



YUGO NEWS



This Issue: *Jimmy Carter, Yugoslavia aids Serbs*

1 December 94

In a gesture to the Bosnian Serbs, the UN and NATO temporarily **stopped enforcing the 'no-fly zone'** over Bosnia. Flights over Croatia continue. Following the announcement, almost the entire UN leadership in Bosnia went to Pale to meet with Bosnian Serb President Karadzic (who had refused to meet with them in Sarajevo).

2 December 94

Russia vetoed a UN Security Council resolution night that would have blocked Serbia from **shipping fuel** into Serb-held areas in Bosnia and Croatia. *(See the box on this page.)*

Forty-three of the British **peacekeepers held hostage** near Goradze were released after the Bosnian Serbs learned they were going to leave Bosnia anyway. The Bosnian Serbs apologized and gave them a barbecue before releasing them.

The Bosnian Serbs offered to let the commander of the Canadian peacekeepers in Bosnia to **rotate hostages**. There are 55 Canadians held near Visoko; it is possible that, if accepted, the Bosnian Serbs would hold 110 Canadian peacekeepers.

The last UNHCR food convoy reached **Bihac** on October 1st. Of the 148 convoys dispatched to the enclave since May 30th, the Bosnian Serbs have only allowed 12 to pass. *(180,000 people live in the enclave, with 40,000 living in the city itself.)*

Bihac was relatively calm, with sporadic small-arms fire.

Croatia and the Croatian Serbs signed an **economic agreement**.

3 December 94

The HVO attacked Bosnian Serb positions near **Glamoc** and Bosansko Grahovo. Bosnian Serb President Karadzic said he would declare war on Croatia if it continued its attacks.

A peacekeeper from **Bangladesh** died in Bihac due to a bronchial asthma attack. The Bangladeshi arrived ahead of their equipment, which has been repeatedly delayed, so they had no way of treating the sick peacekeeper. The Bangladeshi HQ can only be heated for four hours a day because of a lack of fuel, and weapons are scarce enough that there is

only one rifle for every three peacekeepers.

A combined force of Serbs and Muslims led by Fikret **Abdic** captured the western half of Velika Kladusa, Abdic's old stronghold.

The three UN peacekeepers that laid down on the **Serb runway** at Banja Luka last month *(See the 23 November item December'94 issue of Yugo News)* were forced to do so at gunpoint. The action prevented a NATO air strike.

NATO resumed enforcing the '**no fly zone**' over Bosnia. The planes had been grounded at the UN's request.

Bosnian Serb President Karadzic threatened to **attack Zagreb**, the capital

Yugoslavia Aids Bosnian Serbs in Bihac Fighting

Yugoslavia assisted the counterattack on Bihac despite its public ban on war aid to Bosnian Serbs. Yugoslav assistance in men and material, along with the participation of Croatian Serbs, sustained the fuel-short and outnumbered Bosnian Serbs in their hour of need.

Milosevic may have used the involvement of Serbs from Croatia to get assistance to the Bihac combatants: While Milosevic said he was cutting off help to the Bosnian Serbs, he did not make a similar pledge regarding the Croatian Serbs. Fuel and ammunition trucks crossed the border into Bosnia from Serbia, the main republic in Yugoslavia. (The fuel was provided by Montenegro). Armor, helicopters and rockets also were provided.

Classified UN reports say that armed men in vehicles with Belgrade licenses crossed the border between Bosnia and Serb-held territory in Croatia. A special Serb police battalion also joined the fighting. The policemen crossed into Bosnia as civilians, then traveled through Bosnia to Croatia, where they received weapons and uniforms.

The ongoing attack on Bihac has called NATO's bluff to use large-scale force against the Serbs. It has led to a rapid deterioration in UN authority. On November 30th, UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said the 24,000 peacekeepers might have to be withdrawn.

of Croatia, if Croatia does not remove its troops from Bosnia. Croatia is mobilizing and, recent economic agreement to the contrary, may attempt to resieze Krajina and intervene in Bihac.

4 December 94

The Bosnian Serbs allowed the UN to resupply the **Bangladeshi peacekeepers** in Bihac.

Two UN convoys and their personnel were released, one heading for Gorazde, the other for Srebrenica. 20 British and 33 Dutch peacekeepers were released. Among those still **held hostage** are 267 Russian, French and Ukrainian peacekeepers around Sarajevo; 7 Ukrainian from Krajina, 55 Canadians near Visoko, and 27 UN observers who were 'confined to quarters.' Bosnian Serb President Karadzic welshed on his promise to UN special envoy Akashi to release all the hostage peacekeepers.

General Dogan Gures, former Defense Chief of Staff of **Turkey**, said that his country had tried to arm the mainly Muslim Bosnian government forces but that Croatia "took" 90% of the material en route.

5 December 94

Fighting continues in the **Bihac** region: Several fires were started in Velika Kladusa after the Bosnian Serbs fired incendiary shells at the town.

A **UN patrol** came under sustained attack from Bosnian Serbs near Gorazde.

The Bosnian Serbs released the seven **Ukrainian peacekeepers** they kidnapped from Krajina last week.

Five journalists were taken **hostage** by Croatian Serbs. Three were released after being robbed. At least two were handcuffed, hooded and beaten.

6 December 94

A Jordanian UN observer being held hostage in **Banja Luka** by the

Bosnian Serbs has a serious heart condition. He was to be released, with a Spanish observer taking his place. But when the Spanish observer, and a Russian who was to escort the ailing Jordanian back to a UN area, arrived in the town, they too were taken hostage.

The UN may pull its **unarmed observers** out of Serb controlled areas. It may also withdraw the Bangladeshi peacekeepers from Bihac. UN-NATO planning for a complete UN withdrawal is in its advanced stages.

An aid convoy reached **Srebrenica** yesterday. It was the first in six months. The food shortages had caused riots the past two days.

7 December 94

Bosnian President Izetbegovic obtained a promise from the member countries of the Islamic Conference to **replace UNPROFOR** if it is withdrawn. Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and Malaysia promised to send their troops directly to the Bosnian government.

Croatian Serb Foreign Minister Babic said the **Croatia-Krajina economic agreement** could not be implemented until Croat troops withdraw from Krajina.

The **Jordanian officer** with a serious heart condition was freed by the Bosnian Serbs.

8 December 94

Clinton offered to send **US troops** to Bosnia to help the UN evacuate UNPROFOR.

The **NATO cover force** would consist of seven or eight brigades and 35,000 to 40,000 troops (depending on the amount of armor included). The US was

asked to contribute more than half the troops, but the US is undecided whether to send one brigade or the full 25,000 requested. Some of the US troops would come from Europe and some from the US. US troops would be limited to rescue operations and would not participate in the ongoing peacekeeping effort.

Fifty-five **Canadian peacekeepers** were released by the Bosnian Serbs (who continue to hold some 300 peacekeepers).

A UN convoy with 16.5 tons of food and supplies for **Bangladeshi peacekeepers** was allowed into Bihac yesterday.

Bosnian Serbs also fired an SA-2 Guideline into **Bihac** yesterday, narrowly missing the Bangladeshi headquarters.

One Bosnian Serb **anti-tank missile** hit the Bosnian Parliament building while another landed elsewhere in Sarajevo.

MG Rupert Smith, British Army,

Peacekeepers in Bosnia

Country	Troops	Where
France	3,642	Sarajevo
Britain	3,390	Vitez, Gorazde
Pakistan	3,016	
Netherlands	1,664	Vitez, Srebrenica, Tuzla
Malaysia	1,544	Mostar
Turkey	1,462	Vitez
Spain	1,287	Mostar
Bangladesh	1,230	Bihac
Sweden	1,052	Tuzla
Canada	885	Visoko
Norway	667	Tuzla
Ukraine	590	Sarajevo, Zepa, Gorazde
Russia	509	Sarajevo
Egypt	427	Sarajevo
Denmark	287	Tuzla
Belgium	279	Vitez
New Zealand	250	
Jordan	100	
Total	22,282	

There are also 12,000 UN personnel in Croatia, 1,060 (some American) in Macedonia, and 3,000 in Zagreb and Belgrade.

will replace LTG Sir Michael Rose, as **UNPROFOR commander** in Bosnia on January 24th (the end of Rose's one year term). Smith commanded the British Army 1st Armored Division during the Persian Gulf War.

9 December 94

187 French, Russian and Ukrainian peacekeepers were released by the Bosnian Serbs. The **hostages** had been held at UN weapons collection sites near Sarajevo. 187 peacekeepers have replaced them and have been *granted* free movement for UN operations.

Note: That largess is mute since the Serbs are also, still, holding up fuel convoys, resulting in a critical shortages for UN vehicles (a days worth of diesel and three days of gas). This would also seem a likely source of the Serbs' renewed tactical mobility.

† † †
Two **food convoys**, the first since mid-November, entered Sarajevo.

† † †
NATO Secretary General Claes said the organization will never again undertake a peacekeeping mission if its hands are tied by the UN, that a distinction must be drawn between 'peacekeeping' and 'peacemaking'.

10 December 94

A UN **fuel resupply** convoy of three tankers and two armored 4x4's was hijacked by Bosnian Serbs outside Sarajevo.

The **heavy vehicles** destroy the roads, is the reason the Serbs give for not allowing UN armored vehicles to travel over roads in their territory.

† † †
Further evidence of **Yugoslav assistance** in the attack on Bihac: The pilot of the Serb aircraft that crashed while strafing Bihac last month was a member of the Yugoslav Air Force.

11 December 94

The UN **warned the Bosnian Serbs** they should think twice about harassing UNPROFOR as its withdrawal

could result in NATO air strikes. The UN said the Serbs would regret forcing an evacuation of UNPROFOR.

† † †
"There remains however a **serious split** between the political and military leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, with the former advocating a more cooperative approach in the face of resistance from the latter. It is by no means clear which side will dominate in the end," said a UN spokesman. The relationship between the Bosnian Serb army, led by General Mladic, and the political leadership has been the subject of intense speculation throughout the war.

Note: Don't believe it for a minute. This might have been the case, and might still be on occasion, but not for as long and as seriously as Bosnian Serb politicians claim. The assaults on UNPROFOR, the closure of Sarajevo airport and the harassment of aid convoys would not be occurring without at least the tacit approval of Karadzic. (If, in fact, he has not ordered the attacks.)

† † †
A loud explosion at the **Zagreb** military airport on December 3 has been traced to helicopter flights carrying ammunition to Bosnian government forces in Bihac.

12 December 94

A **Serb helicopter** fired an air-to-surface missile into Bihac.

† † †
The Bosnian Serbs attacked a **Bangladeshi APC** in Velika Kladusa was attacked with two wire-guided anti-tank missiles that set fire to the vehicle. *(Due to the proximity of Abdic's rebel Muslims they may have been the attacker's.)* The five man crew came under sustained small arms fire as they tried to evacuate the burning wreck. All five peacekeepers were wounded, one severely.

The Serbs **denied permission** for the severely wounded peacekeeper to be evacuated by helicopter, so UNPROFOR commander General Rose sought Serb approval for his removal by ambulance. The severely wounded peacekeeper was taken to a US field hospital in Zagreb by vehicle, an overland journey that lasted

nine hours. The peacekeeper didn't make it.

Following the ambush, Colonel Charles Lemieux, the UNPROFOR commander for Bihac, requested a NATO fly-over, but the request was denied by General Rose.

13 December 94

The new head of UNPROFOR **Civil Affairs** is Michel Moussalli.

15 December 94

Bosnian Serb President Karadzic personally contacted former US President **Jimmy Carter** by telephone. Karadzic wants Carter to mediate between Bosnia's warring factions. Karadzic said he had wanted to work out a 'new interpretation' of the plan and transform it into a document with an 'unbiased' American.

In response to a request from Carter, Karadzic promised he would first implement a six-point program, which mainly involves his **keeping promises** made earlier and then broken. These include ceasing to harass UNPROFOR convoys, freeing UNPROFOR hostages, and ordering a cease-fire in and around Sarajevo and at its airport. He also pledged to "guarantee human rights now and in the future."

Carter promised to **keep Clinton informed**. *(Something Carter failed to do when he personally made last minute, pre-invasion guarantees to the Haitian military.)*

† † †
Tensions may be rising between Macedonian authorities and the country's large **Albanian minority**. Macedonian police destroyed an Albanian university building, arresting a university official, and confiscated equipment from an independent TV station.

† † †
The Serbs allowed an **aid convoy** into Cazin, in the Bihac pocket.

† † †
Yugoslav National Bank Governor Avramovic's **economic reforms** are

threatened by the likelihood of renewed inflation. (Hyperinflation, which wreaked havoc with the economy earlier this year, was brought under control when Avramovic introduced a new currency which he pegged at a 1:1 rate with the German mark. See the Dec'93/Jan'94 and June'94 editions of the Yugo News.)

17 December 94

A French **military jet** was hit by anti-aircraft artillery over Bosnia. The source of the fire is unknown.

18 December 94

Former President **Jimmy Carter** met with Croatian President Tudjman and Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic in Zagreb, then flew to Sarajevo, where he met with Bosnian President Izetbegovic.

A mortar shell hit the **Sarajevo Holiday Inn**. A French peacekeeper in the area was wounded by sniper fire.

19 December 94

After an eight-hour meeting former President **Jimmy Carter** and Bosnian Serb President Karadzic and army commander General Mladic signed a ceasefire agreement. The Bosnian Serbs agreed to free movement of UN Convoys and the opening of Sarajevo airport; allow people to live where they wish; release of POW's and other detainees as soon as possible; and full protection of human rights, with free access to international inspectors.

Carter announced that "the Bosnian Serb side agreed to an immediate ceasefire and to negotiate a lasting cessation of hostilities." Karadzic quickly **poured cold water** on Carter's statements. The Bosnian Serb leader said, "We can't stop our activities until we get an agreement on the cessation of hostilities." While saying that peace negotiations could be held on the basis of the 'contact group' peace plan, he noted that "everything is negotiable ... We have worked out a new interpretation of the ... plan."

That **interpretation** was in a memorandum Karadzic gave to Carter. The memorandum had five points: 1) the transformation of Sarajevo into two cities, 2) natural and defensible borders for the Serb and Muslim-Croat entities, 3) equal distribution of natural resources and the infrastructure, 4) economic viability of the two territorial communities, 5) and access to the Adriatic for the Bosnian Serbs. Karadzic wrote that he was willing to exchange the Serbian parts of Sarajevo for the towns of Doboj, Brcko, Sanski Most and Jajce and parts of the Sava River valley. Karadzic also wants to exchange the Serb-held territories northwest of Sarajevo for the Muslim-held enclaves in eastern Bosnia.

Yugoslav National Bank Governor Avramovic announced new measures to continue the country's **economic recovery**: balance the budgets of Yugoslavia and Serbia, restrict the printing of money, and letting open markets determine prices.

20 December 94

Humanitarian **aid flights** to Sarajevo resumed following a four-week blockade by the Bosnian Serbs. (The last flight was on November 23rd.)

The Bosnian government and the Bosnian Serbs **agreed to a ceasefire** beginning on the 23rd. (This will be about the 88th ceasefire in the last three years.) They also agreed to begin a week of talks on a four month ceasefire, with negotiations on the 'contact group' peace plan to begin next year.

Former President **Jimmy Carter** met with Serbia's President Milosevic and Foreign Minister Jovanovic in Belgrade.

"[Carter's] presence undoubtedly expresses America's and President Clinton's choice for peace," said Milosevic. "This **commitment of America** and its president merits our full support."

Note: Whether US "commitment" is an assumption on Milsevic's part, or was promised by Carter, it must be noted both that Carter may not legally repre-

sent the US and that Clinton's support of Carter's mission has been less than solid.

The countries contributing to the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia decided to send **more equipment** but no more troops to the country. Needed are engineers to improve roads and bridges, more medevac equipment, and a better means of delivering humanitarian aid.

The Czech Republic seized **28 tons of Semtex** destined for Croatia. (Semtex is a Czech explosive often used by terrorist organizations.)

21 December 94

Libyan President Khaddafi's special envoy met with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Jovanovic in Belgrade.

The international **Zagreb-Belgrade highway** was opened to traffic for the first time in nearly three years.

23 December 94

Yugoslavia's 1995 budget is \$1.4 billion, or 10% of GNP. The military cut is 76%. (For comparison, the US budget for 1992 was 23% of GNP, with 23% of the outlays going to the military). The budget is balanced on paper, and the dinar will remain at a 1:1 deutschmark rate.

Croatia and the Croatian Serbs agreed to **withdraw** from the 'line of separation' established between the two sides after the NATO air raids on Udbina airfield in Krajina in November. Infantry will pull back 1km by the 27th, tanks 10km by the 29th and heavy artillery 20km by the 31st of this month.

Macedonia arrested 29 members of the former '**Kosovo Parliament**'. The MP's fled Kosovo in September, 1990. At least 18 were deported to Yugoslavia; only two were released.

24 December 94

The day-old **Bosnian cease-fire** is already on shaky ground: Bosnian Serbs fired small-arms near the Sarajevo

airport and in Mostar; Croatian Serbs and rebel Muslims launched a large infantry attack near Velika Kladusa; and Bosnian Croats continue their own attacks around the Livno-Kupres plateau.

The three hour **daily blackouts** in Belgrade will be increased to 12 hours a day. Angry residents, more than half of whom rely on electric power for heat, took to the streets in protest. The Yugoslav power company says the cutback is because antiquated equipment cannot keep up with demand, but opposition leaders say that the electricity that normally would go to the area is being diverted to Romania in exchange for fuel.

25 December 94

Borba, the **last independent daily newspaper** in Serbia, stopped a government appointed editor and five bodyguards from taking control of the paper.

26 December 94

Croatian Serbs and rebel Muslims continued their attack on Bosnian government troops near **Velika Kladusa**. The Bosnian Government warned the cease-fire could collapse unless the attack was stopped.

The UN ruled that the attack was **not a violation** of the Carter Truce, which was signed only by the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian government -- not rebel Muslims, Bosnian Croats, Croatia or Croatian Serbs. *(A nifty dodge indeed. These people have more moves than a bowl of jello. Looks like Carter was snookered again ...)*

In all, there have been at least **86 ceasefire violations**, the majority of them by Serbs, in the three days since the 'ceasefire' took effect. The UN claimed most were "celebration firing" because of the holiday season.

Despite yesterday's Croat-Croatian Serb withdrawal agreement, Serbs in **western Bosnia** called for a general mobilization to combat the "danger of Croatian aggression."

A **Yugoslav military court** sentenced General Vlado Trifunovic to eleven years in prison for surrendering his corps to the Croatian army in the autumn of 1991. Another four officers were also sentenced to terms of six and seven years.

Meetings were held on **extending the Carter cease-fire**, but the full Bosnian government delegation didn't attend to protest the continuing attack on Bihac by Croatian Serbs and rebel Muslims.

27 December 94

An **aid convoy** reached Bihac carrying food and supplies, but fuel convoys remain blocked.

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher described 1994 as a highly **successful year for US foreign policy**, saying that the US has made significant steps in its continuing policy of creating a progressive, safe and democratic world.

General Rose met with **rebel Muslim leader Abdic**, to discuss his forces entering into the spirit of the ceasefire agreement.

31 December 94

Two UN **peacekeepers** were following a Croatian Serb convoy in Krajina when they were fired on by machine-guns mounted on vehicles in the convoy. The UN vehicle tried to flee, but was followed and forced to stop. The observers were dragged from the vehicle, searched and interrogated. Both observers suffered bullet wounds.

General de Lapresle, UN commander in the Balkans, asked the Croatian Serbs to **court-martial** the "soldiers" involved.

Sarajevo's siege is now 1,000 days long.

1 January 95

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs agreed to extend the

Carter Ceasefire for four months. UN peacekeepers are to be placed between them in some areas.

2 January 95

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs began **negotiations** regarding the exchange of prisoners, procedures for the "withdrawal and monitoring by UNPROFOR of heavy weapons of caliber 12.7 mm and above," restoration of utilities and formation of joint economic activities.

A missile struck the **Sarajevo Holiday Inn**. There were no casualties.

The Bosnian Croats agreed to observe the **Carter Ceasefire**.

3 January 95

After a Christmas lull, **rebel Muslims** increased their attacks on Bihac. 300 shells fell on the enclave today.

4 January 95

The Croatian Serbs refused to sign the **Carter Ceasefire** agreement. They told the UN that is an internal Bosnian matter.

Yugoslav Justice Minister Uros Klikovic said that the **UN war crimes tribunal** liaison would not have the right to start any independent proceedings in Yugoslavia. Klikovac said the restrictions placed on the liaison were in keeping with the fact that there had been no war in the territory of the former republic of Yugoslavia and that, consequently, no war crimes had been committed there.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole proposed that the US unilaterally lift the **arms embargo** by May 1st (the end of the four-month Carter Ceasefire).

5 January 95

The Croatian government and the Croatian Serbs of Krajina finalized the plan for implementing the recently concluded **Croat-Krajina economic**

agreement. The Belgrade-Zagreb highway, currently open only 12 hours a day, will be opened for a full 24 hours; repairs damaged electric power, water supply and railroad facilities will begin as soon as possible; and a joint oil company may be established.

Quote

"Because I'm paid to engage in the absurd."

US State Department spokesman when asked how Clinton can expect the Serbs to agree to a just peace without facing a threat of force.

Source

The Economist, New York Times, Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee Sentinel, USA Today, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, InterNet*, FBIS Daily Reports.

* InterNet primary sources include AP, UPI, Radio Free Europe, Reuters, New Republic and Voice of America.

Editor

Preston McMurry

Check it Out!

Foreign Affairs and *Foreign Policy* are international relations journals that deal with a wide variety of diplomatic subjects. Both regularly contain articles on the Balkans. Both are found on the bookshelf outside the 432 CA Bn's S-3 shop. *Foreign Affairs* is published bi-monthly and *Foreign Policy* is published quarterly.

Foreign Affairs Nov/Dec'94

Quelling the Teacup Wars (p. 2): The author argues that "America's involvement in the world is deep, growing deeper, and irreversible" due to economic ties. "Americans are not turning inward. They are waiting for their president ... to chart a compelling international course." That "while Russia is important and the West must be attentive to its needs, it is not sufficiently important for the West to give Moscow veto over important policy decisions such as Bosnia and NATO." Instead, "the core problem is wars of national debilitation, a steady run of uncivil wars sundering fragile but functioning nation-states and gnawing at the well-being of stable nations."

The Delusion of Impartial Intervention (p.20): The author points out the fallacies and inherent dangers of what I call *Barney Diplomacy*: the assumption that outsiders can make warring opponents realize that "resorting to violence was a blunder, and substitute peaceful negotiation for force." This is the best exposition I have yet seen on the differences between peacekeeping and peace-making, how the two are often disastrously confused, and how to avoid making that indistinction. The author believes that the issues should be "who is in charge, and in what pieces of territory, after a war ends. Intervention that proceeds as if the issues are different, and can be settled by action toward the belligerents that is both evenhanded in intent and weak in capability, will more likely prevent peace than enforce it." The author advises that:

- 1) Recognize that to make peace is to decide who rules
- 2) Avoid half-measures
- 3) Do not confuse peace with justice
- 4) Do not confuse balance with peace or justice
- 5) Make humanitarian intervention militarily rational

Foreign Policy Winter 1994-95

Why the West Failed (p.53): A concise, but thorough summary of the Bosnian conflict from 1990 to today.

Anatomy of a Massacre (p. 70): Outstanding article that addresses the issues involved in the inconclusive assignment of responsibility (Serb or Muslim?) for the Markale Market massacre on February 5, 1994, in which over 60 civilians were killed. The author's conclusion it can't be determined if the Bosnian government did it (to draw the West into the war on their side) or if the Serbs did it as part of their normal bombardment of Sarajevo.