
**THE REPUBLIC OF THE SERBIAN KRAJINA
GOVERNMENT IN EXILE**

**MEMORANDUM
ON THE REPUBLIC
OF THE SERBIAN
KRAJINA**

Ten years after the greatest ethnic cleansing in Europe after World War II, the position of the people exiled from the Republic of Serbian Krajina is worse than ever.

- in the 1990–96 period, more than half a million Serbs were exiled from Croatia, not even 5% of whom have returned to Croatia;
- in the actions of the Croatian army, police and paramilitary troops, about 7000 Serbs were killed in Croatia;
- 1100 villages with an absolute Serbian majority were destroyed in Croatia, and almost none have been rebuilt;
- 30 000 Serbian houses and facilities in Croatia were destroyed, and the reconstruction process on behalf of the Croatian state is minor and anacceptably slow;
- the Croatian Serbs were deprived of 50 000 flats when the Right of Residence Act was abolished, which helped the Croats buy their flats, and the Serbs from Croatia were deprived of the opportunity to exercise that right;
- based on the pre-war foreign currency savings, Croatia owes the Croatian Serbs several dozen million Euros (e.g. Jugobanka Split, Economic Bank Zagreb, Zagreb Bank...)
- the privatization of state-owned and private property, large, medium and small enterprises was carried out in Croatia in such a way that the Serbs exiled from Croatia were deprived of the right to take part in privatization on the basis of the legal regulations by means of which the citizens of Croatian nationality took part in privatization;
- a vast majority of the Serbs exiled from Croatia have not had their years of service acknowledged, which is one of the fundamental human rights;
- on a basis of the personal right of private property, in the strictest market estimates of the value of Serbian property, the Serbs from Croatia have lost at least 30 billion Euros.

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The autochthony of the Serbs in Krajina has been proved through archeological research. In Dalmatia, Lika and Bosnian Krajina Serbian tombs from the fourth century AD have been found. In that way the hypothesis of the Serbian arrival to the Balkan Peninsula only in the sixth or seventh centuries AD has been denied.

The Serbs in Krajina and Croatia are mentioned in old European documents. A chronicler of the Frankish emperor refers to them in Einhard's Chronicles for the years 818 and 822 AD.

Two thirds of the Dalmatian sea-shore were part of medieval Serbia and of Serbian Bosnia.

After the Turkish conquest of the Balkans the Krajina Serbs in Austria organized their own organs of local government—and in 1630 they were given the Serbian Constitution (Statuta Valachorum) by the Austrian emperor. The Serbs had local government and even municipality courts as well as the Supreme Court. In return, they defended the Austrian border against the Turks.

Austrian emperor Leopold II gives testimony about the Serbian Krajina, writing in 1790: **"As for myself, I maintain that the Serbian people lived in Srem, Slavonia and Bačka even before the war with the Turks, and during the war decidedly took part in the recapture of the same regions, still living there, and this is why the Serbs most rightly claim the possession of these lands"**.

Serbian autochthony was never mentioned in the schoolbooks of the former Yugoslavia, and in Croatia history was forged, of which the Croatian politicians took advantage to encourage hatred against the Serbs. They also forged the truth about war events, pointing out that the Croats were the members of the Christian army, and the Serbs of the Turkish army.

Serbian leaders and historians, believing that Yugoslavia would live forever, neglected these forgeries in order to win over the Croats for Yugoslavia. Among other things, they tolerated the conversion of the Catholic Serbs in Serbian Krajina and in Bosnia & Herzegovina into the Croatian nation, which was carried out by the Croatian politicians and Roman Catholic clergy in the period 1918–41. This government- and religion-operated engineering enabled Hitler to establish the Independent

State of Croatia in WW II and to encourage Catholics and Muslims to exterminate Serbian Orthodox population. In that way the Croatian Army (whose members, apart from the Croats were Catholic and Muslim Serbs) founded death concentration camps, killing in them one third of the Orthodox Serbs from the territories of Serbian Krajina and Bosnia & Herzegovina.

SOME FACTS ON THE FORMATION OF CROATIA WITHIN YUGOSLAVIA

The Republic of Croatia in 1991 comprised the territories of the Croatian and Serbian peoples. In accordance with this, in the 1974 Constitution of Croatia both peoples were holders of sovereignty:

"ARTICLE 1: The Socialist Republic of Croatia is a national state of the Croatian people, the state of the Serbian people in Croatia and the state of the national minorities living in it".

The statehood of Croatia within Yugoslavia was based on the principle of self-determination. After WW I the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs established the state on their ethnic territories in the former Austria – on October 29, 1918. As early as December 1, 1918 they united it with Serbia into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – as of 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Orthodox Serbs fought against the fascists and had two antifascist liberation armies—partisans and chetnics. After the victory of antifascist forces in WW II, Orthodox Serbs forgave the Croats for the above-mentioned genocide. They agreed (1945) to join their ethnical territories to the Croatian ones and to organize People's Republic of Croatia (later on Socialist republic of Croatia). The Serbs set only one condition to the Croats – that the authorities of the Republic of Croatia cannot cut off the state connections between the Serbs of Krajina with the Serbs in other federal units of Yugoslavia.

This political will of the Serbian people was not respected by the Government and the Parliament of the republic of Croatia in the 1990–91 period, proclaiming secession from Yugoslavia and eliminating the clause on Serbian sovereignty from the Croatian constitution. After that the Croats, according to the international law, committed aggression against the SFR of Yugoslavia. They attacked army barracks and started terrorizing the Serbs. Such actions are qualified as aggression in the UN General Assembly Resolution No. 3314/1974, of December 14 1974, whose Article 2 explicitly says:

"The use of the armed forces by which the Charter is violated by the nation which acts first represents a sufficient, direct proof of the act of aggression, although the Security Council may conclude, in accordance with the Charter, that the establishing that the act of aggression has been committed would not be justified, when considering other existing circumstances, and among them the fact that the regarded actions or their consequences are not serious enough."

Item D of this Article precisely states the acts of aggression, and they are typical of the behavior of the Croatian soldiers and policemen in 1991:

"In accordance with the provisions of Article 2, and only with the reserves contained in it, regardless of whether the war has been declared or not, the conditions of the act of aggression are fulfilled by all the following acts: . . .

D) An attack of the armed forces of a nation against the ground, naval or air armed forces, or against civil navy and aviation of another nation."

Alongside such a clear charter as that of the UN, Croatia also violated the SFRY Constitution. It stipulated that the independence of republics could be achieved only through the consent of the constituting peoples, i.e. not without the consent of the Serbs in Croatia. A violent secession is not even allowed by the provisions of the legal principles of the enlightened peoples – in accordance with Article 38 (c) of the Hague International Tribunal Statute, **where secession is defined as the most serious criminal act. Such a definition of a secession is also contained in the laws of France, Germany, Switzerland, Russia, Poland, Hungary and many other countries.**

There was no Serb in the Republic of Croatia who supported the formation of the Serbian state. Unlike the Croatian leaders, Serb leaders observed the provisions of the SFRY constitution, as well as the above mentioned provisions of the international law.

In the years 1990 and 1991 Serbs were horrified with the actions of the Croatian authorities – identical to the actions from the time of fascism. This is why the Serbs organized themselves in order to protect their ethnic rights. **They required the clause on Serbian sovereignty be restored into the Constitution, but it was refused by the Croatian parliament.** The Serbs kept warning that the secession of Croatia was anti constitutional and a criminal act in accordance with the Statute of the Hague International Tribunal, but the Croatian authorities did not pay attention to these warnings. The prosecution of the Serbs was more and more brutal. One of the prosecution measures has not been recorded in any state during the latest

three centuries – Serbs were collectively fired from their jobs **"because they do not observe the legal authorities in the republic of Croatia"**. By the way, the Serbian alphabet (Cyrillic) was forbidden, and the Serbian families in cities were forced to convert their children into Catholicism, although it is, according to the UN Charter, a crime of genocide. The RSK Government in exile possesses documents on the conversion of Serbian children into Catholicism, and there are many witnesses and registers of the baptized in the Roman Catholic churches in Croatia.

This genocide against Serbs in Croatia in the 1990–95 period (going on even today) is identical to that one perpetrated by the Axis forces during WW II. Croatia was part of the Fascist Alliance, but the crimes of genocide in Croatia shocked even some German generals. The UN took steps to prevent the repetition of the crimes of genocide. To that purpose the General Assembly voted **the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide with Resolution No. 260 A (III) of December 9 1948**. Its most important provisions signal that in Croatia the crime of genocide against the Serbs was repeated in the 1990–95 period, especially the one concerning the conversion of the Serbian children from the Orthodox into the Roman Catholic religion, which is contained in **Article II, Item "e" of the UN Convention**:

"Parties to a contract, recognizing that in all periods of history genocide inflicted heavy losses to the mankind;

convinced that the international cooperation is indispensable in the mankind's getting rid of such odious evil;

have agreed as follows:

Article I

Parties to a contract confirm that genocide, whether committed in war or peace, is the crime of the international law, and they are committed to its prevention and punishment.

Article II

In this Convention genocide involves any of the under mentioned acts, perpetrated to the purpose of the complete or partial destruction of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group.

- a) murder of the group members;**
- b) serious injury of the group members' physical or mental integrity;**
- c) intentional subjection of the group to such living conditions which are supposed to cause their complete or partial destruction;**
- d) measures taken to the purpose of preventing births within the group;**

e) forceful displacement of children from one group into another;

Article III

The following acts will be punished:

- a) genocide;
- b) agreement on committing genocide;
- c) direct and public encouraging to committing genocide;
- d) attempt of genocide;
- e) complicity in genocide,

Article IV

Persons who have committed genocide or any other act mentioned in Article III, will be punished, whether they be senior government officials, officials, or individuals.

European countries and international organizations were against Croatian separatism. Croatia did not observe the OSCE Declaration on Yugoslavia, which was adopted in Berlin on July 19, 1991, denying the rights to the secessionist forces to self-proclaim new states in Yugoslavia. The OSCE Declaration was based on the mentioned provision of the Hague International Tribunal Statute, pointing out in the Declaration text:

"Ministers have expressed the concern and the support to the democratic development, unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, based on the economic reforms, full respect of the human rights in all parts of Yugoslavia, including the minority rights."

Croatia did not pay attention to the international law or to the OSCE recommendations. It illegally imported weapons from Hungary, equipping with arms the Croats and national minority members, except the Serbs. The Croats wore the fascist insignia and exchanged the fascist salutes. Serbs were beaten and intimidated. Serbian houses and business facilities were burned down.

In solving the Yugoslav crisis the Serbs in Krajina and Croatia pleaded for Yugoslavia as a federation, with the existing federal units, and for their own cultural autonomy within the Republic of Croatia, on the model of regions or provinces in Italy and Spain. In case of the dissolution of the Yugoslav state Serbs in Kraina required to be recognized the right to the self-determination and to remaining in the existing Yugoslav state, on the same principle as was the case with the Croats and Slovenes. Serbs in Kraina held the view that the right to the violent and anticonstitutional secession could not be "stronger" than

the right to self-defence, survival and loyalty to the existing state. Since Croatia was only interested in its independence, the Serbs in Kraina consistently applied the same procedures in their ethnic territories, trying to protect themselves both territorially and institutionally. To the arrogance and intolerance of the Croatian authorities, as well as to the Croatian state terror, they responded with political and democratic measures.

They established the Community of municipalities (stipulated by the Constitution of Croatia), but Croatia prevented its functioning illegally – using brutal police and military measures. When all attempts in settling Serbo-Croatian relationships within the shared state were refused by the Croatian authorities, the Serbs made a decision to establish their own state in their ethnic and historical territories—the Republic of Serbian Kraina. Croatia started an undeclared war against the RSK. There followed the 743 SC Resolution (1992) by which the RSK was put under the UN protection. The peace-keeping forces were sent to Kraina and the YPA withdrawn. By that Resolution in Kraina there were to be applied the laws of Yugoslavia, not of Croatia.

In that situation the UN demanded that Croatia legally regulate the ethnic rights of Serbs and allow them autonomy. Croatia accepted that responsibility changing the law, but in practice it got around the law. It publicized its decision about offering autonomy to the Serbs, but the peace negotiators did not notice that it referred only to two districts – hardly to one fifth of Kraina's territory! This Croatian offer was refused by the Serbs a few times, and then it was handed to the American ambassador Peter Galbraith, who named it "Z-4 Plan". **Peace negotiators, avoiding to be informed that the Plan did not refer to the whole RSK, declared the Kraina Serbs to be non-cooperative! President Martić refused to accept the Plan because he knew that the autonomy referred only to two districts. Yet, he informed American ambassador Galbraith that the RSK would discuss the Plan as soon as the Security Council renewed the unchanged term of the peace-keeping forces – for now it was written down that they were in Croatia, not in Yugoslavia or RSK, as was stated in the *Vance Plan*. Despite the fact that the "Z-4 Plan" prejudged the political solution and was detrimental to the Serbs, it was accepted by prime minister Babić and initialed by the Kraina delegation in Geneva (late July and early August 1995).**

The UN representatives promised that the security of the Serbian people in the RSK – with that signature – would be inviolable. However,

Croatia launched the aggression and cleansed the RSK, banishing 80% of Serbian population.

Before the ethnical cleansing of the Serbs in the Republic of Serbian Kraina, Croatia had expelled Serbs from towns and areas under its control in the period 1990 – 95. Although these Serbs were not organized with the Kraina Serbs, they had to leave their houses, flats and business facilities in Zagreb, Split, Dubrovnik, Rijeka, Varaždin, Daruvar. . . and in 183 villages of Western Slavonia. **On May 15, 1993 UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali informed the Security Council on this ethnical cleansing and on the plundering of Serbian property. He said that the Croatian authorities had expelled 251 thousand Serbs from Croatia to Yugoslavia or the Republic of Srpska – by March 18 1993 only!** The RSK Government asked the European countries, as well as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and the U.S.A. to deliver the data on the Serbs expelled from Croatia who found refuge with them, but no country delivered the data. Had they done it, the degree of the Croatian genocide against Serbs would have been approximately stated. **The UN Secretary-General also supported the genocide against Serbs, for he took no steps against Croatia – he did not even name the expulsion of 251 000 Serbs genocide or ethnic cleansing. Everything ended in the quiet informing the members of the Security Council.**

Serbs entered into negotiations with Croats about the solving of Serbo-Croatian relationships in accordance with the *Vance Plan*. There must be pointed out the signing of the Serbo-Croatian Erdut Agreement of June 15/16, 1993. Witnesses and guarantors to the Agreement were the U.S.A. and Russia, and their representatives were deputy foreign ministers: Charles Readman and Vitaly Churkin. This agreement was supposed the division of power in Croatia – similar to the one in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995, as was stipulated in the Dayton Accords. However, a month later Tuđman declared the Erdut Agreement to be worthless. On November 2, 1993 the Kraina Serbs started secret negotiations with the Croats in Norway. The two delegations agreed on the text, but a few hours before signing it Tuđman ordered his delegation not to sign anything and to come back to Croatia immediately. Through the mediation of the British diplomats the RSK sent its representatives to the new secret negotiations with the Croats in London (1994), but the Croats refused to come.

The Kraina Serbs were not non-cooperative as they were presented, but Croatia did everything to avoid any other solution except the expulsion of the Serbs from the RSK and Croatia.

It remains unclear why the Security Council imposed sanctions on the RSK (the territory under its own protection). It was even forbidden to the UNESCO and International Red Cross agencies to open their agencies in the RSK, and the Hungarian customs officers the humanitarian aid food for the Serbs in Kraina until it decayed!

In 1993, in the town of Knin, Kofi Annan was asked by the RSK Government to explain this. He said he knew about it, but he did not know how to prevent that illogical situation! **Deputy prime minister Branko Lubovac informed Kofi Annan of the Croatian preparations for the invasion of Kraina and for genocide against Serbs. He expressed his doubts in regard to the protection of the Serbian people by the UN troops. Kofi Annan got very angry, answering that the UN soldiers and officers were aware of their military honour and that they would protect the Serbian people because it was their basic mission. Unfortunately, the Croatian army occupied the UNPAs, expelled Serbian people, burned down tens of thousands of Serbian houses and sacked their property, while the UN soldiers and officers watched it peacefully.**

The UNPAs were ethnically cleansed and the Security Council did not take any steps against Croatia. Nor Kofi Annan – then one of the commanders of the peace-keeping forces, and now the UN Secretary-General.

We point out that the pogrom of the Serbs during the WW II and the ethnical cleansing of the Serbs in the RSK and Croatia in the period 1990–95 were preceded by the preparations of the Croatian politicians in the XIX and XX centuries. **One of the creators of the Croatian state, Dr Ante Starčević, wrote in the XIX century (and his books are being published in Croatia) that the Serbs were an inferior race and that they must be "killed with an axe".** With such comments published in the newspapers and elsewhere there was always incited contempt against the Orthodox religion and open demand for the forceful conversion of the Serbs into Roman Catholicism. No wonder that in 1941 Croatian politicians, under the sponsorship of Hitlerian Germany, passed laws on the physical extermination of the Serbs, Roma and Jews. At censuses before and after WW II in Croatia, the number of Serbs was always reduced. The 1981 census showed that there were 581 000 Serbs in Croatia, but there were many more.

Citizens who declared themselves Yugoslavs were presented in a separate column, and they were 90% Serbs.

At one point the Croatian ambassador to New York informed the Security Council that in Croatia, without the Republic of the Serbian Kraina, there were 471 000 Serbs. The Croatian ambassador was sent the statistical data concerning the municipalities, and by simple summing up he got an approximate number of the Serbs in Croatia. The RSK Government requested the Security Council to determine the national structure of the population in Croatia on the basis of that Croatian letter, but the UN showed no readiness to do it.

During WW II the Croatian state declared legal the confiscation of property from the Serbs, Roma and Jews, and it did the same in 1995 in regard to the Serbian property. Due to the pressure of the International community Croatia repealed that law, but in practice it does not allow Serbs to take the possession of their property. **Croatia declares that it is not forbidden, but Serbian families cannot return to their flats, cannot till their land and use their industrial, trading, transportation and other companies.** Croatia demands them to obtain the property in court or by administrative measures with the executive organs. Such procedures last for years, and they have been designed to deprive a majority of the Serbs of their property and their civil and national rights.

CROATIA COMMITTED THE GREATEST CRIME OF GENOCIDE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The Croatian crime of genocide cannot be compared with similar crimes of other sides in the 1991–1995 Yugoslav war. Many crimes were a consequence of feuding neighbors with different religious and national identities, a consequence of acts done by the armed criminal groups and military units that disobeyed higher command. **But the Croatian crime of genocide over the Serbs in the Republic of Serbian Karina and Croatian cities were deliberate and conducted in all Croatian state structures.** Croatian policemen and soldiers shot Serbian civilians in several places. **Dozens and dozens of corpses were buried in mass tombs, and in Marino Selo, Pakra;ka Poljana (1991) about 300. On December 25, 1991, Croatian soldiers and policemen killed 123 Serbian civilians of both sexes, citizens of Gospi' and Karlobag.** These execution sites and camps existed in all parts of Croatia: Zagreb (the Fairground), Split, Sisak, Osijek... Little is known about the proportions of Croatian crimes in the

world, and one tomb only on the Serbian side – "Ov;ara" near Vukovar – too much is being written, although the perpetrators of this crime are being tried in Serbia. **The perpetrators of crimes against the Serbs are not tried in Croatia, and those who killed the Serbs in Lora camp in Split were acquitted by the Croatian court.** At any rate, the state of Croatian judicature (especially regarding teh Serbs) is best described by the recent State Department report. Croatian soldiers and policemen killed 1813 Serbian civilians – among whom were 28 children, but this number is not final, because all data on Croatian crimes against the Serbs have not been collected. **So far, the Documentary Informative Center "Veritas" in Belgrade has the number of 6059 killed Serbs at its disposal – civilians, soldiers and policemen.**

Croatia was not punished for crimes against the Serbs in UNPAs, although they have been documented by the UNPROFOR officers. Among many others, the severest crimes were committed on the Miljevci Plateau – June 1992, in Ravni Kotari and Mali Alan Pass – January 22, 1993, and in the Medak Pocket – September 8, 1993. Then, a complete ethnic cleansing of the Serbs in Western Slavonia – May 1, 1995 in the aggression of the Croatian army called "The Flash", and the ethnic cleansing in Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun and Banija – August 4, 1995 in the aggression of the Croatian army called "The Storm".

The entire Croatian army – with about 130 000 soldiers took part in the crimes against the Serbs in the Republic of Serbian Kraina (1995). Taht army deliberately killed and exiled Serbain population, and pillaged and destroyed all Serbian property. The Croatian army burned 30 000 houses, flats and other objects owned by the Serbs. The Croatian soldiers looted averythig they found in those objects, **The Croatian authorities took away the undestroyed objects, and they deny the Serbs the right to 50 000 flats based on the right of residence, interpreting that the institution of "the right of residence" does not exist in Croatia any longer. However, the Croats had been earlier enabled to buy flats at low prices and become owners according to the same principle.** The Serbs are no longer allowed to use their economic facilities or their land. The Serbs cannot exercise their right to private property, cherished in the entire world.

Even though it exiled about 80% of Serbian population from the Republic of Serbaian Kraina and 251 000 Serbs from the Croatian cities – which was testified by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, no one is incriminating Croatia. No one is incriminating it even for depriving the Serbs of their civil and national rights. One of these rights is

the use of the Serbian national alphabet – Cyrillic. **Unlike the practice in other countries, there are no advertisements written in Serbian script in Croatia – not even in the localities where Serbian population numbered between 70 and 90%.** In Serbia there are such advertisements in Hungarian, Albanian, Rumanian, Slovakian, Bulgarian and Croatian.

THE SFRY PRESIDENCY AND GOVERNMENT WARNED THAT CROATIA HAD BEGUN A GENOCIDE AGAINST THE SERBS

The Federal Executive Council, before the breakup of Yugoslavia, had gathered information that the federal unit of Croatia was committing the crime of genocide against the Serbs. Those pieces of information were registered in "**The Yugoslav Government Memorandum on the Crimes of Genocide in Croatia and Desecrating the Memorial Area of Jasenovac**" of January 31, 1992, and sent to the UN and other international organizations, with the following appeal:

"We appeal to the international institutions, organizations, associations and prominent individuals to get acquainted with the data from the Memorandum and its annexes: I, II and III, and to do whatever is in their power, for the sake of truth, condemnation of genocide, alleviating the consequences and taking measures for these crimes never to repeat."

Some time later, on April 9, 1992, when the Government's appeal was unanswered by the UN in view of genocide prevention in Croatia, the SFRY Presidency announces "**The Memorandum on the Genocidal Politics of Croatia against the Serbian Nation in Western Slavonia**".

The Presidency sent the collected documents on genocide against the Serbs in Croatia to the UN and warned that the UN peace plan could not work if international measures were not taken against the secessionist authorities in Croatia. The Presidency also appeals to the UN:

"Starting from the facts exposed in 'The Memorandum' and the documentation given in the annexes the OUN form the commission which will state the facts and in accordance with that take the adequate measures."

CRIMES OF GENOCIDE CANNOT BE DENIED

That the Nazi and fascist crimes of genocide and the symbols of these racist movements are still prohibited was confirmed by the European Parliament in Strasbourg, on February 10, 1993, with its **"Resolution on European and International Protection of Nazi Concentration Camps as Historical Monuments"**.

The Resolution stipulates that all concentration camps and genocide-related documents have to be preserved and presented to the new generations so that they could distinguish **"all present forms of racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia, as well as every return to Nazi ideology, which was condemned by the civilized world"**. Furthermore, the Resolution states that the Council of Europe and the European Parliament have to, **"as the signatories of the Solemn Declaration against Racism and Xenophobia use all possible means for fighting against all forms of neo-Nazism within the Community, as well as every denial of the fact that the camps served for extermination"**.

Finally, it is an obligation of international organizations and the countries involved in the Yugoslav crisis to accept the facts of Serbo-Croatian relations. That primarily means that the truth about an unheard-of genocide of the Croatian state against the Serbs in WW II: thousands and thousands of murdered, exiled and Catholicized Serbs.

The Serbs in Croatia and Kraina have paid their equality with a vast number of victims in fascist ISC and with a massive and decisive contribution to the liberating antifascist struggle in WW II. The Croats were pardoned; with the help of the Serbs, they became part of the victorious anti-Hitlerite coalition, the AVNOY, the ZAVNOH, sovereignty in Yugoslavia. Faced with the dilemma whether they should mark their own territory or to accept equality and constitutional status in the federal unit of Croatia, the Krainan Serbs accepted the unification of ethnic territories, partly because of the "brotherhood and unity" proclaimed by Josip Broz'st Communist leadership, which created "the Croatian integrity" and freed the Croats from "the state of humiliation".

The equality of the Serbs in Croatia was confirmed in October 1943 on the Second Congress of the ZAVNOH, with a Resolution of the following contents:

"There is no, there must be, and there shall not be a Croatia in which the Serbs should not be guaranteed full equality and non-discrimination".

On the Third Congress of the ZAVNOH, in May 1944, a Declaration was issued, in which it is stated that **"the Croatian and Serbian nations in Croatia are completely equal"**.

In September 1945, on the Serbian Congress in Zagreb, it was pointed out one more time that the Serbs accepted the federal unit of Croatia, on condition that its borders did not interrupt the general ties between the Serbs in Yugoslavia. And it is also known that the republic borders were never legally defined.

The mentioned resolutions and declarations of equality and constitutionality of the Serbs and the Croats in Croatia became an integral part of all Croatian constitutions – all up to 1990.

But Croatia also failed to live up to its antifascist and constitutional obligations. With the brutal aggression on the Republic of Serbian Kraina, it broke all norms of the international law, the UN Security Council Resolution 743 of 1992 among other things. By means of military actions, in May and August 1995, Croatia occupied the Republic of Serbian Kraina and committed the greatest (and only) ethnic cleansing in Europe after WW II.

It exiled over half a million Serbs.

THE SERBS DEPRIVED OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

The Serbs exiled from Kraina and Croatia cannot even exercise the basic human rights. A large number of them live in Serbia and Montenegro, and a majority of them are without citizenship of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. In Croatia the citizenship they gained by birth is denied them. In Kraina and Croatia, as has been stated above, their houses and flats were burned down, their farms pillaged, private companies and agricultural facilities taken away. 50 000 flats in the cities are not being given back to them, although they have been legally assigned to them. The citizens of Croatian nationality (non-owners) are enabled to possess Serbian property by the Croatian state, and the Serbs (owners) are deprived of that right, in different ways. They are most often advised to take up years-long administrative procedures and legal processes, by which means Croatia is violating the private property inviolability principle. At the same time, the exiled Serbs are being deprived of gaining the years of service annuity related to the time they spent working in Croatia. The Croatian organs often deliver the work record cards to the exiled Serbs, but without entering the data on the working period in Croatian companies and institutions.

The Serbs from Kraina and Croatia cannot participate in the privatization of companies in Croatia. They are not only unable to buy the companies, but even deprived of their shares – when they were sold to third parties, regardless of the fact that they spent their entire working career in them.

One of the serious sins of the Croatian state against the Serbs lies in the fact that they are deprived of every right to war recompense. Apart from the mentioned requisition, looting and destruction of Serbian property, the Serbs are not allowed to legally exercise their other rights. The Serbian families thus cannot materialize the right related to a killed family member, to the disability degree, old-age pension and other things.

All the mentioned difficulties are augmented against the Serbs by constant deeds of Croatian police and judiciary organs. They suddenly start criminal proceedings against the exiled Serbs. The Serbs may visit Croatia for several times without a problem, and then they get arrested and accused. **This is an obvious aspect of terrorizing intended at the Serbs' relinquishing their property and their rights in Croatia.** It is about typical political processes, as they have been classified in one of the State Department reports.

Based on the above-mentioned facts, the Parliament and Government of the Republic of Serbian Kraina in exile demand their declared protectors – the United Nations, European Union and OSCE – to take part in solving the problem of the Serbian nation in Croatia and the status of the Republic of Serbian Kraina.