



# YUGO NEWS



*This Issue: Rose leaves Bosnia, Croatia kicks out UN?, US talks with Bosnian Serbs*

## 5 January 95

The continuing **ceasefire talks** between the Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs broke down due to the Croatian/Bosnian Serb & rebel Muslim attack against Bihac and Bosnian government occupation of Mt. Igman, overlooking Sarajevo.



Croatia threatened to end all talks with Croatian Serbs unless they begin carrying out last month's **economic agreement**. (So far the only part of the pact to be implemented is the reopening of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway). Croatian President Tudjman also threatened not to renew UNPROFOR's mandate, which expires January 31st.

These statements fit an established **pattern of Croatian policy** since the UN's presence there began at the start of 1992: In the weeks leading up to the renewal of the mandate, Croatia makes loud noises that the UN must aid the reintegration of Krajina into Croatia if the UN it wishes to extend the peacekeeper's stay. Croatia's allies then quietly pressure Croatia into extending the mandate, while the government publicly claims victory, pledging not to renew the agreement again if Krajina remains under Serb control much longer. As part of the apparent ritual, the chief of the general staff recently said that he would not rule out a military solution to the Krajina question.

One reason for **Croatia's ultimatum** is fear of what might happen now that the 'contact group' (America, Russia, France, Britain and Germany) has accepted the Bosnian Serbs' demand to confederate with Serbia proper. That raises the possibility that the Krajina Serbs will demand, and get, the same thing. If that were to come about, it

would make Croatia's loss of Krajina permanent. By threatening a new bout of mayhem, the Croats hope that the UN will press Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic, into recognizing Croatia's frontiers. There is scant reason to think that, in the foreseeable future, he will agree to do so.

**Other possible reasons** for Tudjman's announcement include a split between Croatia and Bosnia, and thus a budding alliance between Croatia and Serbia; an attempt to bolster his image

with the Croatian people; or to force the Croatian Serbs to adhere to their economic agreement with Croatia.

## 6 January 95

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali told the Security Council yesterday that it was "**micromanaging**" **peacekeeping efforts** at the expense of his authority and that of ground commanders. He also criticized unnamed countries for demanding strong and

## Croatia to Kick Out UN?

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costly action, then failing to support it. Boutros-Ghali suggested that the UN develop a supply of reaction troops from various nations to dispatch to crises in a short amount of time, and maintain larger amounts of equipment and supplies for the forces.

Flights to Sarajevo airport were canceled yesterday. Bullets were found lodged in the fuselages of two UN aircraft after they returned to Zagreb, Croatia, from Sarajevo.

## 7 January 95

The UN has requested 6,000 more peacekeepers for monitoring the **Carter Ceasefire**.

The Sarajevo airport reopened after a one-day shut down.

## 8 January 95

Bosnian Serb military commander **General Mladic** said that Serb forces would not lift their blockade of Sarajevo until Bosnian government troops withdrew from a demilitarized zone on Mount Igman.

## 9 January 95

The warring factions in the Balkans are **brazenly stealing cars** from the UN with the knowledge of their political leaders.

UNHCR had 32 of its vehicles, totaling **\$1 million**, stolen last year. The stolen vehicles include four-wheel drive trucks, armored cars and cargo trucks.

All the sides are involved, but most of the thefts were committed in Croatia and Croat-controlled parts of Bosnia, where there is a **well-organized theft ring**. Stolen UNHCR vehicles were seen escorting senior Bosnian Croat officials, and in the entourage of Bosnian President Izetbegovic, and the Bosnian Serbs even used a stolen UNHCR car in the escort for High Commissioner Ogata when she visited the Serb HQ in Pale last year.

The problem is **even worse** for UNPROFOR, which is losing five vehicles per week.

A Nepalese **peacekeeper** was **wounded** when his vehicle hit a land mine near Okucani.

## 10 January 95

The historic **Carinski Bridge** in Mostar (destroyed by Serb shelling in Nov'93, *see the Dec'93 issue of Yugo News*) will be rebuilt. The remains of the old bridge will be torn down, and new bridge will be constructed as a twin of the original.

## 11 January 95

The Serbs have been making extensive use of **Israeli weapons**, including antitank missiles. The shipments may be resales, but the Israeli was less than convincing in its denial of direct shipments. (Ori Orr, Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee said, "We don't take sides in the conflict", [but] because of anti-Semitic sentiments in [Croatian President] Tudjman's book and the Hizballah-Iran help to the Muslims, you may draw the conclusion where our sympathies lie.")

Despite the Carter Ceasefire, Croatian Serbs and rebel Muslims are continuing to block relief convoys to **Bi-hac**. (Only three have made it to the

enclave since October.) UNHCR requested that NATO resume airdrops, but NATO is reluctant to do so because of Serb anti-aircraft fire.

The OSCE (Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, successor to the CSCE) failed to persuade the Yugoslav government to allow **human rights monitors** into the ethnically troubled regions of Kosovo, Sandzak and Vojvodina. Serbian President Milosevic insisted Yugoslavia must be readmitted to the OSCE, before monitors could return. (Yugoslavia kicked CSCE monitors out after the organization suspended it for invading Croatia in 1991).

The military leaders of the Bosnian government, Serbs and Croats signed a **peace agreement** after the government completed its withdrawal from Mt. Igman. Consequently the Bosnian Serbs promised to open up land routes to Sarajevo no later than January 14th.

## 12 January 95

The UN Security Council voted 14-0 to continue **easing sanctions** against Yugoslavia for another 100 days. Russia abstained. A partial easing of sanctions was enacted in Sept'94 as a reward for Serbia's apparent severing of ties with Bosnian Serbs. (*See the 24 Sept 94 item in the Oct'94 issue of Yugo News.*)

### The UN at Work

	1987	1991	1993
Military Personnel deployed	9,570	11,495	73,393
Civilian police deployed	35	115	2,130
Civilians deployed	1,516	2,206	2,206
Countries contributing troops/police	26	56	76
Security Council Resolutions	15	53	78
Conflicts UN was involved in	11	13	28
Deployed peacekeeping operations	5	11	17
Elections monitored	-	6	21
Sanctions imposed	1	2	7
Peacekeeping budget (million US\$)	230	1,690	3,610

The resolution also states that the export and transport of goods through UN Protected Areas (UNPA's) in Croatia and Serb-controlled areas in Bosnia will be allowed only with the **permission** of the Croatian and Bosnian governments. The resolution also applies to all transport vehicles crossing the Yugoslav-Bosnian border.

## 13 January 95

Delegates from the **Contact Group** met with Bosnian Serb leaders in Pale, in defiance of a UN Security Council resolution barring contacts with the Serbs. It is the first time the Contact Group has with the Serbs since they rejected the Group's peace plan last July.

The US Navy is considering using **Croatian shipyards** for repair of its ships involved in Adriatic/Balkan operations.

## 14 January 95

The Bosnian Serbs failed to **open roads** between Sarajevo and central Bosnia, despite an agreement to the contrary reached three days ago.

Rasim Ljajic, General Secretary of the mainly Muslim Party of Democratic Action of **Sandzak**, was dismissed at a party congress. (*Ljajic was pro-Yugoslavia. His ouster would seem to be a prelude to further breakaway moves in Sandzak.*)

## 15 January 95

Bosnian Serbs halted the movement of **UN convoys** through much of their territory, and have still failed to open roads out of Sarajevo.

During a **training exercise** over Bosnia, two French fighters mistakenly launched two rockets near a Canadian peacekeeping base in Visoko.

Rebel Muslims in **Bihac** are searching the suburbs and rounding up residents. The detainees are being forced to dig trenches along lines where they are exposed to military attacks.

UNPROFOR commander General Rose and United States Admiral Smith, NATO's CINCSOUTH, engaged in a **shouting match** after Smith refused to reveal NATO flight plans over Bosnia to Rose. Rose planned to give the Bosnian Serbs the flight plans as a "confidence-building measure."

**Croatia** celebrated its third anniversary as an independent nation.

## 16 January 95

Bosnian Serb troops **tricked UNPROFOR** into letting them pass a UN checkpoint, then forced the peacekeepers to close it when it was the Bosnian government's turn to pass. Bosnian Serb General Mladic told UNPROFOR commander General Rose not to move men

or supplies across Serb-held territory because the roads "are not safe in winter weather." (*Serbs blocking roads is SOP, and the veiled threat isn't all that shocking, but the kicker is that the Serbs bamboozled the UN into giving them fuel for their 'snow plows.'*)

UN Special Envoy Akashi defended UNPROFOR's role in Bosnia and Croatia, saying Bosnia is not a clear-cut case like the Gulf and that UNPROFOR's primary role was to create conditions for "parties in conflict" to "negotiate peace." He added that, "Impartiality is the greatest asset of a peacekeeping mission, despite the complex moral and practical issues it raises ... the price of consent is impartiality."

*Note: Akashi does not even realize that there is no peace in Bosnia to keep. This is a perfect illustration of the fatal error of mistaking peacekeeping for*

## US Holds Direct Talks With Bosnian Serbs

Reinforcing a message delivered in person, by himself, in Sarajevo on January 9, US Secretary of State Christopher wrote a letter to Bosnian President Izetbegovic. Christopher wrote that the US would begin direct talks with the Bosnian Serbs (despite a UN Security Council resolution barring such contacts). Christopher also wrote that as long as Bosnian Serbs abide by the ceasefire and promise to open roads out of Sarajevo, the 'contact group' should also hold direct talks. Christopher believes that the Carter Ceasefire has created "a possible opportunity to renew the negotiations" with the Serbs, "which we should not allow to pass by."

US Ambassador to Bosnia Jackovich, who favors a policy of pressure and sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs, was recalled to Washington on 18 January, while Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke talked to the Bosnian Serbs in Pale the next day. US 'contact group' negotiator Charles Thomas beat the same path to Karadzic's headquarters on January 22, where he held talks that he called "very constructive."

The Clinton administration wants the Bosnian government to abandon its persistent efforts to persuade the US to break the UN arms embargo on Bosnia. That policy has irritates the Bosnian government, which has accepted the so-called 'contact group' peace plan only to see foreign threats to compel the Serbs to do so evaporate into circuitous diplomacy. "The latest message from the Clinton administration is, 'Don't worry, we'll take care of you,' but they don't explain how," said one Bosnian official. "My message is: 'A few years ago we might have believed you, but no longer.'"

Thus the primary purpose of Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic's visit to Washington next week: support of the Senator Dole's legislation which would permit arms sales from May 1, the day the four-month Carter Ceasefire expires, until the peace plan has been accepted by the Serbs.



peacemaking. If the chief UN policy-maker for the region cannot make that distinction, then any UN peace initiatives are doomed to failure. As the have done since Day 1 ...

† † C

In **Tuzla**, the Bosnian Army cut phone lines and blockaded UN troops stationed at the airport to protest the arrival of a Serbian liaison officer at Tuzla airfield. Bosnian Vice-President Ganic says the blockade will last until the liaison officer leaves the UN base.

The Bosnian Government also demanded that the UN **reopen the airfield** by February 1, 1995, or withdraw all its peacekeepers there. It was opened in March, 1994, but was closed immediately because of Serb gunners in the surrounding hills.

UNPROFOR commander General Rose then allowed a **Serb 'liaison' officer** to be smuggled into the airfield to verify that no government military flights would be allowed. The Bosnian government suspects the Serb officer of war crimes. Rose's term as commander expires next week.

## 17 January 95

Serbia offered 40-year, interest-free credits for building houses or buying flats to Serbs who left **Kosovo** and want to return. Serbia wants to settle 100,000 Serbs and Montenegrins in the mainly ethnic Albanian region.

† † C

USAREUR Chief-of-Staff **General Joulwan** met in Skopje with Macedonian President Gligorov. They discussed military cooperation. General Joulwan meets with Croatian officials tomorrow.

† † C

Croatian Serb President Martić told Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali **Krajina** would receive UN peacekeepers if Croatia expelled them.

## 18 January 95

In violation of the UN **'no-fly zone'** over Bosnia, Croatian Serb helicopters flew more than 20 supply

missions to Serbian forces near Vedro Polje and Klokot. (A government attack took the two villages several days ago.) The helicopters are based at Udbina, which was the target of NATO air raids in mid-Nov'94.

† † C

Bosnian President Izetbegovic asked parliament to increase the **military**

**budget** so he could form special mobile units for maneuvering in difficult terrain.

† † C

Contacts between the Bosnian Serbs and Yugoslav **opposition parties** are increasing.

† † C

On the lighter side, **lawyers** lead Croatia's unemployment rolls.

## UNPROFOR Change-of-Command

LT GEN Sir Michael Rose, British Army, was replaced on Monday, January 23, 1995, by MAJ GEN Rupert Smith, British Army, as Commander of UNPROFOR in Bosnia.

Rose's greatest achievement may have been combining the UN and NATO last February in an operation that pushed Serbian artillery back from Sarajevo. He also consolidated the peace between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia. But the UN has had to shift from attempts to advance peace to avoiding a worse war, and the UN/NATO relationship has been greatly strained.

UNPROFOR CINC General de Lapresle said Rose had made an outstanding contribution to peacekeeping in Bosnia. He said that "in spite of the unwarranted criticism of the Bosnian government, the separatist Serbs and the international media, General Rose has steadfastly remained loyal to the principles of peacekeeping, applying relevant United Nations resolutions with vigour and impartiality." Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic said, "It's better both for him and for Bosnia that he is leaving."

Rose was often seen as aiding the Serbians, and the Bosnian government and UN relations are poisonous. The turning point was in April, 1994, after a Serbian attack on Gorazde killed a British officer, for which Rose accused the Bosnian government of "folding its defenses." Since then, he has felt the Bosnian government was determined to bring in NATO on a larger scale, and he made his mission avoiding that possibility.

Adding to what some have said is a skewed view was a map of a bombed out Red Cross vehicle on his office wall with the caption "Nice One, NATO"; his interpreter, MAJ Michael Stanley, a Briton of Serbian decent, took to criticizing peace proposals with plans for territorial division; and Viktor Andrej, a Russian serving as civil affairs adviser that exerted great influence, often reminded Rose that the use of force did not have a place in peacekeeping. Rose also held cool relations with the US, frequently clashing with US Ambassador to Bosnia, Victor Jackovic. Despite a March 17, 1994, agreement to open roads from Sarajevo, they remained closed today as they did when Rose assumed command.

Rose will be promoted to full general, a rarity in the British Army, after returning to London.

*Note: And this for a guy who got along with absolutely no one, and who utterly failed to coordinate or discipline his staff. He neither kept the peace (for there was no peace to keep), nor made a peace. In other words, he was a total failure. He is getting the promotion because to give him nothing would damn him (and thus the British government by association) even worse than if he received a reprimand.*

## 19 January 95

Fighting in the **Bihac** area is increasing. 436 explosions were recorded by mid-afternoon and the Croatian Serbs are moving heavy weapons south toward Bosnian government front lines.

At **Sarajevo airport** the Bosnian Serbs refused to allow the UN to bring in materials to de-ice the runway.

Masked gunmen **help up** French peacekeepers near the Sarajevo airport. They tried to steal their vehicle before fleeing.

Members of the '**contact group**' met with their counterparts from the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The Islamic countries included Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey. It was the first meeting between the groups.

The new overall **UNPROFOR commander** in the Balkans will be French General Bernard Janvier. He takes over for General Bertrand de La-presle on March 1.

The Croatian Serbs convicted their first Serb soldier for **war crimes**. The soldier was convicted of killing six civilians in 1991. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison. The soldier's trial is an obvious attempt by Croatian Serbs to show the world they could carry out their own justice for war atrocities. The war-crimes proceedings --the first by a Serb-dominated court since the war started in 1991 -- are not recognized under international law.

## 20 January 95

The first Serbian-Muslim **prisoner exchange** took place under the terms of the current ceasefire. The exchange of 100 POW's is the first provision of the current ceasefire to be honored by both sides.

## 22 January 95

After the UN withdrew the Serb

'**liaison**' officer, Bosnian government troops released the UN peacekeepers they had been detaining at the Tuzla airport.

## 23 January 95

UNPROFOR commander **General Rose** chalked up one last achievement before leaving, persuading the Serbs and Muslims to sign yet another extensive accord. The new agreement is supposed to reopen supply routes to Sarajevo for all charities and civilians and free 600 prisoners by February 1. Although this involved getting the Serbs to remake promises they have already broken repeatedly, Rose was pleased with the agreement. He said that "both sides see this opportunity as a very real opportunity for peace."

US '**contact group**' negotiator Thomas held a second day of talks with Bosnian Serb President Karadzic in Pale. Thomas later met with Bosnian-Croat Federation VP Ganic and Federation President Zubak.

## 24 January 95

British General Rupert Smith assumed **command of UNPROFOR** in Bosnia. He replaced General Michael Rose.

The UN Security Council decided to maintain the five-month old **sanctions** against the Bosnian Serbs. The Council president said that conditions were 'not appropriate' for lifting the sanctions. Yugoslav Prime Minister Kontic said the decision is not an adequate reward for Yugoslavia's peaceful policy.

The US is sending **General Frederick M. Franks Jr.**, USA (Ret.) to Bosnia to assist the Muslim-Croat federation in integrating its armed forces. Franks was commander of VII Corps in the Persian Gulf War. Another retired US Army officer, General John Galvin, failed at the same mission last year after he was unable to overcome the mutual mistrust in the federation.

Although serving in different respects, Franks will be "reunited" with

**Major General Smith**, the new UN-PROFOR commander in Bosnia. Smith was commander of the British Army's 1st Armored Division, which fought under VII Corps in the Persian Gulf War. The two developed a deep mutual respect, and have kept in contact as friends ever since.

US Ambassador to Bosnia **Jack-ovich** began his second week back in the US, after being recalled for 'consultations'.

*Note: Jackovich has been on post only eight months. It sounds like he may be about to lose his job. No word on who his replacement might be (which would be an indicator of future US policy).*

Bosnian Federation VP Ganic agreed that the peace plan put forward by the '**contact group**', originally not subject to change, could serve as a "**basis for negotiations**" with Bosnian Serbs, who had said that accepting that language was a condition for renewing talks. But, Ganic said, the plan must be signed before any changes could be made.

## 25 January 95

Croatian Serbs are refusing to begin the **de-mining of railroad tracks** and a water pipeline. The project to repair the railroad track and the pipeline was scheduled to begin last week and is part of the economic agreement signed by the Serbs and Croatian authorities last month.

Members of the '**contact group**' broke off their mission to Bosnia. They accusing the Bosnian Serbs of blocking the way to restarting talks after the group failed to persuade them to give explicit backing to a peace plan.

## 26 January 95

The '**contact group**' **reversed plans** to leave Bosnia and is staying on for more talks. The Serbs are balking at the idea of first "accepting" the '**contact group**' peace plan before negotiating its final form. The '**contact group**' assured them that nothing is binding until a final settlement is signed.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, however, wants a **deadline** imposed on the Serbs to accept the project. He says the Serbs should have two months to say "yes," plus an additional month for final talks. That would mean a deadline of around May 1, when the Carter Cease-fire is slated to expire.

† † C

As part of its attempt to prepare for NATO membership, Albania began joint military **Exercise Sarex'95** with the US. The naval search-and-rescue exercise will involve the one US and six Albanian vessels, aircraft and 600 infantry. The exercise lasts through January 29. Albania already provides port and airfield facilities to NATO and the WEU.

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## 27 January 95

Two US Marines in Albania for **Exercise Sarex'95** were shot in a restaurant in Durres. One Marine was critically wounded. Whether US troops were the intended target is not known.

† † C

The **Adriatic oil pipeline** was reopened. The pipeline extends from the Omisalj refinery, in Croatia, towards Sisak and then onwards to Hungary, Austria, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

† † C

Bosnian Serb troops **kidnapped** a Bosnian journalist. The journalist was taken from a UNPROFOR APC at a checkpoint near Sarajevo. Russian peacekeepers in the vehicle violated UN procedure on transporting journalists by allowing the Bosnian Serbs to open the APC's doors and check passenger papers. The Russians were not threatened before opening the APC door.

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## 28 January 95

French peacekeepers fired **warning shots** at 40 Bosnian government soldiers trying to enter a demilitarised zone on Mount Igman, near Sarajevo. Four Bosnian were slightly wounded.

† † C

**Tensions** between Bosnian government and allied Croat forces appear to be rising in northern Bosnia.

Tensions are especially high

around the northern town of **Tesanj**. On Friday, the Tesanj police chief ordered the arrest of several local Croat officials after Croats had arrested some government officials earlier in the week.

Croat-Muslim relations are also extremely strained in the **Maglaj** area farther north. Both sides have arrested police officers and local political leaders.

Bosnian President **Izetbegovic** tried to play down the incidents, calling for tolerance between Croats and Muslims: "There will be no new confrontations with Croats ... There were some problems in Mostar, but we overcame them."

† † C

In the southern province of Kosovo 200 former Albanian policemen have been arrested in the past two months on suspicion of forming a "parallel" interior ministry, allegedly aimed at seceding from rump Yugoslavia. The detained Albanians say they had merely formed a trade union.

† † C

A **UN convoy** to Mostar was forced to halt due to gunfire across the road at a Croat checkpoint south of the town at Blagaj.

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## 30 January 95

The Z-4 faction of the 'contact group' (the US being one member) presented another **peace proposal** to Croatia and the Croatian Serbs. The proposal was offered as a basis for negotiations.

The proposal gives **some autonomy** in local areas to Croatian Serbs where they were in the majority before the war, but they would have to recognize the borders of Croatia and surrender areas where Croats were in the majority before the war. In the areas they would retain, Croatian Serbs could elect a legislature and local president, establish their own currency and tax system, and create a police force and lower courts.

The Croatian Serbs **refused** to even look at the proposal. Croatian Serb President Martić said Krajina would not consider the proposal "until we see what

will happen to the mandate of UNPROFOR." (The Serbs, both in Croatia and Bosnia, may be stalling to see how the growing Bosnian-Croat rift develops.)

Croatian President **Tudjman** did not respond.

† † C

Bosnian Prime Minister **Silajdzic** began his three-day visit to the USA. He will meet with VP Gore, secretary of State Christopher, Senate Majority Leader Dole and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Thurmond. (The latter two, both Republicans, want to unilaterally lift the arms embargo by March 1, which the Clinton administration opposes.)

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## 31 January 95

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs signed their **third agreement** of the month to reopen UN 'blue routes' to Sarajevo airport to international humanitarian organizations.

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## Quote

"No wonder, UNPROFOR has better cars."

UNHCR spokesman when told UNPROFOR vehicles were being stolen five times as fast as his own.

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## Source

The Economist, New York Times, USA Today, InterNet\*, FBIS Daily Reports.

*\* InterNet primary sources include Time, Chicago Tribune, AP, Reuter, VOA, Los Angeles Times*

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## Editor

Preston McMurry

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