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This Issue: Gligorov assassination attempt, ceasefire & peace talks, changing face of IFOR, Claes resignation, French pilot saga

21 Sept 95

Bosnian Serb resistance stiffened around **Banja Luka**. Heavy casualties inflicted by Bosnian Serb aircraft halted a Croat advance from the north, forcing the Croats to retreat back into Croatia. Croatia said it would not take further action in western Bosnia that could lead to a confrontation in Banja Luka.

† † †

Bosnian government forces continued to advance towards **Doboj**, where 500 explosions were reported.

The Bosnian Serbs began **expelling Muslims** from Doboj and nearby towns. The Muslims were told to bring their belongings to a football stadium in Doboj, where their belongings were looted. They were then placed on buses and taken to the front lines where they were forced to walk 10 miles to safety. At least three people died during the trek.

† † †

For a second day in a row, Bosnian government forces fired mortars from positions in **Sarajevo**. The shelling drew only another sharp rebuke from the UN.

† † †

Saying that Serbian President **Milosevic betrayed fellow Serbs** in Bosnia and Croatia, about 10,000 people staged a protest in Belgrade.

† † †

The Bosnian Serbs will apparently allow the **restoration of utilities in Sarajevo**. The UN said gas will be on by next week, electricity in 10 days to two weeks, and water after that.

† † †

The Bosnian Serbs said **Croatian troops killed 47 civilians** in a refugee convoy near Bosanski Novi. A Reuters

television crew filmed 18 bodies in the area, including children.

23 Sept 95

Bosnian Serb forces have recaptured **Sanski Most**. Croatian forces were pushed back from Bosanski Novi yesterday, but the town was not captured.

† † †

Bosnian Government forces and Croatian forces continue to sporadically shell Bosnian Serbs in the **Banja Luka** area but have not launched a ground attack.

24 Sept 95

Russia has suspended "for an indefinite period" preparations for a **joint peacekeeping exercise** with the United States that was to be held next month in Kansas. Russia had previously postponed planning for the exercise because of renewed NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serbs.

† † †

Croatia is **'withdrawing refugee status'** from 100,000 Bosnians. It plans on sending them back to their homes in areas of Bosnia retaken from Bosnian

Search for Missing French Pilots

NATO announced that it launched three missions to rescue the two French pilots shot down near Pale last month, but all efforts failed. Helicopters went in on September 5, 6 and 7. On at least one mission, a helicopter was hit by small arms fire and had to return to base.

The first attempt was aborted when the combat search-and-rescue team sustained heavy fire and was unable to reach the objective area. One helicopter was slightly damaged; there were no casualties.

The second attempt was hampered by dense ground fog.

The third search continued after taking small arms fire early into the mission. Two US Air Force troops were slightly wounded during subsequent heavy ground fire after landing near Pale, the Bosnian Serb capital. US AC-130 Spectre gunship and A-10 aircraft provided close air support while the helicopter evacuated.

The three search-and-rescue missions were ordered after NATO found "convincing evidence" that the French airmen were alive. France and the Bosnian Serbs both now say the pilots have been captured.

Admiral Leighton Smith, commander in chief of Allied Forces, Southern Europe, said, "I would clearly not classify these as failures. These were reconnaissance missions. They were done professionally, and they did exactly what they set out to do. Unfortunately we did not locate the French pilots and the search continues."

Serbs.

† † C

Bosnia said it found **mass graves** near Banja Luka. One is in a cave, the other in ground nearby. Bones were reportedly seen sticking through the surface. Several glass bottles found around the site reportedly contained acid to quicken decomposition.

† † C

A group of Serbs gunned down a family in a car outside of **Bihac**, stole the car and fled. Bosnian government forces captured nine Bosnian Serb soldiers in the area.

26 Sept 95

The Bosnian government and Serbs **exchanged 34 POWs** at the Sarajevo airport. The 17 Muslim and 17 Serb soldier exchange was overseen by the UN. It was the first POW exchange in the city in six months.

27 Sept 95

In a brief filed with the federal appeals court in New York last week, the US supported the right of **two women to sue Bosnian Serb President Karadzic** for suffering caused by what they claim is his participation in war crimes, torture and genocide. (One plaintiff says she was raped and mutilated by Bosnian Serb soldiers and the second says she witnessed the rape and murder of her mother by Bosnian Serbs.)

A lower court ruled a civil lawsuit could not be brought, while the **US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit**, which is reviewing it, has a history of favoring such lawsuits. The Second Circuit has ruled that people may be sued in federal courts for acts that occurred abroad and that a judgment may be enforced if the subjects come to the US or if their assets are located in the US. (Karadzic was served with papers when he came to the UN in New York in February, 1993.)

Karadzic is represented by former US Attorney General **Ramsey Clark**. Beth Stephens, an attorney for the Center

for Constitutional Rights, represents the plaintiffs.

28 Sept 95

Bosnian government tanks and artillery shelled Bosnian Serb positions around **Mrkonjic Grad**. Bosnian Serb aircraft and MLRS returned fire.

† † C

Bosnian Serb rockets hit government positions near **Travnik**, killing 2 and wounding 25.

† † C

Bosnian Serb commander **General Mladic** has arrested the officers responsible for recent battlefield losses in northwest Bosnia.

29 Sept 95

NATO decided that a heavily armed, **US-led peacekeeping force** should replace UN peacekeepers in Bosnia for a year after a peace settlement is reached.

Preliminary figures estimate that **50,000-60,000 NATO troops** will be required to extract the 22,500 peacekeepers and then take up positions as buffers between Bosnia's factions. NATO would leave aid, resettlement, reconstruction

and the organization of elections to the UN and NGO/PVOs.

The **US would contribute 25,000 troops**, France and Britain about 15,000 each. Non-NATO troops, including Russians and soldiers from predominantly Muslim countries, will be included in the operation.

Note: These figures are in line with previous estimates for similar operations.

30 Sept 95

Two months after Croatia captured **Krajina**, Serb villages continue to be burned and an average of four to six Serbian civilians are found dead each day.

Croatia is attempting to **drive the 3,500 remaining Serbs out** and keep others from returning. However, Croatia has 'invited' Serbs to return.

An **EU report** says that of 18,232 houses in 240 Serb villages, 13,600 have been partly or completely destroyed. The US condemned the ethnic cleansing.

1 Oct 95

The Bosnian Serbs have given Russia **two captured Tomahawk cruise**

Peace in Our Time I

Bosnia, Croatia and Yugoslavia agreed on September 27 to the structure of what is hoped will be a unified government for Bosnia. The two-page statement calls for a group presidency, a parliament and a constitutional court. The parliament, filled by "free and democratic elections", would be two thirds from the Bosnian-Croat federation and one-third from the Serbian republic. The group presidency would be similarly divided. (It should be noted that a collective presidency is what existed in 1992 when the Serbs walked out, rejected an independent Bosnian state and set-up a rebel government.)

Also agreed to:

Freedom of movement; the right of displaced people to repossess their property or receive compensation; freedom of speech and the press; protection of all internationally recognized human rights; parliamentary actions by majority vote provided the majority includes at least one-third of the votes from each entity; a cabinet; and presidency decisions by majority rule except that if one-third or more disagree it can be taken to the parliament. (If parliament confirms the dissenting position by two thirds, the challenged decision does not take effect.)

missiles and electronic equipment from a downed Predator UAV said an officer "from one of the special services." The two missiles were part of three that did failed to hit targets. (See the 2 Sept 95 and 12 Sept 95 items in the September '95 issue of Yugo News.)

2 Oct 95

Lt. Col. Daniel M. Gerstein received the **Soldier's Medal** in a September 11 White House ceremony.

Gerstein distinguished himself by **exceptional heroism** August 19 in central Bosnia as a member of the Bosnia Peace Negotiating Team. Gerstein was riding in a French APC descending toward Sarajevo along the Mt. Igman road when the shoulder of the road gave way, causing the vehicle to tumble 500 vertical meters down the mountain side. (See the 19 August item in the August '95 issue of Yugo News.) Despite injuries sustained in the accident, Gerstein rescued several people from the wreck.

3 Oct 95

Naval vessels from **Greece and Turkey** took part in an exercise in the Aegean Sea for the first time since 1974. US and Dutch vessels were also involved in the "technical exercise." The exercise was on the sidelines of a NATO Partnership for Peace exercise in the Black Sea. Greece previously boycotted NATO exercises in the Aegean in protest of the Turkish occupation of Cyprus in 1974 and because of disputes over the delineation of territorial waters.

4 Oct 95

NATO resumed air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs. It bombed three Bosnian Serb SAM sites after the aircraft were locked onto by radar. An AGM-88 HARM was fired at the sites in each incident, two in the morning and one in the afternoon. Two sites were in central or western Bosnia and the other 12 miles south of Sarajevo.

The Bosnian government pressed an offensive on the outskirts of **Sarajevo** aimed at opening roads into the city.

Nine elderly Serbs were found dead in Varivode last week by relatives, apparently **killed by Croatian troops**. There were 17 Serbs in the town during a UN visit on September 11. Nine fresh graves were found during a return visit on Monday. Three other Serbs are missing and two are in a Knin hospital. The only Serb remaining in Varivode said that he heard about 20 minutes of gunfire around sunset the day the people were

killed. The UN found houses "spotted with blood". Croatian police said they are investigating the incident.

6 Oct 95

Fighting has increased in north-western and central Bosnia since yesterday's ceasefire announcement. All three factions are making last minute efforts to seize or hold large areas of disputed land. A Croat battalion entered Bosnia to assist government troops. Bosnian Serb heavy weapons withdrawn from around Sarajevo have been redeployed in the

Gligorov Assassination Attempt

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was seriously wounded on October 4 in a car-bomb attack that killed his driver. Gligorov, 78, was struck in the head by three pieces of shrapnel, suffering a fractured skull. He also suffered heavy internal bleeding and may have lost an eye.

In accordance with Macedonia's constitution, Speaker of Parliament Stojan Andov, was named as interim president after Parliament determined Gligorov was incapable of carrying out his duties. It is unlikely that Gligorov will ever work again.

The explosion took place on a central street in Skopje as Gligorov drove to his office in the National Parliament in a four door Mercedes-Benz sedan. The bomb was in a parked car 250 yards from the building, triggered by remote control. Three bystanders were also wounded.

Macedonian police arrested two men who tried to flee the scene in a car. The owner of the car used for concealing the bomb has been identified. The borders were sealed.

Gligorov was scheduled to address the UN General Assembly later this week.

Several theories have been floated as explanations. One diplomat suspects Bulgarian extremists, as Bulgaria has not recognized that Macedonians are a separate ethnic group, saying that they are Bulgarians. Another possible group is extreme Macedonian nationalists, angry because Gligorov agreed to change the country's flag and constitution to settle a dispute with Greece. Another suspected group are extremist Albanians living in western Macedonia, who have been campaigning for more cultural autonomy and others for secession. No one has claimed responsibility for the attack.

The assassination was described as "very professional", leading to speculation that the attackers were trained outside Macedonia.

The US sent FBI and BATF agents, and Britain sent Scotland Yard detectives, to aid the investigation.

disputed areas.

† † C
NATO ministers endorsed the broad outlines of a force to supervise a peace deal. The US said the first of as many as 25,000 of its troops could be in **Bosnia by Thanksgiving**. The tentative plan is for British troops to patrol western Bosnia, the United States in central Bosnia between Tuzla and Sarajevo, and the French the southern part from Sarajevo to the Adriatic Sea. The deployment would last through the end of 1996, costing the US \$1-2 billion.

† † C
The Belgian Supreme Court asked the Belgian Parliament to approve putting **NATO Secretary General Willy Claes** on trial on charges of corruption while in the Belgian government. is suspected of taking a \$1.72 million bribe in order for an Italian firm to win a contract for helicopters. approved the contract as Economics Minister at the time. (See the 8 March item in the April'95 issue of *Yugo News*.)

† † C
Montenegrin Premier Djukanovic criticized Yugoslav authorities for their **failure to honor commitments** to deliver fuel supplies and for running up debts on the republic's pension fund. Djukanovic may be trying to distance Montenegro from Serbia, in effect be announcing his intention "to play a more active role in the foreign policy of the region." But Djukanovic's ambitions may be counter-balanced by Montenegrin President Bulatovic, who has given no sign of wanting to rupture ties with Serbian President Milosevic.

7 Oct 95

Efforts to provide **Sarajevo** with gas and electricity have encountered snags. Russia did not send gas through a pipeline that passes through Hungary as scheduled. And UN engineers were unable to reach Kokoska where three pylons and severed cables lie in a field mined by Bosnian Croats. Even so, the cease-fire is still planned to take effect at 12:01 a.m. on October 10.

† † C
The last minute land grabs in

central and northwestern Bosnia continue:

Bosnian government troops captured 20 square miles in the **Mt. Ozren** area are advancing on Doboj.

Croatian artillery helped the Bosnian government troops halt Bosnian Serb attacks on **Bosanska Krupa** and **Kljuc**. (Two Croatian artillery battalions have crossed the border into the Bihac area in recent days.)

Bosnian and Croatian appear intent on making a line from Kljuc along the Sana River north to **Sanski Most** and **Prijedor**, then west to **Bosanski Novi**. Croatia also hopes to control the east bank of the Una River near **Bosanski Novi**.

† † C
Macedonian Minister of Agriculture **Hristo Hristomanov** succumbed to injuries sustained in last week's **car-bomb attack** on President **Gligorov**,

bringing the number of deaths to two

8 Oct 95

Bosnian Serb planes bombed **Tsanjka**, a refugee camp in Zivinice and villages in the Usora River valley. Four civilians were killed and at least 70 wounded in the attacks. NATO ordered retaliatory air strikes, but canceled them because of bad weather.

† † C
Bosnian Serbs are clearing **land mines** around a hill in **Kokoska**, where main lines to Sarajevo are damaged. It may take two more days to secure the area, then another two to three days for repairs. The UN is clearing land mines on the road from Sarajevo to **Gorazde**.

† † C
Russia changed its mind, deciding that it will participate in the joint military peacekeeping exercise that begins later this month in the US. (See the 24 Sept item in this issue of *Yugo News*.) Russian

Peace in Our Time II

A ceasefire was agreed to on October 5.

The ceasefire between Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will begin at 12:01 a.m. October 10, providing that full gas and electrical service to Sarajevo is restored. If the utilities are not in place by then, the cease-fire will begin at 12:01 a.m. the day after service is restored. As soon as it takes effect, Bosnian Serbs must provide free passage on two roads leading from Sarajevo to Gorazde. POWs will also be exchanged.

The ceasefire will be followed by negotiations in the US starting on October 25 that will be intended to lead to a full-scale international peace conference.

The ceasefire is due to last for 60 days or until completion of Proximity Peace Talks and the peace conference, whichever is later.

The UN said it would begin withdrawing 1/3 of its troops this month. Peacekeeping forces will be reduced from 30,000 to 21,000 personnel. The entire Canadian, Dutch, Pakistani and Bangladeshi contingents. Units from Malaysia, the Nordic countries, Spain and Turkey will be cut back to a total of 2,000 troops.

In addition, the 3,000 troops of the British 24th Air Mobile Brigade (a component of the RRF) will return to England. They will be on alert to return on a week's notice and will leave their heavy weapons in Bosnia.

France put 4,000 troops on standby and the Netherlands has 400.

Defense Minister General Grachev agreed to Russian participation at a meeting with US Defense Secretary Perry in Geneva.

Note: Grachev is a presidential candidate. He appears to have been maneuvering for the Serb-sympathy vote.

† † C

Five **Croatian opposition parties** protested the decision by Croatian Television (HRTV) to treat them as a coalition rather than five separate parties. Because of the ruling, they are only entitled to one block of free air-time. The Election Commission disagreed saying that because they have not been registered as a coalition, they have the right to present themselves individually in the electronic media.

Note: The commission did not say "for free". Croatian electronic media are state-controlled. That means Tudjman controlled. Which makes it appear that this is a move by the Croatian President to help his party's election chances.

9 Oct 95

The **Zivinice** refugee camp was again attacked by the Bosnian Serbs. Their artillery and aircraft attacks have killed 13 civilians and wounded over 90 the last two days. One peacekeeper was also killed. Bosnian President Izetbegovic threatened to leave the "peace process" if NATO did not retaliate against the Serbs.

† † C

NATO planes dropped ten laser-guided bombs and fired four rockets on a Bosnian Serb command and control facility near Tuzla. The bunker, which was destroyed, directed the attacks on the Zivinice refugee camp.

† † C

The Serbs attacked at least seven places in **northwest Bosnia** in an "armor and infantry [offensive] across a broad front."

† † C

Bosnian government and Croatian troops attacked Serb positions near **San-ski Most**, Kljuc and Mrkonjic Grad.

† † C

The **war crimes tribunal** for the former Yugoslavia opened its first trial

yesterday, but without the defendant, Dragan Nikolic. He is charged with murdering and torturing prison inmates at a Bosnian Serb camp, Susica. Nikolic is believed to be in Serb-held Bosnia. Nikolic reportedly killed eight inmates, tortured 10, and illegally detained and mistreated 500 of the estimated 8,000 Bosnian Muslims at Susica from April to September, 1992. Much of the evidence is from a former Bosnian Serb guard at Susica.

† † C

As the Defense Department plans to send troops to Bosnia to help enforce peace, an important question has yet to be answered -- **how to pay** for the operation.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KS) said the **administration must answer questions** ranging from the role Russian troops may play in peacekeeping, to rules of engagement and an exit strategy.

"Peace implementation" in Bosnia

could cost more than \$1 billion -- or at least twice as much money as Congress has agreed to put into a **contingency fund** to pay for military operations. The fund, worth \$640 million, is only enough to cover about half the cost of operations that are already ongoing, such as Haiti. The Defense Department asked Congress to set up such a fund so it could avoid paying for unexpected operations by diverting money from day-to-day operations and maintenance accounts. In 1994, unexpected operations in Rwanda, Haiti and elsewhere drained operations and maintenance accounts and forced the services to let readiness decline.

10 Oct 95

The Bosnian ceasefire was delayed because gas and electricity have not been fully restored to **Sarajevo**. Russia had turned on the gas supplies for Bosnia after the deadline at 12:01 a.m. today, but the pipeline runs via Hungary through Serbia to Sarajevo. The UN expects the utilities to be fully restored within two

France Deceives Pilot Rescue Operations

Senior US and NATO officials are fuming over the possibility that France may have known their two downed fliers were in Bosnian Serb hands even *before* the three search-and-rescue attempts were launched between September 6-8.

If true, the French would have withheld critical intelligence to planners and allowed the US-led rescue efforts to fly into a tempest of Serb resistance. "That's the way they do business," said a senior NATO source. "There's even a disconnect between the French military and the French government."

The rescue efforts have been called off now that France has confirmed the pilots capture. French officials had been hinting publicly they knew more than they were telling. But what has troubled NATO officials is that privately there has been little communication from the French as to exactly how much they knew of the pilots' condition.

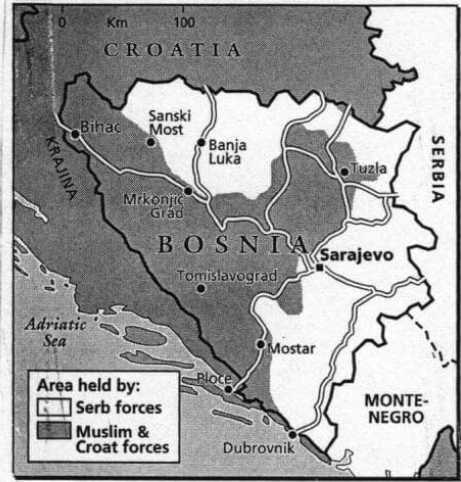
In the letter, a source said, "the French said their air crew 'were' in the hands of the Bosnian Serbs. That's past tense -- even now they aren't saying all they know."

What has incensed NATO leaders most, however, is the possibility the French allowed the three US-led search-and-rescue attempts to take place, knowing the fliers had already been captured. "If that's true," said one senior US source involved in one of the rescue attempts, "it would be absolutely infuriating. I will be absolutely livid -- they would have put a lot of lives at risk."

days, creating the conditions for the truce to take effect.

The Bosnian government **blamed the delay on Russia**, which says Bosnia owes it \$100 million in previous gas payments. Once a payment guarantee was worked out, the pipeline was opened. The final stretch of pipeline into Sarajevo has been pressurized, and some consumers in the city are receiving gas.

Bosnian and Croatian troops captured **Mrkonjic Grad**. The city's capture secures the Bihac-Sarajevo road. Heavy fighting continues in the area.



The condition of Macedonian President **Gligorov** is improving: His respiratory system is functioning normally and the condition of his right eye is "satisfactory". A team of French ophthalmologists will perform further surgery on the eye.

Meanwhile, Macedonian police have **traced the car** that the bomb was planted in and released a sketch and description of the person who bought the vehicle two weeks before the attack. The person who sold the car said the suspect spoke with a Serbo-Croatian accent.

Bosnian Serbs expelled 10,000 Muslims and Croats from Bosanski Novi, Sanski Most and Prijedor. Some of the civilians were forced to ford the Sana River. At least one drowned. **Arkan's Tigers**, from Serbia itself, are participating in the particularly brutal expulsions around Sanski Most. (The Tiger's found

14 draft age men; four are now dead and ten missing.)

Another 97 Croats and some 1,000 Muslims were **expelled from Teslic**. Each of them were made to pay 50 Deutschmarks in order to be allowed to leave the area. Able bodied men were separated from the group and taken to an unknown destination.

The Macedonian Parliament approved the **interim peace agreement with Greece**. The vote was overwhelming: 102 votes for, only 1 against, with 2 abstentions. The agreement was signed in **New York on September 13**. (See the "Macedonia-Greece Peace Accord" item in the September '95 issue of Yugo News.) Parliamentary Speaker, and interim President, **Stojan Andov** said the ratification pays respect to the policies of President **Gligorov**. Prime Minister **Crvenkovski** now wants to normalize relations with Serbia.

The UN recalled **Special Representative Yakashi** from ex-Yugoslavia. Akashi had requested his relief for some time. Prior to his assignment in ex-Yugoslavia, Akashi was the Undersecretary General for Public Information. Akashi will be replaced by Undersecretary General **Kofi Annan**, the official responsible for all UN peacekeeping operations. Annan will also become special envoy to NATO. Annan's position will be taken by **Ismat Kittani**, an Iraqi Kurd.

Note: With experience like that, it is no wonder Akashi acted like a lamb lost in a forest full of wolves. The experience of Annan should pay dividends -- as should his beefed up portfolio, which should increase the all too often lacking communication and coordination between the UN and NATO.

11 Oct 95

The Bosnian 5th Corps captured **Sanski Most**. Several days of shelling resulted in heavy Bosnian Serb losses. Large quantities of weapons and equipment were captured. The city has few

changed hands several times over the past months.

Lt. General **Manojlo Milovanovic**, Chief of the Bosnian Serb Army headquarters, said that **Croatia is not respecting the ceasefire** in Bosnia, and that if the UN did not halt Croatian attacks his forces "would have a legitimate right to self-defense."

At the request of the Bosnian and Croatian governments, **Turkey** will send 50 policemen to Bihac to help organize and oversee the return of displaced Bosnians.

12 Oct 95

The **Bosnian ceasefire** went into effect at 12:01 a.m. The capital, Sarajevo, was quiet as gas and electricity supplies were restored to the city as part of the conditions for the truce. However, fierce fighting continues in the northwest, near Prijedor and Sanski Most. UNPROFOR said it expects the fighting to die down gradually as the ceasefire order reaches the lower levels of command. The US-brokered ceasefire is expected to last 60 days during which a peace accord could be reached.

NATO approved a five-point plan for a **multinational peace force** made up of NATO members and other countries. The force will arrive in Bosnia after a peace accord is signed. The force's mission will be to oversee the ceasefire and monitor demarcation lines.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff **General Shalikashvili** began a tour of Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia and Croatia. He attended the closing ceremony of a joint US-Albanian military exercise and promised US assistance in building a military training center in Albania, which has provided NATO with port and air facilities.

The Council of Europe estimated that the civil war in the Balkans has caused \$20 billion in **damages** in Croatia and \$50-70 billion in Bosnia.

Macedonia was admitted to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

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Macedonia determined the type of explosive used in the **attack on President Gligorov** -- one which is widely used in Bulgaria.

13 Oct 95

The **Bosnian/Croat offensive** in northwest Bosnia continues despite the ceasefire. They are advancing from Sanski Most towards Prijedor. The Bosnian Serbs threatened to withdraw from peace talks unless Bosnia and Croatia halt the offensive. The Bosnian Serbs also requested NATO air strikes against the Bosnians.

Two Serb towns 12 miles south of Banja Luka have been evacuated and one is on fire. The UN estimates that 40,000 **Serb civilians have fled Prijedor** as Bosnia and Croatia advance. The UN also says the Bosnian Serbs have driven 7,000 Muslims and Croats from around Banja Luka.

⬆ ⬆ ⬆

The Federal appeals court in New York ruled that Bosnian Serb President **Karadzic can be sued** in the US for war crimes. The ruling means two class-action lawsuits brought by Bosnian women seeking millions of dollars in damages for rape, torture, and genocide will go forward. (See the 27 Sept item in this issue of Yugo News.)

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General Shalikashvili paid an official visit to Macedonia. It is his second visit to the country as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff. He will meet with Parliamentary Speaker Andov, the acting president, Prime Minister Crvenkovski, Defense Minister Handziski and his Macedonian counterpart General-Colonel Bocinov. The theme of the talks will be bilateral cooperation on a military plan as well as the forthcoming admittance of Macedonia to the "Partnership for Peace".

14 Oct 95

Fighting in northwestern Bosnia appeared to subside. The Bosnian government said it halted its operations after indications that **Serbia was preparing to intervene**. Bosnian Prime Minister Siladzic told UNPROFOR commander Lt. General Smith that large numbers of Serb weapons and troops crossed into Bosnia in recent days. The Bosnian are now digging in to defend recent gains.

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General Shalikashvili met with Bosnian government and military leaders in Sarajevo. They reviewed NATO plans to send 60,000 troops, including 25,000 Americans, to supervise the implementation of a Bosnian peace settlement.

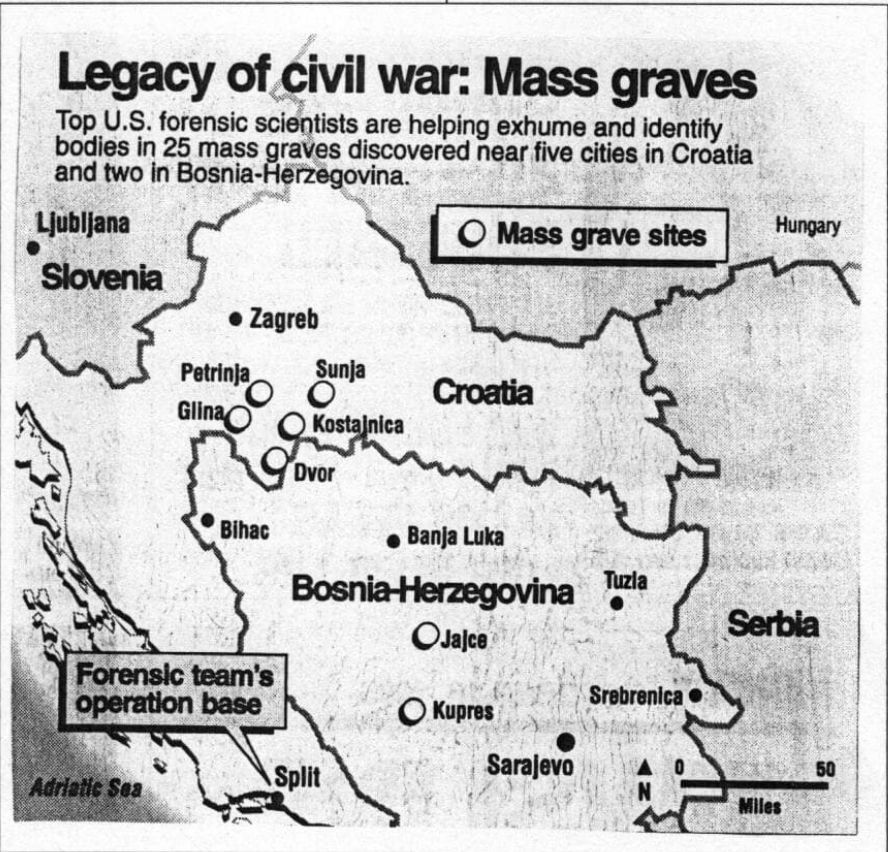
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NATO Secretary-General **Willy Claes** is considering resigning, after a Belgian parliamentary commission decided to recommend that the Supreme Court indict him in a military kickback scandal. The next step is full vote of parliament on whether to lift his immunity. (Belgian politicians are immune from indictment without an act of parliament. See the 6 Oct item on page 4 of this issue.)

Possible successors include German Defense Minister Volke Ruhe, who would rather be Chacellor Helmut Kohl's successor; former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, who ran unsuccessfully for the presidency of the EU Executive Commission last year, would be strong contender -- if he wished; Douglas Hurd, who resigned as British Foreign Secretary earlier this year; former EU Bosnia negotiator Lord David Owen, also a former British Foreign Secretary, would like the job, but the US believes him as too pro-Serb; and, perhaps the best candidate, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the leader of Denmark's opposition Liberal Party, and formerly an effective and witty foreign minister. He at least has shown interest.

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The 60,000 troop **NATO peacekeeping force** has a name: IFOR (Implementation Force). Some of those troops will be drawn from existing UNPROFOR units. NATO is insisting that IFOR's mission be narrowly military -- policing the zones between armies, punishing ceasefire violations and providing security for humanitarian agencies -- lest it be drawn into political disputes that might prevent its departure. A UN "high representative" will coordinate civil



affairs in Bosnia, but have no say in military operations. The RRF, commanded by British Lt. General Michael Walker, will run IFOR from Tomislavograd. The RRF will in turn report to US Admiral Leighton Smith, commander of NATO's southern European region, who will move his HQ to Zagreb, Croatia.

15 Oct 95

The military situation in Bosnia is stabilizing: Serbian military sources said the **Banja Luka** front is firming up 50 km west and 35 km south of the town.

† † C

Before Bosnian troops captured **Sanski Most** last week, Bosnian Serbs killed or captured as many as 500 civilian men. The mayor says that the bodies of 86 men have been found so far. The missing civilians may be held at the recently reopened Manjaca concentration camp near Banja Luka. The camp held between 4,500 and 6,000 people, mostly Muslims, at the beginning of war in 1992; it was later shut down under international pressure.

† † C

Greece lifted the **embargo against Macedonia**, which was started in February, 1994.

16 Oct 95

Croatia moved 2,500 troops from the Adriatic coast towards **Slavonia**, the last area of Serb-occupied Croatia. The force includes the Tiger Brigade, an elite unit that spearheaded the attack on the Krajina in August. (See the "*Croatia Liberates Krajina*" item in the August'95 issue of *Yugo News*.) A mechanized unit, including 30 tanks, is now within 12 miles of eastern Slavonia. The Serbs in eastern Slavonia called for a general mobilization, closed schools and told the 14,000 residents to expect an attack. Croatia has sand-bagged most buildings in eastern Slavonia in preparation for Serb artillery attacks. A Croatian attack risks bringing in Yugoslav Federation troops to the area.

† † C

Bosnian Serb President Karadzic continued his **power-play** with General Mladic, demanding that the army leadership "bear the consequences ... for a considerable loss of territory and military defeats." He said that "Those unable to respond to enemy attacks must be either replaced or they must change their attitude."

Momcilo Krajisnik, the leader of the Bosnian Serb parliament, **dismissed four generals** yesterday "because of bad defense" and "passive" attitudes. Those dismissed are Deputy Commander General Milan Gvero; Military Intelligence Chief General Zdravko Tolimir; and two local commanders in northwestern Bosnia. The nominal Bosnian Serb Prime Minister, Dusan Kozic, was also replaced.

† † C

The condition of the still-hospitalized **President Gligorov** continues to improve. He is now taking short walks within the hospital and receiving normal nourishment.

† † C

Macedonia and Greece signed an agreement that settles questions about liaison offices in the two countries, exchange of goods; visa policy; official

communications; standard and transit mail; bank transactions; trade; and road, rail and air traffic. These practical measures will be implemented as part of the interim accord signed in New York last month. (See the "*Macedonia-Greece Peace Accord*" item in the September'95 issue of *Yugo News*.)

17 Oct 95

Despite previous reports to the contrary, **battles are continuing in western Bosnia**. There were heavy artillery exchanges near Sanski Most and Prijedor, but there was no changes in the front lines. However, the UN has expressed its satisfaction that the situation in Western Bosnia is slowly stabilizing. In other areas of Bosnia, the situation is "nearly totally peaceful".

† † C

US Secretary of State Christopher, Secretary of Defense Perry and General Shalikashvili spoke before the **Senate Armed Services Committee**. Regarding sending US troops as part of IFOR (the NATO force going to Bosnia), they said that the force would not stay more than a year, would cost the United States about \$1.5 billion and would require activation

Muslim Radical Arrested in Croatia

A senior leader of a militant Muslim group seeking to overthrow the Egyptian government was arrested this month in Croatia.

Taleet Kassem traveled to Croatia on September 12, en route to Bosnia to write a book on the Bosnian Muslims. He was arrested in Zagreb on charges of illegal entry. Croatian officials said that Kassem was released six days after his arrest and banned from entering Croatia for a year. His current whereabouts are unknown.

Kassem was granted political asylum in Denmark in 1992. He is believed to be a key strategist and a financial officer for the Islamic Group. The group has been implicated in the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat in 1981 and is suspected of being behind two failed attempts to kill President Hosni Mubarak. Kassem has been sentenced to death in Egypt for organizing several killings of army, police and government officials; several intellectuals; and leading secular figures.

In London, a group affiliated with the Islamic Group sent faxes to Arab news organizations saying that Croatia's action put it "in direct line for revenge

of 2-3,000 reservists. The force would only keep warring factions apart, while refugees and relief would be handled by the UN or civilian groups. Also debated was the on-going question of Congress's role in approving overseas operations and the War Powers Act.

NATO commander General Joulwan said that the Bosnian Serbs have rebuilt some **air defenses** destroyed by NATO in August.

Yugoslavia's Novi Sad Corps, based in the northern province of Vojvodina, held **maneuvers** to test combat readiness. The combined arms exercise included infantry, mechanized, air, and maritime (river) units.

18 Oct 95

Macedonian President **Gligorov** was released from the hospital. Gligorov's health has been good the last several days, but he will stay under constant medical supervision. Gligorov will met today with departing UN envoy Yasushi Akashi.

The two **French pilots** shot down over Bosnia on August 30, and subsequently captured by the Bosnian Serbs, have been "kidnapped". Their whereabouts are unknown. Bosnian Serb President Karadzic said the pilots were taken by criminals hoping for a ransom, or Bosnian government forces, from a hospital where they were being treated. He ordered an "investigation".

The first aid convoy in two years to reach **Gorazde** unmolested arrived in the city today.

The **Bosnian peace talks** to be held at the end of October will be held in the US at Wright-Patterson AFB, near Dayton, Ohio.

19 Oct 95

The Belgian parliament voted 97-52 to lift the immunity of **NATO Secretary General Claes**. He proclaimed his innocence, calling the

situation "political murder". (See the 14 Oct item on page 7 of this issue.)

Bosnian Serb police detained one British and two American journalists in the Bosnian Serb capital, Pale. Two **Turkish journalists were detained** by the Bosnian Serbs on October 13. The release of the Turks has been made conditional on the release of two Serb journalists held by the Bosnian government. However, the Serb journalists may have already died in prison.

Yugoslavia and Bosnia agreed to open "**liaison offices**" in each other's capitals. US envoy Richard Holbrooke made the announcement after a round of shuttle diplomacy between Belgrade and Sarajevo. Holbrooke described this latest move as "a small step" toward improving ties between the two countries, which have had no official relations since war broke out in Bosnia in 1991. Yugoslavia has a similar and relatively long-standing "liaison" with Croatia, but the arrangement has failed to produce any diplomatic breakthroughs.

Croatian President Tudjman told US Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke that his army would not attack **Serb-held eastern Slavonia** before peace talks begin October 31.

Note: The Contact Group has repeatedly threatened Croatia with sanctions should it use force to regain the region. However, IFOR ops would be severely hampered if Croatia reacted to sanctions by denying NATO access to its ports and airfields. Tudjman is a sneaky S.O.B. He made similar protestations of peaceful intent prior to the offensives on western Slavonia (5/95) and Krajina (8/95). He could wait until the IFOR was deployed in Bosnia, then strike at eastern Slavonia, presenting NATO with a severe political and tactical dilemma. Or he could strike now, quickly seizing eastern Slavonia, with the impending onset of winter preventing Yugoslavia from intervening to re seize or defend the territory.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck said that hundreds of Muslim men and boys may have been killed by Bosnian Serbs over

NATO Secretary General Resigns

NATO Secretary General Claes resigned on October 20. Sergio Balanzino, of Italy, was named acting Secretary General.

The search for a successor has moved into high gear. Former British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd said he is not interested. German Defense Minister Volker Ruhe ruled himself out after Chancellor Helmut Kohl said no German candidate is available. If former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers were nominated, he would probably be vetoed by Kohl who also vetoed him last year as the head of the EU Executive Commission because of Lubbers less than enthusiastic attitude toward German unification. Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland has been mentioned, but Norway is neither an EU nor WEU member, likely ruling her out. A French or Spanish candidate is unlikely because those countries are not full members of the military structure. An American will not be nominated for the top civilian post because the USA has traditionally held NATO's top military posts.

Complicating matters further, the Secretary General is chosen by consensus and must speak both English and French.

The most likely candidate, then, is former Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen. Not only does he want the job, but he has not been vocally critical of France's resumption of nuclear weapons testing, making him a compromise candidate acceptable to France.

the last week near Banja Luka. Others may be working as forced labor. In Bosanski Novi, 100 people were killed when they refused to leave their homes; several hundred were killed in a cement factory in **Sanski Most** (see the October 15 item in this issue of *Yugo News*); and four retarded people were killed in another village. Shattuck also reported that the Bosnian Serbs had reopened detention camps, including Keraterm, used earlier in the war.

21 Oct 95

Guns fell silent throughout Bosnia in the quietest day since a nationwide ceasefire began October 12. Calm was reported even on Bosnia's northwestern battleground, where fighting had continued despite the truce as allied Bosnian government and Croat forces advanced toward the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Banja Luka.

Egypt's largest Islamic militant group claimed responsibility for a bomb attack on a Croatian police station yesterday. The **Islamic Group** said the attacks would continue unless Croatia frees Taleet Kassem, the group's spokesman. (See the "Muslim Radical Arrested in Croatia" item on page 8 of this issue.) The bombing in Rijeka, Croatia, killed one person and injured 29. The Islamic Group is suspected of at least two assassination attempts on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs **exchanged prisoners** at the Sarajevo airport. Two Turkish journalists, two Saudi aid workers and a respected Bosnian writer, all held by the Serbs, were among those released. (See the Oct 19 item in this issue.)

France gave its backing to a **Russian demand** for a peacekeeping role in Bosnia separate from NATO's after a settlement is reached. President Yeltsin said that Russian troops would "in no case" take part in peacekeeping operations under NATO command. "We will of course coordinate with each other," he said, "so that everything goes smoothly."

US Defense Secretary Perry said the IFOR must serve under a **unified NATO command** in order to be militarily effective.

22 Oct 95

The two **French pilots** kidnapped from Bosnian Serb custody may be in Yugoslavia. There are unconfirmed reports that money and other concessions were being demanded in exchange for the pilots' release.

The White House said that **Clinton's pledge** to "request an expression of support by Congress" before sending US troops to police a peace accord in Bosnia was meant to reassure skeptical lawmakers that he would seek to involve them, but not that he would surrender his War Powers authority or bind himself to their approval.

US Defense Secretary Perry warned that **US failure to join IFOR** could unravel the NATO alliance and threaten US security interests in Europe.

Members of both parties in Congress in turn have warned the administration that it would be a **grave mistake** to commit US troops without congressional backing, and Clinton has said repeatedly that he would like such support.

In an elaborate ritual of **incremental linguistic advances**, administration officials said that Clinton's use of the word "request" was meant to acknowledge congressional prerogatives without giving up any of his own.

23 Oct 95

Croatian President Tudjman, among dozens of heads-of-state in New York this week, addressed the 50th anniversary celebration of the UN. Tudjman reiterated that he wanted to peacefully reintegrate eastern Slavonia, but would use "other measures" if necessary. He also thanked the UN for its humanitarian effort in Croatia and Bosnia. Tudjman also met with Slovenian President Milan Kucan today.

Macedonian Acting President Andov, as well as US, UN and other Macedonian dignitaries, witnessed the raising of Macedonia's new flag in front of the UN. Andov also spoke before the General Assembly. Andov called recovering President Gligorov a "peacekeeper in the Balkans", said the UN should strengthen its role in preserving world peace, and expressed hope that according to the UN Charter, Macedonia will gain its right to be called its constitutional name.

Note: The UN and most nations currently refer to Macedonia as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, or FYROM.

Clinton and Russian President Yeltsin agreed that up to 2,000 **Russian troops** would participate in peacekeeping in Bosnia. It was not decided under what command the Russian troops would fall. How this will look in the final outcome, said Yeltsin, is a military matter and is not a job for the presidents. Clinton and Yeltsin were in New York for the UN celebration.

The Bosnian Serb parliament named Vice President Nikola Koljevic, Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha as its delegates to the **Wright-Patterson peace talks**. The Bosnian Serb delegation will travel as part of the six-member Yugoslav delegation headed by Serbian President Milosevic.

The Bosnian Serb parliament named Rajko Kasagic, mayor of Banja Luka, as the **new Prime Minister** and asked him to form a government. The former premier, Dusan Kozic, resigned on October 15. (See the 16 Oct item in this issue.)

24 Oct 95

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milutinovic said his country's participation in the **Wright-Patterson peace talks** is conditional on the lifting of international sanctions against his state. Milutinovic said that no conference can take place

"without a suspension of the sanctions." ,
The talks are scheduled to start on October 31 in Dayton, Ohio.

† † C

A third round of Croat-Serb negotiations over **eastern Slavonia** ended with Croatia claiming the Serbs accepted the idea of reintegration, and the Serbs denying any such thing.

Croatian President Tudjman said the negotiations are "close to a solution" but that his **patience was running out**. Tudjman said that he would wait until peace talks were over and the UN mandate for peacekeeping forces in the area expired, and then would order an attack. He estimated the operation would capture the area in "some days."

† † C

After a long period of stagnation, 60,000 tons of **oil for Macedonia** were unloaded at the Greek port of Thessaloniki. Last month's peace accord (*See "Macedonia-Greece Peace Accord" in the September '95 issue of Yugo News*) calls continual delivery of oil for Macedonia through Thessaloniki.

† † C

The European Commission withdrew its legal action against Greece over its trade **embargo of Macedonia**. Legal action was taken in April, 1994, to pressure Greece to lift the embargo, which it imposed in February, 1994. The Commission said there are now "sufficient signs" that the embargo has been lifted. Greece, however, had demanded that legal proceedings continue in the hope that the European Court of Justice would rule in its favor.

† † C

Croatia arrested 14 people on charges of **spying for Serbian intelligence** and the Yugoslav army since Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia in 1991. Arrest warrants were sworn for 15 suspects on the basis of evidence gathered in Knin after it was recaptured by Croatia in August.

25 Oct 95

The US delayed the **Wright-Patterson peace talks** by one day so that the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and

Serbia could hold a summit with Russian President Yeltsin in Moscow on October 31. The talks are now scheduled to start on November 1.

† † C

The fourth round of Croat-Serb negotiations over **eastern Slavonia** ended. One of the main sticking points is the duration of the transitional period.

† † C

NATO has begun sending small teams of soldiers to Bosnia to survey roads, bridges and communications. Defense Secretary Perry said the small engineering units, which include some Americans, will **gather information** to help NATO plan for its deployment of 60,000 troops to oversee a final peace agreement.

† † C

The Pentagon said that many of the **reserve troops** earmarked for active duty may not go to Bosnia. Medical, security and logistical troops would instead be assigned to support operations in the US, Germany and Italy. But linguists, engineers, psyops, intelligence, maintenance and water purification troops will probably be sent to Bosnia.

26 Oct 95

Macedonian Minister of Internal Affairs Ljubomir Frckovski tendered his resignation to Prime Minister Crvenkovski. Frckovski's confusing statement claimed Macedonian police were not following the normal security procedure; did not have any prior information notice of the attack on President Gligorov; and that the attack was staged by a "multinational business-financial company in a neighboring country." Crvenkovski has yet to accept the resignation.

27 Oct 95

Russian President **Yeltsin** was **hospitalized** after suffering a an attack of myocardial ischemia, an insufficiency of oxygenated blood to the heart. It was Yeltsin's second heart attack in four months. He will need close medical supervision for at least six weeks. The

summit with the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia was canceled.

† † C

The US rejected a State Department proposal to suspend most **economic sanctions** against Serbia as a way of encouraging peace talks. The sanctions would have been suspended during the talks and reimposed if no settlement was reached.

† † C

The UN escorted five civilian trucks and their cargo of humanitarian aid from Kiseljak to Sarajevo and back.

28 Oct 95

Russia agreed to contribute engineering, transportation and construction troops to the IFOR. The **Russian troops** will serve under General George Joulwan in his capacity as a US commander rather than as a NATO commander. Russian general, Shevtsov will serve as Joulwan's deputy. The contribution of Russian combat troops has yet to be addressed. (It wants to send 10-12,000 troops total, or ten times the number there now.) Also to be worked out is the payment question.

29 Oct 95

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs **exchanged prisoners**. The Bosnian Serbs freed nine soldiers and Bosnia freed ten.

† † C

Because Friday's test convoy from Kiseljak to Sarajevo was unmolested, the UN escorted a passenger bus from between the two cities today. It was the **first passenger bus** to leave Sarajevo since April, 1992. A bus also went to Zagreb. The UN hopes opening the road will create a good atmosphere for the Wright-Patterson peace talks, but the Bosnian government says the Sarajevo blockade is still a reality.

† † C

Croatia held parliamentary elections today. The governing Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), led by President Franjo Tudjman, led with 45% of the vote, followed by a five-party coalition led by the Peasant Party with 18% and the Social Liberals with 11%. The HDZ

failed to gain the 2/3's majority necessary in the 128-seat parliament to introduce constitutional changes granting the President wider powers and revoking autonomy in the regions of the country where ethnic Serbs are in a majority.

Croats living abroad were allowed to vote, thanks to a recently passed electoral law, yet ex-patriot Serbs were not.

Some of the seats are allocated along racial lines: ex-patriot Croats get 12 seats; ethnic Serbs in Croatia get 3 (down from 13); and Czechs, Germans, Hungarians, Italians and Ukrainians get one each. Muslims get none.

30 Oct 95

The US House passed a **non-binding resolution** that the US cannot send, or even pledge peacekeepers without permission from Congress. The vote was 315-103. Many Democrats opposed the measure because they think it will jeopardize the sensitive Wright-Patterson peace talks that begin in two days.

The resolution states that the administration should not presume before peace talks begin that enforcement of a peace settlement will involve **American ground troops**. It also states that American ground troops should be deployed in Bosnia to enforce a peace agreement only after Congress approves the mission.

The three parties -- the Bosnian government, the Croats, and the Serbs -- have made clear that they **will not make peace** unless the US commits troops to help NATO police a peace settlement. Clinton has already pledged to the parties and the NATO allies that US troops will be part of IFOR.

The first convoy bound for **Gorazde** since the war began arrived in the city. The convoy was not stopped or searched while en route.

The bridge that links the Muslim-held part of **Sarajevo** with the Serb-held suburb of Grbavica was reopened. It had been closed since late May. (See the 26

New

Current History, "A Journal of Contemporary World Affairs", can now be found on the bookshelf outside the S-3 office. *Current History* differs from the below publications in that each issue concentrates on just one country or region of the world. An appendix, "The Month in Review" provides a short overview of current events in other areas of the world. *Current History* is published monthly during the academic year.

Also

Don't forget that *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and *World Press Review* are also available on that same bookshelf.

Reminder

Back issues of Yugo News are available. They are located in a blue binder, labeled "Yugoslavia Source Book" -- again, on that same bookshelf.

May 95 item in the June'95 issue of Yugo News.)

France and Britain endorsed former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers as the **next NATO Secretary General**. Lubbers also reportedly has the backing of Germany. The Netherlands has not yet formally named Lubbers as a candidate.

31 Oct 95

The EU agreed to provide \$2 billion in **reconstruction aid** for the various republics of ex-Yugoslavia. The EU expects the US and Islamic countries to provide matching funds.

Greece barred 40 Macedonian cars and 50 trucks from crossing the border because they did have vehicle insurance. This is the second such incident in the last week. Previously, Greece attempted to charge fees for crossing -- a

violation of the countries recent diplomatic peace accord.

A Greek newspaper accused the Bulgarian Multigrup business conglomerate of the assassination attempt on Macedonian President **Gligorov**. The article said Multigrup is "linked to the mafia and enriches itself through illegal trade with Serbia and [Macedonia] in violation of the embargo against rump Yugoslavia." Macedonian media have also pointed to Multigrup as possibly carrying out the bomb attack. Multigrup Chief Secretary Boyko Draganov said the company will sue for defamation.

Quote

One brigade commander in the Bosnian Army said that his forces were not attacking Bosnian Serbs, but were making "**defensive advances**" because they were being provoked by the Bosnian Serbs.

Sources

The Times, Financial Times, International Herald-Tribune, Army Times, USA Today, The European, The Economist, Today's News, Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, InterNet.

Secondary sources include Al Ahram, Al Hayat, New York Times, Reuters, WEU, AFP, NBC News, Navy Times, AP, Tass, Wall Street Journal, Nova Makedonija, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Vecher, Tanjug, Thessaloniki, OMRI, SRNA, AI TV, MIC

Civil Affairs Web Site

A Civil Affairs home page is maintained by Major John Bestul, 432nd CA Bn, at:

<http://www.koehn-institute.uwosh.edu/~bestulj/ca.html>

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