



YUGO NEWS



This Issue: *Bosnian spring offensive, April fools in Croatia, attacks on UNPROFOR*

1 March 95

Bosnian Serb police arrested the leader and 50 members of a **Muslim charity** in Banja Luka, probably in retaliation for the organization accusing them of renewing ethnic cleansing.

A UN aircraft was hit by gunfire for the third time in five days, and Bosnian Serbs said that they would not allow aid convoys into **Sarajevo** for a week beginning March 5. The city has about three weeks' worth of food in warehouses. (A key reason for the cancellation was the Serbs' demand for an increased share of the aid. They currently receive about one-quarter of the total.)

Colonel Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, chief of the Yugoslav army's propaganda section, was dismissed following a **court martial** on charges of impugning the president and the military. Stojadinovic's dismissal may have far-reaching consequences, signaling to other pro-Bosnian Serb nationalists that they, too, may be purged.

The Defense Minister of **Pakistan**, Aftab Shaaban Mirani, met with Bosnian President Izetbegovic in Bosnia. Mirani travels to Albania tomorrow, and Croatia next week.

2 March 95

A UN Il-76 was hit by five bullets at **Sarajevo airport**. It was the fourth plane damaged at the airport in six days. The UN suspended air ops for the day, resulting in the cancellation of 19 flights, 15 of those carrying aid.

Reversing last week's largesse, the Croatian Serbs put a total ban on aid convoys to the Bihac pocket. Only one

convoy, carrying less than one day's worth of food, reached the pocket this week. Another convoy, stranded for two days, was recalled.

Roberts Owen was appointed **US arbitrator** to mediate the growing disputes within the Bosnian-Croat Federation. Owens, previously a State Department legal advisor in the Carter administration, was a key negotiator during the Iran Hostage Crisis from 1979-1980. (*With friends like this ...*) Owen's appointment stems from the Bosnian-Croat accord, signed last month in Geneva, which was mediated by Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke.

The State Department says that Owen would be able to **decide all matters** referred to him by either side and his decisions would be binding on the parties and based on federation agreements, its constitution and "equitable principles".

UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said that UNPROFOR would have to **withdraw from Bosnia** if Croatia makes good on its threat to kick the organization out. He said it would be extremely difficult to supply and maintain links to UN troops in Bosnia if the peacekeepers left Croatia and fighting resumed there.

Note: The UN currently has 12,000 peacekeepers in Croatia and 23,000 in Bosnia.

The US is considering boosting its **commitment to Macedonia** if UNPROFOR withdraws from Croatia. NATO may put as much as a division into Macedonia, of which the US would provide a brigade. (*The US currently has a battalion in Macedonia.*)

The head of the **Yugoslav Red**

Cross Missing Persons Department denied his country ran prison camps, claiming that it only had 33 'refugee centers'.

4 March 95

Croatian Justice Minister Ivica Crnic **resigned in protest** over the totalitarian shift in his country. He claimed President Tudjman is packing the judiciary with members of his own party, the Croatian Democratic Union. The Helsinki Human Rights Committee said the opposition was absent from the parliamentary session at which the judges were appointed in what was only a single-party procedure.

5 March 95

General Mladic allowed a UN convoy to **resupply Dutch peacekeepers** in Srebrenica after the UN threatened to run the blockade with helicopters escorted by NATO fighters. The peacekeepers, who had only two days of food left, received 30 tons of supplies.

6 March 95

UN mediators Owen & Stoltenberg reported to the UN that Yugoslavia is **honoring its pledge** to seal the border with Bosnia's Serbs. They said there was no unauthorized helicopter flights or organized smuggling in February. They reported that there had been individual smuggling attempts, which Yugoslav border and customs officials had efficiently prevented.

The same report states that the international sanctions monitoring team stationed along the Serbian-Bosnian border is **running out of funds**, which may force the operation to close down.

† † †
Croatia and the Bosnian-Croat Federation formed a **joint military command**. Croatian General Janko Bobetko, Croatian Army Chief of Staff, was appointed joint CoS; General Rasim Delic, Bosnian Army, and General Tihomir Blaskic, Croatian Defense Council (HVO), will be his primary staff. General Bobetko said the joint command will protect the territorial integrity of the Bosnian-Croat Federation and ease its future confederation with Croatia. *(And possibly prepare for operations against Krajina or some other Spring offensive.)*

† † †
Bosnian Serb commander General Mladic said that UNPROFOR is '**not welcome**' in Bosnia if Croatian President Tudjman evicts them from Croatia.

† † †
Bosnian Serb mortar fire hit **Tuzla airport** just as two UN helicopters landed. The helicopters immediately took off, returning to Split without unloading their cargo of medical supplies.

7 March 95

The EU will base **future cooperation** with Croatia on that country allowing UNPROFOR to stay.

† † †
The ICRC estimates that **200,000 refugees** will flee to Slovenia from Croatia if Croatia renews hostilities with the Serbs. The ICRC also expects 'thousands of refugees to flee to Hungary.

† † †
Sarajevo airport was temporarily closed after a UN plane was fired upon.

† † †
Bosnian Serbs entrenched on Spicasta Stijena, a hill just north of Sarajevo, fired on an Egyptian armored vehicle which was carrying wounded civilians. The Egyptian peacekeepers fired back with machine guns.

† † †
Five members of **Pharmaciens Sans Frontieres** (Pharmacists Without Borders) were '**captured**' by Bosnian Serbs while attempting to enter Sarajevo.

† † †
Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek wants to establish **diplomatic relations** with Yugoslavia.

Note: Slovenia was the first

April Fools in Croatia

The peace that Croatia has enjoyed since early 1992 may well break down after March 31. That is the day Croatian President Tudjman says the 12,000 UN peacekeepers in his country must start to leave. Strung out along 1,600 kilometers of ceasefire lines, they have successfully prevented small incidents from turning into full-blown war. Tudjman says the peacekeepers must all be gone by June 31, but magnanimously adds that the UN can keep the bases in Zagreb and Split from which it services its forces in Bosnia. Withdrawing UNPROFOR could well prove hazardous, for most are quartered on Serb-held land. Fearful of what may happen when the troops leave, Serb civilians may try to stop them going, perhaps by lying down in front of their departing lorries. Serbian soldiers may demand that weapons be left behind. NATO is drawing up plans to help evacuate the peacekeepers in Croatia.

Tudjman has ignored pleas from America, Russia, the UN and Germany (his chief ally) to revoke his expulsion order. His frustration with the UN is understandable. Its soldiers have failed to implement UN resolutions calling for the disarming of the Croatian Serbs. And he fears that Croatia will follow Cyprus down the road to partition: there, the longer the UN's peacekeepers have stayed, the more the illegal Turkish republic in the north has become a fait accompli. Facing elections early next year, Tudjman wants to be seen rattling the saber of Croatian nationalism and reasserting authority over the 27% of his land that Serbs control. He seems to be gambling that UNPROFOR's departure will set off a new round of diplomacy, from which a lasting settlement may emerge.

When Tudjman says he does not want another war, he probably means it. His suggestion that a small force of unarmed observers from NATO or the Western European Union (WEU) should replace the UN troops may be proof of sincerity. But his assertion that the departure of UNPROFOR would probably not lead to war is doubtful. When they pull out, one opposing army will be tempted to grab strategically valuable points before the other can. A few toothless observers, of the sort Tudjman envisages, could do little to prevent skirmishes escalating into war.

Many Croats claim that, in the event of war, they could reconquer Krajina without provoking intervention from Serbia. If that is Tudjman's assumption, it is a foolish one. Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs have already said they would defend their cousins in Krajina. Croatia has worked hard to build its military might, but it could not defeat heavily armed Serbia. A new war in Croatia would reignite the Bosnian conflict and probably make it impossible for the UNPROFOR to stay there. Tudjman may not care about that, but he should worry that most of Croatia, including Zagreb, is within range of Serb rockets.

republic to breakaway from Yugoslavia in June, 1991.

8 March 95

Lt. General Jacques Lefebvre, Royal Belgian Air Force, was **found dead** in a Brussels hotel room, a day after he was implicated in the "Agusta Affair". (A former Agusta representative has claimed that Lefebvre was involved

in the affair when he was Air Force Chief of Staff.) The affair revolves around allegations that Belgian politicians accepted \$1.5 million in bribes in 1988 from Agusta S.p.A. for awarding Agusta a \$330 million contract for 46 helicopters. *(See the 23 February item in the March '95 issue of Yugo News.)*

Three members of the ruling Socialist Party have been detained. NATO

Secretary General **Willie Claes** has not been charged and denies involvement. Claes, Belgian Economics Minister at the time of the sale, had the authority to approve the contract.

Brussels police are handling the death as an **apparent suicide**.

The UN cut off all emergency relief food supplies to the Croatian Serbs, to pressure them to open new access routes to nearby **Bihac** that avoid areas controlled by rebel Muslim Fikret Abdic.

The Bosnian Serbs, apparently worried about the implications of the UN **withdrawal** from Croatia, have demanded increased food supplies by March 15. They've threatened to blockade peacekeepers in eastern Bosnia if it is not delivered.

The Croatian Serb parliament failed to pass a **vote of no confidence** in Prime Minister Mikelic, as demanded by President Martic. Martic objects to Mikelic's advocacy of talks with Croatia and Mikelic's lack of enthusiasm for making common cause with the Bosnian Serbs. Mikelic is an ally of Serbian President Milosevic, while Martic is an ally of Bosnian Serb President Karadzic. The vote is an affirmation of the publicly more moderate and accommodating Milosevic approach, and a rejection of the more hardline Karadzic approach.

NATO military planners want to **preposition** forces so that it can more swiftly evacuate UNPROFOR, but NATO politicians, anxious not to "send out the wrong signals while delicate diplomatic efforts are underway", are refusing.

9 March 95

Slovenian Defense Minister Jelko Kacin and US Defense Secretary Perry, meeting in Washington D.C., signed a **military agreement** strengthening ties between the two countries. Slovenia, currently a member of NATO's 'Partnership for Peace', wants to become a full member of the alliance. It is the only politically and economically stable portion of ex-Yugoslavia. Kacin also pleaded for a

Carter Ceasefire Falling Apart

The Carter Ceasefire is beginning to fray. Though it never really took hold in Bihac, sniper fire is now on the rise in Sarajevo and there are reports of government attacks north of the city.

UN spokesman Colonel Coward said the warring factions are "rearming, refitting, reconstituting and, on the Bosnian government side, taking the time to reorganize their army" from "a gaggle of infantry units" to "what is effectively a maneuver army."

The Bosnian army currently has about 140,000 troops; combined with 60,000 Croats in the HVO militia, the government will have a manpower advantage over the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA).

The ubiquitous 'senior Western envoy' says the BSA has suffered a decline in morale, resources and logistical capabilities, attributing the decline in readiness to Yugoslavia's blockade of the Bosnian Serbs. the envoy claims the BSA is also over-extended -- it has seized 70% of the country and may not be able to hold it.

The key factor in any Bosnian government military success will be the degree of cooperation it gets from the HVO. The nascent federation scored one noteworthy success late last year, capturing Kupres from the BSA.

Note: The envoy's analysis conveniently overlooks a fact and a surety. The fact: Total Serb forces; in Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia; regulars and militia; in men, armor, aircraft and artillery outnumber all the combined Croat-Muslim forces. The surety: Yugoslavia, either directly, through, or in concert with the Croatian Serbs will, as it has in the past, come to the rescue of an endangered BSA. It was this cooperation and superiority that enabled Serb forces to eventually overwhelm the Bosnian 5th Corps' Fall attempt to break out of Bihac. The reason the Bosnian-Croat forces were able to achieve their initial successes -- including the seizure of Kupres -- was because Yugoslavia was slow in opening the aid spigot to the BSA.

lifting of the UN arms embargo against the region, saying Slovenia needs to improve its ability to defend itself.

Serbian President Milosevic said he would **recognize Slovenia** and "The Republic of Skopje" (Macedonia) in return for the lifting of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro.

10 March 95

Violations of the **Croatia-Croatian Serb DMZ** have been increasing: Croatian Serb military drills -- which included 13 tanks and several armored vehicles from a UN depot -- took place in Sector East. Meanwhile, the Croatian Army and Serb militia in Sector

West have entered the DMZ, taking positions held prior to the agreement.

The HVO commander for the Bihac region, General Vlado Santic, was **captured by 'Muslim forces'**. The Bosnian 5th Corps denies knowledge of the general's whereabouts. It is not known if the Muslims were government troops or Abdic's rebels.

Croatia was granted '**permanent observer**' status as the Organization of American States (OAS). The OAS has 35 member countries in the Western hemisphere; 30 countries, mostly from Europe, have observer status.

Bosnian-Croat Federation

officials signed an agreement that will give official birth to the Federation on April 15. The agreement also unites Bosnian and Croat police and government functions. Some points still remain to be accepted by the Bosnian Croat officials.

11 March 95

Aid flights to Sarajevo were suspended after a Red Cross plane was attacked at the airport.

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Three Yugoslav Army (JNA) officers were **arrested as spies** by military and Serbian state police. They are accused of spying for Croatia.

12 March 95

Landing at **Sarajevo airport**, a UN VIP plane was hit by Bosnian Serb anti-aircraft fire. Traveling on the plane were UN special envoy Akashi and UNPROFOR's commanders for ex-Yugoslavia, General Janvier, and Bosnia, General Smith. No one was wounded.

13 March 95

Bosnia's Ministry of Defense confirmed that Croatian **General Santic** had been abducted by Bosnian soldiers and that he was probably dead. The Bosnian government he was probably killed in a drunken brawl. Santic commanded HVO forces in the Bihac region. Army commander General Delic promised an investigation.

The federation with Croats is something the Bosnians need. It would make no sense for them to provoke their allies by assassinating an allied general -- especially when that general is responsible for a region as critical as Bihac. That means the operation was probably the work of rogue members of the Bosnian military. What might have motivated the rogues? Two possibilities: One, they are secret allies of rebel leader Abdic. Two, they may be radical Muslims, objecting to the federation on religious grounds.

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Peacekeepers to Remain in Croatia

Croatia said it would allow a sharply reduced UN contingent to remain in the country. US Vice President Gore and Croatian President Tudjman, meeting at the UN World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark, made the announcement.

In return for dropping his threat to expel UNPROFOR, Tudjman won a promise that the current UN contingent will be replaced by a force of 5,000 to 6,000 soldiers. The restructured force will need a new mandate and a name other than 'UNPROFOR'.

Bowing to Tudjman's demands, more than 500 peacekeepers will also be stationed at two dozen border crossings along the Sava and Danube Rivers that connect Croatia with Serbia and Bosnia. (So far the UN has rejected replacing UNPROFOR with unarmed UN monitors along Croatia's international border.) The border crossings are not currently controlled by Croatia. The border patrols may also be used to regulate economic agreements between Croatia and the Croatian Serbs.

The agreement could still collapse over details. "In the event that task should not be completed by that date [March 31]," said Gore, "on an interim basis the [UNPROFOR] presence will continue as we actively seek to complete the negotiations for the new arrangement."

Note: This is not the earth-shaking development it would seem. Croatia has all along said it would 'accept' a reduced UN presence. Also, monitoring economic agreements seems dangerously like mission creep, leading to things like the 'nation building' which failed so disastrously in Somalia.

The second VIP aircraft in two days was hit by anti-aircraft fire while landing at **Sarajevo airport**. Indonesian President Suharto, who was in the city to meet with Bosnian President Izetbegovic, was the intended passenger.

✚ ✚ ✚

Snipers killed two Serb girls in **Sarajevo**, prompting the Bosnian Serbs to close Sarajevo's only road to the outside world.

14 March 95

Nine French **peacekeepers were killed**, and four injured, when their truck went off a Mt. Igman road and over a cliff. It is the largest number of peacekeepers killed in any single incident in Bosnia.

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Defense Secretary Perry said **US troops** would be deployed to Croatia (as part of a NATO contingent) to assist UNPROFOR's partial withdrawal from

the country.

✚ ✚ ✚

Croatian Serb President Martić said Krajina preferred UNPROFOR's force level in Croatia remain unchanged, but that it would accept the recent **Gore-Tudjman Agreement** if Krajina was consulted before the final implementation so that peace would not be 'threatened' a one-sided resolution.

✚ ✚ ✚

In Srebrenica, the UNHCR **warehouse burned down**. The supplies - which were in a basement, were unharmed. The UN believes the fire was an accident.

15 March 95

A British patrol near Gorazde was **ambushed** by Bosnian Serbs. A UN quick reaction force came to the Brits rescue, where it came under fire as well. The peacekeepers were able to escape only under the cover of darkness; none of

them were wounded.

Also, in southwest Bosnia, a UN engineering team also was fired on.

16 March 95

Bosnian Army General Dudakovic, commander of the 5th Corps, in Bihac, said the suspects in HVO General Santic's disappearance have been **arrested**. The suspects are military policemen in the 5th Corps' 502nd Brigade.

17 March 95

Macedonia wants a deal with UNPROFOR similar to the one Croatia just received. Macedonia wants an independent operation not linked to other countries: Foreign Minister Stevi Crvenkovski said that Macedonia wants a new UN mandate with a "separate military, logistical and administrative structure under a special representative" for the 1,100 peacekeepers in the country.

Rebel Muslim leader Fikret Abdic proclaimed the portions of Bihac under his control to be the '**Muslim Autonomous Province of West Bosnia**.' "We are for a civic type of democracy," said Abdic. One of his first acts was to ban the Democratic Action Party. (Of which Bosnian President Izetbegovic is the leader.)

Croatian UN Ambassador Mario Nobilo said his country would not allow any peacekeepers to remain in Croatia if the UN did not implement all the provisions of the **Gore-Tudjman Agreement**. (Croatia believes the agreement allows it to specify which countries may comprise the modified UN contingent.)

18 March 95

The EU rejected Serbian President **Milosevic's request** that it intercede with the UN on his behalf to have sanctions lifted on Yugoslavia.

Federation Celebrates First Birthday

The Clinton administration, disappointed at the slow integration process, marked the first anniversary of the Bosnian-Croat Federation in Washington. Hoping to inject new life into -- and generate additional funds for -- the federation, it made a major event out of the anniversary ceremony. (The US will donate \$30 million to the Federation in 1995.)

US Secretary of State Christopher chaired the event, which was attended by Croatian President Tudjman, Federation President Zubak, dual-hatted Bosnian VP/Federation VP Ganic and a long list of foreign officials and diplomats. Bosnian President Izetbegovic attended via TV hookup. After the ceremony, Tudjman received a private audience with Clinton. Tudjman then went to New York to meet with UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali.

The administration hopes that the show of solidarity, and the recent Gore-Tudjman Agreement, will deter Serb ambitions as the campaign season begins and will prevent the outbreak of Croat-Bosnian fighting.

19 March 95

Bosnian Serb forces shelled a UN cargo plane at the **Sarajevo airport**. A French APC returned fire with a 20mm cannon.

20 March 95

The Bosnian Army launched simultaneous **offensives near Tuzla** and Travnik. The attacks were aimed at Mt. Majevisa, northeast of Tuzla, and Mt. Vlasic, northwest of Travnik. Mt. Majevisa would give the Bosnian Army a vantage point to fire on the Posavina Corridor. The other Bosnian target is the Serb television transmitter at Stolice; control of that and the mountain tops would knock out vital Serb east-west communication links. 2000 Bosnian soldiers were involved in the Mt. Majevisa attack, another 1000 in the Stolice attack.

The Bosnian Serbs responded by **unloading on Tuzla**. Five hundred shells fell on Tuzla and its airfield, killing at least 50 Bosnian soldiers and civilians, and wounding 150 more. The retaliatory bombardment of Travnik was considerably less severe.

The hand-to-hand combat let up only when a snowstorm made it impossible to fight. The UN said it was the worst

fighting since the **Carter Ceasefire** was signed January 1. (*The ceasefire is set to formally expire at the end April 30.*)

Bosnian Serbs liberated a 20mm anti-aircraft cannon, a 76mm howitzer, a 105mm howitzer and a 120mm mortar from the UN **disarmament depot** at Lukavica.

General Rostislav Kotil, UNPROFOR commander for Sector South (in Croatia), and an escort of Canadian **peacekeepers were attacked** on the Krajina-Bosnia border as they approached Croat positions. The peacekeepers were pinned down for an hour. One Canadian was wounded.

A Russian UN **observer was 'arrested'** by Bosnian Serbs at a checkpoint outside Sarajevo. (*Observers, unlike peacekeepers, are not armed.*) The UN sent a letter of protest to the Bosnian Serb Army.

21 March 95

The **Bosnian offensive** against Mt. Vlasic continued after the weather cleared over central Bosnia.

Bosnian Serbs **stole** a heavy machine gun and 1000 rounds of ammo from British peacekeepers in Sarajevo two UN jeeps in Ilidza from Dutch peacekeepers. One of the jeeps was

towing an artillery piece; the other contained a radio. The peacekeepers did not resist the thefts. "There isn't really much we can do ... there are approximately 1,500 armed Serb soldiers," said a UN spokesman.

22 March 95

The Bosnian Army has advanced three kilometers near **Tuzla**. Three small hills had been seized by the 2nd Corps, but the hills were retaken by the Bosnian Serbs after they received reinforcements. There were over 1400 detonations in the Majevica area in the last twenty-four hours.

The **Bosnian government protested** the shelling of Tuzla to UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali and special envoy Akashi. *(Remember, it was the Bosnians that started the latest fighting.)*

The other prong of the Bosnian offensive, near **Travnik**, captured three villages.

Croatian Serbs stole a UNPROFOR vehicle and liberated several of their tanks, cannons and AFV's from UN storage.

23 March 95

The Bosnian Army seized the Serb communications tower on Mt. Vlasic, north of **Travnik**. If the Bosnian Army can control the mountain, it will make possible an attack on Serb-held Jajce. The Bosnian Serb Army described the situation as "critical."

24 March 95

UNPROFOR radios in Gorazde are being targeted by **electronic warfare**. The British peacekeepers, members of a Welsh battalion, have started using that language as "a means of confusing the perpetrators."

The **Sarajevo airlift** resumed after being shut down for two weeks.

Krajina Serbs also allowed an aid convoy into Bihac.

25 March 95

Bosnia's ambassador to Switzerland, Muhamed Filipovic, met Serbian President Milosevic in Belgrade recently, prompting some observers to speculate a **deal was being hatched** to increase pressure on Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to swap land for peace. Bosnian President Izetbegovic said that the talks had produced nothing more than an exchange of well-known views, "I don't expect any major changes in the near future."

26 March 95

The Bosnian Army has gained 30-50 square kilometers of ground north of **Tuzla**, surrounding the Stolice relay station. The government troops hope persuade the tower's its Serb garrison to surrender. The relay station provides telephone links between Banja Luka in north central Bosnia and the Bosnian Serb capitol of Pale in southeast Bosnia.

The Vlasic and Stolice towers account for 90% Serb communications. The **military value** of the Stolice and Mt. Vlasic towers is questionable though as they may have been dismantled or disabled by the Bosnian Serbs before their capture.

700 **detonations** were recorded around Tuzla; 300 around Travnik.

Mostar, which had been peaceful since last Autumn, was bombarded by Bosnian Serbs.

Gorazde, where harassment of peacekeepers has been increasing, was also bombarded by Bosnian Serbs. NATO responded with a fly-over of the city.

The **US ambassador's car** was hit by Bosnian Serb sniper fire. Three shots were fired as two embassy vehicles pulled away from the Holiday Inn. The cars had no markings, but are well known around Sarajevo as US Embassy vehicles. *(The Holiday Inn is home to the US Embassy.)* No one was injured.

A New Zealand peacekeeper **killed two Croatian children** when he accidentally ran them over with his APC. The driver was arrested by Bosnian Croat police.

27 March 95

Bosnian Serb artillery hit **Sarajevo** with its heaviest bombardment since the non-defunct Carter Ceasefire took effect at the beginning of the year. There were 500 detonations in the Sarajevo area, with 36 mortar shells striking the city itself.

The Bosnian Serbs are also considering **retaliating** for the Bosnian offensive by sealing off Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde (southeastern areas where the Serb forces are more densely deployed than on the current battlefronts). UNPROFOR said that deliberate targeting of civilians in 'safe areas' would "meet with a resolute response from us, including the use of air power."

A Czech peacekeeper in Croatia died of unspecified wounds. In the past three years, 145 peacekeepers have been **killed in the Balkans** and 1,300 have been wounded. It is the third highest toll in UNPROFOR's history -- exceeded only by the four-year operation in the Congo (1960-64) and the 17-year operation in Lebanon (ongoing since 1978).

Twenty-five Swedish peacekeepers, **isolated by heavy fighting** in the area, remain trapped at two OP's near Tuzla.

28 March 95

The Contact Group decided that there will be **no more 'solo trips'** by its member states (Germany, France, Britain, Russia and the US) to Belgrade. American and Russian diplomats in particular have repeatedly tried to woo Serbian President Milosevic in recent weeks. Russia, however, is already preparing another initiative of its own.

UN observers spotted Yugoslav military ferries **crossing the Danube** River from Serbia to Croatia's Serb-held

eastern Slavonia. As many as 900 JNA troops may have been moved. The UN claimed the operation was part of Yugoslav military maneuvers, and not an attempt to intervene in Croatia should UNPROFOR withdraw.

† † G
Bosnian Croat freed the peacekeeper who ran over two children in Vitez two days ago.

29 March 95

The UN airlift to Sarajevo marked its 1000th day. More than

151,000 tons of food have been flown in, and 2,480 civilians evacuated, by 12,000 flights by planes from twenty countries.

The Austrian Supreme Court ordered a second trial for accused **Serb war criminal** Dusko Cvjetkovic. The second trial was ordered after the trial court refused to accept the original jury verdict of 'not guilty'. Cvjetkovic is accused of murder, arson and genocide in the sacking of the Bosnian village of Kucice in July, 1992. He was arrested in May, 1994 in Salzburg, where he had been living as a refugee, after he was

recognized in the street by one of his Bosnian victims.

† † G
The Croatian parliament accepted the **Gore-Tudjman Agreement**, but added several caveats: It said Croatia's name and role must be in the mandate and in the title of the revamped peacekeeping force. (*It currently is not.*)

30 March 95

The Russian commander of UNPROFOR in Slavonia told Belgian peacekeepers not to block last week's

Sharp Guard & Deny Flight

	<u>Vessels</u>	<u>Aircraft</u>	
Canada	1 frigate		
France	1 destroyer, 1 corvette, 1 aircraft carrier (as available)	7 fighters, 11 attack (plus 7 on recall), 6 recon, 1 tanker, 1AEW	
Germany	1 guided missile destroyer, 1 frigate 1 oiler		
Greece	1 frigate		
Italy	2 frigates	8 attack	
Netherlands	2 frigates	6 fighters, 3 attack (plus 5 on recall), 3 recon (plus 1 on recall), 1 antisubmarine	
Spain	2 frigates	6 fighters, 2 tankers, 1 transport, 1 antisubmarine	
Portugal	1 frigate	1 antisubmarine	
Turkey	1 frigate	8 fighters (plus 10 on recall)	
Norway	1 frigate		
Britain	2 frigates, 1 aircraft carrier (as available)	6 fighters, 7 attack (plus 3 on recall), 2 recon, 2 AEW, 2 tankers	
USA	1 destroyer, 1 guided missile frigate, 1 guided mis- sile cruiser and 1 aircraft carrier (as available)	24 fighter/attack, 12 attack, 3 Spectres, 3 C ² (plus 2 on recall), 10 tankers, 1 antisubmarine, 6 AEW	
NATO		8 AEW	
Statistics	Vessels challenged	48,571	
	Vessels boarded and in- spected at sea	3,765	
	Vessels diverted then in- spected in port	1,029	
	Ship/days at sea	8,920	
	Maritime sorties	6,316	
	AEW sorties	3,978	
		Days in operation	710
		"No fly zone" sorties	18,225
		Close air support and air- strike sorties	18,462
		AEW, refueling, recon and support sorties	17,192

* 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.

JNA movement from Serbia into Croatia. The JNA troops were accompanied by ground-to-ground rockets and up to 20 M-84 and T-72 tanks.

Quote

"United Nations Peace Force One"

The proposed name for the revamped peacekeeping force in Croatia.

Sources

The Economist, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, InterNet¹, World Press Review², New York Times, FBIS Daily Reports.

(1) *InterNet primary sources include the Baltimore Sun, Tanjug, Reuters, New York Times, Radio B-92, VOA, BBC, Chicago Tribune, LA Times, New Republic, Der Spiegel, Sunday Times, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.*

(2) *World Press Review primary sources include the Financial Times and Tround.*

Editor

Preston McMurry

Check it Out!

Foreign Affairs Mar/Apr'95

Origins of a Catastrophe (p. 2): The author, Warren Zimmerman, the last US ambassador to Yugoslavia, provides a step-by-step account of US diplomatic efforts from 1989-1992. The efforts then, as now, were mostly impotent. Zimmerman largely blames the outbreak of war on Slovenia -- which, with Macedonia, was the only republic to break peacefully away from the Yugoslav federation. (The JNA, Yugoslavia's army, withdrew from Slovenia after taking a few dozen casualties.) It is this sort of twisted moral logic, all too common among career diplomats such as Zimmerman, that has resulted in Bosnia's current situation. The article otherwise competently fills in some gaps in recent Balkans retrospectives such as "Why the West Failed". (*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1994-95, p.53)

Foreign Policy Spring 1995

America's Leadership, America's Opportunity (p. 6): US Secretary of State Christopher reviews the what he believes to be America's foreign policy successes of the past two years and outlines what the Clinton administration's international plans are for 1995 and beyond. Christopher's outlook is rather optimistic -- to be, if you'll pardon the pun, diplomatic. He also seems somewhat confused -- stating at one point that it is our "willingness to act alone and to lead [that] makes joint action possible", but everywhere else denigrating unilateral action. Regarding the subject of this newsletter, Clinton and Christopher intend to maintain the embargo, negotiate peace and "adapt Europe's security institutions to deal with ethnic conflicts".

Relearning Intervention (p. 96): Examines the difference between historical and current uses of force. Previously, "the purpose was deterrence and ensuring acceptable external behavior. Now, it is increasingly becoming compellence and appropriate internal behavior." The author finds that intrastate conflicts -- such as in Yugoslavia -- are particularly violently passionate; that the leaders of the warring sides have extreme difficulties controlling their troops; and that each side will fight to the death for total victory. A valuable article.

Reassembling Yugoslavia (p. 132): The author believes that "the only solution to Yugoslavia is Yugoslavia." In other words, only by reuniting the disparate republics in some confederal form will peace be achieved. She concedes the difficulty in achieving reintegration, but presents no solid plan for doing so. She does offer several new insights. First, she debunks the myth that Yugoslavia was an artificial state that could not be held together without force: "Yugoslavia's coming a bit late on the European state scene did not make it a less authentic country than, say, Germany or Italy, which had formed unified states only a few decades earlier." Second, that "to escape transformation to democratic principles and the free market, key leaders shifted to nationalism as an alternative base that would maintain the authoritarian state. It was the refusal to move toward real reform that made nationalism necessary, and that continues to make it dominant."

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.