

Ambulances Reach Sarajevo

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jan. 31 (Reuters) -- A convoy of United Nations ambulances arrived in Sarajevo tonight carrying about 180 sick or wounded people evacuated from the mostly Muslim Bosnian enclave of Gorazde.

The convoy of 18 Norwegian and Canadian United Nations vehicles reached Sarajevo after driving several hours over icy mountain roads from Gorazde, which is surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces.

Although the evacuation represented the first time in the war that rival Bosnian Government and Serbian factions in the Gorazde area had signed the same agreement, Bosnian Serbs besieging Sarajevo refused to reopen roads to civilian traffic across the city's airport, dealing a further blow to a New Year's truce.

Access No: 9300088036 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: CEASE-FIRE IN BOSNIA STARTS, AND SIDES MEET ON DETAILS
Authors: STEPHEN KINZER, Special to The New York Times
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Monday Jan 2, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 3
Length: Long (780 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SARAJEVO (BOSNIA)
Names: IZETBEGOVIC, ALIJA (PRES)

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(R) Service.

Article Text:

ZAGREB, Croatia, Jan. 1 -- The agreement for a four-month cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina took effect at noon today, and shortly afterward Bosnian Government commanders met with officers from the Bosnian Serb army they have been fighting for 33 months.

The meeting, held at the Sarajevo airport, was the first of what will probably be a long series of sessions at which the two sides will negotiate details of the cease-fire.

Leaders of both sides hailed the agreement. 'We welcome it, and we are ready to negotiate in good faith to end this conflict,' said the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic.

Bosnian Government leaders also pledged good faith. But President Alija Izetbegovic warned in a radio address that fighting could resume in the spring if no final peace treaty is negotiated by the time the cease-fire expires.

'The war must not last a day longer than it has to, but peace at any price cannot and will not be accepted,' Mr. Izetbegovic said. 'We will negotiate where we can and make war where we have to. If the enemy does

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not show readiness for reasonable political solutions within the next four months, the cease-fire will not be extended.'

Although the agreement, which grew out of mediation initiated by former President Jimmy Carter, was widely welcomed as a potential breakthrough, it contains several major provisions that were included in previous agreements but never carried out. It remains to be seen whether they will be taken more seriously this time.

Under the agreement, the two armies will pull back from battle lines and allow troops from the United Nations Protection Force, known as Unprofor, to move between them. The agreement says negotiations are to follow about the exchange of prisoners and other issues, including procedures 'for the withdrawal and monitoring by Unprofor of heavy weapons of caliber 12.7 mm and above.'

The parties also agreed 'to assist fully in the total restoration of utilities and the establishment of joint economic activities aimed at the normalization of life in all territories.'

One provision that has been made and broken repeatedly in the past is a commitment to allow full freedom of movement for United Nations peacekeepers and for relief convoys. Another guarantees the security of the Muslim enclaves of Zepa and Srebrenica.

The agreement contained no reference to the peace plan proposed by the five-nation 'contact group,' a glaring omission. Mediators have been insisting that any final treaty must be based on acceptance of that plan, but the new agreement suggested that they were backing away from that demand.

Bosnian Serbs had said they would not accept the contact group's plan, so for them the fact that it was not mentioned in the new agreement represented at least a procedural victory.

The chief United Nations envoy to the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, who helped guide the mediation that produced the new agreement, said talks aimed at a comprehensive peace treaty would begin later this month. He said they would be held under the auspices of the contact group, which is made up of the United States, France, Britain, Germany and Russia.

'There have been many cease-fires, but this is the first time we have a cessation-of-hostilities agreement,' Mr. Akashi said. 'I hope that we are turning a very important corner in this most tragic conflict in Europe since the Second World War.'

But many United Nations officials, including Lieut. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, the senior United Nations military commander in Bosnia, warned that the forthcoming talks will be exceedingly difficult.

'You can say that the easy part, difficult as it was, is now over,' General Rose said after the signing. 'The difficult bit now begins. We have to put on the ground vast numbers of troops in pursuit of different security-building measures to insure that this process does not go backward.'

The process that led to the new agreement was set in motion last month by Mr. Carter, who mediated a week-long cease-fire that expired Saturday. The cease-fire seemed to hold throughout most of the country today, although there were reports of continued fighting around the northwestern town of Bihac.

A diplomat who has closely followed the talks said both sides appeared to have signed the new agreement at least in part for tactical reasons.

'The Serbs are hoping that it will help them stabilize their front lines,' the diplomat said. 'For the Government, it is a chance to regroup and also a chance to open supply routes for relief convoys. But even if both sides are entering into negotiations only as a tactic, once you begin that process you never know what might happen.'

Caption:

Photo: Military commanders met yesterday about details of the four-month Bosnian cease-fire. Gen. Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military commander, left, shook hands on Saturday with Lieut. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, the senior United Nations commander in Bosnia, after the cease-fire was signed. (Reuters)

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina showing location of Sarajevo.

Location:

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina showing location of Srebrenica.

Access No: 9300097756 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: FRANCE PROPOSES NEW, 'LAST-CHANCE' PEACE CONFERENCE ON BOSNIA
Authors: CRAIG R. WHITNEY, Special to The New York Times
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday Feb 1, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 11
Length: Long (779 words)
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; FRANCE

Abstract: France on Jan 31, 1995 called for a meeting between Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian leaders and a new international conference to try to break the deadlock on a peace settlement for Bosnia before the expiration of the four-month cease-fire that began Jan 1. Foreign Minister Alain Juppe said in a Le Monde article that the alternative would be fighting even more destructive.

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Article Text:

PARIS, Jan. 31 -- France called today for a meeting between Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian leaders and a new international conference to try to break the deadlock on a peace settlement for Bosnia before a cease-fire expires in three months.

Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, describing the idea as a 'last-chance scenario,' said in an article published in Le Monde that the alternative would be fighting even more destructive than the clashes before the cease-fire began Jan. 1.

The initial reaction from some members of the so-called contact group of five nations that has been trying to persuade the warring sides to adopt their own peace plan was cautious. That plan would give the Bosnian Serbs 49 percent of the country, instead of the 70 percent they now control. The rest would be under the control of the Muslim-Croat federation that includes the Bosnian Government.

One senior American official said about the French proposal, 'Our thinking has been that right now is probably not the time to have a high-level conference.'

Negotiations have been deadlocked on the issue of whether the plan put

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forward by the contact group -- the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia -- must be accepted by the Bosnian Serbs before peace talks could proceed or whether it could be considered a starting point for talks.

Vice President Ejup Ganic of the Bosnian Government reiterated Sarajevo's position that the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, would have to accept the peace plan before the Government would sit down for talks again.

Renewed conflict is also threatened in Croatia, where rebel Serbs control a portion of the country.

Despite the cease-fire, fighting has continued in a portion of northwest Bosnia between troops of the Muslim-led Bosnian Government and rebel Muslims allied with Serbs. A United Nations spokesman, Paul Risley, said the fighting today was the worst since the cease-fire began, and that that Croatian Serb forces were involved in ground fighting on Bosnian territory.

He also expressed concern at an outbreak of fighting between Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serb forces around Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia. Srebrenica is one of six 'safe areas' protected by the United Nations.

Mr. Juppe conferred with American officials last week in Washington, and he said today that he had the impression that other countries involved in trying to end the conflict shared his view of what would be necessary for a solution to the conflict in the Balkans.

That, he said, was mutual recognition of Serbia and Croatia by their leaders at the peace table as well as agreement by leaders of the Government and the Bosnian Serbs on the structure of a state that would recognize the separate nature of the Muslim-Croat federation and the Bosnian Serbs within it.

'This state will not be unitary and centralized,' he wrote. 'It can be -- if peace is the aim -- a strongly decentralized type comprising entities which, to be free to administer themselves, will have to be treated in a balanced manner. Only a summit meeting of the principal protagonists of the drama can provide the necessary impetus.'

The last such meeting was held in London in the summer of 1992, months after the war began in April of that year.

French officials said that the German Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel, had been consulted on Mr. Juppe's proposal and had supported it. Mr. Kinkel, who was in Sarajevo today, said that the five nations of the contact group still backed their own peace plan, and he urged Mr. Karadzic to accept it. A round of shuttle diplomacy by lower-ranking officials of the contact group this month failed to persuade him to do so.

Mr. Kinkel also said he had appealed to President Franjo Tudjman to reconsider his decision to ask the 12,000 United Nations troops to leave Croatia after their mandate expires on March 31.

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Yugoslavia. Reports that helicopters may be ferrying arms for coming battles have only deepened such concern. 'We're in a very ironic situation,' Mr. Holbrooke said on Monday. 'Things have not been as peaceful in the Balkans in years as they are today, and yet we are one spark away from a much wider war, and that spark could come in either Croatia or Bosnia.'

Caption:

Map shows the current areas of control in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the location of Surcin.

Access No: 9300098996 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SERBIAN HELICOPTER FLIGHTS ARE ONE MORE SIGN OF BOSNIA'S WOES
Authors: ROGER COHEN, Special to The New York Times
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Monday Feb 6, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 3
Length: Medium (562 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: HELICOPTERS; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Names: MILOSEVIC, SLOBODAN (PRES)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: A report from Dutch UN military observers says that more than 15 Serbian helicopters, apparently on a resupply mission, crossed from Serbia into Bosnia and Herzegovina just before dusk on Feb 3, 1995. The mission of the helicopters suggested once again that the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army is still heavily involved in the Bosnian war, that President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia is less than sincere in saying he has cut off the Bosnia Serbs, and that NATO's enforcement of a no-flight zone over Bosnia is patchy.

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SPLIT, Croatia, Feb. 5 -- More than 15 Serbian helicopters, apparently on a resupply mission, crossed from Serbia into Bosnia and Herzegovina just before dusk on Friday, a report from Dutch United Nations military observers says.

The mission of the helicopters suggested once again that the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army is still heavily involved in the Bosnian war,

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that President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia is less than sincere in saying he has cut off the Bosnian Serbs, and that NATO's enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia is patchy.

The military observers, based near the eastern Muslim enclave of Srebrenica, saw the helicopters flying westward from Serbia at the same time that other United Nations observers at Serbian airfields near the border were barred from their usual access to those airfields and to the radar screens operating there, a United Nations spokesman, Paul Risley, said today. The observers said they did not know the final destination of the helicopters.

Similar helicopter flights from Serbia were noted by the United Nations last year, but never before have so many aircraft been seen together flying in formation. The sorties are consistent with other evidence of continuing involvement of Serbia in the war.

The Udbina airfield was later bombed by NATO, but Serbian aircraft resumed using it today, United Nations officials said.

The Yugoslav Army formally withdrew from Bosnia in the summer of 1992, but it continues to maintain contact with Gen. Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military commander and a former Yugoslav Army officer.

Many members of the army are known to be unhappy about President Milosevic's decision last August to impose a trade blockade on the Bosnian Serbs because they refused to accept a proposed international peace settlement that would oblige them to give up one-third of the land they hold in Bosnia. President Milosevic was rewarded with an easing of a Western economic embargo on Serbia.

The helicopter mission on Friday came as there were signs that the Serbs of Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia -- whose desire to live in a single country is at the root of the wars in the former Yugoslavia -- were closing ranks in the face of threats of a wider Balkan war in the spring.

The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, has said he would aid the Croatian Serbs if they were attacked by the Croatian Army. Such an offensive is considered possible after March 31, the deadline set last month by President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia for 12,000 United Nations troops to start withdrawing from Croatia.

President Milosevic has also recently warned that President Tudjman's decision, which will lead to the removal of the United Nations buffer between the Serbs and Croats, could lead to a wider war.

It is with the aim of presenting a united front to the Serbs that the United States has recently intensified efforts to consolidate a Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia. But mutual suspicion and differing strategic aims have undermined the federation since it was formed, and it seems unlikely that a cohesive fighting force will emerge this year.

The American attempt to bolster the federation, and thus achieve a balance of power in Bosnia, follows a failed diplomatic attempt to persuade the Serbs to resume talks on a plan offering 51 percent of Bosnia to the Muslim-Croat federation and 49 percent to the Serbs.

Location:

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina showing location of Srebrenica.

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Title: FRANCE PROPOSES NEW, 'LAST-CHANCE' PEACE CONFERENCE ON BOSNIA
Authors: CRAIG R. WHITNEY, Special to The New York Times
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Date: Wednesday Feb 1, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 11
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The initial reaction from some members of the so-called contact group of five nations that has been trying to persuade the warring sides to adopt their own peace plan was cautious. That plan would give the Bosnian Serbs 49 percent of the country, instead of the 70 percent they now control. The rest would be under the control of the Muslim-Croat federation that includes the Bosnian Government.

One senior American official said about the French proposal, 'Our thinking has been that right now is probably not the time to have a high-level conference.'

Negotiations have been deadlocked on the issue of whether the plan put

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flights. Serbia and Montenegro are the only republics remaining in Yugoslavia.

Some officials and diplomats here and in Bosnia say the flights almost certainly came from Serbia.

Without radar, the monitors were unable to see the flights, which ground troops reported flying westward into Bosnia north of the eastern Government-held enclave at Srebrenica from Wednesday through Saturday last week.

Mr. Nieminen is expected to request a meeting with President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, who faces reimposition of some sanctions that were lifted in September if there is enough evidence to prove that Serbian helicopters have been flying into Bosnia. The easing of the sanctions, a reward for cooperation in closing the border, allowed Serbs to resume a role in international sports events and to reopen the Belgrade airport to civilian traffic.

Diplomats said today that the Security Council might be reluctant to act against the Serbs now because France wants Mr. Milosevic to attend a meeting in Paris with the presidents of Croatia and Bosnia in an attempt to open new avenues to peace. The date of the meeting has not been set.

Access No: 9300099719 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: UNITED NATIONS REPORTS SERBIAN HELICOPTER SORTIES IN BOSNIA, A VIOLATION OF FLIGHT BAN
Authors: BARBARA CROSSETTE, Special to The New York Times
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday Feb 8, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 12
Length: Long (1071 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: HELICOPTERS; CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: Serbian helicopters flew a large number of sorties into eastern Bosnia the week of Jan 29, 1995 in violation of a UN ban, the Security Council was told on Feb 7. It is believed that the flights are being used to resupply the Bosnian Serbs with ammunition during a four-month truce in the Bosnian war.

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Article Text:

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 7 -- Serbian helicopters flew a large number of sorties into eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina last week in violation of a United Nations ban, the Security Council was told today.

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A total of 62 helicopters flying too low for aerial surveillance were spotted by United Nations observers on the ground on Wednesday through Saturday north of the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica, a representative of the United Nations Secretary General told the Council. The representative, Undersecretary General Chinmaya Gharekhan, said that one large contingent was flying in military formation.

The westward flight of 15 helicopters in formation from Serbia into Bosnia was reported by Dutch observers over the weekend; the fuller tally was collected since then.

Those flights, along with sporadic helicopter sorties into northwestern Bosnia from Serb-held areas of Croatia, have raised concerns here that the Bosnian Serbs are being resupplied with ammunition and spare parts during a four-month truce in their war with Bosnian Government forces.

The United States, already exasperated by the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to accept an international peace plan while the truce is in force, is pressing Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a thorough investigation into the flights.

The flights near Srebrenica are thought to have originated at Surcin or other military airfields in Serbia under the control of the Yugoslav Army. Mr. Gharekhan told reporters that there was no absolute proof that the flights originated in Serbia, in part because United Nations observers were barred from monitoring radar at airfields near the border last week.

'But the fact that there were a large number of helicopter flights, that is an established fact,' he said.

If the helicopter flights into eastern Bosnia are traced to fields in Serbia, they could place the Belgrade Government in clear violation of a United Nations ban on military flights over Bosnia. The sorties would also violate a promise by the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, to prevent all supplies except relief goods from reaching Bosnian Serbs across his border.

A formal report from the Secretary General confirming any violation of Serbia's pledge could lead to the automatic reimposition of economic sanctions against Yugoslavia for its role in aiding the Bosnian Serb combatants.

In September, the Security Council eased sanctions involving cultural exchanges, participation in international sports events and access to the Belgrade airport and the port of Bar to reward Mr. Milosevic for his willingness to cut supply lines to the Bosnian Serbs.

The United States is demanding to know why United Nations observers were barred from Serbian airfields at a critical time.

Washington is reported to have some unspecified independent evidence, officials here say, that the flights originated in Serbia, which with Montenegro makes up what is left of Yugoslavia.

Madeleine K. Albright, the chief United States delegate to the United Nations, left for a meeting at the White House today after hearing the report from the Secretary General's representative.

The stepped-up American activity in the Security Council comes as the Clinton Administration, making another turn in its Bosnia policy, said it would end official contacts with the Bosnian Serbs' political leader, Radovan Karadzic, and his associates because of their continuing refusal to accept the internationally brokered peace proposal.

'There is no point in shuttling up the hill from Sarajevo to Pale to listen to the kind of crap which is dished out by Karadzic,' Assistant Secretary of State Richard C. Holbrooke said in an interview Monday with the National Public Radio program 'All Things Considered.'

He added that Dr. Karadzic would not be invited to a conference of Balkan leaders being planned by France, unless the Bosnian Serbs accept the peace proposal. The peace plan, intended as a foundation for negotiations, would reduce the territory captured by the Serbs to 49 percent from 70 percent.

In a statement issued in Belgrade, the Yugoslav Army General Staff called the reports of flights 'primitive fabrications' and denied any violation of the no-flight zone in Bosnia.

In the Security Council, President Milosevic is getting some support from Russia, a traditional ally of the Serbs. The Russian position that has emerged over the last day or two is that there is no reason to act precipitously on incomplete evidence against Serbia.

On the matter of barring United Nations monitors from radar sites and bases, the Russians say that President Milosevic never promised free access and allowed it only as a gesture of good will.

Although the truce, negotiated in December by former President Jimmy Carter, has been holding in much of Bosnia, the situation around the northwestern Muslim enclave of Bihac has remained tense, United Nations officials said today.

The area's 180,000 people are running desperately short of food supplies, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said today in Geneva.

Food shipments are being restricted because Fikret Abdic, a rebel Muslim leader opposing the Muslim-led Bosnian Government, has demanded 50 percent of the aid cargoes, a demand the United Nations has rejected. Troops loyal to Mr. Abdic, along with armed Serbs from Croatia, are also barring relief convoys from some of the safest roads, forcing them to take more perilous routes.

The impunity with which Serbs have crossed from areas under United Nations protection in Croatia to join in fighting against Bosnian Government forces has also angered the Croatian Government. Last month Croatia asked United Nations forces to leave its territory, arguing that the peacekeepers were only making life easier for Croatian Serbs and thereby enabling them to defy both the Croatian and Bosnian governments.

Today the Security Council formally called on Croatia to reconsider its request. Many diplomats here fear that the withdrawal of United Nations forces from Croatia will lead to a widening of war in the former

Yugoslavia. Reports that helicopters may be ferrying arms for coming battles have only deepened such concern.

'We're in a very ironic situation,' Mr. Holbrooke said on Monday. 'Things have not been as peaceful in the Balkans in years as they are today, and yet we are one spark away from a much wider war, and that spark could come in either Croatia or Bosnia.'

Caption:

Map shows the current areas of control in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the location of Surcin.

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Mr. Stoltenberg hinted that there might still be a chance for
promise. He also met today with Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic,
who had been expected to prod Mr. Martic into accepting a peace plan.
But in a statement, Mr. Milosevic appeared noncommittal, saying Serbia
would stay out of the negotiating process.

Caption:

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina highlighting areas of control.

Access No: 9300099791 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: U.N. SUSPECTS SERBIA OF AIDING SERBS IN BOSNIA
Authors: BARBARA CROSSETTE, Special to The New York Times
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Thursday Feb 9, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
Length: Medium (322 words)
Subjects: HELICOPTERS; CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; RADAR;
YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: A UN spokesman said on Feb 8, 1995 that civilians
monitoring the border between Bosnia and Serbia are again
being denied access to radar that could track violations of
a ban on flights and a Serbian pledge not to supply Bosnian
Serbs. The UN has asked the chief monitor to hold talks
with Yugoslavia about 62 unexplained helicopter flights
reported by UN ground forces.

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UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 8 -- Civilians monitoring the border between
Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are again being denied access to radar
that could track violations of a ban on flights and a Serbian pledge not
to supply Bosnian Serbs, the Secretary General's spokesman said today.

Calling this 'a very serious situation,' the spokesman, Joe B. Sills,
said access to radar was denied for four days last week, during which time
62 unexplained helicopter flights were reported by United Nations ground
forces. Earlier reports said the radar had been denied for only a few
hours.

Access to the radar was restored on Sunday but withdrawn again on
Monday, Mr. Sills said.

He also said the United Nations had asked the chief monitor, Tauno
Niemenen of Finland, to hold talks urgently with Yugoslavia about the

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flights. Serbia and Montenegro are the only republics remaining in Yugoslavia.

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Access No: 9300099719 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: UNITED NATIONS REPORTS SERBIAN HELICOPTER SORTIES IN BOSNIA, A VIOLATION OF FLIGHT BAN
Authors: BARBARA CROSSETTE, Special to The New York Times
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday Feb 8, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 12
Length: Long (1071 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: HELICOPTERS; CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: Serbian helicopters flew a large number of sorties into eastern Bosnia the week of Jan 29, 1995 in violation of a UN ban, the Security Council was told on Feb 7. It is believed that the flights are being used to resupply the Bosnian Serbs with ammunition during a four-month truce in the Bosnian war.

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Article Text:

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 7 -- Serbian helicopters flew a large number of sorties into eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina last week in violation of a United Nations ban, the Security Council was told today.

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happened this week. But that never happened.

Moreover, in the past week there has been repeated Serbian shelling of Tuzla and Bihac, two towns that are supposedly United Nations 'safe areas.' The taciturn United Nations military commander in Bosnia, Lieut. Gen. Rupert Smith, has shown no sign of calling for NATO air raids.

If the fighting continues to worsen, the position of the United Nations could become untenable, and the withdrawal of United Nations peacekeepers remains a possibility. While the Bosnian Government used to fear such a withdrawal, it now appears increasingly self-confident.

'We will stand and fight,' President Alija Izetbegovic declared on Friday. 'We are in favor of one integrated Bosnia.'

Caption:

Photo: The Bosnian Army's capture of communication towers near Tuzla and Travnik could seriously disrupt the Serbs' military logistics. A Government soldier cleared a fence during fighting last week near Tuzla. (Associated Press)

Map of area surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina shows the current areas of control and the location of Travnik.

Access No: 9300110116 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIAN ARMY ON THE ATTACK, BREAKING TRUCE
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Mar 21, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1039 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; TUZLA (BOSNIA); TRAVNIK (BOSNIA); BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

Abstract: Bosnian government forces began an offensive on Mar 20, 1995, shattering a cease-fire six weeks before it was scheduled to expire, UN officials reported.

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Article Text:

PARIS, March 20 -- Bosnian Government forces began an offensive today, shattering a cease-fire six weeks before it was scheduled to expire, United Nations officials reported.

The officials said the Bosnian attack was most intense near Tuzla, the second-largest Government-held town in Bosnia after Sarajevo. Michael

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Williams, a spokesman for the United Nations peacekeeping force in Bosnia, was quoted by The Associated Press in Zagreb, Croatia, as saying 500 casualties had been reported in the Mount Majeвица area northeast of Tuzla as more than 1,000 Bosnian Government troops tried to take a Serbian communication tower.

Bosnian Serb officials contacted by telephone in Pale, their headquarters, said the Serbs appeared to be holding their ground on Majeвица. They responded by shelling Tuzla, the United Nations said. At least 12 shells landed on the town, including one that hit the main barracks of the Bosnian Army's II Corps. Intense shelling of the Government-held air base west of Tuzla was reported.

'This is certainly the most serious breach of the cease-fire since Jan. 1,' Mr. Williams said.

The cease-fire went into effect on Jan. 1 and was supposed to last until May 1. But both sides have used the last few months to prepare for renewed fighting when the weather warms, and have dismissed the possibility that the truce would be extended.

The Bosnian Government's decision to violate the truce suggested a pre-emptive move to break an increasingly exhausting stalemate and a calculation that the Government may have become strong enough to retake significant amounts of the territory seized by the Serbs in three years of warfare.

Whatever the outcome of the offensive, it seemed clear that the Bosnian war will move inexorably into its fourth year.

On another section of the 1,000-mile front line, Government troops were reported advancing from the central Bosnian town of Travnik toward Mount Vlasic, north of the town. The Serbs responded by shelling Travnik.

Small cease-fire violations have increasingly been reported as attempts to reach a political settlement in Bosnia have collapsed. But in the last few weeks, the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic, and his army commander, Gen. Rasim Delic, have both said a full-scale resumption of the war is inevitable unless the Serbs accept an international peace proposal dividing Bosnia roughly in half.

Their statements were tantamount to an announcement of renewed fighting in that it has long been clear that the Serbs will not accept the American-backed peace plan that would oblige them to give up about one-third of the territory they hold.

The Tuzla region is critical to the direction of the war. The Serbs regard the Bosnian Army's II Corps, which is based in Tuzla, as the most powerful single unit in the improving Bosnian forces. The corps would be at the heart of any Bosnian offensive on the Posavina corridor, the narrow strip of land north of Tuzla that is the only land link between Serbia and the Serbian-held territories in western Bosnia and Croatia.

A combined Croatian and Bosnian attack on the corridor has long been rumored and could be critical in determining the outcome of a war whose front lines have scarcely moved for two years.

The Serbian communication tower on Majeвица, the scene of repeated shooting, is used for communications between Serbia and Serbian-held towns in western Bosnia. It thus has considerable strategic importance.

In Sarajevo, where three people were killed and nine wounded by sniper fire over the weekend, the situation has continued to deteriorate. The cease-fire signed in January promised an opening of the city, but the promises have proved illusory.

Over the last week, the Serbs have made clear that they intend to tighten their noose on the city once more. Repeated shooting at United Nations planes has closed the airport. Heavy machine-gun and anti-aircraft fire at Government positions on Mount Igman, over which passes the only Government-controlled road out the city, has made the road virtually impassable.

The Serbian decision to seal the city reflects the growing impatience of the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, with a war whose long-term trend probably favors the increasingly well-organized, well-armed Bosnian Government forces, officials close to him said.

The four-month cease-fire brokered by former President Jimmy Carter had led Dr. Karadzic to believe a political settlement might be possible, these officials said.

But with the logic of war prevailing, Dr. Karadzic may now be tempted to take the vulnerable eastern Muslim enclaves of Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa while increasing military and psychological pressure on the people of Sarajevo.

Croatian Serb Rebuffs U.N.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, March 20 (AP) -- The leader of the Serbian separatists in Croatia refused today to allow United Nations observers to deploy along the republic's borders with Serbia and Bosnia as demanded by the Croatian Government.

Last week Croatia's President, Franjo Tudjman, dropped his threat to oust 12,000 United Nations peacekeepers after their mandate expires March 31 and agreed to let a scaled-down force stay on, on the condition that much of the force be redeployed along its border to prevent the rebel Serbs in Croatia from getting arms and fuel from Serbia and from rebel Serbs in Bosnia. The Serbs gained control of nearly a third of Croatian territory in a 1991 war.

Croatian officials said the peacekeepers, who have been deployed only along the line of confrontation between the Croatian Government and the Serbian rebels, had served only to protect the Serb gains.

'It is out of the question for the U.N. troops to be redeployed along so-called Croatia's borders,' the Croatian Serb leader, Milan Martić, told reporters after talks here with a United Nations envoy, Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Mr. Stoltenberg hinted that there might still be a chance for
promise. He also met today with Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic,
who had been expected to prod Mr. Martić into accepting a peace plan.
But in a statement, Mr. Milosevic appeared noncommittal, saying Serbia
would stay out of the negotiating process.

Caption:

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina highlighting areas of control.

Access No: 9300099791 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: U.N. SUSPECTS SERBIA OF AIDING SERBS IN BOSNIA
Authors: BARBARA CROSSETTE, Special to The New York Times
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Thursday Feb 9, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
Length: Medium (322 words)
Subjects: HELICOPTERS; CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; RADAR;
YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: A UN spokesman said on Feb 8, 1995 that civilians
monitoring the border between Bosnia and Serbia are again
being denied access to radar that could track violations of
a ban on flights and a Serbian pledge not to supply Bosnian
Serbs. The UN has asked the chief monitor to hold talks
with Yugoslavia about 62 unexplained helicopter flights
reported by UN ground forces.

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Article Text:

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 8 -- Civilians monitoring the border between
Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are again being denied access to radar
that could track violations of a ban on flights and a Serbian pledge not
to supply Bosnian Serbs, the Secretary General's spokesman said today.

Calling this 'a very serious situation,' the spokesman, Joe B. Sills,
said access to radar was denied for four days last week, during which time
62 unexplained helicopter flights were reported by United Nations ground
forces. Earlier reports said the radar had been denied for only a few
hours.

Access to the radar was restored on Sunday but withdrawn again on
Monday, Mr. Sills said.

He also said the United Nations had asked the chief monitor, Tauno
Nieminen of Finland, to hold talks urgently with Yugoslavia about the

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percent of Bosnia and they are over-stretched. Vulnerable targets -- like the eastern Muslim enclaves of Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde -- exist, but the Serbs know such attacks could probably not be ignored by the United Nations and NATO, even though they are reluctant to get more involved in Bosnia. Equally, in Sarajevo, the Serbs can probe but they probably cannot pounce.

Moreover, the Serbs do not know what to do with the Muslim civilians in the enclaves. (For General Mladic, Sarajevo is one such 'enclave.') They threw them in camps at the war's outset, or killed them, but that was amid a chaos and an absence of world scrutiny that no longer prevails.

As for the government, its army can make small gains, as it has recently, but a decisive victory -- like taking the Posavina corridor linking Serb-held land in eastern and western Bosnia -- is almost certainly beyond its powers.

The Bosnian Army's military objective -- the 'liberation of Bosnia' -- remains nebulous and, as a result, unattainable. Just as the Muslim civilians of Bosnia will not disappear, neither will the Serbs. Some political accommodation is needed.

Lost Winter

But, if anything, the political stalemate is currently greater than the military deadlock. A winter of hope that began with a cease-fire turned into a lost winter. The Muslims and Serbs of Bosnia never even sat down to talk to each other. The international peace map -- offering 51 percent of Bosnia for the Muslim-Croat Federation and 49 percent for the Serbs -- is beginning to look like a tired joke.

'I don't think there is a solution to it,' said an official in Washington. 'It's becoming clear that the Bosnian war simply has to be managed. We have to try to keep the violence at a tolerable level. This approach does not come easy because we, as Americans, are used to solving problems. But this one is insoluble.'

Caption:

Photos: Bosnian soldiers slog from the frontline. (Reuters) (pg. 5); As snow melted this week on a mountain near Tuzla, Bosnian Serb soldiers prepared for new fighting. (Agence France-Presse) (pg. 1)

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (pg. 5)

Access No: 9300111521 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIAN SERB CROSSROAD: WIN SOON OR SEEK PEACE
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Mar 26, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 3

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Length: Long (922 words) Type: NEWS ANALYSIS

Illus: Map, Photo

Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SERBIA

Abstract: Outmanned, increasingly isolated and overstretched, the Bosnian Serbs are clearly weary of a war they started and thought would be over in a couple of months. Shifting signals from Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in Mar 1995, in the wake of significant Muslim victories against the Serbs, reflect a fundamental reality: the Serbs need either a peace now or a decisive battle because a long war seems certain to favor the improving Bosnian Army.

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Article Text:

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, March 25 -- For the second time in less than six months, the Muslim-led Bosnian Army has won significant victories against the Bosnian Serbs, pushing them onto the defensive and raising questions about the Serbs' long-term ability to continue the war.

In twin offensives this week in central and northern Bosnia, Government forces have advanced several miles and have captured or surrounded two important Serbian communications towers, United Nations officials said today. Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, responded today by appealing for direct peace talks with the Government.

In a 'message to the international community and the Muslims,' Dr. Karadzic declared that he was making a 'last call' for 'immediate direct talks on peace, with a cessation of all offensives and return of the forces to the lines of Dec. 23, 1994.'

Dr. Karadzic was referring to the date of a cease-fire negotiated by former President Jimmy Carter. That agreement was later elaborated into a four-month cessation of hostilities that took effect on Jan. 1 and finally collapsed this week.

The Bosnian Serb leader's appeal for talks came a day after he appeared in military fatigues at the site of the fighting in northern Bosnia and called for a relentless Serb counteroffensive. Even by Dr. Karadzic's volatile standards, the inconsistency suggested some disarray.

Outmanned, increasingly isolated and overstretched, the Bosnian Serbs are clearly weary of a war they started and thought would be over in a couple of months. The shifting signals from Dr. Karadzic reflect a fundamental reality: the Serbs need either peace now or a decisive battle because a long war seems certain to favor the improving Bosnian Army.

In the absence of serious peace talks, Dr. Karadzic said, the Serbs would go for 'a quick and complete victory.'

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The last time the Bosnian forces advanced, surging out of the northwestern Bihac area last November, the Serbs fought back decisively, pushing the Bosnian Army back to where it had started.

Even today, analysts believe, the Serbs, with their superior artillery, tanks and organization, could deal crippling setbacks to the Bosnian forces, taking the eastern enclaves of Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde, cutting the critical supply route north from the Adriatic coast to Sarajevo and perhaps resuming the artillery bombardment of Sarajevo.

But such steps might bring the Serbs renewed problems with the United Nations and NATO -- Sarajevo and the eastern enclaves are supposedly areas that the United Nations is obliged to protect -- and would certainly involve heavy losses for an army already short of manpower. Dr. Karadzic appears determined to find other solutions.

His quest will be difficult, however. The Government immediately dismissed Dr. Karadzic's appeal. 'There's nothing to talk about unless he accepts the peace plan of the contact group, which is not good for us, but it's the best there is,' said Ejup Ganic, the Vice President of the Muslim-Croat federation.

The so-called contact group, the United States, Germany, France, Britain and Russia, submitted a peace proposal last July offering 51 percent of Bosnia to the Government and 49 percent to the Serbs. The Serbs now hold 70 percent of Bosnia after almost three years of war.

Dr. Karadzic has repeatedly rejected the proposal, exasperating President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, who imposed a fairly porous embargo on the Bosnian Serbs last August. While the Bosnian Serb army can still get what it essentially needs, the embargo has put some logistical strains on Dr. Karadzic's forces and caused civilian hardships.

Chris Gunness, a spokesman for the United Nations protection force, said the Bosnian Army appeared to have taken strategic Serbian communication towers in the Majeвица hills northeast of Tuzla and on Mount Vrsic northwest of Travnik. 'Our reports suggest the towers have been taken,' he said.

There were no precise reports on casualties. But United Nations relief officials said that more than 1,000 Bosnian Serb civilians were fleeing the advance in the Travnik area and that ambulances were flowing into Tuzla. 'The Bosnian Serb refugees near Travnik just keep coming,' said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The Bosnian Serb press agency denied that the communications towers had been taken but reported 'fierce artillery and infantry attacks by Muslim units.' Without the towers, the logistics of the Bosnian Serb army could be badly disrupted.

The Bosnian offensive and the Serbian response underscore how the United Nations has been reduced to an entirely passive role in Bosnia. Under the terms of the four-month cease-fire, United Nations soldiers were supposed to be interposed between the two armies to prevent precisely what

happened this week. But that never happened.

Moreover, in the past week there has been repeated Serbian shelling of Tuzla and Bihac, two towns that are supposedly United Nations 'safe areas.' The taciturn United Nations military commander in Bosnia, Lieut. Gen. Rupert Smith, has shown no sign of calling for NATO air raids.

If the fighting continues to worsen, the position of the United Nations could become untenable, and the withdrawal of United Nations peacekeepers remains a possibility. While the Bosnian Government used to fear such a withdrawal, it now appears increasingly self-confident.

'We will stand and fight,' President Alija Izetbegovic declared on Friday. 'We are in favor of one integrated Bosnia.'

Caption:

Photo: The Bosnian Army's capture of communication towers near Tuzla and Travnik could seriously disrupt the Serbs' military logistics. A Government soldier cleared a fence during fighting last week near Tuzla. (Associated Press)

Map of area surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina shows the current areas of control and the location of Travnik.

Access No: 9300110116 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIAN ARMY ON THE ATTACK, BREAKING TRUCE
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Mar 21, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1039 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; TUZLA (BOSNIA); TRAVNIK (BOSNIA); BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

Abstract: Bosnian government forces began an offensive on Mar 20, 1995, shattering a cease-fire six weeks before it was scheduled to expire, UN officials reported.

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Article Text:

PARIS, March 20 -- Bosnian Government forces began an offensive today, shattering a cease-fire six weeks before it was scheduled to expire, United Nations officials reported.

The officials said the Bosnian attack was most intense near Tuzla, the second-largest Government-held town in Bosnia after Sarajevo. Michael

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A United Nations spokesman, Alexander Ivanko, said at least 70 Croatian Serbs arrived in Bihac today to fight alongside Bosnian Serbs in violation of internationally recognized borders.

Civilians fled a village on the Bosnian-Croatian border where at least 13 houses were burning. Bosnian Serbs had shelled the towns of Bihac and nearby Cazin late Friday. The assaults followed an offensive in the area by the Muslim-led Government to capture a Serb-held radar station, Mr. Ivanko said.

Further east, NATO jets were called in after Scandinavian peacekeepers near Serb-held Doboij were repeatedly shelled, said another United Nations spokesman, Lieut. Col. Gary Coward. He had no immediate reports of injuries.

Earlier, Serbs fired 35 shots at United Nations peacekeepers on foot patrol near the besieged eastern enclave of Srebrenica. No one was hurt, Colonel Coward said.

In Sarajevo, where heavy firing and shelling erupted in and around the city, Russian peacekeepers came under direct rifle fire, said Maj. Pierre Chavancy, another United Nations spokesman.

The attacks on the peacekeepers were a reminder of the fragility of their mission and of international peace efforts.

The top United Nations mediator in the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, plans to visit Sarajevo and the nearby Serb stronghold of Pale on Sunday for a final attempt at extending the four-month cease-fire.

Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic of Bosnia scoffed at Mr. Akashi's mission, saying: 'We have a cease-fire now and what has been achieved? They are still shooting at Sarajevo and killing as much as they want.'

Caption:

Map of the area surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina shows the current areas of control and the location of Bihac.

Access No: 9300118354 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: THE WORLD; OUT OF THE MUD, INTO THE MORASS
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Apr 16, 1995 Sec: 4 Week in Review Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1235 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

Abstract: As yet another fighting season in the three-year-old Bosnian war begins, it seems clear that the fighting could last another decade, stuck in virtual stalemate and even

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further from resolution. The depths of the morass into which Bosnia has now plunged is discussed.

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina -- BOSNIA is famous for its pervasive 'glina,' the cloying mud in which various armies and peoples have found themselves stuck over the centuries, giving rise to the hybrid society of vivid eyes and lively minds that lies in ruins today.

The latest hostage of the 'glina' is the three-year-old Bosnian war itself, stuck in virtual stalemate and ever further from resolution. As the snow melts on the mountains around Sarajevo, and yet another fighting season begins, it seems clear that, as Bosnia's Prime Minister, Haris Silajdzic, said this month, the war could last another decade.

The four-month cease-fire that expires on April 30, which was hailed last December as a diplomatic accomplishment for its broker, Jimmy Carter, may now be seen for what it was -- little more than a winter lull, more pronounced than in the previous years of the war but not decisively so. The logic of war never altered. The time was used, particularly by the improving Muslim-led Government forces, to regroup, acquire arms and get organized.

Indeed, of the many vacuous documents of the Bosnian war, none looks more dismal today than the 'agreement on a complete secession of hostilities' signed at the end of last year. In it, the Bosnian Government and the Serbs committed themselves to exchange prisoners, grant freedom of movement around Sarajevo, allow the interpositioning of the United Nations troops between the front lines and 'refrain from the use of all explosive munitions.'

None of these pledges was honored. That, after four years of broken promises and commitment by local politicians, United Nations and NATO, is not a surprising fact in the lands that used to make up Yugoslavia. But it does suggest the depths of the morass into which Bosnia has now plunged.

Does this morass matter? If it has achieved nothing else, the West has up to now succeeded in a policy of containment: the Bosnian war has not spread. But the conflict remains a threat and a burden. Already, it is the first surrogate war of the post-cold war era, with Russia quietly helping the Serbs, the Arab world increasingly helping the Muslims and the United States supporting the Muslim-Croat federation however it can. In an unstable Europe, the brew is dangerous.

But the West has virtually run out of options. It is not going to fight for Bosnia: that has been clear for a long time. It could lift the arms embargo, a morally justifiable decision but not one that would accelerate the end of the war. Or it could end a hugely expensive and increasingly ineffective United Nations mission, leaving the sides to fight it out.

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That might bring a quicker end, but amid terrible bloodshed. So a long, low-level war, with the United Nations trying its best to contain it, remains most likely.

This, at the best of times, is not a happy place for a general seeking a decisive battle. The very culture of Bosnia is lethargic. It is a place of reflection and fatalism, suspicious of the notion that action can produce change.

Its mountains, steep valleys, countless rivers and wooded terrain limit the ability of even a mountain army to maneuver fast. The 'Blitzkrieg' swept through France, all right, but Hitler found it was of little use in Bosnia. And the armies here are far from modern. They are more inclined to dig trenches than attempt to thrust at the other's center of gravity.

'Neither army has the ability to concentrate resources and bring decisive force to bear on the enemy,' said an American official in Bosnia. Logistics are difficult, and Western officials believe the Bosnian Army is only now beginning to appreciate the critical link that Napoleon pointed out between an army's performance and its stomach.

All this suggests that, despite the Bosnian Army's recent victory on Mount Vlasic in central Bosnia and its advances in the Tuzla area, a broad military stalemate will remain.

This does not mean that the Bosnian victory on Mount Vlasic, an important stretch of high ground from which the Serbs had long shelled Travnik at will, is insignificant. The army effectively combined artillery and infantry in a way that would have been unimaginable two years ago.

Moreover, the government offensives around Travnik and Tuzla were simultaneous, suggesting the Bosnian Army has at last learned that the Serbian manpower shortage is best exploited by attacking on at least two fronts at once. American analysts believe the Bosnian Army has 130,000 to 150,000 men to the Serbs' 85,000.

These government soldiers have achieved a remarkable transformation, from the collection of amateurs they were in 1992 to the coherent force that the Serbs clearly have to take seriously.

Through domestic arms production in places like Bugojno and Travnik, and strong financial support from Muslim countries including Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, and clandestine arms imports from central Europe and Iran, the Bosnian Army has partly overcome the effects of an international arms embargo that initially gave an overwhelming advantage to Serbs.

The Western analysts believe that the government forces have been far less successful in acquiring heavy artillery and tanks. The Serbs' ability to lob shells onto virtually any town they pleased was underscored last week by the shelling of Sarajevo and Gorazde, and the huge Serbian advantage in tanks still gives the Bosnian Serb commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic, the ability to wreak havoc in some areas.

What to Do?

But what can the Serbs achieve at this point? They already hold 70

percent of Bosnia and they are over-stretched. Vulnerable targets -- like the eastern Muslim enclaves of Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde -- exist, but the Serbs know such attacks could probably not be ignored by the United Nations and NATO, even though they are reluctant to get more involved in Bosnia. Equally, in Sarajevo, the Serbs can probe but they probably cannot pounce.

Moreover, the Serbs do not know what to do with the Muslim civilians in the enclaves. (For General Mladic, Sarajevo is one such 'enclave.') They threw them in camps at the war's outset, or killed them, but that was amid a chaos and an absence of world scrutiny that no longer prevails.

As for the government, its army can make small gains, as it has recently, but a decisive victory -- like taking the Posavina corridor linking Serb-held land in eastern and western Bosnia -- is almost certainly beyond its powers.

The Bosnian Army's military objective -- the 'liberation of Bosnia' -- remains nebulous and, as a result, unattainable. Just as the Muslim civilians of Bosnia will not disappear, neither will the Serbs. Some political accommodation is needed.

Lost Winter

But, if anything, the political stalemate is currently greater than the military deadlock. A winter of hope that began with a cease-fire turned into a lost winter. The Muslims and Serbs of Bosnia never even sat down to talk to each other. The international peace map -- offering 51 percent of Bosnia for the Muslim-Croat Federation and 49 percent for the Serbs -- is beginning to look like a tired joke.

'I don't think there is a solution to it,' said an official in Washington. 'It's becoming clear that the Bosnian war simply has to be managed. We have to try to keep the violence at a tolerable level. This approach does not come easy because we, as Americans, are used to solving problems. But this one is insoluble.'

Caption:

Photos: Bosnian soldiers slog from the frontline. (Reuters) (pg. 5); As snow melted this week on a mountain near Tuzla, Bosnian Serb soldiers prepared for new fighting. (Agence France-Presse) (pg. 1)

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (pg. 5)

Access No: 9300111521 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIAN SERB CROSSROAD: WIN SOON OR SEEK PEACE
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Mar 26, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 3

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areas of control.

Access No: 9300002197 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: U.N. FORCES SHELLLED AS BOSNIA TRUCE NEARS END
Authors: AP
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Apr 30, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 6
Length: Medium (480 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA &
HERZEGOVINA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

Abstract: Fighting worsened across northern Bosnia on Apr 29, 1995 as both the government and rebel Serbs scorned appeals to renew a much-ignored truce that ends on May 1. UN troops came under attack in three parts of the country, and NATO jets buzzed one area for three hours after peacekeepers were shelled.

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(R) Service.

Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 29 -- Fighting worsened across northern Bosnia today as both the Government and rebel Serbs scorned appeals to renew a much-ignored truce that ends at noon on Monday.

United Nations troops came under attack in three parts of the country, and NATO jets buzzed one area for three hours after peacekeepers were shelled.

Fighting intensified in the Government-held enclave of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia, and a jet dropped a cluster bomb on an uninhabited area just northwest of the town, said Jesper Helsoe, the Danish commander of United Nations troops in the area. No injuries were reported.

He said more than one jet might have been involved but that none were identified. NATO air support was not summoned.

In November, Croatian Serb jets bombed the Bihac area three times. NATO responded by bombing the nearby Serb military airfield at Udbina in Croatia. But that failed to halt the Serbs' offensive against Bihac, which is designated as a 'safe area' by the United Nations.

The United Nations has the authority to call in NATO air raids whenever peacekeepers in any of the six safe areas in Bosnia come under attack.

Officers at the Croatian Serbs' headquarters in Knin, Croatia, dismissed any suggestion that the warplanes that flew today were Serb jets.

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A United Nations spokesman, Alexander Ivanko, said at least 70 Croatian Serbs arrived in Bihac today to fight alongside Bosnian Serbs in violation of internationally recognized borders.

Civilians fled a village on the Bosnian-Croatian border where at least 13 houses were burning. Bosnian Serbs had shelled the towns of Bihac and nearby Cazin late Friday. The assaults followed an offensive in the area by the Muslim-led Government to capture a Serb-held radar station, Mr. Ivanko said.

Further east, NATO jets were called in after Scandinavian peacekeepers near Serb-held Doboij were repeatedly shelled, said another United Nations spokesman, Lieut. Col. Gary Coward. He had no immediate reports of injuries.

Earlier, Serbs fired 35 shots at United Nations peacekeepers on foot patrol near the besieged eastern enclave of Srebrenica. No one was hurt, Colonel Coward said.

In Sarajevo, where heavy firing and shelling erupted in and around the city, Russian peacekeepers came under direct rifle fire, said Maj. Pierre Chavancy, another United Nations spokesman.

The attacks on the peacekeepers were a reminder of the fragility of their mission and of international peace efforts.

The top United Nations mediator in the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, plans to visit Sarajevo and the nearby Serb stronghold of Pale on Sunday for a final attempt at extending the four-month cease-fire.

Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic of Bosnia scoffed at Mr. Akashi's mission, saying: 'We have a cease-fire now and what has been achieved? They are still shooting at Sarajevo and killing as much as they want.'

Caption:

Map of the area surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina shows the current areas of control and the location of Bihac.

Access No: 9300118354 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: THE WORLD; OUT OF THE MUD, INTO THE MORASS
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Apr 16, 1995 Sec: 4 Week in Review Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1235 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

Abstract: As yet another fighting season in the three-year-old Bosnian war begins, it seems clear that the fighting could last another decade, stuck in virtual stalemate and even

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Bosnian Serbs would surely agree to this plan, if they could keep most of the land they have seized and if international sanctions were dropped. The international community should allow the Bosnian Serbs to confederate with Serbia, just as it supports the confederation between the Muslim-Croat federation and Croatia. However, the Bosnian Serbs should not receive aid unless they show willingness to compromise on key issues.

And even though it could complicate a settlement with the Bosnian Serbs, war crimes investigations and trials should continue unabated.

Would this shift in policy be just? No. The Serb aggressors would keep most of their spoils. The requirement to resettle Muslims from the eastern enclaves would amount to internationally assisted ethnic cleansing. This would be the price of peace and regional stability. The alternative is ever more violence and revenge.

Caption:
Drawing.

Access No: 9300006190 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: NEW ROLE SOUGHT FOR U.N. BOSNIA FORCE
Authors: BARBARA CROSSETTE
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday May 17, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 6
Length: Long (951 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; FRANCE; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; EUROPE
Names: BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS (SEC GEN)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on May 16, 1995 that he was determined to keep UN troops in Bosnia but under a redefined mandate. After meeting with the Security Council, he said that public opinion in European nations demanded that the mission be made safer for their troops. He suggested that one way might be to reduce forces in the six Muslim towns designated as 'safe havens.'

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Article Text:

UNITED NATIONS, May 16 -- Facing pressure to rethink a paralyzed peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said today that he was determined to keep United Nations troops there but under a redefined mandate.

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After meeting with the Security Council to report on the situation, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said that public opinion in European nations demanded that the mission be made safer for their troops. He suggested that one way might be to reduce forces in the six Muslim towns that the United Nations has designated as 'safe havens,' where the soldiers have been taking the most casualties.

The Secretary General said he wanted to avoid a recurrence of the 'Somalia syndrome,' in which American and other governments backed away from peacekeeping after a frustrating experience.

'In the whole peacekeeping operation, 162 United Nations soldiers have been killed and 1,420 injured or disabled,' Mr. Boutros-Ghali said at a news conference. 'France, the largest contributor, has sustained the largest number of casualties: 37 dead.' Europeans, he said, 'are thinking very seriously to pull out.'

The Secretary General said he would ask the Security Council to define the mandate of the 24,000 United Nations troops in Bosnia more clearly after he submitted a review of the situation, probably early next week. He demanded again that the six 'safe areas,' if maintained, be fully demilitarized because both the Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serb forces have been using them to conduct offensives.

'Everyone agrees that the existing United Nations force is not effective,' a senior Administration official said today in Washington. 'The status quo is no longer acceptable.'

During the Security Council meeting, Madeleine K. Albright, the chief American delegate, said that she found the Secretary General's summary of the situation 'depressing' and that she felt that the Bosnia operation was 'at a fork in the road.'

Administration and United Nations officials say that the review now being written by peacekeeping experts outlined four possible options for the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia: to withdraw completely; to maintain the status quo; to redeploy the troops, possibly reducing them, or to bolster them by increasing the use of force, including the wider use of NATO air power.

But here and in Washington, officials agree that no matter whether one or a combination of these options is finally adopted, little can change in the Bosnia mission until there is a clear signal from the new Government in France, whose troops are predominant in the force. The French, with the British, have thus been able to dominate decision-making on the Balkans in the Security Council, a role they may be loath to relinquish by withdrawing.

An American diplomat here said that the first indications were not that the new Government would want to withdraw the French troops, as the Secretary General suggested, but that President-elect Jacques Chirac might press for tougher action. Mr. Chirac is to take office on Wednesday.

'Right now the keys are in the hands of the French,' a senior Clinton Administration official said in Washington. 'Boutros-Ghali has made some

forays into this issue before, but his nudging doesn't have a big impact on what's done. The key players are going to decide, and the French are the controlling factor.'

As the Secretary General suggested, the review is expected to contain a proposal to drop or alter the concept of the 'safe havens' in Bosnia, where United Nations forces are in the greatest danger. Under pressure to protect some of the most threatened Muslim enclaves, the Security Council designated six such areas in May 1993 centering around Sarajevo, Bihac, Tuzla, Gorazde, Zepa and Srebrenica.

The authority to change the United Nations mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina rests with the Security Council. The Council, however, takes into account the Secretary General's reports and recommendations, many of which are reworked in the organization's Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

Diplomats and policy analysts at research institutions seem to share a sense that political and military factors in Bosnia make a change in the United Nations mandate, though probably not a total withdrawal, inevitable.

Throughout Bosnia, 'weapons exclusion zones' can be violated with impunity, and arsenals under United Nations custody are raided. Attacks have closed the Sarajevo airport to relief flights. Aid convoys can be blocked for such long periods that there are persistent reports of civilians near starvation in areas like northwestern Bihac.

'There is no question that the elements forcing a rethinking are more intense than they have ever been,' said Susan L. Woodward, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington and the author of a new book on the disintegration of Yugoslavia, 'Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War.'

'This is a moment when for the first time there has been no diplomatic option for outside powers, the first time both sides in Bosnia are clearly considering the military option, the first time all sides involved in any way in this dispute recognize they are at a dead end,' Ms. Woodward said in an interview today.

But Ms. Woodward and other experts say that it does not follow that the Security Council will decide to end the peacekeeping mission from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

'All the reasons for the United Nations being there remain the same: the risks of war spreading, the risks of real disagreements between the United States and the Europeans or Russia,' Ms. Woodward said. 'The result will be a redefinition, but there is no certainty that it will be any more successful.'

Caption:

Map of the area surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina shows the current

areas of control.

Access No: 9300002197 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: U.N. FORCES SHELLED AS BOSNIA TRUCE NEARS END
Authors: AP
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Apr 30, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 6
Length: Medium (480 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA &
HERZEGOVINA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

Abstract: Fighting worsened across northern Bosnia on Apr 29, 1995 as both the government and rebel Serbs scorned appeals to renew a much-ignored truce that ends on May 1. UN troops came under attack in three parts of the country, and NATO jets buzzed one area for three hours after peacekeepers were shelled.

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 29 -- Fighting worsened across northern Bosnia today as both the Government and rebel Serbs scorned appeals to renew a much-ignored truce that ends at noon on Monday.

United Nations troops came under attack in three parts of the country, and NATO jets buzzed one area for three hours after peacekeepers were shelled.

Fighting intensified in the Government-held enclave of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia, and a jet dropped a cluster bomb on an uninhabited area just northwest of the town, said Jesper Helsoe, the Danish commander of United Nations troops in the area. No injuries were reported.

He said more than one jet might have been involved but that none were identified. NATO air support was not summoned.

In November, Croatian Serb jets bombed the Bihac area three times. NATO responded by bombing the nearby Serb military airfield at Udbina in Croatia. But that failed to halt the Serbs' offensive against Bihac, which is designated as a 'safe area' by the United Nations.

The United Nations has the authority to call in NATO air raids whenever peacekeepers in any of the six safe areas in Bosnia come under attack.

Officers at the Croatian Serbs' headquarters in Knin, Croatia, dismissed any suggestion that the warplanes that flew today were Serb jets.

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A four-month cease-fire expired May 1, after both the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Serbs declined to extend it, and the gunfire that week highlighted how ineffectual the United Nations' peacekeeping mission appears to be.

As a result, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali presented the Security Council with painful options.

The one most likely to be adopted would remove some United Nations troops from embattled Muslim 'safe havens' (the Security Council's much-derided designation) like Sarajevo, Gorazde and Srebrenica. This could embolden Serbian fighters to try to overrun the zones, but Mr. Boutros-Ghali explained that member states were tired of seeing their troops exposed.

'The main objective is peace but not peace at any price,' the Secretary General said. 'Not at the expense of the security of the blue helmets on the ground.' Before making a decision, the Security Council is waiting for France, which has contributed the most troops, to define what its policies will be under its newly elected President, Jacques Chirac.

CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Caption:

Photo: A death in Sarajevo. (Agence France-Presse)

Access No: 9300007036 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: A DEAD END IN BOSNIA
Authors: Joel Shapiro and Gordon R. Thompson; Joel Shapiro and Gordon R. Thompson are foreign affairs analysts on the Army staff in the Pentagon.
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Friday May 19, 1995 Sec: A Editorial Desk p: 31
Length: Medium (597 words) Type: OP-ED Illus: Drawing
Subjects: UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; US-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-YUGOSLAVIA; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SERBIA; CROATIA
Abstract: Joel Shapiro and Gordon R. Thompson assert that the international community has unwittingly prolonged the war in Bosnia in that the UN presence has provided the protection that enables the Muslims and Serbs to continue fighting. Shapiro and Thompson urge the US to persuade the Bosnian government to accept the current confrontation lines as its new borders, admitting that the shift in policy would be unjust, but arguing that it is 'the price of peace and regional stability.'

Article Text:

WASHINGTON -- With the Bosnian war winding up its year, current international policy to resolve it is at a dead end. An alternative is needed. Obsessed with the past, Muslims, Serbs and Croats repeatedly use yesterday's crimes as justification for today's violence. This insures that the war will continue indefinitely.

Unwittingly, the international community has prolonged the war. While the United Nations provides crucial humanitarian aid and prevents starvation, it also provides protection that enables the Muslims and Serbs to continue fighting.

The United States and Europe must force the warring leaders to face reality. Bosnia cannot be restored to the prewar status quo.

Speaking for ourselves and not for the Pentagon, we think that while refusing to reward Serbian aggression, America also gives the Bosnian Government a sense that it supports a continuation of its battle. The world community needs to move away from the failed plan of the five-nation 'contact group' and its proposals for enlarging Muslim territory.

The Bosnian Serbs still have the overwhelming advantage in heavy weapons. They want to cut a deal that recognizes their victories but believe they must fight to keep what they have conquered. The Bosnian Muslims believe they are strong enough to retake territory. Each side overestimates its capabilities. And renewed fighting is sure to prolong the stalemate.

The United States must persuade the Bosnian Government to accept the current confrontation lines as its new borders. This would involve such incentives as giving that Government complete control of Sarajevo (including the hills from which the Serbs shell the city and its airport) and connecting it to the territory of the Muslim-Croat federation. Since the Bosnian Croats already control the territory they want, they probably would agree to any reasonable settlement.

To insure Serb agreement, the Serbs might get the eastern Bosnian safe-haven enclaves of Zepa, Srebrenica and Gorazde.

The United States and its allies would have to guarantee the new borders and the survival of the Muslim-Croat federation. After a treaty was signed, NATO troops -- not U.N. 'peacekeepers,' whom all the warring factions treat with contempt -- would have to protect the Bosnian state. NATO protection would have to be coupled with financial and other reconstruction aid to make the state viable. Without such aid, the federation would surely collapse, with violence to follow.

As for the federation, the West must facilitate development of a multiparty and multi-ethnic society that includes Serbs and other minorities within its borders. The West would also have to press Croatia to help the federation.

Bosnian Serbs would surely agree to this plan, if they could keep most of the land they have seized and if international sanctions were dropped. The international community should allow the Bosnian Serbs to confederate with Serbia, just as it supports the confederation between the Muslim-Croat federation and Croatia. However, the Bosnian Serbs should not receive aid unless they show willingness to compromise on key issues.

And even though it could complicate a settlement with the Bosnian Serbs, war crimes investigations and trials should continue unabated.

Would this shift in policy be just? No. The Serb aggressors would keep most of their spoils. The requirement to resettle Muslims from the eastern enclaves would amount to internationally assisted ethnic cleansing. This would be the price of peace and regional stability. The alternative is ever more violence and revenge.

Caption:
Drawing.

Access No: 9300006190 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: NEW ROLE SOUGHT FOR U.N. BOSNIA FORCE
Authors: BARBARA CROSSETTE
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday May 17, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 6
Length: Long (951 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; FRANCE; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; EUROPE
Names: BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS (SEC GEN)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on May 16, 1995 that he was determined to keep UN troops in Bosnia but under a redefined mandate. After meeting with the Security Council, he said that public opinion in European nations demanded that the mission be made safer for their troops. He suggested that one way might be to reduce forces in the six Muslim towns designated as 'safe havens.'

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UNITED NATIONS, May 16 -- Facing pressure to rethink a paralyzed peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said today that he was determined to keep United Nations troops there but under a redefined mandate.

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a changed mandate, not a departure. The nature of the change is unclear, but would certainly involve concentrating United Nations soldiers in fewer places and giving them greater powers to respond with force. This, in turn, might mean abandoning the protection of the eastern Bosnian Muslim enclaves of Gorazde, Zepa and Srebrenica.

In theory, such a radical change would also provide an opportunity to President Clinton to change his mind and contribute American soldiers to a new, more resolute United Nations presence that could at least turn Sarajevo into an open city after more than three years of encirclement. Such an American troop contribution would be a sign that the United States is in earnest about Bosnia; but it is unlikely to happen.

Rather, the Bosnian war may come to be seen in retrospect as the beginning of an American disengagement from Europe, just as the 1917 decision to go to war was the beginning of engagement. A line of sorts may be drawn from Mr. Princip to his latter-day followers battling for Serbian national rights in Bosnia; but America, it seems, is moving in other directions.

Caption:

Photo: After NATO raids, Bosnian Serbs showed television photographers U.N. peacekeepers chained to a bridge as human shields. (Associated Press); The Bosnian Serbs also shelled Sarajevo, where this woman was wounded. (Reuters)

Access No: 9300007684 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: MAY 14-20: SHOOTING TIME; THE GUNS OF SARAJEVO IMPERIL THE PEACEKEEPERS' MISSION
Author: CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday May 21, 1995 Sec: 4 Week in Review Desk p: 2
Length: Medium (246 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; SARAJEVO (BOSNIA); BOSNIA; SERBIA

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Article Text:

Sarajevo, symbol of the civil warfare ravaging the Balkans, was battered last week by the worst fighting in two years. Shelling by Government forces concentrated on two key Serbian supply routes, portending a long and terrifying summer in which the Bosnians appear determined to break the three-year Serbian siege of Sarajevo.

And not only civilians were caught in the crossfire.

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A four-month cease-fire expired May 1, after both the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Serbs declined to extend it, and the gunfire last week highlighted how ineffectual the United Nations' peacekeeping mission appears to be.

As a result, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali presented the Security Council with painful options.

The one most likely to be adopted would remove some United Nations troops from embattled Muslim 'safe havens' (the Security Council's much-derided designation) like Sarajevo, Gorazde and Srebrenica. This could embolden Serbian fighters to try to overrun the zones, but Mr. Boutros-Ghali explained that member states were tired of seeing their troops exposed.

'The main objective is peace but not peace at any price,' the Secretary General said. 'Not at the expense of the security of the blue helmets on the ground.' Before making a decision, the Security Council is waiting for France, which has contributed the most troops, to define what its policies will be under its newly elected President, Jacques Chirac.
CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Caption:

Photo: A death in Sarajevo. (Agence France-Presse)

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Length: Medium (597 words) Type: OP-ED Illus: Drawing
Subjects: UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; US-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-YUGOSLAVIA; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SERBIA; CROATIA
Abstract: Joel Shapiro and Gordon R. Thompson assert that the international community has unwittingly prolonged the war in Bosnia in that the UN presence has provided the protection than enables the Muslims and Serbs to continue fighting. Shapiro and Thompson urge the US to persuade the Bosnian government to accept the current confrontation lines as its new borders, admitting that the shift in policy would be unjust, but arguing that it is 'the price of peace and regional stability.'

After two sets of NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb targets outside Sarajevo last week, a nightmare came true, with United Nations soldiers handcuffed near bomb targets and now more than 325 held hostage by the Serbs as insurance against any further NATO bombing.

French military commanders reacted with indignation Monday, asking French news media to mask the faces of the humiliated soldiers.

The danger of weakness was foreseen long ago, but not acted upon. Last December, after the United Nations backed down in the face of Serbian attacks against Bihac, military experts met in The Hague and agreed on proposals to expand the United Nations force and to provide it with helicopters and other transport aircraft, and armed NATO escorts.

But six months later, nothing had happened. 'Our partners at the United Nations have been dragging their feet,' said Mr. Juppe, whose new Government is again asking its partners to provide the United Nations operation with a quick reaction force to protect itself.

Despite the human lives that they have undoubtedly saved, the damage caused by the performance of the United Nations and NATO in Bosnia to the peace and stability of Europe that the allies are sworn to preserve is incalculable. Some officials of the Clinton Administration say that it began when they failed two years ago to get the European allies to adopt a stronger stance against Serbian aggression, but that there is little they can do to help now.

Access No: 9300015565 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: THE WORLD; A SMALL BITE AT THE BOSNIAN BULLET
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday May 28, 1995 Sec: 4 Week in Review Desk p: 3
Length: Long (1120 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; US-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-YUGOSLAVIA; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Names: BUSH, GEORGE; CLINTON, BILL (PRES) LOAD-DATE: MAY 28, 1995
Abstract: The disastrous American-backed effort to punish the Bosnian Serbs with NATO air strikes the week of May 21, 1995 seemed only to bring closer the day when American troops may be asked to deliver on a commitment to go to Bosnia and help pull out all or most of the 22,000 UN peacekeepers. Such an American troop contribution is unlikely to happen, however, and the Bosnian war may come to be seen in retrospect as the beginning of an American disengagement from Europe.

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(R) Service.

Article Text:

SPLIT, Croatia -- ON June 28, 1914, a Serbian nationalist named Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne in Sarajevo, so igniting World War I. For three years after that, Woodrow Wilson stayed out of the war, arguing that the United States should remain neutral in order to mediate between the belligerent European powers.

It is now three years since another, smaller European war began in Sarajevo and two American Presidents, George Bush and Bill Clinton, opted to wait and watch, leaving the initiative to European allies whose instincts for peacemaking have proved unequal to the calamity.

Last week, however, the Clinton Administration came closer than ever to direct involvement, providing the political impetus and the bulk of the aircraft for the most punishing NATO air strikes yet on the Bosnian Serbs. 'I welcome the decision of the United Nations and NATO to launch air strikes against a Bosnian Serb ammunition site,' President Clinton said. Intense American lobbying of European allies led to the bombing of an area close to the Bosnian Serb headquarters in Pale.

Unwanted Results

The initial result of the American-backed effort was, however, disastrous. And the apparent debacle seemed only to bring closer the day when American troops may be asked to deliver on a commitment to go to Bosnia and help pull out all or most of the 22,000 United Nations peacekeepers.

Such a deployment in Bosnia is one of the things the United States wanted to avoid by encouraging the United Nations and NATO to get tough at last with separatist Serbs. But the policy may have backfired. France, the largest contributor to the peacekeeping force, has now had about enough.

The disaster was scarcely hard to foresee. The Serbs, as they have after milder NATO strikes, took hundreds of United Nations soldiers hostage, this time using some as human shields. Then they killed two French peacekeepers in fire fights.

They also fired the deadliest single shell of the war, killing 71 people in the northeastern town of Tuzla -- a massacre more bloody than at the Sarajevo marketplace last year. They shelled other mainly Muslim towns, killing and maiming civilians. Unconvinced that NATO would press on with its assault (a reasonable assumption in the circumstances) the Serbs ignored a United Nations ultimatum to hand over guns that are again subjecting Sarajevo to terror.

All this underscored a point that became evident a long time ago in Bosnia: United Nations relief missions and the use of NATO force as an

instrument of foreign policy do not go together. In that humanitarian efforts aim to make crises more endurable, while military force aims to resolve them, they are essentially incompatible.

The Europeans have tended to disregard this truism by declaring that their policies aim to resolve the Bosnian crisis when in fact they have often been an excuse for inaction. The United States could disregard the truism by declining to contribute peacekeepers to share the risk of direct reprisal. Even recently, Gen. John Shalikashvili, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said of Bosnia: 'I believe that whenever we have been resolute -- NATO particularly -- we have been able to have our way.'

A lack of resolution -- except over the need to avoid putting American soldiers in Bosnia -- has, however, been another hallmark of the Bush and Clinton Administrations' Bosnian policies. This is partly traceable to European reluctance to agree to strong action. Still, American policy has been marked by promises, threats, diplomatic flip-flops and much wringing of hands, but little coherent strategy.

Now, however, a fork in the road appears to have been reached because it is clear that being 'resolute' from the air while United Nations peacekeepers remain on the ground produces little that is good.

President Wilson gave up his idealistic notion of Peace Without Victory in 1917 and went to war on the allied side after German submarines challenged his assertion of the freedom of the seas. The Bosnian war does not begin to resemble that conflict in scale. On the other hand, however, the American relationship with Europe is immeasurably closer than in Wilson's time, cemented by the victory in World War II and the Atlantic alliance that grew out of that. So if France and Britain one day need help in withdrawing their peacekeepers, Americans will have to measure their reluctance to put G.I.'s in harm's way against the harm that a refusal would do to their most important friendships.

Even in the absence of such a dire choice, Bosnia appears to have strong claims to steady and forceful American attention as one of the most serious security challenges in Europe since America committed itself to NATO, as a critical test of European stability after the cold war, and as a nexus of Islamic, pan-Slavic and nationalist currents in Europe.

Certainly that is the case if the American commitment to Europe is undiminished. But from the chaos of recent days, it is clear that such coherence from Washington is still wanting.

Next Steps

What now? William Perry, the American Defense Secretary, said last week that the United States firmly opposed the departure of the United Nations peacekeepers but still, in principle, stood ready to provide troops to help them leave. Such a departure would be messy but would open the way for a policy backed by the credible threat of force. It is more likely now than ever before, but still probably not imminent.

Jacques Chirac, the new French President, appeared to be pressing for

a changed mandate, not a departure. The nature of the change is unclear, but would certainly involve concentrating United Nations soldiers in fewer places and giving them greater powers to respond with force. This, in turn, might mean abandoning the protection of the eastern Bosnian Muslim enclaves of Gorazde, Zepa and Srebrenica.

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Author: CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday May 21, 1995 Sec: 4 Week in Review Desk p: 2
Length: Medium (246 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; SARAJEVO
(BOSNIA); BOSNIA; SERBIA

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Article Text:

Sarajevo, symbol of the civil warfare ravaging the Balkans, was battered last week by the worst fighting in two years. Shelling by Government forces concentrated on two key Serbian supply routes, portending a long and terrifying summer in which the Bosnians appear determined to break the three-year Serbian siege of Sarajevo.

And not only civilians were caught in the crossfire.

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surrounded. (Source: United Nations)

Access No: 9300009992 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS: THE OVERVIEW; ALLIES RESOLVE TO
BOLSTER U.N PEACEKEEPING IN BOSNIA; U.S. WEIGHS A GROUND
ROLE
Authors: STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday May 30, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1476 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: HOSTAGES; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS;
YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; FRANCE; RUSSIA; GERMANY;
GREAT BRITAIN
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

Abstract: The US, UK, France, Germany and Russia resolved on May 30,
1995 to expand the size of the UN force in Bosnia and give
it heavier equipment to deter any repetition of raids that
have left more than 325 peacekeepers as hostages of the
Bosnian Serbs. A senior Clinton administration official
said on May 29 that the US was not ruling out contributing
American troops in a combat role, specifically a commando
action to free the hostages.

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Article Text:

THE HAGUE, Tuesday, May 30 -- The United States, Britain, France,
Germany and Russia resolved this morning to expand the size of the United
Nations force in Bosnia and give it heavier equipment to deter any
repetition of raids that have left more than 325 peacekeepers as hostages
of the Bosnian Serbs.

And for the first time, a senior Clinton Administration official said
on Monday that the United States was not ruling out contributing American
troops in a combat role, specifically a commando action to free the
hostages.

Asserting that they would not let the hostage-taking blackmail the
United Nations into withdrawing its 22,500 peacekeepers, the United
States, Russia and the European powers endorsed a plan drafted by France
that would regroup the United Nations force into larger, easier-to-defend
contingents and give it more aggressive rules of engagement to ward off
attacks.

To that end, Britain announced that it would send at least another

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5,000 troops to Bosnia. France said it was sending the aircraft carrier *Richmond* and helicopter gunships to support its contingent. The United States, which has sent the aircraft carrier *Theodore Roosevelt* to the Adriatic Sea, is also sending 2,000 marines there.

Anthony Lake, President Clinton's national security adviser, said in Washington that the deployment of the marines, who are trained in commando operations, was 'a precautionary measure,' adding, 'No decision has been made yet to send them into combat.'

But another senior Administration official insisted that a commando role could not be 'excluded.'

The foreign ministers of United States, Britain, France and Germany made their call for strengthening the United Nations Protection Force at an emergency four-hour meeting held here late Monday night with Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrei V. Kozyrev. The five countries form the so-called contact group delegated to lead international efforts to end the fighting in the Balkans.

The United States and the European nations went into the meeting hoping to win Russia's endorsement of the plan to strengthen and reconfigure the United Nations force.

The officials called on the Bosnian Serbs to free the peacekeepers immediately but gave few clues about how they would persuade the Serbs to release the hostages.

Peacekeepers from Britain, France, Canada and other countries were seized after the United Nations, with strong American urging, called in NATO planes to bomb a Serb ammunition depot on Thursday and Friday.

In a communique the foreign ministers issued at 2:30 this morning, they gave a stern warning to the Bosnian Serbs, saying they would 'hold Pale leaders personally accountable for the security of U.N. personnel taken hostage.'

Referring to the United Nations force, a senior United States official said, 'The taking of hostages underscores the need for Unprofor to be beefed up and for measures to be taken to reduce the vulnerability of the troops so the risk of hostage-taking and retaliatory actions is reduced, if not eliminated.'

The official, who is traveling with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, said the Administration might also lend unspecified logistical support to reconfigure the United Nations force. Such a move is expected to involve reducing the functions of the peacekeepers, while concentrating them into larger, more defensible groupings that can better carry out their remaining functions.

'We believe the U.N. needs to be regrouped so it's less vulnerable,' said Britain's Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd.

France's new Prime Minister, Alain Juppe, has threatened to withdraw France's peacekeepers unless the United Nations force is strengthened and its mission redefined so it can be more effective.

While focusing on military options, the foreign ministers also said

they hoped to pursue diplomatic avenues to end the conflict, by redoubling efforts to persuade President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia to recognize Bosnia's territorial integrity. Such an action would further isolate the Bosnian Serbs, who control about 70 percent of Bosnia's territory.

The ministers convened their emergency meeting here to discuss the hostage crisis and the future of the United Nations mission in Bosnia. Those talks will continue today and on Wednesday in a different forum: a NATO foreign ministers meeting in Noordwijk, a Dutch seaside resort just north of The Hague.

In Brussels Monday, the 15 nations of the European Union backed France's and Britain's call to strengthen the United Nations force.

The ministers said there was a need to secure the peacekeepers' right of freedom of movement and especially their right of access to the six zones declared 'safe areas' by the United Nations. The ministers also said there was a need to provide a rapid reaction force to protect peacekeepers in emergencies.

A senior American official said that because the United States has no troops in Bosnia, the Administration was deferring to Britain and France, which have the largest contingents of peacekeepers, about what should be done with the United Nations force and how the hostage crisis should be resolved.

'I don't think you are going to see a change in our position that American ground forces are not going to be introduced into the conflict,' the official said. 'So that, as a result, means we have to work with our partners rather than tell them what to do.'

An American official said there seemed to be little alternative but to negotiate with the Bosnian Serbs since Britain, France and other countries with troops being held hostage fear that new air strikes or other tough action could lead to the death of those hostages. Some American officials say they want to make sure that further air strikes are not ruled out as an option, adding that the Bosnian Serbs must not be allowed to get away with what the Administration has called 'terrorist' behavior.

At a news conference this morning, Mr. Christopher said, 'The use of air power must remain an option.' Administration officials acknowledged that this was left out of the communique because of Russian objections.

American diplomats said the contact group was leaning against having the peacekeepers pull out of hard-to-defend Muslim safe-areas in eastern Bosnia, including Srebrenica and Gorazde. These officials said France opposed it because those safe areas were already so vulnerable to a Serbian takeover.

But the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has suggested withdrawing from those enclaves because the United Nations forces there could be overwhelmed by Serbian troops and because he wants to the peacekeepers to do fewer jobs, but better.

Officials traveling with Mr. Christopher said they were dismayed that United Nations leaders did not do a better job of insuring that the

peacekeepers were in defensible positions before last week's air strikes. At their meeting, the United States, Russia and the European powers discussed what should be done next to persuade Mr. Milosevic of Serbia to recognize Bosnia.

An American diplomat said a deal with Mr. Milosovic 'was probably 80 to 85 percent complete' when talks between the Serbian President and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Frasure fell apart last week. The diplomat said the United States and Mr. Milosevic had agreed to the terms of recognition of Bosnia, the step-by-step process of lifting economic sanctions and the expansion of patrols along Serbia's border to stop smuggling to the Bosnian Serbs.

But the talks fell apart over Mr. Milosevic's insistence that he would recognize Bosnia only in return for an irreversible lifting of the sanctions against his country. The United States insists that Mr. Milosevic should be offered no more than suspension of the sanctions so they could be reimposed if Serbia stopped contributing to peace efforts.

Balkan Update

At THE HAGUE, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the foreign ministers of Britain, France, Germany and Russia resolved to bolster the United Nations force in Bosnia to deter the Bosnian Serbs from making new raids on peacekeepers and taking hostages.

In BRUSSELS, the 15 nations of the European Union backed France's and Britain's call to strengthen the United Nations force.

Britain dispatched two gun batteries to the Croatian port of SPLIT, from where they were to move into Bosnia. These British units would be under United Nations command and provide the peacekeeping force with artillery for the first time.

The Bosnian Army said Serbs unleashed heavy artillery attacks near TAR, on the main road connecting Split with Sarajevo.

British officials said they would send at least 5,000 more ground troops to Bosnia, while France dispatched the aircraft carrier Foch to the ADRIATIC SEA, where the American aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt and 2,000 marines were also headed.

Caption:

Photo: With more than 325 United Nations peacekeepers in Bosnia being held hostage by Serbs, residents of Tuzla mourned yesterday at a funeral of one of the 71 people killed there last week in a shelling attack by the Serbs. Tuzla is one of the six 'safe areas' in Bosnia under protection of the United Nations. (Associated Press) (pg. A6)

Access No: 9300009863 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS: THE DECISION; FOR EUROPE, ECHOES

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OF VIETNAM WAR

Author: CRAIG R. WHITNEY
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday May 30, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 7
Length: Long (996 words) Type: NEWS ANALYSIS
Subjects: UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; ARMAMENT, DEFENSE & MILITARY FORCES; CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; VIETNAM WAR; YUGOSLAVIA; GREAT BRITAIN; FRANCE; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: The similarities between the Europeans' involvement in the Bosnian conflict and the US's involvement in the Vietnam War are discussed. Unable to persuade the warring parties to stop fighting and mostly unwilling to use force to stop them, countries like Britain and France are now condemned to pour in more troops to help protect the ones who are already there.

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Article Text:

PARIS, May 29 -- For Europeans, Bosnia is the quagmire that Vietnam was for the United States three decades ago. None of the countries providing peacekeeping soldiers to the United Nations force in Bosnia can get out unless all of them agree to a humiliating withdrawal in failure.

Obviously there are many differences between the United States' involvement in Vietnam and the United Nations' involvement in Bosnia, but Britain and France, the countries with the most troops in Bosnia, face a similar quandary. Unable to persuade the warring parties to stop the fighting and mostly unwilling to use force to stop them, they are now condemned to pour in more soldiers to protect those who are already there.

The NATO alliance was willing at the most to use bombing to help, but its leading power, the United States, has said it would only send ground troops to Bosnia if the United Nations needed help to fight its way out and withdraw. The irony leads to occasional bitter commentaries about Americans being willing to fight to the last European soldier in Bosnia, but no one here seriously expects the United States to get involved in what is clearly a losing proposition.

The United Nations has sent about 22,500 soldiers from France, Britain, Spain, Turkey, the Netherlands, Bangladesh, Sweden and 11 other countries to Bosnia for 'humanitarian' aims. But it has not authorized them to impose an end to the fighting, and they are in any case too lightly armed to do so.

That has condemned their mission to frustration and has left the power to control events with the President of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, and

his erstwhile ally -- the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic. A conservative French politician named Alain Juppe expressed that view in a book published two years ago, accusing them of trying to construct a greater Serbia on the ruins of the Bosnian multiethnic state.

'Proclaiming far and wide that France and the international community had to restrict themselves to purely humanitarian actions, and avoiding any threat of military intervention, was a clear message to Milosevic that he had a free hand: 'Carry on, and let us take care of the wounded,' in so many words,' Mr. Juppe wrote.

He later became Foreign Minister and, this month, Prime Minister of France, and now he cannot merely criticize but has to decide what his country should do in Bosnia.

Mr. Juppe and Jacques Chirac, elected President of France on May 7, have threatened to withdraw France's 3,835 troops from Sarajevo unless the United Nations mandate is changed to allow them to defend themselves.

But France cannot withdraw unilaterally without wrecking any chance Mr. Chirac may have of realizing his ambition of leading the European Union into the 21st century.

Britain and France could agree jointly to leave, and they might persuade Spain, Sweden, and other European Union countries to pull out with them. But that would be seen as cynical abandonment of the Bosnian civilian victims of the fighting, whose protection is the United Nations' main reason for being there.

So diplomacy turns in circles, with the main hope of change now seen in the face-saving possibility that Mr. Milosevic may soon agree to recognize Bosnia in exchange for a lifting of the United Nations sanctions against his country.

Unless there is a diplomatic breakthrough toward a peace settlement, the Europeans seem condemned to keep sending in more troops to protect the ones they already have there.

Britain is sending in more soldiers to protect the 3,565 in Bosnia, and France is sending an aircraft carrier and an amphibious assault force to the Adriatic that its 3,835 soldiers in Bosnia will be able to call on for help if the Serbs try to attack them.

The French and the British have also agreed to consolidate the deployment of the United Nations forces. They are now scattered in locations all around Bosnia, including the six 'safe areas' -- Gorazde, Bihac, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Zepa and Sarajevo -- where they are supposed to be protecting civilians.

After a point, though, consolidation would also limit their mission, which would lose all justification if the United Nations soldiers became exclusively concerned with protecting themselves.

Concern about the safety of the peacekeepers has always been the main reason for the reluctance of United Nations officials to call in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for air strikes to punish the innumerable Serbian violations of past cease-fire agreements.

After two sets of NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb targets outside Sarajevo last week, a nightmare came true, with United Nations soldiers handcuffed near bomb targets and now more than 325 held hostage by the Serbs as insurance against any further NATO bombing.

French military commanders reacted with indignation Monday, asking French news media to mask the faces of the humiliated soldiers.

The danger of weakness was foreseen long ago, but not acted upon. Last December, after the United Nations backed down in the face of Serbian attacks against Bihac, military experts met in The Hague and agreed on proposals to expand the United Nations force and to provide it with helicopters and other transport aircraft, and armed NATO escorts.

But six months later, nothing had happened. 'Our partners at the United Nations have been dragging their feet,' said Mr. Juppe, whose new Government is again asking its partners to provide the United Nations operation with a quick reaction force to protect itself.

Despite the human lives that they have undoubtedly saved, the damage caused by the performance of the United Nations and NATO in Bosnia to the peace and stability of Europe that the allies are sworn to preserve is incalculable. Some officials of the Clinton Administration say that it began when they failed two years ago to get the European allies to adopt a stronger stance against Serbian aggression, but that there is little they can do to help now.

Access No: 9300015565 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: THE WORLD; A SMALL BITE AT THE BOSNIAN BULLET
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday May 28, 1995 Sec: 4 Week in Review Desk p: 3
Length: Long (1120 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; US-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-YUGOSLAVIA; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Names: BUSH, GEORGE; CLINTON, BILL (PRES) LOAD-DATE: MAY 28, 1995
Abstract: The disastrous American-backed effort to punish the Bosnian Serbs with NATO air strikes the week of May 21, 1995 seemed only to bring closer the day when American troops may be asked to deliver on a commitment to go to Bosnia and help pull out all or most of the 22,000 UN peacekeepers. Such an American troop contribution is unlikely to happen, however, and the Bosnian war may come to be seen in retrospect as the beginning of an American disengagement from Europe.

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pedestrians venturing across city streets.

The possibility for a change of approach certainly exists now, and the arrival of 12,500-strong rapid reaction force next month would appear to suggest a readiness for strong action.

'You can't have something like a tenth of the British army sitting on its hands for a couple of months doing nothing,' said one western official referring to the new force, made up largely of British and French soldiers.

But precedent suggests that western governments will not approve action -- such as blasting land corridors through to towns like Sarajevo or Gorazde -- that would amount to going to war with separatist Serbs. Rather, if the crisis in Gorazde persists, it seems more likely to many people here that the new force would be used to withdraw the peacekeepers there.

In this light, the withdrawal from the weapons-collection points might be seen as the beginning of a three-step plan. First, the regrouping of peacekeepers previously scattered in the area around Sarajevo to the capital -- already accomplished on Sunday. Second, a withdrawal of beleaguered peacekeepers from the distant enclaves. And finally, sometime before the end of the year, a complete withdrawal of the 22,000 United Nations soldiers now in Bosnia.

Senior United Nations officials here conceded that a withdrawal has never been more likely and that the rapid-reaction force would be very useful for it. Of course, a political settlement, or progress toward it, would avert this. But the chances of peace have seldom seemed more remote.

The officials said Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, had recently written to President Clinton proposing a 'Camp David-style conference' to resolve the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

But Dr. Karadzic has been identified as a suspected war criminal by a United Nations tribunal; the Bosnian government remains determined to avenge the sweeping Serbian crimes of 1992, through a long war if necessary, and the United Nations has never had the cohesion or muscle to break this impasse.

Access No: 9300017704 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS: POLITICS; ALLIES SEEM NEAR ACCORD
TO BOLSTER BOSNIA FORCE
Authors: R. W. APPLE Jr.
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Friday Jun 2, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
Length: Long (1306 words) Illus: Graph
Subjects: UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; CIVIL WAR &
GUERRILLA WARFARE; INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS; US-INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS-YUGOSLAVIA; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA; SERBIA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN);

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Abstract: The US and its allies appeared on Jun 1, 1995 to be headed toward an agreement to reinforce and partly reposition the UN force in Bosnia, rather than withdrawing it in the face of increased pressure from the Bosnian Serbs. However, major details remained in doubt.

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Article Text:

WASHINGTON, June 1 -- The United States and its allies appeared today to be headed toward an agreement to reinforce and partly reposition the United Nations force in Bosnia, rather than withdrawing it in the face of increased pressure from the Bosnian Serbs. But major details remained in doubt.

'The option that is strongly preferred,' Secretary of State Warren Christopher told reporters in Madrid, using the acronym for United Nations Protection Force, 'is that Unprofor should be strengthened, Unprofor should not be withdrawn, and there should be consideration of redeployment if military officials think that it is desirable.'

Laid aside for the moment, said American officials, is the whole question of possible United States participation in any attempt to rescue the more than 320 hostages seized by the Bosnian Serbs after NATO air strikes last week.

The United States, the officials said, would not contribute troops to a French-planned quick-reaction force of several thousand to be based in Croatia, but might send equipment.

Elaborating slightly on the speech he made on Wednesday, President Clinton, who is traveling in Montana, said in an interview published today in The Billings Gazette: 'If the U.N. forces want to stay in Bosnia but have to relocate so they can concentrate themselves in more secure areas, if they needed help from us, we would be willing to give it.'

'As long as the mission was strictly limited for a very narrow purpose and it was something that we could do for them that they couldn't do for themselves, upon proper consultation with Congress, I would be inclined to do that. But they would not be going there to get involved in the war or to be part of the United Nations mission.'

At a town meeting this evening in Billings, President Clinton said: 'I think, in the end, this war will only end when the parties are willing to negotiate a peace in peace, just the way we're bringing an end to the war in the Middle East, the way we're bringing an end to the conflicts in Northern Ireland.'

'I do not believe there is a military settlement that the United States can enforce and I do not favor sending our troops into combat there to try to assure victory or to force, through military means, an end to the

fighting. All it would do is get a lot of Americans killed and not achieve the objective, so I don't think we should do that. But we should do everything we can short of that.'

Mr. Clinton was answering a question from Melita Kabashi, 14, an exchange student from a town in the former Yugoslavia that has been occupied by the Serbs.

Congressional opinion remained solidly arrayed against any use of American troops in the Balkans for any purpose except the extraction of the United Nations peacekeepers. Republicans tended to voice their criticisms of Mr. Clinton's new policy in the sharpest terms, and few prominent Democrats stuck their necks out to defend the President.

Like Senator Bob Dole of Kansas on Wednesday, other Republicans, including Senators John McCain of Arizona and Phil Gramm of Texas, a Presidential contender, said Mr. Clinton was merely reinforcing failure.

The Republicans in Congress have vowed to repeal the War Powers Act, which gives Congress at least theoretical power to restrain Presidents in foreign policy.

Other Republicans also entered the fray, all but insuring that next week, when Congress returns from a brief vacation, will be filled with argumentation and recrimination on Capitol Hill.

James A. Baker 3d, who served as Secretary of State under President Bush, said of Mr. Clinton's position: 'This is a slippery slope, in capital letters. This is exactly the kind of mission creep that led to disaster in Somalia. This is incrementalism at its worst -- and a sure recipe for disaster.'

Returning from the West, Mr. Clinton will meet at the White House Friday with Defense Secretary William J. Perry and Gen. John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to ponder the next steps. Then on Saturday, Mr. Perry and General Shalikashvili are to meet in Paris with officials of European nations that have contributed peacekeeping troops to Bosnia.

Final decisions, White House officials warned, will not be made until a meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels on Thursday. But that could be part of an effort to conceal the timetable for action.

Much remains to be decided.

One major point concerns the enclaves where isolated groups of peacekeepers, cut off from their headquarters, appear highly vulnerable. In the so-called eastern enclaves, the British are at Gorazde, Ukrainians are in Zepa and Dutch forces are based in Srebrenica.

One American involved in planning said there was no question that United Nations observers dotted about the country -- known to officials as 'the onesies and the twosies' -- will have to be pulled back to safer positions. But removing the larger groups from the Muslim enclaves might well expose them to capture by the Bosnian Serbs, which the United Nations has vowed to prevent. If the enclaves were overrun, United Nations credibility in the Balkans, already low, would plunge to the bottom.

Mr. Christopher's aides said he opposed leaving the enclaves. But the commander of the French contingent in Bosnia, Gen. Bernard Juvier, said during a visit to the Security Council in New York last month that if the troops in the enclave had to be withdrawn to the central region, the Bosnians left behind might be able to defend themselves.

'We need to ask the Bosnian Government about that,' an allied official at the United Nations said. 'This is very much on our minds.'

A second imponderable is timing. No progress has been made yet in gaining the release of the hostages, and even the most optimistic officials in allied capitals think that freeing them by diplomatic means will take a considerable time. So the question arises: Can a redeployment be undertaken with the hostages still in the hands of the Bosnian Serbs?

'An argument can be made,' a ranking American official said, 'that beginning a repositioning effort would put pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to release the hostages. An argument can also be made that it might infuriate them and cause them to harm the hostages. We will simply have to make the best judgment we can when the moment comes.'

A third imponderable is how American force should be used. There appear to be no important splits in the Administration, though some might appear as final decisions are hammered out. At the meeting on Sunday called to discuss American support for repositioning, Mr. Christopher and the State Department expressed reluctance and, unusually, Mr. Perry and defense officials expressed support for backing the allies with United States forces.

But everyone quickly got back on board, officials asserted.

'There has been a complex interplay of policies and personalities on all this,' one American said, 'but much less backbiting than usual.'

Some American officials said today that American troops might be held in reserve on shipboard, to be committed only if the peacemaking forces fall into trouble as they began their moves. Others said American forces would be directly involved, perhaps including American helicopters and planes to be used to make the actual pickups of peacekeeping units.

Any loss of aircraft and capture of crews would increase the already substantial political peril the operation holds for the President.

'It is a very tough call, very, very tough,' a White House aide said. 'One thing you can be sure of: If we go in, we will go in with the firepower to cover any contingency.'

Whether, in the end, the Europeans will wish to make a formal request for help if it involves the prospect of operations on such a large scale remains to be seen. In the past they have sought to limit the fighting.

Caption:

Graph: 'ADDING IT UP: Captured U.N. Forces' shows number of French, Canadians, Brits, Russians, and Ukrainians held hostage and number

surrounded. (Source: United Nations)

Access No: 9300009992 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS: THE OVERVIEW; ALLIES RESOLVE TO
BOLSTER U.N PEACEKEEPING IN BOSNIA; U.S. WEIGHS A GROUND
ROLE
Authors: STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday May 30, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1476 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: HOSTAGES; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS;
YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; FRANCE; RUSSIA; GERMANY;
GREAT BRITAIN
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

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Right now there is no peace to keep. Maybe it's time for the peacekeepers to go home and let us fight this out among ourselves.'

Caption:

Photo: Sabria Zimic wept yesterday and was comforted by a friend after Mr. Zimic read a poster announcing the burial of his daughter, Minela, 9, who died Sunday when a shell hit a garden in Sarajevo, killing six people. (Associated Press)

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina showing location of Visnjica and areas of control.

Access No: 9300015364 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIA MISSION: CAN U.N. LEARN FROM ITS FAILURES?
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Jun 20, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 3
Length: Long (944 words) Type: NEWS ANALYSIS
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: An analysis of whether the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia can learn from its failures, including its recent withdrawal from the weapons-collection points, is presented. On Jun 18, 1995, the UN finally admitted defeat in its efforts and handed back several hundreds tanks, howitzers and mortars to the Serbs.

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, June 19 -- On a freezing day in February 1994, as NATO planes waited to strike, the United Nations mission to Bosnia muddled its way to a fateful decision: Instead of collecting Serbian guns ringing Sarajevo, peacekeepers went to the Serbian gun positions to watch over them.

The decision, which followed a mortar attack on Sarajevo's central market that had killed 68 people, was made to avoid further violence. It averted, at the very last minute, the NATO bombing threatened under the terms of an ultimatum calling for all guns to be removed beyond 12.5 miles from Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, or be handed over to United Nations control.

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But it also created a situation riddled with flaws: The guns were all where they had been since the war began in 1992, and the peacekeepers surrounding them were potential hostages in the event of NATO air strikes on any guns that were used.

After wrestling for over a year with this intractable conundrum, the United Nations finally admitted defeat on Sunday and handed back several hundred tanks, howitzers and mortars to the Serbs. The so-called weapons-collection points ceased to exist.

As a result, it is open season again in Sarajevo for the shelling of civilians. This is the question now: How, if at all, will the lessons of this failure be used by the United Nations?

In one sense, the United Nations forces are now freer to act in pursuit of a mandate that allows them to use the necessary means, including force, to deliver food and other aid to encircled, mainly Muslim cities like Sarajevo and Gorazde.

'We no longer have as many as 400 potential hostages,' Lieut. Col. Gary Coward, a United Nations spokesman, said today. 'We have secured our people as far as we can.'

After the withdrawal of the peacekeepers on Sunday, only a handful of United Nations troops remain in the 70 percent of Bosnia controlled by the Serbs, at four Russian and two French observation posts. The hostage threat has thus been largely laid to rest.

But other enormous difficulties confront the peacekeeping mission here. The most immediate is the situation in the mainly Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia -- Zepa, Srebrenica and Gorazde -- where the Serbian forces ringing the towns have not allowed United Nations convoys through for weeks.

The several hundred United Nations soldiers there are living on rations and patrolling on mules -- when they patrol at all -- because they have no fuel. Food is desperately short for the local populations. Sarajevo, while not yet as badly off, is not far behind and United Nations officers say rations and diesel fuel will run out at the end of the month.

'It's the Serbs' call right now,' one United Nations official said. 'If they continue to close down the convoys to the eastern enclaves, we may have to push them through by force. Alternatively, we may have to get our people out and abandon the enclaves.'

The Serbs say they do not allow the convoys through because the Muslim-led Bosnian Army is waging war from towns like Gorazde and Sarajevo. This is true. The Bosnian Army has recently seized some new ground around Gorazde and its mortars are scattered all over Sarajevo.

But this argument only highlights the basic predicament of the United Nations force here. Caught in the middle of a war, and apparently unwilling to use force in a resolute way to apply its mandate of aiding civilians, it has been largely reduced to the role of a hapless bystander. In Sarajevo, for example, there is virtually nothing left of the mission except sniper patrols that use armored vehicles to try to shield

pedestrians venturing across city streets.

The possibility for a change of approach certainly exists now, and the arrival of 12,500-strong rapid reaction force next month would appear to suggest a readiness for strong action.

'You can't have something like a tenth of the British army sitting on its hands for a couple of months doing nothing,' said one western official referring to the new force, made up largely of British and French soldiers.

But precedent suggests that western governments will not approve action -- such as blasting land corridors through to towns like Sarajevo or Gorazde -- that would amount to going to war with separatist Serbs. Rather, if the crisis in Gorazde persists, it seems more likely to many people here that the new force would be used to withdraw the peacekeepers there.

In this light, the withdrawal from the weapons-collection points might be seen as the beginning of a three-step plan. First, the regrouping of peacekeepers previously scattered in the area around Sarajevo to the capital -- already accomplished on Sunday. Second, a withdrawal of beleaguered peacekeepers from the distant enclaves. And finally, sometime before the end of the year, a complete withdrawal of the 22,000 United Nations soldiers now in Bosnia.

Senior United Nations officials here conceded that a withdrawal has never been more likely and that the rapid-reaction force would be very useful for it. Of course, a political settlement, or progress toward it, would avert this. But the chances of peace have seldom seemed more remote.

The officials said Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, had recently written to President Clinton proposing a 'Camp David-style conference' to resolve the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

But Dr. Karadzic has been identified as a suspected war criminal by a United Nations tribunal; the Bosnian government remains determined to avenge the sweeping Serbian crimes of 1992, through a long war if necessary, and the United Nations has never had the cohesion or muscle to break this impasse.

Access No: 9300017704 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS: POLITICS; ALLIES SEEM NEAR ACCORD
TO BOLSTER BOSNIA FORCE
Authors: R. W. APPLE Jr.
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Friday Jun 2, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
Length: Long (1306 words) Illus: Graph
Subjects: UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; CIVIL WAR &
GUERRILLA WARFARE; INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS; US-INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS-YUGOSLAVIA; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA; SERBIA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN);

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there were no immediate details. The enclave is home to an estimated 40,000 Bosnian Muslims, most of them refugees.

Colonel Coward said the Serbian rebels also attacked the enclave's northern and southern perimeters. The heaviest fighting occurred near a United Nations observation post that overlooks the main north-south road through Srebrenica, which is about 50 miles east of Sarajevo.

'The Serbs appear to be intent on seizing high ground around where the road enters the enclave,' Colonel Coward said.

Occasional mortar fire from both sides pounded Sarajevo's suburbs today. At least 6 civilians were killed and 11 were wounded in Government-held parts of Sarajevo, Bosnian health officials said.

The Serbs stepped up shelling of United Nations enclaves after the Bosnian Government launched an offensive on June 15 to break the Serbian siege of Sarajevo.

United Nations officials were considering whether the Dutch peacekeepers at the Srebrenica post should withdraw, as they were forced to do last month when a nearby post came under Serb attack.

Srebrenica should have a contingent of 730 peacekeepers, but since April the Serbs have refused to allow the United Nations to bring in 300 replacements for a unit that was permitted to leave.

Serbs have also denied passage to United Nations supply convoys to the enclave, forcing peacekeepers to survive on basic rations.

There have been unconfirmed reports that the Dutch are planning to pull out of Srebrenica in September. But officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said that the United Nations is having trouble finding replacement troops acceptable to the Serbs, who oppose peacekeepers from Islamic countries.

Conclusion:

Maps show current areas of control in and surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also shown is detail of the area surrounding Sarajevo.

Access No: 9300017493 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIAN MUSLIM TROOPS EVADE U.N. FORCE TO RAID SERB VILLAGE
Authors: STEPHEN KINZER
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Jun 27, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 3
Length: Long (875 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA &
HERZEGOVINA; VISNJICA (BOSNIA)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: In a raid before dawn that again illustrated the weakness

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of UN forces in Bosnia, Bosnian government soldiers apparently slipped past UN posts on Jun 26, 1995 and attacked the isolated Bosnian Serb village of Visnjica, burning several houses, stealing livestock and leaving a dozen families homeless. The assault reflected the growing frustration of government troops and the inadequacy of UN peacekeepers who have pledged to prevent them from leaving enclaves in eastern Bosnia.

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Article Text:

VISNJICA, Bosnia and Herzegovina, June 26 -- In a raid before dawn that again illustrated the weakness of United Nations forces here, Bosnian Government soldiers apparently slipped past United Nations posts today and attacked this isolated Bosnian Serb village, burning several houses, stealing livestock and leaving a dozen families homeless, a Bosnian Serb spokesman said.

Although the assault had no great military significance, it reflected both the growing frustration of Government troops and the inadequacy of United Nations peacekeepers who have pledged to prevent them from leaving supposedly demilitarized enclaves in eastern Bosnia.

Visnjica is a miserable settlement perched on a mountainside a few miles from Srebrenica, one of the Muslim towns in eastern Bosnia which the United Nations has designated as demilitarized 'protected areas.' But today's raid was apparently launched by troops based inside Srebrenica, leading Bosnian Serb officers to denounce the United Nations for failing to comply with its promise to keep the town free of soldiers and weapons. 'There have been a number of incidents like this in the last 15 to 20 days,' said Lieut. Col. Milovan Milutinovic, chief spokesman for the Bosnian Serb army. 'The Muslim soldiers who carried out this attack crossed lines patrolled by Dutch U.N. troops whose job it is to prevent just this kind of action. We therefore conclude that the U.N. forces are aligning themselves with the Muslim army.'

Colonel Milutinovic's assertion was the mirror image of accusations that the Muslim-dominated Bosnian Government has been making for months. It has been denouncing the peacekeepers for their failure to prevent Bosnian Serbs from bombarding the enclaves, and asserting that this failure constitutes de facto support for the Serbs.

Attempts to reach the United Nations headquarters in Srebrenica for comment on today's raid were unsuccessful.

[United Nations officials in Sarajevo said only that the Bosnian Serbs had shelled Srebrenica and Goradze, The Associated Press reported. It was unclear whether the Serbian shelling was in retaliation for the Bosnian Government attack on Visnjica.]

Several of the impoverished farmers who live in Visnjica said they had assumed they were safe here because of United Nations pledges.

'We thought that no one could attack us from Srebrenica because the town was demilitarized and surrounded by U.N. soldiers,' said Ljubomir Vukovic, 67, as he stood in the smoldering ruins of the house he shared with two other families. 'But they came from right over that hill.'

Mr. Vukovic pointed toward a peak separating his village from Srebrenica. A United Nations post there is supposed to prevent soldiers from passing in either direction.

Villagers here said they were awakened at 4:30 this morning by the sound of small-arms fire. They fled into the surrounding forest, watching helplessly as their homes were set afire and their cattle driven away, evidently to feed Government units.

Asked why he and his neighbors had been targeted, one villager, Savo Madzarevic, paused to reflect for a moment and then replied, 'I suppose it is because we are Serbs.'

'We lived so well here,' Mr. Madzarevic lamented. 'We had two beds and a table. Now we will have to become refugees somewhere.'

Visnjica is one of hundreds of Serbian towns and villages in Bosnia that are among the principal prizes in this war. The Muslim-dominated Government is determined to assert control over the towns and villages, insisting that they are integral parts of its internationally recognized territory. But Serbs whose ancestors have lived in these places for generations pledge to hold them at all costs, and vow never to allow them to be governed by non-Serbs.

Today's attackers may have chosen Visnjica as a target because it is isolated and undefended. When Serb soldiers arrived to repel them, they withdrew in the direction of Srebrenica, killing one Serb soldier and wounding three civilians but making no attempt to hold the village.

Government troops and their nominal Croat allies have been engaged in an offensive for more than a month, trying to break through Serb lines in various parts of the country. They have not made any substantial progress, and their principal goal, ending the Serb siege of Sarajevo, has eluded them. But as today's raid showed, they are still able to strike fear into the hearts of Serb villagers.

Their goal may be to terrorize these villagers into abandoning their homes, thus leaving formerly Serb areas uninhabited.

With both Government forces and rebel Serbs losing confidence in the ability of United Nations peacekeepers to protect them, the fighting here seems likely to increase. The recent arrival of a United Nations-backed 'rapid-reaction force' has done little to calm either Muslim or Serb fears, and has in fact led to assertions that the force is plotting to help one side or the other.

'It doesn't do any good to obey the rules of the U.N.,' said a Serb soldier who was among those who drove off today's attackers in Visnjica. 'There's a war going on here, and each side has to do what it has to do.'

Right now there is no peace to keep. Maybe it's time for the peacekeepers to go home and let us fight this out among ourselves.'

Caption:

Photo: Sabria Zimic wept yesterday and was comforted by a friend after Mr. Zimic read a poster announcing the burial of his daughter, Minela, 9, who died Sunday when a shell hit a garden in Sarajevo, killing six people. (Associated Press)

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina showing location of Visnjica and areas of control.

Access No: 9300015364 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIA MISSION: CAN U.N. LEARN FROM ITS FAILURES?
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Jun 20, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 3
Length: Long (944 words) Type: NEWS ANALYSIS
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: An analysis of whether the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia can learn from its failures, including its recent withdrawal from the weapons-collection points, is presented. On Jun 18, 1995, the UN finally admitted defeat in its efforts and handed back several hundreds tanks, howitzers and mortars to the Serbs.

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Article Text:

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The decision, which followed a mortar attack on Sarajevo's central market that had killed 68 people, was made to avoid further violence. It averted, at the very last minute, the NATO bombing threatened under the terms of an ultimatum calling for all guns to be removed beyond 12.5 miles from Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, or be handed over to United Nations control.

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near a crowd waiting to collect water from a distribution truck. The items were buried yesterday in the Lion Cemetery in Sarajevo. (Agence France-Presse)

Map shows current areas of control in and surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Access No: 9300020067 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SERBIAN ARTILLERY BOMBARDS ANOTHER BOSNIAN 'SAFE AREA'
Authors: AP
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Friday Jul 7, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
Length: Medium (457 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA); SARAJEVO (BOSNIA); NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: Thousands of civilians and hundreds of Dutch peacekeepers huddled in shelters on Jul 6, 1995 when Bosnian Serbs unleashed a barrage of shells on the eastern UN safe area of Srebrenica. In Sarajevo, another UN-designated safe area, at least six civilians were killed and 11 were wounded by mortar fire.

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 6 -- Thousands of civilians and hundreds of Dutch peacekeepers huddled in shelters today when Bosnian Serbs unleashed a barrage of shells on the eastern United Nations safe area of Srebrenica.

In Sarajevo, another United Nations-designated area supposedly off-limits to combat, at least 6 civilians were killed and 11 were wounded by mortar fire.

The peacekeepers' main base at Potocari, in the northern part of the Srebrenica enclave, was hit by at least 10 shells, and a Dutch observation post on Srebrenica's southeastern front was damaged by Bosnian Serb tank and mortar fire, said United Nations spokesman Alexander Ivanko.

None of the 450 Dutch peacekeepers was hurt, but two civilians were killed and an unknown number were wounded, said Lieut. Col. Gary Coward, another United Nations spokesman. Bosnian radio reported 4 dead and 17 wounded and predicted the casualty count would rise once the shelling subsided long enough to allow collection of the victims.

At least one shell reportedly hit a refugee center in Srebrenica, but

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there were no immediate details. The enclave is home to an estimated 40,000 Bosnian Muslims, most of them refugees.

Colonel Coward said the Serbian rebels also attacked the enclave's northern and southern perimeters. The heaviest fighting occurred near a United Nations observation post that overlooks the main north-south road through Srebrenica, which is about 50 miles east of Sarajevo.

'The Serbs appear to be intent on seizing high ground around where the road enters the enclave,' Colonel Coward said.

Occasional mortar fire from both sides pounded Sarajevo's suburbs today. At least 6 civilians were killed and 11 were wounded in Government-held parts of Sarajevo, Bosnian health officials said.

The Serbs stepped up shelling of United Nations enclaves after the Bosnian Government launched an offensive on June 15 to break the Serbian siege of Sarajevo.

United Nations officials were considering whether the Dutch peacekeepers at the Srebrenica post should withdraw, as they were forced to do last month when a nearby post came under Serb attack.

Srebrenica should have a contingent of 730 peacekeepers, but since April the Serbs have refused to allow the United Nations to bring in 300 replacements for a unit that was permitted to leave.

Serbs have also denied passage to United Nations supply convoys to the enclave, forcing peacekeepers to survive on basic rations.

There have been unconfirmed reports that the Dutch are planning to pull out of Srebrenica in September. But officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said that the United Nations is having trouble finding replacement troops acceptable to the Serbs, who oppose peacekeepers from Islamic countries.

Conclusion:

Maps show current areas of control in and surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also shown is detail of the area surrounding Sarajevo.

Access No: 9300017493 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: BOSNIAN MUSLIM TROOPS EVADE U.N. FORCE TO RAID SERB VILLAGE
Authors: STEPHEN KINZER
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Jun 27, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 3
Length: Long (875 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; VISNJICA (BOSNIA)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: In a raid before dawn that again illustrated the weakness

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officials to get clearance from the Bosnian Serbs to deliver relief supplies to Sarajevo, diplomats here said.

Aid officials say the 300,000 people in Sarajevo need two large aid convoys a day to receive proper food supplies.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said on Saturday that Bosnian Serbs have agreed to allow relief convoys, the first in more than two weeks, to enter Sarajevo on Monday.

'For the time being we have an approval on paper,' said Kris Janowski, the agency's spokesman. 'What will happen is a different matter.'

United Nations officials also said the decision to allow the convoys to travel to Sarajevo by way of roads controlled by Bosnian Serbs might be the result of increasing clashes between peacekeepers and Bosnian Serb gunners around Mt. Igman.

United Nations troops have lobbed heavy mortar rounds at Serbian positions several times in the last week after attacks on United Nations vehicles.

Caption:

Photo: A coffin with the body of a Dutch peacekeeper killed near Srebrenica was carried to a plane in Split, Croatia, yesterday. United Nations officials, fearing more hostage-taking in Bosnia, authorized air strikes against the Serbs at Srebrenica if they attacked the Dutch unit guarding the city. (Agence France-Presse) (pg. A3)

Map shows the current areas of control in and surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also show is the location of Srebrenica. (pg. A3)

Access No: 9300020784 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: COSTLY PULLOUT IN BOSNIA LOOMS UNLESS U.N. CAN PROVE EFFECTIVE
Authors: ELAINE SCIOLINO and CRAIG R. WHITNEY
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Jul 9, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1394 words)
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; EMBARGOES; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SERBIA (YUGOSLAVIA)
Names: CLINTON, BILL (PRES)
Companies: NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO); UNITED NATIONS (UN)
Abstract: The UN force in Bosnia has only a few weeks left to prove its effectiveness before a costly and dangerous NATO

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withdrawal of the UN soldiers-involving as many as 25,000 American ground troops-is almost certain to begin, officials on both sides of the Atlantic say.

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Article Text:

The United Nations force in Bosnia has only a few weeks left to prove its effectiveness before a costly and dangerous NATO withdrawal of the United Nations soldiers -- involving as many as 25,000 American ground troops -- is almost certain to begin, officials on both sides of the Atlantic say.

Both President Clinton and allied European leaders are making new efforts to support the embattled peacekeeping force and insist that they have not given up hope.

But leaders in Washington and Europe increasingly feel that time is against them. The NATO withdrawal plan would take five and a half months, so NATO must decide whether to evacuate by mid-August if the withdrawal is to be largely complete before the long Bosnian winter sets in.

'We don't have much time -- only a few weeks -- to re-establish our credibility,' Gen. Philippe Morillon, a former commander of the United Nations protection force in Bosnia and a member of the French general staff, said Friday night in Paris. 'This is the last chance.'

Pentagon officials have warned Administration policy makers that extricating the United Nations force from an intensifying war will almost certainly lead to American casualties, giving a special urgency to White House efforts to head off an evacuation order.

Mr. Clinton has invited the Congressional leaders of both parties and national security team to dinner at the White House tomorrow night, their first meeting on Bosnia since the Republicans took control of Congress in January.

Confronted with rising demands for an immediate United Nations withdrawal, the President intends to argue that trying to extricate the peacekeepers from Bosnia would be worse leaving them there.

In Bosnia, 10,000 members of a new European rapid reaction force are to begin their first operations today. Their stated goal is to aid the peacekeepers in delivering food and medicine through Serb blockades to besieged Bosnian cities.

But policy makers and military officials on both sides of the Atlantic are becoming resigned to the fact that hopes for the success of the United Nations mission are frail, and that the factors necessary for the peacekeepers to stay are beyond their control.

That pessimism was most starkly expressed in a closed-door briefing with Congress late last month by Robert Frasure, the United States special envoy to Bosnia, who predicted that the reinforced peacekeeping mission

had only a '10 to 15 percent chance' of succeeding. Even the most optimistic Administration officials believe the odds are 50-50.

Several factors could force a withdrawal: reckless aggression by the Bosnian Serbs, foolhardy bravado by the Muslim-dominated Bosnian Government or the passage by Congress of a resolution to break the United Nations arms embargo on Bosnia.

It is always possible that the allies might decide that the dangers they already face in Bosnia are preferable to those involved in an evacuation, including the risk of being bogged down in a wider war.

That danger was underscored yesterday when Serbian tanks blasted a United Nations observation post in Srebrenica, a 'safe area' in eastern Bosnia, forcing the peacekeepers to withdraw through a hail of Bosnian Government Army fire that killed one Dutch soldier; a French peacekeeper was also wounded by a sniper in Sarajevo.

The fighting also illustrated the danger of a pullout: extricating those peacekeepers would be assigned to American troops, a fact Defense Secretary William J. Perry has cited repeatedly in stressing the need to bolster the United Nations force.

Reflecting the unpredictability of Serbian behavior and intentions, the United Nations also announced yesterday that the Bosnian Serbs had agreed to allow aid into Sarajevo, a promise they have broken before.

Leaders in Washington, London and Paris insist -- at least publicly -- that they are united in their determination to try to keep the 40,000 peacekeepers in the Balkans.

For President Clinton, withdrawal would mean having to abandon his bedrock goal -- keeping American soldiers out of a place he once called a 'shooting gallery.'

For the Europeans, withdrawal would represent the worst failure of diplomacy in the nearly 40 years since they formed a common market.

Certainly President Jacques Chirac of France and Prime Minister John Major of Britain, who together will soon have more than 15,000 soldiers in Bosnia, are eager to avoid the risks of a withdrawal. That, British and French officials say, is why they decided to send reinforcements.

But they acted only in late May, after Bosnian Serbs took hundreds of peacekeepers hostage and handcuffed some of them to potential NATO bombing targets because air strikes had been called at American insistence. Since then the United Nations force has been impotent.

The situation has produced some of the worst tensions between the United States and its European allies since NATO was founded after World War II.

France and Britain are deeply resentful that instead of gratitude at having risked their soldiers in Bosnia while the United States has sat on the sidelines, they now face an increasingly hostile Congress calling for the withdrawal of their troops.

Malcolm Rifkind, the new British Foreign Secretary, bluntly made that point last month when he condemned American lawmakers for their

unwillingness to help pay for the force and for being 'naive in the extreme.'

The Europeans angrily charge that Congressional support for ending the arms embargo could force the peacekeepers to be withdrawn. They also worry that Congress might renege on President Clinton's pledge to use American ground troops to assist an evacuation.

But the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Richard C. Holbrooke, flew to Europe this weekend to reassure the allies that the Administration, at least, supports their decision to stay in Bosnia, but would help them withdraw if they had to leave.

Perhaps the most serious example of trans-Atlantic mistrust is the accusation by French officials that the United States is secretly arming and advising the Bosnian Army, a charge the United States has strongly and repeatedly denied.

But France, with nearly 4,000 peacekeepers in Bosnia and 2,000 reinforcements on the way, has insisted that the alleged American aid is intended to sabotage the European peacekeeping efforts and has warned that the result will be to involve the United States in a full-scale war against the Serbs.

On the American side, there are deep suspicions that the European troop reinforcements are part of a cut-and-run strategy intended to disguise what is really a plan to give France, Britain, the Netherlands, Spain and other countries the ability to withdraw their peacekeepers on their own before the winter. Some senior American policy makers and military officials are concerned that the Europeans would then find themselves militarily vulnerable and ask the Americans to come rescue them.

'The question a number of us are asking is whether or not the British and French are sending in the rapid reaction force as a disguised rapid extraction force,' said one senior Administration official.

European officials insist the charge is simply not true. The reinforcements, they say, are needed to give muscle to a renewed European effort to negotiate a peace and to convince the Bosnian Serbs they cannot attack the peacekeepers.

'The goal is to give the peacekeepers the means to stay,' Defense Minister Joris Voorhoeve of the Netherlands, whose troops are part of the new force, said in a recent interview. 'It is not to prepare for their withdrawal.'

In the worst case, Pentagon and European officials say, retreating peacekeepers would have to fight their way over roads clogged with fleeing refugees to airports endangered by shelling.

The withdrawal plan, known as 40-104, would commit up to 60,000 European and American troops, heavy tanks, helicopter gunships and artillery batteries -- costing \$2 billion -- to help the United Nations troops fight their way out of the country.

That scenario has suddenly seized the White House. 'If you were to ask the President and his senior advisers what their greatest fear in Bosnia

is, they would give the same answer: 40-104,' said one senior Administration official. 'That's become the main reason why the U.N. troops have to stay.'

Access No: 9300020798 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SERBS SHELL MUSLIM ENCLAVE; U.N. SOLDIER DIES IN BATTLE
Authors: AP
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Jul 9, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 8
Length: Medium (565 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA &
HERZEGOVINA; SERBIA (YUGOSLAVIA); SREBRENICA (BOSNIA);
NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: Rebel Serbs fired a barrage of tank shells and launched an infantry assault on the outskirts of an eastern Bosnian Muslim enclave, which includes Srebrenica town, on Jul 8, 1995. A Dutch UN peacekeeper fleeing the attack was killed by Bosnian government troops, the 67th peacekeeper killed in combat in the former Yugoslavia since 1992.

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 8 -- Rebel Serbs fired a barrage of tank shells and launched an infantry assault on the outskirts of an eastern Bosnian Muslim enclave today.

A Dutch United Nations peacekeeper fleeing the attack was killed by Bosnian Government troops, the 67th peacekeeper killed in combat in the former Yugoslavia since 1992.

NATO warplanes were called in after Serbs attacked the enclave and shelled a United Nations observation post, but airstrikes were not requested, United Nations officials said.

The infantry assault followed a surge in Serbian shelling of the enclave, which includes Srebrenica town, one of six United Nations-designated 'safe areas' in which civilians are supposed to be spared from attack.

Bosnian radio claimed there were dozens of dead and wounded in the enclave, home to 42,000 Muslims, most of them refugees. Neither the radio nor United Nations officials elaborated on the casualty count.

More than 300 rounds hit the Srebrenica enclave overnight and Saturday morning, said Lieut. Col. Gary Coward, a United Nations spokesman. Much of the shelling was believed to come from a Serbian tank about a mile from

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is, they would give the same answer: 40-104,' said one senior Administration official. 'That's become the main reason why the U.N. troops have to stay.'

Access No: 9300020798 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SERBS SHELL MUSLIM ENCLAVE; U.N. SOLDIER DIES IN BATTLE
Authors: AP
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Jul 9, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 8
Length: Medium (565 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SERBIA (YUGOSLAVIA); SREBRENICA (BOSNIA); NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: Rebel Serbs fired a barrage of tank shells and launched an infantry assault on the outskirts of an eastern Bosnian Muslim enclave, which includes Srebrenica town, on Jul 8, 1995. A Dutch UN peacekeeper fleeing the attack was killed by Bosnian government troops, the 67th peacekeeper killed in combat in the former Yugoslavia since 1992.

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the town.

In the afternoon, Serbian infantry launched an assault on the southeastern edge of the enclave, securing high ground overlooking the main road, Colonel Coward said.

A United Nations observation post in the area took four direct hits from Serbian tank shells and was briefly surrounded before the group of about 15 Dutch peacekeepers was allowed to withdraw.

'After leaving the observation post, the Dutch ran into an obstruction on the road placed by the Bosnian Army,' said Jim Landale, another United Nations spokesman. 'They were then fired upon by Government soldiers.'

The slain soldier was operating the gun on top of the peacekeepers' armored vehicle, Mr. Landale said.

Serbian forces have been slowly pushing north into the enclave, trying to force Government troops and peacekeepers back from high ground overlooking a key east-west supply route.

Even by the standards of the three-year-old war, the situation in Bosnia has deteriorated dramatically over the last week.

On Wednesday a rebel Serb plane, violating the 'no flight' zone over Bosnia, rocketed Government-held territory in the northwest. On Thursday, hundreds of Serb shells rained down on peacekeepers and civilians in Srebrenica. On Friday Carl Bildt, an European Union peace envoy, twice escaped injury when Bosnian Serbs opened fire on a road on which he was traveling and on his helicopter.

In northwest Bosnia, the Bihac enclave was targeted by surface-to-air missiles for the second time in less than a week. There were no reported casualties.

In Sarajevo, a French peacekeeper was slightly wounded by sniper fire today, and shelling of the city left 2 civilians dead and 11 wounded.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees announced today that Bosnian Serbs had promised to allow relief convoys to enter Sarajevo along main roads beginning Monday.

If convoys moved according to plan, that could allow the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to bring in up to 500 tons of foodstuffs next week, a spokesman said.

United Nations officials said the Serb decision appeared prompted by fears of a showdown with United Nation peacekeepers for control of Mount Igman, the only land route into Sarajevo that is not physically blocked by Serbs.

Caption:

Photo: The shelling of Sarajevo has increased dramatically in recent weeks. On Thursday two Jehovah's Witnesses, Bozo Dorem, 38; his wife, Hena, 30, and their 5-year-old daughter, Magdalena, were killed while walking home from a meeting when a shell slammed into western Sarajevo

near a crowd waiting to collect water from a distribution truck. The
bombs were buried yesterday in the Lion Cemetery in Sarajevo. (Agence
France-Presse)

Map shows current areas of control in and surrounding Bosnia and
Herzegovina.

Access No: 9300020067 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SERBIAN ARTILLERY BOMBARDS ANOTHER BOSNIAN 'SAFE AREA'
Authors: AP
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Friday Jul 7, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
Length: Medium (457 words) Illus: Map
Subjects: YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA);
SARAJEVO (BOSNIA); NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: Thousands of civilians and hundreds of Dutch peacekeepers
huddled in shelters on Jul 6, 1995 when Bosnian Serbs
unleashed a barrage of shells on the eastern UN safe area
of Srebrenica. In Sarajevo, another UN-designated safe
area, at least six civilians were killed and 11 were
wounded by mortar fire.

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(R) Service.

Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 6 -- Thousands of civilians and
hundreds of Dutch peacekeepers huddled in shelters today when Bosnian
Serbs unleashed a barrage of shells on the eastern United Nations safe
area of Srebrenica.

In Sarajevo, another United Nations-designated area supposedly
off-limits to combat, at least 6 civilians were killed and 11 were wounded
by mortar fire.

The peacekeepers' main base at Potocari, in the northern part of the
Srebrenica enclave, was hit by at least 10 shells, and a Dutch observation
post on Srebrenica's southeastern front was damaged by Bosnian Serb tank
and mortar fire, said United Nations spokesman Alexander Ivanko.

None of the 450 Dutch peacekeepers was hurt, but two civilians were
killed and an unknown number were wounded, said Lieut. Col. Gary Coward,
another United Nations spokesman. Bosnian radio reported 4 dead and 17
wounded and predicted the casualty count would rise once the shelling
subsided long enough to allow collection of the victims.

At least one shell reportedly hit a refugee center in Srebrenica, but

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The White House press secretary, Michael D. McCurry, discounted the significance of Mr. Dole's absence, saying: 'There will be more opportunities in the future. We assume there is the scheduling conflict they report.' But privately administration officials expressed irritation at the slight from Mr. Dole, who has been a persistent critic of Mr. Clinton's approach to the Balkan conflict.

'Dole's not coming is kind of inexplicable given his stated interests in the Bosnian issue and the President's effort to have a lengthy discussion,' said a senior administration official.

Mr. Clinton's meeting with Congressional leaders came as United States and European officials warned that the United Nations force in Bosnia has only a few weeks left to prove its effectiveness, before a dangerous withdrawal -- involving as many as 25,000 American troops -- becomes necessary.

Earlier in the day, in another setback for the United Nations, Bosnian Serb forces defied a warning of NATO air strikes and advanced further into the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica, clashing with United Nations troops blocking their path.

Mr. McCurry said the President wanted to make the case that lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government and extricating the United Nations peacekeepers would only create more pressure to draw the United States further into the war. 'If we reignite the war the rest of the United Nations participants would say this is your responsibility now,' Mr. McCurry said.

But aides to Mr. Dole said they believed they were picking up more support for the legislation he is co-sponsoring with Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, a Connecticut Democrat. The bill would end American participation in the United Nations arms embargo against Bosnia in either the event of a United Nations withdrawal or no later than 12 weeks after Bosnian government requested such a withdrawal.

Access No: 9300020962 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: U.N. WARNS SERBS OF BOMBING IF THEY ATTACK DUTCH UNIT
Authors: CHRIS HEDGES
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Monday Jul 10, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1086 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA &
HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA); NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 9 -- United Nations officials said tonight that NATO air strikes had been authorized if Bosnian Serbs attacked a United Nations position in eastern Bosnia.

The threat of bombing and the detention of 30 peacekeepers by the Serbs raised the prospect of a new cycle of violence and reprisal that could further damage the already fragile United Nations mission.

A warning letter was sent late tonight to Gen. Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serbs' military commander. His heavily armed troops are poised on the edge of the Srebrenica enclave in eastern Bosnia and have been firing on the town. An elite Dutch unit has been set up to guard the southern border of the city. If the unit is attacked, NATO will bomb, according to the letter.

General Mladic's forces have pushed the United Nations to the brink in the last week with their tank and artillery assault on Srebrenica, designated a safe area by the United Nations, and with the detention of the 30 Dutch peacekeeping troops in the last two days.

The peacekeepers were detained after the Serbs seized three United Nations observation posts around Srebrenica and surrounded five Dutch soldiers in an armored vehicle southeast of the town.

'We're starting to be worried about them,' said Alexander Ivanko, a United Nations spokesman here. 'We consider them detainees now.'

The letter called on the Bosnian Serb army to withdraw from the demilitarized zone and demanded that all Dutch peacekeepers and their equipment be returned.

The letter said: 'This attack against a U.N. safe area is totally unacceptable and is a grave escalation of the conflict. The U.N. demands that this offensive cease forthwith.'

All NATO bombing must be approved by the United Nations. In this case, authorization was given in advance by Yasushi Akashi, the senior United Nations envoy to the former Yugoslavia, and Lieut. Gen. Bernard Janvier, the United Nations military commander.

Officials said any attempt by Bosnian Serb tanks or artillery to get past the platoon of Dutch soldiers outside the city would result in bombing by NATO.

'This unit is deployed south of the city with antitank weapons and is prepared to use them if tanks advance or fire into the city,' Mr. Ivanko said.

NATO warplanes were called in for the second day today to fly over Srebrenica, but NATO has not carried out air strikes against the Serbs since more than 300 peacekeepers were taken hostage in May as retaliation for NATO bombing when the Bosnian Serbs attacked another safe area, Gorazde, in April.

Lieut. Col. Gary Coward, a United Nations spokesman, said seven of the peacekeepers detained today had been moved to the Bosnian Serb town of

Bratunac, just north of the Srebrenica enclave, and eight others remained with Bosnian Serb troops in another overrun United Nations position. The whereabouts of the other 15 remain unknown.

The enclave is home to 42,000 Bosnian Muslims, most of them refugees. The Serbs have attacked the enclave with tanks and heavy weapons, and their forces took control of an important supply route running east and west.

Bosnian radio said dozens of people had been killed and wounded in the assault against Srebrenica. But United Nations officials refused to discuss casualty figures.

Officials said today that about 4,000 refugees fleeing the advancing Serbian troops had gathered in the center of town, a dangerous position if the Serbs should attack the city.

The events of the last week, and the failure by European Union's envoy, Carl Bildt, to bring the warring factions any closer to peace, indicate a drift toward the conditions that the Secretary General of the United Nations has specified for a withdrawal from Bosnia.

The Serbs have become increasingly brazen in their flouting of United Nations authority in the last few days. A Bosnian Serb warplane violated Bosnia's no-flight zone earlier in the week. The captured observation posts came under tank fire, and a peacekeeper was shot dead -- the 67th to be killed in the conflict -- by Bosnian Government forces as the Dutch troops retreated from the advancing Bosnian Serb forces. Bosnian Serb artillery even opened fire on the helicopter carrying Mr. Bildt as it left Sarajevo last week.

'The United Nations has seen its position deteriorate steadily in the past few days,' a senior diplomat said. 'It is trying to maintain the status quo, not to ignite the situation by challenging the Serbs. But it seems harder and harder now for the U.N. to hold its ground. The whole mission is coming close to unraveling.'

At a meeting in Geneva on Saturday, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said a pullout might become necessary if United Nations missions were not respected and 'a convincing peace process' begun.

The Bosnian Prime Minister, Haris Silajdzic, said the failure of the United Nations to stem the advance of Serbian tanks into the Srebrenica enclave put the future of the peacekeeping force in jeopardy.

'There isn't much we can do to stop this advance, but if the U.N. does nothing, we propose to review the usefulness' of the forces in Bosnia, Mr. Silajdzic said.

Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, remains under heavy shelling, and United Nations vehicles traveling over the only supply route on the dirt track over Mt. Igman are targeted each day by Serbian gunners. And Bosnian Serb threats have kept Sarajevo's airport closed for more than three months, blocking all relief flights.

Leaders of Bosnia's Muslim-led Government, who are frustrated by what they say is the organization's ineffectiveness, pressed United Nations

officials to get clearance from the Bosnian Serbs to deliver relief supplies to Sarajevo, diplomats here said.

Aid officials say the 300,000 people in Sarajevo need two large aid convoys a day to receive proper food supplies.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said on Saturday that Bosnian Serbs have agreed to allow relief convoys, the first in more than two weeks, to enter Sarajevo on Monday.

'For the time being we have an approval on paper,' said Kris Janowski, the agency's spokesman. 'What will happen is a different matter.'

United Nations officials also said the decision to allow the convoys to travel to Sarajevo by way of roads controlled by Bosnian Serbs might be the result of increasing clashes between peacekeepers and Bosnian Serb gunners around Mt. Igman.

United Nations troops have lobbed heavy mortar rounds at Serbian positions several times in the last week after attacks on United Nations vehicles.

Caption:

Photo: A coffin with the body of a Dutch peacekeeper killed near Srebrenica was carried to a plane in Split, Croatia, yesterday. United Nations officials, fearing more hostage-taking in Bosnia, authorized air strikes against the Serbs at Srebrenica if they attacked the Dutch unit guarding the city. (Agence France-Presse) (pg. A3)

Map shows the current areas of control in and surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also show is the location of Srebrenica. (pg. A3)

Access No: 9300020784 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: COSTLY PULLOUT IN BOSNIA LOOMS UNLESS U.N. CAN PROVE EFFECTIVE
Authors: ELAINE SCIOLINO and CRAIG R. WHITNEY
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Jul 9, 1995 Sec: 1 Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1394 words)
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; EMBARGOES; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SERBIA (YUGOSLAVIA)
Names: CLINTON, BILL (PRES)
Companies: NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO); UNITED NATIONS (UN)
Abstract: The UN force in Bosnia has only a few weeks left to prove its effectiveness before a costly and dangerous NATO

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That commitment was proved hollow today.

On March 16, 1993, General Morillon declared in Srebrenica: 'We have to avoid a major tragedy here. I will stay here among these people until the day that their survival is assured.'

The general tried. But as with much of the United Nations unraveling Bosnian mission, his valiant stand was undone in the end by the essential contradictions of having a peacekeeping force marooned in the midst of a war.

Access No: 9300021091 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SERB FORCES FIGHT DUTCH U.N. TROOPS IN EASTERN BOSNIA
Authors: CHRIS HEDGES
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Jul 11, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1462 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; POLITICS & GOVERNMENT;
YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA);
NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

Abstract: Bosnian Serb forces, defying a UN warning issued a day earlier, on Jul 10, 1995 attacked Dutch peacekeepers guarding the entrance to Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia. The small garrison of UN peacekeepers requested NATO air protection, but an air attack was called off when the fighting subsided, UN officials in Sarajevo said.

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 10 -- Bosnian Serb forces, defying a United Nations warning issued only the day before, clashed tonight with Dutch peacekeepers guarding the entrance to a beleaguered town in eastern Bosnia.

The small garrison of United Nations peacekeepers on the edge of the town, Srebrenica, requested NATO air protection, but an air attack was called off when the fighting subsided, United Nations officials here said.

'Air strikes are still being considered,' Lieut. Col. Gary Coward, a United Nations military spokesman, said today.

The Bosnian Serb forces issued an ultimatum tonight to the Dutch commander of United Nations forces in the enclave, demanding that all troops and the 42,000 civilians, most of them refugees, leave the area

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within 48 hours.

'This is totally unacceptable,' said Colonel Coward when questioned about the ultimatum. 'We have a mandate and we are determined to meet the mandate and protect the Srebrenica safe zone.'

In its apparent willingness to undertake air strikes and confront the Serbs even while 30 Dutch troops were being detained by the Bosnian Serb forces, the United Nations seemed to be showing a new resolve in the face of Serbian threats.

In May, in the face of mounting Bosnian Serb pressure on Sarajevo, the United Nations launched two days of bombing runs against ammunition depots in the Serbian-held suburb of Pale. The bombing ended after Serbian forces seized nearly 400 peacekeepers as hostages.

In the aftermath of that incident, the United Nations agreed to set up a rapid-reaction force of 10,000 soldiers that would give its commanders in the field the ability to counter Serbian attacks without resorting to air strikes.

However, these new forces are only now assembling in Bosnia and the airborne elements will not be ready to fight until August.

Many Western leaders say that the United Nations has no more than a few weeks to show that it can carry out its mandate of protecting designated civilian areas, or face the likelihood of a difficult withdrawal from Bosnia.

Srebrenica, a Muslim area that is protected by a United Nations mandate, has been the target of an intense assault by Bosnian Serb artillery and tanks in the last several days. The Bosnian Serbs have surrounded the enclave, but have not reached the town's center because a platoon of 30 to 60 Dutch troops is posted at the only entrance through hills that encircle it.

United Nations officials in Sarajevo said tonight that the Dutch troops shot about 80 Bosnian Serb infantrymen advancing at about 7 P.M. and fired back at them with machine guns. The officials said the Bosnian Serbs fired back. There were no Dutch casualties, and no information about Serbian casualties.

According to a senior United Nations official in New York, the Dutch commander on the scene was given the authority over the weekend to call in 'close air support,' the military term for bombing or strafing runs against battlefield positions.

Ahmed Fawzi, the deputy spokesman for the United Nations Secretary General, said tonight that during the firefight the Dutch commander heard what he believed was the sound of tanks advancing toward his position.

The Dutch commander then requested air support, speaking by radio with Gen. Bernard Janvier, the United Nations military commander for the former Yugoslavia, in Zagreb, Croatia.

While the Dutch commander waited for a decision, Mr. Fawzi said, it became clear that the tanks were not advancing.

According to Mr. Fawzi, General Janvier gave 'serious consideration' to

air attacks on the Bosnian Serb positions, but did not approve them because the Dutch were able to hold back the Serbian infantrymen on their

'We don't think the city is falling,' said a Pentagon official. 'It's under considerable stress.'

'Our belief is that this is in retaliation for the Government offensive around Sarajevo, and designed to generate refugees, intimidate the U.N. and discredit the Government,' he said, referring to the Bosnian Government, which has sought to protect Srebrenica and two other Muslim enclaves surrounded by Serbian troops in eastern Bosnia.

Sven Alkalaj, the Bosnian Ambassador to the United States, said tonight that the Bosnian Serbs had not yet reached the town center. He said he had spoken with the Bosnian Prime Minister, Haris Silajdzic, this afternoon, and that the Prime Minister quoted the Mayor of Srebrenica as saying 'maybe this is our last conversation.'

American analysts have generally assumed that the Serbs would not attempt to take Srebrenica because it would involve house-to-house fighting of a sort for which they have historically had little enthusiasm.

The Serbian attack was suspended at nightfall, but Western officials said the United Nations force was bracing for further confrontation.

'We will see when the sun comes up whether the Serbs are bluffing,' one Western official said tonight.

In the meantime, the Bosnian Serbs are refusing to release the detained peacekeepers, raising the possibility that they will be used as hostages to ward off air strikes.

The last NATO air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions set off the worst crisis the United Nations has endured since it sent peacekeepers to the former Yugoslavia.

The United Nations, in an attempt to enforce its mandate, called in NATO planes to attack an ammunition depot in the self-declared Bosnian Serb capital of Pale on May 26 and 27. The strikes were carried out in response to a Bosnian Serb violation of a ban on heavy weapons in the Sarajevo area.

The bombing, rather than making the Bosnian Serbs more compliant, led them to take nearly 400 peacekeepers hostage, keeping some captive, using others as human shields to prevent further air strikes and simply surrounding and restricting the movements of others.

The hostages were released after the United Nations apparently agreed not to carry out further air attacks, although United Nations officials have publicly denied that such an arrangement was made.

In that confrontation, the Serbs seemed to walk away victorious, with the safe area of Sarajevo virtually dissolved. All of the weapons-collection points were taken over by the Bosnian Serb forces around the city. And the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Government forces now engage in daily mortar and tank battles around Sarajevo as the United

Nations peacekeepers watch the battle from protected bunkers.

There were further attacks on United Nations peacekeepers in Zepa today, according to agency officials in Sarajevo. Like Sarajevo, both Srebrenica and Zepa, which is 10 miles to the southwest of Srebrenica, were designated in 1993 as United Nations safe areas to protect Bosnian Muslims.

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in Greece today, repeated to reporters his firm resolve to defend the safe areas. 'The mandate we have received is to protect the enclaves,' he said. 'We are ready in case of need to use the air force with the cooperation of NATO.'

United Nations spokesmen said the fighting in Srebrenica, which began on Thursday and has seen the Bosnian Serbs take the southeast corner of the enclave, continued today between Bosnian Serbs and a handful of lightly armed Bosnian Government troops.

The civilians in the town spent the day huddled in buildings to protect themselves from Bosnian Serb shelling, United Nations relief officials said. Bosnian Government officials said there were numerous dead and wounded and that Bosnian Serbs have set fire to houses in outlying areas as they advanced.

Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said some civilians from outlying areas had fled into Srebrenica, straining housing and food supplies in the 'hopelessly overcrowded' town.

'It is very difficult to get water and food because the shelling prevents you from moving around,' Mr. Janowski said.

After the Bosnian Serbs delivered their ultimatum, and as shooting continued tonight, refugees began to stream north into the hills. Any attempt to comply with the Serbian demand for the complete evacuation of the town would apparently require the cooperation of the Serbs.

The forces of the Muslim-led Bosnian Army in the enclave would be unable to hold off an advance by the Bosnian Serbs, should they decide to take the town, United Nations officials said. They described the Dutch peacekeeping troops as the last line of defense.

But senior United Nations officials also said the Bosnian Serbs, who now control a vital supply route through the enclave and several high points, may not take the town, filled with refugees as it is, but keep it as a 'bargaining chip.'

'It's still a fine judgment as to whether or not the Bosnian Serbs' intent is to continue,' Colonel Coward said.

Caption:

Photo: Dutch soldiers of the United Nations force carried a coffin bearing a fellow Dutch soldier, Pfc. Raviv van Rensen, in the Bosnian Serb town of Zvornik on Sunday. He was killed in the Srebrenica enclave

by a Bosnian Government grenade during fighting between the Government
Bosnian Serb forces. (Associated Press) (pg. A10)

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina (pg. A10)

Access No: 9300021123 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: REBUFFING CLINTON, DOLE SEEKS END TO BOSNIAN ARMS EMBARGO
Authors: ALISON MITCHELL
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Jul 11, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
Length: Medium (513 words)
Subjects: UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; CIVIL WAR &
GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
Names: DOLE, BOB (SEN); CLINTON, BILL (PRES)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: Spurning President Clinton's attempt to build support for
his Bosnia policy, Sen Bob Dole (R-KS) said on Jul 10, 1995
that he planned to bring legislation to the Senate floor
that would lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian
government in conjunction with a withdrawal of UN
peacekeeping forces.

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Article Text:

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support for his Bosnia policy, Senator Bob Dole said today that he planned
to bring legislation to the Senate floor that would lift the arms embargo
against the Bosnian Government in conjunction with a withdrawal of United
Nations peacekeeping forces.

Mr. Dole signaled that he would move ahead with the bill as early as
next week, and he did so just hours before a White House dinner for the
Congressional leadership, which Mr. Clinton had called to discuss foreign
policy issues and fend off the rising demands for a United Nations
withdrawal from Bosnia. 'The time for make-believe is over,' the majority
leader said. 'The U.N. mission in Bosnia is a failure.'

Mr. Dole, who is the leading contender for the Republican Presidential
nomination, took the unusual step of declining the invitation to the White
House dinner. C. Clarkson Hine Jr., Mr. Dole's spokesman, said the
majority leader had a longstanding commitment to attend a private event in
Virginia. Mr. Hine said he did not know whether the event was
campaign-related, and Nelson Warfield, Mr. Dole's campaign spokesman, did
not return several telephone calls.

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by a Bosnian Government grenade during fighting between the Government
Bosnian Serb forces. (Associated Press) (pg. A10)

Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina (pg. A10)

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withdrawal from Bosnia. 'The time for make-believe is over,' the majority
leader said. 'The U.N. mission in Bosnia is a failure.'

Mr. Dole, who is the leading contender for the Republican Presidential
nomination, took the unusual step of declining the invitation to the White
House dinner. C. Clarkson Hine Jr., Mr. Dole's spokesman, said the
majority leader had a longstanding commitment to attend a private event in
Virginia. Mr. Hine said he did not know whether the event was
campaign-related, and Nelson Warfield, Mr. Dole's campaign spokesman, did
not return several telephone calls.

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The White House press secretary, Michael D. McCurry, discounted the significance of Mr. Dole's absence, saying: 'There will be more opportunities in the future. We assume there is the scheduling conflict they report.' But privately administration officials expressed irritation at the slight from Mr. Dole, who has been a persistent critic of Mr. Clinton's approach to the Balkan conflict.

'Dole's not coming is kind of inexplicable given his stated interests in the Bosnian issue and the President's effort to have a lengthy discussion,' said a senior administration official.

Mr. Clinton's meeting with Congressional leaders came as United States and European officials warned that the United Nations force in Bosnia has only a few weeks left to prove its effectiveness, before a dangerous withdrawal -- involving as many as 25,000 American troops -- becomes necessary.

Earlier in the day, in another setback for the United Nations, Bosnian Serb forces defied a warning of NATO air strikes and advanced further into the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica, clashing with United Nations troops blocking their path.

Mr. McCurry said the President wanted to make the case that lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government and extricating the United Nations peacekeepers would only create more pressure to draw the United States further into the war. 'If we reignite the war the rest of the United Nations participants would say this is your responsibility now,' Mr. McCurry said.

But aides to Mr. Dole said they believed they were picking up more support for the legislation he is co-sponsoring with Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, a Connecticut Democrat. The bill would end American participation in the United Nations arms embargo against Bosnia in either the event of a United Nations withdrawal or no later than 12 weeks after Bosnian government requested such a withdrawal.

Access No: 9300020962 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: U.N. WARNS SERBS OF BOMBING IF THEY ATTACK DUTCH UNIT
Authors: CHRIS HEDGES
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Monday Jul 10, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1086 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA &
HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA); NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

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Access No: 9300021296 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS: STRATEGY; AS USUAL, SERBS CALL THE SHOTS
Authors: ROGER COHEN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday Jul 12, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 6
Length: Long (770 words) Type: NEWS ANALYSIS
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; POLITICS & GOVERNMENT;
YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA)
Names: MLADIC, RATKO (GEN)
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Abstract: The fall on Jul 11, 1995 of the eastern Bosnian Muslim enclave of Srebrenica was a crippling blow to the peacekeeping mission, one that was clearly sought by the Bosnian Serbs. The Serbian attack made clear that if the Bosnian government wants to resolve the conflict by fighting, then the Serbs will hit back where the Bosnian Army is most vulnerable-in the surrounding eastern enclaves. An analysis of the implications of the attack is presented.

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Article Text:

PARIS, July 11 -- After the collapse last month of United Nations attempts to protect Sarajevo, the fall today of the eastern Bosnian Muslim enclave of Srebrenica was a crippling blow to the peacekeeping mission, one that was clearly sought by the Bosnian Serbs.

The Serbian attack made several things clear. The first was that if the Bosnian Government wants to resolve the Bosnian conflict by fighting, as it has suggested through an offensive around Sarajevo in the last month, then the Serbs will hit back where the Bosnian Army is most vulnerable -- in the surrounded eastern enclaves.

This, in any case, is territory about which the Serbs are not prepared to make any compromise. They want the three eastern enclaves -- Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde -- in order to form an uninterrupted swath of Serb-held territory bordering on Serbia itself. In exchange, they have said, they might cede something to the west of Sarajevo.

The second point made by the Serbs is that they are no longer ready to tie up large numbers of their troops around the enclaves when they are being stretched by Bosnian attacks on several fronts.

The Serbs have about 80,000 men under arms, compared with the Bosnian Army's 130,000. The soldiers around Srebrenica are thus needed elsewhere,

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especially if, as seems likely, Croatia attacks the Serb-held Krajina region in the fall.

The fundamental problem of the Bosnian Serb and Croatian Serb forces is manpower. This has been underscored by recent forcible roundups of Serbs in Belgrade and other towns in Serbia for transportation to the front. The fall of Srebrenica will help ease this pressure.

The third point of the attack on Srebrenica appears to have been a determination to demonstrate that the Serbs want a resolution of the conflict, whether by force or eventual negotiation. They do not want a drawn-out war that may eventually go in Bosnia's favor, because arms and money are now beginning to flow to the Government in Sarajevo.

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

By taking Srebrenica, the Serbs have dealt such a blow to the United Nations' already frayed credibility that a withdrawal has become more likely. This in turn would speed a resolution of the war, albeit with great bloodshed.

The Serbs have also made it clear that they are prepared to try to force the Bosnian Government to the negotiating table by humiliating it on the battlefield. In effect, they have sent a message that Zepa, Gorazde and Bihac, a Muslim enclave in northwestern Bosnia, could follow Srebrenica.

'The NATO policy of bombing is a counterproductive policy,' the Bosnian Serb leadership declared today. 'The international community seems to have learned nothing from its past mistakes. The more they bomb us the more entrenched we shall become. The Muslims have abused the status of Srebrenica's safe area in order to launch terrorists raids against the civilian population. We have had 30 civilians killed in the past 45 days.'

The statement was clear enough. Yet it did not say that the Serbs today completed the conquest and ethnic purification of northeastern Bosnia, where Muslims formed at least 50 percent of the population in most major towns before 1992.

Srebrenica, with its 40,000 Bosnian Muslims, was a symbol. Many people living there were chased at gunpoint by the Serbs from surrounding towns that were 'cleansed' of their Muslim population shortly after the Bosnian war began in April 1992.

It was in the name of their right to survival that Lieut. Gen. Philippe Morillon of France, then the commander of United Nations troops in Bosnia, made a brave stand in Srebrenica in March 1993 that prevented the town from being overrun by rampaging Bosnian Serb forces.

In the process, General Morillon helped create the first so-called United Nations 'safe area.' The basic point was that the massacre and eviction of Muslims from their homes would not be allowed to continue.

That commitment was proved hollow today.

On March 16, 1993, General Morillon declared in Srebrenica: 'We have to avoid a major tragedy here. I will stay here among these people until the day that their survival is assured.'

The general tried. But as with much of the United Nations unraveling Bosnian mission, his valiant stand was undone in the end by the essential contradictions of having a peacekeeping force marooned in the midst of a war.

Access No: 9300021091 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SERB FORCES FIGHT DUTCH U.N. TROOPS IN EASTERN BOSNIA
Authors: CHRIS HEDGES
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Tuesday Jul 11, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1462 words) Illus: Map, Photo
Subjects: CIVIL WAR & GUERRILLA WARFARE; POLITICS & GOVERNMENT;
YUGOSLAVIA; BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA; SREBRENICA (BOSNIA);
NETHERLANDS
Companies: UNITED NATIONS (UN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(NATO)

Abstract: Bosnian Serb forces, defying a UN warning issued a day earlier, on Jul 10, 1995 attacked Dutch peacekeepers guarding the entrance to Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia. The small garrison of UN peacekeepers requested NATO air protection, but an air attack was called off when the fighting subsided, UN officials in Sarajevo said.

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Article Text:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 10 -- Bosnian Serb forces, defying a United Nations warning issued only the day before, clashed tonight with Dutch peacekeepers guarding the entrance to a beleaguered town in eastern Bosnia.

The small garrison of United Nations peacekeepers on the edge of the town, Srebrenica, requested NATO air protection, but an air attack was called off when the fighting subsided, United Nations officials here said.

'Air strikes are still being considered,' Lieut. Col. Gary Coward, a United Nations military spokesman, said today.

The Bosnian Serb forces issued an ultimatum tonight to the Dutch commander of United Nations forces in the enclave, demanding that all troops and the 42,000 civilians, most of them refugees, leave the area

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