917.

DECLARATION ON THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE. The 1967 declaration on the position and name of the Croatian literary language marked the beginning of the Croatian Spring. It was a document of Croatian cultural institutions that asserted the specific identity of the Croatian people through the right to their own language. In the existing communist setting, the declaration could be interpreted as an open rebellion against the regime. Consequently, the declaration was condemned by top political circles. The main promoters of the declaration—the prominent intellectuals and writers Dalibor Brozović, Miroslav Brandt, Ivo Franges, Ljudevit Jonke, Slavko Mihalić, Vlatko Pavletić, Jakša Ravlić, and Petar Šegedin—were expelled from the party or lost their academic and social positions. This reaction of the regime set in motion a spiral of national demands, soon translated into a political program for an autonomous Croatia: the Croatian Spring.

DEFENSE AND NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL / VIJEĆE OBRANA I NACIONALNE SIGURNOSTI. This is a state organ presided over by the president. Military advisers and prominent politicians have a seat in this body. The council offers advice on national security questions. For example, at the beginning of September 1993, the council rejected the extension of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mandate in Croatia without changing the conditions. The conclusions of the council are of utmost political and diplomatic importance. They morally commit the Croatian
government. The smooth functioning of the council was one of the cornerstones of the Croatian system.

DEGORICIJA, SLAVKO (1931– ). Born at Kompolje near Otočac. He participated in the Croatian Spring and was removed from all his political functions. In 1991, he became a member of Parliament and president of the Council of Communities. He assumed high posts in the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and became minister of economic reconstruction (1991–1992). He was elected a member of the House of Representatives and appointed by the Croatian government to lead the negotiations with the insurgent Serbs of the Krajina. He joined the Croatian Independent Democrats, when this party was founded by Stipe Mesić and Josip Manolić at the end of April 1994.

DEMOCRATIC CENTER / DEMOKRATSKI CENTAR (DC). The party was founded in Zagreb on 2 April 2000. It has strong central and light Christian Democratic leanings. The head is former Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) leader and presidential candidate Mate Granić. The party is represented in Parliament and has joined the opposition against the government of Prime Minister Ivica Račan. In the elections of 2003, the party went into a coalition with the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS), which obtained three seats. Vesna Škare-Ožbolt won the only seat for the DC, but due to governmental majority building, she got a ministerial portfolio. In 2007, the party lost its one seat.

DENATIONALIZATION / DENACIONALIZACIJA. The decree on the evidence of nationalized property of 14 May 1991 partially filled an electoral promise made by the governing as well as by the opposition parties. By this decree, the former owners and their heirs were invited to declare the loss of nationalized enterprises, houses, commercial buildings, land, and movable property. The declarations were collected by the Governmental Board for the Coordination of the Denationalization and delivered to the Ministry of Justice. Under Minister Ivica Crnić, the results of an inventory were made public. By the autumn of 1993, the state had received
67,433 declarations from 25,059 persons. Most of them concerned the return of land, 49,229; houses and buildings came second, 14,438; there were 1,961 claims regarding movables and 1,805 regarding enterprises.

Of the 1,805 enterprises, 802 were located in the larger towns of Zagreb, Rijeka, Osijek, and Split, and most concerned industry (410) and trade (328). The 14,438 declarations on buildings contained claims on 16,189 business buildings and 29,414 living spaces. The heading of land mainly covered woods: 50,000 hectares under 267 claims. Agricultural land came second and building areas were requested by 109 persons.

Of the churches, the Catholic Church had delivered the most declarations (2,464), followed by the Serbian Orthodox Church (1,702). The Evangelical Church with two and the Greek Orthodox Church with 26 claims make the list complete. The Catholic Church requested 1,181 houses, 1,490 parcels of agricultural land (26,000 hectares), 186 parcels of building grounds (162 hectares), and 164 woods (1,700 hectares). The Serbian Orthodox Church requested altogether 3,200 hectares of land. Together, the churches sought 10 percent of the claimed lands.

A political decision as to the applicable criteria was needed to start the real implementation of the process of denationalization. In September 1993, the government of Prime Minister Nikica Valentić laid down three principles. First, the denationalization must take place gradually. Second, the rights on denationalization of each category of property shall be regulated by a special decree. Third and most important, first will be returned what can be given physically to the former owners or their heirs. This implied that there would be no financial compensation for nationalized property.

Ultimately, the whole operation was silenced and remained largely on paper.


DIADORA. See ZADAR.
DIETA DEMOCRATICA ISTRIANA (DDI). See ISTRIAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY / ISTARKI DEMOKRATSKI SABOR (IDS).

DIMOVI, NEBOJŠA (1903–1993). Assistant minister of economic affairs of the Yugoslav government in exile in London under Prime Minister Ivan Subašić during World War II.

DIOCLEA (DOKLEA, DUKLIJA). Heart of the so-called Red Croatia. The region of Dioclea had been administratively separated from Dalmatia in 297 and became the autonomous province of Prevalitania. Historians remain divided about the exact location and its frontiers. Usually, Dioclea is associated with the environment of Bar, the supposed residence of the author of the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea, within the territory of the later-named Zeta or (again later) Crna Gora. Other authors point to Drač in Albania. Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrongly connected Dioclea with the name of Emperor Diocletian.

DODAN, ŠIME (1927–2007). Born near Zadar. Dodan studied law in Zagreb and economics at The Hague and Salzburg. He taught at the Faculty of Law of Zagreb University. He fully engaged in the nationalist policy of the Matica hrvatska during the Croatian Spring. On 11 January 1972, he was arrested and accused of being the ideological leader of the mass movement. He was sentenced to six years in prison and was banned from public appearance for four years. Under the Franjo Tuđman regime, he was reinstated in the university. As a member of the right wing of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) he had a seat in Parliament until 1996.

DOMAGOJ. See TRPIMIR DYNASTY.


DRAGAN, CAPTAIN (1954– ). Dragan Vasiljković, generally known as Captain Dragan, was a Serb warlord in the Krajina during the period 1991–1995. He was born in Belgrade and in his youth im-
migrated to Australia. He underwent four years of training in the Australian Army and then offered his services as a military instructor in Africa and Latin America. He returned to Belgrade in 1990 and made contact with the Krajina Serbs. He visited the Krajina and got acquainted with the leader, Milan Martić. He also had contacts with collaborators of the Serbian intelligence services in Belgrade through links with the Serbian Renewal Movement, of which he was a member.

In April 1991, he went back to the Krajina and entered the service of Martić. Dragan was given command of the so-called Knindže, the local fighters. He organized a training camp in Golubić near Knin. In a conflict between Martić and the Krajina president, Milan Babić, he opted for the first and planned an uprising of the military. Vojislav Šeselj, a Serb warlord from a rival Belgrade political party and in support of Milan Babić, accused Captain Dragan of insubordination. Martić and Babić also disagreed on the acceptance of the Vance Plan, which imposed a temporary United Nations monitored armistice. Dragan left the Krajina, but returned once more in June 1992 on the occasion of new fighting in the United Nations–controlled area and became an officer in the Krajina Army. After the military defeat of the Croatian autonomous Serbs in Operation Storm, Captain Dragan returned to Australia.

Though he was named a war criminal and participant of a joint criminal enterprise, he was not indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) but only called to testify in the process of Slobodan Milošević. Before the court, he denied he had been in the service of Belgrade during the Krajina episode. The Republic of Croatia, on the other hand, accused him of war crimes and asked his delivery. During his stay in prison in Australia waiting to be handed over, he started a process for defamation against the local Australian press. At the beginning of 2009, the Australian Federal Court in Sydney turned down Dragan’s appeal to be extradited to Croatia.

DRAKULIĆ, SLAVENKA (1949– ). Born in Sovinjak, Istria, journalist and writer of novels. She participated in the feminist movement and criticized communist conditioning of everyday life (How We Survived Communism). Under the Franjo Tudman regime, she was
critical of short-sighted nationalism (*Balkan Express*) and as such was considered persona non grata in the press. She was forced to give up her cooperation with the Croatian weekly *Danas*. Drakulić writes fiction in Serbo-Croatian and nonfiction in English. Her articles appeared in *The Nation, New Republic, The New Statesman*, and *The Guardian*. She is a member of the American Pen Club.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO (1770–1856).** Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO (1770–1856).** Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.

**DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO** (1770–1856). Count Janko’s “Dissertation” of 1832 gave a national political program to the Croats. He defended the union of all Croatian lands using one national language and governed by the *ban*. In its early manifestation, this form of Illyrianism accepted the incorporation of the Croatian state into a federated Habsburg monarchy.
Greek. The name was later transformed into Ragusa. The slave name, Dubrovnik, refers to an oak forest—*dubrava*. In his book of 949, the Byzantine emperor **Constantine Porphyrogenitus** mentions the migration of the people from Epidaurum to Laus.

Among the numerous monuments in the splendid city, outstanding is the Dominican Monastery with a beautifully sculptured atrium. The monastery was built in 1301 in the extreme eastern section of the old town.

Resisting many intruders, through force and diplomacy, the city built on a long tradition of liberty and independence. Though the old town received the status of a UNESCO-protected heritage, it was shelled during the war at the end of 1992. Much has been restored but the Yugoslav Army generals—though indicted—so far have not appeared before the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia**.


**DUGI OTOK.** The Long Island is 44 km long and lies just off Zadar. It was already occupied by prehistoric humans. **Illyrians** and Romans settled on the island, followed by Slavs. After the 10th century, it belonged to religious groups in Zadar. It was first recorded under the name of Pizuh and later it was called Insula Tilaga.

**DUKLJA.** See DIOCLEA.

---

**EASTERN SLAVONIA.** Eastern part of **Slavonia** whose main towns are Osijek and Vukovar. The larger part of the territory was conquered by the Serbs during the Serbian–Croatian war of 1991 and became the Sector East under the control of the **United Nations Protection Force** (UNPROFOR). The mandate of the Blue Helmets was regularly prolonged by the United Nations (UN) Security Council and changed name a few times. President **Franjo Tudman** regularly threatened not to accept those extensions, and especially in 1995 after
Operations Flash and Storm, he seemed decided to take back Eastern Slavonia by military force. Ultimately, he reached an agreement with Slobodan Milošević just before the Dayton negotiations on a peaceful transition to Croatia. The local Serbs were put under pressure. A United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES) started the demilitarization of the zone. Two years later, on 15 January 1998, the region was finally reintegrated into Croatia. Peace was restored, but the reconstruction and economic revival will certainly take more than a decade. Croatian refugees are slowly returning to the region, but still flock together in the larger towns.

ECOLOGY. See ENVIRONMENT.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL / GOSPODARSKO-SOCIJALNO VIJEĆE. A tripartite advisory organ that can be consulted by the government in case of conflict between the parties concerned. Officially, the president of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, the representatives of the three largest trade unions and the authorities take part in these trilateral consultations on economic and social problems. It is the official policy of the government to try to reach consensus in the council before drafts and proposals are presented to Parliament.

ECONOMIC FACULTY OF ZAGREB. The Economic Faculty of Zagreb University is the oldest and now also largest higher education institution in the economic field in the Republic of Croatia.

The beginning of economic studies in Zagreb is related to the operation of the Technical High School founded on 18 December 1918. A course in economics was introduced in the school year 1919–1920. The next year a decree founded the High School for Trade. In 1925, this high school began to work within the university structures. In 1947, it was officially transformed into the Economic Faculty of Zagreb. In 1965, the uniform curriculum was diversified and specializations in economic sectors were introduced. The Zagreb Economic Faculty founded similar institutions in Split and Dubrovnik, and helped with the introduction of economic studies in Rijeka, Osijek, and Varaždin.
In the academic year 1961–1962, the Zagreb Faculty for the first time organized a cycle of postgraduate studies. Since then, this initiative has spread to all sectors of economic science. The Economic Faculty now counts about 5,000 regular students, 400 postgraduate students, and more than 100 researchers and scientists.

ECONOMIC INSTITUTE OF ZAGREB. The Economic Institute of Zagreb, founded in 1939, was the first of its kind in the southern part of Europe. According to a long tradition, the institute developed its research along different lines of economics. At present, the fields of interest include macroeconomic theory, public finance, international economics, regional economics, and business economics.

ECONOMY. In its economic development, Croatia passed through all traditional stages. Its early primitive economy was based on gathering and fishing and gradually developed into an agrarian economy. Trade has always been important in the coastal areas. The towns in Croatia developed significantly at the end of the Middle Ages, largely under influence of their Italian neighbor, Dubrovnik even reached the status of a city-state. Precapitalist industrial activity centered on agricultural and mining activities, though the latter was less present in Croatia than in Serbia. The Industrial Revolution was imported relatively early from Great Britain, and created a strong labor movement in the 19th century.

This in part explained the takeover of the communists under Josip Broz Tito after World War II. A short period of strong central planning and collective property was followed by the introduction of the system of self-management. This hybrid system combined elements of social property, centralized and decentralized planning, and self-managed activities, such as management of the enterprises by a self-management council. There was a large participation of women in the active labor force, though in social life, paternalism remained strikingly dominant.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia was accompanied by the re-introduction of the free market economy. Opposition parties were largely under influence of the West and some preached the return to pure capitalism in order to undermine the communist power. While the communists had propagated community values and atheism, the
opposition parties endorsed both more individual liberal values and Roman Catholicism. This more individual value pattern is, of course, more in line with a free market system.

The struggle for independence and the Homeland War had disruptive effects. A part of the infrastructure was destroyed. Heavy expenses for the war effort were inevitable. Tourism as a major source of foreign exchange imploded. Export markets were lost. Refugees and displaced persons needed help.

The first task for economic policy was to counter the rampant inflation, which reached 1,500 percent in 1993 and this was done by a drastic stabilization plan, introduced in October 1993. It included tight monetary and fiscal policies, liberalization of foreign exchange, adjustment of prices of public utilities, and wage control. A new currency was introduced in May 1994, which proved reasonably stable against the German mark under a controlled floating exchange rate regime. After an estimated 36 percent decline of real gross domestic product (GDP) from 1990 to 1993, the economy recovered in 1994 and showed an average growth of 6.4 percent between 1994 and 1996. However, the growth was mainly induced by domestic demand through the investment in reconstruction activities. Fortunately, it could be largely financed by contributions of the emigration community and favorable loans from international institutions. Croatia underwent debt rescheduling with the Paris Club and the London Club in 1996. On the other side, imports now boomed and this led to a current account deficit of some 7.5 percent of GDP in 1995. This caused no major problem because external debt languished at a relatively low level of 20 percent in 1994 and 1995.

The favorable climate, further helped by bank restructuring and the privatization drive, led to a domestic credit boom and a high level of private consumption and investment. At the end of 1997, loans to private households had almost doubled in one year. Combined with rising public expenditure and strong wage growth, real GDP boomed to almost 7 percent, but was accompanied by a serious rise of imports and of the current account deficit. Notwithstanding rapid growth between 1994 and 1997, the unemployment rate stabilized at a high level of 10 percent.

In 1998 a tightening of monetary policy proved inevitable. While fiscal policy remained flexible and government spending rose from 44
to 57 percent of GDP between 1994 and 1999, credits were severely restricted. At the end of 1998, a recession set in. The armed conflict in Kosovo provoked further instability in the region. The exchange rate depreciated by 12 percent in one year, a depressing situation for many private debtors who had borrowed in foreign currency. The contraction in 1999 when GDP decreased by 1 percent led to lower receipts for the fiscal authorities and a government deficit of more than 8 percent. This depression, the depreciation of the kuna, and the lower foreign capital inflows from emigrants provoked problems in the banking sector. Insolvency threatened a group of middle-sized banks. They had attracted foreign currency deposits by high interest rates and lent out the money in some risky loans to domestic consumers or even loss-making enterprises. Less transparent privatization procedures were also financed by their resources. In 1998 and 1999, the Croatian National Bank had to intervene in 17 banks, accounting for 17 percent of banking assets. Due to the recession and financial instability, exports stagnated. One other reason probably was the lack of preferential trade agreements because, since independence, Croatia was still not represented in the international organizations that provided them.

Thus, while one can point to temporary successes, the first decade of economic development of the Republic of Croatia was not very impressive. Of course, the bad starting position has to be taken into consideration, given the inherited structure and functioning of the economy from the communist period and the disastrous effects of the war. Growth (from a low level) was generated by demand-driven reconstruction activity and easy consumption, financed largely by the international sector. It derived less from a restructuring of the domestic economy through a sound privatization process; quite to the contrary, the process led not only to a recession and a crisis in the banking sector, it also produced high government and current account deficits and a rapid increase of foreign debt.

The poor economic performance, the crisis in the banking sector, and the alleged corruption in the privatization process certainly played a role in the defeat of Franjo Tuđman’s Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in the elections of 2000. The new government of Ivica Račan offered a new economic policy and tried to pull Croatia out of the recession. The prospects were good. The more democratic
image of the government and the announcement of full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia contributed to a better international business climate. Croatia also opened its markets through membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA). International lending organizations promised renewed cooperation on a large scale and assistance came from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Internally, Croatia first introduced a new stabilization policy, but above all promoted a new export strategy. However, this meant that the productive capacity of the economy had to be reoriented and renewed. Likewise, the privatization process had to be rationalized, doing away with corruption, nontransparent procedures, and easy unproductive giveaway transactions. All too often, sheer transfer of ownership titles both to new private capitalists and employees of the firms had not led to a productive restructuring of the companies and new investments.

The macroeconomic policy of the new government started with a fiscal tightening and lowering of interest rates, the latter to stimulate private consumption. Export growth was facilitated by the recovery in Europe and exchange rate depreciation. The GNP growth rate increased from 2.9 percent in 2000 to 5.2 percent in 2002. Inflation remained fairly stable below 4 percent. The banking sector also recovered, in part because not a few banks were taken over by foreign competitors. One of the intractable problems seemed to be the unemployment rate, which in 1992 had risen to 15 percent.

The credit expansion—credit to the private sector grew by 30 percent in 2002—threatened to overheat the economy and to disturb the external balance. Imports boomed in order to follow internal demand and export growth did not perform as expected. The current account deficit jumped to nearly 7 percent of GDP in 2002 and the rate of external debt to GNP rose alarmingly. In January 2003, the National Bank decided to intervene and curbed credit growth. At the same time, public expenditure decreased from 57 to 51.3 percent of GDP in the period 1999–2002. This also meant that the government was mildly cutting back on social benefits and provisions. This policy was prescribed and acclaimed by the World Bank, but as would soon be seen, it alienated the government from its electoral base. Under-
standably, this policy was reversed in the run-up to the November 2003 elections.

The economic policy of the new Ivo Sanader government can be characterized as a policy of cautious continuity. In the first place, he carried on the external policy of the Račan government, keeping the integration into Europe as one of his priorities. Second, he tried to restore good contacts with the emigrant community, keeping in mind how much they had contributed financially under the Tudman regime.

In macroeconomic policy, he also played the card of continuity. A tightened monetary policy helped to stabilize domestic credit expansion. In 2003, inflation was kept under control and remained at an average level of 3 percent over the next few years. Growth was relatively high at 5 percent, given stagnating government spending, which however was still on a high level, accounting for nearly half of GDP. Reliance on the foreign sector remained high. With stagnating exports, the current account deficits expressed in Euros more than doubled over the period 2004 to 2007, rising from 5 percent to 8.6 percent. Foreign debt as a percentage of GDP rose from 80 to 87.8 percent of GDP. However, Prime Minister Sanader defended his economic policy at the traditional yearly gathering of economists in Opatija in November 2007. He pointed to the fact that, in 2007, growth had attained a record rate of 6.8 percent. Unemployment had been reduced. Official statistics showed a fall from 14.3 percent in 2003 to 9.6 percent in 2008. Most important, the government deficit was reduced from 6.2 percent of GDP in 2003 to 3 percent in 2007. Also, the rate of growth of the foreign debt slowed, even if the absolute amount rose from €20 billion in 2003 to €33 billion in 2007.

Even in the first half year of 2008, the Croatian economy did relatively well. Though the rate of growth began to slacken, both employment and wages were still growing and the external imbalances were kept within usual proportions. A cautious policy of withdrawing financial resources from abroad and an intelligent monetary policy held Croatia apparently out of the grip of the international financial crisis.

In the third quarter of 2008, it became clear that Croatia was drawn into the recession. Economic indicators worsened and the government revised its budget and cut drastically into
infrastructural and ecological investments. Croatia was finally exposed to the same crisis phenomena as many other countries, but still not integrated into the European Union and imbued with earlier weaknesses; the mechanisms looked particularly threatening. The first effects through which the crisis affected the Croatian economy were the weakening of export demand and the decline of the value of shares of local enterprises at the stock exchange market. While the second was not overly important for the good functioning of the real economy, the first was partly countered by a proportionate decrease in imports. Much more disturbing was the rationing credit policy of mother banks abroad that also affected their Croatian sisters. Similarly, local residents began to withdraw their deposits and the supply of loans to enterprises became troublesome, along with general liquidity problems. The contraction of the economy reduced incomes, both of citizens and the state, and demand further weakened.

In January 2009, the government announced 10 anti-recession measures, most of which specialists qualified as not very far-reaching. In March 2009, the government revised the budget again and was finally faced with most serious problems. The government deficit had significantly risen due to the recession and further reduction of operation costs and investments was necessary. The government threatened to freeze the wages of the public sector, lest it would have to resort to the International Monetary Fund. This institution certainly would impose harsher conditions and cut heavily into social benefits. One of the major problems of the governments was how to finance its deficit, as it was difficult to issue bonds and very expensive to borrow on foreign money markets. Given the accumulating repayment burden of the high external debt, the economic and political situation quickly worsened in 2009. Moreover, the prime minister faced local elections in mid-May and the opposition accused him of delaying problems, rather than tackling them. See also CONSTRUCTION; ENERGY POLICY; EUROPEAN UNION; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT; INDUSTRY AND MINING; LABOR MARKET; MONETARY POLICY; PRAXIS PHILOSOPHY; PUBLIC FINANCE; TAX SYSTEM; WAR DAMAGE.
EDUCATION. Croatian education has mythical and religious origins. The Byzantine chronicler Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote that the first Croatian school had been founded by Buga, one of the seven legendary brothers and sisters who led the Croats to their present homeland.

In 925, the Synod of Split suggested that parents should educate their sons for the priesthood. The first Croatian schools were closely associated with the monasteries, especially the Benedictine ones. Originally, these schools used Latin, but later on the Croatian language and the Glagolitic alphabet were introduced. The Glagolitic script was then maintained for many years. The first elementary reader printed in Venice used this alphabet.

The Paulist order founded the first Croatian university. It functioned until Joseph II banned the order from Croatia in 1786. Four major Universities (Zagreb, Split, Osijek, and Rijeka) are now in operation, containing 52 faculties for about 60,000 students. About 700 more students study at three Art Academies and 1,500 attend three High Schools. Two hundred secondary schools organize the instruction of 200,000 adolescents and half of a million pupils are educated in elementary schools.

During the Homeland War, the practical functioning of the school system was greatly disturbed by the war circumstances. Schools were destroyed; pupils, students, and teachers emigrated from risky areas; and instruction periods were sometimes radically shortened. Many refugee children displayed strong emotional and concentration problems, interfering with the normal educational process. Problems seem deeply rooted in a limited number of cases and a decade later, health centers still have to spend many time and resources on them.

EKAVIAN. Variant of the Serbo-Croatian or Croatian language in opposition to the i- and ijekavian variants. Ekavian is the eastern variant of Serbo-Croatian usually spoken in Serbia and in some parts of Bosnia.

ELECTIONS. The first freely elected Croatian Sabor of the post-communist period was still organized according to the old socialist constitution. The Parliament had a complex tricameral structure.
The election law operated on the principle of a two-ballot absolute majority and produced a significant disproportion between electoral results and party representation. So, in the elections of 22 April and 6 May 1990, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) won 42 percent of the votes and was awarded 58 percent of the seats or 205 out of 351. The reformed communists running under the name of Social Democratic Party of Croatia–Party of Democratic Changes (SDPH–SDP) came out of the elections as the largest opposition force. It obtained 26 percent of the votes or 107 seats. The Coalition of National Agreement / Koalicija narodnog sporazuma (KNS) came in third with 19 percent of votes and 21 seats. The Coalition was composed of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party / Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (HSLS) of Dražen Budiša, the Social Democrat Party of Croatia / Socijalno demokratska stranka Hrvatske (SDSH) of Antun Vujić, the Croatian Christian Democratic Party / Hrvatska kršćansko demokratska stranka (HKDS) of Ivan Česar, the Croatian Democratic Party / Hrvatska demokratska stranka (HDS) of Marko Veselica and Vladimir Veselica, and the independent candidates Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Ante Miko Tripalo.

On 30 May, the first multiparty Parliament was installed. Žarko Domljan of the HDZ was chosen as Speaker. The first government was led by Stipe Mešić and lasted only three months. On 24 August 1990, Mešić was replaced as prime minister by Josip Manolić, a high HDZ official and close collaborator of Franjo Tuđman; he governed until 17 July 1991. Thereupon, former businessman Franjo Gregurić formed his Government of National Union. He remained in office until August 1992 when new parliamentary elections were called, and probably let the HDZ exploit the gains of the victorious intervention of the Croatian Army in the military frontier (Krajina).

The first elections for the first chamber under the new Constitution of 1990 were held on 2 August 1992. With 43 percent of the votes, the ruling HDZ managed to confirm its position obtained in the first multiparty elections of 1990. The Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) became the greatest challenger with 17.3 percent of the votes. The other opposition parties exceeding the 3 percent threshold of votes needed to be represented in the national Parliament lagged far behind: the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) (6.9 percent), the
Croatian People’s Party (HNS) (6.5 percent), the Social Democratic Party–Party of Democratic Changes (SDPH–SDP) (5.4 percent), and the Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS) (3.1 percent). The close associate of Tuđman, Hrvoje Šarinić, led the HDZ government from 12 August 1992 to 3 April 1993, followed by his party mate and lawyer Nikica Valentić, who ruled until the October 1995 elections.

The members of the House of Counties could only be elected in a second round on 7 February 1993. The first chamber had to approve the new law on the counties. Of the 54 registered political parties in Croatia, 26 took part in this election. Beside the government party HDZ and the national opposition party HSLS, the regional IDS obtained a noteworthy success. Some doubt was cast on the results and democratic significance of the elections; the control commission was not constituted on the principle of multiparty representation.

In the first general presidential elections under the 1990 constitution, on 4 August 1992, Franjo Tuđman (56 percent of the votes) triumphed over the Liberal candidate Dražen Budiša (22 percent) and conserved the mandate that had been granted to him by the Sabor in 1990.

The second elections for the House of Representatives were held on 29 October 1995. Again the HDZ obtained a majority of seats with 45.2 percent of the votes. An opposition front of five parties with the HNS and the IDS came in second with 18.6 percent. The HSLS was third and still the largest single opposition party (11.6 percent), but it began to show a downward trend, while the opposite was true of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP) (8.9 percent). The HSP slowly withered away (5 percent). On 7 November 1995, Zlatko Mateša took up his duties as prime minister and he remained in office until 27 January 2000.

At the second presidential elections of 15 June 1997, Tuđman (61.4 percent) defeated Zdravko Tomac (SDP) (21 percent) and Vlado Gotovac (HSLS) (17.6 percent).

The third elections for the House of Representatives on 3 January 2000 after the death of Tuđman were finally won by an opposition front of six parties. This was in fact a combination of the HSLS and the SDP, on the one side, and a four-party coalition, consisting of the IDS, the HNS, the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS), and the Liberal Party (LS), on the other. Prime Minister Ivica Račan formed
his “šestorka,” a government of six. After two and a half years, he formed a second government, when Budiša with his HSLS left the government.

The third presidential elections of 24 January and 7 February 2000 were won by Stipe Mesić (HNS), who defeated in two rounds Mate Granić (HDZ) and Dražen Budiša (HSLS).

Through a change of the 1990 Constitution of Croatia, on 28 March 2001, the House of Counties (Županijski Dom) was abolished.

On the local and regional level, the HDZ has always retained considerable influence, and though its representation was halved in the May 2001 elections relative to the 1997 ones, it performed better than expected and still was the single party with the most seats. While the HDZ was kept out of government by opposition coalitions from nearly all regional councils (županija), many smaller municipalities still are in the hands of the HDZ.

The fourth parliamentary elections were held on 23 November 2003. They restored the HDZ to power with 43 percent of the votes and 66 representatives. The SDP finished second with 22 percent of the votes and 34 seats. The HNS and HSS obtained 10 seats each, the Croatian Pensioners Party / Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika (HSU) and the minority party of Serbs, the Serbian Democratic Independent party / Samostalna demokratska sprska stranka (SDSS) each had three seats, and the HDLS in a coalition with the Democratic Center / Demokratski Centar (DC) two. The winning party HDZ formed a government coalition with HSLS-DC, HSU, and the ethnic minority groups under the new Prime Minister Ivo Sanader. The Sabor approved the government composed of 11 HDZ ministers and one of the DC on 23 December 2003.

The fifth parliamentary elections of 25 November 2007 decided on a second government of Sanader and his HDZ. The party won the elections with 36.6 percent of the votes or 66 seats in Parliament out of a total of 153. The strongest opponent, the SDP, scored 31 percent of the votes and obtained 56 seats. They preceded by far a Green–Yellow coalition between the HSS and HSLS getting eight seats and the Croatian People’s Party–Liberal Democrats / Hrvatska narodna stranka–Liberalni demokrati (HNS-LD), formed earlier by a merger of the HNS and the Liberal Democrats / Liberalni Demokrati) obtaining seven seats. A regional party, the Croatian Democratic
Assembly of Slavonia and Baranja / Hrvatski demokratski sabor Slavonije i Baranje (HSSB), won three seats. The HSU got one seat and the ethnic minorities eight. To secure a majority vote in the Sabor, the HDZ prime minister Sanader formed a government coalition with the HSS, HLSL, and SDSS, and signed a coalition agreement with the HSU and the parties of the ethnic minorities.

The presidential elections held on 2 and 16 January 2005 were above all a confrontation between the sitting president Mešić and the candidate of the governing HDZ, Jadranka Kosor. In the second round, Mesić got 66 percent of the votes, Kosor only 23 percent.

EMIGRATION. Temporary or long-term emigration of Croatian subjects has been a continuous phenomenon for ages, given the turbulent political and economic history of the country. The conquest of part of the territory of the former Kingdom of Croatia by the Ottomans and the struggle and continuous frictions on the borderland (Vojna Krajin, Military Border) was a major cause of population movements. In the civil part of Croatia under Habsburg domination, emigration began as soon as bondage on the land in service of the nobility ended. Many Croats took service in European armies at the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century, a part of the Croatian intelligentsia was attracted by better opportunities in the more advanced regions of the Habsburg Empire, especially Vienna and Prague.

After the installation in 1929 of the dictatorship of King Alexander and the abolishment of political parties, emigrants developed their political activity on foreign soil in the larger Europe. Later on, this was followed by economic emigration especially to the United States and Canada. The same pattern manifested itself at the beginning of the rule of the communists after World War II. Many of the Croats who were labeled by the communists as Ustaša were eliminated at the Bleiburg massacre, others escaped through Austria to the United States and Canada. In the mid-1970s, economic emigration boomed as the communist regime softened and the state economy laid off workers in a more market-oriented reform. In later years, with increased possibilities of international contact and tourism, family reunion and similar personal ties became another significant cause for emigration.
While the reasons for emigration were many and varied, so was the adoption of a new or double identity in the new country. And so were the perceptions of the old home country and the wishes and thoughts about a possible return. During the whole communist period, there have always been emigration groups and organizations that were committed to provoking a change in the regime and some of them engaged in rather extreme forms of action. However, seen over the long period, the sometimes spectacular exploits were rather few and certainly not always supported by the whole emigrant community. Moreover, they were more often than not efficiently countered by the Yugoslav intelligence services and the response in the Yugoslav homeland was generally weak, partly contained by censorship and intimidation. Only in the last years of the communist regime could Croatian emigrants abroad stimulate a real change of regime, mainly through large financial contributions to opposition parties in Croatia and lobbying at the local political level for the independence of Croatia. Indeed, confronted with the real possibility of the creation of an independent home country and real chances of return, the emigrants had to define their position again more clearly. On many occasions, this resulted in a higher Croatian group consciousness vis-à-vis other migration groups and locals. It certainly stimulated the activity level of earlier low-profile and of new action groups and generated more frequent and interested contact with the homeland, if not by direct visits, then at least by newly activated information channels.

Franjo Tudman proved to be an especially good lobbyist and could awaken the sympathy and attract the money of Canadian and American emigrants. During his Canadian tours, he met the Ottawa-based emigrant from Herzegovina Gojko Šušak, a businessman and very successful raiser of patriotic enthusiasm and financial funds. Some Toronto Croats claimed boldly and proudly that without their financial support, an independent Croatia would not have existed. Even Tudman once himself asserted that his most important political decision had been to invite the emigrant community to the founding congress of his party, the Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica, HDZ) in Zagreb, in 1989. The HDZ’s success in the first free elections can in part be attributed to the abundant foreign funding of the election campaign. Reliable sources report that $4 million was raised toward the HDZ’s electoral campaign in 1990,
and until 1992, Canadian Croats alone contributed officially more than $1 million, both figures probably being largely underestimated given unregistered flows of resources.

The smuggling of weapons through the intervention of the emigrant colony was particularly significant. At the time, there was an arms embargo of the European Union toward Yugoslavia, and the delivery of weapons was thus a precious gift of the diaspora to the poorly equipped homeland defenders. Anton Kikaš, the head of the Canadian-Croatian Professional and Business Association with links to Šušak, declared at a press conference in November 1991 that he personally had tried to deliver weapons to the Croatian Army, shipping 19 tons of arms and ammunition on a cargo plane. However, the cargo was intercepted and Kikaš was arrested by the Yugoslav Army. Many similar cases were documented.

The direct link to Canadian emigrants provided Tuđman not only with abundant sources of finance, the alleged dominant right-wing orientation usually ascribed to their Herzegovinian country descent was reported to have contributed to the establishment of his own authoritarian and patriarchal rule of a right-wing slant. Political scientists pointed to the fact that the earlier often reproached over-representation of Serbs in the communist-dominated Croatia was now threatened to be replaced by the diaspora. In fact, at the instigation of Tuđman and the HDZ, many intellectuals and businesspeople returned to their home country. They were given advantageous positions in the economic transformation, partly due to their own investments, partly thanks to some less transparent privatization proceedings. Many returnees even entered the administrative and political system, the best-known being Šušak, who first worked in the emigration services and then ended up as the long-term minister of defense. Ultimately, these were characterized as the Herzegovinian lobby, originating from and defending a preferential status for Herzegovinian Croats, and composing a strong right-wing faction within the HDZ.

In the early Tuđman years, the favorable attitude to the diaspora was institutionalized by a large emigrant representation of 12 seats in the Croatian Parliament and the installation of a special Committee for Emigration in the Sabor, the establishment of a Ministry for Return and Emigration first directed by Šušak before he was promoted
to minister of defense, and the attribution of extensive facilities to the reactivated Homeland Foundation (Matica hrvatska). For example, young second-generation Croats were offered scholarships and other services. Funds from abroad were now officially used to solve the refugee problems and to support Croats in Bosnia.

Many local Croats were not always happy with the enlarged political and economic role of the emigration community. They found that the returned emigrants were offered opportunities they lacked themselves, pointing to privileged economic positions and eventually cases of corruption. Some disliked their alleged Herzegovinian political sympathies and close links to the right-wing Tuđman establishment.

With the defeat of the HDZ in the 2000 elections, this general criticism was translated into a more reserved attitude toward the diaspora. The new Ivica Račan government halved the number of seats of the diaspora in Parliament, downgraded the Emigration Ministry to a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and put through some personnel changes in the Homeland Foundation, such as the removal of the long-term director Ante Beljo, a returnee from Canada.

Relations with the emigration Croats cooled, which is not hard to explain given the fact that about 60 percent of the diaspora always voted for HDZ politicians and all seats were accordingly occupied by HDZ delegates. In their turn, emigrant organizations such as the Croatian World Congress protested against this new state of affairs.

The government was hasty to answer that nothing had really changed in the positive policy toward the emigration community. For outsiders and others concerned this was difficult to believe. Relations between the government and the diaspora were tightened again when the HDZ returned to power under the government of Ivo Sanader. In fact, Sanader repeated the touring policy of the late President Tuđman by visiting the most important emigration circles in the world and soliciting their support and renewed cooperation.

A special problem for Croatia remained the emigration of young, highly educated technicians who left the country, looking for better opportunities. Unemployment was not really their motive, as the Croatian economy lacked skilled people, but they were disappointed by the relatively low wages, poor working conditions, and lack of prospects. Some also expressed their annoyance toward the
nationalist and paternalist rhetoric of the HDZ regime, accompanied by corruption and unequal starting positions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated their number during the 1990s at 140,000. Especially second-generation emigrants who returned to Croatia after independence departed again, mainly because they could not adjust to the particular conditions, work habits, and mentality of their new Croatian home country. It is expected that the present financial crisis—which spoils the business climate and which greatly reduces business opportunities—will further stimulate emigration.

EMPLOYMENT REGULATIONS. Labor regulations are stipulated by the Labor Act. The contract that employees make with an employer may not violate the collective agreement, which regulates the basic rights and obligations of employees and employers. Collective agreements are made between the authorized trade unions and Chambers of Commerce or with government institutions, depending on the field of activity. The Labor Act further stipulates certain conditions such as working hours (40 hours per week), vacations and other leave (at least 18 working days), forms of protection in case of maternity leave or for employees who are temporarily or permanently disabled, and so forth.

ENERGY POLICY. The Croatian long-term energy policy has been defined by the Croatian Energy Development Strategy, a document drawn up by experts for the Sabor. It has to be in line with the European Union (EU) programmatic documents on the matter, but it also clearly reflects the actual Croatian situation, and proposes alternative projects that would satisfy and assure the strategic energy needs of Croatia.

In the absence of adequate natural resources, Croatia is not self-sufficient in supplying energy and has to make strategic choices to fulfill its energy needs. Roughly, there are five major projects for energy imports and one radical alternative: the generation of energy by a nuclear plant built on Croatian soil.

One of these seemed already to have been lost before it started, the Družba Adria (Adriatic Society) project, discarded due to the indecision of the experts, the vulnerability of politicians, and the well-organized protests of environmental groups. The second project is
the Pan-European Oil Pipeline (PEOP) that would transport Russian, Azerbaijani, and Kazakhstani oil from Constanza in Romania, via Serbia and Croatia, to Trieste in the north of Italy. Another northern connection for Russian gas could be a pipeline through Hungary. There is also the southern Adriatic–Ionian import route for Azerbaijani gas imported via Greece, Albania, and Montenegro, to be developed by the Croatian company Plinacro with Swiss partners. Perhaps the main project is the building of a liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminal in Omišalj on the Adriatic coast for natural gas from the Near East or North Africa. This terminal would not only serve Croatia but also neighboring countries. Probably the most debatable project is the establishment of a nuclear plant. Along with these major projects, several new thermal and hydroelectric power plants are planned.

The Croatian Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Hrvatska banka za obnovu i razvitak, HBOR) is an important agent that regularly supplies loans for projects on environmental protection, energy efficiency, and renewable energy resources. The EU and the World Bank also supply considerable funds to further these goals.

ENVIRONMENT. In the first years of the existence of the Republic of Croatia, ecology was not one of its priorities. The war operations had a devastating effect on the environment and it has been estimated that 1,200 square kilometers of land are still infected by mines. On the other hand, thanks to lower industrial activity, the pressure on the environment has somewhat lessened: a decrease of 35 percent of industrial production reduced the demand for energy by roughly 30 percent. The recovery of production from 1997 to 2002 to the prewar level again made more visible the effects of waste and pollution. In order to respect its international obligations, Croatia urgently needed to define stricter ecological standards and incorporate them into the legislation.

This was largely the task of the Ministry for Protection of the Environment. The orientation toward long-term development was finally included in the strategic goals of the government. It defined a Strategy for the Protection of the Environment and a National Plan in 2002. However, an evaluation for the period until 2005 came to the conclusion that the plan had not produced major changes. In more diplomatic terms, a report states “that the results differ largely
in different sectors.” Green parties were not particularly successful in elections and nongovernmental organizations in general were not able to incorporate their views into the policy of the authorities.

In its aspirations to join the European Union (EU), Croatia had to make a major effort to keep up with European standards. The directives are laid down in chapter 27, Environment, of the Acquis Communautaire. It is one of the most extended and complicated chapters with around 300 directives and regulations, some of a highly technical nature. Accordingly, it was one of the last chapters projected to be closed in the second part of 2009 in the accession strategy of the EU. Its content can be roughly divided into the achievement of three subgoals: adopting and implementing legislation on environmental impact assessment and public participation; strengthening the administrative capacity at national and regional levels; and increasing infrastructure investments for waste of water, water supply, and waste management.

In a November 2008 EU report on the progress made on chapter 27, the commission staff made a general assessment and commented briefly on the changes in different fields in the usual diplomatic language. The report concludes by stating that progress has been achieved in the areas of air quality and chemicals. Considerable efforts will be needed with regard to the water and industrial pollution, control and risk management, climate measures, and other specific areas. High infrastructure investments are still necessary to bring the environment policy into line with the EU standards. These general conclusions of the commission were incorporated in a communication to the council and the European Parliament on the enlargement strategy of 2008–2009.

At the national level, these reports were closely followed by policymakers. At a round-table discussion organized by the National Committee of the Sabor supervising Croatia’s membership talks, Nikolas Ružinski, head of the task force in charge of environmental protection, declared that Croatia needed to invest €10 billion in environmental protection by 2025: €4.8 billion in water management, €2 billion in air protection, and €3.25 billion in waste management. Vesna Pušić, head of the National Committee, added that Croatia had requested 11 transitional periods for the chapter on the environment, and rather long ones, because of the high cost of the investments. The
central and local governments could not finance these themselves and needed to mobilize funds of the private sector and the EU. The EU representative on the matter in Croatia, Vincent Degert, said the EU was ready to contribute €40 million in the next two years. Also in this field, the EU exercises really a decisive influence on the policy of the Croatian authorities.

**EPIDAURUM.** See CAVTAT.

**ERDUT AGREEMENT / ERDUTSKI SPORAZUM.** Agreement concluded on 31 July 1993, in the little frontier town on the right bank of the Danube. In that time, the town was occupied by the Croatian Serbs. It was a first step to cooperation with Zagreb on economic matters and paved the way for further negotiations. The agreement was negotiated by Knut Vollebaek.

**EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.** See EUROPEAN UNION.

**EUROPEAN MOVEMENT CROATIA / HRVATSKO VIJEĆE EUROPSKOG POKRETA (HVEP).** See CROATIAN COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT.

**EUROPEAN UNION (RELATIONS WITH).** Since independence in 1992, Croatia has always considered itself as a European country and not so much as a country situated in the western Balkans. Politicians constantly referred to the legacy of the European heritage and the contribution of Croatia to its identity. In these aspirations, it was firmly supported by Germany and a few other European countries. Given the decisions of the Badinter Commission, a European arbitration commission that laid down the criteria for the establishment of independent states on the territory of former Yugoslavia and that granted Croatia the right to the establishment of its own republic, followed by the actual recognition of Croatia by several European nations, the rapprochement with Europe appeared to come about smoothly and without many problems.

However, the vicissitudes of the Homeland War in Croatia during the 1991–1995 period led to a significant change of the situation. First of all, European countries had already not been of one mind
concerning the legitimacy of the recognition of an independent Croatia. Furthermore, the manner in which the Serb-occupied territories in Croatia were reconquered and the intervention of Croatia in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, caused suspicion and estrangement between Europe and Croatia. The cruelties and infringements of human rights repulsed the European conscience. This was institutionalized by the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Following the Dayton agreement signed in December 1995, the EC, now transformed into the European Union (EU) by the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, defined a new strategy for the Balkans in its so-called Regional Approach. It saw the western Balkans as a region that had to be stabilized through mutual cooperation and that in the long run was best integrated in the European Union. Though the agreement preached the development of interregional cooperation, the actual policy defined by the European Council of Ministers in 1997 was rooted in an individual approach toward countries, taking into account specific political and economic conditions. Accordingly, in June 1999, the EU redefined its Regional Approach into a Stabilisation and Association Process, with the aim of concluding agreements with the individual countries.

In 1998, the HDZ government established a Ministry for European Integration led by Deputy Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak. The ministry produced a declaration of intention, in which it declared that the Integration of Croatia into the EU was a first priority of the government and that full cooperation would be given to meet this goal. The declaration was less enthusiastic about regional cooperation, as it perceived this as an initiative to push independent Croatia into a new South Slav political and economic association.

The formal EU–Croatia political dialogue, which had been suspended in 1995, resumed in July 1999. Probably due to Croatia’s active cooperation in the Kosovo war, the EU clearly adopted a more favorable attitude.

The policy of the EU toward Croatia drastically changed for the better with the coming to power of Ivica Račan. First, major progress was made in the design of cooperation and assistance programs. The Zagreb summit held on 24 November 2000 launched the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) for five countries of southeastern
Europe, among them Croatia. Less than a year later, on 29 October 2001, Prime Minister Račan and the Foreign Affairs Commissioner of the European Commission Chris Patten signed in Luxembourg the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between the EU and the Republic of Croatia. This agreement had to be ratified by all countries of the EU and, therefore, an Interim Agreement governing trade and related matters between the Republic of Croatia and the European Union was also signed by Commissioner Chris Patten and Croatian Foreign Minister Tonino Picula.

What really marked a new era in the relations between Croatia and the EU was the start of the accession procedures of Croatia to the EU. On 21 February 2003, Račan submitted Croatia’s application to Greek Prime Minister Costas Simites, who was in charge of the presidency of the EU. On 21 June, Croatia signed the Declaration of the Balkan Summit at Thessaloniki, in which adherence to the principles of the EU and mutual cooperation between the western Balkan countries was expressed once more. The elections at the end of 2003 removed the Račan regime from power, but the new HDZ Prime Minister Ivo Sanader was quick to declare that accession to the EU remained one of the top priorities of his new government.

In April 2004, the European Commission adopted a positive opinion on Croatia’s application for membership, and Croatia received the official candidate status from the European Council in June. In December, the council declared that accession negotiations with Croatia could be opened, but association negotiations only started on 3 October 2005 due to problems of Croatia with the ICTY. In late October, the so-called screening process started and was concluded a year later. In the meantime, the opening of one of the 34 chapters of the Acquis Communautaire had already been done. The Acquis is the whole body of laws and regulations that are common to the EU countries and is supposed to incorporate its values and deeper policy options. On each of the fields or so-called chapters a negotiation process is set up to evaluate if the candidate countries can satisfy the conditions imposed to accommodate to EU practices. Fulfillment terms and eventual postponements can be negotiated. Aside from this, there is a semiannual global evaluation of the progress made in the accession proceedings.

On 12 February 2008, the EU Council adopted the new Accession Partnership. It was meant to revise the goals as a function of the actual
state of progress reached by the accession candidate and it harmonizes the financial support that is given by the EU to induce the desired changes. EU funding is now channeled through a single, unified instrument, the preaccession assistance (IPA). For the period 2008–2010, EU assistance to Croatia is concentrated in five broadly defined sectors: institution building, cross-border cooperation, and participation in the community’s regional, human resources, and rural development policy. For each year, a total sum of around €150 million has been set aside. The bulk is going to institution building and regional development.

Once the accession process had taken off, problems of internal transformation surfaced, principally to be guided by the negotiations on the 34 chapters of the Acquis Communautaire. One of the toughest chapters to comply with was the chapter on competition policy, whose goals were set in mid-2006 by the EU for the management of shipbuilding, the steel industry, duty-free zones, and subsidies. Some economic measures prescribed by the EU—for example, the abolition of the zero level of taxes on some basic food stuffs such as milk, bread, and medication—hurt the general public and are very unpopular. Moreover, the struggle against crime was suddenly pushed into a priority in the autumn of 2008, when first the daughter of a well-known judge and then an investigative journalist were murdered in a violent attack in the center of Zagreb in the Ivana Hodak and Ivo Pučanin cases. Sanader dismissed his ministers of the interior and justice and the head of police, but the cases proved that Croatia still had a long way to go to reach a decent level of civil security.

The next blow to Croatia and Sanader was the unexpected Slovenian blockade of the accession process in November 2008. Slovenia impeded the opening of a series of chapters arguing Croatian documents run ahead on the fixation of disputed frontiers areas between the two countries. The regular intergovernmental accession conference planned for March 2009 had to be delayed by the Czech EU presidency and Croatia’s overall accession agenda came seriously in danger. Another reason for possible delay is the instance of France that the Lisbon Treaty has to be approved before any further extension of the EU. See also BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (RELATIONS WITH); COUNCIL OF EUROPE; GERMANY (RELATIONS WITH); GREAT BRITAIN (RELATIONS WITH); ITALY (RELATIONS WITH); SLOVENIA (RELATIONS WITH).
FERAL TRIBUNE. The annex of the newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* turned into an independent fortnightly after the privatization of the journal. *Feral Tribune* attracted much attention through its harsh political satire. The paper published cartoons in which, for example, Franjo Tuđman was compared to Slobodan Milošević or identified with Stalin and Hitler. This latter cartoon must have insulted President Tuđman and led to prosecution based on Articles 76 and 81 of the criminal code. A press conference of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) was immediately followed by steps taken by the public prosecutor. This again raised the question of freedom of the press as in similar cases of journalists Tanja Torbarina, Jelena Lovrić, and Ivan Zvonimir Čičak. The journal was also constantly followed by the secret services, as files revealed later clearly proved. Despite all this, the *Feral Tribune* was a model of investigative journalism. Due to financial problems, the magazine stopped publication in June 2008.

FERDINAND, KING (1503–1564). Habsburg king of Bohemia who claimed the Hungarian throne after the death of King Louis II in the battle of Mohacs. The Croatian Sabor convened at the end of December 1526 in the Franciscan monastery in Cetin and agreed to elect Ferdinand king of Croatia on condition that he should provide military protection against the Turks. In a later session, the Sabor expressed the wish that the Kingdom of Croatia should be annexed to the Austrian hereditary lands. The Sabor in Slavonia and Hungary backed another candidate to the throne, Janos Zapolyai. This led to a civil war. The Habsburg dynasty continued to rule Croatia until the end of World War I.

FERIĆ, ZORAN (1961– ). Born in Zagreb, he is the author of three novels and two collections of short stories. His work received the Gjalski Prize and the Jutarnji List Award for the best work of prose fiction in 2001. His much praised novel *Smrt djevojčice sa žigicama* (2002) has been translated as *The Death of the Little Match Girl*. See also LITERATURE, MODERN.
FILM. See CINEMA.

FIRST YUGOSLAVIA (1918–1941). Under the concept of the First Yugoslavia, one understands the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under the Karadordević dynasty (1918–1941).

FIUME. See RIJEKA.

FOLK CULTURE. Croatia’s natural and geopolitical diversity over the centuries has resulted in distinctive ethnographic areas. According to Dr. Ivan Ivančan, there are four characteristic regions in Croatia: the Alpine, Adriatic, Dinaric, and Pannonian regions. They show a specific identity and present numerous particularities in folk tradition. For example, folk costumes in the cold Dinaric area are made primarily of wool, whereas the costumes in Pannonia make use of flax and hemp.

Folk dances accompanied by traditional instruments and the human voice are likewise differentiated by regional elements. For example, Dinaric music bears Eastern influences. Adriatic vocal bands (klapas) developed a very special style of multivocal singing.

Some of the folk dances and customs have preserved certain cultural characteristics that reflect their period of origin. Very interesting are the Carnival dances that have survived, especially on the Adriatic coast. During Poklade, called Mesopust or Karneval in other parts of Croatia, a straw man, usually dressed in Turkish clothes and with a dark, painted face, is burned at the end of the festivity as a symbol of winter or evil. Another typical dance is the Moreška, a knights’ dance still performed on the island of Korčula. It shows a fight between the White King and the Moors and probably originates in a historic battle with the Saracens, the Arabs who served in the Ottoman Army. The Sinjska Alka is a game that goes back to 1715 when the town of Sinj had to be defended against the Ottoman invaders. Participants of the game must thrust a spear into a metal ring while riding on a galloping horse. The game is patronized by the highest authorities of Croatia—earlier the bans and now the presidents of the Republic. While Franjo Tudman always had been received with much honor,
Stipe Mesić has encountered much hostility as traditional nationalist forces seem to monopolize the folkloric manifestation.

Sometimes, typical regional dances and ethnic expressions were forbidden by the occupiers. The Istrian Balun dance is a case in point. Sometimes, foreign traditions were introduced. Repressed forms and mixed culture are typical in Medimurje.

It is unhappily true that traditional folklore and customs are nowadays rapidly disappearing and revive only for short periods at some special festivities, such as the Zagreb Folklore Festival.

**FOREIGN DEBT.** According to several indicators, the debt position of Croatia in recent years deserves serious concern. The foreign debt increased from roughly €10 billion in 1999 to €20 billion in 2003 and €33 billion in 2007. In percentages of gross national product (GNP), it increased in these years from 54.5 percent to 75.8 to 87.8 percent. As a percentage of exports, it rose respectively from 133 to 153 to 179. The debt served in percentage of exports in these same years varied from 24.6 to 21.3 to 33.3. Reserve in months of imports at the end of these years amounted to 3.9, 5.2, and 5.2.

So, in less than a decade, the foreign debt tripled and reached almost 90 percent of GNP, an alarming level. While other debt indicators also are at a high level, they still seem bearable and reserves are still sufficient. The problem for Croatia is that more and more loans have come to term and must be repaid in 2009, while new lending will be difficult to get and very costly.

The reason foreign debt spiraled to this high level is, of course, a complex and debatable question. A thorough economic analysis would be necessary and only some elementary facts are mentioned here. In the first years of its existence, capital inflow was difficult because of internationally unsettled questions such as the serving and division of the common debt of former Yugoslavia and the slow integration in international economic institutions. On the other hand, there was a supposedly (but largely hidden) substantial contribution by the emigration community.

This situation changed drastically with the coming of the Ivica Račan regime. The political image of Croatia improved, the country was internationally better integrated, and economic world organizations supported Croatia and began lending to the country. On the
other hand, the emigration community was less sympathetic to the regime and the inflow of capital diminished. However, the economic strategy based on export expansion was not wholly successful. Exports did not rise proportionately to imports and the external balance worsened. Moreover, the government did not maintain the initial strict budget constraints and initiated an expansionist credit policy that substantially increased public and private consumption and pushed imports to a high level. The Ivo Sanader government took over this economic policy with the same defects. The slackening of the economy and the tighter lending conditions on international financial markets finally led to a mere severe budget policy and a cut in public spending at the end of 2008. Decreasing government income from taxes and tourism, lower export earnings, and harder lending conditions posed a serious threat to the government to find the resources to repay in 2009 the ever increasing amount of debt. The governor of the National Bank, Želko Rohatinski, estimated this amount on €12 billion in 2009, approximately one third of GDP. See also FOREIGN INVESTMENT; PUBLIC FINANCE.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT. Between 1993 and 2006, Croatia attracted direct foreign investment to a total amount of €14.2 billion. Up to 1998, foreign investment was low due to war circumstances and Croatia’s unsolved international status in debt questions and membership of international economic organizations. From 1999 to 2005, foreign investment increased slowly. In these years, foreign investment originated foremost from the takeover of enterprises, offered by the privatization process. Considerable sums were registered in 1999 and 2000 for the former infrastructural services, such as telecommunications, postal services, and banks. Later, also oil and gas and the main electricity producer were wholly or partly sold. Logically, most of these transactions were done by neighbors, namely Austria and Hungary. Only in later years did greenfield investments attract larger amounts.

In 2006, foreign investment rose to a record amount of €2.83 billion, nearly twice the amount of 1.42 billion in 2005. Due to the international financial crisis, investments fell back during the next years and prospects are weak. Moreover, experts were already somewhat more skeptic about the local investment climate in Croatia in
comparison with neighboring transition countries before the actual international crisis and greenfield investments are expected to fall dramatically. *See also Banking; Foreign Debt; Privatization.*

**FOREIGN POLICY.** The first and primary goal of Croatia’s foreign policy was the recognition of independence. Once that goal was achieved, the most urgent task was the reintegration of the regions occupied by the Serbs in Croatia. Diplomatic activity was deployed mostly with this aim in view. The position of the *Croats* in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) also received major attention. This permanently irritated the international community, especially the European Union (EU). The authoritarian style of governing under Franjo Tudman, with a lack of respect for human rights, the independence of the press and the judiciary, further impeded integration of Croatia within the European Union and the international community.

This changed drastically with the coming of the **Ivica Račan–Stipe Mesić** regime. A different foreign policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was announced and put into practice, while internally a new style of government was introduced. A process toward full integration into the European and world community was put on the rails. Association and cooperation agreements were concluded. Notwithstanding some resistance by the opposition in 2009, Croatia is definitely on the way to achieving the objective of European integration.

Bilateral policy of the Republic of Croatia concentrated foremost on its direct neighbors and the countries of former **Yugoslavia**. More remote countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and certain Latin American countries were mainly important for the relations the Croatian emigration community developed with the homeland. Finally, Croatia needed to develop its relations with international organizations to defend its political and economic interests.

It is a little surprising that relations with Slovenia were not always as smooth as expected. The two republics were the first to leave the federal Communist Party and to have referenda for independence, which they declared almost at the same time. They promised to give mutual assistance in resistance against the Yugoslav Army and did
so to some extent. Once independence was in sight, they were partners in the international battle for recognition. However, some initial and inevitable problems arose in the process of shaping the nations and persist until the present day. In the first place, there were some frontier disputes. The minor problem on Medimurje was easily solved. But the dispute over the Bay of Piran on the Adriatic coast will finally have to be decided by the International Court of Justice in The Hague. It is important for Slovenia, because it concerns its only seaway into international waters. Croatia unilaterally decided to install large ecologic zones, which hamper both Italy and Slovenia. Slovenia even threatened to block the accession procedure of Croatia to the EU. Another bone of contention was the contribution to and management of the nuclear plant of Krško in Slovenia near the Croatian border. The dispute over financial obligations of the Zagreb subsidiary of the Ljubljanska Banka was close to being solved after long negotiations. Unexpectedly, in November 2008, the frontier problem provoked a minor crisis by the blockade of Slovenia of Croatia’s EU accession process. Slovenia refused to open several negotiation chapters because Croatian documents prejudged the fixation of the disputed frontiers.

Given the historical presence of the Italians on the Adriatic coast, both closeness and resentment characterize the relations of Italy with Croatia. In earlier times, Dalmatia was under the influence of Italian culture, now Italian influence is practically limited to Istria. There has been a long-term dispute over the right of Italians to buy real estate in Croatia, and under the influence of the EU, Croatia finally backed down. In 2009, the problem of fishing interests was not yet resolved.

Relations with Austria were generally friendly, as Austria along with Germany backed the independence of Croatia, probably in part because in both countries there existed important Croatian colonies that organized support and partly because both countries did not want to be confronted with a new wave of refugees. The influential Christian Democratic parties were also ideologically closer to Tuđman than to the previous regime. Germany especially was one of the strongest supporters of Croatia, together with the Vatican, and nothing disturbed this attitude in the following years.
Bosnia-Herzegovina is a case apart, as at earlier times it was an integral part of Croatia and the present Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina contains one ethnically determined Croatian part. Relations are still shaped by the common struggle against Bosnian Croats and the internal struggle of Muslims against Croats. Croatia supported both battles and gave large military and financial support to the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who even obtained Croatian nationality. At times, it seemed Tuđman was eager to invite the Bosnian Croats into a federation with Croatia. Therefore, relations with the Muslims remained strained. During the years that the United Nations and Europe de facto governed BIH through the United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR), the Croats remained detached vis-à-vis the local central power.

Relations with Serbia were hostile during the war and remained so for a long time. Once the new regime had swept away Slobodan Milošević, relations slowly recovered, but one could not say there is deeper cooperation on such common problems as refugees and the negative images and rhetoric in broad sections of the population. Croatia was one of the countries that recognized Kosovo very early on. Relations with Macedonia and Montenegro are good, but not at all privileged.

Relations with France and Great Britain were cool at the beginning because Paris and London did not unconditionally support Croatia in its independence process like Germany and Austria. Later, Great Britain at times blocked ratification procedures for assistance and accession programs because Croatia did not show full cooperation with the ICTY.

The relations with the United States were almost always very good. Washington supported Croatia’s independence struggle and recognized its independence early on. U.S. Croatian emigrants, just like the Canadians, contributed substantially to the financing of the new regime. Semiprivate firms provided military training programs and advice. Though there was an embargo on delivery of weapons, hidden operations have certainly taken place. The United States also gave its support to Croatian membership in several international organizations. On the other hand, the Dayton agreement was certainly a hard nut to crack for Tuđman, as under pressure from the Americans, he had to back down on his aspirations for a closer link with BIH.
The international organization with which Croatia experienced the most trouble is certainly the ICTY. It took almost 15 years to settle the last contentions. Most EU and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) assistance programs and accession procedures implied the condition of full cooperation with the ICTY, and this has continuously hampered and delayed Croatia’s participation. Finally, in 2008 Croatia reached the final accession procedures both to the EU and NATO. It already has closed some chapters of the Acquis communautaire. However, negotiations are ponderous and there is still much pressure on Croatia both by the EU and NATO that can be perceived as forcing Croatia to adjust to the common Western values and policies. At times, even new strains in bilateral relations seem to evolve out of the multilateral negotiations. Yet, it seems that Croatia’s political and diplomatic leaders are fully aware of the necessity of adopting a communitarian approach. The general public is also moving in the same direction, but will have its own say during the referendum that is planned before the actual accession to the EU. See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; CENTRAL EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT; INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND; WORLD BANK.

FORTIS, ALBERTO (1741–1803). Born in Padua, Italy. He traveled widely through Dalmatia. He wrote two books on the Adriatic islands (Saggio d’osservazioni sopra l’isola di Cherso ed Ossero, 1771) and Dalmatia (Viaggio in Dalmazia I-II, 1774), and he translated Andrija Kačić-Miošić’s poems and folk songs.

FOUNDATION FOR THE DEMINING OF CROATIA / ZAKLADA ZA HUMANITARNO RAZMINIRANJE HRVATSKOE. A humanitarian organization that collects money in order to remove mines from the former battlefields of Croatia. The region around Karlovac, among others, was successfully cleared of mines. President Stipe Mesić was a patron of the organization in 2002.

FRANCE (RELATIONS WITH). France was, along with Great Britain, one of the members of the European Community (EC) that resisted most strongly the early recognition of the independence of Croatia. France had been historically a close partner of Serbia and it
firmly advocated the preservation of the unity of former Yugoslavia. Ultimately, on 15 January 1993, France accepted the EC decision to recognize the independence of Croatia, after consultation of the Badinter Commission. The relations with Croatia under Franjo Tudman remained cool and reserved.

With the coming to power of the Ivica Račan–Stipe Mesić regime, political problems between Croatia and France gradually cleared up. French President Jacques Chirac and Stipe Mesić met each other three times in two years. Any remaining problems in the economic sphere were said not to affect the good political relations and had to be resolved by the concerned business partners.

During his presidency of the European Union in 2008, President Nicholas Sarkozy made a proposal to resolve the bilateral problems between Slovenia and Croatia about the frontiers and especially Piran Bay. However, the Slovenes rejected it and expressed their reservations to open seven chapters of the Acquis communautaire.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I, EMPEROR (1848–1916). The Austrian emperor established a strict centralist and absolutist regime. He also wanted to introduce German as the administrative and official language in Croatia. On the other hand, modernization laid the basis for economic development and an elementary school system was established. Under his reign, the bishopric became independent from the Hungarians.

In 1859, Austria lost the war against France and Piedmont. The crisis of state finances obliged the Austrian monarch to temper absolutism and to grant concessions to the other regions of the empire. The Constitution of 1860 recognized Croatian as the official language of Croatia.

FRANK, JOSIP (1844–1911). Inspired by the ideas of Ante Starčević, Josip Frank founded the Pure Party of Rights (Čista Stranka Prava). He defended triadism: the Habsburg monarchy must become a federation of three independent entities, of which Croatia was one. He was intransigent toward the Serbs and gathered around his party the supporters of the Croatian national right.
FREE ZONES. The procedure of establishing and operating free zones is governed by the Law on Free Zones, passed on 6 October 1990 and adapted in 1996. A free zone may be established by one or more judicial persons, either foreign or domestic. The user of a free zone may be a domestic or a foreign judicial or physical person, who has concluded an agreement with the free-zone company. No customs or duties have to be paid on items imported into or exported out of the zone. The only charge is the 1 percent customs fee for recordkeeping. The goods manufactured and processed within the free zone may be distributed to the domestic market outside the free zone, according to the regulations on imports, upon the payment of customs and import duties on raw materials, manufacturing components, and parts used in the production process. The user of the zone shall not pay taxes and levies, except for taxes on wages and salaries.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. Article 36 of the Croatian constitution guarantees the freedom of expression. This freedom can only be restricted by law in the interest of the security of the republic and for the sake of the conduct of criminal proceedings. Article 38 states more precisely: “Freedom of expression shall specifically include freedom of the press and other media of communication, freedom of speech and public expression, and free establishment of all institutions of public communication.” Censorship shall be forbidden and journalists shall have the right to freedom of reporting and access to information. The freedom of expression of thought as specified in Article 38 was in fact restricted for several months during the war, when the regulation on information activities during the war or in case of imminent danger to the independence and unity of the Republic of Croatia was in force. This regulation aimed at precluding the publication of military information harmful to national security. It was sparingly used and has known only one case: the confiscation of an issue of the weekly Slobodni Tjednik, clearly for publication of unlawfully obtained military information.

Article 23 of the Law on Public Information enacts the establishment of a committee for the protection of the free press. A delegation of the Council of Europe visiting Croatia to report on this question could only remark that this committee had not yet been installed. The
foreign experts pointed further to the weak economic situation as a major threat to an independent press. In the second half of 1992, the boards of directors of several newspapers—including *Vjesnik*, *Novi List*, and *Slobodna Dalmacija*—were all replaced by the representatives of the government’s Agency for Restructuring and Development.

A strong tendency toward political monolithism endangered the free expression of criticism. At the time of the visit, the chief editor of the journal *Vjesnik* and the general director of the Croatian Radio and Television were both representatives in Parliament. However, Article 16 of the Law on Public Information stated that a person enjoying immunity cannot be the main editor of a media organ.

Surprisingly enough, some of the same tendencies seemed to express themselves in one form or another after the change of regime. The main newspapers came more or less under influence of the government. Especially in the case of the revision of the privatization process of *Slobodna Dalmacija*, the Social Democrats (SDP) of Prime Minister Ivica Račan were under fierce attack by the opposition for manipulating transactions regarding the ownership structure. Nevertheless, the press seems to function much more autonomously. On the other side, release of files revealed that under the Franjo Tudman regime, most journalists were followed by the secret services. The president of the now oppositional Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) even made public excuses toward the persecuted journalists. See also PRESS.

---

**GAJ, LJUDEVIT (1809–1872)**. He was the main leader of the Illyrian movement, working out the basic cultural and linguistic ideas of the Croatian national awakening. In a later stage, he participated in the institutional and political implementation of this process. From 1826 to 1931, Gaj studied law and philosophy at the universities of Vienna, Graz, and Pest, but all the time remained obsessed by the local history of the Croats and their language. Another event must have deeply influenced his basic ideas: on 10 September 1827, the Croatian Sabor passed a law that made learning of the Hungarian
language obligatory in the Triune Kingdom of Croatia. Gaj decided to make a crucial contribution to the national Croatian awakening through the creation of a common Slav language.

Gaj moved to Zagreb at the beginning of 1832, where he collected around himself an intellectual circle of emerging leaders who discussed the awakening of a Croatian national feeling and its language. The first concrete vehicle to stir the national awareness was thought to be a newspaper and a literary journal in the Illyrian language. On 6 January 1835, the first issue appeared of Novine Horvatske (The Croatian News), followed on 10 January by the literary supplement Danica Horvatska, Slavonska i Dalmatinska (The Croatian, Slavonian, and Dalmatian Daystar).

As planned, the papers disseminated systematically the Illyrian ideas. On 5 December 1836, the Illyrian manifest was published in Danica, explaining to the broader public the importance of the cultural awakening for the preservation of the Croatian national identity. In another article in Danica called “Naš Narod” (to be translated both by “Our People” and “Our Nation”), Gaj defined for the first time more clearly his idea of a “Greater Illyria.” The only way to distinguish the Slavs, who possess a common nationality, is by their language. There are four major categories according to their geographical identity: Greater Illyria, Greater Bohemia, Greater Poland, and Greater Russia. The dialect of Greater Illyria is spoken by Croats; Slavonians; Slavs of lower Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Istria; and Slavs of Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Dubrovnik, Serbia, and Bulgaria.

Finally, Gaj engaged in professional politics. While the ideas of the Illyrian movement had received more and more support in the Sabor, its opponents organized formally in February 1841, and established the Croato-Hungarian party (Horvatsko-vugarski stranjk). Given the elections in the three counties of Civil Croatia in 1841 and 1842, the Illyrians were forced to react and founded their party in the summer of 1841. Gaj participated in both the Varaždin and Zagreb elections. The Illyrians won the elections in all three counties of Civil Croatia, but the Zagreb elections of 31 May 1842 proved to be very irregular. They were preceded by street violence of Illyrian students and the actual election proceedings were controlled by the Illyrians, personally led by Gaj.
The opponents called this a revolutionary coup and protested to the Hungarian and Austrian authorities. At the same time, rumors reached the Austrian Police Ministry that Gaj had been implicated in stirring up a revolution in Bosnia. On 16 June 1842, a new ban, Count Franjo Haller, was sent to Zagreb to restore order. He immediately proposed to prohibit the Illyrian name, to purify all papers of Illyrian and Pan-Slav rhetoric, and to discipline the unruly Illyrian students. Some Illyrians lost their political office and a criminal suit was opened against Illyrian officials, among them Gaj, in which he was threatened with the loss of his paper and press. The Illyrian party changed its name into National Party (Narodna Stranka) and continued its work. Gaj was largely kept out of practical party life. He had to change the name of his paper and to display a low profile in his editorials and other publications. In 1845, Gaj was “morally rehabilitated.”

Due to unclear electoral procedures and the massive support of the minor nobility, the Magyar party won the next Zagreb county elections of 29 July 1845. However, the ban had lined up troops to monitor the election proceedings and the soldiers happened to fire on a group of disappointed young National Party supporters. Gaj was asked by the ban to calm the situation.

In 1848, Gaj was busy lobbying in Vienna. There, in a revolutionary mood, Croatian students organized an honorary meeting for Gaj and proclaimed him a member of a triumvirate to take over the head of the Croatian revolution. A general assembly in Zagreb declared independence from Hungary and full national rights of Croats within the confines of the Austrian monarchy.

To restore legality in this chaotic political situation, Gaj asked a Military Border commander with Illyrian sympathies, Josip Jelačić, to assume power as ban of Croatia. The situation in Zagreb remained critical, with Hungarian radicals threatening to begin rioting and inducing an open war between Hungary and Croatia. However, unexpectedly, Gaj’s career was ended by his implication in a financial and political scandal.

**GALBRAITH, PETER.** First ambassador of the United States to the Independent Republic of Croatia. He took up his post in June 1993. At first, he was known to show a highly benevolent attitude toward
the new state and its leaders. As Richard Holbrooke wrote in his book *To End a War*, Galbraith told Franjo Tudman that the United States would not undertake any action against the illegal delivery of arms by Islamic nations.

After a time, Galbraith gave some interviews critical of the government of Tuđman. When he expressed his sympathy with the first mass demonstration under the new regime, the Zagreb protest in favor of Radio 101, he was strongly criticized by the government press. Nevertheless, as the representative of a superpower, he had to be respected and he enjoyed a freedom of movement other ambassadors, such as the Dutch one, could only envy.

**GARIBALDI UNIT.** Paramilitary formation of Italian volunteers deployed in the Velebit mountains north of Zadar by the Serb commander Captain Dragan. The Press Bureau Tanjug reported that numerous reconnaissance and sabotage actions behind the Croatian enemy lines had been performed by this unit. Some of the participants believed that the territories that once belonged to Italy ought to be handed back. The unit tended to recruit among the descendants of Italian emigration circles who had left Istria between 1946 and 1954 and who were dissatisfied with the Osimo agreement.

**GENEVA (DECLARATION OF).** The document was signed on 9 November 1918 by the Yugoslav Committee and the National Council of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs on the one hand and the delegates of the Kingdom of Serbia on the other. Both parties agreed to create a democratic federation, where the two sides should maintain their independence and form a common government on a parity base. Shortly after the signing, their home bases rejected the agreement. The National Council argued that its representatives had negotiated beyond their authority and the Serbian monarchy and political parties found their interests neglected.

**GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS.** There are three major geographic regions in Croatia. First, the Pannonian and peri-Pannonian region. It enjoys a moderate continental climate and is crossed by the three major Croatian rivers: the Sava, Drava, and Danube. It is the granary of Croatia, abounding in arable land and forests. Moreover, it contains
in its underground rich oil and natural gas deposits, nonmetals, and thermal mineral springs, and has a large hydro-energy potential. Some of its riches are now difficult to access because of the presence of many mines placed during the Serb uprising. Second, the central mountain belt. It consists of the Karst plateaus of Lika, Krbava, and Gorski Kotar. It abounds in forests, grazing land, karst, and water supplies. Third, the Adriatic coast with islands and hinterland. It has a Mediterranean climate and amply contributes to tourism, shipbuilding, and the maritime sector of the economy.

GERMANY (RELATIONS WITH). Germany has always been a strong supporter of the independence of Croatia. In the 1980s, it already counted a Croatian immigrant population of about half a million and it feared a further flood of Croatian refugees if the conflict in Yugoslavia continued without granting independence to Croatia. Moreover, Croatian locals had a great influence on the policy of the German Christian Democrats. It was no surprise that Germany pushed the European Community (EC) in the direction of recognition of the independence of Croatia and even threatened to recognize the country unilaterally. It ultimately preceded the common EC decision to recognize the Republic of Croatia on 15 January 1992.

Later, Germany continued to defend Croatia in the EC. For example, when British Minister of Foreign Affairs Douglas Hurd criticized the Bosnia-Herzegovina policy of Croatia, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel took the defense of Croatia. In later years relations cooled a bit, especially during the Ivica Račan period. Germany nevertheless supported Croatia unconditionally in its accession procedure to the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Germany and Croatia have always maintained very good trade relations. In 2006, Germany came after Italy as the second trade partner of Croatia with $3.123 billion or almost 15 percent of Croatia’s imports and $1.071 billion or more than 10 percent of Croatia’s exports. See also EMIGRATION.

GLAGOLITIC. The oldest Slavic alphabet. The name is derived from the verb glagolati (to talk) and the word glagoljaši (the talkers, meaning the priests who propagate the word). Cyrillic used the
Glagolitic alphabet in his Christianization efforts. The so-called Cyrillic alphabet was only created by his followers. The Glagolitic alphabet is alternatively thought to be derived from a Latin, Frankish, or Celtic model.

The first longer document in Croatian Glagolitic preserved until today is the Bašćanska Ploča (Baška Tablet). It was written around 1100. It records the donation of a site by King Zvonimir to the Benedictine convent on the island of Krk. The oldest Croatian Glagolitic manuscript is the Glagolitica Clozianus originating from the 11th century. It consists of fragments of a collection of sermons belonging to the Frankopan dukes of the same island.

Specialists differentiate between the earlier tradition of “round” Glagolitic and the “angular” Glagolitic of the 13th century and later.

GLAS KONCILA. The largest religious weekly in Croatia edited by the Catholic Church. The publication already appeared under the communist regime. Its editor, the priest Živko Kustić, came under strong attack during the repression of the Croatian Spring. In 1993, the 1,000th issue of Glas Koncila (The Voice of the Council) was published. The conservative weekly did not hide its sympathy for the Franjo Tudman regime but began criticizing again the Ivica Račan government.

GLAVAŠ, BRANIMIR (1956– ). He was born in Osijek and graduated from the Faculty of Law in his hometown. In 1990, he was one of the founding members of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and was elected to the Sabor. He was secretary of the Secretariat for Defense of the Osijek municipality, appointed major, and responsible for the defense of Osijek during the Homeland War. He became the most influential politician of Eastern Slavonia and was known for his right-wing opinions. Nevertheless, he supported Ivo Sanader against Ivo Pašalić in a challenged HDZ convention in 2002.

In 2005, Glavaš left the HDZ and founded a regionalist party, the Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja / Hrvatski demokratski Savez Slavonije i Baranje (HDSSB). He made a coalition with the Croatian Party of Rights and won the majority in the Osijek-Baranja Regional Parliament (Osječko-baranjska županija). In July 2005, Glavaš was accused of murdering Serb
civilians in the Homeland War in 1991. His immunity as a member of Parliament was lifted after long deliberations and he was arrested. His trial was characterized by protests, hunger strikes, and the delay of proceedings. On 25 November 2007, Glavaš was reelected to Parliament and his immunity restored from detention. His trial was further postponed until September 2008 because of illness of a co-accused. It finally continued in the first months of 2009. Glavaš claimed he was being prosecuted for political reasons and this is linked to his departure from the HDZ.

**GOLDEN BULL.** In 1242, the Hungarian King Bela IV granted Zagreb, built on the hill of Gradec, the privileges of a free town. The Zlatna Bula (Golden Bull) sums up the rights and obligations in twelve articles.

1. When thieves or criminals rob the citizens in the territory of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, or Slavonia, the owner of the land on which they were robbed has to hand over the criminals or to compensate for what has been stolen, after it has been valued by wise people appointed by oath by their fellow citizens.
2. The citizens of the free town do not have to pay taxes anywhere in the kingdom.
   
   Articles 3–6 fix penalties and punishments in case of offense and calumny, inflicting bodily harm, murder, theft between the citizens and from strangers, and describe the way to proceed in crimes concerning money and violence.
3. The citizens freely choose the town judges and present them to us for confirmation. They can change them each year.
4. A citizen without natural heirs can freely grant his personal property to whomever he wishes; the immovables such as houses, building grounds, vineyards, agricultural land, and service buildings will be granted after consultation with his fellow citizens to his wife or relatives, but they cannot be taken beyond the competence of the town court, neither by him, nor by his wife or relatives. When a citizen dies without a will, and there is no wife or relatives, two thirds of his possessions will be given to the poor and the town church by the wise men appointed by the council of citizens and one third will be reserved for the town.
5. We stipulate that two days in the week, on Monday and Thursday, a festive market and each other day a normal market will be held.
10. The citizenry of the town has the following obligations: when the Hungarian king wants to go to war in the Primorska region, in Koruško, or in Austria, the citizens have to send 10 well-armored soldiers. Moreover, when the king has to go there, they have to grant the king for provision: 12 oxen, 1,000 [loaves of] bread, and 4 barrels of wine. The Duke of Slavonia, if he is a relative of the king, has to be given half of these. And the ban, if he is in function—and not the sub-ban—has to be given 1 ox, 100 breads, and 1 barrel, and this only during his service. But all these obligations are not due in the following five years.

11. The citizens consented out of their free will to fortify Gradac with a big wall at their cost.

12. For the maintenance of the citizens living on the hill of Gradec, we have given the surrounding lands to them by decree of our loved and loyal Dionysius, ban of all Slavonia. . . . We have confirmed this bull with our golden seal.

Done at Virovitica by the hand of Magistrate Benedict.


GOSPIĆ OFFENSIVE. This second large-scale offensive—after a minor 1991 one of irregular forces—of the Croatian Army on the Knin region was launched in September 1993. It followed the Maslenica offensive of January 1993. Its aim was to restore authority over the pink zone associated to the southern Knin region and to reassure regular communication lines between Dalmatia and Croatia. The United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) and pink zones had been created after the six months of war in 1991 between the Krajina Serbs and Zagreb. The continuous shelling of the Maslenica and Gospić regions by the Croatian Serbs had provoked the irritation of the Croats and a new initiative. However, critics noticed that reasons
of domestic political strategy were not wholly absent in the timing of the new offensive. The Maslenica offensive began shortly before parliamentary elections, while the Gospić offensive preceded an important internal Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) meeting.

The second offensive started on 9 September 1993, with an attack on the Medak region south of Gospić. The Croatian forces took three villages—Ćitluk, Divo Selo, and Njegovina—in the pink zone of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Sector South. The Krajina Serbs replied by shelling Karlovac. A UN mediation campaign was set up and Thorvald Stoltenberg summoned President Franjo Tuđman to halt the offensive without delay. But the fighting went on and the Krajina Croats shelled Lučko (a suburb lying only eight km from Zagreb), Jastrebarsko, Samobor, Kutina, and other places. The Krajina Serbs made public a list of 50 military targets, among them seven locations in Zagreb. The same day, Franjo Tuđman hastened to announce a 24-hour armistice. On 14 September, the Serbs shot down a Croatian MiG-21 that had attacked the region of Vrgin-Most. The next day, the contending parties signed an armistice under UN mediation. The Croatian Army had to retreat from the villages conquered near Gospić and the zone came under control of UNPROFOR. The shelling continued. According to the Krajina Press Agency (denied by the Croats), the Croatian Army shelled Knin, the capital of the Krajina, in the evening of 16 September 1993. As revenge, the Krajina Serbs shelled Zadar, Šibenik, and Biograd. On 18 September 1993, UNPROFOR officers reported on destruction and deliberate killing during the Croatian retreat from the conquered villages. In the next days, the Croatian Army even shot at Blue Helmets (UN peacekeepers) who were evacuating victims from the Medak region. UNPROFOR Commander Jean Cot handed over a protest note to the Croatian government. The Croats denied most of the facts.

In the end, the armed conflict extinguished slowly in the course of the year. It did not degenerate into a generalized war between Serbia and Croatia. However, what was threatening was the fact that in this clash both parties used new weapons. The Serbs fired a Frog-7 surface-to-surface missile and the Croats sent in MiGs to attack the Serbian positions.
The next round of fighting in 1995 would be decisive. Croatia armed itself with the tacit support of the United States, and first conquered northeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, and then during Operation Storm it destroyed the Serbian power base in the Krajina.

GOSPODARSKO-SOCIJALNO VIJEĆE. See ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL.

GOTOVAC, VLADO (1930–2000). Intellectual and writer. During the Croatian Spring, he was editor of Hrvatski Tjednik, the influential weekly of the Matica hrvatska. He was sentenced on the charge of being a “nationalist and separatist” and jailed from 1971 to 1974. Because of his persistent contacts with Western emigrant circles and interviews with Western reporters, Gotovac was sentenced again on 5 June 1981, and given two years more of prison and four years of denial of the right to public activity or publication.

During the Franjo Tuđman regime, he was elected a member of the House of Representatives for the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS). In the autumn of 1993, with five other Croatian intellectuals he wrote an open letter to President Tuđman. They criticized his policy and asked him to resign. In 1997, Dražen Budiša clashed with Gotovac and others about the policy to be followed by the HSLS.

After his death, a memorial foundation was created that stimulates intellectual debate regarding his ideas.

GOTOVINA, ANTE (1955–). He was born on the island of Pasman. After serving as a professional soldier and a French Legionnaire, he held high posts in the Croatian Army (Hrvatska Vojska, HV) and the Croatian Defense Council (Hrvatsko Vijecé Obrane, HVO).

Gotovina was the chief commander of Operation Storm from 4 to 7 August 1995. Still in command until at least 15 November, several serious irregularities happened for which he was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). In the beginning of 2001, an extradition demand was delivered by the ICTY to the Croatian government. However, Gotovina had disappeared.
In the spring of 2001, in Split, a big protest march in his defense was set up by the Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War. As Gotovina did not show up, the ICTY put the Croatian government under pressure and threatened it with a United Nations condemnation. At the same time, Gotovina’s lawyers claimed the Americans knew much more about the operation than they admitted, as U.S. intelligence probably granted information services to the army. In fact, an American correspondent had already reported in 1995 that Americans in military uniform operated unmanned surveillance planes from a secret military base on the Adriatic coast. Tudman’s son himself, once head of a secret service, declared that the United States heavily invested in these services and that “All our [electronic] intelligence in Croatia went online in real time to the National Security Agency in Washington.” Gotovina’s lawyers now claim that they can prove their client’s innocence. Others condemn American hypocrisy in this war-crime case and even want Americans themselves to appear before the ICTY. It seems Gotovina’s lawyers want to put the Croatian government under pressure to end any prosecution.

On 7 December 2005, Gotovina was arrested by the Spanish police on Tenerife and flown to The Hague. At the end of 2006, Gotovina’s case was merged with the case against Ivan Čermak, a former deputy minister of defense (1991–1993) and leader of the Knin Garrison (1995), and of Mladen Markač, commander of the Special Police from 14 February 1994, also both implicated in Operation Storm. The trial began on 11 March 2008 and lasted more than a year. In the spring of 2009, ICTY prosecutor Serge Brammertz complained that he had not received from the government requested military documents regarding the military operations in the Knin region.

GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION. The Government of National Union was a coalition arranged on 3 August 1991, by Prime Minister Franjo Gregurić. A coalition of nine parties was felt necessary to successfully cope with the circumstances of war and to secure the international status of Croatia. The government had 29 members, divided over three blocs. The leading party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), reserved for itself 12 important portfolios such as defense, reconstruction, health, labor, trade, agriculture,
and tourism. Independent technicians had been attracted to manage the ministries of finance, culture, foreign affairs, traffic, and information. Nine seats were taken by the opposition parties. They got the posts of deputy prime minister, minister of justice, minister of engineering, and minister of industry and energy.

Coalition partners fell away one by one in the course of the governing period. Difficulties with the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) manifested themselves from the very beginning: the party already dropped out during the discussions on the formation of the government. The next to leave was Vladimir Veselica, minister for the Croatian Democratic Party (HDS). Rivalry in this party, especially between Vladimir and Marko Veselica, contributed to his resignation. Next, Dražen Budiša of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) left the coalition because he could not assume the responsibility for decisions he had not participated in: his party declared the government had taken for granted too many presidential decisions. In fact, this was an endemic constitutional problem that threatened the quality of the democratic regime in Franjo Tudman’s Croatia. In view of the new elections, the government was finally reduced to three partners.

According to the prime minister, two main goals of the coalition had nonetheless been reached: the official recognition of the independence of Croatia and the acceptance of its membership by the United Nations. The tasks still to be accomplished included the liberation of all territories within the internationally recognized frontiers, the return of all refugees to their homes, the reconstruction of the country, the transformation of socially owned into private enterprises, and the continuation of the democratization process.

GOVERNMENTS. Until the coming to power of Ivo Sanader in 2003, the government had been led by seven prime ministers: Stipe Mesić, Josip Manolić, Franjo Gregurić, Hrvoje Šarinić, Nikica Valentić, Zlatko Mateša, and Ivica Račan.

GRANIĆ, MATE (1947– ). Born in Baška Voda. He studied medicine in Zagreb. A Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) staff member, he was appointed minister of foreign affairs and vice-president of the government. After the death of Franjo Tudman,
he was the candidate of the divided HDZ in the presidential elections of 24 January 2000. However, in the first round, he was defeated by Dražen Budiša and Stipe Mesić. He left the HDZ to preside over the Democratic Center (DC) and became a respected opposition leader. However, the results of the 2003 elections were disappointing and he left the presidency of the party to Vesna Škare-Ožbolt.

GREAT BRITAIN (RELATIONS WITH). Great Britain was together with France one of the members of the European Community (EC) that resisted a rapid recognition of Croatia. It ultimately ratified the common decision of the European Community to recognize the republic on 15 January 1992. Even thereafter, relations with Croatia were far from smooth. Minister of Foreign Affairs Douglas Hurd threatened the Croats with sanctions just before the meeting of the European Union (EU) ministers of foreign affairs on 17 July 1993. Especially the attitude of Croatia toward Bosnia-Herzegovina was under attack. However, concrete measures at the meeting were discarded under the influence of Germany’s Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, who argued it was still too early for sanctions against Croatia.

Trade figures reflected the low-profile relations. In 1992, Croatia’s exports to Great Britain amounted to only $56.2 million, its imports to $64.5 million, respectively 1.2 percent and 1.5 percent, on the 13th position in the range of trade partners.

No spectacular changes occurred until the death of President Franjo Tuđman and the coming to power of Ivica Račan. President Stipe Mesić visited Great Britain in mid-December 2001. The goal of the mission was to discuss British support of Croatia in view of membership of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the strengthening of bilateral relations especially in the economic field, and the struggle against international terrorism.

Though political relations were good, economic cooperation still wrestled with considerable problems. For example, a British investment of 65 million DEM of the British American Tobacco in the Zadar Tabacco Enterprise could not be implemented because of monopolistic local interests that blocked a licensing permission. And
the summer tourist stream from Great Britain to Croatia resumed only very slowly. In 2006, Great Britain still did not appear in the list of the five major trading partners of Croatia.

GREEN MOVEMENT OF CROATIA / ZELENI HRVATSKÉ REPUBLIKE. Party founded in Zadar on 21 March 2001, and not represented in Parliament. Its first president was Ivan Jokić, followed by Zdavko Peko.


GREGURIĆ, FRANJO (1939– ). Former prime minister of Croatia (1991–1992). He was born in Lobor and finished his technological studies at the University of Zagreb. He began his career as business manager and acted as director in larger companies. He was a member of the House of Representatives for the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). In 1990, he became deputy prime minister in the HDZ government of Josip Manolić. Next, from 17 July 1991 until 12 August 1992, he was prime minister of the Government of National Union. After the fall of his government, he returned to business. In 1995 he was reelected member of Parliament and served as scientific counselor to the president of the republic. In 1997, he was appointed special envoy of the president for relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1998, he and Hrvoje Šarinić accused Ivić Pašalić of preparing their political assassination by abuse of the intelligence services. Official investigations refuted these accusations and Gregurić resigned from all his political functions.

GRGUR NINSKI. Gregory of Nin was the most fervent defender of the movement for a national Croatian church using the Glagolitic language. He clashed with the Latin clergy of the church of Split.

A synod was called in Split in 925. Its resolutions were catastrophic for Gregory of Nin and his national Croatian church. It was first decided that the Croatian territory should again come under the jurisdiction of Split. The Apostle Peter himself had sent Saint Dujam to Salona and his relics were now held in Split. This gave the church
of Split the title and authority of an archbishopric. The old church organization would be reintroduced and Nin suppressed. Moreover, preaching in the Slavic language was forbidden, nor could new Glagolitic priests be consecrated. Even King Tomislav, who supported the national church and Gregory of Nin, was threatened. His church would be banned.

Surprisingly, Pope John X did not give his consent to the resolutions of the synod. The position of Gregory of Nin within Croatia was very strong and the pope feared the negative consequences of a radical intervention. Moreover, under the threat of the Bulgars, Tomislav could seek an alliance with the Byzantines. But the pope was successful in persuading the emperor of the Bulgars to stop the war with Tomislav, and the Croatian king seems to have lost his independence. He withdrew his support of Gregory of Nin at a new Synod in Split in 928. All earlier measures against Nin and his national church were repeated. The use of the Glagolitic alphabet and Slavic language during church services was vigorously condemned. This time the pope confirmed the decisions of the synod. Gregory was summoned to obey the new hierarchy and disappeared from history.

The Glagolitic movement reappeared more than a century later as strong as ever. The Third Synod of Split had to be called together in 1060. Especially directed against the popular Croatian clergy, a resolution said that priests with long hair and beards were forbidden entry into the church. Furthermore, the holy mass had to be celebrated in Latin or Greek. The Glagolitic alphabet introduced by Methodius was heretical and erroneous. The decisions of the synod were imposed by force and led to a popular revolt during the reign of Petar Krešimir.

GRIMANI. He formed with Mocenigo in 1817 the delegation of Venice, which concluded an agreement with Turkey. It stipulated that Venetian authority in Dalmatia should be extended inland. Since then, the borderline between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia did not change any more on that portion.

GRLIĆ, DANKO (?–1986). Philosophy professor of the University of Zagreb, and member of the Praxis group. He was especially
interested in the philosophy of aesthetics and the theory of Theodor Adorno.

**GROBNIČKO POLJE.** The field of tombs is the place where in 1242 the Mongol invaders were defeated by the Croats. Croat intellectuals (such as Frano Supilo) held that here Western civilization was saved, as it would be a second time more than two centuries later by the Croatian battles against the Ottoman invader.

**GROSS, MIRJANA (1922– ).** Historian who wrote authoritatively about the evolution of Croatia in the second part of the 19th century, and especially about the period of neo-absolutism in Croatia (1850–1860).

**GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP).** In 1990, the share of industry was approximately 40 percent, trade 16 percent, transport and communication 14 percent, agriculture 13 percent, building 7 percent, and catering and tourism 5 percent. In the generation of national product, the socially owned sector still participated in 1990 with 87 percent. These structural characteristics of the economy were preserved in the next decade, notwithstanding some slight adaptations. Data are otherwise difficult to compare due to methodological changes.

It has to be stressed that the GDP (gross domestic product in constant prices) still has not reached the prewar level of 1990. While in 1993 and 1994, it amounted to approximately two thirds of the 1990 level, then rose continually to 83.9 percent in 1998, and then stagnated in 1999 at this level till mid-2000. The national product increased to approximately $46 billion in 2007.

**GUBEC, MATIJA (?–1573).** Leader of the Seljačka Buna or peasant uprising of 1573. On 28 January, the peasants of the region of Stubica and Susjedgrad organized a massive rebellion against their feudal lords. The peasants wanted to free themselves of taxes and obligations and planned to establish an independent peasant republic with Matija Gubec as their king. The rebellion spread over greater parts of the territory of Croatia and Slovenia. The domains of about 100 noblemen in 1,200 villages were affected. The peasant army grew to
more than 15,000 men. On 5 February, the army of the feudal lords crushed the peasant army. Matija Gubec was executed in Zagreb on 15 February 1573, wearing a crown of iron. The battle of Donja Stubica was immortalized in 1939 by the painter Krsto Hegedušić.

GUNDULIĆ, IVAN (1598–1638). Most famous Baroque writer of Dubrovnik. He lived in the period of the Jesuit-led Counter-Reformation. The theme of repentance was then fashionable in literature, as one of his works testifies: Tears of the Prodigal Son (Suze sina razmetoga, 1622). The drama Dubravka tells the story of his city. It is a hymn to the freedom of Dubrovnik. Perhaps his greatest work is the epic poem Osman (1628). It describes the fierce battle of the Slavs against the Turks. The book was edited as a classic by the Matica hrvatska, the 19th-century cultural institution of the Croatian romantic and nationalistic movement. Missing fragments were completed by Ban Ivan Mažuranić.

GVOZD MOUNTAINS. See PETROVA GORA.

GYPSIES / ROMA. The number of gypsies in Croatia is difficult to estimate because of their nomadic way of living. According to the population census of 1991, there were only 6,695 Roma, 3,367 in larger towns and 3,328 in villages. The largest concentrations were found in Čakovac with 1,920 Roma, Zagreb with 902, Pula with 575, and Rijeka with 445 Roma. But according to the Union of Croatian Gypsies (Savez Udruženja Roma Hrvatske, SURH), there are between 60,000 and 100,000 Roma in Croatia. By acknowledging their ethnic identity, some gypsies are afraid of discrimination. In fact, the Franjo Tuđman regime was not too friendly to minorities in general, though rights were laid down in the Law on Minorities. Politically, there was no official representation of the gypsies in Parliament. In the course of 1997, a Council for Minorities was established and some projects for minorities were planned by the authorities. Projects for Roma received about HRK 396,000. Though there is a host of cultural and other Roma organizations gathered in the SURH, not too much could be done to improve the fate of the Roma. The SURH issues a bilingual magazine (Romano
Akharipe—Glas Roma), organizes summer seminars, and lobbies the government.

The situation has not changed much under the new Ivica Račan government. At the end of 2001, the president of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (HHO), Žarko Puhovski, echoed the complaint of discrimination and segregation of the Roma in the region of Međimurje. Public statements by local politicians did not sound too hopeful that progress would be made.

– H –

HADŽIĆ, GORAN (1958– ). Serb leader of Eastern Slavonia. He was born in Pačetin near Vinkovci. He became president of the Serbian Republic of Krajina (RSK). He organized the referendum on the union of the Serbian Republic of Krajina with the Serbian Republic (Republika Srpska, RS) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was accused by the Croatian authorities of subversion and conspiracy against the territorial integrity and security of the Croatian state. This did not prevent him from negotiating with the Croatian authorities in Geneva, though he once walked out when he was not treated with the honors reserved for the president of an officially recognized state. He was supported by Slobodan Milošević against other Krajina leaders because he was inclined to accept the Vance–Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the beginning of September 1993, Hadžić declared in an interview with the Belgrade newspaper Borba that the Serbs in Croatia could no longer accept a confederation with Croatia, even if the constitution was changed and the Serbs were declared a constituent people of the Croatian nation. After the Croatian Gospić offensive in September 1993, the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) of Knin accused Hadžić of incompetence and demanded his dismissal. Nevertheless, he took part on behalf of the Krajina in the secret negotiations with Zagreb in Oslo at the beginning of November 1993. At Dayton, Milošević and Franjo Tuđman decided finally on the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia, and the Croatian Serb leaders had
to agree that the region was definitively reintegrated into Croatia in January 1997.

Hadžić was indicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in 2004, especially for his responsibility in the Vukovar region, where 250 persons disappeared from a hospital in 1991. After the indictment, he disappeared himself and was said to be hiding in Orthodox monasteries in Serbia or Montenegro.

**HALLSTATT CULTURE.** Early Iron Age culture. Characteristic for this period are the extensive remains of iron swords. They have been encountered massively in the Croatian soil.

**HANŽEKOVIĆ, MARIJAN (1915–1993).** Born at Požega. He worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1938 to 1941. As a member of the Croatian Peasant Party, he was arrested and deported to the Jasenovac and Lepoglava concentration camps. When he left in 1943, he joined the partisans in the region of Moslavina. After the war, he worked in the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank. In 1965, he became a professor at the Economic Faculty of the University of Zagreb. He was a member of the Lexicographical Institute, the Economic Institute, and the Institute for Public Finances in Zagreb. He was the first minister of finance in the Independent Republic of Croatia during the period 1990–1991 and a member of the Board of the Croatian National Bank.

**HEADQUARTERS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE DIGNITY OF THE HOMELAND WAR / STOŽER ZA OBRANU DIGNITETA DOMOVINSKOG RATA.** Union of Veterans of the Homeland War that defends the physical and moral status of its members and its ideals. The headquarters were most active in defending the Croatian generals against extradition to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia as they saw it as a criminalization of the Homeland War. In the process of the defense of Croatia, individual aberrations could be noted, but these could not discredit the high moral value of the Croatian liberation war. In February 2001, the committee organized a massive protest meeting in Split.
On occasion of the local elections of May 2009, there was a split in the organization. While the main leader and elected representative of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) argued to support the HDZ, influencing members pleaded to campaign as an independent political party.

**HEALTH.** In communist Yugoslavia, health care was free and universal. It was first paid by the state, but later in the self-management reforms supplied by self-managed units that were contracted for services and derived their income from contributions deducted from the wages of the employed. The quality of services was relatively good, especially in the most developed parts of Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia) and in academic institutions, many of whose specialists had studied abroad. The medical faculty of Zagreb was known worldwide for its high standard of research.

After the Homeland War, Croatia was confronted with the high aspirations of the population and a tremendous demand for medical help following the wartime events. Accordingly, it set up a health system on the principles of universality and solidarity. The self-managed service centers were replaced by a health structure that had three layers. Primary health care was in part privatized in the sense that general practitioners could request a license and work individually. Others might stay to work in medical centers or hospitals, to which the specialists were also tied. The hospitals came under the authority of the regions (županije). The academic hospitals became state institutions with relatively autonomous management boards.

In 2002, the Health Insurance Law limited the coverage of the Croatian Institute for Health Insurance (Hrvatski zavod za zdravstveno osiguranje, HZZO), which earlier had financed health services. On a minor scale, elements of privatization and personal accountability for health services were introduced through copayment of selected services and a voluntary supplementary health insurance plan. However, the government was still obliged to fill the financial gap. Croatia spent approximately 15 percent of the government budget on health care, much more than similar countries. On the demand side, the services boomed, given the long-term treatment of war victims and the expansion of care for the growing aged population. On the income side, stagnation of the rate of employment was reflected in
the stagnation of the contributions. Moreover, large loss-making enterprises and some fraudulently privatized enterprises did not pay their contributions. The health institutions accumulated financial shortages that had to be met in order to preserve the good working of the medical services. Further reform was needed to manage the operating cost of the health sector. Moreover, the accession to the European Union (EU) required increased elements of privatization and personal responsibility.

The World Bank sent a mission to Croatia to study the health system and the team made the following five recommendations: improve the budget planning and fund management by keeping closer account of the payments the government makes to the health care providers; examine and evaluate the combined effects of increased copayments and the introduction of a supplemental health insurance plan; boost quality and efficiency through performance-based contracts with health providers; direct more resources into constantly monitoring and evaluating the system; and devolve health care responsibilities from the central government to local governments.

These points were adopted in the government declaration of 2007 by Prime Minister Ivo Sanader (Program Vlade Republike Hrvatske za mandat 2008–2011, chapter 17). Minister of Health Darko Milinović drafted a law in which the decentralization and copayment formulas figured prominently. The last was heavily debated by both the trade unions and pensioners’ organizations, but the minister defended the proposal fiercely and it was scarcely amended. The reform rationalizes the supply of medical services foremost by decentralization toward medical centers, away from hospitals and under the control of the provinces (županije). The coalition partner of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the Pensioners Party (Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika), even threatened to withdraw its support of the government. Milinović responded that he himself would leave the government within a year, if the reform proved not successful. Later, he claimed it was successful and remained on duty.

HEBRANG, ANDRIJA (1899–1949). Revolutionary among Tito’s partisans. He was secretary of the Communist Party of Croatia. At the end of the war, he was accused of being a Croatian nationalist and was removed as party secretary. Nonetheless, after the war, he was
appointed minister of industry and chairman of the Economic Council and the Planning Commission. He opposed the proposal to forge industrialization with five-year plans on the Soviet model as long as the agricultural problem had not been solved. With the exception of Sreten Žujović, he got no support in the government and he was succeeded by Boris Kidrić. In May 1948, Andrija Hebrang was accused of choosing the side of Stalin in the Cominform conflict. He was arrested and died in prison under suspicious circumstances.

HEDERVARY. See KHUEN-HEDERVARY, KAROLY.

HEGEDUŠIĆ, KRSTO (1901–1975). Born in Petrinja, painter and member of the Zemlja Group (Zemljaša). He found his inspiration in the reality of the Pannonian villages. His collection of drawings entitled Podravski Motivi (Motives of Podravina or the Drava River basin), edited with a foreword by Miroslav Krleža, shocked leading circles for its harsh vision of life in the villages. Hegedušić also showed his social commitment by painting in 1939 the peasant battle of Donja Stubica.

Hegedušić was the teacher of Ivan Generalić and adopted himself the typical “primitive” style of the Hlebina School. See also GUBEC, MATIJA.

HEGEDUŠIĆ, ŽELJKO (1906–2005). Painter born in Tuzla. Hegedušić was a professor at the Academy of Zagreb and a member of the Zemlja group (Zemljaša). His forms evolved from purism and naturalism to a metaphysical supernaturalism, showing a painting process graphically combining some very specific drawing techniques.

HEKTOROVIĆ, PETAR (1487–1572). Poet and landowner on the island of Hvar. He recorded the folk songs sung by the fishermen in his play Ribarje I ribarsko prigovaranje (Fishing and Fishermen’s Talk, 1568). This oral literature expressed itself in a variety of forms: lyric and epic poems, short stories, proverbs, riddles and counting, mocking, and prayer songs. The language is the čakavian spoken at that time on the island of Hvar, more exactly the ikavian variant of the dialect. It also preserves typical
grammatical forms for two-person actions, the dual number, and some other archaic forms.

HELSINKI COMMITTEE. See CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

HERMAN DALMATINAC. Herman Dalmatinac lived in the 12th century. He was born in northern Istria. He is known to be the first Croat to attend the University of Paris. Actually, he was a disciple of Thierry de Chartres. Herman Dalmatinac won an impressive reputation as a translator and commentator of Arab and Greek scientific work in the fields of astronomy, philosophy, and mathematics.

HISTORIA SALONITANA. See THOMAS, ARCHDEACON.

HLEBINA SCHOOL. School of painting deriving its name from the village of Hlebina, where Ivan Generalić was born and where the local painters of primitive art began to work in 1930. His style of painting is characterized by a total disregard of size and a simple expressive, so-called primitive way of drawing. The subject is the ordinary daily life in the village. This typical primitive art won worldwide recognition.

HODAK, IVANA (1982–2008). She was the daughter of lawyer Zvonimir Hodak and former Vice Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak. She was herself a lawyer and violently shot in the center of Zagreb. There was considerable speculation as to the reasons for the murder and the investigation suggested various directions. One is a link with General Vladimir Zagorec. His possessions were taken over by Ivor Vucelić, a former lover of Ivana Hodak’s. Her father, the lawyer Zvonimir Hodak was engaged in this case; Zagorec, charged with theft of diamonds from the Ministry of Defense, was his client. On the other hand, Ivana’s new lover, Pašović Visković, was the lawyer of Hrvoje Petrač, himself in prison and also the man who introduced the lawsuit against Zagorec.

A few weeks later, journalist Ivan Pukanić and one of his colleagues were also killed in a violent attack in the center of Zagreb.
The two cases forced Prime Minister Ivo Sanader to dismiss his ministers of the interior and justice, and the head of police.

After three months, the police declared that they had discovered the motive of the murder of Hodak. They arrested a longtime unemployed man who complained that he had undergone years ago unjust treatment by Ivana’s father, Zvonimir Hodak. This somehow lowered the political significance of the case.

HOLJEVAC, VEĆESLAV (1917–1970). Partisan general and high Communist Party official. Former mayor of Zagreb, purged during October 1967 from the General Committee of the Communist League of Croatia. He was accused of nationalist deviations in his leadership of the Center for Croatian Emigrants, a quasi-governmental institution. Earlier, he had been under fire for being head of a commission that awarded prizes to two Praxis contributors.

HOMELAND WAR (1991–1995) / DOMOVINSKI RAT (1991–1995). Period beginning with the struggle of the Croatian Guard against the Yugoslav Army until the end of Operation Storm in May 1995. In the beginning clashes between irregular paramilitary formations both of Croatian and Serbian origin contributed much to move the conflict to a higher and above all uncontrollable level. Then followed the Vukovar massacre and the offensive against Dubrovnik by the Yugoslav Army. In the meantime, the Serbs in the Krajina and Western and Eastern Slovenia had organized themselves and chased out Croats. The Vance plan brought temporary relief. The United States supported Croatia and advised the army—though not officially—with the aim to change the balance of forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to defeat the Bosnian Serbs. Franjo Tuđman was now strong enough to take back Western Slavonia in the Operation Flash offensive and finally also the Krajina in the Storm offensive of 1995. The war in former Yugoslavia was officially ended in Dayton, where Slobodan Milošević and Tuđman also agreed to the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia. See also: HEADQUARTERS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE DIGNITY OF THE HOMELAND WAR; WAR DAMAGE; WAR ECONOMY.
HORVAT, BRANKO (1928–2003). Economist and politician. He worked a long time at the Institute of Economic Sciences (Institut Ekonomskih Nauka), the former Planning Institute of the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). He was the editor of the journal Economic Analysis and Worker’s Self-Management. He was also a member of the Economic Institute of Zagreb.

Horvat has tried to unite democratic forces on a common platform but without much success. He was highly critical of the economic policy of the Franjo Tudman regime (as he was before of the communist). He advocates a sort of market socialism, a combination of social democracy and market economy. He founded and became president of the Social Democratic Union (Socijalno-demokratska Unija). Horvat organized a Balkan Conference with the primary aim of restoring cooperation between Yugoslav forces. He was mentioned as a serious candidate for the Nobel Prize in economics.

HORVATIĆ, DUBRAVKO (1939–2004). Poet, prose writer, and essayist. He was editor of the magazines Modra Lasta, Telegram, and Hrvatski Tjednik during the Croatian Spring. From 1971 to 1990, he became of necessity a freelance writer. Though stigmatized under the communist regime, he was awarded important literary prizes. Now he is finally becoming fully recognized. As deputy president of the Matica hrvatska, he entered into conflict with “his” president Vlado Gotovac. He reproached Gotovac for being authoritarian and cited Article 25 of the rules of the Matica that says that a leader of the institution should not be a leader of a party.

HOUSE OF COUNTIES / ŽUPANIJSKI DOM. The Lower House or the House of Counties (Županijski Dom) represented regional interests. Through an amendment to the constitution, on 28 March 2001, it was abolished.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES / ZASTUPNIČKI DOM. Higher House of the Parliament. After the abolishment of the House of Counties by a constitutional amendment in 2001, it remains the only House of the Parliament, or Sabor.
HRVATSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI (HAZU). See CROATIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

HRVATSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA (HDS). See CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

HRVATSKA DEMOKRATSKA ZAJEDNICA (HDZ). See CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION.

HRVATSKA DOMOVINSKA STRANKA (HDMS). See CROATIAN NATIONAL PARTY.

HRVATSKA SOCIJALNA LIBERALNA STRANKA (HSLS). See CROATIAN SOCIAL LIBERAL PARTY.

HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA (HSP). See CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS.

HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA—1861 (HSP 1861). See CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS—1861.

HRVATSKI KNJIŽEVNI LIST. The Croatian Gazette was published in Zagreb during the period from April 1968 to October 1969. It was the first fully independent journal in Croatia following the Declaration on the Croatian Language. The literary monthly had a significant influence on the Croatian national movement. It was published by the Association of Independent Writers, TIN. The name is an allusion to the writer Tin Ujević. The editors wanted to stress the Croatian national heritage and local talent. An article on the use of language in the Yugoslav armed forces was the pretext for banning the journal.

HRVATSKO ZAGORJE. Northwestern part of Croatia, lying at the foot of the mountains. The Zagorska Županija of the Middle Ages was smaller because part of its territory was included in the Varaždinska Županija.
HUMAČKA PLOČA. A 12th-century tablet found near Ljubiški in Herzegovina. It is written both in Glagolitic and Bosnian (or Croatian) Cyrillic. The latter alphabet, also called “Bosanica,” is a specific form of Cyrillic.


Croatian laws clearly guarantee the protection of human rights. Practical application of these laws has proven much more difficult, especially in war circumstances and when faced with a large Serbian minority. It implied constant monitoring and evaluation of the current situation. The records encountered by visiting experts such as those
of the Council of Europe and the OSCE were not always wholly convincing. The internal monitoring in Croatia is essentially done by the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (HHO).

**HUMAN RIGHTS (IMPLEMENTATION).** Human rights are inscribed in the Constitution (Ustav) of 1990. The respect for human rights is named among other rights in Article 3 as one of the highest values of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia. In the third chapter, Articles 14–69, human rights and basic freedoms are enumerated and described: general rights; personal and political freedoms and rights; and economic, social, and cultural rights. The rights of minorities are further detailed in a Constitutional Law (Ustavni zakon o pravima nacionalnih manjina). In its introduction, the law refers to all common documents on the matter: the Basic Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration of Human Rights; the Concluding Act of the Organization for European Security and Cooperation (OSCE); the Convention of the Council of Europe on the Protection of Human Rights; and others.

While the legal surrounding was duly provided, the practical application was less effective due to the war conditions. Both war parties in the Croatian–Serbian conflict did not care too much about traditional conventions. While during the whole war minor abuses were frequent, violations of human rights in quite extreme and systematic forms such as murder, torture, rape, exclusion, and expulsion manifested themselves during some specific offensives. In the first period, abuses on the Serb side were especially noted. In the formation of their autonomous regions (Krajina, Western Slavonia, Eastern Slavonia) the Serb militia expelled Croatian civilians. The Yugoslav Army (JNA) attacked and destroyed Vukovar (1991). Along with the identified victims, at least 500 persons disappeared. Zagreb was bombed and Dubrovnik shelled with numerous civilian victims. The Croatian offensives to conquer back the Serb-controlled regions were accompanied by irregularities, especially during the Gospić offensive (1991), the Medak offensive (1993), and the larger Operations Flash (1995) and Storm (1995). During the first two clashes, Serbian civilians were killed and mistreated, the two last operations expelled a population of roughly 300,000 Serbs.
Under these circumstances, guaranteeing equal rights to all citizens was simply an impossible task for the new republic. In fact, discrimination was now built into the state structures, in particular into the justice system. The first lawsuits that were organized by the Croatian authorities in the field of human rights invariably condemned Serbian war perpetrators. It took about a decade to regularize the situation to some extent. The 2000 electoral defeat of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) of Franjo Tuđman opened the way to institutional changes. Even more, they were probably induced by permanent pressure from the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the European Union (EU).

The situation in 2007 evolved to the point that the OSCE decided to close its permanent mission in Croatia at the end of the year and to limit its activity to a service monitoring housing programs for and lawsuits against Serbian civilians. The OSCE chairman declared Croatia had met most of its obligations to refugees, the remaining 80,000 cases to be regulated in bilateral negotiations with Serbia. He clearly relegated the function of watchdog to the European Union, which through the accession negotiations still holds crucial leverage. In fact, the periodical reports from the EU and the so-called political dialogue further tracked the evolution of the situation.

In Croatia itself, the Agency for Human Rights of the Croatian Government (Povjerentstvo za ljudska prava Vlade RH) supervises the activities of the Center for Human Rights (Centar za ljudska prava). This public institution was established in May 2005 and stimulates and coordinates initiatives in the field. The rights of women and minorities are priorities. See also CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS; HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS.

HVAL APOCALYPSE. This missal of 1404 had been copied by a Bogomil heretic called Hval. It belonged to Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić of Bosnia and Split and has a full-page picture of the lord in a suit of armor on a horse. It contains the “Apocalypse” or the “Revelation of Saint John the Evangelist.”

HVAR. Larger island lying between Brač and Korčula opposite Split. Evidence of Neolithic habitation was found in some of the caves of
the island. The Greeks founded their colony Faros on the location of present-day Starigrad. In 235 BCE, the island came into the hands of the Illyrian King Agron. In 219 CE, it was conquered by the Romans. In the seventh century, Slavs from the Neretva valley settled on Hvar. Byzantines, Venetians, Hungaro-Croatians, Austrians, French, Italians, and others all took interest in the island during later history and organized military expeditions.

– I –

IJEKA\VIAN. Serbo-Croatian language variant in opposition to the i- and ekavian variants. It is the western variant of Serbo-Croatian or Croatian. It is most in use in Croatia.

IKAVIAN. Serbo-Croatian language variant in opposition to the e- and ijekavian variants. It is the southern variant of Croatian, spoken especially on the Adriatic islands.

ILIRSKA STRANKA. See ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT.

ILLYRIA. The Indo-European people known as the Illyrians settled in the Balkan around the 10th century BCE. Several tribes united in a kingdom with its center in Scodra (Shköder) in present-day Albania. Its last King Genthius surrendered to the Romans in 168 BCE.

ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT. Croatian national movement in the middle of the 19th century. It was initially a cultural movement, strongly influenced by the work of Ljudevit Gaj. It developed later into a political party. It was influenced by German romanticism with its emphasis on principles of language and nationality, by French political thought with its emphasis on the role of the state, and by Pan-Slavism with its emphasis on the greatness and unity of the Slavs. Its cultural program had been given expression by Gaj and its early political ideas by Janko Drašković. It strove for the unification of the Croatian lands and opposed Hungarian influence. When the Hungarians founded a political party in 1841, the Illyrians reacted with the foundation of the Illyrian Party (Ilirska Stranka). They sent
many representatives to the Sabor but the Illyrian program was not successfully defended there. The name Illyrian was forbidden by the Austrian emperor in 1843. The party renamed itself the National Party.

Although always carrying a strong Croatian flavor, the Illyrian movement can be seen as an early forerunner of the Yugoslav idea. The changing intellectual climate paved the way for a Serbian–Croatian coalition and the agreements on the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

ILLYRIAN PROVINCES. Political unit, created by Napoleon during his domination from 1809 to 1814. It included the following previously Austrian lands: Carniola, West Carinthia, Gorica, Istria, Dalmatia, and Dubrovnik. The regime tried to modernize and secularize the region. A sense of Slav unity and awakening national awareness remained after its dissolution. It manifested itself later in the Illyrian movement.

ILLYRICUM. The Roman province of Illyricum stretched from the Drina in the south to Istria in the north and from the Adriatic to the Sava River. Its administrative center was Salona. Earlier there had been an Illyrian kingdom in the southern part with its capital in Scodra (Shkodër, Albania). Later, the Roman Empire extended along the Danube valley and Illyricum was divided between the provinces of Dalmatia on the Adriatic and Pannonia in the interior. In 395 CE, the Roman Empire was split after the death of Emperor Theodosius. The part south of the Drina belonged thereafter to the Eastern Empire and came under administration of Byzantium.

ILLYRICUS, FLACIUS. See VLAČIĆ, MATIJA.

INDEPENDENCE. In May 1990, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) won the first multiparty elections after World War II. A new constitution was proclaimed on 22 December 1990. Article 140 reserved the right to take measures to defend the sovereignty of the republic. In the referendum of May 1991, the citizens of the Republic of Croatia confirmed by a majority of 94 percent the aspiration to live in a sovereign Croatia. On 25 June 1991, the proclamation of sov-
ereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia was officially read. In July 1991, the Yugoslav Army invaded Croatia. The European Community (EC) mediated and all measures to concretize independence were frozen. No agreement on cooperation within the old Yugoslavia could be reached, so after three months Croatia decided to work out its own independence program. Germany and the Vatican were the first Western nations to recognize the independence of Croatia in December 1991. On 15 January 1992, upon advice of the Badinter Arbitration Commission operating within the framework of the Peace conference for Yugoslavia, the EC countries recognized the Republic of Croatia within the borders of the former communist republic. This was the beginning of worldwide recognition and official reception within the United Nations.

INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA / NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA (NDH). The Independent State of Croatia came into being on 10 April 1941, under the protection of the German invasion powers. The Ustaša leader Ante Pavelić returned from Italy and assumed power as poglavljak (head of the state). The new regime was rather well received by the majority of the Croats. Croatia’s main leader, Vice-Premier Vlado Maček, resigned and issued a statement advising that the situation be accepted peacefully and the largest political force, his Croatian People’s Peasant Party, remained passive. At the beginning of the occupation, some of its leaders went abroad with the Yugoslav government; others joined the Ustaša. Two thirds of satellite Croatian territory, including Zagreb and Bosnia, remained under direct German supervision: Dalmatia was occupied by Italy. So, in fact, neither the independence nor the integrity of the Croatian territory was achieved.

Still, Pavelić began a process of ethnic cleansing to make the state more purely Croatian. Orthodox Serbs, mostly concentrated in parts of Bosnia and in the old Military Border, were either rebaptized, expelled, or killed. A Serb uprising in self-defense in the small towns was forcefully crushed. Peasants fled to the communist resistance movement, especially along the borders of Dalmatia. The role played by Catholic Archbishop Alozije Stepinac in the massive conversions of orthodox Serbs is still very controversial. On 9 May 1945, the Yugoslav partisans entered Zagreb. A large number of Ustašis and other
citizens who had sought refuge in Austria were handed over by the Allies to the partisans and were murdered at Bleiburg.

INDUSTRY AND MINING. According to the World Bank—using its own methodology—in the period 1995–1999, the value added of industry represented about one third of Croatia’s gross domestic product (GDP). The value of industrial production is thus estimated in 1999 at 32 percent of $20.3 billion or $6.5 billion. In 2000, the industry employed a workforce of 285,000, which represents 28 percent of Croatia’s total workforce.

Within industry the largest branches by total income are the production of food, beverages, and tobacco products, followed by the chemical, petroleum, metal, paper, and electrical manufacturing sectors. Regarding employment and exports the textile and clothing industries lead, followed by the metal and electrical industries, the wood industry and the manufacture of ships. Mining is only a marginal activity at present.

In recent years, the same trends continued. Industrial output increased from 2001 to 2007 at an average rate of approximately 5 percent. Only in 2008 did it drop to 2 percent and is falling further downward due to the worldwide economic crisis. Employment in industry stagnated, so productivity rose. The relative share of industry is diminishing also and reached about 20 percent of GDP in 2008. At the same time, Croatia is adjusting its industrial policy to the requirements of the European Union’s acquis under chapter 20. The minister of economy, Damir Polančec, adopted the guidelines for the development strategy for the manufacturing industry in October 2008.

INSTITUTE FOR CROATIAN HISTORY / ZAVOD ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST. The institute is located in the Department of History of the Philosophical Faculty of Zagreb University.

INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE. At the end of the 19th century, ethnologic and folkloric themes were already presented in lectures at Zagreb University. A chair for ethnology was created in the Faculty of Philosophy in 1924. Its task was to teach
and do research on the traditional cultures of the South Slav peoples. In recent years, specific Croatian ethnologic themes have come to the forefront with the creation of a special seminar in the economic year 1992–1993.

The Institute of Ethnology and Folklore publishes a yearbook entitled *Narodna Umjetnost* (Folk Art). The two most important scientists in the field were Milovan Gavazzi (1895–1992) and Branimir Bratanić.

The Council for Ethnology of the Croatian (formerly Yugoslav) Academy for Arts and Sciences has edited more than 50 volumes of the *Zbornik za narodni zivot i običaje južnih Slovena* (Anthology of the Daily Life and Customs of the South Slavs).

**INSTITUTE FOR HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE / ZAVOD ZA POVIJEST I FILOZOFIJU ZNANOSTI.** The institute is associated with the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

**INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM.** The Croatian security system has to protect the country from internal and external threats and its main components are the Croatian Army, the police forces, and the intelligence services. The intelligence network of the new Croatian nation was built by transforming the old structures of the former Yugoslavia and creating new organs that eventually absorbed the older ones. During this whole period, the structures were dominated by the partisans of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and Franjo Tuđman in particular. This is exemplified by the fact that he named his son as head of these services.

Under Tuđman, at least 11 intelligence services were in operation. The most important came under the Ministries of the Interior and Defense or were in the service of the president and the government. Some were umbrella organizations that coordinated the services and information of the others. The Ministry of Defense operated abroad through the Intelligence Service of the Croatian Army (Obaveštajna Služba Hrvatske Vojske, OSHV) and in the country through the Security Information Service (Izveštajna Služba, SIS). This latter service was formed in April 1991 and expanded during the Homeland
War. It was a base for hardliners such as Markica Rebić and Ivica Pašalić. At times, the SIS even settled political conflicts within the ruling party, such as the clash between Hrvoje Šarinić and Ivica Pašalić. The Service for the Protection of the Constitutional Order (Služba za Žaštitu Ustavnog Poretku, SUZP) falls under the Ministry of the Interior.

The most general intelligence service, formed in 1993 and led for a long time by Miroslav Tuđman, is the Croatian Intelligence Service (Hrvatska Izveštajna Služba, HIS). It coordinates all security activities and is responsible for contacts with foreign intelligence agencies and information from abroad. It was grouped with three related intelligence agencies into the National Security Office (Ured za Nacionalnu Sigurnost, UNS). This organ reports to the president and the government. It was created in 1995 and is said to be dominated by more moderate figures. The strategy of the security sector is defined by state officials in the Joint National Security Committee (Stožerni Odbor za Nacionalnu Sigurnost, SONS). Most intelligence services had their own control organs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also had supplementary services.

There was certainly much overlap and rivalry between services and the reorganization of services and competences was frequent. Intelligence was also heavily politicized. Higher politicians and generals who had outlasted their public life were as a rule dumped into the intelligence services. Politicians of the ruling party of different currents supported or were supported by rival services. The Sabor also had its commission for control, the Sabor Committee on Internal Policy and National Security. But it is indicative that some reports of the intelligence services were within reach of the ruling party and not of Parliament. The death of Tuđman in 1999 and the electoral defeat of the HDZ created the conditions for a reform of the system toward more democratic, liberal values. First of all, the new president, Stipe Mesić, himself earlier a member of a smaller party, did not oppose the constitutional amendments that curtailed his prerogatives as president in the security sector. However, it turned out that more competences were now exercised by the Ministries of Defense and the Interior and that the control of Parliament remained limited.
In the first period of the new coalition government of Ivica Račan, the tradition of party appointments did not cease. Minister of Defense Joze Radoš placed some of his party members in important posts. He also clashed with Mesić on the implementation of competences. The following minister of defense, Želka Antunović, already seemed to perform much better. Moreover, important legislation was initiated that promised to democratize the intelligence sector. Still, most reforms were halfhearted or slow in being applied. Especially the reform of the armed forces encountered considerable resistance. It is probable that, at least in the beginning, the new regime was afraid that the resistance of former HDZ partisans could still undermine its position. Moreover, it lacked the financial power to introduce large-scale programs of professionalization and democratization. An important determinant in the support of the reform process was the influence of the foreign sector. It was now more and more acknowledged that the existential security of the country was guaranteed. So attention shifted to international cooperation and the struggle against terrorism. The prospects of integration in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) induced new programs and a new manner of thinking in and about the security sector.

The return of the HDZ did not really reverse the situation. First of all, the party had itself gone through some reforms and purges. Second, it seemed that it was more difficult or less self-evident for diehard nationalists to oppose the party that was closer to their viewpoints and from whose spirit they originated. But most of all, the new government needed the financial and moral incentives offered by integration in the EU and NATO. For the intelligence sector, this meant a decrease of strong nationalism, an awareness of the need for democratization and professionalization, and above all a new definition of the tasks to be accomplished by the different services. Most recent reforms foresee a serious reduction in the overpopulated services and the supply of substantially higher levels of training and equipment. Finally, democratic control by Parliament seems not to be openly opposed and even a role of the broader civic society is not wholly out of the question.
Some doubt was cast again on these healthy developments by new games with the ICTY in apparently high circles—for example, by hiding or unclear communication about military reports of the Homeland War, as late as in 2009 during the Ante Gotovina trial.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY). The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia was established by United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 827 of 25 May 1993. Its objective is to prosecute war crimes and offenses against human rights and humanity. It is located in The Hague, Netherlands. At first, its attention was directed especially to Bosnian Serbs and Serbs, but later persons of all nationalities were indicted. Initially, Franjo Tudman was successful in keeping Croats away from the court, finally only giving in by attempting to convince Bosnian Croats to be extradited voluntarily at the court’s urgent demand. General Tihomir Blaškić, commander of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) in the Lašva valley during the Croat-Muslim war, surrendered in that way. In part to avoid as much as possible interference from abroad, war crimes trials also were organized before Croatian courts. These concerned mostly Croatian Serbs, especially in the initial period, and did not always prove to be very objective.

The ICTY and the European countries were not pleased by this unilateral attitude of Croatia and soon expressed their dissatisfaction. This was not only translated into verbal condemnations but also kept Croatia out of assistance and cooperation programs. In its 1997 proposal of a regional approach, the European Union (EU) explicitly linked its support to the condition of full cooperation with the ICTY, and this conditionality was retained in all further negotiations of a Stabilisation and Association Agreement. In fact, negotiations and the coming into force of agreements were regularly postponed for this reason. Not until 1991 could such an agreement be signed, and it only went into force in 1995 because ratification procedures were blocked by European countries.

The ICTY also took direct steps to foster cooperation and high officials regularly paid visits to the Croatian government. For example, in July 1999, Louise Arbor, the chief prosecutor of the ICTY, went to Zagreb and complained about the lack of cooperation. On the one
hand, she declared, the Croats did not show enough willingness in handing over documents on the Homeland War, especially Operations Medak, Flash, and Storm. On the other hand, there was still resistance to extraditing alleged war criminals such as Vinko Martinović, nicknamed Štela, and a warlord of Herzegovina, Mladen Naletić, alias Tuta. It must have happened that Arbor did not obtain the desired result, because the whole question culminated in August 1999. Despite the extradition of Štela, the president of the Hague Tribunal, Gabrille Kirk McDonald, requested the United Nations Security Council to take sanctions against Croatia given its lack of cooperation.

A new phase began with the electoral victory of the coalition of opposition parties at the beginning of 2000. The new Ivica Račan government issued a Declaration on Cooperation with the ICTY on 14 April, in which was stipulated that Croatia acknowledged that all war activities on Croatian soil were liable to the jurisdiction of the ICTY and in which full cooperation was promised. Perhaps here the government was not fully aware of the internal difficulties this could generate. In March 2000, news reached Zagreb that the former colonel Tihomir Blaškić was condemned to 45 years of prison by the ICTY. This outraged public opinion and led to huge demonstrations. It was also published in the press that the forensic experts of the Hague tribunal were carrying out exhumations of graves in the southern part of Gospić (Lika). In this climate, at the end of August, a key witness to the ICTY in the Gospić case, Milan Levar, was murdered.

Prime Minister Račan then made the decision to take resolute action and to show his firm cooperative attitude to the ICTY. He first had arrested Tihomir Orešković, the organizer of the killing of civilian Serbs in Gospić and now suspected of being implicated in the Levar murder, and second, General Ivan Andabak, a commander in Herzegovina in 1994 under whose supervision the accused Tuta had operated and who had been responsible for destroying the age-old bridge of Mostar. The arrest of Orešković was potentially dangerous for high HDZ officials of the time, such as the former head of the Department of the Constitutional Order Josip Manolić, former Prime Minister Franjo Gregurić, and even President Tuđman. The move of the Račan government provoked an unprecedented wave of protest. Allegedly, the respectability of the Homeland War was put into question. Twelve army generals in function, among them Mirko
Norac, wrote an open letter, contesting the government’s decision. Norac had been implicated in all three major operations in which war crimes by Croats were committed and that were under investigation by the ICTY: the Gospić case, the Medak case, and Operation Storm.

President Stipe Mesić backed his prime minister and also took a strong stance. He dismissed the army generals on 29 September 2000, arguing that they did not have the right to intervene in politics. In February 2001, the veterans and patriots organized a massive protest meeting in Split in support of Mirko Norac and other defenders of the homeland, in which more than 100,000 people participated. General Janko Bobetko spoke at the rally in favor of all the patriots who had defended the Croatian soil; he would be indicted himself by the ICTY in September 2002. In fact, the tribunal was now reaching the higher ranks of the Croatian Army and indicted Generals Ante Gotovina and Rahim Ademi in June 2001. The latter was the commander of the 1993 Medak offensive; the former was the chief commander of Operation Storm (Oluja) in 1995. General Ademi surrendered, while General Gotovina fled.

The 2004 elections brought the HDZ back to power. Prime Minister Ivo Sanader was quick to declare that he would not change the policy options of the previous government in the international field. In December 2004, the EU Council for External Relation confirmed that the accession talks could start on 18 March 2005, on condition that there was full cooperation of Croatia with the ICTY. One day before the deadline, the negotiations were postponed. The ICTY was clearly not satisfied with the cooperation of the Croatian government and administration in the Gotovina case. Consultation on a high diplomatic level was needed to settle the matter. On 26 April, in Luxembourg a meeting was held of the EU Task Force for the Assessment of Croatia’s Cooperation with the ICTY in the presence of Prime Minister Sanader and ICTY Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte. It still took to 3 October until the chief prosecutor declared Croatia was finally fully cooperative. On 7 December, the Spanish police arrested Ante Gotovina on the island of Tenerife and he was handed over to the ICTY.

Because the tribunal is preparing to close down, it concentrates on major cases and seems to have gained more confidence in the
objectivity of the Croatian courts and in the general political climate, it finally returned some accused to Croatia to have their trial before the local courts. On the other hand, in the case against Gotovina, old problems of lack of cooperation of Croatia with the ICTY reappeared. In 2009, the new prosecutor, Serge Brammertz, complained that the government of prime minister and HDZ politician Ivo Sanader was not able or did not want to hand over the requested documents. Even President Mesić condemned these maneuvers.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF). Croatia joined the fund on 14 December 1992. Croatia’s drawing rights (SDR) quota amount to 365.10 million SDR. On 14 October 1994 Croatia got a first standby agreement with expiration date 13 April 1996 for 65.40 million SDR, of which 13.8 million SDR was immediately drawn. A second standby credit was approved on 19 March 2001 with expiration date 18 May 2002 for 200 million SDR of which 28.78 million SDR was drawn as of 30 November 2001. A standby arrangement is granted only when intensive monitoring by the IMF is allowed and a tight monetary and social policy is agreed to by the government. It implies budget restraints and restrictions on wage increases, especially in the public sector. The Ivica Račan government thus accepted all this in order to get the standby arrangement and was strongly criticized by its own electoral base, such as the trade unions and social organizations. However, acceptance of the norms will facilitate Croatia’s integration into the international business community.

A third standby arrangement with the IMF was concluded by the Ivo Sanader government on 4 August 2004 for 20 months. During its second review on 29 March 2006, it was extended by seven months through 15 November 2006 with increased drawing rights. The first goal of the arrangement was to support policies for mitigating external shocks. It sought to reduce Croatia’s savings—investment imbalance and to stabilize the external debt-to-gross domestic product (GDP) ratio. Tight monetary and fiscal government programs were advised as necessary to achieve these goals. While the government at first tried to meet the IMF requirements, it later relaxed its policies, and the projected goals were not actually achieved. Foreign debt tended to rise steadily along
with rising current account deficits and the gaps in the government budget were not managed as prescribed. This could be the reason why Sanader did not immediately seek a new standby arrangement at the end of 2006. Of course, the government diplomatically continued to cooperate with the IMF through the annual Article IV consultations, the Joint Annual Discussions, and the regular visits of the IMF research teams to Croatia. These were also instrumental in obtaining adjustment loans from the World Bank. See also ECONOMY; FOREIGN DEBT; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; UNITED STATES (RELATIONS WITH).

INTERNATIONAL TRADE. From 1 January 2002, 78 percent of trade of Croatia had to follow the principle of free trade, as Croatia concluded 10 agreements with 27 countries. Most industrial products are not liable to customs, while agricultural products mainly are exchanged by mutual concession tariffs. Earlier agreements existed with Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatia became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), of which the first obligations came into effect on 1 January 2000. In 2002, the Association and Stabilisation Agreement with the European Union (EU) came into force. Also in 2002, Croatia signed an arrangement with the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), which went into force in 2003. With accession procedures to the European Union in full swing, adaptation, and reform in the sector is substantial.

The trade component of the external sector showed a constant deficit over the years. While exports rose from $6.2 billion in 2003 to $12.3 billion in 2007, imports increased from $4.2 billion to $26.8 billion. The most important trading partners of Croatia are mostly neighboring countries and Germany. Russia was also important for gas imports. In 2007, Croatia exported most to Italy (19.3 percent of total Croatian exports), Bosnia-Herzegovina (13.9 percent), Germany (10.2 percent), and Austria (6.2 percent). In the same year, Croatia imported most from Italy (15.4 percent), Germany (13.8 percent), Russia (9.7 percent), and Austria (5.1) percent. See also CROATIAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION; ECONOMY; FOREIGN DEBT; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; WORLD BANK.
INVESTMENT. During the independence war, investment activity fell to one fifth of the prewar level. It was stagnating at this low level from mid-1992 until 1996. The main cause of this decline was the high level of uncertainty resulting from the political situation in the country, high inflation rates, unresolved ownership rights, and an unstable economic policy. In 1996 and 1997, a reconstruction drive set in and investment boomed. Investment activity fell again in the recession of the year 1998 and after. It recovered somewhat in 2001 under the Ivica Račan regime, to show a sudden acceleration in the year 2003 with 24.7 percent. Then, it fell back to 5 percent in 2004 and 2005, to reach 11 percent in 2007. From then on, it stabilized at a moderate rate of just under 7 percent, but then decreased again under the influence of the international financial crisis.

Though the general macroeconomic situation and the international risk rating of Croatia improved considerably with the coming of the Ivica Račan government, not all problems were at once resolved. There is still a lot of bureaucracy that works very ponderously in the eyes of investors, the system of justice has many gaps and it works at least with a one-year delay. Shortcuts can perhaps be obtained through the arbitration court of the Chamber of Commerce. The Ivo Sanader government continued the new course introduced by the previous regime. However, observers at times noted that the investment climate was not yet at the same level of other transition countries.

Investment activity has been basically regulated by the Investment Act (Narodne Novine Republike Hrvatske / Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, no. 73/2000). It tries to stimulate investment by giving incentives to environmentally friendly operations and investments that introduce new equipment and cutting-edge technology. Free zones could be attractive for new foreign investors, but are now under fire in the European Union (EU) accession negotiations. The Croatian Chamber of Commerce provides support and information about investment activities in Croatia. See also FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

ISLANDS. The largest islands are Krk, Cres, Rab, Brač, Hvar, Korčula, Lastovo, and Mljet. In total there are 66 inhabited islands and about 10 times more uninhabited ones.
ISOLA LUNGA. See DUGI OTOK.

ISSA. See VIS.

ISTARSKI DEMOKRATSKI SABOR (IDS) / DIETA DEMOCRATICA ISTRIANA (DDI). See ISTRIAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY.

ISTARSKI RAZVOD. Document of a boundary commission in Istria, dated from 1275. It tried to establish the boundaries between the Patriarchate of Aquileia, the Principality of Pazin, and the Republic of Venice. The original document disappeared but later extant copies in Glagolitic included interesting additions. Through the legal prescriptions, the social life of medieval Istria can be reconstructed.

ISTARSKI STATUT. See ISTRIAN STATUTE.

ISTRIA. Large peninsula in the north of the Adriatic between the Bay of Trieste and the Bay of Rijeka. It is an extension of the limestone Dinaric Mountains.

The Illyrian tribe of the Histrians gave its name to the peninsula. Emperor Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) conquered Istria from the Illyrian tribes and used it as an outpost to launch campaigns into the Balkan Peninsula. The Rižana River (North Istria) became the Roman frontier in 42 BCE, and the Raša River in 12 BCE. Within two centuries, the frontier was moved to present-day Rijeka. The towns of Trieste, Poreč, and Pula became administrative centers and got impressive architectural monuments, such as the amphitheater in Pula. The classical period suffered an eclipse from the beginning of the fourth century.

Christianity appeared at the end of the third century. By 500 CE a marvelous example of Byzantine architecture was materialized in the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč. At the turn of the sixth century, the Slavs penetrated Istria, and for 12 years (599–611) they ravaged the whole peninsula under the leadership of the Avars and Longobards. In contrast to other nomadic peoples, only the Slavs took permanent residence in Istria. For some time, Istria was incorporated in the early feudal system of Charlemagne (788–814). During the ninth until the
13th centuries, the lands of Istria were dominated by the patriarchs of Aquileia and German feudal rulers. Then, during a long period, the region came under the influence of Venice until the fall of the republic in 1797.

The Peace Treaty of Campo Formio annexed Venetian Istria to Austria. Soon after, Istria was conquered by Napoleon and incorporated in his Illyrian provinces. After his defeat, Istria was returned to Austria. The period of absolutism oppressed peasants, mostly of Slav origin, and favored the merchantizing and intellectual elite that spoke Italian or German. In 1846, there were in Istria approximately 135,000 Croats, 32,000 Slovenes, and 60,000 Italians. However, in the elections of 1848, of five local representatives to the Vienna Parliament, four Italians and only one Croat were chosen. The Revolution of 1848 overthrew Metternich’s absolutist rule and marked the end of the feudal regime. In 1853, the agrarian reform of Istria began. In 1861, a regional Parliament was established. Due to the electoral system, Germans and Italians were again privileged. Croats and Slovenes reacted by developing a national political, social, and cultural movement. Leftist workers’ organizations were founded. The nationalistic antagonism was ultimately concentrated in the struggle between the political parties: the Italian National Liberal Party and the Croat-Slovene People’s Party.

The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918 ended in the Italian occupation of Istria, confirmed by the bilateral agreement of Rapallo of 12 November 1920. This occupation brought a strong Italianization of Istria that lasted until the national liberation war during World War II. After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia decided to incorporate Istria in the Croatian state. However, a month after the Yugoslav Army liberated Istria and Pula, the Yugoslav executive was forced to sign an agreement in Belgrade on 9 May 1945. This stipulated that Istria would be temporarily divided into two zones: Zone A (Pula and Trieste) under the control of the Anglo-American army and Zone B under the control of the Yugoslav Army. In Paris, on 10 January 1947, a peace treaty was signed with Italy. It came into effect in September of the same year, when Pula returned to Yugoslavia. The border in Istria between Croatia and Slovenia was only traced in 1954, when the provisional Free Territory
of Trieste was finally split between Italy and Yugoslavia. In 1956, a small correction was made and some villages of Buje municipality were annexed to Slovenia.

**ISTRIAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY / ISTARSKI DEMOKRATSKI SABOR (IDS) / DIETA DEMOCRATICA ISTRIANA (DDI).** Main political party in Istria, defending local and “green” interests of the Istrian peninsula. It has managed to defeat the political monopoly of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). The IDS even threatened not to apply centralistic laws voted in Zagreb on the territory of the Istrian province. Istrian politicians constantly insisted on procuring an autonomous statute for Istria in the Republic of Croatia. They regularly point to the “model of European regions.” The IDS ultimately announced its wish to organize a referendum on the autonomy of Istria, a practice that reminded Zagreb of the referendum organized by the Krajina Serbs and that signaled the beginning of their self-declared independence. The Franjo Tudman government heavily criticized the Istrian initiative.

The IDS went into the four-party bloc that together with the coalition of Social Democrats (SDP) and Croatian Social-Liberals (HSLS) formed the opposition front of six parties that defeated the governing HDZ in the January 2000 elections. The IDS entered the government with one minister, but the issue of the Istrian Statute and the autonomy of Istria again troubled relations. On 2 June 2001, the IDS left the government and the coalition of six was reduced to five. The IDS preferred to take up the role of constructive opposition and further cautiously to build up regionalism. It then also dominates Istrian local elections. See also AUTONOMY.

**ISTRIAN STATUTE / ISTARSKI STATUT.** Legal regulation of the province (županija) of Istria. Istrians—and especially the political party, the Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS)—wanted to write autonomy into the statute of the province. It also wanted to grant far-reaching rights to the Italian minority, including the right to use the Italian language in public matters. This was opposed not only by the Franjo Tudman regime, but the Zagreb Parliament under the Račan government also threatened to refer the Istrian proposal to the constitutional court. The IDS left the government. A political
g Gentleman’s agreement was finally reached, with granting some, but certainly not all, demanded autonomy rights.

**ITALY (RELATIONS WITH).** During the Franjo Tudman regime, some historically generated problems with Italy remained pending. One concerns the Osimo agreement: Croatia had asked for the renewed ratification of the agreement. This is bound up with compensation for the Italians who left Istria and lost their belongings. The leaders of the Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS) supported these claims, indicating that the emigration could have affected 200,000 people. The problem was complicated by unpaid debts of former Yugoslavia to Italy: of $94 million of compensation for nationalized Italian real estate, only $16 million was actually paid. How should the remainder be divided between Croatia and Slovenia?

Under the Ivica Račan government, Italy and Croatia finally reached an agreement regarding the debt of Croatia to those who left Croatia after World War II. As a successor state of Yugoslavia, Croatia now accepts the obligations following from the Rome and Osimo agreements. While Slovenia should pay 62 percent of the debt, Croatia contributes 38 percent or $35 million.

At the beginning of November 2001, talks were held on an Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership. However, there remained some Croatian fears that the rightist Italian government would continue to block or at least delay accession to the European Union. This did not actually happen. There were only two issues Italy insisted on before giving its full approval. The first was the question of the accession of property rights by Italians in Croatia. Especially in Istria, Italians wanted to buy real estate and build houses. Croatians long held that only nationals were allowed to do so. After long debates, Croatia gave in to a large extent and the question was solved. The second problem concerned the fishing waters that Croatia had blocked for foreign use because it unilaterally decided on an ecological zone that extended far into the sea. The question is not wholly agreed on, but Italy placed the brunt of this conflict on Slovenia, which had taken a more militant stance and had far more to lose.

In any case, Italy was the most important trading partner of Croatia, both in imports and exports. In 2006, Croatia’s exports to Italy
amounted to $2.397 billion or almost one fourth of its exports and $3.599 billion or more than one fifth of its imports. The accession of Croatia to the European Union will further stimulate trade. See also FOREIGN POLICY.


IVANIŠEVIĆ, KATICA (1935– ). Born at Omišaj, rector of the University of Rijeka and influential member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). After Josip Manolić, she was speaker of the House of Counties until it was abolished by a constitutional amendment in 2001.

– J –

JAGIĆ, VATROSLAV (1838–1923). Born in Varaždin, professor of Slavistics in Berlin, Petrograd, and Vienna, and member of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences. Of his 600 writings, especially well known are his contributions on Juraj Kzižanić and on the grammar of Slav languages. He was also an editor and commentator of old Slav texts: Hrvojev missal, Zografsko evandelije, Mariansko evangelije, Kijevski listići, Bečki listići, Vinodolski zakon, Poljički statut. In 1875, he founded the leading academic journal entitled Archiv für slavische Philologie.

JANDROKOVIĆ, GORDAN (1967– ). Born in Bjelovar, he studied engineering and political sciences. From 1994 to 2000, he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the list of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), he was first elected to Parliament in 2003 and again in 2007. In the second Ivo Sanader government, he was appointed minister of foreign affairs and European integration.
JANUS PANNONIUS. See ČESMIČKI, IVAN.

JARNJAK, IVAN (1941– ). Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) politician and former minister. He studied at the Faculty of Work Organization in Varaždin and occupied a leading function in a firm of the electricity sector. From 1991 to 1992, he was vice-minister of the Ministry of the Interior. In 1992, he became the minister until 1996, and from 1997 to 2000, he was the head of the Presidential Office for National Security / Ured za Nacionalni Sigurnosti (UNS). He was then “promoted” from minister to head of the UNS because allegedly President Franjo Tuđman did not like his soft approach in handling the counter-regime mass rally for Radio 101. He was elected for the HDZ to Parliament in 1992, 1995, 2000, 2003, and 2007. During this last mandate, he served as vice-president of the Sabor.

JASENOVAC. This was the location of the largest Ustaša concentration camp during World War II. About 200,000 Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies were murdered here. The exact number of victims was strongly disputed by both Serbs and Croats. Franjo Tuđman himself did repeated research on the issue and first minimized, then adopted somewhat more moderate figures. The Serb politicians used the memory of the camp to feed the fear of a nationalistic Croatian regime.

During the second congress of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in the autumn of 1993, Tuđman proposed to commemorate all victims of World War II—the Ustaši included—at Jasenovac. This proposal was generally rejected, even by some HDZ politicians. The collections of exhibits and archives were returned on 5 December 2001. They had been transferred in 1995 by the former deputy director Simo Brdar to the Bosnian Serbs of Banja Luka and much later sent to the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. Ultimately the documents returned to Jasenovac. See also JEWISH COMMUNITY.

JELAČIĆ, JOSIP (1801–1859). Ban who was an exponent of the Croatian national revival in the mid-19th century. The statue and the street name that commemorated his contribution had been removed by the communists but was put back with great ceremony by the Franjo Tuđman regime.
Ban Jelačić supported the Illyrian movement and was involved in the founding of institutions that stimulated the Croatian nationalist movement. Consequently, he was an opponent of the Hungarian supremacy in the southern part of the Habsburg monarchy. At the request of the Austrian Archduke Francis Karl, Ban Jelačić suppressed the Hungarian revolt of 1844. In Croatia, he succeeded in abolishing serfdom and thus feudalism. Earlier, Jelačić had occupied Rijeka and proclaimed the Drava River and Međimurje integral parts of Croatia. By uniting most of the Croatian lands, he contributed strongly to the Dalmatian and Istrian movements for unification.

JEWISH COMMUNITY. The Independent State of Croatia (NDH) scrupulously followed the Nazi doctrine and deported many Jews to the concentration camp of Jasenovac. The regime of Franjo Tudman implicitly legitimized this state by considering it a contribution to the building of a national Croatian consciousness and the creation of an independent Croatian state. As such, he conducted a policy not too friendly to Jews and other minorities. Under the Ivica Račan government, the Jewish community finally seemed allowed to enjoy self-expression. The Jewish historian Slavko Goldstein produced a major study of the position and persecution of the Jews in Croatia during World War II. He also published many contributions on the present situation of Jews.

JUGOSLOVENSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI (JAZU). See YUGOSLAV ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

JURAJ MATEJEV DALMATINAC (ca. 1400–ca. 1475). Born in Zadar and died in Šibenik, architect and sculptor. He worked in various towns around the Adriatic. He constructed the Rector’s Palace (Knežev Dvor) and erected the Minčeta Tower in Dubrovnik. He built the church in Pag and the cathedral in Šibenik.

JURIŠIĆ, DARKO (?–1999). Born in Slavonski Brod. Jurišić was political platform coordinator in 1999 of the Campaign “Glas 99.” At the beginning of the election campaign on 14 December 1999, he was found dead in front of his house. After two years
of fruitless police investigation, civil organizations such as the **Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights** (HHO) asked the State Prosecutor Radovan Ortynski to shed light on this case and the activity of the secret services in the “Kameleon” action directed against opponents of the **Franjo Tuđman** regime. They also accused Marko Rebić, who wrongfully asserted that the secret services held no files on journalists and activists of civil organizations, while the paper **Slobodna Dalmacija** afterward revealed a series of data from the files.

**JURJEVIĆ BAJA, ANTE (1915–2001).** Born in Split. A worker in metallurgy, he joined the workers’ movement in 1934 and held high posts in the Communist Party of Tito. He fought with the partisans in World War II, was captured by the Italian fascists, and condemned to death. He escaped and continued the struggle. After the war, he held high positions in the party apparatus of Split. In 1971, Jurgević signed the letter Tito sent to the revolutionary core of war heroes against the party leaders of the **Croatian Spring**. After Karadordevo, he became the supreme leader of the Split party organization and indirectly managed the municipality and its shipbuilding company. He condemned Slobodan Milošević at the breakup of Yugoslavia and left politics.

**KAČIĆ-MIOŠIĆ, ANDRIJA (1704–1760).** The Franciscan philosopher and writer was born at Brist in Makarska and spent most of his life in this region in the monastery of Zaostrog. He wrote a dissertation in 1752 on the philosophy of Duns Scotus. Four years later, he produced one of the most popular books of his time and after: **Razgovor ugodni naroda slavinskoga** (A Pleasant Discourse about the Slavic People). First published in 1756, it has been reprinted about 80 times. Its popularity can be partly explained by the patriotic feelings aroused by the book.

In his third book, **Korabljica** (The Little Sailboat, 1760), Kačić-Miošić admonished his readers to not be ashamed of their Croatian language. Even Adam could have spoken Slavic. The popularity and
broad distribution of Kačić-Miošić’s books contributed to the new štokavian standardization of the Serbo-Croatian language.

KAJKAVIAN. Variant of the Croatian language, an alternative to čakavian and štokavian. According to the equivalent for the word what, the variants of Croatian use the expression što-, kaj-, or ča-. The kajkavian variant has been spoken in the western part of the Serbo-Croatian language area on the border with Slovenia. Slovene itself is a Slavic language that uses the kaj- idiom.

KALEB, VJEKOSLAV (1905–1996). Born on the island of Murter near Šibenik, prose and scenario writer. As an ex-partisan, he wrote on the war and on contemporary society in Croatia. His main work, Divoto prašine (1956), has been translated as Glorious Dust.

KALLIA, TOMBSTONE OF. Tombstone with Greek inscription from the fourth century BCE, found on the island of Vis. It is a testimony on the death of a Greek soldier, alluding to battles with the Illyrians.

KANGRGA, MILAN (1923–2008). Born in Zagreb, where he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy, member of the Praxis group in the 1960s and 1970s. He was deeply inspired by the phenomenology of Martin Heidegger and adopted some of his problem definitions and formulations. However, he remained convinced of the superiority of a creative interpretation of the philosophy of the young Marx.

KARAĐORĐEVIĆ, ALEXANDER (1888–1934). Prince Regent Alexander of the Serbian dynasty of the Karađorđevići, who proclaimed on 1 December 1918 the official creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The first period of parliamentary rule was characterized by permanent nationalistic tensions and ended in the murder of Stjepan Radić. The king abolished the constitution, prohibited parties, and reorganized the administration of the country. Nationalist leaders and extremists emigrated, among them Ante Pavelić. The Ustaša leader, in collaboration with the Macedonian secessionist movement IMRO, organized the assassination of the king in Marseilles in 1934.
KARADORĐEVIĆ, PAUL (1893–1976). Nephew of Alexander I, whose eldest son was only 11 when he was assassinated in 1934. Prince Paul Karadorđević became regent of Yugoslavia for the period 1934–1941.

KARADORĐEVIĆ, PETAR II (1923–1970). Since he was only 11 when his father Alexander I was assassinated, a nephew of his father, Prince Paul Karadorđević, became regent.

KARADORĐEVO. This place near Belgrade is now associated with the symbolic end of the Croatian Spring. The entire Croatian party leadership was summoned to gather in this residence of Tito on 30 November 1971. The goal was to purge the party leadership of its nationalistic elements: Miko Tripalo and Savka Dabčević-Kučar were put under pressure to resign. The meeting was immediately followed by the 21st session of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). Though some of the claims of the Croatian mass movement were deemed legitimate, the LCY had to remain the sole and leading force. Ideological unity and party discipline were needed.

The second time the place received an historical meaning was as the spot where Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman met in March 1991 and decided on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, some months before the war broke out. According to Stipe Mesić, during his testimony against Milošević in The Hague in October 2002, this meeting convinced Tuđman that it was feasible to carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina and incorporate at least the Northwestern border (Turkish Croatia) into Croatia. Milošević always denied the story.

KARLOVAC. Karlstadt. Archduke Charles of Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia decided to build a fortification where the Korana River flows into the Kupa. Austrian royal engineer Matija Gabon started the execution of the project on 13 July 1579. The fortification was built as an ideal Renaissance town: a rectangular grid fortified by walls in the form of a star. For three centuries Karlovac functioned as a main center of the Military Border. It was shelled by the Croat Serbs during the Homeland War, and heavily damaged as well by Croats who tried to conquer the outskirts of the town.
KARLOVCI (PEACE OF). This treaty of 1699 reversed the trend of expansion of the Ottoman Empire to the detriment of the Habsburg Empire. The treaty followed upon the failure of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and rewarded the Austrian military victories of Eugene of Savoy in the Vojvodina. The peace treaty was concluded in the town of Srijemski Karlovci near Novi Sad. The parties agreed that the new frontier between the two empires should follow the river Tisa (Tisza) up to its confluence with the Danube and the river Sava up to the Una. This meant that the greater part of Srijem and Slavonia returned to the Habsburgs.

KARLOWITZ. See KARLOVCI.

KAŠIĆ, BARTUL (1575–1650). Jesuit, born on the island of Pag, who lived in Dubrovnik and Rome. In 1604, he published in Rome the first grammar of the Croatian language. He also translated the Bible, but his translation was never published. In linguistic questions, he first opted for čakavian, but ultimately chose štokavian, anticipating Ljudevit Gaj’s solution on the issue in the composition of an Illyrian language.

KAŠTELAN, JURE (1919–1990). Born in the village of Zakučac near Omiš. His first collection of poems Crveni Konj (Red Horse, 1940) was seized by the police because of the revolutionary themes. Kaštelan introduced surrealism to Croatian poetry.

KERESTINEC. In the tragedy of Kerestinec in the summer of 1941, some of the most important Croatian communist leaders were murdered by the Ustaša regime. This offered Tito the occasion to reorganize the party in a “Stalinist” way.

KHUEN-HEDERVARY, KAROLY (1849–1918). Appointed ban of Croatia by the Hungarian government, he ruled in a quasi-dictatorial manner from 1883 to 1903. He associated himself strategically with the Serb minority and opposed all expressions of Croatian nationalism. Thus he introduced the quasi-nonexistent Serbian-Croatian hostility.
KIEV MISSAL PIECES. Fragments of a missal written in the Glagolitic alphabet during the 10th or 11th century in Moravia or Bohemia and used in Croatia. They are preserved in Kiev.

KINGDOM OF CROATIA, DALMATIA, AND SLAVONIJA, TRIUNE. Traditionally, the Kingdom of Croatia consisted of three parts: Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia. In its earliest history, Dalmatia was the focus of the kingdom. Later, this part of the kingdom came under strong influence of Venice. Moreover, during a long period, Slavonia was occupied by foreign peoples and only nominally belonged to the kingdom. Afterward, large parts of Slavonia were incorporated into the Military Border and remained separated from civil Croatia. In 1848, the Sabor in Zagreb urged that the unity of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia be restored. This happened when the Military Border was finally abolished and the direct Austrian rule lifted. Though the territorial integrity of the kingdom only existed off and on in the course of history, most documents and king’s titles use the expression “Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia.”

KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES / KRALJEVSTVO SRBA, HRVATA I SLOVENACA. Official name of the country of the South Slavs used after the proclamation of independence on 1 December 1918. The name refers to the idea of a federation of peoples as proposed in the Declaration of Corfu and in similar agreements made at the end of the war. Yugoslavists interpreted the name more strictly as the one people with the three names. In 1929, King Alexander centralized the administration and changed the name accordingly into “Yugoslavia.” The 1943 Declaration of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia proclaimed Yugoslavia to be a federation of republics. It created—along with the three entities for the three peoples mentioned in the name of the first kingdom—three more republics: Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Later two autonomous provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija) were differentiated in the Republic of Serbia. Though granted their own republic in name, the Muslims did not get recognition as a people or nationality until 1967.
KLAIĆ, NADA (1920–1988). Historian, born in Zagreb. She worked on the publication of historical sources and wrote a national history of Croatia in the late Middle Ages (*Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 1976).

KLAIĆ, VJEKOSLAV (1849–1928). Historian, born at Garčin near Slavonski Brod of a German mother and Croatian father. With Ferdo Šišić, he was one of the founders of Croatian national history. Klajić wrote *Povijest Hrvata od Najstrarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* (History of the Croats from the Oldest Times until the End of the 19th Century, 1899–1911) in five volumes. Though its interpretation is now somewhat obsolete, the abundance of sources still makes it a reference work that cannot be ignored by contemporary historians.

KLIS. Town and medieval fortress on a mountain pass dominating the peninsula of Split. For centuries, the fortress was the bastion of defense against the attempts of the Turks to conquer the littoral region. It was the first stronghold of the Uskoks.

KLISNI. Knin was once the seat of the last Croatian king, Petar Svašić. He was defeated by the Hungarians in 1097.

In 1522, the Ottomans occupied Knin. The town was taken over by the Austrians in 1688. The region obtained an important function in the Military Border and was colonized mostly by Serbs. It did not come under the jurisdiction of Zagreb but was directly ruled by Austria until after the middle of the 19th century.

During the Homeland War, it was the stronghold of the Croatian Serbs. It was taken back by the Croats in Operation Storm in 1995. Almost the whole Serb population fled the country. It was highly symbolic that Franjo Tuđman could again plant the Croatian flag on the top of the fortress. However, economically, the region is now a
ruin and a lot of Serbs seem unwilling to return, even under the Ivica Račan government.

**KOLAR, SLAVKO (1891–1963).** Writer, born in Palešnik near Garešnica. He joined the partisans in 1944, but was arrested by the State Security Administration (OZNA). He was accused of anti-Semitism and excluded from the Croatian Writers’ Association. As a writer, he is known for his humorous novels and short stories.

**KOLOMAN, KING.** First Hungarian king who became sovereign of the Croatian lands, supposedly through the so-called Pacta Conventa. By this procedure, Koloman was chosen by the Croatian nobility as king of Croatia. In 1102, he was formally crowned at Biograd na Moru. The greater part of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia remained until 1918 under the Hungarian or Austro-Hungarian dynasty.

Croatian political thinkers stressed the fact that this situation was deliberately chosen by the Croats and that it could be reversed if all implied conditions were not met by the monarchs. Modern historians cast doubt on the historical authenticity of the so-called Pacta Conventa. Koloman had earlier invaded Croatia and Dalmatia by force and the Pacta Conventa could have been just a mythical representation of this event. See also ARPAD DYNASTY.

**KONAVLJE.** See TRAVUNJA.

**KORČULA.** Island in the mid-Adriatic archipelago between Split and Dubrovnik. It was colonized by the Greeks and by the Illyrians. The Romans eradicated the local population in revenge for their pirate activities. Korčula was colonized again by the Neretvans and later by the Venetians. The town of Korčula is, among others, supposed to be the birthplace of Marco Polo and his birth house can be visited there. In World War II the island was occupied by the Italians. A considerable resistance movement developed on the island.

**KORČULA CODEX.** This codex in Latin dates back from the second half of the 12th century and originates from a Dalmatian town. It
contains a *Liber pontificalis*, a history of the Roman popes, enriched with many details on Dalmatian and Croatian history. It is the oldest record of some Croatian historical facts, for example, the coming to power of Petar Krešimir IV. Pope Alexander II (1061–1073) heard that Krešimir, sovereign of the Croats, had murdered his brother Gojslav by a trick. The pope sent a missionary, Mainardo, to discover if this was true. Mainardo was convinced by an oath, sworn by Krešimir and his 12 prefects, saying that he was not guilty of the crime. Thus he received back from the pope the authority over his land.

**KORDUN.** Town in the former Vojna Krajina or Military Border, built as a fortification (cf. cordon) against the Turks. During the Serbian–Croatian war, the region around Kordun again became a disputed region.

**KORVIN, MATIJA (1458–1490).** Croato-Hungarian king, son of Janos Hunyadin. He got his nickname from the raven (*corvus*) in his coat of arms. He was chosen king when the Habsburg Ladislav V died without an heir. He succeeded in keeping the Habsburg lands united by centralist measures and taxes, motivated by the Turkish threat. In the same year that Bosnia fell (1463), he conquered Jajce and kept the Turks out of Slavonia for another 50 years. He also took Senj and established there the first military garrison in Croatia (1469). However, he lost the last Croatian island Krk (1480) and made enemies among the Croatian nobility, who turned to Venice. The Croat Ivan Česnički was one of his advisers.

It was during his reign that Croatia began to be represented in the Hungarian Parliament or diet and that Croatian internal affairs were discussed there as though the two kingdoms were one.

**KOSOR, JADRANKA (1953– ).** Vice-president in the Ivo Sanader government of 2003 and 2008. Born in Pakrac, she studied law at Zagreb University. She worked as a journalist at the Croatian Radio (HRT) until 1995, when she was elected to Parliament and served as vice-president of the Sabor. At the seventh convention of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), she was elected vice-president of the party. In 2003 and again in 2006, she was appointed vice-president
and minister of family, war veterans, and solidarity between generations in the Sanader government. She was nominated in 2005 as the presidential candidate for the HDZ, but was defeated in the second round by Stipe Mesić.

KOSTAJNICA. Town on the river Una, with a fortification to defend the crossing. It was on the frontier with Turkish Bosnia, and only in 1688 did it definitively come into Austrian hands. It became one of the garrison towns of the Military Border.

KOTRULJIĆ, BENKO (1416–1469). This diplomat of Dubrovnik is known as the first Croatian economist. His work *On Trade and the Perfect Market* can be considered as the first handbook on accounting.

KOVAČEVIC, BOŽO (1955– ). Born in Pakrac. He studied philosophy and sociology at Zagreb University. He was editor of the journals *Pitanja* and *Gordogan* and of the publishing house Globus. In 1989, he was a cofounder of the first party in the multiparty constellation, the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS). In 1990, he became vice-president of this organization. He was elected member of the House of Representatives in 1992 and 1995. In 1996, he was a member of the delegation visiting the Parliament of the Council of Europe. In 1997–1998, he was director of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights.

On 24 January 1998, he presided the founding session of an alternative Liberal Party (LS). Together with three other smaller parties, he joined the opposition front of six parties that won the elections in 2000. In the Ivica Račan government, he became minister of the environment.

KOVAČIĆ, IVAN GORAN (1913–1943). Journalist and writer. He joined the partisans and was killed in a guerrilla fight. His poem *Jama* (The Cave, 1943) is a passionate protest against war crimes.

KRAJINA. See MILITARY BORDER; SERBIAN REPUBLIC OF KRAJINA.
KRALJEVSTVO SRBA, HRVATA I SLOVENACA. See KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

KRAMARIĆ, ZLATKO (1956– ). Born in Osijek. He studied philology in Zagreb University. In 1990, he became mayor of Osijek. In 1992, he was elected to the House of Representatives as a member of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS). In 1998, following internal conflicts in the party provoked by Dražen Budiša, he chose to leave and joined the new alternative Liberal Party (LS), of which he became the leader.

After the fall of the Ivica Račan government in 2003, he was succeeded as party leader by former minister Ivo Banac, who pleaded for a merger of all liberal parties of Croatia. Kramarić opposed this idea and managed to remove Banac from the leadership and to replace him by his associate Zlatko Benašić. When Branimir Glavaš left the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and the government majority of Prime Minister Ivo Sanader was in danger, Kramarić offered to support him in Parliament. This policy was clearly not approved by the electorate and the LS faced a defeat in the 2005 local elections. He lost his position as longtime mayor of Osijek to Ante Đapić of the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP).

KRANJEVIĆ, SILVIJE STRAHIMIR (1865–1908). Born in Senj. He was lifetime editor of the magazine Nada (Hope). In his poetry, he dropped the conventional motifs of love and patriotism and began writing meditative poetry, searching for the meaning of life. He introduced religious and cosmic themes, both lived and expressed in a personal and tormented way. Some critics considered his verses to be the summit of Croatian poetry. He was the first Croatian poet to receive an elaborated scientific site on the Internet.

KRBAVSKO POLJE. The field of Krbava is the Croatian Kosovo, the place where the Croatian nobility under guidance of Ban Emerik Derenčin lost its historic battle against the Ottomans on 9 September 1493. The battle was recorded by a contemporary writer, Priest Martinac. Krbava lies near Lika. The southern inland area of Croatia was left without protection and was soon to be occupied by the Ottomans.
KREŠIMIR IV, PETAR (1058–1073). In 1069, King Krešimir granted the island of Moan to the Benedictine monastery St. Krševan in Zadar. The original document has not survived. The gift was later described in 13th century Gothic Latin. Even if this document is not authentic and made by the Benedictines to defend their alleged property rights on the island, it contains interesting information on the genealogy of the Croatian ruler. See also TRPIMIR DYNASTY.

KRIŽANIĆ, JURAJ (1618–1683). Born in Obrh in the region of Ozalj near Karlovac. Križanić was one of the first strong supporters of the political union of Slav peoples. He condemned the division between the Eastern and Catholic Churches. During his second stay in Russia, he was persecuted for his critical views. He died in the army of the Polish King John III Sobiesky while fighting the Ottomans during the second siege of Vienna in 1683.

KRK. Northernmost and largest island in the Adriatic. The oldest Glagolitic inscriptions and manuscripts have been found here. In the 13th century, the use of Glagolitic was officially permitted by papal decree in the diocese of Krk. In the beginning of the 16th century, Glagolitic printing presses began to be in use here.

KRKA. River ending in the Adriatic. With the one along the Neretva, its valley is the only natural connection with the lands of the interior.

KRLEŽA, MIROSLAV (1893–1981). He was the most important and influential Croatian writer of the first part of the 20th century. He completed a diversified work of short stories, lyrics, novels, dramas, and literary and social criticism. He directed several groundbreaking journals.

Under the influence of expressionism and symbolism, he wrote the cycle Hrvatski Bog Mars (The Croatian God Mars, 1922). Educated in a military school and confronted with the reality of war, he expressed his antiwar feelings in a very personal way.

Well read and translated are his three novels Povratak Filipa Latinovicza (The Return of Filip Latinovicz, 1932), Na rubu pameti (On the Brink of Reason, 1938), and Banket u Blitvi (Dinner in Blitva,
1938, 1939, 1964). Different in style and character is his ballad on Peter Kerempuh (*Balade Petrice Kerempuha*, 1936). Here he sings about the Croatian past in *kajkavian* peasant dialect.

During the period between the two world wars, he was the main editor of several literary journals that were soon prohibited by the authorities: *Plamen, Književna Republika* (1923–1927), *Danas* (1934), and *Pečat* (1939–1940). To earn a living, he engaged in some major encyclopedic and bibliographic projects. Krleža also played a key role in the so-called conflict on the literary left, an interesting and important discussion on the eve of World War II. Krleža defended the freedom of the artist against any ideological constraint, however progressive it may seem.

After World War II, he became vice-president of the Yugoslav *Academy of Arts and Sciences* and editor of the Yugoslav encyclopedia. He continued writing and his plays were continually performed, for example, *Zastava* (*Flags*, 1965).

Krleša remained controversial as he never fully adopted the dogmatic party line and occasionally even expressed himself as a Croatian nationalist; he signed the Croatian *language* declaration of 1967 and accordingly resigned from some official functions afterward.

The polemic about the “conflict on the literary left” has not lost its relevance. The same problems have been raised again by such nonconformist critics and writers as Predrag Matvejević and Stanko Lazić. They have commented and updated some of Krleža’s fundamental views. The so far seventh and last edition of Matvejević’s *Razgovori* should appear soon.

KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, IVAN (1816–1889). Writer, historian, and politician in the period of the Croatian revival. He was born at Varaždin and was the first to speak Croatian in the Sabor during his speech of 2 May 1843. He defended the use of Croatian as an official language. He was a supporter of the Illyrian movement.

KUNA. The name of the Croatian monetary unit, meaning marten, and reintroduced by the Franjo Tudman regime as a sign of remembrance of the Croatian State in the Middle Ages, when this unit was supposedly used. It was also the name of the monetary unit that the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) reintroduced during the 1941–1994 period. This was one more reason for the Serbs to distrust the Tudman government. At the introduction of the Euro in most European countries on 1 January 2002, one Euro was worth 7.45 kuna.

KUPA. River passing through Karlovac and ending in the Sava near the town of Sisak. The river marked the northwestern frontier with the Turkish Empire.

KVARNER (QUARNERO). Northern part of the Adriatic between Istria (Plomin, Opatija) and Dalmatia (Jablanac). The region includes the Kvarner islands of Cres, Krk, Rab, and Losinj.

KVATERNIK, EUGEN (1825–1871). Politician, collaborator, and follower of the ideas of Ante Starčević: namely that, on historical grounds, Croatia has the right to constitute itself as an independent state. In the political framework of 1860, this meant the autonomous union of all Croatian lands under the Habsburgs. Kvaternik’s proposal to the king can be regarded as the beginning of the Croatian Party of Rights. Ten years later, Kvaternik organized an open rebellion against the Austrian regime in order to achieve total Croatian independence. He was killed during the uprising in Rakovica.
LABIN. *See ALBONA.*

**LABOR MARKET.** Official unemployment is estimated by the Employment Bureau (Zavod za zapošljavanje) to amount to 385,300 people in November 2001. This translates into an unemployment rate of 22.3 percent. Only 4 percent of unemployed have higher qualifications, so the main problem consists in re-*education* of a large number of ordinary unemployed.

In fact, employment in both the private and public sector has diminished from 1,995,862 in 1990 to 1,342,141 in 2000, while registered unemployment increased from 195,446 in 1990 to 357,711 in 2000. The unemployment rate rose from 9.1 to 21.0 percent.

The greatest losses in employment have been noted during the *privatization* process, when a superfluous labor force was laid off. This process will now slowly come to an end, as the continued growth of the *economy* in recent years will create new jobs in the long run. On the other hand, the *emigration* of highly qualified persons might remain a problem for Croatia.

**LADISLAS OF NAPLES.** His father was Charles of Durazzo, enthroned as king of Hungary, but murdered at the court. The throne was claimed by his rival, Sigismund of Bohemia. Ladislaw himself was supported by the Croatian nobles and crowned as king in Zadar on 3 August 1403. In the same year, he returned to Naples and left the government of the Croatian lands to Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić. In 1409, Ladislas sold his hereditary rights over Dalmatia to Venice and Dalmatia remained under Venice until 1797.

**LANGUAGE.** All modern Slavic languages have their roots in *Old Church Slavonic.* The codification of the language was needed for *Christianization.* This was probably first done by *Cyrillus.* He used the Macedonian variant of the Old Slavic language, spoken at Thessalonica, and designed the *Glagolitic* alphabet. The so-called *Cyrillic alphabet* was developed half a century later by his followers in Macedonia and Bulgaria. Political developments and the use of the national language in *religious* services produced an early differen-
tiation of Croatian Church Slavonic. The prosperity on the shores of the Adriatic, especially in Split and Dubrovnik, contributed to the development of a rich literature in vernacular Croatian. In the meantime, all over the country, regional dialects prospered, mainly differentiating in the kaj-, ča-, and štokavian variants according to the equivalent for the word what. Moreover, according to the transcription of a particular symbol, the jat, of old Slavic into the sounds e, i, or ije in more modern language, ekavian, ikavian, and ijekavian are differentiated and spoken in different regions. All these regional differences made the work of linguists on standardization of the language rather complicated.

In 1767, Matija Antun Relković published in Zagreb his Grammar (Neue Slavonische und Deutsche Grammatik) of the ikavian standard for the Slavonian population, which aimed at the same time to teach German. Pavao Ritter Vitezović not only presented his own Illyrian theory, he also worked on orthography. He proposed a simplification of the method of representing Croatian sounds by Latin letters and the use of diacritical signs, but his “Illyrian Orthography” was lost and only shortly alluded to in his other work of around 1700.

Ljudevit Gaj believed the national Croatian identity could only be preserved through the creation of a common language. Against the threat of Magyarization, he put forward the Illyrian idea about the common origin of all South Slavs. The first problem to be solved was a common spelling. He was inspired by the ideas of Vitezović, Pavel Josef Šafarik, Jernej Kopitar, and Jan Kollar. In his “Short Outline of a Croatian-Slavic Orthography” (Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja) of 1830, he opted for a Latin phonemic orthography. Each sound was represented by a one-letter symbol. To achieve this principle, Gaj borrowed from the Czech practice of using diacritical signs to represent typical Slavic sounds, such as č, ž, š, and đ. This version was still formulated in the kajkavian variant. In his later and final proposal of 1835, Gaj shifted to the štokavian standard, which also needed the sound and letter č. At the same time, he deviated from the purely monosyllabic phonemic orthography by admitting two letters for the soft n, l, and d, namely nj, lj, and dj. His much-debated choice for the štokavian variant was motivated firstly by the consideration that štokavian was generally spoken in a more
urban environment and could be more easily adopted to modern life, but above all by the fact that it could lean on the famous literary tradition of Dubrovnik. At that time, Dalmatia was not united with Croatia and it was a wish of the Illyrians at least to restore the Triune Kingdom.

Gaj’s proposal for a common literary language based on the above principles of 1835 was adopted by the writers of the Illyrian tradition. In 1862, Ivan Mažuranić, the Croatian chancellor, ordered that Gaj’s orthography should be followed in all Croatian schools. The Serbian language was reformed in a similar way by Vuk Karadžić. In 1850, the Serbians Karadžić and Đuro Đanić together with five Croatian writers—Ivan Mažuranić, Dimitrija Demetar, Stjepan Pejaković, Ivan Kukuljević, and Vinko Pacel—reached the Vienna Agreement on the basic features of a unified Croatian or Serbian or Serbo-Croatian language at the initiative of the Slovenian philologist Fran Miklošič. Gaj and his contemporaries accomplished a major achievement and only minor language reforms proved necessary afterwards.

The language policy of the communists was derived from their policy calling for brotherhood and unity. They imposed a common Serbo-Croatian language standard with some regard to the alternate use of ekavian and ijekavian. After independence, policy went the opposite direction by stressing the autonomy of the Croatian language. Grammar, vocabulary, and textbooks were produced. Even a Croatian-Serbian dictionary saw the light. More attention was also given to dialects.

LANGUAGE POLICY. All over the country, regional dialects prospered, mainly differentiating in the kaj-, ča-, and štokavian variants according to the equivalent for the word what. The Illyrians pleaded for uniformity in the South Slav language area, proposing the štokavian variant as standard. The Serb Vuk Karadžić defended more or less the same idea. This development laid the basis for the creation of a common language in the Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian lands: Serbo-Croatian. The Vienna Agreement of 1850, an initiative of the Slovenian Fran Miklošič, united leading Croatian and Serbian philologists and writers to accept a common language. But some nationalistic linguists still deny its real existence in any period of history.
The Croatian Sabor of 1847 adopted Croatian as the official language of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. In the spirit of reconciliation of all peoples of Yugoslavia, on 10 December 1954 the communist regime adopted the Novi Sad Agreement on the common basis of the Serbo-Croatian language. On 17 March 1967, at the beginning of the Croatian Spring, Croatian writers and intellectuals issued the Declaration on the Croatian language. This was logically accompanied by the rejection of the Novi Sad Agreement on 16 April 1971. Repression followed and a unitary language policy prevailed further under communism.

In 1990, the Franjo Tudman regime began favoring the differentiation and autonomy of the Croatian language. The publication of Croatian grammars and dictionaries, banned under the previous regime, has been stimulated with success. The officially professed tolerance toward the study and use of dialects other than štokavian was a step in the same direction. In February 2005, Prime Minister Ivo Sanader gave his support to a school spelling guide of Stjepan Babić. This move was widely criticized, also by other Croatian linguists. The proposals included the elimination of many commonly used words, considered to be of foreign or of Serbian origin; they were to be replaced by archaic expressions not in use anymore or by artificially manufactured constructions. In fact, purism is not a new phenomenon.

It is widely remarked by sociolinguists that the accentuation of differences between related languages provides support to the political process of state building, included the right to their own cultural and language policy. Probably for this reason, it was not unpopular in certain emigrant circles who disliked the communist regime and longed for an independent Croatia. A case in point is the sophisticated work on the history of the Croatian language by Branko Franolić, appointed to York University of Ontario by the Canadian-Croatian emigrant community.

LASIC´, STANKO (1927– ). Born in Karlovac, essayist and critic, professor of Croatian literature. He was editor of the periodicals Croatica (1970–1977) and Književna Smotra (Literary Review, 1971–1975). He was a specialist of and received literary prizes for his work on Krleža and the “conflict on the literary left.”
LASTOVO. Island, 13 km south of Korčula. In the time of the Greek colonization, the island was known as Ladesta. In the Bay of Ubli are Roman ruins. In the early Middle Ages, the island belonged to the Byzantines and as of the ninth century to the Neretvans. Venetian, Zahumljan, and a period of Croato-Hungarian rule followed. In 1252, it passed into the hands of Dubrovnik for ages. French, English, and Austrians occupied it during shorter periods. The Rapallo agreement attributed it to Italy. In 1943, the people of the island joined the partisan struggle.

LAW ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIALLY OWNED ENTERPRISES. The law was passed on 5 February 1991, and has been considered to be the most important act after the constitution. The Law on the Transformation of Socially Owned Enterprises governed the transformation of ownership; it defined the way in which the enterprises in social ownership—a legal status of enterprises existing only under Yugoslavia’s former self-management system—should be converted to more conventional joint stock companies. Along with the ownership issue, the principal objective of the transformation was to ensure the restructuring of the enterprises and to intensify the entrepreneurs’ activities on a market basis.

The law provided the following guidelines. The discount rate granted to the employees purchasing shares in their own company amounted to 20 percent plus 1 percent for each year of service in the company. Fifty percent of the shares issued at the current value of a company might be sold at the discount price. The unsold shares became the property of three funds: The Croatian Development Fund, the Republic Fund for Pension and Disability Insurance of the Workers of Croatia, and the Republic Fund for Pension and Disability Insurance of Private Farmers of Croatia. The first fund received two thirds of the unsold shares and the latter two funds one third in the proportion 70:30. The Croatian Development Fund would hand over the management of the company to the minority shareholders, and the latter would manage the company in accordance with the respective Articles of the Association. The fund had to put on sale the shares thus acquired. At least 50 percent of the cash assets earned by the Croatian Development Fund had to be reinvested in the same local district from which they had been generated. The nominal value
of the shares that might be purchased by one person entitled to the discount was limited to the equivalent of DM 20,000. The shares purchased by persons entitled to the discount might be paid in installments over a period of five years.

The enterprises were given the possibility of carrying out the transformation under their own initiative until 30 June 1992. Thereafter, the process was to be initiated and performed by the Agency for Restructuring and Development.

In February 1993, new regulations were adopted that restricted the preference rights of the employees (present or former) of an enterprise to buy actions up to 50 percent of the share capital, while the other part had to be obligatory placed in the financial market for public sale. The Agency for Restructuring and Development was then integrated in the Croatian Privatization Fund.

**LEAGUE FOR THE THIRD CROATIA / SAVEZ ZA TREĆU HRVATSKU.** Political movement presented to the press by the intellectuals Ivan Grubišić and Ivan Supek on 21 May 2002. It is supposed to be an alternative to both the Ivica Račan government and the opposition of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). In the eyes of the founders of this initiative, both political movements failed to create a new democratic and prosperous Croatia.

**LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (LCY) / SAVEZ KOMUNISTA JUGOSLAVIJE (SKJ).** Federal party organization under the Tito regime. Until 1952, it was called Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) (Kommunistička Partija Jugoslavije, KPJ).

**LEGAL SYSTEM.** The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the state of Croatia. It comprises 15 members elected by the House of Representatives. It ensures the uniform application of the laws and the equality of citizens.

The constitutional court consists of 11 judges elected in the same manner as the Supreme Court members. The constitutional court decides on the conformity of laws with the constitution and Croatian law. The court decides on conformity with the constitution in the impeachment of the president. It evaluates the constitutionality of referendum questions and procedures.
The most important complaint against the working of lower courts is the bureaucracy and the long “gestation” period of about one year. At the end of 2001, one million cases were pending. This aspect of the rule of law in Croatia was criticized by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (HHO).

LEVAR, MILAN (?–2000). Defender of the town and witness to the 1991 Gospić abuses by the Croatian liberation forces. He contacted the United Nations investigators of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Levar accused both Gojko Šušak and Tihomir Orešković of human rights abuses. In 1997, before the Rijeka court, a trial was started on the Gospić case, in which Orešković had to defend himself. Levar was killed by a car bomb in August 2000. A journalist who investigated the case, Zeljko Peratović, was constantly harassed by the Croatian secret services. See also GOSPIĆ OFFENSIVE.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE MIROSLAV KRLEŽA / LEKSIKOGRAFSKI ZAVOD MIROSLAV KRLEŽA. The Lexicographical Institute is a scientific institution that produces the official national encyclopedias, bibliographies, biographies, and other studies. The institute was established by government decree of the Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia on 5 May 1950. From its establishment until December 1981, the institute was headed by the writer Miroslav Krleža. The current publication program includes a new Croatian encyclopedia.

LIBERAL PARTY / LIBERALNA STRANKA (LS). Party founded in Zagreb on 24 January 1998. It emerged after a split in the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) in 1998. Many left-oriented liberals could no longer consent to Dražen Budiša’s center-to-right policy. In 1999, the new party grew rapidly and boasted 4,000 members. Zlatko Kramarić was elected head of the party.

In the elections of 2000, the party joined the coalition of four minor opposition parties, which together with the major Social-Democratic Party (SDP)-HSLS coalition defeated the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). The party had two representatives in Parliament and
a minister in the government of Ivica Račan. In the 2003 elections, it held its two parliamentary seats but went over to the opposition. The new party president, Ivo Banac, proposed a merger with the Croatian People’s Party (HNS) and the Party of Liberal Democrats of Croatia (Libra) into a larger liberal party. This was blocked by Kramarić. In early 2006, the party returned with other liberals to the HSLS. Some dissident members in the city of Split who opposed the reunion founded the Dalmatian Liberal Party / Dalmatinska Liber-alna Stranka (DLS).

LIBRA. The Party of Liberal Democrats of Croatia / LIBRA-Stranka liberalnih demokrata (Libra) was one of the liberal dissenting parties that split away from the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS). This resulted from a government crisis, when on 3 July 2002, Parliament had to vote on an agreement with Slovenia about the Krško nuclear plant. While the HSLS ministers approved of the decision, the majority of the Liberals voted against and Dražen Budiša and the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) quit the government. However, the liberals split and ex-minister Jozo Radoš supported, as a parliamentary faction of independent liberals, the new government that had been reformed on 30 July 2002. The deserters went on to the Party Liberal Democrats of Croatia-Libra. In the 2003 elections, Libra joined the list of the Social Democrat Party (SDP) and Radoš got elected. In 2005, Libra was merged with the Croatian People’s Party (HNS) to form the Croatian People’s Party–Liberal Democrats (Hrvatska Narodna Partija–Liberalni Demokrati, HNS–LD). This party obtained only seven seats in the elections of 2007, indicating a serious setback.

LIBURNIA. The lands of an Illyrian tribe, the Liburnians, who colonized the Adriatic coast between the rivers Raša in the north (Istria) and Krka (Skradin) in the south. The writer Andrija Kačić-Miošić calls Liburnia “a Croatian land” in his book Korabljica that was written in 1760.

LIJEPA NAŠA DOMOVINO. “Our Beautiful Homeland,” opening words and title of the Croatian national anthem. It was composed in 1835 by Antun Mihanović-Petropoljski, an Austrian diplomat and
Croatian patriot. It was set to music by Josip Runjanin in 1846. The song became popular at the end of the century and has now been constitutionally adopted as the Croatian national anthem.

LIKA. River and region at the inland foot of the Velebit mountains. Gospić on the Lika is the main town and center of the region. Fifteen kilometers south of Gospić lies Medak, the field of operations during the second Croatian offensive in the autumn of 1993. See also GOSPIĆ OFFENSIVE.

LISINKI, VATROSLAV. See MUSIC.

LISSA. See VIS.

LITERATURE, MODERN. Modern Croatian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries can be divided into characteristic periods.

The Illyrian period covers the first half of the 19th century and is characterized by a romantic nationalist mood. Ivan Mažuranić was the most talented writer of this era.

The period of realism follows in the second half of the 19th century. August Šenoa described contemporary life in Zagreb and Ksaver Galski focused on political dilemmas in the spiritual life of his heroes. In the same period, Silvije Strahimir Kranjević created his autonomous poetic oeuvre.

The Croatian Moderna emerged from the late 19th century to World War I. This literary movement thus appeared at the end of the period that was politically and culturally dominated by Ban Khuen-Hedervary. The younger Croatian writers of this period were fascinated by modern French literature and rejected the previous romantic Illyrian approach to literature. Literature had to become an expression of one’s subjective state. The most prominent figures of this movement were Antun Gustav Matoš, who opted for symbolism and expressionism, and Antun Branko Simić, who revolted against convention and traditionalism. These principles were also adhered to by Miroslav Krleža, who was also the most prominent figure of the so-called “Interim” literature, produced between the two world wars. During World War II, Ivan Goran Kovačić wrote his famous poem Jama (The Cave).
Sociorealistic literature dominated immediately after World War II. The main themes were the justification and glorification of communist guerrilla warfare. Soon, however, moral dilemmas broke through the stereotypes.

The new contemporary literature, again both resuming the prewar currents and greatly influenced by the West, began appearing in the beginning of the 1960s. Ranko Marinković and Antun Šoljan were the two most gifted Croatian prose writers of the postwar period. Croatian literature is now fully integrated in world literature, as shown by the development of an interesting current of Borgesovci (followers of Borges, for example, Goran Tribuson) and of literature of feminist or postmodern expression (Slavenka Drakulić, Dubravka Ugrešić). Literature that finds its themes in Croatian history is currently back in vogue (Ivan Aralica).

Poetry for its part followed its own development in the expression of strong personalities such as Jure Kaštelan, Ivan Slamnig, Vesna Parun, Milivoj Slaviček, and Slavko Mihalić.

Ivo Brešan was noted for his dramatic work, for example, a remarkable Hamlet adaptation to the Croatian environment. Ivo Frangeš, Aleksander Flaker, and Stanko Lašić stand out as the most prominent critics of modern Croatian literature.

In recent years, the literary scene for fiction was dominated by Igor Stiks. His novels Castle in Romagna (Dvorac u Romagni) won the Slavic Prize in 2000 for the best first novel. His Elijah’s Chair (Elijahova stolica) won the Gjalski and Kiklop Prize in 2006. His work was translated into eight languages. In 2008, Robert Perišić from Split got the prize of the newspaper Jutarnji List for his novel Naš čovjek na teren (Our Man on the Spot), and Dalibor Šimpraga the prize of roman@tportal.hr for Anastasia.

Poetry in the 1980s was described by the critic and poet Krešimir Bagić as a period of coexistence of a variety of poetic practices, from remnants of concretism to a new lyricism, from the revival of existential poetry to neo-mannerism. It was promoted by the magazine Quorum. Miroslav Mićanović, Branko Čegec, and Delimir Reaički are but three of a host of young poets. The generation of the 1990s turns to individualistic lyricism even more. Their works are characterized by colloquialization of the lyric idiom and the narcissistic seclusion of the subject. Ivica Prtenjača,
Lucija Stamac, Ivana Žužul, and Dorna Jagić are among these young writers.

Postmodernism was typical for recent short story writing. The use of intertextuality and the shaping of queer, unrealistic, and multilayered universes are a common practice of these artists. Zoran Ferić and Carmen Klein are representative of this kind of writing. See also DALMATIA (LITERATURE OF); LASIĆ, STANKO; MATAVULJ, SIMO; PALJETAK, LUKO; TRIBUSON, GORAN.

LJETOPIS POPA DUKLJANINA. See CHRONICLE OF THE PRIEST OF DIOCLEA.


LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Croatia was divided into 12 districts (općine), which are units of local self-government and also perform certain tasks of central government administration.

The Constitution of 1990 specifies a different territorial division: districts should be units of local self-government, whereas groups of districts would make up counties (županije) functioning both as units of local government and as regional offices for the central administration.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. Article 128 of the constitution guarantees citizens the right to local self-government. The right to local self-government implies the right to decide on needs and interests of local significance, particularly on regional development and town planning, organization of localities and housing, public utilities, child care, social welfare, culture, physical culture, sport and technical culture, and the protection and promotion of the environment.

Units of local self-government shall be communes or districts or towns. Their areas are laid down by law after the opinion of the inhabitants has been heard. Whether this is a piece of sheer rhetoric and a remainder of the communist self-management period still has to be evaluated. See also LOCAL GOVERNMENT.
LONDON (TREATY OF). By this secret treaty of 15 April 1915, the Entente powers tried to persuade Italy to declare war on Austria-Hungary. Italy’s accession to the Allied side would be rewarded with a considerable extension of territory: Trieste, Istria, northern Dalmatia, Gorica, and a part of Carniola. This agreement was a real threat to the Croatian members of the Yugoslav Committee, especially Frano Supilo. If the Serbs made an agreement with the Allies or Italy, the greater part of the territory of the Habsburg Slavs was in danger. It weakened the Croatian position in the negotiations with the Serbs, who stood for a centralized state under the Serbian monarchy.

LORKOVIĆ, MLADEN (1909–1945). Minister of foreign affairs in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). Following the hardening of the Ustaša regime, Lorković was dismissed on 1 September 1944, and brought before a war tribunal for high treason. He allegedly had plans to take over the government in a conspiracy with the enemy.

LOŠINJ. See CRES.

LOVRIĆ, JELENA. Former journalist of the weekly Danas. She was the first to be charged by the Franjo Tuđman regime under an article of the penal code concerning verbal offenses. This law was regularly used under the communist regime to silence dissidents. Lovrić had called Zdravko Mršić, the former president of the Agency for Restructuring and Development; “Mister Ten Percent.” She suggested in an article on the enterprise Dalmacija-Cement that Mršić had sought a commission of DM 5,000,000 to sign an agreement with Italian businessmen. Lovrić received a conditional sentence of six months’ imprisonment.

LUBOVAC, BRANKO. Deputy prime minister of the former so-called Serbian Republic of Krajina.

LUCIĆ, HANIBAL (ca. 1485–1553). Dalmatian poet born on the island of Hvar. He wrote under the influence of the Petrarchian troubadour style, taken over by the Dubrovnik poets and the začinjavci, indigenous writers of religious poetry. His language is a mixture
of his native čakavian dialect and of štokavian elements from Dubrovnik writers. Robinja (The Slave Girl), his most important work, is the first Yugoslav play on the theme of liberation from Turkish captivity.

LUČIĆ, IVAN (1604–1679). Born in Trogir. He published De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex (Sixth Book about the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia) in Amsterdam. He has been regarded as the founder of scholarly Croatian historiography and cartography.

– M –

MAČEK, VLADKO (1879–1964). Leader of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS). He was born in Jastrebarsko near Zagreb and studied law at the university. He became a close collaborator of Stjepan Radić’s, who after his death, he succeeded as leader of the HSS. Macek became the main opposition leader in interwar Yugoslavia. Just before World War II, he reached an agreement with Dragiša Cvetković to transform Yugoslavia into quasi-autonomous Banovinas. The execution of this far-reaching plan was disturbed by the attack of the Axis powers on Yugoslavia. In the new Independent State of Croatia, Maček was offered the post of prime minister, which he declined. He was finally taken prisoner and put under house arrest. After the war, he immigrated to the United States. He was offered the leadership of the party in exile, but refused.

MANDIĆ, DOMINIK (1889–1973). Franciscan priest, historian, and writer. Born near Mostrar in 1889, he entered the Franciscan order in 1906. He immigrated to the United States in 1952. He wrote on the early Christianization of Croatia and the medieval church in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He defended the view that Bosnia-Herzegovina is Croatian in origin and character. He opposed the interpretation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus according to which the territory of White Croatia is restricted to Croatia proper, while Red Croatia was colonized by the Serbs. He made his own the version of the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea, where Red and White Croatia appear as one large and indivisible Croatian area.
MANOLIĆ, JOSIP (1920– ). Prime minister of Croatia 1990–1991. He was born in Kalinovac and studied law in Zagreb. He became a youth and union activist. From 1941 to 1945, he participated in the partisan struggle as secretary of the Communist Youth Organization of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) for Croatia. He was removed from his leading position in the aftermath of the first Hebrang case. After the war, he held high posts in the Ministry of the Interior (MUP) and the town of Zagreb. In 1965, he became a member of the Parliament of Croatia. He was reelected in 1969, but because of his role in the Croatian Spring, he lost his mandate in 1971.

Cofounder of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and close collaborator of Franjo Tudman’s, Josip Manolić was nominated in 1989 the first president of the Executive Committee of the HDZ and vice-president of the party at its first convention in 1990. On 24 August 1990, he became prime minister of the Croatian government, a function he occupied until 17 July 1991. In 1992, he was elected again member of Parliament and from 1993, he served as Speaker of the House of Counties (Županijski Dom). He acted also as president of the State Council for the normalization of relations between Serbs and Croats. In the autumn of 1993, he feared the right wing in the HDZ might take over the power and he threatened to leave the party or to cause a split. When the second convention of the HDZ accepted Branimir Glavas’ amendment, he lost his voting power and much of his influence in the party presidency.

Finally, he lost the confidence of the majority of his fellow party members in the House of Counties. During an internal meeting, with the exception of Josip Boljkovac and two other members, the HDZ faction voted for the replacement of Manolić as president of the House of Counties, declaring he clearly no longer belonged to the HDZ. There existed a conflict around three issues: the policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, the functioning of the rule of law, and the running of the party. On 25 March 1994, Manolić refused to put urgently on the agenda of the House of Counties session the question of his own dismissal and provoked a minor parliamentary crisis.

Together with Stipe Mesić, Manolić founded a new party, the Croatian Independent Democrats (HND), at the end of April 1994. In 1996, he became president of the party.
MANUSCRIPT “RED I ZAKON.” The manuscript “Order and Law,” dated 1435, is the oldest existent Croatian text written in the Latin alphabet. It is a treatise on the acceptance of Dominican sisters into the nunnery. The manuscript is of first-class historical-linguistic importance and also an important source for the study of the customs and mentality of the time. A similar manuscript in Croatian, Regula Presvetog Benedikta (Rule of the Most Holy Benedict), has a fragment that prescribes the way in which nuns were to sleep “each on her own pallet separately, candles to burn all night, and they must sleep clothed and girded with a belt or rope” (Katičić, Two Thousand Years of Writing in Croatia, 34).

MARIA THERESA (1717–1780). Maria Theresa reigned over the Austrian lands from 1740 to 1780. In 1767, she established a Croatian Royal Council (Consilium Regium). In 1779, she abolished the organ and passed its competences to the Hungarian Regency Council (Consilium Locumtenentiale). Both these measures impinged on the prerogatives of the Croatian Sabor. The measures likewise reduced the competences of the ban to those of an executive officer of the Hungarian Council. This policy was in keeping with the centralistic and absolutist vision of the Austrian empress. See also PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

MARINKOVIĆ, RANKO (1913–1993). Born in Vis, novelist, dramatist, and essayist. His novel Kiklop (Cyclops) and his short story Ruke (Hands) are regarded as milestones in Croatian literature. Kiklop was also performed with great success at the Yugoslav Theater Festival in 1977.

MARKOVIĆ, ANTE (1924– ). Croat and last prime minister of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In March 1989, he took office with a program of economic reform. He favored some form of confederation. When Slovenia decided to take over the customs competences over its frontiers, he was bypassed by a decision of the federal government to send in the army. In the next elections, he once more defended a well-thought-out economic program and a peaceful transformation of Yugoslavia into a confederation, but he was overcome by the success of the nationalistic forces. Only in
Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Macedonia did he obtain limited success. He was supported by the previous communist journal Borba and started the commercial television YUTEL. In the end, he resigned, declaring he could no longer take responsibility for a federal budget that was usurped by war expenses. In 2003, he appeared as a witness at Slobodan Milošević’s trial at The Hague and confirmed the Karadordevo story.

MARTIĆ, MILAN (1945– ). Born at Knin, graduated at the Croatian police academy and was a senior inspector within the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. In January 1991, Martić was named head of the Internal Affairs Ministry of the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic of Krajina (RSK). In February 1994, he became president of the RSK.

At the beginning of Operation Storm, he ordered the evacuation by the Serbs of the Krajina and fled himself to Belgrade. He was indicted by prosecutor Richard J. Goldstone of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia as he violated the laws and customs governing the conduct of war by ordering the bombing of Zagreb city by Orkan rockets with cluster bombs on 2 and 3 May 1995.

His trial started on 13 December 2005 and, on 12 June, Martić was sentenced to 35 years in prison. He was found guilty of war crimes and of having formed a joint criminal enterprise with Serbian politicians and military.

MARTINAC, PRIEST. Member of the Lapčani clan of Lika. He recorded the story of the battle of Krbavsko Polje in 1493 in a Glagolitic manuscript. He enlarged the observations with a general introduction on the Ottomans and compared the Ottoman with the Mongol invasion.

MARULIĆ, MARKO (1450–ca. 1524). Poet from Split, called “The father of Croatian literature.” His most famous long poem, Judith, was “composed in Croatian verse” (Istorija svete udovice Judit u versih hrvatski složena). Though the theme is biblical, Marulić sings about the battle of the Croats against the Ottomans and expressed his patriotic feelings. He also composed scientific treatises in Latin.
His main philosophical and theological book, *De Institutione Bene Vivendi Per Exempla Sanctorum* (On the Institution of Good Living Following the Example of the Saints), has been translated into many languages.

**MASLENICA.** Bay and strategic region near Zadar, uniting the northern part of Croatia (Croatia proper) with Dalmatia. The Venetians already appreciated the advantageous position of the place. They wrote in a report of 1394 to the Senate: “more important than any other region, because it allows prevention of any invasion of the Dalmatian lands by those who want to conquer them.”

The Krajina Serbs effectively succeeded in separating northern Croatia from Dalmatia, by bombing and destroying the communication network in this region. The border area was transformed into a pink zone, theoretically under control of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). This did not stop the air attacks of the Serbs.

On 22 January 1993, the Croatian Army undertook a four-day campaign to protect the region. A new agreement was made. Border areas were placed under the control of UNPROFOR again, not without exacting some guarantees for the reconstruction of free communication lines. A new impressive project for a Maslenica bridge was drawn up and officially inaugurated by President Franjo Tuđman. However, Serb shelling and shooting from the Krajina continued.

The problem was ultimately resolved by the military Operation Storm in 1995, which brought the whole region again under the control of the Croatian authorities. See also Gospić Offensive.


**MATEŠA, ZLATKO** (1949– ). Born in Zagreb. He graduated from the Law Faculty of the Zagreb University. He served on responsible posts in large business organizations and was appointed director of the Agency for Restructuring and Development. He concluded his career very successfully by performing the function of prime minister from 4 November 1995 to 27 January 2000, the longest term so far of a prime minister in the independent Republic of Croatia.
MATICA HRVATSKA (MH). Croatian national cultural institution. Its aim is to further the Croatian national consciousness of the Croatian people by stimulating the study of the ethnic and cultural history of the Croats. It played an important role in promoting Croatia’s own literature and science. It started the publication of Croatian journals and supported the public library movement. It was associated with the Illyrians who gradually transformed themselves into a Croatian national movement.

The idea of establishing the Matica hrvatska was first suggested by Ljudevit Gaj in 1829. The formal proposal drafted by Janko Drašković to start effectively with a company was accepted at a session of the Illyrian library council on 11 April 1842. The goal of the society was defined as encouraging the publication of the classics of Croatian literature—especially the great masters of Dubrovnik—and promoting the Croatian language in everyday life. Youth should be educated in a new spirit of national feeling.

The association started its activities by publishing the periodical Kolo (Circle). But in 1843, Vienna prohibited the use of Illyrian symbols and tried to suppress the activities of the Matica. However, the Matica succeeded in publishing a dictionary and literary classics such as Osman of the Dubrovnik master Ivan Gundulić. From then on, the activities of the Matica hrvatska followed the complexities of Croatian political life. It was subjected to Hungarian and Austrian pressure until 1918.

Between the two world wars, the political and cultural situation was difficult and its activities declined even more. The Matica vigorously protested against the dictatorship of King Alexander and succeeded during a short period in reassembling progressive writers under its banner. However, the conservative policy of the president of the Matica, F. Lukas, did much to estrange writers and cultural workers.

After World War II, the Matica slowly revived. Especially in the Croatian Spring, it again stood at the forefront of the Croatian nationalist movement. The Matica took the initiative of issuing the Declaration on the Croatian Language of 1967 and supported linguistic work that stressed the specific nature of the Croatian language. It stimulated the growing demands for economic and political
autonomy of Croatia as well. Then the repression of 1972 stifled most of its activities and put many supporters in jail.

Under the **Franjo Tudman** regime, it regained some of its earlier strength, given the revival of Croatian nationalism and self-awareness.

**MATKOVIĆ, MARIJAN (1915–1985).** Born in Karlovac, dramatist, poet, and essayist. He was strongly influenced by *Miroslav Krleža* and gained recognition especially as a playwright. His creation *Vašar Snova* (The Fair of Dreams) won the Sterijina Prize for a contemporary dramatic text in 1958.

**MATOŠ, ANTUN GUSTAV (1873–1914).** Writer of essays, stories, and poetry. He introduced symbolism in Croatian poetry. He was born in Tovernik (Srijem). He attended the Gymnasium of Zagreb and began studies at the Military Veterinary School in Vienna. When he was forced to enter military service, he deserted and wandered about for 14 years. As a musician and journalist, he lived as a bohemian. He visited Belgrade, Munich, Paris, and Rome and finally returned to Zagreb. He was especially interested in modern literature and studied all avant-garde writers of the time. As models, he saw Edgar Allan Poe, Charles Baudelaire, and Stéphane Mallarmé. He himself wrote short stories, poetry, and essays. He has been considered both as a starting point and a culmination point of the Croatian Moderna, the Croatian literary current that adopted modern European tendencies and styles. Matoš wrote both realist and symbolist stories, but always from a purely artistic and esthetic point of view. His main stories were published as *Iverje* (Fragments), *Novo iverje* (New Fragments), and *Umorne priče* (Tired Stories). *See also LITERATURE, MODERN.*

**MATTHIAS CORVINUS.** See KORVIN, MATIJA.

**MATVEJEVIĆ, PREDRAG (1932– ).** Professor of French and Slavic literature at Zagreb and Paris universities, essayist, critic, and translator. He was awarded prizes for his work on *Krleža*, the new poetry, and Mediterranean culture. He joined the critical intellectuals under the *Franjo Tudman* regime. Matvejević immigrated to France in 1991 and lived in Italy from 1994 to 2008.
MAZOWIECKI, TADEUSZ. Polish former politician and special reporter of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, who regularly visited the regions of former Yugoslavia in order to evaluate the human rights situation. During his second stay, he was accompanied by the legal doctor Clyde Snow, who reported on his findings in Ovcara. There rested the remains of more than a hundred male persons who were removed by the Serbs from the hospital of Vukovar, after being tortured and murdered. On the other side, Croatian misconduct has been reported during the retreat from the Medak offensive.

MAŽURANIĆ, IVAN (1814–1890). “Illyrian” ban and writer. He was born in Novi Vinodol in the Croatian Primorje and grew up with the poetry of Andrija Kačić-Miošić and the folk songs of his region.

In the revolutionary year 1848, he entered Croatian political life. Threatened by the Hungarian revolution of that year, Austria sought the support of Croatia and allowed the Illyrian movement to express its goals freely. Ivan Mažuranić became the leader of this movement.

He was appointed Croatian court chancellor in 1861 and ban in 1873. During his reign, the National Party was in power. Liberal laws on the rights of assembly and freedom of the press were approved. Judicial power was separated from the executive powers. Mažuranić also founded cultural institutions; in 1874, Zagreb University was opened. In 1878, Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nevertheless, the Vojna Krajina—the traditional buffer against the Ottomans—was not returned to Croatia. In protest, Mažuranić resigned as ban of Croatia. When the National Party split into two wings, Mažuranić took the head of one faction.

Ivan Mažuranić was a writer as well. He shared the great intention of the Illyrian movement in this field: the creation of a common literary language, orthography, and literature. Between 1835 and 1848, Mažuranić published lyric poetry in Gaj’s Danica. His poem Smrt Smail-Aga Čengića (The Death of Smail-Aga Čengić, 1845) has been honored as the masterpiece of romantic national Croatian literature. Mažuranić again reworked the theme of the Slav resistance against the Ottoman oppressor. Mažuranić expressed the strong national pride and self-awareness of the South Slav peoples.
MEDITURJE. Plain between the Drava and the lower Mura in northern Croatia. It is a densely populated and rich agricultural area, whose main town is Čakovec.

Prehistoric settlement has been shown. Under Roman rule, the region was a part of Upper Pannonia. Around 550, it was occupied by the Slavs and acquired its lasting Slav character. At the end of the eighth century, it was absorbed into Frankish lower Pannonia. During the period 840–880, it was ruled by the princes Pribina and Kočel. In 896, the Hungarians arrived. In 1094, King Ladislas founded the Zagreb bishopric and Međimurje was appended to it on account of the Slav language spoken in the region.


MERCEP, TOMISLAV (1952–). He was born at Borovo Selo. After finishing technical high school, he became a member of the managing board of the Borovo enterprise. As secretary of defense of the town of Vukovar, he was promoted to adviser to the minister of the interior during the Homeland War. In 1991, he had already organized his own paramilitary organization and was accused much later by the second-in-command, Miro Bajramović, of war crimes against Serb civilians in Gospić and Pakračka Poljana. In 1993, he became a member of Parliament for the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). At the end of the 1990s, he left the HDZ and set up the Croatian Popular Party (Hrvatska pučka stranka, HPS). He was a candidate in the presidential elections of 2000 without much success.

MESIĆ, STIPE (1935–). Stipe (Stjepan) Mesić was the last president of the former Yugoslavia and is the second president of the independent Republic of Croatia.

He was born in Orahovica and graduated from the Law Faculty of Zagreb University. Under the communist regime, he had been a member of Parliament (1966) and mayor of his birthplace (1968). As a lawyer working for political freedom, he was imprisoned by the communist regime in 1971.

Mesić was a founding member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). This party won the first free elections in May 1990
and he became prime minister of the Republic of Croatia from 30 May 1990, to 24 August 1990. By a decision of the Sabor, Mesić was then appointed Croatian member of the collective presidency of Yugoslavia. As it happened to be the turn of Croatia to perform the duty of head of the presidency, Mesić had to take over this function from the Serb Borisav Jović in the session of 15 May 1991. However, the members under influence of Serbia (Vojvodina, Kosovo, Montenegro) blocked together with Serbia Mesić’s election. Only due to pressure of the European Community—when the war in Slovenia had already started—could Mesić take up his function. But the Federation of Yugoslavia disintegrated quickly and the conflict in Croatia between the Yugoslav Army and the republican authorities intensified further. Mesić resigned from his post of president of the Collective Presidency of the Federation of Yugoslavia on 5 December 1991.

Following the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections and a new victory of the HDZ, Mesić was chosen president of the House of Representatives (Zastupnički Dom) of the Sabor. He was also seated in the presidency of the HDZ. Together with Josip Manolić, he belonged to the so-called left wing of the party. As a consequence of the right-wing member Branimir Glavaš’ amendment, accepted at the second convention of the HDZ, Mesić lost his voting power and most of his influence in this organ. In the spring of 1994, he came under strong pressure to resign as president of the House of Representatives, and together with Josip Manolić, he was finally urged to leave the collective presidency of the House of Representatives.

At the end of April 1994, again together with Manolić, Mesić founded a new party, the Croatian Independent Democrats (HND), which gathered 16 other members of Parliament and aimed at becoming a threat to the parliamentary majority of the HDZ. However, the HND did not expand as expected and Mesić’s star gradually waned. It was more or less a surprise that, after the death of Franjo Tuđman, Mesić was resurrected and eliminated Mate Granić, the candidate of the (divided) HDZ in the first round of the presidential elections. In the second round on 7 February 2000, he was victorious over the long foretold new president and liberal Dražen Budiša.

Wishing to serve as an independent president, Mesić renounced his party membership and left the HND on 15 February 2000. As he
had promised in his election campaign, he changed the authoritarian style of Tuđman and through his weekly contacts known as “The President at Coffee,” he raised his popularity and the accessibility of the president. More important, in cooperation with the government, a redistribution of presidential functions was agreed on in order to change the semipresidential into a truly parliamentary regime. However, once in power, the new president was not too eager to carry over all prerogatives, for example, in matters concerning the guidance over the army and the secret services. Nevertheless, following some internal squabbling, an honorable compromise was reached between the government and the president.

Honoring another election promise, Mesić restored the balance in the policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, he cautiously proceeded in cooperating with the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia. Mesić further promoted the integration of Croatia into the European Union, but seemed more reluctant to support the regional South-European cooperation. Nevertheless, even bilateral relations with the new Serbian government made some progress. Of course, much of the diplomacy had now been conceived in close cooperation with the government. But at times, Mesić criticized the Ivica Račan government for being too slow with economic reform.

In 2005, Mesić defended his seat as president successfully in elections against the HDZ-candidate Jandranka Kosor. Though at times critical of Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, the cohabitation worked well and relations seemed to grow closer with time. Especially when Croatia was confronted with big challenges at the end of 2008, smooth cooperation developed between the prime minister and the president. Nonetheless, as earlier, Mesić concentrated on foreign policy and represented Croatia at international forums.

In this way, since he was a lawyer rather than a general, the difference in style, if not in essence, from the politics of Tuđman was more than considerable. Of course, the new president was no longer confronted with the urgencies of the internal war issue.

MEŠTROVIĆ, IVAN (1883–1962). Best known sculptor of former Yugoslavia. Ivan Mestrović was born in Vrpolje, a village in the Dalmatian Zagorje. He made statues of Croatian political and re-
igious leaders such as King Kraljević Marko, Ban Josip Jelačić, Bishop Josip Strossmayer, the historian Franjo Rački, and above all, Bishop Grgur Niniski, who is still expressing his full authority in the middle of Split. As a sculptor, Meštrović was most attracted to symbolism. He also played a major role in politics. He defended the Yugoslav idea in the Yugoslav Committee. He even temporarily supported the king during his dictatorship proclaimed on 6 January 1929. Mestrović ended up in the emigration community, defending the national Croatian cause. A museum devoted to his work has been established in Split.

METHODIUS. See CYRILLUS.

MIHALIĆ, SLAVKO (1928– ). Contemporary writer of criticism and poetry, born in Karlovac. As a journalist, he came to Zagreb, where he worked as an editor and publisher. He was editor of Most/The Bridge, a periodical presenting Croatian literature in foreign languages. He was secretary and president of the Croatian Writers’ Association. Mihalić’s much praised poetry is intellectualistic with its own abstract lexicon, but has also a strong existentialist flavor. His work has been widely translated.

MIKELIĆ, BORISLAV (1939– ). Prime minister of the former so-called Serbian Republic of the Krajina (RSK). He was perceived to be Slobodan Milošević’s man and to be more pragmatic than the other Krajina leaders, Milan Martić and Milan Babić. However, in 1995 immediately before the start of Operation Flash, he rejected mediation of the Z-4 group of foreign ambassadors. Mikelić was held responsible by Martić for the failure of Serb policy in Western Slavonia and he was dismissed.

MILANOVIĆ, ZORAN (1966– ). Party leader of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP). He was born in Zagreb and studied law at the university. He entered the trade court and worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1966, he was appointed adviser to the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) at Brussels, were he obtained the degree of magister in European law. In 1999, he returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
The same year, he became a member of the SDP. This party won the elections in 2000 and Milanović was given diplomatic duties in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which ended with the electoral defeat of the SDP in 2003.

After the resignation of Ivica Račan as party president of the SDP, Milanović was unexpectedly elected as this post during an extraordinary party convention on 2 June 2007. While personally elected to Parliament at the end of 2007, the SDP could not remove the HDZ from power and Milanović took upon himself the role of main opposition leader. He also assumed the duty of president of the National Committee to monitor the negotiations on the accession of the Republic of Croatia to the European Union (Nacionalni Odbor za praćenje pristupanja Republike Hrvatske Europskoj Uniji). He was confirmed as president of the SDP during the 11th party convention on 10 May 2008.

MILITARY BORDER / VOJNA KRAJINA. The Military Border was not just a line, but a whole area of entire districts and communities especially organized for war. Most aspects of life were subordinated to the needs of defense, and the communities developed a distinctive character different from the civilian hinterland. The institution existed for more than 350 years and until very recently had lasting effects on the population and its mentality. It was one of the historical determinants of the Croatian–Serbian war on Croatian territory.

The Military Border arose as a buffer zone against the Ottoman aggression. Parts of the region came to live more or less spontaneously under the pressure of war circumstances. Early in the 16th century, the Croatian Military Border was then formally established by Ferdinand I of Austria. The Inner-Austrian estates requested him in 1522 to organize a defended zone in northwestern Croatia against the Ottoman raids. Ferdinand used mercenary troops to garrison locations in Croatia and blocked temporarily the Ottoman invasion routes. For financial reasons, the mercenaries were later replaced by military colonists. Most of them were refugees from the territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia occupied by the Ottomans. The military colonies received substantial social and economic privileges
in their new locations in the border zone. Settlers of Orthodox faith were given freedom of worship.

The Habsburgs established a special administrative statute and created two military districts. The area between the coast and the Sava *River* was called the Croatian Border (later the *Karlovac* Border) and the region between the Sava and Drava rivers was called the *Slavonian* Border (later the *Varaždin* Border). In 1553 Ferdinand appointed a general officer to command both borders with full authority over civil and military matters. This appointment removed the borders from the jurisdiction of civil Croatian authorities and divided the land into a civil and military sector. The organization of the Military Border was further strengthened in 1579. Archduke Charles of Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia built a fortification where the Korana River flows into the *Kupa*. Karlovac was to function as the center of the Military Border. In 1630, Ferdinand II of Styria issued the *Statuta Valachorum*, which emphasized and confirmed the military character of the border as a separate zone.

When the last Ottoman offensive against Vienna was repelled in 1683, the Austrians advanced on the entire frontline. The border zone moved southward to recover larger parts of Croatia-Slavonia. The *Sabor* raised forces and participated in the reconquest of the area between the Kupa and Una rivers. The Croatian troops liberated the eastern part of this region as far as the Sava. Here the Sabor organized a third border district with the *ban* as commander: *Banija*.

A large number of Serbs arrived in the Military Border during the last decade of the 17th century. In 1689, the Austrian Army had launched an offensive against the Ottomans into Serbia, but the next year the Austrians were driven back across the Danube. They had been followed by the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Arsenius Crnojević, who was leading with him more than 30,000 families. The authorities settled most of the refugees in Western Slavonia, but the Serbs dispersed over the whole Military Border. Since then, Serbs predominate in the Karlovac and Slavonian military districts. In the Banal Border, they constituted more than half of the population and in the Varaždin Border, they formed a strong *minority*. In 1691 Emperor Leopold granted the Orthodox Church special rights exceeding the concessions offered by Ferdinand I. The Leopoldine
patents gave the patriarch extended rights. In 1712, Karlovac became the religious center of the Habsburg Serbs.

Around this time, the Ottoman military threat on the Christian West was receding. The peace of Srijemski Karlovci of 1689 had returned most of the Hungarian territory to the emperor. The Treaty of Požarevac in 1718 resulting from the war of 1714–1718 completed the Habsburg conquest of Hungary. Even Šumadija, the Ottoman province of Belgrade, was temporarily annexed. The Military Border lost its primary function as a buffer zone against the Ottomans. The Austrians preserved it as a reservoir of legionaries for their European wars. Soldiers of the Military Border fought everywhere in Europe.

From then on, the Military Border was more and more perceived as a nuisance to the development of normal trade relations with the Ottomans. Moreover, the maintenance of the border zone was expensive and the authorities became unwilling to carry the financial burden. The Nagodba of 1688 defined Croatia-Slavonia as an integral part of the Hungarian kingdom. The agreement stipulated that Hungary would work for the reintegration of the Military Border into the Croatian state. On 8 June 1871, the Austrian emperor signed a decree that gradually terminated the Croatian Military Border. In the same year, Croatian nationalists provoked a limited military revolt at Rakovica. It was quickly put down, but it convinced the Austrians to accelerate the dismantling of the border. An imperial edict disbanded the last border regiments on 1 October 1873.

There is a striking parallel when one compares the frontiers of the Military Border with those of the 1992 United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs), pink zones included—which are almost identical. It is as if history were frozen for about a hundred years but finds its roots back in the earlier period. Of course, the dispersion of the Serb-Orthodox population in this region remained more or less the same, as perhaps the mentality and social occupation of the people and above all, the lack of integration with other parts of Croatia.

MILOŠEVIĆ, SLOBODAN (1941–2006). Former president of Yugoslavia and Serbia. In 1992, in Karadordevo, he had a secret meeting with Franjo Tuđman in which supposedly Tuđman was in favor of carving up Bosnia-Herzegovina, but Milošević denied later that he had agreed to this. During the Homeland War, Milošević
was constantly a decisive point of reference in the attitude of the Krajina Serbs. In November 1995, preparing the Dayton negotiations, Tuđman and Milošević reached an agreement for the peaceful transfer of Eastern Slavonia to Croatia.

Milošević was finally indicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Initially, it was announced that he would face two trials, the first on Kosovo and the second combining the charges regarding the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Prosecutor General Carla del Ponte objected and demanded one trial given the unity of logic in Milošević’s strategy to create a Greater Serbia through ethnic cleansing and disregard of human rights. The trial was put on the rails by the proclamation of the accusation act on 12 February 2002. The trial lasted four years, at times interrupted for health problems of the accused. Finally, on 11 March 2006, Milošević was found dead in his cell, allegedly as a consequence of a heart attack.

MINISTARSTVO UNUTRAŠNIH POSLOVA (MUP). See MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR.

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR / MINISTARSTVO UNUTRAŠNIH POSLOVA (MUP). The acronym MUP is the official name of the Croatian police forces.

MINORITIES. According to the data of the population census of 1991, the demographic situation in Croatia in 1991 was as follows: Croats, 78.1 percent; Serbs, 12.6 percent; and Yugoslavs, 2.22 percent. The major minorities, consisting of nationalities of other neighboring states, and numbering between 0.5 to 1 percent of the population of Croatia, were Muslims, Slovenians, Hungarians, and Italians. They lived mostly in the frontier areas or in the capital Zagreb. Other minorities counting less than 0.5 percent of the population were Czechs, Albanians, Montenegrins, Gypsies/Romi, Macedonians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Germans, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Poles, and Austrians.

The population census of 2001 presented the following results. While the global population of Croatia had decreased by 6 percent, the relative share of people who declared themselves Croat by
nationality had risen to 89.6 percent. The Serb minority declined to 201,631 persons or 4.54 percent. Other registered minorities were Bosniaks (20,755 or 0.47 percent), Italians (19,636 or 0.44 percent), Hungarians (16,595 or 0.37 percent), Albanians (15,082 or 0.34 percent), Slovenes (13,173 or 0, 30 percent), Czechs (10,510 or 0.24 percent), Roma (9,463 or 0.21 percent), Montenegrins (4,926 or 0.11 percent), Slovaks (4712 or 0.11 percent), Macedonians (4,270 or 0.10 percent), Germans (2,902 or 0.10 percent), Russians (3,243 or 0.07 percent), and Ukrainians (1,977 or 0.04 percent). Bulgarians, Turks, Poles, Rumanians, and Jews represent more or less 0.01 percent, while only 12 Valachs were counted.

While the Serbs were a constituent people of the Republic of Croatia in the communist constitution before independence, they were no longer regarded as such after independence. In the Constitution of 1990, they were considered to be a minority. On the other hand, all regulations on minorities that are common and provided by the legal framework of the European Union were subscribed to by the Croatian government.

Practice, however, is somewhat different and has to be carefully monitored. This is done essentially by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (HHO). Examples of the violation of human rights still abound and can be found in the annual reports of the above-mentioned organizations. Just one example that appeared in the local press is cited here. In December 2001, nine Serbs wrote a letter from the prison of Osijek and complained of bad treatment and discrimination by Croatian justice. They called for a trial before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague, arguing that their Croatian counterparts were much better treated in Croatia.

Another group that attracted major attention by human right groups were the Gypsies or Roma. Because of their lifestyle and language, as a group, they had difficulties getting integrated in Croatian society.

Under the political pressure of European countries, the political situation of the minorities has been improved. First, there is the Law on the Rights of the Minorities (Ustavni Zakon o pravima nacionalnih manjina) already included in the constitution, which refers to
all internationally accepted documents on this matter. Second, in Article 19, this law guarantees political representation in the Sabor. The number of seats reserved for the minorities fluctuated, but their basic right was not put into question. Third, the political situation in Croatia happened to be such that even with a small representation in the Sabor, minority representatives could play a crucial role in forming a majority for the government. Though victorious in the elections, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) of Ivo Sanader needed these votes in Parliament and concluded special agreements with the minority parties. They not only received more than proportional attention for their viewpoints, but at times policy measures were also adapted to their wishes and minority representatives were even granted ministerial posts. However, this did not mean that some basic problems, such as the return of the Serbian refugees, really found a solution. Finally, the negotiations surrounding the accession procedure to Europe attracted continuous attention to minority problems. Some European countries constantly put pressure on Croatia to address the issue and to aim for European standards. Even at North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) accession negotiations, these problems were raised and discussed.

Though the situation of minorities has been changing, the situation for returnees of Serbian origin remains difficult. Even if the authorities and the general public show a less discriminatory attitude, practical regulations and individual reactions remain so. Experience shows that this does not really motivate refugees to return, or if they have returned, to stay without better reasons. Most of their houses were destroyed or occupied by other tenants, and in the regions concerned, it is difficult to find a new job. In this environment, priority is still given to Croatian nationals and a whole new network will be needed to integrate refugees again. In the given economic situation, resources are scarce and are easily set aside for other priorities. In this regard, EU monitoring and financial assistance could make the difference.

MINTAS-HODAK, LJERKA (1952– ). Her father was a lawyer in the family tradition. When Ante Pavelić came to power, he was chosen to fulfill several political duties in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), one of which was ambassador in Berlin. Afterward, he was
sentenced to death and imprisoned by the communists, but was set free in 1951. A year later, his daughter was born. She studied law in Zagreb and engaged as an active student leader in the Croatian Spring movement. She was imprisoned herself, but afterward she continued her studies and obtained a doctorate in law.

In 1989, she became one of the first members of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS). In April 1991, she was appointed legal adviser of President Franjo Tuđman for maritime questions. She changed her party card after 1993 for a Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) one and became an assistant of the minister for traffic and maritime questions. Under Prime Minister Zlatko Mateša, she was appointed vice prime minister competent for internal policy and social matters. She was active in the reform of justice and education, the return of nationalized property, the negotiations with the Bosnians, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). She was known for her right-wing views in questions of human rights and condemned the appearance of Stipe Mesić as a witness before the ICTY.

On 2 March 1998, President Tuđman appointed Mintas-Hodak as the first minister for European integration. She had to cede this post in 2000 after the coming to power of the Ivica Račan. In 2002, she left the HDZ in protest at changes into the leadership of the Split-Dalmatian region. Moreover, she supported right-wing Ivica Pasalić, who was defeated by the moderate Ivo Sanader at the 2002 HDZ Convention.

Her life took another tragic turn when her daughter Ivana Hodak was murdered in the center of Zagreb. Her husband, Zvonimir Hodak, and Ivana Hodak herself were as lawyers implicated in the defense of former General Vladimir Zagorec and the management of his possessions.

MIROSLAV (KING). Croatian king who ruled in the period 945–949 after Krešimir I. He was a contemporary of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. He notes that Miroslav was killed in a civil war by Ban Pribana and that in consequence Croatian power sharply declined. In this period Croatia lost the islands of Hvar and Brač to the Neretvans. See also TRPIMIR DYNASTY.
MIŠKINA. See PAVLEK, MIHOVIL.


MODERNA. See LITERATURE, MODERN.

MONETARY POLICY. Since the introduction of a separate currency—the Croatian dinar (CRD)—at the end of 1991, inflation has been the foremost concern of economic policy. Throughout the 1980s, Yugoslavia witnessed galloping inflation.

This was again the situation even before the war broke out, and the war increased inflationary momentum mostly through creating an enormous pressure on the budget. Along with the large budget deficit, inflation was also fueled by so-called selective credits. The selective credit policy consists of credit subsidies, that is, soft loans that commercial banks grant to certain sectors (foremost agriculture). These credits are refinanced by the central bank at below market rates. In the second quarter of 1993, selective credits—the worst example of socialist soft budget constraints practices—have been to some extent eliminated from the practice of the National Bank of Croatia. The problem is, of course, that those sectors that have been beneficiaries put the budget under further pressure by urging the central authority to monetize the deficit.

A second major pressure upon the budget was the high expense for national defense and security. In the period until 1995, they accounted for an extraordinarily large percentage of the budget.

The immense inflation rate of 1993 was reduced to about 100 percent in 1994 and fell drastically in 1995 to 2 percent. Since then, the index of retail prices slowly rose to 6.4 percent in 2000. The role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in these developments should not be underestimated. For example, through the last standby arrangement to the Ivica Račan government, a drastic budget restraint was imposed—clearly felt on wages and social benefits—as well as a very restrictive monetary policy. A similar standby arrangement of the IMF was accepted by the Ivo Sanader government on 4
August 2004 for 20 months. This policy was discontinued afterward, to give the government a free hand in social policy. The international financial crisis now radically reverses this and a new agreement with the IMF is imminent. See also ECONOMY.

**MONETARY UNIT.** The Franjo Tudman regime took over the Yugoslav dinar from the communists. The Croatian dinar was introduced at the end of 1991 to protect the country against imported inflation and the wild new printing of money in Belgrade. In 1993, the Croatian Parliament accepted the kuna as the new monetary unit.

**MONGOL INVASION.** In April 1241, the Mongol invaders defeated the Hungarian King Bela IV on the Sajo River east of the present-day town of Miskolcz. The Croatian Duke Koloman, Bela’s brother, fell mortally wounded. In the winter of 1242, the Mongols crossed the Danube and the Hungarian king fled first to Turopolje near Zagreb and then to the Adriatic coast. Fran Frankopan of Krk, the ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, called the Croat Župans to arms and defeated part of the Mongol army at Grobníčko Polje near Rijeka. The Mongols returned to the east when they heard that the Great Khan had died in Asia. Croatian nobles exercised their autonomous power on the devastated land. See also ARPAD DYNASTY.

**MOST/THE BRIDGE.** The journal Most/TheBridge is published by the Croatian Writers’ Association. It is a journal of translations of Croatian literary work and criticism. Some issues presented translations of Croatian historical work and essays.

**MUNICIPAL RIGHTS (JURA MUNICIPALIA).** In the Croatian interpretation, by the union with Hungary in 1102 under the Pacta Conventa, Croatia had not been a conquered land (partes subiugate) but was only annexed (partes adnexae). In principle, since it was only bound by the person of the king, it retained certain rights. This limited administrative autonomy developed over many centuries into a body of laws and special privileges, known as the Municipal Rights (Jura Municipalia). They included jurisdiction in internal affairs, reduced taxes, special representation at the meetings of the Hungarian Parliament, maintenance of an independent military force, and inde-
pendence of Hungary in decisions concerning religion and language. These rights only applied to Civil Croatia and defined Croatia’s special position within the Kingdom of Hungary. The Slavonian counties were more fully integrated in the Hungarian kingdom, even when also granted their own ban and Sabor. The Military Border came directly under the Austrian authorities. Dalmatia was for a long time under Venice and then also came under the jurisdiction of Austria.

It was one of the tasks of the Croatian ban and Sabor to defend the municipal rights. This became more difficult when Maria Theresa in a move for centralization in 1767 established the Council of the Kingdom (Consilium Regium) for Croatia, which took over some of the political, economic, and military competences previously under the jurisdiction of the ban and the Sabor. Croatia’s situation became even worse when she abolished the council and transferred all the rights to the Hungarian court chancellery. Around 1790, Croatian nobles had almost entirely capitulated and surrendered even more competences of the Sabor to Hungary in the common struggle against Austrian centralization.

The Hungarian Enlightenment preceded the Croatian one and the Jura Municipalia were continuously attacked to integrate Croatia more fully into Hungary. In early 1830, the following rights were questioned by the Hungarians: the right to pay only half of the taxes imposed on the other parts of Hungary; freedom from the obligation to quarter troops, except in the case of national emergency; the right to decide on the language in internal administration; and the exclusion of Protestants from the ownership of immovable property and public offices in Croatia. In fact, it was the prerogative of the Austrian king to take a final decision on these matters, and the Croats continually appealed to the Austrian Court to have their rights untouched. In fact, in defense of their rights and depending on the particular political circumstances, the Croats were continuously forced to balance between Austrian centralism and Hungarian hegemony.

MUSEUMS. See ART; CROATIAN NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM.

MUSIC AND DANCE. Folk music has its roots in ancient times. However, this oral tradition has not left many material traces. The
first written music on Croatian territory has been found to date from the 11th century. Manuscripts of religious music were preserved in churches and monasteries. The first known composers on Croatian soil only appeared in the 16th century: Julije Slavetić and Ivan Lukačić (1587–1648), both from Šibenik, published motets.

Composers in the Adriatic region were in close contact with European—and especially Italian—musical developments and they followed the main trends in their work. Particularly interesting is a series of composers making creative use of the Croatian folk culture.

The Illyrian movement stimulated musical creation in a nationalist Croatian spirit. Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854) is without doubt the greatest Croat composer of his time. He is also the author of the first modern Croatian opera, Ljubav i zloba (Love and Malice, 1846). Ivan Zajc (1832–1914) organized musical life in Zagreb and composed the romantic heroic opera Nikola Šubić Zrinski. The pianist Ivo Pogorelić is one of the best known contemporary Croatian performers.

In dance, Croatia’s most typical and valuable contribution has to be sought in the folk culture. This tradition is still presented by the national ensemble Lado. However, the younger generation has shifted to pop and disco. Traditional ballet and modern dance are still performed in a limited number of subsidized institutions. Alas, these forms of artistic life do not seem to be extremely popular and survive thanks to some summer festivals at the Adriatic.

NAGODBA. The Croato-Hungarian Compromise of 1868 regulated the relations between the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia and the Kingdom of Hungary. The agreement reflected the continuing dominant position of Hungary over Croatia after the conclusion of the Ausgleich. Although politically dependent on Hungary, the Croats retained some characteristics of their statehood and remained in a dominant position over the other Slav elements in the empire. Croatia was politically acknowledged and preserved its independence in legislation, domestic administration, religious matters,
and education. The Croatian language was accepted as the official language in the Croatian civil service and in offices of the joint imperial administration on Croatian soil. Croatian deputies could even speak Croatian in the Parliament in Budapest. The Croatian administration was headed by a governor who was appointed on the recommendation of the Hungarian minister-president. Defense, finance, trade, and transportation were joint affairs under Hungarian administration. Most of the state’s income had to go to the Hungarian national treasury. Hungary retained the port of Rijeka under its direct control.

The Croato-Hungarian agreement caused great dissatisfaction among Croatian politicians. The National Party began fighting it bitterly. In 1871, Eugen Kvaternik of Starčević’s Party of Rights declared Croatia independent and organized an unsuccessful uprising. In 1873, after serious persecutions of members of the National Party, the party leaders grudgingly consented to only a minor amendment of the agreement. The changes in the document were insignificant and the aspirations of the Croatian nationalists were blocked for years.

NAIVE PAINTERS. Typical Slavonian school of painters whose most appreciated representatives are Ivan Generalić, Ivan Lacković-Croata, and Mijo Kovačić. See HLEBINA SCHOOL.

NAPOLEON I BONAPARTE (1769–1821). Napoleon established the Illyrian provinces by a decree of 14 October 1809 that united all the lands conquered from Austria. Under the supervision of Governor Marshal August de Marmont, a system of primary schooling was introduced. In 1813, the French troops withdrew from the Illyrian provinces. Though short-lived, this experience would remain a reference point and source of inspiration for later generations to build a unified state of the South Slavs.

NARODNA BANKA. See NATIONAL BANK.

NARODNA STRANKA. See NATIONAL PARTY.

NARODNA VIJEĆE SLOVENACA, HRVATA I SRBA. See NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SLOVENES, CROATS, AND SERBS.
NARONA. Roman settlement near present-day Metković, a town at the mouth of the Neretva in Herzegovina.

NATIONAL ANTHEM. See LIJEPA NAŠA DOMOVINO.


NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SLOVENES, CROATS, AND SERBS / NARODNA VIJEĆE SLOVENACA, HRVATA I SRBA. It was founded at the end of World War I on 5–6 October 1918. The council did not accept a last offer of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy to form a federation.

The Croatian Parliament broke off all relations with Austria-Hungary on 29 October 1918, and proclaimed Croatia independent. It decided to join the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. This state of the Slav peoples on the former Habsburg territory was not recognized by the international community, nor taken as an equal partner by the Kingdom of the Serbs.

When Italy in execution of the secret Treaty of London threatened to occupy major parts of Slovenia and Croatia, and when confronted with clear signs of internal social unrest, the National Council concluded an agreement with the Kingdom of Serbs on the unconditional unification of the two states.

NATIONAL EMBLEMS. The Franjo Tudman regime accepted some emblems that originated in the times of the early Croat kingdoms. They irritated the Serbs as they were also used during the Ustaša regime in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). The emblems are the tricolor flag (red, white, and blue, arranged in this order perpendicularly to the staff) and the coat of arms (13 red squares and 12 silver squares arranged in alternation in a five-times pattern). It is a very old symbol of Croatia resembling a red and white chess table. Historic tradition ascribes the use of the coat of
arms to the reign of Stipan Držislav (969–997), whose status of king was officially recognized by the Byzantines. The use of the coat of arms was confirmed by 15th-century documents. It also appeared on a seal from the charter that confirmed the election of Ferdinand I of Habsburg as the Croatian king at the town of Cetin in 1527. This old coat of arms crowned with the Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Slavonia, Istria, and Dalmatia coat of arms is the national symbol of the contemporary independent Republic of Croatia.

The system of old national symbols was further completed by the acceptance of the kuna as the name for the monetary unit. Kuna means marten and it was used as a primary means of payment in the early history of Croatia. The currency also carried this name under the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) during World War II.

NATIONAL GUARD / ZBOR NARODNE GARDE (ZNG). The National Guard is one of the defense organizations of Croatia. It played an important role in the first period of the Homeland War.

NATIONAL PARKS. Croatia possesses the following national parks, some of which are under the protection of UNESCO: the Kornati islands, the Plitvice Lakes, Krka, Paklenica, the island of Mljet, Risnjak, and the Brijuni Islands.

NATIONAL PARTY / NARODNA STRANKA. The party united the Illyrian nationalists as a reaction against the formation of the party of the Hungarians in Croatia (Horvatsko-vugerska Stranka, founded in 1841). The party of the Croatian nationalists was therefore first called “Illyrian.” King Ferdinand of Austria forbade the use of the name “Illyrian” in 1843 and the party was renamed “Narodna Stranka” (National Party).

The party later split over the question of whether Croatia should have joint competences with Vienna. In 1863, Ivan Mažuranić formed the federalistic-oriented Independent National Party (Samostalna Narodna Stranka). This party wanted to make a compromise with Austria before Hungary did. It hoped in this way to avoid a joint diktat of the Crown and the Hungarians and thereby achieve Croatian national independence and territorial unity. However, this party lost the elections in 1865. In 1867, the Ausgleich
and in 1868 the Nagodba were signed, much against the will of the Croatian nationalists. It put an end to their political dreams in the near future.

NATIONALITY STRUCTURE. The nationality structure of the population is revealed by the population census. People simply have to declare themselves as belonging to a nationality. In the census of 1991, altogether there were acknowledged 26 minorities. Most striking was the fall of the share of the Serbian population from about 12 to 4.5 percent. Croatian Serb politicians called this a form of ethnic cleansing that paralleled the elimination of the Serbs under the Ustaša regime of World War II. Croatian politicians defended themselves by pointing to the alleged fact that Serb leaders had made plans to evacuate the Krajina as early as in 1993.

NAZOR, VLADIMIR (1876–1949). Writer, born on the island of Brač. At the end of 1942, when he was 66 years old, he joined the partisans along with writer Ivan Goran Kovačić. About this experience, Nazor wrote a diary and poems. In and after the war, he assumed government posts. See also ANTI-FASCIST COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF CROATIA.

NDH. See INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA / NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA (NDH).

NERETVA. Main river in Herzegovina. The peoples who lived in this region in ancient times were called by Constantine Porphyrogenitus Neretvans or Pagani because they had not been baptized. Their land on the shores of the Adriatic at the mouth of the Neretva was surrounded by White Croatia and Zahumlja. Also, later in history, the inhabitants of the region preserved—not without reason—a reputation as free raiders and wild pirates.

NERETVANSKA KRAJINA. The Neretva region between the rivers Neretva and Cetina was first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the 10th century as Pagani or Arenta. This region was autonomous until the end of the 11th century and famous for its pirates. They were in constant battle with Venetian ships and also attacked
Dubrovnik. Venetian and Croatian rulers paid tolls and taxes for free navigation in the region. In the second half of the 12th century, they came under the dominance of Croatian rulers, especially the tribe (plemen) of the Kačići. Still, they continued their pirate activities and controlled the navigation on the Adriatic. In the year 1221, the Roman curia offered the inhabitants of Omis forgiveness for their sins if they would burn their ships.

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA (NDH). See INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA.

NINSKI GRGUR. See GRGUR, NINSKI.

NORAC, MIRKO. Commander of the Croatian Army. This general was implicated in the serious irregularities considered as Croatian revenge after the failed Lički Osik offensive near Gospić in 1991. About 40 Serbian civilians were executed during Gospić’s “crystal night” on October 16. As a member of the so-called Gospić group of five, the general was facing a trial before the Rijeka county court. It was the first prosecution of Croats for war crimes by a domestic court. It was also the first time that the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) allowed Croatia to proceed locally. Already long before the trial, family members and witnesses such as Marica Barac, whose husband was murdered, testified about the events and their testimony was published by the independent press, in this case Feral Tribune. The ICTY investigated the case as well. First Norac was heard himself as a witness, but later testimonies turned him into a defendant.

The day when he was asked to turn himself in, part of the army from the barracks in Sinj, Norac’s hometown, threatened to free him by force if he was arrested. The opposition parties—the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP), the Christian Democratic Union (HKDU), and the Gospić Committee for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War—politicized the case and pledged support for Norac. Some see this as the reason why the ICTY agreed to a trial in Croatia itself. From a judicial perspective, Norac ran into even more difficulties when Ivan Grandić, commander of the barracks at Perušić, admitted to having formed a firing
squad at Norac’s orders. A group of about 40 Serbian civilians was probably executed. Norac denied these allegations.

In 2003, Norac was finally condemned to 12 years of prison by a Croatian court for war crimes committed by his troops in the Gospić area in 1991. While serving his sentence, he was also facing the 2004 indictment of the ICTY regarding operations in the Medak Pocket. Under time pressure, the ICTY finally referred the case back to a court in Croatia in 2005. On 30 May 2008, contrary to his co-accused General Rahim Ademi, who was acquitted by the Zagreb court of responsibility for atrocities committed against Serb prisoners by Croat troops during Operation Medak Pocket, Norac was sentenced to seven years in prison. He was found guilty of failing to have prevented and punished the perpetrators of these crimes. Norac and Ademi were also accused of responsibility for the unlawful destruction of civilian property. Norac’s lawyer argued that the operations were planned and under the command of General Janko Bobetko and fell under the responsibility of Minister Gojko Šušak, but the presiding judge did not follow his argument.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). Following the guidelines of the European Union (EU), NATO had made cooperation with the International Criminal Tribune for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) a precondition for Croatia’s accession to its Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. However in 1999, during the Kosovo crisis, Croatia put its airspace at the disposal of the Allied Forces and gave logistical support to the United Nations forces in Kosovo (KFOR). This, and the coming to power of the Ivica Račan government, probably induced a change in NATO’s policy. The regime lost its nationalist and autocratic image and publicly declared full cooperation with the ICTY. This removed the most difficult condition for rapprochement.

In early May 2000, a NATO committee visited Zagreb and issued a favorable report. Prime Minister Račan was invited to attend the 9 May summit of the North Atlantic Council at NATO headquarters in Brussels. Again, he declared Croatia was ready to cooperate fully with the ICTY and also to take part in the peacekeeping operations in Kosovo. By 25 May, Croatia had been admitted to the Partnership for Peace. Foreign Minister Tonino Picula declared Croatia was ready
to apply for full membership of NATO. Račan and Stipe Mešić visited Washington in July 2000. In 2002, Croatia accepted an invitation to join the Membership Action Plan, which engaged Croatia further in the alliance. Coordination plans, reforms, and exercises were planned and executed to prepare the integration of Croatian military forces into NATO.

The new Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) government of Ivo Sanader declared that it would continue the policy of his predecessor. Croatia participated in NATO operations in Afghanistan. Finally, in April 2008, Croatia was invited to begin accession talks with the alliance. The NATO Allies signed the accession protocols on 9 July 2008. A crucial step was the ratification by the United States Senate, in September, as one of the first countries; others followed soon after. At the end of the negotiation process, there was no need for a referendum in Croatia. Contrary to the accession to the EU, the constitution does not proscribe it in this case. Only the Sabor has to ratify the decision. Thus, Croatia was finally accepted as a full member at the NATO summit in the spring of 2009.

NOVAK, SLOBODAN (1924– ). Born in Split, short story and novel writer, cofounder and editor of the literary periodicals Krugovi (Circles, 1952–1955) and Forum (1985–1987). His novel Mirisi, zlato i tamjan (Scents, Gold, and Incense, 1968) was adapted and presented at BITEF, the Belgrade Theater Festival, in 1974. Four feature films were based on his prose.

NOVAK, SLOBODAN PROSPEROV (1951– ). Born in Belgrade, professor of Croatian literature at Zagreb University. As president of PEN-Croatia, he organized a meeting of PEN-International in a Dubrovnik that had just been devastated by war. In the autumn of 1993, he was criticized by the highest Croatian authorities for his independent and critical views on the situation in Croatia, presented in an introduction to a concert of the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra in Germany.

NOVI DANAS. See DANAS.

NOVI VJESNIK. See VJESNIK.
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC. There are no remains of Croatian writing dating earlier than the 12th century. There is a debate on the question of whether the Apostle Cyril brought with him the Glagolitic alphabet or whether he picked it up in western Slavic areas. Notwithstanding the Byzantine influence, the Croatian church was under constant pressure from Rome to use the Western rites and Latin. The Split synods of 925, 928, and 1060 passed recommendations against the use of the Slavic liturgy. However, many priests did not learn Latin and continued to use the Glagolitic Old Church Slavonic. This liturgical language came under the influence of the čakavian dialect spoken in daily life by priests. The changes were accelerated after the Lateran Councils in the first half of the 13th century, when it was decided that a plurality of languages and rituals could be accepted in the Catholic Church on the condition that all liturgical texts should be revised in conformity with the Latin Vulgate. This stimulated translation activities, and in Croatia a čakavian liturgical standard was created under the influence of the spoken language.

Likewise, it was essential for the flowering of a čakavian secular literature in the 14th and 15th century. From the medieval period until romanticism, however, there is a lack of continuous tradition. The Glagolitic čakavian school, which had developed into a smooth and flexible literary language, gradually died out.

OPERATION FLASH / OPERACIJA BLJESAK. Launching an offensive in the early morning of 1 May 1995, special Croatian police forces liberated the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Sector West or Western Slavonia in less than 34 hours. In response, the Serbs of the Krajina started bombing Zagreb and other cities. The liberation of Western Slavonia was the first military success of the regime in Croatia itself, but it was officially denounced by the international community. However, it was well received by the Croatian public. It considerably raised the confidence of the Croatian leadership and paved the way for Operation Storm in the Krajina.

OPERATION STORM / OPERACIJA OLUJA. With the military Operation Storm in 1995, the Croatian Army reconquered the Kra-
region from the rebelling Croatian Serbs. This operation was made possible by the reconstruction of the Croatian Army, supported and advised by the United States, and an earlier offensive in the beginning of 1995 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, immediately south of the Krajina. It cut all supply lines between Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia and particularly strengthened the positions of the Croats to begin an offensive.

Moreover, there was surprisingly little resistance by the Krajina Serbs, as their leaders immediately recommended evacuation, surely after consultation with Slobodan Milošević. In less than a week, the operation was finished. At the time of the attack, the region was under protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). So after the offensive, the international community protested weakly and interrupted some aid programs. However, given the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it welcomed the change in the balance of power. This new situation directly led to the Dayton negotiations, at which the Croatian positions were confirmed.

During the retreat of the troops, irregularities and human rights violations were reported. The Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia mounted investigations into war crimes.

OREŠKOVIĆ, TIHOMIR. As a member of the so-called Gospić group, together with four other accused men—among whom was General Mirko Norac—Orešković is facing trial before the Rijeka county court. It was the first prosecution of Croats for war crimes by a domestic court and the first time the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia allowed Croatia to prosecute a subject investigated by the tribunal.

Orešković requested the removal of one of the Rijeka court judges on the charge that the judge had been implicated in the August 2000 murder of Milan Levar. Moreover, Orešković declared that one of President Stipe Mesić’s closest associates was responsible for Milan Levar’s death. Levar, who was a witness to the Gospić offensive, had talked to court investigators. Mesić responded by declaring that Orešković’s accusations were “pure science fiction.” Orešković also accused Norac of putting pressure on him to plead guilty, an allegation that was denied by Norac. On 24 March 2003, after long and
delayed proceedings, Oresković was sentenced to 15 years of prison. However, in October 2006, he was released from prison for medical reasons and it was rumored that he would be pardoned.

**ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE (OSCE).** When Ambassador Bernard Poncelet—himself a successor to Tim Guldimann—left on 15 December 2001, after having led the mission of the OSCE for two and a half years, the main problem in the field of **human rights** was still the return of **refugees**, especially Serbs. Though the new **Ivica Račan** government promised at the beginning of its term to drastically change its attitude, it was not clear whether this was only paying lip service or fear of a confrontation with the opposition. A new law on minority rights had been postponed, officially because of technical reasons: the data of the 2001 population census—including the numerical strength of **minorities**—had not yet been published.

Other major points of concern were the judicial reforms, the practical implementation of the rule of law, and police reform. Only this last objective was wholly realized after a two-year monitoring group completed its task in the Danube region in October 2000. So, the mandate to monitor Croatia by the OSCE was extended, which caused disappointment in leading political circles. Its ambassador as of January 2002 was Peter Semneby of Sweden.

In 2007 the OSCE decided to close its permanent mission in Croatia at the end of the year and to limit its activity to monitoring housing programs for and lawsuits against Serbian civilians.

**ORTYNSKI, RADOVAN.** State prosecutor. During a visit to **Slovenia** and **Bosnia-Herzegovina**, he declared that Croatian high state officials hindered him in prosecuting organized crime. In turn, he himself was criticized by politicians for his difficult relations with the Ministry of the Interior and the head of the police services and for neglecting to lift the parliamentary immunity of Draga Krpina, a deputy of the **Croatian Democratic Union** (HDZ). It was rumored that the coalition would dismiss Ortynski, a rumor denied by Prime Minister **Ivica Račan**. But on 24 April 2002 Ortynski was effectively dismissed on the occasion of his annual report to the **Sabor**. Before Parliament, he once more accused **banks** of fraudulent practices and high politicians of corruption.
OSIJEK. Main town of Slavonia on the right bank of the Drava River. In the first century CE, the Romans established the fortification of Mursa on the banks of the river. Emperor Hadrian gave it the status of colonia in 133. The Byzantine Emperor Constantine II defeated the Roman Emperor Magnentius in 351 near the village. During the great migrations at the end of the sixth century, the town was destroyed by the Avars. A new settlement grew here in the 10th century. The name of Osijek was first encountered in 1196. In 1526, the town was taken by the Ottomans. After a campaign by Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1690, Osijek remained in Austrian hands under the name of Esseg.

OSIJEK CENTER FOR PEACE, NONVIOLENCE, AND HUMAN RIGHTS / CENTAR ZA MIR, NENASILJE I LJUDSKA PRAVA. Center that seeks to ensure the protection of human rights by monitoring abuses and through direct action. It provides training in conflict mediation and organizes public seminars on coping with war trauma, conscientious objection, and human rights.

OSIMO AGREEMENT. Agreement signed on 10 November 1975, between Italy and Yugoslavia. It completed the Memorandum of Understanding from 1954 and settled definitively the frontier issues between the two countries. After the fall of communist Yugoslavia, a new round of negotiations on the ratification of this agreement was entered by Italy, Croatia, and Slovenia. Minor territorial disputes and compensation demands of Italian refugees easily revived the nationalistic animosity of earlier years.

The Ivica Račan government—much more benevolent to minorities than the Franjo Tudman administration—seemed to settle the problem by a new agreement with Italy, but much will depend on the concrete execution of the proposals.

OSOR. See CRES.

OWEN–STOLTENBERG PLAN. Global plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina of the mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg. The plan was the next in line after the Vance-Owen plan, once the latter had been rejected by the Bosnian Serbs in a referendum. The Owen–Stoltenberg plan was based on a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina
along ethnic lines. Each of the three constituent peoples would get its own republic. Connections of strategic importance between dispersed areas or toward the sea would in principle be guaranteed. Sarajevo would be under United Nations and Mostar under European Community administration. The new compromise took for granted the reality of the Serb territorial gains during the Bosnian war. The plan granted the Serbs 52 percent of the territory, the Croats 17 percent, and the Bosnians the remainder.

The recognition of the principle of ethnic division and the evident acceptance of the military fait accompli could have had adverse implications for the solution of the Serb problem in Croatia. Franjo Tuđman found it necessary to publicly reject such a line of thought. He was nevertheless thought to agree with the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina under the influence of the Herzegovian lobby in his government, led by Minister of Defense Gojko Šušak.

– P –

PACTA CONVENTA. Agreement reached between the Hungarian King Koloman and representatives of the 12 noble clans of Croatia. On the one hand, the authority of the king over Croatian lands was recognized. On the other, the Pacta defined the privileges and independence of the Croatian nobility toward the king. This agreement was later supplemented by further privileges granted by the king after 1102 to various Dalmatian towns. They determined their constitutional position, gave them certain privileges and freed them from obligations to provide accommodation for the king, or to receive within their precincts Hungarians in the king’s entourage, especially on the occasion of a coronation.

In the early period of this community between Croatia and Hungary, one can speak of a purely personal union. The ban of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, though nominated by the king, enjoyed executive and juridical authority and convened the Sabor on his own initiative. Later on, Hungarian political and administrative intervention would expand and cause permanent tensions and clashes between the two peoples. Austria would play an intermediary role, by directly
intervening in some parts of Croatia. See also: AUSGLEICH; MILITARY BORDER; NAGODBA; PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

**PAG.** Long island off Karlobag and *Zadar*. It was an important alternative route as the road along the coast and the Maslenica bridge were threatened by the *Krajina* Serbs. Pag was colonized by the *Liburnians* and the Romans. The Slavs arrived in the sixth century. In 1071, King *Krešimir IV* assigned the northern part of Pag to the church of Rab and the southern part to *Zadar*. From 1409 to 1797, the Venetians held the island. In the town of Pag, Juraj Dalmatinac erected in 1443 the still existing parish church.

**PAINTING.** As elsewhere in Europe, the earliest works of art in Croatia served *religion*. The oldest preserved frescoes in St. Michael’s Church of Ston date from the 11th century. In Byzantine or early Christian style, a painting shows the Croatian king who donates his church. A highly interesting “Danse Macabre” was painted by Master Vincent of Kastav in St. Mary’s Church in Beram (*Istria*) around 1474. Madonna painting was popular in *Dalmatia*. Blaž Jurjev (1390–1450) and Nikola Božidarević (ca. 1460–1517) developed their own style and use of color.

The *Croats* were also known for miniature painting. Both Julije Clović of Grižane (1491–1578) and Franjo Pestačić were official miniaturists at the Hungarian court.

From the Renaissance on, Croatian painting along the Adriatic and in the *Zagreb* area followed the evolution of Central and Western European art.

After World War II, social realism was quickly followed by surrealism and abstract painting. Of particular interest in contemporary painting are the so-called *naive painters*. The most known among them is Ivan Generalić of the *Hlebina school*. This school developed out of the socially committed *Zemlja group*.

**PALJETAK, LUKO** (1943– ). Born and living in *Dubrovnik*. One of the most gifted contemporary writers, especially of poetry, but he is also a respected playwright, literary critic, and translator of English literature (*Chaucer, Shakespeare, Byron, Joyce*), *Slovenian*, *Italian*, and *French* literature. He is a full member of the *Croatian*
Academy of Arts and Sciences. His best-known collections of poetry are Nečastivi iz ruže (Devil of the Rose), Životinje iz Brehma (The Animals of Brehm’s), Inventar (Inventory), Singerica pod snijegom (Singer-machine under the Snow), and Bijela tama, izabrane pjesme (White Darkness, Selected Poems).

During the bombing of Dubrovnik by the Yugoslav Army, Paljetak wrote to the British queen to urge her to intervene and to save the cultural monuments of Dubrovnik.

In 2008, Paljetak received the Josip Sever Prize for his new book of verses, Nevidljiva zastava (The Invisible Flag). See also DALMATIA, LITERATURE OF; LITERATURE, MODERN.

PANNONIA. Region east of Zagreb, now roughly identified with present-day Slavonia. Pannonia became a province of the Roman Empire. First its western part was conquered in 35 BCE and then its eastern part in 14 BCE with the capture of Sirmium (present-day Srijemska Mitrovica). In about 106 CE, Emperor Trajan divided the province into Pannonia Superior, the western and northern part, and Pannonia Inferior, the southern and eastern districts. In 297, Pannonia Superior was further divided by Diocletian into Pannonia Prima (north of the Drava and Mura) and Pannonia Ripariensisor Savia (south of the Drava and Mura with Siscia as capital); Pannonia Inferior was divided into Valeria (north of the Drava on the right side of the Danube) and Pannonia Segunda (south of the Drava with Sirmium as capital). The Romans had to withdraw from Pannonia after 395.

PANNONIAN CROATIA. See WHITE CROATIA.

PANNONIUS, JANUS. See ČESMIČKI, IVAN.

PARADŽIK, ANTE (1943–1991). He was elected president of the Student Federation of the Republic of Croatia during the Croatian Spring in 1971, although he was not a member of the Communist Party. He was put in jail during the repression of the movement. He was politically active again in the postcommunist period. In 1991, he was deliberately shot at a barricade by Croatian national guards.
PARAGA, DOBROSLAV (1960– ). Politician, first and former president of the new Croatian Party of Rights (HSP). Paraga acknowledged the historical bonds with the HSP from before 1929, but he rejected any later connections with the Ustaša regime. However, this party supported a military section, the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS), whose members openly displayed Ustaša symbols. At first, the actions of this paramilitary group were highly successful and put great pressure on Franjo Tudman.

Paraga was prosecuted for an interview he gave the newspaper Slobodna Dalmacija, published on 18 January 1992. He declared that Tudman was a traitor because he signed the agreement of 4 October 1991 in The Hague. According to Paraga, this agreement implied the loss of Slavonia. A passage that was agreed on during negotiations with the Serb community of Eastern Slavonia should have been deleted in the official Croatian version. Paraga maintained that in doing so, Tudman might have agreed to separate the region from Croatia and might have misled the patriotic and Croatian fighters in Eastern Slavonia.

Paraga was later also accused of an attempt to overthrow the government by force. He was arrested but soon released. He participated in the second presidential elections without obtaining massive support. Thereafter, his militia, the HOS, moved to Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the summer of 1993, Paraga finally appeared before the military court on charges of attempt to overthrow the legal order. A long trial began and numerous officials appeared as witnesses. In the confused war climate of 1991, tendencies toward the autonomy of the HOS had to be balanced against the need to defend the country against aggression and the lack of a clear organization of the defense forces.

In the autumn of 1993, Paraga was dismissed as HSP president by an extraordinary meeting of his party in Kutina. He was replaced by Boris Kandare and Ante Đapić as new HSP leaders. On 31 May 1995, an alternative Party of the Rights—1861 was founded. Paraga became its president

PARENTIUM. See POREČ.
PARLIAMENT. According to the Constitution of December 1990, Parliament is the highest legislative body. Under that law, it consisted of two Houses: the House of Representatives (Zastupnički Dom) has between 100 and 160 members; the House of Counties (Županijski Dom) represented regional interests. Through an amendment to the constitution, on 28 March 2001, the latter House was abolished.

Members are elected for a period of four years. Voting is by secret ballot. All men and women aged 18 years and older are entitled to vote and to run for office. A new electoral law was adopted in April 1992. It provided a combination of majority and proportional representation in the House of Representatives. The law reserved four seats in the House of Representatives for small minorities and provided for proportional representation of the Serbian minority. It became a tradition that before each election, a new electoral law was passed, regulating especially the status of minorities and representation from abroad. The election law before the 2000 elections reduced considerably the influence of the Croatian emigration community.

The Parliament has two regular session periods, the first between 15 January and 30 June, the second between 15 September and 15 December. See also CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT OF 1971.


PARUN, VESNA (1922– ). Born at Zlarin, writer of poetry and drama. Her main theme is her own feminine perception of human relations. She has won many literary prizes. She is a corresponding member of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

PAŠALIĆ, IVIĆ (1960– ). Born near Tomislavgrad. He graduated from the Medical Faculty of Zagreb University. He was a member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and elected to the Sabor in 1990. He gradually climbed the party hierarchy and became the domestic policy adviser of President Franjo Tuđman. He enjoyed the latter’s total confidence and was entrusted with major responsibilities. Long before Tuđman’s death, he was seen as Tuđman’s
heir and the new party leader. It seems, however, that he overdid his job and some of his apparently personal initiatives were revealed in the press. Pašalić was suspected of manipulation of the ownership rights of the popular newspaper, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, that he—at Tuđman’s request—was to have brought under control of the HDZ. Under the Ivica Račan government, his parliamentary immunity was lifted to investigate this and other cases. He was one of the three candidates for the party presidency of the HDZ at the seventh convention in April 2002, and only slightly defeated by the sitting president Ivo Sanader. Ultimately, he was excluded from the party in the summer of 2002 on charge that he had abused funds collected in emigration circles during the Tuđman period. Pašalić founded a new party, the Croatian Bloc. It was not successful in the next parliamentary elections of 2003.

**PASPALJ, MILAN.** Former president of the Parliament of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina (Srpska Autonomna Krajina). Discarding the earlier president of the parliament of the Krajina in Knin, Milan Babić. Paspalj persuaded his Parliament in Glina to accept the Vance plan. This happened on 9 February 1992, and fitted in with the political strategy of Slobodan Milošević. At the time, he was threatened with sanctions by the international community and tried to avert them.

**PASSAROWITZ.** See POŽAREVAC.

**PAVELIĆ, ANTE (1869–1938).** Croatian politician who endorsed the Yugoslav idea. In 1917, he became the leader of Starčević’s Croatian Party of Rights and supported the May Declaration, a manifesto of the South Slavic Club in the Vienna Reichsrat promulgated on 30 May 1917. This document called for unification of all lands in the monarchy inhabited by the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. On 5 and 6 October 1918, delegates of Croatian, Serbian, and Slovene parties founded the National Council of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. Ante Pavelić was made vice-president of this body. On 29 October, the Sabor accepted the proposal of Pavelić, Svetozar Pribićević, and others to declare independence from the Habsburgs and to transfer its powers to the National Council. On 31 October 1918, the National
Council declared that the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs was ready to enter into a common state with Serbia and Montenegro. Pavelić supported the Unification Act of 1 December 1918, which effectively united the Kingdom of Serbia (and Montenegro) and the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs.

PAVELIĆ, ANTE (1899–1959). Lawyer and Croatian representative in the Belgrade Parliament. In 1929, he founded the Ustaša movement as a reaction against the dictatorship of King Alexander. Together with the Macedonian separatist movement IMRO, he organized the assassination of the king in France. During World War II, he accepted the leadership of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) under protection of the Germans. The Ustaša regime and Pavelić were known for the cruelty of their anticommunist and anti-Serbian policy. At the end of the war, Pavelić fled abroad.

PAVLEK, MIHOVIL (1887–1942). Born in the village of Đelekovač in the valley of the Drava River. A village writer known under the name Miškina, he wrote about peasant life. He was a member of the Council of the Croatian Peasant Party. He died in the concentration camp at Jasenovac after the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH).

PAVLETIĆ, VLATKO (1930–2007). Born in Zagreb, where he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy. He taught at the School of Arts and was director of the National Theater. He was one of the founders of the journal Krugovi (Circles, 1952–1958), which defended artistic freedom, and fought against dominant social realism in the arts. He engaged in the Matica hrvatska during the Croatian Spring and was arrested on 11 January 1972.

At the end of the 1980s, Pavletić was elected vice-president of the Croatian National Union (HDZ). He served as minister of education, culture, and sports from 1990 to 1992.

also a member of the Central Bureau of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

PEJAČEVIĆ, LADISLAV (1824–1901). Ban of Croatia in the short period of 1880 to 1883. He succeeded Ban Ivan Mažuranić, who had resigned because the Vojna Krajina was not reintegrated into Croatia after the Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1881, the Austrian government in Vienna made a concession and placed the Vojna Krajina back under the competence of Croatia. Problems with Hungarian nationalism provoked social unrest in Croatia and led to the appointment of a Royal Commissioner for Croatia. In 1883, the Hungarian-minded Karoly Khuen-Hédervary was appointed ban.

PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (RELATIONS WITH). On invitation of the president of the People’s Republic of China, President Franjo Tuđman and a state delegation visited China from 6 to 12 June 1993. On this occasion, agreements were concluded on the promotion and mutual protection of investments, on cultural and educational cooperation, on maritime cooperation, and on consultations between the Croatian and Chinese Ministries of Foreign Affairs. The president of the People’s Republic of China was invited to Croatia.

Under the new Ivica Račan government, no open issues were in the way of successful relations and in 2000, several mutual visits were organized on a ministerial level.

PERIŠIĆ, MOMČILO. General of the Yugoslav Army who took part in the occupation of Croatia. He was condemned in absentia in Croatia to 20 years of prison for war crimes against civilians in Zadar in 1991. After the fall of Slobodan Milošević, Perišić became vice prime minister of Serbia, until he had to resign in an espionage scandal. He was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in 2005 and his trial began on 2 March 2008.

PERUČA. Dam on the Cetina River. During the Homeland War, the Krajina Serbs conquered the construction and threatened to blow it
up. The intervention of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) prevented an ecological disaster.

PETROVA GORA. South of Karlovac and to the west of Topusko and Vrginmost lies the mountain chain Gvozd or Petrova Gora. The mountains separate the hinterland of Dalmatia from Croatia proper and Pannonian Croatia. The name Peter’s Mountain commemorates Petar II Svačić, supposed to have been the last Croatian king. He fell here in 1097 during the invasion of the Hungarian King Koloman.

At the beginning of the last Croatian–Serbian conflict, the Serbs organized here an important rally on 4 March 1990, to demand a unified Yugoslavia. This was interpreted by the Croatian authorities as a Greater Serbian demand.

PETROVIĆ, GAJO (1927–1993). Born in Karlovac, late professor of philosophy at Zagreb University, and member of the Praxis group and longtime editor of the journal Praxis. He defended a new interpretation of Marxism based on the philosophical works of the young Marx. This was in line with the creative line of thought of self-management socialism, but his continuous radical criticism of the dogmatic ideology of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led to an open conflict and the journal was banned.

PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE OF ZAGREB UNIVERSITY. The Philosophical Institute was founded in 1967. Its first director was Predrag Vranički. The institute coordinates the philosophic research and organizes postgraduate studies. The institute publishes Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske baštine (Contributions to the Research on the Croatian Philosophical Heritage) and Studia historiae philosophiae Croaticae.

PICULA, TONINA (1961– ). Minister of foreign affairs in the Ivica Račan government, born on the island of Mali Lošinj. Picula graduated from the Philosophy Faculty, Department of Sociology, of the University of Zagreb. He began his career as a researcher in Zagreb. In 1990, he joined the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and in 1993 became SDP secretary for international relations. Picula participated in the Homeland War. In 1997, he was elected to the House of
Counties. In 2000, he was elected again as a member of Parliament for the SDP–HSLS coalition. He was appointed minister of foreign affairs in the Ivica Račan government, but had to resign in March 2002 under pressure of his party leader, Dražen Budiša.

PINK ZONES. Zones conquered by the Yugoslav Army where there was not a majority of Serbs and which lay mainly around the Krajina enclave. Its area was estimated at 2,206 square kilometers. Theoretically, they came under the supervision of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). In the region of Zadar, the pink zones remained under constant pressure of the Serbian and Croatian parties. In 1993, permanent shelling from and over the zones led regularly to counteroffensives of the Croatian Army. The last one, Operation Storm in 1995, definitively brought the area under control of the Croatian authorities.

PIRKER, PERO. Mayor of Zagreb during the Croatian Spring. He was forced to resign when Tito had all nationalist leaders removed after the Karadordevo session.

PLITVICE. National park under UNESCO protection. It consists of 16 lakes linked with one another by overflows. It was Austrian officers who built the first accommodations for visitors. In 1893, the Society for the Development of the Plitvice Lakes was established in Zagreb. The area was declared a national park in 1928. It is one of the first regions that came under the control of the Serbs during the Homeland War.

PLOČE. Port at the mouth of the Neretva River. Though the town belongs to Croatian territory, President Franjo Tudman agreed in the negotiations on the Owen–Stoltenberg plan to grant Muslims seaport facilities here. Mate Boban and the Bosnian Croats had refused to hand over the seaport Neum in Herzeg Bosna. Once Boban was removed from the negotiations between the Muslims and the Croats and an agreement was reached on a Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a confederation of this state with Croatia, the problem of the seaport facilities for the Bosnians seemed automatically solved. However, the plans for a real confederation were turned down by the
Dayton agreement and a new agreement on Ploče was necessary, also because the facilities of Neum are rather limited.

PLOMIN INSCRIPTION. The Glagolitic inscription from Plomin dates from the second half of the 11th century. The inscription is accompanied by the relief of a male figure, most likely the pagan Silvanus. He is carrying a spring branch of green leaves. In early Christian times, he became equated with Sveti Juraj (St. George).

Plomin lies on the east coast of Istria, halfway along the Rijeka–Pula road and opposite the island of Cres. The Romans built a fortification in Plomin. Later a church dedicated to Sveti Juraj was built on that place.

PODRAVINA. Region in Slavonia along the Drava River.

POLANČEC, DAMIR (1967– ). Vice-president and minister of economy, labor, and entrepreneurship in the second government of Ivo Sanader. Born in Koprivnica, he studied economics at the University of Zagreb. He specialized in management at Leeds University. He made a career in the agro-industrial industry. In 2003, he became a member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and made his way through all higher party organs. In 2005, he was appointed vice-president in the government and, in 2008, minister of economy, labor, and entrepreneurship and again vice-president of the government. His policies were at times controversial and, even in European circles, rumors spread that he was weak and dominated by Sanader. See also INDUSTRY AND MINING.

POLITICAL PARTIES. The establishment of the first political parties in Zagreb had its roots in the process of cultural awakening of Croatia, in which the Illyrian movement took a central place. The split between pro- and anti-Illirian factions in the nobility had already been clearly demonstrated in 1836. In February 1841, with the county elections in sight, the Hungarians established the Croato-Hungarian Party (Horvatsko-vugersko stranjik).

Confronted with this situation, the Illyrians were forced to organize a party as well and they did so in the summer of 1841. They first appeared publicly as a party at the Križevci county elections on 1
September. **Ljudevit Gaj** was recognized as the leader of the new Illyrian party and, lacking a real party program, he made the statement: "May God preserve the Hungarian Constitution, the Croatian Kingdom, and the Illyrian Nationality" (Da Bog poživi konsticiju ugarsku, kraljevinu Hrvatsku i narodnost ilirsku). This clearly indicates that Gaj saw the role of the party as functioning within the Austrian monarchy. Later, professional politicians took over the role of Gaj in the party: the older eminence count **Janko Drašković**, the magnate **Franjo Kulmer**, and the talented young star **Ivan Kukeljević**.

For two decades, these two political parties dominated the Croatian scene. In a session of the Zagreb **Sabor** in 1861, once more the relationship with Hungary was debated. Along with the Illyrian and Unionist standpoint, **Eugen Kvaternik** presented the viewpoint that Croatia one and united should stay under the Habsburg crown, but as an independent nation. Kvaternik defended the **Pacta Conventa** philosophy and the concept of the Kingdom of Croatia only bound by a personal union. It was the ideological underpinning of the Party of Rights (Stranka prava) that soon would be founded by **Ante Starčević** and Kvaternik. In political pamphlets, Starčević further stressed the national character of Croatia and its unity. In Croatia it attained a high respectability and is at times even referred to as the national ideology. Starčević was called the father of the nation. The party obtained a victory in the elections of 1884.

The idea of the Croatian nation already central to the Party of Rights was carried into a stronger nationalistic framework with ethnocentric traits by Josip Frank, who through a split from Starčević’s party founded his own Party of the Pure Rights (Čista stranka prava). Though not a mass party, its radical ideas at times deeply influenced the political climate, especially in periods of crisis and war.

On 22 December 1903, the brothers Antun and **Stjepan Radić** founded in Zagreb the **Croatian People’s Peasant Party** (Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka, HPSS). The party was the first to assemble the peasants and to strive for a radical democratization of Croatia. In the elections of 1906, it won only 1 seat and in 1910, it obtained 3 seats, and 10 in the repeated elections of the same year. Once the idea of a Croatian nation appeared on the political map, the role of the Serbs in the Habsburg monarchy had to be more clearly defined. Given the struggle against the dominance of Austria, they were seen
as political partners and their support was sought in the reunion of all parts of Croatia.

In December 1905, all Croatian parties except the HPSS and Frank’s Party of the Pure Rights founded the Croatian–Serbian Coalition. Its two major goals were to unite all regions of the Triune Kingdom and to guarantee equal rights to both Croats and Serbs. In the election of 1906, the coalition won a majority in the Sabor. Its leaders would play a crucial role in the events that led to the creation of Yugoslavia.

On 1 December 1919, at the end of World War I, the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs was officially proclaimed. The Croatian parties played no significant role in the interwar period because the political scene was dominated by the Serbs. The HPSS, renamed Croatian People’s Peasant Party (Hrvatska seljačka stranka, HSS), was becoming the largest party in Croatia in the interwar period and went into the opposition to Serb-led governments. On 6 January 1929, King Alexander dissolved the Parliament and all traditional political parties a few days later.

On 9 October, King Alexander was murdered in an attack in Marseille, planned by the Ustašis. Until the end of the 1930s, the Croats with Vladko Maček as the new leader of the HSS stayed out of the newly formed federal Parliament and the Serb-dominated government.

During World War II, the usurpation of political life was a reality once more. As an organized political movement, the Ustašis remained in the minority, but it enjoyed the support of a large section of the Croatian population. Slowly, the Communist Party—which had in 1937 secretly formed a Croatian branch (Communist Party of Croatia/Komunististička Partija Hrvatske, KPH)—succeeded in uniting the opposition and integrated it in the Partisan Movement. According to a 1943 resolution of the Liberation Movement, Yugoslavia was to become a federal state with six republics, Croatia being one of them.

During a short transition period, all progressive political forces who took part in the Partisan Movement were respected and represented, but the communists started to acquire the monopoly of political power and soon decided on all aspects of social life. Josip Broz Tito, himself being a Croat, seemed to back away from a strong
Croatian courtship, clearly with the exception of his old party mate Vladimir Bakarić. He was the first communist leader of Croatia and resided in the federal organs of the new state. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia moved in its clash with Joseph Stalin toward the ideology of self-management. Some Croatian communist leaders like Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Ante Miko Tripalo were close to the ideas of the Croatian Spring but were purged at the end of 1971. For a decade, a more cautious and conservative course set in under Milka Planinc and Bakarić. In January 1990, the Croatian and Slovene delegations left the Congress of the Federation of Communists. This proved that the strong tendencies toward a multiparty system in some republics came to fruition. Shortly thereafter, the Communist Party of Croatia (Savez komunista Hrvatske, SDH) under the instigation of Ivica Račan not only changed its name but turned into a Social Democratic party (Social Democratic Party of Croatia–Party of Democratic Changes / Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske-Stranka za društvene promene, SDPH–SDP). At the same time, it also gave up the intention of maintaining a political monopoly position.

In the transition from the communist Yugoslavia to the independent Croatia, some entirely new parties were established, as well as parties that claimed to follow the legacy of historical predecessors.

The legalization of the multiparty system officially took place in December 1989, but new political parties had already been founded and launched political activities before that.

The Croatian Social Liberal Union / Hrvatski socijalno liberalni savez (HSLS) was the first new party officially founded on 20 May 1989. It was slightly renamed in 1990 into Croatian Social Liberal Party / Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (HSLS). The president was Dražen Budiša, a former Croatian Spring leader. It appealed to the urban population and defended a social liberal ideology with nationalistic accents. The results of the first elections were not very convincing and the party went into a long opposition period during the first HDZ governments. It became the major partner of the Račan’s opposition coalition that defeated the HDZ in 2000. Once the HDZ majority was restored in the 2003 elections, the party supported the government and even went into a coalition with HDZ. This policy was continued after the 2007 elections.
The **Croatian Democratic Union** / Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (HDZ) held a secret founding meeting on 17 June 1989, in which **Franjo Tuđman** was chosen president. Earlier in the year, preparatory meetings had been held. On 5 February 1990, the party was registered and its activities officially legalized. In the elections of 22 April and 6 May 1990, the HDZ obtained 197, or 60 percent, of the seats in the Sabor. After a new victory in the 1992 elections, the HDZ took over the power for almost a decade. The economic crisis of 1998–1999 caused strains in the party between various factions and before all alienated the voting public. After the death of Tuđman and the election defeat in 2000, the moderate **Ivo Sanader** succeeded in taking control of the party. He led the party to an election victory in 2003 and became the undisputed party leader during his two subsequent terms as prime minister.

The SDPH–SDP intended to throw off its communist past and was claiming to defend the interests of the lower strata of Croatian society. However, it could not resist the wave of widespread enthusiasm for Croatian independence and the attractiveness of the HDZ in this respect. It lost the elections; it disappeared into the opposition, not taking into account a short period of a **Government of National Union**. On 30 April 1994, the party merged with a smaller similarly inspired organization, the Social Democrats of Croatia (SDH) led by Antun Vujić, and changed its name to **Social Democrat Party** (SDP) of Croatia. Račan remained minister-president of the SDP. Only after nearly a decade was Račan successful in uniting the opposition parties in order to win the elections. He was appointed prime minister and ran the government from 2000 to 2003. The death of Račan put a heavy burden on the party and its new leadership, confronted with a reborn HDZ.

At the end of World War II, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS), Vladko Maček, had left the country. At his death in 1964, he was succeeded by Juraj Krnjević until 1988. In the home country, a meeting was organized on 20 November 1989 to found the party anew. It was legalized in February 1990 with Zvonimir Čiçek as president. Already in March of the same year, dissenters founded another party and the two parties went to the election with little success. The dissenting faction obtained three seats, Čiçek’s none. On 25 May 1991, Drago Stipac succeeded in uniting the two
currents again, also gaining the support of a section founded in the emigration community. While later important as a coalition partner, the party should never recover its prewar position of a mass party. In the elections of 1995, it obtained 10 seats, in those of 2000 in the winning coalition 16. It entered the government with a vice-president and three ministers. Zlatko Tomčić became speaker of Parliament. In the elections of 2003, it regained its independent position and had to go into the opposition with only 10 seats. Following the parliamentary elections of 2007, it supported the HDZ government as a small faction, together with the coalition of HSLS and the Democratic Center (DS), the Croatian Party of Pensioners (HSU) and the ethnic minority parties, among them the Independent Democratic Serbian Party (SDSS).

The Croatian’s People’s Party / Hrvatska Narodna Stranka (HNS) was founded at the beginning of 1990 by Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Ante Miko Tripalo, both known from the Croatian Spring. At the time, they were presented as a real liberal alternative to both the nationalist Tuđman (HDZ) and the social-democrats (SDP). However, the 1990 election results were disappointing; the party joined the Government of National Union, but went into opposition after the 1992 elections. The position of the party was strengthened by the adhesion of Mesić who had left the HDZ and successfully campaigned for the presidency in 2000 and by the personality of Vesna Pušić, who assumed the leadership of the party. However, it remained a minor party that could only play a role through coalition building. This happened in the 2000 elections and it could enter the government of Račan. Afterward, it fell back into opposition. In 2005, the party merged with the Liberal Democrats / Liberalni Democrati (LD) to form the HNS–LD. These liberals, also called Libra, earlier had split away from Budiša’s HSLS when he left the Račan government in 2002.

The Party of the Croatian State Rights / Stranka Hrvatskog Državnog Prava (SHDP) was established on 11 June 1991 and claimed to honor the tradition of the work and ideas of Ante Starčević. Its president was Nikola Bićanić. The party did not achieve the popularity of its inspirer because, above all, the HDZ had more or less monopolized the idea of an independent Croatian nation by the gathering around Tuđman, and the leading figures of the party proved
The Croatian Party of Rights / Hrvatska Stranka Prava (HSP) was founded on 25 January 1990 by Dobroslav Paraga as an alternative Croatian Rights Party that pretended in turn to be the heir of the ideas of Starčević and the pre-1929 HSP. Dissension led to repeated splits and a whole family of parties claiming to represent the ideology of the pravaša. Except on a regional level, the Right Parties could not force a breakthrough. In the legislative elections of 2007, the HSP was left with one seat, seven less than the previous elections. Perhaps this was an indication that the time of political extremism and strong ideology was finally over, at least in national politics.

The Istrian Democratic Assembly / Istarski demokratski sabor (IDS) is a regional party of Istria with a green and slightly social democratic flavor. It was founded before the 1990 elections, but did not participate in them. It first took part in 1992, when it won three seats in Parliament. In the elections for the House of Counties (Županički Dom) of February 1993, the party obtained the majority in Istria. In 1995, the IDS participated in the coalition Novi Sabor (New Parliament) with the HSS, HSL, HKDU, and SBHS. The coalition got 18.3 percent of the votes or 19 seats, but remained in the opposition against the HDZ government. At the elections of 2000, a similar coalition was made with HSS, HNS, the Liberal Party (LS), and Croatian Social Democrat Action of Croatia (ASH). After the elections, it joined the successful coalition between the SDP and HSL to enter government. However, it soon withdraw from ministerial duties, because there was dissention about regional autonomy and the use of the Italian language. The IDS remained to support the coalition in Parliament. From the next elections on, it disappeared definitively into the opposition.

Another regional party is the Democratic League of Rijeka / Riječki demokratski savez (RiDS) founded in 1990. In 1992, it participated in national elections in a coalition with other regional parties from Istria and Dalmatia, but had a marginal role in national politics. Later, it changed its name to the Alliance of Primorje-Gorski Kotar / Primorski Goranski savez (PGS). It finally lost its one seat in the 2007 elections, when it formed a coalition with the HSS, HSL, and the Democratic Party of Zagorje (Zagorska stranka).
The Christian Democratic orientation was represented by the **Croatian Christian Democratic Party** / Hrvatska kršćanska demokratska stranka (HKDS). It was founded in 1990 and more to the right than to the center. For the elections of 1990, it joined two other Christian inspired parties, but was not successful. But one year later, it secured a seat in the Government of National Union of Franjo Gregurić. It was unsuccessful in the 1992 elections and then decided to merge into a coalition of other similar parties, the **Croatian Christian Democratic Union** / Hrvatska kršćanska demokratska unija (HKDU).

The HKDU was founded as a merger of various smaller parties with a Christian Democratic ideology. In the 1995 elections, it formed the coalition Novi Sabor (New Parliament) with the HSS, the HSLS, IDS, and the Slavonian-Baranian Croatian Party (SBHS). The coalition got 18.3 percent of the votes or 19 seats, but remained in the opposition against the HDZ government. It evolved to the right and in the elections of 2000, it entered a coalition with the HSP. Together they got five seats in Parliament.

The **Croatian Social Democrat Action of Croatia** / Akcija socijalodemokrate Hrvatske (ASH) was founded in 1994 by leftist dissenters from the SDP. The well-known Croatian Spring protagonist Miko Tripalo joined the party, but to no avail. The party obtained not one seat in the 1995 elections. In the next elections, it went into a left coalition and participated in the Račan government of 2000–2003. Afterward, it returned to the opposition. It retained one seat in the 2005 and 2007 elections.

The **Liberal Party** / Liberalna stranka (LS) was founded in 1997 by **Vlado Gotovac** in a split from the HSLS. In the elections of 2000, it joined the coalition of four minor opposition parties, that together with the major SDP–HSLS coalition defeated the HDZ. The party had two representatives in Parliament and a minister in the Račan government. In the 2003 elections, it held its two parliamentary mandates, but went to opposition. In early 2006, it returned with other liberals to the HSLS.

The **Slavonian-Baranian Croatian Party** / Slavonsko-baranjska hrvatska stranka (SBHS) is a regional party working in **Slavonia**, founded in the beginning of the 1990s and entered Parliament first in 1995 as a member of the center coalition Novi Sabor. Later,
it went into coalitions with the SDP. In 2008, it merged with the Croatian Democratic Assembly of Slavonia and Baranja / Hrvatski demokratski savez Slavonije i Baranje (HDSSB).

Other very small parties were represented in the Sabor, but did not really have much influence, excepting the parties of minorities who gave crucial support to the Sanader government to reach a majority. The most important is the Independent Democratic Serbian Party / Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka (SDSS), which was founded in 1997 in Eastern Slavonia, when it was still under the regime of the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES). It gathered the moderate Serbs. The name referred to the Independent Democratic Party that was active before World War II. In the elections of 2003, the party obtained three minority seats and consolidated the majority of the HDZ government. This policy was repeated after the 2007 elections.

Other parties marginally represented in the Sabor elected in 2007 are the following: Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonije and Baranja / Hrvatski Demokratski Savez Slavonije i Baranje (HDSSB), a regional-based party that obtained its first three seats in the 2007 legislative elections; the Croatian Pensioner’s Party / Hrvatska stranka umirovlijenika (HSU), a one digit party; though it formed a coalition with its partner, the Democratic Party of Pensioners (Demokratska stranka umirovlijenika), it obtained only one seat in the 2007 elections, two less than in the previous elections.

One more party participated in the 2007 elections: the Democratic Center / Demokratski Centar (DC). This party was founded by Mate Granić when he left the HDZ, but its potential was undermined by the introduction of a more moderate course by Sanader in the HDZ. See also GREEN MOVEMENT OF CROATIA; SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

**POPULATION.** According to the 1991 population census, Croatia counted 4,760,344 inhabitants. The population density amounted to 84.2 persons per square kilometer. However, population density differs greatly from region to region. Most densely populated is the region around Zagreb and the coastline along the Adriatic. In 1991, 54 percent of the population was concentrated in 204 urban settlements. Aside from the tradition of urbanization along the coast,
industrialization played a significant role in the spatial layout of population density.

The depopulation of the interior areas was accompanied by the low natural growth of the population. In 1990, the natural growth rate was only 0.7 percent. This stagnation has characterized Croatia’s population growth since World War II. The birth rate continued to decrease from 25 percent per thousand at the beginning of the 1950s to 11 to 12 per thousand currently. In this period the death rate stagnated between 9 and 12 per thousand. The infant mortality rate was very high immediately after World War II: about 100 per thousand infants; then it dropped to 10 per thousand. See also NATIONALITY STRUCTURE.

POREČ. Town on the peninsula of Istria. It was colonized by an Illyrian tribe, the Histrions. In Roman times, the town was known under the name of Parentium. After the fall of the western Roman Empire, the town was taken by the Ostrogoths. In 539, it came under Byzantine rule. In the middle of the sixth century, the Basilica Euphrasina was built. It is the best preserved Byzantine cathedral on the Yugoslav coast. During the 12th century, Poreč enjoyed a period of independence. In 1232, it came under the influence of the Patriarchs of Aquileia and, in 1267, the Venetians captured the town. After the decay of the Venetian Republic, Poreč came under the control of Austria. In 1918, Istria and Poreč were left to the Italians. In April 1945, the town was liberated by the partisans.

POSAVINA. Region in Slavonia along the Sava River. It is a fertile plain and communication corridor.

POSAVSKI, LJUDEVIT. Knez (prince) of Lower Pannonia with seat in Sisak. He was the leader of a four-year rebellion against the Franks. The movement started in 819 and received support from the people of the surrounding regions of Carinthia, Carnolia, and Timok. The Dalmatian Knez Borna, a vassal of the Franks, helped to crush the resistance and Ljudevit died in Dalmatia.

POVALJSKA LISTINA. The Povlja parchment and the finely carved Povlja lintel prove that Cyrillic was in use on Brač in the early
Middle Ages. One theory holds that this alphabet came from the Kingdom of Dioclea and Zahumlja. It is composed of elements of the Greek alphabet adopted to the phonetic structure of the Slav language. An alternative theory attributes the invention of the alphabet to the followers of Cyril in Macedonia and Bosnia. Still another theory considers it as just a development from Croatian Glagolitic. In Croatia and Bosnia, the alphabet is now called Western (Bosnian or Croatian) Cyrillic or Bosanica. The use of Bosanica contradicts the statement that Cyrillic is exclusively Serbian. The Povlja are dated from around 1184.

POVELJA KULINA BANA. In this charter of 1189, the Bosnian Ban Kulin granted privileges to the town of Dubrovnik. He admitted free movement and tax-free trade on his Bosnian territory.

POŽAREVAC (TREATY OF). Treaty concluded in 1718 between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. The agreement followed a victory of Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1715 at Petrovaradin (Vojvodina) and the occupation of Temesvar and Belgrade. The Habsburg Empire held Belgrade in its grip and expanded deeply into Serbia up to Niš. This region and Belgrade were ceded again in 1739, but Slavonia and Srijem remained under the Habsburgs.

PRAGMATIC SANCTION. In 1712, the Croatian Sabor accepted the Pragmatic Sanction. It implied the recognition of Austrian hereditary rights on Croatia along the female line. The king of Austria, Charles III, could not sanction the document as long as Hungary had not been consulted. Only in 1723, the Hungaro-Croatian Diet adopted the Pragmatic Sanction. This opened the throne to Maria Theresa.

PRAXIS PHILOSOPHY. The journal Praxis was founded in September 1964. The group created a special bond between the main scientific centers of Yugoslavia (Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Belgrade), reinforced by the organization of a summer school in Korčula. Praxis was originally published in Serbo-Croatian, and from 1965 on also in three Western languages. The journal developed a left-wing critique of the regime and its scientific policies. The chief editors of Praxis were Danilo Pejović and Gajo Petrović. The philosophical concept
of “praxis” was central to this theory. This concept was strongly influenced by the philosophical writings of Karl Marx.

According to their vision, humankind is continuously transforming itself and its social environment through the creative transformation of outward reality—a process that will finally lead to the achievement of its essential nature. This view of humanity and society justified the implementation of the Yugoslav institutions of self-management as a step toward true democratic socialism. The Yugoslav self-management institutions were based on an attempt to bring key decisions concerning the organization of human work and politics within the reach of the working people and the citizen. This ideal was to a degree put into practice in industry by the so-called work councils, which had a range of areas of competence in the management of their enterprises. From that perspective, the theses put forward in Praxis reflected the Yugoslav regime’s break with the Soviet political system at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s.

The precise content that individual Praxis members gave to the philosophical conceptualization depended on their discipline and methodology. Even the level of abstraction depended on the chosen discipline. The sociologist Rudi Supek, for instance, was relatively concrete in his criticism of Yugoslav society, unlike many philosophers. The latter embedded their views in different traditions. The Zagreb-based Milan Kangrga, for example, influenced by German phenomenology, and especially Martin Heidegger, differed in approach and style from the Belgrade-based Mihailo Marković, who had been schooled in Anglo-Saxon neopositivism.

Another basic tenet of the group, also derived from the early theoretical writings of Marx, was the thesis that “praxis” (practice) implied “a relentless criticism of all existing reality.” This statement implied continuous criticism of Yugoslav society and in particular of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. Praxis members criticized widespread unemployment and growing social inequality in “socialist” Yugoslavia. They complained about the lack of democracy and true self-management, and defended the right to freedom of opinion. The communist establishment was invariably labeled as “bureaucrats.” The League of Communists was divided on the issue of how to deal with this kind of dissident opinion. On the one hand, members
of Praxis were at times heavily criticized, yet on the other, the journal was officially subsidized.

The communists seemed to need a universalist theory of humanity and a progressive justification of self-management as a theoretical counterweight to the growing influence of nationalism. Little by little, however, the Praxis philosophers overstated their case and went far beyond the practical needs of the official Yugoslav ideologues.

The group’s scathing criticism of the communist leadership prompted the leading ideologue Edvard Kardelj—seen at the time as the second-most powerful figure in the regime after Tito—to write a counter-criticism of the theses of the Praxis group, which was published in 1966. The intellectualism and supposed elitism of Praxis were not in line with the concrete phase of development of Yugoslav self-management. The contributors of Praxis were also subjected to serious attacks by the Zagreb party organization and the Croatian Parliament in May and June 1966. Ultimately in the spring of 1975, the printing and distribution of the journal was made impossible. The editorial line of thought of the journal was more or less continued by Praxis International, edited abroad in 1981.

PRESIDENT. The president is elected by a majority vote of the voters for a term of five years. No one can be president more than twice. In accordance with the principle of the separation of powers, the legislative power is reserved for the Sabor. However, under Franjo Tudman, Croatia has been described as a strong presidential regime. Presidential powers were broad and important, especially in defense, internal security, and international affairs. Along with the usual prerogatives of the head of the executive branch, formation of the government and preservation of the continuity of the working of the legislative powers, the president had several special prerogatives. He was commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He appoints the members of the National Defense Council and presides over it. He may, at the proposal of the government and with the counter-signature of the prime minister, after having consulted the president of the Parliament, dissolve the House of Representatives if it has passed a vote of no confidence in the government or if it has not approved the state budget within a month from the date when it was proposed.
In the performance of his powers the president of the republic is assisted by a Presidential Council and other advisory and auxiliary bodies whose members are appointed and recalled by the president. The deputy prime minister in the **Government of National Union** under **Franjo Gregurić, Zdravko Tomac**, remarked that the Croatian **constitution** installed a half-presidential and no full-parliamentary regime. Especially the National Defense Council has been criticized by the opposition as constituting a danger to parliamentary democracy.

In his presidential campaign, **Stipe Mešić** promised to change the nature of the regime in the direction of a more parliamentary one. After his election in the beginning of 2000, he negotiated with the new prime minister, **Ivica Račan**, about the presidential prerogatives, especially about his influence on top nominations in the internal security system. **Constitutional amendments** were finally formulated and the role of the president was somewhat reduced. At this moment, critics complain that the balance has shifted from a semi-presidential to a semi-governmental regime: the Sabor has not yet the weight it should carry in a full parliamentary regime.

**PRESS.** The press under the communists gradually developed a rather varied landscape. Before and during the war, it helped to develop views along republican lines. The new strong regimes tried to bring the press under control, no less in Croatia than elsewhere in ex-Yugoslavia. The quality newspaper **Vjesnik** came under the influence of the new government and continued its life as **Novi Vjesnik** (New Courier). **Vječerni List** (The Evening Paper) is a popular evening paper. **Glas Istrije** (The Voice of Istria) defended regional interests, as well as **Glas Slavonije** (The Voice of Slavonia). The editors of **Slobodna Dalmacija** (Free Dalmatia) defended longest of all an independent course. It was ultimately brought under state control through a **privatization** strategy. **Novi List** (The New Paper) of **Rijeka** was a more or less alternative daily and **La Voce del Popolo** (The Voice of the People) served the **Italian minority**.

**Danas** (Today), the best independent weekly under the communists, also came under government control through the same privatization policies. **Globus** is a rather sensational, nationalistic weekly that nevertheless published interesting documents and
stories. The same was even more true of *ST—Slobodni Tjednik* (The Free Weekly), which disappeared in the autumn of 1993. *Nedeljna Dalmatia* (Dalmatia Weekly) is a cultural weekly that is associated with *Slobodna Dalmacija*. *Hrvatski List* (The Croatian Newspaper), an Osijek daily published from 1920 to 1945, was reinitiated in Zagreb on a weekly basis during August 1992 and was one of the rare independent papers. A group of editors of *Danas*, including Mladen Maloča, Dražen Vukoc-Colić, and Marinko Ćulić, started the new paper and they were joined by some journalists from *Globus, Arena* and *Vikend* (Weekend) are popular magazines edited in Zagreb.

The change to the Franjo Tudman regime has been reflected in the publication policy of editing houses and institutions. Authors and viewpoints that were popular during the Croatian Spring and were then crushed by the communist regime enjoyed wide support and popularity.

The coming to power of the Ivica Račan government induced a similar change. Though editorially independent, the larger national and Zagreb papers support critically the government, including the two most important *Vjesnik* and *Vecernji List*. The Zagreb *Jutarnji List* (Morning Paper) shows a more independent viewpoint. The Split-based *Slobodna Dalmacija* is the only real opposition paper, notwithstanding the allegations that the Social Democrats (SDP) of Račan may have tried to bring it under control through privatization policies. Still the most subversive weekly is certainly *Feral Tribune*, followed by *Nacional* (National) that brought many politicians and businessmen into difficulties through its investigative journalism and risked in turn much litigation. *Globus* is a more popular weekly and *Obzor* (Horizon) was used to articulate rather conservative right-wing views.

Both *Obzor* and *Feral Tribune* disappeared for ideological and financial reasons. And the weekly *Hrvatski Tjednik*, trying to establish a high-quality journal, did not survive either, though strongly sponsored from abroad. Only *Nacional* seemed to lose its most sensationalist characteristics and appeared ready to fill the need for a good weekly, but it was seriously hurt by the assassination of its main editor, Ivo Pukanić, in the autumn of 2008. On the other hand, the weekly publication is now supplemented by an interesting daily online edition.
Most papers can now wholly or partly be reached by the Internet, where also radio programs and news from electronic media such as the Croatian News and Press Agency (HINA) and the Croatian Informative Center (Hrvatski Informativni Centar, HIC) are available. *See also* FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

**PREVLAKA.** Peninsula south of Dubrovnik. In the autumn of 1991, the whole region was occupied by the Yugoslav Army. The Konavle region and its airport have been destroyed by uncontrolled aggression and plundering. The presidents of Croatia and of the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Franjo Tuđman and Dobrica Ćosić, agreed on a truce and on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the region by 20 October 1992. The area came under the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) supervision in application of Resolution 779 of the United Nations Security Council of 6 October 1992. In the summer of 1993, President Tuđman declared during a press conference that he would not reject negotiations with the Serbs on an exchange of territories. The Prevlaka area was implied.

In September 1993, an exchange of territories was incorporated as an element of the global peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Prevlaka would be given to the Serbs as their way out to the sea and Croatia would receive the hinterland of Dubrovnik. Soon a discussion arose as to whether the Bosnian Serbs or the Montenegrins should annex the peninsula. However, this quarrel was a bit premature. The peace plan was rejected by the Bosnian Muslims, and the Croats tied an exchange of territories to the final settlement of the whole problem.

Prevlaka remained under UNPROFOR. The Dayton conference settled the problem of the frontiers of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia, Prevlaka is now the only disputed region. A new turn is the issue whether the region remains under the competence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or is dependent on the Republic of Montenegro. In any case, Montenegro already promised that a peaceful settlement favorable for both countries was within reach. With the November 2000 change of regime, a rapprochement of Serbia to Croatia is also under way. In the meantime, the mandate of the United Nations mission of observers in Prevlaka (UNMOP) was prolonged. This was mainly a thorn...
in the flesh of the local habitants who argued interested foreigners (in tourism or investments) were deterred by war memories.

PRIBIĆEVIĆ, SVETOZAR (1875–1936). Croatian politician of Serbian nationality, leader of the Serbian Independent Party. During Habsburg rule, he was a member of Parliament in the Croatian Sabor for the Croat–Serb coalition. He became the first minister of the interior in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under Prime Minister Stojan Protić of the Serbian Radical Party. Under the new prime minister, the Serb and actual strongman of the regime, Nikola Pašić, Pribićević drafted the centralistic Vidovdan Constitution of 28 June 1921.

Pribićević spent some years in the Yugoslav government in Belgrade, bitterly opposed by Stjepan Radić, the leader of Croatian People’s Peasant Party, then the main party in Croatia. However, in 1925, Radić himself entered the government of Pašić. Radić resigned already in April 1926 and provoked the fall of Pašić.

In November 1927, Pribićević and Radić concluded an agreement that established the Peasant–Independent Democratic coalition. This increased the polarization along national lines and led to political instability in the Yugoslav Parliament. Pribićević had changed his political vision from a supporter of monarchy and unitarianism to a republican and a federalist. The Radić–Pribićević coalition practiced systematic obstructionism in the National Assembly in Belgrade. It ended with the shooting of Radić in Parliament on 20 June 1928. This brought the formal end of the parliamentary regime. After some fruitless consultations—in which Pribićević was also involved—the king assumed personal power on 6 January 1929. In the month of May 1929, Pribićević traveled to Belgrade to establish connections with the opposition. He was arrested and interned. In July 1931, he finally got a passport to Czechoslovakia. He never returned to Yugoslavia.

PRIVATIZATION. Privatization in Croatia has been conducted in several stages. First, under the Law on the Transformation of Socially Owned Enterprises of 1991, the Agency for Restructuring and Development, and the Croatian Fund for Development transformed the ownership status essentially through nationalization and the creation of joint stock companies. Privatization was realized
by the sale of shares to employees of companies and private persons, and by gradual introduction on the capital market. The Croatian Privatization Fund under the Privatization Law of 1993 completed and refined this process. A third phase can be discerned in the reintegration of property of state, counties, cities, and municipalities of the liberated territories after the Homeland War in 1995. A fourth phase constitutes the efforts of the newly elected government of Ivica Račan to revise the whole process.

The complexity of the regulations led to irregularities and abuses by the former political and business elite. Irregular transformation procedures and manipulation of the value of shares still hamper the actual functioning of larger companies. The new government decided to adopt a proactive approach, declaring bankrupt companies with large and constant losses. When discussing the results of the privatization process in the Parliament, vice-president of the government Slavko Linić revealed on 29 November 2001 that the real value of the state portfolio amounted to only 19 percent of its nominal value. As reasons he mentioned technological arrears, problems with management structure, large loans and interest costs, and fractured management. Under the privatization law, 11 agencies managed the state portfolio without much coordination. Linić announced also the first results of the consolidation of the state portfolio. At the same time, judicial investigations were opened against private persons—both businessmen and politicians—who abused the privatization process.

On 14 November 2002 the government approved an operational plan for the further privatization of the state portfolio. Companies with minority share ownership were offered through the stock exchange of Varaždin or Zagreb. Companies with majority share ownership or of strategic importance were publicly tendered. In 1999 and 2000, state infrastructural services, such as telecommunications and the post, had already been sold. Then it was the turn of oil, gas, and electricity. Logically, most of these transactions were done with neighboring countries, namely Austria and Hungary. In 2009, the Ivo Sanader administration was still managing some of these deals. On the other hand, because most of the privatized business is now done and given its somewhat doubtful reputation, it has been proposed to do away with the Privatization Agency.
PROCOPIUS (?–565). Byzantine writer of a chronicle of the Gothic wars (534–552). As a secretary of General Belisarius, he was a first-hand observer and contemporary writer. His book *De Bello* dealt with the wars of Emperor Justinian up to 544. Procopius is one of the first sources of ethnographic data on the Slavs. He described their outlook, housing, character, organization, and *religion*. An account was given of the battles with the Romans around the Danube and the progression of the *Avar* and Slavic tribes to the Adriatic. Around 548, an army of Slavs crossed the Danube and kept killing, enslaving, and plundering as far as Epidamnus (Drač). Fifteen thousand Illyrians kept following the army but did not dare to attack it.

PUBLIC FINANCE. In the first years of its existence, the Republic of Croatia ran huge deficits. This was due first, to the rapid growth of defense expenditures and other war-induced outlays (mainly transfers to *refugees* and expenditures for health care) and second, to the narrowing of the tax base. In addition, the social sector has been shrinking while the private sector was growing and this sector was characterized by widespread tax evasion.

Along with the army, to which about 35 percent of Croatian budget expenditures were allocated, the other major budget items were the losses of the big enterprises in *industry*, *agriculture*, and public services that had to be heavily subsidized. About one quarter of budgetary expenses went into covering losses of public enterprises.

The effect of measures to reduce the budget deficit, most notably the sale of state ownership (apartments and firms) and the issuance of so-called patriotic bonds, did not have the planned success, especially not before 1995. From 1995 to 1997, the receipts from *privatization* had to compensate for growing budget deficits.

The situation did not fundamentally change during the first year of the *Ivica Račan* government. In the second year and under pressure from the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF), wages and social benefits were brought under control, personnel were laid off in the privatized enterprises and in the public sector, and the personnel of army and police forces were reduced. On the other hand, not all planned privatization receipts were realized and privatization was at times canceled, so that a large deficit budget could not be avoided.
The Ivo Sanader government wrestled with the same problems of a rising current account deficit and a serious deficit in the government budget. However, the last problem was tackled fairly well year by year until 2007, when a more than reasonable level was attained. However, the international financial crisis and the slackening of the economy in 2008 inevitably reversed this trend in spite of new restrictive measures of the government. See also BANKING; FOREIGN DEBT; MONETARY POLICY.

PUKANIĆ, IVO (1961–2008). Journalist and director of the news magazine Nacional. Following the publication in 2001 of a series of investigations on the tobacco industry and trade in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, and especially Montenegro, he was not only put on trial for defamation but also threatened physically. Human rights organizations referred to his case to alarm the general public in defense of freedom of the press.

On 23 October 2008, Pukanić and one of his collaborators were the victims of a bomb attack in the center of Zagreb. There was a lot of speculation about the real motives of this murder. One was found in the nature of his investigative journalism: in various cases, he revealed dubious practices. Another was more personal and pointed to organized crime. At any rate, public opinion was shocked. A few weeks earlier, the lawyer Ivana Hodak had also died in a violent attack in the center of Zagreb. The two cases forced Prime Minister Ivo Sanader to dismiss his ministers of the interior and justice and the head of police. These events were echoed in European circles, which exposed once more their skeptical views about the inefficiency of Croatian justice and the lack of decisiveness in fighting criminal organizations. The Sanader government received a serious warning that without drastic changes the normal course of the accession talks could come into danger.

PUULA. Town at the southern point of the Istrian peninsula. It is famous for its monuments from Roman times, such as a wholly preserved amphitheater, remains of the Temple of Augustus, and the partly preserved entry gates. In fact, Pula was conquered by the Romans from the Illyrians in 177 BCE. Augustus granted it the status of colonia and the name of Collonia Pollentia Herculanea. Later, the name changed
into Pietas Julia. During the reign of Emperor Justinian, in 544, the town was attacked by Byzantine General Belisarius, who placed the region under the rule of the Exarch of Ravenna.

Just off Pula’s shores lie the Brioni islands, once a residence of Tito and an important conference venue, now a national park.

PUSIĆ, VESNA (1953– ). Professor of sociology at Zagreb University. In the autumn of 1993, together with five other Croatian intellectuals, she wrote an open letter to President Franjo Tudman. They criticized his policy and asked him to resign. She took upon herself the presidency of the Croatian People’s Party (HNS), had a seat in Parliament, and became a respected political leader. She was elected vice-president of the European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party (ELDR) in 2005.

— Q —

QUARNERO. See KVARNER.

— R —

RAB. Island in Kvarner Bay between Pag and Krk. In the second century BCE, the Romans founded here a naval base that developed into a fortress city, cited as Arba by Plinius the Younger. The first official nudist beach in Yugoslavia was established in the “English Bay,” named after King Edward VIII.

RAČAN, IVICA (1944–2007). First prime minister in the period after the death of Franjo Tudman. He was born in Ebersbach (Germany). He graduated from the Law Faculty of Zagreb University and went into social research. From 1972 to 1982, he was a member of the presidency of the Central Committee of the Federation of Communists of Croatia. From 1986 to 1989, he had a seat in the same body on the federal level, where he was one of the first politicians—together with the Slovenes—to defend political pluralism. On 13 December 1989, elected president of the Central Committee of
the Federation of Communists of Croatia, he declared that multiparty elections would be held within four months. On 23 January 1990, he left the session of the extraordinary 14th congress of the Federation of Communists of Yugoslavia, in fact marking the political end of communist Yugoslavia.

Račan was elected a member of the Croatian Parliament in the 1990 elections that were won by Franjo Tuđman’s Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). Račan led the faction in Parliament of the democratically oriented former communists. He reformed the party, also changing its name, first to Party for Democratic Changes and then to Social Democrat Party (SDP) of Croatia. Račan was reelected in 1992 and 1995. In August 1998, he reached an agreement with the liberal Dražen Budiša to form a partnership for the elections. On 3 January 2000, this cooperation was successful and an opposition front of six parties obtained a majority in the House of Representatives.

On the 27th of the same month, Račan was nominated prime minister. Surprisingly, not Dražen Budiša but Stipe Mesić was elected president in February of the same year. Since Mesić was also a member of a former opposition party, this did not require pure cohabitation. Though some time was needed to redefine the competences of the president in the political system, the team Mesić–Račan functioned properly. A rapprochement with the European Union (EU) through a change in the policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, a reform of the economy by redirecting the privatization process, and the introduction of some social measures were the main common policy goals. While the former objective was met, the latter still figures on the agenda as a priority of government. Moreover, the necessary cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague was used by the opposition to mobilize the population against the government. Precisely for this reason, Mesić seemed to hesitate and opted for a stop-and-go policy.

Viktor Ivančić, a Feral Tribune journalist, criticized Račan for having taken over some of Tuđman’s nationalistic platform—or more fundamentally, the values of Croatian unity and homogeneity—this on the occasion of the intention to erect a monument in honor of the victims of the Homeland War. In fact, it was not clear
whether the duality in the policy of Račan is due to ideological or to tactical considerations. In the long run this could have some serious repercussions on the cooperation with the ICTY and on the process of accession to the EU.

In the elections of 2003, the Račan coalition was defeated by the HDZ. Račan returned to the Sabor as the main opposition leader. He assumed the duty of president of the National Committee to monitor the negotiations on the accession of the Republic of Croatia to the European Union (Nacionalni Odbor za pristupanje Republice Hrvatske Europskoj Uniji). He also resumed the function of party president of the SDP. On 31 January 2007, he announced his temporary resignation from all political activities because he was seriously ill. On 4 March, he definitively resigned as president of the party. He died on 29 March 2007.

**RAČIĆ, PUNIŠA (1886–1944).** Serb nationalist Montenegrin, representative of the Radical Party in the Yugoslav Parliament. During a parliamentary session in 1928, he shot down representatives of the Croatian People’s Peasant Party (HPSS) and wounded mortally its president, Stjepan Radić.

**RAČKI, FRANJO (1828–1894).** Theologian, historian, and politician. He played a major role in the initial years of the Matica hrvatska. He published many sources on the early history of Croatia. Rački was a member of the Sabor for the National Party. He supported the idea of the South Slav union.

**RADIĆ, ANTE (1868–1919).** He founded the Croatian People’s Peasant Party (HSSP) together with his brother Stjepan. He was more an ideologue, while his brother acted as the leading politician of the party.

**RADIĆ, STJEPAN (1871–1928).** Founder and leader of the Croatian People’s Peasant Party (HPSS). In his youth, he joined the Croatian nationalist students who were fighting the Habsburg monarchy. In 1902, he became editor of the Zagreb newspaper Hrvatska Misao (Croatian Thought). In 1904, he founded the HPPS together with his brother Ante Radić. The party succeeded in mobilizing the broad
masses of Croatian peasants and developed into the most important political party of Croatia between the two world wars.

When, in 1914, the first Yugoslav state came into being, Radić was an advocate of a federal Yugoslav republic with autonomy for Croatia. He failed to win the backing of the Sabor for his republican ideas. In the constitutional elections of 1920, the HPSS obtained a majority in Croatia. However, Radić remained powerless on the Belgrade scene, where a royalist coalition had been formed. The Vidovdan constitution, largely devised by the Croatian Serb Svetozar Pribićević, installed a centralist government. The same scenario was repeated in later elections. Radić did not give up his strong opposition to the king and his government, agitating sometimes more outside than inside the Parliament. On missions abroad, Radić conceived but did not find support for his radical plan to set up a Croatian Peasant Republic. In 1924, he was imprisoned for his unpatriotic behavior and charged with high treason. However, the next year, he adopted a conciliatory policy and entered the government as minister of education. Somewhat later, he resigned and resumed his opposition role. He fell back on his earlier radical position and urged autonomy for Croatia in a federal Yugoslavia. In 1928, Radić was shot down in the Yugoslav Parliament by a Serbian Montenegrin, Puniša Račić. Radić died a few months later.

RADIO 101. Commercial and popular local radio in Zagreb that began its broadcasts in 1983. When the Franjo Tuđman regime threatened to terminate its license, it was confronted with the first mass demonstration of more than 100,000 protesters in Zagreb and quickly gave in.

In 2001, the radio again did not get a broader regional license of the Council for Radio and Television, with no known motivation for this decision. The same had also been true under Tuđman in 1995, when the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) dominated the council, with the difference that it clearly had stated the reasons. Radio circles concluded that the political authorities did not want Radio 101 to extend its influence out of Zagreb.

RADOŠ, JOZO (1956– ). Center-left politician who sat in the Parliament for the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) and
became vice-president of the party. He was one of the candidates whom President Franjo Tuđman refused to nominate mayor of the city of Zagreb Assembly after the elections held on 29 October 1995.

In the 2000 elections, the HSLS made a coalition with the Social Democrat Party (SDP) and Radoš got elected. He was appointed minister of defense by Prime Minister Ivica Račan. He tried to push through serious reforms in the ministry and the army, but was halted halfway. On 3 July, Parliament had to vote on an agreement with Slovenia about the Krško nuclear plant. While the Liberal ministers and Radoš approved of the decision, the majority of the Liberals voted against and Dražen Budiša quit the government. The HSLS was split. Radoš resigned as minister and took up his mandate as representative in the House of Representatives on 7 August 2002, but he supported as a parliamentary faction of independent liberals the new Račan government that was formed after three weeks on 30 July 2002.

Somewhat later, the dissenters founded the Liberals of Croatia-Libra with Radoš as president. In the 2003 elections, Libra joined the list of the SDP and Radoš got elected. His term expired in 2008.

RAGUSA. See DUBROVNIK.

RAKOVICA REVOLT. The 19th-century revolt in Rakovica was one of the rare armed rebellions that sought to overthrow Habsburg rule in Croatia and tried to install an independent Croatia. On 8 October 1871, subversive activities were reported in the Ogulin Regiment of the Military Border. The next day a revolt was under way in Rakovica. The main instigators were the nationalist followers of Ante Starčević, Eugen Kvaternik, and Ljudevit Bach. They seized the local armory and proclaimed the independence of a free Croatia with its own provisional government and a national army. The rebels did not gain much support. The rebellion was already crushed by the Austrians on 12 October. The government troops took 63 prisoners and captured 194 rifles. Kvaternik and Bach were killed. However, this event had lasting effects: it convinced the Austrians that it would be wiser to abolish the Military Border.
RANKOVIĆ, ALEKSANDER (1909–1983). Close aide and long-term minister of the interior in the Tito regime. Ranković organized the secret services in communist Yugoslavia (OZNA sve dozna: The Security Services know everything) and was known as a conservative hardliner. He opposed the liberal wing in the League of Communists and the liberal tendencies in Yugoslav society at the beginning of the 1960s. These were mainly emerging in the more developed republics of Croatia and Slovenia. Though as vice-president of Yugoslavia since 1963 considered to be the heir of Tito, he was ultimately removed in 1966 as he tapped even Tito’s phones. This meant not only a victory for the reformers, it also affected the occurrence of the Croatian Spring. On the other hand, the massive rally of Serbs at his funeral in 1983 was seen as a first obvious sign of mounting nationalism.

RAŠA. River in southern Istria. Sometimes, the inversion “Arsa” is found as the name of the river. According to writers in the Middle Ages, it was the frontier between White Croatia and Roman Italy. In early times, it was the northern frontier of the territory of an Illyrian tribe, the Liburnians. The land on the other side of the river belonged then to the tribe of the Histrions. Both names are still frequently used in the area.

RAŠKOVIĆ, JOVAN (?–1992). Psychiatrist and politician, former leader of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in the Kninska Krajina. His first aim was to obtain cultural autonomy for the Serbs in the Krajina. His negotiations with Franjo Tuđman in the summer of 1990 were not successful. In August and September 1990, he organized a referendum on political autonomy for the Krajina. Later, he was discarded by more radical leaders who wanted political independence for the Serbs in Croatia: Milan Babić and Milan Martić took over the political and military organization of the Knin Serbs.

RAVENJANIN, IVAN. John of Ravenna. According to the chronicler Archdeacon Thomas, John of Ravenna mediated an agreement between the Croats and Pope Agathon at the end of the 17th century.

RED CROATIA. See WHITE CROATIA.
REFERENDUM. On 11 October 2001, Parliament passed some changes in the Law on the Referendum. A referendum will be held only under certain rather strict conditions. First, signatures have to be collected in a public place within a period of 15 days. Second, there should be only one clear question. Third, the Speaker of Parliament, following the advice of the council for the constitution, has to consult the Constitutional Court on the constitutionality of the question and the way signatures were collected within 30 days. The opposition tried to eliminate the time limit, but failed. This was not without political importance, as the Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War had collected signatures and requested a referendum on the issue of the extradition policy toward the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

REFUGEES. The number of refugees differs considerably depending on the reporting agency, but all agree the problem was most acute at the end of 1992 with roughly 700,000 refugees and displaced persons.

According to the Croatian Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees, on 22 September 1999, the office cared for the needs of 101,173 displaced persons and refugees, among them 50,633 displaced persons (39,770 displaced Croats from the Danube region and 10,863 from territories liberated in Operations Flash and Storm), 27,039 refugees, mostly from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and 23,501 returnees.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the number of refugees in September 2001 was 19,670 (18,272 from Bosnia-Herzegovina and 1,389 from Yugoslavia) and of displaced persons 22,713. The number of returnees was estimated at 327,360, of which 193,891 were refugees and 223,469 internally displaced. Andrej Mahečić of the UHNCR office of Zagreb stated that of the 200,000 Serbs who had fled Croatia after Operation Storm, some 90,000 had returned.

In 2007, the chairman of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) declared that Croatia had made great progress in its commitments to refugees, with the remaining 80,000 cases to be regulated in bilateral negotiations with Serbia. See also HUMAN RIGHTS; POPULATION.
RELIGION. Croatia is an almost exclusively Catholic country. According to some sources, Christianization started symbolically with the coming to Croatia of the missionary Abbot Martin. However, he was sent by John of Solin (Ivan Solinjanin), who was chosen pope of Rome in 640 and whose election seems improbable if there did not already exist an important Catholic community in the Croatian lands. In fact, Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote in a somewhat mythical chronic that the Byzantine Emperor Heraklius (610–641) had brought priests from Rome and ordained them to archbishop and bishops who then Christianized the Croats.

The Orthodox component in Croatia was mainly introduced in the 16th century by the migration of Serbs to the Military Border (Vojna Krajina), the buffer zone of Austria against the Ottomans. In exchange for their military services, the Serbs received a high degree of autonomy and freedom of religion. The region was long administratively separated from the civil and Catholic Croatia and, when Croatia was finally united, integration never took place fully. Therefore, the Homeland War was considered by some first of all as a religious conflict.

According to the data of the population census of 1991, before the war, the inhabitants of Croatia declared themselves to be of the following beliefs: Roman Catholic, 76.5 percent; Serbian Orthodox, 11.1 percent; Islam, 1.2 percent; Protestant, 1.4 percent; atheist, 3.9 percent; other and unknown, 6.9 percent. The figures of 2001, after the war, show the following picture: Roman Catholic believers rose to 88 percent, Serbian Orthodox fell to 4.5 percent, Muslims stagnated at 1.3 percent, and atheists fell to 2.5 percent.

Article 40 of the Constitution of 1990 guarantees the freedom of conscience and faith and the right to express it publicly. Article 42 declares that all religious communities are equal before the law and religion is to be separated from the state. Religious communities are free, in accordance with the law, to hold religious services in public, and to found schools and other institutions with a social or charitable goal. For these activities, they can enjoy the protection and help of the state.

The Law on Religious Communities of 2003 further regulates the practical provisions. At the end of 2003, some 14 communities were recognized and as many more were added to the list later. In
execution of the constitution, the state made agreements to finance the salaries and social security needs of the religious officials. Registration of the communities’ groups, while not obligatory, is also important to participate in the restitution of property, earlier confiscated by the communists and the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). The Catholic Church, as the largest religious organization, has been the main beneficiary.

While the legal provisions correspond to the requirements of a modern state, in practice discrimination of religious communities still exists. Most complaints come from the Serbian Orthodox Church that still experiences hostile feelings from the broader public and is the victim of minor but regular incidents. Of course, the situation fundamentally differs from the period of the Homeland War, when many churches on both the Catholic and Orthodox sides were damaged or totally destroyed. The Orthodox clergy still experiences difficulties returning and resuming their activities in the regions that were affected by the Homeland War, especially in the Knin region. Moreover, financial resources to rebuild most churches are lacking. There are also complaints from the Jews who were unable to recover property confiscated during the NDH. The Muslim community seems to take a low profile and avoid the eruption of old and new hatreds.

Religious communities themselves declare publicly that they are firm supporters of reconciliation and interreligious dialogue. When the Catholic Cardinal Josip Bozanić visited a memorial meeting in Bleiburg, he at once mentioned Jasenovac, the place where many Jews and Serbs were murdered in World War II. Ecumenical groups hold meetings between believers of different faiths and nongovernmental organizations are busy stimulating the dialogue process. In many cases, they are assisted by organizations from abroad.

**RELJKOVIĆ, MATIJA ANTUN (1732–1798).** Writer, born in the Slavonian village of Svinjar. He wrote under the influence of the Enlightenment. He published *Satir* (Satyr), a grammar, and a manual on sheep raising.

**REPUBLICA SRPSKA KRAJINA.** See SERBIAN REPUBLIC OF KRAJINA.
RIJEKA. Strategic town in the bay of Kvarner in the upper part of the northern Adriatic. The region was first settled by the Liburnians, an Illyrian people. The Romans built the military base of Tarsatica at the mouth of the Rečina River. In the seventh century, the town was conquered by the Avars and Slavs. They built the fortress of Trsat on the Roman ruins. The Slav name Rijeka can be found in documents from the 13th century. In the Middle Ages, the town was called Fiume, the Italian equivalent of Rijeka, also meaning “river.” Until 1918, Fiume was the port of Hungary and stood under its immediate jurisdiction. Istria on one side and Dalmatia on the other were under Austria. In 1918, Rijeka-Fiume was disputed by Italy and Yugoslavia and it was given an international statute. However, Italy invaded the region under the command of the poet Gabriel d’Annunzio. The Treaty of Rapallo of 1920 declared it a free city, but it was seized again by the Italians. After World War II, a plebiscite was held and Rijeka became the most important port of communist Yugoslavia. It is not surprising then that the Yugoslav Army left it as late as 10 December 1991 during the Homeland War of Croatia.

RITTER VITEZOVIC, PAVAO (1652–1713). Writer and forerunner of the Illyrian movement. He stressed the identity of language, way of life, and common origin of the South Slavs and linked these ideas with the Croatian people. He constructed a Greater Croatian theory on dubious grounds. However, he instigated followers to seek more acceptable arguments for his thesis. His main work Croatia rediviva was a protest against the Peace of Karlovci, which still deprived the Kingdom of Croatia of its ancient territories. Since for him, the name Croat embraced all Slavs, Vitezović divided the Slavic world into two parts: Northern Croatia, north of the Danube, and Southern Croatia, itself subdivided into White Croatia, west of the Drina-Sava line including Slovenia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and part of Hungary, and Red Croatia, east of it, including Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Thrace. His Pan-Croatianism was meant as both a historical reconstruction and a political project for the future. It was also a polemic against Venetian territorial pretensions.

RIVERS. Some of the biggest rivers flowing through Croatia are the Sava (562 km in Croatia), the Drava (305 km), the Kupa (296 km),
the Danube (188 km), the Bosut (186 km), the Korana (134 km), the Bednja (133 km), the Česma (123 km), the Una (120 km), the Vuka (112 km), the Dobra (104 km), the Glina (100 km), and the Cetina (100 km).

**ROČKI ABECEDARIJ.** In the Glagolitic alphabet, the order of letters is of more importance than in the Latin alphabet because the letters not only indicate sound but also numbers. It was a common practice at the beginning of the 13th century to paint the alphabet on the wall of the church. An outstanding example of such an alphabet book is on the wall of the church St. Antony the Hermit in Roč.

**ROLANDINUS.** The medieval notaries had their own textbooks, collections of regulations and rules, concerning their work. A copy of a book for notaries made in Bologna in 1277, Rolandino’s book was owned by the Split scribe Petar in the 15th century.

**ROMA / ROMI.** See GYPSIES.

**ROMANY PARTY OF CROATIA / STRANKA ROMA HRVATSKE SHR/ HROMANI PARTJAA ANDE HRVATSKA.** Gypsy party founded in Bjelovar on 6 June 1991. Its leader is Stevo Đurđević. See also GYPSIES.

**RUKAVINA, IVAN.** Commander of the general staff of the Croatian partisans. He was dismissed by the communist leadership for insisting on the national question.

**RUSSIAN FEDERATION (RELATIONS WITH).** Since Russia and especially some military circles were close allies of the Serbs and Slobodan Milošević, the relations of the Franjo Tudman regime with Russia were very difficult, if not hostile.

Aware of the importance of the Russian Federation in international relations, the Ivica Račan government began to improve relations in order to further trade and to find a solution for clearing the debt to Russia. The foreign ministers met in May 2000 and the Croatian foreign minister paid a visit to Moscow in early December.
In 2000 Russia was Croatia’s third largest import partner with $671 million or 8.5 percent of Croatia’s imports, especially energy. This was not matched by equivalent exports to Russia, hence the substantial Croatian foreign trade deficit.

– S –

SABOR. The Croatian Parliament or Sabor is a body of elected representatives of the people and is vested with the legislative power in the Republic of Croatia. It has now only one house, the House of Representatives, with 151 members. A constitutional amendment in 1997 changed its official name to Hrvatski državni Sabor (Croatian State Council), but on 4 December 2000, the name was returned to the historical name Hrvatski Sabor (Croatian Parliament).

The first historically known Sabor of the Kingdom of Slavonia (Congregatio Regni Sclavoniae) took place in 1273 in Zagreb. The first known Sabor of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia (Congregatio Regni Croatiae et Dalmatiae) was held in the year 1351 in Podbrižani in the region of Lika. There is some earlier rather mythical mentioning of the Sabor in 925, that should have crowned King Tomislav and of the Sabor in 1102 in Biograd, where the Hungarian King Koloman should have been crowned as king of Croatia and Dalmatia by Croatian noble men and župans (župani).

Due to this history, the Sabor—along with the ban—has been considered as one of the defining institutional characteristics of Croatia and its statehood.

SAKIĆ, DINKO (1921– ). He was commander of the Jasenovac concentration camp from December 1942 to October 1944. After the war, he fled to Argentina, where he lived for many years. He was finally arrested, extradited in 1998, and put on trial in Croatia in the course of 1999. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

SALONA (SOLIN). Salona was an Ancient Roman city near present-day Split. It was destroyed by the invading Avars and Slavs, probably in 614 CE. Its fall has been described in detail by Constantine
Porphyrogenitus. Impressive ruins can still be visited at the location of Manastarine.

SANADER, IVO (1953– ). Born at Split. He studied comparative literature and worked as literary agent. In August 1992, he won a seat in the House of Representatives for the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). In the next years, he was an adviser of high political bodies. After the death of Franjo Tudman, he defended a moderate position and was elected leader of the party during its fourth convention on 29–30 April 2000. He was reconfirmed in this post during the seventh convention on 21–22 April 2002. At this convention he succeeded in resisting the attack of the right-wing forces, which subsequently left the party. In this way, he was able to present the HDZ as a more moderate formation that had broken with some doubtful practices of the past.

Sanader led the party toward an electoral victory at the beginning of 2003. In part this was due to his overtures to former partners of Račan’s coalition. Thanks to them, he obtained a majority in Parliament for his first government. Sanader now also profited from the changes initiated by the previous government, especially in the international field. Without much internal resistance he managed to continue the process of integration into international institutions such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU).

As regards the economy, he continued more or less the development prescribed previously by the international organizations. In internal politics, he further distanced himself from the right, for example, on the occasion of local elections. This cautious policy was well received by a majority of the population and, in the elections of 2007, the HDZ was victorious again. Sanader went into his second governmental term with the support of the same coalition partners. His policy could be labeled the continuity of the continuity. He was confirmed as party leader of the HDZ. With the growing acceptance and integration of Croatia in the international community, Sanader more and more was heard at important international meetings. He represented Croatia mostly in the European Union, but also in the United Nations, where Croatia held a temporary seat on the Security Council.
In the middle of 2008, a strongly motivated Sanader seemed to be preparing his place as next president of Croatia. The economy was growing mildly and the integration of Croatia into NATO and the EU seemed in reach. However, internal weaknesses and the international financial crisis drastically changed the outlook. Growing unemployment, foreseeable difficulties with debt repayment, an imminent recession or crisis, and the struggle for internal stability and security were the sudden challenges Sanader was confronted with at the end of 2008 and early 2009. Therefore, some observers in the press questioned whether the versatile politician could overcome these difficulties.


In the spring of 1998, Šarinić got into a conflict with Ivić Pašalić, an influential adviser of Tuđman’s, about the events surrounding the collapse of the Dubrovačka Banka and the dismissal of the director of the Croatian Radio and Television (HRT), Ivica Mudrinić. Šarinić presented his resignation, which he ultimately withdrew under pressure from Tuđman. A second clash between Šarinić and Pašalić set in at the end of September 1998. Šarinić accused Pašalić of leaking sensitive information to the weekly Imperial by the intermediary of the intelligence services. An investigation was introduced, but both in Parliament and in the party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) majority disavowed Šarinić. He resigned from all political functions.
SAVEZ KOMUNISTA JUGOSLAVIJE (SKJ). See LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (LCY).

SAVEZ ZA TREĆU HRVATSKU. See LEAGUE FOR THE THIRD CROATIA.

SCULPTURE. Following the Slav invasion of the Croatian lands, functional sculpture was developed by local artists along specific and artistic lines. The ornaments of old Croatian churches show typical themes and forms, as for example the many reliefs of plaited ornamentation with three interwoven and highly stylized bands. Later on, this religious functional sculpture assumed greater size and autonomy. The portal of the Trogir cathedral made by Radovan is famous. Another example of local sculpture is the adorned capitals of the pillars of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik. Of particular interest are the stecci, the Bogomil tombstones that are found in Herzegovina, and some southern parts of Croatia, especially around Dubrovnik.

Later Croatian sculpture has to a large extent followed the development of European styles. Ivan Mestrović was the most famous Yugoslav and Croatian sculptor. Early in his career, he was a master of Yugoslav symbolism, and later, he fell back thematically on his Croatian origins. Communist sculpture was characterized by some monumental commemorative works.

Contemporary Croatian sculpture has intensified the contacts with the international scene. Regularly it participates in multimedia projects and computer-aided designs.


ŠEKS, VLADIMIR (1943–). Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) politician, born in Osijek and graduated from the Law Faculty in Zagreb University. He was one of the deputy prime ministers in the government of Hrvoje Šarinić and Nikica Valentić. He increasingly represented the right wing of the party. He was one of the extreme
leaders who retired from the highest party organs at the demand of President Franjo Tuđman during the second convention of the HDZ. He remained a member of Parliament under the Ivica Račan government, and was known for his radical and unpolished interventions.

SENIA. See SENJ.

SENJ. Town on the shores of the Adriatic in the Bay of Kvarner between Rijeka and Zadar. Then called Senia it was a trading port in Roman times. It only became significant in the 12th century when it obtained the see of a bishop. The Croato-Hungarian King Matija Korvin granted Senj the privileges of a king’s town. In 1526, it passed into the hands of the Habsburgs. At that time, numerous Uskoks fled before the Ottomans from the interior Bosnian lands and settled in Senj.

War against the Ottomans and Venetians developed into piracy feared along the whole Dalmatian coast. It was even the cause of a war between Austria and Venice in 1615. Venice asked Vienna to silence the destructive activities of the Senj pirates. Vienna would or could not bring the local warlords under control. The Peace of Madrid of 1617 stipulated that the Uskoks should be deported from Senj to the region of Lika and Žumberak and their ships burnt.

By the 10th century, Senj was a center of Glagolitic. The use of Glagolitic in the diocese of Senj was officially permitted by a 13th-century papal decree. From 1493 to 1508, a Glagolitic press was printing in Senj.

ŠENOJA, AUGUST (1838–1881). Born in Zagreb, poet, dramatist, critic, journalist, and creator of the Croat historical novel. In 1872, he wrote the so-called first Croatian novel, Zlatarovo zlato (The Goldsmith’s Gold). In 1873 and 1876, he published anthologies of Croatian and Serbian poetry. In 1878, he wrote about the Seljačka buna (Peasant Uprising).

ŠEPAROVIĆ, ZVONIMIR (1928–). Professor at the Law Faculty of Zagreb University, rector of the university (1989–1991). He was minister of foreign affairs in the Government of National Union.

In 1999, he turned his back on the Franjo Tudman regime. He admitted that some three years earlier, when he had been head of the Croatian supreme secret service, a working paper had been drawn up to assess who of the Croatian journalists could have been a collaborator of the UDBA, the former secret service of Yugoslavia. But because the list included more names of politicians from the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), including its two vice-presidents, the project to verify these findings was dropped.

**SERBIAN AUTONOMOUS PARTY / SRPSKA SAMOSTALNA STRANKA.** Former party of the Serbs living in Croatia. It was founded in 1873 and first led by Pavle Jovanović and later by Svetozar Pribićević. The Zagreb-based publication *Srbobran* was the party organ. The Serbian Autonomists advocated programmatically the union of Lika, Kordun, Banija, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina—all of which had a significant Serbian minority—with Serbia to form a Greater Serbia.

**SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY / SRPSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA (SDS).** The Serbian Democratic Party was the majority party of the Serbs in the Krajina, founded as a successor of the Communist Party during the early months of 1990 in Donji Lapac near Knin. The party suspended its relations with the Croatian Parliament on 26 July 1990.

**SERBIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL/SRPSKO NARODNO VIJEĆE (SNV).** Common political body of all Serbs in Croatia. Its leader is Milorad Pupovac.

**SERBIAN NATIONAL PARTY / SRPSKA NARODNA STRANKA (SNS).** The Serbian National Party is the Party of the Croatian Serbs in the urban parts of Croatia who are loyal to the Croatian state and government. Its co-president Veselin Pejnović declared Croatia had been given the necessary legal infrastructure, but that the question was how to make it work for the Serbs loyal to the regime. How to bring about normal relations is the issue tackled in the SNS strategic
document *Pravim i demokratskim sredstvima do trajnog mira* (Legal and Democratic Ways to a Stable Peace). In September 1993, the party’s president Milan Đukić condemned the Gospić offensive. In his view, violence would not bring a long-term solution to the Serbian problem in Croatia. At the same time, he declared that the Serbs in Croatia are more than just a minority. The party is represented in Parliament. Its membership in 1999 amounted to 15,000 members.

**SERBIAN REGIONS OF WESTERN SLAVONIA / SRPSKE OBLASTI ZAPADNE SLAVONIJE.** A part of Western Slavonia was occupied by the local Serbs in the war of 1991. In the beginning of 1992, it was placed under the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) as the Sector West. The Serbian Krajina of Western Slavonia had its Parliament in Okučani. Its leaders were the Serbs Veljko Džakula, Dušan Ećimović, and Mladen Kulić. They participated in peace talks with the Croatian authorities and concluded the Daruvar agreement. After the Gospić offensive during September 1993, the hardliners of the Serbian Democratic Party of Knin demanded the dismissal and arrest of the three leaders. The Parliament of Okučani hardened its position as well and demanded the removal of the UNPROFOR control posts in Western Slavonia. It proposed that the government in Knin get a new name: Zapadna Raška or West Raška. Raška was the name for old Serbia.

It all ended by Operation Flash in 1995, when the Croats in less than 36 hours reconquered the region. On that occasion, violations against human rights took place that were revealed by the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and are still being examined by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

**SERBIAN REPUBLIC OF KRAJINA / REPUBLIKA SRPSKA KRAJINA (RSK).** The Serbian Republic of Krajina came into being with the self-declared transformation of the Serbian Autonomous region of the Krajina. The statehood was symbolized by the opening of its own frontier passage with Hungary at Knežev. The republic’s president Goran Hadžić, its prime minister Đorđe Bjegović, and its minister of foreign affairs Slobodan Jarčević all defended the formal independence of the Serbian Republic of Krajina and the secession
from Croatia. Even a merger with the Serbian Republic of Bosnia (Republika Srpska, RS) had been approved in a referendum, but the materialization of this plan seems to have been postponed under pressure from Belgrade.

ŠEŠELJ, VOJISLAV. Born in eastern Herzegovina. He was a sociologist and dissident under the communist regime. In the postcommunist period, he became the leader of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS). He considered himself to be the heir of Draža Mihailović, the Serbian četnik leader during World War II. Šešelj’s SRS established a paramilitary branch. In the spring of 1991—even before the official proclamation of independence of Croatia—Šešelj’s militia initiated provocative actions in Croatia. During the war, units were fighting in Vukovar and then dispersed themselves over all regions contested by the Serbs. His party grew into the biggest opposition and second party of Serbia. Slobodan Milošević more than just tolerated the activities of the Šešelj groups. Šešelj withdrew his support of the Milošević government, which in turn arrested several of Šešelj’s militia on the charge of war crimes. Milenko Petrić and his gang were accused of murdering four Croats near Šid, a village in East Srijem.

He was first indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in February 2003. After repeated delays for medical reasons, his trial began in November 2007. On 11 February 2009, the trial was adjourned because of alleged threats to a number of witnesses.

ŠIBL, IVAN. Former Yugoslav Army general and president of the Veterans Organization known for his role in the Croatian Spring alongside Ante Miko Tripalo and Savka Dabčević Kučar. He was stripped of all political power after the December 1971 Karadordevo session, in which he complained Croatian nationalism was not treated on an equal basis with other Yugoslav nationalisms.

ŠIDAK, JAROSLAV (1903–1986). Historian, born in Vienna. He wrote several critical surveys on the history of Croatia, especially of the 19th century.
ŠIMIĆ, ANDRIJA (1833–1905). Andrija Šimić, also remembered as Andrijica or Little Andrew, was the last hajduk in Croatian tradition, in line with his most renowned forerunner Mijat Tomić. In fact, his life story and his meaning in the social memory follow the same pattern, though in a somewhat minor edition. Šimić was born in Alogovci, near Grude, now a border city between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He became an outlaw because the Turkish tax collectors robbed his father and the local Turkish rulers did not intervene. Andrija fled to the mountains and hid in a cave, from which he operated to rob the Turks himself. To the local population, he seemed invincible. Finally, he was captured in the spring of 1878, put on trial, and incarcerated in Koper. The bishop of Mostar took his defense and, freed, Šimić turned to his homeland, where he related the tales of his life in taverns. In the epic tradition, he earned the fame of defending the weak Christian subjects against the merciless Ottoman tyrants. His legend survived in the local tales of the population and he got a street named after him in Tomislavgrad (Duvno), near the one dedicated to Tomić.

ŠIMIĆ, ANTUN BRANKO (1898–1925). Born in Drinovci, Herzegovina. His expressionistic collection of poetry Preobraženja (Transfiguration), written in an unconventional free style, marked the confirmation of the Moderna in Croatian poetry. Šimić freed himself later from expressionistic influences and embraced a more realistic poetry.

SIRMIUM. See SRIJEMSKA MITROVICA.

SISAK. Town on the confluence of the Sava and the Kupa Rivers. Around 400 BCE, a concentration of Celts settled around the later Sisak. In the administrative reform of Emperor Diocletian in 297 CE, Siscia became the capital of the province of Savia, the part of Pannonia south of the Mura and the Drava. Sisak was also the capital of the Croatian Pannonian Prince Liutevit in the beginning of the ninth century. In 1593 a decisive battle was fought near Sisak by the Austrian Emperor Rudolf and the Croatian Ban Thomas Erdödi against the
Ottomans. It was a turning point in history. It was the beginning of a 13-year-long war, which ended with the first rollback of the Turks.

**SISCIA.** See SISAK.

**Šišić, Ferdo (1869–1940).** Historian, born in Vinkovci (*Eastern Slavonia*), and one of the older, most renowned historians. He wrote on the origin of the *Yugoslav* kingdom (*Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1904–1919*).

**Škare-Ožbolt, Vesna (1961– ).** Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) politician, born in Osijek; she was involved in the negotiations of a peaceful return of *Eastern Slavonia* to Croatia. Being a moderate, she left the HDZ with Mate Granić after the HDZ *election* defeat of 2000. She was the only politician of the Democratic Center who won a seat in the 2003 elections and she joined the HDZ government as minister of justice. Her popularity rose out of proportion to her electoral base due to the reforms she was able to achieve and her rival HDZ colleagues reacted poorly to this. She was finally sacked by Prime Minister Ivo Sanader on 10 February 2006 before the end of her term. Information on the government strategy in the Ante Gotovina case had been leaked to the press by the ministry of justice. She had taken up the leadership of the Democratic Center, when Mate Granić left. She was unsuccessful in the 2007 *elections*.

**Slamnig, Ivan (1930–2001).** Born in Metković, poet, story and novel writer, critic and literature theoretician, and member of the *Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences*.

**Slaviček, Milivoj (1929– ).** Born in Čakovec, contemporary poet of ordinary daily life, writing in a seemingly easy, conversational style. In the early 1950s, he was a contributor to the Croatian journal *Krugovi* (Circles), which defended artistic freedom against communist socio-realism. He was appointed ambassador to Poland during the Franjo Tudman regime.

**Slavonia.** Presently an area in the eastern part of inner Croatia (*Pannonia*), usually subdivided in Eastern and Western Slavonia.
The main town in **Eastern Slavonia** are **Vukovar**, **Osijek**, and **Vinkovci**. Western Slavonia includes Pakrac where some of the first **Homeland War** incidents took place. These zones were monitored by the **United Nations Protection Force** (UNPROFOR), while between these urban areas, a large area had remained under control of the Croatian authorities. Through **Operations Flash** and **Storm** in 1995, the whole region returned to **Zagreb**.

In the course of history, the term **Slavonia** changed its meaning frequently. At the end of the 11th century when the Croatian peoples were joined under a Hungarian ruler, the term **Slavonia** referred to the greater part of the South Slav lands, including Bosnia and Serbia. During the Ottoman conquest of a major part of the Croatian lands in the 16th and 17th centuries, the term designated the remainder of the Croatian lands that were free from Ottoman rule or Venetian domination. In early modern times, Slavonia, comprising roughly the lands between the Sava, Drava, and the Danube, including the capital city of Zagreb, was nearly identical with inner Croatia of today. When, in the course of the early 18th century, the old Croatian territories were reconquered from the Ottomans, the term **Slavonia** was reserved for the eastern parts of the old Croatian lands, and even these territories were in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries divided between **Croatia proper** (also called Upper Slavonia) and Hungary. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the term **Slavonia** had only a geographic, not a legal political, meaning. Thus it referred only to the eastern parts of Croatia, within the boundaries of 1868.

**SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.** The **Free Dalmatia** is a daily paper edited in **Split**. It first appeared on 17 June 1943, as the organ of the antifascist struggle of the people of **Dalmatia**. The paper survived the communist regime and—so far—all tribulations around the **privatization** and ownership transformation. It was considered to be the only real opposition paper, both under the **Franjo Tuđman** regime and under the **Ivica Račan** government, just because of changes in the ownership structures. And it has been rumored on the one hand that the **Social Democrats** (SDP) of Račan had tried to bring it more in line with the **government** policy. On the other hand, the paper **Nacional** outed a story that revealed that in fact Račan stood under strong pressure of the owners of the financial group—**Grupo**—around **Slobodna**
Dalmatia and that he was advised at least not to counter their media policies. See also FERAL TRIBUNE.

**SLOVENIA (RELATIONS WITH).** Though both republics declared and fought for their independence and secession from Yugoslavia in close alliance, from the very beginning there were some very sensitive questions that disturbed the smooth relations between Slovenia and Croatia. First, the Slovenes reproached Franjo Tuđman for doing almost nothing to prevent Yugoslav troops from passing through Croatia to Slovenia, immediately after the proclamation of independence. On 2 July 1991, Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Franjo Gregurić criticized the actions of the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia, but added that Croatian forces would not engage in armed operations against the Yugoslav Army. On the other side, the Croats had cause to regard the attitude of the Slovenes as rather passive and apathetic once the Yugoslav Army left Slovenia and Croatia came under fire.

More frictions arose about the nationalization of property in the new states. The Croats accused the Slovenes of illegally keeping real estate in Croatia and of transferring industrial equipment to Slovenia. They threatened to seize the holiday resorts of Slovenian companies on the Croatian coast. At least one notable incident arose when the Croatian Army seized a disputed holiday resort in Novi Grad in the autumn of 1993. The Council for Refugees had requested the army’s support to house new Croatian refugees from Bosnia. The Slovenian media blew up the case and the Croatian minister of foreign affairs quickly apologized for the undiplomatic and illegal action.

There were also territorial disputes. The first problems arose regarding the delimitation of the Medimurje region. As state frontiers and cultural borders do not fall together, the usual practice was to mix languages during liturgical services in the church of the disputed small locality of Raskrižje. Though more than 70 percent of the population is Croat and Croatian cultural vestiges are easily certified, the communist authorities of 1945 attached the village to Slovenia. The region is now claimed by Croatia on ethnic grounds.

More serious and disruptive were the discussions about the frontier near the Bay of Piran in the Adriatic. The conflict laid bare the divergent and sometimes shifting views on the underlying basic principles of both parties. In the discussions of the bilateral technical commis-
sion on frontier issues, one party stuck to the registered frontiers of the communes, while the other defended the principle of natural frontiers. In the case in point, the Dragonja River in Piran Bay has more than one basin: its original course and several canalized ones. The discussion was not without further importance, because in the disputed area lie the Slovenian airfield of Portorož and some industrial salt fields. Moreover, the frontiers in the bay are of more than local interest to Slovenia, because they may give access to international waters. Here Slovenia referred to an international law on sea rights invoking historical and vital interests, while Croatia defended the position of fixing frontiers purely by reference points equidistant from the shore, based on an earlier sentence of the same article in maritime law.

As a result of these conflicts, the signing of an agreement on friendly cooperation between Croatia and Slovenia was postponed. The Slovenian Parliament blocked the procedure, arguing that Croatia had not earned Slovenia’s friendship. Some politicians even claimed that signing an agreement would harm the image of Slovenia. At that time, Croatia was under attack from the international community for its policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the beginning of 1994, tensions rose to new heights. Slovenia threatened to cut Croatia off from the Krško electric network because its unpaid bill had accumulated to DM 40 million. On the other hand, Croatia claimed it had not yet been compensated for the Croatian investments of about $1 billion in the Krško nuclear power station. Another bone of contention was the unsettled liabilities of the Ljubljanska Banka toward Croatian citizens and the interest to be paid on them. At the same time, no progress had been made in the Piran issue. More difficulties were expected to arise in connection with the revision of the Osimo agreement with Italy.

All these disputes could not be brought to an end during the Tuđman regime. Under the Ivica Račan government, at first the climate improved considerably. At the end of 2001, an agreement was reached on the Krško problem and approved in the summer of the next year by the Croatian Parliament in a tumultuous session. Promises were made on the compensation by the Ljubljanska Banka. The issue of the Osimo agreement seemed to find a solution without further complications. A commission of Slovenia and the Račan
government even agreed on a solution regarding Piran Bay, but the Croatian Sabor was very reserved toward the so-called Drnovsek–Račan agreement of 2001. The Slovenes then threatened to link again all pending problems. In 2002, Croatia officially informed Slovenia that the agreement on Piran Bay was neither endorsed nor ratified by the Croatian Parliament, so it was nonexistent. Croatia even defined ecological zones that threatened any Slovenian access at the open sea and Slovenia reacted with more radical solutions, such as declaring that the whole Bay of Piran was Slovenian on historical grounds.

In 2005, there was a new sharp exchange of views between the Croatian minister for European integration Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović and Slovenian minister of foreign affairs Dimitri Rupel. The latter again probably rightly qualified the Drnovsek–Račan agreement as a major lost chance. He pointed also to the still outstanding debt of Croatian companies to the Ljubanska Banka and to the frontier problem at Hotiza concerning the construction of a bridge across the river Mura. He complained Croatia subscribed agreements on border control, but did not change its practices.

In 2006, Croatian clients of the Ljubljanska Banka had their claims rejected by the European Court of Human Rights, but it became clear that two of the three had already been compensated. In a comment, Prime Minister Ivo Sanader insisted once more that the bank would compensate its former clients to the last cent. The European Union (EU) was also instrumental in stating in 2007 to Slovenia that the agreement had a private character and was not to be relegated to debt agreements about the succession of Yugoslavia. However, it seemed that the problem has been extinguished.

On 19 December 2008, at the Intergovernmental Accession Conference of the EU with Croatia in Brussels, Slovenia expressed its reservations about seven negotiation chapters because they allegedly prejudged the decision on frontiers that were controversial, especially at the Bay of Piran. About four other chapters, Slovenia had further highly technical and juridical reservations. Croatia experienced this as a real blockade. In the press, probable repercussions on public opinion and for Slovenian enterprises on Croatian soil were hotly discussed.

Nevertheless, the neighboring Slovenia had always been and remained an important trading partner. In 2006, it absorbed almost 9
percent of Croatia’s exports for a sum of $851 million, and Croatia imported for $1,350 million from Slovenia or more than 6 percent of Croatia’s total imports.

SMIČIKLAS, TADIJA (1843–1914). Born in Reštovo in the Žumberak. He wrote *Poviest Hrvatska*, the history of Croatia in a “pragmatic” vein. It had to strengthen national Croatian awareness against the Hungarian cultural and political hegemony in the period of the Nagodba. He became professor of history at Zagreb University in 1882, a member of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1883, president of the Matica hrvatska in 1889, and president of the Yugoslav Academy from 1900 to 1914. He edited a diplomatic codex of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slovenia with source documents on the Middle Ages. In 1891, he published a book *Dvesto godišnjica oslobođenja Slavonije* (Two Hundred Years since the Liberation of Slavonia). He was twice elected to the Sabor on the list of the Independent National Party (1884–1887 and 1897–1902).

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT ACTION OF CROATIA / AKCIJE SOCIJALDEMOKRATA HRVATSKE (ASH). Political party founded by Ante Miko Tripalo, who also served as its first president. The program of the party was accepted during its second extraordinary meeting on 29 June 1996, and focused on unemployment, health, housing, and family policy and the development of the economy.

Ante Klarić, the head of the party in 2001, declared that the party still adhered to the principles and practices laid down by its founder, thus closely following the tradition of the European Social Democrats. Before 1996, the party had four members in Parliament; after the 3 January 2000 elections, only one seat was retained in the House of Representatives.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF CROATIA / SOCIJALDEMOKRATSKA PARTIJA HRVATSKE (SDH). Social Democratic party founded by Antun Vujić, also its first president. In 1994, it was absorbed by the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Vujić became minister of culture in the Ivica Račan government.
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF CROATIA–PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGES/SOCIJALDEMOKRATSKA PARTIJA HRVATSKE–STRANKA ZA DRUŠTVENE PROMENE (SDPH-SDP). This party is the successor of the Communist Party. Its leader and president Ivica Račan played an important role in the breakup of the communist system and the introduction of multiparty elections. At the first elections, the party was seriously beaten by the nationalists of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). However, in August 1991, it participated temporarily in the Government of National Union. At the next elections, the HDZ triumphed again and the SDP went into the opposition for a long time. In the perspective of the parliamentary elections of 2000, it formed a coalition with the Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLS) and an alliance with four other smaller parties. The front of six opposition parties obtained a majority and Račan could form his government as prime minister.

The program of the SDP is very close to that of other European Social Democrat parties: on the left of the center, it tries to reform by democratic means the capitalist market economy in a socialist direction. After two years of government, critics remarked that in the economic field, the SDP government had not fundamentally broken with the Franjo Tudman policy. Moreover, the government was constantly monitored by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while the concluding of trade and association agreements with international organizations had a large liberalizing impact on the economy.

After the defeat in the election of 2003, inner party relations became strained. Following the death of Ivica Račan, several party leaders competed for the party presidency: Željka Antunović, Milan Bandić, Tonino Picula, and Zoran Milanović. At the party convention of 2 June 2007, Milanović was elected the new SDP leader. However, so far he has not displayed the authority that Račan had enjoyed earlier.

SOCIETY OF THE BROTHERS OF THE CROATIAN DRAGON / DRUŽBA BRAĆA HRVATSKOGA ZMAJA. This society has adopted the name of the Ordo Equestris Draconis, an order founded in 1408 under the Croato-Hungarian King Sigismund. The Society of the Brothers of the Croatian Dragon was founded in 1905 by the historian Emilije Laszowski and the writer Velimir Deželić. Its concern was the study and preservation of the national cultural heritage. After World War II, its activities were prohibited and suspended. The society revived under the Franjo Tuđman regime. The main projects of the society include the reconstruction of architectural monuments, the publishing of Croatian literature, and commemorative manifestations of historical-cultural events. The society has erected a monument to the Croatian national anthem at Zelenjak.

SOLIN. See SALONA.

ŠOLJAN, ANTUN (1932–1993). Born in Belgrade. He studied at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb and lived and worked there as a professional writer. He is best known as a novelist. His books include Luka (The Port), Drugi ljudi na Mjesecu (Other People on the Moon), and Prošlo Nevršeno Vreme (Gone the Imperfect Time). He also wrote poetry, plays, essays, and short stories and translated works from world literature. Critics called him the most significant Croatian writer of his generation.

ŠPEGELJ, MARTIN (1927– ). General and minister of defense in the government of Josip Manolić. In the spring of 1991, the minister was accused by the Yugoslav Army of plotting an armed insurrection. He was judged in absentia on 8 April 1991 by a military tribunal in Zagreb. His trial was interrupted by street protests. The Zagreb regime succeeded in hiding the general during the following months.

SPLIT. At the foot of Mount Marjan, there was a small settlement founded by Greek traders, called Aspalathos. The Roman Emperor Diocletian (245–313 CE) built his palace here. It still dominates the old town of Split. After Diocletian died, the palace became state property, a refuge for Roman nobility who had fallen out of favor. In 424, Galla Placidia, the daughter of Emperor Theodosius, was
banished to the palace with her son Valerian. Marcellinus, who had proclaimed himself Emperor of Dalmatia, lived there in 461. Julius Nepos, dethroned by Odoacer, fled there. As Salona fell in 641, its inhabitants first fled to the islands and then to Split. The palace did not suffer much from the invasions of the Avars and Slavs.

Split became the religious center of Dalmatia. The early medieval city developed under Byzantine rule and was briefly conquered by the Franks. The 925 and 928 church synods united the provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia. In 1075, the papal emissary crowned Zvonimir king of the Croats and Dalmatians. In 1105, Split recognized the sovereignty of the Hungarian kings, retaining some autonomy on the basis of old municipal rights. The 15th and 16th centuries were marked by significant humanistic activity. Split built a port terminal, customhouse, and lazaretto (hospital) and became the main port for exports on the Balkans. The war with the Ottomans brought its decline.

Marko Marulić, the father of Croatian literature, was born, lived, and wrote in Split. Emanuel Vidović, a forerunner of modern Croatian contemporary painting, was born and spent his life as a painter here. Other eminent citizens also lived in the city: Andrija Buvina, Archdeacon Thomas, Juraj Dalmatinac, Ivan Lukacić, Tin Ujević, Ivan Mestrović, Vladimir Nazor, and many others.

Split is now the second-largest city in the republic and has a considerable industrial sector. It has its own university and many cultural institutions. Due to the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, it attracted many refugees. Split is also the capital of the Splitsko-Dalmatinska županija.

SPOLETO, AMONE VON. Duke, assigned by King Viktor Emmanuel III to become the king of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). As Tomislav II, he refused and did not take up his functions.

SRIJEM. Due to the Treaty of Karlovci of 1699, this region belonged to Croatia as the Ottomans were forced out of Slavonia. The borders of Croatia reached up to the point where the Sava flows into the Danube, namely Belgrade. The contemporary Croatian–Serbian border was drawn for the first time in 1945 and brought a division of Srijem. This was decided, not without controversy, by the communist
leadership. The border was drawn according to ethnic principles: eastern Srijem mainly settled by Serbs went to Serbia and was incorporated into the autonomous province of Vojvodina, the western part mostly settled by Croats went to Croatia. See also SRIJEMSKA MITROVICA.

SRIJEMSKA MITROVICA. Town in Eastern Pannonia, now called Srijemska Mitrovica or Srijem. In Roman times, Sirmium was the capital of Pannonia Segunda. The Roman emperors Aurelian, Decius, Claudius II, and Probus were born here. In 582 the city was conquered by the Avars.

SRPSKA NARODNA STRANKA (SNS). See SERBIAN NATIONAL PARTY.

SRPSKA REPUBLIKA. See SERBIAN REPUBLIC.

SRPSKE OBLASTI ZAPADNE SLAVONIJE. See SERBIAN REGIONS OF WEST SLAVONIA.

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT (SAA) / SPORAZUM O STABILIZACIJI I PRIDRUŽIVANJU (SSP). On 29 October 2001, the prime minister of the Republic of Croatia Ivica Račan and the foreign affairs commissioner of the European Commission Chris Patten signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between the Republic of Croatia and the European Union. The Croatian Sabor ratified the agreement on 5 December 2001, though the opposition parties Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), Croatian Party of Right (HSP), and Croatian Christian Democratic Union (HKDU) voted against it. The European Parliament accepted the agreement on 12 December 2001. It came only into force in 2005 due to the conditionality about full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the British having blocked the ratification.

STABILITY PACT FOR SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE. The Stability Pact was launched in Cologne and Sarajevo in the summer of
1999 by 28 states and the principal international organizations active in the region. Its main goals included regional military security, the spread of democracy and human rights, and the preparation of the integration process with Europe. The first coordinator of the pact for a two-year period was the German Bodo Hombach. He was followed by the Austrian Erhard Busek.

An implementation of this treaty was the signing of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between the Republic of Croatia and the European Union.

STARČEVIĆ, ANTE (1823–1896). He has been called the father of the Croatian nation. He developed the theory of the Croatian historical state’s rights. According to it, the Croats as a political nation have always existed and have the right to establish their own independent state. The conquest of a homeland has been historically determined by the arrival of the Croats in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Croat kingdoms confirmed this fact. The acceptance of Hungarian and Austrian dynasties had been a deliberate choice. Croatia was only bound by a personal union that could be undone any time the monarch fell short of his obligations to the Croatian nation. This line of thought explains Starčević’s resistance to Austrian absolutism and especially to Hungarian hegemony.

Starčević also defended a Greater Croatian viewpoint. His colleague Eugen Kvaternik already used a broad concept of Croatia; it extended from the Alps to the Drina and from Albania to the Danube. Starčević pushed the frontier farther to the east to the Serbian–Bulgarian border. According to him, there were only two Slavic nations—Croats and Bulgars. Slovenes were “highland” Croats and Serbs did not really exist or were a religious Orthodox sect. The rulers of Dioclea and the Nemanjić dynasty were a Croat family. In any case, the Serbs and Slovenes did not have the right to a separate political territory.

In practical politics, the identity of the Serbs was recognized in Croatia inasmuch as they cooperated toward the construction of a Croatian state on the Habsburg territories. In contrast to his dogmatic colleague Kvaternik, Starčević stayed within the boundaries of political realism, set by the Habsburg domination. His theory and political
practice placed his followers before interpretation problems and in the course of history several parties claimed to be the true heirs of Pravaštvo, the theory of the historical state’s rights. See also CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS.

**STATE.** Following the Western traditional concept of democracy, state power in Croatia has been incorporated in three bodies. Theoretically and constitutionally, there exist separate legislative (Parliament), executive (president and government), and judicial organs. However, in its first constitution and the practice under the Franjo Tuđman regime, one could speak about a strong presidential regime. The second president, Stipe Mesić, agreed to curtail some of his prerogatives, and this was recorded in the constitutional amendments of 2000. However, given the dominant role nowadays of government and the secondary one of Parliament, critics now speak of an executive-dominated regime

**STEPINAC, ALOJZIJIE (1898–1960).** He became bishop of Zagreb in 1937. His attitude during World War II is very controversial. Some critics accuse him of full cooperation with the Ustaša regime, others maintain that he acted with reservation and had a moderating influence.

After the war, the communist regime of Tito proposed to Stepinac to establish an autonomous Catholic Church, more or less independent from the Vatican. Stepinac and other bishops answered in a letter of 20 September 1945 that the relations between the church and the state would primarily depend on the ending of the repression of the church. In turn, Stepinac was arrested on 18 September 1946 and accused of cooperation with the Ustaša regime under the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). On 11 October 1946, he was sentenced to 16 years of imprisonment and interned. At the end of 1952, Pope Pius I announced the election of the interned Stepinac to the College of Cardinals. The communist regime broke off diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Under the Franjo Tuđman regime, Stepinac was posthumously rehabilitated. The Vatican even set up a commission to start the procedure to declare him a saint. A first step was effectively taken and he was declared beatific.
STIKS, IGOR (1977– ). Croatian writer born in Sarajevo. His first novel *Dvorac u Romagni* (A Castle in Romagna) was awarded the Slavic Prize for the best first book and was nominated for the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award. His second novel *Elijahova stolica* (The Chair of Elias) obtained two important Croatian literary prizes, the Gjalski and the Kiklop prizes, and was proclaimed to best book of Croatia in 2006. His work has been translated to many languages. See also LITERATURE, MODERN.

STIPAC, DRAGO (1920–1994). Born in Busovača (Bosnia-Herzegovina), president of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) in the immediate post-Tito area. At the end of July 1993, Stipac took a special initiative. He gathered the leaders of 17 opposition parties to set out a common strategy against the politics of Franjo Tudman and the government of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). The opposition especially criticized Tuđman’s policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. First, Tuđman’s line of defending the construction of a confederation and not a federation was dangerous for the Croats not living in the Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosna. Moreover, this model could inspire the international community to accept a similar attitude toward the Serbs of Croatia. Second, Tuđman was not firm enough during the negotiations with Slobodan Milošević. He had not obtained any guarantees from the Serbs on the position of the Krajina in Croatia. However, this common initiative of the opposition forces remained informal and was short-lived.

ŠTOKAVIAN. Variant of the Croatian language, an alternative to kajkavian or čakavian. According to the equivalent for the word *what*, the variants use the expressions što-, kaj-, and ča. The štokavian variant was spoken in the eastern part (Serbia), the interior (Bosnia), and southernmost part (Dubrovnik) of the Serbo-Croatian language area.

Štokavian developed more or less into an accepted standard thanks to the flourishing cultural life and literature of Dubrovnik. It was also chosen by the Illyrians to function as the unifying language of the South Slavs. The centralizing language policy in the kingdom of Yugoslavia and during the communist period strengthened the position of štokavian. Under the Franjo Tuđman regime, a plural-
ity of linguistic expressions was respected with the reassessment of čakavian. At the same time, the promotion of the specific Croatian variant of štokavian was stimulated.

**STOŽER ZA OBRANU DIGNITETA DOMOVINSKOG RATA.** See HEADQUARTERS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE DIGNITY OF THE HOMELAND WAR.

**STRANKA HRVATSKOG DRŽAVNOG PRAVA (SHDP).** See PARTY OF THE CROATIAN STATE’S RIGHTS.

**STRANKA SOCIJALISTA HRVATSKIE (SSH).** See SOCIALIST PARTY OF CROATIA.

**STRIKE (RIGHT TO).** Article 60 of the December 1990 constitution guarantees the fundamental right to strike. It may be restricted in some branches of the public services. However, by signing the agreement of partnership for development at the end of 2001, most trade unions have bound their hands and agreed not to strike in the near future.

**STROSSMAYER, JOSIP JURAJ (1815–1905).** Born in Osijek. He studied theology at the University of Budapest and presented his doctorate in Vienna. He was a supporter of the Illyrian movement and adopted the idea of the national unity of all South Slavs. In 1848, he mediated between the Austrian Archduke Francis Karl and the Croatian ban Josip Jelačić in order to suppress the Hungarian revolt.

Strossmayer was appointed bishop of Đakovo on 18 November 1849. He believed in a reconciliation of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. He became famous in international circles by a speech at the Vatican synod held in 1869–1870, where he defended the position that the dogma of papal infallibility was a nuisance to the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

He acted as founding father of Zagreb University and of the South Slav or Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences. He contributed large sums of money to the Art Gallery of Zagreb and laid the first stone of the famous Cathedral of Đakovo.
STRUGAR, PAVLE (1933– ). Retired Yugoslav Army general, living in Montenegro, born in Peć (Kosovo). Together with Miodrag Jokić, Milan Zec, and Vladimir Kovačević (Rambo), he was indicted by the International Criminal War Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) because of his role in the Dubrovnik offensive from 1 October to 6 December 1991. He surrendered voluntarily. Because of health reasons and with guarantees of the Montenegrin government, he got the privilege to defend himself without being held in custody. Strugar was found guilty of attacks on civilians as well as being responsible for damage to the Old Town of Dubrovnik and finally sentenced to eight years in prison. On 17 April 2008, he was temporarily released from jail.

STUDIAE HISTORIAE PHILOSOPHIAE CROATICAE. This journal is the international edition of the periodical Priloze za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baština (Contributions to the Research into the Croatian Philosophical Heritage, 1975–). The yearly Studiae historiae philosophiae Croaticae (Studies into the History of Croatian Philosophy, 1975–) is published by the Department of History of Philosophy of the Institute of Historical Studies of Zagreb University. The first issue appeared in 1990 with contributions in English and German about the beginnings of philosophy in Croatia and some major thinkers and currents in the Croatian philosophical tradition, such as Herman Dalmatinac and Marko Marulić.

ŠUBAŠIĆ, IVAN (1892–1955). Ban in the period of the prewar Banovina of Croatia, 1939–1941, prime minister of the Yugoslav government in exile during World War II. Šubašić made an agreement with Tito to abolish the prewar constitution of Yugoslavia and thereby paved the way for the communist regime.

SUPEK, IVAN (1915–2007). Participant in the communist resistance and member of the educational section of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia (1943). He was professor of theoretical physics at Zagreb University since 1946 and founder of the Ruder Bošković Institute (1950). Though he occupied official functions in the communist regime, he was known to be an independent intellectual with heretical and oppositional views. He
was elected rector of Zagreb University during the **Croatian Spring** (1969). As such, he was still respected under the **Franjo Tuđman** regime, though he clashed more than once with members of the high circles of the governing party as president of the **Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences**.

Supek is a novel writer and playwright as well. He describes personal experiences in *U prvom licu* (In the First Person, 1965), *Heretik* (Heretic, 1968), and *Extraordinarius*. He participated in publishing the journal *Encyclopaedia Moderna*.

**SUPEK, RUDI** (1913–1993). Philosopher and sociologist at Zagreb University. He was an editor of the journals *Pogledi* (Views) and *Praxis*. Both were critical of the official communist bureaucracy and were censored by the authorities. Contrary to some of his colleagues, Rudi Supek contributed to the new journal *Praxis International*, published abroad.

Along with theoretical studies, he produced a lot of sociological research on the practice of self-management. For this, he gained international recognition. Together with Branko Horvat and Mihailo Marković, he published a basic reader on self-governing socialism.

**SUPILO, FRANO** (1870–1917). While a journalist in Dubrovnik, he was convinced that Croatia had no future within the Habsburg monarchy and should cooperate with other South Slavs to form a new political entity. In 1905, he formulated these principles in his “New Course.” It gave birth to the **Croat–Serb Coalition** (Hrvatska–Srpska koalicija, HSK) of which Supilo took the leadership in the beginning. This movement obtained a majority in the **elections** for the **Sabor** and became the ruling party in Croatia-Slavonia. Supilo left the party in 1910, when unitary tendencies in the party gained strength.

Together with other Croats Ante Trumbić, Ivan Mestrović, and Hinko Hinković, he became a member of the **Yugoslav Committee**. This was a common front of the Serbs of the Serbian kingdom and South Slav exiles from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy during World War I. It informed the Allies on the situation in the South Slav countries and paved the way to the forming of the common state **Yugoslavia** through the **Declaration of Corfu** in 1917. This was not achieved without internal struggles. Already in 1915, there
was strong opposition by Supilo, who considered all three South Slav peoples—Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs—as equal, against the hegemonistic ideas of the Serb Nikola Pasić, prime minister of the Serbian kingdom. Supilo tended toward the idea of an equitable confederation, not a unitary Serb-dominated state. However, he was not followed by the other members of the Yugoslav committee. In the secret Treaty of London of May 1915, the Allies had promised Istria, northern Dalmatia, and some islands to Italy, if it took their side. Given that threat, Croatia bitterly needed the military support of the Serbian Army, and Supilo’s colleagues conceded to the centralistic ideas of Pasić. Disappointed, Supilo left the Yugoslav Committee on 5 June 1916, one year before his death.

ŠUŠAK, GOJKO (1945–1998). Born in Široki Brijeg, Herzegovina. He immigrated to Canada, attended the University of Ottawa, and made a fortune as a businessman. He strongly supported Franjo Tudman in his way to power, bringing together considerable financial funds in the emigration community. He attended the first conference of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). After the election victory of the party, he was asked by Tudman to stay in Croatia and to take up a leading function. He was appointed minister of emigration (1990–1991) and finally minister of defense (1991). He led the struggle against the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia, and also against the Muslims in Bosnia. He was said especially to favor the Herzegovinian lobby and known to support Mate Boban, the leader of the quasi-independent Community of Herzeg Bosna. At the second convention of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in the autumn of 1993, Šušak was brought into the presidency of the party. In 1997, fearing Washington would punish an uncooperative Croatia, he helped arrange the extradition of 11 Bosnian Croats to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The journalist Roy Gutman launched the allegation that Šušak himself was included in the list of the ICTY.

ŠUVAR, STIPE (1936–2004). Communist Party leader of Croatia under the Tito regime. He was first a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Croatia and then became head of the League of Communists in Belgrade.
He was president of the Socialist Labor Party of Croatia, founded in 1977 but not represented in Parliament. Šuvar resigned as the party’s president in 2004.

SYNOD OF SPLIT. See GRGUR NINSKI.

SYNTHESIS PHILOSOPHICA. Philosophical journal founded in 1986 and published in English, German, and French twice a year in Zagreb by the Croatian Philosophical Society. It is the international edition of the Croatian philosophical journal Filozofska Istraživanja (Philosophical Investigations, established in 1980–1981). The journal embraces a wide variety of philosophical and other related subjects—for example, theology, world religions, natural sciences, psychology, law, politics, anthropology, literature, linguistics, and history. Back issues focused on subjects such as the philosophical-spiritual heritage of certain Slavic peoples, Ruder Josip Bošković, philosophy and religion, Ancient Latin, and Greek thought.

– T –

TADIJANOVIĆ, DRAGUTIN (1905– ). Poet, editor, and translator, born at Rastušje (near Slavonski Brod. His poetical work has been translated into many foreign languages.

TARSATICA. See RIJEKA.

TAX SYSTEM. The general tax code. (Narodne novine Republike Hrvatske / Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, no. 127/2000). This act regulates the relation between taxpayers and tax authorities, their rights and duties, competences, the procedures to be applied, and so on.

Value added tax. (Narodne novine hrvatske / Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, no. 47/95,164/98 and 142/98). Value added tax is paid on delivery of goods, on own consumption of goods and services delivered by one’s own company, on rendering of services, and on imported goods. The value added tax base is the price of the
delivered goods paid. It is paid at a rate of 22 percent unless specified otherwise by this act.

Income tax. (Narodne novine hrvatske / Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, no. 25/95, 52/95, 106/96 and 142/98). Income taxpayers are natural persons. Domestic taxpayers are natural persons who permanently reside or normally reside in Croatia and Croatian citizens who are abroad in public service of the Republic of Croatia. Foreign taxpayers are natural persons who have neither a permanent residence nor who regularly (which is defined as a continuous period of longer than 183 days) reside in Croatia. The income tax is paid at a rate of 20 percent of the tax base, but may not exceed triple the amount of basic personal income. The income tax is increased by the surtax, which may be instituted by a municipal government, or may be reduced by a city or municipality.

Profit tax. (Narodne novine hrvatske / Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, no. 35/95 and 106/96). The profit taxpayer is an enterprise or an entrepreneur, as defined by the law as a legal or natural person who engages in an activity to earn profits and with the obligation to maintain business records and compile financial reports. This includes operating units of foreign enterprises and entrepreneurs. Profit taxpayers are also enterprises or entrepreneurs who manage capital shares. Persons can declare their intent to pay profit tax instead of income tax under the condition they maintain business records pursuant to the accounting codes. The act stipulates also conditions on which persons with a high income or considerable assets are profit taxpayers. The profit tax is paid at a rate of 35 percent of the established tax base, as defined by the accounting codes and financial statements (balance sheet, profit and loss account).

Real Estate Tax Sales. (Narodne novine hrvatske / Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, no. 67/97). Real estate sales tax is liable on all acquisitions of real estate in the Republic of Croatia. The tax base for real estate sales is the market value of the real estate at the moment of acquisition. The tax is paid at a rate of 5 percent.

The Croatian Chamber of Commerce (Hrvatska gospodarska komara) delivers detailed and up-to-date information on these financial regulations.

Croatia had to adjust its tax system to the acquis of the European Union (EU) under chapter 16. The evaluation made by the European
Commission staff in the 2008 progress report, published on 3 November 2008, is very critical, even though the general structure of Croatia’s tax legislation is similar to the acquis. No progress has been made in the area of direct taxation because Croatia has so far not addressed the Accession Partnership priorities. The situation is somewhat better regarding indirect taxation, but substantial changes are needed. Regarding Croatia’s legislation of value added taxation (VAT), the scope and extensions of zero and reduced rates have to be revised and the free tax zone system redefined or abolished. On excise duties, substantial changes are needed on product coverage, rates, and duty suspensions. Croatia has only agreed in principle to adjust the structure of prices of cigarettes. Moreover, the administrative capacity to carry through the reforms is generally still lacking.

On many points, the Croatian government was somewhat reticent, because they gave a competitive advantage or affected the price of basic provisions of the large population.

TELEVISION. See CROATIAN TELEVISION.

TESLA, NIKOLA (1856–1943). Born in Smiljan, near Gospić. He immigrated to the United States and became famous for his studies in the field of electricity and its applications.

THEATER. In the Middle Ages, religious plays were performed in the major Dalmatian cultural centers. This was exemplified by a manuscript from the Tkon Anthology. It contains a play in Glagolitic with stage instructions recorded in the margin.

Later on, Dubrovnik became the center of theater and performed the works of playwrights such as Marin Držić and Junije Palmotić.

The Croatian National Revival had its center in Zagreb. In 1840, the theater season opened with Ivan Kukuljević’s nationalist play Turci kod Siska (The Turks at the Gate of Sisak).

Modern Croatian writers seem to be especially successful in producing comedies. Critical and satirical plays were also very popular, as was historical drama. Under the communist regime, symbolical and allegorical plays were performed along with realistic and naturalistic productions.
Contemporary writers follow all the modern European trends. Avant-garde multimedia productions alternate with classical declamatory dramas.

**THOMAS, ARCHDEACON (1200–1268).** Author of the chronicle *Historia Salonitana*, a history of the sub-bishopric of Salona. The Archdeacon of Split wrote this work some time before 1268. The chronicle relates the arrival of the Goths and Slavs in Dalmatia and the destruction of Salona. The chronicle continues with the national history of the Croat kingdom and the choice of a Hungarian dynasty. Thomas’ writings gave rise to the much-disputed thesis on the Gothic origin of the Croats. The source has been ascribed particular value when dealing with the church schism of the 10th century involving the religious centers of Nin and Split and when describing the synods that were held to find a solution to the conflict.

**TITO, JOSIP BROZ (1892–1980).** On 25 May 1892, in Kumrovec, the future president of Communist Yugoslavia was born of a native peasant and a Slovene mother. Kumrovec lies in the Croatian Zagorje and Croatia was still under Austro-Hungarian rule. Broz worked as a mechanic in small workshops. During World War I, he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army. He was taken prisoner of war and transported to the Russian interior. When the revolution broke out, he was freed and joined the Red Guard. He was registered as a member of the Communist Party. Back in Yugoslavia, he continued his revolutionary work as a secretary of a metal union. He was picked up and spent some time in prison. He was released in 1934 and joined the Comintern in Moscow. In 1937, he got the task to take over the Communist Party in Yugoslavia and was successful due to the internal rivalry of communist leaders. In January 1939, he was officially appointed general secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

From then on, Tito had a major voice in all the ensuing phases of the Yugoslav revolution. During World War II, he became commander-in-chief of the partisan armed forces. In 1943, the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia established the Second Yugoslavia as a federal socialist republic of six republics. Tito had to make use of all his charisma to convince his comrade-partisans that all peoples of Yu-
goslavia should be granted equal rights. The partisan struggle ended with a complete victory of the communists. Supported strategically by their allies, both of the West and the East, complying formally with some demands for a multiparty system, Tito could form his first government on 7 March 1945. The politicians of the former kingdom and some well-intentioned participants of the liberation war were completely neutralized and soon eliminated by the power policy of the Communist Party.

More dangerous for Tito’s political career was the clash with the USSR. The Cominform conflict led to a break with Moscow. Tito’s internal power base was threatened as well, and large-scale purges in the party were bitterly needed. Needed also was an alternative ideology. In the beginning of the 1950s self-management was rediscovered in Marx’s writings and step by step introduced in Yugoslavia. But this timid democratization of the regime again threatened the party organization, now from within. In 1952, Tito was forced to put aside his close aide and once vice-president of Yugoslavia, Milovan Đilas. Another possible heir, Aleksander Ranković, dominated the Ministry of the Interior and the secret police for years. He ultimately controlled Tito himself and tapped his telephone. In 1966, Tito was obliged to discard his conservative comrade, the second in rank.

After the fall of hardliner Ranković, economic and political liberalization broke through and this threatened the party monopoly anew. The Croatian Spring and similar opposition movements in other republics rose to an unexpected intensity. They were ultimately repressed by Tito in the 1970s after the Karadordević crisis meeting. At the same time, on advice of the Slovene Edvard Kardelj, he pushed through constitutional reforms to take the wind out of the sails of nationalism. By granting more autonomy, responsibility, and formal self-government to the republics, he hoped to reduce the tensions between the federal units. In the same spirit, he set up a federal presidency structure to ensure the continuity of the system after his death.

In international affairs, Tito profited much from the rivalries of the two blocs during the Cold War. He played a leading role in the movement of the so-called nonaligned countries.

Tito died in May 1980 and the structures set up to ensure continuity functioned more or less satisfactorily for a few years. Then,
divergent aspirations could no longer be reconciled and the federal structure exploded. External Western interest had been eroded away by the fall of the communist system in the USSR.

There exist a lot of myths about Tito, beginning with his date of birth, following the different names he carried, and ending with the suggestion that part of his official life was not his but figured by a (German or Austrian) double. Probably, all these histories were not very significant for the course of the Yugoslav history. Anyhow, new stories will present themselves and all of Tito’s biographies should be read with care and suspicion.

TKON ANTHOLOGY. Tkon is a village on the island of Pašman near Biograd. In the 14th century, the Benedictine monastery on the island became the base of Glagolitic worship. The scriptoria of the monastery produced the Tkon Anthology, a Glagolitic manuscript from the 16th century. It contains the play The Passion of Our Savior with detailed stage instructions.

TOMAC, ZDRAVKO (1937– ). Born in Garcin near Slavonski Brod. He studied economics and political science at Zagreb University, where he was promoted to professor in political science. Leader of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), he was elected a member of the Sabor. He first had a seat in the House of Counties, then in the House of Representatives. In 1991, he was vice-president in the Government of National Union. In 1997, he came in second after Franjo Tudman in the presidential elections with 21 percent of the vote. Following the 2000 victory of six opposition parties, Tomac was appointed one of the five vice-presidents of the Sabor and president of its Council of Foreign Affairs.

TOMČIĆ, ZLATKO (1945– ). Born in Zagreb of parents expelled from Srijem at the end of World War II. He studied civil engineering in Belgrade and went into business in Srijemska Mitrovica, Poreč, and Zagreb. In 1984, he was a founder of the underground organization of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS). In 1990, he continued to be a member of the officially established HSS. In the following years, Tomčić held high posts in the party. In 1993–1994, he was minister of public works and environmental
protection. In 1994, he was appointed president of the HSS, and reconfirmed in 1996 and 1998. He was elected member of Parliament in October 1995 and again in January 2000. On 2 February 2000 he became Speaker of Parliament (and thus legally, when necessary, interim president).

**TOMIĆ, MIJAT.** Tomić was born in the beginning of the 17th century in Brišnik at Duvno Polje, a historic plain near the Adriatic Sea. He is the best example of a hajduk in the Croatian lands. A hajduk is a rebel who fights the existing order in the name of justice, more particularly against a foreign oppressor and in defense of the local people. In 17th-century Croatia, this meant going into resistance against the Ottoman rulers and in support of the local poor Christian inhabitants. The tradition was widespread in the whole region conquered by the Ottomans, and has been recorded mostly in Montenegro by traditional singers, the guslars or players on the gusla, an age-old plucking instrument.

Likewise, though a real historical figure, Tomić is best known by his exposition in old songs, such as Mijat Tomić Went a Rebel to the Hajduks (Mijat Tomić odmeće se u Hajduke). The story goes that he became a Robin Hood–like outlaw because an inferior of the Bosnian pasha, the Duvno kadi, had assessed his meadow and taken his livestock. He defended his property, and when the servants of the kadi came, he opposed the mowers and murdered the kadi. He could no longer stay in the village and joined some other brigands in the Vran mountains above the Duvno plain. He was finally killed after being betrayed by his kum (godfather).

In 1937, on the place where he presumably died, the Croatian Cultural Society Napredak inaugurated a commemorative monument. In the first years of the 20th century, Tomić was also continuously heralded as a freedom-fighter in service of the Croatian people, especially by local admirers in western Herzegovina, and he was even linked to the national cult surrounding King Tomislav who celebrated his coronation in the same region. Perhaps for this reason, he was also welcomed in the official ideology of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). After the end of the war, NDH supporters continued fighting and hid in the so-called Mijat caves, telling each other stories about their predecessor Tomić.
Not surprisingly, the reception of the Mijat legend in partisan circles and by the communist regime after World War II was rather cool. His symbolic meaning was also contested by circles close to the Catholic Church, on the occasion of the publication of Croatian Traditional Songs (Hrvatske Narodne Pjesme) by the Matica hrvatska (Homeland Foundation). The Zagreb weekly Nedelja (The Week) condemned Mijat’s moral vices and rejected his exposition as an exemplary Croat.

Following the independence of the Republic of Croatia, the image of Mijat was again fully rehabilitated, linking it once more to the historical events on Duvansko Polje and King Tomislav. At the instigation of the HDZ youth of Zagreb, the Sabor of 2–6 July 1996 was held before a church dedicated in 1925 to the honor of the thousandth anniversary of the Croatian kingdom. The chairman of the Municipal Council, Mijo Tokić, and the chairperson of the Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mariofil Ljubić, both put the hajduk Mijat on nearly an equal footing with King Tomislav and praised Mijat as a national hero who with the sword always had guarded Christian Croats from the Ottoman Turks, confirming him as a real national symbol of resistance and the quest for freedom. The symbolic commemoration was further revived by the formation of a Mijat band, a guard troop that at times took part in official manifestations side by side with units of the Croatian Army. See also ŠIMIĆ, ANDRIJA.

**TOMISLAV, KING (?–928).** Croatian king, supposed to have governed from 916 to 928. Under his reign, the Croatian kingdom expanded and reached its apogee. The Croatian kingdom comprised all the regions of Greater Croatia except Srijem. See also TRPIMIR DYNASTY.

**TOMISLAVGRAD.** Historical town on the Adriatic already known in Roman times as Daelminium. It lies presently in southwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the Herzeg-Bosna Canton of the Federation. With the settlement of the Croats in the area in the seventh century, it was renamed Županjac. Its present name recalls the coronation of the Croat medieval ruler, King Tomislav, which it received on the occasion of a millennium commemoration. Under the communists,
the name temporarily changed to Duvno, but the Franjo Tudman regime changed it back to Tomislavgrad. It actually is a small town with about 30,000 residents, a mixed population, but a great majority of self-declared Croats.

TORBARINA, TANJA. Journalist. In the summer of 1991, she wrote three critical articles in the journal Globus. Antun Vrdoljak brought her before the court on the charge of public offense under Article 75 of the Criminal Code. The court in Zagreb released Torbarina from the charge. The judge motivated his decision by declaring that she had been misled by her primary sources and that this sort of procedure was counterproductive for the image of Croatia.

Torbarina continued writing and is now a very respected and authoritative journalist.

TOURISM. Croatia has huge tourist potential, and especially the sunny Adriatic with its coast and islands are popular. Most visited is, of course, the pearl of the Adriatic, Dubrovnik, but also Split, Zadar, and Pula are more than worth a visit. On the other hand, the islands have a great ecological value and birdwatchers easily find their targets there. The capital Zagreb also has its attractions, while the plains and forests of Slavonia house water cure resorts.

Tourism has always been a main source of foreign currency. At the same time, the administrative division between federal, republic, and local authorities has also been a major point of discord, for example, during the Croatian Spring.

Of course, the war in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia destroyed mass tourism and still hampers the revival in those regions that are safe now. However, the change of regime in Croatia will gradually restore confidence. Now the biggest problem is that accommodation capacities have been reduced and prices are less advantageous than before. Nevertheless, the number of tourists and earnings are rising again and, given political stability, tourism is expected to deliver a welcome contribution to the revival of the economy and the intake of foreign currencies in particular.

Though still on a much lower level than before the war, business in the tourist industry in terms of the number of tourists and length of stay grew by about 25 percent between 1988 and 2000. It is not
surprising that most tourists come from Germany and Austria, as many as from Croatia itself. This trend continued until 2009, when the consequences of the international financial crisis began to be felt in the tourist industry.

TRADE UNIONS. The three largest national trade union organizations are officially recognized as representatives of the workers and employees and have their seats in the Economic and Social Council:


There are numerous sectoral and local organizations. One of the most important is the Sindikati Javnih Službi / Trade Unions of the Public Services.

With the exception of the Independent Unions of Croatia, the union organizations, the employers, and the government signed at the end of 2001 the agreement “Partners for Development.” It guarantees some minimal benefits for the workers and a favorable and peaceful work climate (no strikes) for the employers. However, the Independent Unions of Croatia and the Trade Union of Educational Workers, Preporod (Renaissance) declared that the agreement “Partners for Development” has no significance except for the principles and it only gives the government a free hand and the occasion to buy time.

TRAVUNJA. Region between Zahumlja, Raša, and Dioclea with present-day Trebinje as its center. It is identified with Konavle by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, though at this time the term was reserved for the coastal region.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION. It is widely supposed that at the time of their arrival in Croatia, the Croats were organized in a pleme, a group of people bearing the same name and believed to have descended from a common ancestor. This tribe was composed of
several clans (bratstva or rodovi). Each of them comprised several families or communities of families. The territorial unity of a tribe was a župa. The chief of such a territory was the župan.

TRIBUSON, GORAN (1948–). Critic and writer of novels. Some are written in the so-called fantastic supernatural style of Jorge Luis Borges.

TRIPALO, ANTE MIKO (1926–1995). Born in Sinj. He participated in the antifascist war (1941–1945) and from 1945, he was president of the Communist Youth Organization of Croatia. Later, he occupied the highest political functions in the town of Zagreb, on the level of Croatia and in the Yugoslav federation, and finally ended as Croatian representative in the Federal Presidency. He represented and defended with Savka Dabčević-Kučar the progressive nationalist wing in the Croatian Spring. During the Karadordevo session with Tito on 8 December 1972, he was put under pressure and decided to resign. He was stripped of all his political functions and put on pension.

In 1990, he adhered as a nonpolitical member to the Coalition of the National Agreement (Koalicija narodnog sporazuma). He was also a founder-member of the Croatian National Party (HNS). Finally, he founded and was the first president of the Action of Social Democrats (Akcija socijaldemokrata, ASH). For this party, he was also seated in Parliament.

TRIUNE KINGDOM OF CROATIA, DALMATIA, AND SLAVONIA. See KINGDOM OF CROATIA, DALMATIA, AND SLAVONIA, TRIUNE.

TRPIMIR DYNASTY (845–1074). The Trpimir dynasty is the first and only national Croatian dynasty. In a charter of 852, the name of the Croatian dynasty appears for the first time. Trpimir (reigning 845–864) is mentioned as Dux Chroatorum. At that time, the Arabs attacked the Byzantines and the Venetians who dominated the shores of the Adriatic. Trpimir took the opportunity to bring Zadar and other Byzantine possessions under his control. Moreover, he resisted a Bulgarian invasion in northeastern Bosnia. Consequently he was
recognized as a strong and autonomous ruler of the Croatian lands. Trpimir had three sons. However, Domagoj, probably another relative, came to power. Domagoj repelled a new attack of the Venetians. He chose the side of the Frankish Emperor Ludwig II during the conquest of Bar from the Arabs and by this friendly diplomacy averted the Frankish occupation of the Dalmatian lands. The pressure of the Arabs on the Byzantine-dominated Dalmatian towns was exploited by the Croats and Neretvans to attack Venetian and Byzantine possessions.

Zdeslav (r. 878–879), a son of Trpimir, finally came to power with the support of the Byzantines. The Byzantines even ordered the Dalmatian towns and islands not to pay tribute to them, but to the Croatian knez (duke). Religious and political resistance to the Byzantines in the Croatian lands led to a rebellion against Zdeslav and he was replaced by Branimir (r. 879–892). Croatia freed itself from the Byzantine yoke and became an independent country. Branimir got the support of the pope of Rome and obtained the official recognition of the Croatian state. The youngest son of Trpimir, Muncimir (r. 892–910), succeeded Branimir. Muncimir favored the introduction of the Glagolitic rite into the Croatian national church. He was the father of Tomislav (910–928). Muncimir sent his son to replace Prince Braslav in Pannonian Croatia when Braslav died. In that way, Dalmatia and Pannonian Croatia were for the first time united in a national Croatian state.

Tomislav successfully defended his region against the Hungarians. The Serbs and the lords of Red Croatia sought his protection. Mihailjo Višević of Hum (Herzegovina) acknowledged his suzerainty. Bosnia and Istria were under his control. In the meantime, the Bulgars also threatened Byzantium. The Byzantines formed an alliance with Tomislav and handed over to him their old Dalmatian theme (province): the towns of Split, Zadar, and Trogir and the islands Cres, Rab, and Krk. This implied that the Croatian churches were no longer dependent on the patriarchate of Constantinople, but reverted to the pope of Rome. In 925 and 928, religious strife between Grgur Ninski and the Bishop of Split was arbitrated by synods called together by the pope. Tomislav officially assumed the title of “King of the Croats” and ruled over a territory that incorporated all Greater Croatian lands except Srijem. In 924, the Bulgars
invaded Serbia. Tomislav granted asylum to the Serbian nobles in his land. When Simeon the Bulgar invaded Bosnia, Tomislav defeated his army and put the Serbian nobles back on their thrones. Some Croatian historians saw the immigration of Serbs into Bosnia in this period as sowing the seeds of future clashes between the two peoples. Tomislav died around 928.

Tomislav’s heirs Trpimir (r. 928–935) and Krešimir I (r. 935–945) maintained the Croatian lands firmly under their control, except for the weakening of central authority over the Neretvans. Their pirate activities prefigured their later role in the history between Croats and Venetians. Krešimir’s son Miroslav (r. 945–949) acceded prematurely to power. The *Ban* Pribina provoked a rebellion against the young king and probably effected his murder. The *Sabor* recognized the rightful King Krešimir II, but Red Croatia opted for Pribina and the Red and *White Croatian* lands split once and for all. Ragusa (Dubrovnik) established its status of independent free town. The Serbs conquered part of Bosnia. Krešimir’s son, Stipan Držislav (r. 969–997), defeated *Ban* Pribana and tried to restore the old kingdom by skillful diplomacy. At the time of Držislav, the Bulgar state under Emperor Samuel strangled the Byzantines. In 986, the Byzantines recognized Stipan Držislav as “King of Dalmatia” in order to obtain his support. The Croat forces fought the Bulgars twice when Samuel invaded Bosnia-Herzegovina and the hinterland of Zadar. A Croat–Byzantine fleet protected Dubrovnik against interference from Venice. After the death of Stipan in 997, the Croatian kingdom disintegrated. Byzantium and Venice took over the supremacy in the Adriatic.

Krešimir III (r. 1000–1035), as son of Stipan Držislav, formally acknowledged submission to the Byzantines. He realized that he needed other allies and concluded a mutual defense pact with the Hungarians. Thanks to these friendly relations, Krešimir even acquired part of Sirmium (Srijem). The Croatian center shifted from then on northward from Dalmatia to old Pannonian Croatia. Also Krešimir’s son, Stipan I (r. 1035–1058), maintained good relations with the Hungarians. Under the reign of Petar Krešimir IV (r. 1058–1073), the old kingdom was temporarily restored. Krešimir brought the Dalmatian towns back under his control. He called the Adriatic *nostrum Dalmaticum more* (Our Dalmatian Sea) at
the occasion when he granted the island of Maun to the cloister St. Krševan of Zadar in 1069. He took a pro-Latin orientation in church matters and was recognized by the pope as “King of Croatia and Dalmatia.” In 1066, Krešimir made a special grant to the monastery St. Mary in Zadar, where Ćika—probably his daughter—was a nun.

Petar Krešimir’s son Stipan was soon replaced by the ban of Pannonian Croatia, Dimitar Svinimir (r. 1076–1089). He was married to Helen of Hungary, the sister of Laszlo who later acceded to the Hungarian throne. Svinimir and the Hungarians repelled a Carinthian Army that invaded Pannonian Croatia. Svinimir was helped by the pope to take the throne of all Croatian lands. In return, Svinimir firmly supported the Catholic Church. He built a basilica in Knin. The story of his donation to the monastery St. Lucy in Baška on Krk has been engraved in the Bašćanska Ploča. In 1089, Pope Urban II called upon Svinimir to fight the Patzinak-Cuman nomads. Ban Petar Svačić of Dalmatia opposed this plan and Svinimir was mortally wounded during a meeting of the Sabor in Knin.

Between 1090 and 1092, a last insignificant heir of the Trpimir dynasty disappeared from the scene of history. The Hungarian King Laszlo took the lands north of the Gvozd in 1091. Around 1094, he founded the bishopric of Zagreb. King Laszlo left his nephew Almos to rule the Slavonian territories when he went into battle with the Cumans. These nomads attacked Hungary at the instigation of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus. Likewise, the Normans invaded the Dalmatian towns and islands. The Croatian nobles united around Petar Svačić (r. 1093–1097). The new Croatian king expelled Almos from Slavonia and this region and Dalmatia were together once more. In 1097, the Hungarian King Koloman (r. 1095–1116), son of Laszlo, led his army against Petar Svačić and the Croatian nobles. Svačić fell on the battlefield in the Gvozd mountains (Petrova Gora, Peter’s Mountains). Koloman pushed through to the Dalmatian shores and, in 1098, he took Biograd on the sea. In 1102, the Croatian nobles were said to have formally recognized the Hungarian monarch as the king of Dalmatia and Slavonia by the Pacta Conventa. See also ARPAD DYNASTY.
TRUMBIĆ, ANTE (1864–1938). Leading Croat in the Yugoslav Committee. After the formation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, he voted against the Vidovdan Constitution of 1921 because it was too centralistic. See also SUPILIO, FRANO.

TUĐMAN, FRANJO (1922–1999). General, historian, and first president of independent Croatia. He was born in Veliko Trgovišće. As a student at the gymnasium of Zagreb, he was involved in left-wing actions for which he was held in prison in 1940. He joined the communist resistance and partisan movement in 1941. After World War II, he attended the Military Academy in Belgrade (1955–1957) and worked in the Ministry of National Defense and the Headquarters of the Yugoslav People’s Army (1945–1961). He was promoted to general of the Yugoslav People’s Army in 1960. Tuđman was also director of the Institute for the History of the Labor Movement of Croatia (1961–1967) and was associate professor of history at Zagreb University (1963–1967). In 1965, he presented his doctoral dissertation at this university.

Tuđman was a member of Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (1965–1969). He was also a member of the managing board of Matica hrvatska. In 1967, he was excluded from the Communist Party for disseminating opinions that contradicted the party ideology. He was pensioned and lost his official titles. For his role in the Croatian Spring, he was further sentenced to two years in prison on 12 October 1972. Since he continued acting as a persistent dissident, he got three more years of imprisonment and a five-year ban on public activity on 20 February 1981.

In 1987, Tuđman began a tour of North American and European countries to convince the Croatian emigration community of the need to establish a nationalist and democratic movement. In 1989, at the beginning of the collapse of the communist regime, he was one of the founding members of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and was elected president of the movement. The party won the first free elections in which Tuđman was elected a member of Parliament. The majority of the Sabor elected him in 1990 to be the first president of the new Croatia and neglected the demands of the opposition to organize direct presidential elections. His mandate was confirmed and extended for a second term by direct presidential
elections on 2 August 1992, in which Tuđman obtained 56.7 percent of the votes. During the HDZ convention in the autumn of 1993, he was also reelected president of the HDZ for a second term. In 1997, he defeated Social Democrat (SDP) candidate Zdravko Tomac in the second presidential elections. He was confirmed as well as president of the HDZ. The party won all further parliamentary elections until 2000 and Tuđman was deeply engaged in the choice of government leaders and ministers. Already ill from cancer in 1995, Tuđman died on 10 December 1999.

Tuđman has played a very significant role in three interrelated respects: his scientific and ideological work, his intervention on the international level, and his guiding of the inner political life of Croatia. Each of these was characterized by extreme attitudes and accordingly criticized by observers, but on the other hand, it cannot be denied that significant results were achieved.

In the scientific field, perhaps his most fundamental work is seldom read or commented upon. It is his 2,000-page doctoral dissertation. More interest was evoked by his criticism of the regime of socialist Yugoslavia in his Velike ideje i mali narodi (Big Ideas and Small Nations), for which he was expelled from the party. Two further topics were central in his later work: the discussion regarding the meaning of the Jasenovac concentration camp and the Jewish question.

In the international field, Tuđman generally has been praised for his intelligent and strategic behavior, though his basic points of view are generally not shared by most observers. Though diametrically opposed to Slobodan Milošević, he nevertheless joined him in 1991 at Karadeorđevo to defend the interests of both protagonists on the back of the Bosnia-Herzegovinians and the Serbs of Croatia. Later pragmatic meetings and major encounters were more the rule than an exception. Tuđman was also skilful in making cease-fires, while in the meantime strengthening his military capacity. When the first cease-fire was signed, the Croatian Army disposed of seven brigades; by the 20th and last armistice, it could count on 64 brigades. In this exploit, notwithstanding the existing arms embargo for the countries of ex-Yugoslavia, Tuđman was able to rally the support of the Western countries and especially the Croatian emigrants. Finally, it would make him the dominant military force in Bosnia-
Herzegovina, which gave him a comfortable position at the final Dayton negotiations.

In Croatia itself, in the same way, he first agreed to freeze the situation by admission of the United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) on the territories controlled by the Croatian Serbs in 1992, to sweep them away later by the Operations Storm and Flash in 1995. At any rate, in the eyes of the Croats, he had the merit of restoring the integrity of the territory of the independent Republic of Croatia within recognized frontiers. In this way, he was honored as the new father of Croatia and ensured for a long time of internal support.

In strictly national politics, his dominant role was secured by his double presidential function, that of the state and that of the party. The Constitution of 1990 was copied from the French model providing him with broad presidential competences. The president of the party might also take part in the decisions of all central party bodies. While basically inclined to the right and close to Gojko Šušak and the Herzegovinian lobby, which was also connected with the American emigration community, it has to be recognized that Tuđman constantly sought a balance among the different currents within his movement. He was not blind to the practical and technical exigencies of directing the economy of the country and, as prime ministers, he chose rather liberal persons, such as Franjo Gregurić, Hrvoje Šarinić, and Nikica Valentić. They were a counterweight against the network built up by Minister of Defense Šušak and by his associate in the intelligence service SIS (Sigurnosno Izveštajna Služba), Markica Rebić. On the other side, Tuđman’s long-term minister of foreign affairs Mate Granić was a highly moderate and diplomatic figure. Within the party itself, Tuđman countered more than once the right-wing hegemony. In the second convention of 1993, he explicitly introduced a Christian Democratic image and asked right-wing figures to withdraw from decision-making party structures or managed to have them voted out.

Only at the end of life does he seem to have lost his temper and control. It began by the sacking of his new minister of defense, Andrija Hebrang, whose reforms—Tuđman feared—would bring into the open previous improper government and HDZ practices. The role of party officials in the privatization of the economy and the
subsequent banking crisis, accompanied by dubious practices of the intelligence services, made the moderates Šarinić and Gregurić resign, notwithstanding Tuđman’s continuous attempts to close ranks. Finally, at the party convention of 1998, the right wing took over the leading organs at the instigation of Tuđman’s right-wing adviser Ivić Pašalić. Later in the year, moderate Mate Granić complained to Tuđman that Pašalić prevented him from becoming vice-president of the party, but Tuđman was probably already too ill to intervene.

In each field, Tuđman was confronted with severe criticism. His political and ideological opinions were characterized as right wing, anti-Serb, and anti-Jewish. This was translated in an authoritarian and narrow-minded nationalist policy. The Zagreb case, in which President Tuđman overtly prevented several chosen candidates of the opposition parties to take up the function of mayor, showed his alleged lack of respect for democratic rules and the state of law. There was also criticism of his nepotism and shameless manifestations of self-interest in the privatization process, most of all benefiting close associates in the party but also directly affecting the Tuđman family. The regime was accused of violating the freedom of the press. Tuđman dismissed a minister because his attitude against mass rallies for the popular Radio 101 was too soft, and his close associates set up numerous covert actions to curtail journals and newspapers critical of the regime. The extreme dependence of the police, intelligence services, and justices on the regime, accompanied by corruption cases and the systemic drive to hide or justify these practices, found their origin in the way Tudman organized his state. The international community strongly condemned the violation of human rights of minorities, especially those of Serbs. In the end, if he had lived longer, Tuđman would probably even have been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for his role in the reconquest of the Serb-controlled areas.

This is perhaps the reason he never deliberately worked together with the ICTY and, at times, Croatia was punished by international isolation and was refused full membership of some international organizations. The suspicion that he had not given up his intention of integrating the Bosnian Croats of Herzegovina was not wholly removed by the Dayton agreement. See also ARMED FORCES; SECURITY SYSTEM.
TURKISH CROATIA. The land between the Vrbas and the Una rivers, now northwestern Bosnia. During Ottoman times, it was a Turkish occupied frontier area between Croatia (under Austria-Hungary) and Bosnia (under the Ottomans). It is the region around Bihać where the leader Fikret Abdić wanted to found an autonomous Muslim state, independent from the central government in Sarajevo.

TVRDKO, STIPAN (?–1391). Ban of Bosnia. His mother Jelena was a member of the Croatian Subić clan. He succeeded Stipan Kotromanić as ruler of Bosnia in 1353 and proclaimed himself king in 1377. The same year, he led his army into Dalmatia and conquered Klis and Ostrovica. In 1388, the Croatian Sabor appointed him king of the Croats. The rival army of the Hungarian King Sigismund and the invasion of Hum by the Ottomans hampered Tvdko in building up his kingdom.

– U –

UGREŠIĆ, DUBRAVKA (1949– ). Writer, lecturer in comparative literature. Her novels have been translated into many languages, including Štefica Cvek u raljama života (In the Jaws of Life, 1978) and Forsiranje Romana-reke (Forcing the River-novel, 1988). Technically, she is perhaps the most “postmodernist” writer of Croatia. During the Franjo Tudman regime, she went abroad to live.

UJEVIĆ, TIN (1891–1955). Poet. He has been known as an incurable bohemian and a sharp critic of everything that restrains the freedom of the human mind. One reviewer (Lavrin, An Anthology of Modern Yugoslav Poetry, 25) wrote about him in the following terms: “He was a questioner and seeker, tormented by nostalgia for the unattainable and by the ever-present threat of inner disintegration.”

UNITED NATIONS (UN). The Independent Republic of Croatia was admitted to the United Nations on 22 May 1992, and since then it has actively participated in all its activities. Given the troubles on Croatia’s territory in the early years of its independence, the UN had to provide considerable assistance to its new member. The UN
intervened in the Croatian conflict by sending special emissaries, mediators, and security forces. They usually acted within the framework of UN Security Council Resolution 743 of 21 February 1992, which set up a peacekeeping force, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), in execution of the Vance Plan. While the mandate ended in the other regions because of the military offensives of the Croats in 1995, the peacekeeping force remained active in Eastern Slavonia until January 1998. It was renamed there United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES). Humanitarian aid and care for refugees was provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Other civil tasks were executed by the United Nations Civil Police (UNCIVPOL).

Since 1 January 2008, Croatia has been a temporary member of the Security Council. It has the honor of chairing some sessions and Prime Minister Ivo Sanader did so on several occasions. See also UNITED NATIONS PROTECTED AREAS (UNPAs).

UNITED NATIONS CIVIL POLICE (UNCIVPOL). The United Nations Civil Police is the civil branch of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Its members were supposed to become active in the Maslenica region, following peace negotiations by mediator Geert Ahrens between Zagreb and the Serbs of Knin. During the Maslenica offensive of the Croats in January 1993, three villages with a Serb ethnic composition were conquered by the Croatian armed forces: Smoković, Islam Grčki, and Kašići. In these villages a Serbian militia supervised by UNCIVPOL had to be installed according to point three of the agreement of 17 July 1993. The role of UNCIVPOL and UNPROFOR in the Croat dominated surroundings of the regions was unclear. Repeated hostilities and military bombing of the Maslenica bridge by the Serbs relegated the question of the civil arrangements to the background. The same happened earlier in the Baranja and other regions under the authority of UNPROFOR.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTED AREAS (UNPAs). These zones under control of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were as large as 12,554 square kilometers, or together with the pink zones, some 26 percent of the Croatian territory. The
The primary task of the force was to stop all hostilities and to place heavy weapons under its control. Foreign militias were to be disarmed. Representative authority structures were to be built up and the conditions created so that the refugees could return to their homes.

Four sectors were occupied by UNPROFOR in Croatia: Sector East comprised East Slavonia with Vukovar, Osijek, and Vinkovci; Sector West included West Slavonia with Pakrac; Sector North lay east and south of Karlovac with Banija and Kordun; and Sector South centered on Knin. At the frontiers of the Sector South, a pink zone had been created. See also UNITED NATIONS.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR). The main function of UNPROFOR in Croatia (UNPROFOR I) was to bring security to the regions conquered or occupied by the Serbs who no longer recognized the Croatian authority. They were basically the so-called Serbian autonomous regions (Srpske Autonomne Opštine) and their frontier zones. By underwriting the Vance Plan, Zagreb and Belgrade agreed that United Nations (UN) forces should take over military and security control in these regions. The protection forces had to normalize the covert or open war situation by supervising the agreed-upon move of the Yugoslav Army out of the regions and by disarming local militia. The action started in March 1992 by implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 743 of 21 February 1992. Only the first goal could be achieved in time: the Yugoslav Army withdrew from the protected areas. Contrary to the agreement, armed militia did not always disappear and sometimes even obtained an official status. Croat refugees who had been driven away were not allowed to return. Local authority structures—which according to the Vance Plan were to reflect the ethnic composition of the region—had been taken over completely by the Serbs.

The situation had been complicated by the Bosnian war. Serbs conquered areas in Bosnia adjacent to the Vojna Krajina in Croatia and strove to unite both regions.

In a speech to Parliament on the occasion of the third year of operation of the multiparty Sabor on 30 May 1993, President Franjo Tudman argued that a six-month extension of the UNPROFOR mandate was only acceptable under the condition that within that period all the goals should be achieved. This implied a strengthening of the
powers of UNPROFOR. If UNPROFOR’s actions remained unsuccessful, Tuđman did not exclude the use of military force to restore the full integrity of the Croatian territory. A move in this direction occurred during the Gospić offensive of September 1993. However, the conflict died down temporarily. Tuđman repeated his conditions in the wake of a new six-month mandate of UNPROFOR. The Serbs should be disarmed, Croatian refugees be allowed to return, and all communications be restored. The UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia must be separated from its action in other parts of former Yugoslavia and the UNPROFOR occupation forces should move to the frontiers of Croatia with other states. Hostility toward UNPROFOR was now publicly manifested.

On 26 September 1993, refugees of the Croatian occupied regions held protest meetings against the laxity of UNPROFOR. The same evening, the Croatian Army shot at Blue Helmets in the Medak region. The UNPROFOR commander handed a protest note to the Croatian authorities.

On the occasion of the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate, Tuđman began a diplomatic offensive to strengthen the activity of UNPROFOR in order to achieve the first projected goals of the agreement and the peaceful reintegration of the Krajina in the Republic of Croatia. In spite of Russian reservations in the Security Council, this demand was formally included in Resolution 871 of 4 October 1993.

However, the global situation in Croatia’s United Nations Protection Areas (UNPAs) remained more or less the same until the beginning of 1995. The situation first changed in Bosnia in the spring of 1995: with the help of Croatian troops, the northeastern part of Bosnia—adjacent to the Krajina—was conquered from the Serbs. Thanks to American advisers, the Croatian Army had been strengthened. Then, Tuđman decided to take back Western Slavonia and the Krajina by force. This was done by Operations Flash and Storm. The UNPROFOR did not intervene at all and the international community expressed only a weak protest. This demonstration of force convinced Slobodan Milošević to agree in Dayton to the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia. UNPROFOR was to be replaced by the United Nations Transitional Administration for East Slavonia (UNTAES). See also United Nations Civil Police (UNCIVPOL).
UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION FOR EASTERN SLAVONIA (UNTAES). After the Dayton agreement between Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman on Eastern Slavonia, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was transformed into UNTAES with essentially the same tasks as before, but indicating that at the end of the period, Eastern Slavonia should definitively be returned to the Croatian authorities. The mission was scheduled to last for one year, with the possibility of an extension of another year. After two years and a few months, on 15 January 1998, Eastern Slavonia effectively came back under Croatian authority, though it was agreed that during a limited time period the monitoring by some remaining UN police forces would be continued.

UNITED STATES (RELATIONS WITH). The United States has been a major actor in solving the crisis in former Yugoslavia and Croatia. After the failure of the European Community to intervene in the conflict, Washington got more and more involved unilaterally. Under the Franjo Tuđman regime, relations with Croatia were at times both very close and very strained.

The first significant American intervention was by Cyrus R. Vance, a former secretary of state, though under the auspices of the United Nations. The Vance Plan of December 1991 did not attain all its goals, but at least it ended the armed clashes on a larger scale between Croats on one side and the Yugoslav Army and Serb militia on the other. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was deployed and it more or less stabilized the local situation. But the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina began and, in its second phase, the earlier allies, the Bosnian Croats and the Muslims, took up arms against each other in central Bosnia. Therefore, the United States intervened actively to reconcile the parties and put them under pressure to create a Bosnian-Herzegovinian federation and a confederation with Croatia. At the same time, the United States contributed to strengthening the Croatian armed forces by sending advisers and training experts. In the beginning of 1995, the Croatian Army captured northeastern Bosnia from the Bosnian Serbs. Now offensives could be launched in Croatia: Operations Flash and Storm liberated Western Slavonia and the Krajina. The Americans had achieved their diplomatic goal of destroying the Serbian power bases and Slobodan Milošević.
could be called to Dayton. But the Americans still had to temper Tuđman’s ambitions and frictions arose between Washington and Zagreb. Ambassador Peter Galbraith needed all his diplomatic skills to placate Tuđman. The same happened more than once in the following years.

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Croatia improved considerably under the Ivica Račan government. Both Stipe Mesić and Ivica Račan paid a visit to Washington early in August 2000. Cooperation in the fight against terrorism was organized after the 11 September 2001 attack. On 29–30 June 2005, the U.S. Department of Defense and the Croatian Ministry of Defense held Bilateral Defense Consultations (BDC) in Zagreb. It was agreed to have these consultations continue, on a periodic basis and the next year they were held in the United States. Finally, on 24 October 2008, President George W. Bush signed the agreement endorsing Croatia as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Moreover, the United States was a major economic partner with a share of 28 percent of total foreign investments in Croatia, worth more than $1 billion. Bilateral trade is still at a relatively low level but has been steadily progressing in recent years. In 2006, the United States was sixth in Croatia’s exports with 3.1 percent or $327 million and 11th in Croatia’s imports with 1.8 percent or $367 million. Between 1992 and 2008, U.S. aid delivered more than $320 million in assistance to Croatia through comprehensive programs that “facilitated economic and fiscal reform, strengthened democratic institutions, created agribusiness programs, and established a wide range of professional training.” Since 1998, more than $13.4 million has been provided for humanitarian assistance in land mine removal.

UPRAVA DRŽAVNE BEZBEDNOSTI (UDBA). The UDBA and previously the Odeljenje za Žastitu Naroda (OZNA) was the State Security Administration that ran the secret security police in the communist system. It was very active during the Cominform conflict and subsequently until the fall of Aleksander Ranković. Later on, it remained known for its activities against emigrant circles.
USKOKS. Uskoks were the people who fled the Ottomans from various areas of Bosnia and Dalmatia. They settled down especially around the fortress of Klis and later after its fall in 1537 at Senj.

USTAŠA. Croatian insurgent movement fighting the Yugoslav monarchy and state. The Ustaša organization developed out of discontent with the unitary administration and Serbian domination of the state between the two world wars. It was founded in 1929 as a reaction to the assassination of Stjepan Radić and the dictatorship of King Alexander. Its manifesto was adopted on 1 June 1933. The basic starting points included the ethnic definition of the pure Croatian people and the historic right to a territory and an independent state. Moreover, all means were justified to further these aims, including armed struggle. Its main leader, Ante Pavelić, fled abroad and organized the resistance in Italy. The Ustašis, in collaboration with the Macedonian secessionist movement IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), succeeded in assassinating King Alexander during his visit to France in 1934.

During World War II, the Ustašis took power under the protection of the German occupier. Ante Pavelić organized the repression and struggle against Serbian nationalists and communists. The Serbs who lived in Croatia were forced massively into Catholicism, exile, or death. Around 700,000 people were affected. Memories of this Holocaust reinforced the Krajina Serbs in their resistance against the Franjo Tudman regime. With the end of World War II and the collapse of the Ustaša regime, the Ustašis were repressed by the communist partisans. Many were killed near Bleiburg and Maribor. Most leaders such as Pavelić escaped abroad and formed resistance movements in the emigration community.

UZELAC, SLOBODAN (1947– ). Vice-president in the government of Ivo Sanader. He studied medicine at the universities of Zagreb and Belgrade. He was a representative of the Serbian minority (Independent Democratic Serbian Party, SDSS) and entered the second Sanader government as vice-president for regional development, reconstruction, and return in 2008. It was the first time since independence that a member of the Serbian minority was represented in the Croatian government.

VALENTIĆ, NIKICA (1950– ). Prime minister of the fifth government under Franjo Tudman. He was born in the little town of Gospić and studied law at the University of Zagreb. He built up a career as director in the construction and petroleum industries. From 3 April 1993 until 11 November 1995, he led the government. He was re-elected as a member of Parliament in 1996 and 2000.

VALUN TABLET. Oldest known Glagolitic inscription in Croatia, carved in the middle of the 11th century at St. Mary’s Church of Valun on the island of Cres. It is bilingual Latin and Croatian and marks the family grave of grandmother Teha, her son Bratohna, and grandson Juna.

VANCE PLAN. The Vance Plan agreed to by Belgrade and Zagreb on December 1991 tried to define a solution for the problem of the Serb revolt in Croatia. A United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was installed to prevent further armed clashes and to restore previous living conditions. Zagreb envisaged the ultimate goal of the plan to be the integration of the occupied territories into Croatia, while the Serbs seemed to use the plan as a vehicle to obtain autonomy in the long run. There were several sectors or United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs). Depending on the number, force, and organization of the Serbs, the outcome was different for the various areas. It also depended much on the attitude of the Serbs in Bosnia. See also UNITED STATES; VANCE–OWEN PLAN.

VANCE–OWEN PLAN. Proposal first presented by Cyrus Vance and David Owen in October 1992 as a basic solution to the Bosnian problem. It was finally dropped—partially because it did not get the full support of the United States, which disliked the division in 10
regions according to ethnic lines. War continued for three more years to end in the Dayton solution, by observers sometimes regarded as worse than the Vance–Owen plan, even setting aside the three-year war misery. See also VANCE PLAN.

VARAŽDIN. Chief town of Croatian Zagorje, north of Zagreb. Varaždin is first mentioned in 1181. In 1209, it became a royal free town. Strongly fortified, the town withstood all assaults by the Ottomans and was never taken. From 1756 to 1776, Varaždin functioned as the capital of Croatia, the seat of the ban who governed on behalf of the Austro-Hungarian crown. The King’s Council (Hrvatsko kraljevsko vijeće) had its sessions here from 1767 until 1776.

VASVAR (PEACE OF). Peace concluded by the Austrians and Ottomans on 10 August 1664, at Vasvar (Eisenberg in Hungary). The commander of the main Habsburg forces, Count Raymond Montecuculli, defeated the Ottoman Grand Vizier Ahmed Kiuprili on the banks of the Raab in Hungary. The Ottomans had to flee back to Bosnia after a raid in Croatia and Hungary. Peace lasted for 20 years. However, the Ottomans retained their former Croatian territories and Vienna even agreed to pay a war indemnity. A secret clause granted the Ottomans free passage through the Croatian territory to make war on Venice. Croatian nobles resented these stipulations. It was the background for the Zrinski-Frankopan conspiracy.

VEČERNI LIST. The Evening News. A popular newspaper edited in Zagreb and most widely read in Croatia. Though in principle an independent paper, it is in general very loyal to the regime. It is the more popular twin of Vjesnik.

VEKIĆ, IVAN. Former Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) politician. He was minister of the interior in the government of Franjo Gregurić. After three years, he broke with the HDZ to become co-president of a new minor conservative party, the Croatian National-Democratic League (Hrvatska Nacionalna-Demokratska Zajednica) and he was later an election candidate for New Croatia (Nova Hrvatska).
VESELICA, MARKO (1936– ). Born near Sinj. He graduated from and taught until 1971 at the Faculty of Economics of Zagreb University. A former leader of the Communist Party, during the Croatian Spring he manifested himself fully as a nationalist: he was a member of the managing board and president of the Economic Commission of the Matica hrvatska, which proposed a national Croat policy. He was arrested on 11 January 1972 and sentenced to seven years of imprisonment. On 24 April 1981, he was again sentenced to 11 years of prison because of his dissident views and his contacts with emigrant circles. He had also given an interview to Der Spiegel titled “The Croatian Question—The Fatal Disease of Yugoslavia.”

In 1989, Veselica was one of the founder-members of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), but five months later founded his own party, the Croatian Democratic Party (Hrvatska demokratska stranka, HDS). During the Franjo Tudman regime, he acted further as president of this party and after a merger in December 1992 of the Croatian Christian Democratic Union (HKDU). He was also the first president of the Society of Political Prisoners. Veselica was elected a member of the Sabor in October 1995.

VIENNA FRAGMENTS. Fragments of the oldest Croatian Glagolitic missal, written in the 12th century and now preserved in Vienna. According to historian Vatroslav Jagić, it represents a transition between the Old Church Slavonic writing of Cyrillus and Methodius and the native Croatian Glagolitic that flourished along the Dalmatian coast and the nearby islands from the 12th century on.

VIJEĆE OBRANA I NACIONALNE SIGURNOSTI. See DEFENSE AND NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.

VINKOVCI. Town in Eastern Slavonia, near Srijemska Mitrovica. Known as Cibalia in Roman times, it was the birthplace of the Roman Emperor Valentine.

During the last war, the town was captured by the Serbs on 22 July 1991. Just before the second anniversary of this Serb occupation, a local peasant revolt with some military support was silenced by threat and persuasion.
VINODOL LAW CODE / VINODOLSKI ZAKONIK. Vinodol—the wine valley—is located on the northern part of the Croatian coast. After the settling of the Croats in this region, in the sixth or seventh century, the villages of Vinodol grouped together in a loose confederation. When, after 1225, King Andrew II of Hungary gave the valley to Vid, the Count (Knez) of Krk, the semiautonomy that the Vinodol community enjoyed eroded. The main function of the Vinodol Law Code was to legitimize the feudal relationship that had developed between the counts of Krk, Vinodol, and Modruš and the population of the valley. The Statute of Vinodol, drawn up on 6 January 1288, regulated contracts, private property, inheritance, and other institutions of civil law. Scholars have pointed out that there are traces of old Slavic tribal law in the code, for example, the payment of wergeld (vražda) to the relatives of the victim of a murder. The code was originally written in a 13th-century čakavian dialect. Only a complete manuscript of the 15th century has been preserved.

VIS. Island of 90 sq. km in the Middle Dalmatian archipelago lying opposite Split. Located at the edge of Croatian territory, it boasts a remarkable history. The island had already been colonized in the Neolithic period. The Illyrian Liburnians occupied Vis around 1000 BCE and in the sixth or fifth century formed a state under King Jonij. The tyrant Dionysius the Old of Syracuse conquered the island in the fourth century and founded his colony Issa. Issa was later an autonomous town that coined its own money and established colonies at Trogir and Lumbarda (Korčula). In the second half of the third century BCE, it became dependent on Rome. Ancient Vis was destroyed during the great migrations. In the early Middle Ages, the island came under the influence of the Byzantine Empire and then under Croatia. When King Ladislas sold his hereditary rights over Dalmatia, Vis went to Venice in 1420. After the decay of Venice, the island passed into the hands of Austria (1797–1805), France (1805–1811), England (1811–1814), and Austria again (1814–1918). At the end of a short Italian occupation (1918–1920), Vis reverted back to Croatia, now incorporated in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. During World War II, Vis was occupied by the Italians again, but in the autumn of 1943, it became the main sea base and headquarters of the partisan army until the liberation of Belgrade.
The island is an important center of viniculture and *agriculture*. The fishing *industry* is grouped around its main port, Komiža.

**VITEZOVIĆ.** See RITTER VITEZOVIĆ, PAVAO.

**VJESNIK.** *Vjesnik* (The Courier) was the main quality newspaper of Croatia under the communists. Through a *privatization* strategy, it came under the direct influence of the new *government* and continued its life as *Novi Vjesnik* (New Courier). Though loyal to the Franjo Tudman regime, especially in its editorials, it was not just a transmitter of the official ideology and preserved some critical distance. It also reported on the activities of the opposition. With the coming to power of the Ivica Račan government, the situation did not fundamentally change. Again under the name of *Vjesnik*, it was loyal to the new government but displayed a lot of editorial independence.

**VLAČIĆ, MATIJA (1520–1575).** Mathias Flaccius Illyricus was a prominent Croatian protestant. He resided mostly in Germany. His *Clavis Scriptura Sacrae* (Key to the Holy Scriptures) has been considered a precursor of modern hermeneutics and “Magdeburg centuries” provided a documentary basis for the study of church history and a new level for theological discussion.

**VOJNA KRAJINA.** See MILITARY BORDER.

**VOJNOVIĆ, IVO (1857–1929).** Writer. Born in Dubrovnik, he described in his work the decline and fall of his native town (*Trilogy of Dubrovnik*).

**VOLLEBAEK, KNUT.** Norwegian diplomat and assistant to the co-chairman of the International Peace Conference at Geneva. He was a negotiator in the peace talks between the Krajina Serbs and Croats. He obtained the signing of the *Erdutski Sporazum*. Following another round of secret negotiations in Norway in the beginning of 1993, an armistice for Eastern Slavonia was agreed upon between the Krajina Serbs and the Zagreb government.
VRANICKI, PREDRAG (1922–2002). Philosophy professor of Zagreb University, rector of this institution (1927–1976), member of the Praxis group.

VUČEDOL. Archaeological site on the Danube located east of Vukovar. It stems from the early and middle Bronze Age culture that produced elaborate clay animal models, for example, the “Vučedol dove.”

VUKČIĆ HRVATINIĆ, HRVOJE (ca. 1350–1416). Duke of Split and Bosnia, born in Jajce. He was an ally of King Ladislas of Naples who was fighting his rival for the throne, the Hungarian King Sigismund. Ladislas was crowned in 1403, but soon left the Dalmatian and Bosnian lands under the rule of Vukčić. The duke of Split continued to fight the Hungarian King Sigismund. Vukčić called the support of the Ottomans and defeated Sigismund’s army in 1415. This, in fact, opened the Croatian lands to further invasions from the Ottomans.

The Hval missal—made in Split at the order of Duke Vukčić and containing his portrait—is one of the most precious Croatian manuscripts preserved until today. Vukčić Hrvatinić had himself been for some time a member of the Bogomil church.

VUKOJEVIĆ, VICE (1936– ). Born in Veljaci (Ljubuški, Herze-govina), Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) politician and former member of Parliament. He was said to be a hardliner and with Vladimir Šeks the leader of the right wing of the HDZ. He withdrew his candidacy for an important function in the party after a speech by President Franjo Tudman at the second HDZ convention.

VUKOVAR. Town in Eastern Slavonia on the Danube. The word vuk means wolf; it is also the name of a river; varoš means city.

The city was already colonized in prehistoric times. The Vučedol culture spread through the whole area. Grave finds indicate habitation during Illyrian and Roman times. The great migration brought the Avarian and Slav peoples to this region in the sixth and seventh centuries. When, in 846, Prince Pribina of Lower Pannonia received from the Franks 100 villages under their authority, he probably
established his seat in Vukovar. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the country had been united to the other Croatian lands on the Adriatic, particularly under King Tomislav and King Krešimir IV.

**Vukovar** as the name of the town is first recorded in the beginning of the 13th century was the seat of the županija. Vukovar was at that time declared a free town, implying it was already an important center for a long time. In Hungarian-Croatian times, Vukovar developed further as a typical Slavonian town around its fortification. It obtained its privileges from King Koloman in 1231 as a free town. At that time, there lived along with Hungarians and Slavs large numbers of “Germans” (Saxons, Teutons). Only the towns of Varaždin and Perna had received this status before. King Bela IV (1244) and King Stjepan (1263) confirmed these privileges. Before the Ottoman period, Vukovar was the greatest županija in the Slavon-Drijem region. In church matters, the archdeacon of Vukovar depended on the bishopric of Peč.

Though the Ottomans had invaded the region earlier, the region of Vukovar was finally conquered in 1526. They built a bridge in Vukovar that opened the way to the great victory over the Hungarians in Mohacs. Vukovar belonged from then on to the sandžak (Ottoman province) of Srijem with Osijek as its center Vukovar got the status of district (nahija) and trade center (kasaba). Much of the old Catholic population had perished in the resistance and orthodox Vlasi moved into this frontier area as Turkish companions, especially after the 1670s. The Vlasi were the servants of the Ottomans and retreated together with the Turks when the area was liberated again. Moreover, the remaining Catholics had been decimated by the Calvinists around 1550. All this disrupted the ethnic composition of the region. At the end of the 16th century, Vukovar had 202 Muslim houses and only 47 Catholic families. By the beginning of the 17th century, only five remained. Vukovar lost its strategic position. When it was liberated in 1687, it only counted 50 houses. At the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, Vukovar went through important administrative and social changes under the Austrian empire. The old Catholic Croatian population moved again to the center, as did some Hungarians.

In the Homeland War, Vukovar became the symbol of the aggression of the Serbs on Croatian territory. The town was conquered
by the Yugoslav Army and the Serbs and completely devastated. Croats were taken from the hospital and decimated at a secret site. The opposition parties criticized the Croatian government for not having done enough to save the town. Some accusations went as far as to suggest that a horrible showplace had deliberately been created in order to convince the world of the necessity of recognizing at once the independence of Croatia.

The Yugoslav Army Major Veselin Šljivančanin, Colonel Mile Mrkić, and Captain Miroslav Radić were indicted in 1995 by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for commanding the killing of 260 men in the Vukovar hospital case.

VUKOVI. The “Wolves” is an example of a paramilitary organization that arose during the Croatian Homeland War. This antiterrorist group was formed at the end of June 1991 exclusively by volunteers from Zagreb. They immediately joined the defensive activities of the regional crisis staff of Banija, Posavina, and Moslovica. When the struggle escalated with the četniks in the region of Sisak during August 1991, a unit of the Wolves was stationed there as a reserve force to the police forces (MUP). The unit was fighting on the Komarevo–Sunja line on the Kupa and in the region of Hrvatska Dubica and Kostajnica. It was the last to retreat from Petrinja. Then it defended the line on the Kupa and occupied the military barracks in Bjelovar. In a later period of the war, from April 1992, the units operated in the south. The group disintegrated on the death of its main commander, Jadranko Garbin, on 18 August 1992. Some members left the battlefield; others joined the MUP or the Croatian Army.

The activity of the unit was at the time officially recognized. President Franjo Tudman personally praised the unit on 4 September 1991, a fact that was reported in the press. But Joško Morić, assistant of the minister of the interior, once praised for his organizational talent and excellent services in the Wolves, denied in September 1993 during the trial of Dobroslav Paraga that he knew anything about the existence of the Wolves.
WAGES. Monthly wages rose from $234 in 1994 to $430 in 1999 and fell back during the year 2000 to $401. Wages were highest in the financial sector and lowest in fishing. Under pressure of the Internationally Monetary Fund (IMF), the Ivica Račan government introduced restrictions on the development of real wages and social benefits, especially in the public sector.

Nominal earnings rose during the Račan period from 3,055 kuna in 1999 to 3,940 kuna in 2003, and during the first Ivo Sanader government from 3,940 kuna in 2003 to 4,841 kuna in 2007. Real net earnings (which take into account the change of consumer prices) increased under Račan cumulatively by 12.5 percent, and under the Sanader government by 9.8 percent. Though nominal growth of wages was almost identical in both periods, the rise of consumer prices was somewhat higher in the second period and slightly eroded real income growth. The moderate growth of wages in Croatia can in part be explained by the relatively high unemployment rate and the existence of a still extensive unofficial economy. See also BANKING.

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL FOR FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. See INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

WAR DAMAGE. Physical damage is easiest attested. According to the State Institute for Macroeconomic Analysis and Forecasting, 590 settlements in Croatia were damaged by the last war and 35 of these were completely leveled. Among them are large cities such as Vukovar, Gospić, Osijek, Dubrovnik, Zadar, Vinkovci, Šibenik, Pakrac, and others. There were 210,000 heavily damaged or destroyed houses (12 percent of all housing units in Croatia). In addition, 11 thermoelectric power plants and 40 high voltage power lines were damaged, 33 bridges were completely demolished, and 24 were damaged. Because of the damages, only 67 percent of the railway network was operable, but since the main rail links were cut, the level of rail services was only a quarter of the prewar level. Many
industrial plants and agricultural units were destroyed and damaged. Because of the presence of mines, a great deal of arable lands and forests still are inaccessible.

There are several hypotheses as to what to include in the concept of war damage and it is certainly not easy to quantify.

Between the summer of 1990 until 15 January 1998, when Eastern Slavonia was finally reintegrated into Croatia, war damage was estimated at HRK 236.4 billion or $37.4 billion. In the period between 1991 and 1995, some $15 billion were lost as unrealized GDP growth. The war reportedly caused a loss of 150,000 jobs. Some 240,000 persons migrated, 20,000 were found dead, and 30,000 declared disabled. See also WAR ECONOMY.

WAR ECONOMY. During 1992, gross national product (GNP) amounted to less than half of the 1990 GNP. War expenses swallowed up one third of public expenditures and the economy had to take care of about 750,000 refugees by the end of 1992. Public debt amounted to 50 percent of GNP, and foreign obligations to 35 percent. Debt servicing alone consumed 5 percent of gross national product. In 1993, industrial production dropped by another 5.9 percent. The decline continued in 1994 with about 5 percent. See also WAR DAMAGE.

WHITE CROATIA. The name White Croatia has been used in two senses. The first points to the supposed original homeland of the Croats. According to a passage in De Administrando Imperio, written by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Croats migrated to Dalmatia from White Croatia, a land that lay north of the Carpathians by 30 days’ march from the sea. The second use of the term opposes White, Red, and Pannonian Croatia. Pannonian Croatia corresponds more or less to the contemporary region. White and Red Croatia stretched along the Adriatic and covered far more land than Dalmatia of today.

Croatia went as far as Lake Skutari in Albania. In between lay Zahumljia. These frontiers were not very stable, and some historians assert it could be considered as one region in early times.
WORLD BANK. Croatia joined the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or World Bank and the International Development Association (IDA) in 1993. Up to September 2001, the bank had lent a total of $782 million. It supported 18 projects, mainly in infrastructure. It also supported some structural reforms and contributed through technical assistance to privatization and to reform of the banking, utilities, and pension sectors. The government and the bank cooperate closely in reviewing the performance of the project portfolio.

On 5 December 2001, a new agreement was signed for a loan of $202 million, of which $102 million was made available on 1 January 2002. It supports the macroeconomic program proposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the ensuing reforms. The loan has a term of 15 years with a five-year grace period and an interest rate of 2.4 percent.

Within the framework of its Country Assistance Strategy (CAS), the World Bank launched a new program for the 2004–2008 period, which included as before three types of assistance: loans, grants, and technical assistance. Many specific projects were devised and executed. Given the priority of the government to accede to the European Union, so-called Programmatic Adjustment Loans (PALs) were released to that purpose. At the end of June 2006, the CAS was completed and a new framework of cooperation prepared.

Total bank lending to Croatia from 1989 to mid-2008 amounted to $2.27 billion, comprising 38 projects. As of June 2006, 17 projects were still in active status with a total commitment value of $1.07 billion. See also CROATIAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION; FOREIGN DEBT; FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO). The prices for agricultural products rose by about 5 percent on an annual basis (and more for industrial agricultural products) before Croatia became a member of the WTO in November 2000, and afterward they stagnated, or even fell. On 1 January 2002, the second year of Croatia’s membership, 27 agreements on lower import taxes went into effect and affected especially agriculture.
YALTA (CONFERENCE OF). This conference during January 1945 intended to fix the new order in the Balkans following World War II. In Yugoslavia, it prescribed the forming of a coalition of the socialist-communist provisional government in Belgrade with members of the royalist government in exile in London. However, after a short period, Tito and the communists seized power.

YUGOSLAV ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES / JUGOSLOVENSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI (JAZU). The first session of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences was solemnly opened on 28 July 1867. One of the greatest supporters of the Yugoslav Academy was Bishop Josip Strossmayer. After a quarter of a century, the academy had produced 241 volumes of scientific work. There were 46 Croats among 117 active members. One of its contemporary sections is the Institute for History and Philosophy of Sciences.

YUGOSLAV COMMITTEE / JUGOSLOVENSKI ODBOR (JO). The Yugoslav Committee was established in Paris on 30 April 1915 and had its seat in London. The leaders were Ante Trumbić, Frano Supilo, and Ivan Meštrović. They acted as the representatives of the Habsburg South Slavs. Supilo pleaded for a union with Serbia on condition that the new state should be a federation of peoples with equal rights. If not, he pleaded for an independent federation of all Slavs living in the former dual monarchy. The other members of the committee did not always follow him and made a priority of unity with Serbia. Supilo left the committee on 5 June 1916. The committee began negotiations with the Serb Prime Minister Nikola Pašić on the formation of a coalition. However, about the same time, Serbia undermined the international recognition of the committee as the representative organ of all Slavs of Austria-Hungary in order to keep its hands free for Greater Serbian ambitions. An agreement with the Allies and Italy could yield Serbia a large part of Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the negotiations with Serbia, the Yugoslav Committee defended
the view of a postwar Yugoslavia as a federation of peoples. The constitution of the new state should be approved by a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly. The negotiations ended in a not very clear compromise, the 1917 Declaration of Corfu.

YUGOSLAVIA (1918–1992). The name Jugoslavija (Yugoslavia) is composed in Serbo-Croat of the words jugo, which means “south” and a derivation of Slaveni, “Slavs.” The idea that the Slavs have a common origin and are an ethnic community was defended by the so-called Illyrians, of which Pavao Ritter Vitezović and Ljudevit Gaj were the main representatives. The idea that Slavs should form a political entity seems to be a logical corollary of this idea, but was not clearly expressed. Gaj and the Illyrian movement in Croatia opted finally for an autonomous Croatia within the Habsburg monarchy. The short existence of the Illyrian provinces under Napoleon around 1800 had been a prefiguration of a larger common Slav unit and has inspired future politicians. The Serbs for their part had already made plans for an extension of the Serbian kingdom. In 1844, Minister Illija Garašanin produced his Nacrtanje (Outline), a proposal for a Greater Serbia that also would incorporate all Serbs of the Habsburg monarchy. Political cooperation of Croats with the Serbs within Croatia was first seriously introduced by the so-called New Course proposed in Rijeka and put further into practice by the founding in 1905 of the Serb–Croat Coalition, a union of all Croatian opposition parties, the Serbs included. They won a majority in the Sabor but were determined to stay within the Habsburg monarchy.

The outbreak of World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy drastically altered the situation. During the war, the Yugoslav Committee was founded by Yugoslavs in exile, among whom were the Croats Franjo Supilo and Ante Trumbić. In Korfu, on 20 July 1917, an agreement was made between the leader of the Yugoslav Committee Ante Trumbić and the politician Nikola Pašić for Serbia to establish a common political unit. At the end of the war, when the Austro-Hungarian forces were routed, a National Council was established in Croatia that declared independence from the monarchy with the intention of uniting Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. It was claimed by Croatian historians that the National Council had
in mind only an independent state on former Habsburg soil. The negotiations on the Geneva Declaration confronted the Serb Pašić with three representatives of the National Council, three of the Yugoslav Committee, and three from his own opposition party in Serbia. An agreement was made while awaiting a new constitution to set up provisionally a dual authority, one in Serbia, the second in the newly formed state outside Serbia. In addition, a joint cabinet would be established with six members of each partner. This agreement was rejected again by the National Council in Zagreb and later by the Serbian cabinet.

However, this federal proposal would be swept away by a more centralistic one for more important reasons. Italian troops were occupying territories that the Allies had promised to them in the Treaty of London. Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and some areas of Croatia decided to unite with Serbia. On the other side, demobilized Austria-Hungarian veterans threatened to start a rebellion. Local peasant communities were still under influence of the Russian Revolution. In this turbulent situation, the National Council decided to make an appeal to the Serbian Army. This mainly determined the further negotiations on the state structure. Before the audience regarding the request for union with Prince Alexander, delegates of the council were instructed to defend the constitutional right to choose between a monarchy and a republic, the necessity of a three-fifths’ majority for the approval of the constitution and the restricted number of functions to be delegated to the central government. These conditions were not mentioned in the address to the prince. It was agreed, on the contrary, that Alexander should embody the sovereign authority and that a central cabinet would be established. On 1 December 1918, the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs was officially proclaimed by King Alexander. The new country was officially recognized by the Allies in the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919.

Only a few Croatian political parties played a significant role in the interwar period: the political scene was dominated by the Serbs. Svetozar Pribićević, leader of the Serbian Independent Party / Srpska samostalna narodna stranka, a party of the Serbs living in Croatia and earlier founding member of the Croat–Serb Coalition, entered the first postwar government of Prime Minister Stojan Protić. Pribićević also served the following prime minister, the Serb Nikola Pašić, and
helped draft the Vidovdan constitution of 28 June 1921. The same year, the communists organized an attack on the king and Pašić, indicating the communist movement was emerging, though strongly divided in rival sections. The Croatian People’s Peasant Party / Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka (HPSS) was becoming the largest party in Croatia in the interwar period. Its name was changed in 1920 to Croatian Republican Peasant’s Party / Hrvatska republikanska seljačka stranka (HRSS), and in 1925 to Croatian Peasant’s Party / Hrvatska seljačka stranka (HSS). In the first parliamentary elections of the new kingdom on 28 November 1920, the HRSS won 50 of the 93 seats reserved for Croatia and Slavonia, in the second, on 18 March 1923, even 68. The party went into the opposition to the Serb-led governments until 1925, when Stjepan Radić entered Pašić’s government. However, in April 1926, he provoked the fall of Pašić. The Parliament experienced a game of continuous obstructionism and finally even became the scene of sheer violence. Two representatives, Stjepan and Pavle Radić, were shot during a session of Parliament on 28 June 1928.

On 6 January 1929, King Alexander dissolved the Parliament and a few days later all political parties. On 8 November 1931, the representatives for the new Parliament were chosen from state lists. Vladko Maček, who had assumed the leadership of the HSS upon the death of Stjepan Radić, called a boycott of the institution. In August/September 1932, the army crushed a revolt of the Ustaša movement, which had been founded in 1929. Ante Pavelić, leader of the Frankist Party of the Pure Rights, who had called for the independence of Croatia, was condemned to death for insubordination. He went abroad and continued to prepare violent resistance to the regime in the name of the Ustaša movement. In the country, Prime Minister Srškić tried to discourage political activities of the old parties by admitting the Yugoslav National Party in 1933. The president of this party, Nikola Uzunović, was appointed head of government in 1934.

On 9 October 1934, King Alexander was assassinated in an attack in Marseilles. In the same month, Peter II, a minor, took the oath of king. A relaxation of the political regime was hoped for, but this did not actually happen. The state was still led from above. In 1935, Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović founded a second Yugoslav unity
party, the Yugoslav Radical Union. Croats with Maček as leader of the HSS stayed out of the Parliament and Serb-dominated government. A major breakthrough came when Stojadinović was replaced by his party partner, Dragiša Cvetković. In 1939, Cvetković began negotiations with Maček to find a radical solution to the Croatian question. An agreement (Sporazum) was reached by the creation of a state composed of Banovinas and the announcement of elections for a Parliament that should draft a new democratic constitution. However, this process was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II.

Yugoslavia was invaded by the Axis powers in April 1941, and Croatia was occupied by the Germans. Maček was offered the government but he refused. Ante Pavelić took his place and installed his Ustaša fascist regime. As an organized political movement, the Ustaši remained in the minority, but then had the support of a large section of the Croatian population. The Ustaši also displayed a policy of hatred toward the Croatian Serbs, and drove them into communist arms. The HSS of Maček split into three fractions; the larger middle fraction took a waiting stance, the right wing joined the Ustaši, and the left wing entered the opposition. Slowly, the Communist Party that had in 1937 secretly formed a Croatian branch (Communist Party of Croatia / Komunistička Partija Hrvatske, KPH) succeeded in uniting the opposition and integrated them in the Partisan Movement.

At the end of the war and with the help of the Allied forces, the partisans took over Zagreb. According to a 1943 resolution of the Liberation Movement, Yugoslavia was to become a federal state with six republics, Croatia being one of them. At once, the communist ideology stressed the need for “Brotherhood and Unity” of all peoples of Yugoslavia. After a short transition period, when in politics all progressive political forces that took part in the Partisan Movement were respected and represented, the communists started acquiring the monopoly of political power and soon decided on all aspects of social life. In the first years of its existence, the Communist Party built up a unitary structure and ideology. Especially, the sympathy during the war of Croats for the Axis powers and the choice for an Independent State of Croatia, accompanied by a policy hostile to Serbs, was highly resented and reprimanded by the new communist leaders in Belgrade. Some communist leaders who displayed too
strong Croatian nationalist feelings were eliminated. This process in fact had already begun during the war, in the harsh settlement of accounts between various party factions. One example is the so-called Kerestinec case.

After the war, the leading communist Andrija Hebrang and Sreten Žujović were pushed aside, both accused of Stalinism and Croatian nationalism. Josip Broz Tito, himself a Croat, seemed to back away from a strong Croatian courtship with the exception of his old party mate Vladimir Bakarić. He became chairman of the Croatian communists from 1949 to 1969 and afterward, and he remained the most influential Croatian politician. The party in its clash with Joseph Stalin in the early 1950s moved away toward the ideology of self-management. At first, it was thought to be achieved only in the economic sphere. Soon, the principle was also translated into the domain of politics and led some to think of a strong version of federalism. This was also the underlying idea of the Croatian Spring, demanding a great degree of autonomy for Croatia. It was backed by some Croatian communist leaders at the highest levels of the republic. In 1970, the communist leaders Ante Miko Tripalo and Savka Dabčević-Kučar introduced a new party platform that demanded more autonomy for Croatia within Yugoslavia. The movement was repressed and communist leaders purged at the end of 1971, but the Slovene Edvard Kardelj, Tito’s most important political adviser, seems to have concluded that a strong version of federalism was the only solution for the survival of the communist regime.

Far-reaching decentralization was inscribed in the Constitution of 1974 and, from then on, republics were to accumulate competences to the detriment of the federal level. Economic factors contributed further to strains between the republics. In the first place, Yugoslavia had always been supplied relatively well with loans by the West. The regime represented an alternative to Soviet communism and the country held a strategic position in the defense plans of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Self-managed enterprises also had relatively easy access to the foreign capital market without much control of the state. In the mid-1980s, debts had to be repaid and, due to the state guarantee, heavy pressure was put on the federal budget. Moreover, following the oil crisis in the early 1980s, economic stabilization plans had to be worked out.
Earlier, the more developed republics, among them Slovenia and Croatia, had contributed substantially to the financing of the development of the less developed: Bosnia, Macedonia, and especially Kosovo. In the last region, investment was not always used very efficiently. In economic difficulty themselves, Croatia and Slovenia began to question the transfers. Moreover, it was also Croatia that generated most of the foreign exchange resources from tourism, most of which it had to transmit to the federal budget. With rising inflation, this operation was resented more and by the Croats. Another factor that influenced the situation negatively derived from the changes in international politics. When, in 1989, the Berlin Wall fell and the Cold War came to an end, the exceptional strategic interest of Western countries in Yugoslavia sank to a minimal level. This also explains the indifference and lack of concern of Europeans in the further political evolution of Yugoslavia.

But the most important reason for the breakup of Yugoslavia has to be sought in the internal political sphere: the centralistic views of Slobodan Milošević and Serbia. Milošević was strongly convinced of the fact that the only solution to the economic and political problems of Yugoslavia lay in renewed strong leadership and centralism. He organized rallies in the autonomous province of Vojvodina and Montenegro and brought loyal politicians to power. He used police repression to break resistance in the Autonomous Republic of Kosovo and abused his position to control its higher organs. Croatian politicians feared that his methods would be exported to the other republics as well. In the presidential council that had been installed after the death of Tito, the Serbian bloc now had four votes, as much as the four republics with more federal and democratic views. The council became paralyzed by internal disputes and mistrust.

The last federal prime minister, the Croat Ante Marković, was scarcely supported by the council, if not sabotaged by some of its members. Of course, he was first of all accountable to the federal Parliament, but discussions were perhaps even more heated there. Moreover, many of the competences had been delegated to the parliaments of the republics. They decided on their own policy and the federal Parliament could ultimately only debate on the reasons of the divisions. The president of the presidency, a first among equals, was a function that was granted in turn to each of the eight federal
units. In principle, he was also the chief commander of the army. When Stipe Mesić was chosen in turn, he finally resigned and left the council. The presidency was in disarray, but in fact, through this decision Mesić left the Yugoslav Army more or less under the control of the Serbs.

The symbolic and real unity of the country was also strongly incorporated in the federal Communist Party structure. If cooperation and an agreement on the existence of the federal state was still possible, it was this organ that could impose its views. When this party structure was broken up, communist Yugoslavia could only survive in agony. In January 1990, the Croatian and Slovene delegations left the Congress of the Federation of Communists.

From then on, the transition proceeded swiftly but tragically. In the spring of 1990, multiparty elections were held in Croatia and Slovenia in which the opposition parties defeated the former communists. On 30 May, the new Sabor was constituted and Franjo Tudman chosen as president. On 23 December, a successful referendum on independence was held and a six-month ultimatum was issued on the right of secession if problems in the federation could not be resolved. Serbs in the Krajina had already expressed the right to cultural autonomy in a referendum in August. In the spring of 1991, the first serious incidents took place in Pakrac and Plitvice. On 12 May, a second referendum followed in Knin on political autonomy and the adherence to Serbia. Serbs in Eastern Slavonia and Western Slavonia issued similar statements. Plans were made to unite the Serbian-controlled regions in Croatia and this was achieved by the end of the year.

On 25 June, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. Two days later, the Yugoslav Army invaded Slovenia. After some 10 days of fighting, an armistice was signed and the Yugoslav Army expressed its intention to leave Slovenia. On 13 July, the Yugoslav Army for the first time openly attacked Croatia at Vukovar. The town fell on 25 August. On 1 October, the shelling of Dubrovnik began. On 7 October, the Yugoslav Air Force bombed the presidential palace in Zagreb.

On 3 January 1992, an armistice was brokered by the United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance and, in February, Zagreb accepted the Vance Plan to end the war in Croatia. President Dobrica Ćosić
of Yugoslavia and Tuđman reached an agreement. The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 743 to send a peacekeeping force, the United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR), to the Serb-controlled regions of Croatia. The Krajina and Western Slavonia would be reconquered in 1995 by Croatian military force in the Operations Storm and Flash, while Eastern Slavonia would be integrated again through a peaceful transition with the help of UNPROFOR by 1 January 1998. All this was preceded by numerous local and limited military operations during the so-called Homeland War.

On 28 February, Milošević declared before the Serbian Parliament that the war was over. But one day later, a referendum was held on the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Again the Serbs did not accept the result and declared autonomy. This would lead to a new war. First, the Bosnian Serbs conquered almost half of the territory in a struggle against Muslims and Bosnian Croats. In a second phase, the last two confronted each other. Croatia also intervened openly in favor of the Bosnian Croats. When a certain military balance had been reached, the United States forced the presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia to accept the Dayton agreement in December 1995. Bosnia-Herzegovina underwent its own limited civil war in 2001 between Macedonian nationalists of Slavic ethnicity and of Albanian origin. Moreover, it was involved in a permanent diplomatic fight with the European member Greece about its name, which according to this country implied hidden territorial ambitions.

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro claimed to be its heir. A few years later in June 2006, Montenegro left this so-called rump federation for independence. On 17 February 2008, the previous Autonomous Region of Kosovo also declared independence and was recognized by the international community. This only happened after a long period of repression and another war against the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro, this time including a NATO bombing campaign of Belgrade from 24 March to 11 June 1999 and another United Nations UNPROFOR-like mandate, the Kosovo Forces (KFOR). The Republic of Croatia always supported the aspirations of Kosovo and recognized the republic immediately. Serbia is now left with one autonomous republic, Vojvodina.
It was acknowledged in the Constitution of 1990 of the Republic of Croatia that the formation of Yugoslavia in 1918 contributed to the processes of building a long-sought national identity of the Croatian nation and the continuity of its statehood, “invoking its historical and natural right as a nation.” See also EUROPEAN UNION; FOREIGN POLICY; INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA; MILITARY BORDER; SERBIA (RELATIONS WITH); VANCE–OWEN PLAN; VOLLEBAEK, KNUT.

YUGOSLAVIA (FORMATION OF). It is recognized in the 1990 constitution of the Republic of Croatia that the formation of Yugoslavia in 1918 contributed to the processes of building a long-sought national identity of the Croatian nation and the continuity of its statehood, “invoking its historical and natural right as a nation.”

The legal formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was based on the decisions of the political organs inheriting the state power after the decay of the dual monarchy and the military victory of the Western Allies in World War I. On 29 October 1918, the Croatian–Slavonian Sabor of Zagreb, presided over by Svetozar Pribićević, declared the independence of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia from Austria-Hungary. The Sabor joined the Triune Kingdom with the other South Slavic lands of Austria-Hungary to form the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs (SCS). On the same day, the Croat–Serb Coalition majority had the Sabor transfer its political authority to the newly created Council of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs of the former South Slavic territories. The president of the council was the Slovene Antun Korošec; the vice-president was Svetozar Pribićević. With the political power, the council received the military power. The council advocated an immediate union of the SCS with the Kingdom of Serbia. The Croatian nationalist deputies of the Croatian People’s Peasant Party (HSS) and the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) protested without result. The council sent a delegation to Belgrade to unite the SCS with Serbia. On 1 December 1918, Prince Alexander Karadordević declared the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

YUGOSLAVIA (RELATIONS WITH). Though the Yugoslav Army and Serbia were accused of waging a war of aggression against Croa-
tia, Franjo Tudman and Slobodan Milošević arranged numerous meetings personally, under pressure of the international community and through contacts of their subordinates. The two most significant are the Karadordevo and the Dayton meetings—the first before the war, to discuss the division of Bosnia, and the second to end the war, with a preliminary agreement to reintegrate Eastern Slavonia peacefully into Croatia. After 1995, Croatian relations with Milošević remained very strained.

The change of regime both in Croatia and Serbia paved the way to a modest reconciliation. On 14 December 2001, Stipe Mesić and Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Goran Svilanović met and expressed the will of both sides to build good relations. At the same time, Svilanović expressed his regret about the suffering of both Croatian and Serbian civilians in Croatia during the Homeland War. The ministers signed a Protocol on Cooperation between the Foreign Ministries.

ZADAR. Capital of Dalmatia under the Byzantines; it took over this function from Roman Salona, which had been destroyed and occupied by the Slavs. In earlier times, Zadar was known under the name of Jadera or Diadora. The old town still possesses beautiful architectural monuments of the early medieval culture in the Adriatic. Among them are the churches Sveti Donat and Sveta Stošija. During the Fourth Crusade, the town was occupied in 1202 and sacked by the Crusaders at the instigation of Venice. Zadar came under the Venetians until the peace of Zadar was concluded in 1358 and it returned to Croatia. In 1409, Ladislas sold Zadar and Dalmatia to the Venetians, whose rule went into effect in 1420 and lasted until the fall of Venetia in 1797. Then Austria took over the city until World War I, with the exception of eight years under French rule (1805–1813). After the end of the Habsburg reign, Zadar was integrated in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, but was attributed to Italy by the Agreement of Rapallo in 1920. Though Zadar was second place in Croatia for printing books, under the Italian occupation from 1923 till 1943 no book in the Croatian language saw the light of day.
Zadar finally joined Yugoslavia by a decision of the Anti-Fascist Council during World War II. Under the communist regime, the immediate vicinity of Zadar developed into a minor industrial center. The center of town thrived on tourism, sports, and cultural activities.

According to the census of 1991, Zadar had 76,343 inhabitants. Zadar suffered heavily from the Homeland War. At least 250 enterprises were affected and more than 20 percent of the labor force was without work. More than 10,000 buildings were damaged. The town received more than 20,000 refugees from the surrounding area. Zadar is the head of a županija, which in principle even includes the autonomous region of Knin.

ZAGOREC, VLADIMIR (1963– ). He was born in Zagreb and was the owner of a shop for hunting firearms. At the beginning of the Homeland War, he went into the service of General Ivan Čermak and provided the army with ammunition. In 1993, he entered the Ministry of Defense and was promoted to general and director of the firm Alan, the organization that under the arms embargo secretly imported weapons from abroad. In 2000, following the victory of the opposition, Zagorec immigrated to Vienna. He turned into a successful private businessman.

In 2004, his son was kidnapped. The alleged kidnapper was a friend of Zagorec, Hrvoje Petrač, who accused Zagorec during his trial of having stolen diamonds for a value of $5 million when he left the Ministry of Defense. The diamonds were to be used during the secret and illegal weapon transactions. In turn, Zagorec was charged in 2007 for this crime by the Croatian state and arrested in Vienna. The next year, Ivana Hodak, the daughter of Zagorec’s lawyer, Zvonimir Hodak, was murdered in the center of Zagreb. In fact, both Zvonimir and Ivana Hodak were in charge of the management of the possessions of Zagorec and Ivana Hodak was said to be having a love affair with Zagorec. The murder had serious political consequences, linked to a deadly attack on the journalist Ivo Pukanić two weeks later.

ZAGREB. Present capital of Croatia. The early Croatian kingdom was centered along the Adriatic coast or the nearby interior (Nin, Knin, Biograd). The Turkish and Venetian domination of the Adriatic and
the link with Hungary favored the area of Zagreb as the new political locus.

Zagreb had its origin in two fortified settlements, Kaptol and Gradec. In 1093, Zvonimir’s brother-in-law, King Ladislas, founded a bishopric in Zagreb, situated on a lower hill of the location, and it was named Kaptol. Gradec, on a separate and slightly higher hill, was granted the rights of a royal free city in 1242 by the Golden Bull of Bela IV. This act made Gradec a feudal holding directly responsible to the king. The citizens were given the right to elect their own city judge (the mayor) and to manage their own affairs. The citizens engaged in building defensive walls and towers, fearing a new Tartar invasion. The city had been badly damaged by the Tartar invasion of 1242. In the 16th century, Zagreb took upon itself the role of Antemurale Christianitatis (bulwark of Christianity) and built further fortifications at the Kaptol location. In 1557, Zagreb was recognized as the metropolis of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia.

In the 19th century, Zagreb was the center of the Illyrian movement and the Croatian national revival. Zagreb assumed the central role in the development of all the arts (opera, drama, novels, poetry, painting, sculpture). The Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences was founded in Zagreb in 1860. Many of Croatia’s finest artists were born or lived in Zagreb, such as Antun Gustav Matoš, Tin Ujević, and Miroslav Krleža.

According to the census of 2001, Zagreb counted around 800,000 inhabitants and about 300,000 more in the surroundings. In recent years, there were significant changes in its ethnic composition as Croatian Serbs emigrated and refugees both from inner Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were attracted. See also ZAGREB UNIVERSITY.

ZAGREB SUMMIT. On 24 November 2000, the members of the European Union gathered in Zagreb. For Croatia it meant that the longtime diplomatic isolation was definitely a thing of the past. The summit also initiated the negotiations with Croatia on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement.

ZAGREB UNIVERSITY. The oldest colleges in Zagreb were the Colleges of Philosophy and Theology established in 1669. Zagreb
University was formally founded by a charter from King Leopold I on 23 September 1669, approved by the Sabor on 3 November 1671. In 1776, a Law School was established.

The university got its real start during the Illyrian period. Josip Strossmayer granted large sums of money to further the institution on a larger scale. The university was then officially opened on 19 October 1874.

Today, Zagreb University is the country’s largest institution of higher education.

ZAHUMLJANI. Former inhabitants of Zahumlja, later Hum, and now Eastern Herzegovina. These people were identified as belonging to an independent Serb tribe by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, such as was the case with Trebunja, now Trebinje near Dubrovnik, and Dioclea, near Bar. Croatian historians criticized this characterization. They argue that the Serbian domination was only a temporary situation at the time of the writing of the dissertation.

ZBOR NARODNE GARDE. See NATIONAL GUARD.

ZDESLAV (878–879). Ban Zdeslav of Dalmatian Croatia recognized the supreme authority of the Byzantine Empire and gave his allegiance to the Greek-Orthodox Church. Zdeslav was deposed by Branimir, who chose the side of the pope. See also TRPIMIR DYNASTY.

ZEMALJSKO ANTI-FAŠISTIČKO VIJEĆE NARODNOG OSLOBOĐENJA HRVATSKE (ZAVNOH). See ANTI-FASCIST COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF CROATIA.

ZEMLJA GROUP. Group of painters and graphic artists in the period between the two world wars. Confronted with the dictatorship of 6 January 1934, they immersed themselves in the social problems of Yugoslav society and expressed them in a postimpressionistic style. The activities of the group started in 1929 and were ultimately prohibited in 1935. Members of the group were Krsto Hegedušić, Vilim Svečnak, Marijan Detoni, and Fedor Vaić.
ZEMUNIK. Airport near Zadar. The area came under fire of the Serbian insurgents of the Kninska Krajina. The Croats tried to regain control over the area through the Maslenica offensive in January 1993. The warring parties then agreed that Zemunik should be placed under the control of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The agreement was not signed by the Serbs and fighting continued on a minor scale.

ŽGOMBIĆ COMПENDIUM. Contains a 15th- or early 16th-century version of the legend of John Chrysostom. It is written in Glagolitic čakavian with some characteristics of Old Church Slavonic. The compendium was published in 1931 by Stjepan Ivšić.

The story relates how John Chrysostom—“John with the gold mouth”—was seduced by the devil. An angel asked him which is the minor sin: drinking wine, killing men, or raping women? Goldmouth chose drinking wine. In doing so, he committed all three sins.


ZRIN. Village in the Banija between the rivers Una and Glina south of Petrinja. The Subić clan found a second home here and a name: the Zrinski. On 9 September 1943, the Croatian village was conquered by Serbian partisans and Četniks and 160 inhabitants died. Fifty years later, on 26 July 1993, the inhabitants of the village had to flee again. See also ZRINSKI-FRANKOPAN CONSPIRACY.

ZRINSKI-FRANKOPAN CONSPIRACY. At the end of the Thirty Years’ War in 1648, the Habsburg state had weakened. Nevertheless, the Croatian Ban Nikola Zrinski (1620–1664) and his brother Petar (1621–1671) continued to fight the Ottomans. In August 1651, they defeated a Turkish invading force. Nikola built the fortress of Novi Zrin at the confluence of the Mur and Drava rivers. Ahmed Kiuprili directed his army and took the fortress without the intervention of
the Habsburg forces. The commander Count Montecuculli defeated the Ottomans on the banks of the Raab and the Habsburgs concluded the Peace of Vasvar in 1664. However, the Ottomans could retain their former Croatian territories and Vienna even agreed to pay a war indemnity. Croatian nobles resented these stipulations and began plotting against the Hungarian-Croatian King Leopold (1556–1705). They planned to throw off the Habsburg rule over the Hungarian-Croatian lands and they decided to start a war against the Ottomans to win back the Croatian and Hungarian territories in Turkish hands.

For this they needed outside help and they decided to offer the Hungarian-Croatian throne to the French. Ban Nikola Zrinski entered secret negotiations with the Venetians, but he unexpectedly died during a boar hunt. His brother Petar took over as leader of the plot. He was appointed ban by King Leopold, but refused the command over the Karlovac Generality of the Military Border. The king was fearing with reason a renewed war with the Ottomans. Petar then sought new allies. He contacted Nicholas Bethlen, a Transylvanian prince, and Michael Bori, a confidant of the Hungarian Palatine Count Wesselenyi. Bori communicated with Grenonville, France’s diplomat at the Austrian court, who consulted King Louis XIV. The king followed Grenonville’s advice not to take the conspiracy seriously. However, some financial support was granted.

The circle of conspirators widened. A conference in Wesselenyi’s castle brought together Hungarian noblemen. They decided to seek the support of the Turks. France took more interest in the plans and promised full support. The ambiguous Hungarian Wesselenyi did not like the French interference and passed a letter of Grenonville to King Leopold. Vienna set up a secret investigation. In 1669, France concluded a peace treaty with Austria and withheld all help to the conspirators. After broken agreements with the Poles and the Venetians, Zrinski appealed to his enemies, the Ottomans. He offered to pay a tribute to become the hereditary prince of Croatia. This was soon reported to an Austrian diplomat. On 7 April 1670, Ban Petar sent a letter to Leopold confessing his mistakes. Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan (1643–1671) were placed under arrest and sentenced in Vienna. On 25 April 1671, the court found the counts guilty of high treason. A few days later, on 30 April, they were beheaded.
ŽUJOVIĆ, SRETEN. Revolutionary among Tito’s partisans. After the war, he became minister of finance and later minister of transport. He was closely associated with Andrija Hebrang. In May 1948, he was accused of choosing the side of Stalin in the Cominform conflict and eliminated.

ŽUPAN. Head of a family or clan in the old Slavic social structure. It was the old and wise man who led the people. Constantine Porphyrogenitus compared this institution with the archont in the more formal Byzantine order, an organizational form that would be taken over later by the Croats.

ŽUPANIJA. In the oldest Croatian tradition the župan was a local leader of a region called županija. These provinces were united into a banovina, governed by the ban and provided with laws by the Sabor.

The Franjo Tuđman regime acted to respect the tradition and wished to reintroduce the županije. They were now by law defined as the units of local administration and local self-government. The territory of the županije is defined by law and depends on historical and economic factors. The županije are supposed to be the natural self-government units within the framework of the republic. The draft of the Law on the Županije was confirmed by the government on 19 November 1992, and then debated by the Sabor. The law was criticized by the president of the Rijeka Democratic Alliance, Vladimir Smešny. He argued that the division of competences between the central administration and the local županije had not been properly defined, so that control ultimately resided in the central government. Similarly, the president of the Croatian People’s Party (HNS), Savka Dabčević-Kučar, criticized the proposal because the Župani, the heads of the županij, are appointed by the government. The leader of the Social Democrat Party (SDP), Ivica Račan, rejected the whole concept of the law.

The law ultimately reintroduced the administrative županije by creating 21 such units, each represented in what may be called the lower House of Parliament, the House of Counties (Županijski Dom). The županije have their seats in the following towns: Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, Osijek, Zadar, Karlovac, Dubrovnik, Sisak,
Vukovar (temporarily Vinkovci), Varaždin, Gospić, Slavonski Brod, Čakovec, Šibenik, Požega, Bjelovar, Koprivnica, Virovitica, Krapina, and Pazin.

The županije are further divided into districts: kotarevi. In view of the situation and rights of the Serbian minority groups, districts with certain self-government powers were created: the district of Glina in the county of Sisak and the district of Knin in the county of Zadar. The Tuđman regime clearly tried to integrate the Serb-dominated towns in the Croatian administrative structure. This solution was vehemently refused by the Serbs. The Račan government abolished through a constitutional amendment the House of Counties.

ŽUPANIJSKI DOM. See HOUSE OF COUNTIES.

ZVONIMIR, DMITAR (KING) (?–1089). King of the Trpimir dynasty. He ruled from 1076 to 1089 after Krešimir IV. He belonged to the Latin party and received the crown from the hands of the pope. His reign was disturbed by a populist and antipapist movement. Medieval chronicles relate that the king was stoned at the Place of Five Churches near Kninsko Polje.
## Bibliography

### I. General
- A. Bibliographies 378
- B. General Information and Libraries 379
- C. Guides and Yearbooks 380
- D. Statistics 380
- E. Travel and Description 381

### II. Cultural
- A. General 383
- B. Literature and Linguistics 384
  - 1. Literary Translations and Anthologies 384
  - 2. Literary Criticism 392
- C. Linguistics 396
  - 1. Old Croatian and Croatian Slavonic 396
  - 2. Modern Croatian 398
  - 3. Dictionaries 399
- D. Music, Theater, and Cinema 400
- E. Folk Arts 402
- F. Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting 403
- G. Philosophy 404
- H. Religion 405

### III. Economic
- A. General 408
- B. Agriculture 411
- C. Finance, Credit, and Banking 411
- D. Foreign Aid, Trade, and Investment 413
- E. Industry, Commerce, and Communication 414

### IV. Historic
- A. General 414
- B. Archaeology of the Prehistoric, Illyrian, Greek, and Roman Periods 417
- C. Settlement of the Croats and Early Kingdom 419
- D. Under Hungary and Habsburgs 420
E. Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Creation of Yugoslavia 422
F. Between the Two World Wars 423
G. World War II 424
H. Communist Regime 426
I. War and the Tudman Regime 430
J. The Račan Government 436
V. Juridical 436
VI. Political 438
A. Domestic 438
B. Foreign Relations 441
VII. Scientific 443
A. Information Science and Communication 443
B. Environment 443
C. Geography 444
VIII. Social 445
A. Anthropology and Ethnology 445
B. Demography 447
C. Education 448
D. Health and Medical Science 448
E. Psychology and Psychiatry 449
F. Sociology 450
G. Urbanization and Internal Migration 451
H. Emigration and Croatian Culture Abroad 451

INTRODUCTION

The events accompanying the independence of Croatia have led to a discontinuity in information sources. Institutions, publishing houses, and editors disappeared or underwent a change in status. New publications began to appear rather slowly given the warlike circumstances. In general, history and literature publications that appeared in the earlier Republic of Croatia of the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia and under the postcommunist regime are cited. Most other sections contain only sources published after 1991. The bibliography is limited to English-language references, with some exceptions for basic materials in Croatian, especially in the history section. Given the rising importance of the Internet as a source of easy obtainable information, an overview of the main sites about Croatian history and culture will be found also in this introduction. A last remark concerns the classification system of this bibliography. Aspects of reality can only be artificially separated for analytical purposes. History is
perceived here as a global process. So, the reader will find references to political and nationality problems under the heading “Historical.” Only the most recent period carries a separate level for “Political.” Literature on the policy of the European Union toward Yugoslavia and Croatia can be found both under the headings “Economic” and “Political: Foreign Relations.”

**Bibliographies**


Two older publications focusing specifically on Croatia also contain excellent bibliographical information. One is George J. Prpić, *Croatia and the Croatians: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography in English* (Scottsdale, AZ: Associated Book, 1982). The other is Francis H. Eterovich and Christopher Spalatin (eds.), *Croatia: Land, People, Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press I, 1964; vol. II. 1970). In these works, the readers will find important references to older sources, not always mentioned in this bibliography.

**General Introductions**


Historical Contributions

Povijesni Prilozi / Historical Contributions of the Hrvatski Institut za Povijest (Croatian Institute of History) regularly publishes contributions in English. The specific and rich history of Dubrovnik has been documented in the journal Dubrovnik Annals. English-reading readers will also be served by the Journal of Croatian American Studies, published in the United States.


Statistical Information

The Central Bureau of Statistics in Zagreb publishes theoretical studies regularly and statistical information periodically (http://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm). The most useful are the Monthly Statistical Bulletin and the Statistical Yearbook of Croatia (bilingual) and the data of the latest population census of 2001.

Considerable historical statistical data on Croatia in the former Yugoslavia were collected and published by the same Croatian Republic Bureau. Some were also periodically published by the Federal Statistical Office of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, for example, trade, industry, and labor statistics. A translation in English of the introduction and tables of contents of the Statistical Yearbook is available. It also covers most other statistical publications. Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Belgrade: Federal Statistical Office, SFRJ, 1989).

Croatian Culture

Croatian culture has always been strongly connected to language. The following works may illustrate this: Damir Fabijanić, Three Scripts, Three Languages: Croatian Written Monuments, Manuscripts and Publications through Centuries / Trois écritures, trois langues: pierres gravées, manuscrits anciens et publications croates à travers les siècles (Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, 2004); N. Meyer Boshkovich and J. Meyer, Croatia-Hrvatska: The Country and the Language (St. Louis: ACM Publishing, 2001). An older work that still offers good insight in Croatian culture


**Linguistics and Literature**


Social Sciences

A review of Croatian political science is published in the *Croatian Political Science Review* (Zagreb). The Croatian government has a website, where information on the president, ministers, and the most important Croatian institutions and events is presented. The Institute for International Relations (IMO), a public, nonprofit, scientific policy research organization engaged in the interdisciplinary study of international economic and political relations, publishes regular reports on its international conferences (http://www.imo.hr/imo/index.html).


The following academic journals regularly publish interesting articles and book reviews on the social sciences:

- *Balkanistica* (University of Mississippi and South East European Studies Association)
- *Canadian American Slavic Studies* (Bakersfield, California State University)
- *East European Politics and Society* (Berkeley, California)
- *Journal of Croatian Studies* (Croatian Academy of America, New York)
- *Slavic Review* (formerly *American Slavic and East-European Review*, edited by the American Association for the advancement of Slavic Studies, Austin)
- *Slavonic and East European Review* (London, Modern Humanities Research Association)

The description of almost 200 scientific journals published in Croatia is available by Internet on the *Portal on Croatian Journals* (http://hrcak.srce.hr/?lang=en) and contains online articles in English.

Until the middle of 2002, current political developments in Croatia were reported on in electronic version by the *Bulletin of the AIM* (Alternativna Informativna Mreža / Alternative Information Network)—formerly the Balkan War report of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting. Some articles on Croatia are still available (http://www.aimpress.ch/dyn/trae/trae-zag.htm).
Recent developments can be followed in French on the *Courrier des Balkans / Croatia* (http://balkans.courriers.info/pays.php3?nompays=croatie).

**Economics**

The Croatian National Bank (HNB) publishes an extended pool of statistical data on the macroeconomic and monetary situation of the country and its economic foreign exchange on the Internet, using bilingual headings. Along with many monetary aggregates and items on banks, it also gives the series “Economic Indicators” (*Ekonomski Indikatori*) on the real economy (http://www.hnb.hr/statistika/hstatistika.htm?tsfsg=1e8994525345146e2741bb1176d49158). Occasionally the Ministry of Economy (www.vlada.hr) publishes economic information, while the Chamber of Commerce gives more information for investors (http://www.hgk.hr/wps/portal/!ut/p/.cmd/cl/.1/hr).

*Croatian Economic Survey* is a yearly selection in English of scientific research done in the various fields of economics that have previously been published in the journal *Privredna kretanja i Ekonomska Politika* (Economic Trends and Economic Policy). It is published by the Institute of Economics and Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Croatia. The Department of Economics and Tourism of the University of Pula publishes *Ekonomska Istraživanja* (Economic Research) and the University of Dubrovnik *Ekonomska misao i praksa* (Economic Thought and Practice). Full text articles from all these scientific journals are available by the portal *Hrcak* (see the information on Portal for Croatian Journals, under Selected Internet Sites).


**Philosophy**

Since 1986, the Croatian Philosophical Society has been publishing *Synthese Philosophica*, the international edition of *Filozofska Istraživanja* (Zagreb, 1980–). In the academic year 1990–1991, the Philosophic Institute of Zagreb University started publication of *Studiae historicae philosophiae Croaticae*, the international edition of *Prilozi za Istraživanje Hrvatske Filozofske Baštine* (Research into the Croatian Philosophical Heritage, 1975–).
Science

Croatian scientific work in the field of physics and chemistry appears in *Fizika* (Zagreb), *Croatica Chimica Acta* (Zagreb), and *Chemical and Biochemical Engineering Quarterly*. Biology, zoology, geology, and other natural sciences are covered by the journal *Natura Croatica* (Zagreb). The Natural history Museum of Zagreb initiated this publication in 1992. Older are *Acta Botanica Croatica* (Zagreb), *Periodicum Biologorum* (Zagreb), and *Veterinarski Archiv* (Zagreb). Human anthropology is represented by *Collegium Antropologicum* (Zagreb). Readers interested in Croatian meteorology should consult *Hrvatski Meteorološki Časopis* (Zagreb). Shipbuilding is studied in *Brodogradnja* (Zagreb), contributions on metallurgy appear in *Metalurgija* (Sisak), and technical problems in *Goriva I Maziva* (Zagreb).

Tourism


Recent Publications and Databases

New publications that are not yet incorporated in this dictionary can be sought in the expanding host of databases. The following are a few that should be useful in the study of Croatia.

*Historical Abstracts*. It gives a short description and evaluation of publications on history.

*Sociofile Database*. It contains references to sociological journals and dissertations.

*Econlit*. It describes the main economic literature.

*Humanities Index*. It has mainly items on history, archaeology, culture, literature, religion, and art.

*Social Sciences Citation Index*. It has an interesting system of cross-references.

*ERIC* is a database on education.
Scad from Eurobases. This is a database of the Commission of the European Union with proposals, decisions, and official publications of the Council of the European Parliament. It also contains references to other related documents.

Agricola is a database on agriculture and it includes publications on Croatia.

Current Contents analyses mostly publications from the exact and applied sciences.

The Gale databases contain valuable information on Croatia. 
The Biography Resource Center provides detailed information on politicians and other dignitaries and incorporates the complete Marquis Who’s Who.

The Literary Resource Center offers biographies and literary criticism on the main 30 Croatian authors.

EBSCO Business Source Premier offers 865 items on the topic “Croatia” in title.

Databases can now also be obtained through the Internet. Other important Internet resources are identified in the next section.

Archives, Libraries, and Cultural Institutions

The main Croatian Library is the National and University Library of Zagreb (http://www.nsk.hr/DigitalLibEN.aspx?id=716). The online catalogue is so far only available in Croatian, but can be used by inserting Croatia, Croat*, or an English title word (http://katalog.nsk.hr/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&PAGE=First). Of course, all universities and institutes have specialized libraries as well. The Ruđer Bošković Institute (http://knjiznica.irb.hr/eng/crolibs.html) presents a complete list of libraries in Croatia. It refers further to a variety of union catalogues of libraries, such as various public libraries, and describes libraries of special institutes, such as museums, hospitals, embassies, and so forth.

The National State Archive is located in Zagreb, but there are many regional state archives in Bjelovar, Dubrovnik, Gospić, Karlovac, Osijek, Pazin, Rijeka, Sisak, Slavonski Brod, Split, Varaždin, Zadar (see http://www.arhiv.hr/en).

HIDRA, the Croatian Information and Documentation Referral Agency / Hrvatske informacijsko-dokumentacijske referalne agencije is a government-founded but independent information agency (http://www.hidra.hr). The Croatian Academic and Research Network (CARNET) offers briefly information and links on Croatia (http://www.hr/directory).

The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts is the highest scientific and arts institution in the Republic of Croatia (http://www.hazu.hr/ENG/indexENG.html; http://www.hazu.hr/knjiznica_hazu.html). The Matica hrvatska is an
agency whose goal is to conserve and promote the Croatian cultural heritage. It has a section that works with the immigrants (http://www.matis.hr/).

Material on Croatia in other European national libraries (for example from Great Britain) can be searched for use of the site of the European consortium of libraries and selecting “Croatia” (http://search.theeuropeanlibrary.org/portal/en/index.html).

Some university libraries or institutions present specific collections or bibliographic lists. The British Library offers electronically three list with references: Guide for Southeast European Studies (http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelp/region/europe/yugoslavia/seeuro/seeurostudies.html), the Croatian Collection (http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelplang/croatian/croatiancollections/croationclos.html), and Croatian Internet Resources (http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelplang/croatian/croatianinternetresources/croatianwebres.html). The Slavic and East European Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (http://www.library.uiuc.edu/spx/à) makes available three useful instruments: National Bibliography of Croatia, Periodical Resources for Croatia, and Croatian Resources (http://www.library.uiuc.edu/spx/resources/croatia.htm). Similarly, the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) of University College in London (UCL) compiled Internet Resources on Croatia (http://www.ssees.ac.uk/croatia.htm). The U.S. Library of Congress has in its Portals to the World a page of references to Croatia (http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/european/croatia/hr.html). The Croatian Academy of America presents its activities and the most recent issues of the Journal of Croatian Studies (www.croatianacademy.org).

The Datenbasis Internationale Beziehungen und Länderkunde (Database International Relations and Country Studies) of the University of Karlruhe (Germany) lists for the keywords “Kroatien, Croatia”; many English-language titles (http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/hylib/iblk/) are included. The Royal Historical Society (RHS) bibliography lists for “Croatia” a few interesting studies on the relationship of Great Britain with Croatia (http://www.rhs.ac.uk/bibl/simple.asp). Even more specific are the records on “Croatia” from the National Archive Online Library (http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/).

**Selected Internet Sites**

The use of Internet sites is now also a practice of almost all organizations in Croatia. General to very specific messages can be found by annexing the suffix .hr (for hrvatska-Croatia) to names of organizations, institutions, or private names. An Internet search for “Croatia, Croatian, Croat, Croat*, History AND Croatia” delivers plenty of (uneven) material. So do the Wikipedia sites (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Croatia). Specific URLs quickly disappear and
the organization of websites frequently changes. Therefore, the root or initial part of URLs can be tried to catch the home page, if the whole expression fails. Only a limited number of sites are presented here.

The Croatian Homepage (http://www.hr/index.en.shtml) provides general information on Croatia and briefly on its history (http://www.hr/hrvatska/history.en.shtml), with links to more specialized historical resources. A similar Croatian reference website is Crolink (www.crolinks.com), which has also many links to history; one of them is “Croatia: An overview of its history culture and science” (http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/etfss.html). HIDRA—the Croatian Information Documentation Referral Agency—is the professional service of the government of the Republic of Croatia (www.hidra.hr), with links to most Croatian political institutions and parties. Almost 200 scientific journals published in Croatia can be approached by the Internet portal on Croatian journals (http://hracak.hr/?lang=en), which contains many full-text articles in English. Useful for short reference is the Croatian Academic and Research Network CARNET (http://www.hr/directory).

The official government site (www.vlada.hr/english/) provides information on the activities of the prime minister and various ministries. Moreover, many ministries have their own Internet site, as have the Sabor (http://www.sabor.hr/Default.aspx?sec=361) and the president (http://www.predsjednik.hr/default.asp?jezik=2/). Political parties and elections are also covered (see “politics” and “parties” in the following section). Most of these links are currently offered by the News (Događaji) page of the daily Vjesnik (www.Vjesnik.com), almost without exception translated into English. The Institute for International Relations (Zagreb) publishes on the Internet its reports of international conferences (http://www.imo.hr/imo/index.html).

Research and conferences on Croatian culture are organized and presented by Culturelink (www.culturelink.org) and Croatian cultural manifestations are announced (in Croatian) on http://www.culturenet.hr. Balkarama contains publications from the world of music and folklore (balkanarama.com/croatia.htm).

The links for libraries and educational institutions that compile lists of Internet resources were given above.

Statistical data are published on the Internet by the Croatian Bureau for Statistics (www.dzs.hr). The National Bank (www.hnb.hr) presents valuable information on banking and monetary issues, research papers included, while businessmen will find a first introduction to the relevant regulations translated by the Croatian Chamber of the Economy (www.hgk.hr). More basic economic indicators and studies on Croatia can be found on the World Bank (http://www.worldbank.org) and the International Monetary Fund websites (www.imf.org).

Many other international organizations distribute interesting information related to Croatia, such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former

One can find most of the following studies on Croatia on the Internet:

Winland, Daphne N. *We Are Now a Nation: Croats between “Home” and “Homeland.”* Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2007.


For quick reference, some more Internet addresses are listed by subject.

**Army**

The Army (including biographies)

http://www.vojska.net/

**Banks**


**Bibliographies of Internet Resources on Croatia**

http://www.library.uiuc.edu/spx/resources/croatia.htm
http://www.ssees.ac.uk/croatia.htm
Biographies

http://tkojetko.irb.hr/en/
Leaders of Croatia: http://www.terra.es/persona12/monolith/croatia.htm
Tudman’s failed biography: http://joetripician.com/globus.html

Central Intelligence Agency

CIA Country information of Croatia:

Chamber of Commerce

http://www.hgk.hr/wps/portal/!ut/p/.cmd/cl/.1/hr

Cities

City of Dubrovnik: http://www.dubrovnik.hr/naslovnicaEng.php
City of Osijek: http://www.osijek.hr/eng/index.asp
City of Rijeka: http://www.rijeka.hr/Default.aspx?sec=394
City of Zagreb: http://www.zagreb.hr/default.aspx?id=1979

Dictionary

Ethnology and folklore: Institute for Folklore and Ethnology (Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku): http://www.ief.hr/page.php?id=1

Environment

Ministry of Environment: http://www.mzopu.hr/default.aspx?id=4716>

Film

http://www.film.hr/index_eng.php

Foreign Affairs

Ministry of Foreign Affairs: http://www.mvpei.hr/MVP.asp?pcpid=1612
History

Alphabetical list of 300 items: http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/popis.html
CroHis: Croatian history webpages: http://www.crohis.com/
WWW Virtual Library History Index—Croatia http://vlib.iue.it/history/europe/croatia.html
History books from Croatia: http://www.books-croatia.com/history.html
World history Croatia: http://www.zum.de/whkmla/region/balkans/xcroatia.html
Croatian Institute of History: http://www.isp.hr/index.php?lang=en

Holocaust

Holocaust in Croatia: http://emperors-clothes.com/croatia/enr.htm

International Institutions

Relations with NATO: http://www.nato.int/issues/nato_croatia/index.html
U.S. Department of State on Croatia: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3166.htm
World Bank Croatia: http://www.worldbank.hr
World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org

Language

Croatian old dictionary portal: http://crodip.ffzg.hr/default_e.aspx
Croatian language technologies: http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/jthj/default_english.htm
Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics: http://www.ihjj.hr/index_en.html
Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb: http://www.stin.hr/index.php?lang=en
Croatian National Corpus: http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/cnc.htm

Language Learning

Croatian Language—Basic Phrases: http://www.hr/hrvatska/language/index_en.htm
Croatian language @ Digital Dialects: http://www.digitaldialects.com/Croatian.htm
Learn Croatian: http://learn-croatian.com/

Literature

Croatian literary resources on the Web from the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages: http://www.aatseel.org/100111/files/croaitlit/croataatsee12.htm
Croatian poetry @ Poetry International Web: http://croatia.poetryinternationalweb.org/piw_cms/cms/cms_module/index.php?obj_name=croatia
Young Croatian poets: http://www.transcript-review.org/section.cfm?id=188&lan=en
Wikizvor: Vikisource in Croatian: http://hr.wikisource.org/wiki/Glavna_stranica
Books (in English) from Croatia: http://www.books-croatia.com/index.html

Maps of Croatia

http://www.kakarigi.net/maps/
http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/croatia.html

Media

Hina Newsline: http://websrv.hina.hr/nws-bin/ehot.cgi
Media Links: http://www.hr/wwwhr/news/
Southeast Europe Online—Croatia: http://www.southeasteurope.org/
*Croatian Times*: http://www.croatiantimes.com/
Croatian Radio and Television (HRT): http://www.hrt.hr
Newspaper Vecernji List: http://www.vecernji.hr/home/index.do
*Journal Nacional*: http://izbori.nacional.hr
*Economist* on Croatia: http://www.economist.com/countries/Croatia/
IWPR: http://www.iwpr.net/

*Museum*

Museum documentation center: http://www.crolinks.com/cromusic/

*Music*

http://www.crolinks.com/cromusic/

*Parties*

Parties not in Parliament / Izvanparlementarne stranke: http://www.hidra.hr/STRANKE/501int2i.htm

*Politics*

Croatian President’s Office Home Page: http://www.predsjednik.hr/
The government: http://www.vlada.hr
The Parliament: http://www.vlada.hr/en/naslovnica
Elections results Interparliamentary Union: http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2077_arc.ht
Political resources on the net: http://www.politicalresources.net/croatia.htm

Sciences
Portal of Croatian journals: http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php

Theater and dance
Croatian Center of International Theater Institute (ITI) / Hrvatski Centar ITI:
http://www.hciti.hr/en/

Tourism
Croatian Information Center: http://www.hic.hr/english/index.htm

Women
Infotheka: http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/index-eng.htm

Zagreb Stock Exchange
http://www.zse.hr/

I. GENERAL

A. Bibliographies


——. *Niz B. Prilozi u časopisima i zbornicima*. Zagreb: Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Biblioteka u Zagrebu, 1993–.


### B. General Information and Libraries


Stricević, Ivanka. “Young adults as public library users.” *Young Adult Library Services* 3, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 40–41.


### C. Guides and Yearbooks


### D. Statistics


E. Travel and Description


II. CULTURAL

A. General


B. Literature and Linguistics

1. Literary Translations and Anthologies


Smith, Starr E. “The taste of a man.” Library Journal 122, no. 10 (June 1, 1997): 146.


Suško, Mario, and Edward J. Czerwinski (eds.). “Alternatives: An anthology of Slavic and East European drama.” Slavic and East European Arts (USA) 2, no. 1 (Fall 1983).


— — —. “The mythmakers: An anthology of contemporary Yugoslav short stories.” Slavic and East European Arts (USA) 2, no. 2 (Spring 1984).


2. Literary Criticism


Jurak, Mirko. *Australian Papers: Yugoslavia, Europe and Australia*. Ljubljana: Edvard Kardelj University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 1983.
Matković, Ivan. “From the Second World War to this war: Croatian literary life between ideology and nationalism.” *Triquarterly*, no. 97 (Fall 1996): 130–42.
Tax, Meredith. “Croatia’s ‘witches’: Five women who won’t be silenced.” *Nation* 256, no. 18 (May 1993): 624–27.


### C. Linguistics

1. *Old Croatian and Croatian Slavonic*


2. Modern Croatian


3. Dictionaries

BIBLIOGRAPHY


D. Music, Theater, and Cinema


Mirrione, Jim. “What if Lear’s story were your story? For audiences in Croatia, the play strikes a chord of stark reality. (Postmark Croatia).” *American Theatre* 18, no. 10 (2001): 66–69.


E. Folk Arts


F. Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting


Tenšek, Ivan, and Zvonimir Franjić. *Architectural Drawings of Dubrovnik*.

**G. Philosophy**


### H. Religion


———. “Relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, Yugoslavia in the 70s and 80s.” Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe 2, no. 3 (1982): 22–33.


III. ECONOMIC

A. General


B. Agriculture


C. Finance, Credit, and Banking


“Regional indicators (gross domestic profit 2000–2003).” South-East Europe (Emerging Europe Monitor) 9, no. 5:1.


D. Foreign Aid, Trade, and Investment


“Country focus: Croatia. A free-trade agreement has been initiated between Croatia and EFTA and is scheduled to be signed in June.” Eurowatch 13, no. 4 (2001): 9–13.

“Croatia attracts Eu2bn for seven year, as investors devour rare EU wannabe.” Euroweek, February 1, 2002, 1–2.


E. Industry, Commerce, and Communication


IV. HISTORIC

A. General


——. *In the Defence of Justice: An Answer to Dr. J. Cairns.* Melbourne: Richmond, 1970.


---

**B. Archaeology of the Prehistoric, Illyrian, Greek, and Roman Periods**


### C. Settlement of the Croats and Early Kingdom


**D. Under Hungary and Habsburgs**


---

**E. Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Creation of Yugoslavia**


BIBLIOGRAPHY


**F. Between the Two World Wars**


**G. World War II**


Gilgoff, Dan. “Unusual suspects. (Artifacts from Croatian Holocaust-era concentration camp found where the perpetrators were not Nazis).” *U.S. News & World Report*, November 2001, 51.


### H. Communist Regime


I. War and the Tudman Regime


Croatia’s Blitzkrieg: Croatia’s president Franjo Tudjman has shattered the dream of a greater Serbia.” *Economist (US)*, no. 7927 (August 12, 1995): 41–44.


“Franjo Tuđman (died at age 77).” *Economist (US)*, no. 8250 (December 18, 1999): 130.


Jegen, Mary Evelin. “In the shelter of each other.” *Parabola* 18 (Fall 1993): 54–58.


Rusinow, Dennison. *To Be or Not to Be: Yugoslavia as Hamlet*. Field Staff Reports, no. 18, 1991.


**J. The Račan Government**


**V. JURIDICAL**


Headlam-Morley, Agnes. The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe: A Comparative Study of Postwar European Institutions with Special Reference to Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and the Baltic States. London: Oxford University Press, 1928.


Meron, T. “The case for war-crime trials in Yugoslavia.” Foreign Affairs 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 122–35.


VI. POLITICAL

A. Domestic


**B. Foreign Relations**


**VII. SCIENTIFIC**

**A. Information Science and Communication**


**B. Environment**


**C. Geography**


*Geopolitical and Demographical Issue of Croatia*. Zagreb: Zagreb University, Department of Geography, 1991.


VIII. SOCIAL

A. Anthropology and Ethnology


**B. Demography**


C. Education


D. Health and Medical Science


**E. Psychology and Psychiatry**


*Psychology and Psychiatry of War*. Zagreb: University of Zagreb, Faculty of Medicine, 1992.


**F. Sociology**


**G. Urbanization and Internal Migration**


Spoljarvrzina, S. M. “Estimation of the population structure through temporal migration analysis—Example from the island of Korčula (Croatia).” *Collegium Antropologicum* 17, no. 1 (1993): 7–16.


**H. Emigration and Croatian Culture Abroad**


About the Author

Robert Stallaerts was a researcher at the State University of Ghent and a collaborator of the Hogeschool Gent. For three years, he was a postgraduate student at the Institute of Economics of Belgrade and defended his doctoral dissertation regarding the economy of ex-Yugoslavia at the University of Ghent (Belgium). He worked for several years as a researcher at the university on a project on the relationship between ethics and economics and produced a book on financial and work floor participation of employees in enterprises, *Financiële participatie*. He was a longtime member of the Center for Southeast European Studies of the University of Ghent.

Among other things, Dr. Stallaerts was the author of: *Afscheid van Joegoslavië: Achtergronden van de crisis* and *The Historical Dictionary of Belgium*. He also published several collections with Dutch translations of literature from the peoples of former Yugoslavia (*Poëzie uit Ex-Joegoslavië, Hedendaagse Zuid-Slavische literatuur: Een Oorlog Voorbij*, and *Tien dichters uit Slovenië*), along with many articles on the economics, politics, and literature of the former Yugoslavia. Recently, two collections of verses by him have appeared in a bilingual Flemish/Romanian edition. Reflecting his interest in the region, Dr. Stallaerts was the coauthor of the first edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Croatia* and the sole author of the second edition. Very sadly, he passed away in early 2009 after having completed this third edition.