



# YUGO NEWS



*This Issue: NATO & UN battle Bosnian Serbs, Serb political divisions, Continued Croat-Serb fighting in Slavonia*

## 2 May 95

Croatian soldiers looted a camp belonging to Nepalese peacekeepers. After forcing the peacekeepers out of the camp, the **Croats stole** machine guns, personal belongings, and \$25,000 in cash.

## 3 May 95

Croatia estimated that it lost 33 soldiers killed and 128 wounded out of a total force of 7,200 in the **May Day offensive** that captured Okucani and the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. The Croatian Serbs lost up to 350 troops killed. The offensive reduced Serb holdings in Croatia by 33%. (See the "May Day Offensive" item in the May'95 issue of Yugo News.)

Seventy-seven ethnic Albanian former policemen went on **trial in Kosovo**. These latest trials bring the number of former policemen charged with creating a shadow Kosovar police force to 88. So far, 16 have been sentenced to up to six years in prison and 159 arrested.

## 4 May 95

The ceasefire announced by the UN yesterday collapsed before it was due to go into effect today as the Croatian army engaged in a tank and artillery duel with mortar-armed Serbs near **Pakrac**. Serbian forces started to surrender later in the day.

The Croats arrested five Serb leaders as **suspected war criminals**. An additional 800 Serb troops were sent in buses to unknown destinations, despite protests by UN officials who wanted to evacuate the Serbs to a place of their own

choosing (per the ceasefire agreement). The UN Security Council rebuked Croatia for the action, but the ICRC and EU say the Serb prisoners are being treated well.

The whole province of Pakrac has been liberated. **Drunken Croatian troops** are systematically looting Serb-held properties and carting off the goods in army trucks.

Former President **Jimmy Carter**, who brokered a four-month ceasefire for Bosnia which ran out this month, said he would go back and try again if both warring sides wanted it. "If that time comes I would be delighted to go back. I would of course get the permission of the US president to go first," he said.

## 5 May 95

**French Foreign Minister Juppe** said that unless there is a breakthrough to peace in a few weeks, "the time has come to withdraw our forces ... The Russians are encouraging Milosevic to be unbending while the Americans are encouraging the Bosnians to seek solutions away from the negotiating table. They are all only interested in fighting."

Juppe reserved his strongest **criticism for the US**, which he accused of pulling diplomatic strings while UN soldiers faced fire on the ground. "I cannot put up with a situation in which we do the work on the ground while others maintain ambiguous positions around the negotiating table," Juppe said.

**Juppe will become prime minister** if conservative Jacques Chirac wins Sunday's presidential election run-off against Socialist candidate Lionel Jospin.

Vojislav Seselj, leader of the

Serbian Radical Party and accused war criminal, dispatched the first contingents of **Serbian volunteers** to defend Krajina. The notorious leader of the paramilitary "Tigers", Zeljko Raznatovic, alias Arkan, is gathering his own volunteers for service on the front lines.

In an unusual twist, **drunken French peacekeepers** celebrating their regiment's annual feast day threw grenades that killed a Muslim soldier.

Six **British peacekeepers** were **wounded** by Bosnian Serbs near Maglaj. The UN issued a "strong protest" to the local Serbian headquarters.

A **Ukrainian peacekeeper** was **shot dead** in Zepa, in eastern Bosnia.

Elsewhere, 11 **vehicles were damaged** when two Serb mortar shells hit a Ukrainian compound.

The **US gave \$28 million to UNHCR** to aid refugees in Yugoslavia. The US has given a total of \$850 million since the war began in 1991.

## 6 May 95

The Croatian army has been building up its forces in **Osijek**, the province that shares a Drava River border with Vukovar. Thousands of Serbian civilians were evacuated from the areas east of Osijek after Croatia moved about 300 of the troops across the Drava into the UN buffer zone.

**Yugoslavia responded** by moving an armored battalion west from Novi Sad toward the Croatian border. Since armored units usually deploy at night for an offensive, the daylight move appears to be a warning to deter the Croatian army from attacking Serb-held Vukovar.

Although Yugoslavia did not deploy any forces to assist the Croatian Serbs in western Slavonia during the May Day Offensive, it would probably do so for eastern Slavonia. (Yugoslavia would like to annex eastern Slavonia because of the area's large oil reserves and rich farmland).

† † C

A UN aid convoy was blocked by Croatian troops as it tried to cross a Sava River bridge from Croatia into Bosnia. The Croats said the bridge was 'heavily mined'. The aid was intended for Serbs fleeing the Croatian offensive.

† † C

French peacekeepers in Sarajevo fired back at Serb snipers across the Miljacka River after the snipers began shooting at Bosnian civilians.

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## 7 May 95

Conservative Jacques Chirac won the French presidential election. Chirac's party also controls 80% of parliament.

† † C

The Bosnian Serbs delayed talks on resuming the Sarajevo airlift. The airlift was halted four weeks ago after the Serbs shot at a US cargo plane. The Serbs claim they own the airport, but the UN said there would be no compromise on who owns it. However, the UN says it has "no viable leverage. They have more leverage against us than we have over them."

† † C

The 7,000 Serb refugees from Croatia reached Serb-held Banja Luka in Bosnia. The UN interviewed 100 of the refugees, finding that their reports of Croat atrocities were strikingly similar. The UN has not been able to confirm the reports because Croat troops are preventing UN investigators from visiting the site where the atrocities allegedly occurred. (The Croats "take the 5th." The blockade of UN investigators seems like a tacit acknowledgment that the claims are true.)

† † C

Mortar shells fell throughout Sarajevo. NATO jets swooped low over the city after the shelling but did not strike. The UN said it had not requested NATO action.

*Note: News reports later in the week indicated UNPROFOR commander General Smith actually requested air strikes, but that he was overruled by UN Special Envoy Akashi.*

† † C

The Bosnian Serbs agreed to release six aid workers and two Swiss citizens they 'detained' for two months. Sarajevo aid officials had to pay 'bail' (re, ransom) to the Serbs to secure the workers release.

*Note: This is not the first time the Serbs have used this ploy as a source of hard cash: Last year a similar arrangement secured the freedom of 11 French aid workers.*

† † C

The Bosnian Serbs shot down a Bosnian helicopter near Zepa, killing 12 government troops and wounding 11.

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## 8 May 95

Bosnian Serbs destroyed a Catholic church and a monastery in Serb-held Banja Luka, Bosnia. One monk was killed. The attacks were in retaliation for the attack on western Slavonia.

† † C

Croatian Army Chief-of-Staff Bobetko retired for medical reasons. (Bobetko is 76 years old.) General Zvonimir Cervenka is his replacement.

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## 9 May 95

The Croatian army has released approximately 1/3 of the Croatian Serb POWs it took in the May Day Offensive. It is releasing about 100 prisoners a day, as it vets the POWs for war criminals.

† † C

The International War Crimes Tribunal began consideration of Croat war crimes against Muslims in the Lasva valley, central Bosnia. The Bosnian government agreed to halt its own investigation into the incident and to hand over evidence it had already collected.

† † C

Britain awarded General Sir Michael Rose the Distinguished Service Order for his "inspirational leadership and personal courage" in Bosnia. Rose, the UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia until January, 1995, was previously

promoted to full general for his service there.

"General Rose will be best remembered as the man who restored the situation in Sarajevo which had deteriorated into a virtual siege," said the Ministry of Defence. (Yeah, right. Imagine if Rose had actually accomplished something what he might have received -- a lordship and the Victoria Cross? See the "UNPROFOR Change of Command" item in the February'95 issue of Yugo News.)

† † C

Two UNCRO peacekeepers were wounded by Croatian Serbs.

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## 10 May 95

The Bosnian Serbs launched an attack on the Croat-held territory of Orasje, Bosnia. Over 1,000 impacts were recorded during the combined infantry-artillery assault on the village of Matici. A supporting artillery attack was launched across the Sava River on Croat-held Zupanja.

Orasje is an aneurysm on the Serb artery running through Brcko. If the Posavina Corridor was closed, all Serbs west of Brcko would be cut off from re-supply. If the Serbs could take Orasje, they would reduce the possibility of a twin attack from the Bosnians in Tuzla and the Croats to the north.

† † C

A UNPROFOR armored vehicle was hit by an RPG in Sarajevo.

† † C

Croatia celebrated its fifth year of independence.

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## 11 May 95

The Bosnian Serbs intensified their attack on Orasje after several failed attempts yesterday. A Serb combined infantry-armor assault failed to gain ground. The HVO reported Yugoslav military trucks were resupplying the Bosnian Serbs.

† † C

A French peacekeeper was critically wounded near Sarajevo's main thoroughfare, known as "Sniper Alley".



French Foreign Minister Juppe reiterated his threat to withdraw France's 4,500 peacekeepers (the UN's largest contingent) if security does not improve. Juppe also said allowing peacekeepers to use more force would be an alternative to a pulling out.

✠ ✠ ✠  
**Tensions are rising in UNPA Sector South:** Both Croatia and the Croatian Serbs are strengthening their positions near the Croatian Serb capital of Knin.

✠ ✠ ✠  
The UN eased sanctions on Danube River traffic. The sanctions were suspended for 60 days to allow Yugoslavia to make badly needed repairs on its locks. Yugoslav ships will be allowed to use Romanian locks while the repairs are being made.

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## 12 May 95

UN peacekeepers in Sarajevo were ordered to "shoot to kill" if they came under attack, rather than fire warning shots.

✠ ✠ ✠  
The US warned the Croatian Serbs that it would retaliate if the Serbs launched any more missile attacks that endanger US facilities in Zagreb. (The Serbs May 2 retaliation landed 'close' to both the US embassy and a US field hospital.) The form the retaliation would assume was left unspecified.

✠ ✠ ✠  
Croatia released its last batch of Croatian Serb POWs from the May Day Offensive. POWs accused of war crimes were not released. The number still held is unknown.

✠ ✠ ✠  
Bihac received its first Red Cross aid convoy in five weeks.

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## 15 May 95

Macedonian Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski met with US Defense Secretary Perry in Washington, DC. The visit is part of the US-Macedonia military cooperation program signed last month. (See the 4 April 95 item in the May'95 issue of Yugo News.) Also attending the two-day long meetings were Macedonian ambassador to the US

Ljubica Acevska, several Macedonian generals, US Vice-Secretary of Defense Walter Slowcombe, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrook (*the United States' pointman on Yugoslav policy*), Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Crusel, US Director of Balkan Tactical Forces James Pardue and Admiral Owens.

Handziski wants the US to help Macedonia gain exemption from the international embargo against the former Yugoslavia, arguing that Macedonia should be excluded because it has not contributed to the reasons for the embargo. Crusel said, "Macedonia is very important to security and stability in the entire Balkan region," and that it ranks "very high in our strategic calculations". Perry said that if necessary, the US will send additional troops to Macedonia to help boost its security. At present, 500 US soldiers are stationed in Macedonia as part of UNPREDEP.

✠ ✠ ✠  
Bosnian Serb forces withdrew to "lick their wounds" after a week-long offensive failed to dent Croatian lines near Orasje. HVO troops repulsed attacks on Vidovice and Grebnice.

✠ ✠ ✠  
Croatian President Tudjman announced an amnesty for the 48 Croatian Serb POWs (including a brigade commander) held as suspected war criminals after the May Day Offensive.

✠ ✠ ✠  
Two hundred Muslims were expelled from Bosnian Serb territory after being charged 500 DM for the "right to leave their homes".

✠ ✠ ✠  
Croatian Serb General Milan Celeketić sent his resignation to President Martić. Celeketić wrote that he no longer has "the moral force necessary" to lead his forces. It is unknown if Martić will accept the resignation.

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## 16 May 95

Nevzat Halili, a professor at the Albanian university in Tetovo and president of an Albanian political party, went on trial in Macedonia. Halili is charged with leading a crowd that pre-

vented police officers from closing the university down.

✠ ✠ ✠  
Approximately 500,000 liters of fuel cross the Albanian-Montenegrin border into Yugoslavia every day. One UN monitor estimates 40% of the fuel smuggled into Yugoslavia comes from Albania. The US State Department estimates that Albanian oil imports are 50% higher than the country's needs. Albania claims its fuel imports dropped from 172,000 tons in the fourth quarter of 1994 to 54,000 tons in the first quarter of 1995.

*Note: Albania and Macedonia are the two countries the US has been cozying up to militarily in Balkans as a buffer against any expansion of the civil wars in ex-Yugoslavia. Because of Greece's embargo against Macedonia, Albania's port facilities are crucial to any US deployment to the region. Thus, the US government must consider increased Serb mobility to be of less concern than potential US deployability.*

✠ ✠ ✠  
Bishop Franjo Komarica, Catholic bishop of Banja Luka, started a hunger strike. Komarica is protesting Serb attacks on Catholic religious facilities.

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## 17 May 95

Fighting around Sarajevo was the heaviest in two years: heavy machine-gun, small arms and artillery fire killed five and wounded 26. One mortar shell hit the office of the UN special co-ordinator for Sarajevo. Two peacekeepers were wounded in the attacks (one of them French).

✠ ✠ ✠  
The Macedonian Ministry of Transport and Communication banned 250 private radio and TV stations. Minister Dimitar Buzlevski gave the order because of 'technical reasons': chaos and piracy in the public broadcasting system. So far, 24 have received the order, but not all are complying.

✠ ✠ ✠  
The US Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved an amendment to the Foreign Relations Revitalization Act of 1995 authorizing a consulate in Prishtina, Kosova. The bill needs to be

approved by the full Senate before the consulate may be established.

## 18 May 95

Two Russian peacekeepers were wounded by an anti-personnel mine in Grbavica.

Ten kilometers southeast of Bihac the Bosnian 5th Corps captured Ripac, on the Una River.

The foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Turkey met in Split, Croatia, to discuss political and military issues.

## 19 May 95

Serbian President Milosevic, the de facto Yugoslav head-of-state, may recognize Bosnia. Yugoslavia would

recognize Bosnia -- but not the Sarajevo government recognized by the UN -- in return for further easing of sanctions. Yugoslavia would also grant limited recognition of Croatia. The deal is being worked out by US Ambassador Frasure. Serbian radicals will oppose such a deal.

Yugoslavia plans on resettling the 10,000 Serb refugees from western Slavonia in Kosovo. The refugees were displaced because of the May Day Offensive.

Nevzat Halili was sentenced by a Macedonian court to 1.5 years in prison for "participation in crowds" and "preventing police officers from executing their duty". The charges stem from February's confrontation between ethnic Albanian students and Macedonian police in Tetovo. (See the 17 Feb 95 item in the March '95 issue of Yugo News.)

Cardinal Miloslav Vlk, the Archbishop of Prague and chairman of the Roman Catholic Council of European Bishops' Conferences, appealed to Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Pavle to help protect Catholics in Serb-held parts of Bosnia. The appeal follows a series of bombings and burnings of Catholic churches in northern Bosnia.

## 21 May 95

Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Moldova, Albania and Macedonia signed a letter to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali asking that the sanctions against Yugoslavia be lifted.

*Note: Although neither Albania nor Macedonia are any great friend of Yugoslavia or Greece (or each for that matter), both have suffered extreme economical hardship due to the sanctions because Yugoslavia is their major*

## Serb Political Divisions

Croatia's triumphal march through the former Serb-held territory of western Slavonia marked not just a great Serb defeat, it also signaled the end of Serb arrogance. The debacle underlines the reality that without the support of Yugoslavia the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia cannot defeat their enemies -- or even keep them at bay. The Serbs' motto is "Only unity saves the Serbs." Together, Serbs managed to carve out 70% of Bosnia and one-third of Croatia. Divided, their empire is already beginning to shrink.

The main split is between Serbian President Milosevic and the Bosnian Serb President Karadzic. Milosevic began to blockade the Bosnian Serbs in August last year after the Bosnian Serbs rejected the Contact Group peace plan. Since then the Bosnian Serbs have lost the town of Kupres and several strategic points. The setbacks led to a split between the Bosnian Serbs' political and military leadership. A frequent visitor to Belgrade, Bosnian Serb General Mladic keeps in close touch with his old Yugoslav army friends. It is unlikely that he would lead an attempt to topple Mr Karadzic; but he would probably not oppose one either.

Within Krajina the divisions are even deeper. Croatian Serb President Milan Martic, was once Milosevic's main ally in the area. Not any more. Martic has sided with Karadzic against Milosevic. But the fall of western Slavonia has weakened Martic. His main opponent is Croatian Serb Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic, Milosevic's new protégé in the region. Mikelic favors talks and compromise with the Croats. Before the Croats' offensive, these seemed to be getting somewhere, especially in western Slavonia. As tensions relaxed, Serbs there were lulled into a false sense of security: none foresaw the Croatian hammer blow. So Mikelic has been undermined too.

Worse for the Serbs of Bosnia and Krajina was their shock when Milosevic failed to help Krajina in its hour of need. Worse still, Milosevic went out of his way to damn the Croatian Serbs for firing rockets at Zagreb, the Croatian capital, in retaliation. Articles in state-controlled Yugoslav newspapers are rubbishing western Slavonia's former Serb leaders, saying they were corrupt to the core and far too busy buying petrol from the Croats to sell to Bosnia's army commanders.

Ordinary, war-weary Bosnian Serbs have lost respect for their political leaders, whom they now resent for making money out of the mayhem. Senior Bosnian Serb policemen, for example, make fortunes out of cigarette smuggling. Thousands of desperate Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, especially the remnants of the urban middle class, are emigrating every month. In Serbia itself, few criticize Mr Milosevic, whose power remains unshaken.



## 22 May 95

Operation New Spirit -- a five-day exercise involving the US, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania -- is being held near Kalamata, in southern Greece. New Spirit is focusing on the distribution of humanitarian aid. The US is also planning a joint exercise involving the US, Albania and Macedonia.

Bosnian Serbs broke into the UN heavy weapons depot at Poljine, near Sarajevo, and took two artillery pieces.

Four shells fell in the near the Zetra sports hall in Sarajevo. The hall is a barracks for Danish peacekeepers.

Iran offered to send troops to Bosnia as UN peacekeepers if other countries pull their troops out. Iran has repeatedly offered to send up to 10,000 troops to join UNPROFOR, but its offers have consistently been declined due to Western objections.

After months of frustration, the five-nation Contact Group is close to an agreement with Serbian President Milosevic which would involve Yugoslavia recognizing Bosnia as a single state in return for relief from UN sanctions. (Yugoslavia estimates secession and the sanctions have cost it \$147 since Jan'91.) The Contact Group had originally insisted that Milosevic should recognize Croatia and Bosnia as part of a package, but the major powers might accept recognition of Bosnia as a first step.

Bosnian Serb President Karadzic, clearly worried, is now urging Belgrade not to cut a deal: "No one can recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina unless we recognize it, and this we shall never do."

## 23 May 95

US envoy Frasure left Belgrade after failing to secure Serbian President Milosevic's agreement to a deal that would have lifted some sanctions against Yugoslavia in exchange for its recognition of Bosnia.

Bosnian Serbs in Banja Luka broke into a UN office and stole \$30,000 from a safe. Serbs also robbed a convoy of Dutch peacekeepers.

The Bosnian army 5th Corps continued to nibble at Bosnian Serb and rebel-Muslim positions near Bihac, capturing the village of Hodzinac.

Judge Goldstone, chief prosecutor for the International War Crimes Tribunal, and UN human rights envoy Mazowiecki arrived in Slavonia to investigate possible Croat atrocities against the Serbs during the May Day Offensive. The Serbs allege that Croat troops deliberately fired on Serb civilians. The Croats claim they were caught in a 'crossfire'.

A Yugoslav court in Pristina sentenced a union organizer, Pal Krasniqi, to two months in prison for organizing a union meeting. Krasniqi, an ethnic Albanian, is the secretary of the Independent Teachers Trade Unions of Kosovo.

The sentencing appears to be part of a larger pattern of Serb harassment: a number of Albanian schools have been shut and teachers detained. The Serbs are also using some Albanian schools as camps for refugees from the May Day Offensive.

The Bosnian Serbs returned one of the heavy guns they recently 'liberated' from UN safekeeping near Sarajevo. The situation in Sarajevo is still very tense.

The Croatian Serbs demanded the withdrawal of Argentina's 800 peacekeepers. They accuse Argentina of smuggling arms to Croatia via Slovenia.

A Greek newspaper reported that Greece, Macedonia, Albania, Moldova, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania requested UN compensation for losses due to the UN embargo on Yugoslavia. Macedonia immediately denied the report. Albania also denied it had asked the UN to lift the sanctions. (See the 21 May 95 item in this issue of Yugo News.)

A Macedonian court set bail at 200,000 DM for Fadil Suleimani. Suleimani, and ethnic Albanian, is in custody waiting to begin his 2.5 year sentence for inciting the riot at Tetovo University. (See the 17 Feb 95 item in the March'95 issue of Yugo News.)

The court also sentenced ethnic Albanian Arben Rusim, president of the humanitarian organization El Hilal, eight months in prison for participation in crowds and preventing police officers from exercising their duty during a similar incident in Poroy.

## 24 May 95

The UN issued an ultimatum to the warring sides around Sarajevo either to silence their heavy weapons by noon tomorrow or face the threat of NATO air power. It also demanded the return by of the heavy weapons recently pilfered from UN safekeeping by the Serbs. Bosnian Serb President Karadzic said that "if the UN orders air strikes, we are going to treat the UN as the enemy."

The UN ultimatum was prompted by renewed fighting which killed 5 (including two French peacekeepers) and wounded 30 today. The UN also reported that phosphorous bombs, forbidden by Geneva conventions, were used in the latest attacks.

Ukraine established diplomatic relations with Macedonia.

## 25 May 95

Bishop Franjo Komarica, Catholic bishop of Banja Luka, ended his hunger strike after meeting with senior Orthodox spiritual leader Atanasije Jeftic. Jeftic said he would intercede on Komarica's behalf with Bosnian Serb President Karadzic. Komarica was protesting Serb attacks on Catholic religious facilities.

## 26 May 95

Bosnian Serb soldiers, dressed in French uniforms and speaking French, infiltrated a UN OP on a Sarajevo

27 May 95

Yesterday's deaths of two French peacekeepers, prompted newly installed French President Chirac to call an **emergency meeting** with his foreign and defense ministers and senior military officials. (The French death toll in Bosnia now numbers 39, most of them this year.) Chirac reiterated his threat to withdraw France's 4,500 peacekeepers unless the UN redefines its mission and give UNPROFOR more latitude to use force.

The French have the largest contingent in Bosnia. Should they leave, the rest of the Europeans would not be far behind, so the UN Security Council is not about to take **the French threat** lightly. However, the Security Council will not begin considering its options until next week. (*They haven't been planning for this contingency?*) NATO is already planning for a potential mission to rescue the several hundred peacekeepers held hostage by the Serbs.

**The Contact Group** (France, the US, Britain, Germany and Russia) will hold an urgent meeting of its foreign ministers in The Hague in two days to discuss the situation.

28 May 95

**Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic** was killed when his

## Strike ...

On May 25, NATO jets bombed a Bosnian Serb ammo depot near Pale after the Serbs ignored an ultimatum to hand over heavy weapons.

Prior to the raid, to prevent retaliation, the UN stopped 22 relief convoys from crossing Bosnian Serb territory. However, 200-300 UN observers and peacekeepers remain behind Bosnian Serb lines -- primarily guarding the sites where the Serbs' confiscated heavy weapons are stored.

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said he hoped the air strike would lead to a ceasefire and continued negotiations. Bill Clinton said, "I hope that today's air strikes will convince the Bosnian Serb leadership to end their violations."

Instead, the Bosnian Serbs swiftly responded by launching attacks against five of the country's six designated safe areas: Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Gorazde, and Bihac. The Serbs also blockaded all nine of the UN's weapons collection points in the Sarajevo area. "Did you think that after the NATO raid we could expect a 'thank you'?" said NATO Secretary General Claes.

At least 70 civilians were killed and 150 wounded during the 90-minute shelling of Tuzla and its airfield. Reuters cameraman Wayne Lovell said the Tuzla shelling "was the worst thing I've ever seen in 10 years of television news. Worse than Somalia and Iraq or anything else in Bosnia."

The air strike, which included US planes, was requested by the UN. All the attacking jets returned safely to base.

would train at US military academies. While Crusel said the US has "no present plans to increase the number of our troops in Macedonia", he appeared to contradict himself by saying that "I hope we [the US and Macedonia] will come to a common appreciation of a need for changes in the number and deployment of troops."

Henrik Sokalski was appointed the **new Chief of Mission of UNPREDEP** in Macedonia. He replaces Hugo Anson, who left on good terms. Macedonian President Gligorov 'expressed deep appreciation'.

## ... Counterstrike ...

On May 26, NATO jets bombed Bosnian Serb ammo depots near Pale for the second day in a row. This attack was in retaliation for the Serbs retaliatory shelling of Tuzla. The 'safe area' shellings were in retaliation for NATO bombing Serb hospitals and schools, an extremely upset Bosnian Serb commander General Mladic told UNPROFOR commander General Smith. NATO threatened to continue the air strikes unless the Bosnian Serbs hand over their heavy weapons. The Bosnian Serb shelling of Sarajevo continued regardless.

The Bosnian Serbs are using UN military observers as human shields. Some of the observers are shackled to potential NATO targets. The Bosnian Serbs are also effectively holding 150 peacekeepers hostage at the UN's weapons collection points near Sarajevo. (One hundred hostages are French peacekeepers).

US planes were again involved. All the attacking jets again returned safely to base.



helicopter was shot down by Croatian Serbs near Cetingrad, Croatia. The Croatian Serbs said the helicopter had violated their air space. The deputy minister of justice and four other people were also killed. Ljubijankic was the second highest ranking Bosnian official killed during the war. (In January, 1993, Hakiya Turaljic, the deputy prime minister, was killed by Serbs after being dragged out of a UNPROFOR armored vehicle.)

**Clandestine, nocturnal helicopter flights** between the Muslim enclave of Bihac and Zagreb have been going on for many months. They are widely used to resupply the isolated enclave with weapons. Technically, the flights are in breach of the NATO-enforced 'no-fly zone' over Bosnia, but NATO has tended to turn a blind eye to them.

The US may be close to clinching a deal with Serbian President Milosevic that would **suspend some UN sanctions against Yugoslavia** in return for its recognition of Bosnia within its current borders, despite US envoy Frasure's failure to secure such a deal last week, before the NATO bombings.

The Bosnian Serb government proclaimed all **UN Security Council resolutions invalid** and announced "the Bosnian Serb Republic is restoring full sovereignty over all of its territory and air space and banning unauthorized flights."

Bosnian director Emir Kusturica won the **Golden Palm**, the Cannes Film Festival's second highest award, for his film "Underground."

**29 May 95**

Four British OPs and seven APCs near Gorazde were captured by Bosnian Serb troops. **Thirty-three peacekeepers were captured.** Peacekeepers at two other captured OPs managed to escape. Only two OPs remain in British hands.

The **Contact Group emergency session** condemned the Bosnian Serbs' "outrageous acts" and threatened "consequences if [the hostages] are not correctly treated and returned unharmed."

But the group neither specified what those consequences would be nor gave a deadline for freeing the captives.

The UN allowed the **Red Cross** to visit four Bosnian Serb prisoners. ICRC

efforts to gain similar access to captured UN personnel held by the Serbs were unsuccessful.

The **Croatian Serb parliament** dismissed Prime Minister Mikelic, a

## ... Counter-Counterstrike

Bosnian Serb General Mladic demanded the UN apologize to the families of the Serb soldiers killed during the French counterattack on Sarajevo's Vrbanja Bridge or he could not guarantee the safety of peacekeepers in Gorazde. Mladic also demanded that UNPROFOR release four Serbs taken prisoner during that counterattack. Mladic magnanimously conceded that peacekeeper prisoners "will no longer be handcuffed to poles or warehouses, but will only be taken to those locations," said UNPROFOR.

Bosnian Serb troops have blockaded or captured 367 UN peacekeepers and observers in the last five days. Rather than hand over heavy weapons banned from the Sarajevo area, the Bosnian Serbs have also taken a further 200 mortars and artillery pieces from UN weapons collection sites. Finally, they've cut off electricity, gas and water to Sarajevo, and tightened their noose around the city. The one government-held road into town - a small mountain track - is being fired at regularly with heavy machine-guns and mortars.



France is sending marine commandos, two artillery batteries, an armored engineer squadron, attack helicopters and an aircraft carrier to Bosnia. French President Chirac gave French peacekeepers in Bosnia full authority to use force in resisting attacks.

The following are US Navy ships are in or en route to the Adriatic Sea: 1 aircraft carrier; 2 guided missile cruisers; 1 guided missile destroyer; 1 guided missile frigate; 1 destroyer; 1 amphibious assault ship (24th Marine Expeditionary Unit); 1 amphibious transport dock; 1 dock landing ship; and 1 oiler. The 24th MEU has 2,000 troops. The US has also moved additional AC-130 gunships, electronic warfare planes and aerial tankers to Italy.

Britain is sending two armored units, one engineer unit, heavy artillery and an aircraft carrier to Bosnia. The 1,200 reinforcements will be under direct British command, not UN control. The British troops will disembark at Split, Croatia, so the Serbs started a bombardment of Mostar, which controls the road between Split and Sarajevo. The SAS and Canadian commandos are preparing for possible rescue operations.

Referring to UNPROFOR a 'senior US official' said, "The idea would be to reconfigure them so they would be better protected. We'd like to see them reconfigured in a way that air power is an option. It's important for leverage purposes."

30 May 95

**British reinforcements** began arriving in Split, Croatia. However, Bosnian President Izetbegovic said they could only advance only as far as Gornji Vakuf, in central Bosnia, and not proceed to the British base at Vares north of Sarajevo. because he fears that the reinforcements will be used to cover a British withdrawal.

**Fadil Suleimani** was released by a Macedonian court after making a reduced bail of 100,000 DM. Suleimani was convicted for inciting the riot at Tetovo University.

Albania announced that stricter police controls in border areas have stopped fuel smuggling into Yugoslavia. Albania says it has prohibited shipping on the Buna River; allows fishing and tourist ships on Lake Shkoder; closed ten filling stations; seized 11 tanker trucks, 15 floating tankers and 35,000 liters of fuel, and arrested 15 people.

31 May 95

Fighting briefly flared on the southern edge of Sarajevo as the Bosnian Serbs tried, but failed, to capture Bosnian government positions guarding the Mt. Igman road.

The Bosnian Serbs captured one of the two OPs remaining in UN hands near Gorazde. The Serbs now possess seven of the eight OPs. They Bosnian Serbs have also captured 36 UN vehicles, including six IFVs and twelve APCs, in Bosnia the past week.

UN officials are no longer publicly warning the Serbs that further air strikes could be imminent. **Formal negotiations** on the release of UN POWs could begin soon. (Last November Serb troops captured

dozens of UN personnel following NATO air strikes on Udbina. After a period of confrontation, quiet negotiations began that ultimately led to their release. The UN clearly hopes for a similar outcome, but the Bosnian Serbs say they will not free the POWs until the UN guarantees there will be no more air strikes.)

The Netherlands, Norway and the Czech Republic are considering sending reinforcements to Bosnia. Britain, France and the US already have additional forces en route or in country.

Ethnic Albanian editorial staff at TV Macedonia went on strike over the appointment of Hisen Shakiri as chief editor. They believe Hakiri is anti-Albanian, whereas the fired chief editorialized in favor of the Albanian language university in Tetovo.

1 June 95

**Lord Owen**, the lead EU mediator in Yugoslavia the last three years, announced he will step down at the end of June. He said the move was unrelated to the latest crisis but added that he feared Britain was increasingly being sucked into a Balkan war.

**Whopper of the Month**

Of the 164 UN peacekeepers killed in Bosnia the past three years, none were killed by Serbs.

*Belgrade daily Vecernje Novosti*

**Pre-Bombing Quote**

"People come in here on six-month or one-year contracts. They just want everything to be as peaceful as possible on their watch, so they give one concession after another to the Serbs. They don't look at the long-term effects."

*UN employee on why he believes the UN's authority in Bosnia has collapsed.*

**Post-Bombing Quote**

"We always knew that no matter

moderate and Milosevic ally, who had favored better ties with the Croatian government. The vote was 46-0, with three abstentions, against Mikelic.

Croatia, Bosnia and Iran signed agreements on road, maritime and air traffic, as well as an agreement on the purchase of Iranian oil and on ships being built in Croatia for Iranian companies.

The war crimes trial of Dusko Cvjetkovic, a Serb, resumed in Austria. The charges were changed to murder and mass murder from participation in those crimes. Cvjetkovic is accused of killing Muslim POWs three years ago. (See the 29 March 95 item in the April'95 issue of Yugo News.)

## Busting the UN Sanctions

*Arms Transfers: April 1992 to April 1994*

Weapons' Country of Origin	Amount Shipped To:		
	Serbia	Croatia	Bosnia
Russia	360	50	20
Poland	2	1	0
Switzerland	0	90	9
Italy	0	2	1
Austria	0	61	2
Germany	0	320	6
Turkey	2	10	6
Lebanon	0	2	10
Egypt	0	2	25
South Africa	0	10	0
China	10	25	15
Singapore	0	20	2
Iran	0	5	20
Slovakia	100	60	10
Saudi Arabia	0	0	35
North Korea	2	2	0
TOTALS	476	660	162

All figures are in US\$ millions and reflect 1993 prices. The countries of origin listed here have not officially sanctioned the export of weapons to former Yugoslavia in violation of the U.N. embargo.



how effective the strikes, there would be retaliation."

*Anonymous "Senior US Official"*

## Sources

The Economist, InterNet, World Press Review, Milwaukee Journal-

Sentinel, FBIS Daily Reports.

*Secondary sources include Los Angeles Times, Baltimore Sun, AP, Nasa Borba, AFP, Reuters, VOA, Tanjug, OMRI, New York Times, Flaka, Politika, Jane's Defence Weekly, NavNews, Puls, The Observer, The Independent.*

**Editor**

Preston McMurry

## NATO Involvement in Bosnia

<b>July 92</b>	NATO naval forces begin "Operation Sharp Guard". At first the operation is to monitor compliance with UN sanctions against ex-Yugoslavia; in 1993 it is expanded to include enforcement of the sanctions.
<b>Oct 92</b>	NATO begins "Operation Deny Flight", using surveillance aircraft to monitor UN ban on military flights over Bosnia.
<b>Apr 93</b>	NATO begins combat patrols over Bosnia.
<b>June 93</b>	NATO offers close air support to UN troops and other personnel in Bosnia if they are attacked and request air strikes.
<b>Aug 93</b>	NATO threatens air strikes against Serb forces attacking Sarajevo.
<b>Jan 94</b>	NATO summit meeting in Brussels confirms all previous decisions. NATO says it is ready to use air strikes to help reopen Tuzla airport for aid flights.
<b>Feb 94</b>	NATO gives Serbs 10 days to either withdraw heavy weapons from Sarajevo's 20km 'exclusion zone' or hand them over to the UN, otherwise they will face air strikes. The Serbs comply.
	Four Serb light attack aircraft violate the Bosnian 'no fly zone'. NATO fighters hoot them down. It is NATO's first combat action since it was founded in 1949.
<b>Apr 94</b>	NATO launches two air strikes against Serb forces around Gorazde to protect UN personnel. It is NATO's first strike against ground targets. NATO says it will use air strikes to protect all six UN-designated 'safe areas' in Bosnia, giving the Serbs a deadline to withdraw from Gorazde. They comply; there are no further strikes.
<b>Aug 94</b>	NATO planes attack Serb heavy weapons violating Sarajevo's 'exclusion zone'. The Serbs had removed the weapons from a UN depot.
<b>Sept 94</b>	NATO planes destroy a Serb tank inside the 20 km Sarajevo exclusion zone. The attack was in retaliation for Serb infantry firing RPG's at a French AFV.
<b>19 Nov 94</b>	UN Security Council authorizes NATO to bomb Serb targets in Croatia used for attacks on the Bosnian town of Bihac.
<b>20 Nov 94</b>	NATO air strike on the Udbina airfield in Serb-held Croatia is called off because of bad weather.
<b>21 Nov 94</b>	NATO bombs Udbina airfield to deter further sorties by Serb aircraft against Bihac. Fifty aircraft participate in the raid.
<b>22 Nov 94</b>	Two British jets are fired upon over Bosnia. Neither is hit.
<b>23 Nov 94</b>	NATO aircraft attack Serb SAM sites around Bihac, Bosanska Krupa and Otoka in retaliation for yesterday's attack on British jets.
<b>25 May 95</b>	NATO jets bomb a Bosnian Serb ammo depot near Pale after the Serbs ignored an ultimatum to hand over heavy weapons being used to shell Sarajevo.
<b>26 May 95</b>	NATO jets bomb Bosnian Serb ammo depot near Pale in retaliation for the Serbs retaliatory shelling of Tuzla.