



# YUGO NEWS



This Issue: *War crimes indictments, Tuzla mystery flights, Bosnian-Croat relations*

## 1 February 95

The UN said **Croatian Serb forces**, which have previously provided artillery support, were now also involved in ground fighting on Bosnian territory in the Bihac enclave. He said there was "a clear presence of RSK (Croatian Serb) troops on the ground, with tanks, artillery and APC's well within Bosnia."

**Yugoslavia's inflation rate** rose to 12.4% in December, 1994.

## 3 February 95

Approximately 20 **Americans**, all in civilian clothes, have been working in the village of Bol, on Brac Island, Croatia since October, 1994. (*Brac is just off the coast from the Dalmatian city of Split.*) They work at the airport, which is perched on the island's highest point.

Though the **Croatian government** does not acknowledge the American presence, the Americans are guarded by plainclothes Croatian guards. The US military confirms that US soldiers and DoD contractors are on Brac on a mission named 'Lofty View'.

A US military spokesman called 'Lofty View' "an operation to map and survey primary and secondary lines of communication in Bosnia-Herzegovina." 'Lofty View' supports the US-led 'Provide Promise' effort, which includes the Sarajevo airlift and aid airdrops over Bosnia. (The air drops were suspended in May, 1994).

*Aviation Week & Space Technology* reported in January, 1995, that the CIA was launching manned and unmanned reconnaissance aircraft from Brac. *AW&ST* also cited similar

operations elsewhere in Croatia and last year in Albania.

Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica spotted 20 **Yugoslav helicopters** flying from Serbia across Bosnian Serb lines. (Serbian President Milosevic supposedly enacted his own embargo on the Bosnian Serbs last Fall.) The peacekeepers were barred from access to Serbian airfields near the border and from radar equipment there. Although other helicopter flights have been seen, this is the first time that this many were seen in formation.

## 4 February 95

The **Bosnian Serb army (BSA)** held direct military talks with the

Bosnian Croat army (HVO). The Bosnian army boycotted the talks. The UN called the talks "a major breakthrough" in ceasefire discussions.

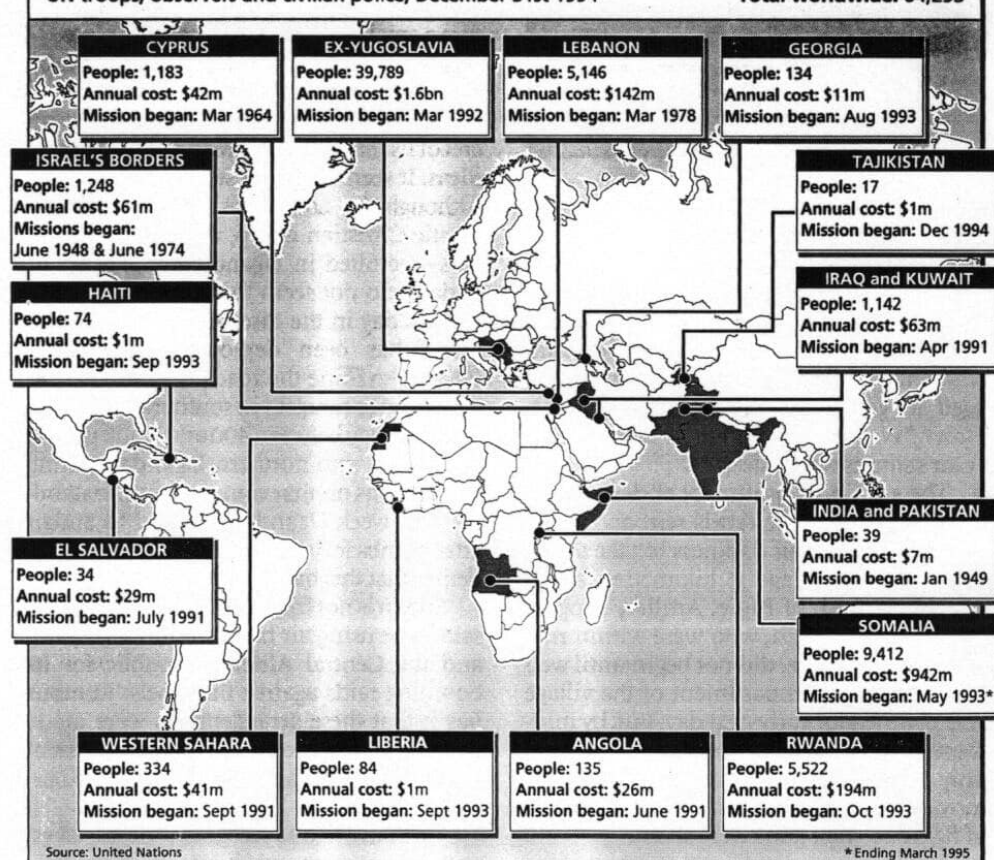
The Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs **agreed on mapping** confrontation lines between Kupres in central Bosnia. UNPROFOR said the meeting was "conducted in a positive and constructive manner."

"The HVO and the BSA might be looking at ways to reach a **separate deal**," said one UN source. (*They may be trying to reach a separate peace, but keep in mind that the HVO and BSA were allies this time last year - and they could be again.*)

## Punctured but still struggling

UN troops, observers and civilian police, December 31st 1994

Total worldwide: 64,293



The UN embargo on Yugoslavia is being violated by Bulgarian companies with falsified registration documents. The phantom companies are mainly engaged in large-scale fuel smuggling. Thirty-even cases involving 12 companies are being "investigated" by Bulgaria.

## 5 February 95

The UN has asked its chief air monitor, Tauno Nieminen of Finland, to hold talks with Yugoslavia about its recent helicopter flights into Bosnia.

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs signed their **fourth agreement** in four weeks to reopen UN 'blue routes' to Sarajevo airport.

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Croats **reaffirmed their federation**, agreeing to submit any disputes to 'binding' arbitration. (The agreement does not specify any way of enforcing the arbitrator's decisions.) The meeting was arranged by US Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke. Defense Secretary Perry also attended the talks. Perry also talked with Croatian Defense Minister Susak about Croatia's plan to expel UN peacekeepers was held.

There has been significant Bosnian **government military activity** in central Bosnia in recent weeks as the army is reorganized.

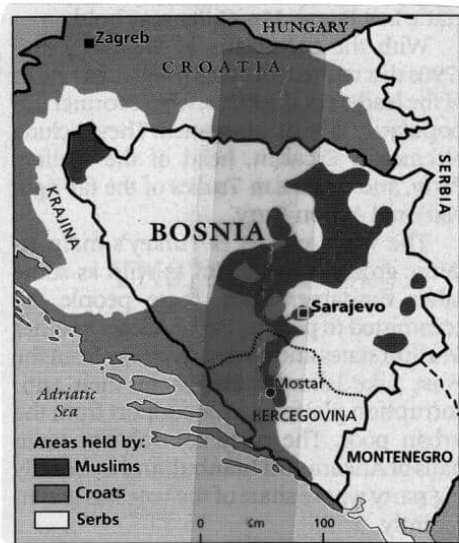
## 6 February 95

The UN 'blue routes' to the Sarajevo airport were reopened for civilian traffic for the first time in seven months. One route lets Serbs move between the suburbs of Ilidza and Lukavica; the other crosses the airport between two government held suburbs, then into central Bosnia and out of the country. Since the two routes intersect, Serbs and Muslims use them in separate periods. (The routes are open for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon.)

Both sides are **fully cooperating**, so traffic along is flowing smoothly. (700 vehicles used the routes in the past two

## Bosnian-Croat Federation Fall-Out

The biggest problem is that the Bosnian Croats are divided over whether to support the federation. A majority of them do, arguing that it helps to counterbalance Serb power and worrying that, if they attempted to unite with Croatia proper, then some Croats would inevitably be left behind as a minority in a Muslim state. They point out that under the March, 1994, agreement the federation can ultimately join Croatia in a loose confederation, which would provide the desired ties with the homeland. But some Hercegovinan Croats think this is not enough. They want to preserve their statelet, which they call the "Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna", so that it can become a unit of a greater Croatia that will, they hope, include much of Hercegovina. So they oppose the federation on nationalist grounds.



Formally, the federal government already exists, its members doubling up as ministers of the Bosnian or Herceg-Bosna governments. The federal parliament has held several meetings but few of its laws have been implemented. There are still two legal, fiscal and monetary systems. Of the eight new cantons that are supposed to make up the federation, only one exists. One of the difficulties is that no one knows how much territory the federation will, ultimately, control. Another is that the Bosnian government wants a single, integrated army, while the Croats, who fear being outnumbered, want two armies under a joint headquarters (which has been set up). The Bosnian government wants to maintain the internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia (with, in theory, its pre-1991 borders) in perpetuity. The Croats will not accept that.

Under the terms of the March, 1994, agreement, Ganic should have taken on the federation's rotating presidency last month. But Kresimir Zubak, the Croat incumbent, refused to hand it over on the ground that Muslims were already president and prime minister of the republic. If the arbitrator has to sort out such minor rows, how much time will he have for the real problems?

days.)

If Croatia follows through on its threat to expel UNPROFOR, the organization may **move its HQ** to Skopje, the capital of Macedonia.

Croatian and the Croatian Serbs have begun **mine clearing** operations in the Novska and Nova Gradiska areas. Following completion of that operation, the Zagreb-Vinkovici railroad will be cleared of mines. (See the 25 January 95 article in the February'95 issue of Yugo

News.)

## 7 February 95

Russia and Yugoslavia signed a **trade agreement**. Russia will deliver kerosene and gas to Yugoslavia until 2010. Russian trade rep Davydov said Russia will deliver kerosene even if the UN Sanctions Committee, monitoring the international embargo against Yugoslavia, disapproved. "Should the UN Sanctions Committee fail to accept our decision, the only way out for us would

be to leave the committee, or find a way of carrying out those deliveries," he said.

## 8 February 95

In northwest Bosnia, rebel leader **Abdic** demanded 50% all aid shipments to Bihac. The UN has been giving him 20% for his 30,000 supporters.

The Serbs flew as many as 62 **helicopter sorties** between Surcin and Srebrenica, from February 1-4. The US is demanding a UN investigation, wanting to know why UN monitors were denied access to Serb airfields and radar at the time. If it can be proved that the flights indeed came from Serbia, economic sanctions could automatically be reimposed on that country. (*"Proof" to a Western, democratic level being an illusive goal in the Balkans, and "automatic" depending on the whims of the embargo participants, the helicopter flights will remain a non-issue unless one of them attacks civilians or UN personnel.*)

Croatian Serb airplane and helicopter sorties out of **Udbina** are also increasing.

The US is **ending official contact** with the Bosnian Serbs. Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke was the "architect" of that policy, which lasted barely a month. But after failing to persuade Bosnian Serb President Karadzic to cooperate in reaching a settlement, Holbrooke said that "there is no point in shuttling up the hill from Sarajevo to Pale to listen to the kind of crap which is dished out by Karadzic."

**Railway transport** restarted to Sarajevo for the first time in almost three years, when a German locomotive pulled two cars into the city today. Bosnian trains are also running from Tuzla, Zepce and in southwestern Bosnia between Pazaric and Jablanica. Plans are under way to reopen the key route running south to Mostar and on to Ploce on the Adriatic.

## Back to the Future

The new year has seen both Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims and returning to their roots.

### Bosnia

The Bosnian Presidency is having an internal politico-religious dispute.

The dispute started when Bosnian President Izetbegovic toured the front lines at Zenica. Izetbegovic commended and thanked the 7th Muslim Brigade, which is known as to be both ethnically and religiously pure, with many of the troops being mujahideen from other Islamic countries. (*Turkish peacekeepers in the area have previously had hostile contact with this unit. See the October 11 and Quote items in the November '94 issue of Yugo News.*) Then an Iranian ayatollah visited Izetbegovic in Sarajevo.

On January 31, five of the seven members of the Presidency publicly protested and accused Izetbegovic of turning the army into a party militia. The only member of the Presidency to stand by Izetbegovic was the VP, Ejup Ganic. Croatian President Tudjman also accused Izetbegovic of Islamic fundamentalism.

### Croatia

Croatian authorities and media are increasingly reaffirming their WWII fascist legacy.

Croatian President Tudjman recently personally conferred a decoration on Ivo Rojnica. Rojnica was the Chief of Staff of Croatia's wartime state and a signatory to the 1941 detaining Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

Tudjman also appointed Vinko Nikolic, a prominent official in the wartime government, to the Croatian parliament. Old Ustashas have also appeared on state-controlled media, making statements such as "Croatia radically resolved the Jewish question," and a concentration camp commander saying he was "proud of everything" he "had done for Croatia." (*The Ustashis were WWII Croatian fascists.*)

## 9 February 95

Three **Bosnian Serb helicopters** and two light aircraft took off from the Serb-held town of Banja Luka in Bosnia.

Yugoslavia harvested a record 3.5 million ton **wheat crop** in 1994. That leaves the country with a 1.5 million ton, \$150 million surplus. Because the current embargo prevents it from exporting the surplus, Yugoslavia will either use the excess wheat for sowing or try to sell it domestically.

Bosnian Prime Minister Siladzic said his country is willing to **recognize**

**Serbia and Montenegro** in return for their recognition of Bosnia. Yugoslav Foreign Minister Jovanovic said during a visit to Jerusalem that mutual recognition is out of the question. Bosnian Serb President Karadzic said he favored mutual recognition as long as the Serb mini-states in Bosnia and Croatia also were recognized, a condition that Bosnia and Croatia reject.

The independent, Belgrade-based Studio B, which has both radio and television broadcast facilities, may become the latest victim in the **Serbian government crackdown** on the free media. In another recent case, the formerly



independent *Borba* newspaper was reincorporated as '*Nasa Borba*'. Yugoslav authorities are challenging Studio B's legal status for incorporation in what is the first step in a takeover bid.

In another sign that a wider Balkan war could develop in the spring, the Croatian Serbs **cut off talks** with the Croatian government, balked on parts of their economic accord, and formally placed themselves on "war alert" (one stage below a full-scale state of war.) The decision by the Croatian Serb parliament is intended to pressure Croatian President Tudjman to reverse his decision to terminate UNPROFOR's mandate.

The UN believes a **withdrawal from Croatia** will have to actually begin before the mandate runs out on March 31. NATO would play a central role in a withdrawal, and it is currently talking with the Croatian about preparations, including the installation of secure telephone lines between Zagreb and Split (the likely port of embarkation).

## 10 February 95

The Yugoslav journal *Liberal* called for a **journalists' strike** to protest the government's recent attacks on Serbia's independent media.

A UN employee was **abducted by Bosnian government** forces. The abduction of the Serbian employee is a response to the continued detention of the Bosnian journalist who was snatched from a UN military vehicle by Bosnian Serbs two weeks ago. The Bosnian Serbs reacted by shutting down UN aid convoys. The UN then responded by shutting down Sarajevo airport.

Croatia said that it wants **borders monitored by NATO** after UN peacekeepers leave.

The current fighting in the **Bihac** pocket centers on water supplies. The Bosnian Serbs are trying to recapture Klokot, which the Bosnian government seized three weeks ago to secure a well that supplies Bihac.

## 12 February 95

Victor Jackovich, the **US Ambassador to Bosnia**, said he may soon leave his post. (See the 24 January and "*US Holds Direct Talks With Bosnian Serbs*" items in the February '95 issue of *Yugo News*). Western diplomats in Sarajevo and elsewhere say the State Department believes Jackovich has allowed his sympathy with Bosnia's government to color his conduct. "They want him out," said one diplomatic source. "He's viewed as partisan." Jackovich denied that the Clinton administration's attitude to the conflict had changed, indicating US

policy would remain the same even with a new ambassador in Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serbs shot at a **British helicopter**. The attack is ironic since the helicopter was transporting a Serb liaison officer to Banja Luka. The UN filed a strong protest.

## 13 February 95

1,500 rounds were fired in the Bihac area over the weekend. A Bosnian Serb assault on **Bosanska Krupa** began Saturday, and as many as 1,000 Serbian soldiers crossing into Bosnia from

## US Policy Change

The Clinton administration has again made a major policy change towards the former Yugoslavia. The administration hopes to cobble together a settlement before full-scale fighting resumes in the Spring.

The new plan, agreed to by all five members of the 'contact group', calls for the immediate lifting of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro for two months, with extensions if President Milosevic agrees to several conditions. Those conditions include recognizing the other former Yugoslav republics in their Tito-era boundaries, tightening his dubious blockade of the Bosnian Serbs, and pressuring the Bosnian Serbs to accept the 'contact group's' peace plan.

The policy was agreed to only after much heated discussion, with opponents fearing that once the sanctions are lifted they will not be reimposed, even if Milosevic flagrantly breaks any promises he makes. (This would explain Jackovich's ouster on February 14.) The new plan has been endorsed by Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia, but Milosevic is unlikely to recognize Croatia's and Bosnia's frontiers, since that would mean giving up hopes of a Greater Serbia.

It is easy enough to grasp why the 'contact group' finds itself in the weird position of proposing to suspend not the military embargo on the chief victim, Bosnia, but the economic sanctions on the chief offender, Serbia. It's because none of the group's five members (United States, Russia, France, Britain, Germany) has a taste for employing the force it would take to stiffen their lowest-common-denominator collective diplomacy.

A tragic irony is building. The danger now perceived by the 'contact group' is that the war will spread. But the burden of constraining it is being put largely on the Muslims and, to a lesser extent, the Croats. They can fairly wonder whether they are not being asked to swallow huge Serb incursions on their territory, viability and sovereignty for the geopolitical convenience of states far from the battlefield and substantially unaffected by its flows. Feeling abandoned even as their fundamental interests are threatened, Muslims and Croats may yet be confirmed in a judgment that they can satisfy their legitimate political goals only by military means. Seeking a phony peace, the United States and its partners may be stoking a greater war.

Croatia. The Bosnian 5th Corps claimed to have retaken the heights overlooking Bihac.

✦ ✦ ✦  
The UN airlift to Sarajevo resumed after a three day suspension.  
✦ ✦ ✦

Tensions are rising in Srebrenica: A hand grenade was thrown into the main UN base and a UN observation post was fired on Bosnian Serbs.

## 14 February 95

US Ambassador to Bosnia Victor Jackovich was reassigned to Slovenia. Jackovich was unhappy with the Clinton administration's direct talks with the Bosnian Serbs (in violation of a UN ban on such contacts as long as the Serbs reject the peace plan).

✦ ✦ ✦  
This week UNHCR twice requested air drops over Bihac, however countries flying the planes refused, saying there are too many anti-aircraft missiles in the region. UNHCR said children, the elderly and women "are on the verge of starvation."

✦ ✦ ✦  
US Contact Group envoy Charles Thomas will leave his full time position; he will be replaced by a part-time appointee. Thomas will concentrate instead on reinforcing the Croat-Muslim alliance.

✦ ✦ ✦  
Croatian police seized 30 kilos of heroin during a weekend drug bust.  
✦ ✦ ✦

Yugoslavia charged 44 former police officers and minor politicians with attempting to overthrow the government by the use of force. All the indictees are Albanians from Kosovo.

## 15 February 95

Brigadier Juha Engstrom took command of UNPROFOR in Macedonia from Brigadier Tryggve Tellefsen. The US currently has an infantry battalion serving in Macedonia.

✦ ✦ ✦  
The Macedonian Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring this week's visit by 15 leading Macedonian businessmen

## Wedding of the Century

In Serbia's "wedding of the century", accused war criminal Arkan wed Ceca, Serbia's most popular folk singer. The couple met when she sang for his Serbian Tigers paramilitary unit and at his election rallies when he ran for parliament in 1993.

"They are a picture of Serbian beauty and pride," said housewife Midana Trifunovic.

Sociologist Danica Spasic regards the public attitude as "mass disorientation in a time of crisis. People are mixing good and bad because they believe in state-run propaganda, which has completely distorted reality. Everyone seems to have forgotten who Arkan is, or where did this money come from, at a time when the majority of Serbs have daily battles to make ends meet."

Arkan's real name is Zeljko Raznatovic, and he has a criminal record long predating the former Yugoslavia's wars, including an outstanding Swedish warrant for armed robbery.

According to Serb tradition, Arkan was required to shoot an apple in front of Ceca's house before she could become his wife. "It makes me nervous," said Arkan before the wedding. "Everyone knows I'm not used to shooting apples."

to Serbia. Macedonia wants to increase bilateral cooperation in agriculture and the production of tobacco and food. Exchange is currently depressed due to international sanctions on Yugoslavia.

✦ ✦ ✦  
A Serb police officer went on a drunken rampage in Pristina, Kosovo, killing one Albanian and wounding five others.

## 16 February 95

UN military observers in Belgrade were granted access to Belgrade airport's radar control towers for the first time since being banned from the facilities February 1. The observers were denied access to the towers' radar just as 64 helicopters landed in the Srebrenica area.

✦ ✦ ✦  
Aid convoys reached the Bihac area. A report by the World Food Program says that 10 - 20% of the people in Bihac area in danger of imminent starvation.

## 17 February 95

One ethnic Albanian was killed and 28 people were wounded, including

nine policemen, when shots were exchanged during clashes between ethnic Albanians and Macedonian police near Tetovo. The incident began when police tried to enter a university building while lectures were in progress. It was observed by UNPROFOR and OSCE representatives. The rector of the university, Fadil Sulejmani, was arrested the same day. Two police buses and a vehicle belonging to Macedonia Television were also destroyed.

✦ ✦ ✦  
In an effort to counter UN accusations of 'no fly zone' violations, Yugoslavia began a PR campaign accusing both Croatia and Bosnia of the same offense.

✦ ✦ ✦  
Muslim rebels blocked a 10-truck UN aid convoy to Cazin, in the Bihac pocket.

✦ ✦ ✦  
The UN Sanctions Committee approved Russian gas exports to Yugoslavia for humanitarian purposes. The Sanctions Committee met Russia's request that monthly deliveries of 132.4 million cubic meters of gas to Serbia and Montenegro until April 30. If all sides observe their duties, the Sanctions Committee will automatically extend the

deadline. The deliveries to Yugoslavia are conditional on unhampered gas deliveries to Sarajevo.

## 18 February 95

Serbian President Milosevic, after three days of talks with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev, categorically refused to recognize Croatia's and Bosnia's borders in exchange for the suspension of most **UN-imposed sanctions** against Yugoslavia. Kozyrev was visiting Belgrade on behalf of the 'contact group'. Kozyrev criticized the Western nations for "haggling" over peace in Yugoslavia. He urged that Milosevic's peace initiatives be rewarded with the prior lifting of economic sanctions. Kozyrev and Milosevic view the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia as the first and unavoidable step in finding a definitive solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

✚ ✚ ✚

10,000 people attended the funeral of the Albanian killed in yesterday's clash with Macedonian police. After the funeral, a group of youths marched to the police station to demand the release of university rector Sulejmani. The youths dispersed after one of their leaders appealed to them to avoid excesses.

*Note: This situation bears watching. Macedonia's relations with its ethnic Albanian minority have always been strained. Regardless of who was at fault for the riot, the Albanians now have a martyr which to rally around. I forget which communist leader -- Mao maybe? -- said it, but every revolution needs martyrs ...*

## 20 February 95

A **student protest** was held in front of the Macedonian embassy in Tirana, Albania. The protest was in support of the students at the university in Tetovo, Macedonia.

In Tetovo, seven ethnic Albanians, including university rector Sulejmani, were **sentenced** to 30 days in prison for their participation in Thursday's incident.

✚ ✚ ✚

## UFO's Over Tuzla

Serb claims of Muslim 'no fly zone' violations are apparently true. On the nights of February 10 and 12 the UN sighted C-130's (escorted by fighters) landing at the Zivinice airstrip near Tuzla. *(The 1,800-meter-long airstrip normally can handle only day landings.)* The UN and NATO were reported to be 'investigating' why the mystery aircraft were apparently not picked up by AWACs, but the Bosnian government has banned UNPROFOR from the airstrip for several weeks now.

After the investigation, NATO said neither its planes nor radar could corroborate the UN sightings; it also claimed no such flights took place, asking the UN to change its report. The UN then retracted comments on a possible "weapons drop," which was the UN's analysis prior to NATO's investigation. "We now believe our original assessment has been brought into serious doubt," a UN spokesman said.

The flights may indicate that Bosnia is preparing for a Spring offensive on the Posavina corridor in northern Bosnia along the Sava river. *(Tuzla is just south of Brcko, which is the choke point in the Posavina corridor.)*

A **join defense council** was set up by Bosnian Serb President Karadzic and Croatian Serb President Martic. The council's creation is a formality, as Bosnian Serb General Mladic has long lead all Serbs west of the Drina River.

✚ ✚ ✚

UN monitors say rebel Serbs and Croatian forces in Krajina, Croatia are **digging trenches** and gun pits along ceasefire lines although no big troop build-up has been seen yet.

✚ ✚ ✚

There has been a sharp increase in fighting along the strategic **Posavina corridor** in northern Bosnia. The corridor provides the only land link between Yugoslavia, and Serb territory in Croatia and western Bosnia.

✚ ✚ ✚

Thirty-five **Muslim graves** were desecrated in Kumanovo, Macedonia.

## 21 February 95

After being delayed two days by Serbs and rebel Muslims, a UN **aid convoy** carrying 99 tons of supplies, reached Cazin, in the Bihac pocket. The UN estimates the pockets 160,000 people need 100 tons of relief per day.

✚ ✚ ✚

Repair work on the Sumletica waterworks and railways in the occupied

parts of Western Slavonia, as called for by the **Croat-Serb economic agreement**, were halted by the Serbs. The UN is monitoring previously cleared railways to make sure new mines aren't planted.

✚ ✚ ✚

Milosevic's failure to publicly reject the most **recent US peace initiative**, combined with statements he made privately to contact group officials, has given the Clinton administration hope he can still be persuaded to accept the scheme.

## 22 February 95

The Bosnian-Croat Federation politicians agreed to move the federation's **military HQ** from Jablanica, near Mostar, to central Bosnia.

✚ ✚ ✚

Macedonian police arrested more **Albanian activists**: Nevzat Halili, a political leader, and Musli Halimi, a professor at Tetovo university, were arrested.

## 23 February 95

**NATO Secretary General Claes** is under investigation for accepting kickbacks in 1989. (Claes has been Secretary General since October, 1994.) Claes, then the Belgian Economics Minister, is



accused of accepting a \$1.5 million bribe from Agusta, an Italian military helicopter company, in return for awarding the company a \$330 million contract. The bribe went to his Socialist Party, whose ongoing scandals include three cabinet ministers resigning last year, and one being murdered (in connection with the bribe) in 1991.

† † C

Two thousand Macedonian students staged a **counter-protest**, against the Albanian university in Tetovo, in front of Macedonia's parliament building in Skopje. Though larger than the Albanian protest, there was no violence and no arrests.

† † C

Bosnian Serb troops '**captured**' an Indian journalist at a checkpoint in Sarajevo. They said they needed the hostage for a prisoner swap.

*Note: Remember that the Bosnian government is currently detaining a Serbian UN worker.*

† † C

The EU **donated** ECU's worth £2.4 million to *Nasa Borba*, a independent Belgrade weekly. The EU has budgeted another 3 million ECU's for similar projects in Yugoslavia in 1995. Russia, however, continues to block projects to help periodicals in Kosovo.

*Note: "ECU"s are European Currency Units -- the money of the European Union.*

## 24 February 95

Road traffic in the **Posavina corridor** is increasing. Serb transport helicopters were also spotted flying from Brcko to Bosanski Samac.

† † C

The Bosnian army set up four 'checkpoints' in and around Gornji Vakuf to protest the stationing of **Serb liaison officers** with local UN peacekeepers. The roadblocks included antitank mines being placed on the roads. (A similar incident happened in Tuzla last month. See the 16 January and 22 January items in the February '95 issue of *Yugo News*.)

† † C

**Bihac** received its third aid convoy in three days. 116 tons of aid were delivered.

† † C

The UN discovered a cache of **Serb heavy weapons** within the Sarajevo 'exclusion zone'. The weapons, including three mortars and a truck-mounted artillery piece, were spotted through the half-open doors of a warehouse in the Serb-held suburb of Rajlovac.

## 25 February 95

After two years of resisting military involvement in the Balkans, the Clinton administration has concluded that it may have to **send US troops** to the region within weeks because of the threatened collapse of the UN peacekeeping mission in Croatia. Croatian President Tudjman wants the 12,000

peacekeepers to depart between March 31, when their mandate expires, and June 30, when he says the last peacekeeper must be gone. Both Secretary of State Christopher and Defense Secretary Perry have recommended that Clinton approve an operation to cover the UN's withdrawal, but Clinton is withholding his endorsement so as not to give the impression that a UN withdrawal is inevitable. (Negotiators are still trying to persuade Tudjman to permit at least a token UN force to remain.)

*Note: A "conclusion" that something "may" happen is really no guarantee at all. Remember that Tudjman pulls the same trick every year when the UN mandate comes up for renewal; the difference this year is that he seems to be pushing it a little further. I wouldn't be*

## NATO Arming Bosnians?

A US officer reported to NATO Southern Command Headquarters that UN personnel were confused and inept in their accounts last month of a possible covert air operation delivering arms to the Bosnian government. The report, which infuriated the UN, says the aircraft observed were either NATO air patrols or "commercial aircraft on approved airways in Serbian airspace."

On February 10, a Norwegian military officer (who is a pilot himself) at the Tuzla airfield reported seeing a C-130 accompanied by two fighter aircraft flying low over the airfield. When Norwegian troops investigated they were fired on by Bosnian troops. Two days later, a British officer reported a similar sighting. There were further sightings on February 17 and 23.

While no aircraft were seen landing, no arms deliveries were seen, and no one knows the origin of the aircraft, the fact that it was a C-130 has led the UN to believe that the US, possibly together with Turkey, is covertly supplying arms to Bosnian forces, a charge NATO firmly denies.

And even the type of aircraft is in dispute. A UN officer, reviewing the report, said "the idea that trained officers could mistake a low-flying transporter over Tuzla for a commercial aircraft flying a 35,000 feet in Serbian airspace is frankly ludicrous and insulting."

The air activity over Tuzla coincides with major government troop movements in the area. The Bosnian army appears to be reorganizing reinforcing its positions.

*Note: If NATO (or the US) is flying arms directly to the Bosnian government, then they are hardly likely to admit it. The fact that government troops are denying the UN access to the airfield -- even going so far as to fire warning shots to scare them off -- would seem to lend credence to the UN claims. Also, press releases from Bosnian sources are openly reporting the UN claims. Sources sympathetic to the Bosnian government not covering up the flights seems a tacit acknowledgement that the flights occurred.*

surprised to see the March 31 deadline pass, with no peacekeepers having yet withdrawn and with Tudjman still threatening to kick them out. This game of chicken won't end until UNPROFOR actually heads for, and is substantially out of, the exits ...

† † C

UN military flights to Sarajevo were suspended for the day after two bullets hit a UN plane. No one was injured, and UN humanitarian flights continued.

† † C

Bosnian Serbs closed one of the two recently opened civilian routes out of Sarajevo, in a dispute with the UN over fuel.

## 26 February 95

One thousand Albanians held a rally in Mala Rechica, Macedonia, to commemorate the victims of the Tetovo protest. The protest was attended by leaders of all the Albanian political parties. The Albanians are commencing a campaign of "quiet civic revolt."

## 27 February 95

A UN aircraft carrying Turkish officials to Sarajevo was hit by Bosnian Serb gunfire. The officials were an advance party for Turkish President Demirel, who was to land in Sarajevo 20 minutes later to meet with Bosnian President Izetbegovic. The UN then requested 'security guarantees' from the Bosnian Serbs. The Bosnian Serbs refused, so Demirel skipped the stop, flying to Zenica to meet with Turkish peacekeepers. The same thing happened when Demirel wanted to visit Sarajevo in July'94.

*Note: The UN claims Demirel cancelled the latest visit, while Turkey claims the UN's charter service refused to land on a hot LZ.*

† † C

The government attorney in Tetovo, brought additional charges against Albanians for their involvement in the Tetovo protest. Arben Rusi, president of the "El Hilal" humanitarian organization and Musli Halimi, who is already in custody were charged with participation in a crowd preventing police officers

from exercising their duty.

The Macedonian Interior Ministry may also begin arresting Albanians who hold Albanian-language university classes in private homes.

## 28 February 95

French General Bernard Janier assumed command of UNPROFOR in Yugoslavia from General Bertrand De Lapresle.

† † C

The Albanian university in Tetovo found another way to hold classes: In a mosque in a nearby village. (Apparently hoping where private property may not be immune to police harassment, religious shrines are.)

Meanwhile in Kondovo, near Skopje, the foundation was laid for a Islamic seminary.

† † C

Sixty-three Catholic graves have been desecrated in Novi Sad, in the Serbian province of Vojvodina. Yugoslav police said the incidents seemed to be random acts of vandalism.

† † C

Nine vehicle in a UN aid convoy had to be abandoned after the convoy got caught in the crossfire of a Bosnian government-Serb firefight near Bihac.

† † C

Four Serbs were convicted in absentia by a Croatian court. Krajina officials Goran Hadzic, former President;

Djordje Bjegovic, former Defense Minister; General Kosta Novakovic, former CinC of the armed forces; and General Mile Novakovic, deputy CinC, were found guilty of war crimes against civilians for the bombardment of Sibenik between March and October, 1993. The verdict cannot be enforced because the four are still in Croatian Serb territory.

† † C

In Moscow, the Defense Ministers of Yugoslavia and Russia, Pavle Bulatovic and Pavel Grachev, signed an agreement on military cooperation. Details were not released. The agreement supposedly does not take effect until sanctions are lifted on Yugoslavia. (I'd take the latter with a grain of salt. With all the publicity the Tuzla flights are receiving, this appears to be Russia's way of countering the military aid the Bosnian government is appears to be receiving.)

## Quote

A "bewildered bunch which does not know how to solve the war."

Radovan Karadzic, Bosnian Serb President, referring to the 'contact group'

## Check it Out!

*World Press Review* contains articles, editorials and political cartoons from leading international newspapers and magazines. For those unfamiliar with the source being excerpted, the *World Press Review* notes the political orientation (e.g., "liberal" or "centrist") of the source. *World Press Review* is published monthly.

A publication of this type provides an opportunity not only to get alternative perspectives on a given issue, but also to learn about what other cultures consider news in the first place. The difference can be quite vast: The AP rated OJ Simpson the #1 news story of 1994; Bosnia and the South African elections didn't even make the Top 10. That wasn't the case elsewhere.

Copies of the *World Press Review* can be found on the bookshelf outside the 432 CA Bn's S-3 shop.



## War Crimes Indictments

Setting the stage for the first international war crimes trial since World War II, the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal indicted 21 Serbs for atrocities against Croats and Muslims interned at the Omarska camp near Prijedor.

Nineteen of the 21 indictees were functionaries at Omarska, a mine complex used by the Serbs as a concentration camp in 1992. Guards and 'visitors' allegedly killed, tortured, raped and beat prisoners. None of the indictees are in the Serbian military or political leadership. Such a step would obviously have considerable political repercussions to the international groups that are still engaged in peace negotiations with the Serbs. The four top suspects charged with crimes committed at Omarska and charges against them:

Zeljko Meakic, camp commander. Meakic was charged with genocide, crimes against humanity, violations of the law or customs of war, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 relating to the protection of civilians in time of war, and command responsibility for the crimes. He is the only suspect indicted for genocide. The UN-set criteria for genocide are "Killing members of a group or causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of a group with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group." Meakic was a police officer before the war.

Mladen Radic, shift commander. Radic is charged with crimes against humanity, violations of the law or customs of war, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 relating to the protection of civilians in time of war, and command responsibility for the crimes. The charges stem mostly from rapes Radic committed.

Milan Pavlic, camp guard. Pavlic is charged with crimes against humanity, violations of the law or customs of war, and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 relating to the protection of civilians in time of war. Pavlic's charges stem from murdering prisoners during a camp protest.

Dusan Tadic. Accused of rape, beating prisoners, and murder. Tadic, currently in a German jail, is the only one of the 20 indictees in custody. He is expected to be extradited to the Tribunal in March. Tadic was a police officer before the war.

Proposed by the UN secretary general in May, 1993, and set up by the Security Council six months later, the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal is trying to focus world opinion on the only instance of alleged genocide in Europe since the Nazi exterminations during World War II.

The prospects for prosecuting and punishing the defendants are uncertain, since only one of them, Dusan Tadic, is in custody. (Tadic is currently in a German jail.) The rest are believed to be in Serb-controlled areas of Bosnia, as is the only other suspect indicted to date: Dragan Nikolic, a Bosnian Serb the tribunal indicted in November. (*See the 7 November item in the December '94 issue of Yugo News*). Unlike the post-World War II tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo, which were organized by the victors with suspects already in custody, the Yugoslav tribunal is attempting to try suspects while the conflict is still in progress.

Collecting evidence and apprehending suspects as the war continues are two reasons for the long delay in handing down the first batch of indictments. The tribunal lacks the right to arrest suspects, and Bosnian Serb authorities have said they won't hand over anyone to the tribunal. The tribunal may not try suspects in absentia, but it can hold public hearings on the charges. "If we are not in a position to fulfill a judicial mission, we'll be at least in a position to have a documentary mission," said a tribunal spokesman.

The indictments cap a five-month inquiry involving 20 investigators, lawyers and analysts who traveled to 12 countries to examine evidence and interview victims. They also coincide with this week's budget discussions for the tribunal at the United Nations. The UN so far has allocated three months' funding, \$7 million, out of a requested 1995 allocation of \$28 million.

## **Operation Sharp Guard**

Enforcement of UN Security Council Resolutions 713, 757, 787, and 820 preventing all unauthorized vessels from entering Yugoslav waters and all arms from entering the former Yugoslavia by ship\*

## **Operation Deny Flight**

Enforcement of UN Security Council Resolutions 816 ("no-fly zone") and 836 & 958 (close air support for UN peacekeepers)

	<u>Vessels</u>	<u>Aircraft</u>
<b>Canada</b>	1 frigate	
<b>France</b>	1 destroyer, 1 corvette, 1 aircraft carrier (as available)	7 fighters, 11 attack (plus 7 on recall), 6 recon, 1 tanker, 1 AEW
<b>Germany</b>	2 frigates	
<b>Greece</b>	1 guided missile destroyer	
<b>Italy</b>	2 frigates	8 attack
<b>Netherlands</b>	2 frigates	6 fighters, 3 attack (plus 5 on recall), 3 recon (plus 1 on recall), 1 antisubmarine
<b>Spain</b>	2 frigates, 1 oiler	6 fighters, 2 tankers, 1 transport, 1 antisubmarine
<b>Portugal</b>	1 frigate	1 antisubmarine
<b>Turkey</b>	1 frigate	8 fighters (plus 10 on recall)
<b>Britain</b>	2 frigates, 1 aircraft carrier (as available)	6 fighters, 7 attack (plus 3 on recall), 2 recon, 2 tankers
<b>USA</b>	1 guided missile destroyer, 1 destroyer, 1 guided missile frigate, 1 aircraft carrier (as available)	24 fighter/attack, 12 attack, 3 Spectres, 3 C <sup>2</sup> (plus 2 on recall), 10 tankers, 1 antisubmarine, 10 AEW
<b>NATO</b>		10 AEW
<b>Statistics</b>	Vessels challenged	47,148
	Vessels boarded and inspected at sea	3,650
	Vessels diverted then inspected in port	976
	Ship/days at sea	8,640
	Maritime sorties	6,121
	AEW sorties	3,894
	Days in operation	682
	"No fly zone" sorties	17,330
	Close air support and air-strike sorties	17,741
	AEW, refueling, recon and support sorties	16,378

\* The US stopped embargo enforcement on November 12, 1994. This update retains the listing of US ships and aircraft until final arrangements are made for their withdrawal. See the "Sharp Guard Blunted" item in the December '94 issue of Yugo News.

### **Sources**

The Economist, InterNet<sup>1</sup>, World Press Review<sup>2</sup>, New York Times, Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee Sentinel, FBIS Daily Reports.

(1) InterNet primary sources include Reuters, the BBC, Tanjug, Macedonian Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, AP, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, VOA, Liberation and The Guardian.

(2) World Press Review primary sources include The Guardian and Süddeutsche Zeitung.

### **Editor**

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