



# YUGO NEWS



*This Issue: Serbs seize Srebrenica 'safe area', Zepa is second domino, Croat assault into Krajina, military lessons of Bosnia*

## 3 July 95

Bosnian Croat border police twice over the weekend turned back a column of vehicles carrying French portions of the **RRF** trying to enter Bosnia without government permission.

## 4 July 95

Bosnian Croats blocked Dutch and British troops of the **RRF** at the Bosnian border yesterday. The Bosnian Croats said the RRF troops would not be allowed into Bosnia until their mission is explained more fully.

*Note: The RRF's 12,500 troops will not be fully deployed -- barring further roadblocks -- until late the end of this month. Even then, one of its three brigades will remain in France, on stand-by.*

A mobile airlift control center was set-up and running within a few hours of landing in Split, Croatia. A **US Air Force C-5 Galaxy** with 55 personnel and 80 tons of equipment of the 621st Tanker Airlift Control Element landed first; a second Galaxy with 9 personnel and more equipment landed two hours later. The unit will help direct the airlift of about 4,000 soldiers of the British Army's 24th Air Mobile Brigade by providing command and control, aerial port and maintenance operations for all incoming Air Force aircraft and manage air crews.

Yugoslavia's highest military court reduced Major General Vlado Trifunovic's jail term. Trifunovic was first sentenced in 1992 for **undermining national security** by surrendering weapons and refusing to fight Croatian forces during the war between Croatia and the Croatian Serbs. Trifunovic's original

11-year sentence was cut to seven years. Two of four fellow officers who appeared with Trifunovic in court also had their sentences reduced.

## 5 July 95

The UN Security Council extended to September 18 the relaxation on travel and cultural and sporting activities imposed on **Yugoslavia**. The vote was 14-0 to extend, with Russia abstaining.

*Note: Yugoslavia won the European basketball championships last week. Not surprisingly, some Serbs are using this as proof of Serbian superiority over Croats (Croatia also played in the tourney) in other matters.*

A **Serbian jet**, apparently based at the Udbina airfield in Krajina, flew into Bosnian airspace and fired rockets at the Ostrozac power plant. It is unclear what damage, if any, was done to the facility, which is the only source of electricity for the embattled Bihac pocket. NATO did not retaliate against the violation of the 'no-fly zone' because it could not determine that the plan had actually come from Udbina.

Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien said the war in Bosnia has become a **threat to global security** because it has thrown into question the ability of international organizations to deal with a crisis.

**Turkey accused Greece** of supporting the PKK (Kurdish communist guerrillas fighting in southeastern Turkey and northern Iraq.)

## 6 July 95

The UN announced the **RRF** will not have a veto or dual-key command

structure, meaning the force would not be subject to the veto of Yasushi Akashi, the UN Special Envoy.

Bosnian Serbs shelled **Srebrenica**. The UN's main base in nearby Potocari was hit by at least ten shells; a Dutch OP was hit by tank and mortar fire.

**Serb shelling of Sarajevo** killed six civilians and wounded 11. In the three weeks since June 15, when the Bosnian government started its offensive to relieve Sarajevo, Serbian shelling and sniping has killed 95 civilians, and wounded 436, in the area.

Heavy rain, storms, and subsequent flooding on caused enormous damage in southeastern **Macedonia**. The regions of Kavadarci and Negotino were hardest hit, where two-thirds of the crops were destroyed and 3,000 houses damaged.

## 7 July 95

Bosnian Serb troops fired three 105mm artillery rounds at two helicopters on the ground at **Konjic**. Neither was hit. EU envoy Carl Bildt was aboard one helicopter; two wounded journalists were in the other.

Kosovar shadow President Rugova met with Macedonian President Gligorov in Skopje after visiting the US, Spain and Albania. **The two leaders** discussed the situation in Kosovo and Macedonia, as well as bilateral relations. There was no official statement on the disputed Albanian-language university in Tetovo, but both sides confirmed that "peace and stability in the Balkans can be guaranteed only by settling [outstanding] issues through talks and political means and by strengthening the European option [for] the Balkan states."

Bulgaria estimated the sanctions against ex-Yugoslavia have cost its economy \$60 billion.

## 8 July 95

Bosnian Serbs surrounded a Dutch OP in Srebrenica. The UN denied the Dutch battalion's request for NATO air strikes. The peacekeepers were allowed to withdraw, but in the process one of them was killed by fire from a Bosnian government position.

The Serbs have encroached 3-5km into the safe area. The humanitarian situation in Srebrenica is catastrophic: Of the 77 humanitarian convoys slated to go to Srebrenica this year, only 19 have made it.

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The Bosnian Serbs promised that relief convoys would be allowed to enter Sarajevo along main roads under their control beginning tomorrow. If true, 500 tons of foodstuffs could be bright in next week.

† † †

A French peacekeeper was wounded in Sarajevo.

## 9 July 95

The UN said air strikes if attacks are authorized if peacekeepers in Srebrenica continue to be attacked. Bosnian Serbs have seized three OPs, captured 30 Dutch peacekeepers and one APC near

the city. Air strikes are also authorized if Bosnian Serbs attempt to enter Srebrenica.

About 4,000 refugees fleeing fighting near Srebrenica are gathered in the center of the town.

UN officials say they do not believe the Serbs actually intend to take Srebrenica but merely want to embarrass the Bosnian government and the UN.

## 10 July 95

Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica clashed with Bosnian Serbs last night. The Dutch commander called for air support when Serb armor appeared. As the situation "became clearer" and the Dutch were able to halt the Serb advance, the air strike was called off.

The Bosnian Serbs gave Srebrenica an ultimatum to surrender by dawn on July 13. Bosnia accused the UN of "deliberate inactivity despite the highly dramatic developments" around Srebrenica, adding that if the Serbs take the town there would be little sense in maintaining any UN presence in the Balkans.

The UN continues to display indecisiveness by questioning whether its own mandate in Srebrenica allows it to attack the Serbs only if the peacekeepers

are fired on or if the town itself is invaded.

Peacekeepers in Zepa -- another UN 'safe area' -- were also fired at.

Urgent telephone calls were placed late Monday between the UN high command in Zagreb and the Serb leadership in Pale in order to defuse the situation.

## 11 July 95

The UN said it was trying to negotiate a ceasefire in Srebrenica with the Bosnian Serbs. A Karadzic spokesman said, "The NATO policy of bombing is a counterproductive policy. The international community seems to have learned nothing from its past mistakes."

## 12 July 95

Bosnian Serb forces began cleansing Srebrenica. Males 16 and older were detained as possible war criminals; women, children and the elderly were bussed from Potocari to Kladanj, where they were forced to walk across front lines to Bosnian government territory. *(The Serbs had the unmitigated gall to ask the UN to supply fuel for the busses -- fuel that no doubt would go to military rather than humanitarian uses if the UN is stupid enough to fall for the trick.)*

The UN requested permission from the Serbs to bring in helicopters to

## Serbs Seize Srebrenica 'Safe Area'

Bosnian Serb forces captured the UN-designated 'safe area' of Srebrenica on July 11. The 1,500 Serb troops were equipped with 18 tanks, artillery and surface-to-air missiles. *(The numbers and type of assets involved would seem to indicate a mechanized or motorized brigade was engaged.)*

Two belated NATO air strikes destroyed two tanks, halting a Serb armored column. But Serb infantry, infiltrating through a nearby woods, flanked the Dutch defenders. Thirty peacekeepers, including the Dutch commander of Srebrenica, were captured in the assault. Dutch Defense Minister Joris Voorhoeve asked that a third air strike be called off after the lives of Dutch POWs were threatened. The remaining Dutch peacekeepers retreated three miles north to Potocari where the rest of their 400-troop battalion was digging in. Sporadic fighting is already being reported in Potocari.

Some 20-30,000 refugees have also sought protection in Potocari. The UN says it has a day's worth of rations for about 27,000, and is almost out of ammunition and fuel. Potocari is within the Srebrenica 'safe area'.



The Serbs apparently met with little resistance as they entered Srebrenica. Some skirmishes were reported as the Bosnian army tried but was not able to defend the enclave. When Srebrenica was established as a 'safe area' two years ago, government forces agreed to surrender their heavy weapons to the UN in exchange for UN protection. (See the 18 April article in the May'93 issue of *Yugo News*.) Still, the army retained some light weapons, making the programmed demilitarization incomplete. The Bosnian Serbs cited that as justification for their attack on Srebrenica, saying the Bosnian army used the enclave to launch commando raids into Serb-held territory. "This action is aimed [at] neutralizing the terrorists," said Bosnian Serb General Mladic.

The Serbian attack made several things clear. The first was that if Bosnia wants to resolve the war by fighting, as it demonstrated through an offensive around Sarajevo in the last month, then the Serbs will hit back where the Bosnian army is most vulnerable -- in the surrounded eastern enclaves. This, in any case, is territory about which the Serbs are not prepared to make any compromise. They want the three eastern enclaves -- Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde -- in order to form an uninterrupted swath of Serb-held territory bordering on Serbia itself. In exchange, they have said, they might cede something to the west of Sarajevo.

The second point made by the Serbs is that they are no longer ready to tie up large numbers of their troops around the enclaves when they are being stretched by Bosnian attacks on several fronts. The fundamental problem of the Bosnian Serb and Croatian Serb forces is manpower. (The Serbs have about 80,000 men under arms, compared with the Bosnian Army's 130,000.) This fact has been underscored by recent forcible roundups of Serbs in Belgrade and other towns in Serbia for transportation to the

front. The fall of Srebrenica will help ease this pressure. The soldiers around Srebrenica are needed elsewhere, especially if, as seems likely, Croatia attacks Serb-held Krajina in the fall. (In addition to freeing up troops, the Serbs probably wanted to act before the UN reaction force became a reality -- however unassertive the reality may have been -- later this month.)

The third point of the attack on Srebrenica appears to have been a determination to force Bosnia to the negotiating table by humiliating it on the battlefield. The Serbs do not want a drawn-out war that may eventually go in Bosnia's favor, because arms and money are now beginning to flow to the government in Sarajevo.

In this respect, the offensive bore all the hallmarks of the thinking of the Bosnian Serb commander, General Mladic, who has proved masterful in setting the momentum of the war, keeping his opponents off balance and creating situations to which no adequate response is possible.

Srebrenica is the first of the six 'safe areas' of the UN to fall. The next may be Zepa, an isolated 'safe area' harboring 16,000 Muslim refugees. Bosnian Serb troops -- including Croatian Serb reinforcements moving through the Posavina corridor -- are already massing north and south of the city. The Serbs have also increased their harassment of Gorazde, Bihac and Sarajevo.

Along with delivery of humanitarian aid, protection of the 'safe areas' was the principal duty of the UNPROFOR. Despite its failure to either protect or feed Bosnian civilians, World leaders claimed a UN presence in Bosnia was still needed to protect besieged enclaves from being overrun by the Serbs. For the past week, the UN insisted that the Bosnian Serb offensive around Srebrenica was a limited operation, even as the Serbs massed troops, shelled the town, attacked UN OPs and peacekeepers. What will those 'leaders' say now about the need for a UN presence in Bosnia?

"Now that the Serbs have smelled weakness, they'll keep pushing," said a Western diplomat. By taking Srebrenica, the Serbs have in effect dealt such a blow to the UN's already frayed credibility that a costly and humiliating withdrawal -- involving up to 25,000 US troops -- has become more likely. This in turn would speed a resolution of the war, albeit with great bloodshed.



evacuate the sick and seriously wounded civilians. The Serbs refused.

The 400 Dutch peacekeepers in Potocari are now **surrounded**; many are disarmed. In addition, more were captured by Bosnian Serbs, bringing the total of Dutch POWs to 48.

Bosnian Serb troops are **securing the area**, and also hunting for Nasir Oric, a former Milosevic bodyguard, who has carried out raids on Bosnian Serbs in the area for the last three years.

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The UN Security Council unanimously adopted a **resolution** calling on "both sides" to withdraw their armed forces from Srebrenica. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali was authorized to use "all resources available" to reestablish the 'safe area,' but the resolution out-

lines no clear course of action and was passed simply because it was seen as "better than doing nothing."

The resolution will most likely lead to **more futile efforts at diplomacy** and subsequent humiliation for the UN. There is no political will in the Security Council to evict the Serbs by force and some UN officials are privately saying the fall of Srebrenica may help speed up a peace settlement.

## 13 July 95

The Bosnian Serbs expelled 30,000 mainly Muslim refugees from the Dutch base at **Potocari**. Only some 400 refugees remain at Potocari, from where the Serbs now hold 55 Dutch POWs. It is unclear where the Serbs got the vehicles and the fuel to mount such a huge and

obviously well planned operation. One UN official said "the scale of the operation has been flabbergasting." Bosnian Serb General Mladic said, "All the civilians who expressed the desire to leave the enclave were evacuated this afternoon."

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Bosnian Serbs fired artillery at Ukrainian peacekeepers, wounding one of the 79 troops in **Zepa**. They also told the Ukrainians to be prepared to leave.

Zepa has begun to be **written off** as a "safe area", both explicitly by those in the conflict and by anonymous quotes from other nations.

The Bosnian government maintains a sizable number of troops and weapons factories in **Gorazde**, and the Bosnian Serbs appear to be heading in that direction. It is likely, at this point, that the future of the UN mission in ex-

## Srebrenica -- The Day After

As many as 30,000 refugees from Srebrenica arrived in nearby Potocari where the UN Dutch battalion HQ is situated. The Dutch UN commander in Srebrenica, Lieutenant-Colonel Ton Karemans, managed to negotiate a temporary cease fire with Bosnian Serb General Mladic.

Reactions (*they certainly can't be called action*) to the fall of Srebrenica:

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said the UN should not withdraw from Bosnia, but must decide about abandoning the 'safe areas'. The UN Security Council began "consultations on a draft resolution" to demand the Bosnian Serbs stop their offensive and withdraw from Srebrenica.

UNHCR requested "permission" for two aid convoys to enter the fallen citadel.

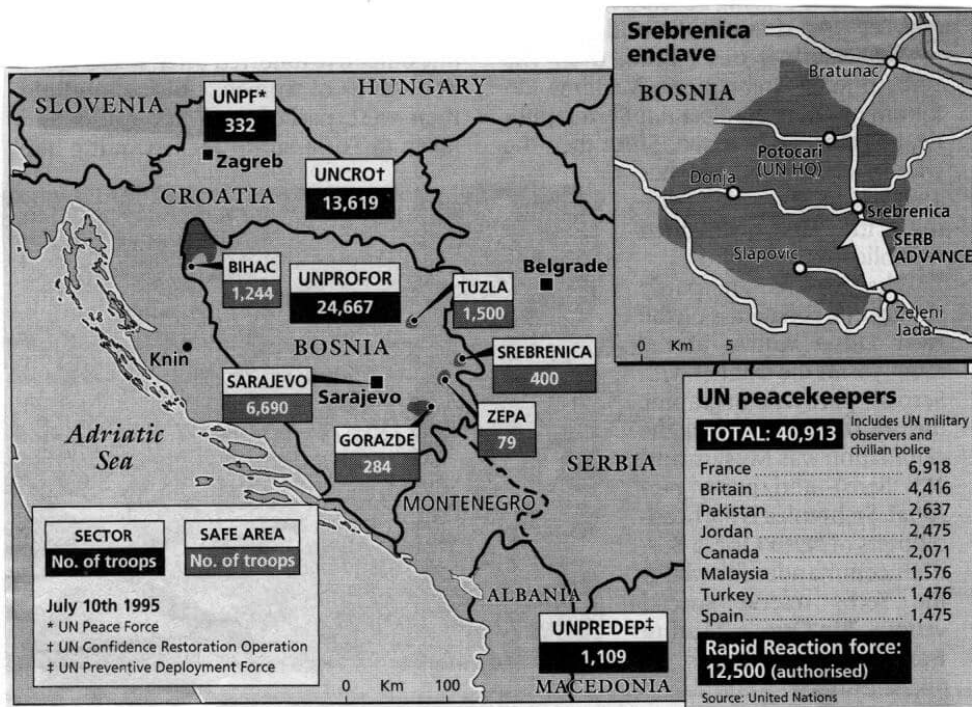
France, Britain and Germany said that the UN should ask the Franco-British RRF to re-establish the integrity of the Srebrenica 'safe area'.

Prime Minister John Major warned in the House of Commons that the whole United Nations mission in Bosnia had been put in question by the fighting. "Unless the warring parties are prepared soon to indicate that they are prepared to return to some form of discussion to reach a political settlement, there is no doubt that continuing fighting would put the continuing presence of the UN at risk," Mr. Major said.

"There'll be a lot of consultations with allies, and discussion about what available force is in the region," said Michael McCurry, the White House spokesman. "Clearly with respect to the protection of this particular eastern enclave, it has not been a good day."

The United Nations held an urgent session today, and NATO's North Atlantic Council as well as the so-called contact group on the Balkans-- the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia -- are scheduled to discuss the latest crisis on Wednesday.

"NATO threats don't mean anything to us," gloated Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, after taking Srebrenica.



demanding the return of their impounded weapons.

General Shalikashvili, US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, will attend a meeting of defense ministers in London tomorrow to discuss the situation in Bosnia.

Croatia is preparing a major assault on Serb-held Krajina. Thousands of troops and hundreds of vehicles have been moving towards the area in recent weeks. Reinforcements have been deployed to positions between Sisak and Karlovac and around Canak. In addition, Croatian and Bosnian Croat units have taken up positions on hills overlooking Knin. The Serbs have also been strengthening their forces, with General Milan Mrksic of the Yugoslav army now commanding Croatian Serb forces. Yugoslavia has also sent dozens of tanks and several other officers. To reinforce the Croatian Serbs, Yugoslav police have rounded up several thousand Serbs born in Krajina and sent them home to become infantrymen.

A conflict in the area is expected in late August or early September.

Macedonia and Turkey signed a 20-year friendship treaty. Turkish President Demirel, addressing the Macedonian parliament, confirmed the profound traditional friendship between the two countries, as well as the commitment of Turkey to continue giving economic and political assistance to Macedonia.

Yugoslavia established diplomatic relations with Georgia and Turkmenistan.

## 15 July 95

Bosnian troops moved into UN OPs in Zepa, disarming the peacekeepers. Radio contact has been lost with the Zepa's 79 Ukrainian defenders; their status is unknown. Bosnian troops also seized four armored vehicles and some weapons in Gorazde, also from Ukrainian peacekeepers.

Muslim civilians surrounded some peacekeepers, demanding their weapons

Yugoslavia will be shaped by the future of Gorazde: whether the UN/NATO leave Bosnia and drop weapons embargoes; consolidate and maintain forces; or "storm and conquer", the "line in the sand" option that could require as many as 200,000 troops.

UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, visiting Serb-ally Greece, said that despite continuing Bosnian Serb aggression, negotiations and maintaining the UN presence in former Yugoslavia is the only road toward solving the crisis.

He said he does not know if UN troops are in a position to take Srebrenica back from the Serbs or to defend the safe areas of Zepa and Gorazde, adding this has to be thought out by UN military officials in the area. (Good Lord. No wonder the UN is so screwed up. The man responsible for setting the tone of UN ops not only doesn't know what his army is doing, he doesn't even care!)

Greek volunteers fought along Bosnian Serbs who captured Srebrenica two days ago. According to a report in the Greek daily Ethnos, they raised the Greek flag over the town's destroyed Orthodox church. Since the start of the war, about 100 Greeks have fought in a "guard of volunteers" based in Vlasenica, in central Bosnia. They were recruited in Belgrade, and liaison offices have been

set up in Athens and Thessaloniki. Greek authorities have not interfered with the volunteers and the Greek intelligence service is in touch with the volunteers.

A 5 degree (on the Mercally scale) earthquake in the Krushevo-Kichevo region of Macedonia caused 165 million denars damage. Damages to the farming areas are valued at over 61 million, 19 million to the buildings, 36 million to equipment and 48 million to livestock. The Institute for earthquake engineering and seismology with the Water Supply Institute of Macedonia is working on the estimation of the damages to the collector for atmospheric waters in Negotino, while municipal governments are estimating local damages.

## 14 July 95

Bosnian Serbs shelled three Ukrainian OPs in Zepa and began advancing with armor and artillery from the north and southeast.

Thousands of Muslim refugees from Srebrenica continue to arrive in Tuzla, most of them reporting varying degrees of atrocities, including rape and murder. Aid agencies are running out of what food and medicine is available, and shelter is available for only a fraction.

In Gorazde, Bosnian troops surrounded Ukrainian peacekeepers and

to defend themselves. The **peacekeepers shot over their heads** in an attempt to disperse them.

Meanwhile, the Bosnian Serbs have taken the heights around **Zepa**.

The Bosnian Serbs released 54 of the **Dutch POWs** they captured during last week's seizure of Srebrenica. The rest of the peacekeepers remain surrounded in Potocari.

About 5,700 **refugees from Srebrenica** remain at Tuzla airport; thousands of others have left the camp for friends and relatives nearby, or have been taken by Bosnian buses to five nearby towns. Russian helicopters brought in water purification equipment and tents yesterday. Aid convoys also arrived in Tuzla.

**General Janko Bobetko**, 75, Chief of the Croatian General Staff, retired. He was replaced by General Zvonimir Cervenko, 64. Bobetko is the architect of the successful strategy of retaking Serb-held territories through small steps; both men formerly served in the Yugoslav army.

## 16 July 95

Bosnian Serb forces advanced to within 1,500 meters of **Zepa**. The assault, being pressed from the Zepa River. NATO jets flew over the city in response to a call by Ukrainian peacekeepers for an "air presence," but the planes did not attack Serb positions.

Ukrainian peacekeepers, **disarmed by Bosnian troops**, disabled their remaining APCs.

French **peacekeepers fired** 30 mortar rounds at Bosnian Serb positions on Mt. Igman after the Serbs fired at aid convoys.

## 17 July 95

US and Albania started a humanitarian search and rescue exercise near Durres, Albania. US units include the amphibious assault ship USS Kearsarge,

the amphibious transport dock USS Nashville, and the 24th MEU. The exercise lasts until July 21.

*Note: The Kearsarge and the 24th MEU were the ship and unit that rescued Captain O'Grady, the US pilot shot down over Bosnia last month.*

The **assault on Srebrenica** was led by General Momcilo Perisic, the current chief of the Yugoslav General Staff. He was assisted by JNA artillery and by 'Arkan's Tigers', the irregulars of internationally-wanted war criminal Zeljko Raznjatovic.

The **Ukraine and Bangladesh** said they would send an extra 1,000 troops each, or more, to reinforce UNPROFOR.

The trial of 72 ethnic Albanian former policemen ended in **Kosovo** with the sentencing of 69 defendants to between one and eight years in prison. The policemen were accused of forming an "Interior Ministry of the Republic of Kosovo" as part of an effort to separate the southern Serbian region from Yugoslavia. The trial brings the number of former policemen sentenced on the same charge to 101. The defendants denied the charges, saying they formed an independent police union to protect their rights after 3,500 policemen were fired in 1991. Some 44 ethnic Albanian policemen are still on trial in Prizren, while 32 have been sentenced to prison terms in Pec and Gnjilan.

## 18 July 95

Bosnian Serb forces advanced to within 1 km of the center of the **Zepa** 'safe area' then launched a major mortar attack.

The Bosnian government issued an ultimatum to the UN: Either call in NATO air strikes to aid the government in Zepa, or the 79 Ukrainian peacekeepers there will be used as human shields. The Bosnian Serbs replied that if air strikes are called, the eight peacekeepers who are still POWs will be killed and the Ukrainians will be specifically targeted. "The Ukrainians have a choice: **They are either human shields or they are**

**dead**," said a UN official. The Ukrainians are under orders not to surrender what weapons the Bosnians have not yet seized, and to defend their two posts in Zepa. One post, however, is ringed by Bosnian Serb land mines.

Meanwhile, government troops in **Zepa**, used APCs seized from the UN to fire on Bosnian Serbs.

Bosnian troops also continued their **harassment of peacekeepers** in Gorazde, seizing all the weapons, food, money and personal effects of the 90 Ukrainian peacekeepers there by holding a gun to the Ukrainian commander's head and beating him. They also took two Ukrainians hostage.

A **meeting of Contact Group foreign and defense ministers** will take place on July 21 in London, following the failure of British, French and US military leaders to work out a joint strategy for Bosnia.

France wants "**a bold military initiative**" to stop the Serbs from taking Gorazde and to open a supply road to Sarajevo, but Britain and the US are opposed. The Clinton administration fears involvement on the ground but admits it will have to provide some "non-combat" ground forces if US helicopters are used to ferry in British and French units. The US is also against continuing the cumbersome joint UN-NATO command system, while France wants to keep it because it does not belong to NATO's command structure.

France accused the Bosnian government of "**sabotaging**" the RRF by attaching too many conditions to its deployment.

Six senior and 150 lower-ranking government officials in Macedonia have been sacked in a **crackdown on corruption**. The crackdown focused on the Foreign Ministry's economic department and the Ministry for Agriculture, where officials are suspected of illegally issuing import permits for pesticides.



19 July 95

The Bosnian Serbs captured **Zepa**. The Bosnian Serbs said they would permit all Muslims those who asked to leave to go to Tuzla or Kladanj. Reacting to reports of mistreatment of Ukrainian peacekeepers, the Bosnian government accused them of engaging in "black-market trade, illegal transport of people, and inappropriate contacts with the aggressor forces". Mehmet, Hajiric, the mayor of Zepa, said that the Ukrainian commander and seven of his troops had crossed lines to fight with the Serbs.

† † C\*

Croatian Serbs and Abdic's rebel Muslims pushed a mile into Bosnian-held territory near **Bihac**. The Bosnian 5th Corps simultaneously attacked Bosnian Serbs on high ground east of Bihac. 1,000 explosions were reported in the area.

† † C\*

Bosnian government forces shelled the Bosnian Serp capital of **Pale**.

† † C\*

Refugees from Srebrenica, arriving in Tuzla, reported that they were chased by **Serbs wearing UN insignia** and driving UN vehicles.

20 July 95

Sixty Serb busses arrived in **Zepa** to begin deporting Muslims to Bosnian-held territory. Eight UN observers monitored the proceedings.

† † C\*

The Croatian Serbs captured the Bosnian-held town of Sturlic., 18 miles north of **Bihac**. Abdic's rebel Muslims captured several smaller villages nearby. Croatia said it would intervene if Bihac's status as a UN 'safe area' is threatened.

† † C\*

The UN Security Council passed a resolution that expressed concern for civilians in Zepa, demanded a halt to Serb military activity in the area, condemned attacks against UN peacekeepers and reminded the Serbs that individuals will be held accountable for the war crimes they commit.

The resolution came on the eve of talks in **London** -- where Europe and

## Santayana's Revenge

Military history contains troves of accumulated experience to guide United Nations commanders in Bosnia. Among the lessons:

- Air superiority is not a sufficient condition for military victory. American B-52 bombers could not dislodge North Vietnamese guerrillas from their bolt-holes. Soviet attack helicopters provided target practice for the mujahideen in Afghanistan. In offensive actions in Bosnia, the West has relied exclusively on NATO air strikes.
- Garrisons will fall. It is supply lines that are critical. From the Alamo to Dien Bien Phu (a French garrison in Vietnam), isolated pockets of resistance will be crushed eventually. The "safe areas" of Bosnia are not safe without supply lines.
- Political defeats can be as important as lost battles. The world remembers the Tet offensive, an attack by the North Vietnamese army on South Vietnamese and American positions, as a victory by the North. In fact, tactically, the laurels went to America -- decisively. However, the offensive shattered America's confidence in its ability to win the war. The Bosnian Serbs' continued political humiliation of the West creates its own momentum, by making others less willing to trust the West in future. That damages the West.
- A local army -- even poorly armed -- can cripple a better-armed foreign one, unless the invaders act ruthlessly. This, one of the oldest military dicta, has had to be relearned again and again: by the British during the American Revolution, by the French and Americans in Vietnam, and by the Russians in Afghanistan. Though the 20,000 United Nations' troops are not only outnumbered by the Bosnian Serbs but also lightly armed, no one should assume that merely giving them heavy weapons would necessarily be enough.

Last, and most important:

- Confused objectives mean confused strategy. Clausewitz said that warfare is a continuation of politics; if the political goal is muddy, the military one will be as well. America's defeat in Vietnam and the allied offensive into North Korea during the Korean war are examples of confused politics. On the bright side, UN-PROFOR hasn't marched on Moscow in winter.

the US hope to reach consensus on a common Bosnia policy. The US is pressing for more air strikes on Serb targets. What those countries decide is expected to stimulate a debate on whether more new resolutions are needed to take further military action. The US believes they are not necessary, that current resolutions already provide ample authority.

† † C\*

A Dutch mortar battery arrived in Split, Croatia. The battery will travel in "small groups" to Kiseljak, Bosnia, where it will join the RRF. Approximately 40 Dutch troops are already in

Kiseljak. The troops departure had been delayed by the Bosnian government.

† † C\*

The 2nd Regiment of the **Foreign Legion**, a.k.a. "Task Force Bravo" of the RRF, is training to relieve Sarajevo by force at its base in the Vran mountains of western Bosnia.

What they are waiting for is a **clear objective**. They can deploy in two hours and -- if there's no Serb resistance -- reach Sarajevo in four hours. (UN peacekeepers have been attempting to deliver supplies to the besieged city, but have frequently come under fire from

## Whither the West?

Meeting in London on July 21, the Contact Group tried to hammer out an agreement on what to do if the Serbs attack Gorazde. Italy, Ukraine, the Netherlands, Canada and Spain also attended the conference. Secretary of Defense Perry, Secretary of State Christopher and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs General Shalikashvili are the US representatives.

The US position is that any Bosnian Serb attack on Gorazde should be responded to by a broad and sustained campaign of NATO air strikes, at first around Gorazde and then throughout Bosnia. The Serbs will also be warned against attacking Sarajevo or Tuzla, or taking peacekeepers hostage. If they do not heed the warnings, their capital at Pale, command centers, missile sites, radar installations, fuel dumps, or other targets may be attacked. Under the US plan, UN Special Representative Akashi could no longer veto air strikes.

Britain, especially concerned for the fate of 300 of its peacekeepers at Gorazde, endorsed the US plan.

France, objecting, wants US helicopters to ferry 1,000 French reinforcements into Gorazde. "We agree that's desirable -- we just don't think it's necessary," said Perry.

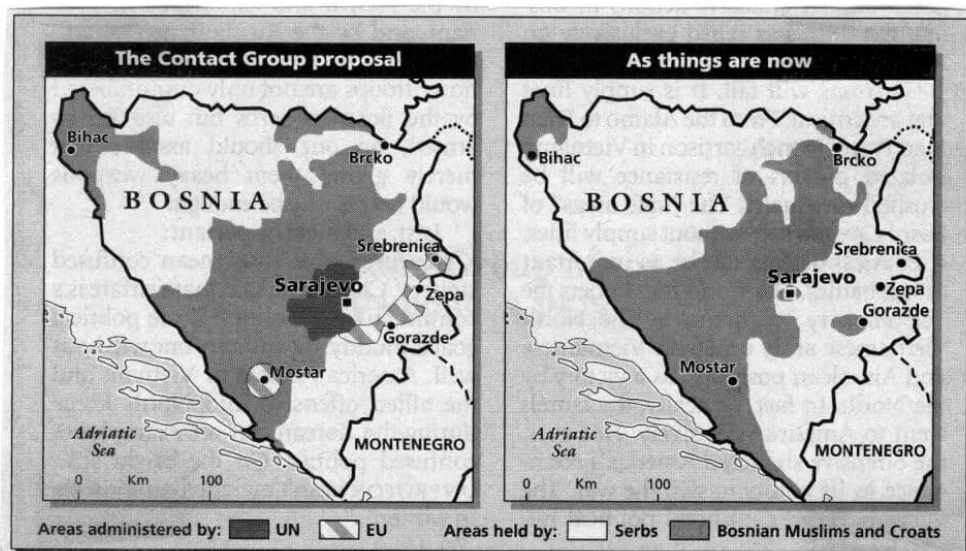
The Serbs captured UN prisoners after previous air strikes, using some as human shields.

Perry acknowledged that possibility, but said it must not stop the allies from acting. The countries with peacekeepers serving Bosnia may not agree with that view, especially since the US refuses to send its own ground troops.

Clinton is afraid of Americans being killed or captured by the Serbs, who would certainly target the helicopters. *(France wants US helicopters because only they have the armor plating necessary to withstand Serb anti-aircraft fire.)* However, the US also faces problems if nothing is done and UNPROFOR withdraws, since it is committed to providing ground troops to help the evacuation.

French officials say that the US must stop dodging its international responsibilities and bear a fair share of the burden in Bosnia. France also threatened to pull out of Bosnia unless the international community stands firm and uses military means to protect the remaining Bosnian 'safe areas'.

So far, there has been no agreement on a plan of action.



Serb forces. It is widely expected the RRF will be used to widen the Mt. Igman corridor into Sarajevo.)

✦ ✦ ✦  
Macedonia and Turkey signed an agreement on military cooperation. The two militaries will observe each others' exercises, maintain contacts, and exchange personnel and units. Also, Macedonian officer cadets will train at Turkish academies. Karadayi stressed that the accord "is not directed against the security of a third country." (i.e.,

Greece). It is the third and broadest document that the two countries have signed on military cooperation.

### 21 July 95

Rumors of Zepa's fall may have been premature.

The Bosnian army, which rejected a Serb surrender demand on July 19, held its lines despite a fierce Serb

artillery bombardment.

✦ ✦ ✦  
The Croatian Serb-rebel Muslim offensive into Bihac has captured 50 square kilometers. Backing up its threat to intervene, Croatia is moving artillery and 2,000 troops into the area.

✦ ✦ ✦  
The Bosnian Serbs released the 308 Dutch peacekeepers they surrounded in Potocari last week.

✦ ✦ ✦



The first **aid convoy** in a month reached Sarajevo, carrying 250 tons of flour. The Bosnian Serbs may have allowed the convoy to pass unmolested to defuse growing international pressure to force open the Mt. Igman corridor.

† † C

The first **US-Hungarian search-and-rescue exercise** ended in western Hungary. The final event was the simulated recovery of wounded troops after a jet fighter crash into a military unit. Hungarian and American servicemen flew aboard each other's helicopters and performed parachute jumps from both Hungarian Mi-8 helicopters and American C-130 transports. The US also rebuilt a building at a Hungarian airfield and provided it with technical equipment.

† † C

Islamic Conference states declared the UN **arms embargo invalid**, apparently in prelude to sending weapons openly to Bosnia's Muslims.

## 22 July 95

Fighting continued west of **Zepa**. The Bosnian commander withdrew his threat to use the 79 Ukrainian peacekeepers as human shields, but the Bosnian Serbs refused to allow additional UN personnel into the enclave.

† † C

Two French **peacekeepers** were killed by during an attack on an aid convoy destined for Sarajevo. There peacekeepers were wounded in other attacks. The UN responded with a mortar barrage from its battery on Mt. Igman.

The RRF ordered 500 Legionnaires and 400 British troops into the area to **secure the Mt. Igman corridor** and reopen the Sarajevo airport. The force includes 12 105mm guns and 16 AFVs. Also, a 155mm artillery battery left France for Bosnia.

† † C

Eight German fighter-bombers and six recon planes arrived in northern Italy to support the RRF. If the German planes engage, it would be **Germany's first combat** since World War II.

† † C

Croatia signed an agreement to provide Bosnia with military aid.

Croatian President Tudjman also served notice that the two countries would **expel UNPROFOR** unless it ended its inefficiency in Bosnia. The UNCRO mandate expires in September and UNPROFOR's mandate expires in November.

† † C

The US, Britain and France each sent a general to Belgrade to warn Bosnian Serb commander General Mladic that an assault on Gorazde would result in **air attacks "at unprecedented levels"** and that the UN would take "any steps which may become necessary". The three also demanded an end to attacks on all "safe areas".

## 23 July 95

**French jets** may have dropped a one-ton bomb on the Bosnian Serb capital of Pale. The target was the home of "someone close to Karadzic," the Bosnian Serb president.

Only French President Chirac has the **authority** to order such an attack, and he was (*conveniently*) visiting the West African state of Senegal today. Thus, France denied the story, and NATO said that it did not have any air presence over Pale at the time. However, non-Serb witnesses said they heard a jet and at least one explosion.

If true, the attack would be a not so subtle **message to Karadzic** to stop the killing of French peacekeepers.

† † C

Bosnia's US Ambassador Alkalaj said that the fierce defense of **Zepa** continues despite overwhelming Serb firepower and the concession of its loss by the international community. He also hinted that the citizens of Zepa would commit mass suicide if they weren't safely evacuated.

† † C

Dutch peacekeepers who had been surrounded in **Srebrenica** reported that the Serbs had indeed murdered civilians, but that they observed no rapes. They also reported that the Bosnian army abandoned the town two days before it fell.

## 24 July 95

Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke, the lead US envoy in the Balkans, said he **does not believe** that the Bosnian Serbs will continue to attack UN designated 'safe areas' in Bosnia, since the international community threatened to use force against them.

† † C

**NATO deferred to the UN**, agreeing that no large-scale bombing would start until UN civilian officials gave the go ahead. The effort to retain the 'dual key' command & control system was led by France and Britain. The decision applies to both Gorazde and Bihac.

The US denied **disunity** had developed between the allies since last week's use of force agreement.

† † C

The war crimes tribunal for ex-Yugoslavia **indicted Karadzic and Mladic**, the Bosnian Serb president and military commander. Mladic was charged with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. Twenty-two other Serbs were also indicted, among them Milan Martić, the Croatian Serb president, and two camp commanders.

† † C

Croatia launched an artillery and rocket attack on Bosnian Serb positions in **Grahovo**, apparently aiming to interdict Serb supply lines to Knin and Bihac.

## 25 July 95

The UN and the Bosnian Serbs claimed **Zepa** had finally fallen, but the Bosnian government said it had merely concluded an agreement with the Bosnian Serbs for the evacuation of civilians. The UN dispatched an envoy to the city to negotiate that evacuation.

The Serbs appear to have **Gorazde** next on their list.

† † C

A 170-ton aid convoy entered **Gorazde**. It was the first convoy to enter the city since April.

† † C

UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali authorized General Janvier, the

overall UN commander in the Balkans, to **approve NATO air strikes**. NATO is anxious to remove Boutros-Ghali, and especially the milquetoast Akashi from the air strike chain-of-command.

26 July 95

Bosnian Serb forces entered **Zepa**. Wounded and infirm civilians evacuated in Serb buses and have begun to reach government-held Sarajevo and Kladanj. Over 10,000 refugees remain in the enclave. Contradictory reports have the Bosnian army heading for the hills or willing to fight to the last man.

The Bosnian army claimed they were **gassed by the Bosnian Serbs** during the attack on Zepa. The Serbs supposedly used BZ, an agent known for its hallucinogenic effects. (BZ is an LSD derivative developed 40 years ago by the US.)

Bosnian troops defending **Bihac** were resupplied by a clandestine flight from Croatia, the first in weeks. Meanwhile, Croatia continued its attack on Bosnian Serb supply lines near Drvar.

The US Senate voted to lift the **arms embargo on Bosnia**. However, the embargo is without teeth as it does not take effect until 12 weeks after a Bosnian request for UN withdrawal; Clinton could ask for unlimited number of 30 day extensions of the embargo; and Clinton must ask the UN Security Council to lift the embargo before the US takes unilateral action. (In other words, this is strictly a 'feel good' move.)

27 July 95

Bosnian Serb General Mladic told the defenders of **Gorazde** that if they laid down their arms, his forces would not attack them. (No report yet on whether the Muslims were born yesterday.)

Bosnian Croat forces (HVO) have made great advances between Tomislavgrad and **Grahovo**. The biggest gains are in the Livno region, and the HVO is now 4 km from Serb-held

Grahovo and 8 km from the strategic town of Grahovo.

**Macedonia and the Vatican** established diplomatic relations.

**Malaysia and Egypt** announced they will ignore the arms embargo.

28 July 95

The HVO captured **Bosansko Grahovo** and Glamoc, severing a supply route linking Bosnian and Croatian Serbs. Thousands of Serb civilians fled the area.

The immediate effect will likely to be to take pressure off the Bosnian army in **Bihac**, but as the Croatian forces press on, they could be aiming to recapture territory occupied by Croatian Serbs. Croatian forces are five miles from Knin, capital of the Croatian Serbs in the Krajina Region. Croatian forces have also been massing southwest of Karlovac, on the northern rim of Krajina, in preparation for a second front.

Both Croatia and the Croatian Serbs are **preventing UNCRO from re-deploying** along the potential lines of confrontation.

29 July 95

Croatian forces continued pressing their **attack into Krajina**. The Croats shelled Cetina, near Knin.

31 July 95

A UN helicopter was attacked by Bosnian Serbs. UN commander General Smith, a passenger, was flying to a meeting with Bosnian Serb commander General Mladic.

1 August 95

Croatian forces shelled Serb-held **Strmica** near the border between Croatia and Bosnia. Serbs continued to flee toward Knin or toward Drvar in Bosnia. The situation is bleak in Krajina and the Serb population demoralized. Croatian

troops are also closing in on Donji Vakuf on the road to Jajce.

Croatian General Ante Gotovina was **promoted** to colonel-general by President Tudjman for his capture of Grahovo and Glamoc on July 28.

Quote

"This resolution is again nothing but baloney which nobody takes seriously. We're lying to ourselves day after day with these resolutions and it makes me sick. We cannot defend such enclaves so far into Serb territory without war, and if we don't want that we should retreat. The UN and NATO should finally say what they really want and define a policy."

Hans Koschnick, EU administrator of Mostar

Sources

The Economist, New York Times, InterNet.

Secondary sources include New York Times, Air Force News Service, AP, DoD, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, International Herald Tribune, Los Angeles Times, Nasa Borba, BBC, AFP, Bosnia Action Coalition, International Herald Tribune, VOA, Vjesnik, OMRI, Liberation, Ethnos, MTI, Reuters

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