



# 432 CA Bn Yugo News



*This Issue: Wright-Patterson peace talks, missing reporter, U.S. & IFOR: mission & funding, Bosnians indicted for war crimes*

**31 Oct 95**

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs **exchanged POWs**. The Serbs handed over 300 male Muslims in return for 150 Serbs. The exchange occurred after the ICRC gained access last week to a prison in Banja Luka that the Serbs had denied it access to for six months.

The UN has 58,763 **personnel deployed** in 16 countries. This includes 54,935 troops, 2,193 military observers, and 1,635 civilian police officers. France leads 84 countries with 7,485 troops; Britain was second with 6,407. The US is contributing 3,185 soldiers -- 494 in Macedonia, 361 in Croatia and 3 in Bosnia.

**1 Nov 95**

At the **Wright-Patterson peace talks**, Serbian President Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman agreed on a joint statement. They declared their willingness to work toward full normalization of relations, including human rights and returning refugees, as well as peaceful resolution of the eastern Slavonia conflict. Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic is also attending.

**2 Nov 95**

Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, meeting at the **Wright-Patterson peace talks** agreed to allow 600 Muslim families to return to their homes near Croat-held Jajce.

The Muslim prisoners released on October 31 claimed Bosnian Serb troops

engaged in a **killing spree** during their withdrawal from Sanski Most. At least 11 POWs were killed during the retreat. The report was confirmed by the Bosnian government and "international observers".

Twelve UNPROFOR officers were assigned to Bosnian Serb corps headquarters to better **observe the ceasefire** and the situation in the field. Another 12 will be assigned over the next two weeks. UN officials believe the situation in Bosnia has changed drastically in the past two months and that it is now safe for observers, who have been taken hostage by the Serbs several times in the past.

Kofi Anan officially became the **UN Special Envoy** to ex-Yugoslavia. He took over from the departing Yasushi Akashi. (See the 10 October 95 item in last month's Yugo News.) Anan's first mission as Special Envoy will be to Russia, where he will meet with Russian Foreign Minister Kosirev.

The **international tribunal on war crimes** in Bosnia formally asked the US to make the surrender of indicted

suspects a condition for any peace accord. Chief Prosecutor Goldstone made the request to US Ambassador to the UN Albright.

A Christian Science Monitor **reporter has been missing** since October 29, when he drove into Serb-held areas from Sarajevo. David Rohde was investigating the August 18 Serb massacre of Muslim men in Srebrenica. Rohde may be held by the Bosnian Serbs (the UN was been told he is in Pale).

**3 Nov 95**

The US sent an envoy to the Balkans to confront the human rights issues so the three parties at the **Wright-Patterson peace talks** can focus on a draft peace agreement, elections, constitutional issues and the separation of military forces. The envoy, John Shattuck, the top human rights official in the State Department, went to the talks to meet with Serbian President Milosevic and seek his cooperation. Milosevic reportedly promised that the US, the ICRC and the UN would have direct access to sites in Banja Luka, Srebrenica and Zepa.

## Wright-Patterson Peace Talks Begin

The Bosnia peace talks on November 1 near Dayton, Ohio. After the opening ceremony, US officials handed out the text of the proposed peace package, with 11 separate additions. The proposal lays out the basic terms of the peace agreement such as the basic principles, maps with the demarcation lines, human rights, the problem of refugees and their return, etc.

The Croatian delegation is being lead by President Tudjman, the Bosnian delegation by President Izetbegovic, the Bosnian-Croat Federation by President Zubak and a joint Yugoslav-Bosnian Serb delegation by Serbian President Milosevic. President Tudjman is scheduled to return to Croatia tomorrow and will return to the US as necessary. The contact group and EU representatives are also taking part in the peace talks.

**Today is recreation day** at the Wright-Patterson peace talks. Movies, bowling, swimming and a soccer match are planned. Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbey, who attended Tulane University on a football scholarship, will take a group to Louisville to see his alma mater play the University of Louisville.

Belgium, Italy and Portugal joined France, Germany and Britain in backing former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers as the **next NATO Secretary General**. Lubbers visited Washington, DC, yesterday and met with Secretary of State Christopher, National Security Adviser Lake and Deputy Secretary of Defense White. The Netherlands formally nominated Lubbers for the position today. The other leading candidate, former Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, met with the same people today. He has the backing of Denmark, Iceland and Norway.

*Note: Advantage Lubbers.*

The **missing reporter** from the Christian Science Monitor, David Rhode, is apparently being detained in Serb-held Zvornik on charges that he illegally crossed the border with false documents. The US is demanding his release and immediate consular access to him. Serb President Milosevic said he will use his influence to help.

**5 Nov 95**

The **missing reporter** from the Christian Science Monitor, David Rhode, is in jail in Bijelina. His parents went to the Wright-Patterson peace talks, where they asked Bosnian Serb Vice President Koljevic to intercede on his behalf. Rhode was then allowed to call his parents. Rhode has been charged with illegal border crossing and falsifying documents. The Bosnian Serbs say they will hold him for at least two weeks. ("Peace talk insurance")

**6 Nov 95**

**Winter has started in the Balkans.** Heavy snowstorms have disrupted transportation, shut down ports and

airports, and contributed to a dozen traffic deaths in Romania. In Sarajevo, the supply route over Mount Igman was blocked and there was a rash of traffic accidents. The blizzard backed up traffic on the main Bulgarian highway to Greece and Macedonia.

The Bosnian-Croat agreement to **repatriate Muslim families** has not yet begun. Bosnia blamed Croatia, while Croatia blamed "extremists" on both sides. Meanwhile, UNHCR's repatriation of refugees to Velika Kladusa -- former stronghold of rebel Muslim Fikret Abdic -- has begun.

The Czech Republic said it must

take part in **IFOR** if it wants eventually to be a member of NATO. The Ukraine said it wanted to take part in a new peacekeeping force, but not under NATO command. Both countries currently have troops serving in UNPROFOR.

Serb negotiator Milan Milanovic rejected the latest peace proposals in **eastern Slavonia**, saying that any transition to Croatian rule must take at least three years, that the UN must supervise the truce and that there be a referendum on Serb autonomy. Croatia wants a transition period of only one year, NATO supervision and no referendum. Croatian President Tudjman and Chief-of-Staff General Cervenko reiterated their warning that

## First Wright-Patterson Peace Proposals

The draft Bosnian constitution being discussed at the Wright-Patterson peace talks says that any eligible voter may seek public office "except a person under indictment, or convicted by, the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia." The draft also says that authorities shall "cooperate with and provide unrestricted access to" the Tribunal. Those restrictions would prevent Bosnian Serb President Karadzic and General Mladic from holding office and would oblige the government to arrest them.

At least one civilian from each side would have command authority over the armed forces from their side. The various armed forces would not be allowed to enter another side's territory without the approval of that side and the presidency.

The draft also provides for a nine member constitutional court: four from the Federation, two from the Republika Srpska and three selected by the President of the European Court of Justice after consulting with the presidency.

A nine-member presidency would be two-thirds from the Bosnian-Croat Federation and one-third from the Republika Srpska. The presidency would rotate so that each member would have equal time (about five and a half months) during its four year term.

*Note: There's no way this sort of incredibly tortured deal-making can possibly succeed. A rotating presidency was installed after Tito's death in 1980. It proved unworkable and contributed to Yugoslavia's disintegration.*

Serbian President Milosevic was angered by the proviso and Bosnian Serb Prime Minister Kosagic said putting Karadzic and Mladic on trial "would be the equivalent of putting the entire Serb people on trial ..."

At this point, it's hard to see the talks succeeding given the US preconditions, unless Milosevic has secretly promised to double-cross Mladic and Karadzic in return for the US protecting him from potential action by the war crimes tribunal.



Croatia reserves the right to restore sovereignty over eastern Slavonia by military means if the peace talks fail.

† ‡ ☉

Three weeks after **natural gas** again resumed flowing to Sarajevo, supplies have again been reduced. The UN said the reasons were technical, not political. Besides a large amount of leakage due to the makeshift pipelines, the biggest obstacle is money. UN experts estimate that supplies for November will cost around \$1 million, while the total for the winter will be \$20-30 million. Russian gas supplier Gazprom wants to charge the Bosnian government for October gas deliveries, while agreeing to freeze a debt from previous years. The UN has been unsuccessfully looking for international donors.

† ‡ ☉

The mayors of Mostar -- Safet Orucevic and Mijo Brajkovic (one a Croat, the other a Muslim) -- were invited to the **Wright-Patterson peace talks**. EU administrator Hans Koshnik was also invited. The invitations were extended because of the situation in the divided city, so that an overall peace settlement could be reached.

† ‡ ☉

The Bosnian Serb army charged the interior minister with giving an illegal order to **special police units** to pull back from front lines. It demanded that President Karadzic overrule the minister.

† ‡ ☉

Croatian President Tudjman appointed Zlatko Matesa to replace Nikica Valentic as **prime minister**. Matesa was in charge of relations with the EU and other international financial and trade organizations. Valentic resigned mainly for "personal reasons". He is credited with bringing down the annual inflation rate down from 2,000% to 2%, as well as with doubling the average monthly wage from about DM 250 to DM 500.

7 Nov 95

Serb-held eastern Slavonia returned to the agenda at the **Wright-Patterson peace talks**. The issue "could become the linchpin of an overall solution to the Balkan crisis." The Serbs

# The changing face of Bosnia

The maps below show where Bosnia's ethnic Serbs, Muslims and Croats were concentrated in 1991, and the areas controlled by the Bosnian Muslim-Croat federation and the Bosnian Serbs today. At left and below are the key players in the conflict.



**Franjo Tudjman**, Croatian president, 73, a former communist turned Croatian nationalist.

Now in alliance with Bosnian Muslims against the Bosnian Serbs, but fought against Muslims as recently as 1993, and has expressed an interest in Muslim territory.



**Radovan Karadzic**, political leader of Bosnian Serbs, and believed to be responsible for setting their

military strategy. In July 1995, a United Nations war crimes tribunal indicted Karadzic and other Serbs for genocide and crimes against humanity, including ethnic cleansing.



**Alija Izetbegovic**, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 70, a devout Muslim. Seems the strongest

supporter of the U.S. and allied peace plan to keep Bosnia whole while creating ethnic enclaves within it. Was anti-communist and twice jailed for opposing communist leaders in Yugoslavia.



**Gen. Ratko Mladic**, military commander of the Bosnian Serbs. During the sieges of the U.N. safe areas in July, Mladic is said to

have ordered the removal of Muslims from Srebrenica and Zepa. Thousands were killed and buried in mass graves. Mladic was indicted for war crimes along with Karadzic.

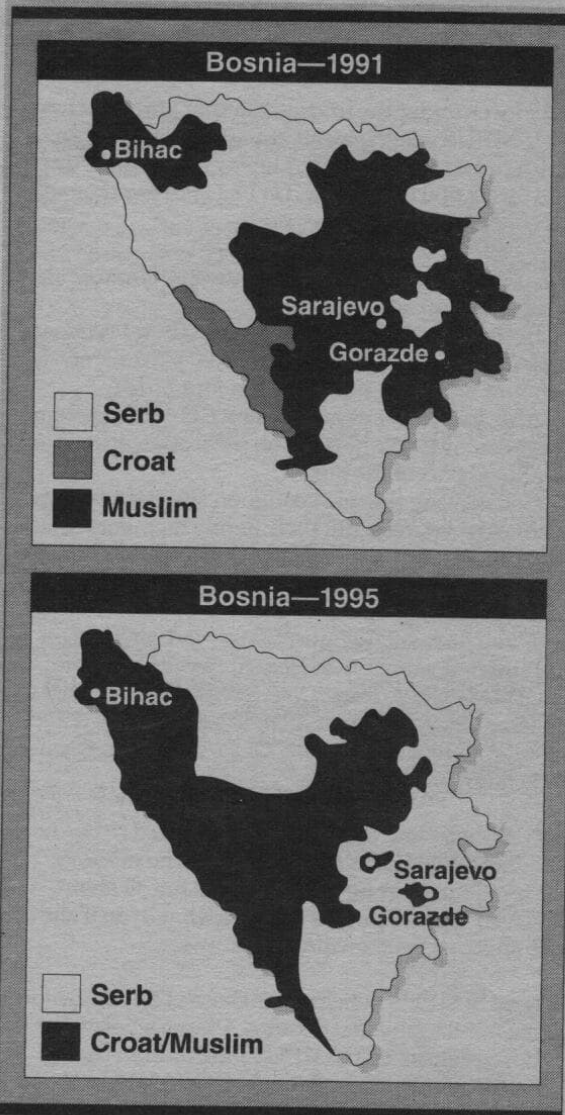


**Slobodan Milosevic**, 54, Serbian president, widely regarded as the instigator of the Bosnian war. Former leader of the Serbian Communist Party, Milosevic clung to political power by preaching Serb nationalism

and urging Serbs in Serbia and Bosnia to create a "Greater Serbia." When Bosnians voted for independence from Yugoslavia despite opposition from the Serb minority, Milosevic approved attacks by the Yugoslav army against Bosnia.

Source: Department of Defense

ATPCO/Scott McLallen



wrote UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali that the proposed plan offered them only the choice of "losing

their identity or leaving the region". "The morale of our soldiers is high," said regional Serb commander Major-General

Loncar. "No one should be in any doubt about their willingness to fight." (*Unlike several on several occasions earlier this year. See the May'95 and August'95 issues of Yugo News.*) US Ambassador to Croatia Galbraith and UN Mediator Stoltenberg, despite reports they would be returning to Dayton, remained in eastern Slavonia in an attempt to convince the Serbs resume negotiations.

† † C

The US admitted it is **withholding information** from the International Tribunal on the Former Yugoslavia because of "national security reasons." It is the first time that the US has made the announcement, despite the stated policy of full cooperation with the tribunal.

† † C

Croatian Prime Minister Matesa formed a **new government**. Foreign Minister Granic and Defense Minister Susak both kept their jobs. New ministers of the economy, culture, agriculture and justice were appointed. Croatia has a presidential system of government, and prime ministers have changed fairly frequently under President Franjo Tudjman. Tudjman returned to the US for further peace talks later in the day.

† † C

After accusing **David Rohde** of "the most serious form of espionage", the Bosnian Serbs released him. Bosnian Serb President Karadzic made the move as "a sign of good will and as a contribution to the peace talks in Dayton." Rohde was released after serving 9 days of his 15-day sentence for illegal entry. The other charges were dropped.

## 8 Nov 95

Milosevic, who said the **Wright-Patterson peace talks** were "going well", remained firm in his conviction that fate of the Bosnian Serb leaders be decided only after a regional peace agreement is reached. The US State Department believes that Milosevic's position has come close to "endangering" the peace talks, but that progress was being made. The attendees finished the day with dinner at a local restaurant. (*McDonald's?*)

† † C

Russia and the US agreed that Russia would donate an infantry brigade of two or three battalions to the **IFOR**. The brigade will serve with the US 1st Aromored Division, without technically taking orders from NATO. (The brigade will report directly to the 1st AD commander, Major General William Nash.)

*Note: This is a change in force composition from the previous agreement. (See the 28 October item in the October'95 issue of Yugo News.)*

† † C

Italy will contribute its Garibaldi Brigade to the **IFOR**. The infantry brigade has 2,100 troops.

† † C

The **rift** between Bosnian Serb President Karadzic and his military continued as Bosnian Serb General Milovanovic has publicly called it "the only

government in history that attacks its own army."

† † C

To prevent blackouts, the Sarajevo electric company warned consumers not to use **electricity** for heating purposes. If the current limit of 6 kilowatts of electricity a day is exceeded, then output will be reduced, forcing Sarajevans to continue finding their own means for heating and cooking.

Water is also a problem. There are **no water supplies** to the city. The city water board cannot inspect what is wrong because the main water connections are in a Serb suburb.

† † C

The US State Department reversed course, saying it would insure that the International Tribunal for the Former

## Funding the Mission

The military could end up the big loser in the high-pitched political battle shaping up between Congress and Clinton over sending US troops to Bosnia. Although the estimated cost of a Bosnia peacekeeping mission -- \$1 billion to \$2 billion -- is less than 1 percent of the Pentagon 1996 budget, the expense could cause big readiness problems, particularly in the Army.

Here's why it could be such a big problem:

Congress is unlikely to approve a mission. Clinton says that as Commander in Chief he doesn't need congressional approval. If he ignores Congress, he will have to divert money from other Pentagon accounts -- mainly those used for training and operations -- to pay the bill. Such a move is legal, but Congress is unlikely to replace the lost funds (which it did for Somalia and Haiti).

Compared to a total defense budget of more than \$250 billion, the cost of US peacekeeping operations in Bosnia seems minor. But there is far less flexibility in the budget than the numbers might suggest. Only \$27 billion of the \$84 billion in the services' operation and maintenance accounts are not already committed to projects and could be tapped for the Bosma mission. But less and less of that money will be available as the fiscal year, which started October 1, proceeds and the money is spent on training exercises, equipment repairs and other routine expenses.

Without the money, the services would be forced to scale back exercises, delay base maintenance and possibly even slow promotions. Unless Congress acts promptly to replenish the accounts, readiness in some units may suffer. General Shalikashvili warned lawmakers that having to borrow from operations accounts would degrade readiness. If the last month's House vote is any indication, Clinton has a long way to go to sell Congress on the Bosnia mission. (*See the October 30 item in the October'95 issue of Yugo News.*)



Yugoslavia gets any **intelligence information** relevant to its inquiries. The State Department said that it would seek to protect the sources of any information turned over.

9 Nov 95

The Yugoslav war crimes tribunal **directly linked Yugoslavia to Balkan war crimes** for the first time when it indicted three Serb officers of the JNA for a hospital massacre. The indictment charged that soldiers rounded up 261 non-Serb men from the Vukovar Hospital in November, 1991, beat them, then shot them to death. The officers were not accused of participating part in the actual massacre but were accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity because they had "command responsibility" for their troops. The likelihood of bringing the officers to trial is slim. The tribunal does not have the power to try in absentia and the Yugoslav constitution prohibits turning Serbs over for trial outside the country.

† † †

The search for a new **NATO secretary-general** turned nasty, risking a major transatlantic rift between the leading European allies and the US. Britain, France and Germany favor former Dutch prime minister Ruud Lubbers; the US prefers former Danish foreign minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and shows no sign of relenting.

10 Nov 95

Croatian troops occupied part of the buffer zone formerly separating them from Serb forces near Vukovar in **eastern Slavonia**. Belgian peacekeepers pulled out of their observation and control posts, but the UN said there was no fighting and that the Croatian move did not indicate that an offensive was under way.

† † †

Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Croatian President Tudjman signed an agreement on the Bosnian - Croat alliance at the **Wright-Patterson peace talks**. The agreement gives the federation government extensive powers,

including control of defense, justice, customs, taxation, agriculture, health and internal affairs. The Bosnian government would retain control of foreign policy, foreign trade, air traffic control, immigration/citizenship and monetary policy. The ministries of commerce; traffic and communications; energy and industry; and education, science and culture will be established in Mostar -- whose Croat and Muslim parts will be reunited. Checkpoints between Muslim and Croat areas will be removed. The shadow Bosnian Croat government will be dissolved. Every fourth session of the weekly meeting of the federation government will be in Mostar, the rest in Sarajevo. Beginning with the 1996 budget year, a proportion of the customs revenue will accrue to the central budget of the Bosnian government. On military integration, the agreement only calls for greater integration between commanders. "International assistance," likely US assistance, will be sought for a "joint planning staff."

† † †

The Netherlands angrily withdrew the nomination of former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers for **NATO secretary-general**. The Netherlands blamed the withdrawal on US Secretary

of State Christopher's dissatisfaction with Lubbers' qualifications, while Lubbers himself said he withdrew because his candidacy had become divisive. Britain, Germany and France believe the real reason the US opposed Lubbers' candidacy was that the US believed they had taken US acquiescence for granted. The US (*along with major allies Denmark, Iceland and Norway*) is backing former Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

*Note: France objects to Ellemann-Jensen because the candidate does not speak French very well (a NATO requirement for the position) and because Denmark protested the recent French nuclear tests. This is ridiculous. It makes no sense to anger our closest allies over an issue that is rendered irrelevant by the equivalent credentials of the main candidates. It only damages NATO at a time when the damage can least be afforded -- on the eve of NATO's first combat mission.*

† † †

The UN security Council gave permission for Yugoslavia to be supplied with just over 180 million cubic meters (6.357 billion cubic ft) of natural gas per month for two months. The move after an agreement was reached by the governments of Bosnia and Yugoslavia. It is an **exception to the embargo on**

## U.S. Participation in IFOR

Public skepticism about sending US troops to Bosnia is on the rise, as diplomatic efforts to end the war are gaining: 49% of Americans oppose sending US troops, 47% are in favor (down from 52% two months ago). Part of the problem stems from public perception that Clinton has not led on the issue: 38% approve of Clinton's handling of the Bosnia situation, 46% disapprove. Also, 58% say Clinton has not adequately explained why US troops should be sent. Clinton is expected to make a nationwide appeal for support once a peace pact is reached. He *has* said troops would not go without a treaty.

Even though there will be a signed peace agreement before US troops reach Bosnia, defense planners are not assuming that everyone in the region -- including the warring armies and the various irregular militias allied with them -- will embrace the peace or the peace enforcers. Troops from the Army's 1st Armored Division are training in Germany to deal with an array of threats: snipers, car bombs, armed civilians, refugees, hostile crowds, black marketeers, belligerent officials and mined roads.

NATO commander General Joulwan said that he wants troops to be ready to start arriving in Bosnia three to four days after a peace accord is signed. For some 20,000 US troops that could mean Christmas in Bosnia.

**Yugoslavia.** The import of 28,500 tons of heating oil a month for six months and 588 tons a month of liquid gas, for six months was also authorized.

## 12 Nov 95

Croatia and the Serbs signed an agreement to return **eastern Slavonia** to Croatian control. The pact was drawn up by Croatian President Tudjman and Serbian President Milosevic at the Wright-Patterson peace talks. The agreement's 14 points provide for a transition period of one year with a possible extension for another year; UN supervision; demilitarization of the region within 30 days of the deployment of the monitoring force; local elections before the end of the transition; full human rights for all nationalities; and the right of all refugees to return to their homes and property. The agreement takes effect as soon as the UN Security Council endorses it.

There is **speculation** that to get Serbia's backing of the agreement, a commitment to end sanctions against Yugoslavia was made.

## 13 Nov 95

The **Wright-Patterson peace talks** reached an impasse. The current plan on the table divides the territory 51 to 49 percent in favor of the Federation, but the two sides cannot agree on how those proportions translate on the ground. *(This has been the same ratio and result for the last two years.)* The Bosnian government wants a unified capital, but the Bosnian Serbs want to keep the parts of Sarajevo they currently control. The Bosnian government wants a corridor through Serb territory to the eastern enclave of Gorazde, but the Serbs disagree. The Serbs in turn want a wider corridor in the north connecting the city of Banja Luka with Serbia -- and the Federation refuses. Also left to be determined are the powers of the central government and those to be reserved for the Bosnian Serbs.

The US Air Force may send one or both of its **JSTARS** (Joint

Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System) aircraft to Bosnia for the peace mission. The JSTARS can spot enemy ground forces more than 150 miles away. The two JSTARS proved invaluable during Operation Desert Storm in helping to target Iraqi troop formations for coalition aircraft and artillery. In Bosnia the JSTARS would be used to monitor troop withdrawals and demilitarized zones. Some Air Force officials, however, are cool to the idea because of the remaining air defense threat in the region. JSTARS is intended to fly in friendly air space during a war and has no self-protection flares or chaff that ward off surface-to-air missiles.

## 14 Nov 95

Croatian President Tudjman **promoted newly indicted war criminal** General Blaskic from commander of the Bosnian Croat militia to inspector in the Croatian army.

UNHCR expects to spend \$500 million over the next two years

**returning displaced persons (DPs)** to their homes. The agency admits that many moved in the 'ethnic cleansing' would never go back, and also said it is concerned about 'ethnic engineering', or the forced repopulation of newly conquered areas.

## 15 Nov 95

Russian Defense Minister Grachev said that Russia has the right to veto US orders to Russian troops in the **IFOR**. US Secretary of Defense Perry said Russian could leave the IFOR if "an order was not in their national interest."

A Croatian military court **convicted 70 Serbs** of armed rebellion. The sentences ranged from 6 months to four years. Several Serbs were released from custody.

The first Bosnian Muslim was arrested for **war crimes** in the Netherlands. The man is suspected of having killed a large number of Bosnian Serb civilians

## Bosnians Indicted for War Crimes

The International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia indicted six Bosnian Croats on November 13 on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Dario Kordic and Tihofil Blaskic are charged with commanding troops that leveled 14 towns in the Lasva Valley and involvement in the 1993 massacre at Ahmic. Blaskic is chief of staff of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO), a militia in Bosnia, and Kordic is chairman of the Croatian Democratic Union (HVD), a political party.

Also charged are: Mario Cerkez, an army commander; Ivan Santic, former mayor of Vitez; Pero Skopljak, former chief of police in Vitez; and Zlatko Aleksovski, a prison warden. Among other crimes for which they are charged are using Muslim civilians as human shields and shelling civilian areas of Bosnian government-held Zenica in April, 1993.

Nasir Oric may become the first Muslim or Bosnian government official indicted for war crimes. Oric, the commander of the fallen citadel of Srebrenica, is suspected of killing Serb civilians in the area in 1993. *(It is those attacks that the Bosnian Serbs used as justification for seizing the city earlier this year. See the "Serbs Seize Srebrenica Safe Area" item in the July'95 issue of Yugo News.)*

The tribunal has now indicted 52 people in the former Yugoslavia: 45 Serbs and seven Croats.



while serving with the Bosnian Croat militia.

† † C

The 'Contact Group' protested Croatian President Tudjman's decision to promote indicted war criminal **General Blaskic**. Tudjman said he would cooperate with the war crimes tribunal, but did not to rescind the promotion.

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## 16 Nov 95

The International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia issued new indictments against Bosnian Serb **President Karadzic and General Mladic**. They were charged with crimes committed during the Serb attack on Srebrenica last July. (See the "Serbs Seize Srebrenica 'Safe Area'" article in the July '95 issue of *Yugo News*.) The indictment charges that Karadzic authorized the Mladic's attack which resulted in mutilations, living burials, forced cannibalism and thousands of executions. (There are reports that the Bosnian Serbs have been exhuming the mass graves in an attempt to destroy evidence of the killings.)

Chief Prosecutor Judge Goldstone also announced the detention in the Netherlands of a former **Croatian army officer**, a Bosnian Muslim, on basis of "strong evidence" of murder of a large number of Bosnian Serbs.

† † C

In a letter to Congress, Clinton estimated it would **cost the US \$500-600 million** to deploy 20,000 troops in Bosnia for a year. In addition, he wrote that the US should spend \$1.5 billion on reconstruction aid in Bosnia. (The \$2 billion tab is \$500 million more than previously discussed figures.) Clinton also reiterated that as Commander-in-Chief, he does not need Congressional approval for a deployment.

† † C

Operation Provide Promise, the **humanitarian airlift** from Ancona, Italy, to Sarajevo temporarily suspended flights starting November 5 while warehouses were restocked. The operation started in July, 1992; it was suspended for five months due to hostile action

earlier this year. Since the restart in September, Canada, France, Germany, Britain and the US have flown 423 sorties, delivering 4,267 metric tons of food, medicine and relief supplies. Relief flights should resume within a week.

† † C

Macedonia was admitted as the 27th member of NATO's '**Partnership for Peace**'. Macedonian Prime Minister Crvenkovski signed the document with the name 'Republic of Macedonia'; NATO acting secretary General Balanzino, signed the document with the temporal reference FYROM. "Collective security systems are much more important for smaller countries," said Crvenkovski.

† † C

Bosnia's **Muslim-Croatian Federation** and the Croatian government agreed to link the Bosnian dinar and the Croatian kuna. The link will be based on the Deutsche mark and will go into effect on 20 January 1996. The agreement was worked by the IMF and World Bank.

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## 17 Nov 95

The UN and US accused the Yugoslav army of **rebuilding the Bosnian Serb army**. JNA personnel have replaced communications links, repaired air defenses and have airlifted supplies to Banja Luka. Milosevic might be allowing some ties between the armies as a face saving measure with the JNA while he makes concessions at the Wright-Patterson peace talks. The UN has also seen three large fuel tanker convoys pass through the Posavina corridor since November 7. The UN's corridor monitors have since been removed at the request of the Bosnian Serbs.

† † C

The US House of Representatives voted 243-171 to prevent money from being spent to send **US troops** Bosnia. The bill prohibits use of defense funds to send ground forces, or support any peacekeeping force, unless the money is specifically approved by Congress. The vote echoes last month's House vote on the same subject, which passed 315-103. (See the 30 Oct 95 item in the October '95 issue of *Yugo News*.)

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## 18 Nov 95

Bosnia gave the US a draft memorandum requesting that the US provide "on an urgent basis, significant **materiel, training and logistic support**" to insure a balance of forces as part of any peace agreement. The draft also requests the US lift the arms embargo before delivering the equipment.

*Note: If the US were to openly supply the Bosnians with military aid, while at the same time participating as part of a peacekeeping force (in this case the IFOR), it would destroy US credibility with its NATO allies and make US troops legitimate targets for Bosnian Serb forces.*

† † C

At the **Wright-Patterson peace talks**, Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbey announced his resignation. He said the decision stemmed from the need to install a Croat in a top government position to ensure the Bosnian/Croat federation. Saying that President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Siladzic won't go, he decided that he would. Privately, however, people involved in the talks say that the relationship between Sacirbey and Siladzic has been strained, and that Sacirbey felt "sidelined" because of his belief that Bosnia is making too many concessions at the talks. In addition, Sacirbey was not pleased with the US focusing its efforts on Siladzic -- whom the US sees as the key to persuading Bosnian President Izetbegovic that the best way to secure Bosnia's future was through peace rather than continuing war.

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## 19 Nov 95

At the **Wright-Patterson peace talks** a constitutional agreement was reached to allow the Croat-Bosnian Federation to have ties to Croatia, while the Bosnian Serbs could have "parallel links" to Serbia but could not secede from Bosnia.

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## 20 Nov 95

Croatian Foreign Minister Granic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister

Milutinovic signed an **agreement on prisoners** and missing persons. The agreement calls for the release of all POWs and for the two countries to form a joint task force with the Red Cross. The task force is to determine the fate of missing persons. The first meeting of the task force is to take place in Zagreb two weeks from now and regular meetings are scheduled to alternate between Zagreb and Belgrade.

† † C

Croat-Bosnian **Federation President Zubak** offered his resignation in a bitter protest at what he and his fellow Bosnian Croats consider a sellout by Croatia and the Herzegovinian Croats over recent agreements at the peace talks.

† † C

Today is the last scheduled day for the **Wright-Patterson peace talks**. A "public event" is planned for 3:00 p.m. There will either be a peace treaty signing ceremony or a press conference to announce the failure of the talks.

† † C

Considering the complex circumstances surrounding the attempted assassination of Macedonian President Gligorov, Prime Minister Crvenkovski decided not to accept the resignation of **Interior Minister Frchkovski**. Gligorov is still under home care.

**21 Nov 95**

Two "last-chance" deadlines declared by the US State Department came and went last night, and still **no peace agreement** was announced. The three Yugoslav factions called the Americans' bluff. The Bosnian and Serbian delegations at different points each had their respective aircraft's engines started; only a telephone call from Clinton dissuaded Croatian President Tudjman, from leaving as well. The 'final' deadline passed after a late night marathon session.

The **Wright-Patterson peace talks could continue** for an unspecified length of time, or they could restart at

some future date in another location. Tudjman has twice left on business and returned. The problem remains that core territorial issues are unsettled -- specifically the Posavina corridor in the north and the status of Sarajevo -- and that no side has been totally defeated on the battlefield and hence forced to negotiate a settlement.

**22 Nov 95**

"What we accomplished here is a **real peace**," said Croatian President Tudjman, adding that Croatia defended its national interests and emerged a winner. Tudjman explained that Croatia had to give up territories it recently took in western Bosnia in order to get what it wanted in the Posavina. He denied there had been a discussion of exchanging Croatia's Prevlaka peninsula for the Serb-controlled Dubrovnik hinterland. Montenegrin President Bultovic said that the issue of Prevlaka had yet to be resolved.

† † C

## Peace Agreement in Dayton

The presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia initialed a peace agreement late on November 21, at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, near Dayton, Ohio. "The people of Bosnia finally have a chance to turn from the horror of war to the promise of peace," said Clinton, in announcing what he termed a "historic and heroic" agreement.

The agreement contains 10 articles, 11 annexes and 102 maps. It provides for "one state with one capital" and a central government. The latter will include a presidency, parliament and constitutional court, with familiar Tito-era legal mechanisms (*which were a failure fifteen years ago*), such as rotating chairmanships and the assignment of posts according to nationality. Free, democratic and internationally supervised elections will take place; refugees can go home; human rights will be independently monitored; war criminals will be banned from public life and there will be "full cooperation" with the international war crimes tribunal; and a corridor will be opened from Sarajevo to Gorazde.

The Bosnian state will consist of the Croat-Muslim Federation and the Serbian Republic and will remain internationally recognized within its present borders. The lines of separation are nearly identical to the current situation in the field, with the Serbs still having to make some concessions before the Croat-Muslim Federation gets its 51.4% allotment of territory. The status of Brcko along the Serb-held Posavina supply corridor will be decided by international arbitration. (*Providing an almost sure point of contention, which will could lead the later formal signing of the agreement being delayed or canceled altogether.*)

Croatia can be satisfied because it has achieved most of its aims and could try to distance itself from any future conflict, as Slovenia did after July, 1991. Bosnia can look forward to the lifting of the arms embargo, albeit in stages. Yugoslavia can expect to have most sanctions lifted and will then be free to go its way and claim it has no control over the Bosnian Serbs. It may be that it is ready to abandon the Bosnian Serbs to their fate -- as it did in Krajina -- or that, having just refurbished the Bosnian Serb military infrastructure, it is simply performing a ruse to get the sanctions lifted.



It remains to be seen whether peace will be the actual result, since controlling local warlords has been a problem for all sides. The big hurdle is the Bosnian Serbs, whom US negotiator Holbrooke called the "big losers." Serbian President Milosevic frequently overruled Bosnian Serb members of his delegation during the peace talks, and the Bosnian Serbs claimed that Milosevic showed them the final maps only 10 minutes before the pact was initialed. Bosnian Serb Parliamentary Speaker Krajisnik called the maps "blackmail" and denied that Milosevic could speak for the Bosnian Serbs. For his part, Milosevic said the Bosnian Serbs were the big winners, claiming they had been apportioned "a far better" share of Bosnian territory than under previous peace proposals.

Though Bosnia nominally remains a unified country within its previous borders, it has in effect been sliced into two or more pieces. Half its territory will remain for now under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces that seized it early in the war. The other half is allocated to an unstable federation of Muslim-led government forces and Croatian militias that have been at odds in the past and could become so again. It is also not too far-fetched to imagine a future Serbian-Muslim conflict breaking out once Yugoslavia has successfully distanced itself from the Bosnian Serbs and once Bosnia has acquired more heavy weapons.

The agreement will not be final (*and this is key*) until after a formal signing. Implementation talks are to be held soon in London, with the formal signing following in Paris. Moves are under way to put together a NATO force as soon as possible.

The US cannot now walk away from the peace it brokered. US prestige and the future of NATO are at stake. US troops will help enforce the peace. Deployment could begin as soon as 96 hours after the formal signing, most likely in mid-to late-December. December, 1996, would thus be the likely withdrawal date, but don't be surprised if it happens before the presidential elections in November, 1996. But before any troops are sent, Clinton must make the case to Congress and the American people that this mission is necessary and prudent. (*See the "Now for the Hard Part" editorial later in this issue of Yugo News.*)

Albania offered the use of its harbors and airfields to **NATO**. Hungary may also allow the US to use its facilities to support the peacekeeping operation. US experts inspected those facilities this week. Poland will send an infantry battalion to the IFOR.

*Note: The latter two countries are very hungry to become full-fledged members of NATO.*

✠ ✠ ✠  
Russian President Yeltsin, speaking from his hospital bed, said **Russia** had yet to decide if it would participate in the IFOR. The statement contradicted Russian Colonel-General Shevtsov, who is slated to command the Russian peacekeepers, who said earlier that his troops would be assigned to guard the strategic Posavina corridor, which links Serb-held territory in eastern and western Bosnia.

✠ ✠ ✠  
The UN Security Council voted to **suspend sanctions against Yugoslavia**, as agreed upon at the Dayton conference. The sanctions are suspended

immediately and indefinitely, though they could be re-imposed should Yugoslavia violate the peace accords. Other sanctions -- a ban on Yugoslav membership in the UN and access to World Bank loans, for example -- will remain until Serbs show a compliance with the agreement. The sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs remain and their suspension will be considered only when they comply with the terms of the peace agreement, which include withdrawing from some areas of Bosnia they currently hold. The arms embargo will be gradually eased beginning 90 days after the agreement is finalized.

## 23 Nov 95

Under current plans, the 1st Armored Division would leave for Tuzla about two weeks after the final agreement is signed. First, however, after approvals and before signing of the agreement in Paris, 1,500 to 2,000 troops, including US forces, will deploy

to set up logistics and communications. As many as 800 Special Forces soldiers and **civil affairs specialists are expected to deploy from reserve units in the US and Germany.**

French forces will be headquartered in Sarajevo; the British in Gornji Vakuf.

✠ ✠ ✠  
The UN Security Council passed resolution 1023, acknowledging the agreement on the peaceful reintegration of **eastern Slavonia**, Baranja and western Srijem (*See the 12 Nov 95 item in this issue of Yugo News.*) Croatian UN Ambassador Nobilo welcomed the resolution, saying Croatia would not renew the UN-CRO mandate, which expires on November 30, and that a new force should be established to monitor the transition.

*Note: If this is November, the Croats must be threatening to kick out the UN. Happens every year...*

✠ ✠ ✠  
**Secretary of Defense Perry** spent

## More Fine Tuning

All traffic between Sarajevo and Gorazde will be under NATO control. NATO forces will not be required to wait until being fired on before shooting. All early-warning and air defense radars must be shut down within 72 hours of the final peace agreement taking effect. Within 30 days, information on the number and location of all troops within six miles of the buffer zone must be handed over, along with any information on locations of land mines, unexploded ordnance and SAM systems. Within 120 days, all tanks, armored vehicles, artillery 75 mm and larger, and mortars 81 mm and larger are to be moved to barracks or NATO designated areas. All equipment that cannot be moved must be made inoperative.

*Note: This has all, of course, been tried before.*

## How Peace Was Made

The wine was drunk, a lavish lobster dinner eaten, and it was time to resolve one of the most delicate issues in the Bosnian peace talks: the creation of a route for the Bosnian government from Sarajevo through Bosnian Serb territory to the beleaguered Muslim enclave of Gorazde.

President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia made his way to a high-tech auditorium to play Powerscene, the

Pentagon's computer mapping program that reproduces terrain on a vast movie screen. The Serbian leader was adamant that the corridor could be no more than two miles wide.

Gen. Wesley K. Clark, the senior American military official at the negotiations, whisked Milosevic off on an imaginary aerial tour of the region to show why such a narrow corridor made no strategic sense. "As you see, God did not put the mountains two miles apart," Clark said.

Milosevic downed a large whisky, considered this geophysical fact, and the deal on a five-mile-wide corridor was consummated. It became known as the "Scotch Road."

Throughout the 21 days of talks at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base outside Dayton, from the wary chill of the opening to the sleep-deprived marathon and near collapse at the end, the American negotiators established a remarkable rapport with Milosevic. The Muslim-led Bosnian government, which the Americans initially saw as their friend and the victim of the war, ended up not fitting into the fraternal Realpolitik in which negotiators cut through days of stalemate over slugs of whisky.

Meeting rooms and corridors became popcorn-littered expanses reeking of stale fast food. Versailles it was not.

*Note: This brings to mind Kaiser Wilhelm's famous remark about there being two things one should not see being made: sausages and laws.*

### 24 Nov 95

The Bosnian Serbs agreed to abide by the peace agreement. They reportedly "fully accepted" it and initialed it in Belgrade last night.

† † †

The question of who will become the **next NATO secretary-general** has become an important issue since the Dayton agreement. There were several remaining candidates for the position including Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana former Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen of Denmark.

### 26 Nov 95

Groups of people in Sarajevo have begun to stone and flip over UN vehicles passing through Serbian sections of the city. One public demonstration was prevented yesterday in Ilidza, a suburb, as it was feared that it could turn violent.

### 27 Nov 95

Clinton said that NATO would send an advance party to Bosnia starting next week, with full NATO and US (IFOR) participation to begin in mid-December after the final peace treaty is

signed. NGO and PVO participation in reconstruction is "essential to making peace endure", he said. Clinton cited work on power plants, hospitals, factories and shops as being vital parts of that reconstruction.

† † †

Croat soldiers are **systematically looting and burning** private property in Mrkonjic Grad. Croatian forces took the region in the weeks before the peace conference but will return it to the Serbs rather than yield land to them along the

Posavina corridor. Bosnian and Croat troops also hijacked several UN armored vehicles over the weekend.

† † †

NATO finalized its **operations plan** for deploying to Bosnia, but France, which is not a part of NATO's integrated command structure is resisting turning overall command over to an American. The NATO foreign ministers are expected to approve the operations plan during their December 5-6 meetings. French intransigence could delay NATO's



deployment, which is currently scheduled for mid-December after the final peace treaty is signed.

28 Nov 95

A CNN/Gallup poll taken after Clinton's Bosnia speech found more Americans support his position than before. However, Clinton is still short of a majority. 46% favor sending US troops, while 40% are opposed. 53% believe US involvement will last more than Clinton's stated 1-year limit; 35% believe it will less. The margin of error is +/- 4%.

NATO and Russia reached an agreement that Russia's 1,300 troops in Eastern Slavonia will remain there, while up to 1,000 more will be brought in later to serve with US troops in the Posavina corridor. Germany offered to send up to 4,000 logistics, medical and transport troops to Croatia to support the IFOR mission. A consultative committee will be set up to deal with political disagreements that might arise within the peacekeeping force.

Serbian President Karadzic said that partition of Sarajevo is essential for peace. He argued that if it were not divided like Cold War-era Berlin, it would bleed like Beirut. General Mladic issued a statement that the Bosnian Serb army "would not give up Sarajevo." Bosnian President Izetbegovic added that "my opinion is that Karadzic is afraid of peace and wants to spread the war."

29 Nov 95

The first US troops arrived in Bosnia. Ten members of an Army reconnaissance unit visited Kalesija, near Tuzla, to survey roads and airstrips.

The Pentagon said the number of US troops deployed to Operation Joint Endeavor could reach 38,000 -- 18,000 more than Clinton's most widely circulated number. Air and naval forces already on duty around Bosnia or likely to be made available for the operation would count for 13,000 of the additional troops. Another 5,000 soldiers would be

Clinton's Address to the Nation

Clinton addressed the nation on national TV Monday night, November 27, at 8:00 p.m. Eastern. Clinton used the 22 minute address to ask for the support of Congress and the American people for US participation in NATO's Bosnia peacekeeping mission.

Clinton emphasized two key points: One, that the US mission will be "clear, limited and achievable." Two, that "it is our responsibility as Americans" to lead the mission. Each point was made at least three times each.

From the rest of the speech:

"Europe's freedom and Europe's stability is vital to our national security."

"They [the Bosnian factions] made a commitment to peace ... to build a peaceful, democratic future."

"Now the war is over."

"I refuse to send American troops to fight a war."

"Risks to our troops will be minimized ... They will have the authority to respond immediately ... with overwhelming force."

"We must be prepared for the possibility [of casualties]."

"It is the right thing to do."

The mission will "last one year."

The Final Peace Itinerary

When	Where	What
Dec 4	Bosnia	NATO advance mission (500-700 US troops).
Dec 4-8		Clinton in Europe to discuss US participation in IFOR. Chairman of JCofS Shalikashvili and Defense Secretary Perry testify before Congress.
Dec 4		NATO discussion on new secretary-general.
Dec 5-6	Brussels	NATO foreign ministers meeting.
Dec 6-7	Budapest	OSCE meeting.
Dec 8-9	London	Discussion on implementing Dayton Accords.
Dec 10?	Bonn	Weapons limit talks.
Dec 14	Paris	Final peace agreement signing.
Dec 22?	Bosnia	Operation Joint Endeavor begins. NATO troops deploy for IFOR peacekeeping mission (25,000 US troops in Bosnia, 13,000 in surrounding countries).

deployed to the countries surrounding Bosnia. (Most likely Croatia and Hungary.)

✦ ✦ ✦  
The Hungarian Parliament overwhelmingly gave its approval for NATO/IFOR to transit **Hungarian territory**, establish logistics bases, and use Hungarian airspace and designated airports before performing peacekeeping operations in Bosnia. Several hundred Hungarian troops will take part in Operation Joint Endeavor itself, building and protecting bridge across the Sava River, which divides Bosnia and Yugoslavia.

✦ ✦ ✦  
**Britain** will contribute 13,000 troops to Operation Joint Endeavor, the IFOR's Bosnia peacekeeping operation.

✦ ✦ ✦  
**Mujahideen** may be a threat to NATO troops participating in Operation Joint Endeavor. The US has demanded that the Bosnian government send them home within 30 days after the final peace agreement is signed. But it is uncertain whether they will go voluntarily. British field reports indicate that the Bosnina army is unable to control the Mujaheddin. Most of them are found in Zenica, Tesanj and Zavidovici -- where they have clashed with British troops on several occasions.

✦ ✦ ✦  
Bosnian Serb President **Karadzic** said he supports the Dayton peace pact. He added, however, that time would be

F.Y.I.

If you want to know more about where we could very well end up in a few weeks, you might want to check out the following resources. All are located on the bookshelf across from the door to S-3.

- Foreign Policy
- Foreign Affairs
- World Press Review
- Current History
- FBIS Daily Reports
- Yugoslavia Source Book

needed for its implementation and that his government would have to build new housing for Serbs from Sarajevo and other areas assigned to the Croat-Muslim federation. He added that US troops did not have to worry about "incidents" if they "came as friends."

✦ ✦ ✦  
Tens of thousands of Bosnian **Serbs would rather leave Sarajevo** than live in the Muslim-Croat Federation. UNHCR estimates that 40-60,000 Serbs live in the Serb-controlled part of the city. (Bosnian Serb leaders put the figure at 120-150,000). They do not trust the Bosnian government, despite its call for Serbian civilians to stay in their homes. It is unclear how the Bosnian government intends to differentiate between those who actively participated in the

war and those who did not. Pro-Bosnian government Serbs in Sarajevo their brethren to stay put.

Quote I

"I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them [US troops]."  
*Bill Clinton to the American people on national TV*

Quote II

"It's like pornography. We'll know it when we see it."  
*Clinton's Bosnia exit strategy as whispered by 'top White House official' to Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT)*

Sources

The Economist, New York Times, InterNet, USA Today, Army Times, Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, CNN.  
*Secondary sources include New York Times, Reuters, OMRI, SRNA, AFP, Hina, Nasa Borba, Politika, The Guardian, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Corriere Della Sera, Tanjug, DoD, BBC, Rilindja Demokratike, CNN, Knight-Ridder News service, MIC*

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