Srebrenica: a ‘safe’ area

Appendix XIII

Chronology of the Bosnian conflict 1990-1995
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Introduction

Overviews of political and military events of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia can be found in various chronologies. Mid 1998 the Internet offered about thirty different chronologies. Originators are international organisations such as the UN, NATO, WEU, universities, interested parties, press agencies and individuals.

Books mostly offer only limited data. Surveys presented, for example, by Nader Mousavizadeh in *The black book of Bosnia: the consequences of appeasement* / by the writers and editors of *The New Republic*. - New York, 1996 and Michael A. Sells in *The bridge betrayed: religion and genocide in Bosnia*. - Berkeley, 1996 provide insufficient information to follow the course of events in the former Yugoslavia.


Detailed chronologies can also be found on the server of the “Serbian Unity Congress” [http://www.suc.org]. These chronologies offer not only overviews of events in the international political arena but also of domestic political events in the Federal Republic Yugoslavia. Events in the Republika Srpska, apart from proceedings of the Bosnian-Serb ‘parliament’, get less attention than one would expect.

BosNet, a platform run by volunteers aiming at providing information on developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, also offers a chronology in which Bosnia is central [http://www.bosnet.org/bosnia/history/contemp.html-ssi]. The extent of this chronology, which covers the years 1991-1996, is, however, limited. Only 1995 proved to be useful.

There are several sources available for the involvement of NATO in the conflict. The headquarters of Allied Forces Southern Europe published ‘Fact Sheets’ on the various operations which were led from this headquarters: Operation Deliberate Force, Operation Deny Flight, Operation Maritime Guard, Operation Maritime Monitor, Operation Sky Monitor and Operation Sharp Guard [http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/docs/[followed by the codename for the operation].htm]. The “Nato Gopher Site” can also be consulted for Operation Deny Flight [http://www.cco.caltech.edu/~bosnia/natoup/odeny1221.html] as well as “NATO a to z: Air Operations” (Extract from the NATO Handbook) [http://xs4all.freenet.kiev.ua/NATO/docu/handbook/hb10603e.html]. “The Navy Public Affairs Library (NAVPALIB) also offers information on Operation Deny Flight [http://chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/intl/bosnia.denyflt.txt].

There are also more or less official sources such as: “United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Former Yugoslavia – UNPROFOR”, prepared by the Department of Public Information United Nations as of September 1996 [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko]; “The Former Yugoslavia:


The different chronologies present a wide-ranging array of facts and, apart from important developments in the Security Council, there is less duplication than one would expect. Dates for the same events may sometimes vary because of a discrepancy between the actual date and its mentioning in the media.

The chronologies have been combined, edited and abridged in such a way that they can offer a general overview of the main political and military developments in the former Yugoslavia in the years 1990-1995 and of the involvement of the international community. Developments in Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro en Croatia are only presented in outline. The focus is on the political and military affairs in and around Bosnia.

January 20-22

The 14th Special Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) took place in Belgrade. Bitter antagonism between various republican delegations culminated in the decision of the Slovenian and Croatian delegations to leave the Congress.

January 24

Demonstrations commenced in Kosovo. Forty thousands Albanians demanded lifting of emergency measures and the proclamation of an ‘Albanian Republic of Kosovo’.

January 31

Kosovan death toll up to 16; 100,000 Montenegrins demonstrate against Albanians.

February 1

6 more killed in Kosovo; death toll at 30.

February 5

Slobodan Milosevic, Serbian president, threatens to send 100,000s of Serbs to Kosovo.

February 7

Federal government steps up army presence in Kosovo.
February 1-2
In order to prevent spreading of demonstrations the Army was taken out in the streets of several towns in Kosovo.

February 16
Croatian CP decides to leave LCY.

March 4
In Petrova gora, in Kordun a mass meeting took place in favour of territorial integrity of SFRJ and against ‘neofascism and Franjo Tudjman’.

March 13
Government of Republic of Croatia sent a letter to the Yugoslav Federal government and governments of all Yugoslav republics in which it condemned events both at the Sabor of CDU and at the meeting in Petrova gora. Croatian government appealed for co-operation and joint action against any further disturbance of good inter ethnic relations.

March 15
Serbian government offers economic aid to Slavs wanting to resettle in Kosovo.

April 8
Parliamentary and presidential elections in Slovenia. At the first multiparty elections in post-war Yugoslavia the united opposition won a majority in the Assembly.

April 22
Parliamentary elections for the Assembly of Croatia. Although Croatian Democratic Union. Milan Kucan elected President of the Presidency of Slovenia.

April 25
Voting in Croatia gives victory to centre right group ‘Croatian Democratic Association’ headed by Tudjman. It received 41,5 per cent of the votes, but wins 104 of 131 seats in parliament thanks to the majority electoral system.

May 6
Second round of voting in Croatia.

May 8
Croatian Democratic Union wins 2/3rds of 80 seat main chamber of Republican Parliament; also gets 2/3rds of 116 member Chamber of Communes.

May 15
Borisav Jovic, representative of Serbia was appointed President of the Presidency of the SFRY.
May 30

The January 14th Special Congress of the LCY was completed. The delegations of LC of Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia did not participate.
The Assembly of Croatia elected Tudjman President of the Presidency of Croatia, and Stipe Mesic was appointed Prime Minister.

June 29-30

Tudjman explained proposed amendments to the Constitution. Croatia would cease to be ‘a socialist republic’ and the five-pointed star on the flag would be replaced by the ‘chessboard’. President of the Croatian Parliament Vladimir Seks said that state sovereignty of Croatia in the community with other peoples of Yugoslavia could be ensured only in the confederated basis, in a Union of sovereign states.

July 2

The Assembly of Slovenia adopted the Declaration on the sovereignty of the state of Slovenia. Slovenian members of Federal Parliament refuse to cast votes on federal matters in one of two chambers.
Albanians in Kosovo Parliament declare Kosovo sovereign within Yugoslavia.

July 5

The Assembly of the SR Serbia decided to dissolve the Assembly of Kosovo because of illegal act of proclaiming Kosovo Republic.

July 16

The League of Communists of Serbia and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia merged into the Socialist Party of Serbia. Milosovic was elected the President of the party by 1228 out of 1294 votes.

July 20

The Assembly of Serbia passed a law introducing a multiparty system.

July 25

The Assembly of the Croatia adopted amendments to the Constitution and ceased to be ‘a socialist republic’, and the five-pointed star on the flag was replaced by the ‘chessboard’.

August 8

The Federal Assembly of SFRY adopted several amendments to the Constitution of SFRY enabling the establishment of multiparty system.

August 17

As a reaction to the attack of the Croatian special police forces on the police station in Benkovac, Serbs took the arms from the reserve police forces and set up barricades on the lines of communications.
**August 19**
The Serbian people in Krajina voted during a referendum with more than 90 per cent in favour of autonomy of the Region.

**August 20**
The Yugoslav Federal Government required from the Croatian authorities not to prevent the plebiscite of Serbs in Kninska Krajina, and the citizens of Kninska Krajina to remove the barricades.

**August 24**
Due to the unrest in Kninska Krajina the Croatian Assembly adopted at its extraordinary session Resolution of the protection of the constitutional order and of national rights in Croatia.

**August 29**
Riot police break up Albanian crowd waiting to meet US Congressional delegation.

**September 3**
100,000 Albanians go on strike in Kosovo.

**September 7**
At a secret meeting in Kacanik (Kosovo) Albanian representatives of the dissolved Assembly of Kosovo passed the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo.

**September 13**
111 Albanian members of dissolved Kosovo parliament meet secretly to adopt alternative constitution; 2 Albanians shot by police during weapons search in Palatna, Kosovo.

**September 28**
The Assembly of the SR Serbia passed the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. The Republic of Serbia was defined as a democratic state of all of its citizens, based on freedoms and human and civil rights, rule of law and social justice’. The two provinces were deprived of attributes of statehood and were turned into the forms of territorial autonomy. Vestiges of autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina effectively ended.

**October 1**
The Knin-based ‘serbian National Council’, led by Milan Babic, declared ‘ autonomy within Croatia for areas of Serbian majority Population’.

**October 3**
The Presidencies of the Republic Croatia and Slovenia submitted to the Presidency of the SFRY the confederate model of the Yugoslav community.

**November 11**
Elections held in Macedonia.
November 15
Macedonian officials declare vote null and void in 54 counties due to irregularities; 25,000 Macedonians protest in Skopje against Albanians; Prime Minister Markovic warns country is heading toward disintegration.

November 18
Bosnia-Herzegovina holds first multiparty elections. Results: the (Moslem) Party of Democratic Action 86, the Serbian Democratic Party 72 and the Croatian Democratic Union 44 seats.

December 9
The first ballot of multiparty elections took place in Serbia and Montenegro. It was in the first ballot that the candidates of the League of Communists won the greatest number of representatives in Montenegro. Albanians boycotted elections in Serbia. The second ballot took place in Serbia on 26 December. Due to the majority electoral system the Socialist Party of Serbia, which received 48 % of the votes, won 192 out of 250 seats in the Assembly of Serbia. Milosevic was elected President of Serbia getting in the first ballot 65 % of votes.

December 21
Croatian parliament adopts new constitution.

December 22
The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia adopted the new Constitution of the Republic of Croatia proclaiming the Republic of Croatia ‘the national state of Croats’, thus demoting Serbians in Croatia to the status of national minority.

December 23
Plebiscite took place in Slovenia and 88,5 per cent of the voters vote for sovereignty and independence of Slovenia.
In Serbia the Socialist Party (formerly CP) wins 194 of 250 seats in parliament.
Chronology 1991

January 4

January 9
The Presidency of the SFRY made out the Order of dismantling all irregular forces and delivering the weapons illegally brought in the country to the nearest authorised institutions or units of the Yugoslav National Army. State presidency and army issue warning to Slovenia and Croatia to disarm their militias by January 19.

January 17
The Assembly of SFRY stated that there could be no recognition of any of the Yugoslav republics until all points connected with the right to self-determination and secession had been definitely cleared up.

January 19
Slovenia and Croatia defy disarmament warning; state presidency extends deadline until January 21.

January 20
At the request of the Government of the Republic of Croatia the Presidency of the SFRY approved to extend the time-limit for disarming and dismantling the illegal armed forces. Stjepan Mesic Vice President of the Presidency of the SFRY declared at the Convention of the Croatian Democratic Union that Croatia had purchased weapons for its police through the trading network, and that Croatia committed itself for self-defence and therefore the reserve police forces were given the same authority as the regular police. In his opinion, the only paramilitary forces in Croatia were those in Kninska Krajina.

January 21
Federal collective presidency says that republican militias are not exempt from disarming; warns that military will confiscate weapons from ‘illegal’ paramilitary organisations (including Interior Ministry troops).

January 22
Collective president says there will be no military action against Croatia and Slovenia.

January 23
Defence Ministry initiates legal proceedings in military courts against individuals organising ‘illegal’ armed groups.

January 24
Federal and republican troops put on battle alert.
January 24

The military police arrested a certain number of persons in Croatia on the suspicion of being involved in organising and providing illegal paramilitary units with arms.

January 25

The Presidency of the SFRY issued a statement on the compulsory demobilisation of the reserve police forces in Croatia.
Several Yugoslav TV centres broadcast a documentary film of the Information Centre of the Federal Ministry of Defence on the illegal arms export from Hungary to Croatia.
The Assembly of Macedonia adopted the Declaration of independence of this republic as well as the Platform for negotiations about the future of Yugoslavia.

January 25

Croatia’s interior Minister says they will welcome foreign help if attacked by federals.

January 26

Croatian president Tudjman says Croatian police reserve will be disarmed; army guarantees it will not act against the republic.

January 27

The Assembly of Macedonia elected Kiro Gligorov President of the SR Macedonia. Tudjman says crisis and war narrowly averted.

January 30

Izetbegovic-Gligorov talks took place in Sarajevo. It was assessed that Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia were truly interested in preserving Yugoslavia.
Yugoslavian military orders Croatian Defence Minister, Martin Spegelj, to be detained for questioning about plotting to use arms to launch a civil war; Croatia does not comply.

January 31

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the Charter announcing that it would initiate the procedure of disassociation from Yugoslavia. Tudjman leaves meeting of leaders in Belgrade over dispute of military’s commitment to defend communism and the federal system.

February 2

Yugoslav Army says Croatia reneges on pledge to disarm police reserves and arrest Spegelj; says it will carry out its constitutional duties.
The tension grew in Slavonia and Baranja. The meeting of the regional organisation of the Serbian Democratic Party took place as well as the rallies in Vukovar, Beli Manastir and other towns.

February 6

The delegation of the Council of Europe (Fernadez Ordonez and Catherine Lalumiere) visited Yugoslavia. It was assessed that if Yugoslavia wished to join the Council of Europe the first condition
it had to fulfil was to peacefully resolve its crisis and hold multiparty elections for the Federal Assembly.

February 7
At the session of the Presidency of the SFRY that took place in Belgrade Janez Drnovshek declared that Slovenia would formally initiate the procedure for disassociation from Yugoslavia announced in the Charter of the Assembly of Slovenia adopted on 31 January.

February 8
Slovenia announces legal steps to secede from Yugoslavia.; Slovenian and Croatian presidents boycott third round of talks in Belgrade aimed at resolving Yugoslavia’s crisis.

February 16
Special police units of the Croatian Interior Ministry arrived to the Plitvice Lakes area, causing numerous protests and complaints of the local Serbian population.

February 20
Assembly of Slovenia adopted amendment to the Constitution of the Republic according to which Slovenia is defined as an independent state, that will as one of successors to the SFRY regulate its relations with other states on the basis of international law.
Slovenian parliament votes 173-1 (2 abstentions) to begin formal secession; constitutional amendment adopted declaring republican laws sovereign to federal laws.

February 21
Croatia follows suit voting 340-0 to make republican laws sovereign over federal laws; Resolution also formally approved to begin secession proceedings

February 22
Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Republic of Serbia, and Momir Bulatovic, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro, submitted a common draft on principles of constitutional organisation of Yugoslavia as a democratic federation. Federal presidency decided to appoint committee to examine differing attitudes to survival of Yugoslavia.

February 26
Constitutional Committee of the SFRY Assembly submitted to the SFRY Assembly a Declaration for the New Agreement on Yugoslav Community, and obliged republican parliaments to respect the Constitution of SFRY and federal laws until the adoption of the said Declaration.

February 27
Bosnian parliament deadlocked over sovereignty decree; Serbs claim proposal of Muslim Party for Democratic Action will break up state.
February 28

Serbian National Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina adopted a Declaration on independence and secession from Croatia, by which Krajina would remain in Yugoslavia.

March 1

Tudjman boycotts 6th round of talks aimed at resolving secessionist crisis; Serbs in Croatian town of Pakrac seize local police station.

March 2

Croatian security forces storm police station in Pakrac thus causing armed confrontation with Serbs; at least 30 arrested, some gunfire exchanged; Yugoslavian president, Borisav Jovic, deploys federal troops in Pakrac; troops welcomed by Croatian deputy interior Minister, Milan Brezak.

March 2-3

At the order of SFRY Presidency units of the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) interfered in order to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts.

March 3

700 Croatian security troops withdrawn from Pakrac; federal army to stay on to prevent recurrence of unrest.

March 6

Assembly of Slovenia declared moratorium on sending Slovenian draftees to JNA.

March 8

Serbia cuts school funding to Kosovo; Kosovan schools refuse to utilise new Serbian restrictions on teaching Albanian history and literature.

March 9

Rally of 100,000 in Belgrade against communist media bias results in riots; several members of democratic opposition arrested; federal tanks and troops used to quell unrest which leaves 2 dead; some opposition members of parliament declare hunger strike against government.

March 10

Protests continue in Belgrade for 2nd day; at least 15 opposition leaders/party members arrested by Serbian government.

March 11

Tens of thousands of anti-government Protestors gather again in Belgrade; government organises counter demonstration of between 30-50,000 in Novi Beograd.
March 12

100,000 demonstrate in Belgrade; government gives in to some demands and dismisses 5 directors of Belgrade TV who demonstrators hold responsible for propagandistic reporting; Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement, released from prison, addresses crowd; parliament passes legislation requiring state TV to be guided by professional principles rather than political interests; Federal army requests that federal Presidency meet to discuss the country’s security situation, and restore law and order; presidency rejects military’s demands.

March 12-14

SFRY Presidency at its session in the capacity of Supreme Command refused the proposal of Supreme Command Headquarters to raise the JNA combat readiness due to impaired political and security situation in the country. Dissatisfied with such decision of the Presidency, its President Borisav Jovic resigned on March 15, and a day later Presidency members from Vojvodina (Yugoslav Kostic) and Montenegro (Nenad Buccion) did the same.

March 13

Interior Minister, Radmilo Bogdanovic, offers to resign to satisfy protestors; 25,000 gather again in Belgrade.

March 14

Collective presidency deadlocks on role to be played by army in latest strife.

March 15

Serbian member of collective presidency, and current president, Borisav Jovic, resigns from it; Jovic, a Milosevic ally, had proposed that the army be allowed to put down interethnic conflicts; a mobilisation be called; and republican laws contradicting federal laws be declared invalid. Presidency votes 5-3 against these (Macedonian president, Vasil Turpurkovski, Kosovan president, Riza Sapunxhia, Bosnia-Herzegovina president, Bogic Bogicevic, Slovenian president, Milan Kucan, and Croatian president, Tudjman all vote against).

March 16

Army threats to take ‘emergency measures’ to deal with crisis are met by Croatian and Serbian mobilisation of police and paramilitary troops; Milosevic declares that Serbia will no longer recognise the authority of the collective presidency; Montenegrin and Vojvodinian presidents also resign from collective presidency (possibly at Milosevic’s request); Sapunxhia dismissed from his post by Milosevic thereby depriving presidency of a quorum.

March 17

Krajina region of Croatia declared a ‘serbian autonomous region’ by activist Serbs living there; Milosevic said to be behind move to provoke Croats against Serbs and convince army to move in.

March 19

National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia assumed authorities of dissolved Kosovo Assembly and released Riza Sapunxhia from the office of SFRY Presidency member from Kosovo.
Army high command says it will not interfere in internal political crisis, but will protect against inter-ethnic civil war, halt unrest, protect borders, and prevent any republic from leaving the federation unless all others agree.

March 20

Serbia’s Presidency member Jovic withdraws his resignation after the Serbian parliament refuses to accept it.

March 21

At the expanded session of SFRY Presidency agreement was reached to start negotiations between Presidents of Yugoslav republics on the future of Yugoslavia.

March 25

Milosevic and Tudjman meet on the border of their republics and agree to peacefully settle disputes.

March 26

The European Community released a Declaration on Yugoslavia in which it supported all efforts to solve the crisis through dialogue and call all sides to refrain from the use of force. Expressing their conviction that the process of democratic reforms in Yugoslavia should be based on political dialogue of all sides, the EC considers that ‘united and democratic Yugoslavia has the best chance of being harmoniously integrated in new Europe.’

March 27

Tens of thousands gather in Belgrade to commemorate 50th anniversary of coup that overthrew pro Nazi government, and to denounce communist authorities.

March 28

The first meeting of Presidents of Yugoslav republics was held in Split. No agreement was reached.

March 31

Armed conflict breaks out in Plitvice national park in Croatia between units of the Croatian police and members of Kninska Krajina militia when Serbs attempt to seize the park. At the extraordinary session SFRY Presidency called for cease-fire and ordered increased combat readiness of relevant JNA units and measures to ensure observance of cease-fire.

March 31

Assembly of the Republic of Serbia refused to accept Borisav Jovic’s resignation from SFRY Presidency and obliged him to return to this office. Assembly of the Republic of Serbia elected Sejdo Bajramovic as the SFRY Presidency member from Kosovo.

April 1

The 11th plenary session of the Conference on Yugoslavia held in Brussels. Discussion focussed on possibilities for renewal of economic relations between the former Yugoslav republics and questions of succession.
April 1
Serbs in Krajina region of Croatia declare that they are uniting their area with Serbia.

April 6
In Luxembourg, Ministerial Council of the EC adopted a Declaration on Yugoslavia in which they state that the Community and its members decided to recognise the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina within the present borders. The Community also decided in principle to abolish economic sanctions against the Republic of Serbia, i.e. ‘to expand to the Republic of Serbia the benefit of positive measures’ provided to other republics on 2 December 1991 and 10 January 1992.

Armed clashes broke out in Sarajevo and other places throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which 14 persons were killed and more than 100 wounded. A large group of Sarajevo citizens demonstrated against stirring of national conflicts, occupied the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly building and demanded the formation of the national salvation government. At its extraordinary session held without attendance of Serbian deputies the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency issued an order on cease-fire in Sarajevo and introduction of state of emergency.

‘Rump’ Presidency of SFRY met in Belgrade to assess the political and security situation in the country prompted by dramatic deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Presidency expressed serious concern over future development of events in this republic. The present situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they said, is the direct consequence of the policy aimed at braking up Yugoslavia and of the EC decision on international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which ignited ethnic clashes there.

The Presidency stressed again that the solution to the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina was only possible by peaceful means, through agreement of all its three constitutive nations.

April 7
The Assembly of Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina declared in Banja Luka the independence of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, ‘which may enter into association with other entities in Yugoslavia’. The Assembly ‘acknowledged the information’ that Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic resigned from the position of members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

April 16
700,000 workers in Serbia go on strike for back pay; 400 striking mechanics of JAT keep the airline from flying.

May 2
Armed conflict broke out between Serbian population of Borovo Selo when Croatian police are ambushed in predominantly Serbian town; at least 12 people killed before Yugoslav army intervenes.

May 3
Demonstrations of Croatian citizens took place in Zadar and Sibenik, during which Serbian property has been demolished on a massive scale.

May 5
Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on visiting Trogir suggested to the municipal leaders that enterprises shift to the production of military equipment and invited citizens to confront JNA.

In his interview to France Press Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov stated that Macedonia was going to be constituted as an independent state should Slovenia and Croatia brake away from Yugoslavia.
May 6

30,000 Croatian anti-military protestors attack Yugoslav troops guarding naval port in Split over military’s inability to break blockade of Croatian town of Kijevo. One soldier was killed and several wounded. Federal Defence Minister, General Veljko Kadijevic, declares combat alert and says country is in a state of civil war. Federal Defence Secretariat issued a statement, warning that any attack on JNA members, units and facilities will be answered by fire. $5 million of US aid to Yugoslavia suspended due to systematic human rights abuses; $1.1 billion loan from IMF could be suspended as well.

May 7

Demonstrators in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina demand their military service be restricted to their own republics.

May 8

Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia addressed to the Assembly of SFRY a Declaration on dissociation from Yugoslavia, scheduled to take place by 26 June 1991 at the latest.

May 9

Army given permission by federal president to halt ethnic violence.

May 9-10

SFRY Presidency adopted a concrete six-point programme of measures and activities for long-term solution of ethnic and inter republican conflicts. One of the most significant measures stipulated that between areas of Croatia predominantly inhabited by Serbian population, movement should be allowed only to JNA and federal police units.

May 10

Joint session of both chambers of SFRY Assembly was interrupted after delegates from Croatia, Slovenia and 17 Albanian delegates claimed that appointment of Sejdo Bajramovic as a new SFRY Presidency member from Kosovo was illegitimate and against Constitution since the Kosovo Assembly had been dissolved. Proclamation of other two Presidency members - Branko Kostic from Montenegro and Jugoslav Kostic from Vojvodina - has been postponed as well.

May 11

Federal PM Markovic tells Serbs and Croats to surrender their weapons or have them taken from them.

May 12

Serbian enclaves in Croatia vote to unite themselves with Serbia.

May 15

Serbia blocks rotation of federal president to Croatian, Stipe Mesic, provoking federal governmental crisis.
May 18
Defence Minister Kadijevic warns neighbouring countries (Italy and Bulgaria) against taking advantage of Yugoslavia’s continuing governing crisis.

May 19
Croats voting in sovereignty referendum overwhelmingly support independence for republic, and right to form alliances with other republics. 83% of electorate showed up at the polls, of which 94,17% gave their votes for an independent and sovereign state of Croatia. Citizens of Krajina boycotted the referendum.

May 29
Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted a Resolution on Consensual Dissociation from SFRY.

May 29
Croatian president Tudjman declares Croatia is an independent state.

May 30-31
At a preliminary stage of the Yugoslavia crisis and still before the unilateral declarations of independence by both Slovenia and Croatia on 25th June 1991, the EC made it known that it was ready to help a democratised and reformed Yugoslavia, with unchanged internal and external borders, provided, among other things, that this state was willing to resolve problems in a peaceful manner without the use of force. As soon as the constitutional crisis was resolved, the EC was prepared to start talks on Yugoslavia’s associate membership of the EC.

June 3
Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and President of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic announced a joint proposal - Platform on the Future Yugoslav Community - which foresaw future Yugoslavia as the commonwealth of sovereign republics.

June 6
The sixth and the last Summit of Presidents of Yugoslav republics was held in Stojcevac near Sarajevo. The six Presidents did not accept the Gligorov-Izetbegovic Platform on the Future Yugoslav Community.

June 12
Tudjman-Milosevic-Izetbegovic meeting held in Split as another in a series of attempts toward peaceful untangling of the Yugoslav crisis.

June 17
Croatian Party of Justice published the June Charter in which it called for ‘restoration and reestablishment of Independent State of Croatia on its entire historic and ethnic territory, with eastern borders stretching along Subotica-Zemun-Drina-Sandzzak-Boka Kotorska line’.
June 18

The session of the Croatian Assembly began in Zagreb. Some 60 laws necessary for dissociation from Yugoslavia and establishment of an independent and sovereign state were adopted.

June 19

Ministerial Council of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) at its meeting in Berlin adopted a Declaration expressing their support for democratic development, unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, based on economic reforms, full application of human rights in all parts of Yugoslavia, including the rights of minorities, and peaceful solution of the present crisis in the country.

June 20

Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly at its session gave notice to SFRY Presidency to elect the President and Vice-President of the Presidency not later than June 25.

June 20

The United States State Department declared that Belgrade had to ‘find a way to give vent to the national aspirations of the various elements within Yugoslavia in a peaceful way’.

June 21

Yugoslav Federal Government adopted proposals for the solution of the crisis and establishment of new relations within the Yugoslav community. The Government foresaw future Yugoslavia as the confederation of sovereign republics, which brought its view close to Gligorov-Izetbegovic Platform. At the end of his visit to Yugoslavia US Secretary of State James Baker stated that the US supports democratic and unified Yugoslavia, while its future should be decided through agreement. Baker also said that the US will not recognise unilateral secessionist moves.

Slovenia is hastily building border crossings toward Croatia.

June 22

Tudjman and Slovenian president Kucan meet to co-ordinate independence moves.

June 24

Both the European Community and CSCE declare they are in favour of the ‘unity and territorial integrity’ of Yugoslavia, and that they will not support either Slovenian or Croatian independence.

June 25

The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia unanimously adopted a Declaration on Proclamation of an independent and sovereign Republic of Croatia and started the process of dissociation from Yugoslavia. It also adopted a Charter on rights of Serbs and other national minorities. Assembly of Slovenia adopted documents on separation from SFRY and Declaration of independence. Representatives of Serbs adopted the decision to form the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem.
June 26

The Yugoslav Federal Government assessed that decisions of Slovenia and Croatia on the gaining of independence were illegal. It issued an order banning the establishment of border check points within the territory of SFRY. Federal police and JNA were authorised to remove these border check points and regain control over state borders of Yugoslavia with Italy, Austria and Hungary, occupied by Slovenian border organs.

Delegates from Slovenia and Croatia left the Yugoslav Federal Assembly. Slovenes block highways to prevent movement of troops. Gun battle breaks out in Croatian town of Glina killing a Croat policeman and 2 civilians; US declares it will ignore ‘unilateral’ declarations of independence by the two republics.

June 27

Armed conflicts broke out between JNA units and Territorial Defence (TO) of Slovenia in Ormoz and near Jezersko. Throughout Slovenia TO members placed road barricades to prevent movement of JNA troops toward border crossings. Slovenian Presidency declared JNA actions as aggression on independent Slovenia and called population to resistance. It was the beginning of seven day war in Slovenia.

Slovenian Defence Minister, Janez Jansa, reports skirmishes have killed or wounded 100 people; claims his forces have shot down six army helicopters; Austrians send 5,000 troops to border crossings.

Supreme State Council of Croatia requested from JNA to retreat to barracks and no longer prevent security organs in establishing legal order in the Republic of Croatia. Unless this request is observed, it was said, members of the National Guard (ZNG) will confront the Federal Army.

Unification of Bosanska Krajina and Kninska Krajina proclaimed in Bosansko Grahovo and Declaration adopted stating that unification of all Serbs is imperative.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defence released a statement declaring illegal and unconstitutional the unilateral proclamations of independence of Croatia and Slovenia.

June 28

After the unilateral declarations of independence by both Slovenia and Croatia, there were several days of military confrontation between the Yugoslav national army (JNA) and republican forces.

The Yugoslav Federal Government called for cease-fire in all parts of the country and reported to the Federal Defence Secretariat that JNA units have fulfilled all their tasks and regained control over SFRY borders in Slovenia.

The European Community decided to send a peace mission (so-called ‘troika’) to Yugoslavia. The mission included three foreign ministers Jacques Pos, Gianni de Michelis and Hans van den Broek. It also decided to freeze any economic assistance to Yugoslavia.

June 29

Cease-fire brokered by three EC Foreign Ministers (Italy, Luxembourg, and Netherlands); terms include exchange of prisoners, lifting of blockades, and suspension of the declaration of independence for three months.

Agreement was reached between the Federal Prime Minister and Presidents and Prime Minister of Slovenia to stop any war operations, to transport wounded JNA members to hospitals, to withdraw JNA units into barracks, and to establish a mixed committee which will monitor all this. Federal army says Slovenia not obeying terms and should surrender control of border posts.
June 30

Federal army barracks in Slovenia are surrounded by militia forces. At least three die in Ljubljana in shooting incidents on Saturday night.

German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, announces he will go to Yugoslavia as part of CSCE crisis negotiating team on July 1.

July 1

In the presence of a three-member EC delegation SFRY Presidency declared Stipe Mesic President and Branko Kostic Vice-President of the Presidency. Presidency members from Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro demanded a written guarantee from the EC that the Assemblies of Croatia and Slovenia will observe a three-month moratorium on enforcement of decisions on dissociation.

Army high command accuses Slovenia of harassing army units in their barracks.

German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, threatens Yugoslavia with loss of aid if troops are sent into Slovenia and Croatia again; CDU chairman, Volker Rühe, urges Germany and other EEC countries to recognise republics’ independence.

July 2

New fighting breaks out between federal army and Slovenian troops, 25 reported killed; army has vowed to destroy Slovenian independence; Army Chief of Staff, Blagoje Adzic, says a truce is no longer possible; Federal army troops fire on crowd in Zagreb who are trying to stop a tank convoy from leaving its barracks (3 killed, 7 wounded).

Presidency of Slovenia accepted the proposal on ending of hostilities in this republic.

US Administration continues to hold to position that unilateral declarations of independence are not to be rewarded.

July 3

Convoys of federal troops head for Slovenia and Croatia, but stop far short of the borders; troops told not to fire unless fired upon.

July 3-4

The Committee of Senior Officials of the CSCE, meeting in Prague, agreed to recommend the dispatch of an EC-based observer mission to supervise the agreed cease-fire.

July 4

3rd truce in effect; federal troops ordered to their barrack while Slovenes haul off captured tanks; Serbia supposedly no longer opposed to Slovenian independence, if it is achieved peacefully; Croatia not included in this plan.

CSCE waits to hear if Yugoslavia and Slovenia will accept their monitors for cease fire.

July 5

In the Declaration on the Situation in Yugoslavia adopted in Hague, the European Community underlined that only the peoples of Yugoslavia should decide the future of their country and expressed it strong opposition to every use of force.

EC bans all arms shipments, and suspends $900 million in aid, to Yugoslavia; Slovenia begins releasing hundreds of Yugoslavian army prisoners captured in fighting; President Stipe Mesic says army will not intervene.
July 6
Truce talks break down over control of Slovenia’s international border crossings; Milosevic tells Serbs to prepare for war, as pressure intensifies between Serbia and Croatia.

July 7
Under the auspices of European Community the meeting of members of the SFRY Presidency, leaders of Slovenia and Croatia, federal Prime Minister, and interior and defence ministers took place on Brioni. The Common Declaration on Peaceful Solution of the Yugoslav Crisis (so-called Brioni Declaration) was adopted.

The following principles were accepted for the peaceful solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia: only the peoples of Yugoslavia can decide their own future; a new situation has developed in Yugoslavia which requires careful monitoring and negotiations among various sides; negotiations must begin urgently; all sides will refrain from all unilateral steps, particularly from forcible acts. It was agreed to establish international monitoring missions in Yugoslavia, particularly in Slovenia, and possibly in Croatia, consisting of 30 to 50 military and civilian persons. The decisions of Slovenia and Croatia to declare sovereignty and independence were suspended for a duration of three months.

July 8
The United States Administration, which, on 2 July, had made it clear that it did not support the use of force to preserve the integrity of the Yugoslav state, while it would accept the republic’s independence if achieved peacefully, endorsed the EC arms embargo.

July 8
Gorbachev tells Yugoslavs they should use democratic means to achieve peaceful solution, but that he supports the ‘unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia’.

Croatian artillery used for first time against Serb militants inside Croatia (7 dead).

Slovenia announces it is withdrawing its deputies from Yugoslavian Parliament.

July 9
The Parliament of Europe at its session in Strasbourg adopted a Resolution on Yugoslavia, which did not support unilateral acts of secession.

July 10
Slovenian parliament ratifies peace agreement, 189-11; Yugoslav and Albanian border guards exchange gunfire.

July 11
Fighting spreads to Osijek, on border with Vojvodina; two killed.

July 12
SFRY Presidency adopted the Brioni Declaration and decided to demobilise by July 18 all armed formations, except JNA and regular peacetime militia, to re-establish the situation that existed before June 25 at the borders of SFRY, and that military barracks and other military installations should be deblocked.
July 14
Fighting breaks out in Banija region, south of Zagreb; at least two killed.

July 18
SFRY Presidency decided that JNA should withdraw from Slovenia within three months.

July 21
The Yugoslav Federal Government proposed an Agreement on the functioning of the country during the period of three month moratorium. The proposed Agreement was sent for adoption to SFRY Presidency and to all republics.

July 22
Extended SFRY Presidency meeting adopted a Statement against the use of force. Croatia conditioned its acceptance of the Statement by unconditional retreat of JNA to garrisons. President Tudjman stated at a press conference that ‘population should perhaps be ready for a general war for defence of Croatia’.

July 22
20 killed in fighting between Serbs and Croats in Eastern Croatia.

July 24
The Federal Assembly, in the absence of representatives of Slovenia and Croatia, adopted a decision to suspend these two republics decision to declare sovereignty and independence.

July 25
Fighting between Croats and federal troops kills 18 militiamen and one army soldier.

July 26
24 more die according to TANJUG; federal president fails to come up with solution during meeting.

July 27
Ten killed in town of Glina (south of Zagreb); Yugoslav air force jet fires on Croatian forces in town of Ilok (E Croatia).

July 28
Prime Minister Markovic calls for EC Foreign Ministers to return to Yugoslavia; threatens to resign if his proposals are not accepted by warring factions.

July 29
EC Foreign Ministers say they will travel to Yugoslavia to help negotiate peace.
The EC Foreign Ministers offered to quadruple the number of EC observers to 200 plus 400 support staff, mentioning that these observers would go into Croatia only if their safety was guaranteed and if all parties accepted a cease-fire.
July 29
JNA units started to withdraw from Slovenia.

July 30
At the session of SFRY Presidency Branko Kostic was proposed as the President of the state committee in charge of monitoring the execution of the Presidency order on cease-fire in Croatia, which made Stipe Mesic leave the session. Committee of the Croatian Assembly for protection and improvement of equality of nations and minorities offered Serbs in Croatia political and territorial autonomy. According to this proposal, Serbs in Croatia would be a sovereign nation with all rights except right to secession.

July 30
Serbs in Krajina region refuse to allow EC ministers in unless they are invited by Krajinan government. One killed, 6 wounded by Yugoslav air force attack on village of Majur; two youths shot by Croatian police in southern Croatian town of Imotski.

July 31
Supreme State Council of Croatia suggested to the Assembly and Government to undertake urgent measures in order to increase defence capability and carry out necessary mobilisation. With the fighting between Serbs and Croatians worsening in eastern Croatia, Tudjman announced that legislation had been prepared to offer home-rule to the Serbian community in the self-proclaimed ‘Autonomous Region of Krajina’.

August 1
Tudjman dismisses Defence minister due to poor showing of Croatian Defence forces; Yugoslav airplanes bomb targets around Erdut and Dalj. Clash between Croatian police and National Guard with Serbian inhabitants took place in Dalj.

August 3
SFRY Presidency decided on absolute and immediate cease-fire, on stoppage of all further movement and on separation of conflicting forces. Commission was established (chaired by Branko Kostic) to monitor the enforcement of this decision together with competent organs of the Republic of Croatia. Immediately following this session, Stjepan Mesic addressed the Croatian Assembly asking them to refuse this Commission and to name Serbia as aggressor. Despite violation of the provisions of the Brioni Agreement by Slovenia, after talking with Milan Kucan EC Ministerial troika assessed positively the execution of obligations by Slovenia. In talking with Milosevic the EC representatives failed to reach agreement on arrival of the European peace forces. The Assembly of Croatia adopted a decision to sever all relations with Republic of Serbia.

August 4
EC Ministers blame Serbia for breakdown in peace talks; Leader of Serbian Renewal Movement’s militia (Serbian Guard), Branislav Metic, assassinated in Belgrade.
August 6

EC Foreign Ministers call on CSCE to support cease-fire efforts. SFRY Presidency adopted a five-point decision on absolute and unconditional cease-fire on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

August 7

The WEU Council convened in London to discuss a possible monitoring role.

August 8

A working group of the Croatian Assembly submitted a study in which Serbian population in this republic was offered local self-government, cultural autonomy, proportionate participation in government at all levels. Establishment of the District of Krajina with special status was proposed as well.

August 9

Serbia proposes redrawing ethnic and territorial lines in new Yugoslavia. CSCE meeting in Prague urges an end to fighting and creation of a peace accord.

August 10

Small prisoner exchange occurs between federal army and Croats.

August 11

Cease fire falls apart as several are killed in renewed fighting.

August 12

Milosevic orchestrated a summit in Belgrade, where it was proposed to draft a new constitution for those republics which wished to stay in Yugoslavia as a ‘confederation of equal republics and peoples’.

August 14

Federal president agrees to begin negotiation within a week to resolve federal crisis.

August 16

Truce effectively dead with renewed fighting.

August 17

Pope John Paul II says Croats have legitimate aspirations during mass held in Pecs, Hungary; fighting renewed as Croatian forces blow up bridge over the Sava River and federal troops bomb Croatian positions.

August 18

Federal troops reinforce positions inside Croatia.
August 19
Fighting around Pakrac and Okucani.

August 23
Truce officially proclaimed broken as Serb and Croat militias call for general mobilisation of their populations.

August 25
Federal troops cause heavy Croatian losses in fighting around Vukovar (eastern Croatia on border with Serbia); at least 18 reported dead.

August 26
7 more killed in fighting; Austrians apparently ready to recognise Croatian independence. Italians also threaten Serbia with this unless fighting is stopped.

August 27
At their meeting in Brussels, EC Foreign Ministers mentioned Serbia’s responsibility for the conflict and envisaged a monitored cease-fire, the formation of an EC arbitration committee and an international peace conference.

August 31
Serbs say they will accept EC monitors of fighting; Yugoslav jets force down Ugandan and Romanian planes at Zagreb airport and accuse them of arms smuggling.

September 2
A cease-fire agreement provided for by EC, CSCE, and representatives of all parties to the conflict to monitor the cease-fire, while extending the EC observer mission into Croatian territory. Fighting in Petrinja.

September 3
Declaration of the European Community on Yugoslavia adopted in the Hague. It announced and scheduled for 7 September a Conference on Yugoslavia in the Hague and initiated at the same time arbitration procedure. Lord Carrington was appointed the chairman of the Conference. The Conference will adopt mechanism which should ensure a peaceful fulfilment of opposing aspirations of the Yugoslav peoples on the basis of the following principles:

- no unilateral change of borders by use of force;
- protection of rights of all in Yugoslavia; and
- full respect for all legitimate interests and aspirations.
September 3-4

During a meeting in Prague the CSCE called for an embargo on weapons and war equipment against all parties involved in the conflict.

September 4

Renewed fighting in Slavonia; Serbs cut highway to Okucani (75 miles S of Zagreb) and move to cut off Osijek; app. 20 dead in this area.
Genscher again warns Yugoslavia that Germany may recognise Slovenia and Croatia unless fighting stops.

September 5

Yugoslav army says EC can send observers; heavy fighting with tanks, planes, and gunboats around Vukovar; 13 more killed; EC officials believe Croats may be provoking attacks on army so as to gain German recognition.

September 6

Fighting in Glina (S of Zagreb); Dalmatia reported quiet as Serbs agree to truce along with federal army and Croats.

September 7

Conference on Yugoslavia opened in the Hague with the participation of the representatives of SFRY Presidency, Federal Government, Presidents of the Yugoslav republics, the Council of the European Community, representatives of EC members states and of the European Commission. A Declaration was adopted to the effect that the common goal of all participants was to bring peace to all in Yugoslavia and find lasting and just solutions for all their interests and aspirations.
It was established as a basis for negotiations that:

- internal borders could not be changed by force;
- the rights of minorities must be guaranteed;
- full account must be taken of all legitimate concerns and aspirations.

It was also declared that any differences which could not be resolved through negotiation would be submitted to an arbitration commission. At the same time, an arbitration commission of constitutional lawyers was appointed.
Referendum on the independence of Macedonia and its possible association with Yugoslavia was held in Macedonia: 95% of voters in Macedonia supported independence.

September 9

EC monitors arrive amid renewed battles; fighting in Kostajnica (near Bosnia) and Pakrac (in Slavonia) where 10 have been killed since hundreds of Croatian militiamen were ambushed by Serbs; Serbs cut Belgrade-Zagreb highway near Okucani.
Serb leader in Krajina, Milan Martic, detained by police in Bosnia for posing threat of spreading hostilities to this region.
Yugoslav soldiers in firefight with Albanian border guards kill 5 Albanians.
**September 10**

Bosnia asked the EC to send observers to its territory. While nationalist Serbs were taking control of Serbian areas in Bosnia, President Izetbegovic called for the establishment of a six-mile demilitarised zone along the Una and Sava rivers to separate the republic of Bosnia from Croatia.

Serb leaders in Krajina sign EC-sponsored truce; fighting in Slavonia leaves 15 dead
15,000-20,000 Albanian demonstrators in Pristina dispersed by police.

**September 11**

With the cut-off of oil supplies to Serbia by Croatia on 7 September and heavy fighting in Croatia in the following days, EC monitors admitted that their peace mission had failed and warned that they would leave Yugoslavia if their safety could not be guaranteed.

**September 12**

The first plenary session of the Conference on Yugoslavia started in the Hague behind closed doors with participation of Foreign Ministers from Yugoslavia and senior EC officials.

Yugoslavian Defence Minister rejects President Stipe Mesic’s call for JNA forces to pull out of Croatia.

Kostajnica falls to Serb forces; 12 Croats killed in fighting, while 11 people killed in other parts of Croatia.

**September 15**

Air raid sirens go off in Zagreb for first time since World War II; Croatian forces begin blockades of federal troops throughout the republic resulting in JNA retaliations; 26 killed; Croats claim to have captured hundreds of federal troops.

**September 16**

Yugoslav jet shot down near Hungarian border in fighting near Osijek; 3 jets crossed into Hungarian airspace; Osijek’s hospital shelled by federal troops; air raid sirens again sounded in Zagreb; fighting in Otocec, Okucani, Vukovar; partial mobilisation ordered in Vojvodina.

**September 17**

Lord Carrington, co-chairman of Conference on Yugoslavia, President of Croatia Tudjman, President of Serbia Milosevic and general Veljko Kadijevic signed in Igalo a joint cease-fire statement.

The Assembly of Macedonia adopted a Declaration on strict respect of existing frontiers, rejecting any territorial claims on whatever neighbouring country.

**September 19**

Following increasing violations of Hungarian national air space by Yugoslav military aircraft and border incidents, the Hungarian Prime Minister offered to help the EC monitor the borders with Yugoslavia.

Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand suggested sending a peace-keeping force to Yugoslavia, which should operate in a buffer zone, under the auspices of WEU. The United Kingdom, however, opposed sending a peace-keeping force because it represented a long-term commitment.

A communiqué after a meeting of EC Foreign Ministers and WEU Defence Ministers stated that ‘no military intervention is contemplated’, but proposed that WEU should explore ways of supporting the activities of EC monitors to make their contribution more effective. A study by military experts was immediately set in motion.
**September 20**

JNA begins massive offensive to relieve army barracks surrounded by Croats.

**September 22**

Croats offer to halt blockade in exchange for end of offensive, but JNA refuses; Petrinja (30 miles S of Zagreb) lost to JNA/Serb militias; Serb militia units in hills along Dalmatian coast and YPL is maintaining a naval blockade; intense fighting in Zagreb around army barracks; 4 killed in Bosnia.

**September 23**

Cease-fire takes hold while both sides regroup; federal troops have fled Varazdin leaving behind 50 tanks, 60 armoured vehicles, anti-tank weapons, and anti-aircraft guns which are being redistributed to Croatian forces, especially around Vukovar; tanks, mortar fire in Vukovar for 90 minutes; continued fighting around Okucani and Nova Gradiska, as well as coastal town of Sibenik; 9-day blackout in Zagreb ends; shells fired on Monday evening at Vinkovci; Vice-president of ultra-nationalist Croatian group, Croatian Party of Rights, Ante Pradzik, is killed by Croatian police outside of Zagreb.

**September 24**

Milosevic tells BBC that Croatia may be allowed to secede but only if Serbian parts are kept inside Yugoslavia; battles between Croats and Serbs in west-central town of Medak (near Gospic) where Croats are trying to regain territory; shelling of Vinkovci by federal troops to break Croat blockade of garrison there; Split bombarded; army armoured column in Tovarnik (near Vukovar) stopped by Croats.

**September 25**

The United Nations Security Council, convened at the request of France, unanimously adopted Resolution 713, calling on all States to implement immediately a ‘general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia’. The Council commended and fully supported the efforts already undertaken by the European Community and its member States, with the support of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), to restore peace and dialogue in Yugoslavia.

**September 26**

At the fourth session of The Hague peace conference, Lord Carrington warned that no economic aid could be forthcoming until a long-term constitutional solution had been found. The conference set up three working groups to meet immediately, chaired by the European Commission, to study:

- constitutional solutions;
- economic relations between the republics;
- the position of ethnic minorities.

Meanwhile, the EC continued to broker cease-fire agreements which often collapsed again on the same day.
Branko Kostic called for a session of the SFRY Presidency referring to a special provision of the Presidency Rules of Procedure. From then on the sessions of the Federal Presidency were attended only by representatives of Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro. Fighting continues despite cease-fire agreement; 9 more dead; Kosovans begin voting on independence referendum even though Serb authorities say they will prevent the vote.

September 27

Serbian police arrest Kosovan leaders and interfere in independence referendum. Croatian plane carrying EC observers is fired on by Croatian anti-aircraft missile (Croatia later apologises).

September 29

Several army barracks abandoned by federal troops; fighting in Vinkovci-Vukovar area, also in Bjelovar (40 miles E of Zagreb); troops appear ready to leave some barracks in Zagreb; artillery bombardments of Nova Gradiska.

September 30

Clashes in Sisak (30 miles S of Zagreb); army begins new offensive due to surrender of 400-troop force in Bjelovar, trying to prevent redeployment by Croats of 130 captured armoured vehicles; armed forces command announces that it will destroy a vital facility in each town where a garrison or army facility is attacked.

October 1

Dubrovnik surrounded; Montenegrin army reservists overrun Croatian position south of Dubrovnik.

October 3

The SFRY Presidency began functioning under conditions of immediate danger of war. Serbia announces that it and its allies are taking over the federal parliament. Croatian troops retreating from Banija area; federal troops within 20 miles of Zagreb; navy warships close off Dubrovnik, bombardment of hills above coastal city start forest fires.

October 4

Zagreb blacked out while Dubrovnik cut off from rest of Croatia. Dubrovnik airport and Adriatic Highway are bombed; TV tower 5 miles outside of Zagreb hit by federal jets; Sisak, Karlovac, and Vukovar all under attack. Serbia orders partial mobilisation; Serbian presidency Member Borisav Jovic, says federal government now under control of Serbian republic and its allies. Federal army agrees at the Hague to halt assault on Croatia if blockade against garrisons are lifted.

October 5

Tudjman urges all Croatians to ‘fulfil their sacred duty’ and join in defending the republic; roadblocks erected in Zagreb; Serbia also calls for full mobilisation; TV tower outside Zagreb hit again by jets; Croatian forces fight off attacks around Dubrovnik.
October 7
Slovenia started to implement its declaration of independence. In this framework, the JNA agreed to withdraw from Slovenia by 25th October and to hand over military hardware to the Slovenian authorities.

October 8
After the expiring of the three-month Brioni moratorium, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia made a decision to sever state and legal bonds with SFRY and declared the independence of this Republic, at the same time identifying the JNA as an invading force.
The Assembly of Slovenia declared the independence of this republic and gave a 10-day notice to JNA to withdraw all its units from the territory of Slovenia.
UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar appointed Mr. Cyrus Vance, former United States Secretary of State, as his Personal Envoy for Yugoslavia.

October 13
The three-month mandate for EC monitors ran out, but was renewed indefinitely.

October 14
Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, without participation of Serbian deputies, adopted a decision to call a referendum on the future status of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

October 15
Bosnian Parliament issued a memorandum on sovereignty. Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, declared this could lead to war of extermination, and Serb delegates walked out.

October 15
On invitation of President Gorbachev, President of Croatia Tudjman and President of Serbia Milosevic met in Moscow, where they signed an agreement on immediate cease-fire.
In the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina deputies representing the Moslem Party for Democratic Action and Croatian Democratic Union adopted the Memorandum on Sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina, after deputies representing the Serbian Democratic Party left the session.

October 16
JNA removed the red five-pointed star as its symbol.
Croatian Government gave notice to JNA to withdraw from the territory of this republic by November 10.

October 18
At the session of The Hague peace conference, the EC proposed a plan for the future structure of Yugoslavia which was loosely based on its own structure. Of the six republics attending the conference, only Serbia rejected these proposals.
The EC proposal envisaged a free association of sovereign states co-operating on trade, fiscal and security matters, with a council of ministers, an executive commission and a court of appeal. The independence of republics within existing borders would be recognised if the republics so wished and minorities would be given a second nationality and their own schools and legislature.
In referendums declared legal by the Serbian government, voters in Kosovo approved sovereignty, while those in Sandrah were in favour of autonomy.

**October 21**

Rump Federal Presidency rejected EC proposals for loose association of sovereign republics.

**October 24**

Serbian Deputies in Bosnia proclaimed Assembly of Serbian Nation.

**November 5**

In The Hague, the eighth session of the peace conference on Yugoslavia took place. The peace plan proposed by Lord Carrington in October, had been amended to allow republics to form a common state, whose economy could be organised on non-market lines, which the article granting autonomy to the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina deleted. Serbia and Montenegro proposed an amendment to permit not only republics but also ‘nations’ to remain within Yugoslavia. No agreement was reached.

**November 8**

Meeting in Rome, the EC Council of Ministers imposed trade sanctions on Yugoslavia, suspended the Treaty on Trade and Co-operation with Yugoslavia and invited the UN Security Council to enhance effectiveness of the arms embargo and to take steps towards imposing an oil embargo. Compensatory measures were to be applied vis-à-vis parties, which did co-operate in a peaceful way towards a comprehensive political solution.

**November 9-10**

A separate plebiscite of Serbian people took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina. More than 90 per cent of Serbs opted to stay within Yugoslavia.

**November 10**

The President of the United States declared that it would also impose trade sanctions, and the following day, the G-24 donor countries suspended aid to Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav collective State Presidency requested United Nations peace-keeping forces to be deployed around Serb-populated regions in Croatia, while the Croatian leadership insisted that such peacekeeping forces should be kept on the legal republican borders.

**November 12**

At its meeting at Noordwijk the member states of the European Community condemned the further escalation of attacks upon Vukovar, Dubrovnik and other towns in Croatia.

**November 19**

Meeting in Bonn, WEU Foreign Ministers agreed to allow naval ships to create ‘humanitarian corridors’ for relief to Yugoslavia.
November 20
After more than three month bitter fighting between Croat forces and JNA, the JNA forces took the town of Vukovar. Bosnia-Herzegovina requested the deployment of United Nations troops.

November 21
Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia promulgated a new Constitution, defining Macedonia as a sovereign and independent democratic and social state.

November 22
Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN Secretary General, talked in Belgrade on possibilities for sending UN peace forces to Croatia.

November 23
Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN Secretary General convened in Geneva a meeting which was attended by the Presidents of Serbia and of Croatia and Defence Minister, Veljko Kadijevic, as well as Lord Carrington. During the meeting, the Yugoslav parties reached agreement on an immediate cease-fire and on a number of other issues. Each of the Yugoslav parties expressed the wish to see the speedy establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation. However, while progress was made on the other issues, the cease-fire broke down almost immediately.

November 27
The United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 721 requesting a report on the feasibility of sending peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia, conditional on the observance of a 23 November cease-fire agreement and endorsed that the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Yugoslavia could not be envisaged without full compliance by all parties.

November 30
CSCE Crisis Committee convened without the participation of the Yugoslav delegation. It adopted the Resolution supporting the activities of the UN in connection with crisis in Yugoslavia.

December
It was estimated that there were approximately 500,000 refugees, displaced persons and other victims of the conflict requiring assistance and protection. As the conflict intensified and extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the humanitarian problems increased dramatically with the growing number of refugees and displaced persons, widespread violations of basic human rights and international humanitarian law.

December 2
The EC Ministerial Council meeting in Brussels, considering so-called positive measures decided not to apply economic sanctions, introduced on 8 November, on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia and Croatia. The Council agreed to continue monitoring the situation regarding Montenegro in order to eventually expand the above positive measures to this republic and expressed its hope that Serbia would evolve towards a more co-operative position. This decision in practise means that economic sanctions should refer only to Serbia and Montenegro.
December 4

The Assembly of Croatia unanimously approved a law on minorities, committing Croatia to accept all international conventions on human rights and granting cultural autonomy to ethnic communities within Croatia once there was peace in the republic within its 1974 borders.

December 5

Croatian Assembly recalled Stepan Mesic from SFRY Presidency with retroactive effect since 8 October. On that occasion Mesic said: ‘Thank you for placing trust in me to fight for Croatian interests […] I think I have performed my assignment - Yugoslavia no longer exists.’

December 9

At invitation of Lord Carrington the peace conference in The Hague continued its work. The Presidents of all Yugoslav republics attended. Agreement was reached on continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

December 10

The Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia (so-called Badinter Commission) issued its first opinion. The Commission was of the opinion that Yugoslavia was in the process of dissolution; that it was to the republics to solve those problems of State succession that may derive from this process in accordance with the principles and rules of international law, with special attention to human rights and rights of peoples and minorities; and that it was upon those republics wishing to do so to act jointly to create new associations which would have democratic institutions according to their choice.

December 11

The so called Vance Peace Plan on the UN peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia was submitted to the UN Security Council. Under the provisions of the Plan UN peace-keeping forces would be deployed in specified area of Croatia, designated as ‘United Nation Protected Areas’ (UNPA zones). There will be three such areas under the protection of UN peace-keeping forces: in Eastern Slavonia, Western Slavonia and Krajina. All units and personal of the Yugoslav Peoples Army, Croatian National Guard and Territorial Defence would be withdrawn from these areas, and all paramilitary and irregular units would be disbanded and demobilised. Local police forces would be responsible for maintenance of public order. UN infantry units and civilian police observers would perform the function of protecting the population in the UNPA zones and ensuring the process of demilitarisation. The UN peacekeeping operation would be a temporary arrangement designed to create conditions for peace and security which are indispensable for any negotiations on a comprehensive settlement of the crisis. It was said in the Plan that this arrangement would not prejudge the outcome of the negotiations. Based on oral report of his personal envoy Cyrus Vance, the UN Secretary General stated that conditions for sending UN peace forces to Croatia had not yet been met since a cease fire had not been established.

December 13

Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held in New York discussed the situation in Yugoslavia and concluded that until a lasting political solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia is found, no attempts should be made that could undermine the sovereignty, territorial integrity and international legal subjectivity of Yugoslavia.
December 15
The Security Council, by its Resolution 724, approved the Secretary-General’s report which contained a plan for a possible peace-keeping operation. A small group of military officers, civilian police and United Nations Secretariat staff travelled to Yugoslavia to prepare for the implementation of this plan. The Security also urged United Nations members to do nothing to exacerbate the situation (i.e. recognise the independence of republics).

December 17
Foreign Ministers of the European Community adopted in Brussels a Declaration on the Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and the Declaration on Yugoslavia. The first document determined general criteria to serve as guidelines for the EC in recognition of new states ‘in conformity with normal standards of international practice and political reality in any particular case’. The second document states that the EC would recognise the independence of all Yugoslav republics which wish that, provided they fulfil criteria from Declaration on the Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe. All Yugoslav republics have been invited to submit by December 23 their applications and proof that they met the criteria. Proofs on qualification would be assessed by the Arbitration Committee of the Conference on Yugoslavia, while decisions on possible recognition would be made by the EC Ministerial Council after January 15, 1992.

December 18
SFRY Presidency stated that EC Ministerial Council by its decisions of 17 December violated the UN Charter and international law. In its communication the Presidency underscored that by its interference in internal matters of Yugoslavia the EC supported unilateral and anti constitutional acts of secession and tried to abolish Yugoslavia as the only subject of international law.

December 19
Two Serb enclaves in Croatia, the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and the Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Branaja and Western Srem, proclaimed themselves the Serbian Republic of Krajina. The two enclaves did not share a common border, but together occupied about a third of Croatian territory and included 300 000 people. Milan Babic was elected president.

December 20
Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic resigned.

December 21
The Assembly of Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted a Resolution to form the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina within the framework of Yugoslavia.

December 23
The government of Montenegro said that it would not be asking for EC recognition. The ethnic Albanians of Kosovo asked for EC recognition of an independent Kosovo. Germany recognised the independence of Slovenia and Croatia and promised that diplomatic relations would be established on 15 January 1992.
December 23
Slovenian Assembly adopted a new Constitution proclaiming Slovenia as sovereign and independent state.

December 23
President Izetbegovic requested UN peacekeepers for Bosnia.

December 24
Until the deadline set by the EC Declaration of 17 December applications for recognition were filed by Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. Serbia and Montenegro did not apply, pointing to the fact that Serbia and Montenegro had been recognised at the Berlin Congress 1878 and that they had been maintained full international legal continuity.
The Grand National Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem decided to join the Republika Srpska Krajina.

December 25
The Serbian-dominated collective state presidency approved the United Nations plan for peace-keeping operations. This plan envisaged three demilitarised areas in Croatia, covering the Serbian enclaves of Western Slavonia, Eastern Slavonia and Krajina. Irregular forces would be disarmed and JNA and Croatian National Guard forces would be withdrawn.

December 26
Macedonia drafted constitutional changes to meet the EC conditions for recognition.

December 27
The Yugoslav presidency and the Federal Assembly condemned the EC’s proposals and the presidency asked the United Nations to take control of the peace process.
Chronology 1992

January 2

Federal air strikes on Daruvar and Adriatic island of Ugljan, rocket attacks on Zadar, clashes around Pakrac and Vinkovci continue even as army and Croat National Guard leaders agree to a cease-fire. As part of his attempts to remove remaining obstacles, the Personal Envoy of the UN Secretary-General, Cyrus Vance, convened in Sarajevo a meeting between military representatives of the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the JNA, at which the Implementing Accord on the unconditional cease-fire to come into effect on 3 January was signed.

With the Security Council's concurrence, the newly elected Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, sent to Yugoslavia a group of 50 military liaison officers, with the task of using their good offices to promote maintenance of the cease-fire by facilitating communication between the two sides and by helping them to resolve difficulties that might arise. In the meantime, the Personal Envoy, the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations and their team continued their efforts to secure the co-operation of all Yugoslav parties in implementing the United Nations plan for a peace-keeping operation.

January 3

New truce takes effect at 6 pm. Army claims Croatian forces east of Zagreb take advantage of truce to launch tank and artillery assaults between Novska and Kamensko.

Large parts of Krajina, Srem and eastern Slavonia have been conquered by the Serbs.

Representatives of 159 political parties gather in Belgrade to call for a new Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia.

January 4

Truce continues to hold with only minor clashes.

January 6

Truce gains strength despite Serbian militias refusing to accept terms.

Macedonia amended its constitution to fall in line with EC criteria for recognition. The amendments stated that Macedonia had no territorial claims on other countries, and renounced interference in their affairs. Constitutional amendments also abolished Macedonian representation in the Yugoslav Assembly and presidency. However, Macedonia’s internal divisions were highlighted by a referendum held by the ethnic Albanian minority in Macedonia on 11-12 January, in which 99.9% voted for territorial and political autonomy.

January 7

Yugoslavia jet shoots down EC observer helicopter killing five on board. Federal President suspends air force commander, General Zvonko Jurjevic.

January 8

Notwithstanding the shooting down by the Yugoslav air force of an EC monitor helicopter on 7 January, killing all five of its crew, the United Nations Security Council unanimously approved the deployment of an advance force in the planned operation to send 10 000 United Nations peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia.
January 8

Federal Defence Minister Kadijevic, who had resigned on December 31 due to, as stated, reasons of health, formalises his decision and is replaced by hard-liner, Chief of Staff Blagoje Adzic. Milosevic tells Serbs in western Croatia to ignore Serb leader Milan Babic and obey the cease-fire; actions draw praise from Lord Carrington.

January 9

UN Security Council adopted Resolution 727 supporting the proposal of UN Secretary General to send to Yugoslavia 50 officers that would monitor cease-fire and make initial preparations for possible arrival of some 10,000 ‘blue helmets’. Assembly of Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina declared in Sarajevo the Republic of Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a federal unit of Yugoslavia and claim Sarajevo as their capital. The Assembly announced that Bosnia-Herzegovina’s President and Foreign Minister ‘no longer represent the interests of Bosnia-Herzegovina’s Serbian people in international forums’. The EC peace conference reconvened in Brussels. The risk of ethnic conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina was considered to be too great for that republic to qualify for EC recognition. President Milosevic accepted the EC plan for guaranteed minority rights, which also affected Serbian enclaves in Croatia. Serbian opposition leader, Vuk Draskovic, head of Serbian Renewal Movement, is indicted in Belgrade for inciting violence and organised pro-democracy demonstrations.

January 10

The Conference on Yugoslavia, initiated at The Hague, was continued in Brussels. The EC Foreign Ministers lifted sanctions against Montenegro due to ‘contribution to creation of necessary conditions for continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia’, thus leaving only Serbia subject to the sanctions imposed on 8th November 1991. The EC Arbitration Commission had also recommended recognising Macedonian independence, but Greece objected to an independent state under that name and insisted on the inclusion of a clause in the EC criteria for recognition stating that republics should renounce ‘the use of a denomination which implies territorial claims’. Bombing of Catholic Church and three restaurants in Mostar; army reservists fire on train and injure two near military airport in Mostar; army claims it was fired upon from train. Serb leader in Krajina region, Milan Babic, denounces Milosevic for agreeing to UN peace plan. Croatian radio says one person died in attack in Sunja (42 miles S of Zagreb).

January 12

Five killed in clash in Baranja region near the Hungarian border; TANJUG blames Croats for launching the attack; otherwise, truce considered to be holding.

January 14

50 UN observers arrive in Belgrade and Zagreb.

January 15

The presidency of the EC announced that its member states had decided to recognise Croatia and Slovenia as independent states. Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina which had also sought recognition, were not recognised.
January 16

EC monitors extended their activities to Hungary to monitor compliance with the arms embargo on Yugoslavia after having signed a protocol with Hungary. Serbian Premier, Radoman Bozovic, warns that violence will erupt if Croatia doesn’t allow self-determination for ethnic Serbs. Milosevic says that Yugoslavia is to be reformed by Serbia and Montenegro. Croatian Foreign Minister, Zvonimir Separovic, says in *Le Monde* interview that Croatia’s borders are negotiable, but only under peaceful conditions. Shelling around Osijek.

January 21

Talks being held in Pecs, Hungary, fail to reach an agreement on the terms for the Yugoslavia army’s withdrawal from Croatia.

January 21

UN Security Council Resolution 743 set up a Protection Force (UNPROFOR), mandated to create three UN Protected Areas (UNPAs) in Croatia.

January 22

Macedonian parliament votes to withdraw its representatives from federal parliament.

January 25

A debate in the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, boycotted by Serbian parties, endorsed a referendum on the republic’s sovereignty to be held from 29 February to 1 March.

January 26

UN Under-secretary-General in charge of UN peacekeeping, Marrack Goulding, arrives in Belgrade for talks. Croatian radio claims that federal troops fired anti-aircraft weapons on villages near Vinkovci (155 miles SE of Zagreb), and also that troops fired 20 mortar rounds onto Croat positions near Osijek. Army claims that Croats fired on federal positions around Dubrovnik. Federal forces turn over 294 prisoners captured in siege of Vukovar to Croats.

January 29

Referendum on independence held in Bosnia. Majority of Muslims and Croats in favour, majority of Serbs boycotted it.

January 31-February 2

After three-day continuous session, SFRY Presidency adopted Vance Peace Plan, in spite of opposition by Milan Babic, President of the Republika Srpska Krajina. Mile Paspalj, President of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina voted (instead of Babic) for adoption of the Vance Peace Plan.

February 6

Tudjman sent a letter to Cyrus Vance, personal envoy of the UN Secretary General, in which he reported that Croatia fully and unconditionally accepted the Vance Peace Plan.
February 9

At the session of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina in Glina the Vance Peace Plan was adopted by a majority vote despite opposition of Serb leader Babic.

February 10

At the session of the part of Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina in Knin, attended by delegates who support Milan Babic, President of the Republic, Babic counters the opposition with 2nd vote in parliament which overturns 1st vote and the decision was made to call a referendum in Krajina on Vance Peace Plan.

February 10

Army Chief of Staff Adzic says Yugoslavia army will protect Serbs in Croatia if the peacekeeping effort collapses.

February 11

In his letter to the United Nations, Borisav Jovic, President of the State Committee for Co-operation with the UN, officially reported that ‘nothing stands in the way to arrival of blue helmets’.

February 12

UN envoy Vance recommends UN go ahead with deployment of forces.

February 14

Federal army shells Osijek, killing 3 Croatian soldiers. Fist-fights break out between several Serbs and Montenegrins and Macedonians in Macedonian town of Bitola. Tuđman gives unconditional support to UN peacekeeping plan.

February 15

Notwithstanding the fact that certain political groups in Yugoslavia were still expressing objections to the United Nations plan, the Secretary-General recommended to the Security Council the establishment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). In making this recommendation, he stressed that, in his view, the danger that a United Nations peace-keeping operation would fail for lack of co-operation from the parties was less grievous than the danger that delay in its dispatch would lead to a breakdown of the cease-fire and to a new conflagration. Croatian officials said that Croatian law and control should be re-imposed in Serb dominated areas of Croatia.

February 16

Members of Krajina parliament, meeting in Glina, vote to remove Babic from office. Babic rejects this action claiming that only 47 out of 161 deputies were present, but TANJUG says 74 voted for his dismissal, 8 were opposed, and 3 abstained.

February 17

Babic accedes to the deployment of 13,000 peacekeeping troops.
February 21

The Security Council, by its Resolution 743 established UNPROFOR for an initial period of 12 months and agreed to deployment of 13,000 troops. The Council confirmed that the Force should be an interim arrangement to create the conditions of peace and security required for the negotiation of an overall settlement of the Yugoslav crisis within the framework of the European Community’s Conference on Yugoslavia. It requested the Secretary-General to deploy immediately those elements of UNPROFOR, which could assist in developing an implementation plan for the earliest possible full deployment of the Force.

February 27

Milosevic declared to the Serbian parliament that the war with Croatia is over, and admitted for first time that Serbia had supplied Serbs in Croatia with arms. He also called for union of Serbia and Montenegro. Shelling of Osijek for at least 8 hours; over 200 shells fired at Vinkovci.

February 29

In the referendum in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 29 February to 1 March, 99.4% of the votes opted for full independence with a 63% turnout. Holding a referendum had been one of the conditions demanded by the EC before it would consider recognition of independence. Persons of Serbian nationality largely refused to participate in the referendum, pointing that the idea of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina was unacceptable to them.

March 1

Referendum held in Montenegro with 66,04% response of voters, of which 95,94% cast their vote in favour of the option of Montenegro as a sovereign state remaining in Yugoslavia. Moslems, Albanians and some opposition parties boycotted the referendum.

March 2

Almost overnight, fighting erupted in Sarajevo between Muslims and both Serb irregulars and JNA and Croatian irregulars. The tension that dominated during the referendum culminated – according to Serb sources - when a Serb who attended his son’s wedding was killed in front of a church. Within few hours barricades were put up all over the city guarded by armed civilians - Serbian on one side, and Moslem on the other.
Serbs sealed off Sarajevo with barricades, as well as 3 other Bosnia-Herzegovina towns and opened fire on crowd of 1,000 demonstrators, wounding three. Muslims also erected barricades, but police took control of these.

March 3

Barricades dismantled in Sarajevo after an agreement in the Presidency of the Republic. Mixed national police patrols in co-operation with the JNA were established, and appeals by SDA and SDP leaders Izetbegovic and Karadzic, temporarily calmed down an extremely explosive situation during the night of 3 March. Serbs were conceded more access to radio and TV and a greater voice in police activities. Serbs also claimed that Muslims attacked Serbs in town of Pale. Two reportedly killed in town of Gatsko (SW Bosnia-Herzegovina).
Karadzic, said he did not think Bosnia-Herzegovina would be able to escape inter-ethnic war if independence is gained.
German Foreign Minister Genscher called for recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
March 3

Meeting of representatives of governments of Serbia and Macedonia held in Skopje in order to negotiate unsettled political and economic issues between these two republics.

March 3

The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared itself independent. Fighting spreads over the country.

March 4

Fighting in Bosanski Brod (Bosnia-Herzegovina town, 41% Croat, 33% Serb) near Croatian border. Four wounded before truce declared. Mosque bombed in Prnjavor. Police and federal troops team up to patrol streets in Sarajevo. Bosnia-Herzegovina President Izetbegovic walks through downtown Sarajevo to cheers of people and tells *Le Figaro* that ‘there is a balance of fear, and I believe that for the moment, fear is conducive to peace’. Serbs reportedly hijack police truck carrying explosives in Visoka (NE of Sarajevo). Two army reservists hurt in ambush near Foca (S of Sarajevo).

March 6

Preparations continue for large anti-Milosevic protest rally in Belgrade; organisers say they will have 10,000 unarmed guards to defend protestors; Belgrade TV reports that 579,000 people had signed a petition demanding Milosevic’s ouster; head of Serbian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Pavle, says he will conduct a memorial service for those killed a year ago during similar demonstration. One killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina overnight bringing total to 9 thus far; 10,000 peace activists rally in Mostar. Denmark sends 900 troops as part of early contingent for peacekeeping force.

March 7

Croatian defence officials say federal army artillery attacked Osijek Saturday night killing 7, wounding 30; 2 soldiers (Croats?) killed in shelling in Dalmatia; artillery fire reported around Masic and Poljane (60 miles E of Zagreb).

March 8

UNPROFOR commander, Lt. General Satish Nambiar, of India, (2nd in command, French General Philippe Morillon) and director of the civil part of the operation Cedric Thornberry and advance party arrive in Belgrade to prepare for the arrival of the 14 000 strong force in the United Nations-protected areas of Eastern and Western Slavonia and Krajina. Nambiar says he is determined to succeed. Sarajevo is to be headquarters for multinational force.

March 9

About 40,000 gather for protest demonstration in Belgrade marking one year anniversary of demonstrations that resulted in police repression and two deaths. The plenary session of the Conference on Yugoslavia held in Brussels, chaired by Lord Carrington and attended by Cyrus Vance. Participants of the meeting were five Presidents of Yugoslav republics and Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic (instead of the absent Milosevic, who was slightly injured in a car accident). Agreement was reached on continuous work of three conference groups - for institutional issues, for rights of minorities, and for economic issues.
March 11

Anti-government rally in Belgrade turns into all-night vigil held by high school and university students; vigil starts at 10 p.m. Tuesday and continues well into next day; parliament opposition leaders, Zoran Horvan and Mihaljo Kovac (Democratic Party) address the students.

March 17

Agreement between Slovenia and Macedonia on the establishment of diplomatic relations at the level of embassies signed in Skopje.
The fifth round of negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina started in Sarajevo.

March 18

Leaders of the three main ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina signed an agreement in Sarajevo, under EC auspices, on the future of the republic which provided for its division into three autonomous units along ethnic lines (known as the Coutilhero Plan). However, all signatories also agreed that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to implement because very few areas were in fact exclusively inhabited by any one of the three communities.
Shelling of Osijek by Serbs wounds eight. UN peacekeeping forces begin to arrive.

March 21

Croat officials say that towns of Osijek and Gospic (inland from Adriatic) have been shelled by artillery.

March 22

Federal artillery fires on Croat town of Neum in Bosnia-Herzegovina on Adriatic coast. Federal forces claim they have repulsed 200-man Croat attack in Baranja region near Hungary.
At the session of CSCE Ministerial Council Slovenia and Croatia were admitted to full-fledged membership of CSCE.

March 23

The fourth (follow-up) meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe started in Helsinki. As scheduled, during subsequent 14 weeks it should determine a platform on further development of the CSCE process. New states from Eastern Europe and the former USSR, as well as Slovenia and Croatia, participated for the first time in the capacity of full-fledged members.

March 25

Izetbegovic called on all citizens to reject the division of the republic along ethnic lines alone and to accept the concept of a military state. He had signed the Sarajevo agreement only because he had been isolated and because the EC mediators had insisted on signing as a precondition for recognition of independence.

March 26

JNA formally left the territory of the Republic of Macedonia by signing a document on transfer of facilities and equipment.
**March 26**

Muslim leaders reject EC-brokered peace plan for preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina; 11 Serbs killed in town of Sijekovac (outside of Bosanski Brod); Serbian media claims they were massacred by members of Patriotic League, a combined Muslim-Croatian militia.

**March 27**

The Assembly of Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina (leader, Momcilo Krajisnik) promulgated in Sarajevo the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and declared the independent state Republika Srpska.

Initiative and Co-ordinating Committee for the establishment of the Serbian National Assembly founded in Zagreb.

Muslim member of Bosnia-Herzegovina collective President, Ejup Ganic, urges UN to dispatch peacekeeping forces immediately to Bosnia-Herzegovina and to send military observers in order to monitor a cease-fire in Bosanski Brod.

In Sarajevo 399 Moslem intellectuals signed a Declaration on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina in which they stress territorial integrity and indivisibility of this republic as main principles.

**March 28**

Federal army says it will respond to any attacks on its troops or civilians (similar statements marked beginning of civil war in Croatia in June ‘91).

**March 29**

Convention of Serbian intellectuals from Bosnia-Herzegovina and those originating from Bosnia-Herzegovina finished its work after two days in Sarajevo. The participants adopted a Declaration underlining indivisibility of interests of Serbs wherever they lived.

Fighting in northern Bosnia kills three despite newly negotiated truce. 40 have died in the course of the past week. Croat refugees fleeing across Sava River into Croatia to escape federal tanks which attacked before cease-fire deadline.

**March 30-31**

The sixth round of negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina held in Brussels. Representatives of all three national parties - SDA, SDP and HDZ - proposed separate ‘corrections’ in already adopted Declaration of principles of new constitutional order of Bosnia-Herzegovina of 17 March (the Coutilhero Plan). General principles of that document were nevertheless confirmed. It was agreed to set up a working group to define the territories of the communities within Bosnia-Herzegovina. The maps of the constituent units should be based on national, economic and geographic principles, but also on historic, religious, cultural, educational, and transport and communication criteria.

**March 31**

Serbs announce formation of their own police force in ‘autonomous’ areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**April 1**

The 11th plenary session of the Conference on Yugoslavia held in Brussels. Discussion focussed on possibilities for renewal of economic relations between the former Yugoslav republics and questions of succession.

Paramilitaries from Serbia ‘ethnically cleansed’ the Bosnian town of Bijeljina.
April 2

Commercial flights to Croatia resume for first time since September 1 (Aeroflot jet with only 3 passengers on board). Federal troops shell Croatian towns of Vinkovci and Valpovo killing 4 and wounding 12. Fighting in NE Bosnian town of Bijeljina; Serbs block roads, while factories, schools, and shops close. Gunfire in Neum and Mostar. Representatives of all 3 groups meeting in Brussels agree to plan for defining autonomous areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

April 4

1,200 French members of UN peacekeeping force arrive in Rijeka.
Up to 50 may have died in fighting since April 2 in Baranja region and around Osijek. Croats claim that at least 24 have died (including 6 Croatian soldiers) in attacks in and around Osijek in 24 hour period.
Fighting around Bosanski Brod and Kupres in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

April 6

In Luxembourg, Ministerial Council of the EC adopted a Declaration on Yugoslavia stating that the Community and its members decided to recognise the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina within the present borders. The recognition of Macedonia was put off due to Greek opposition. The Community also decided in principle to abolish economic sanctions against the Republic of Serbia, i.e. ‘to expand to the Republic of Serbia the benefit of positive measures’ provided to other republics on 2 December 1991 and 10 January 1992, but it warned of renewed sanctions and of severing diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia if fighting involving Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not stop by the end of the month.

On the same date, the United States recognised Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Armed clashes broke out in Sarajevo and other places throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which 14 persons were killed and more than 100 wounded. A large group of Sarajevo citizens demonstrated against the stirring up of national conflicts, occupied the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly building and demanded the formation of the national salvation government. At its extraordinary session held without attendance of Serbian deputies the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency issued an order on cease-fire in Sarajevo and introduction of the state of emergency.
Serbian snipers, firing from the headquarters of Serbian Democratic Party in Sarajevo Holiday Inn, killed five members of a huge peace demonstration. Serb militiamen also fired on buses bringing more participants for the rally into Sarajevo. Bosnian police stormed the hotel and arrested six gunmen.
Izetbegovic blamed the fighting on Serbs who oppose individually. Fighting between Serb and Muslim forces around Sarajevo airport. Overnight shelling from Pale killed two. The siege of Sarajevo started.
‘Rump’ Presidency of SFRY met in Belgrade to assess the political and security situation in the country prompted by dramatic deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Presidency expressed serious concern over future development of events in this republic. The present situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they said, is the direct consequence of the policy aimed at braking up Yugoslavia and of the EC decision on international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which ignited ethnic clashes there. The Presidency stressed again that the solution to the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina was only possible by peaceful means, through agreement of all its three constitutive nations.

April 7

After receiving a report from the Secretary-General on 2 April that all the Force Commander’s interlocutors had emphasised the need for the earliest possible deployment of UNPROFOR, the Security Council, by its Resolution 749, authorised the full deployment of the Force.
The Assembly of Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina declared in Banja Luka the independence of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, ‘which may enter into association with
other entities in Yugoslavia’. The Assembly ‘acknowledged the information’ that Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic resigned from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

April 8

Izetbegovic and Bosnia-Herzegovina collective President declare state of emergency and assume control over territorial defence force declaring ‘war is imminent’ as federal troops and Serbs move into Bosnia. Izetbegovic calls on EC, UN and US to intervene and collective President orders all loyal paramilitary groups to merge with security forces. Serbs fire mortars at Sarajevo suburbs from Serbian-controlled area of Lapisnica.

Federal troops claim victory against Croatian forces in area of Kupres (60 miles E of Sarajevo); villages of Zloselo and Osmanlije reportedly ‘razed’. Heavy fighting around Mostar between federal troops and Croat militias. Serb and Muslim militias battle around Zvornik (Drina River boundary with Serbia) and Kalesija. 150 reported dead in last week.

April 9

UN envoy Cyrus Vance says US and EC recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina independence has damaged peace process.

April 10

Zvornik said to be ‘razed’ as 10,000 Muslim refugees are found to have been chased from their homes by Serbian guerrillas, US ambassador to Belgrade, Warren Zimmerman, delivers protest to Milosevic, blaming Yugoslavia army for the crisis.

April 11

Federal army units attack Muslim-Croatian town of Modrica. Serbian plan said to be to drive out Muslims-Croats from strategic areas to create well-defined Serbian enclave. UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali sends Vance to Bosnia-Herzegovina to try to end the conflict. EC-sponsored talks underway in Sarajevo which caused Serbs to temporarily halt fighting in the city. More fighting around Mostar as Serbs seize hydroelectric dam on Neretva River. TANJUG reports federal army officials as saying 320 Croatian fighters killed around Kupres (not confirmed).

April 13

Truce broken only two hours after having gone into effect as Serbs attack police in Sarajevo, shell Visegrad and Foca, and proclaim two ‘serbian autonomous regions’ in NE Bosnia. Mortar and artillery fire in Bosanski Brod; gunfire in Capljina, Stolac, and Zvornik. US issues sharp warning to Yugoslavia that Serbian aggression is ‘completely outside the bounds of civilised behaviour’. US representative to CSCE says international community should hold Serbian and Yugoslavia military leaderships responsible for aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

April 14

Serbian chief-of-staff, General Zivota Panic, says army can expect attacks on it in Bosnia-Herzegovina. JNA takes control of Visegrad sending thousands more fleeing for safety. Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister, Haris Silajdzic, in Washington asks for US assistance to prevent ‘mass massacres’. US Secretary of State Baker says government has sent strongly worded note to Serbs; also announces that US is sending airlift of food and blankets to Sarajevo and that Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Ralph Johnson will accompany flights. Vance holds talks in Sarajevo and then heads for Belgrade.
Greece announces that it will oppose international recognition of Macedonian independence. Tudjman demands that Serbia halt its offensives in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

April 15

Serbs capture Foca. Shelling in Sarajevo. Spokesman for UN High Commissioner for Refugees says Serbs stopped and confiscated six agency trucks carrying food and medicine for refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Vance warns Tudjman to stay out of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

April 18

Serbs capture munitions factory in Vogosca (10 miles N of Sarajevo). Fighting across Bosnia-Herzegovina. Railway bridge across Neretva river blown up, thereby isolating Mostar from rest of Bosnia. US shipments of food and medicine begin to arrive in Sarajevo. Serbian Foreign Minister tells US charge d'affaires that it is conducting a ‘one-sided, non-objective and biased’ policy regarding the crisis.

April 21

EC brokers a new truce.

April 22

Street-to-street fighting in Sarajevo as Serbs seek to gain control of downtown. Fighting ebbs by midday, but continues into late afternoon in suburb of Ilidza as Muslims attack Serb-held area with mortars, and in nearby villages of Sokolovic and Butmir. Fighting also in Bosanski Krupa (W Bosnia-Herzegovina), Derventa (N), Bosanski Brod and Bosanski Samac (on Croatian border).

April 23

Artillery battles in Mostar. Fighting around three towns on northern and western borders. Leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina factions and Yugoslavia army sign truce at Sarajevo airport, but signing is interrupted by sniper fire on them. Overnight shelling of Sarajevo and Capljina by Serbs. Germany and Netherlands urge UN Secretary Council to hold emergency session to deal with the crisis.

April 24

Izetbegovic and Army Chief Adzic meet in Skopje and call for groups to respect the cease-fire, remove barricades, and unblock army bases. Yugoslavia army claims it has nowhere to put troops if they leave Bosnia-Herzegovina. Army commander Milutin Kukanjac says, however, that the army ‘will be transformed in the way agreed by legitimate representatives of its 3 peoples - Muslims, Serbs, and Croats’. Croatian radio says Serbs occupy Bosnian town of Kula Grad on Serbia’s border. Gunfire reported in Serbian-held suburb of Sarajevo, but police say it is in celebration of Orthodox Easter. EC monitors heading towards Derventa on Croatian border forced to turn back due to heavy fire.

April 27

The Federal Assembly adopted the Constitution for a new Yugoslav state, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), comprising Serbia and Montenegro. The constitutional law granted cultural minority rights, but the Albanian and Hungarian minorities distanced themselves from the new constitution.
Bosnia-Herzegovina collective President calls on Yugoslavia army to withdraw. Heavy fighting occurs in Sarajevo at night. Shelling of Mostar causes destruction to maternity ward in local hospital. UN High Commission on Refugees says it will reduce its 25-man staff in Sarajevo.

April 28

The United Nations agreed in principle to extend its involvement to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

April 29

Heavy mortar fire in Mostar kills eight. Yugoslavia army commander refuses orders of Bosnian President to withdraw his troops. EC monitors withdrawn from Bihac, Banja Luka and Tuzla for their safety. UN cuts back on refugee workers for Sarajevo and cancels plans for basing a logistics headquarters in Banja Luka.

April 30

Although the mandate of UNPROFOR originally was only related to Croatia, it was envisaged that after the demilitarisation of the UNPAs, 100 UNPROFOR military observers would be redeployed from Croatia to certain parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, in light of the deteriorating situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Secretary-General decided to accelerate this deployment by sending 40 military observers to the Mostar region.

Last two bridges linking NE Bosnia-Herzegovina (near Brcko) with Croatia destroyed by masked commandos. Refugees fleeing the area killed in explosions. Refugee totals now near 400,000. Federal shelling of Sarajevo Muslim section. Federal shelling of Mostar leaves three dead. Serbs set fire to Muslim village of Moremislice (40 miles E of Sarajevo). Fighting in Bosanska Krupa (W Bosnia-Herzegovina) leaves over 130 dead in week-long battles. Greek Premier Mitsotakis goes to Belgrade to meet with Milosevic. Yugoslavia establishes border posts with Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

CSCE admits Bosnia as 52nd member (Yugoslavia assents).

May 1

13 people reported killed in fighting across Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tank, mortar, and machine-gun battles in Sarajevo. Yugoslavia army attacks TV tower on Mt. Vlasic outside Sarajevo. Shelling overnight and in the afternoon in Mostar.

May 2

EC Foreign Ministers, meeting in Guimaraes, agreed on an action plan including:

- humanitarian aid;

- collaboration with any United Nations action to separate the warring parties;

- reinforced diplomatic efforts.

The Foreign Ministers also concluded that the EC was ‘willing to recognise Macedonia as a sovereign and independent state within its existing borders and under a name that can be accepted by all parties concerned’.

Bosnian attacks on military club in Sarajevo prompted federal army to seize Izetbegovic when he came into airport. Army plans to exchange him for safe conduct of federal convoy from General Kukanjac’s headquarters out of Sarajevo.
May 3

Bosnians attack federal convoy killing four and wounding 15 others, thereby jeopardising release of Izetbegovic (released later that night); eight children and two women killed in Yugoslavia air force raid on Croatian town Slavonski Brod (near Bosnia-Herzegovina border).

May 4

The Presidency of SFRY adopted a decision to the effect that the Yugoslav People’s Army should evacuate from Bosnia-Herzegovina and all citizens of FR Yugoslavia serving in JNA in Bosnia-Herzegovina should return to the territory of FR Yugoslavia within 15 days, i.e. by May 19. Citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina serving the Army should remain on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina (80% of forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina are Serbs).

Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency (without Serbian representatives) named Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, JNA and Serbian paramilitary formations as aggressors in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Presidency decided to seek foreign military help, if not men, then guns.

Serb forces advancing into historic Basharshija (old town) district, and firing on Parliament building; jets attack TV relay station. Izetbegovic says he will ask CSCE for military help. US, in continuing attempts to act even-handed, says that Serbian forces ‘clearly bear the heaviest blame’.

UN envoy Marrack Goulding goes to Belgrade to try and arrange another truce.

May 5

In Sarajevo representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency (Fikret Abdic and Stjepan Kljujic), JNA (general Milan Aksentijevic) and European Community (Lord Carrington’s envoy Colm Doyle) signed a peace treaty, which provided for a cessation of conflict throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, the deblocking of barracks and Sarajevo Airport and the exchange of dead, wounded and captives.

May 6

Representatives of the Serbian and Croatian communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban met in Graz and agreed on a truce under the EC control. They also agreed in principle on the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and territorial divisions between the two nations, stressing that they agreed that all conflicting issues should be resolved by peaceful means.

Overnight fighting in Doboj (N Bosnia-Herzegovina), now in its 4th day. Heavy fighting in Mostar where federal army barracks are set on fire. Federal troops continue to fire on Osijek in Croatia, killing two.

May 7

Fighting in suburb of Ilidza (Serb-controlled). Milosevic, in a meeting with UN Under-secretary-General Goulding, calls for immediate cease-fire and declares that ‘no one in Bosnia is innocent’ and that Serb paramilitary forces are not controlled by Serbia. TANJUG says army will complete partial withdrawal by May 19.

State-run media in both Serbia and Croatia announce secret agreement by Bosnian Serbs and Croats reached in Graz, Austria, to partition Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims not consulted but Serbs say they will be given small section called ‘Alija’s Pashalik’ (little domain, named for Izetbegovic).

May 8

The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia adopted the Bill on Constitutional Law on Changes and Amendments to the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Freedoms and on Rights of Ethnic and
National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia, which stipulated the establishment of two (Serbian) autonomous districts - Knin and Glina - with 11 municipalities in which Serbs make up over half of the population. The Bill was adopted with 210 votes for and 14 against. During discussion of the Bill many deputies pointed out that they would accept the so-called ‘Minorities Law’ only because of the pressure of international community.

Milosevic purges top army leadership, firing Acting Defence Minister Blagoje Adzic, Bosnian commander Milutin Kukanjac, and 36 other generals and admirals; those purged represent old Yugoslavia partisan, communist, or former Tito supporters, and are replaced by younger, more aggressive nationalist Serbs; Army’s new commander is General Zivota Panic, 58, who is committed to Serbia standing up against western pressure.

May 11

Ministerial Council of the European Community at its session in Brussels adopted a Declaration on Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which it repeatedly stresses that political solution in this republic may only be based on principles established during talks between representatives of Serbs, Croats and Moslems under auspices of the peace conference. Although all sides, each one in its own way, have contributed to continuous deterioration of security situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the greatest blame is, it was said in Declaration, on the JNA and authorities in Belgrade, which control the Army and support directly or indirectly the irregular Serb forces. The EC demanded complete withdrawal of the JNA from Bosnia-Herzegovina, the commitment of Belgrade to respect the integrity of the borders of all republics, to observe the rights of minorities, including Vojvodina and Kosovo, to work on concluding an agreement on the special status of Kosovo, whereby respect for the territorial integrity of Croatia would be ensured, to co-operate in solving the questions of State succession. European Community and its members decided to recall their ambassadors in Belgrade for consultations, to demand suspension of the Yugoslav delegation from decision-making in CSCE for the time being, committed themselves to work, if the situation did not change, on ever greater isolation of Yugoslav delegations in international fora and to examine the modalities of possible economic sanctions. The EC and its members invited the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to fully co-operate in withdrawal of JNA, and invited the Government of Croatia to do all within their competence in order to prevent the invasion by military and paramilitary formations, as well as arms smuggling into Bosnia-Herzegovina. CSCE votes to exclude Yugoslavia from all decisions it takes regarding Bosnia until June.

In Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference condemns Serbian aggression and sends envoy to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Fighting very heavy in Sarajevo, especially around Marshall Tito barracks (controlled by Muslim and Croat forces). Federal troops supposed to withdraw to another barracks under UN escort, but Serb militiamen move into the area to prevent their departure. Croatian radio reports that 90% of Mostar has been destroyed. Radio Belgrade says that army has been forced to fire on Mostar’s 16th century bridge to dislodge Croatian snipers on either bank. Report of Croat and Muslim clash in Busovaca (30 miles NW of Sarajevo) as federal troops withdraw from local barracks; Croats are refusing to submit to authority of new Muslim-Croat army. Belgrade paper, Borba, says that Serb militiamen are ‘systematically murdering Sarajevo’ by shelling the city day and night; paper also says that all Serbs are being forced by militia to join in fighting and terrorising Muslims.

May 12

After a week’s negotiation and attempts to find compromise, the Committee of CSCE Senior Officials at the meeting in Helsinki adopted a new Declaration on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Stating that authorities in Belgrade and JNA have clearly, grossly and persistently violated the CSCE principles and commitments and that the greatest responsibility for the escalation of bloodshed and destruction lies
with them, the Committee decided that appropriate action on issues relating to this crisis will be taken by June 30, in the absence of the consent of the Yugoslav delegation. The Committee will decide on June 29, in the light of information provided by the European Community about the situation on the ground and about the progress at the EC Peace Conference, whether to extend the application of this decision. Committee requested again from all involved sides to refrain from use of force and to observe the cease-fire agreement consistently and immediately. The Declaration underscores the strongest support to tireless efforts toward peaceful solutions of this crisis situation through peace process initiated by the EC and supported by the UN, in particular efforts within the Conference on Yugoslavia and Lisbon talks on the future system in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

US follows EC lead and recalls ambassador Zimmermann in protest against ‘serb-led aggression’, but State Department says the use of force ‘is not an option’ and that Bosnia-Herzegovina is not ‘a national security interest’ for the US.

Bosnian Serbian Parliament says it will form own army, and names Major General Ratko Mladic to head it; says it will carry out unilateral 5-day truce. Six more killed in Sarajevo and Mostar. Serb tanks take control of centre of Mostar, heavy casualties reported. Shelling damages TV tower in N. Sarajevo. In agreement with federal army, Bosnian authorities to take control of airport while troops pull out of four Sarajevo barracks and central Bosnia-Herzegovina towns of Zenica, Travnik, and Konjic (all have Muslim majorities).

Last EC observers in Bosnia-Herzegovina burn their records and leave.

May 13

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali submitted to the Security Council the report on the Yugoslav crisis, based on data presented by Under-secretary Marrack Goulding after he completed his mission. The report mentions that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is ‘tragic, dangerous, full of violence and confusing’, and that at this stage of conflict no conditions exist for UN peace operation in this republic. The Secretary-General recommended the Security Council that:

1. UNPROFOR headquarters should no longer be in Sarajevo for the safety of its own personnel.

2. No United Nations peace-keeping force should be sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

3. The United Nations peace plan for Croatia was in jeopardy from the failure of Serbs in Croatia to demobilise.

Shelling in Sarajevo comes to end at 6 a.m. deadline for truce, but not before shells hit Bosnian President building, main shopping area, and train station. Fighting around towns of Derventa, Modrica, and Doboj.

May 14

Presidents of European central banks meet in Paris to discuss freezing Serbian assets, but the news is leaked which weakens prospects for carrying out plan. EC discussion of trade sanctions against Serbia opposed by Greeks, French and British. Cease-fire broken when mortars fire on hotel housing UN peacekeepers in Sarajevo, this after Boutros-Ghali ordered most of 300 mission members to withdraw to Belgrade or Zagreb.
May 15

UN Security Council adopted Resolution 752 which requests from all sides and all involved in Bosnia-Herzegovina to stop fighting without delay, that all forms of external interference in Bosnia-Herzegovina be immediately suspended, that neighbours of Bosnia-Herzegovina undertake urgent action in order to end any interference and to observe territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that JNA units on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina withdraw or place under command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, and other disband and disarm, and weapons be placed under efficient international control, that all irregular forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina be disband and disarmed, that conditions be ensured for unobstructed delivery of humanitarian aid.

UN Security Council directs the Secretar-General to consider ways to secure Sarajevo airport so as to allow supplies in.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Silajdzic appeals to Security Council to create safety zone like the one for Kurds in Iraq. Six hours of shelling overnight in Sarajevo despite truce. Boutros-Ghali says Muslims broke the truce. UN Commander General Namibiar and 30 of his men cut off at his villa. Six killed in fighting in Sarajevo and sniper fires into office of Izetbegovic.

UN troops in Croatia scheduled to take control of Slavonia region captured by Serbs last year.

Macedonian President, Kiro Gligorov, having met with Secretary of State Baker and Under-secretary Eagleburger the day before, says he is disappointed that the US has not recognised his country; US trying to balance concerns of Greeks (who claim to fear Macedonian territorial claims against their own province of Macedonia) with those of the new state.

May 16

Truce breaks down with fighting in Sarajevo (7 dead) and in Tuzla (25 miles N, 11 dead).

May 17

About two thirds of UNPROFOR headquarters personnel also withdrew from Sarajevo leaving behind some 100 military personnel and civilian staff who lent their good offices to promote local cease-fires and humanitarian activities.

150 Serbs rally in Sarajevo to support Bosnia-Herzegovina during lull in fighting.

May 18

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev arrived to Belgrade, where he met with Vice-President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic. The plan of his visit included trips to Podgorica, Skopje, Sarajevo, Zagreb and Ljubljana and talks with Presidents of all six former Yugoslav republics.

Red Cross convoy bringing medicine to Sarajevo hit by Serb rockets and mortars killing a passing civilian, and wounding 3 members of convoy, destroying one truck. Sarajevo has first night of relative calm, but fighting rages in Tuzla and Bihac. 30,000 people, including 20,000 Muslim refugees, trapped in Gorazde (E Bosnia-Herzegovina). Five killed in Bosanski Samac (N Bosnia-Herzegovina, on Sava River). UN plans to send relief aid into Sarajevo by May 22nd.

May 19

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev talked in Belgrade with President Milosevic, and in Podgorica with Momir Bulatovic, President of Montenegro. During talks he made an indication of a possible Russian peace initiative for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Kozyrev interrupted his visit to other former Yugoslav republics ‘due to internal reasons’.

Yugoslav People’s Army began its evacuation from the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
US tells Bosnia that it will not send troops. US State Department spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler says US has no national Security interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina and, ‘Where is it written that the United States government is the military policeman of the world?’

Bosnian Foreign Minister Silajdzic states ‘My country has turned into a slaughterhouse millions are threatened with starvation, lack of medicine and clean water and brutal ex-termination’.

Between 3,000-5,000 mainly Muslim refugees trying to leave Sarajevo are stopped by Serbian troops and held in suburb of Ilidza.

May 20

A new Declaration on Yugoslavia adopted at the meeting of the Committee of Senior CSCE Officials in Helsinki. Committee expressed its concern for the further deterioration of situation in the former SFR Yugoslavia. It demanded from all sides in conflict to ensure opening of the Sarajevo airport for delivery of humanitarian aid, support for efforts of the international community for solution of the heavy refugee problem, decided to send to Yugoslavia two special missions which would examine the military situation in Kosovo and establish whether claims that conditions have not been created for free and fair elections for the Assembly of FR Yugoslavia are justified.

As a ‘response to protracted Serbian aggression to Bosnia-Herzegovina’ US suspended landing rights for JAT in retaliation for Serbian blockades of emergency food and relief.

Izetbegovic cannot get out of Sarajevo for new round of talks in Lisbon. UN abandons efforts to fly him out. Bosnian Serbs call for general mobilisation of all Serbs in Bosnia.

May 21

In the communication issued after the session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia it was said that the Presidency judges the situation in FR Yugoslavia as rather stable, that all measures have been taken on the border toward Bosnia-Herzegovina to prevent crossing in either way of any paramilitary formations, that the Yugoslav Army is not present on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that consequently the Presidency of Yugoslavia has no longer any competence to decide on any military operation on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Presidency therefore pointed to full responsibility of three parties in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina for violation of cease-fire, sharply condemned all unacceptable acts of the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina and appealed to them to immediately allow delivery of humanitarian aid to all war afflicted persons.

Bosnia accuses Serb General Ratko Mladic of ordering the refugee convoy halted; convoy finally allowed to leave Ilidza only after 2 truckloads of food brought in to Serbian barracks. Police chief in Ilidza, Tomo Kovac, says he would let refugees go if it was his choice, ‘but I don’t make the decisions’.

May 22

At the plenary session of the UN General Assembly Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia were admitted by acclamation to the membership of the United Nations. Yugoslavia’s seat remains but left vacant.

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali stated that he decided to set up a special co-ordinating body for Yugoslavia, whose members would be UN Under-secretary Marrack Goulding, Ian Eliason and Vladimir Petrovski, with a task of monitoring, analysing and assessing the situation on the Yugoslav territory and suggesting appropriate measures.

US closed Yugoslavia consulates in New York and San Francisco and expelled diplomats, along with Yugoslavia military attaché in Washington; consulate in Chicago allowed to remain open. Secretary of State Baker said he will urge the EC to take similar measures.
May 23

EC states consider new sanctions against Serbia (trade embargo, freeze of financial assets, cut-off of oil); Greece and France hold up unified action.

May 24

US Secretary of State Baker says US will appeal to UN to impose similar sanctions on Serbia as those applied to Iraq; compared Serbian policies to those of Nazi ‘cleansing’ and ‘ethnic purification’ in trying to force Muslims and Croats out of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Baker said there will be no unilateral US use of troops but did not rule out multi-lateral options.

‘Multiparty parliamentary and presidential elections’, deemed illegal by the Serbian authorities, were held in Kosovo and Metohija. According to information of the ‘republican electoral board’ out of 821,588 registered voters 721,534, almost exclusively of Albanian nationality, turned up at the polls. Ibrahim Rugova was elected ‘President of the Republic of Kosovo’ by 95 per cent of votes. Democratic Alliance of Kosovo in the first round of elections won 78% of votes and all the seats in the ‘republican parliament’.

May 25

The Presidency of Yugoslavia discussed the text of the UN Security Council Resolution 752 of 15 May, as well as the UN Secretary General’s report on Yugoslavia and demarche of the Chairman of the Security Council of 21 May and tried to distance itself from Bosnia-Herzegovinian conflict. The Presidency noted that there are attempts without any justification to shift responsibility for ethnic war in Bosnia-Herzegovina to FR Yugoslavia. It declared that FR Yugoslavia will do its best to co-operate and participate in activities and decisions of the United Nations, that it is ready to engage in efforts of the UN and international humanitarian organisations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, appealed to all sides to allow deblocking of the Sarajevo airport, openly called all warring parties to immediately stop shelling Sarajevo, Mostar and destroying other cities, distanced itself from all unacceptable acts committed by certain military formations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the formations of Serbian people. The Federal Executive Council appealed to all parties in conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina to allow free and safe passage to vehicles with humanitarian aid and expressed its belief that the problem of state organisation of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be resolved in a peaceful and democratic way. Muslim forces continue to block withdrawal of Yugoslavia forces in Sarajevo barracks until they surrender weapons.

May 26

The Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia sent a letter to the UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, which presented positions of these two organs on issues raised by Security Council Resolution 752. The letter gave a full account of general stands of FR Yugoslavia toward the present crisis, what Yugoslavia did so far to overcome conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and what it intended to do in connection with requirements set by UN documents. It expressed readiness for full co-operation with the UN, in particular in carrying out decisions of the Security Council and underlined that FR Yugoslavia is fully attached to goals and principles of the UN Charter and CSCE and to peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis within the framework of the Conference on Yugoslavia and the Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Yugoslavia army commander in Sarajevo, Colonel Komnen Zarkovic, says that army is ready to end war in Bosnia-Herzegovina if they can leave the city peacefully (1,500 soliders and their families still in three barracks). Serb leader Karadzic says his forces prepared to remove heavy artillery from Sarajevo area if army is allowed to leave the city.
May 27

In downtown Sarajevo, in Vase Miskina Street a line of people waiting to buy bread was hit by shellfire. 16 were killed and more than 140 wounded. Breadline shelling breaks 4-hour old truce mediated by Russians. Maternity hospital shelled overnight by Serbs. Six Serbs killed in fighting in mainly Muslim town of Kiseljak. Two Croats killed in southern Bosnia due to artillery fire. Izetbegovic calls for popular offensive against Serb-led forces.

Negotiations of three national delegations on the future constitutional order of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which started on May 21, were interrupted in Lisbon. Portuguese ambassador Jose Coutilhero, chairman of the Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, stopped the talks at request of the Moslem delegation.

EC imposes trade embargo on Serbia, asks UN to impose oil embargo and freeze Yugoslavia assets. International Red Cross says it is withdrawing remaining 16 workers from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbian Orthodox Church declares it is openly distancing itself from the Milosevic government.

May 29

Mortar, heavy artillery, and rocket attacks on Sarajevo. Serbs shell old town of Dubrovnik several days after 8-month siege of town lifted. Fighting in Mostar kills two. Karadzic blames Muslim intransigence for the continued lack of progress in peace talks in Lisbon.

Helmut Kohl calls for Yugoslavia expulsion from UN. Turkish President, Turgut Ozal, says NATO should intervene in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that Turkey will send troops there for that purpose.

May 30

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council, in its Resolution 757, imposed wide-ranging sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (which by then consisted of Serbia and Montenegro), in order to help achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict. It also demanded that all parties create the conditions necessary for unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo and other destinations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the establishment of a security zone encompassing Sarajevo and its airport. The Council requested the Secretary-General to continue using his good offices to achieve this objective.

The sanctions prohibited all commercial activities with Yugoslavia, all kinds of trade, transport and reloading, all payment operations were suspended and the property of the FR of Yugoslavia abroad was frozen. The diplomatic and consular activities were limited, the participation of the FRY in international sport events and competitions was prohibited, the scientific, technical and cultural co-operation was suspended. The transport of certain strategic commodities via Yugoslavia was prohibited, a strict control of traffic was introduced.

Bush Administration ordered $214 million in government assets seized by Monday. Russia said Belgrade brought the sanctions on itself. Serbian government denounced attacks on Sarajevo, first time in 3-month war. Fighting around Marshall Tito barracks in Sarajevo.

May 31

Izetbegovic declared sanctions to mark the beginning of the end of the fascist policy of Serbs in Bosnia. Tens of thousands demonstrate in Belgrade against Milosevic regime; estimated at 50,000, the largest anti-government protest since March 1991. Gas prices rise 100% at midnight. Milosevic comments on sanctions that this is a price we have to pay because we are helping Serbs outside Serbia. Politika says government will stop repayment of $8 billion foreign debt due to sanctions.
Elections held in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, for the Federal Assembly, provincial and local government bodies. Opposition parties did not participate in the elections. Out of 7,277,471 registered voters on the whole territory of FR Yugoslavia 56.06% cast their ballot. In Serbia voted 55.79% of the electorate, in Montenegro 56.74%. In Serbia Milosevic’s Socialist Party of Serbia won most votes - 43.44% of those who participated, followed by Vojislav Seselj’s Radical Party - 30.44%. In Montenegro the Democratic Party of Socialists received most votes.

June 1

In his message to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, Branko Kostic, President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, stated that the UN Security Council had imposed severe sanctions against Yugoslavia based on the false accusations that it had committed aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. In order to get real picture of the situation Kostic proposed UN to send observers to Yugoslavia.

New truce announced in Sarajevo to take effect at 6pm. Fighting south of city and in Gorazde. Slavonski Brod fired on by Serbs from Bosnian side, killing two. Dubrovnik shelled again, Croats return fire. Yugoslavia jets attack Tuzla.

June 2

At its meeting in Luxembourg the Ministerial Council of the EC adopted a set of measures ensuring that the EC could implement a total trade embargo and suspension of air traffic with FR Yugoslavia. The member countries were to decide on the modalities for implementation of other sanctions (credits, freezing of accounts and financial transactions, reduction of diplomat staff).

The Presidency of FR Yugoslavia made four demands to the Serb leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina requiring that

1. in accordance with the obligation it had taken and declared in public it should invite representatives of the UNPROFOR to take control of the Sarajevo airport;

2. prevent any bombardment of Sarajevo and other towns from the territories controlled by the Serbs;

3. invite observers of the UNPROFOR to supervise the cease-fire they had proposed themselves, and

4. ensure a free passage for humanitarian shipments on the territories under the Serb control.

Shelling of Sarajevo resumes overnight; fighting on west side of the town.

June 3

About 100 students begin sit-in at University of Belgrade until Milosevic steps down.

June 4

At the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the North Atlantic Council in Oslo NATO agreed that its troops may be used as peacekeepers outside of the NATO area. The Council also adopted a separate Resolution on ‘the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia’ providing for a possibility of taking a military action in this area only if requested by the CSCE.
Chairman of US Senate Foreign Relations committee, Claiborne Pell, called for a UN naval blockade against Yugoslavia, authorisation of military strikes against Serb forces surrounding Sarajevo, and stated that those bombarding Sarajevo are a bunch of cowards whose bravery will quickly disappear with the arrival of just a few well-directed smart bombs. US presses, but fails to convince, NATO allies to enact sanctions against Yugoslavia and to aid Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbia demands UN sanctions be lifted now that UN report declares Croatia also responsible for fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Montenegrin President Bulatovic says that Montenegro may have made a mistake in allying itself with Serbia, change is possible.

June 5

Muslim fighters lift blockade of the ‘Marshall Tito’ barracks in Sarajevo and allow 800 soldiers and families to evacuate without incident, while leaving much heavy weaponry behind. The last soldiers who were citizens of FR Yugoslavia left the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tentative pact signed to reopen airport, but Serb shelling of town continues. US imposes comprehensive trade ban against Yugoslavia in compliance with UN sanctions. One killed, one wounded in fighting around Dubrovnik.

June 6

The Secretary-General reported to the Council that UNPROFOR had negotiated, on 5 June, an agreement for the handing over to the Force of the Sarajevo airport. Renewed overnight artillery duels between Serbs and Sarajevo defenders said to be fiercest of the war, at least two killed. ‘Marshall Tito’ barracks targeted by Serbs so as to destroy supplies/weapons left behind by the army.

June 8

The Security Council, by its Resolution 758, approved the enlargement of UNPROFOR’s mandate and strength and authorised the Secretary-General to deploy military observers and related personnel and equipment to Sarajevo to supervise the reopening the Sarajevo airport for humanitarian purposes and withdrawal of anti-aircraft weapons and the concentration of heavy weapons at agreed locations in the city. Heavy bombardment of Sarajevo leaves 29 dead. Bosnian Defence Minister spokesman says the decisive battle for city has begun. Muslims reportedly capture some high ground around city. Serbs intensify attacks; worst fighting around suburb of Dobrinja on edge of airport, as Muslim forces attempt to recapture area. Sarajevo radio says Muslim forces capture several villages in west and suffer 16 wounded. Fighting around Tuzla. TANJUG reports that Serb leader Karadzic appealed to his forces for cease-fire to allow Red Cross to deliver aid.

June 9

The Supreme State Council of Croatia headed by President Tudjman, ‘assuming the need of the Croatian people to pay tribute to all victims’, proposed as ‘a gesture of national and ideological reconciliation’ to bury in Jasenovac the remains of the killed Ustashe and Domobrans together with the victims of Ustashi terror of Independent State of Croatia, Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and Croats. Twelve parliamentarians of the Socialist Party break with Milosevic and create new Social Democratic Party of Serbia. UN General Louis MacKenzie and 30 men leave Belgrade to try to arrange a truce in Sarajevo.
June 10

MacKenzie and UN team arrive in Sarajevo after 12 hour trip. Serbs reported to have withdrawn dozen tanks and artillery units from around airport to facilitate talks, but heavy shelling continues: 31 killed, 129 wounded.
Pensioners in Belgrade begin to receive food handouts from Serbian Red Cross.

June 11

The European Parliament adopted a Resolution on Yugoslavia stating that Yugoslavia as a federation of 6 republics had ceased to exist and the new Serbian-Montenegro federation could not claim to be its only successor. International recognition of states depended on the fulfilment of the conditions provided for in the Declaration on Criteria for Recognition of New States adopted by the EC Council of Ministers on 16 December 1991. The borders between the newly-created states could be altered only by agreement between the concerned parties. The European Parliament severely condemned ‘the ethnic homogenisation’ achieved by means of threats and forced migrations. It was stated that the Yugoslav National Army had no longer a legal basis and therefore should be disbanded under UN control. All other armed groups and militias should be brought under control of legitimate authorities.

June 12

Karadzic, speaking from Belgrade, announces a new unilateral cease-fire effort to begin on 15th, and sends telegram to UN asking immediately for 800 UN monitors to oversee it from Serb positions; says Serbs support reopening of Sarajevo airport for humanitarian flights, and that truce will apply to all of Bosnia-Herzegovina (although admits that he cannot guarantee anything outside of Sarajevo). Taxi drivers in Belgrade stop day-old blockade of downtown streets to protest falling living standards, and to protest attack on cabby by bodyguard of ultra-nationalist Serb leader, Vojislav Seselj. In face of the protests, Socialist Party warns of civil war if Milosevic steps down

June 15

Deputies of the Federal Assembly voted by ballot and elected Dobrica Cosic the first President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

June 16

Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic signed a joint statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The two Presidents of the former Yugoslav republics discussed the creation of a joint defence alliance of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina ‘for the struggle against the Serbs’.

June 17

Heavy machine-gun battle starts up around Bosnian parliament building, shelling by Serbs begins before dawn and Serbian tanks start barrage from Lukavica barracks. Serbian gunners on Trebivici Hill fire into suburb of Hrasno. Central old town battered. Bosnian Foreign minister Silajdzic attending the Organisation of Islamic Conference in Istanbul called to discuss Bosnian situation says that 6-10,000 have died in fighting and that over 40,000 have died since conflict began nearly a year ago; claims that tens of thousands are near starving. Kosovan PM- in-exile, Bujar Bukoshi, says that fighting may erupt next week in Kosovo as new, but illegal, parliament holds first session.
June 18

The UN Security Council adopted the Resolution No. 760 lifting a ban on the imports of foodstuff and humanitarian products. UN and Serbs sign accord to open airport and pull back heavy artillery to UN-monitored positions. With the agreement of both parties the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway was opened for the needs of the UNPROFOR.

June 19

UN and Bosnia sign similar accord to open airport and pull back heavy artillery to UN-monitored positions. Serbs launch offensive. The Ministerial Council of the West European Union adopted the ‘Petersburg Declaration’ which laid the foundation for the formation of forces which could be engaged in humanitarian tasks, rescue actions, peace-keeping and combat operations.

June 20

The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed the state of war, ordered a general mobilisation and compulsory work for all public enterprises 24 hours a day. It explained that it had made such decision because of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina committed by the Yugoslav National Army, Serbia, Montenegro and extremists from the Serbian Democratic Party. The Presidency neither approved nor verified the political and military alliance between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia which Izetbegovic had made with Tudjman. UNPROFOR withdrawn from airport. General MacKenzie suspends efforts to open airport after both sides fail to observe June 5 cease-fire.

June 21

Croatian armed forces undertook an offensive and occupied part of the territory in Krajina in the zones protected by the UN.

June 25

Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington, had separate talks with Milosevic and Tudjman in Strasbourg. Instead of Izetbegovic Haris Silajdzic, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, participated. During those talks were also present the ambassadors Cutilhero, De Bosse and Vainands. President Milosevic said that Serbia and Yugoslavia were by no means involved in the armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina should result from an agreement to be reached at the Conference on Yugoslavia by the three constitutive nations in that republic. The President of the UN Security Council, Belgian Ambassador Paul Notredam, sent a severe warning to Croatia for an attack of the Croatian army on Knin and Drnish. Quiet in Sarajevo as Serbs make unilateral promise to put guns under UN supervision. Heavy fighting in Croatia on the first anniversary of Croatian independence as Croatian forces make a big push towards the Serb stronghold of Knin; at least 150 killed and 300 wounded in several days of fighting. Student protest in Belgrade against Milosevic regime now in 11th day, said to have spread to Novi Sad, Kragujevac, and Nis.
June 26

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali says Secretary Council will have to find other ways of relieving Sarajevo if Serbs do not lift siege within 48 hours. No solution should be excluded (US backs away from unilateral use of force to get aid to Sarajevo). Fighting continues in Dobrinja. Milosevic condemns Serb shelling of Sarajevo and says international observers should come to Belgrade to see Serbia’s lack of involvement

Karadzic stated that the leadership of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina ordered a cessation of all artillery fire on Sarajevo, withdrawal of all anti-aircraft weapons from the zone around the airport and that safe and free passage for humanitarian shipments through all territories under control of the Army of RS would be ensured and guaranteed.

June 27

During the summit of the European Community in Lisbon a Declaration on Yugoslavia was adopted. The urgency of opening the Sarajevo airport was pointed out as well as establishing an humanitarian air bridge. It was assessed that all warring parties bore a part of the responsibility for the present situation but the Serbian leadership and Yugoslav National Army were most to blame. Leaders of the EC countries supported the idea of temporary suspension of the Yugoslav delegation in the CSCE until a final decision was made on the succession or continuity of the former Yugoslavia. Macedonia would be recognised when it changed its name. It was also expected that the Serbian leadership would stop reprisals in Kosovo and establish a serious dialogue with the representatives of Albanians from that province.

After the Lisbon summit French President François Mitterand, escorted by a member of the French government, Bernard Coushner, suddenly arrived in Split in effort to get to Sarajevo and declares ‘we have a moral obligation to help... Serbia is today the aggressor, and we cannot wait’. Mitterrand meets with Izetbegovic, says that he has not come to negotiate with anyone, but to deliver aid, if necessary by force. Departure delayed from airport by firefight between Serbs and Muslims. Later, Serbs supposedly give control of airport to UN troops while two French planes with aid fly to Split.

Serb shelling of Sarajevo and Dobrinja only hours after UN ultimatum. Fighting also in northern and central Bosnia-Herzegovina. Boutros-Ghali issues statement condemning Bosnian forces for retaliatory attacks. Bosnian forces in Dobrinja say they have repelled Serbian ground attack and are close to establishing corridor with Sarajevo.

White House spokesperson says US ‘willing to consider all options’ if fighting does not stop. Crown Prince Alexander arrives in Yugoslavia to popular acclaim, and says he wants to promote a Spanish-style alternative in a transition to peace and democracy.

June 28

President Bush says that the US will ‘do its part’ and that ‘every option is open’, implying force may be used to open airport.

In front of the Federal Assembly building in Belgrade the St. Vitus’ Day (Vidovdan) convention commenced. It was organised by the opposition grouping DEPOS (Democratic Movement of Serbia) and it lasted eight days running. Participants in the convention demanded resignation Milosevic, disbandment of the National Assembly and formation of a government of national salvation.

Following intensive work by UNPROFOR to establish modalities of implementation of the 5 June agreement, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that Bosnian Serb forces had been withdrawing from the Sarajevo airport, and both sides - the Serb and the Bosnia Presidential forces - had begun to concentrate their heavy weapons in locations to be supervised by UNPROFOR. On the
same day, the Council, by Resolution 761, authorised deployment of additional elements of UNPROFOR to ensure the security and functioning of the airport. 

Serb armed forces left Sarajevo airport and handed it over to UNPROFOR. French plane with 6.5 tons of food and medicine arrives. UN Secretary Council orders battalion of 1,000 troops already in Croatia to redeploy in Sarajevo. All Serb guns reported withdrawn from airport by evening, but scattered fighting continues around it and in Sarajevo city centre. UN spokesman says that control of airport is not assured and that sporadic gunfire continues.

At the meeting of high officials of the CSCE in Helsinki Yugoslav Ambassador Vladimir Pavicevic said that due to the unprincipled pressure Yugoslavia itself had decided not take part in the CSCE summit scheduled for 9 July.

20,000 continue rally in Belgrade against Milosevic. Four killed, 12 wounded in artillery bombardment of Dubrovnik.

June 30

Three UN peacekeepers wounded by fire from Muslim side at airport. Pentagon spokesman, in policy reversal of Department of Defense, says 2,200 Marine contingent is now in Adriatic on 6 amphibious assault ships, and that combat jets and helicopter gunships may be used as support for other forces over Yugoslavia, but there is no plan to put US forces on the ground. Canadian contingent from Croatia on its way to Sarajevo airport; 125 French commandos join in securing airport.

At its session in Budapest the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decided that Yugoslavia should be waived the status of a special guest it had gained in 1989 and adopted the Resolution condemning all parts for killing and injuring of civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Security Council, by its Resolution 762, authorised UNPROFOR to undertake monitoring functions in the ‘pink zones’ - certain areas of Croatia controlled by the JNA and populated by then largely by Serbs, but which were outside the agreed UNPA boundaries. It also recommended the establishment of a Joint Commission chaired by UNPROFOR and consisting of representatives of the Government of Croatia and of the local authorities in the region, with the participation of the European Community Monitoring Mission (ECMM), to oversee and monitor the restoration of authority by the Croatian Government in the ‘pink zones’.

July 2

200 Canadian troops arrive in Sarajevo to begin securing airport. Four French military planes and one Norwegian land with supplies for city. Britain and Italy have supplies in Croatia waiting for airport to be secured. Islamic Development Bank says it will donate $5 million for emergency supplies and $15 million for rebuilding Sarajevo infrastructure. Serb businessman, Milan Panic, living in US for past 25 years, agrees to be premier of new Yugoslavia, and says he will withdraw regular army troops from Bosnia.

July 3

Despite continued fighting in the area, United Nations observers and troops were deployed at the airport and at other locations in Sarajevo.

US joins relief effort with two C-130 Hercules transports flying to Sarajevo making total for day of 11 planes.

EC negotiator Lord Carrington holds 5 hours of talks in Sarajevo and leaves saying he is discouraged that neither side is willing to make concessions. Izetbegovic tells Carrington that he ‘will not negotiate with war criminals’. Serbs in Grбавica section of Sarajevo begin expelling non-Serbs in round of ethnic cleansing after Carrington leaves.
At its session in Grude the Presidency of Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosnia adopted a set of decisions establishing formally a ‘Croatian state’ in Bosnia-Herzegovina with its own flag (the Croatian tricolour with chess-board in the middle) and armed forces. On the same day the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina made a decision on establishment of a single republic army, and on that occasion Minister of Defence Jerko Doko said that the Croatian Council of Defence would be dissolved as a formation and merged into the Bosnian-Herzegovinian army.

July 4

The Arbitrary Commission of the EC (the so-called Badenter Commission) published three opinions on the questions put in the letter of 18 May 1992 forwarded by Lord Carrington, Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia. In the Opinion No. 8 the Commission considered ‘that the process of dissolution of SFRY has come to the end and it should be recognised that SFRY does not exist any longer’. In the Opinion No. 9 the Commission considered ‘that states successors of SFRY should come to terms and by making agreement settle all issues related to succession’. In the opinion No. 10 it was said that ‘FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) appears as a new state which could not be considered the exclusive successor of SFRY’ and that ‘its possible recognition on the part of member countries would depend on fulfilment of terms provided by general international law as well by the declaration and directives of 16 December 1991’.

Overnight shelling of Dobrinja by Serbs from surrounding hills and from within the city’s Jewish cemetery. Fighting in Northern Bosnia kills three in Bosanski Brod. Bosnian government gives new casualty count as 7,561 dead, including 1,359 in Sarajevo and 27,412 wounded since February 29. Nine more planes land, but UN commander MacKenzie says he may have to turn back relief flights.

July 5

Defense Secretary Cheney says Bush ‘prepared to use US naval and air assets’ to guarantee delivery of aid, but that US reluctant to use ground forces; statement in contrast to Secretary of State Baker who says ‘nothing short of a show of force’ would work on the Serbs.

Four killed in Sarajevo. Croats in Mostar area declare state of Herzeg-Bosnia comprising 20% of former Bosnia-Herzegovina

July 6

Bosnian government declares Croatian mini-state of Herzeg-Bosnia ‘treasonous’ and that it will weaken efforts to resist Serbs. Croatian President Tudjman says that Croatia recognises Bosnia’s independence, but that Croats had to organise against Serb aggression and certain ‘tendencies’ of the Muslim leadership; Tudjman also says war in Croatia is definitely over. Yugoslavia Premier Panic asks CSCE officials not to expel his country and that he will stop fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 100 days.

US broadens sanctions against Yugoslavia to include all companies located in Montenegro and Serbia as being owned or controlled by governments.

15 relief flights arrive, but fewer than half of all communities in Sarajevo have been able to get assistance.

July 7

At its summit in Munich Seven Most Industrialised Countries of the World (Group of 7) adopted the Statement on Yugoslavia appealing to Serbia, and to Croatia also, to respect the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The main responsibility for the Yugoslav crisis lied with the Serbian leadership and Yugoslav Army. The idea on holding a conference on Yugoslavia was supported. It was required that all warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina should resume their negotiations and that they should
not jeopardise humanitarian efforts. In case these efforts gave no results a convictions was expressed that the UN Security Council would consider all other measures, ‘not excluding military means too’.

July 8

At the meeting of the Committee of High Officials of the CSCE a decision was made that Yugoslavia should not be removed from the list of member countries, but that it should be applied the rule of ‘empty chair’ till 14 October. It meant that within a period of hundred days representatives of Yugoslavia would not take part in the summit or any following meeting of the CSCE. The Committee made itself liable to hold a meeting not later than 13 October at which it would make a final decision on the status of Yugoslavia. It depended on how Yugoslavia would accept the co-operation with the CSCE missions.

The Yugoslav Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying that this decision was opposite to the principles of the Conference European Co-operation and Security.

UNPROFOR took on responsibility over all zones protected by the UN in Croatia.

July 9-10

The CSCE summit took place in Helsinki. The Yugoslav delegation did not take part in the conference. President of FR Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic forwarded a message stating that Yugoslavia as a founder of the CSCE and UN would keep on being devoted to the principles of these organisations. The Declaration on the Yugoslav Crisis was adopted accusing Serbia and Montenegro for being most responsible for the violence and aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was pointed out that the Declaration was not directed against the peoples in Serbia and Montenegro which also suffered for the policies of their leaders and hope was expressed that they would soon have an opportunity to freely elect their governments. The summit confirmed the decision of the Committee of High Officials of the CSCE on suspending the participation of Yugoslavia in the Helsinki summit and work of the CSCE.

In Rome commander of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina General Louis MacKenzie warned that the use of foreign military force could jeopardise his mission.

July 10

The Foreign Ministers of the North Atlantic Alliance discussed, at Helsinki, the contribution to the monitoring of sanctions mandated by the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 713 and 757. Welcoming the Ministers’ decision to establish a naval monitoring force, they agreed on a corresponding NATO force to be drawn from NATO’s (STANAVFORMED). They, also, required the NATO force to act in close co-operation and co-ordination with the Western European Union naval force.

July 11

The military blockade of the Yugoslav part of the Adriatic commenced: the Italian frigate and corvette had been the first to take control from the international waters of the access of freighters to the port of Bar and the following days a large number of destroyers, helicopter carriers and other war ships joined them. Since Italy chaired the West European Union from 1 July it was assigned the role of co-ordinator of the joint military operation taken by West European and NATO forces in the Adriatic.

Concerning the Declaration on the Crisis in Yugoslavia adopted at the CSCE summit the Yugoslav Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying, among other things, that by one-sided and unjust accusations against FRY an attempt was made to cover up responsibility of some CSCE member countries, and authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for violation of constitutional equality of the three constitutive nations in this republic.
Serbs attack Gorazde, last significant Muslim-held town in Eastern Bosnia, where 50,000 have been under siege for 3 months; 15 children a day reported to be dying here of malnutrition. Renewed artillery attacks on Dubrovnik.

July 12

8-vessel NATO force heads towards Adriatic to apply pressure on Yugoslavia by monitoring UN embargo compliance.

July 13

The United Nations Security Council endorsed a recommendation from Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali to send an additional 500 troops to join the 1,100 supervising the Sarajevo relief operations. Serbs dynamite four power transmission lines leading into Sarajevo cutting off city’s electricity and water pumps. Renewed artillery barrages have killed 25 since Saturday. Attacks on Gorazde said to include air strikes. French planes bringing supplies into Sarajevo hit by small-arms fire. France suspends planned deployment of helicopters to Sarajevo. Karadzic says that international intervention would be ‘disastrous’ for the civilian population.

July 14

Milan Panic elected premier of Yugoslavia by parliament. Speculation by Borba that Milosevic will step down. Yugoslavia President, Dobrica Cosic, sends letter to UN Secretary Council denying that Yugoslavia forces are still involved in fighting.

The Federal Assembly elected the first government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At the proposal of President of FRY Dobrica Cosic Serbian-American businessman Milan Panic (63) was elected Prime Minister. After the election Prime Minister Panic presented his four basic programme principles: ending of the war and achievement of lasting peace, creation of conditions for establishment of a free multinational and multi-party society, establishment of democratic principles of right of free speech and free press, and revival of the economy.

July 15

Panic begins trying to form a government. All three groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina agree to negotiations in London.

The North Atlantic Council and NATO’s Defence Planning Committee (DPC) finalised the arrangements for implementing the decisions taken by the Alliance Foreign Ministers at Helsinki on 10 July. The Council agreed that the NATO force based on STANAVFORMED should commence operations at 0800 local time on 16 July. By direction of the DPC, the NATO units were ordered to conduct ‘surveillance, identification and reporting of maritime traffic in areas to be defined in international waters in the Adriatic Sea.’

July 16

The first units of STANAVFORMED entered the Adriatic and commenced their monitoring role in international waters. This Operation was given the name ‘MARITIME MONITOR’ and it complemented the parallel linked operations being conducted by WEU forces, whose operation was named ‘sHARP VIGILANCE’.

Prior to and subsequent to the start of the mission, detailed co-ordination arrangements were worked out between NATO and WEU military officials both for patrol aircraft and for surface ships. These included co-ordination of areas of responsibility, methods of operation, communications, support and re-supply. During further co-ordination meetings, patrol areas were again agreed as well as the periodic
shifting of these patrol areas between the two—starting on 29 July—so as to grant equal sharing of 
duties and responsibilities and to enhance the interoperability of the two operations.
The NATO naval force was supported by maritime patrol aircraft, both those under NATO command 
and those operating on behalf of the WEU.
Karadzic, in London for peace talks, gives order for Serbs around Gorazde to stop firing; order has 
little effect as artillery duels continue.

July 17
Leaders of the three warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina Karadzic, Silajdzic and Boban signed in 
London the agreement on cease-fire throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina that should come 
into effect on 19 July at 18.00. The two-week cease-fire calls for all refugees to be able to return to their 
homes and for freedom of movement across blockaded roads.
Two French peacekeeping troops killed by land mine in Zadar (1st UN troops killed in conflict).

July 19
Panic travels to Sarajevo for talks with Izetbegovic. Despite truce, heavy shelling, machine-gun, and 
mortar fire takes place in Sarajevo. Serbs trying to extend control over territory before cease-fire takes 
hold.

July 20
At the headquarters of the UN in New York Prime Minister Milan Panic had talks with UN Secretary 
General Boutros-Ghali and his special envoy Cyrus Vance. These talks were the first in the Prime 
Minister's ten day diplomatic tour of the USA, Great Britain, Spain, Switzerland and Hungary.

July 21
Newsday reports that up to 20,000 Muslims and Croats have been deported from NW Bosnia to Zenica 
in Central Bosnia in cattle cars without food or water; deportations part of Serb efforts to cut corridor 
from Serbia to Krajina region of Croatia. Conditions described as being similar to deportations of Jews 
in World War II.
According to the Commander of United Nations operations in Sarajevo, General Lewis MacKenzie, 40 
000 United Nations troops were needed in Sarajevo alone to keep the peace.
In Zagreb Tudjman and Izetbegovic signed the agreement on friendship. It was accepted that the basis 
of the future state system of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be 'the principle of full equality of the three 
constitutive nations' while 'the constitutional and political system would be based on constitutive units'; 
it was said that 'the armed forces of the Croatian Council of Defence is a part of single armed forces of 
the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina' and that it would have its representatives in the joint command of 
the armed forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

July 22
Boutros-Ghali rejects Security Council plan to place heavy weapons under UN control saying UN not 
prepared to supervise the situation. Heavy fighting continues around Gorazde; mayor says town has 
only enough food to last 48 hours.

July 23
Serb assault on Gorazde kills 20, wounds 50 in 24-hour period.
July 24
US aircraft carrier Saratoga and battle group now off Adriatic coast.

July 25
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain officially stated that this country would organise an international conference on Yugoslavia in the second half of August. Artillery attacks kill 12 in Sarajevo including three waiting in line for humanitarian aid (23 killed in last 24 hours). UN food truck hits land mine.

July 26
Bosnians to attend peace talks in London but Izetbegovic says they will not negotiate since previous agreements were not honoured.

July 27
US warplanes fly sorties off Adriatic coast but have orders to stay out of Yugoslavia airspace. New round of EC-sponsored peace talks begin in London.

July 29
The International Meeting on Humanitarian Aid to the Victims of Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia, held in Geneva, endorsed a seven-point humanitarian response plan proposed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata. The elements of the plan were: respect for human rights and humanitarian law, preventive protection, humanitarian access to those in need, measures to meet special humanitarian needs, temporary protection measures, material assistance, and return and rehabilitation. Boutros-Ghali calls for 850 police and civilians to prevent further ethnic cleansing in Serb-dominated areas of Croatia; says that UN resources stretched too thin. Renewed fighting in Sarajevo, some of it near airport.

July 30
According to estimates from the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and local Red Cross committees, some 2.5 million people from the former Yugoslavia were displaced and some 10 000 people from Bosnia were joining them every day. The total included about 600 000 people who had been displaced during the war between Serbia and Croatia in 1991. The majority of the refugees, 1 885 000 remained in the former Yugoslav republics: 681,000 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 672 000 in Croatia (including the Serb-occupied zones), 383 000 in Serbia, 70 000 in Slovenia, 49000 in Montenegro and 31 000 in Macedonia. Among neighbouring countries, Germany had taken in some 200 000 refugees, Hungary and Austria some 50 000 each and Sweden 44 000; smaller numbers were accepted in other European countries. Notwithstanding the need to address this problem, there was a considerable lack of consensus among the countries most affected. A German proposal to adopt a quota system for distributing refugees to EC member states found no support among the EC members and France and the United Kingdom proposed that refugees should be accommodated and given assistance as near as possible to their place of origin. Others proposed the establishment of so-called safe havens on the territory of former Yugoslavia, in particular in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but there was no consensus to provide the ground troops needed to protect these safe havens against armed attack or intimidation.
July 31

Bosnian defenders launch offensive against Serbs in hills around Sarajevo; at least 40 Bosnians killed as they fight with light weapons against heavy weapons of Serbs. Izetbegovic, in BBC interview, rejects EC suggestion that Bosnia negotiate a settlement, and compares Karadzic to Hitler for ethnic cleansing policy.

August 1

Bosnian offensive called off after 36 hours; 100-150 Bosnian troops killed in battle.

August 2

Presidential and parliamentary elections in Croatia. Franjo Tudjman was re-elected President of the Republic winning 56.2% of the votes. At the elections for the Assembly the Croatian Democratic Union won with 42.6% of votes; the Croatian Social-Liberal Party 17.7%, the Croatian People's Party 6.9%, the Croatian Party of Right 6.4% and the Party of Democratic Changes (former communists) 5.8%.

Bus with 40 orphans attempting to leave Sarajevo is fired upon and 2 children are killed. Newsday reports that Serbs are maintaining concentration camps where hundreds are being executed or starved to death. Red Cross says it will try to gain access to camps.

August 3

President Izetbegovic addressed a letter to the United Nations Security Council demanding that Bosnia-Herzegovina be allowed to import arms in order to ‘achieve the right of individual and collective self-defence’ guaranteed by Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. At the same time he proclaimed general mobilisation.

August 3

Bush Administration says it can confirm Newsday accounts of concentration camps. 18 killed in Sarajevo in last 24 hours. UN peacekeeping soldier dies in Bonn from mortar wound received in Bosnia the previous week.

August 4

UN suspends aid to Sarajevo for three days due to heavy fighting. Funeral for two children killed by snipers during evacuation on Saturday disrupted by Serbian shelling of cemetery. US Assistant Secretary of State, Thomas Niles, tells House subcommittee that it cannot confirm reports of detention centres and executions.

At a meeting in New York, the Islamic Conference Organisation (ICO) advocated the use of force against the Serbian forces in compliance with Article 42 of the United Nations Charter, and the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

August 5

Russia recognised the Republic of Macedonia. Greece closed its border with Macedonia and imposed an oil embargo. The Greek action, based on opposition to the creation of an independent state using the name Macedonia, brought the republic to the verge of economic collapse.

Red Cross officials able to visit 9 camps and find conditions ‘very difficult’, but cannot confirm atrocities. Bi-partisan group of US senators (Mitchell, Dole) sponsor non-binding Resolution calling on Administration to ask UN to authorise use of force if necessary to deliver humanitarian aid. Resolution
August 6

President of the USA George Bush announced establishment of diplomatic relations with Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and required that the CSCE should send its observer missions to Vojvodina, Sandzak and Macedonia.

The Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs adopted the Resolution requiring that the President of the USA should ask for an extraordinary session of the UN Security Council with the aim of making decision authorising the UN to take ‘all necessary measures including the use of armed force’ that would ensure shipment of humanitarian assistance and stop the attacks on the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

British TV shows video of camp inmates near starvation. Vatican calls for military intervention. UN headquarters in Sarajevo shelled, wounding four French soldiers.

August 7

The Security Council, by its Resolution 769, authorised the enlargement of UNPROFOR’s strength and mandate to enable the Force to control the entry of civilians into the UNPAs and to perform immigration and customs functions at the UNPA borders at international frontiers. Bush says US ‘will not rest until the international community has gained access to any and all detention camps’, but says he is not prepared to commit US troops. Serbs and Croats agree to exchange 1,500 prisoners on August 14.

August 8

Bosnian Serb leader, Aleska Buha, threatens ‘kamikaze missions’ against nuclear plants in Western Europe if there is outside military intervention in Bosnia. Karadzic says that he has proposed turning detention centres over to Red Cross, and that he has ordered release of all sick prisoners and 60 years of age or older. Fighting around Sarajevo, and in Visoko (NW Bosnia-Herzegovina).

Federal Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Milan Panic met in Budapest with Prime Minister of Croatia Franjo Greguric. That meeting was initiated and organised by the International Committee of Red Cross. The two prime ministers signed the agreement on the exchange of prisoners of war.

August 9

Serbs say they will give access to camps to Red Cross officials. Critics fear that Serbs will show only certain camps. Izetbegovic travels to Pakistan to rally Muslim support for Bosnia, and applauds Iranian call for Islamic army to fight Serbs. Fighting on Croatian-Bosnian border (Bosanska Gradiska) kills 20 Serbs and dozens of Croats. Serb air raid on Bosanski Brod kills 14.

August 9-16

An Inter-Agency Assessment Mission, co-ordinated by UNHCR with the assistance of the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs, visited the Republics of the former Yugoslavia to reassess the emergency humanitarian requirements. According to the findings of the Mission, over 2.7 million people were directly affected by the crisis and were in need of emergency humanitarian assistance - particularly in the areas of food, shelter and health care. On the basis of those findings, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, in close collaboration with UNHCR, other concerned United Nations agencies and NGOs, formulated a Consolidated Inter-Agency Programme of Action and Appeal for the period September 1992 to March 1993. The overall requirements identified by the
Assessment Mission amounted to over $1 billion. Subsequently, it was established that $434 million would be required for addressing life-threatening priority needs to be channelled through the United Nations system. The areas targeted for immediate relief were food, health services and shelter.

**August 10**

At the extraordinary meeting of the European Parliament in Brussels dedicated to the former Yugoslavia, the Declaration was adopted requiring opening of all prisoner-of-war camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina for representatives of the Red Cross, free passage for shipments of humanitarian assistance and giving shelter to refugees. In order to achieve those goals the use of force was also required. Members of the European Parliament concluded that decision on a military intervention was not only their right but their duty too.

Focus shifts to Bihac where 300,000 are nearly encircled by Serbs. Serbs have been shelling the town of 70,000 since mid-June to try and force Muslims out.

**August 11**

In spite of the warnings of Pentagon with 72 votes for and 22 against the American Senate supported the initiative of President George Bush that by taking ‘all necessary means’ the international community should commit itself through the UN in resolving of the Yugoslav crisis and war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This also implied military engagement with the aim of ensuring shipments of humanitarian assistance to the endangered population.

Ethnic cleansing continues in NW Bosnia as 28,000 are being forced from their homes near Bihac. Serbs around Sarajevo say they will allow women and children under 18 to leave the city.

**August 12**

At the extraordinary session of the Committee for Protection of Human Rights in Geneva the representative of the USA proposed that the UN should consider the possibility of setting up an international tribunal for prosecution of war crimes committed in Yugoslavia and Iraq.

The Assembly of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina made a decision in Banja Luka on the change of name of this republic. The new name was the Republika Srpska and it entailed no geographic or other determinants. The Assembly also adopted an annex to the Declaration on the State and Political System of the New State, saying that it was the state of the Serbian people where also lived citizens of other nationalities enjoying the equal rights.

**August 13**

The Security Council, disturbed by the situation prevailing in Sarajevo, which severely complicated UNPROFOR’s efforts to ensure the security and functioning of Sarajevo airport and the delivery of humanitarian assistance, adopted Resolution 770. The Council, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, called on States to ‘take nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements all measures necessary’ to facilitate, in coordination with the United Nations, the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In further discussions, however, it was decided that that task should be entrusted to UNPROFOR.

The Security Council invited all states to take all necessary measures with the aim of helping the UN and other humanitarian organisations in shipment of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Security Council required that representatives of the International Committee of Red Cross and other humanitarian organisations should be allowed a free access to all prisoner-of-war camps, jails and detention centres.

The same day the Security Council adopted Resolution 771 condemning any violation of international humanitarian law including ‘ethnic cleansing’. States and humanitarian organisations were invited to
provide the Security Council with all available information on violations of humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

UN sends aid convoy to Banja Luka instead of evacuating 28,000 Muslims who are being forced out of their homes by Serb militias. International Committee of the Red Cross blames all three groups for ‘systematic brutality’ against civilians. Yugoslavia recognises Slovenia. ABC TV producer David Kaplan killed by sniper fire while in car leaving Sarajevo airport (1st American to be killed in this war).

At its session the Committee of High Officials of the CSCE adopted the report of the mission on the situation in Kosovo, Sandzak and Vojvodina. It was proposed that a permanent mission should be sent to Kosovo while missions for Sandzak and Vojvodina should be casual.

The Executive Committee of the Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina adopted the Declaration on Vojvodina as an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia and FR Yugoslavia, joining them by free will of its citizens on a voluntary basis. As provided for under this document the autonomy implied decentralisation of power, division of competencies and independent management of affairs directly involving the province.

August 14

On the initiative of Chairman of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington, the 13th plenary session of the Conference took place in Brussels, but it lasted only one hour. The session had been preceded by separate talks between Carrington and the leaders of the four former Yugoslav republics: Kucan, Tudjman, Izetbegovic and Gligorov. Presidents Milosevic and Bulatovic had not arrived explaining it by the fact that FR Yugoslavia existed as a federal state. Although he had not been invited Prime Minister of FR Yugoslavia Milan Panic arrived to Brussels and had talks with Carrington and special envoy of the UN Secretary-General Vance. Panic did not take part in the plenary session since the four republic leaders opposed to it. The next day Karadzic and Boban met and reached agreement on cease-fire at all battle lines between the Serbs and Croats. They also discussed all issues in dispute concerning the territorial settlement as well the proposal of new confederation agreement on the arrangement of Bosnian-Herzegovinian states of three constitutive nations.

In accordance with the agreement of 28 and 29 July signed by the representatives of FR Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia the Federal Government of Yugoslavia made a decision on repatriation of prisoners from Croatia who had taken part in the armed conflicts. The decision was implemented the same day near Jelenovo (former Sarvash) in the presence of representatives of the UNPROFOR.

Unnamed US official says Bush ministers knew of atrocities in Bosnia as early as May and directed CIA and DIA to find out more in June. Newsday reports systematic cover up by ministers. NATO refuses to commit large numbers of troops to support UN relief convoys. Aircraft carrier Saratoga again heads for Adriatic.

France offered to contribute a 1 100 strong ‘force of protection and escort’, followed by Spain, Italy and Belgium with unspecified numbers.

August 15

UN aid convoy reaches Gorazde. Shelling of Sarajevo continues. New convoy of women and children scheduled to leave Sarajevo, this time for Serbia. Izetbegovic refuses (again) to meet with Bosnian Serb leaders. Pope sends envoy (French Cardinal Roger Etchegaray) to Sarajevo.

August 16

After visiting several prisoner-of-war camps near Banja Luka and Sarajevo French Minister for Social and Humanitarian Affairs Bernard Koushner said that ‘in Bosnia there are no camps of death of the Nazi type’.
The Assembly of the (Serbian) Muslim National Council took place in Novi Pazar. The Assembly adopted the Declaration to be a platform for negotiations on the status of Muslims and territories of Sandzak. The following two alternatives were elaborated for settlement of the Sandzak issue:

1. in case Serbia and Montenegro applied for international recognition Sandzak would request to enjoy a special status while the principle of inviolability of borders should be respected;

2. if these two republics applied for recognition as a single state in that case Sandzak would request to become a single sovereign territory.

Fighting in Rogatica (between Gorazde and Sarajevo) kills 10.

August 17

The Permanent Committee of High Representatives of the EC considered in Brussels measures that should be taken for tightening control of the embargo on commodity imports to Yugoslavia since, as reported by the EC commission, it had constantly been violated. It also forwarded a request to the UN to exercise such control on the Danube and Adriatic.

UN convoy returns to Sarajevo from Gorazde. UN official with convoy estimates population of town at 40,000 instead of 80,000-100,000 as previously thought; says population near starvation and operations conducted in hospitals without anaesthetics. Serbs shell refugee hotel in Sarajevo killing 5; say it is retaliation for Bosnians shelling a nursery and clinic in nearby Pale; other shelling in Sarajevo kills six.

August 18

Nearly 1,000 women and children (TANJUG says 65% are Serbs) allowed to leave Sarajevo for Belgrade. 24 killed in Bosnia, 12 of these in Sarajevo. British transport plane reports that unidentified radar locked onto it while leaving Sarajevo airport, but plane arrives safely in Zagreb. UN reports that 250,000 Bosnian Muslims are facing a campaign of terror and hunger that will only get worse as winter comes on.

The United States established diplomatic relations with Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The United States and the United Kingdom reiterated their opposition to the use of ground troops, but the United Kingdom offered 1,800 troops to ensure the protection of humanitarian convoys in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

August 19

Commander of UN forces General Satish Nambiar, says he does not have enough troops to monitor latest accord; also says that airport will reopen. Germany’s Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel, demands that Serb leaders be tried for genocide charges under a 1948 UN convention. Bosnian Foreign Minister Silajdzic accuses the international community of ignoring atrocities against his people that it knew about.

August 20

Mortar attacks hit main Sarajevo hospital and parliament building, setting the latter on fire. Bosnian Minister of Health says that 34 were killed, 207 wounded across the republic in 24-hour period. Ukrainian members of UN peacekeeping force killed by sniper fire. Sarajevo airport reopened when same British Hercules transport that was fired upon earlier in week comes back in. 41 killed, 202
wounded throughout Bosnia in 24-hour period (11 and 55 in Sarajevo). Yugoslavia relief convoys sent into Bosnia to bolster Belgrade governments image.

The Conference on Yugoslavia was scheduled for 25 and 26 August in London. Invitations were sent to the representatives of 12 EC member countries, five permanent members of the UN Security Council, representatives of Japan and Canada (in order to assemble ‘the Group of 7’ too), Czechoslovakia, being the chair of the CSCE, Sweden, as its successor, Switzerland as a representative of the Conference of Islamic Countries, Turkey and Indonesia as future co-ordinators of the Non-Aligned Movement, representatives of the neighbours of the former Yugoslavia as well as representatives of all six former Yugoslav republics. The status of the representatives of FRY, President of the Federal Republic Dobrica Cosic and Prime Minister of the Federal Government Milan Panic remained unclear since Lord Carrington invited them personally and not as official representatives of Yugoslavia. With the aim of making consultations for the London Conference Cosic invited representatives of all parliamentary parties from Serbia and Montenegro to have talks with them. It was concluded that a single Yugoslav delegation should attend the Conference and be headed by Cosic.

**August 21**

On the occasion of the forthcoming London International Conference on Yugoslavia the debate on the international position of FR Yugoslavia took place in the Federal Assembly at the joint session of both Houses in Belgrade. Prime Minister Panic submitted a report and pointed out that the Government had fulfilled 11 conditions, which were in accordance with the demands made in the Resolutions 752 and 757 of the UN Security Council. After the debate six conclusions were adopted as a platform for approach of the Yugoslav delegation at the London conference. The basis of this approach was the Constitutional Declaration of FR Yugoslavia. Former Polish Prime Minister, Taduesz Mazowiecki, arrives in Zagreb to head UN commission investigating concentration camps.

**August 22**

The British newspaper *Independent* published an article of its correspondent from New York on confidential reports of the UNPROFOR from Sarajevo saying that the several most horrible massacres, including the death of 16 civilians standing in a queue for bread in Vase Miskina Street [27 May], had been committed by the Muslims in order to win the public opinion over for a military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

30 killed in street fighting and shelling in Sarajevo by midday. Airport closed for half-hour due to mortar fire. Two British and two French soldiers wounded by shrapnel.

**August 24**

After being barred from Serbian detention camps, UN envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki accuses Serbs of cover-up. Sarajevo airport reopened after being closed all weekend. Mortar attacks on Sarajevo leave at least 6 dead, 18 wounded.

**August 25**

NATO fails to come up with plan for providing military support for relief shipments. Presidential palace and military headquarters in Sarajevo hit by shells. 93 reported killed in Monday’s fighting (republic-wide).

A United Nations General Assembly Resolution was adopted citing Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter which authorises the use of force where economic embargo has failed.

Lord Carrington, Chairman of the EC Peace Conference on Yugoslavia said that he was going to withdraw from the post.
August 26

US State Department official in charge of Yugoslavia affairs, George D. Kenney, resigns to protest ‘ineffective’ and ‘counterproductive’ policy. Serbs continue heavy shelling of Sarajevo.

August 26-27

The International Conference on Yugoslavia, organised by the UK presidency of the EC, took place in London with representatives of more than thirty countries and organisations, Presidents of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia and the delegation from FR Yugoslavia: President Cosic, Prime Minister Panic, President of Serbia Milosevic and President of Montenegro Bulatovic. A Permanent Committee was set up for which as Co-Chairmen were appointed Cyrus Vance, representing the UN, and Lord David Owen, representing the EC. There were also set up six working groups for settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The seat of the bodies would be Geneva. Special Decisions on Bosnia-Herzegovina were adopted by a separate document requiring cessation of fire and any hostilities as soon as possible, establishment of international control over the heavy weapons and bringing under control of all paramilitary units of all warring parties and ban for all flights of military aircraft in the airspace of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Proposal on the Statement of Serbia accusing it for aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina was not adopted as an official document of the Conference since the delegation of FR Yugoslavia opposed to it.

In its final declaration, the conference once again outlined the terms for a political settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia:

- recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina by all the former Yugoslav republics;
- respect for the integrity of present frontiers unless changed by mutual agreement;
- guarantees for national communities and minorities;
- the right of return for those who had been expelled;

It also stated that ‘an international peace-keeping force under United Nations auspices may be created by the United Nations Security Council to maintain the cease-fire, control military movements and undertake other confidence-building measures’.

August 27

Serbs agree in London to lift siege of Sarajevo and other cities, but Karadzic tells journalists that his forces were not besieging Sarajevo so the agreements do not apply to him. Milosevic quarrels with Panic in front of entire conference.

August 28

Serbs conduct intensive overnight shelling of Sarajevo in violation of accords; 19 killed, 145 wounded in Sarajevo. Karadzic says shelling is a result of Muslim provocation.

WEU ministers agreed to tighten the embargo enforcement on the Danube and in the Adriatic. WEU also announced that it would place almost 5 000 troops, together with transport and logistical equipment, at the immediate disposal of the United Nations.
August 29

Serbs say they are lifting siege of Gorazde. Karadzic gives order to stand down and says 1,000 troops are withdrawing. In SE Bosnia Serbs issue order banning the return of Croats and Muslims to their area.

August 31

Nationalists attempt vote of no-confidence against Panic’s government. Mazowiecki reported to UN calls for international commission to investigate war crimes. 2nd attack in month on a funeral in Sarajevo cemetery kills one. 23 killed, 259 wounded in 24-hour period. Muslims announce they have recaptured 80% of Gorazde as Serbs withdraw.

August 31 - September 4

In the Assembly of FR Yugoslavia a group of deputies from the Serbian Radical Party and Socialist Party of Serbia initiated a debate on casting of vote of non-confidence to Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic and his government. It was said that Panic stretched his authority what was not in accordance with the Constitution and that he had acted at the London conference in a way not in conformity with the position taken by the Federal Parliament. President of FR Yugoslavia sent a letter to the Federal Parliament warning that ‘casting a vote of non-confidence to the Federal government and Prime Minister Milan Panic would seriously jeopardise the results which were achieved in London and bring back distrust of peaceful and democratic policy of FRY’. After several days of debate conclusions were adopted appraising the activities of the delegation of FR Yugoslavia at the London conference as successful and casting a vote of confidence to the Federal government.

In his interview to Budapest Nepszabadszag President of the Democratic Union of Hungarians from Vojvodina, Andrash Agoshton, said that unlike the Albanians from Kosovo the Hungarians from Vojvodina did not wish to secede from Serbia. ‘Within the present state borders we wish to achieve the rights which we have been entitled to in accordance with the conclusions adopted at the London conference’.

September 1

US senators urge Bush Administration to break diplomatic ties with Serbia.

Karadzic and deputy commander of the UNPROFOR headquarters Colonel Daveau reached agreement in Pale on establishment of control over the Serbian heavy weapons at eleven positions in and around Sarajevo. The agreement applied to concentration and control of 82 mm mortar batteries.

September 2

Muslim forces attacking Serbian towns and forces as they pull back from Gorazde.

September 3

In Geneva, the new permanent conference on Yugoslavia co-chaired by Lord Owen for the EC and Cyrus Vance for the United Nations, was opened. Italian relief plane crashes outside of Sarajevo killing four on board, and causing UN officials to suspend other flights.
September 4

The Secretary-General of the UN said that one ‘particularly unconscionable’ aspect of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia was the deliberate attempt to prevent much needed relief assistance from reaching the affected population.

The Ministry of Information of the Republika Srpska stated that 1,300 mujahedins from Arab countries had joined the Muslim forces as well as 1,500 Muslims which had been recruited in Germany.

Italian officials say relief plane was shot down by missile.

US Secretary of Defense Cheney says ‘we’re not eager to put US military forces on the ground in Yugoslavia to end that conflict’.

September 6

The tenth summit of non-aligned countries in Jakarta adopted a document on political and economic problems of the world that also included a section on Bosnia condemning the Serbs for ‘disgusting policy of ethnic cleansing’. The Yugoslav delegation headed by Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovich strongly opposed this and had to make a tremendous effort to maintain its membership since the Muslim countries demanded that it should be expelled from the Movement.

In a communiqué, the Geneva conference announced that by 12 September, the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina were to place under United Nations supervision their heavy weaponry (artillery over 100 mm calibre, 82 mm mortars, tanks and rocket launchers) deployed around Sarajevo, Gorazde, Bihac and Jajce. (This was only partly observed.)

Croats break with Muslim forces when Croatian headquarters in Mostar demands that Bosnian government withdraw from six suburbs around Sarajevo.

September 7

By setting up groups for confidence and security building and division of heritage (succession) the work of the permanent Conference on Yugoslavia started in Geneva.

Lybian leader Mohamer Gadaffi proposed that Bosnia-Herzegovina should get united with Serbia and Montenegro for the sake of protecting the historical rights of the Muslims as well as preserving Yugoslavia.

The constitutive session of the Assembly of Croatia took place at which Stjepan Mesic was elected Speaker.

More shelling in Sarajevo. 26 killed, 182 wounded in 24-hour period (13 and 77 in Sarajevo).

September 8

Two French officers of UN peacekeeping force killed by machine-gun fire, three others wounded.

Water supply to Sarajevo still cut off.

September 9

UN commander in Sarajevo accuses Bosnian forces of attacking French troops and killing two. Health Minister says 29 killed; 181 wounded in previous 24 hours.

Acting US Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger says US not ready to use force, blames pressures for involvement on newspaper columnists and Washington insiders. US claims Iran flying supplies (4,000 machine guns, 1 million rounds of ammunition) into Bosnia.
September 9

By applying ‘the written procedure’ the Council of Ministers of the EC adopted the decision on tightening the control of trade embargo imposed against FR Yugoslavia.

September 10

Following consultations with a number of Governments, the Secretary-General submitted a further report to the Security Council recommending the expansion of UNPROFOR’s mandate and strength in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He proposed that UNPROFOR’s task, under its enlarged mandate, would be to support efforts by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to deliver humanitarian relief throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in particular to provide protection, at UNHCR’s request, where and when UNHCR considered such protection necessary. In addition, UNPROFOR could be used to protect convoys of released civilian detainees if the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) so requested and if the Force Commander agreed that the request was practicable. UNPROFOR would be deployed in four or five new zones. In each zone there would be an infantry battalion group, whose headquarters would also include civilian staff to undertake political and information functions and liaison with UNHCR. UNPROFOR troops would follow normal peace-keeping rules of engagement, which authorise them to use force in self-defence, including situations in which armed persons attempt by force to prevent them from carrying out their mandate. UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali calls for up to 7,500 UN troops in Bosnia. NATO says it will send AWACS planes to monitor air activity.

Fighting near airport results in some successes for Bosnian troops in suburb of Nedzarici. Overnight shelling of Dobrinja.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of FR Yugoslavia Vladislav Jovanovich resigned. In a letter forwarded to Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic he said that he could no longer be a member of the government which followed the policy opposite to the interests of Serbia and the Serb people. The next day Prime Minister Panic appointed Ilija Djukic, who until recently had been the Yugoslav ambassador to China. The Croatian authorities said that they had kept arms and ammunition at the Zagreb airport Pleso that had been found in an Iran aeroplane which transported humanitarian assistance to Bosnia.

September 11

During the meeting of Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen with President of FRY Dobrica Cosic and Prime Minister Milan Panic in Belgrade the Joint Statement was signed on resolving issues at dispute in the former Yugoslavia by peaceful means. A deadline was fixed for the collection of heavy weapons in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The opening of the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway was planned to take place soon. An agreement was reached on military experts and foreign observers who should be posted on the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to prevent shipment of military assistance to the warring parties. A general agreement was reached on Prevlaka which should be demilitarised and placed under the UN control until a final solution was found. Vance and Owen also met with Milosevic and discussed issues concerning the follow-up of the London conference.

Bosnian Health Minister says death toll tops 10,000. US State Department spokesperson says US ‘condemns in the strongest terms’ Bosnian Serb practice of ‘shadowing’ UN relief flights (being protected against radar detection). Both Panic and Karadzic say they will try to end the practice.

September 12

The Serb artillery was concentrated at 11 positions around Sarajevo and placed under control of the UNPROFOR.
At the consultative meeting in Hatfield (Great Britain) ministers of foreign affairs of the EC member countries proposed that Yugoslavia should be expelled from the UN and supported the proposal of the UN on the ban of military flights in the airspace of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They also decided to require establishment of an international tribunal for war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia. They gave up the idea of introducing new sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro since Lord Owen informed them that ‘the Bosnian Serbs partly fulfilled their promise to place their heavy weapons under control of the UN by 12 September’.

**September 14**

In Resolution 776, which made no reference to Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council approved the Secretary-General’s report and authorised the enlargement of UNPROFOR’s mandate and strength in Bosnia and Herzegovina by up to 6 000 troops, in addition to the 1500 in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the 15 000 in Croatia. A separate Bosnia and Herzegovina Command was established within UNPROFOR to implement Resolution 776, in addition to Sector Sarajevo. The Resolution approved to protect humanitarian aid in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including protection of convoys with prisoners of war which had been set free. The member countries were requested to offer financial and other kinds of assistance at the national. More troops are to come from Canada, France, Britain and other west European countries (countries will pay for costs themselves instead of UN).

**September 14**

‘No-fly zone’ not agreed upon as Britain, France, and US can’t agree on how to enforce it. Serbs use guns monitored by UN to shell Sarajevo.

**September 15**

More fighting in Sarajevo with more use of UN-monitored Serb artillery. Muslim-held town of Sokolac (near Bihac) said to have been ‘practically destroyed’ in Serb air raid. Izetbegovic agrees to attend peace talks.

**September 16**

The American State Department set forth its position that the USA would use all its power and influence to get Yugoslavia expelled from the UN. Regarding such and similar threats Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic said on his return from China and after a meeting at the Moscow airport with Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kozyrev, that he would propose to the Government of FRY that Yugoslavia should apply for membership in the UN. Italian investigators conclude plane shot down on September 3 was hit by heat-seeking missile.

**September 17**

The Government of the Republic of Serbia issued a notification pointing out that the statement of the Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic on application for membership in the UN ‘is legally neither a decision nor binding for FRY’. It was further said that with such application ‘we would participate in destruction of our own state’ and that ‘renunciation from international continuity would bring FRY into a state of institutional isolation’.

**September 18**

Heavy fighting continues in Sarajevo with at least 30 Bosnian troops killed repulsing Serbian attacks on suburb of Stup. Bosnian government says 34 killed, 290 wounded (25 and 185 in Sarajevo) in 24 hour
period. Bosnian government says it has reports of 200 bodies in Drina River floating towards Gorazde (many civilians with throats cut). Karadzic, in Geneva, says Serbs will stop fighting with Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but offers no deal for Muslims.

**September 19**

The UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 777 saying that the state previously known as SFR Yugoslavia has ceased to exist. The request of FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) to automatically continue the membership of the SFRY in the UN has not been generally accepted and the General Assembly is recommended to make a decision that FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) should apply for membership in the UN and not participate in the work of the General Assembly. Muslim delegations had threatened to walk out of General Assembly opening. Measure was toned down due to insistence of Russia and China, Yugoslavia will be allowed to reapply by December at end of current General Assembly session. Three factions agree to permit resumption of aid flights into Sarajevo.

**September 21**

The delegation of the Bosnian Muslims submitted in Geneva a proposal on decentralisation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to that proposal Bosnia-Herzegovina would be ‘a democratic, secular and decentralised state with equal rights for all nations’ and ‘a single state with decentralised power of its constitutive regions which would not have the character of states’. Geneva talks end with no progress. Shelling of Sarajevo continues. TANJUG claims that Serbs halt Bosnian government attack on Mt. Zuc (N of Sarajevo), and repulse Croat-Muslim attack on Doboj (N Bosnia-Herzegovina). Government commander in Sarajevo says his troops beat back tank assault by Serbs.

**September 22**

Yugoslavia submitted a request to the Security Council to lift the embargo on fuel imports that should be used for heating of hospitals, kindergartens and schools.

The USA submitted a claim to the UN Secretary General for establishment of a commission for war crimes committed in Yugoslavia. As an annex to the claim was submitted a detailed report in accordance with the paragraph 5 of Resolution 771 requiring that states should notify violations of humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia. In this report the leaderships of Serbia and the Yugoslav Army as well as the Serb armed forces in Krajina and Bosnia-Herzegovina were accused of a number of most serious crimes which had been committed during the 15 month war in the former Yugoslavia. Some, but not so severe accusations were also brought against the Croatian and Muslim parts.

**September 23**

Yugoslavia expelled from UN General Assembly by vote of 127-6 (26 abstentions) despite last minute pleas to Assembly by Panic. He pleaded for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Bosnia-Herzegovina accusing the world organisation for applying ‘double standards’ in resolving the Yugoslav crisis. He supported this with an example that the UN had not reacted although forty thousand Croat soldiers fought in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic claims UN expulsion will have no effect since ‘Yugoslavia has nothing to do with that war’. After the debate on the effects of the Resolution both Houses of the Federal Assembly decided to send a letter to the UN General Assembly requesting that the International Court of Justice should give its opinion on the continuity of FRY.

In the headquarters of the United Nations in New York Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic signed an annex to the pact between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina of July 1992 on joint defence of their borders. A joint committee should be set up for co-ordination of defence efforts. A joint request would be submitted to the Security Council for lifting the arms embargo in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his letter
to the President of the Security Council of 29 September Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic characterised it as an attempt to make legal the presence of the Croat army in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

September 24

UN armoured personnel carrier hit by bazooka shell wounding 7. Fighting across Bosnia.

September 26

US State Department confirms massacre of 3,000 Muslims and Croats by Serbs in Bosnian town of Brcko during May. Up to 50 killed at a time and bodies cremated, some tortured beforehand. Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance say they have gathered evidence of Muslims being forced from their homes and then shelled by Serbs.

Bosnian Health Minister says 54 killed, 285 wounded (21 and 104 in Sarajevo) in last 24 hours. Jets attack factory in Croat-held Vitez (40 miles NW of Sarajevo).

TANJUG claims Croatian troops killed Serb civilians in attack on Milici (35 miles NE of Sarajevo).

In his interview to the Paris weekly Point ex-chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington said that Europe had not realised at proper time that Yugoslavia had disappeared and it had prematurely recognised Croatia and Slovenia, and then Bosnia-Herzegovina.

September 27

Izetbegovic, in Pakistan, appeals for aid from world’s Muslims.

Serb shelling of Sarajevo overnight. Serb media says Muslims massacre hundreds during fighting in NE Bosnia.

September 28

Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Vance and Owen talked in Belgrade with President of FRY Cosic and it was agreed that Cosic-Tudjman talks should begin on unsettled state issues between FR Yugoslavia and Croatia. The two Co-Chairmen also met with Milosevic and talked about Kosovo.

September 30

Under the auspices and in the presence of Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Vance and Owen President of FR Yugoslavia Cosic and President of Croatia met in Geneva. They confirmed the obligations of the London Conference on inviolability of existing borders; agreed to take more decisive actions in co-operation with the UN peace-keeping forces in enabling repatriation of displaced persons; that the Army of Yugoslavia should leave Prevlaka peninsula near Dubrovnik by 20 October and the security of the area should be ensured by its demilitarisation and stationing of observers; condemning all actions concerning ‘ethnic cleansing’; welcoming the arrival of international observers to the airports in the two countries.

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali submitted a report to the Security Council on implementation of the decisions of this body through the UNPROFOR at the critical points in Yugoslavia. In his report he pointed out that all warring parties were responsible for irregular situation in all sectors.

Representatives of UNPROFOR prevented repatriation of around 10,000 refugees, Croats and Hungarians, to their villages in Baranja and Slavonia. They explained it by the fact that there were mine fields and no appropriate conditions were created for their living there.

US Senate adopts amendment to foreign aid bill which calls on UN to exempt Bosnia from arms embargo (House unlikely to agree). State Department will consider request by Panic to ease sanctions by allowing for importation of Chinese heating oil.
October 1

US Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger says US airlift to resume; agrees with CIA assessment that 50,000 could die in Bosnia over winter due to cold conditions. Split over ‘no-fly zone’ which President Bush will have to resolve. Bosnia says death toll now 14,000, with 57,000 missing.

October 2

President George Bush submitted a proposal to the UN Security Council for adoption of a new Resolution banning all flights in the airspace of Bosnia-Herzegovina except those to be approved by the UN which includes shoot-down of Serb planes in violation (previously opposed by Defense Department). It was announced that the USA would be more engaged, which also included military involvement, in all actions of offering assistance and protection of humanitarian convoys for Bosnia, and in taking measures to intensify the effects of the sanctions imposed against Serbia.
At the American request to ban flights in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the threat of use of combat aircraft Karadzic proposed that the Serbs themselves should cease their flights in the airspace of Bosnia-Herzegovina provided that the Muslim part stopped their offensive actions. After that commander of the Air Force and Anti-aircraft Defence of the Republika Srpska Major-General Zivomir Ninkovic said that flights ban was the same as a capitulation and that no one, not even President Karadzic, has the right to sign the capitulation of the country. Approximately 1,561 Bosnian prisoners (mainly Muslims) exchanged with Serbs, and brought to Karlovac, Croatia; prisoners give accounts of massacres at Kereterm concentration camp in late July where hundreds were gassed by Serbs.

October 3

At the headquarters of the International Red Cross in Geneva the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina committed themselves to ‘unilaterally and unconditionally’ set free by the end of October all civilian and military prisoners of war who had not violated the rules of humanity. On that occasion the warring parties admitted that there were 52 prisoner-of-war camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of which 24 were Serb, 19 Muslim and 9 Croat ones.
First American aid arrives in Sarajevo in month. Serb planes bomb Tesanj and Zenica (NW of Sarajevo).

October 5

At its session in Luxembourg the Council of Ministers of the EC adopted a new Declaration on Yugoslavia saying that the EC and its members insist on an urgent action on the implementation of agreements which had been reached at the London Conference, including establishment of no-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as subsequent agreements such as the one on demilitarisation of Prevlaka. Recognising that there was numerous evidence on crimes, including mass killings and ethnic cleansing, mostly committed by the Serb groups ministers supported the idea of establishment of a mechanism for data collection and evidence analysis so that the persons who have committed mass killings and other grave breaches of international humanitarian law could be individually responsible.

October 6

The third enlargement of UNPROFOR’s mandate in Croatia came about, when the Security Council adopted its Resolution 779, authorising UNPROFOR to assume responsibility for monitoring of the demilitarisation of the Prevlaka Peninsula near Dubrovnik. By the same Resolution, the Council approved the Secretary-General’s action to ensure the control by UNPROFOR of the vitally important Peruca dam, situated in one of the ‘pink zones’ in Croatia.
The same day the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 780 establishing a commission of experts which would investigate war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia communicating its conclusions to the UN Secretary General. The Security Council again expressed its concern for violation of international humanitarian law in Yugoslavia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular. The Security Council invited states and competent organisations to collect information supported by documentary evidence. Dutch Professor Eric Kalshoven was appointed President of this commission. Serbs capture town of Bosanski Brod from Muslims/Bosnia-Herzegovina forces creating key link with Krajina region.

October 7

Thousands flee across Sava River into Croatia from fighting around Bosanski Brod. Heavy infantry fighting in Novo Sarajevo and Hrasno area of suburb; artillery and mortar fire in center of Sarajevo. Croatian Defence Council for North Bosnia says 8,000 Serbs killed in fighting, 60 tanks destroyed, and 21 planes shot down. Serbs drop cluster and napalm bombs on Northern Bosnian towns of Maglaj, Tesanj and Teslic, killing at least 12 in Maglaj. NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner says that if UN says military action warranted, then NATO would no doubt follow suit. Iranian leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, says West should allow Iran to send ‘Muslim youth and our combatant forces to put the Serbs in their place’.

The House of Representatives of the American Congress gave its approval for adoption of the Law depriving FR Yugoslavia of the status of most favoured nation in trade with the USA.

October 8

With the agreement of all three ethnic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina Executive Secretary of UNICEF James Grant proclaimed publicly that the first week in November would be ‘the Week of Tranquillity’ so that assistance could be freely delivered to the endangered people before winter. Serb artillery pounds N Bosnian towns of Gradacac and Maglaj.

October 9

In a further development, the Security Council adopted its Resolution 781 banning all military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for those of UNPROFOR and other flights in support of United Nations operations, including humanitarian assistance. The Council requested UNPROFOR to monitor compliance with the ban, and that it place observers, where necessary, at airfields in the former Yugoslavia. The Council also requested that the Force employ ‘an appropriate mechanism for approval and inspection’ to ensure that the purpose of other flights to and from Bosnia and Herzegovina was consistent with its Resolutions. It also called on States to provide technical assistance to UNPROFOR in its monitoring efforts.

October 9

NATO agreed to provide the UN with air space monitoring assistance by extending the role of the Airborne Early Warning Aircraft that had been assisting in naval monitoring operations in the Adriatic since 16 July 1992, in support of UN Resolutions 713 and 757 which subsequently became, in support of UN Resolution 787 on 22 November 1992.

The air space monitoring aspect of the combined operation has been called operation ‘sKY MONITOR’. Information collected as a result of NAEW Force monitoring of the air space was provided to UN authorities.

Serbs conduct eight air raids on Gradacac Croatian radio reports. Jajce also attacked even as UN votes to impose ‘no-fly zone’ over Bosnia. More ethnic purges by Serbs around Banja Luka as 6,500 Croats
and Muslims held in new camps. UN troops escort utility repair crews to help restore power in Sarajevo.

**October 10**

Serb planes continue to bomb Gradacac and Breko. Karadzic denies Serb planes involved. Ukrainian member of UN peacekeeping force killed (17 total dead, 243 wounded). Heavy fighting in and around Sarajevo, and in Sava River border region.

**October 11**

Red Cross plans to evacuate 3,000 women and children from Sarajevo. Bosnian military says it will not attend peace talks since power and water have not been restored in Sarajevo.

**October 12**

The first meeting of the Committee for bilateral negotiations between the Republic of Croatia and FR Yugoslavia held in Zagreb. Five commissions established: for traffic, finances, succession, ownership and property issues and for refugees. The Government of Serbia issued a communication on this occasion, explaining that in the conditions when persecution and harassment of the Serbian people by Croatian authorities continues, while Croatia is avoiding to fulfil the obligation of withdrawing all military forces from Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is happening without adequate reaction by the UN Security Council.

Peaceful demonstrations held in almost all towns in Kosovo. The protesters presented six demands: immediate opening of schools for Albanian pupils, students and teachers, abolishment of emergency and forced measures in student dormitories, recovery of financial resources, cessation of repression and accountability for all who participated in the destruction of educational system in Kosovo. The next day strong police forces in Pristina prevented new attempt of Albanians to gather in large numbers.

The Assembly of Montenegro promulgated the new Constitution. Cetinje was proclaimed the capital of Montenegro, while the administrative capital remained in Montenegro.

In the interest of co-operation with the UN Security Council, the FRY Government set up a task force which would engage in compiling evidence on crimes committed in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia.

**October 13**

At the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, the delegation of Republika Srpska led by Radovan Karadzic, and Co-Chairmen of the Conference Owen and Vance reached an agreement on moving of Serbian aviation from the airports in Banja Luka to Yugoslav airports, where UNPROFOR monitors would be deployed. The agreement was endorsed by the federal Prime Minister Milan Panic.

**October 13**

Serbian police fight with Albanians in Pristina; Panic appeals for calm and says he will travel there. UN official calls Sarajevo situation ‘desperate’. Fighting continues in suburb of Stup. Bosnian Serb air force commander says he will defy ‘no-fly zone’ ban.

**October 14**

Talks on the problems of education in Albanian language ended in Pristina. The proposals included conditions for instruction in Albanian language in primary schools in Kosovo and preparation of curricula referring to the national culture and history of Albanians and Albanian minority in Kosovo.
**October 15**

Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic visited Kosovo. After talks with representatives of Serbs and Montenegrins, he met with the leader of the Kosovo Albanians Ibrahim Rugova. They agreed on the establishment of joint task forces that would deal with legislation, education and provision of information in Albanian language. There was no discussion about the status of Kosovo.

**October 16**

In their Birmingham declaration, EC leaders warned that they would ask the Security Council to consider enforcement measures if delays in compliance with the ban on military flights continued. US President George Bush signed the law which deprives FR Yugoslavia of the status of the most favoured nation ‘because of support to Serb armed forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina’.

NATO forces began monitoring flights in the airspace of Bosnia-Herzegovina in NATO Operation SKY MONITOR. Monitoring was carried out by NAEW aircraft which were already involved in the naval monitoring and subsequent embargo operations in the Adriatic.

Members of the Serbian Radical Party and Socialist Party of Serbia criticised the policy of the Prime Minister Milan Panic and raised the question of confidence in the Federal Government. Deputies of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro supported the Federal Government, assessing that its policy of peace and negotiation is the only way out of the crisis.

Bosnian forces blockade UN relief supply route claiming Serbs trying to advance under UN cover. Yugoslavia President Cosic urges Milosevic to resign during parliament session.

**October 18**

Decision on withdrawal from Prevlaka was practically implemented, since most members of the Yugoslav Army withdrew from this peninsula, except from Kupica where a water tank and theodolite station are situated.

**October 19**

Talks held in Geneva between the FRY delegation, led by President Dobrica Cosic, and delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, led by Alija Izetbegovic. They issued a joint statement in which the two Presidents confirmed their dedication to the obligations undertaken at the London conference, particularly on inviolability of the existing borders. They also stressed the need to make every effort to stop hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and unblock Sarajevo. Delegations agreed that it was necessary that all parties in conflict place all armed units in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina under efficient command and control and to eliminate armed gangs, paramilitary forces, and criminal and mercenary elements irrespective of where they come from and expressed firm commitment to prosecute in conformity with relevant legal provisions all perpetrators of criminal offences committed during the armed conflict, including the practice of ethnic cleansing.

Serb police, in dispute with Panic, take control of Interior Ministry building in Belgrade. Milosevic government announces it will hold early elections as demanded by opposition, but no election date set.

**October 20**

Cosic, President of FR Yugoslavia, and Tudjman signed in Geneva the second Declaration on the establishment of co-operation between FR Yugoslavia and Republic of Croatia. They stated that almost all provisions of the first Declaration, signed on 30 September 1992, are being implemented. The second Declaration stipulates the opening of representative offices of FR Yugoslavia in Zagreb and Croatia in Belgrade, opening of roads, railways and telecommunications, settlement of issues referring
to personal property, pensions and other problems relevant for economic well-being of people, research of issues referring to dual citizenship.

All facilities within the Prevlaka barracks placed under the UNPROFOR supervision.

Fierce conflict between the Muslim and HVO forces near Vitez in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

October 21

NATO defence ministers offer to step up peacekeeping efforts in Balkans. Croats and Muslims clash NW of Sarajevo; 22 Croats reported killed. UN temporarily halts flights into Sarajevo due to fighting.

October 22

The US Government submitted to the UN Secretariat the second report on war crimes, torture and destruction in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, compiled after eyewitness statements and testimonies. All but one of 30 described grave cases are attributed to the Serbian armed forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. United Nations also received a request by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy of the UN Secretary General, for a team of experts to be sent by the UN to investigate the allegations on the existence of mass graves in Vukovar. Croats said to be blockading aid convoys to Muslims in Bosnia.

October 23

The Sanctions Committee of the UN Security Council approved the request lodged by Montenegro for import of various goods necessary to the population in northern parts of the republic suffering from the consequences of natural disasters and suggested that Montenegro apply to the UN for the award of humanitarian aid. Re-establishment of the ferry connection between Bar and Bari was also approved. Amnesty International says rights abuses committed by both Serbs and Muslims; accounts the massacre of at least 83 Muslims by Serbs in village of Zaklopaca (45 miles NW of Sarajevo) on May 16.

October 24

Intention to symbolically mark the opening of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway, with the consent of the Yugoslav and Croatian governments, as well as UNPROFOR representatives, did not succeed. Coach and van convoy by which local and foreign reporters travelled from both capitals toward Okucani, where they were supposed to meet, came across barricades and armed militia members of the Republika Srpska Krajina. Agreement on re-establishment of telephone connections between Belgrade and Zagreb also fell through. Bosnia reports Croatian attacks on town of Prozor (30 miles W of Sarajevo), and Serb attacks on Brcko and Jajce. Serb forces pushing on Gradacac. Cosic announces that federal elections will be held December 20 in Serbia and Montenegro.

October 25

Fighting between Serbs and Croats enters fifth day on 42-mile front around Trebinje (Serb stronghold in E Bosnia). Karadzic threatens to launch planes against Croats.

Mate Boban, President of Herceg-Bosnia sent an appeal to the Croatian President Tudjman, asking him to prevent the transport of mujahedeens through Croatia to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

October 26

FRY President Dobrica Cosic met with the Italian minister for foreign affairs Emilio Colombo and President of the Republic Luigi Scalfaro, while his special counsellor Svetozar Stojanovic talked with
under-secretary of the Vatican Ministry for Foreign Affairs Celli, who conveyed the message by Pope John Paul II that Vatican wants dialogue and promotion of relations with FR Yugoslavia. Bosnians remain trapped in refugee camps in Karlovac, Croatia, due to unwillingness of western nations to admit them. US says it will admit 1,000 of estimated 10,000.

October 27
Croatian leader on Bosnian Presidency, Miro Lasic, recently elected, says Croats plan to lay claim to 30 of Bosnia-Herzegovina’s 109 local districts; says he might become President of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that he takes orders directly from Tudjman. UNPROFOR warned that Croatian and Serbian sides increasingly frequently violate cease-fire in ‘pink zones’ and that without disarmament and demilitarisation the Vance Plan would be jeopardised.

October 28
The Geneva negotiators formally rejected the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ‘ethnic-, confessionals-based republics’ and presented constitutional proposals for a decentralised Bosnia-Herzegovina aimed at preserving its territorial integrity. The reshaped republic, it was proposed, would be based on seven to ten provincial governments with substantial power and autonomy to control education, police, health and law enforcement. The borders of the provinces still had to be negotiated. A central government would remain in Sarajevo with responsibility for defence, foreign policy and trade. The largely ceremonial presidency would rotate among major groups.

October 29
Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia David Owen and Cyrus Vance, together with Prime Minister Panic, visited Pristina, where they met with prominent Kosovo public and political figures - Serbs and Albanians. At the press conference Lord Owen stated that ‘Kosovo should have a special status or autonomy, but only within Serbia’. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy of the UN Secretary General, submitted a report to the UN Commission on violation of human rights in the former Yugoslavia. In the report he pointed out that human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina were being increasingly violated at the time when parties in conflict promised at Geneva negotiations that they would stop this practice. Bosnian government officials accuse Croats of cutting supply lines. Fighting continues around Gradacac, Tuzla, Doboj, and Maglaj. Jajce falls to Serbs, much of population flees.

October 30
Assemblies of Republika Srpska and Republika Srpska Krajina at the joint session in Prijedor adopted the Declaration on unification of these two republics. They also decided that this decision be shortly tested at the plebiscite in both republics, after which the elections for the common constitutional assembly should be scheduled.

October 31
NATO air coverage was enhanced when an additional NAEW orbit was established over Hungary with the support of the Hungarian and Austrian governments. The UN assessed that more than 500 flights violated the ban during the period 16 October 1992 to 12 April 1993.
October 31
Within the UNICEF campaign ‘A Week of Silence for Children’ a convoy of trucks carrying milk, blankets and winter clothes, that left from Belgrade a day earlier, arrived at Sarajevo. Former defenders, residents of Jajce (estimated at 20,000) pour into Travnik after 3-day, 25-mile journey. Serbs bombard Sarajevo at rate of one shell per second.

November 1
Bosnian government officials refuse clothing brought by UNICEF.

November 2-3
At the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia deputies cast a vote of confidence in the government of Prime Minister Milan Panic. Since the vote did not receive adequate support in both chambers of the Federal Assembly, the Federal Government continued its work.

November 3
Over 3,000 shells fall on Gradacac.

November 4
Refugees from Jajce turned away at Croatian border despite pleas from UN officials. Heavy fighting around Olovo (25 miles NE of Sarajevo), Maglaj, and Tuzla.

November 6
Bosnian military officials cancel evacuation of 6,000 due to concerns of losing able-bodied fighters (18-60 year-olds). Relief convoy carrying 240 tons of food for Bratunac (Serbian town) and Srebrenica (Muslim town, 50 miles NE of Sarajevo) forced to turn back to Belgrade. Violations of UN ‘no-fly zone’ reported. UNPROFOR convoys trying to reach towns under siege repeatedly came under fire and returned fire.

November 8
Relief flights into Sarajevo halted; city is without water and electricity for 3rd day. Red Cross official appeals to UN for escorts for 6,000 to leave Sarajevo. 10-truck aid convoy for Sarajevo stopped near Mostar.

November 9
Karadzic proposes recognition of Bosnia’s external borders with simultaneous recognition of Serb’s internal boundaries. Bosnian government rejects the plan immediately. Izetbegovic signs order that allows all boys under 18, or men older than 60 to leave Sarajevo. TANJUG reports that Croat and Muslim forces cut Serb supply line to Banja Luka. Fighting in Mostar renewed.

November 10
The Security Council adopted its Resolution 786 authorising the expansion of UNPROFOR’s strength by 75 military observers to enable it to monitor airfields in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Cease fire declared as 2,000 refugees allowed to leave Sarajevo; convoys halted by Serb forces.
November 11

The President of Macedonia conveyed to the Secretary-General a request for the deployment of United Nations observers in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in view of his concern about the possible impact on it of fighting elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. Such deployment was also recommended by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. 16th cease-fire holding in Sarajevo.

November 12

In separate declarations Serbia, Albania and Bulgaria expressed support for a Greek initiative to guarantee the existing borders of Macedonia, apparently designed to allay international concern about Greece’s intentions towards the former Yugoslav republic. Cosic warns UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali that unless regular Croatian forces withdraw from contested areas in Eastern Bosnia, the federal army may have to intervene.

November 13

Serb forces violate cease-fire and attack Maglaj while British observers watch. US ambassador to the UN, Edward Perkins accuses Greek, Italian, and Egyptian companies of illicit arms shipments to the former republics of Yugoslavia.

November 16

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 787. Expressing deep concern about reports of continuing violations of the embargo imposed by its Resolutions 713 (1991), 724 (1991) and 757 against FR Yugoslavia, the Security Council by this Resolution extended the embargo against FR Yugoslavia, among other things by prohibiting the transhipment of a number of commodities and products through FRY (crude oil, petroleum products, coal, energy-related equipment, iron, steel, other metals, chemicals, rubber, tires, vehicles, aircraft and motors of all types) and by tightening the control of shipments of goods in inland, river and maritime transport, particularly on the Danube, to prevent further violation of the Security Council decisions.

November 18

NATO agrees to stop-and-search enforcement of naval embargo; enforcement to be carried out with Western European Union.

November 19

First snowfall on Sarajevo as 8-day old truce is violated in north and east (Gradacac, Maglaj, Tensaj, and Tesla). Alternative Bosnian Serb constitutional proposals based on the three-way subdivision of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as laid down in the March 1992 Lisbon agreement with provision for joint foreign, defence and other policies, were presented to the Geneva conference.

November 20

The North Atlantic Council met to follow up its earlier decision in principle to support Security Council Resolution 787 aimed at enforcing the UN embargoes in the former Yugoslavia. The Council agreed that enforcement operations by maritime forces could commence, in co-ordination with forces in the Adriatic. Subsequently the Defence Planning Committee met to authorise the forces of NATO’s
integrated military structure to carry out the enforcement and to endorse the operational concept proposed by alliance military authorities for NATO's (STANAVFORMED). NATO and WEU thus agreed to adopt powers to stop and search any ships entering or leaving Yugoslav waters, with warships being allowed, if necessary, to fire across the bows of vessels to force them to stop.

**November 20**

WEU Defence ministers give their forces the right to fire warning shots at vessels that fail to heed the naval embargo. French troops guarding aid convoy in NW Bosnia forced to return fire when attacked near Muslim city of Bosanska Krupa.

**November 21**

Serbs launch artillery attack against refugee-filled Travnik, killing 4, wounding 5. Croats and Muslims said to have sent additional 6,000 troops to defend city which is a major link to Sarajevo. Serbs attacking suburb of Turbe, considered to defence of Travnik. Izetbegovic says Serbs now using ground-to-ground missiles supplied by Yugoslav army, to get around UN ban on warplanes (Serb General Mladic admits to having them and willingness to use them).

**November 22**

Operation MARITIME MONITOR ended, conducted from 16 July to 22 November 1992, when NATO forces commenced enforcement operations in support of the UN Security Council Resolution 787. This new operation was named ‘Operation Maritime Guard’. The Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Mike Boorda, exercised operational control of the NATO forces from his headquarters in Naples, Italy. This control was further delegated to two subordinate commanders also located in the Naples area: (COMNAVSOUTH), Adm. Carlo Alberto Vandini, for STANAVFORMED and maritime patrol aircraft flying under the NATO flag, and Commander (COMAIRSOUTH), Lt. General James Callaghan, for the NATO Early Warning Force aircraft (NATO AWACS). In order to enforce strict compliance with the terms of Security Council Resolutions 713 and 757, all ships bound to or from the territorial waters of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) were halted to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations, as well as all ships proceeding to all other ports of the former Yugoslavia. Cease-fire fails with heavy shelling of Sarajevo. Bosnians claim Serbs deploying Scud missiles, but Serbs deny this.

**November 23-25**

Three-day talks of the delegations of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Croatian Roman Catholic Church and Islamic religious community from Bosnia held in Zurich. At the close of their talks they sent an Appeal for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed by Patriarch Pavle, Archbishop Vinko Puljic, Reis ul Ulema Jakub Selimovski and Great Rabbi of the USA Arthur Schnyer.

**November 23**

UN says it will send armoured convoys to ensure delivery of relief supplies to Gorazde and Srebrenica after Serb militias repeatedly turn them back. UN official says UN has assumed responsibility to keep victims of war alive and it will do it. Shelling of Sarajevo airport forces cancellation of last two relief flights of the day.
November 25

French relief plane hit by small arms fire on approach to Sarajevo airport. Serb forces block UN relief convoy in violation of agreement reached between UN and Karadzic. The Balkan Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina held in Istanbul. Besides Turkey, the conference was attended by the representatives of the four former Yugoslav republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia), Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, Austria and Romania. FR Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy declined the invitation to the conference.

November 26

Despite an agreement between military commanders of the Croat and Serb armed forces in Bosnia and the UNPROFOR commander, Major-General Philippe Morillon, for Croatian regular forces to begin withdrawing from the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as from 30 November, there was no sign of a decrease in fighting. An earlier cease-fire arranged on 11 November, had broken down after five days. US State Department representative J. Sinder said in Washington that the USA strongly believes that the only way to resolve the crisis situation in Kosovo is to grant the people of Kosovo all the rights and full autonomy in the framework of the present borders. ‘We have publicised on several occasions our position on Kosovo. We recognise the autonomy, but not the independence of Kosovo’, he said. Serbs continue to block relief convoy to Srebrenica. Serb and Croat generals meet at Sarajevo airport with UN commander to discuss cease-fire.

November 27

UN convoy leaves Ljubovija, but is blocked by Serb women and children at Skelani.

November 28

With the Security Council’s approval, the Secretary-General sent to Macedonia a group of military, police and civilian personnel to assess the situation and prepare a report concerning a possible deployment of UNPROFOR in that Republic. UN finally manages to get 137 tons of food and aid to Srebrenica (first aid to reach town since spring where 80,000 refugees are concentrated). Fighting around Travnik and Turbe. UN says a cease-fire scheduled for midnight between Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. NATO ships divert Maltese ship as part of embargo.

November 29

Fighting endangers Serb-Croat truce.

November 30

UN human rights special investigator, Taduesz Mazowiecki, presents findings to UN Human Rights Commission blaming ‘massive and systematic’ rights abuses on policy of ethnic cleansing. Bosnian government raises death toll figure by 20%. Artillery duels between Serbs and Muslims around Sarajevo airport. Boutros-Ghali says Serbs in so-called Republic of Krajina region of Croatia are blocking UN peacekeeping plan.
December 1

Panic says he will run against Milosevic for presidency on December 20. UN suspends airlift to Sarajevo for two days after US plane hit by small arms fire. UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva condemns Serbs as main perpetrators of atrocities in war; only Yugoslavia votes against the Resolution.

December 3

Ministerial conference of 50 Islamic states ended in Jedd with the request that United Nations by 15 January 1993 undertake all measures to ensure cessation of war in Bosnia and ‘extermination of Muslims’. Otherwise, they said, Islamic states would undertake their own financial and military measures to defend Muslims in Bosnia.

December 3

Plane carrying UN commander in Bosnia, French General Philippe Morillon, hit by machine-gun fire; chief UN General Satish Nambiar, continues suspension of relief flights as a result.

December 4

Serbs overrun part of Sarajevo suburb of Otes prompting Bosnian commander to request UN help to prevent massacre of civilians after Bosnian forces run out of armour-piercing shells; attack on suburb has been longest since siege of Sarajevo began (Serbs now control line through western part of Sarajevo); Serbs are said to be using 40 tanks, armoured personnel carriers and self-propelled guns; Bosnian forces manage to open corridor to Otes to evacuate citizens.

December 5

Fighting in Gradacac, Modrica, and Doboj. UN aid convoys still manage to get into Sarajevo with 220 tons of food despite artillery shelling.

December 6

Presidential and parliamentary elections held in Slovenia. Milan Kucan was elected President of the Republic in the first round. Fierce fighting between Serbs and Muslims as Serbs press to cut off airport road. Mayor of Serb-held Vlasenica slips through lines to Zagreb and tells of 70 people having starved to death in region controlled by Serbs. Government forces reportedly make some gains against Serbs in Zuc mountain area north of Sarajevo. Nurse killed in Serb shelling of Kosevo hospital in Sarajevo.

December 7

Serb shelling of Sarajevo prompts UN to suspend aid flights. Sole bakery shut down for lack of fuel; shelling by Serbs of Gradacac’s historic castle. Serbs said to be retreating in Zavidovici.

December 8

At the Geneva peace conference on Yugoslavia, leaders of the three warring factions in Bosnia presented maps for the ‘cantonisation’ of the republic along ethnic lines. Serbs seal off all escape routes out of Sarajevo and fire on UN observers who appeal to them for a cease-fire. Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA says Serbs will facilitate evacuations. Serb forces said to be trying to starve Sarajevo into submission.
December 9

The Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report in which he recommended an expansion of the mandate and strength of UNPROFOR to establish a United Nations presence on Macedonia’s borders with Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). He indicated that the Force’s mandate would be essentially preventive, to monitor and report any developments in the border areas which could undermine confidence and stability in Macedonia and threaten its territory. The Secretary-General recommended that the enlargement of UNPROFOR comprise an estimated battalion of up to 700 all ranks, 35 military observers, 26 civilian police monitors, 10 civil affairs staff, 45 administrative staff and local interpreters. This contingent would operate under UNPROFOR’s ‘Macedonia Command’ with headquarters in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. Serb shelling of old city kills five in bread line. Karadzic says Serbs do not want to take complete control of the city.

December 10

Over one million Greeks demonstrated in Athens against the international recognition of Macedonia under its existing name. In Brussels, EC Foreign Ministers criticised Greece for allowing Greek companies to violate United Nations sanctions by shipping oil to Serbia while at the same time withholding oil from Macedonia. United Nations sanctions against Serbia had already cut off Macedonia’s main trade route.

Sarajevo bakery producing only 25,000 loaves of bread a day since UN suspension of humanitarian aid flights. Dutch Prime Minister, Ruud Lubbers, says ‘its scandalous that there’s intervention in Somalia, but not in Yugoslavia’ and says Bosnia will be high on list of items at upcoming EC meeting.

December 11

The Security Council, by its Resolution 795 authorised the establishment of UNPROFOR’s presence in Macedonia. President-elect Clinton says he is in favour of enforcing no-fly zone.

December 12

The Summit of the European Community in Edinburgh adopted the Declaration on Yugoslavia, requesting from the Security Council to urgently consider new measures, including military, which would ensure prevention of military aircraft flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina and safe passage of convoys with humanitarian aid. They also demanded the establishment of Safe Areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina to provide protection to the civilian population. The Declaration also stressed that ‘the present leadership of Serbia and Bosnian Serbs’ bear the greatest responsibility for the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

Acting Secretary of State Eagleburger says US now considering changing UN-sponsored embargo of arms so that Bosnia may obtain weapons, and that international community must consider the use of force to ensure the delivery of food.

December 13

Bosnian Muslim, Serb, and Croatian commanders renew cease-fire pledge to allow for movement of civilians out of Sarajevo. Serb shelling of Travnik in third day.
**December 14**

In effort to keep NATO forces from intervening, Karadzic, in Belgrade, says Bosnian Serb parliament will meet to declare war over in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and try to end hostilities before end of year; also accuses US, Russia, and EC of ‘nailing Serbs to the cross’ by singling them out as responsible for war. US Secretary of State Eagleburger, in Sweden for CSCE meeting, urges Europeans to hold ‘perpetrators of crimes against humanity’ responsible by trying them as war criminals’. French Foreign Minister, Roland Dumas, tells Eagleburger that France is now in favour of enforcing no-fly zone. Eagleburger and Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei Kozyrev issue statement that encourages Serbians to oust Milosevic in upcoming elections.

**December 15**

Boutros-Ghali reportedly asks NATO to draw up plans for enforcing no fly zone. CSCE meeting in Sweden asks UN Secretary Council to enforce the zone and to lift arms sanctions against Bosnia. Bosnian Serb second-in-command, General Milan Gvero, says intervention would be suicide.

**December 16**

US Secretary of State Eagleburger names 7 Serbs and Croats as responsible for war crimes and says Milosevic, Karadzic and General Mladic could be held responsible for failing to prevent atrocities. Cyrus Vance says ‘the overall level of violence has been reduced’. 1,001 prisoners released from Serb-run detention camp of Manjaca and allowed to go to Croatia (supposedly last Muslim and Croat inmates).

**December 17**

Foreign Ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which was preparing contingency plans for intervention, agreed to support any future United Nations Resolution enforcing the existing flight ban over Bosnia, on condition that such a Resolution provided for continued humanitarian efforts. The United Kingdom had consistently expressed reservations over intervention, in contrast to the stance of the United States which called for preventive bombardment of Serb positions. Montenegrins vote in election but run-off necessary (January 10, 1993) between current President Momir Bulatovic (43%) and Branko Kostic (24%) former Yugoslavia President. Bulatovic’s Democratic Party of Socialists win parliament elections.

**December 18**

The UN General Assembly adopted the Resolution on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If Serbia and Montenegro in the shortest period possible fail to fulfil all relevant Security Council Resolutions, the Resolution among other things, calls for application of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which inter alia stipulates the use of military force. The Resolution was adopted with 102 votes for, while 57 delegations abstained from voting. The latter included, among others, all EC member states, Russia, China, Bulgaria, Romania, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada. The USA was the only state among the permanent Security Council members that voted in favour of the Resolution. The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 798 in which it expressed consternation over the reports of massive, organised and systematic detention and rape of women, in particular Muslim women, in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Security Council demanded immediate closing of all detention camps, particularly camps for women. The Assembly of Republika Srpska adopted the Declaration on ending of the war. Through amendment to the Constitution the Presidency has been abolished, while the function of the President of Republic was established. Karadzic was elected the first President.
December 20
United States President George Bush and United Kingdom Prime Minister John Major agreed in Washington to support a United Nations Resolution enforcing the flight ban.
Federal, republican and provincial parliamentary and local elections, as well as elections for the Presidents of the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro, held in FR Yugoslavia.

December 21
The Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council in which he indicated that in order to ensure compliance with the relevant Security Council Resolutions, it would be necessary to give UNPROFOR a mandate which would include the right not only to search but also to turn back or confiscate military personnel, weapons, or sanctioned goods whose passage into or out of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be contrary to the decisions of the Council. He pointed out that a symbolic presence at selected crossing points would ‘not only fail to fulfil the Council’s requirements, but would also undermine the already strained credibility of UNPROFOR’. He proposed, therefore, an enlargement of UNPROFOR with some 10,000 additional troops to provide for a 24-hour observation and search operation at 123 crossing points on Bosnia and Herzegovina’s border with neighbouring countries.
Panic accuses Milosevic of fraud and calls for new elections. Independent observers (including CSCE) agree, but say it is too early to tell if the voting met ‘minimum acceptable standards’. Planes land with supplies in Sarajevo for first time in 3 weeks. City without heat, electricity, or running water, and low on food; 2 children die from hunger.

December 22
Serbian Election Commission certifies vote giving Milosevic 55% to Panic’s 36%. Serbian Radical Party leader, Vojislav Seselj, whose followers are accused of some of the worst atrocities in Bosnia-Herzegovina wins more than 20% of vote for parliament (33 of 138 seats).

December 23
Opposition says true election figures give Milosevic 49% and Panic 43% which would force a run-off (50% needed).
NATO gives UN plans on how it would enforce ‘no-fly zone’. Yugoslavia Army Chief of Staff, General Zivota Panic, says forces on alert.

December 24
Election commission spokesman says ‘not a single republican organ did anything wrong’. Seselj calls for uniting Yugoslavia with Serb-held areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for prosecuting Panic with embezzling state funds and inviting outside interference in Yugoslavia affairs.

December 25
Quiet in Sarajevo, but UN commander General Philipe Morillon says his home shelled by mortar from Bosnian government side for second day.

December 26
Panic send congratulations to Milosevic on re-election but says he still opposes his policies.
December 27

President Bush warns Serbs in letter to Milosevic that the US ‘will be prepared to employ military force against the Serbs in Kosovo and in Serbia proper’ if conflict spreads to Kosovo. Associated Press reports that Panic close to resigning. Vance meets with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev in Geneva; Kozyrev says he and Jeltsin are under pressure to support the Serbs as fellow Slavs. Greece says it will try to stop UN Secretary Council from recognising Macedonia.
French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said that France would participate in United Nations efforts to enforce the flight ban.

December 28

President of FR Yugoslavia Cosic talked in Geneva with Boutros-Ghali, Vance and Owen, Kozyrev and Tudjman. Cosic and Tudjman agreed that peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be established only with its constitutional arrangement as a confederation of the three peoples.
UN sends 33 military observers to Macedonia as first part of 800-man force to be deployed along the border with Kosovo (first UN effort at preventative action).
19 humanitarian flights land at Sarajevo airport while 4 land convoys arrive. Bosnian Health Minister reports 33 killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 17 of them in Sarajevo.

December 29

Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic ousted as premier both chambers of the Federal Assembly of FR Yugoslavia cast a vote of no confidence in parliament.
Thousands of Bosnian troops being massed around Sarajevo to try to break the siege.

December 30

Yugoslavia Army Chief of Staff, General Zivota Panic, warns that western military intervention would only cause the war to spread. Lord Owen presents plan on decentralising Bosnia-Herzegovina to Karadzic, who rejects it by saying, ‘Why did we have a war if Bosnia should stay unified?’. Boutros-Ghali sends letter to Security Council expressing ‘grave concern over the growing momentum for military action in the area’.

December 31

Boutros-Ghali goes to Sarajevo to appeal for more time for peace talks, but is booed by residents for comments such as: ‘you have a situation here that is better than in 10 other places in the world’. In co-operation with Albanian authorities NATO warships were granted unrestricted access to Albanian territorial waters for the purpose of embargo enforcement. This additional aspect of the overall NATO operation was given the name ‘ALBANIAN GUARD’. 
Chronology 1993

January 1

Boutros-Ghali urges the International community to await the outcome of Geneva talks where leaders of three sides will meet face-to-face for the first time, before using military action. Panic flies to US to try to convince US officials to not enforce ‘no-fly zone’.

January 3

Summit meeting of representatives of three parties in conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina started in Geneva. The meeting is attended by Karadzic, Boban and Izetbegovic and Presidents of FR Yugoslavia Cosic and Croatia Tudjman. Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Vance and Owen submitted a draft proposal for Bosnia-Herzegovina, including:

- the reorganisation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into ten provinces, according to a detailed map.
- the establishment of five major corridors between the provinces would allow the safe passage of humanitarian aid and civilians.
- constitutional principles for the republic with a large measure of autonomy for the provinces within a decentralised state.
- cease-fire and demilitarisation arrangements.

January 3

Bush and Mitterand in Paris say Geneva talks should be given chance to succeed, but ‘no-fly zone’ could be quickly enforced. Bosnian government threatens to besiege Lasva Valley unless 65,000 Croats living there leave. Serb offensive against Sarajevo kills 15, wounds 30. UN commander in Yugoslavia General Jean Cot says his forces are prepared for defensive military action, and blames Serbs for acting as greatest hindrance for UNPROFOR

January 4

Geneva conference recesses with no agreement. Bosnian government apparently willing to agree to plan’s military and constitutional aspects, but ethnic divisions stumbling block. Croat Boban accepts whole agreement, but Karadzic asks for extra time for consultations and says that ‘we cannot accept Bosnia as one state’, but that Serbs have given up idea of ‘greater Serbia’. New gathering scheduled for 10 January.

January 5

Operators of Sarajevo home for the elderly announce that ten have died in zero degree weather in the past 36 hours in building only 750 yards from UN headquarters (UN provided food, but did nothing about heat being cut off).
January 6

President of FR Yugoslavia Cosic addressed the nation. In a longer speech he presented his views on internal situation and the country’s international position. He stressed that ‘a new state and national policy must be pursued’, that ‘the outcome of the Geneva negotiations will decisively influence the political consolidation of the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans’, and proposed the establishment of a government of democratic unity of Montenegro and Serbia.

Shellings of Sarajevo districts of Novi Grad and Stari Grad, and street fighting in Dobrinja and Vojnichko Polje districts begins anew after Yugoslavia President Cosic warns on radio that Bosnia Serbs risk attack by the US and NATO if they do not accept peace plan. US says that as many as 70,000 prisoners are still held in Yugoslavia unknown to International Red Cross.

January 7

EU report says as many as 20,000 women (mainly Muslims) raped by Serbs in Bosnia so as to demoralise and terrorise communities. US Defence Secretary-designate, Aspin, endorses enforcement of ‘no-fly zone’ but says it would be his preference to use European troops on the ground.

January 8

Serbian troops kill Deputy Prime-Minister of Bosnia, Hakija Turajlic, while detaining French UN peacekeeping vehicle at Sarajevo airport.

Deputies of the National Assembly in Republika Srpska assessed that ‘proposed maps and constitutional principles (for Bosnia-Herzegovina) represent the initial material that needs further elaboration’ and that ‘the Geneva conference should continue until final solution is found’.

January 9

Bosnian President Izetbegovic boycotts latest round of peace talks in protest over killing of Deputy Prime-Minister. Bosnians demonstrate against UN forces saying they have provided inadequate protection. Bosnian Serb parliament rejects elements of peace plan that would break Bosnia up into separate districts.

January 10

After an Amnesty International publication on conditions in detention camps and, in particular, on the organised and systematic rape and sexual abuse of women in camps, the French Foreign Minister Dumas said that France was prepared to act alone to free civilians from detention camps in Bosnia. Later, Defence Minister Joxe said that his colleague’s words had been ‘misinterpreted’.

Yugoslavia army parades its military in town of Cuprija, Yugoslavia to demonstrate strength against western intervention. Bosnian government calls for urgent UN aid for town of Zepa where 73 bodies have been found in last several days due to starvation and cold. British UN troops escorting Danish relief convoy near Kladanj are hit by small-arms and mortar fire and return 17 rounds of cannon fire from light tanks and machine-gun fire (1st instance of such a response).

In the second round of elections for the President of the Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic was elected.

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said in the United Nations in New York that ‘Kosovo is an integral part of Serbia and UN action could be aimed at ensuring the autonomy of Kosovo, but for this Belgrade agreement is needed. In no way can the principle of inviolability of borders be brought into question’, he said.
January 10-12

The Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina continued in Geneva. Serbs demand change in Vance-Owen plan that recognises ‘three constituent ethnic units’ in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Muslims say they will not accept changes in plan. Milosevic arrives in Geneva to participate in talks. Representatives of Bosnian Croats, Boban and Muslims Izetbegovic agreed with the Constitutional Principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Delegation of FR Yugoslavia endorsed the proposed Constitutional Principles, since they ‘guarantee full equality to the Serbian people and consensus of three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina’. After first refusing the proposal and pressure from Cosic and Milosevic, Karadzic accepts peace plan to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into ten ethnic provinces with Serbs getting roughly half of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but Bosnian Serb leader, Plavsic, says Bosnian Serb parliament will not accept deal. Presidents Cosic, Milosevic and Tudjman agreed to continue negotiations on normalisation of the Yugoslav-Croatian relations.

January 13

Croat-Muslim fighting near Travnik and Gorni Vakuf (apparently after Croatian commander demands Muslim troops be put under Croatian control in area Croats expect to get under Geneva plan).

January 14

EU Foreign Ministers gave the Bosnian Serbs a six-day ultimatum for the definitive acceptance of the latest proposals, and the EU presidency threatened the complete political and economic isolation of Serbia if this ultimatum was rejected. Acting US Secretary of State Eagleburger says world may have ‘dithered’ away its chances to stop war.

January 15

Serbs shell downtown Sarajevo killing seven, and other parts killing two. UN aid convoy to Zepa delayed 9 miles south. Karadzic says his people will not buckle under deadlines imposed by UN.

January 16

Bosnian government offensive to cut Serb corridor between Serbia and Pale escalates tension when Bosnians fire across border into town of Bajna Basta. Fighting around Bratunac kills 40 Serbs, according to Serb commanders. Bosnians report that 60 have froze to death in last several days around Zvornik (on border with Serbia). Renewed Croat-Muslim fighting around Gorni Vakuf.

January 17

Cross-border shelling intensifies as Bosnians hit villages and power plant in Perucac (25 miles SW of Bratunac). More clashes between Croats and Muslims with numerous dead. Aid convoy reaches Zepa.

January 18

Bosnians again fire across Drina into Yugoslavia. Continued fighting around Gorni Vakuf.

January 19

Serbs in Pale begin debate over acceptance of peace plan. Karadzic sends letter to President-elect Bill Clinton asking for change in US ‘misinformed’ policy towards Serbs.
January 20

The Assembly of Republika Srpska at the session in Pale adopted nine principles on constitutional arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina proposed at the Conference on Former Yugoslavia in Geneva. The proposal was endorsed by 55 deputies, 15 voted against, while one deputy abstained.

January 21

US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, says he doubts UN peace plan will succeed.

January 22

US State Department Says Clinton Administration considering providing arms to Bosnian government despite UN embargo.

The Croatian Army launched an offensive in the territory of the Republika Srpska Krajina in a number of locations in the southern part of UNPROFOR’s Sector South and the adjacent ‘pink zones’. The aim of attack was to seize the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik airport near Zadar and Perucha dam. The Croatian Government stated that it took this action out of impatience with the slow progress of negotiations in respect of various economic facilities in and adjacent to the UNPAs and ‘pink zones’. It was also meant to establish a new cease-fire line before the expiry of the United Nations peacekeeping mandate on 21 February and to recover Croatian territory from the Serbs. It significantly altered the situation on the ground.

Following the renewed outbreak of hostilities in Croatia, intensive efforts were made within the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and by UNPROFOR to bring about a cease-fire and a restoration of the prior status in accordance with Security Council Resolution 802 of 25 January 1993.

After a closed session the UN Security Council ‘condemns the attack (of the Croatian armed forces) and demands that the offensive be immediately stopped and Croatian forces withdrawn to the starting positions’. UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali regretted ‘unilateral action of the Croatian authorities which was a blow for the peace efforts of the United Nations’.

January 23

The third round of negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina started in Geneva, with participation of Presidents Cosic, Milosevic and Tudjman, and representatives of three national communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina Karadzic, Izetbegovic and Boban.

US intelligence sources says Serbs still running camps and that 70,000 people may be in camps run by all three sides.

January 24

Croatian attacks lead Serbs to regain weapons monitored but not controlled by UN. Serbs inside Croatia declare formal state of war and shell Zadar.

January 25

The Security Council adopted Resolution 802, in which it demanded an immediate cessation of hostile activities by Croatian armed forces within or adjacent to the UNPAs and their withdrawal from these areas, an end to attacks against UNPROFOR personnel, return of all heavy weapons seized from UNPROFOR-controlled storage areas, and strict compliance by all parties with the terms of cease-fire arrangements. It called upon all parties to co-operate fully with the International Conference on the
Former Yugoslavia and to refrain from any actions which might undermine efforts aimed at reaching a political settlement.

As to the implementation of this Resolution, the Croatian Government on 26 January informed the Force Commander of UNPROFOR that, upon compliance by the Serb side with the various provisions of the Resolution, they would remove their military, but not their police, from the areas they had taken. For its part, the Serb side stated that Croatia must return to its pre-22 January positions before the implementation of the remainder of the Resolution could be considered.

Eventually, after several rounds of talks held under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the Government of Croatia and the Serb local authorities signed an agreement regarding the implementation of Resolution 802. Croatia says it has ended its offensive, but fighting persists around Zadar. Tudjman says the attack is a warning to Serbs to submit to Croatian authority, and due to Serb unwillingness to allow reconstruction of bridge at Maslenica. Serbs claim that 29 of their soldiers have died and that Croats massing 20,000 in the Zadar area and other points. Croats say they lost 10, but killed 120 Serbs. Fighting continues in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

January 26
Artillery duels between Croats and Serbs in Dalmatia, fighting inland from Zadar. Russia says Croatia taking ‘provocative actions’. France says it will send aircraft carrier and 7 other warships to region. State Department gives report to UN on atrocities which blames worst massacre on Muslims who killed 60 Serbs in Bratunac area December 14. Tudjman says troops will leave Serb areas only once Serbs are disarmed.

January 27
UN Security Council adopted Presidential statement in which it said that the Security Council was extremely alarmed because the Croatian forces, in spite of previous strict warnings, continued with the offensive, and demanded from all warring parties to immediately stop hostilities and urgently fulfil all requirements from Resolution 802. US Administration says it is considering options beyond those of the Bush Administration. More Serb bombardments of Sarajevo, killing 17.

Croatian Army attacked and captured the Peruca dam. Fight forces 80 UN peacekeepers to abandon it. The Serbs responded to the Croatian offensive by breaking into a number of storage areas, which were under joint control under a double-lock system in the UNPAs, and by removing their weapons, including heavy weapons.

UNPROFOR warned both the Croatian Government and the Serb authorities not to attempt further incursions into the UNPAs. The Force also sought to limit the damage caused by the fighting, and made repeated representations to the parties concerned with a view to preventing escalation and bringing about a cease-fire.

January 29
Croats try to repair dam before it can break. Zadar Mayor, Zivko Kolega, say 21 Croats and 45 Serbs killed in offensive. Fighting around Srebrenica near Drina River.

January 30
At the negotiations in Geneva parties failed to reach agreement on all points of the Vance-Owen plan for the solution to the Bosnian crisis. All three sides signed constitutional principles for the future Bosnia-Herzegovina arrangement. Bosnian Croat leader Boban also signed the peace plan and maps of the future provinces, Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic signed the peace plan, but not the maps, while
Izetbegovic, Bosnian Muslim leader, signed neither the peace plan nor the maps. Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Owen and Vance therefore decided that negotiations be continued in New York under the auspices of the UN Security Council.

January 31

Tudjman threatens to expand offensive if UN doesn’t disarm Serbs and reopen roads through Serb-controlled areas. UN repair crews give up working on a main electrical transmission line in Sarajevo after being fired upon by Bosnian government troops. French aircraft carrier Clemenceau with 30 fighter and 30 combat and transport helicopters enters Adriatic.

February 1

EU Foreign Ministers delay imposing stricter sanctions against Yugoslavia on request of Lord Owen as he seeks Serbian and Muslim consensus on his peace plan. TANJUG reports major Croatian offensive against Serb-held Obrovac and Benkovac (SW Croatia). UN observers say fighting over Serb-held town of Drnis (SE of Zadar). Zadar and Biograd under 10th day of alert. Croat Chief of Staff, General Janko Bobetko, says Serb force of 700-1,000 attacking Zadar. Serbs allow women and children to leave eastern Bosnian town of Cerska for Kalesija.

February 2

Muslim funeral in Sarajevo fired upon by anti-aircraft machine guns killing one.

February 3

Boutros-Ghali says that 3-5,000 Croatian troops are actively involved in Bosnia, but German Foreign Minister Kinkel says there is no proof and opposes sanctions against Zagreb.

UN aid convoys to stop using Mostar-Sarajevo road (most heavily travelled) after UN aid worker killed by shelling of line of UN trucks. France suggests that if UN peace talks fail that western allies ring Sarajevo with troops to drive Serbs out of hills surrounding Sarajevo.

February 4

Bosnian President Izetbegovic declares that he wants air strikes to end war. Karadzic, in New York (where he is confined to 10-block area around UN due to State Department declaration that he is a war criminal) urges Clinton Administration to support UN peace plan and that US would face another Vietnam if it intervenes in Bosnia.

February 5

Negotiations on the solution to the Bosnian crisis continued at the United Nations headquarters in New York with the first working meeting of Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Owen and Vance and President of Republika Srpska Karadzic.

February 6

US Defence Minister Aspin presents new Clinton approach to British, French, Belgian, Canadian, German, and Dutch diplomats at meeting in Munich. German transport plane hit in propeller by gunfire over Sarajevo, UN suspends further flights.
February 7

Serb mortar hits line of people waiting for water in Sarajevo, killing 3, wounding 5. Bosnian Serbs and Muslims stalemated in last day of Geneva talks. NATO Secretary General Wörner says at Munich meeting with Aspin that NATO may have to use force in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Karadzic says all sides should ‘stop the war immediately’.

February 8

UN Secretary Council prepares to meet on Bosnian conflict, but must await Clinton administration’ policy review. Yugoslavia Foreign Minister, Ilija Djukic, says all three sides should agree to UN peace plan (seemingly puts pressure on Bosnian Serbs). Muslims accuse UN mediators of trying to divide Sarajevo along ethnic lines. Kenneth Blackwell, US delegate to UN Human Rights Commission says there is increasing evidence that senior Serbian officers directed organised rape of Muslim women in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fighting in Vlasenica and Bratunac. Croats and Serbs battle near Zadar in Croatia. Aid flights resume to Sarajevo.

February 9

President of France François Mitterrand in an interview to Le Monde said that the Yugoslav crisis could not have been avoided, but that it had been necessary to have clear view of what was about to happen and that international institutions made the mistake of not settling the question of rights before recognising certain former federal units.

February 10

Before the mandate of the Force expired, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report in which he summarised the activities of UNPROFOR and presented his recommendations on its future. The Secretary-General noted in his report that UNPROFOR had succeeded in keeping Sarajevo airport open, despite interruptions as a result of hostile military action against humanitarian aircraft. In the period from 3 July 1992 to 31 January 1993, the humanitarian airlift organised by UNHCR under UNPROFOR protection brought in 2,476 aircraft carrying 27,460 tons of food, medicines and other relief goods.

The operation to protect humanitarian convoys throughout the Republic had been persistently thwarted by obstruction, mines, hostile fire and the refusal of the parties on the ground, particularly, but not exclusively, the Bosnian Serb party, to co-operate with UNPROFOR. None the less, from November 1992 until January 1993, a total of some 34,600 tons of relief supplies had been delivered to an estimated 800,000 beneficiaries in 110 locations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been violated by all three parties on nearly 400 occasions since its imposition, it had achieved its principal purpose of preventing the use of air power in military combat. UNPROFOR observers, using AWACS information made available by NATO, had found no evidence to suggest that any party had flown combat air missions, or conducted hostilities from the air, since the interdiction regime was established by the Council.

UNPROFOR’s efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina had been characterised by a regrettable tendency on the part of the host Government to blame it for a variety of shortcomings, whether real or imagined. Criticism of UNPROFOR’s performance had largely been directed at its failure to fulfil tasks that the Force had not been mandated, authorised, equipped, staffed or financed to fulfil. There had been a number of attacks on the Force by the Government and by elements answerable to it, both in public statements and declarations and, more seriously, through violence, resulting in several UNPROFOR fatalities.
As to UNPROFOR’s mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary-General stated that it might need to be altered significantly when the outcome was known of the ongoing talks led by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. US Secretary of State Warren Christopher reported that the US supports the negotiating process coordinated by Vance and Owen and that the US intends to engage more actively in the solution of the Bosnian conflict. US President Bill Clinton decided to appoint Reginald Bartholomew, former US Ambassador to NATO as special envoy of the US in the negotiations of the Bosnian crisis.

The United States administration offered to become ‘actively and directly engaged’ in peace efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and clarified its policy on former Yugoslavia with a series of proposals. Reginald Bartholomew, currently the United States ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, was appointed as the United States special envoy to the international peace talks on former Yugoslavia. The administration expressed serious reservations about certain aspects of the Geneva peace plan drafted in January which, it maintained, rewarded ethnic cleansing.

The United States administration proposed that:

- any peace plan had to be accepted by all parties rather than imposed.
- sanctions should be tightened against Serbia, which had to be dissuaded from spreading the war to Kosovo or Macedonia.
- the no-fly zone over Bosnia had to be enforced by a Security Council Resolution.
- if there were a ‘viable’ agreement on Bosnia, the United States would join with ‘the United Nations, NATO and others’ to enforce it, if necessary by military force.

Izetbegovic generally praises plan.

**February 11**

French forces say they will transport Sarajevo women and children across Sarajevo airstrip to safety. Serbs shell airport in retaliation causing 5 French wounded. Fighting in E. Bosnia.

**February 12**

Boutros-Ghali tells Security Council he may request withdrawal of 14,000 UN troops from Croatia due to renewed fighting there. Bosnian government tells UN it will not accept further aid until eastern Bosnia is also supplied.

Vitaly Churkin, deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation was appointed Russia’s representative in the negotiations of the solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

**February 13**

UN says it will suspend all aid flights into Sarajevo to counter Bosnian governments’ decision. UN commander General Morillon calls Bosnian action ‘a decision to fast to death’. In Moscow, US ambassador Reginald Bartholomew gets pledge of co-operation from Foreign Minister Kozyrev, but parliamentarians tell him they will not support more sanctions against Serbia.
February 14
Serbs block UN relief convoy for Cerska (Eastern Bosnia). Bosnian Muslims launch attack against Serbs in Ilidza district of Sarajevo (near airport) and possibly Lukavica. Heavy fighting near Bratunac, Gorazde, and Srebrenica.

February 15
Sarajevo’s last operating bakery shuts doors due to lack of fuel. 3 killed, 18 wounded in city as result of heavy shelling. City government continues to refuse to distribute UN aid. Heavy fighting continues in Krajina region. Bosnian government now sets death/missing figure at 134,208, 146,158 wounded, and 64,050 as invalids. Serb tanks, mortars pound villages in Eastern Bosnia, killing 19. Cosic denies that Serbs have been systematically raping Muslim women.

February 17
UN calls off relief missions to Muslims saying all sides have made a mockery of humanitarian assistance.

February 19
The Security Council adopted Resolution 807, by which it extended UNPROFOR’s mandate for an interim period until 31 March 1993. The Council demanded that the parties and others concerned comply fully with the United Nations peacekeeping plan in Croatia and their other commitments, and refrain from positioning their forces near the UNPAs and in the ‘pink zones’. It invited the Secretary-General to take all appropriate measures to strengthen the security of the Force, in particular by providing it with the necessary defensive means.

The Council urged the parties and others concerned to co-operate fully with the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in the discussions in order to ensure full implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping mandate in Croatia. It also demanded the full and strict observance of all relevant Security Council Resolutions relating to the mandate and operations of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Boutros-Ghali intervenes in aid crisis and orders aid shipments resumed while rebuking decision of UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata. UN Security Council votes 15-0 to give soldiers in Croatia the right to rearm and fight back when fired upon. Clinton Administration studying plan to use American cargo planes to drop aid to isolated Bosnian towns.

February 21
UN convoy blocked by Serbs finally makes it through to town of Zepa. 18 killed in fighting across Bosnia.

Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in the Rome La Stampa said that the biggest mistake was the international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

February 22
The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 808 on the establishment of an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991.
February 23

Boutros-Ghali meets with Clinton, agree on air-drops as ‘temporary and supplemental to land convoys’. Clinton says ‘there’s no combat implications whatever’. Bosnian Serb Major General Milan Gvero (deputy commander of Serb forces) states that this will ‘bring about the use of massive military force and the escalation of armed clashes’. British welcome plan but decline to join in. US ambassador to UN, Albright says US thinks it already had authorisation for air drops. Critics say the drops from 10,000 feet will be imprecise.

February 24

Yugoslavia military general staff says Clinton plan is intended to create ‘deeper and wider US military involvement’. Karadzic says the plan is ‘dangerous’ and that Muslims will fire on the planes to provoke US action. US says aid will also be dropped over Serb and Croat areas.

February 25

The White House issued an official announcement of President Bill Clinton on the US action for direct delivery of humanitarian aid to endangered population in Eastern Bosnia by parachutes dropped from transport planes. C-130s to fly alone with no military escorts. Bosnian Serb leaders order their troops not to fire on planes.

February 26

New fighting in Sarajevo with Serb shelling of suburb of Stup. Egyptian peacekeeping soldier killed by sniper fire.

February 27

After the expiration of one-year mandate, which he did not extend ‘for private reasons’, Indian General Satish Nambiar, UNPROFOR commander in former Yugoslavia, officially completed his mission. US prepares for first air supply mission by dropping 1 million leaflets telling Muslims that food is coming. Aid inspected by 2 Serbs, 1 Croat, and 1 Muslim.

February 28

Two US Hercules C-130 transport planes, after taking off from the Rhein-Main air force base near Frankfurt, dropped during the night one million flyers over the territory of Eastern Bosnia, explaining to the population the upcoming humanitarian action. Ham radio operators say that 7 villages around Cerska overrun by Serbs. Radio operators also say leaflets miss their mark in Zepa. British newspaper, Observer, reports that Russia signed secret arms deal with Serbs in January worth $360 million to sell Serbs T-55 tanks, anti-aircraft, and anti-missile missiles. Russian technicians and soldiers said to have been sent to operate missile batteries.

March

Fighting intensified in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Bosnian Serb paramilitary units attacking several cities in the area, including Srebrenica. The military attacks resulted in a heavy loss of life among the civilian population and severely impeded United Nations humanitarian relief efforts in the area. In mid-March, UNHCR reported that thousands of Muslims were seeking refuge in Srebrenica from surrounding areas which were being attacked and occupied by Serb forces, and that 30 or 40 persons were dying daily from military action, starvation, exposure to cold or lack of medical treatment.
Bosnian Croats and Muslims begin fighting over the roughly 30% of Bosnia not already in Serb hands.

March 1

Serb tanks fight into Cerska area. 10,000 flee fighting and are trapped on slopes of Mt. Udrc. Despite claims by Aspin and Powell that ‘many of the bundles’ fell in clear drop areas, Pentagon spokesperson says only 1/3rd of aid reaches Muslims, some falling into Serb hands. Intense fighting around Sarajevo area town of Vogosca as Bosnian factions meet at UN in New York for new round of peace talks.

March 2

Newly appointed UNPROFOR commander for the former Yugoslavia, Swedish General Lars Eric Wahlgren, assumed his office. Russia denies Observer report on arms sales. Serb forces overrun Cerska, reports of over 500 civilians killed as Serbs take control. US temporarily ends airdrop after 3rd day. Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev says Jeltsin has ordered plans for Russian airdrop. UN says 19 hamlets fall to Serbs in last 3 days. General Mladic refuses to let UN trucks in to evacuate wounded unless Muslims surrender or agree to leave. UN negotiators deplore the continued fighting while talks proceed.

March 3

Serbs shell refugees in Cerska area. Grenade thrown at US embassy in Belgrade. Defenders of Cerska try to regroup around Srebrenica at eastern edge of region. Local Bosnian government officials say American airdrops responsible for pulling defenders off front lines. 17,000-20,000 flee area to Konjevic Polje and say they will surrender to Serbs. Airdrop to Konjevic Polje hits target according to radio operator.

March 4

In open letter to American people, Karadzic attempts to connect World Trade Center bombing to America’s exposure to terrorism, later disavows this. Clinton says Karadzic ‘made a terrible mistake’ and that the American people can’t afford to be afraid. UN to be allowed to have access to Cerska region and Mladic says a corridor will be opened.

March 5

Negotiations break down in New York over areas to be given to each group. Izetbegovic and Karadzic did not accept or signed a part of the Vance-Owen peace plan referring to the maps. Clinton proposes tighter sanctions, including total isolation embargo against Yugoslavia as result of the Cerska offensive, but this is opposed by Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania since they would be affected.

March 6

General Morillon, visiting Cerska and Konjevic Polje, says there have been no atrocities. Muslims criticise his comments saying that he only visited Cerska battle area for half an hour.

March 8

Bosnian commander orders counter-attack by government troops against Serbs. Mladic agrees to let women, children, and elderly leave Konjevic Polje and Srebrenica. Last Muslim town in Cerska area, Udrc, falls to Serbs. Shelling of Konjevic Polje continues.
March 9
Serb forces advance on Srebrenica along with continuous shelling. Serbs seize hills around Serb-held town of Bratunac (6 miles north of Srebrenica). WHO doctor says 30 dying daily in Srebrenica.

March 10
US urges allies to accept 50,000 troop NATO intervention force for peacekeeping after cease fire is arranged, but French object to US control and say UN should be in charge. US would possibly contribute 20,000.

March 11
Mrs. Ogata reported to the Security Council that 3.8 million people were receiving assistance in the whole of the former Yugoslavia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina alone, some 2.28 million people, or half of the original population, were beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance from UNHCR, and the situation there was still deteriorating. UNHCR's biggest concern remained gaining humanitarian access to the victims, especially to those in the Government-held enclaves in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina where access had in many instances been denied altogether. She said the enormous suffering and devastation in the former Yugoslavia underscored the critical importance of an immediate cessation of hostilities. Civilians fleeing Serbs from Konjevic Polje flood Srebrenica, which has been under siege for 11 months, bringing population to 60,000. UN General Morillon unable to reach Srebrenica with aid convoy. Muslims in Konjevic Polje detain British members of UN peacekeeping force to protest Serb refusals to allow evacuation of wounded. Talks between Mitterand, Milosevic and Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on former Yugoslavia Vance and Owen on ‘peaceful denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, in particular the Bosnian conflict’ held in Paris at the initiative of the French President.

March 12
12 British held captive in Konjevic Polje released. Serbs fire on civilians in town killing at least 16, say they were retaliating for Muslims shelling nearby villages. General Morillon detained in Srebrenica by civilians.

March 13
Morillon says he will stay in Srebrenica denying he is being held captive, says he will stay to calm the population, and that Serbs should immediately halt their offensive. Serbs block aid convoys trying to get into Sarajevo, keep Muslim legislators from reaching city for debate on draft peace agreement.

March 14
Srebrenica shelled. Konjevic Polje still under siege.

March 15
Konjevic Polje falls. Morillon gains conditional agreement from Serbs to stop shelling of Srebrenica. Serb military says it will open corridor to Srebrenica to allow evacuation of wounded. Conflicts with Serb chief-of-staff Manojlo Milovanovic who says it won’t happen as long as Morillon remains.
**March 16**

The Secretary-General reported that three aircraft dropped bombs on two villages east of Srebrenica on 13 March, before leaving in the direction of Serbia. It was the first time since the Security Council instituted the ‘no-fly zone’ in Bosnia and Herzegovina that aircraft were used in combat activity in that country. UNPROFOR was not able to determine to whom the aircraft belonged.

**March 17**

The Security Council strongly condemned all violations of its relevant Resolutions and underlined the fact that since the beginning of the monitoring operations in early November 1992, the United Nations had reported 465 violations of the ‘no-fly zone’. The Council demanded from the Bosnian Serbs an immediate explanation of the violations and particularly of the aerial bombardment of the two villages east of Srebrenica, and requested the Secretary-General to ensure that an investigation was made of the reported possible use of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to launch air strikes against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The United Nations issued a revised Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the period from 1 April to 31 December 1993. The Appeal called for $840 million as new funding requirements in addition to the nearly $496 million already spent or committed in the former Yugoslavia since the beginning of the emergency operation in November 1991.

**March 18**

At the scheduled continuation of negotiations on the solving of the Bosnian crisis at the UN headquarters in New York Izetbegovic told Co-Chairmen on the Conference on Yugoslavia that he would not attend the continuation of negotiations ‘because of attack of Serbian forces on Sarajevo and Srebrenica’.

Serbs continue to hold up aid convoy to Srebrenica. Shelling of Sarajevo intensifies along with Serb tank assaults on western part of city. UN Secretary Council agrees in principal to enforce no-fly zone.

**March 19**

First aid convoy in three months reaches Srebrenica. Serbs shell town hours before convoy, killing 2 children, 2 adults. Serbs also shell Tuzla airport and nearby town of Kalesija. Bosnian government says dead/missing toll in war now 134,000.

**March 20**

680 wounded Muslims evacuated by UN from Srebrenica to Tuzla. Morillon accompanies convoy to assure safe passage, then returns to Srebrenica. thousands attempting to flee town mob UN forces.

**March 21**

Morillon negotiates evacuation of Serbs from Tuzla in exchange for more Muslims leaving Srebrenica. France says it will take part in airdrops.

**March 22**

Karadzic promises to open escape corridor from Srebrenica.
March 23

French and British helicopters to begin lifting out wounded from Srebrenica in response to Karadzic promise. Serbs hold up aid convoys going to Sarajevo, Zepa including French military hospital heading for Srebrenica. Fighting continues near Zadar, Dubrovnik, and in Serb-held Trebinje in south.

March 24

Serbs shell 3 French helicopters trying to evacuate wounded from Srebrenica prompting mission to be halted. Serbs deny responsibility saying UN trying to infiltrate soldiers into Srebrenica to ‘save Muslim criminals who committed genocide against the Serb population’.

March 25

Report of the Secretary General on the Activities of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia presented the activities of Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Vance and Owen during the past seven months, positions of three parties in conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the integral text of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan. In his report to the Council, the Secretary-General stated that while some progress had been made in these talks, fundamental differences remained between the two sides. Having said that more time would be needed to bring the negotiations to a meaningful conclusion, he recommended the extension of UNPROFOR’s mandate for a further interim period of three months.

Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Owen and Vance presented a modified peace plan for Bosnia, with minor corrections of provincial maps of provinces and an annex on interim arrangements and offered it to the delegations of Bosnian Serbs, Muslims and Croats for adoption. Boban, representative of Bosnian Croats, and Izetbegovic signed the Plan. Karadzic, Bosnian Serb leader, refused to sign, since he considered the proposed maps unacceptable for Serbs, while the section on the organisation in the interim period, according to Karadzic is a recreation of the former Presidency and government that provoked war and that Serbian people refused.

March 26

The UN Security Council issued a presidency communiqué which stresses that ‘the Security Council supports the action of parties that signed the Peace Plan and invites the Bosnian Serbs who failed to do so to sign without delay’.

Agreement was reached in Belgrade on cease-fire in the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, to come into force on 28 March at 12 noon. The agreement was reached between General Mladic and Milan Gvero, and highest UNPROFOR officials Wahlgren, Morillon, Thornberry and UNHCR envoy Mendiluce. General Wahlgren departed for Zagreb to ensure agreement on the observance of cease-fire by the commanders of other two warring parties.

Serbs declare cease-fire to go into effect on Sunday, March 28. Bosnian Defence Minister, Bozo Rajic, says he has no faith in it and was not told about it in advance.

Clinton says International community growing in impatience with Serbs and that allies are eager to enforce no-fly zone.

March 28

The cease-fire agreement, after being approved by the Muslim and Croatian parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina, came into force and with minor exceptions is observed throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher stated that ‘it is not unlikely that some changes would be made in the text of the Vance-Owen Plan toward the demands of the Serbian side’. However, if Serbs
do not sign the Plan, new steps in terms of pressure on the Bosnian Serbs, Serbia and Montenegro will be undertaken in consultation with the allies.

German plane joins US, French planes in dropping aid over Srebrenica. Aid convoy finally reaches town.

March 29

UN convoy that was to take 650 out of Srebrenica instead arrives in Tuzla with 2,346.

March 30

The Security Council, by adopting its Resolution 815, extended the mandate of UNPROFOR for an additional interim period until 30 June 1993. It also decided to reconsider within one month, or at any time at the request of the Secretary-General, UNPROFOR’s mandate in light of developments of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the situation on the ground. The Council requested the Secretary-General to report to it on how the United Nations peace plan for Croatia could be effectively implemented.

Dobrica Cosic, President of FR Yugoslavia addressed the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security of the European Parliament in Brussels, presenting his analysis of the Yugoslav crisis, its causes and ways to the solution.

Bosnian military court condemns to death 2 Serbs who admitted to committing war atrocities.

March 31

The Security Council adopted its Resolution 816, by which it extended the ban on military flights to cover flights by all fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council authorised Member States, seven days after the adoption of the Resolution, acting nationally or through regional arrangements, to take, under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close co-ordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR, ‘all necessary measures’ in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina to ensure compliance with the ban on flights, and proportionate to the specific circumstances and the nature of flights. UNPROFOR’s mandate, due to expire on 31st March was extended for a further three months. At the same time, President Tudjman continued to call for the implementation of the 1992 United Nations peace-keeping plan for Serb-occupied Croatian territory.

Despite cease-fire Srebrenica again under attack. UN evacuation of 2,000 to Tuzla results in 4 children being crushed or trampled to death. 1 child rescued by Bosnian Serb soldier after falling off of truck. Bosnian military checkpoint stops convoy for 2 hours and tries to prevent people from leaving the area.

April

Despite strong political pressure from the international community and the Security Council, and the efforts by UNPROFOR and UNHCR in the field, the fighting persisted and the humanitarian situation in the area continued to deteriorate.

The Clinton administration, conscious of public opposition to direct military intervention, started to express the view that the arms embargo on Bosnian Muslims should be lifted while allied air strikes might be used to reinforce sanctions and diplomatic pressure.

April 1

Vitaly Churkin, Russia’s special envoy in negotiations on Yugoslavia, talked about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina with Cosic, President of FR Yugoslavia, Milosevic, President of Serbia, Radoje Kontic, federal Prime Minister, and Vladislav Jovanovic, federal minister for Foreign Affairs.
Serbs refuse to allow new aid convoys into Srebrenica, but say they will let people leave. UN says it will not participate in this form of ethnic cleansing. Clinton urges Serbs to sign peace plan, calls ethnic cleansing an ‘outrage’.

April 2

NATO endorsed the enforcement of a United Nations-imposed no-fly zone over Bosnia, but it laid down strict rules of engagement with Serbian military aircraft, with the provision that those violating the ban would first be warned off and only if the warning were ignored would they then be shot at. Yugoslavia Prime-Minister, Radoje Kontic, calls no-fly enforcement a ‘major error that could lead to an escalation of war’.

April 3

Bosnian government says it will end cease-fire if West doesn’t force Serbs to sign peace plan. UN says Serbs shell Srebrenica, wounding two of their officers, violating cease-fire.

Bosnian Serb parliament, meeting in Bileca, reject Karadzic’s proposal that the Vance-Owen plan is a good basis for agreement. The Assembly did not accept the part of the plan on maps, supported the continuation of the peace process through direct negotiations of parties in conflict, condemned the policy of pressures and punishment and warned that it would stop all co-operation with international institutions if such policy of punishment for the Serbian People continued.

April 4

The Government of FR Yugoslavia reviewed the results of the session of the Assembly of Republika Srpska in Bileca. The Government believes that the adopted Declaration confirms that Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina are firmly committed to continue the peace process, that the Vance-Owen Plan is a good base for further negotiations and that remaining unsettled issues referring to maps need not jeopardise the peace process.

Muslim forces bar further evacuation of Srebrenica to prevent it being weakened under Serb pressure.

Government reports at least 23 deaths from artillery and small-arms fire in previous 24 hours.

April 5

Srebrenica under intense attack. Bosnian government military leader boycotts peace talks at Sarajevo airport due to continuing attacks on Srebrenica. US says it will press for lifting arms embargo. Western European Union agrees to send patrol boats, police, and custom officials to Danube to enforce UN sanctions.

April 6

Officials in Srebrenica continue to refuse refugee evacuation. On anniversary of war Milosevic warns that sanctions only make the situation worse. Talks held with Greek Prime-Minister Mitsotakis.

Karadzic to head to Moscow for talks with Russian hard-liners.

Delegation of the Republic of Croatia and Republika Srpska Krajina signed in Geneva the Agreement on the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 802. The Agreements stipulates cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of armed forces of the Republic of Croatia to the demarcation lines before the outbreak of hostilities on 22 January 1993 and right of all for civilian use of the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik airport, Perucca dam and side roads. This agreement is due to come into force when Co-Chairmen on the Conference on Yugoslavia receive assurances of acceptance from all parties.
April 7

Leaders in Srebrenica approve evacuations. Morillon goes back to help deploy UN peacekeepers, Serbs express disapproval of his efforts. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, Vitaly Churkin meets Milosevic and Karadzic in Belgrade with reported new peace initiative.

April 8

The North Atlantic Council approved NATO’s plans for the enforcement of the ban and notified the UN of their willingness to undertake the operation.

World Court appeals to Yugoslavia to end genocide and take responsibility for actions of troops inside Bosnia (Russian justice on court casts lone dissenting vote). Court does not allow for lifting of International arms embargo for Bosnia-Herzegovina. At UN Russia refuses tougher American-sponsored sanctions against Yugoslavia. Morillon unable to enter Srebrenica due to crowd of angry Serbs. Serbs searching UN relief truck claim to have found ammunition hidden beneath flour sacks, TV Serbia on hand to film the discovery. UN says it was placed there to discredit UN mission.

The Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that representatives of the Government of Croatia and the Serb local authorities had signed, on 6 April, an agreement regarding the implementation of Resolution 802.

The agreement was to enter into force when the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia received from both parties assurances regarding the stationing of police in the areas from which the Croatian Government’s armed forces were withdrawn, and their agreement that UNPROFOR should exclusively fulfil all police functions in those areas during an interim period. The Croats orally gave that assurance at the time of signature. The Serb assurance required the approval of their Assembly. That approval was not forthcoming and the agreement therefore did not enter into force.

Macedonia is admitted to the United Nations under its provisional name ‘Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia’.

The German constitutional court in Karlsruhe authorises the participation of German military in NATO’s AWACS operations, controlling air space in order to help apply the no-fly zone over Bosnia for Serbian aircraft.

April 9

The Secretary-General transmitted to the Security Council a letter from the Secretary General of NATO informing him that the North Atlantic Council had adopted the ‘necessary arrangements’ to ensure compliance with the ban on military flights and that it was prepared to begin the operation at noon GMT on 12 April 1993. Wörner also reported that France, the Netherlands, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States had offered to make aircraft available for the operation. In order to commence the enforcement on time, aircraft from France, the Netherlands and the United States were initially deployed in the region and liaison cells were established at UNPROFOR’s headquarters in Zagreb and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kiseljak). In addition, UNPROFOR would send a liaison team to the command headquarters of the NATO countries concerned.

The UNPROFOR Force Commander assessed the additional resources required to implement the agreement and recommended that UNPROFOR be augmented by two mechanised infantry battalions of some 900 all ranks each, one engineer company of up to 150 troops all ranks, and 50 additional military observers. The Secretary-General recommended that, once the agreement entered into force, the Security Council approve the recommended changes to UNPROFOR’s strength and mandate.
April 11

Clinton advisory group sent to Bosnia in February urges Administration in draft report to seriously consider use of force saying humanitarian efforts of little utility if the conflict itself is not ended. Report encourages creation of ‘safe Areas’ in areas where shelling of local populations is purposeful, and will require force to protect these areas. Pentagon and AID suggested to help UN forces.

UN Security Council accepted Russia’s proposal to postpone voting on introduction of new stricter sanctions toward FR Yugoslavia, to give opportunity to the Bosnian Serbs to sign the Peace Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

April 12

NATO fighters from France, the Netherlands and the United States started to enforce the ‘no-fly’ zone as authorised by Resolution 816.

In the United Nations Security Council, the United States was instrumental in bringing about a decision to postpone the vote on tighter sanctions against Serbia until after the Russian referendum on 25th April, conscious that President Jeltsin was facing hard-line opposition from pro-Serbian conservatives. Serbs shell Srebrenica, killing 56 (including 15 children) in defiance. Sarajevo also shelled. French plane crashes in Adriatic due to mechanical problems. Serb General Mladic refuses to let UN soldiers enter Srebrenica (Morillon wants to put 150 Canadians in town to prevent Serb attack).

April 13

UN officials in Bosnia denounce previous day’s Serb attack on Srebrenica in uncharacteristically harsh terms saying it was an atrocity. Karadzic says shelling was response to Muslim violations of cease-fire. Serb Deputy Commander of militia denies there was any shelling and says Muslims faked explosions to make UN believe there was an attack. 800 refugees leave Srebrenica bringing total to 8,000 in recent weeks. 8 killed in new attack after convoy leaves. 7 children die during convoy trip to Tuzla. Margaret Thatcher blasts western states for their responses to Serb aggression calling it appeasement.

April 14

US special envoy Reginald Bartholemew, in Belgrade for talks with Milosevic, warns Serbs to stop the war now or US will press for lifting arms embargo regarding Bosnia. Russians convince Security Council to put off new sanctions until April 26 (after Russian referendum). Serb attacks against Srebrenica now sporadic, Karadzic continues to deny that Serbs shelled town on Monday. Bosnian and Croat troops fight in central Bosnia.

April 15

Gallup Poll finds that 61% of Britons want International force sent to Bosnia to impose peace, and 67% want British troops included.

April 16

The Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, adopted Resolution 819, in which it demanded that all parties treat Srebrenica and its surroundings as a ‘safe Area’ which should be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act. It demanded the immediate withdrawal of Bosnian Serb paramilitary units from areas surrounding Srebrenica and the cessation of armed attacks against that town. The Council requested the Secretary-General to take steps to increase the presence of UNPROFOR in Srebrenica and to arrange for the safe transfer of the ill and wounded, and demanded
the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Bosnia and Hercegovina, in particular to the civilian population of Srebrenica.

By other provisions of the Resolution, the Council condemned and rejected the deliberate actions of the Bosnian Serb party to force the evacuation of civilians from Srebrenica and other parts of Bosnia and Hercegovina in its campaign of ‘ethnic cleansing’. It also decided to send a mission of Council members to ascertain, firsthand, the situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Clinton now says that the US should consider intervening in ways previously thought unacceptable. Armed conflict between the Serbian and Muslim forces broke out in Srebrenica. Serb forces said to be only 1,000 yards from centre of Srebrenica as attacks continue. Over 50 persons were killed. This most serious violation of cease-fire in Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to some sources, was provoked by Serbs, who shelled Srebrenica with heavy artillery. According to the report by General Lars Eric Wahlgren, UNPROFOR commander in the former Yugoslavia, submitted to the UN headquarters, cease-fire was first violated by the Muslim forces, causing return fire from the Serbian forces stationed in the vicinity of Srebrenica.

Renewed fighting between Croats and Muslims in central Bosnia.

April 17

General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Republika Srpska Army and General Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Bosnian Muslim forces, in the presence of General Lars Eric Wahlgren as a mediator, at the meeting held at the Sarajevo airport, concluded an agreement on complete cease-fire in the Srebrenica area and demilitarisation of Srebrenica, i.e. that Muslim forces turn over all their weapons to UNPROFOR within 72 hours. A Canadian unit within UNPROFOR was appointed to monitor the implementation of the agreement.

Last attack by Serbs kills dozens, estimates for total dead reach 5,000. 150-man Canadian force to be allowed into Srebrenica to demilitarise city.

The UN Security Council approved its Resolution 820, which strengthened the previous Resolutions 713, 757 and 787 to include additional restrictions to the merchant traffic to and from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) if Bosnian Serbs within nine days fail to sign the Vance-Owen peace plan. The Resolution contains a detailed description of all measures that will be undertaken toward FR Yugoslavia, and steps that would ensure strict enforcement of the decision on the blockade of FR Yugoslavia. The Resolution invites all states to strictly enforce these measures and calls upon them to bring proceedings against persons and entities violating the mentioned measures. In the Resolution, the Security Council further undertakes ‘after all three Bosnian parties have accepted the peace plan and on the basis of verified evidence, provided by the Secretary General, that the Bosnian Serb party is co-operating in good faith in effective implementation of the plan, to review all measures in the present Resolution and its other relevant Resolutions with a view to gradually lifting them.’

The Government of FR Yugoslavia issued a statement commenting the Security Council Resolution 820, in which it ‘concludes with regrets that the Security Council, under the pressure of some of its members and under the influence of biased information, decided to increase pressure on FRY’.

Denying some statements in the Resolution and explaining the activities undertaken by FRY toward ‘cessation of armed conflict and establishment of just and lasting peace’, the Government of FRY stresses that it ‘remains firmly devoted to peaceful policy and political overcoming of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis on the basis of equal recognition of legitimate rights of all three constituent peoples. In this sense, FRY will continue to closely co-operate with the UN and its representatives.’

On the occasion of Resolution 820 Karadzic said that if announced sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro are implemented, Bosnian Serbs ‘will abandon peace negotiations and conference on the former Bosnia-Hercegovina’.

British Labour Party leader, John Smith, calls for bombing Serbian targets. Bartholemew leaves London frustrated by the Prime-Minister John Major’s downplaying military options.
April 18

Lord Owen says if Bosnian Serbs refuse to sign plan he would personally favour bombing Serbian positions. French, Italian, and Belgian government officials now saying military force may be necessary. Croatian forces (HVO) bomb mosque in town of Vitez, massacre villagers. British peacekeepers confined to barracks due to ferocity of attacks which leave 150 dead.

April 20

Clinton Administration holds top-level meetings with Foreign political advisors, Democrats, and Jewish leaders to try to arrive at a Bosnian policy. Senator Judiciary Committee chair Joseph Biden calls for immediate air strikes against Serb artillery. Cease-fire agreed on between Croats and Muslims, but does not hold.

Two Nato fighter aircraft patrolling the no-fly zone investigated a radar contact near Banja Luka. The contact landed before visual identification could be performed.

Violent conflicts in central and western Bosnia near Vitez, Kiseljak, Jablanica, Mostar and Konjic between members of the Croatian Defence Council and Muslim forces.

April 21

UNPROFOR Commander reported that 170 troops, civilian police and military observers had been deployed in Srebrenica to collect weapons, ammunition, mines, explosives and combat supplies and that by noon on 21 April they had successfully demilitarised the town.

Croat-Muslim fighting intensifies in Travnik-Vitez-Zenica-Kiseljak area. Karadzic refuses to meet with Owen in Belgrade.

April 22 to 27

As requested in Resolution 819, the Security Council’s fact-finding mission, composed of representatives of France, Hungary, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Russian Federation and Venezuela, visited the region.

April 22

The UN Security Council discussed the latest hostilities between Muslim and Croatian units. It adopted a presidency communiqué, expressing ‘grave concern and consternation of the Council’ and ‘most strongly condemning this new outburst of violence which jeopardises all efforts to maintain cease-fire and achieve political solution of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and therefore urges Bosnian government forces and Croatian paramilitary units to immediately stop hostilities and strictly observe the cease-fire agreement.

Six NATO fighter aircraft patrolling the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina in Operation DENY FLIGHT investigated three radar contacts. The first radar contact was investigated by two Dutch F-16s but the aircraft landed before visual identification could be performed. The other two contacts could also not be visually identified.

April 23

Declaration of the Federal Yugoslav Assembly assessed sanctions as ‘an act which constitutes a direct attack on the sovereignty of FR Yugoslavia and grave infringement of all international legal and political documents on human rights and humanitarian norms’. The Assembly emphasises that FRY is not a belligerent party in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that when deciding to tighten the existing sanctions and to impose new ones, the Security Council utterly neglected Yugoslavia’s continuing
peace-finding efforts and contributions. The Assembly considers that it is most important now to establish peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to end negotiations on all open issues of the Vance-Owen Plan.

At the session of the Assembly of Republika Srpska in Novi Grad, the deputies condemned UN Security Council Resolution 820 as ‘an unjust and genocide act’. The Assembly did not take a definite stand toward the Vance-Owen Plan, and instead authorised Karadzic to demand in direct contact with Owen certain concessions and find solution that would be acceptable to Serbs. Karadzic says concessions must be made.

Clinton says bombing Serb artillery should be considered to halt Serbs, but not by acting unilaterally. Senator Minister Leader Dole says arms embargo should be lifted.

April 24

Karadzic rejects compromise on peace plan contending that Serbs need a corridor in the north to connect Serbian gains and stated that ‘the maps are so bad that they cannot be corrected, they must be changed’. Owen angrily leaves meeting with Karadzic as Serb leader refused to compromise. New truce and joint commission and established between Croats and Muslims, but fighting continues around Busovaca.

At the joint session in Novi Grad, deputies of Republika Srpska and Republika Srpska Krajina decided on the establishment of the common assembly of RS and RSK, which represents ‘a further step toward unification of western Serbian republics’.

April 25

In the talks in Belgrade with participation of Presidents Cosic, Milosevic and Bulatovic, Owen and Karadzic, the latter did not accept the suggestion by the three Presidents to sign the corrected Vance-Owen Peace Plan. Final meeting between Owen and Karadzic a failure. Karadzic travels to Bijelina to report to Bosnian Serb parliament blaming the situation on Vance-Owen plan.

European governments with troops involved in United Nations operations on the ground were opposed to such steps and EU Foreign Ministers took the view that lifting the arms embargo might escalate and prolong the conflict. Only Germany supported lifting the arms ban. The United Kingdom government stated that limited air strikes on Serb supply and communication lines would remain as the ‘least worst’ option.

At the same meeting, EU ministers reinforced their commitment to make tougher United Nations sanctions work by agreeing to double the number of EU sanctions monitors.

NATO fighter aircraft patrolling the no-fly zone investigated three radar contacts. Two Dutch F-16s were vectored to the first contact. The other contacts were also investigated by Dutch F-16s.

April 26

After unsuccessful talks and refusal of Karadzic to sign the Vance-Owen Plan, Presidents Cosic, Milosevic and Bulatovic early in the morning (2 a.m.) via Federal Foreign Minister Jovanovic, sent a message to the Assembly of Republika Srpska in Bijeljina in which they presented the essence of changes to the Peace Plan agreed with Owen and the obtained guarantees. The three Presidents expressed their ‘firm belief that the remaining unsettled issues of the so-called Interim Arrangements and maps could be solved more successfully through the procedure set out in the Plan, than by its refusal and continuation of confrontation and bloodshed.’ ‘At the time when equality and right to decision-making by consensus are guaranteed to you as a constituent nation, as well as the proposed territories, you have no right, reads the message, to endanger 10 million citizens of Yugoslavia and expose them to international sanctions for the sake of the remaining open issues, which are far less significant than the achieved results.’
Slightly before the deadline set by the Security Council Resolution 820 the Assembly of Republika Srpska unanimously refused the demand for signing the Vance-Owen Peace Plan. The Assembly issued an appeal to the Serbian people, calling on them to ‘resolutely stand guard of the homeland, close the ranks and bring struggle to the close’. The Assembly decided to schedule a referendum at which the citizens of Republika Srpska would have their say about the Vance-Owen Plan. The new regime of blockade and economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia automatically came into force at 6 AM on 26 April 1993.

Clinton signs executive order freezing American business interests in Serbia and Montenegro, and all Yugoslavia assets in US.

April 27

The Secretary-General reported to the Council that on 24 March the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) had been requested to provide any information relevant to the incidents east of Srebrenica. The only response received was a note verbale conveying a statement by the Government of that country, in which it stated that ‘airplanes and helicopters of the Air Forces of the Army of Yugoslavia have not violated the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina since the no-fly zone came into effect’.

At a meeting with NATO senior military officials in Brussels, General Powell made it clear that the United States government would not contemplate military action without specific authority from the United Nations. On the same occasion, the Chairman of NATO’s Military Committee insisted that western political leaders should first specify their political objectives in Bosnia before advocating any kind of military action.

New Serb offensive opened in NW Bosnia in Bihac pocket. 1,000 Serbs with tanks invade region from across Croatian border. UN General Wahlgren, commander of Protection Force instructs French battalion to protect the Muslim population by standing on top of houses if necessary to prevent them from being targeted. UN official speculates that Serb force is made up of old men who want to keep Milosevic from trading Krajina region for Slavonia.

Russian President Jeltsin stated that Russia ‘will not protect those who confront the entire international community’ and that ‘the party which refuses to endorse the peace plan documents must assume the burden of responsibility’. Jeltsin expressed his hope that Bosnian Serbs, unlike their Assembly, will opt at the referendum for a ‘better balanced solution’. US Secretary of State Christopher tells Congress that he is ‘personally quite prepared to see the US use force’ but only under ‘severe tests’.

A Dutch F-16 noted a slow moving radar contact, which was confirmed by a second Dutch F-16. There was no positive identification. The second radar contact was also investigated by Dutch F-16s with a similar result.

April 28

At a press conference in Belgrade, President of FR Yugoslavia Cosic proposed urgent convoking of an international conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, with participation of three belligerent parties, FR Yugoslavia, Croatia, heads of state or government of the five permanent Security Council members and of India, Egypt, Brazil and Zimbabwe. Secretary General of the United Nations and Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia should also participate.

With majority vote, the Assembly of Serbia adopted as its Declaration the message sent on 26 April by three Presidents Cosic, Milosevic and Bulatovic, to the deputies of the Assembly of Republika Srpska. The also appealed to the deputies of the Republika Srpska to ‘once again, without haste and with additional information, reconsider their decision’.

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 821, reaffirming that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) cannot continue automatically the membership of the former Socialist Federal
Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations, and therefore recommended to the General Assembly that FR Yugoslavia shall not participate in the work of the Economic and Social Council. The North Atlantic Council decided to support the implementation of Resolution 820, prohibiting all commercial traffic from entering the territorial sea of the Federal republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) except on a case-by-case basis by the Committee established by Resolution 724 or in case of force majeure.

April 29

Karadzic and Krajisnik, the Speaker of the Assembly of Republika Srpska, accepted the proposal by Milosevic and the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia to schedule a session of the Assembly of Republika Srpska, at which all aspects of the proposed Vance-Owen plan would be discussed. The session was scheduled for 5 May 1993. President of FR Yugoslavia Cosic sent special messages to US President Bill Clinton and President of Russia Jeltsin. Messages refer to the diplomatic initiative of Cosic to convene an international conference on peaceful solution to the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. UN Secretary General informed the President of the Security Council on the initiative put forward by the Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Owen and Vance to convene an international conference for the solution of the Bosnian crisis in Athens, on 1 May 1993. The NATO maritime forces operating in the Adriatic Sea started enforcing Resolution 820.

April 30

US President Clinton, after long consultations with political and military advisers, decided on ‘possible military engagement’ in Bosnia-Herzegovina unless peaceful solution to the Bosnian crisis is reached. Secretary of State Christopher set out on a several-day ‘ally enlisting’ mission for President Clinton’s plan. The trip includes visits to London, Moscow, Paris, Madrid, Rome, Brussels and Bonn.

April 30

Karadzic says he won’t sign accord unless concessions are made to Serbs.

May

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was further aggravated when intense fighting between the Muslim and Bosnian Croat forces erupted in central Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite the calls by the Security Council, efforts of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee and UNPROFOR, hostilities between the two former allies continued. The fighting intermittently blocked the main supply routes for humanitarian assistance into northern Bosnia, and further restricted the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR and UNHCR in the area. In this connection, UNPROFOR and UNHCR initiated a humanitarian ‘Operation Lifeline’ to keep the main routes open to help ensure the survival of up to 2.7 million people in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the winter.

May 1

Thorvald Stoltenberg, a former Norwegian Foreign Minister, replaced Vance as UN Representative and Co-Chairman of ICFY. More shelling of Sarajevo kills 8. Christopher goes to Europe for consultations with allies, says US response involves strategic interests, and that US is now willing to use air power but only with European support.
May 1-2

An international conference on the Bosnian crisis held in Athens. In addition to the host, Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis, the participants included Presidents Cosic, Milosevic, Bulatovic and Tudjman, leaders of three ethnic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina Karadzic, Boban and Izetbegovic. Newly appointed Co-Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia Stoltenberg, and US and Russian envoys for the former Yugoslavia Bartholomew and Churkin joined Owen and Vance, who convened the conference. At the end of the meeting and under strong pressure Karadzic signed the Vance-Owen Peace Plan, on condition that the Assembly of Republika Srpska at its session on 5 May supports the decision.

May 2

Christopher meets with British Prime-Minister Major, but Britain is opposed to arming Muslims. Serb offensives continue throughout Bosnia particularly in Gorazde.

May 3

In a press release issued after the UN Security Council session it was stated that ‘members of the Security Council welcome the success achieved in Athens and the fact that now all three parties in the Bosnian conflict accepted the Vance-Owen Peace Plan’. The statement further emphasised that the Security Council will review further preparatory actions necessary for the implementation of the Plan in practice.

May 4

The Federal Government of FR Yugoslavia assessed the signing of the Vance-Owen Plan by Karadzic as ‘a reasonable and thoughtful decision’, expecting that it would be ratified by the parliament of Republika Srpska.
Croatian side agreed with the subsequently demanded guarantee of the delegation of the Republika Srpska Krajina, which was its condition to accept the Agreement on the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 802. If the Assembly of the Srpska Krajina adopts the signed Agreement, cease-fire will come into force within four days, and within 10 days the Croatian forces would withdraw to the positions prior to 22 January.

May 5

Co-Chairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia Vance turned over his duty to the newly appointed Co-Chairman, Stoltenberg.

May 5-6

The Assembly of Republika Srpska, held on Mt. Jahorina, discussed the verification of Karadzic’s signature on the Vance-Owen Peace Plan. The session was attended by Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis, Presidents Cosic, Milosevic and Bulatovic, who appealed to the deputies to accept the Plan. After a 17-hour debate, in early hours of 6 May by vote of 51-2 (12 abstentions), and despite warnings from Mitsotakis, Milosevic and others, the deputies refused to endorse the signature. The Assembly confirmed its earlier Bijeljina decision to hold a referendum on 15 and 16 May.

May 6

Having considered the Security Council’s fact-finding mission report and recommendations, the Security Council adopted Resolution 824, in which it declared that, in addition to Srebrenica, Sarajevo
and other such threatened areas, the towns of Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac and their surroundings, should be treated as Safe Areas. The Council declared that in those areas armed attacks must cease, all Bosnian Serb military or paramilitary units must withdraw and all parties must allow UNPROFOR and the international humanitarian agencies free and unimpeded access to all Safe Areas. It authorised the strengthening of UNPROFOR's mandate by an additional 50 military observers to monitor the humanitarian situation in those areas.

The Government of Serbia stressed that 'the decision of the Assembly of Republika Srpska to shift the final decision on the Vance-Owen Plan to the people is an irresponsible act'. The Government assessed that since conditions for peace have been created, economic exhaustion of Serbia is becoming unacceptable and unjustified. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia decided to seal its border to Bosnia for strategic materials, except food and medicines.

Clinton calls Serb decision 'grave disappointment', and referendum a delaying tactic to consolidate gains. Says Yugoslavia decision to cut off all but humanitarian supplies to Bosnian Serbs a 'good start'.

May 8

Kontic, Prime Minister of FR Yugoslavia, sent a letter to the UN Secretary General, Security Council President, Prime Ministers of the five permanent Security Council members, Co-Chairmen of the Conference onFormer Yugoslavia Owen and Stoltenberg and President of the Turkish government Demirel. Kontic emphasised that 'consequences of the possible military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be disastrous and unforeseeable' and therefore appealed for resistance to the 'risky war option' and that all efforts and influence should be focused to the continuation of the negotiating process.

General Mladic, commander of the Republika Srpska Army and General Sefer Halilovic, commander of the army in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the presence of General Morillon, signed a cease-fire agreement on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina along the demarcation lines between the Serb and Muslim forces. The cease-fire and cessation of all armed activities came into force on 9 May at 12 noon. They also signed an agreement on the establishment of Safe Areas in Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde, in accordance with the Security Council Resolution 824.

Clinton tells Christopher to begin new round of negotiations with European allies. Danish Prime-Minister Rasmussen supports Clinton’s call for action. Serb forces attack Zepa despite designation by UN as Safe Area. UN gets Muslims and Serbs to accept demilitarisation of Srebrenica and Zepa. Morillon to send troops to Zepa and Gorazde.

May 9

Truce goes into effect between Muslims and Serbs in E.Bosnia, but new fighting breaks out in Mostar as Croats attack Muslims and evict women and children from their homes. Izetbegovic calls on Tudjman to help resolve conflict, says that 100 trucks with troops from Croatia heading to Bosnian town of Kojnice. Croats attacking to get more land before UN peace plan goes into effect. UN military observers reach Zepa, find evidence of massacres, town reportedly nearly deserted.

May 10

The Security Council held an emergency meeting to discuss the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the offensive of Croatian paramilitary formations against the Bosnian Muslims in the Mostar region. In a communiqué the Council expressed grave concern and most severe condemnation of this action by the Bosnian Croats and demanded that hostilities in the Mostar region stop immediately and the Croatian paramilitary formations withdraw.

UN peacekeeping force of 100 reaches Zepa where fighting has ebbed. Croats carrying out ethnic cleansing in Mostar, UN reports.
May 11
Croats continue their attack in Muslim old quarter of Mostar, attempt to push Muslims to east bank of Neretva River. Izetbegovic appeals to UN to make Mostar a Safe Area. Milosevic tells Bosnian Serbs they should cancel planned referendum and ratify peace accord, but Serb leaders reject request. Bosnian Foreign Minister Silajdzic calls on UN to remove its 9,000 troops/aid workers from Bosnia.

May 12
Cease-fire agreed on by Muslims and Croats at Medjugorje, but fighting continues in Mostar. UN aid operations chief says ‘Croats have to understand that the International community will not accept a second wave of ethnic cleansing’.

May 13
Serbs launch new attack on Brcko which is still partially under Muslim control. EU warns Croatia that it could face sanctions if offensive in Bosnia is not stopped. Muslim and Croat troops refuse to return to barracks in Mostar.

May 14
Serb leaders renew pressure on Bosnian Serbs to approve referendum. Joint session of deputies of assemblies of FR Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, was held in Belgrade. Originally intended as the joint session of deputies of five parliaments, the meeting was attended by a three-member delegation of the Assembly of Republika Srpska and about 30 deputies of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina without the decision-making mandate.
Heavy shelling around Brcko, UN condemns Serbs for ‘extremely serious’ violations of cease-fire. Sniping in Mostar, Croat-Muslim clashes in Vitez. France proposes to Secretary Council international army of 40,000 to occupy parts of Bosnia. Russia proposes Secretary Council meeting of Foreign Minister to discuss the war.

May 15
Serbs apparently have taken over Zepa.

May 15-16
In a referendum, the Bosnian Serbs reject the Vance-Owen plan with a 96% majority and vote in favour of the independence of the ‘serbian Republic’. According to the official report, 92% of registered voters went to the polls, of which 96% voted against the Vance-Owen Plan. The same percentage approved the second question on the referendum: the independence and freedom of association of Republika Srpska with other states.

May 16
Bosnian Serb commander Mladic with Croatian counterpart, General Milivoje Petkovic, in the presence of General Morillon, signed at Sarajevo airport an agreement on cessation of hostilities, exchange of prisoners and killed Serb and Croatian soldiers. The cease-fire is due to come into force on 18 May. Lord Owen appeals for thousands more peacekeepers for Safe Areas. Serbs continue attacks around Brcko, TANJUG says Muslim-led forces counter-attack, inflicting heavy Serb casualties. Karadzic announces that the Vance-Owen plan is dead and ‘Bosnia never existed, and it will never exist’.
May 17

Clinton Administration rejects Russian plan for Foreign Minister meeting, which allies support. British Defence Secretary Rifkind says new actions (intervention) must not jeopardise gains already made by 15,000 UN troops. Clinton National Security Council officials meet but fail to agree on options for US. Fighting in Mostar.

May 18

At the meeting of delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Republika Srpska Krajina in Topusko an agreement was reached on cease-fire and truce, which is due to come into force on 20 May. The two delegations also agreed to set up expert teams for negotiations of economic issues. Owen gets Izetbegovic and Croat leader Boban to agree to implement Vance-Owen plan. Fighting lulls in Mostar.

May 19

UN human rights investigator Mazowiecki criticises peace plan for being used for ethnic cleansing. New fighting between Croats and Muslims in Central Bosnia, also between Muslims and Serbs around Brcko.

May 20

US President Bill Clinton stated that the US is not ready to send troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina ‘to fight on one side in the civil war’. The main aims of the US are to prevent the spread of conflict and to protect innocent population from ethnic cleansing, and all actions will be undertaken through and in the agreement with the United Nations. Serb militia commander in Krajina fails to show up for UN-mediated cease-fire. Serbs shell Zadar area for second day.

May 21

Yugoslavia President Cosic rejects UN monitoring of border with Bosnia saying it will threaten Yugoslavia sovereignty and national dignity, and that Yugoslavia must be trusted. Fighting around Brcko, Maglaj. Muslims and Croats continue to battle in Central Bosnia.

May 22

The Bosnian Serbs pronounce their military victory, controlling 70% of Bosnian territory. The United States, Russia, France, the United Kingdom and Spain establish in Washington a ‘joint action plan’. The ‘joint action plan’, rejecting the military option, plans the creation of six security zones (Bihac, Gorazde, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla and Zepa) in order to protect the Muslim civilian population and the deployment of international observers at the frontier between Serbia and Bosnia in order to control Serbia’s support to the Bosnian Serbs. Bosnian leaders criticise Safe Area idea as establishing reservations for Muslims. 13 killed in artillery attacks on Sarajevo. Secretary of State Christopher says European caution preventing Clinton from taking tougher measures.

May 23

Izetbegovic rejects Safe Area plan as ‘absolutely unacceptable and disastrous’ and invited the people to unite and fight with all permitted means for the protection of an independent, sovereign and integral Bosnia-Herzegovina’. Karadzic says plan is ‘more realistic’ and that ‘the Bosnian Serbs support the plan
of five ministers, since it renders possible the continuation of the peace process’. Praises Clinton for not involving US in another Vietnam with air strikes.

May 24

51 Islamic countries denounce Safe Area plan because it fails to authorise military force to roll back Serb gains. Karadzic now says he is opposed to UN sending troops into so-called Bosnian Serb Republic.

Russia’s special envoy for former Yugoslavia Churkin arrived to Belgrade explaining the Action Program for the achievement of peace in Bosnia. President of FR Yugoslavia Cosic. He said that the document is a major step in the peace process, that the most important thing now is to stop the war and bloodshed and immediately set out to find political solutions for the Bosnian conflict. However, Cosic also pointed to negative aspects of the plan, above all the determination to continue the enforcement of sanctions toward Yugoslavia.

The Cabinet of the Croatian President Tudjman stated that the action plan cannot be considered a sufficiently effective model for stopping the war and establishing the fair peace. The warning to Croatia that sanctions may be imposed because of its assistance to the Bosnian Croats ‘obviously serves as an excuse for the failure of the international community and for shifting responsibility to those who did not contribute to the present situation’.

May 25

NATO defence ministers supported the Action plan as a short-term solution to stopping the Bosnian conflict, with the assessment that long-term and permanent peace depends on the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan.

Serbs continue attacks on Maglaj.

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 827, establishing ‘an international tribunal for the sole purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia between 1 January 1991 and a date to be determined by the Security Council upon the restoration of peace’.

State Department official says US deliberately letting Europeans take lead on Bosnia due to constraints on US power.

May 26

Izetbegovic refuses to go along with new UN plan saying this will create ghettos for Muslims within country. Serbian Orthodox Church urges ouster of nationalist leaders saying they are to blame for war, but also calling for a government which will unite all Serbs even in neighbouring republics.

May 28

Serb commander Mladic backs out of talks in Sarajevo saying Muslims are attacking Serb positions around Srebrenica.

June 2

The Yugoslav President, Dobrica Cosic, is accused by the Yugoslav Federal Parliament of conducting an independent foreign policy and removed from office.
June 4

The Security Council, by its Resolution 836, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, further expanded the mandate of UNPROFOR to enable it to protect the Safe Areas, including to deter attacks against them, to monitor the cease-fire, to promote the withdrawal of military or paramilitary units other than those of the Bosnian Government and to occupy some key points on the ground. The Council authorised UNPROFOR, acting in self-defence, to take necessary measures, including the use of force, in reply to bombardments against the Safe Areas or to armed incursion into them or in the event of any deliberate obstruction to the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR or of protected humanitarian convoys. The Council also decided that Member States, acting nationally or through regional arrangements, might take, under its authority, all necessary measures, through the use of air power, in and around the Safe Areas, to support UNPROFOR.

June 8

At a meeting in Luxembourg, the Foreign Ministers of the EU declare their unanimous support for the proposal for ‘safe Areas’. The North Atlantic Council and the WEU Council hold their first joint session on the surveillance operations for enforcement of the embargo, conducted by WEU and NATO in the Adriatic since June 1992. The two Councils approve a unique arrangement for the command of these operations: delegation of operational control of the NATO/WEU Task Force via SACEUR to the Commander of Allied Naval Forces, Southern Europe, who will conduct operations to secure compliance with United Nations sanctions on behalf of NATO and WEU.

June 9

Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Owen and Stoltenberg, talked in Belgrade with President of Serbia Milosevic and stated that the world is not giving up the Vance-Owen peace plan, but it is liable to changes if all three belligerent parties in Bosnia agree.

June 10

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 838, requesting the Secretary General to submit to the Council as soon as possible a further report on options for the deployment of international observers on the borders of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, giving priority to the border between the Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to monitor effectively the implementation of the relevant Security Council Resolutions on ban on import, export and transhipment through the areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces. At the meeting of the NATO foreign ministers in Athens, Member States in response to UN Security Council Resolution 836 decided to make 80 combat aircraft available to the United Nations for operations under NATO command to provide protective air power in case of attacks against UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

American Secretary of State, Christopher, confirms the dispatch of 300 troops to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. These are the first American soldiers to set foot in former Yugoslavia. Following the signature of memoranda of understanding between WEU and each of the Danube states in order to optimise monitoring of the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, the WEU mission is based at a co-ordination centre at Calafat, Romania. WEU member states will send some 300 civilian officials and eleven patrol boats with the task of stopping or diverting river traffic in order to check cargoes and destinations.

Adoption by the Security Council of Resolution 837 authorising the deployment of international observers in Serbia and Bosnia. This Resolution in principle completes the ‘joint action programme’ signed in Washington on 22nd May.
June 11
At the session of foreign ministers of 16 NATO countries and 22 East European countries, a decision was passed that NATO would provide air support to UNPROFOR after the UN demand. Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina were invited to stop the war and start negotiations. The Government of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia accepted UN proposal to deploy a contingent of 300 US soldiers within the UN protection force in Macedonia. US Secretary of State Christopher in an interview for USA Today said that many mistakes have been made during the course of the Yugoslav crisis, while the biggest one was rash recognition of independence of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where ‘the Germans bear special responsibility for influencing and pressuring their colleagues from the European Community to do so’.

June 14
In response to the Council’s invitation to report to it on the requirements for implementing Resolution 836, the Secretary-General, in his report indicated that it would be necessary to deploy additional troops on the ground and to provide air support. While the UNPROFOR Force Commander had estimated an additional troop requirement of approximately 34,000 to obtain deterrence through strength, the Secretary-General stated that it was possible to start implementing the Resolution under a ‘light option’, with a minimal troop reinforcement of around 7,600. That option represented an initial approach and had limited objectives. It assumed the consent and co-operation of the parties and provided a basic level of deterrence.
As to the air support, the Secretary-General reported that he had initiated contacts with Member States and had invited NATO to co-ordinate with him the use of air power in support of UNPROFOR. The Secretary-General pointed out that the first decision to initiate the use of air resources in this context would be taken by him in consultation with the members of the Security Council.

June 15
The joint NATO/WEU Operation SHARP GUARD began to replace the separate NATO and WEU operations MARITIME GUARD and SHARP FENCE. The operation was suspended on 19 June 1996 and terminated following a United Nations Security Council Resolution adopted on 1 October 1996. A total of 12,367 merchant vessels were contacted by NATO and WEU forces patrolling the Adriatic Sea and the Otranto channel until the operation ended. Of them, 1,032 were inspected, or diverted to a port to be inspected. Nine ships were found to be in violation of the UN embargoes.

June 15-16
Within the framework of the Geneva meeting on Bosnia, Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman presented their joint initiative on revision of the Vance-Owen plan which contains proposals on division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three provinces (Serb, Croatian and Muslim) within a common confederate or federal state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

June 17
The day after the Serbo-Croat initiative for partitioning Bosnia into ‘three constituent nations’ Lord Owen states that the proposal marks the failure of the Vance/Owen plan.
June 18

The Security Council welcomed the United States offer to provide about 300 troops to reinforce UNPROFOR’s presence in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In adopting Resolution 842, the Council authorised the deployment of the additional personnel.

In adopting Resolution 844 the Security Council authorised an additional reinforcement of UNPROFOR initially by 7,600 troops and reaffirmed the use of air power, in and around the declared Safe Areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to support the Force.

June 19-20

Referendum held in the Republika Srpska Krajina at which voters were asked to choose whether they are for

1. sovereign Republika Srpska Krajina and
2. its unification with Republika Srpska and other Serbian lands.

According to official data, 96.5% of citizens went to the polls, of whom 98.6% answered ‘yes’ to the first question, and 93.8% to the second.

June 20

The Foreign Ministers of the EU affirm the need to respect ‘Bosnia’s territorial integrity’, while examining with the mediator, Lord Owen, the creation within the country of three entities for each of the three communities, Croat, Serb and Muslim.

President Izetbegovic meets the European ‘troika’ (the Foreign Ministers of Belgium, Denmark, and the United Kingdom), who urge him to take part in the new negotiations starting between Serbs and Croats. Izetbegovic again refuses to participate in any negotiations unless the siege of Sarajevo and the Muslim enclaves is lifted.

June 22

Heads of state or government of EU Member States adopted a Declaration on Bosnia-Herzegovina at the meeting in Copenhagen, in which they confirm their full confidence in Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia in their effort to attain just and fruitful solution, acceptable for all three constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and favourably reply to the request of the UN Secretary General for manpower, equipment and finances for the establishment of Safe Areas for Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Participants of the meeting rejected Germany’s demand for lifting arms embargo to Bosnian Muslims.

Talks are resumed in Geneva on the Serbo-Croat plan for the partition of Bosnia between the three ethnic communities – in the absence of President Izetbegovic.

June 23

The session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina which was held in Zagreb, decided that seven Presidency members (excluding Izetbegovic and Ganic) should participate at the Geneva negotiations on the solution to the Bosnian crisis.

According to the information released after the session, the negotiations focused on the government arrangements for Bosnia-Herzegovina and proposed maps for the three provinces.

The talks between the Bosnian collegial presidency delegation and Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman come to a close, apparently without any progress being achieved.
June 24

The statement of the UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali announced that the present UN peace Force Commander in former Yugoslavia, Swedish General Wahlgren, will be replaced by the French General Cot on 1 July 1993. At the same time, the commander of UN forces for Bosnia-Herzegovina, French General Morillon will be replaced by the Belgian General Briquemont.

June 25

In Belgrade, Zoran Lilic is elected leader of the Yugoslav Federation (Serbia and Montenegro). The new president, reputedly ‘close’ to the Serb President, Milosevic, replaces Dobric Cosic, who was overthrown at the beginning of June.

The Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Parliament adopted Conclusions on the Current Political Situation: ‘Irrespective of all pressures, present and future, we resolutely reject any option and any possibility for any integration in the territory of the former Yugoslavia or any restoration of Yugoslavia. Croatia is willing to normalise relations with Serbia and Montenegro and so-called FR Yugoslavia and to establish good neighbourly relations, provided Serbia, Montenegro and Yugoslavia recognise Croatia in its internationally recognised borders and publicly deny support to those forces in Croatia that are willing to separate a part of the Croatian territory.’

The Secretary-General submitted his further report on the situation in Croatia, in which he drew attention to the failure of the parties to permit implementation of the United Nations plan and to cooperate in establishing a political process leading to an early settlement. He noted, nevertheless, that the presence of UNPROFOR was indispensable for controlling the conflict, fostering a climate in which negotiations between the parties could be promoted, preventing the resumption or escalation of conflict, providing a breathing-space for the continued efforts of the peacemakers and for supporting the provision of essential humanitarian assistance. He also informed the Council that the termination of UNPROFOR’s mandate at that point, in the judgement of his Special Representative, would risk the resumption of a major conflict in the region and cause severe adverse consequences for humanitarian relief operations. The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of the Force by a further three months, to 30 September 1993.

June 25-26

Yugoslav minister for Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovic during his visit to the Russian Federation met in Moscow with the Russian minister for Foreign Affairs Kozyrev. Minister Jovanovic proposed suspension of sanctions toward FR Yugoslavia during negotiations on the solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Minister Kozyrev stated that Russia favourably assesses Yugoslavia’s peace efforts and that this initiative should be supported. Minister Jovanovich invited Boris Jeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, to visit Belgrade.

June 28-29

Talks about the solution to the Bosnian conflict continued in Geneva. Owen and Stoltenberg, talked separately with seven members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and then attended the meeting between Karadzic and Boban. Representatives of Republika Srpska and the Community of Herzeg-Bosnia agreed on the document on ‘interim arrangements’ for Bosnia-Herzegovina, which set forth in detail the role and organisation of the co-ordinating body, boundary commission, future international borders, role and organisation of police forces, international access authority and defines the mode of protection of human rights and reversal of the results of ‘ethnic cleansing’.
June 29

Session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina held in Sarajevo with the presence of ten members (chaired by Izetbegovic). The Presidency discussed the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, peace initiatives, particularly the latest proposal by the representatives of Republika Srpska and Croatian Community Herzeg-Bosnia. The Presidency decided that the task force encompassing Ejup Ganich, Miro Lasic and Miro Lazovic should prepare a proposal on the future arrangement for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

June 30

In its Resolution 847 the Security Council decided to extend UNPROFOR’s mandate for an additional interim period terminating on 30 September 1993. The Secretary General was requested to report one month after the adoption of the present Resolution on progress towards implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia and all relevant Security Council Resolutions, taking into account the position of the Croatian Government, and decided to reconsider, in the light of that report, UNPROFOR’s mandate in the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

The UN Security Council rejected the draft Resolution, proposed by a group of Islamic and non-aligned countries, non-permanent members of the Security Council, which demanded lifting of embargo on arms deliveries to Muslims in Bosnia. Six Security Council members (including USA) voted for the proposal, while nine abstained (including all other SC permanent members). The American vote appears to be in contradiction with the ‘joint action programme’ agreed with the Russians and Europeans in Washington in May.

July 1

The Secretary-General presented the Security Council two options for the deployment of international observers on the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On option one it would be unrealistic to authorise international observers to establish full control over the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina as world-wide resources for additional peace-keeping troops were becoming increasingly stretched. Full border control would require a capability to deny passage and to act where borders had already been crossed. It would also mean that UNPROFOR would supersede the national authorities in respect of certain border-control functions.

Border monitoring was another option. Observers would only observe and report and would not be in a position to check the nature of goods coming into and out of Bosnia. Even this more limited option would require substantial additional resources, and the necessary personnel and financing might not be available. Outstanding contributions to United Nations peace-keeping accounts totalled $1.26 billion in mid-June 1993, while unpaid assessments amounted to $2.236 billion. He said it was ‘highly probable that in the coming months the Organisation will not be able to meet its day-to-day obligations’.

Arrival in Zagreb (Croatia) of General Jean Cot, the new commander-in-chief of the twenty-five thousand UNPROFOR in former Yugoslavia. The French general - who replaces General Wahlgren - stresses he will give priority to protecting and providing aid to the civilian populations.

At the end of a two-day visit to Greece, Boris Jeltsin and Constantin Mitsotakis emphasise their two countries’ common position on the Balkans.

At its meeting in Prague the CSCE High Officials Committee rejected the proposal of the Yugoslav government on resuming the participation of FR Yugoslavia in institutions and activities of the CSCE and invited Yugoslavia to extend the mandate of the CSCE missions in Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandzak.
July 2

The government of FR Yugoslavia stated to the representatives of the CSCE mission that their mandate in Yugoslavia had expired. The extension of the mandate of missions in Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandzak was, as it was declared, closely tied to the membership of FR Yugoslavia in that organisation on the basis of equality.

July 3

The UN Security Council Committee for Sanctions declared that Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and Uganda suffered greatest losses for the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia. The recommendation of the Committee was to urgently consider the ways that would help alleviate the negative effects of the sanctions on the economies of these five countries.

Heavy shelling of Sarajevo on anniversary of air-lift of supplies to city. US Secretary of State Christopher warns Milosevic against expelling CSCE monitors from Kosovo.

July 4

Intense fighting in central Bosnia as Serbs and Croats advance against Muslim forces. Heavy fighting in Maglaj. Government forces said to have taken Fojnica from Croats, and blockaded UN base in Visoko (NW of Sarajevo) demanding UN hand over Croat commander on base to be tried for war crimes. (Croats retaliate by blockading UN bases in Kiseljak. 4 more mosques destroyed in Banja Luka.

July 5

20 US troops arrive in Macedonia, first of 300 Americans to take part in UN-commanded force of 1,000.

July 6

Muslims lift blockade of UN base and allow Croat commander to return to his area after four Muslim officers released. New UN commander in Yugoslavia, General Cot, snubbed by Serb and Croat commanders who refuse to show up for an introductory meeting at Sarajevo airport.

New tensions arose following the decision of the Croatian Government to take unilateral actions aimed at rebuilding and reopening the Maslenica bridge on 18 July. Though, in pursuance of the Erdut/Zagreb agreement concluded on 15/16 July 1993, which required the withdrawal of Croatian armed forces and police from the area of the Maslenica bridge by 31 July 1993, UNPROFOR had moved 2,000 troops into the areas adjacent to those from which the Croatian forces were to withdraw, these troops could not be deployed because the Croatian military authorities would not allow UNPROFOR full access to the areas concerned.

July 7

The President of the Security Council addressed a letter to the Secretary-General informing him that Council continued to believe that international observers should be deployed on the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They invited the Secretary-General to contact Member States in order to establish whether they were ready, individually or through regional organisations or arrangements, to make qualified personnel available to act as observers along the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to continue to explore all possibilities for implementation of the border monitors concept.

The meeting of the NATO Council at ambassador level adopts plans for an air operation in support of the UN in Bosnia, involving French, United Kingdom and Netherlands aircraft. The relevant operational procedures have been communicated to the United Nations.
July 8

The American, European and Japanese partners of the G7 in Tokyo for their annual summit meeting state in a policy declaration on Bosnia that they cannot accept a solution imposed by the Serbs and Croats at the expense of the Bosnian Muslims.

Milošević says that Muslim refusal to talk on dividing Bosnia doesn’t matter since all those who do matter have accepted the plan.

After visiting Zagreb Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia Owen and Stoltenberg met in Belgrade with Zoran Lilic, President of FR Yugoslavia and Milošević, President of Serbia. The purpose of the visit was to exchange opinions on the stage of negotiations reached in Geneva so far concerning resolving the Bosnian crisis and other issues related to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

July 9

At its meeting in Helsinki the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly rejected the proposal of the American deputies that the members of this forum should lift the arms embargo for the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In Sarajevo, the Bosnian collegiate presidency rejects Serbo-Croat proposals for a tripartite confederation of Croatian, Muslim and Serbian republics. ‘We reject the division of Bosnia along ethnic lines’ President Izebegović states.

July 10

Meeting in Zagreb, 9 of 10 members of Bosnian Presidency reaffirm that ethnic division of the country is unacceptable.

July 11

Bosnian President agrees to resume talks after continuing pressure form Owen and Stoltenberg.

The Bosnian collegial presidency confirms the existence of a proposal for organising Bosnia on a federal basis, without ethnic divisions.

July 12

Arrival in Skopje of a 300-strong American battalion to support the 700 blue berets from the Scandinavian countries in their mission to prevent the conflict extending into Macedonia.

Accord reached between Izebegović and Karadzic on restoring Sarajevo water and natural gas. 12 people waiting for water killed by shelling.

July 13

As to UNPROFOR’s activities in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that a Nordic battalion was deployed at Kajojila, east of Skopje, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and a United States contingent of 315 troops arrived in Skopje in early July, deploying to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia side of the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) on 20 August 1993. United Nations military observers, civilian police and civil affairs officers had also been deployed.

UNPROFOR maintained close co-operation with the CSCE monitor mission and enjoyed an excellent co-operative relationship with the host Government. In his report, the Secretary-General concluded that the Force had so far been successful in its preventive mandate in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.
Former Co-chairman of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia Lord Peter Carrington in an interview to French daily *Le Figaro* said that the premature recognition of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was a big mistake of the international community. He said he had warned European leaders that, by recognising the republics, they would destroy all peace efforts and added that they listened to him, but did not hear him.

During a visit to Budapest, Alain Juppé, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, expresses regret that United Nations Resolution 836 creating security zones in Bosnia remains a dead letter.

**July 14**

Deployment of NATO fighter aircraft starts at Italian bases - a prelude to the operation to provide air cover for the blue berets responsible for protecting the besieged Muslim enclaves.

**July 15**

Both Croats and Muslims accuse each other of throwing all they have into renewed attacks in Mostar. Serbs shell Karlovac in Croatia as Croats prepare to reopen Maslenica bridge.

**July 16**

Croatia signed the so-called Erdut agreement. As provided for by this agreement Croatia should withdraw its troops from the territories of the Republika Srpska Krajina by 31 July 1993, in exchange for opening the pontoon bridge across the Maslenica channel and the Zemunik airport near Zadar. The agreement had been proposed by Arens and Volbek, deputies Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia, and it had previously been signed by the Government of the Republika Srpska Krajina.

Utilities again cut off in Sarajevo.

**July 17**

Milosevic and Tudjman met in Geneva. In a joint statement released after the talks they declared that ‘the only way for achieving lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina is in recognising the interests of all three constitutive nations and reaching agreement on establishing three republics within a confederation’. Milosevic and Tudjman both warn Muslims that refusal to negotiate will worsen the war.

**July 18**

The (Muslim) Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina decided to participate in the follow-up of negotiations with the Serbian and Croatian part, giving no comment on the joint proposal of the Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman on the confederation of three republics.

In accordance with the so-called Erdut agreement Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia, opened the newly-built pontoon bridge across the Maslenica channel. The Zemunik airport was opened too.

Serbs press assault on Mt. Igman breaking through government defenses in 3 places. Mladic says he will no longer allow Sarajevo to be supplied through International organisations.

**July 19**

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the European Community decided to send a mission to Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo calling on the initiation of tripartite negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The chairman of the Ministerial Council of the EU, Willy Claes,
would convey 'a message of warning' to Zagreb that sanctions would be imposed against Croatia unless
the Croatian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina stopped the ethnic cleansing and attacks on Muslims in
Mostar and elsewhere.
UN relief workers say Bosnian forces left 230 mental hospital patients without care after taking Fojnica
(25 miles East of Sarajevo) for 3 days. 2 children dead.

July 20

Heavy fighting as Serbs press on Mt. Igman. Izetbegovic calls for UN help. Karadzic says he will unite
Serbian portions of Bosnia with Serb-held enclaves in Croatia. Fighting between Muslims and Croats
near Gornji Vakuf and Bugojno (central Bosnia).

July 21

Secretary of State Christopher says US ‘is doing all that it can consistent with its national interest’,
effectively rules out military assistance.

July 22

Geneva peace talks delayed by Izetbegovic after Serbs shell Sarajevo, killing at least 4. Serbs temporarily
halt attack on Mt. Igman, but fire tank cannons at Mali Hum (outside of Sarajevo).
Three day negotiations of the delegations of the Republic of Croatia and Republika Srpska Krajina
ended in Vienna with no success. The two parts should have signed the agreement on the cease-fire.
NATO began providing air cover for UNPROFOR.

July 23

The Security Council released a Presidential statement condemning the offensive of the Bosnian Serbs
on Mt. Igman demanding stopping all attacks on Sarajevo. The Security Council invited all parties in
the conflict to meet in Geneva and seriously negotiate for the purpose of achieving a just solution of
the Bosnian drama.
First aid convoy reaches Sarajevo in 10 days. Another approaches Tuzla.

July 24

Renewed Serb shelling of government positions outside of Sarajevo as Serbs continue to try to choke
off supply lines to Sarajevo.

July 25

Serbs fire 68 rounds of artillery at French UN base in Sarajevo destroying 4 vehicles, damaging others.
Much heavier shelling of Brcko by Serbs.

July 26

UN commanders Briquemont and Cot denounce Serb explanation of shelling (‘Muslim provocateurs’),
and say Serbs will face immediate retaliation if it happens again.

July 27

After several delays negotiations on ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina started in Geneva. -
Karadzic, Izetbegovic, Boban, Milosevic, Bulatovic and Tudjman, and Co-Chairmen of the Conference
on the former Yugoslavia Owen and Stoltenberg participated.
July 28
President Clinton says US ready to provide air cover for UN forces if UN asks.

July 29
Fighting on Zuc Hill outside of Sarajevo, Serbs shell Maglaj, Doboj, and continue attacks on Breko. Bosnian government forces recapture 2 villages in central Bosnia and press on towards Gornji Vakuf.

July 30
Agreement is reached in Geneva between the Serbs, Croats and Muslims on a proposal for a ‘Union of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina’. This agreement envisages three constituent republics under the authority of a joint government with limited powers. Izetbegovic agrees to partition of Bosnia into three separate territories within B-H with a guaranteed corridor to the Adriatic. Milosevic proclaims on Belgrade TV that the war ‘was worth it’. After an urgently summoned Security Council, a Presidential statement was released demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Croatian forces from the area around Maslenica and enabling deployment of the UNPROFOR with no delay. The deadline for withdrawal of the Croatian forces from the Maslenica area expired at midnight.

August 1
Croatian Serbs shell Maslenica bridge when Croatian troops fail to pull out.

August 2
The North Atlantic Council under US pressure and after bitter debate (Canada), decided to make immediate preparations for stronger measures, including air strikes, against those responsible for the strangulation of Sarajevo and other areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for wide-scale interference with humanitarian assistance. These air strikes would be carried out within the framework of the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, including 770, 776 and 836, and in support of UNPROFOR as it carried out its overall mandate.

Clinton claimed support from NATO for the plan of air raids on the Serbian positions round Sarajevo and other protected zones - Muslim enclaves, softening the statement of the representative of the State Department, given the previous day, that the USA would solely take air raids on the Serbian positions if the allies did not give support.

Boutros-Ghali, UN Secretary General, confirmed that, in accordance with the Resolution 836, a possible decision on the use of air power in Bosnia-Herzegovina could be approved only by the UN Secretary General.

Following Croatia’s failure to withdraw from the area and Serb shelling thereof, one of the pontoons of the Maslenica bridge sank. However, the Co-Chairmen concluded that there was still enough common ground to continue negotiations.

August 3
NATO war-planners begin listing potential Serb targets.
August 4
Serbs claim Mt. Igman to be in their control. Muslim defenders said to be abandoning their positions. The Geneva talks broke off since Izetbegovic said that he would not resume the negotiations until the Serbian forces withdrew from Igman and Bjelasnica. State Department official in charge of monitoring conflict, Marshall Freeman Harris, resigns in protest against Clinton Administration efforts to get Bosnian government to agree to partition.

August 5
Karadzic and Mladic say they will withdraw from Mts. Igman and Bjelasnica and turn them over to UNPROFOR in order to prevent other forces from taking those positions. UN negotiators Owen and Stoltenberg’s proposal to give Muslims 30% of land in Bosnia rejected by Izetbegovic in Geneva talks.

August 6
US and NATO officials warn Serbs that the military operation is ready but conflicting statements come from Washington on what will trigger air strikes. Mladic fails to agree on handover of mountains to UN. Federal Prime Minister Kontic sent a letter to Albright, chairwoman of the UN Security Council, requesting the Council to take measures for the purpose of lifting the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia, and to approve the export of some products for financing the humanitarian imports. After Tudjman declared that ‘the Erdut agreement is not any more valid’, Slavko Degoricija, leader of the Croatian delegation for negotiations with the Serbs from Krajina, said that Croatia agreed with the proposal on resuming the negotiations on cease-fire, to be followed by negotiations on all other separate agreements. Djordje Bjegovic, Prime Minister of the Republika Srpska Krajina, replied that when Croatia fulfilled its obligations from the Erdut agreement the Serbian part would be willing to discuss all other issues.

August 7
Serbs dig in to mountain positions around Sarajevo. UN peacekeepers in Bosnia continue to assert that air strikes will cause them to become targets in war.

August 8
Mladic says troops will leave Mt. Bjelasnica in a day. Tactic said to be designed to get Izetbegovic back to negotiations while giving up as little as possible. Third State Department official (Jon Western) resigns, says Administration not tough enough.

August 9
The NAC approved the military planning for air strikes options in support of humanitarian relief efforts and stood ready to implement them. It further decided to maintain a close review of the situation on the ground in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to re-convene at short notice to decide whether to implement air strikes in co-ordination with the UN. French UN forces blocked from Mt. Igman take over by mines and ‘unidentified people’. The UN Security Council adopted the Resolution demanding that the Government of FR Yugoslavia should enable the observers of the CSCE to keep on working in Kosovo, Sandzak and Vojvodina. The Geneva negotiations are broken off.
In Brussels, the countries of the Atlantic Alliance reiterate the threats made by the United States President on 2nd August. NATO approves the principle of military intervention in Bosnia in the form
of air strikes to protect UNPROFOR troops and loosen the Serb stranglehold on Sarajevo. The final decision on whether the operation goes ahead rests with the United Nations.

**August 10**

Geneva talks suspended because of the withdrawal of Izetbegovic. The Bosnian leader refuses to continue talks on the partition proposal until Serb forces are withdrawn from Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelansnica. Karadzic warns of all-out war if Serb troops attacked. Serbs beginning to leave Igman positions return when they see Muslim troops taking up vacated spots.

**August 11**

At Sarajevo airport the commanders of the three warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina - Mladic, Milivoj Petkovic and Rasim Delic, and Briquemont, commander UNPROFOR, signed a military peace agreement. The provisions of the agreement would be implemented immediately after adoption and signing of the Geneva peace documents.

**August 12**

Serbs claim to have left both mountains, UN says they are only redeploying. Threat of air strikes remains.

Accepting the invitation of the Co-Chairmen, the parties began negotiations in Geneva on a cease-fire which would include the elements of the original Erdut/Zagreb agreement. Despite intensive discussions in Geneva, Zagreb and Knin between the representatives both of the Co-Chairmen and of the parties, an overall cease-fire agreement could not be achieved.

**August 14**

Serbs end occupation of mountains under threat of NATO warplanes which buzz their positions. New fighting around Doboj (NCBosnia). Government-Croat clashes in Mostar and Gornji-Vakuf. UNPROFOR spokesman confirmed that Serbian forces had withdrawn from Mt. Igman to the positions they had taken before 30 July. UNPROFOR were taking over the positions.

NATO concluded that at the moment there was no justification for air raids on the Serbian positions around Sarajevo, except in case of dramatical deterioration of the situation.

**August 15**

Serb forces complete their evacuation of the mountains above Sarajevo. The Muslims agree that UNPROFOR should occupy the positions surrendered by the Serbs.

**August 16**

The Secretary-General recommended the Security Council that no action be taken at this stage and said that he would submit a further recommendation to the Council in the latter half of September 1993. Factions agree to demilitarise Sarajevo and place it temporarily under UN Administration. UN spokesman refuses to call Sarajevo situation a ‘siege’, instead refers to it as ‘encirclement’ from ‘tactically advantageous positions’. The peace negotiations continued in Geneva, and all three warring parties were present.

**August 17**

Bosnian-Croatian fighting intensifies in Mostar killing 33. UN and Bosnian government officials refer to condition there as ‘bestial’. No aid convoys allowed in by Croats in 2 months.
August 18

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that following the necessary training exercises in co-ordination with NATO, the United Nations had the operational capability for the use of air power in support of UNPROFOR.

UN spokesman Frewer confirms that small groups of Serbs (possibly 250) remain on Igman, but says they pose no threat. Negotiations in Geneva agree on 2-year UN Administration of Sarajevo. However it is anticipated that this agreement will only come into force once an overall settlement of the conflict has been achieved.

August 19

UN now trying to persuade remaining Serbs to leave Igman. Sarajevo quiet, but Serbs shell Breko. Aid convoy reaches Mostar. UN troop commander General Briquemont calls potential air strikes against Serbs ‘totally inappropriate’. Milosevic says Muslims will be given a ‘take-it-or-leave-it’ offer of 32% of land area including a land corridor connecting territory.

August 20

The international mediators, Lord Owen and Mr. Stoltenberg, submit a plan for the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three Republics to the warring factions. This plan appears to consolidate Serbian gains in that 52% of the territory is allocated to the Serbs, 30% to the Muslims and 18% to the Croats.

A special status is proposed for Sarajevo and Mostar - which are to be administered under United Nations and EU mandate for two years. President Izetbegovic has misgivings over the plan for partition. However this is backed by the Bosnian Serbs, while the Bosnian Croats say they will accept it if the Serb and Muslim factions also approve.

August 21

Izetbegovic says he will recommend that the proposed peace plan be rejected by Bosnian legislators (three loosely-linked ethnic-based republics. Cease-fire followed by withdrawals, total demilitarisation. Renewal of humanitarian efforts. Return to their homes of those driven out by ethnic cleansing.

August 22

Intensified fighting by all sides as they seek to consolidate their gains before peace. Krajina Serbs renew shelling near Sinj and Drnis in Dalmatia. Maslenica bridge shelled by Serbs.

August 23

Karadzic tells Politika that the question of a Serb outlet on the Adriatic remains open.

August 24

UN negotiator Stoltenberg urges Security Council to plan for army of 65,000 to police Bosnia. Croats continue to block UN convoy trying to get to Muslim sector of Mostar. Reports that some Serb militia forces are moving out of Bosnia and into Croatia to renew fighting there. Croats declare Republic of Herceg-Bosnia in town of Livno, formally breaking with B-H.
August 25

The UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 859 on the latest development of peace negotiations in Geneva and inviting all three parties to find as soon as possible a just and global political solution based on a free will.

Croatian civilians block UN aid convoy.

August 26

42 Serbian generals purged including Chief of Staff, General Zivota Panic. Panic replaced by compromise choice (to Milosevic and Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj), Lt. General Momcilo Perisic.

US drops 37 tons of relief to Muslims in Mostar while UN convoy distributes 200 tons of food and 10 tons of medicine. French captain wounded in Bosnian government attack on Mt. Igman.

August 27

Arguments heard before World Court by Bosnians that Yugoslavia has backed a campaign of genocide. Lawyers for Yugoslavia argue that it has no territorial ambitions against Bosnia and that there are no Serb paramilitary forces of any kind in the conflict.

Opposition to Tudjman’s alliance with Serbs in Bosnia growing in Croatia. Croatian Cardinal, Franjo Kuharic criticises the leaving of numerous Croats in Bosnia under either Muslim or Serbian rule. Trade unions call for a renewal of the alliance with Muslims against a common foe, say the partition endorses ‘serbian fascism and ethnic cleansing’.

The Assembly of the Republika Srpska adopted the proposal of the peace plan on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia was proclaimed in Grude and the Assembly-parliament of this republic was established. The newly-established parliament adopted the decision on accepting all Geneva documents and the agreement on establishment of the Union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, if accepted by the other two parties in conflict.

August 28

Bosnian parliament rejects plan, calls for return of 8 districts controlled by Serbs, and an outlet to Adriatic at the town of Neum. Croatian parliament formally endorses ‘Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia’, but split between Bosnian Croats widens since the former stand to lose in the Geneva peace plan.

August 29

Tudjman meets with Bihac ‘pocket’ leader, Fikret Abdic on Brioni.

August 30

Croats and Muslims fighting around Gornji-Vakuf and Kiseljak, and in Mostar (Serbs also fighting Croats there). Muslims refuse to let UN aid convoy depart Mostar. Belgrade issues 1 billion dinar note (worth $3), government says inflation in July 1,880% for annual rate of 1.7 billion %.

August 31

Negotiations resumed in Geneva between Muslims, Serbs and Croats, although the new Owen/Stoltenberg plan is accepted unconditionally only by the Serbs.

US ambassador to UN, Albright, says UN will ‘presumably’ retain sanctions against Yugoslavia unless it assists in handing over those accused of war crimes.
Continued fighting between Croats and Muslims in Central Bosnia. Tudjman and Milosevic use Geneva meeting to talk on separate issue of ending Serb rebellion in Croatia.

450 Muslim detainees released from Croat prison camp Drecelj (in Caplijina, S. of Mostar). Muslims allow UN aid convoy to leave Mostar.

**September 1**

Geneva talks collapse after Izetbegovic demands revisions to the map. Serbs make minor concession in agreeing to land corridor between Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, but Croats refuse land access to port of Neum.

**September 2**

Meeting between Karadzic and Boban in Montenegro to plan co-ordinated response to Muslims after their rejection of the peace plan.

**September 3**

The UN Security Council demanded resuming of the peace negotiations in Geneva and ending the war in Bosnia.

Two-day cease-fire ends in Mostar with new shellings preventing UN evacuation of Muslims in Mostar. UN begins evacuation of wounded in central Bosnia town of Nova Bila (held by Croats, surrounded by government troops). Shelling of Gornji Vakuf holds up relief convoy carrying diesel fuel to Sarajevo. Izetbegovic goes to Turkey for consultations.

**September 4**

Izetbegovic says talks will resume in two weeks, Croatian Foreign Minister, Mate Granic, says Bosnian Croats cannot make more territorial concessions. UN officials say recently released Muslim prisoners from Croatian camps appeared to have been beaten.

Macedonia made the decision to strictly apply the Security Council Resolutions on the blockade imposed against FR Yugoslavia. Therefore the control of lorries was intensified on the frontier with FR Yugoslavia.

**September 6**

Wounded Muslims being evacuated from Mostar by UN.

**September 7**

Thousands flee fighting in central Bosnia. UN relief convoys unable to reach refugees in Jablanica.

**September 8**

Clinton Administration warns Serbs that renewed shelling of Sarajevo could trigger NATO military response, but State Department says Bosnians need to return to bargaining table and get an agreement, promising that the American diplomacy would help the Bosnian Serbs and Croats make additional concessions regarding fixing boundaries between the territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Izetbegovic, in meeting with Clinton, fails to get him to set deadline for Serbs ending siege of Sarajevo. The Bosnian President also fails to obtain any formal assurance that the United States will intervene in the conflict. Croats launch offensive against Muslims in Vitez area. Croatian news agency says Serbs reinforcing positions on Mt. Igman. Croatian opposition announces that a unified Bosnia is in the interests of the
Croatian state and people. Croats launch new attacks taking two villages from Serbs near Gospic (185 km S of Zagreb).

**September 9**

After visiting China, Ukraine and Russia Vladislav Jovanovic, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, returned to Belgrade. Jovanovic stated that as soon as peace was made in Bosnia-Herzegovina all three countries would be willing to help lifting the sanctions.

After several days of grave incidents in the UNPAs and ‘pink zones’, and rising tensions, shelling intensified on both sides of the confrontation line, and the Croatian Army once again carried out a military incursion in the area of Medak, where three Serb villages were seized. The hostilities worsened on 10 and 11 September.

**September 10**

Stoltenberg, Co-Chairman of the Conference on former Yugoslavia, invited Tudjman to order his forces to stop the attacks on the territories where the Serbs live and to withdraw from the three villages they had taken over in Lika.

The centre of Banja Luka was blocked by tanks and armoured vehicles of the part of the military forces of the Republika Srpska. The crisis staff of this action called ‘september 93’ demanded improvement of the position of soldiers and invalids and combat war profiteers whose arresting started immediately.

In its detailed report the Belgrade Bureau of the World Health Organisation warned the international community that the position of health in Serbia and Montenegro was disastrous and the UN Committee for sanctions should urgently take measures in order to prevent the sanctions applied against FR Yugoslavia make the health services totally collapse.

Serbs shell Karlovac (Croatia) overnight killing 9.

**September 11**

2 Serb rockets hit Zagreb suburb of Lucko.

**September 12**

Serbs fire 5 rockets at Jastrebarsko (18 miles SW of Zagreb), send fax to Associated Press listing 50 possible military targets if Croats do not stop attacks. Tudjman calls for halt to offence by Croatian troops in order to arrive at an armistice with the Serbian forces in Krajina. Croats shell Muslim sector of Mostar killing 10.

**September 13**

Serbs continue to shell Gospic, Karlovac, and Sisak areas. Bosnian Serbs may be encouraged to go fight in Krajina area. Mutiny in Banja Luka continues.

**September 14**

Agreement reached in Geneva between Tudjman and Izetbegovic calling for temporary cease-fire, full-fledged truce by the 18th, exchange of prisoners, closing of camps, and ensuring of free passage for humanitarian convoys. Serbs reportedly down Croatian Mig-21 sent to attack Serb missile positions.

Food rationing in Serbia.

The UN Security Council adopted a Presidential statement ‘expressing deep concern for the resumed military conflicts in Croatia...and inviting both parties to immediately agree with the proposal of the UNPROFOR on the urgent cease-fire’. The Council also ‘demands that the Croatian Government
should withdraw its armed forces to the positions they had taken before starting the offensive on 9 September.

**September 15**

Following the intervention of the Secretary-General’s Special Representative and the UNPROFOR Force Commander, and a call from the Security Council, the parties finally agreed to a cease-fire. UNPROFOR moved some 500 to 600 troops into the area to replace the Croatian armed forces which eventually withdrew to positions occupied before the incursion began. When UNPROFOR gained access to the area it found that most houses had been deliberately destroyed during the withdrawal. Eighteen corpses were recovered, most of them riddled with multiple bullet wounds or incinerated. 35 Croats massacred by Bosnian troops in village of Kriz (Central Bosnia). Fighting continues despite truce in Mostar. Karadzic finally meets with mutineers in Banja Luka who are now demanding resignation of Bosnian Serb government.

**September 16**

Croats launch attacks in retaliation against Muslims for massacre in Kriz. The Muslims and Croats having reached agreement on some points (14th September), Izetbegovic and the head of the Bosnian Serb Parliament, Momcilo Krajašnik, sign a joint declaration in Geneva containing further adjustments to the Owen/Stoltenberg plan: enforcement of a cease-fire and dismantling of the detention camps. The most important clause allows the three republics the option of seceding from the future ‘Union’ purely on the basis of a referendum.

**September 17**

State Department announces it sent letters to Milosevic and Tudjman on September 1 hinting at possibility of easing sanctions if a Bosnian peace settlement is agreed upon. Banja Luka mutiny over after Karadzic agrees to crack down on profiteers. Tanks and 200 soldiers returned to barracks. Some mutineers arrested.

**September 18**

Muslims launch attack against Croatians along 20-mile stretch of Lasva valley (Central Bosnia). Government forces take control of village of Bobas near Vitez. Fighting for control of ammunition factory in Vitez. Cease-fire fails to take hold.

**September 19**

Fighting temporarily abates as UN tries to bring about signing of peace accord. Izetbegovic says he will not sign agreement unless Croats give Muslims access to the sea.

**September 20**

The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council renew the mandate of UNPROFOR for a period of six months. In a report dealing primarily with Croatia, the Secretary-General said that he had been ‘sorely tempted’ to recommend the withdrawal of the Force altogether because of the criticism of UNPROFOR by both sides and the dangers and abuse to which its personnel were exposed, but that such a step could only result in further conflict. The Secretary-General pointed out that the peace-keeping plan for Croatia had been difficult, if not impossible, to implement, and had become more so since the resumption of hostilities following the
Croatian incursion of 22 January 1993. He stressed that the fundamental solution to the problem had to be sought through political dialogue. In this process, the principal objective of UNPROFOR could only be to keep the peace, thereby permitting negotiations to take place on an overall political settlement. To enhance the security of the Force, he requested the extension of close air support to the territory of Croatia.

The Secretary-General also stated that he would give ‘favourable consideration’ to a suggestion by the President of Croatia that the Force be divided into three parts - UNPROFOR (Croatia), UNPROFOR (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and UNPROFOR (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) - while retaining its integrated military, logistical and administrative structure under the command of one Special Representative of the Secretary-General and one theatre Force Commander.

Three sides meet on British aircraft carrier in Adriatic but talks founder on Muslim demand for access to the sea.

Fighting in Mostar, Vitez. Bosnian government forces make gains in Central Bosnia against Croats. Croats shelling Serb positions around Trebinje (East Herzegovina) for several days. Serb police arrest 50 members of Muslim-dominated Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in Sandzak as part of crackdown on ‘militants’.

**September 21**

The proposed meeting between the three factions at Sarajevo airport to consolidate the peace agreement is cancelled.

**September 22**

Croatia threatens to end UNPROFOR mandate unless rebel Serbs disarmed.

**September 23**

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic lays out specific conditions for renewing UNPROFOR mandate including carrying out all existing UN Resolutions (Vance plan of January ’92), respect for Croatia’s sovereignty and pre-existing borders.

**September 24**

The Security Council was informed by the Croatian Government that if the mandate of UNPROFOR was not amended to promote energetic implementation of the relevant Resolutions of the Security Council, Croatia would be forced to request UNPROFOR to leave the country not later than 30 November 1993.

**September 25**

Bosnian government forces launch new offensive against Croats in Vitez (Central Bosnia), try to capture ammunition factory in town. Deadline for HVO (Croatian) forces to hand over defensive positions in Sarajevo extended a week.

**September 27**

The newly-established Constituent Assembly in Velika Kladusa unanimously made a decision on proclamation and establishment of the (Muslim) Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia within the Union of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fikret Abdic was appointed President. Bihac pocket secedes from Muslim Republic.
September 28
Izetbegovic declares military rule in Bihac pocket, tells 5th army corps to take control of local radio, impose 24-hour curfew. Tudjman, at UN, again demands UNPROFOR carry out mandate or leave. Assembly of Bosnian Muslims decide to reject latest peace plan unless Serbs cede more land. Serbs shell old town of Sarajevo.

September 29
The Bosnian Parliament accepted the Geneva peace plan provided that the Serbs should give up ‘the territories taken over by force. In that way it effectively rejects the Owen/Stoltenberg peace plan in the present form.

September 30
Bosnian Croat assembly withdraws concessions made to Muslims including outlet on Adriatic. Karadzic says his assembly will do the same. Pro-Izetbegovic troops take control of much of Bihac area, fire at ground around demonstrators.

October 1
UN Security Council extends UNPROFOR mandate until October 5. At its session in Neum the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia made a decision to deny ‘all territorial concessions’ granted to the Muslims if they would not accept the Geneva peace plan for Bosnia by 15 October at the latest.

October 2
The Assembly of the Republika Srpska said ‘Republika Srpska is forced due to the rejection of the peace plan by the Muslim part, to deny all the concession it had given during the peace process in exchange for the instantaneous signing of peace’. It also appealed to the international community to immediately lift sanctions against the Serbian nation. Abdic declares himself military leader of western Bosnia, troops block roads against 5th Army Corps. Fighting in Mostar, Maglaj, and Tesanj breaks truce declared between Muslims and Croats signed in Medjugorje.

October 3
Fighting amongst Muslims in Bihac area. As many as 2,500 troops from 5th Army Corps may have defected to Abdic’s side.

October 4
The Security Council, by its Resolution 871 , extended the mandate of UNPROFOR to 31 March 1994. The Council took this action under Chapter VII of the Charter reiterating its determination to ensure the security of UNPROFOR and its freedom of movement. The Council called for an immediate cease-fire agreement between the Croatian Government and the local Serb authorities in the UNPAs, mediated under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. It urged all parties to co-operate with UNPROFOR in reaching and implementing an agreement on confidence-building measures, including the restoration of electricity, water and communications in all regions of Croatia. Stressing the importance of restoring Croatian authority in the ‘pink zones’, the Council called for the revival of the Joint Commission established under the chairmanship of UNPROFOR.
The Council took note of the intention to establish three subordinate commands within UNPROFOR - in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The Council decided to continue to review the extension of close air support to UNPROFOR in the territory of Croatia.

October 5

Tudjman says Resolution 871 satisfies all Croatian demands. Serbs angry and Krajina leader Goran Hadzic says ‘a total war has never been closer’. No aid convoys have reached Maglaj and Tesanj now for 100 days.

October 6

Fighting continues in Bihac pocket.

October 7

Izetbegovic tells UN that peace plan inadequate since it affirms ethnic cleansing and does not allow refugees to return home. Renewed shelling and small arms fire around Sarajevo. Croats continue to expel Muslims from Croatian part of Mostar.

In a report published in Zagreb, UNPROFOR accuses the Croat army of having wreaked ‘systematic and planned destruction’ in September in Croatian villages with a majority Serb population.

October 8

A Consolidated Appeal was launched, seeking some $696.5 million to cover the urgent humanitarian needs of almost 4.26 million affected people.

The humanitarian operations in Bosnia continued to be seriously obstructed. Access to populations in need was repeatedly denied or sabotaged for political or military purposes, especially by the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat sides. Moreover, all three sides frequently threatened the security of the personnel of UNPROFOR, UNHCR and other organisations.

Darko Domjan, the Vice President of the Croatian Parliament, said that ‘the Croats should overcome the mental barrier and agree with the autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia’ what was ‘a prerequisite for re-establishing the Croatian sovereignty over the occupied territories’.

Belgrade announces its intention of blocking the peace process in Bosnia if the peace plan is not accompanied by a ‘specific proposal’ for lifting the United Nations embargo against Serbia and Montenegro.

Cease fire agreed to by both sides in Bihac. Bosnian army claims to have found 3 mass graves near Mostar of 575 Muslim civilians. Izetbegovic and Tudjman meet in Vienna, appeal for NATO forces in disputed territories.

Serb units advance on Srebrenica.

October 9

Croats continue to shell Muslims trapped in Mostar. Croats blow up road near Vitez in anticipation of Muslim attack. Muslims launch attack and fighting flares. Spain is threatening to end its role in peacekeeping force.

The Humanitarian Group within the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia warned that the effects of the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia were detrimental. The economic embargo produced destructive effects on the Yugoslav economy that practically collapsed. It was estimated that almost 50 per cent of citizens could be treated as persons with inadequate means of support.
**October 10**

Serbs beat up 3 UNPROFOR soldiers who try to prevent Serbs soldiers from entering Serb-controlled Krajina. *Politika* reports more troops defect from 5th army to Abdic in Bihac. *NY Times* quotes Karadzic as saying he hopes for peace since 'we are all of the same blood, we are all Slavs.' The UNPROFOR commander, General Cot, strongly criticises the attitude of the United Nations and NATO towards the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

**October 12**

Red Cross relief convoy for Maglaj, Tesanj hits land mine, forced to turn back to Banja Luka. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic denies UN accusation that civilians were killed in Gospic, says all were ‘killed in action’. Granic and Bosnian counterpart agree to exchange all prisoners starting on October 14. Fighting in Central Bosnia near Novi Travnik, 5 patients said to have died in Croatian hospital for lack of medicine. Also fighting near Kiseljak (NW of Sarajevo), and near Vares between Serbs and Muslims.

**October 13**

UN official Cedric Thornberry warns of impending war in Croatia. Prisoner exchange in Central Bosnia cancelled due to renewed fighting. Radio Serbia says monthly wages have dropped 90% since sanctions imposed.

**October 14**

Bosnian government mortar attack on Sarajevo suburb of Vogosca results in heavy Serb shelling of Sarajevo. Maglaj aid convoy abandoned after Serbs refuse to guarantee its safety (shelling of these towns by Serbs continues). Fighting in Vitez between Croats and Muslims.

**October 15**

Croatian President, Tudjman says he is opposed to a ‘blanket’ approach to the crisis and especially to an international meeting which would link the Bosnian conflict with all the other problems dealt with by the Conference on former Yugoslavia.

**October 16**

Serb shelling of Sarajevo kills at least 12. Croats report that Bosnian government forces recapture town of Cazin in Bihac pocket from Abdic’s troops. Izetbegovic calls for International Balkan conference to deal with Bosnia. Tudjman overwhelmingly wins re-election to head Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), and removes some right-wing elements from leadership positions. Party now describes itself as ‘Christian democratic’. Greece refuses to participate in talks with Macedonia on name for the state.

**October 19**

Prisoner exchange begins between Muslims and Croats. Radio Croatia reports that Bosnian government troops arrest 750 in Bihac pocket. Karadzic rejects Balkan conference proposal, says he will continue to negotiate under Owen-Stoltenberg plan for partition. Serbian leadership says conference would only meddle in Serbia’s internal affairs.
October 20

Milosevic dissolves assembly to prevent no-confidence vote, calls for new elections on December 19. UN war crimes commission says there is evidence Serbs have used rape as weapon in war, but number of rapes may be substantially lower than EU’s earlier estimate of 20,000. The United States confirms its readiness to participate in a peace-keeping force for Bosnia if a peace plan is accepted by the three parties to the conflict.

October 22

Abdic signs separate peace agreement in Belgrade with Milosevic and Karadzic.

October 23

Abdic defends his actions in Zagreb by saying he is trying to forge a ‘just and lasting peace’. Abdic condemned by other Bosnian Muslim leaders. Muslims attack Croatian enclave of Vares. Serbs shell Sarajevo.

October 25

Bosnian presidency moves Haris Silajdzic from Foreign Minister to Prime-Minister.

October 27

Tudjman in interview with newspaper warns that International conference on Balkan crisis must recognise Croatia’s Tito-era boundaries. UN investigating report of mass grave of Croats at Vukovar, but are being blocked by Serbs. Muslims claim Croats massacred Muslim civilians at Stupni Dol (20 miles N of Sarajevo). UNPROFOR confirms that at least 19 were killed by Croats, town destroyed. New Prime-Minister Silajdzic has two local Muslim commanders arrested for organised crime and warlordism. 17-21 killed mostly hostages, civilians) in arresting Ramiz Delalic (Celo), and Musan Topalovic (Caco, who is killed while trying to escape) both renegade army commanders.

October 29

AFP reports that Serbs may be arming Muslims against Croats so as to further destroy their alliance. The European Council invited all interested parties to immediately resume negotiations in order to achieve a just and lasting peace, and demanded abstention from any act of hostility. The Council also condemned the crimes that had recently been committed by the members of the Croatian forces in Stupni Do.

October 31

Aid flights to Sarajevo suspended after French officer hit by bullets at airport. Croats advance around Travnik (NW of Sarajevo), Bosnian army making progress around Vares, capturing village of Dubostica.

November 1

Newsday reports that UNPROFOR officers have been visiting Serb-run brothels using captive Muslim women, and that they failed to investigate a Serb-run concentration camp nearby. UN says it will investigate, but UNPROFOR spokesman in Sarajevo says story is ‘disinformation’ and troops never visited the town.
November 2

Vecernji List (Zagreb) says Yugoslavia President Zoran Lilic visited Kosovo previous week but Albanian leaders would not talk until school and media rights restored.

Bosnian Serbs cause paperwork obstacles to UN’s restoration of electricity in Sarajevo (out since October 30).

Secret negotiations between the delegations of the Republika Srpska Krajina and Croatia took place near Oslo. The main questions were the cessation of hostilities, and reestablishment of traffic and economic ties between Krajina and Croatia. The negotiations broke off. At the same time Tudjman declared in Zagreb that he was willing to offer ‘full autonomy’ to the ethnic Serbs in the southern part of Krajina around Knin and northern part round Glina, where the Serbs made a majority of the population.

November 3

Croatian troops abandon Vares under pending threat of Muslim attack. 15,000 townspeople flee into nearby fields and woods. Izetbegovic fires army chief-of-staff General Sefer Halilovic (from the Sandzak, considered an outsider and too close to warlords). Replaces him with General Enver Hadzihasanovic, formerly of 3rd Corps. Greek Prime-Minister Papandreou says sanctions against Yugoslavia unfair.

November 4

Croatian and Serbian forces in Krajina reportedly sign cease-fire in Osijek. Bosnian government troops enter Vares, some reports of looting. Relief workers trying to get Croat refugees of Vares to come out of forests. Croats say Bosnian government forces now attacking Croat-held town of Zepce (NW of Vares). Ultranationalist paramilitary leader Arkan (Zeljko Raznatovic), considered by International community to be a war criminal, says if he comes to power in Kosovo he will expel ‘those who look to Tirana’.

November 5

In Politika interview Milosevic says key to lasting peace is close Serbian-Croatian co-operation, but also says regional tensions are largely the fault of Tudjman’s unwillingness to commit to peace.

November 6

For third time in two weeks, government forces crackdown on organised crime in Sarajevo. HVO HQ in Sarajevo shut down, troops told they can join new Croat brigade of 1st Corps (Sarajevo defense force). Vecernji List says Tudjman has almost universal support by Croats for his new peace plan. Serb gunmen kidnap two aides to Sarajevo Catholic archbishop claiming they are war criminals. Borba says Bosnian government has arrested Croatian military leadership in Sarajevo.

November 7

Fikret Abdic, President of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, met in Velika Kladusa with Vladimir Lukic, Prime Minister of the Republika Srpska and Jadranko Prlic, Prime Minister of Herzeg-Bosnia. The three parties signed a joint declaration on development of the political and economic co-operation.
November 8

In Brussels, the Foreign Ministers of the EU state their willingness to resume the initiative over the crisis in former Yugoslavia both as regards humanitarian aid and the search for a settlement. The Twelve envisage a progressive lifting of the sanctions against Belgrade in this connection. First evacuation of civilians from Sarajevo since May begins. 642 Serbs to leave in stages. Serbs force open UN armoured vehicle and abduct 2 Croats taking part in a peace mission. 1 of them later released. Radio Serbia reports that October monthly salary was $15 and inflation 1,800%.

November 9

The Security Council expressed deep concern at the deterioration of the situation in central Bosnia where increased military activities posed a serious threat to the security of the civilian population. The Council was equally concerned at the overall humanitarian situation and demanded that all parties concerned guarantee unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance. In a separate statement issued on the same day, the Council condemned all attacks and hostile acts against UNPROFOR by all parties in Bosnia, as well as in Croatia, ‘which have become more frequent over the last weeks’, and demanded that ‘they cease forthwith’. Although numerous cease-fire agreements were signed by the warring parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, practically none of them were implemented and the military situation remained grave. Serbs shell school in Sarajevo killing 9, mostly children. Serbs deny the attack. Croats finally destroy arched bridge over Neretva River in Mostar (built between 1557 and 1566).

November 10

8 more killed in Sarajevo, including 3 children. Mourners at funeral of school attack victims fired upon. Government asks UN to declare Mostar ‘safe Area’.

November 11

Seselj at press conference accuses Milosevic and those around him of corruption, profiteering and participation in war crimes in Croatia and Bosnia over past 2 years. Milosevic supporters counter by accusing Seselj’s fighters of atrocities. Death toll in Sarajevo after 2 days of shelling reaches 17, 100 wounded.

November 12

Granic to Sarajevo along with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin to mediate between local Croats and Muslims. Hundreds of Muslim refugees from frontline town of Olovo (20 miles NE of Sarajevo) flee before Serb attack. Russian envoy to Yugoslavia, Vitalii Churkin, meets with Karadzic in Pale.

November 13

Refugees tell of Serb rapes, massacres, and mass detentions in area around Olovo. Croatian forces heading towards Gornji Vakuf area. Churkin in Sarajevo for talks with collective presidency, says sanctions against Yugoslavia should be lifted when a peace accord is agreed to.

November 14

Croats and Serbs advance on Central Bosnian town of Fojnica, hospitals caught in crossfire. Churkin in Zagreb for talks with Tudjman, others, agrees to idea of Safe Areas for Bosnian Croats.
November 15

Intense fighting between Croats and Muslims for Gornji Vakuf with as many as 4,000 Croats taking part. Muslim forces again take town of Fojnica when Croats do not occupy it. Serbs and Croats fighting around Vares, UN forces shelled near Olovo. Radio Sarajevo reports that Izetbegovic says he is committed to fighting the war and that Bosnia no longer has a future as a multi-ethnic state.

November 16

Tudjman threatens to intervene in Bosnia to protect Croats living there. More combat in Mostar. Macedonia Prime-Minister, Branko Crvenkovski survives confidence vote over governments’ handling of alleged plot by All-Albanian Army to undermine the state by force. The Bulgarian Prime Minister Luben Berov said that Bulgaria, Greece and Romania were considering the possibility of making a joint demarche in early 1994 for the purpose of easing the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia.

November 17

Turkish Foreign Minister Cetin proposes to NATO that armed force be used to protect aid convoys. War crimes tribunal meets for first time in Hague. Serbian opposition groups DEPOS says it will take part in December elections. 5 armed Serbs enter Macedonia and abduct 3 Macedonian border guards trying to prevent gasoline smuggling. All later released.

November 18

For the first time, HVO accuses its own forces for massacre of Muslims in Stupni Do in October. Silajdzic, Boban, and Karadzic meet in Geneva to discuss handling of relief efforts. Stoltenberg, Co-Chairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, submitted a report to the Security Council on the situation in the former Yugoslavia and possibilities for ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He concluded that the UN efforts had given visible results in improving the humanitarian assistance, preventing of spreading of the war and offering assistance in the negotiations, but that making peace, what was the fundamental objective, had not yet been achieved. Stoltenberg declared that ‘there is no longer any sense to speak of the (Serbian) aggression, since it is a civil war including the elements of interference of the neighbouring states, Serbia and Croatia’.

November 19

The Working Group on Humanitarian Issues held a meeting in Geneva with the donor community and other interested States, UNHCR, WFP, UNICEF, WHO, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and ICRC to review the state of preparations for the relief effort during the winter period. Notwithstanding the Joint Declarations on the delivery of humanitarian assistance, signed by the three sides at Geneva, the level of violence, the imposition of bureaucratic procedures hindering the transport of relief goods or the denial of clearance for the passage of UNHCR convoys reduced deliveries of humanitarian assistance to half the amount required. Furthermore, elements of all three sides deliberately fired upon relief convoys and United Nations personnel. Serbs in Krajina claim that Croatian forces attacked targets in Krajina.

November 21

Fighting across Bosnia. Aid convoys having difficult time reaching recipients due to local military commanders. Western agencies and TANJUG report that Croatian forces and Serbs in western
Slavonia have reached a cease-fire in effect for 10 days. Serbian version of Macedonia border incident is that Macedonians entered Serbia illegally.

FR Yugoslavia forwarded Memorandum to the UN, WHO and the world public that the rigorous and extended application of the sanctions had produced tragic and vast effects on the health of the population, and that by its character it was directed towards its destruction. The Memorandum appealed to take action in the Security Council for the purpose of lifting of the sanctions.

November 20-22

Croatian and Serbian intellectuals met in Zagreb in an attempt to build ‘a bridge of understanding and tolerance’. They issued a declaration saying that all participants acted as citizens whose intention was to establish direct contacts between the two parties in order to try to reduce disagreements and misunderstandings.

November 22 EU Foreign Ministers meeting in Luxembourg offer Yugoslavia a ‘gradual suspension’ of sanctions in exchange for territorial concessions the Bosnian Serbs should grant to the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as for the agreement on Krajina, or the ‘modus vivendi’ status for the territories in Croatia controlled by the UNPROFOR as part of a program for peace.

November 24

Amnesty International issues report strongly critical of Serbian policy in Kosovo. Vatican Radio says Pope John Paul II will not travel to Croatia in ‘94. Borba says Croats plan to rebuild historic bridge in Mostar, but refuse to claim responsibility. Food convoys reach central and eastern Bosnia for first time in a month.

November 25

Fighting continues in Gornji Vakuf and in Bihac pocket. Greek deputy Foreign Minister accuses Germany of being responsible for a conspiracy to gain full diplomatic recognition for Macedonia. In a lecture delivered in London Lord Owen, Co-Chairman of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia, assessed that the creation of a Muslim republic in Bosnia was inevitable since Washington had destroyed his plan for Bosnia as a multiethnic state. If the warring parties agreed with proposed division to three parts, Owen was of the opinion that the Croatian and Serbian part ‘could possibly join Serbia and Croatia afterwards’.

November 26

UN says all 3 sides again blocking aid (Serbs to Srebrenica and Zenica. Croats to central Bosnia. and Muslims between Fojnica and Bakovici).

November 27

Serbs let convoys pass to Sarajevo and Srebrenica, but Croats do not let any through in Central Bosnia. Karadzic says no territory will be given to Muslims unless sanctions against Yugoslavia lifted. EU preparing to discuss Franco-German proposal for gradual lifting of sanctions in exchange for territory, but Karadzic rules it out saying Germany is in the ‘forefront of genocide against the Serbs’.

November 28

Serb shells kill 5 in Sarajevo prior to renewal of peace talks in Geneva.
November 29

Milosevic accuses EU of genocide against Serbs through use of sanctions at 1st round of new peace talks. Tudjman willing to discuss Muslim ‘free zones’ in Rijeka or Ploce, but will not give up Neum for use as Muslim outlet to sea.

November 29-30

New negotiations on resolving the conflict in Bosnia commenced in Geneva. Apart from the Presidents Milosevic, Bulatovic and Tudjman and the representatives of the three warring parties Karadzic, Boban and Izetbegovic, Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia Owen and Stoltenberg, the commanders of UNPROFOR generals Cot and Briquemont participated as well as American and Russian special envoys Redman and Churkin, President of the UNHCR Ogata, President of the International Committee of Red Cross Somaruga, and ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 12 EU member countries. They discussed the issues at dispute that had been left over, and these were the status of Sarajevo, fixing of borders between the Serbian and Muslim territories, and others. Milosevic proposed that the sanctions should be immediately suspended, and that final lifting of them should be tied to the implementation of the peace plan for Bosnia. No significant progress was made, but it was concluded that the talks should be continued on 12 December.

November 30-December 1

The meeting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the CSCE took place in Rome. The ministers called upon the warring parties in Bosnia to ‘take initiative based on the EU action plan’. They declared that the territories protected by the UN (Krajina) ‘should be peacefully reintegrated into the political and legal system of Croatia’ and that the international observers should be allowed to resume their missions in Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandzak. They also said that ‘Yugoslavia should agree with all principles, commitments and decisions of the CSCE, since it is necessary condition for its participation in the CSCE’.

November 30

Muslim authorities in Zenica (Central Bosnia) agree to let Croats and Serbs leave thereby abandoning hope of multi-ethnicity. Serb artillery pounds Maglaj and Tesanj. Geneva talks deadlock, and Izetbegovic accuses EU of siding with Serbs.

December 1

As requested by Security Council Resolution 871, the Secretary-General reported that various initiatives were under way, with the co-operation of the two sides in the Croatian conflict, which could lead to implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for the Republic. Therefore, he would not recommend reconsidering the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia. However, he strongly urged the two sides to intensify their efforts for achieving a cease-fire agreement, for instituting practical measures of economic co-operation and for negotiating a lasting political settlement. He also appealed to them to extend their co-operation to UNPROFOR as it sought to improve conditions in the UNPAs.

Muslims say they will discuss possibility of splitting Sarajevo in exchange for land concessions in East Bosnia. Serbs apparently offer Sarajevo suburbs of Vogosca and Ilijas for Muslim enclaves of Zepa and Srebrenica. Greece blocks Macedonia’s entrance into CSCE, WEU criticises Greek Foreign policy. November inflation rate in Serbia at 20,190% (hourly rate of 0.7%. daily rate of 18.7%. annual rate at 286 billion%). New 500 million dinar note issued.
December 3
Yasushi Akashi, a former Japanese diplomat, became UN Secretary-General’s Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia.

December 4
Greek Prime-Minister Papandreou says border with Macedonia may have to be closed. Abdic’s forces said to have moved through Serb-held territory in Croatia to surprise Bosnian government forces. Heavy fighting in Mostar, Gornji Vakuf Serbian government to give out bread to pensioners, those on welfare.

The UN undersecretary Garekhan informed the Security Council of the results of the latest round of negotiations in Geneva on resolving the crisis in Bosnia. The conviction prevailed that further solutions should be sought within the division of that country into three ethnic entities. Creation of an independent Muslim state was also not excluded.

December 5
24 killed, 77 wounded in fighting between Muslims and Serbs north of Sarajevo. Serbs contend Muslims have attacked near Doboj. Serb-Croatian attacks on Maglaj and Tesanj (nearly 1,000 shells). Reuters says Serbian government may be planning to replace the dinar to prevent complete collapse of economy.

December 6
Bosnian Prime-Minister Silajdzie claims Serb forces now shelling areas with large concentrations of people to save ammunition.

December 7
Japanese diplomat Yashusi Akashi took office in Zagreb as UNPROFOR representative for the former Yugoslavia. Up to that moment the office had been held by Thorvald Stoltenberg who would remain at the post of the Co-Chairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

December 8
Croatian paper Nedjeljna Dalmacija says Serbs might offer to exchange Vukovar and Knin for Baranja (bordering Serbia). Croatia reportedly rejects the idea as swapping Croatian land for Croatian land.

December 10
At their meeting in Brussels the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the European Union member countries discussed the conditions that should be fulfilled ‘in order to consider the suspension of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro’. Apart from the territorial concessions that the Serbs should grant and the modus vivendi for Krajina, the Muslim part should also be granted a path to the sea, the cease-fire should be achieved and observed and Sarajevo should be brought under the UN control for a two year period.

The elections were held in the Republika Srpska Krajina for the Assembly and President of the Republic. Milan Babic won - 49%, while Milan Martic, supported by Milosevic, won 26% of votes. The second ballot was scheduled for 23 January 1994.
December 11
EU Foreign Minister invite 3 sides to resume negotiations on December 22. Over 1,000 shells land on Gorazde killing 2. Government forces push 2 miles into Serb territory 15 miles E of Tuzla, report 50 Serbs killed, 23 captured.

December 13
Serbs attack two UN convoys trying to bring humanitarian aid to Tuzla. Karadzic vows to bring about complete military defeat of Muslims if Serb positions around Sarajevo attacked.

December 14
Heavy fighting in and around Sarajevo killing at least 10. Bosnian Croats free several hundred Muslim prisoners from camp near Mostar.

December 15
Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DEPOS) rally in Belgrade brings out 30-50,000.

December 16
UN High Commissioner staff members detained by Serbs in Banja Luka while trying to inspect sites of mosques destroyed by Serbs. Germany, Britain, Netherlands, and Denmark confirm that they are proceeding towards full recognition of Macedonia. France, Italy, Finland, and Sweden all considering it also. Greece protests.

December 17
The President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General that the members of the Council agreed with the observations contained in his 1 December report regarding the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia.
Croat representatives and local Serb authorities in Croatia signed a Christmas Truce Agreement, mediated by UNPROFOR. The two parties undertook to cease all armed hostilities along all existing confrontation lines from midnight on 23 December until midnight on 15 January 1994. They also agreed to implement certain confidence-building measures, and to open negotiations as soon as the truce took effect on a ‘general and lasting’ cease-fire, with the separation of forces on both sides. Subsequently, the truce was extended beyond 15 January and has generally held since then.

December 19
Serbs vote for 250-seat parliament. Most Kosovo Albanians boycott (Kosovo’s 24 seats in parliament most likely will go to Serbs). Milosevic Socialist Party won.

December 20
On the initiative of the Muslim group of countries the UN General Assembly adopted the Resolution on Bosnia. Among other things the blame for the civil war and its consequences was laid on the Serbian part, and partly on the Croats. It was also required that the Security Council should lift the embargo on the arms import to Bosnia. 109 countries voted for the Resolution, there were 57 abstentions, and no vote against. Among those which abstained were all permanent members of the Security Council, except the USA which voted for, and all European Union member countries. Serbs shell Muslim forces near Zvornik (East Bosnia) and Olovo (N. of Sarajevo).
Aid flights suspended after Russian plane hit by machine-gun bullets. Serb attacks on government positions on Mt. Zuc cause power line for Sarajevo to be cut. Fighting near Tuzla, Doboj, Gradacac, and Fojnica.

December 21-23

Peace talks in Geneva, but fighting in Sarajevo. The Presidents of Serbia, Croatia, Republika Srpska, and Herzeg-Bosnia agreed in Geneva that 33.3% of the territory of Bosnia should belong to the Muslims. The Muslim part agreed with such division in percentages, but it put forward some new claims since it was not content with ‘the quality of the offered territories’ - some towns remained points at issue, as well as access to the sea and the Sava river, and the status of Sarajevo. Truce agreed upon in EU negotiations in Brussels, to extend over Christmas season (December 22-January 15). Serbs promise not to bomb Sarajevo during this period. Fighting remains heavy on same day. All sides agree to refrain from shooting at UN planes.

December 22


December 24

Muslims launch attacks on Lasva Valley, shell Vitez. Croats claim they regain control of Jelin Skok area (SW of Vitez). Serbs shell Sarajevo despite pledge, hit power lines.

December 26

Croats contend Muslims shelling them near Novi Travnik and Vitez. The Organisation of the Islamic Conference presented a statement in Dubai, requiring that the UN Security Council should lift the embargo on the arms delivery to the Bosnian Muslims, and that the international efforts should be directed towards re-establishment of ‘sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina’.

December 27

France formally recognises Macedonia. Greeks prevent Macedonian drivers from loading fuel at Greek refineries. Serb shelling of Sarajevo continues. British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd says Britain cannot be counted on indefinitely to remain in Bosnia.

December 28

UN evacuates 1,000 from Sarajevo, sends them to Split. Croatian Defence Minister, Gojko Susak threatens Croatian intervention in Bosnia if Muslims continue to threaten Croatians. New President elections in Krajina set for January 23.

December 29

Borba reports that all Serbian opposition parties say they will refrain from forming coalition with Socialists.
December 30

Politika reports Yugoslavia national bank devalues dinar by 9 zeros. No government formed yet. Montenegro announces it has relocated capital to Cetinje.

December 31

Serb shelling of Sarajevo kills 5. Muslims shell suburb of Grbavica killing 1. Building where relief workers are holding party hit by shell. Mortar fire in Mostar kills 1 amidst heavy fighting. Serbs and government forces battle in Gracanica (N. Bosnia). UN investigating Croatian claims of Muslim massacre of as many as 80 around Krizancevo (Central Bosnia) invade Bosnia.
Chronology 1994

January 3
Bosnian Government threatens to besiege Lasva Valley unless 65,000 Croats living there leave. Serb offensive against Sarajevo kills 15, wounds 30. UN commander in Yugoslavia General Jean Cot says his forces are prepared for defensive military action, and blames Serbs for acting as greatest hindrance for UNPROFOR.

January 4
Croatian Foreign Minister Granic and Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic meet in Vienna, agree that Mostar should be placed under international control. Lord Owen comments that UNPROFOR troops could be withdrawn by spring if sides do not come to an agreement. UN commander in Bosnia, General Francis Briquemont, resigns.

January 5
US ambassador to UN, Madelaine Albright, tells Croatia US may apply sanctions if Croatia carries through on its threat to invade Bosnia. Heavy shelling of Sarajevo kills 2, wounds 32. Police for first time turn civilians back into their homes and clear streets. Airport closed. UN counts 1,535 Serb shells, and only 56 government shells in response.

January 5
The negotiations between Silajdzic, Bosnian Prime Minister and Granic, Vice Prime Minister of Croatia, were completed in Vienna. As announced in their joint statement the two parties agreed on the cease-fire in Central Bosnia and cessation of all military activities between the Muslim and Croatian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

January 6

January 7
The Security Council, in a Presidential statement, condemned any hostilities in United Nations-designated ‘safe Areas’, particularly the relentless bombardment of Sarajevo by Bosnian Serb forces, and demanded an immediate end to attacks against Sarajevo, which had resulted in a large number of civilian casualties, disrupted essential services, and aggravated an already severe humanitarian situation. The Council reaffirmed its commitment to implement all its relevant Resolutions, in particular Resolution 836, by which it had authorised UNPROFOR to use force to protect Sarajevo and five towns previously declared ‘safe Areas’ in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and expressed its readiness to consider further measures to ensure that all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina abided by their commitments.
Serbs continue shelling despite Orthodox Christmas, 6 killed, airport still closed. In Bonn, Silajdžić demands resignation of Lord Owen for trying to force Muslims to accept unjust peace. Albright says blocking aid convoys should be considered war crime.

January 8

UN Security Council condemns all sides for recent fighting prompting Serbs to call for cease-fire, which they break several hours later. Shelling of airport prevents Izetbegovic from attending talks with Tudjman. 6 killed, 31 wounded in Sarajevo (death toll in city for '94 now more than 50). Shells fall on civilians waiting in line for water. UN denies that air strikes were called for by UN commander after 5 soldiers wounded earlier in week.

January 9

Bosnian and Croatian presidents meet in Bonn. NATO warplanes fly low over battlefields in Sarajevo area as NATO talks on Bosnia begin.

January 10

Talks in Bonn end inconclusively. Clinton tells NATO meeting that the alliance must be ready to back up its rhetoric if it issues threats. Tudjman presents Muslims with new package of proposals for regulating relations between two sides. They only agreed on the immediate cessation of combats between the Croats and Muslims in Central Bosnia.

January 10-11

The Heads of State and Government participating in the summit meeting of NATO, held in Brussels on 1994, issued a Declaration, by which they deplored the continuing conflict in the former Yugoslavia. They expressed their continued belief that the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be settled at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield, and supported the efforts of the United Nations and the European Union to secure a negotiated settlement in that Republic. They were determined to ‘eliminate obstacles to the accomplishment of the UNPROFOR mandate’ and called for the full implementation of Security Council Resolutions regarding the reinforcement of UNPROFOR. They reaffirmed their readiness under the authority of the Security Council ‘to carry out air strikes in order to prevent the strangulation of Sarajevo, the Safe Areas and other threatened areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina’. In this context, they urged UNPROFOR ‘to draw up urgently plans to ensure that the blocked rotation of the UNPROFOR contingent in Srebrenica can take place and to examine how the airport at Tuzla can be opened for humanitarian relief purposes’.

January 11

The UN Security Council appointed British General Michael Rose commander of UNPROFOR for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. He would replace Belgian General Briquemont. Shelling of Sarajevo intensifies. NATO leaders, using joint French-British proposal, warn Serbs of airstrikes unless airport in Tuzla is reopened, UN forces in Srebrenica are allowed to rotate, and siege of Sarajevo lifted. Karadzic rejects this saying the airports in Mostar, Tuzla, and Banja Luka will be reopened only when an international-guaranteed peace is signed.

January 12

The Secretary-General instructed his new Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, to undertake an urgent preparatory study of the NATO proposal ‘to draw up urgently
plans to ensure that the blocked rotation of the UNPROFOR contingent in Srebrenica can take place and to examine how the airport at Tuzla can be opened for humanitarian relief purposes’.

Muslim forces attack Croat positions in Lasva valley, 60 UN peacekeepers evacuated from area. 4 killed, 12 wounded in Sarajevo. Serb-Muslim fighting around Olovo. Pope John Paul II calls for ‘all forms of action aimed at disarming the aggressor’ but does not specify who these are. Izetbegovic rejects Tudjman plan, demands Serbs give up all seized land, that Muslims now have 200,000 men in the fight. Tudjman tells press conference Muslims are using poison gas in central Bosnia assaults, but UN cannot confirm this.

January 13

Bosnia UN ambassador Sacirbey calls on Muslim states to boycott NATO countries’ goods until arms embargo lifted. Serbs and Croats announce extension of their Christmas truce until end of January. Serbs shell Sarajevo. Serbia says it is planning new gold dinar pegged to D-mark. Inflation now at 1,000,000% a month. Bosnia Catholic bishops tell Tudjman that 440,000 of the 830,000 Croats in Bosnia prior to war are now refugees.

January 17

In his report to the Secretary-General, the Special Representative reaffirmed the urgent necessity of rotating the contingent in Srebrenica. As to Tuzla, it was concluded that the opening of the main airfield there would improve the flow of humanitarian supplies to the Tuzla Safe Area. In both cases, it was confirmed that the use of air power could make an important contribution if a military operation by UNPROFOR was needed for those purposes.
The Assembly of Republika Srpska adopted a new platform for negotiations with the Croatian and Muslim parts in Geneva. It is stated that ‘since the Muslim part rejected the proposal for the settlement of the crisis in the way that it should be offered one third of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina (33.3 per cent) Republika Srpska makes decision to revoke the offer.’ ‘Republika Srpska shall take part in the peace process, but it shall demand equal treatment, this implying that the international community should lift the sanctions and stop threatening the Serbs’.

January 18

The Secretary-General sent a letter to the President of the Security Council, indicating that the use of air power would require military assets in excess of what was available to UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Secretary-General also stated that the proposal to use air power implied that UNPROFOR could launch offensive action against Bosnian Serb elements which obstructed - or threatened to obstruct - its operations. UNPROFOR had previously been allowed to use air support only in defence of United Nations personnel.
The Secretary-General instructed Akashi, with the assistance of the UNPROFOR Force Commander, to prepare detailed plans for military operations, including the use of air power as required, to ensure the rotation of the contingent in Srebrenica and the opening of the main airfield at Tuzla in close co-ordination with NATO’s Southern Command. The Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Marrack Goulding, was sent to Brussels to brief the Secretary General of NATO on the matter.

January 18-19

Negotiations on the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina resumed in Geneva. No progress was made and the negotiations broke off.
After separate talks in Geneva between the delegations of FR Yugoslavia and Croatia the two states, signed a statement on the process of normalisation of relations and opening of diplomatic missions in Belgrade and Zagreb.
Republika Srpska and the Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosnia signed in Geneva a statement on establishing lasting peace and official relations between the two republics.

*January 19*

The High Commissioner for Refugees expressed fears for the fate of tens of thousands of civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina deprived of basic humanitarian assistance, despite repeated assurances by all Bosnian sides to let the aid through. In conveying her concern to the representatives of the warring parties attending the Geneva peace talks, she made particular mention of the civilian population in Maglaj, Tesanj, east Mostar, Gorazde and parts of central Bosnia.

*January 20*

UN senior aid official, Larry Hollingworth says UN should bring in more troops and get tough or get out of Bosnia. European Parliament recommends Lord Owen be replaced by someone with fresh perspective.

*January 21*

Boutros-Ghali considers air strikes to enforce rotation of UN troops in Srebrenica area. Snipers kill 2 children playing in snow in Sarajevo. Zagreb dailies say Croatian opposition furious with Tudjman’s deal with Milosevic.
The Russian Doema adopted a document requiring that Jeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomydin should take all necessary measures to request the UN Security Council to lift the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia.

*January 22*


*January 23*

Serbs block medical evacuations from Sarajevo in retaliation for detention of Serb doctors who were trying to leave city. Boutros-Ghali says he is ready to order NATO air strikes is troops on ground ask him to. Departing UN General for Bosnia, Lt. General Francis Briquemont says UN mission impossible while fighting continues.
Second ballot held for the President of the Republika Srpska Krajina. Milosevic ally Milan Martic was elected President.

*January 24*

In FR Yugoslavia a new economic programme became effective. The basic target of the programme was to crack down the hyperinflation and reconstruct the monetary system. The new, internally convertible dinar was established. The exchange rate between the dinar and Deutsche Mark was fixed at 1:1.

British general Michael Rose replaced Belgian general Briquemont as a new commander of the UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina.
French idea of imposing borders on warring groups rejected by US which says pressure should be focused on Bosnian Serbs. French say they may be forced to pull out 6,000 troops unless political pressure used for settlement. Clinton says fighting will continue until those in Bosnia agree to stop it.
Departing UN General for Yugoslavia, Jean Cot, calls for air strikes to support safe havens or other areas. Boutros-Ghali contends that settlement could take years and NATO is unwilling to use force.

January 25
Bosnian Croats claim to have captured Muslim village of Here (Central Bosnia). Muslims contend that 25 civilians massacred.

January 25-26
Seven Bosnian police beaten by crowds who try to seize UN food shipments in village of Ticici.

January 26
US State Department spokesman Mike McCurry says France’s peace plan to pressure Muslim forces ‘requires a very strange moral calculus’.

January 27
French Foreign Minister angrily criticises US by calling it a bystander on Bosnia. Two UN soldiers wounded by Croatian artillery barrage that hits aid convoy near Fojnica. New York Times reports Yugoslavia People’s Army still actively involved in Bosnia war. France recommends airstrikes to open Tuzla airport and to support UN in Srebrenica. US Senate votes in favour of non-binding Resolution to lift arms embargo on Bosnian Government. Serbian and Croatian governments announce in Geneva they will set up joint commission to determine fates of 9,000 from war in ‘91. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says he and Yugoslavia Foreign Minister Simic have opened talks on Krajina.

January 28
In a letter to the President of the Security Council, the Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina reported that military formations of the regular armed forces of Croatia, supplemented by heavy artillery, armoured vehicles and other war-materials, were involved in military actions on his country’s territory.

The Secretary-General submitted a letter to the President of the Council, containing three scenarios envisaged under the plans prepared under Akashi’s direction by the UNPROFOR Force Commander. In the first scenario, troops in Srebrenica and Zepa could be rotated and the Tuzla airport opened through negotiations and with the consent of the parties. In the second, if the parties did not consent, but were judged unlikely to use military force, existing UNPROFOR military assets would be used with the support, if necessary, of NATO air power. In the third scenario, if the parties resorted to military force, UNPROFOR would use available assets, reinforced with additional troops and equipment contributed by United Nations Member States, and supported, if necessary, by NATO air power.

The first two scenarios, the Secretary-General pointed out, represented ‘a measured step-by-step approach geared to the attitude of the parties’, while the third scenario would imply ‘a different level of military action’ and could not be implemented without Security Council authorisation and the deployment of additional troops in the area.

The Secretary-General stated that he would not hesitate to initiate the use of close air support if UNPROFOR were attacked while implementing plans to rotate peacekeepers in Srebrenica and Zepa and to open Tuzla airport. At the same time, he distinguished between close air support involving the use of air power for self-defence, which had already been authorised by NATO, and air strikes for preemptive or punitive purposes. NATO forces were not authorised to launch the latter types of air strikes without a decision of the North Atlantic Council.
The Secretary-General said he hoped that the troops could be rotated and the airport opened in accordance with the first scenario, namely, by mutual agreement. However, he noted that UNPROFOR’s mandate regarding Safe Areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina had been adopted under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, and the Force did not have to seek the consent of the parties for operations falling within its mandate. The Secretary-General warned that ‘any resort to the second scenario, and a fortiori to the third scenario’ would entail considerable risk for UNPROFOR’s operations and for the troops involved in its implementation, as well as for the humanitarian assistance operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nevertheless, he instructed the Special Representative to ‘pursue actively’, in direct contact with the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, the implementation of the two plans. In the specific circumstances of UNPROFOR operations in Srebrenica and Tuzla, the Secretary-General delegated to his Special Representative the authority to approve a request for close air support from the Force Commander. UN investigators say some abuses occurred by UNPROFOR towards civilians, but majority of accusations unfounded or still being investigated. 3 British aid workers abducted near Zenica, in Muslim-controlled territory. 1 killed, 2 wounded. British halt participation in aid convoys in protest.

January 29

Bosnian Croat forces admit to killing of 3 Italian TV journalists previous day in mortar attack in Mostar. Croatia denies its troops are involved in Bosnia, but head of political department of Croatian army says there are volunteers who may have neglected to remove their Croatian army insignia. Serbia also denies troops in Bosnia.

UN Secretary General, authorised Akashi to ask, if necessary, the support of the NATO air force in the operation of opening the Tuzla airport and corridors to Srebrenica and Zepa.

January 31

The Supreme Command of the Army of Republika Srpska decided on the general mobilisation of all population fit for the military service or work. They should be organised in combat or working units, and some special women units would also be formed ‘for the purpose of completing the war successfully and achieving economic revival of the country’. 3 accused of killing British aid worker themselves killed in Sarajevo while resisting arrest Russian LDP leader Zhirinovsky visits town of Bijeljina (NE Bosnia), tells Serbs Russian has the means to punish those who bomb the Serbs.

Upper house of Croatian parliament endorses pact with Belgrade as ‘a step towards peace’.

February/March

Cease-fire arrangements in Sarajevo, in central Bosnia and around Mostar alleviated suffering and deprivation and brought considerable relief to the populations in these areas. In addition, political developments leading to accords on new constitutional arrangements for the Bosnian Muslim and the Bosnian Croat communities as well as an agreement on a proposed confederation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia gave a new impetus to the peace process and facilitated access for humanitarian convoys through routes hitherto closed or very difficult to use.

February 1

The Secretary-General reported that the Croatian Army (HV) had been directly supporting the Bosnian Croat Army (HVO) with manpower, equipment and weapons for some time. The number of Croatian soldiers had apparently increased following successful offensives of Bosnian Government forces.
against the HVO. It was assessed that in total there were approximately 3,000 to 5,000 Croatian regular army personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**February 2-3**

*Daily Telegraph* and *Washington Post* both report that Bosnian Serb authorities enforcing conscription amongst refugees in Serbia with compliance of Serb officials. Bosnian Serb Defence Minister says ‘They are our people...and...we are getting them back so they can finish their military obligations.’ *Daily Telegraph* also reports on 2-2 that Bosnian Croats are also being pressed into service in Bosnia. Boutros-Ghali says on 2-3 that 3-5,000 Croatian troops are actively involved in Bosnia, but German Foreign Minister Kinkel says there is no proof and opposes sanctions against Zagreb. *Washington Post* also reports (2-2) that both Izetbegovic and Sacirbey believe ‘successful actions on the battlefield are the best diplomacy’.

**February 3**

In a Presidential statement, the Security Council strongly condemned Croatia for deploying elements of its Army and heavy military equipment in the central and southern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demanded that they be withdrawn. The Council stated that it would consider ‘other serious measures’, if Croatia failed to put an immediate end to ‘all forms of interference’ in that Republic. The Council again condemned the acquisition of territory by force as well as the ‘practice of ‘ethnic cleansing’ by whomsoever committed’, and reaffirmed the sovereignty, territory integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In terms of food aid, WFP reported that, although refugee needs in the former Yugoslavia were covered for the winter, there would be shortages in the spring, since only 67 per cent of the food requirements had been met until the end of June 1994, leaving a shortfall of 145,000 tons, valued at $86 million. For the whole of 1994, nearly 750,000 metric tons of food aid, valued at some $500 million, was required for the former Yugoslavia.

**February 4**

The UN Security Council adopted the Presidential statement giving an ultimatum to Croatia to withdraw its regular military units from Bosnia within two week period. In case Croatia ignored the ultimatum, ‘it would face serious consequences’, it was said. The explosion of a mortar shell fired at the Sarajevo suburbs Dobrinja caused death of nine people who stood in a queue for distribution of humanitarian assistance.

**February 5**

A 120-mm mortar round fired at the Sarajevo central market killed at least 58 civilians and wounded 142 others in the worst single incident of the 22-month war. This followed a similar attack on one of the suburbs of Sarajevo on 4 February in which 10 civilians were killed and 18 injured. After initial investigation, UNPROFOR established that the round fired on 4 February had come from a Bosnian Serb position, but it had not been possible to locate the source of the attack against the central market on 5 February. Izetbegovic accused the Bosnian Serbs for the attack. General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the Army of Republika Srpska, rejected the accusation that the Serbian part was responsible for this incident and demanded forming of a mixed expert group that would investigate the case.
February 6

In a letter to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that the two Sarajevo incidents made it necessary, in accordance with Resolution 836 to prepare urgently for the use of air strikes to deter further such attacks. The Secretary-General also informed the Council that he had requested the Secretary General of NATO to obtain ‘a decision by the North Atlantic Council to authorise the Commander-in-Chief of NATO’s Southern Command to launch air strikes, at the request of the United Nations, against artillery or mortar positions in and around Sarajevo which are determined by UNPROFOR to be responsible for attacks against civilian targets in that city’.

General Rose, commander of UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina stated that, after making analysis of the crater UNPROFOR experts were unable to say which part had fired the shell at the Sarajevo market Markale. Akashi, special envoy of the UN Secretary General said ‘we have some doubts, but we are still not certain’ which part had fired the shell.

Milosevic expressed his bitterness condemning the crime committed in Sarajevo and expecting that the persons responsible for it would be brought to justice. Yugoslavia army officers agree with Karadzic that bombing is the work of Muslims to gain International sympathy.

The Serbian-Muslim negotiations on the cease-fire for the area of Sarajevo conducted at the Sarajevo airport were interrupted.

February 7

At their meeting in Brussels ministers of Foreign Affairs of the EU agreed to authorise, if necessary, use of NATO air force for the purpose of destroying the forces laying siege to Sarajevo.

Andrey Kozyrev, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia said that air raids in Bosnia could be authorised, at the proposal of the Security Council, only by UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. In his opinion they could be taken only against the part obstructing shipment of humanitarian relief or jeopardising security of UNFPROFOR members.

US endorses UN plan calling on NATO to prepare for bombing Serb positions. Some administration opposition to air strikes comes from new Secretary of Defence William Perry. European Union calls for immediate lifting of Sarajevo siege using ‘all the means necessary’, but unable to come to agreement on issuing ultimatum. French make plea for intervention and say they are disappointed with EU statement. British say French proposal just one of several options.

February 8

As NATO prepares response, US says deadline for lifting of siege should be a week or air strikes to take place. Growing US-French consensus emerging where there had previously been competition. US proposal calls for Serb forces to withdraw tanks and artillery 20 kilometres from city, Muslims to place their heavy weaponry under UN monitoring.

February 9

Moving to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, the NAC issued a statement calling ‘for the withdrawal, or regrouping and placing under UNPROFOR control, within ten days, of heavy weapons (including tanks, artillery pieces, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, missiles and anti-aircraft weapons) of the Bosnian Serb forces located in the area within 20 kilometres of the centre of Sarajevo, and excluding the area within 2 kilometres of the centre of Pale’. It also called upon the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, within the same period, ‘to place the heavy weapons in its possession within the Sarajevo exclusion zone described above under UNPROFOR control, and to refrain from attacks launched from within the current confrontation lines in the city’.

The NAC decided that, ten days from 2400 GMT 10 February, heavy weapons of any of the parties found within the Sarajevo exclusion zone, unless controlled by UNPROFOR, would, along with their
direct and essential military support facilities, be subject to NATO air strikes. The strikes would be conducted in close co-ordination with the UN Secretary-General. The NAC accepted the 6 February request of the UN Secretary-General and authorised CINCSOUTH, to launch air strikes, at the request of the United Nations, against artillery or mortar positions in or around Sarajevo, including any outside the exclusion zone, which were determined by UNPROFOR to be responsible for attacks against civilian targets in that city.

In a parallel development, a few hours prior to the announcement of the NATO decision a cease-fire agreement had been reached between the warring parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the area in and around Sarajevo. The agreement followed intensive discussions at the political and military levels brokered by the Secretary-General’s Special Representative, the Force Commander of UNPROFOR and UNPROFOR’s Sector Commander for Sarajevo. The agreement involved the positioning of UNPROFOR troops in sensitive areas, monitoring, and the placing of all heavy weapons under UNPROFOR’s control.

Immediately following the decision by NATO, the UN Secretary-General instructed his Special Representative to finalise, with CINCSOUTH, detailed procedures for the initiation and conduct of air strikes. He delegated to the Special Representative the authority to approve a request from the UNPROFOR Force Commander for close air support for the defence of United Nations personnel anywhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Secretary-General also instructed him and UNPROFOR military authorities to negotiate arrangements under which: (a) there would be an effective cease-fire in and around Sarajevo. (b) the heavy weapons of the Bosnian Serb forces would be withdrawn or regrouped and placed under UNPROFOR control. and (c) the heavy weapons of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be placed under UNPROFOR control.

At a press conference in the White House Clinton said that NATO was ready to respond by taking air raids against those responsible for jeopardising security of the Safe Areas.

Karadzic warns that Serbs will ‘shoot down every plane we can’.

Russian Deputies express outrage at possibility of bombing including nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky who, in trip to Bosnia, says bombs dropped on Serbs would amount to bombs dropped on Russia.

Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev urges world leaders to make Sarajevo UN protectorate rather than launch airstrikes.

US formally recognises Macedonia, but uses title of ‘Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Yugoslavia Finance Minister says army now claims 75% of budget.

*February 10*

Russian UN ambassador Yulii Vorontsov says Russian will not insist on Security Council authorisation of airstrikes. President Clinton finally able to reach Jeltsin by telephone after 2 days of not being able to get through to discuss Bosnia crisis. 2 artillery blasts hit Sarajevo. Bosnian Serb generals say they will not withdraw artillery voluntarily.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation stated that NATO’s call for the parties - both the Serbs and the Muslims - to place the heavy weapons deployed in the Sarajevo area under United Nations control or to withdraw them from the area was close to the Russian position. At the same time, however, the Russian Federation could not agree with the position of a number of NATO members which interpreted the NATO decision as ‘a one-sided ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs, who are being threatened by air strikes’. It requested an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council, open to all countries concerned, to consider practical ways to demilitarise Sarajevo and to introduce a United Nations administration there. A Security Council meeting to discuss the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also requested by the Government of that country and Pakistan.
**February 11**

General Rose, commander of the UN forces in Bosnia, said that the cease-fire in the Sarajevo area was observed ‘within reasonable limits’ and that the Army of Republika Srpska started to withdraw its heavy weapons around Sarajevo.

Zoran Lilic, President of FR Yugoslavia sent a telegram to Boutros-Ghali, expressing his concern for the inappropriateness of the NAC decision to search the Resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina by issuing ultimatums and using military force. Peace could be achieved only by negotiations of the warring parties on equal footing.

**February 12**

After three day talks the latest round of negotiations on Bosnia was completed in Geneva and no progress was made. It was concluded that the conference should be resumed in late February or early March. Negotiations between the delegations of FR Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia took place in Zagreb.

**February 13**

UN officials in Bosnia say they are not concerned that Serb guns might still be pointed at Sarajevo after February 21 deadline. Spokesman Lt. Col. Aikman says deadline ‘is a NATO ultimatum, it is not a UN ultimatum’. Cease-fire in 4th day, but only 26 Serb weapons of greater than .50 calibre placed under UN control, and these are in Serb-run barracks. 10 Bosnian Government guns under UN control. US, German, UK, Canada and Netherlands have all begun evacuation of dependants at embassies. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitalii Churkin in Belgrade for talks with Milosevic, says west interpreting UN Resolution in own way and trying to circumvent veto in Security Council. Bosnia Prime Minister Silajdzic rejects Serbs demands that Muslims put infantry and light weapons under UN control also. Croatia says it will withdraw troops from Bosnia if UN protects Croatian communities in central Bosnia.

**February 14-15**

Over the course of four meetings, the Council Council heard a total of 58 speakers. Member States generally welcomed the decision by NATO and the steps taken by the Secretary-General to prepare for the use of force, adding that those actions had been fully authorised by existing Council Resolutions. They emphasised that force was designed to underpin efforts by the UN and the EU to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict, and that air strikes had to be carried out with caution and precision. Although the NATO ultimatum was widely supported, several Member States either opposed it or expressed concern that, as a result of air strikes, UNPROFOR might become a target for retaliatory measures. No Security Council Resolution or statement was put forward during the meetings.

**February 15**

German authorities arrest Serb concentration camp guard on genocide charges. First instance of action taken against accused war criminals. Jeltsin, in meeting with British Prime Minister Major, says Bosnia problem cannot be solved without Russia. Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias in Belgrade for meetings with Milosevic.

The UN Security Council completed its two day debate on Bosnia. With more or less reserves almost all participants supported the NAC decision on the possible bombardment of the Serbian forces deployed around Sarajevo. Only the representatives of China, Greece and FR Yugoslavia were against such a decision. No conclusions or official positions were presented by the Security Council at the session.
Radoje Kontic, Prime Minister of the Yugoslav federal government, commenced a series of meetings in New York with the UN officials.

**February 16**

The UN five member commission stated in Zagreb that there was no sufficient proof to determine the party responsible for firing the shell at the Sarajevo Markale market on 5 February. 'The shell could be fired by any of the parties’ (Serbian and Muslim).

Andreas Papandreou, Greek Prime Minister said Greece would impose a blockade on all the trade the FYR of Macedonia carried through the Thesaloniki harbour and close its consulate in Skopje for 'skopje keeps on provoking the Greek part' and 'applies the irredentist principles'. Differences remain between NATO, UN on what sort of control will be maintained over Serb weapons. Serbs moving some weapons to other parts of Bosnia. Jeltsin, in phone conversation with Chancellor Kohl, makes clear Russian opposition to air strikes. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin says Russia opposed to redeploying Russian peacekeeping troops from Croatia to Sarajevo. Meets with Milosevic. Greece reimposes economic blockade against Macedonia.

**February 17**

Churkin and Karadzic reach agreement on pull-back of Serbs to stave off air strikes. Russia also now offers to send 400 soldiers from Croatia to Sarajevo after February 21 deadline passes if Serbs pull back behind UN-NATO 20 kilometre exclusion zone.

**February 18**

After discussions in Sarajevo with Karadzic and Izetbegovic, and later in Zagreb with CINCSOUTH, the Secretary-General’s Special Representative reported that progress was being made towards achieving a durable cease-fire, disarmament and disengagement, with a clear-cut role for UNPROFOR. There was agreement with the Bosnian Serb leader on having extensive and unhindered UNPROFOR patrolling within the weapons exclusion zone. Heavy weapons not withdrawn from the exclusion zone would be grouped and placed in seven different sites, under the control of armed UNPROFOR elements. An agreement had also been reached with regard to communications, with the full assurance that hot-lines would be established between UNPROFOR and the Bosnian Serb and Muslim sides. The Secretary-General informed the Council that despite its demand for non-interference in Bosnia and Herzegovina, some 5,000 Croatian Army troops were still believed to remain in that country. Also, no action had been taken regarding the proposed establishment of a monitoring mechanism to verify troop withdrawals. US Secretary of Defence Perry and Chairman of JCS Shalikashvili sent to Italy to review preparations for NATO air strikes. Karadzic tells UN envoy Yasushi Akashi that Serbs will have pulled back 24 hours early 'regardless of other deadlines'. Military experts says Serbs have largely withdrawn guns for use on other fronts rather than have them controlled by UN. Bosnian Government concerned that many Serb guns still in position.

**February 19**

Croatian Foreign Minister Granic and Bosnia Prime Minister Silajdzic hold talks in Frankfurt-Main, say progress made in their relations. US acting as mediator in latest Croat-Muslim talks.

**February 20**

UN special envoy Akashi announces there is no immediate need for air strikes as Serbs have made a ‘substantial withdrawal or regrouping of heavy weapons in and around Sarajevo’. UN commander in
Sarajevo, General Rose, says UN has identified 41 mortar and artillery sites around Sarajevo, but 9 had yet to be surveyed, 23 were abandoned, 5 were under UN control and the remaining 4 would soon be. UN declines to give estimates of total Serb weaponry (anywhere from 300 to 900). 5 suspected Serb shells hit Tuzla. 400 Russians peacekeepers arrive in Pale.

The Security Council met in informal consultations at the request of the Russian Federation, with the NATO deadline for withdrawal of heavy weapons scheduled for midnight that night. The Council was briefed by the Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, Mr. Kofi Annan, who reported that according to the Secretary-General’s Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, the UNPROFOR Force Commander and NATO, Serbian compliance with the ultimatum had been effective. Certain weapons on both the Serb and Muslim sides, which had not been removed from the exclusion zone, would be monitored in place by UNPROFOR. As a result, the Council decided, in coordination with NATO, not to recommend that air strikes be carried out at that time.

**February 21**

UN and NATO agree that air strikes not necessary at this time due to Serb withdrawals, but retain option. NATO considering extending tactic to other areas of Bosnia, but Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev says there should be ‘no more ultimatums or similar devices’. Russian Defence Minister Grachev tells US Secretary of Defense Perry that US should send ground forces to Muslim sector of Sarajevo as this would reduce chances of provocation caused by Muslim forces. UN says new wave of ethnic cleansing being carried out by Serbs against Croats, Muslims around Banja Luka calling it ‘criminality on a huge scale. Serb-Muslim artillery duel around Tuzla. Bosnian Government troops kill 2 in Vitez. US envoy Charles Redman in Zagreb for talks.

**February 22**

Serb artillery reported to still be around Sarajevo. 5 Swedish peacekeepers wounded by a shell in Tuzla. Churkin, in Bonn, urges no further use of ultimatums (Churkin also states that Russian troops are placed on dividing line in Sarajevo between Muslim and Serbs to provide ‘psychological comfort’ to the Serbs. Russian Foreign Minister says it was Russian initiative, not unilateral ultimatums that convinced Serbs to pull back. also, Foreign Minister says Russian has no objections to Turkish peacekeepers after Turkey renews its offer. UN troops sent to area near Bosnia-Croatia border after Krajina Serbs blockade Nepalese peacekeepers and take control of transit route on Sava River. Borba says UN has called for jets to fly overhead to ‘intimidate the Serbs’ after Serbs bring tanks to reinforce their positions.

**February 23**

Jeltsin invited Clinton, as well as leaders of France, Great Britain and Germany, to hold a summit for the purpose of finding the most optimal solution to stop the war in the former Yugoslavia. The White House assessed that the proposal ‘is inappropriate for the time being’. Military representatives of the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Croat sides signed a cease-fire agreement. Under this agreement, reached at a meeting hosted by UNPROFOR in Zagreb the two parties agreed to the immediate and total cessation of hostilities with effect from noon 25 February, a halt to all forms of propaganda against one another, and a fixing of lines of contact and positions as of the time of the cease-fire. UNPROFOR forces were to be positioned at key points. Heavy weapons were to be withdrawn or put under UNPROFOR control, and a Joint Commission was to be established, with representatives of both sides and chaired by UNPROFOR. 4 road corridors to be opened to allow deliveries by UN convoys, checkpoints and weaponry to be under UN control or to have been pulled back 10 kilometres by March 7. Both sides agree to open detention centres and exchange prisoners. no mention of Mostar. Leader of ruling council of ‘state’ of Herceg-Bosna says single federation Muslim and Bosnia preferable to 3 ethnic ministates.
February 24

Through mediation of Milosevic, Karadzic and Fikret Abdic, President of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, signed in Belgrade an agreement guaranteeing to keep the peace along all borders between Republika Srpska and the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia.

Shell hits hospital in Muslim enclave of Maglaj killing 5. Tudjman endorses idea of federation Bosnian Croat and Muslim state.

February 25

Croat and Muslim leaders meet in Sarajevo, express commitment to cease-fire.

February 26

At the initiative of the USA, negotiations commenced in New York between Haris Silajdzic, Prime Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mate Granic, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Croatia and Kreshimir Zubak, representative of the Bosnian Croats. The three parties discussed the creation of a future common state to be composed of the Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

Overnight bombardment of Maglaj by Serbs kills 2 children, wounds 13 other people. Cease-fire holding in Sarajevo and Mostar.

February 28

2 American F-16s shoot down 4 Bosnian Serb Super’ Galeb’ jets which are strafing munitions factory in Novi Travnik in violation of no-fly zone (1st instance of NATO forces being used for combat).

Russia gives support to NATO use of force. Bosnian Serbs deny any planes shot down. Some Serbs continue to defy UN/NATO commands to hand over control of their weapons, UN says this makes no difference since their firing will provoke a NATO attack. Shell reportedly lands in centre of Sarajevo overnight, but UN says it knows nothing about it. Serbs illegally move 6 or 7 tanks outside of 20-kilometre zone around Sarajevo. Serb tanks and artillery attacking around Maglaj and Bihac, where they are trying to establish rail line between Krajina and Serbia proper. Attacks also on Tuzla.

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March 1

The Bosnian Serbs, following talks with high-ranking officials of the Russian Federation in Moscow, agreed to open the Tuzla airport for humanitarian purposes. Deployment of UNPROFOR troops around the airport began in early March in preparation for an airlift that was expected to bring relief supplies to hundreds of thousands of people in the area. The first UNPROFOR flight landed in Tuzla on 22 March 1994.

As to the restoration of the essential services in Sarajevo, the Secretary-General reported that UNPROFOR had established an Interim Co-ordination Board to act as a temporary focal point for the various organisations operating in that city. The Board would prepare a comprehensive status report, which would provide the basis for the plan requested by Security Council Resolution 900. The Secretary-General also stated that he would shortly announce the appointment of a senior civilian official, with the title of Special Co-ordinator, who would co-ordinate the initial efforts under the overall authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.
Croats and Muslims, under US direction in Washington, sign framework agreement on uniting their territories. Agreement would create Swiss-like canton system where each will have authority over culture, police, education, communication, tourism, and public services. Bosnian Prime-Minister Silajdžić also signs preliminary accord on financial and economic confederation with Croatia. This federation could also be joined by the Bosnian Serbs as a separate unit.

March 2

Russia criticises Muslim-Croat pact for not including Serbs, but says agreement could prove useful within general settlement of conflict. Serbs press sieges of Maglaj, Bihac, Breza (N of Sarajevo). Also fire 3 rocket propelled grenades at government troop positions near downtown Sarajevo saying they were doing so because government forces reinforcing their positions.

March 4

After a two week debate the Security Council adopted Resolution 900. The Council called on all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to co-operate with UNPROFOR in the consolidation of the cease-fire in and around Sarajevo, to achieve complete freedom of movement for the civilian population and humanitarian goods to, from and within Sarajevo, and to help restore normal life to the city. The Council requested the Secretary-General to appoint a senior civilian official to draw up an overall assessment and plan of action for the restoration of essential public services in the various opstinas of Sarajevo, other than the city of Pale, and invited him to establish a voluntary trust fund for that purpose. The Council further requested the Secretary-General to present a report on the feasibility and modalities for the application of protection, defined in Resolutions 824 and 836, to Maglaj, Mostar and Vitez, taking into account all developments both on the ground and in the negotiations between the parties. UN says it is no longer opposed to using troops with historic ties to former Yugoslavia, especially Italy and Turkey. Russia ready to send 300 more troops. Serb guns moved within 12.4 miles of Sarajevo into exclusion zone. Three mortar rounds fired by Serbs at British troops in Zepce (45 miles N of Sarajevo). French troops fire warning rounds to silence Serb guns firing on government positions near Jewish cemetery. Rose pleads for more troops before peace initiative breaks down. Muslim-Croat negotiations commenced in Vienna on the future common federation of the Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

March 5

Serbs blockade 7 aid convoys, continue shelling of Maglaj, fire on French troops in Sarajevo. UN confirms there are still Serb heavy weapons in area.

March 6

Serb shelling and bombing of Maglaj.

March 7

Croats and Muslims begin pull-back of heavy weapons in Central Bosnia. Tudjman says Croatian voters should decide fate of confederation, but this will not solve issue until Serb position defined. Also states that Serbs must give up Krajina area if relations are to be normalised. Fighting reported between Croats and Serbs in Northwest Krajina. Swedish and Danish UN troops move into Tuzla airport area with 10 Leopard tanks armed with 105mm cannons taking control over the airport.
UN peacekeeping forces started taking over control of the airport of Tuzla by deploying troops around it.

March 8

Serbs continue shelling of Maglaj killing 8. US envoy Charles Redman reports progress in talks with Tudjman, but sides still differ on inclusion of Serbs. Milosevic tells Redman he will not challenge pact since it does not violate Serb interests. 5,000 Turkish troops said to be ready to go to Bosnia within 2 weeks, but Serbs opposed. Currently 28,350 UN troops in all of Yugoslavia, with approx. 13,000 in Bosnia. Spanish NATO military transport plane hit by rockets fired from Krajina area forcing it to land on Krk. Trams run through central Sarajevo for first time in 2 years.

A Spanish CASA 212 transport aircraft, on a routine flight from Zagreb to Split, made an emergency landing at Rijeka Airport (Croatia) after being hit by groundfire while flying over Croatia.

March 10

The rotation of troops in Srebrenica, after protracted negotiations with the Bosnian Serb side, was completed, with the Dutch troops replacing the Canadian contingent. Serb shells hit Maglaj killing 12. UN says 2 Serb soldiers killed by snipers in Sarajevo. French soldier killed near Bihac, air strikes not called in since origin of shooting not clear. US says it might recognise Serb state on Bosnia territory if this would bring about quicker Resolution of war. Reuters says 1,000 Turkish troops offer has been accepted for total of 7,200 soldiers from European and Argentina (goal of 10,650).

March 11

The Secretary-General estimated that the implementation of Resolution 900 would require an increase of the authorised strength of UNPROFOR by a total of 8,250 additional troops, 150 military observers and 275 civilian police monitors. Of these additional troops, 2,200 would be required for the operation in and around Sarajevo and 6,050 for operations in central Bosnia, including Mostar and Vitez. A further 1,500 troops would be needed if the Council were to extend the Safe Area concept to Maglaj. The Secretary-General noted that recent developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina had created a new situation, which ‘should provide numerous opportunities for UNPROFOR to make substantial progress’ in the implementation of its mandate. UNPROFOR’s ability to achieve those objectives, however, was severely limited by the lack of military resources. If Member States did not provide the necessary personnel, its mandate would have to be modified. ‘It would be a tragedy for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina if the present opportunity were lost for lack of resources,’ he concluded.

March 12

Croat, Muslim commanders sign agreement (brokered by US General John Galvin) to merge armies. Russian envoy Vitaly Churkin says he is not optimistic about peace. Serbs warn UN against sending Turkish troops, that this would lead to escalation of war. Shelling of Maglaj kills 1, wounds 6. French come under fire in Bihac area, call for air strikes which are not authorised for 3 hours, but by this point Serbs leave. UN says weather obscured targets.

NATO responded to the first UNPROFOR request for Close Air Support (CAS). Aircraft were sent to provide protection for French troops who were being fired upon near Bihac in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ultimately, the UNPROFOR Tactical Air Control Party did not request the aircraft to attack a ground target.
March 13
Croats and Muslims agree in Vienna on the draft Constitution of the future Croatian-Muslim federation (which includes federation government, assembly, decentralised cantonal system). Negotiations on fixing the boundaries of cantons were not completed.

March 14
French contend that weather not reason for calling off airstrike, but rather ground spotter could not see Serb position, although planes could. Churkin in Belgrade and Zagreb for talks.

March 15
UN Security Council demands Serbs lift31 March - The UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 908. The Resolution contained the analysis of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, assessment of the role of the UN and several specific decisions on the further activities of the UNPROFOR in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the FYR Macedonia. The decisions were made to extend the mandate of the UNPROFOR for the next six months upto 30 September 1994 and to send there additional 3,500 soldiers (instead of 8,500 as was proposed in the draft Resolution). siege of Maglaj, but don’t declare it ‘safe Area’.

March 16
Croat negotiator at Vienna talks says Croat-Muslim alliance to be jointly represented at face-to-face negotiations with Serbs.

The Secretary-General recommended the renewal of the Force’s mandate for a further 12 months beyond 31 March 1994. The Secretary-General stated that the continuing conflict in UNPROFOR’s area of operations since its mandate was last renewed had led to considerable, but unjustified, criticism of the effectiveness of the Force. Those, together with mounting threats to the safety and security of United Nations personnel, and the continuing failure of Member States to honour their financial obligations to UNPROFOR in full and on time, had led him to consider seriously whether the continuation of the Force constituted a worthwhile use of the limited peace-keeping resources of the United Nations.

The diversity and scope of the problems in the former Yugoslavia, the Secretary-General continued, required the deployment of more military forces than troop-contributing nations appeared to be prepared to make available. The encouraging developments around Sarajevo at the end of February 1994, however, provided reason for hope that an overall political settlement might at last be within reach.

March 17
Serbs and Muslims sign an agreement negotiated by UNPROFOR on the freedom of movement in the Sarajevo area and an anti-sniping agreement and agree to open up road from Sarajevo to Zenica to civilians in buses or cars under UN escort, civilians must apply to military authorities first. Agreement opens up Bridge of Brotherhood and Unity in centre of Sarajevo. Serbs fire on streetcar in Sarajevo possibly killing 1, wounding 2. Bosnian radio contends that in last 3 days 12 have been killed in Sarajevo. 1 soldier, 3 civilians killed in Bihac area, while 1 killed in Maglaj.

March 18
Agreement between Muslims and Croats officially signed in Washington. Serbs and Bosnian government sign limited movement agreement opening 4 access routes between Sarajevo and suburbs.
March 19

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali reported on the activities of the UN in resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, on the results achieved by the UNPROFOR, on the situation in the critical areas in the former Yugoslavia, as well as on the perspectives of the peace processes and future activities of the UN. Up to that moment the Security Council had adopted 54 Resolutions and 39 Presidential statements on the Yugoslav conflict, and that costs for the peace-keeping forces amounted to a billion and six hundred million dollars. During this operation 924 UN soldiers had been shot, of whom 79 got killed.

March 20

Serbs abandon blockade around Maglaj allowing aid convoys to reach town for first time in 3 months.

March 21

Bosnian Serb assembly rejects joining Muslim-Croat federation, also says Serbs should refrain from negotiations for a general cease-fire until sanctions against Yugoslavia are lifted. Karadzic says this does not preclude establishing ties with federation. Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin says Turkey will send 2,700 to Bosnia as peacekeepers. Bulgarian President Zhelev says this could rekindle old fears in the region. Greece suggests it may send its own troops and opposes Turkish forces. Russia says it is sending another 100 soldiers to Sarajevo.

March 22

Tuzla airport reopened for aid flights for first time in 2 years, but Bosnian Serb parliament head, Momcilo Krajsnik says this cannot be permanent until agreement on inspections arrived at. Greece ‘categorically opposes’ Turkish troops as part of UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia. Boutros-Ghali agrees to extend NATO air cover to Croatia. Negotiations commenced in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb between the representatives of the Republic of Croatia and the Republika Srpska Krajina. The meeting was chaired by ambassador Kai Aide, representative of the UN, and ambassador Gerd Arens, representative of the EU. Also were present Vitaly Churkin, special envoy of the President of Russia and Peter Galbraith, American ambassador in Croatia. They discussed a cease-fire and separation of the warring parties. The negotiations were interrupted on 23 March so that both of the parties could make consultations over the draft agreement and they would be resumed on 29 March.

March 23

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of FR Yugoslavia issued a statement saying that on 18 March the Government of FR Yugoslavia submitted a claim to the International Court of Justice to take legal proceedings against the NATO member countries for the flagrant violation of the Article 2, paragraph 4 and Article 52, paragraph 1 of the UN Charter. This concerned the NAC decision made on 9 February to take air raids on the Serbian positions around Sarajevo should the heavy weapons of the Army of Republika Srpska was not withdrawn at least 20 kilometres from Sarajevo. UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali decided to accept the offer of Turkey and he would propose the Security Council to approve joining of 2,700 Turkish soldiers to the UNPROFOR in Bosnia.

March 24

UN Security Council agrees to use of Turkish troops for peacekeeping in Bosnia.
The Secretary-General outlined his plans for the reopening of Tuzla airport, under UNPROFOR’s exclusive authority, for the delivery of humanitarian supplies and related purposes. It was estimated that approximately 800,000 people lived in the Tuzla region, 240,000 of them being refugees and displaced persons and another 200,000 being considered cases in need of assistance. Because of the fighting in central Bosnia, the region had been effectively cut off from normal commercial traffic for almost one year, which had made almost the entire population dependent on humanitarian assistance for its survival.

Tuzla airport would be opened for UNPROFOR and humanitarian use only, and restricted to UNPROFOR and humanitarian airlift co-ordinated by UNHCR. The Secretary-General stated that, in addition to the Nordic battalion already deployed at the airfield, operating the airport would require a number of support staff to carry out various communications, administrative, transportation, engineer and logistics support tasks. Apart from those functions, UNPROFOR identified a need for some 120 specialist personnel, 20 military observers and 20 United Nations civilian police monitors.

The Assembly of Republika Srpska adopted a platform for future peace negotiations on resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Negotiations should embrace the following stages: conclusion of peace and freezing of all military activities, demilitarisation and final fixing of borders between the Croatian-Muslim federation and Republika Srpska, recognition of sovereignty and independence of Republika Srpska. The Assembly rejected joining Muslim-Croat Federation and demanded that sanctions against Serbs should be lifted.

March 25

Responding to the decision of the UN Secretary General to accept the offer of Turkey to send its soldiers to the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying that ‘not only that this decision is not in the interest of pacification of the situation on this territory, but it could directly make the conflicts flare up’.

Karadzic warns that if Turkey troops are deployed Bosnian Serbs will have to call on Yugoslavia army for security.

March 26

British UN troops exchange small-arms fire with Serbs near Maglaj for hours, destroy Serb bunker. Political assembly of Bosnian Croats approve pact with Muslims, choose Kresimir Zubak (Croat) to head new government. UN says Serbs intensifying ethnic cleansing in northern Bosnia.

Concerning the claim the Government of FR Yugoslavia submitted against the NATO member countries on 18 March the International Court of Justice in The Hague stated that pursuant to the present Statute the Court could not take legal proceedings against them since the statement was based on the unilateral claim of one country.

March 26-27

The ministerial meeting of the EU took place in Janina (Greece). The ministers discussed the French plan on European stability and the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The ministers hailed the commitment of the USA and Russia in resolving the crisis, but agreed that the EU plan on Bosnia-Herzegovina should be the basis for the future activities of the EU within the joint actions of the USA, Russia and the EU in resolving the crisis in Bosnia.

March 27

Government forces attack Serb positions near Maglaj. Karadzic says the offensive must be broken.
March 29

In Zagreb, representatives of the Government of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in UNPAs concluded a cease-fire agreement aiming to achieve a lasting cessation of hostilities. The agreement was concluded in the presence of the representatives of the Russian Federation and of the United States, and witnessed by the representatives of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the Force Commander of UNPROFOR.

March 30

In his letter to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General reported that the implementation of this cease-fire agreement would involve the interpositioning of UNPROFOR forces in a zone of separation of varying width, the establishment of additional control points, observation posts and patrols, as well as the monitoring of the withdrawal of heavy weapons out of range of the contact line. In order to enable UNPROFOR to perform the functions called for in the agreement, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council increase the authorised strength of the Force by one mechanised infantry battalion of 1,000 all ranks and four engineer companies (600 all ranks). In addition, a helicopter squadron of at least six helicopters with 200 all ranks would be needed for effective monitoring of the cease-fire agreement.

Muslims and Croats approve constitution for new federation. Croats and Krajina Serbs sign cease-fire agreement to go into effect April 4 with removal of heavy weapons the next day and disengagement of forces April 8. Churkin warns that this is only the beginning and much still needs to be done.

US Chairman of JCS, General Shalikashvili, and UN ambassador Albright arrive in Sarajevo where Albright announces $10 million US contribution to rebuilding Sarajevo, and US support for war crimes tribunal.

Bosnian Serb forces launched an infantry and artillery offensive against the Safe Area of Gorazde that is not protected by UN presence. The indiscriminate shelling of the city and of the outlying villages led to considerable casualties among the civilian population.

March 31

The Security Council, by its Resolution 908, extended the mandate of UNPROFOR for an additional six-month period terminating on 30 September 1994 and decided, as an initial step, to increase the Force’s strength by an additional 3,500 troops.

The Council approved UNPROFOR’s plans for the reopening of Tuzla airport for humanitarian purposes and authorised additional resources.

The Council decided that Member States might take all necessary measures to extend close air support to the territory of Croatia in defence of UNPROFOR personnel in the performance of its mandate, under the authority of the Council and subject to close co-ordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR. It further authorised the Force to carry out tasks relating to the cease-fire entered into by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Croat party.

The Council demanded that the Bosnian Serb party cease all military operations against the town of Maglaj.

Tudjman, in Vecernji List, warns Serbs that military option still possible if they are not integrated peacefully into Croatia.

April 1

UN and Red Cross accuse Serbs of killing 19 civilians in Prijedor in worst ethnic cleansing in 18 months. 15 more reported killed in Serb attacks on Gorazde, more fighting also in Maglaj.
April 2
Serb offensive on Gorazde seen as challenge to UN, probably fostered by Serb General Mladic. TANJUG calls Gorazde worst fighting in area in 2 years. Red Cross says it is preparing to evacuate thousands of Croats and Muslims from Banja Luka/Prijedor areas contrary to long-standing UN policy. Karadzic calls Prijedor killings ‘criminal acts of murder, not ethnic killings’.

April 3
US Defense Secretary William Perry says Administration will not use air strikes to prevent Serbs from overrunning Gorazde. Rose tells BBC Serbs ‘do not pose a serious threat’ to Gorazde. Mayor of Gorazde invites Rose to visit town to witness destruction and suffering.

April 4
The agreement on cessation of fire and all armed hostilities signed in Zagreb on 30 March between the Republic of Croatia and the Republika Srpska Krajina became effective at 9 a.m. As fighting continues around Gorazde, Rose announces he will visit town. Mayor says 7 villages in area burned in past week and death toll now at 47 killed, 200+ wounded. Red Cross says Serbs refuse safety guarantees for evacuation of Prijedor civilians and postpone effort.

April 5
Gorazde death toll now put at 52/249. General Shalikashvili says air power largely ineffective against small arms fire around Gorazde but also that circumstances could change and air power would be used. State Department, displeased, hoping to keep options open. Tank from Nordic battalion near Gradacac (N. Bosnia) destroys Serb bunker after coming under fire from 40mm anti-aircraft gun. UN reports that Croats and Krajina Serbs do not meet deadline for pulling back heavy weapons. Albanian President Sali Berisha tells Serbs that ethnic cleansing of Albanian from Kosovo would mean war with Albanian.

April 6
The Security Council, in a statement by its President, strongly condemned the shelling and infantry and artillery attacks against the Safe Area of Gorazde, and demanded the immediate cessation of further attacks against the city. The Council called on all concerned fully to respect Safe Areas, in accordance with its Resolution 824 . It also welcomed measures being taken by UNPROFOR to strengthen its presence in Gorazde. Despite the Council’s demand and UNPROFOR’s efforts to arrange for a cease-fire, attacks against Gorazde continued unabated. After UNMOs in the city were endangered by Serb shelling, UNPROFOR requested NATO to use close air support for self-defence of UN personnel. Notwithstanding Bosnian Serbs’ repeated commitments to a cease-fire, however, the heavy shelling of the city did not cease. Serbs prevent Rose from visiting Gorazde, although they let 3 UN observers and 8 of Rose’s liaison officers go ahead. TANJUG claims Serbs fighting to liberate Serb villages in area of Gorazde. Serb advance temporarily slowed down on outskirts of town. International relief workers say Bosnian government breaking promise not to draft men released from Serb concentration camps. EU tells Greece to lift blockade of Macedonia, or face court case for violation of EU treaty. Croatia says 15,000 refugees, including 8,000 from Mostar, must leave.
April 7

While Rose says Serbs and Muslims close to reaching peace plan, US and NATO urge UN to send hundreds of peacekeepers to Gorazde. US NSC advisor Anthony Lake states the peacekeepers would be protected by NATO air power.

April 8

Serbs capture Gradina ridge area overlooking Gorazde despite 24-hour cease-fires announced by both sides. US says it wants quick deployment of Ukrainian force of 1,000 to Gorazde.

April 9

Boutros-Ghali tells Serbs to give up territory taken in recent offensive and authorises UN forces to ‘use all available means’ to halt Serb advance.

April 10

UNPROFOR military observers in Gorazde asked for NATO air protection. After approval by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General, NATO close air support was provided by two U.S. F-16s, which dropped bombs under the control of a UN Forward Air Controller (FAC). This was NATO’s first attack of ground targets in the conflict. Serbia calls attack ‘clear case of aggression against the Serbian people, striking civilian targets far from the front lines’. Bosnian Government ambassador calls attack ‘face-saving’ since Gorazde is a UN Safe Area. Rose had called for Serbs to break off attack, Mladic replies that no Serb gunfire striking civilian areas. Shelling stops temporarily.

April 11

President Milosevic received Vitaly Churkin, special envoy of President Jeltsin. They discussed the latest developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Milosevic pointed out that after the bombardment of the Serbian positions around Gorazde the objective position of the international community in the crisis became a disillusion. Churkin says NATO should have consulted with Russia ‘but the Serbs must also bear some responsibility’ as Russian had tried to warn them that Gorazde was dangerous. Churkin also met in Pale with Karadzic in his effort to find the ways for political solution of the crisis in Gorazde.

President Clinton said that the attack around Gorazde was carried out after the repeated request of the commander of the UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina and it was fully in accordance with the corresponding Resolutions of the United Nations.

President Jeltsin had a telephone conversation with Clinton. Jeltsin warned that the actions such as the bombardment of the Serbian forces around Gorazde must be in accordance with the decisions adopted by the UN bodies, while Russia and the USA should hold consultations on such actions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia expressed regret for the fact that ‘the information on the bombardment was given at the last moment’ and requested that all parties - the Muslims, Serbs and the world community - should show the greatest possible restraint.

Second attack by American planes (F-18s) destroys 3 armoured personnel carriers, 1 truck, but 3 bombs fail to explode.

US Secretary of State Christopher warns Serbs US ‘stand ready to act again if necessary’. Serbs had intensified attacks causing response. Death toll in Gorazde now set at 156/640. Bosnian Serbs state they will not be intimidated and they won’t abandon Gorazde ‘or a centimetre of our territories’.
**April 12**

Serbs tell Churkin they will hold off on attacks against Gorazde, but continue to fight with government forces in hills. Russian Deputy Prime-Minister Sergei Shakhrai comments that air strikes have strengthened nationalists in Russia. Mladic orders his troops ‘to shoot down every aircraft flying in their direction’. US State Department official says US planes will shoot back. Yugoslavia government bans CNN and French news agency AFP for ‘satanising the FR of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people’. The Republika Srpska expressed ‘bitterness for the actual involvement of the UN in the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina on the Muslim side’. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RS would ‘separately inform Russia, Germany, China, Japan and India on the aggression of the NATO, that is UN’ and ask those states to condemn the aggression and give support to the peace processes.

Karadzic and general Mladic visited the front lines around Gorazde. Karadzic condemned the attack on the Serbian positions and assessed ‘the act of bombardment as a fall of the United Nations’. Mladic said that the order was given to ‘shoot down all aircraft firing at us’.

**April 13**

Milosevic separately received Akashi and Vitaly Churkin, special envoy of President Jeltsin. They discussed the latest developments in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The State Duma of f the Russian Federation adopted a statement ‘condemning the unilateral and violent actions of the NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina’. The State Duma requested that ‘the session of the UN Security Council should be immediately convened in order to consider the situation after the NATO had got military involved in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina’.

Serbs detain 58 UN military observers near Gorazde, also in Banja Luka. 11 French relief workers still detained in barracks outside Sarajevo. Serbs fire 4 rockets into Sarajevo breaking cease-fire, cut off natural gas to city. Churkin says Serbs ready to stop attack on Gorazde even as NATO says it will strike again if shelling continues.

**April 14**

UN accuses Serbs of ‘orchestrated campaign’ against UN observers/military personnel for airstrikes including Serb sniper wounding French soldier in Sarajevo. Serb forces surrounding 20-30 French troops at Krivoglavci weapons collection point demanding artillery be returned, also at collection point at Hresa demanding Russian troops hand over weapons, abduction of 14 Canadian soldiers, 3 unarmed UN military observers and an interpreter near Ciflik for total of 155 UN personnel. Serb artillery shells UN observation post near Tuzla and its airport. Canadian commissioner in Bosnia says Mladic gave order for seizing troops. Bosnian Serbs declare General Rose persona non grata, ban American journalists from territory.

Milosevic received Co-Chairmen Stoltenberg and Owen. They discussed the initiatives and ideas for cessation of combat in Bosnia-Herzegovina and creation of conditions for resumption of the peace processes.

For the third time in the last 24 hours Milosevic received Churkin. They discussed the ways for reaching agreement on cessation of hostilities throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**April 15**

Serbs renew offensive against Gorazde despite UN warnings, take key points overlooking river, and demand surrender of town. General Rose asks for third air strike after 2 British soldiers hit, killing 1, but special UN envoy Akashi, having come out of meeting with Karadzic, decides against option instead asking Serbs for cease-fire to evacuate UN personnel. Karadzic agrees and helicopters sent in to pick up wounded observer, but are fired on by Serbs nevertheless. UN again warns that it will protect its observers with air strikes. Serbs only 500 yards from centre of town. French Etendard recon plane
fired on, but only lightly damaged. Reuters reports that UN commission on war crimes has linked Serb forces to genocide in campaign of ethnic cleansing in Prijedor in ‘92.

_April 16_

A British Sea Harrier from the British carrier HMS Ark Royal is shot down near Gorazde while attempting to conduct a CAS mission. The pilot ejects and was later rescued by UN forces. Serbs then shell Gorazde hospital and a hospital annex for two days, reportedly killing 38 people.

UN warns air strikes imminent unless Serbs hold fire and dispatch planes for strike but mission scrubbed due to poor visibility. Akashi warns Serbs that unless changes occur he will recommend change of nature in UN military force. Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev goes to Belgrade to talk with Milosevic. Serb tanks firing directly into town and Rose calls for air strikes, to which Akashi agrees. UN proposes to Bosnian government 2-3 mile DMZ around Gorazde, government refuses saying it is capitulation. American journalist detained by Serbs in Zvornik, released after 27 hours. 13 foreign reporters now banned by Yugoslavia authorities in last several days.

_April 17_

Akashi and Karadzic agree to cease-fire, but Bosnian government rejects it. Serb tank and troops enter Gorazde violating previous day’s agreement. Aid workers say Serb snipers shooting at people unable to take shelter. Air strikes again called in but do not take place. Clinton says US will respond to additional military requests but the goal is to get peace talks back on track. Kozyrev blames Muslims for provoking attacks on Serbs, but also Serbs for responding, also comments NATO military actions ‘inappropriate’. Later on Russian TV, Kozyrev says Serb threats to Russian peacekeepers ‘shows with utmost clarity the degree of irresponsibility of Serb fighters’. Croatian Serbs in Baranja region (E. Croatia) are taking back weapons under UN control.

_April 18_

After the situation in and around Gorazde became extremely dire, the Secretary-General asked NATO to authorise the use of air strikes, at the request of the United Nations, against artillery, mortar positions or tanks attacking civilians in Gorazde, as well as in four other Safe Areas, namely the towns of Tuzla, Zepa, Bihac and Srebrenica. In a letter to the NATO Secretary-General, he noted that permission for such air strikes had already been given regarding Sarajevo and said that the tragic events in Gorazde demonstrated the need for the NATO Council to take similar decisions on the other Safe Areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

BBC reporter comments ‘Radical Karadzic is playing the international community like an orchestra’. Also quotes Churkin as saying about the Serbs, ‘I have heard more broken promises in the last 48 hours than probably in the rest of my life’. Serbs continue to shell Gorazde after giving another cease-fire pledge. 7 of 12 UN observers evacuated by helicopter. Rate of shelling as high as 1 every 20 seconds in the morning. Death toll now at 302/1,075. Clinton’s advisors to recommend broader use of force in policy re-assessment as Boutros-Ghali requests NATO for authority to call in air strikes in other ‘safe Areas’. US sends additional 46 infantrymen to Macedonia as part of 180 to augment 300 already there. After talks with Akashi the leadership of the Serbs in Bosnia decided that Serbian forces should withdraw from their positions around Gorazde to the distance of 3 km and should accept deployment of the UN forces in this area.

On his return to Moscow after nine day efforts to mediate in pacifying the situation in Gorazde Vitaly Churkin said that ‘it is time for Russia to break off all talks with the Serbs in Bosnia’, and that ‘when Russia is concerned the Serbs in Bosnia should realise that they should have to deal with a great state and not with a banana republic’. Discontent for the fact that ‘the Serbs showed no willingness or sincerity to reach agreement’ Churkin also said that the blame was on ‘a small group of Serbs from Bosnia who got sick of the war madness’.
April 19

Jeltsin invited the Serbs in Bosnia to meet the commitments they had undertaken as proposed by Russia, ‘to stop attacking Gorazde, and to withdraw to a distance from this town’. Jeltsin confirmed that he had made a proposal on holding a summit between Russia, the USA, EU and UN in order to find the ways for stopping the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbs seize 18 anti-aircraft guns from UN collection points after diverting French troops guarding them. 13 of the guns returned by nightfall, as well as 40 of 55 UN personnel being held hostage released. In evening Serbs again announce cease-fire and say they will allow 350 UN troops to enter Gorazde to form buffer zone, but continue heavy shelling of town throughout the night. Clinton, advisors agree to propose broadened airstrikes against Serbs. Also announces they are now open to summit of major powers concerning Bosnia, but still against American forces being used until a peace agreement is reached.

April 20

Russian parliament to send delegation to Bosnia. Kozyrev says increased airstrikes will only escalate crisis, and that cessation of hostilities will be met by lifting of sanctions. Churkin comments ‘the Serbs are on the brink of a catastrophe’. Reports from Gorazde say shelling kills 44, wounds 137.

The North Atlantic Council accepted the request of UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali to approve the use of air force for ‘the protection of Safe Areas in Bosnia’.

Clinton calls for more NATO air protection for Safe Areas and wants Serbs to ‘pay a higher price for continued violence’. After consultations with Presidents of Russia and France Clinton made public the American action plan in Bosnia. The plan embraced three basic elements: support to a wider use of the NATO air forces for the protection of Safe Areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, initiative for tightening the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia or more rigorous application, and support to sending new peace-keeping forces to Bosnia.

The cabinet Karadzic stated that ‘the Serbian part pronounces peace in Gorazde unilaterally’. ‘The cease-fire at the Gorazde front is immediately in effect’ and the UN troops would get in Gorazde.

April 21

Jeltsin press secretary says Russia has convinced US to hold meeting on Yugoslavia to include EU and UN. House-to-house fighting in Gorazde. Serbs apparently firing 1 round every 10 seconds at hospital. Serbs organise roadblock to prevent UN convoy from reaching town.

April 22

The North Atlantic Council authorised the use of air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets around Gorazde if the Bosnian Serbs did not end their attacks against the Safe Area immediately, pull their forces back three kilometres from the city centre by 0001 GMT on 24 April 1994, and allow United Nations forces and humanitarian relief convoys freedom of movement there. The NAC agreed that a ‘military exclusion zone’ (within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina) be established for 20 kilometres around Gorazde, which called for all Bosnian Serb heavy weapons (including tanks, artillery pieces, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, missiles and anti-aircraft weapons) to be withdrawn by 0001 GMT on 27 April 1994. The NAC also agreed on similar arrangements for four other Safe Areas if they were attacked by heavy weapons from any range or if there was a concentration or movement of heavy weapons within a radius of 20 kilometres of these areas.

NATO reaffirmed its readiness to provide close air support should the Bosnian Serbs attack UNPROFOR or other United Nations personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or forcibly interfere with the implementation of their mandate. It also called on the Bosnian Government not to undertake offensive action from within Gorazde.
The Security Council, by its Resolution 913, condemned the shelling and attacks by Bosnian Serb forces against the Safe Area of Gorazde and demanded the withdrawal of those forces and their weapons to a distance from which they would cease to threaten the Safe Area. It demanded the immediate conclusion of a cease-fire agreement in Gorazde and throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the auspices of UNPROFOR. The Council also demanded an end to any provocative action in and around the Safe Areas, the immediate release of all United Nations personnel held by Bosnian Serb forces and unimpeded freedom of movement for UNPROFOR. Underlying the urgent need to intensify efforts towards an overall political settlement, the Council called for the intensification of close consultation between the United States and the Russian Federation and the UN and the EU with the aim of bringing together diplomatic initiatives. The Council also invited the Secretary-General to take necessary steps to ensure that UNPROFOR was able to monitor the situation in Gorazde and to ensure respect for any cease-fire and disengagement of military forces, including measures to put heavy weapons under United Nations control.

April 22-23

Akashi held talks with Milosevic and Karadzic in Belgrade. An agreement envisaged: immediate and full cease-fire in and around Gorazde, withdrawal of the Serbian forces and deployment of an UNPROFOR battalion in the area 3 km from the centre of Gorazde, and withdrawal or placing under the UNPROFOR control the Serbian heavy weapons in the area 20 km from the centre of Gorazde, guarantees for safe urgent medical evacuation from Gorazde, full freedom of movement for all personnel of the UNPROFOR and humanitarian organisations, immediate initiation of negotiations on all military issues and intensification of efforts towards achieving a comprehensive political solutions that would be acceptable for all parties.

April 23

NATO requests air strikes after Serb shelling kills 21 in Gorazde but UN official Akashi rejects it. Gorazde toll now 715 dead, 1,970 wounded. Serbs begin pullback.

April 24

Although the Bosnian Serbs had not yet fully complied when the 24 April deadline expired, the Force Commander of UNPROFOR decided against the immediate use of air strikes. UNPROFOR felt that significant progress was being made and that the Serbs would soon comply with the ultimatum. It addition, it was important to get UN troops and medical units into Gorazde as quickly as possible and the air strikes might have jeopardised that operation. UN warns them to be punctual for April 27 deadline for withdrawal of heavy guns 20 km 600 UN troops arrive in Gorazde. Talks took place in London between the USA (Warren Christopher), Russia (Vitaly Churkin), Great Britain (Douglas Hurd) and France (Alain Juppé) with the purpose of reviving the process of searching a comprehensive peace solution for the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A Contact Group was established involving, at ministerial level, the Foreign Ministers of France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States, the European Union Commissioner for Foreign Affairs and the two Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee. The group would co-ordinate diplomatic actions and try to build a common peace platform for the crisis in Bosnia.

April 25

Russian Defence Minister Grachev says additional air strikes should be abandoned as they serve no purpose. Kozyrev says they are but of limited value. Serb aid blockade of Gorazde continues and Serb troops blow up water plant for town in pullback. Reportedly also resettling ethnic Serbs in Muslim villages/homes.
April 26

The UN Secretary-General announced that Bosnian Serb forces had complied with the demand that they cease their attacks on Gorazde and pulled their forces and heavy weapons out of the 20-kilometre exclusion zone around the city. He noted that the UN had some 500 personnel in Gorazde, and was evacuating the most seriously wounded and bringing in relief supplies. The Secretary-General stated that the Security Council, with the support of NATO, had taken a clear position that there must be no further threats to any of the Safe Areas, UN humanitarian efforts must continue unimpeded, and all sides must commit to a meaningful cease-fire and negotiate in good faith a political solution. First meeting of ‘Contact Group’, comprising representatives of Britain, Russia, US, France and Germany, held in London. The Group was set up as a forum to present a united front to the warring parties, and concentrated on securing agreement on a territory allocation as the first step in a political settlement. It produced a map for the parties to consider. British Embassy opened in Sarajevo.

April 27

The Security Council, by its Resolution 914, authorised an increase in the strength of UNPROFOR of up to 6,550 additional troops, 150 military observers and 275 civilian police monitors, in addition to the reinforcement already approved in Resolution 908. In a joint statement in New York Akashi and the representatives of the NATO said that based on the reports of the military observers the withdrawal or placing of the Serbian weapons under the control of the UNPROFOR had been completed. Therefore there was no immediate danger of the NATO air strikes on the Serbian positions. The withdrawal was carried out in accordance with the corresponding UN Resolutions on Safe Areas and the agreement that had been made on 22 April in Belgrade between the representatives of the UN and Republika Srpska.

April 28

Serb forces may be leaving Gorazde for Brcko.

April 29

Serb tank/artillery attack on UN observation post in Kalesija (near Tuzla) responded to by Danish tank platoons which fight back for 90 minutes killing 9 Serbs, wounding 5. Bosnian Serb forces say they will get even, that incident is proof of biased nature of UN involvement. British peacekeepers in Gorazde in fire-fight with Serbs, kill 3, wound 5. Churkin in Oslo for talks with Norwegian Foreign Minister Bjorn Godal on Bosnia war.

April 30

UN warns of Serb build-up in Brcko area as they try to expand their corridors between Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

May 1

2 US journalist killed, 1 wounded when their car hits land mine near Mostar. Serbs surround UN arms depot manned by French inside Sarajevo exclusion zone, demanding they hand over 122 mm artillery weapon, stand off continues until NATO jets buzz area at midnight. UN comments that Gorazde becoming unstable as small arms fire and Serb presence continues. Croatia announces that it now backs lifting of arms embargo against Bosnian Government.
May 2

Shelling and fighting near Brcko, Bihac. Serbs shell Tuzla, Zavpovici, and attack Doboj and Tesanj (N. Bosnia). German and France both call for making Brcko a ‘safe Area’ to allow for air strikes against Serbs. Serbs claim 4 of theirs killed by Muslim shelling of Doboj. Serbs preventing 160 British peacekeepers from reinforcing 500 UN troops already in Gorazde. NATO jet buzzes Serb forces near Sarajevo trying to retake heavy weapons under French control, Serbs back officer US announces it is sending 37 more troops and 3 helicopters to Macedonia. US ambassador to UN Albright says congressional efforts to lift arms embargo would undermine sanctions against Libya, Iraq. German Defence Minister says NATO needs to be able to establish credibility of its ultimatums and lifting arms embargo won’t help. Boutros-Ghali orders UN officials to stop criticising US approach to Bosnia (directed at Akashi).

May 3

UNPROFOR reaches agreement for transport of 5 Serb tanks through Sarajevo exclusion zone, but Akashi does not mention this at press conference. US and Russia call for meeting of Foreign Ministers to try to settle Bosnia war. Olovo and Kladanj continuously hit by Serb shelling. UN helicopter shot at at Sarajevo airport Serbs agree to Brcko cease-fire. 2 hr. fire-fight in Sarajevo at Vrbanja Bridge after government forces put up flag with what UN observers call ‘Islamic connotations’. UNESCO delegation in Sarajevo begins plans for rebuilding landmarks destroyed in war. Croatia announces it will reintroduce wartime currency the kuna on May 30 despite protests against its use by the Ustashe. Karadzic linked to collapse of Dafiment Bank (largest private institution in Serbia which closed doors in April ‘93) by former owner indicating possible falling out between Karadzic and Milosevic.

May 4

Bosnia Prime Minister Silajdzic calls for Akashi’s resignation over tank transportation issue. 2 of these tanks (T-34s) moved prematurely. UN warns Serbs of possible NATO airstrikes if they launch offensive on Brcko, as is expected. Aid flights to Sarajevo suspended after 2 planes hit by gunfire, but also admits that armed Serb forces remain in Gorazde despite NATO ultimatum. Possible tank fire reported in Sarajevo. UN aid convoy held up since May 1 by Serbs allowed to go to Gorazde. 7 UN observers take up positions on Croatian side of Sava near Brcko. British Junior Foreign Minister Douglas Hogg meets with Milosevic and Karadzic and tells them they can hold a maximum of 49% of land. Ethnic cleansing continues in Banja Luka area as 469 Muslim and Croats arrive in Croatia from that city. Milosevic’s wife, Mirjana Markovic, says Serbs outside country ‘who think war is their only option...have no right to foist that option on all Serbs’.

May 5

Serbs shell government positions on Mt. Vlasic and push back government forces. Croats refuse Muslims aid, ammunition Requests due to lack of trust. Silajdzic demands that Akashi be replaced and his government will no longer negotiate with him, but Boutros-Ghali refuses. Karadzic says he will not attend more peace talks until UN oil and trade embargo against Serbia lifted. Bosnian Croats block UN aid convoy, demand ‘import tax’ of $8 per truck.

May 6

Reports that government troops were successful in forcing back Serbs S of Bugojno, out of Maglaj salient, against Mt. Ozren (N. of Zavidovil), and against Mt. Vlasic (N. of Travnik). US rebukes Akashi, calls on him to do a better job.
May 7

UN says 4 Serb tanks violating Sarajevo exclusion zone. Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati in Sarajevo, says Iran willing to contribute 10,000 troops to peacekeeping forces but UN won’t allow it. Promises 10,000 barrels of oil and $1 million in assistance to Bosnian Government. Belgrado bans presence of Zhirinovsky at Serbian People’s Renewal Party rally scheduled for May 9, to preserve public order.

May 8

6 UN monitors move into Brcko. UN says no aid flights have arrived since airport in Tuzla was opened 2 months ago. Saudi Arabia to send 2 jumbo jets to Sarajevo to bring out 500 pilgrims for Haj. French government reported to have given military rank of lt. col. to 14 businessmen and allowed them into Sarajevo to get first access to contracts for rebuilding city.

May 9

The Secretary-General reported to the Security Council with regard to the concept of Safe Areas. Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde and Bihac. He suggested that the successful implementation of that concept required the acceptance of three overriding principles:

(a) That the intention of Safe Areas is primarily to protect people and not to defend territory and that UNPROFOR’s protection of these areas is not intended to make it a party to the conflict.

(b) That the method of execution of the safe-area task should not, if possible, detract from, but rather enhance, UNPROFOR’s original mandates in Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely supporting humanitarian assistance operations and contributing to the overall peace process through the implementation of cease-fires and local disengagements.

(c) That the mandate must take into account UNPROFOR’s resource limitations and the conflicting priorities that inevitably arise from unfolding events.

According to the Secretary-General’s report, in addition to the arrangements already in place for protection of the Safe Areas, it was necessary:

(a) that the UNPROFOR mission in relation to the Safe Areas be clearly defined.

(b) that the Safe Areas be delineated, as proposed by UNPROFOR.

(c) that they be respected.

(d) that complete freedom of movement, on a ‘notification’ (as opposed to ‘clearance’) basis, be ensured for the provision of humanitarian aid to the Safe Areas, as a prelude to further normalisation, including the resumption of commercial traffic.

The Secretary-General believed that Safe Areas could be made somewhat more effective and manageable. On the other hand, because of difficulties in their implementation as well as their limited effect, it must be recognised that Safe Areas did not in themselves represent a long-term solution to the fundamental conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which required a political and territorial solution. The
Secretary-General therefore viewed the safe-area concept as a temporary mechanism by which some vulnerable populations could be protected pending a comprehensive negotiated political settlement. In this respect, UNPROFOR’s protection of the civilian population in Safe Areas must be implemented so as to provide a positive contribution to the peace process, and not to detract from it.

Croats, Muslims begin third round of talks on federation in Vienna (US sponsored). UN says 100 Serbs disguised as police remain in Gorazde exclusion zone despite Karadzic pledge to move them out. Serbs still maintaining heavy weapons inside Gorazde zone, not giving UN observers freedom of movement. Serbs fire on UN armoured car near mostly Muslim village of Gornji Rajinci killing 2 17-year old schoolgirls nearby. Milosevic claims there has been no Serb policy of ethnic cleansing, but Albanians have carried out one against Serbs in Kosovo. Police in Belgrado relent and allow Zhirinovsky to participate, 5,000 attend rally.

May 10

Akashi writes to Karadzic of deteriorating conditions in Gorazde area. Bangladesh says it will contribute 1,200 troops to UN force in Bosnia. Fighting between Muslims in Bihac kills 12, as Serbs reportedly now joining up with rebel leader Fikret Abdic. Serbs claim Muslims shell Breko killing 4 but UN says it has no evidence of attack. UN estimates 1,000 Muslim troops deployed in DMZ of Mt. Igman. Serbs break Safe Area accord for Gorazde. Serbs say they will put on trial 11 French aid workers held since 4-11 on charges of smuggling arms. Russian objects to draft UN proposal on freezing of Serb positions under threat of air strikes near Breko.

May 11

Government and Serb troops massing around Olovo, Kladanj (NE of Sarajevo). French Foreign Minister Juppé in Washington for talks with Christopher trying to convince US of need to impose political solution on Bosnia-Herzegovina, threatens to take out French peacekeepers if one isn’t found, but State Department says imposed solution not the best way to achieve the goal. Belgrade government charges Serb with killing 16 Muslim civilians in Bosnia. Bosnian Government forces fire 10 mortar rounds into Breko during conference of top Serb leaders (1 woman, 2 children killed, 10 wounded), Breko’s electricity cut off.

Five days of talks completed in Vienna between the representatives of the Bosnian Croats and Muslims on establishment and organisation of the future Croatian-Muslim Federation. They adopted agreements - on appointment of President of the Federation, Prime Minister and ministers, on establishment of eight cantons (four Muslim, two Croatian and two mixed ones), on external borders of the Federation, that is on fixing the borders with the Serbs (as agreed the Federation should take 58 per cent territories of the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina).

May 12

The American Senate demanded lifting of the arms embargo in Bosnia-Herzegovina. With 50 votes ‘for’ and 49 ‘against’ the Senate adopted two versions of the amendment: the first one demands that President Clinton should unilaterally lift the arms embargo imposed by the UN Security Council for the whole territory of the former Yugoslavia, and the second previously to demand ‘the allies and United Nations’ to lift the embargo.

General Milivoj Petkovic, chief-of-staff of Bosnian Croat forces says his troops will help government forces if Serbs attack near Breko. More shelling of Breko, also of Olovo - Kladanj area. Boutros-Ghali recommends against creating new Safe Areas, saying UN should redefine role to protect civilians, not defend territory. Croatia says Serbs attack group of civilians near Batinska Rijeka (50 miles N. of Zagreb) killing 5.
May 13

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USA, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Belgium, Greece and Germany (as representatives of the European Union) met in Geneva and adopted a Declaration for resolving the conflict in Bosnia. Parties were required to agree on cessation of hostilities and cease-fire for a period of four months, and to unconditionally make efforts for a political agreement. Ministers accepted the proposal of the EU on division of Bosnia-Herzegovina to two units, of which 51 per cent of the territory of this former Yugoslav republic would belong to the Croatian-Muslim Federation while 49 per cent would belong to the Serbs. At the same time the Ministers supported an agreement ‘preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina as an union within its internationally recognised borders’.

Russian State Duma votes 270-1 to arm Serbia if US begins supplying arms to Bosnian Government. Fighting in Brcko, Bihac areas. Serbs outside of Gorazde hold up British UN convoy for 2 hrs until British reinforcements arrive. Serbs now blocking supplies to Srebrenica for 12th day. Malaysian UN peacekeeping officer killed outside Sarajevo exclusion zone. Small arms fire NE of Kosevo hospital in Sarajevo as government says Serbs have launched infantry attacks. Serbs shell Tuzla and Muslim villages near Zvornik.

May 14

Silajdžić says peace plan proposed by US, Russia, and European countries flawed since there is no way to ensure Serbs will withdraw. Increased gunfire in Sarajevo. New Croat and Muslim commanders named to jointly-lead alliance: Croat Ante Roso and Muslim Fikret Muslimovic. Their task is ‘to form unified armed forces in the transitional period of establishment of the Federation’.

May 15

Government forces push Serbs off plateau near Tuzla dislodging artillery used to shell town killing 53 Serbs, capturing 2 tanks, 8 mortars, and 5 cannons. Government forces have gained about 4 sq. miles near Tuzla in fighting, and claim to have captured Serb TV tower. Serbs shell Kalesija (E of Sarajevo), Maglaj, Gradacac.

May 16

Fighting intensifies around Tuzla, Bihac, Gorazde, Jablanica, and Mostar. Bosnian Government and Serbs fighting over Serb communication relay station on Mt. Majevica. Muslim forces said to be massing near Turbe and Travnik (C. Bosnia), also possible Mt. Igman (Sarajevo). Milosevic meets with Russian envoy Churkin, also Russian Patriarch Alexei II.

May 17

Karadzic says he wants signing of comprehensive and unconditional agreements on cessation of hostilities. fighting around Brcko, Cazin (near Bihac). Bulgaria says it will not oppose Turkish peacekeepers in Bosnia. Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Alexy II, Serbian Patriarch Pavle and Cardinal of Zagreb Franjo Kuharic met at Sarajevo airport. After three hour talks they signed a Joint Declaration for Peace. Head of the Islamic community for Bosnia-Herzegovina Reis Ul Ulema Mustafa Cerić did not wish to meet Russian Patriarch since ‘the Russian Orthodox Church has not condemned the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina’.
May 18

Private French aid group paid ransoms for $44,000 11 French aid workers held since 4-11. Serbs say they freed the workers as a gesture of goodwill to France to help restore favourable ties. UN cancels aid flights to Tuzla after Serb shelling of airport. Akashi turns down UN request for airstrikes, sends protest to Karadzic instead. Mortar hits Sarajevo airport. Government forces attack Serbs in Olovo-Kladaq area. Serbs respond with artillery fire. Ukrainian peacekeeper killed in Gorazde. French say they will have 2,500 fewer troops in Bosnia by year’s end. speaker of Bosnian Serb parliament, Momcilo Krajisnik, rejects new peace plan proposed by Owen and Stoltenberg.

May 19

The Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on the situation in Gorazde. The situation had remained tense although the cease-fire within the 3-km total exclusion zone, as well as the 20-km heavy weapon exclusion zone, had been largely respected. British Junior Foreign Minister Douglas Hogg warns that time is running out on solution to crisis. UN says fighting heavy on route between Tuzla and Sarajevo. Bosnian Serb civilians leaving Zenica and Novi Travnik for Serbian-controlled territory, UN says 1,000 have moved in past 2 weeks. Shelling of government-controlled Bugojno increases. Serbs admit their soldiers and not police are in Gorazde exclusion zone. Aid flights into Tuzla resumed with NATO fighter escorts.

May 20

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali submitted to the Security Council a report on Bosnia saying, that the situation in Gorazde was still very tense and the danger that the combat could be resumed had not yet been averted. The Security Council was requested to keep making efforts to cease hostilities on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina for at least four months in order to reach a political solution within that period. Belgrado paper closely associated with Karadzic attacks General Mladic for losses taken by Serbs in Tuzla. Denmark protests to UN for not allowing its troops at Tuzla airport NATO air strike.

May 21

Croatian artillery firing from Croatia (across Sava River) hits Serb positions in Brcko seriously wounding 5. More fighting in C. and E. Bosnia as government forces advance against Serb positions. Serbs promise to vacate a 1.9 mile radius zone around Gorazde but fail to do so and instead reinforce bunkers. Tudjman demands that all of Krajina be handed back to Zagreb within 4 months.

May 22

Serbs continue to remain in Gorazde area and say they won’t leave unless government forces accept a DMZ accord, which the government rejects. Government says Serbs setting villages in Gorazde area on fire. Croats continue to barrage Brcko from across Sava River.

May 23

Izetbegovic rejects 51-49% partitioning as surrendering part of country to occupation and said that the proposal on cessation of hostilities for a four month period was not acceptable. At the same time Prime Minister Silajdzic said that his government could consider the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serb tanks fire on Bihac. Serbs turn back UN relief convoy headed to Bihac. 2 Serb tanks attack government troops in Sarajevo exclusion zone.
May 23-24

The two day conference on business co-operation in the Balkans and South-Eastern Europe took place in Athens. The conference was participated by representatives from Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, FR Yugoslavia, Slovenia, Croatia, Cyprus, Moldavia, as well as representatives from Russia and the European Union.

May 24

Serbs fire on UN-escorted bus in Sarajevo killing 1, wounding 1. Heavy fighting in Maglaj, Tesanj, and Doboj as government troops continue offensive. Artillery duels in Sava River valley. New Zealand announces it will send 250 troops to join British peacekeepers in Bosnia. Tudjman announces re-introduction of kuna currency which Ustashe regime had used. Yugoslavia says sanctions cause direct losses of $5.3 and $2 billion in lost joint investments. Speaker of Bosnia-Serb parliament, Momcilo Krajisnik, says Serbs will not be conciliatory at talks in Talloires, France. French Foreign Minister Juppé says if talks fail France will consider withdrawing troops, but NATO meeting same day declares there will be no unilateral pullout. Non-aligned countries to meet in Cairo decide to not invite Yugoslavia as it is not successor to original Yugoslavia.

May 25

Clinton says sanctions should continue. Serbs at General Assembly talks complain that pressure for settlement is only on them. Serb and Muslim troops fighting around Tesanj. UN and Bosnia officials reveal plans for beginning to rebuild Sarajevo, initial costs to be $530 million to begin project. At a press conference in New York Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said that easing and lifting of the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia could be considered when the agreement on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina was made.

May 25-26

Preliminary talks between the representatives of the Contact Group and the Croatian-Muslim Federation and Bosnian Serbs took place in Talloires, France. They discussed the plan on division of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and maps fixing boundaries between Croatian-Muslim Federation and Republika Srpska. There were no official statements on the results of the talks. It was only said that the talks would be resumed in about ten days.

May 26

After the debate on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina that took several days, the UN Security Council adopted a Presidential statement based on the report submitted by UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. It was pointed out that there was an urgent need for finding a political solution for the conflict. The warring parties were required to immediately and unconditionally enter into negotiations. Akashi was authorised to get himself directly committed on achieving that goal. At the press conference in Washington the spokesman of the Department of State said all warring parties were responsible for the continuation of combats and that ‘no one in particular is to blame for the lack of progress in peace negotiations’. Serbs refuse to pull 150 troops from Mala Biserna hill near Gorazde area insisting government forces pull back before they leave, also deny UN access to Gorazde area. British peacekeeper wounded by mine in Gorazde, and Serbs and British exchange fire after UN observation post fired upon. Contact Group talks in France end after 2 days without any agreement. Silajdžić in Zagreb for talks on fighting in Bihac. Fighting continues around Tesanj.
May 27

UN to protests to Bosnian government troops taking up new positions on Mt. Igman. Muslims using 3 Croat tanks to push back Serbs around Tesanj, Serbs fire 500 artillery rounds at Gradacac.

May 28

Akashi invited all three parties in the Bosnian conflict to meet in Geneva on 2 and 3 June and conduct talks on a general cessation of hostilities. Co-Chairmen Owen and Stoltenberg were also invited as well as special envoys of Russia and the USA, Churkin and Charles Redman. Apart from Akashi UNPROFOR commanders de Lapresle and Rose should also take part. 342 Serbs leave Sarajevo on buses for Serb-held territory. Serbs fire 100 artillery rounds at government forces around Gradacac. Serbs fire 1 round at Swedish observation post forcing their troops to pull back 8 miles south of Gradacac.

May 29

Karadzic says Serbs have lost ground to Muslims, says Serbs waiting for international community to warn Muslims, comments that Serbs would take 49% of territory if they get Tuzla and Sarajevo. Fighting near Kupres, government forces on offensive on Mt. Vlasic and around Tesanj (NE). Government and Croat forces shell Serb positions in Brcko area, Serbs charge. Serbs demand permanent cease-fire, but Karadzic says this could be shortened.

May 30

Government commander Rasim Delic says government defensive tactics over as government troops continue to advance before start of new round of talks. Serbs shell Travnik, Gradacac, Turbe, and Bugojno, Serbs reportedly have lost territory between Bugojno-Donji Vakuf. Serbs fire on, and prevent from landing UN resupply plane at Tuzla. Serbs to allow UN movement in Gorazde. Fighting in Bihac between Muslims. Churkin meets with Croatian leaders in Zagreb. Serbs take artillery piece from UN collection point near Sarajevo.

May 31

Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Movement member countries opened in Cairo. Apart from the ministers of 108 member countries the representatives of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Greece, Bulgaria, of some newly created states of the former USSR and some West European countries also participated in the Conference as guests or observers. FR Yugoslavia did not participate since Egypt, as host, did not send invitation. Bosnian Assembly elected Zubak (Bosnian Croat) and Ejup Ganic (Bosnian Muslim) as President and Vice-President of Federation until federal elections, scheduled after six months. Assembly also endorsed Washington and Vienna Agreements (see 1 March and 11 May). Izetbegovic to remain at head of wartime collective presidency. Government troops shell Serb positions defending mountain pass near Bugojno (SW Bosnia), fighting also near Donji Vakuf, shelling of Gradacac, Turbe, Travnik, near Olovo. 9 artillery shells land near Tuzla airport causing UN forces to request airstrikes, but Akashi rejects request after Karadzic tells him it was a mistake. Churkin in Belgrade for talks with Milosevic on prospects for cease-fire.

June 1

The Security Council issued a Presidential statement which reiterated the urgent need for a comprehensive cessation of hostilities throughout the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and called
upon parties to resume, without preconditions, serious efforts to reach a political settlement. It fully supported efforts by the Secretary-General’s Special Representative and the UNPROFOR Force Commander to negotiate a cessation of hostilities. The Council welcomed the decision to convene in Geneva a meeting with the delegations of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Bosnian Serb side.

The Assembly of the Republika Srpska discussed the 1994 economic policy, the reorganisation of the Army and the platform for the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva on resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

7 shells land near British base at Bugojno. British request NATO air support after 2 shells hit, but it is denied. Shelling of Travnik kills 2, 40 explosions at Kobilja Glava (N of Sarajevo). Heavy artillery, infantry fighting overnight at Gradacac, shelling of Bugojno.

June 2

All invited parties, except the Muslim delegation, came to the negotiations in Geneva on a general cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina convened by Akashi. In an explanation the Muslims stated that the Serbian part had not fulfilled the condition to withdraw all its soldiers from the Safe Area Gorazde. The beginnings of the negotiations were rescheduled.

UN Commission of Experts preparing evidence for war crimes tribunal finds that ethnic cleansing and rape were deliberate Serb policy and constitute genocide, that all sides have committed rape but Serbs are most responsible, that ‘the magnitude of victimisation is clearly enormous’. Heavy shelling around Srebrenik (N. of Tuzla). Serb military commander tells reporters that Serbs have taken heavy losses. Serb shelling east of Teocak, government shelling of Doboj claimed, but AP reports that only 2 shells hit town. UN says 150 detonations N of 12 mile exclusion zone around Sarajevo, also reports 1,400 shells hit government-held Gradacac and Ribnica areas, 79 hit Maglaj (10 hit school). Serb Lt. comments on government offensive: ‘They used to be afraid of us--now they seem to be encouraged and on the offensive’.

June 3

Shelling of Gradacac and Ribnica continues, General alert signalled in Doboj where Serbs are under assault.

June 4

Continued heavy fighting on front lines in north as UN attempts to reschedule talks for June 5. shelling also near Mostar and Srebrenica in the east. Former member of Bosnian collective presidency, and Croat moderate, Stjepan Kljuic, announces formation of new multi-ethnic Bosnian Republican Party.

June 5

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali arrived in Geneva with the aim of helping overcome the delay in negotiations on a general cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serb forces continue to violate Gorazde exclusion zone while Akashi says he hopes all sides will be able to get down to serious negotiations. US Senator Biden (supporter of lifting arms embargo) says he has no respect for Akashi’s judgment, calls him an impediment. Izetbegovic proposes 100-mile heavy weapons exclusion zone for central Bosnia as alternative to lifting arms embargo. Geneva talks again postponed as Bosnian Government tries to confirm that last Serb troops have left Gorazde exclusion zone but reports that 50 Serbs have simply dressed as civilians and remain in area. Bosnian army presses offensive in Doboj/Gradacac, Serbs respond with heavy shelling of Teocak, intensify attacks on Bugojno.
June 6
After several days of delay the negotiations started in Geneva on a general cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the UNPROFOR officials confirmed that all Serbian forces had withdrawn from Gorazde. Muslims drops 100-kilometre exclusion zone proposal. At a press conference in New York Fred Ekhard, UN spokesman for peace-keeping operations, said that 90 members of UNPROFOR had been killed and 1 014 had been wounded.

June 7
President of FR Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic, warning that the strategy of getting Serbia and Yugoslavia involved in the war would not be achieved, said: ‘Millions of Yugoslav citizens cannot be hostages of any leader, either from FRY, Republika Srpska or the Republika Srpska Krajina. No one has given them such right and this war must end’. Gunfire in Gorazde area. Slovenian president Milan Kucan in Zagreb for first talks with Tudjman in 20 months, talks to focus on Italian irredentism towards Istrian peninsula. US official comments that US has ‘moved towards the European position’. Yugoslavia president Zoran Lilic criticises unnamed leaders for prolonging conflict (Karadzic?).

June 8
Negotiations on a general cessation of hostilities between the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina were finished in Geneva. The parties signed an agreement according to which they would not engage in any offensive military operations or provocative actions for one month. The agreement came into effect from 1200 hours GMT on 10 June 1994. The agreement also provided for the immediate release, under the auspices of the ICRC, of prisoners-of-war and detainees and the exchange of information on persons whose whereabouts were unknown. While that agreement was still in effect, Government forces attempted to capture dominating terrain or to secure routes in the areas of Ozren and Travnik. At the same time, Bosnian Serb elements continued to expel Muslim civilians from the Banja Luka and Bijeljina areas and imposed new restrictions on the movement of UNHCR convoys. The agreement, which was renewed for an additional month in July, lapsed on 8 August 1994. Fighting near Doboj, Gradacac, Brcko, and possibly Gorazde. Croatia says it will resort to war to regain Krajina if negotiations fail by September 30.

June 9
US House of Representatives votes 244-178 to terminate arms embargo while administration warn them that this ‘will fracture the NATO alliance and put us at odds with Russian’. Secretary of State Christopher in meeting of Contact Group Foreign Ministers discusses lifting of sanctions against Serbs if they agree to peace plan. UN concludes that Serb campaign of ethnic cleansing continues in Banja Luka area. Representatives of Croatia and Srpska Krajina agreed to resume negotiations on normalisation of their relations on 16 and 17 June at Plitvice.

June 10
Draft Memorandum of Understanding on the EU administration of Mostar initialled ad referendum by enlarged EU Troika and Bosnian and Bosnian Croat sides. Shelling continues as both sides accuse the other of violations. UN commander Rose optimistic that end of war near. fighting continues in Bihac area which is not subject to cease-fire. 31 explosions S. of Vares.
June 11

Bosnian Serb parliament speaker Momcilo Krajsnik denies there is rift between Bosnian Serbs and Belgrade (in response to Serbian president Zoran Lilic saying Belgrade will not support Bosnian Serbs indefinitely). Says ‘there can be no talk about relations getting cold’ with Serbia. Bosnian army reportedly advancing into suburbs of Serb-held Donji Vakuf (C. Bosnia).

June 12

5 rockets fired on Brcko. 30 rounds hit Croat positions near Orašje, Samac, peacekeepers fired on near Gorazde.

June 13

British armoured vehicle patrol fired on by Serbs near Maglaj, British return fire but no air support called. Foreign Government frees 19 Serbs from prison in Sarajevo, allows them to leave for Serb territory. Govt’s Fifth Corp in Bihac takes over rebel-held villages, captures 300 of Abdic’s troops.

June 14

Akashi calls Muslim shelling of Brcko ‘reprehensible’. Krajina Serbs refuse to let US ambassador to Croatia visit area. Tudjman visits Sarajevo for meeting with Izetbegovic, opens new Croatian embargo. After his meeting in Moscow with President of Republika Srpska Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia Andrey Kozirev said that ‘the Bosnian Serbs could count on the most decisive and firmest support of Russia if they accept the plan of the international community on peaceful settlement of the problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina’. In that case ‘Russia will demand lifting of the sanctions against Belgrade to a rate appropriate to consolidation of the peace’. If they do not accept the plan the Bosnian Serbs ‘could expect nothing good’, he said.

June 15

Nova Makedonija reports that Serb troops set up camp in Macedonian territory last month occupying 200-250 meters.

June 16

Negotiations between the representatives of the Republic of Croatia and the Republika Srpska Krajina on normalisation of their relations, scheduled for 16 and 17 June at Plitvice, were cancelled since the Croatian delegation had not arrived. The Croatians stated that the Krajina had not permitted five Croatian journalists to report the meeting but only two (the same number of two journalists from the RSK had been permitted to report from the negotiations that had taken place in March 1994 in Zagreb).

Croatian Serbs fire 1,000 artillery rounds into Bihac pocket in support of Muslim rebel leader Fikret Abdic. UN says civilians being held prisoner by Abdic’s troops for not supporting rebel side. Sniper fire in Sarajevo kills 1 civilian, 1 Serb soldier (in Nedjarici suburb). Artillery duels near Maglaj, tank fire near Gradacac, Brcko. Croatia turns away group of 462 refugees from Banja Luka area saying they have no accommodation for them.

June 17

Fighting continues in Bihac area, with heavy fighting reported around Pecigrad (10 miles S of Velika Kladusa). Serbs report Muslim attack 5 miles W of Brcko. Bosnian Serb leader Krajsnik comments that Contact Group’s maps ‘are far from what the Serbs could accept’.
**June 18**

Artillery exchanges in NE Posavina Corridor. Light gunfire near Ribnica (25 m. SW of Tuzla), 48 ceasefire violations in Sarajevo, and some gunfire in Gorazde area.

**June 19**

Relatively quiet, but Serbs say government forces taking territory near Vozuca. 10 civilians wounded by Serb shelling of Cazin. 1 killed, 3 wounded by snipers near Holiday Inn in Sarajevo.

**June 20**

Government forces within 13 km of Abdic stronghold, Serbs shell Pecigrad in response. Fighting in Doboj-Gradacac area NW of Tuzla as government puts pressure on Serbs. ‘substantial’ small arms fire between British and Muslim forces around Gorazde. ‘Contact Group’ meeting to finalise partition plan scheduled for June 22 postponed until July 1. Clinton to replace State Department official responsible for Bosnia, Stephen Oxman (considered ineffectual) with ambassador to Germany, Richard Holbrooke.

**June 21**

Serbs fire anti-aircraft rounds into Gorazde, artillery into Zavidovici, Tesanj. UN reports cease-fire violation in Sarajevo triple in 24 hrs., fighting in Hadzici (W of Sarajevo). British patrol apparently fired on by Bosnian government soldiers 3 miles out of Gorazde. Artillery duels along Sava River. Artillery duels die down in Bihac. 2 killed by Serb snipers in Sarajevo suburb of Marijin Dvor. Authorities at Croatian-Bosnian border begin allowing refugees into Croatia. large numbers of small weapons reported moving into Bosnian Government hands after Croats take their cut. UN official says G-7 meeting to endorse territory settlement. puts pressure on Serbs by saying arms embargo against Muslim could be lifted if Serbs don't sign.

**June 22**

Government forces take more territory in Bihac. Russian says it might drop opposition to ending arms embargo if Bosnian Serbs don’t accept peace plan, British Foreign Secretary Hurd tells US Senators this would leave British, France, no choice but to pull out troops. 300-man Turkish mechanised infantry battalion arrives at Split (first part of 1,500 man contingent), to take up duties around Gornji Vakuf, Doboj, and Maglaj. Parliaments of Bosnia and Croat-Muslim federation expected to approve joint government. Kozyrev, in Brussels, does not exclude lifting of embargo if peace plan signed by Bosnian Serbs. German to send 70 police to Mostar to help provide security.

**June 23**

Fighting declared worst since cease-fire agreed to, particularly between Muslims in Bihac area where government troops said to be closing in on Abdic stronghold. 9 killed, 40 wounded as Serbs shell Travnik. Fighting near Maglaj, Doboj, and Tesanj. Several thousand Serbs driven from their homes on Mt. Ozren as government forces attack. Bosnian General Rasim Delic tells officers ‘we are going into phase two, a war of liberation’. Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung says Serbs preparing for new offensive. Prime Minister Silajdzic expected to name new coalition government of 10 Muslim and 6 Croats.

**June 24**

Fighting in North increases, especially around Visoko (15 miles NE of Sarajevo), and North of Zavidovici, Gracanica shelled for 4 hours. Serbs attack UN aid convoy NE of Tuzla, but pull back when NATO planes drop warning flares, Serbs blame government forces for attack, UN contends that
government forces responsible for provoking fighting on Mt. Ozren. Karadzic says Contact Group plan won’t be accepted because ‘serb soldiers are the ones who draw maps’. Hand grenade thrown into Sarajevo cafe wounding several. Croats and Muslims sign accord in Gornji Vakuf on terms of troop withdrawals from battle lines. Talks on anti-sniping agreement between government and Serbs postponed after government refuses to send senior commanders.

June 25

Heavy artillery fire in North. UN General Rose says cease-fire violation can’t continue since Serb General Mladic can’t be reached. UN reports 316 detonations including cluster bombs in Gracanica as Serbs shell town, 79 explosions near Gradacac, 24 explosions in W suburbs of Sarajevo. Serbs shell government positions in Bihac. Bosnian General Delic says progress made in retaking Mt. Vlasic. Serb military officials admit on TV that they have taken large losses in fighting in C Bosnia.

June 26

Bosnian government forces reportedly taking territory back from Serbs in heavy fighting in NC Bosnia. Karadzic, in Banja Luka, says he doubts Serbs will accept peace plan. Yugoslavia troops refuse to leave encampments made 150 meters inside Macedonian territory. Belgrado calls accusation ‘groundless’.

June 27

Heavy fighting around Serb-held Doboj, Mt. Ozren. Artillery shelling of Gradacac, Gracanica, Ribnica, and Doboj. Bosnia 7th Corps commander Mehmed Alagic says his troops plan to retake Mt. Vlasic, Donji Vakuf, and Jajce. UN says government forces violating cease-fire more than Serbs. UN positions come under fire in Sarajevo, British peacekeeper killed by small arms fire of Serbs near Gorazde. UN says ABiH has captured supply route for Maglaj area and made big gains near Doboj.

June 27-28

Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Antonio Martino went on a peace mission to Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade endeavouring to resolve the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

June 28

Bosnian government reports Serbs preparing for major armoured offensive due to increased fighting in Ozren-Doboj area and in Visoko and Kiseljak (NW of Sarajevo). Rose calls situation critical, Akashi says fighting will prompt new calls for NATO air strikes. Serbs halting aid convoys into Gorazde. Contact Group said to have agreed on partition map. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says his government will use peaceful diplomacy to solve dispute with Krajina.

June 29

Contact Group negotiators agree on Bosnia peace plan including 51% of territory to go to Muslim-Croat Federation and 49% to Serbs. Russian envoy Alexei Nikiforov visits Milosevic to try to get support for plan. The proposals should first be accepted on 5 July in Geneva by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Russia. After that the peace plan would be presented to the warring parties. They should come out for or against it before it was to be presented at the G-7 summit + Russia which would take place in Naples on 9 and 10 July. Bosnian army offensive in central Bosnia reported by Borba. Serbs report to have taken weapons from UN storage depot in Croatia and moved them into Bosnia including 20 tanks/artillery pieces, says UN.
European Court of Justice refuses to order Greece to end embargo since EU Commission, which had brought the case, had not proved the embargo adversely affected any EU members, says more time needed to review facts of case. Greek Prime Minister says this lends legitimacy to Greece’s action.

June 30

Boutros-Ghali favours extending cease-fire, but all sides continue fighting with government forces making some gains in NC Bosnia. High level of artillery fire near Mt. Ozren, Zavidovici, Doboj, and Gracanica. Reuters reports Krajina Serbs sending heavy weapons to Abdic’s forces in Bihac. US ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith says renewed fighting between Croatia and Krajina will lead to defeat of Croatia. Macedonian Foreign Minister amazed at European Court of Justice decision saying Greek embargo legal.

July 1

In his first reaction to the Contact Group plan for Bosnia Karadzic said that the proposed maps ‘are humiliating since they break the territorial continuity of the Republika Srpska and make absolutely impossible survival of the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina...In spite of that fact the Serbian part will study the maps and assess whether they could be taken as a satisfactory basis for continuation of the peace process.’

The eighth United Nations appeal since the beginning of the crisis in former Yugoslavia - covered humanitarian needs for the period until 31 December 1994. The appeal addressed emergency needs for a revised beneficiary population of 4,121,500 persons with programmes amounting to $532,070,211.

US Senate votes 50-50 not to lift arms embargo against Bosnia.

Serbs recapture territory around Mt. Ozren, UN monitors count 1,500 explosions in area. Fighting in Bihac, Bugojno, Travnik, and new tensions in Sarajevo, Visoko, and Gorazde. Heavy fighting/shelling between Zavidovici and Ribnica.

Croatian internally displaced started a blockade of UNPROFOR check-points along roads to UN Protected Areas. This protest against UNPROFOR’s inefficiency lasted until August 22.

July 2

Bosnian Foreign Minister says his side will not rule out accepting 51% as proposed. Karadzic says if proposals are set, Serbs should ‘cancel our co-operation with this worldwide mafia’.

July 3

Serbs reportedly break Muslim pressure on supply corridor between Serbia and Krajina, also putting their own pressure on Sarajevo’s highway link to Adriatic. Newsday reports that Yugoslavian army units had been involved in Gorazde fighting in April, not just Bosnian Serb forces. British Sunday Express reports arms embargo being circumvented by flights into Croatian island of Krk.

July 4

Serbs attack British post near Gorazde 4 times before reinforcements arrive. UN High Commissioner for Refugees says Croats evicted 80 Muslims from Mostar recently, Croats blame rogue units for actions. Serbs beat 50 Muslims waiting at UN office in Banja Luka to leave city. 989 children that had been evacuated to Libya in December ‘92 repatriated to Bosnia. Kozyrev warns that airstrikes against Serbs will split Contact Group and could lead ‘up to a world war’.
July 5

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contact Group accepted in Geneva the proposal of the Peace Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Ministers agreed with the proposed maps. It implied that 51% of the territory should belong to the Croatian-Muslim Federation and 49% to the Republica Srpska, while Bosnia-Herzegovina would remain a single state within its internationally recognised borders. The parties would have to accept the map as presented, unless they could agree between themselves on changes. The Ministers also agreed on the measures that should be taken in case the warring parties accepted or rejected the Plan. The warring parties could declare themselves for or against the Plan within a two week period.

Izetbegovic says Bosnian governments answer to peace plan will not be ‘radical no’, but Prime Minister Silajdzic says it legalises mass murder and ethnic cleansing. Bosnian government position in E Bosnia firmed up with proposed return of Visegrad, Breko other towns. Serbs would be allowed to keep northern supply corridor and ethnically cleansed towns of Zvornik, Rogatica, Prijedor (Muslim to get suburbs), Foca but would also have to surrender roughly a third of territory they captured. Muslims to get Modrica, Derventa, Doboj. Visegrad to be divided. Kozyrev says lifting embargo ‘may be inevitable’ if peace plan rejected by Serbs. Serbs retake some land near Zavidovici, inflict heavy losses on government forces, threaten offensive in Sava valley near Bosanski Samac. 2 Serb mechanised battalions each with 20 tanks advancing towards road across Mt. Igman.

July 6

Milosevic received in Belgrade Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia Kozyrev. They discussed the proposed Peace Plan of the Contact Group for Bosnia. Karadzic criticises Russia for not defending Serbs regarding new peace proposal, saying it was dictated by Washington. Kozyrev says Serbs have no choice but to take the plan. Croats seem relatively supportive of peace plan as their positions in central Bosnia would be assured. Macedonia bans state-backed Serbian papers for propagandistic reporting. UN helicopter hit by ground fire near Mt. Zuc. New shelling between Serbs and government forces. Serbs violation Sarajevo exclusion zone by moving 75mm mounted gun through suburbs, Russian Battalion (Rusbat) sent to track and possibly apprehend. Canadian Prime Minister Chretien says he will not support lifting arms embargo and would withdraw troops if this happens. 100 Abdic troops enter Bihac, clash with government troops killing 3.

July 7

Bosnian government leaders endorse the peace plan to their parliament. Karadzic says he has not rejected the plan but that Serbs have been hurt most by it, says acceptance to be based on whether Serbs can unite with Serbia proper. Krajisnik says returning Breko doesn’t suit Serbs at all. US envoy Charles Redman tells NY Times that moral compromises were necessary to arrive at wider peace and keeping Bosnia together.

July 8

Heavy fighting in Bihac as Abdic’s forces launch new offensive (17 killed, 30 wounded), heavily damaging radio building. Croatian radio says some troops of Bosnian Fifth Army Corps defect to Abdic’s side (this later reported to have been a trick by 5th Corps to find Abdic’s supporters. Serbs attack British UN recon patrol outside of Gorazde exclusion zone. Justice Richard Goldstone of South Africa approved as Chief Prosecutor for International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.
**July 10**

G-7 meeting including Russian backs Contact Group plan. They also warned that the participants of the summit would support implementation of the measures that had been presented to the warring parties in case they accepted or rejected the Plan.

**July 11**

Contact group warns warring sides they have only 8 days left to end hostilities and agree to peace plan or face possibly tougher sanctions. Fighting around Mt. Ozren, Bihac. 350 explosions reported along government-Serb frontline on Grabez Plateau (N. of Bihac). Protests in Zagreb against Tudjman’s policy of evicting Croats from appartments to give them to war veterans. Owen and Stoltenberg meet with Milosevic, Cosic in Belgrado to try to get them to endorse peace plan. Milosevic reportedly distancing himself from Karadzic by refusing to meet with him after latest round of Geneva talks, but meets with his deputy (Koljevic) and Mladic instead. Socialist Party opens offices in Bosnian-Serb territory posing direct challenges to Serbian National Party of Karadzic.

**July 12**

Akashi trying to get all sides to extend the cease-fire even though it has not had much success. Representatives of the Croatian-Muslim Federation and the Republika Srpska made a verbal commitment to accept the request of the UN to extend for another month the truce in Bosnia-Herzegovina they had agreed on 8 June in Geneva.

Serbs still refusing to accept terms of peace plan as Karadzic states ‘We did not accept that state (Bosnia) in the past and will not accept it in the future. There can be no compromises’.

Karadzic says talk of split with Milosevic is ‘pure imagination. There are no misunderstandings between us’. Also refused to allow Akashi to visit Banja Luka. Tudjman says no meeting with Milosevic until Serbia recognises Croatia’s borders.

Over 300 artillery rounds fall in Bihac. Fighting in Zavidovici.

**July 12-13**

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain and France Douglas Hurd and Alain Juppé, visited Zagreb, Sarajevo, Pale and Belgrade where they met with the Presidents Tudjman, Izetbegovic, Karadzic and Milosevic. In this ‘last chance mission’ the two ministers made effort to convince all concerned parties that the Peace Plan of the Contact Group for Bosnia should be accepted.

**July 13**

General Mladic promises retributions if NATO planes bomb his forces. Bosnia UN ambassador Sacirbey says Bosnia-Herzegovina will accept peace plan if it retains country’s territorial integrity.

**July 14**

Serbs continue to resist peace plan even though British and French negotiators warn that arms embargo against Bosnian Government could be lifted. Serbs continue to refuse to let 32 be evacuated from Gorazde by UN demanding prisoner exchange first. France opens embassy in Sarajevo.

Government troops cross into Krajina from Bihac to fight Serbs after Serbs fire artillery at them. Fighting near Konjic (SW of Sarajevo) where government says Serbs have massed 49 tanks at Kalinovik. 100 artillery shells exploded near Serb-held Doboj, 217 explosions, gunfire near Srebrenica, in Posavina corridor (on border with Krajina), and around Zavidovici and Grabez Plateau. Several hundred refugees from Krajina area block entrance to UN headquarters in Zagreb to protest their
inability to return home. UN says Croat side of Mostar shows ‘total breakdown of law and order’ as 90 Muslim evicted from homes since April, others murdered, disappeared, or abused. Yugoslavian and Bosnian Serb military leaders said to oppose Milosevic on giving up Doboj, Ozren mountains.

July 15

Serbs force 135 Muslims/Croats out of Bijeljina toward Tuzla, round up 200-300 military-age Muslims and hold them prisoner. UN establish only 7-8,000 remain out of prewar population of 30,000.

July 16

UN-appointed administrator for Mostar, Hans Koschnick (mayor of Bremen) says chances for success just over 50%. Heavy fighting in Zvornik, Bihac.

July 17

Bosnian Serb deputy Prime Minister Vitomir Popovic says Contact Group plan ‘absolutely unacceptable...and should be rejected in its entirety’. Karadzic also says response to plan should be no. Serbs attack Usora (South of Doboj). Tudjman, Izetbegovic, and Turkey president Demirel meet on Brijuni island and call on Serbs to accept plan. Reuters reports that local Muslim and Croat leaders in C. Bosnia are violating their alliance and taking action against each other.

July 18

Bosnian parliament accepts peace plan, but Karadzic urges his assembly to reject it saying it would ‘give away huge territories to our enemies and exterminators’, and that the Serb population must prepare for all-out war, and all Serbs will have to be mobilised. Muslim refugees say Serbs cleansed villages of Satorovici, Osate (near Rogatica). Fighting on Mt. Ozren. Croatian parliament passes non-binding Resolution calling on UNPROFOR to enforce truce agreement and reintegrate Krajina. Slovenia rejects Italy’s demands that Slovenia compensate Italians who fled during Tito era (Italy is blocking Slovenia’s EU entry over the issue).

July 19

Bosnian Serbs delay acceptance of Contact Group plan, keep secret their deliberations in sealed envelope to keep international community guessing. Serb demands made for modification of maps, access to sea, and part of Sarajevo. US National Security Advisor Lake warns Serbs not to say no, that a unified Bosnia is fundamental, secession not acceptable. 14 explosions in Sarajevo suburb of Rajlovac, more fighting on Mt. Ozren, heavy shelling of Zavidovici, Ribnica. Serbs attack in Bihac, Croatian Serbs fire on Bosnia town of Buzim (25 m. NE of Bihac), attacks around Doboj, Lukavac (near Tuzla). US ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, denies Muslim-Croat alliance under any real strain. In Macedonia, US Defense Secretary William Perry says there no plans for expanding current US force of 524 troops and 600 Nordic soldiers, but does conclude defence co-operation agreement allowing Macedonia to receive excess US military equipment, training for some Macedonia officers in US.

July 20

Bosnian Serb Declaration handed to Contact Group in Geneva. Stated that: they could not take position on Contact Group peace plan because constitutional arrangements for Bosnia were not fully elaborated, and further work was required on map. But it could serve as basis for further negotiations, while the Contact Group says ‘the map is the map’. Western diplomats say they realise their bluff has been called by Serbs.
UN airlift to Sarajevo suspended after US Air Force cargo plane hit by gunfire. Radio Sarajevo says 128 Muslims driven out of Rogatica by Serbs, while Izetbegovic contends that only 10% of Banja Luka’s pre-war Muslim/Croat population still lives there. UN chief prosecutor for war crimes says he wants indictments by end of year. Half hour gun battle near Sarajevo’s Jewish cemetery.

July 21

The Declaration of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska adopted on 19 July was made public. The Assembly was not able to make a decision on the Peace Plan proposed by the Contact Group for the following reasons: a) The Assembly has not been acquainted with all elements of the Peace Plan (constitutional arrangements, agreement on cessation of hostilities, the issue of Sarajevo, access to the sea, agreement on implementation of the Peace Plan, agreement on lifting of the sanctions imposed against the Serbian people) and b) it is necessary to continue the work on the proposed map. After negotiations had been finished the Assembly would make a decision on the complete Peace Plan. Izetbegovic withdraws his government’s unconditional acceptance of peace plan due to Serb unwillingness to agree. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic calls Bosnian Serb response highly constructive stemming from a ‘positive attitude’.

3 UN planes struck by gunfire, US Secretary of Defence William Perry cancels trip to Sarajevo as a result. Serbs attack, shell government positions near Brcko.

July 22

Explosions in Jewish cemetery of Sarajevo and at Vrbanja Bridge. UN says Serbs moved 5 tanks, 3 heavy weapons into Sarajevo exclusion zone.

July 23

EU takes over administration of Mostar as part of Muslim-Croat cease-fire deal. Sniper fire in Sarajevo forces police to close centre to traffic. UN troops fired on in 9 separate incidents. British troops on high alert. 5 planes hit at Sarajevo airport over 3 days as sniping increases. shelling in Ozren mountains, along road between Zavid.-Tuzla. UN armoured vehicle nearly hit by shell in Doboj. Akashi says Serbs continue expelling Muslim from homes. Bosnia daily Oslobodenje claims Serbs forcing Muslim/Gypsies in Bijeljina region of Ciganluka to take Slavic names, efforts being supervised by Orthodox Bishop Vasilije Kacavenda. Russian Minister Churkin comments Serb rejection ‘cannot, to say the least, satisfy us’, says Russian will take steps to make Serbs change their minds.

July 24

3 killed in Tuzla due to Serb bombardment. Cease-fire violations also at Travnik, Bugojno. Bosnian army artillery hits Serb positions in Breko. 1,100 artillery rounds fired in Bihac fighting. 9 killed by Serb mortar in Maglaj. UN says Serbs responsible for firing on Ukrainian plane previous day. Christopher says Serbs need to change their minds about peace plan. Croatia says Serb artillery from eastern Herzegovina shells Konavle (S. of Dub.).

July 25

In his letter to the Security Council UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali proposed that the UNPROFOR should be withdrawn from the former Yugoslavia and replaced by the NATO or combined military forces particularly set up for this purpose. In his explanation Boutros-Ghali pointed out that, since the Contact Group had taken the leading negotiating role in resolving the problems in the former Yugoslavia, it was natural that it would implement its decisions by committing its own forces, and second, UNPROFOR and United Nations had no power, people or means necessary for
implementing the decisions proposed in the Peace Plan or imposing it by force. Accord would call for 60,000 troops, 3,000 police, several hundred civilian staff, and cost $4-5 billion per year.

The Contact Group discussed in Moscow the situation that had arisen after the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina had given their responses to the Peace Plan for Bosnia. The only information that was made public was that the talks would be resumed in Geneva.

Serbs violation UN Gorazde weapons exclusion zone by firing 40mm anti-aircraft gun at workers in fields, killing 1. UN gives them ‘warning letter’. Serbs meet with UN commissioner in Sarajevo, General André Soubirou, say they will not fire on planes, but UN charges that Ukrainian plane was shot at from Serb-controlled suburb. UN reopens Sarajevo airport. Reuters reports that 2 French soldiers defect to Serbs, who claim they wanted to ‘fight the Muslims who have flooded France’.

**July 26**

Russian Minister of Defence Pavel Grachev and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vitaly Churkin met in Belgrade with Milosevic, Karadzic and Mladic to try to persuade Bosnian Serbs to sign peace plan but have no success. Kozyrev says UN, not NATO forces should act as peacekeepers, while Grachev says there is no need for UNPROFOR to pull out, but NATO is not needed.

Serbs again violation Gorazde exclusion zone by firing 82mm mortar at government troops. Serbs say they will close off highway connecting Sarajevo to Adriatic shutting off food supply for capital.

Karadzic says road closed because Bosnian government had violated March agreement by smuggling in arms and ammunition, firing into Serb-held territory, and failing to honour agreements on prisoner exchanges, later says closure only temporary. UN says it has no evidence of such charges, protests Serb action.

UN human rights monitor Mazowiecki says there are 800 POWs in Bihac, all being treated inhumanely, many beaten. Also contends that Serbs continue ethnic cleansing in Banja Luka but unable to gain access to Serb-controlled territory.

**July 27**

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali forwarded a letter to the Security Council proposing that the Security Council should take necessary actions and invite of Croatia to fulfil its obligations and lift the blockade imposed against the UNPROFOR at the check points in the UNPAs.’

Serbs ambush UN convoy on road to Sarajevo just closed, killing 1 British soldier, wounding 1, later say they mistook this for government convoy. NATO called in for overflights, but not asked to attack since Serb targets disappeared. British say convoy clearly marked, attack deliberate.

**July 28**

The Assembly of the Republika Srpska considered the Peace Plan of the Contact Group again. It was said the Assembly did not reject participation of the Contact Group in resuming negotiations, provided the international community would ensure:

a) further adjustment of the map;  
b) territorial division settlement for Sarajevo;  
c) access to the sea;  
d) right of self-determination, including the possibility of establishing state ties with neighbouring countries;
e) agreement on cessation of hostilities, implementation of the Plan and lifting of the sanctions.

It was also said that in case the international community demands that the Peace Plan should be accepted the Assembly is obliged to schedule a referendum.

July 29

Churkin says Russian opposes air strikes against Serb targets, but Kozyrev warns Serbs not to hold referendum under war conditions. Lord Owen calls for air strikes against Bosnian Serbs, blockade of Serbia especially its border with Macedonia. Christopher says international community must be prepared to lift arms embargo although British and France both resist. Contact Group considers establish protective zones around Srebrenica, Zepa, but as Contact Group consensus breaks down, Karadzic says ‘there is hope in this critical moment’.

July 30

The Contact Group considered the responses of the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Peace Plan. In a communiqué Ministers welcomed the decision of the Croatian-Muslim Federation to accept the Plan and regretted the decision of the Serbian part not to accept the Plan on the territorial settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ministers agreed to propose to the UN Security Council deepening of the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia, application of more severe regime and enlargement of the Safe Areas, and decisive action against those who violated the agreement on cease-fire in Bosnia. In case the Serbs responded positively the Contact Group would submit to the Security Council a draft Resolution on gradual lifting of the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia, but if otherwise lifting of the arms embargo for the Muslims could become unavoidable. The Republika Srpska was given a chance to reconsider its decision on rejecting the Peace Plan. British Foreign Secretary Hurd says that none of them have the strength to impose solutions, while Christopher declares ‘We’ve made a decision not to seek to impose a solution’.

Milosevic made a statement for the Belgrade newspaper Politika. Milosevic invited the Republika Srpska to opt for peace and accept the proposal of of the Contact Group. He said that the proposal was not in all aspects just for the Serbian side but was not against it. The proposal was an unavoidable compromise and peace was more just than war. Milosevic pointed to the fact that the Republika Srpska should be legitimised by the international community. Milosevic stressed that ‘no one has the right to reject peace on behalf of the Serbian people’.

UN accuses Serbs of violations and attacks on peacekeepers. French UN troops fire on Serb snipers in Sarajevo.

July 31

Milosevic received in Belgrade Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kozyrev. Kozyrev said Russia would give guarantees that after the Contact Group Plan had been accepted all sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia would be lifted at the moment the Army of the Republika Srpska withdrew within the agreed boundaries. The boundaries between the Republika Srpska and Croatian-Muslim Federation would be guaranteed by the international community and the Republika Srpska would have the same right to establish a confederation with FR Yugoslavia as the Croatian-Muslim Federation would have the right to form a confederation with Croatia.

President of FR Yugoslavia Lilic said that ‘for the present internal and external circumstances it is our common conclusion that peace has no alternative’. He also said that the Contact Group Plan is ‘an honourable compromise’.
**August/September**

The security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina deteriorated. Continued fighting persisted in several regions of the Republic. In Sarajevo, attacks, especially by snipers (despite the anti-sniping agreement), escalated in frequency and deadly effect. The extent of heavy weapons attacks also increased. Attacks occurred in both the city centre and the suburbs and on many occasions were directed at residences, pedestrians and moving vehicles, such as trams packed with people. United Nations personnel were also targeted and suffered fatalities. Twice, in August and September, UNPROFOR called in NATO warplanes to hit Serbian heavy weapons violating the exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

There were numerous interference with humanitarian aid. A key humanitarian route in Sarajevo was closed by Bosnian Serb forces, thus greatly impeding the delivery of aid not only to the city, but also to many points in northern and eastern Bosnia. Attacks both by Bosnian Serbs and Government forces on Sarajevo airport resulted in its frequent closure.

Attacks and interference with humanitarian aid were also reported in other areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including Gorazde, Maglaj, Travnik, Bugojno, Srebrenica and Tuzla. In a number of other locations, the situation remained tense, and widespread violations of human rights in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina persisted.

**August 1**

Republika Srpska expressed its wish to immediately resume negotiations with the Contact Group on some aspects of the proposed map. After making some changes to the map and reaching agreement on constitutional arrangements that will guarantee sovereignty of the Republic, the Serbs would be ready to accept the Plan. US, France, and German new talks over the map. Kozyrev tells Bosnian Serbs Russia may not support them if plan not accepted.


**August 2**

Regarding the statement of the Republika Srpska of 1 August Milosevic forwarded a letter to the Assembly, President and Government expressing surprise and concern for the fact ‘that two questions that have already been clarified are raised again’ (indispensability to make changes on the map and guarantees for sovereignty of the Republika Srpska). The letter also said: ‘If at this moment, when the peace is offered you usurp for yourself the right to decide on the fate of FR Yugoslavia, it will become impossible to maintain our relations in the future. In case you miss the chance to accept peace you will commit the greatest treason of the Serbian national interests which has ever occurred. Therefore stop raising questions that have already been clarified. You have no right to wait. Make decision to accept the Plan. The interests of the state and people make it necessary’.

Krajisnik responds that they are subject to ‘blackmail and pressure’. Muslim and Serbs to end sniping in Sarajevo.

Serbs in Krajina are reported to have stolen weapons from UN depots to send to Abdic in Bihac, and UN says Serbs moving guns in and out of Gorazde area. 700 reported cease-fire violations in Sarajevo, heaviest fighting in north since March with government troops on offensive, Serbs retaliate by shelling Tuzla. Government troops take Pecigrad, surround 400 Abdic troops.

**August 3**

Bosnian Serb leaders unanimously reject plan saying it would ‘sign their own death warrant’ and would be a ‘masochistic crime at which the devil would laugh’. The Assembly of Republika Srpska made a decision on holding a referendum on the Peace Plan of the Contact Group. In an explanation it was said that ‘the Assembly sticks to the Declaration which had been forwarded to the Contact Group
before the Ministerial meeting’. The referendum would take place on 27 and 28 August. The Assembly also initiated a proposal for unification of the Republics of Srpska Krajina and of Srpska with Serbia and Montenegro. Karadzic says ‘we have to accept that the Serbian government does not support us anymore’. Russian officially freezes relations with Bosnian Serbs and endorses Milosevic effort to cut ties if peace plan not accepted. Bosnian dinar linked to German mark at rate of 100-1. 5 killed by artillery in Tuzla.

**August 4**

In an effort to persuade the Bosnian Serb authorities to accept the map, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia severed economic and political relations with the Bosnian Serb leaders and took measures to cut off telecommunications between the FR of Yugoslavia and Bosnian Serb-controlled territory, to deny visits to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by Bosnian Serb officials and to close the 300-mile border to all traffic except for food, clothing and medical assistance.

Concerning the decisions of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska Milosevic said: ‘The decision of the leadership in Pale is the most serious decision directed against the interests of citizens of the very Republika Srpska, and also against the whole Serbian people and citizens of FR Yugoslavia...They reject peace at the moment when the Republika Srpska has been recognised and its territory is half as big as the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and when, if accepting peace, the sanctions will be lifted to those without whom they could not exist at all. They scheduled a referendum to evade responsibility by laying it at the door of citizens and people...They have usurped the right to make decision on the fate of eleven million citizens of FR Yugoslavia...Number of times they have given us reasons to break off all ties with them since they have never kept their word. Therefore we have to break off all relations and co-operation with such leadership.’

As reported by the news agency Iskra the Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina had supported the decisions of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska concerning the Peace Plan of the Contact Group and the initiative for unification of all Serbian lands.

US White House Chief-of-Staff Leon Panetta says if Serbs continue defiance, US will seek multilateral or possibly unilateral lifting of arms embargo against Muslim side.

2 wounded by Serb snipers in Sarajevo while other Serbs threaten to retake UN-controlled weapons. all but 100 Abdic troops captured in Pecig. Radical car bomb explodes outside hotel in Budva, Montenegro. Pope John Paul II to visit Zagreb on 9 October (1st visit by a pope since 1177).

**August 5**

The Bosnian Serb Army seized a number of heavy weapons from the Ildiza Weapons Collection site in the Sarajevo Exclusion Zone, despite having been warned by UNPROFOR not to do so. At the request of UNPROFOR, NATO launched aircraft to attack heavy weapons that were violating the Sarajevo Exclusion zone. Despite poor weather conditions the force, made up of Dutch, French, NATO, UK and US aircraft, were able to locate an M18 Tankbuster (a tracked 76mm anti- tank gun). This was attacked by two US A-10 aircraft which strafed it. Following the airstrike the BSA returned the heavy weapons they had taken. Serbs quickly return 2 personnel carriers. Krajisnik expressed his regret for the incident and ordered that all weapons should be brought back to the storage. UN sends French helicopters to track tank but it returns after being fired upon. Serbia cuts off telephone service to Bosnian Serb territory. UN reports that Serbs fire 2 mortar rounds into central Sarajevo neighbourhood.

Croatian and Republika Srpska Krajina delegations meet to discuss preparations for resumption of the economic relations.
August 6

UN begins patrols to find snipers in Sarajevo after having to shut down streetcar service in capital due to snipers. Russian armoured personnel carrier has 7 grenades dropped on it from apartment building in government-controlled area of Sarajevo. Karadzic announces mobilisation of Bosnian Serb population in response to Milosevic move saying ‘only God is with us’.

August 8

Security Council postponed debate on draft Resolution in case of accepting or rejecting the Contact Group Plan for Bosnia. The reason for that were the new circumstances which arose after FR Yugoslavia had decided to break off the political and economic relations with the Republika Srpska. Krajisnik demands 64% of all land for Serbs saying this is the amount rightfully owned by Serbs before war despite census figures proving otherwise. Bosnian Serbs suspend holidays and paid vacations, and expand work week to 60 hrs. in response to emergency.

General Rose proposes removing all soldiers and heavy weapons from Sarajevo region. Bosnian government says Serbs repositioning forces around Sarajevo. Bosnian forces make gains around Vares, take Serb-held town of Brgule (South of Vares), heavy fighting around Doboj, Breko (where Serbs are bringing in more reinforcements, and Bresa (20 km NW of Sarajevo). Heavy shelling along front in Kladanj-Dastanko corridor.

August 9

Government forces liberate Cazin municipality of Abdic strong-hold Velika Kladusa. 5,100 civilians and 1,600 Abdic troops flee into Croatia. Government offers amnesty to all who join army in 7 days, except those charged with war crimes (such as Abdic). Airlift resumes in Sarajevo, but British helicopter hit by ground fire causing temporary suspension of helicopter flights. Serbs blocking all UN convoys on Serb held territory. Karadzic resists pressure to accept peace plan. Government forces capture high ground near Gracanica, advance within several thousand yards of Serb supply line near Brcko. US Senate committee reaches agreement on lifting arms embargo if Serbs do not agree on peace plan, Secretary Christopher says administration does not rule this out.

August 10

State Department spokesman said that the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia could be eased if the USA was made sure that the leadership of Yugoslavia seriously carried out the measures of closing the border to the Bosnian Serbs.

General Rose threatens government side for first time with NATO air strikes for violating Sarajevo exclusion zone by firing artillery at Serb positions inside (Serbs also warned). Karadzic says only option is ‘resistance of a unified people in a unified state’. Meeting of Serbian Orthodox Bishop’s Council at Patriarch’s residence condemns Milosevic and supports Karadzic on issue of blockade.

August 11

The Security Council adopted a Presidential statement assessing that the blockade imposed in UNPAs by citizens of Croatia against the UNPROFOR was impermissible as well as the similar actions directed towards thwarting of the peace-keeping forces which were performed by representatives of the Croatian government. The Security Council demanded that the Croatian government should strictly observe the achieved agreements and stop the actions performed so far. UN says 3,000 government troops put into new offensive to break sieges of Visoko, Breza. Sarajevo airlift again halted after UN planes fired upon.
Clinton sets October 15 deadline for asking UN to lift embargo if Serbs don’t comply, France says it will go along but not if peacekeepers are ‘exposed to a generalised war’. US Senate endorses Clinton plan but then sets November 15 deadline for lifting embargo unilaterally. Russian Foreign Minister official Grigorii Karasin says Serbian leadership’s ‘courageous’ act in imposing blockade deserves reward in lifting of sanctions. Islamic Development Bank gives Bosnia $6 million for emergency medical aid. Bosnian Government says it welcomes Rose proposal to demilitarise Sarajevo.

**August 12**

3 unsuccessful attempts by Serbs to retake weapons in UN arms depot. Fighting around Sarajevo’s Jewish cemetery. Blockades of UNPROFOR posts in Croatia now over as Croatian police.

**August 12-13**

Stoltenberg met in Belgrade with Milosevic, and in Pale with the leadership of the Republika Srpska. His mission was aimed at making the Serbs accept the Contact Group Plan. After the meeting Karadzic said that ‘the maps in the present form cannot be accepted either by the leadership or Assembly, and the people will reject them at the forthcoming referendum’.

**August 13**

Serbs again try to retake 2 T-55 tanks from UN arms depot, but peacekeepers resist. Sarajevo airport partially reopened. Government says it has retaken 14 sq. miles around city in last 10 days. UN reports Serbs fire 122mm howitzer inside Sarajevo exclusion zone.

**August 15**

Sniping agreement takes effect in Sarajevo. Fuel reportedly slipping across border from Serbia to Bosnian Serbs.

**August 16**

Bosnian government demands UN reopen roads into Sarajevo. Serbs have also cut off most of city’s supply. 150 explosions reported around Breza (N. of Sarajevo) where government troops make substantial gains in fighting. UN reports 684 cease-fire violations over previous 24-hr. period in Sarajevo. British peacekeeper killed near Gornji Vakuf while clearing mines. Serbs seize anti-aircraft weapon from UN and fire on government troops who had been who had attacked them with small arms fire. UN begins airlift again. Snipers fire on Holiday Inn area. Stoltenberg says lifting arms embargo may be useful in bringing Serbs into compliance with peace plan, but this should be done through the Security Council and not unilaterally. Russian Foreign Minister says US plan to lift embargo will only lead to greater bloodshed.

**August 17**

The Security Council considered the situation in Bosnia. It did not express its views on the situation and discussion was postponed for ‘some other occasion’. Representatives of the Union of Forced Displaced Persons of Croatia stated that the blockade of the UN peace-keeping forces at the check points in the UNPAs had been lifted. In case their demands to return ‘to the occupied areas’ were not met by mid-September they threatened to organise a new ‘total blockade of the UN peace-keeping forces in Croatia.’ Bosnian Serb headquarters in Pale sends letter to UN in Sarajevo demanding UN give Serbs gas to replace that lost by Yugoslavia blockade or else UN won’t be allowed to travel through Serb territory.
UN refuses calling it blackmail. Bosnian General Delic tells troops to prepare for continuation of war. Abdic reportedly calls for unilateral cease-fire in Bihac while government says he must surrender in 7 days. Prisoner exchange in Sarajevo sends 13 to Serb side, 14 to government. Artillery exchanges for several hours around Sarajevo.

_August 18_

Bosnian Serb leaders announce they will formally seek unification with Yugoslavia and Krajina. Serbs withdraw permission for evacuation of seriously wounded in Gorazde and again link it to prisoner exchanges. UN says this ‘totally unacceptable’. Mortar hits Sarajevo airport Serbs aim, but do not fire 40mm anti-aircraft gun on Sarajevo airport (gun supposedly under control of Ukrainian UN forces). Vatican says decision on Pope’s visit to Sarajevo won’t be made until day before September 7.

_August 19_

Government troops make new gains in Bihac. Karadzic warns Pope that his security can’t be guaranteed as Serbs did not give their consent to the visit. 122mm mortar fired at Sarajevo airport shutting down relief flights. 110 refugees from Bijeljina arrive in Tuzla. Heavy fighting near Bijela (N. Bosnia). French peacekeeper killed near Jewish cemetery.

_August 20_

In interview to Belgrade newspaper _Politika_ President of FR Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic supported again the Contact Group Plan for Bosnia since it ‘brings peace’. Condemning the leadership of the Republika Srpska for rejecting the Plan Lilic said that the Serbs in Bosnia should be protected from their own leaders who ‘plunge into a new war’. In his opinion ‘the strategy of enlarging the territory and losing the people is insane’ and ‘we have supported the defence war in Bosnia-Herzegovina because it has been justified’...but ‘now we cannot support the war of conquest policy...the policy which is suicidal and directly opposite to the interests of the whole Serbian and Montenegrin people and all citizens of FR Yugoslavia’.

Government forces within 1 mile of Velika Kladusa. Shells from Krajina hit village of Kokovi (12 miles S of VK) killing 5 children, wounding 7.

_August 21_

After the talks with the leadership of the Republika Srpska Krajina in Knin Karadzic said that ‘one should not urge unification of the Republika Srpska with the Republika Srpska Krajina because Croatia could take it as reason to attack RS Krajina’.

Velika Kladusa falls to Bosnian forces, fighting continues in area. UN estimates 22,000-25,000 refugees flee into Krajina. Croatia did not permit the refugees to cross over to the territory of Croatia.109 ‘blue berets’ have been killed, 1007 wounded since April ‘92, including Croatia, Macedonia and other parts of former Yugoslavia. Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan Jovan warns Vatican that Pope’s visit would pose security risks, says he is not opposed but the trip would be valid only if the Pope condemns all parties for war atrocities.

_August 22_

Milosevic rejects Akashi proposal for international monitors for Serb-Bosnia border. Abdic reportedly in Serb-held town in Croatia. UN airlift and tram operations resume in Sarajevo.
August 23

Head of Krajina Serbs, Milan Martic, tells UN they need assistance for 60,000 refugees who have fled Bihac. Serbs expel 250 more Muslims from Bijeljina, refugees say Bosnian Serb major Vojislav Djurkovic, and his Civilian Committee for the Exchange of Populations responsible for all expulsions from region. Clinton says he will ask UN Security Council to lift arms embargo against Bosnian Government unless Serbs accept peace plan by October 15.

August 24

Russian Prime Minister Chernomydin said that Russia would intercede in favour of lifting of the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia. Two agreements were signed on economic co-operation between Russia and Serbia and they would come into effect after lifting of the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia.

UN convoy in Croatia, blocked for 2 days by Muslim refugees from Bihac, allowed to pass. Fighting North of Sarajevo around Srednje near supply route. Serbs say they have regained some territory but UN can’t confirm. UN observer claims he saw Bosnian Government troops fire on refugees fleeing Velika Kladusa. Kozyrev says Yugoslavia should be rewarded for its position on peace plan by easing some sanctions, Bosnian Serbs should be dealt with even harsher. UN commissioner in Macedonia now says Serbs respecting border, but international commissioner should meet to determine exact demarcation.

August 25

Thousands of refugees from Bihac head toward crossing into Croatia at Turanj where Croatian troops are poised to keep them out due to 400,000 refugees already in country. Abdic’s whereabouts unknown. Parliament in Belgrade calls upon Bosnian Serbs to accept peace plan. UN says Serbs violated Gorazde exclusion zone over past 2 days by firing artillery into area, killing 1. UN sends warning letter in response. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic says there is no need for monitors since Serbia would ‘firmly adhere to the blockade’.

August 26

Serbian parliament passes Resolution calling on Bosnian Serbs to accept peace terms. Germany says Serbia must allow international monitors of its borders to avoid tougher sanctions. Karadzic, on TV, threatens to ‘block the Moslem state and close all Moslem supply routes’.

August 27

Bosnian Serbs begin voting on peace plan. Karadzic, in Der Spiegel, says that if arms embargo is lifted, Serbs will abduct foreigners and peacekeepers, and shoot down planes. Mladic reportedly meets with 2 US generals in Banja Luka including Lt. General Wesley Clark (aide to Shalikashvili). UN says Mladic had called for the meeting. Government responds to Karadzic blockade threat by saying it will do likewise to Serb areas. New fighting reported in Bihac, also in Maglaj, Doboj areas. After visit from German Foreign Minister Kinkel, Tudjman says on TV that autonomy for Croatian Serbs would be limited to Knin and Glina districts since these were only areas with majority Serb populations prior to war, but all Serbs would have full civil rights, Krajina problem to be solved by peaceful means.

French Minister of Defence Leotard warned the USA that lifting of the arms embargo for the Bosnian Muslims would put the UN forces in Bosnia in a very delicate position. In his opinion such decision would be ‘a tremendous failure’ and would mean ‘an open war’, which might spread, to the Balkans.
August 27-28

Referendum in the Republika Srpska at which citizens voted on the following question: ‘Do you accept the maps on territorial settlement in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina proposed by the international Contact Group?’ According to the data presented by the RS Referendum Commission 90% went to the polls. 96% were against.

August 28

Kozyrev in Belgrade for talks with Milosevic, says ‘we are no longer talking about toughening or imposing extra sanctions on Belgrade. The task is the opposite’. 400 Muslims driven out of Bijeljina towards Tuzla by Serbs. UN reports heavy exchanges of artillery North and West of Sarajevo. Illias area outside of Sarajevo hit by several hundred rounds of artillery inside exclusion zone. Government forces fire rocket propelled grenades from Jewish Cemetery into Serb territory. Serbs do not return fire. Some fighting near Bihac in Bosanska Krupa between government forces and Serbs, also along Grabez plateau. Serbs shell Olovo, fighting near Breza where Serbs are counterattacking, shelling in Doboj.

August 29

Kozyrev in Sarajevo and Zagreb after confessing with Milosevic, says Russian pushing for swift rewards for Belgrade, but Germany and France both say vote not legitimate. Dutch confirm they are pulling out part of their troops due to technical reasons. US ambassador to UN Madeleine Albright states again that US will unilaterally lift arms embargo if Serbs don’t go along with peace plan. Karadzic predicts that escalation of war would lead to total victory of Serbs, threatens to take UN forces hostage if arms embargo lifted.

August 30

Red Cross calls on Bosnian Serbs to stop expelling Muslims after 432 forced out of Bijeljina over weekend. Muslim refugees march on Turanj crossing pt. with Croatia. Kozyrev says West too slow in rewarding Belgrade. Bosnian Serb liason officers at Sarajevo airport force 2 UN planes to turn back since they didn’t arrive on time. Shooting near airport said to be part of campaign to keep Pope from visiting. Gunfire at Mt. Igman, other areas W & NW of Sarajevo.

In Sarajevo newspaper Oslobodjenje Izetbegovic said that a balance had been achieved between the Muslim and Serbian military forces. In his opinion the Muslims needed more arms but ‘procurement of additional weapons should not necessarily proceed from lifting of the arms embargo’.

August 31

UN says Serbs deliberately restricting access to Sarajevo airport Serb efforts seen as part of campaign to keep Pope from visiting Sarajevo. Serb snipers force 100 British soldiers to take cover near airport. Belgrade papers report Milosevic tells Kozyrev that 400 monitors could be allowed but only if from friendly countries, and these would have to be inside Bosnian territory. UN says Serbs drove 232 gypsies out of Laktasi (near Banja Luka) towards Croatia in July, 420 more reported to be on their way. US ambassador, UNPROFOR officials meet with Abdic who rejects plans for refugees to return. Reports that Abdic troops blocking returns by some refugees. Serb snipers fire on Red Cross vehicle, and one with 2 journalists inside. Serbs also cause British humanitarian convoy headed to Sarajevo to turn back, French return sniper fire. UNPROFOR says it will ensure Pope’s safety in Sarajevo. 140 refugees arrive in Travnik from Serb-held Sanski Most. Silajdzic criticises British, France for threatening to pull out of area if arms embargo lifted. German Foreign Minister, after meeting with Kozyrev, says they will only consider lifting some sanctions against Belgrade.
September 1

Karadzic says Serbs will cut water, gas, power, and food to Muslim/Croats unless Belgrade ends its blockade. French Prime Minister says US efforts to lift arms embargo would lead to pullout of troops. Vatican affirms Pope’s visit still on, but security concerns remain. UN reports another 149 Muslim refugees expelled from Banja Luka, sent to Zenica. 157 Serbs leave Banovci area (C. Bosnia-Herzegovina) for Pale, Sokolac. Peter Kessler of UN High Commission for Refugees calls Serb expulsion campaign ‘state ordained terrorism’. French UN helicopter hit by gunfire in Sarajevo, source unknown. Fighting near Grabez Plateau as Serbs try to take hill. Serbs shell Bosanski Samac overnight. US State Department objects to General Clark’s meeting with Mladic particularly photos taken of 2 men wearing each other’s hats, gifts given by Mladic to Clark. Defence Department says Generals were not aware of objections prior to trip.

An updated appeal was issued by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and UNHCR. The appeal incorporated changes calculated for a revised target population of 2,274,500 for the remainder of 1994. It was pointed out that the number of beneficiaries had decreased only marginally since the September revised appeal, from 2,274,500 to 2,244,400 persons.

Addressing the French ambassadors, President Mitterand said that France would remain faithful to the idea that the Bosnian war should only be politically settled and therefore it resolutely opposed to lifting of the arms embargo for the Bosnian Muslims since this would bring about spreading of a more violent war not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also across its borders.

September 2

In a Presidential statement the UN Security Council condemned ethnic cleansing ‘wherever and by whoever has it been committed’ and expressed a special concern ‘for the continuing reports on ethnic cleansing committed by the Bosnian Serbs in the area of Bijeljina. The Council demanded that such practice should be immediately stopped as well as the violations of international humanitarian law for which the persons who had committed them would be individually responsible.

UN reports 700 Muslims forced out of Bijeljina to Tuzla.

September 3

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kozyrev said in Moscow that his country would withdraw its units from the former Yugoslavia if the arms embargo was lifted for the Bosnian Muslims or if large-scale operations started again.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden Margareta af Uglas said that Sweden would withdraw its soldiers from the UN peace-keeping forces in Bosnia if France and Great Britain did that so.

Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic said in Zagreb that Croatia welcomed the Milosevic’s acceptance of the Peace Plan of the Contact Group, but in his opinion it was ‘not much and enough for he has to finally take a stand towards the occupied areas in Croatia’. Normalisation of relations between Croatia and FR Yugoslavia, he said, was one of the goals of the Croatian foreign policy but a prerequisite for achieving this was that the two states should recognise each other within their internationally recognised borders. In return Croatia was willing to discuss the quality of local self-rule for the Serbs in the UNPAs (the Republika Srpska Krajina) as well as all other issues which were guaranteed by the Constitutional law on the rights of minorities and ethnic communities.

Croats report that 500-700 refugees arrive in Travnik, and are transferred to Bugojno.

September 4

780-900 more Muslims forced out of Bijeljina, 100 men reportedly taken to Serb labour camp in Lopare. Again, Serb major V. Djurkovic named as responsible, but also reports of shootings amongst Serbs over cleansing. Vatican official in Sarajevo hedges on Pope’s visit even as Serb snipers fire on UN
forces near sight of Pope’s mass. UN says Serbs have halted government attack and advanced near Breza after heavy artillery attack within Sarajevo exclusion zone, also shell Orasje area. Owen and Stoltenberg hold talks with Milosevic in Belgrado.

September 5

Serbs fire rockets at Bihac towns of Cazin and Buzim killing 3, wounding 60 and 50 respectively. French defusing unexploded shells in Bihac. Owen and Stoltenberg meet Montenegrin president Bulatovic who wants sanctions eased against his republic. Izetbegovic denies UN claim that his forces responsible for mortar attack on airport, saying this is part of Serb effort to sabotage Pope’s visit.

September 6

Pope’s bullet-proof vehicle sent to Sarajevo in preparation for his visit, but after Serbs fire 11 artillery rounds within Sarajevo exclusion zone (worst violation since February) and Akashi sends letter to Vatican warning of risks, the Pope says he will postpone Sarajevo part of trip since security can’t be guaranteed for those coming to see him. Heavy gunfire at airport but UN claims this is not a factor in cancellation. Heavy fighting in Bihac where cluster bombs used for first time. UN reports 7 killed, 100+ wounded previous day. UN now puts expulsion of Muslims at 5,580 since middle of July. NATO ambassadors meet in Brussels to discuss breakdown of cease-fire. Yugoslavian aircraft violations Hungarian airspace. US Deputy Secretary of State for Europe Richard Holbrookee meets with President of Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kresimir Zubak and Izetbegovic to try to get federation back on track. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin says Contact Group has agreed to recommend to Security Council to partially lift sanctions against Yugoslavia, but German Foreign Minister Kinkel says Milosevic must first agree to presence of border monitors.

September 7

Sarajevo airlift suspended due to firings on 2 planes previous day. Rose, in interview, says lifting arms embargo would not benefit government forces as much as government thinks. Belgrado agrees to international monitors on border with Bosnia.

September 8

Airlift resumes. 2 British jets fired on over Bosnia, UN blames Serbs. Diplomats say Russian, British, French trying to convince US not to try to lift embargo. Contact Group agrees to ease sanctions if Belgrade allows monitors, Belgrade apparently accepts. Bosnian Serbs, possibly with help of 500 Krajina Serbs with tanks, launch pincer assault on 5th Corps in Bihac. Serbs fire SAMs at 2 NATO jets but fail to hit them. Bosnian Serbs possibly trying to retake land lost to government forces around Sarajevo.

September 9

Organisation of the Islamic Conference says members may provide arms to Bosnian Muslims even though this would violation UN embargo, if embargo is not lifted (decision unanimously approved at meeting). French troops in Bihac forced to pull back out of way of Serb offensive, but UN says government troops doing well despite Serb tanks, artillery. Serbs trying to take re-supply airstrip in Cazin. Red Cross reports Serbs expelled another 500-600 Muslims from Bijeljina previous day.
September 10

UN warns Serbs firing on Bihac this could bring NATO air strikes.

September 11

EU offers Serbs deal to cut off war supplies, allow 135 EU monitors, and sanctions will be eased (largely cultural and air traffic-related), but also warn of ‘incalculable consequences’ if arms embargo lifted, and German Foreign Minister Kinkel says it should be a ‘solution of last resort’. Estimated crowd of 800,000 attend Pope’s mass in Zagreb. Says he felt ‘deep pain’ at calling off Sarajevo trip. Pope condemns nation-state glorification, rejects tying relations to national intolerance, tells people ‘dare to forgive and welcome others’. also praises late Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac, considered by Serbs to have been Nazi collaborator. Catholic and Serb Orthodox officials meet in Assisi for gathering of world religions.

September 12 Serbs continue assault in Bihac which Bosnian radio says is being co-ordinated by Mladic personally. UN now says Serbs entering Bihac may be Bosnian Serbs and that Croatian Serbs have either pulled back or were not involved. 1,000 detonations reported NE of Bihac. EU administration of Mostar opens new bridge to temporarily replace that destroyed by Croats during fighting.

September 13

In Geneva experts of the Contact Group and the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia proposed setting up a civilian mission to be sent to the border between FR Yugoslavia and the Republika Srpska to verify the contents of convoys from FR Yugoslavia carrying food and medical supplies to the Republika Srpska. The proposal was a response to the refusal of FR Yugoslavia to accept military observers.

Bosnian Croat military authorities arrest a number of demobilised Croat Defence Council military police for complicity in attempted assassination of EU administration.

September 14 Izetbegovic, Tudjman in 2 days of talks agree to open up key supply route between Metkovic and Doboj, create joint municipal authorities, begin repatriation of refugees, work on creation of joint army in Bosnia. Yugoslavia agrees in principle to monitors. Kozyrev accuses West of dragging its feet on easing sanctions. Government forces fire 7 rockets into Brcko prompting Serbs to fire back at Orasje. UN says 5th Army Corps has repelled Serb assault in Bihac and recaptured some ground as well as Serb tank, artillery.

September 15

UN claims Serbs have made hundreds of helicopter flights in past 10 days primarily in Sapna Thumb area near Serbian border, and suspects this is Serb resupply route. Head of international observer mission, Swedish General Bo Pellnas, meets with Yugoslavian officials to discuss his 135-man mission. Shelling in and near Bihac, Serbs attacking government positions near Brcko. Croats said to be upset with possible lifting of arms embargo thinking weapons will only go to Muslims, pull out of positions supporting government forces around Konjic. Intense fighting around Brcko, also in Konjic area (50 miles SW of Sarajevo).

September 16

NATO to extend air cover to UN peacekeepers in Bosnia especially in Bihac where Serbs have been on attack. Also drawing up contingency plans for ground troop involvement to support UN forces which might come under attack if withdrawing due to lifting of arms embargo. Non-aligned states on Security Council now apparently supportive of idea. British ODA providing majority of British relief says it will discontinue flights after one of its planes fired on while on ground at Sarajevo airport. 15-20 UN
monitors on way to border to begin work. Yugoslavia closes 5 of 6 border crossings to UNHCR convoys.

In Prague the Committee of High Officials of the CSCE welcomed the efforts of the Contact Group directed towards reaching a political settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and demanded that the Bosnian Serbs should accept the Plan, warning that, if otherwise, they would face a total international isolation and the UN would impose sanctions against them. The Committee called for ‘urgent resumption of the negotiations between the Croatian government and Serbs in the UNPAs for the purpose of reaching a settlement that would lead to reintegration of the UNPAs into the political, economic and constitutional system of Croatia’. The Committee also ‘condemns the continuing repression in Kosovo and Sandzak and the current tensions in Vojvodina’ and pointed out the need ‘for urgent and unconditional return of the so-called long-lasting missions in Yugoslavia’.

The Contact Group submitted to the Security Council proposals of Resolutions on easing of the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia, tightening of the present and introducing of some new measures against the Republika Srpska. It proposed opening of the Belgrade and Podgorica airports for international air traffic and lifting of the sanctions in sports and culture.

September 17

The Secretary-General noted in a report that the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia were closely interrelated and had had a direct impact on UNPROFOR’s operations in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. In this context, the work of the Contact Group working with the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, could be of great significance for UNPROFOR’s future.

Sarajevo now in 4th day without utilities which Serbs have cut off. Heavy sniping and shelling kill 4, wound 15 in city. 700 more Muslims expelled from Banja Luka area.

September 18

Heaviest shelling and gunfire in 6 months in Sarajevo kills 2, wounds 18. Rose warns both sides to stop and accuses government of starting it. Critics respond that he has never issued a threat of air strikes this quickly against Serbs who they say he favours. Fighting around Doboj. Serbs expel further 1,300 Muslims (total since July now over 7,000). Also threaten French unit at Poljina by surrounding it with land mines. UN says Serbs fired 12 rounds from 3 120mm mortars within exclusion zone. Some fighting around city. French Defence Minister Leotard states he is opposed to massive air strikes against Serbs in Sarajevo since this could jeopardise his troops. UN reports that 12 days prior French ground forces fired on and destroyed Serb anti-aircraft gun used to fire on town of Butmir, Sarajevo supply road from Ilidza (1st such action by UN ground forces). Izetbegovic pledges to halt provocative attacks.

September 19 UN says Serbs have now driven 3,000 Muslim from homes in Bijeljina over last 2 days, estimates now 10,000 have been forced out since mid-July. 2 Muslim killed, 1 wounded while crossing front-lines. UN, Red Cross both say Bosnian Serb leaderships have given their support to this campaign. Karadzic tells Russians that they stand to lose their influence in Balkans forever if they don’t support Serbs.

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali conveyed to the Security Council the report submitted by Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Stoltenberg and Owen. It was said in the report that the civilian humanitarian mission which had been sent to the border between FR Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, started to work. According to the first impressions ‘the Federal Yugoslav Government takes all necessary measures and the border between FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) and Bosnia-Herzegovina has been efficiently closed’.
**September 20**

Airlift suspended again after C-130 hit by bullet at airport UN officials confer with Bosnian Serbs about restoring power to Sarajevo but Serbs want to link this with regaining power for Serb-held towns. UN commanders tell Serbs they must remove guns from exclusion zone by next day or face air strikes. Bosnian Government says Rose should be replaced due to pro-Serbian bias.

**September 21**

UN says hundreds of helicopter flights in N. Bosnia originating in Serbia and could be part of resupply effort undetected by monitors. Serbs shell Mostar. US Admiral Leighton Smith, CINCSOUTH, says of 18 Serb artillery pieces in Sarajevo exclusion zone will not be tolerated. General Rose delivers ultimatum to Serbs threatening air strikes unless weapons removed, to which Serbs apparently agree. Sarajevo airlift begins again. Canada says it may cut UN contingent for other duties such as Haiti. EBRD extends $22 military loan to Croatia to rebuild its air navigation system. US delegation to Contact Group meeting in Zagreb says that isolating the Bosnian Serb leadership should be the group’s highest priority.

The Contact Group in talks with Milosevic confirmed that the Peace Plan for Bosnia offered international security guarantees for the boundaries to be established by the Plan. There was also an agreement that the Republika Srpska should achieve the same right to establish ties with FR Yugoslavia as the Croatian-Muslim Federation had the right to link up with the Republic of Croatia. The Contact Group also confirmed that the proposed Plan was a basis of the peace process and in elaborating it, it would be possible to make some territorial changes if the two parties reach a bilateral agreement.

**September 22**

NATO jets launch strike against Serb tank after Serbs fire 4 rocket-propelled grenades at French unit (tank not involved in attack but targeted because it is thought to be empty and will not cause loss of life. UN Protection Force commissioner, French General Bertrand de Lapresle, calls for attack. Bosnian Serbs say NATO planes hit civilian target and that they will retaliate. French soldier also wounded by sniper in Sarajevo, and 2nd French APC fired on SE of Sarajevo but returns fire. UN says Serbian violation ‘no-fly zone’ to re-supply Bosnian Serbs. Serbs claim to have removed 3 guns from exclusion zone, while UN says it was ready to call for more air strikes to force compliance after Sunday’s fighting. Rose claims this was an ‘agreement’ not an ‘ultimatum’. Christopher warns of more air strikes. Bosnia reportedly not on summit agenda between Jeltsin and Clinton. Russian backs NATO attack.

**September 23**

In Resolution 941 the Security Council demanded that the Bosnian Serbs immediately cease their campaign of ethnic cleansing and authorise immediate and unimpeded access for representatives of the UN and of the ICRC to Banja Luka, Bijeljina and other areas of concern. The Security Council, by its Resolution 942, welcomed the territorial settlement for Bosnia and Herzegovina proposed by the Contact Group, strongly condemned the Bosnian Serb party for their refusal to accept it, and decided to strengthen the sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs. The sanctions, which apply to ‘all activities of an economic nature, including commercial, financial and industrial activities and transactions’, would be reconsidered if the Bosnian Serbs unconditionally accepted the proposed territorial settlement. Excepted from the sanctions were medical supplies, foodstuffs and goods for essential humanitarian needs. Serbs fire mortars at Canadian unit N of Sarajevo, and artillery at UN APC in Zivinice, machine-gun fire at French observation post in NW Bihac as Mladic threatens retaliation against UN forces.
September 24

*Bild am Sonntag* reports that Russian arms taken from Eastern Europe have been sent to Serbia. Croatian parliament unanimously votes to tell UN it has 100 days to disarm Serbs or withdraw, but government also set to renew mandate later in week.

September 25

Bosnian Serbs reopen gas supply lines to Sarajevo after 11 days in exchange for restricted flights into airport, warn they cannot guarantee safety of flights.

September 26

Bosnian Serbs enter UN weapons compound and stage ‘training exercises’ with anti-aircraft weapons, UN says ‘this is a direct result of the air strike’. Serbs now trying to require UN military vehicles get 3-day advance clearance for movement through Serb-held territory. Serbs promise to allow gas supplies to Sarajevo again, but fail to follow through. Airport again shut down due to Serb threats.

September 27

Izetbegovic after talks with Clinton in New York drops demand that arms embargo be lifted immediately, now government will accept 6-month delay if UN peacekeepers remain in Bosnia, Serbian blockade of Sarajevo is lifted immediately, and safe havens are expanded.

September 28

Serbs restore utilities to Sarajevo, but continue to enforce closing of airport, and limit UN movements. Serbs release UN convoy with 30 British peacekeepers held for a week, allow it to proceed to Gorazde. US Secretary of Defense Perry says NATO should respond to Serb aggression ‘with compelling force’, and not just tit-for-tat. Sniping on increase in Sarajevo. Serbs shell warehouse in north killing 2. Jeltsin says lifting arms embargo should be tabled indefinitely.

September 29

NATO agrees to US position, and British Defence Minister Malcolm Rifkind says there will be ‘no more pinpricks’, but this still dependent on UN calling in strikes. UN tries to accommodate Serbs in seeking advance clearance for UN vehicles, but Serbs ignore requests. Seselj arrested in Belgrade, sentenced to 30 days in jail for assaulting another parliamentarian, followers name key figures in Milosevic government as supporting Bosnian Serb forces in war. Austria supports US, Bosnia on lifting arms embargo. General Rose states ‘We cannot bomb our way to peace. Increased use of force...is not a solution at the moment’.

September 30

The Security Council, by its Resolution 947, extended UNPROFOR’s mandate for an additional period terminating on 31 March 1995, and approved the Secretary-General’s proposals relating to civilian police, mine-clearance and public information. It called on all parties and others concerned to fully
comply with all Security Council Resolutions regarding the situation in the former Yugoslavia, and concerning in particular UNPROFOR in Croatia to create the conditions that would facilitate the full implementation of its mandate.

Karadzic says Serbs willing to cede some territory and participate in union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but there must be separate state within the state with independent foreign and economic policies, and its own currency. Defense Secretary Perry says ‘incomplete reports’ show embargo not stopping flow of war goods to Serbs. NATO Foreign Ministers meeting in Spain say they will respond promptly and without warning to Bosnian Serb violations of UN accords. Sarajevo airport still closed, UN convoys subject to Serb restrictions.

In a Presidential statement the Security Council expressed concern at the deteriorating security situation in the Safe Area of Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which included increased levels of armed violence, deliberate attacks on UNPROFOR troops and on humanitarian flights, severe restrictions on public utilities, and continued restrictions on the flow of transport and communications. It noted that normal life had not been fully restored in Sarajevo, as called for in Resolution 900. The Council encouraged the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR to explore as a matter of priority proposals for the demilitarisation of Sarajevo.

October

After defeating the forces of Fikret Abdic in western Bosnia during the summer, the Bosnian Government army, acting in co-operation with Bosnian Croat units, mounted a large and, initially, successful offensive operation against Bosnian Serb forces in and around the Bihac pocket.

October 1

Bihac refugees in Croatia riot after UN officials try to convince them to go back to Bihac. Kozyrev calls lifting of arms embargo ‘suicide’ as it would open up the war.

October 2

Serbs still blocking UN convoys despite having promised day before for freer movement, UN official says this is not reneging on pledge but that word simply has not yet reached soldiers in field. US embassy First Secretary has been blocked from reaching his post for more than a week. Serbs fire 2 shells into Mostar, hundreds of shells reportedly fall on outskirt towns of Bijelo Polje, Blagaj, and Buna for 2nd day. Bosnian Government says they have captured Kiser Plateau in central Bosnia after 2-week offensive. French pilots on surveillance mission say a missile fired at them. UN says Serbs using misinformation to disrupt Muslim-Croat alliance. Canadian peacekeeper caught in crossfire, wounded.

October 3

UN reports 2,100 truce violations around Sarajevo in 24-hr period (mostly gunfire). French peacekeepers reportedly prevent 300 Bosnian Government troops from crossing DMZ on Mt. Bjelasnica near Sarajevo. Defense Secretary Perry calls for pressure on Serbs through ‘robust program of air strikes’.

October 4

UN Secretary General submitted a report to the Security Council, stating that the government of FR Yugoslavia fulfils the undertaken obligations on sealing of border between FR Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs. This created conditions for the Resolution 943 on partial lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia to come into effect.
Serbs continue to block 25 of 27 aid convoys bound for Gorazde and are now demanding payment for reopening Sarajevo airport. 2 convoys get through to Gorazde. UN blames poor communication within Serb ranks for blockades despite Serb promises.

October 5

Belgrade airport formally opens to international traffic. Russian envoy Churkin arrives to mark occasion, also holds talks with Milosevic and tells him remaining sanctions will be lifted with Belgrade recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbs agree to security guard for Sarajevo airport after 6 hrs of emergency talks with Akashi in Pale, but renge on prisoner swap by expelling 120 Muslim from Rogatica area instead of sending detainees to government side.

October 6

French peacekeepers report finding 16 Serb soldiers and 4 nurses killed near Sarajevo, Akashi says corpses mutilated, but Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic denies any accusation. Karadzic says Serbs will retaliate in manner of their own choosing. Exchange of 128 Serbs, 166 Muslim in Sarajevo, while 55 Serbs leave Gorazde. Milosevic apparently forces out 3 top military men who may have been opposed to his policy towards Bosnian Serbs. President of FR Yugoslavia Lilic thanked Churkin for his personal contribution to peace negotiations for the solution to the crisis in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia.

October 7

UN attempts to defuse tensions by forcing government troops out of demilitarised area near site of previous day’s killing of 20 Serbs. UN withdraws Akashi statement which accused government troops of mutilating dead in attack saying it was ‘based on the best information at the time’. Izetbegovic accuses UN of slandering government forces. UN resumes, then suspends airlift after 2 planes found to have been hit by gunfire, possibly by both sides.

October 8

Snipers kill 1, wound 11 in retaliatory attacks on Sarajevo streetcars for deaths of 20 Serbs, UN peacekeepers do not return fire even though 1 child is hit less than 2 yds from peacekeeper. Bosnian forces shell Serb-held town of Ilijas killing 2 children. UN says it will resume airlift as Sarajevo has only 3 days worth of food left. Izetbegovic demands UN apologise for mutilation story but Akashi spokesman refuses. UN continues to remove government troops (521) from Mt. Igman.

October 9

Yugoslavian Deputy Prime Minister Uros Klikovac says Belgrade will not recognise authority of international tribunal on war atrocities, but does not rule out ties with the body since it would be in their interest to see that those who have committed crimes ‘pay for their misdemeanours’. Rose sends letters to both sides in Sarajevo demanding an end to their renewed sniper activity.

October 10

NATO officials send UN letter requesting they be given 4 targets to hit in raids as compared to UN standard of 1, NATO calling for strikes that are ‘robust and effective’. Serbs, government forces fighting near Doboj, near Mostar, and Bugojno (Western Central Bosnia). Serbs give Bosnian government 10 days to move troops out of Mt. Igman DMZ. 3 Serb tanks enter Sarajevo weapons
exclusion zone. UN says Serbs have completed Muslim expulsions from Borati (near Rogatica). Karadzic says Serbs may tell UNPROFOR to leave (move said to be posturing).

**October 11**

Streetcars running again in Sarajevo with UN armoured escorts. Aid convoy with 50 tons of food reaches Gorazde. UN evacuates 24 patients, relatives from Srebrenica. Turkish peacekeepers help Croats rebuild Catholic church desecrated by Islamic volunteer fighters, apparently confronting them with a heavily armoured patrol and forcing the ‘mujahadin’ to back off gunfire exchanges near Doboj, Mostar, and Bugojno. UN confirms Serbs have expelled last Muslim from village of Borati (near Rogatica). Serb commanders threaten to push Muslim forces out of Sarajevo DMZ unless they leave by October 20.

**October 12**

Flights into Sarajevo airport suspended after mortar attack probably by government forces. 212 Muslim refugees from Banja Luka arrive in Croatia. Government forces move through Sarajevo DMZ, ambush Serb unit on other side. Fighting near Mostar.

**October 13**

Bosnian Serbs demand UN force government troops to leave Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelansnica or they will cut ties with UN. Relief flights resume to Sarajevo despite small-arms fire. Serb forces attacking on 2 fronts trying to cut government supply lines, also move tanks through Sarajevo exclusion zone, but UN takes no action. Mostar Muslims declare state of war against Serbs in response to heavy shelling.

**October 14**

Milosevic received in Belgrade Stoltenberg and Owen, Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Discussion referred to current issues of solving the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia. The need to speed up the process of lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia in the interest of the progress of the peace process was particularly stressed. Tudjman stated in Zagreb: ‘The framework for the solution of the problem of occupied areas in Croatia (Republika Srpska Krajina) are provided in the Constitution and Constitutional Law on the Rights of Minorities. Any federation, let alone confederation is out of question. Solutions can be sought only within the autonomy of counties which had predominant Serb population according to 1991 census, and nothing more than that.’ Heavy Serb shelling of Mostar area (over 700 counted by UN). UN says this is effort to pin down government troops prior to new attacks around Konjic which threaten to cut government supply lines between Croatia and Zenica, Tuzla.

**October 15**

UN says Serbs using artillery within Sarajevo exclusion zone but don’t know where it is. Serbs recapture town N. of Sarajevo.

**October 16**

Serb forces trying to take high ground in Cemerska Planina area north of Sarajevo DMZ (Mt. Dernak), continue attacks on Mostar, Konjic (between Mostar-Sarajevo), and Bihac but Serbs in Pale say reports ‘completely inaccurate’.
Presidential and parliamentary elections held in Macedonia. Gligorov was re-elected President, after winning 52% of votes.

_October 17_

Serbs hijack 5 trucks of medical supplies at Sarajevo checkpoint. UNPROFOR won’t use force to get government troops off of Mt. Igman, rejecting Serb demand. Government troops recapture some high ground at Cemerska Planina (N. of Sarajevo). Serbs shell town of Bihac, killing 2 civilians, also continue Mostar shelling. heavy gunfire in C. Sarajevo.

_October 18_

15 US officers arrive in Sarajevo to help integration of Croat and government forces. Serbs fire on UN convoy headed for Gorazde killing 1, wounding 1. British peacekeepers ask UN for air strike but are turned down as ‘there was no clearly identifiable target’. Letter of protest lodged instead against Serbs. Serbs contend their previous day’s hijacking was a mistake, but refuse to release supplies. Fighting continues in Cemerske Hills as government forces stop Serb advance with heavy casualties on both sides. Supplies in Srebrenica said to have run out. Russian replaces special envoy Churkin with career diplomat Aleksandr Zotov (Churkin posted to NATO).

_October 19_

Fighting around Sarajevo as government forces launch offensive. Government refuses to withdraw 500 from DMZ on Mt. Igman. Clinton administration encourages Serbia to recognise Croatia, Bosnia in exchange for easing sanctions saying this is ‘the highest thing on our agenda’, and that Serbian blockade of border is de facto recognition of border. UN warns Serbs of extremely strong action unless UN allowed to get fuel supplies to its troops. France, Britain, and Germany all tell Karadzic that no changes in map will be allowed.

_October 20_

In speech, Milosevic says Bosnian Serbs have benefited from international community’s recognising both the territory and the struggle of the Serbs, and that ‘the war in Bosnia must stop’. Karadzic says world is ‘wasting its time’ waiting for Serbs to give up territory.

_October 21-22_

Government demands Serbs pull big guns out of Sarajevo exclusion zone. _The Guardian_ and Serbian dailies suggest that Karadzic has thwarted coup effort against him by pro-Milosevic elements of army, police.

_October 22_

Serbs fire 2 mortar rounds on government forces in Butmir (S. of Sarajevo). Government forces make some gains near Doboj and Teslic in N. Bosnia, and near Bugojno (C. Bosnia). Silajdzic protests to Russian government over presence of Russian mercenaries fighting with Serbs, claims that 2-5,000 Russian fought in first 2 years of war. Government agrees to troop withdrawal from DMZ W. of Sarajevo.
October 23
UN accuses Bosnian Government of expanding front lines in violation of agreement with Serbs. Fighting near Doboj, Maglaj, Bujajno. Tudjman agrees to talks with Serbs and Bosnians, Akashi says plan for Croatia would involve it being federalised.

October 24
100 Bosnian Government troops leave Mt. Igman DMZ area, 400 remain, some stage commando raid on Serbs. Serbs shell Gradacac.

October 25
Bosnia Government forces capture Serb military barracks/compound on plateau east of Bihac, routing Serbs and capturing 40 sq miles of territory. Shell explodes in Sarajevo wounding 7 children. Government puts on trial 17 renegade soldiers for atrocities against civilians. 3 Danish Leopard tanks open fire on Serb T55 that had fired at them near Gradacac after UN forces tried to reoccupy observation post abandoned during recent sniper attacks. All 8 parties in Bosnia parliament say they want Rose replaced. UN observers find mines on Croatian side of Montenegro border, ask Croatian army for help in their removal.

October 26
Government forces close in on Kupres from north and east, Serbs admit that town is threatened and heavy losses taken, call on UN to pressure government to call off offensive which is being called government’s most successful of war. UN estimates 7,500 Serbs flee advance to Serb-held Croatia or to Bosanski Petrovac. Offensive nets government forces 60 sq miles east and southeast of town and large caches of weapons, tanks, and mortars. Government says its goal is to capture at least 1 major town before winter. UN and NATO reach compromise over airstrikes allowing NATO to launch unannounced strikes when civilians are not endangered, and allow them to strike at 3-4 targets proportional to the Serb provocation, joint control to be maintained over strikes. US diplomat Charles Thomas replaces Charles Redman as ambassador to former Yugoslavia.

October 27
Negotiations between Croatia and Srpska Krajina, held in Zagreb under the chairmanship of Stoltenberg and Owen, engaged in general discussion on normalisation of economic relations between the two sides. They scheduled the next meeting for 3 November. Representatives of UN and NATO at the meeting in New York agreed on the use of NATO air force in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the agreement, decisions on air strikes and selection of targets in conformity with relevant Security Council decisions will continue to be taken jointly by military authorities of the UN and NATO. Only general rather than tactical warnings about the strikes will be given in the future. Attacks on three to four targets will be allowed, and will be undertaken by the NATO in co-ordination with UNPROFOR. UN spokesman Thant Myint-U says Serb behaviour in blocking aid convoys is ‘deliberate, hostile, and provocative’. Croatia reports that foreign tourist visits were up 55% over previous year.

October 28
Karadzic calls for counteroffensive to recapture area in NW lost to government forces. Serb General Dragomir Milosevic threatens to renew artillery attacks on Sarajevo each time government forces mount new attacks so as to protect Serb civilians from ‘Muslim fanatics’, UN warns that will result in
new air strikes. US asks Security Council to lift arms embargo unless Serbs agree to international peace plan.

October 29

UN accuses government of firing 4 rounds of artillery at French observation post, threatens air strikes if repeated. Government denies targeting UN forces and says shells aimed at Serbs.

October 30

1 killed, 13 wounded in Sarajevo shelling (2nd day in a row). Kozyrev threatens to withdraw Russian peacekeepers if NATO obtained the ‘decisive say on the possible use of force’. Krajina Serbs said to be massing near border. 2nd round of voting in Macedonia.

October 31

Government forces push ahead with attacks on supply routes to Sarajevo near Trnovo, take 12 sq. miles in advances on towns of Bosanska Krupa and Bosanski Petrovac.

November

After regrouping, Bosnian Serb forces launched a major counteroffensive. They were supported by Krajina Serb forces acting from across the border with Croatia and Muslim forces loyal to Fikret Abdic. By mid-November, the Bosnian Serbs had regained most of the territory lost during the earlier Bosnian Government offensive and advanced on the Safe Area of Bihac. Both the offensive by the Bosnian Government army and the Bosnian Serb counteroffensive resulted in civilian casualties and a new flow of refugees and displaced persons in the region.

November 1

Croat militias mobilising to fight alongside of government troops south of Kupres (which had been 40% Croatian before war) where heavy fighting continues as government troops have now taken 100 sq. miles in 7 days. 12-13,000 Serbs have fled homes in NW as government troops encircle Bosanska Krupa. Krajina Serbs shell Velika Kladusa, Bihac wounding 5. Government forces S of Sarajevo claim they have cut Serb supply route S. of Trnovo, and have taken 63 sq. miles including tanks, artillery and equipment. Belgrade says Bosnian army has attacked Donji Vakuf (C. Bosnia) sending civilians into shelters. Macedonian election commission says Gligorov’s Alliance for Macedonia party got 90 seats in the 120-seat legislation. Yugoslavia government announces that with easing of sanctions they will re-admit refugees but only those with ‘valid documents’ (which allows them to ethnically cleanse Yugoslavia).

November 3

Negotiations on normalisation of economic relations between Croatia and Srpska Krajina continued in Knin. No concrete agreements signed. Delegations to continue their negotiations on 15 November.
Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security of the European Parliament adopted in Brussels a Resolution in which new mitigation of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro is made conditional on recognition by FR Yugoslavia of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Part of Kupres falls to joint Muslim-Croat attack. Karadzic admits his troops pulled back, states ‘we have to crush any Muslim force to force it to accept’ peace. UN reports over 3,400 explosions over last 24 hrs. along with infantry fighting in area N. of Kupres, along with shelling to the south. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic in Zagreb for talks with Croatian Foreign Minister Granic in 1st publicly reported meeting between these two in 4 years. They discussed possibilities for normalisation of relations.

November 5

Government forces fire 4 mortar shells from Sarajevo suburb of Hrasnica at Serb positions in Ilidza, and Serbs respond.

November 6

NATO warplanes fly over Sarajevo as warning to both sides to end fighting in area, Rose also warns both sides. Serbs accuse government forces of crossing Mt. Igman (UN-DMZ) to carry out attack on Trnovo. Government troops say they are close enough to fire on the town and disrupt traffic, but Serbs claim to have recaptured some ground in area. Government says its focus to shift to hills N. of Sarajevo over high ground controlling access to Tuzla. Fighting NE of Bihac near Bosanska Krupa where government has now captured 155 sq. Miles.

November 7

Bosnian government buses reinforcements from Bugojno (NE of Kupres) to front lines to gain more ground before winter, UN says Croat militia also mobilising. Bosnian commissioner in Kupres area, General Mehmed Alagic, says his 7th Corps.’ morale boosted by co-operation. with Croats, capture of Serb supplies. Clinton administration tells Bosnian Serbs they will try to negotiate an arrangement more to Serbs liking once they accept peace plan. UN’s Yugoslavia War Crimes Tribunal indicts 1st person, Bosnian Serb Dragan Nikolic, commissioner of Susica concentration camp near Vlasenica in ‘92, but suspect said to be in Bosnia and tribunal does not permit trials in absentia. Serbs, government forces fire 175 artillery rounds at each other at night in Sarajevo, UN protests, NATO planes again buzz capital. Bosnian Serbs break into UN-guarded weapons depot reportedly firing their weapons.

November 8

Sniping, shrapnel fire kill 4 (including 3 children), wound 7 in Sarajevo. UN YWCT asks Germany to extradite indicted Serbs. Serbs reported to have moved 2 1/2 miles against government forces near Bosanska Krupa.

November 9

Bosnian or Croat-Serb plane fires rocket from Croatian side into Bihac, wounding 10, but since it was still in Croatian airspace may not have violated no-fly zone. Serbs fire machine guns from hills into central Sarajevo wounding 5, UN returns fire. Rose refuses to call for NATO air strike after previous day’s shelling since source of fatal shell can not be determined. Bosnian Serb parliament debates Karadzic proposal to impose martial law.
November 10

US unilaterally ends its naval interdiction of weapons to Bosnia or Croatia (most weapons smuggled in by air). Congress action to cut off funds was scheduled to go into effect by November 15. US and Croatia also apparently agree to sign memorandum on military co-operation. UN accuses Bosnian Government of shelling its own territory to provoke Serb response. Serb parliament continues debate focusing on Karadzic/military proposal for parliament to give up its immunity, other rights. Also considers declaring war against government/Croat forces.

November 11

Statement by NATO Secretary General W. Claes regarding the limitations to US participation in Operation SHARP GUARD.

Croatia decided to postpone the announced continuation of talks in Belgrade between Foreign Ministers Vladislav Jovanovic and Mate Granic on normalisation of relations between FR Yugoslavia and Republic of Croatia.

November 11 Serbs shell Mostar, other areas in SW, killing 2 children, wounding 5 others attending catechism at Catholic cathedral. Karadzic gets Serb parliament to give him power to act without its consent in waging war. Serbs shell western front lines (Bosnia-Herzegovina 4th Corps). Serbs claim that Bosnian troops besieging Serb-held towns near Mostar but no outside confirmation of this. Borba reports that Yugoslavia to resettle 100,000 Serbs in Kosovo.

November 12

Bosnian Government asks Croatia, UN for help in getting Croatian Serbs to stop attacks on Bihac where they are reportedly advancing. Croatia demands that UN stop Serbs from attacking across border. Akashi writes to Milosevic to get him to apply pressure on Croatian Serbs.

November 13

Bosnian forces battle Bosnian and Croatian Serbs in Bihac area. Bosnian Government General Delic says his forces will attack Serb-held Croatia unless UN stops Serb attacks from there, but admits his forces have been forced to pull back from ground captured 2 weeks previously. Rocket-propelled grenades, machine-gun fire hit Sarajevo Holiday Inn for first time in almost a year. UN soldiers, fire-fighters come under machine-gun attack causing French troops to fire 20mm cannons at Serb positions in Grbavica (Sarajevo suburb). Russian Defence Minister denies that they have sold arms from Russian forces in Germany to Serbs.

The Security Council expressed alarm at the escalation in the fighting in the Bihac area and strongly urged all parties and others concerned to refrain from all hostile actions and to exercise the utmost restraint. It condemned any violation of the international border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demanded that all parties and others concerned, in particular the Krajina Serb forces, fully respect that border and refrain from hostile acts across it. The Council emphasised the significance of its Resolutions on Safe Areas and demanded that all concerned facilitate implementation of those Resolutions. It also demanded that all parties ensure, in co-operation with UNPROFOR, unimpeded access for humanitarian supplies, expressed full support for the efforts of UNPROFOR, and called on the parties to respect UNPROFOR’s safety and security, unimpeded access to supplies, and its freedom of movement.

Results of the population census in Macedonia announced. It has 1,925,000 inhabitants, of which 66.9% Macedonians 22.5 Albanians 3.84 Turks, 2.28 Gypsies 2.04 Serbs 0.4, Walachs and other 1.81.
November 14

At a conference held in Noordwijk the Ministerial Council of the EU expressed full support to the efforts of the Contact Group to find political solution to the conflict in Bosnia. The Council regretted the unilateral decision of the USA to withdraw from the control of arms supplies to the Bosnian Muslims and expressed the EU’s determination to continue with the enforcement and respect of all UN Security Council Resolutions referring to the former Yugoslavia.

UN officials says Serbs have forced government troops out of about 60% of territory they had captured in recent offensive, Serbs nearing Jankov Vrh (hilltop 6 miles E of Bihac), and Bosnian troops cross Una River heading N away from villages of Baljevac, Garevica. UN expects Serbs to open 2nd front along northern end of Bihac near Velika Kladusa. Abdic reportedly massing 6,000 troops for assault on Bihac. Serbs shell Tuzla. Milosevic meets with Russian envoy Zotov for talks.

November 15

Fighting continues as Serbs threaten to break into Bihac ‘safe Area’. Croatian government and NATO officials meet to discuss possible air strike against Croatian Serbs, while Bosnian Serb commander in area, General Manojlo Milovanovic, says Serbs are ready for NATO attacks and that ‘safe Areas no longer exist’. 11 killed, 26 wounded in Bihac. Fighting in Majevica hills (NE Bosnia) near Serb-held TV tower, and near Mostar. Serbs shell Tuzla, killing 1, wounding 3. Croatian and Krajina Serb officials meet for talks in Zagreb on economic issues.

November 15-16

Negotiations continued Croatia and Srpska Krajina on normalisation of economic relations. It was agreed to adopt a Draft Agreement on Economic Cupertino, offered by the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, that contains solutions for water and electricity supply, reopening of the gas pipeline and the Zagreb-Belgrade highway.

November 16

President of the Yugoslav Federal Government Radoje Kontic sent a letter to the President of the UN Security Council Madeleine Albright, explaining the demand to adopt a decision on lifting of all sanctions against FR Yugoslavia.

National Defence units of the (Muslim) Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia entered Velika Kladusa. Together with them 30,000 civilians returned. Refugees who fled from the attack of the Fifth Corps stayed for months in refugee camps in Srpska Krajina.

Izetbegovic calls on UN, NATO to declare Bihac area heavy weapons exclusion zone. Heavy shelling around, but not in, Bihac area. UN reports heavy artillery, small-arms fire for 3 days in Grabez plateau area. UN calls on NATO for low-level warning flights after Serbs fire surface-to-air missile near UN base near Coralici. 1 civilian killed, 2 wounded by Serb shelling of Tuzla for 3rd day.

November 17

Clinton administration, under Congress mandate, draws up options for arming and training Bosnian Government forces, evacuating UN troops, and unilaterally lifting arms embargo. Administration officials warn this could cost $4 billion. Defense Department denies report in The European that it is sharing intelligence with Bosnian Government. Serbs fire 3 missiles, other shells into Bosnia President building in downtown Sarajevo wounding 2. General alert declared in city. 4 artillery shells hit suburb of Hrasnica wounding 4. Shots fired into hotel room of American ambassador. Heavy shelling of Velusa Kladusa, Bihac result in 12 deaths, Abdic forces reportedly surrounding Velusa Kladusa. UN comments that continuation of shelling of ‘safe Area’ could result in NATO airstrikes.
November 18

The Security Council, in a Presidential statement, strongly condemned the attack on the Safe Area of Bihac by aircraft belonging to the Krajina Serb forces. It demanded that all parties, in particular the Krajina Serb forces, cease immediately all hostile actions across the international border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Two Serb fighter jets flying out of former Yugoslavia army air base at Udbina in Croatia drop napalm, cluster bombs in centre of Bihac, which do not explode. NATO Secretary General ClAES says time has come to act against Serbs, but UN regulations prevent combat flights in Croatian air space. Serbs fire anti-tank missiles into central Sarajevo for 5th day. Serbs also shell Tuzla again killing 2.

November 19

The Security Council, by its Resolution 958, decided that the authorisation given to Member States under Resolution 836, to take under its authority and subject to close co-ordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR, all necessary measures, through the use of air power, in and around the Safe Areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina to support UNPROFOR in the performance of its mandate - also applied to such measures taken in the Republic of Croatia.

On the same day, the Council adopted Resolution 959, in which it condemned violations of the international border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demanded that all parties, in particular the Krajina Serbs, fully respect the border and refrain from hostile acts across it. The Council expressed full support for the efforts of UNPROFOR to ensure implementation of its Resolutions on the Safe Areas and demanded that all parties end hostile actions in and around those areas. Also by the Resolution, the Secretary-General was requested to update his recommendations on implementing the concept of Safe Areas and to encourage UNPROFOR to achieve agreements on their strengthening.

Serbs launch new attacks on Bihac, even as Serb jets bomb Cazin (10 miles N. of Bihac) for 2nd day with 1 jet crashing into apartment building, wounding 9. UN ambassador Albright says UN Resolution allows for retaliation for previous attacks, but French disagree.

The Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina assessed that the Draft Agreement on economic issues with Croatia was a good basis for further negotiations, but it had objections. The Assembly gave support to continue negotiations with Croatia.

November 20

NATO ready to bomb Udbina airfield but attack postponed due to weather conditions. UN forces in Bosnia, Croatia, and Macedonia placed on red alert. NATO officials in Brussels agree to let Admiral Leighton Smith launch bombing missions in Croatia if UN officials request them.

November 21

NATO aircraft attacked the Udbina airfield in Serb-held Croatia, destroying airfield and anti-aircraft defences (planes include US, British, French, and Dutch). At the request of General de Lapresle Serb planes at end of runway were not attacked. The airstrike was in response to attacks which had been launched from that airfield against targets in the Bihac area. The objective of the strike was to deter further attacks by aircraft flying from the airfield in Serb-held Croatia. It was carried out under the authority of the North Atlantic Council and United Nations Security Council Resolution 958.

FR of Yugoslavia ‘most severely condemned unfounded and irresponsible shelling of the Udbina airport by NATO airplanes, considering this another proof of bias and prejudice shown in the Yugoslav crisis by the Security Council under the influence of countries which have their own strategic interests in the region’.

UN calls for raid to protect Bihac civilians and 1,000 newly-arrived Bengali soldiers trapped in area with little food or weapons. Croatian Serb leader Milan Martic calls bombing ‘insolent and scandalous act,
which we have not provoked at all’, Akashi tells Martic that raid was a ‘necessary and proportionate response’ to Serb attacks on Bihac. Admiral Smith explains limited attack due to need to ‘limit collateral damage’. Heavy sniper fire in Sarajevo near temporary US embassy. Serbs fire missiles at British Harrier jets over Bosnia but do not hit them. Serb missiles hit Sarajevo city hall and president building for 2nd time in a week.

**November 22**

President Lilic of FR Yugoslavia talked to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security of the European Parliament in Brussels. Lilic spoke about the reasons for the break-up of SFRY and civil war, on the policy of FRY for peaceful solution of the crisis in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, on the need to lift sanctions against and its reintegration in all international and regional organisations.

Serbs continue Bihac attacks with tanks and helicopters, area villages burning and 8,000 refugees flee fighting. Croatia agrees to further NATO flights over its territory. US Defense Secretary Perry warns Serbs that further air attacks will be met with more decisive NATO strikes. Reuters says Serbian helicopter fires rockets at town of Gata Ilidza during night of 21st-22nd. Mladic sends letter to UNPROFOR saying bombing of airfield likely to intensify fighting. Danish court sentences Bosnian Muslim Refic Saric, former guard in Croat-controlled prison camp, to 8 years in prison for gross violence and torturing prisoners, some to death. Yugoslavia brings 2 brothers before court on charges of war crimes for committing murder and rape (1st war crimes trial in Yugoslavia).

**November 23**

Following an attack on British jets the previous day on NATO aircraft by surface-to-air missiles, NATO reconnaissance aircraft were accompanied by escorts. The aircraft were illuminated by SAM radars, and in self defence attacked the SAM sites at Otoka and Bosanska Krupa in Bosnia and Dvor in Croatia, firing anti-radiation ‘HARM’ missiles. Later that same day, NATO carried out a strike against the Otoka SAM site, as it had been assessed as still posing a threat to NATO aircraft. Serbs take dozens of UN peacekeepers hostage.

Karadzic, in meeting with Rose, threatens war against UN personell. Rose said to be thinning out UN personnel in high-risk areas as Serbs block peacekeepers at 9 weapons collection points and order UN personnel in Serb-held territory to remain in their quarters. Akashi meets with Milosevic and Martic in Belgrado, says ‘we stand at the crossroads between war and peace’.

**November 24**

Serbs push assault on Bihac while Rose, on return from Pale, states ‘I have no idea what their intentions are, but it does seem extraordinary to me that they should be in such a flagrant and blatant violation of the UN-designated Safe Area’. Also says Serbs have ‘unequivocally’ crossed the line in threatening civilians. Speaker of Bosnian Serb parliament Krajisnik says his forces want to enter Bihac and disarm the 20,000 Muslim troops and ‘ensure a total defeat of the 5th Corps’. US pushes allies to endorse proposal to order all combatants out of the area and expand safe have 4 miles N., but allies do not approve it. Serbs now holding 50 Canadians, and 200 French and Ukrainian peacekeepers hostage at weapons collection points.

**November 25**

Nikola Koljevic, vice-President of the Republika Srpska, and Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic met at the Sarajevo airport. The Serbs proposed immediate signing of the end of war, with optional signing of the final agreement in Geneva or some other place within 7-10 days, without prejudice to the territorial issue. Silajdzic says only a general ceasefire in all of Bosnia acceptable to his government.
Serbs continue advance against Bihac, and UN says most of 5th Corps has disappeared and only 400 soldiers apparently defending Bihac. Serb General Milovanovic calls on them to surrender, pledges safety to any soldier who gives up, and Karadzic declares 60,000 Muslim civilians will not be truly safe until Serbs take the town. UN says need to get food convoys into area absolute since there are no supplies left. Mediators Owen and Stoltenberg meet with Tudjman and Milosevic to try to negotiate wider Balkan peace, but Akashi says these talks do not produce anything, says further air strikes may be necessary despite threats to civilians. Clinton administration orders 2,000 marines to Bosnia to assist in possible evacuation of UN peacekeepers if Serbs attack them.

After Bosnian Serb forces began shelling the town of Bihac, NATO planes were called in by UNPROFOR to protect UN troops. The planes flew for 60 minutes but could not initiate any attack without endangering both UNPROFOR troops and civilians. Despite all efforts and warnings, the Bosnian Serbs continued their attack eventually capturing some high ground within the Bihac Safe Area but did not move into the town of Bihac itself. Also, in an apparent retaliation for NATO air strikes, throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosnian Serbs detained a number of UN personnel, restricted their movement, subjected some to humiliation, and stopped most humanitarian and supply convoys in territories under Bosnian Serb control.

November 26

Serbs shell Bihac Safe Area, fire missiles at NATO planes. Upwards of a quarter of Bihac area now in Serb hands. UN Security Council demands immediate cease-fire in area and withdrawal of Serb forces but does not specify use of force to get them out. Bosnian ambassador to UN Sacirbey accuses UN of not having will to stop Serb offensive. Rose says it is not UN’s job to defend one side against attacks of another. Prime Minister Silajdzic criticises Rose personally and then throws him out of meeting. Government forces blocking streets in Bihac to halt Serb advance. UN operations in Zagreb refuse to call for new air strikes, but NATO officials also divided on how to deal with crisis. Serb plan to resettle 100,000 Serbs in Kosovo with UNHCR funds falls through when UNHCR says this would help change ethnic structure of area.

The Security Council, in a statement by its President, demanded the withdrawal of all Bosnian Serb forces from the Bihac Safe Area and condemned all violations, in particular, the ‘flagrant and blatant’ entry of Bosnian Serb forces into the Safe Area. It demanded that all parties agree to an immediate and unconditional cease-fire in the Bihac region, particularly in and around the Safe Area. The Council also demanded that all hostile acts across the border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina cease immediately and that Krajina Serb forces withdraw immediately from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Co-Chairmen Owen and Stoltenberg met in Belgrade with Srpska Krajina Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic. Owen and Stoltenberg endorsed some remarks on the Draft Agreement on Normalisation of Economic Relations between the Republic of Croatia and RSK.

November 26-27

Milosevic received Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev. They agreed that consistent development of the elements of peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina presumed elimination of remaining doubts in connection with equal rights of the Muslim-Croatian federation and Republika Srpska regarding linking with Croatia and FR Yugoslavia respectively, definition of constitutional solutions and creation of conditions for efficient bilateral harmonisation of territory delimitation’s. They stressed that any loosening of the embargo on arms import in the war-afflicted areas encouraged advocates of the military solution, undermined the peace process and endangered the achieved positive results. They demanded that the commanders of all forces sign an agreement on cessation of hostilities, and stated that international community should speed up the process of lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia.
**November 27**

UN Security Council adopted a Presidential statement demanding that all warring and involved parties reach an agreement and implement unconditional cease-fire in the Bihac region. Parties were invited to start negotiations on cessation of hostilities in the entire territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to reach a territorial agreement as proposed by the Contact Group, as part of the comprehensive peace agreement. All parties were also invited to observe the status of Safe Areas, particularly in relation to the civilian population.

UNPROFOR proposed a three-point plan for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire for the Bihac Safe Area, involving the demilitarisation of the Safe Area, turning it over to UNPROFOR, and interposition of peacekeepers in the sensitive areas. The proposal was accepted in principle by the Bosnian Government. The Bosnian Serb side indicated that it needed more time to review the proposal.

Bosnian Serbs ignore call for cease-fire for Bihac and continue offensive. Cease-fire would make government troops abandon safe haven area of Bihac. Serbs shell Velika Kladusa with tank, artillery fire. UN turns down NATO request to destroy 6 surface-to-air missile sites in Bihac/Croatia area due to concerns about peacekeepers’ safety. US Defense Secretary Perry says further air strikes would be ineffective at this point, says that Serbs control the situation and could overrun Bihac if they choose. Senator Dole says UNPROFOR should leave Bosnia, and US should begin supplying Muslims despite embargo. Serbs detain 150 primarily British and Dutch peacekeepers in Eastern Bosnia.

**November 28**

US agrees to Contact Group plan, which would give Serbs permission to form confederation with Serbia, as well as 49% of Bosnia territory. US agrees in order to keep allies from withdrawing troops marking a reversal of policy for Clinton administration. Serbs continue to hold UN peacekeepers, and to advance on Bihac.

Milosevic received in Belgrade members of the Contact Group. It was stated that it would be necessary to implement the initiatives for overall cessation of hostilities and thus create conditions to finalise the peace process according to the Peace Plan. It was stressed that the Contact Group should work out the elements of its Peace Plan, which above all refer to constitutional arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina and bilateral negotiations on the final territory delimitation.

**November 29**

Members of the Contact talked in Zagreb with the deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanadar. The discussion covered situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, relations between Croatia and RS Krajina and plans of the Contact Group.

The Security Council reiterated its concern over the continuing conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including in the Bihac region and in particular in and around the Safe Area of Bihac. It expressed its full support for the efforts of United Nations officials to stabilise the situation in and around Bihac, and for the cease-fire proposal in the Bihac region to be followed by a cease-fire throughout the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Council welcomed the acceptance by the Bosnian Government of that proposal and called on the Bosnian Serb party also to accept it. The Council also welcomed the impending visit of the Secretary-General to Bosnia and Herzegovina and demanded that all parties cooperate fully with his efforts.

Government claims that 10,000 Serb reinforcements have been brought into Bihac from Banja Luka. SAM missile sites reported to be installed around Bihac. Reuters says Bosnian Serb TV has shown imprisoned Muslims being verbally insulted, forced to chant ‘Bosnia is Serbian, just as Moscow is Russian’.
November 30

Serbs refuse to meet with Boutros-Ghali in Sarajevo, insisted that the meeting take place in Lukavica, part of Sarajevo under the Serbian control, instead of the Sarajevo airport but Bosnian Government refuses to make concessions. Boutros-Ghali says unless sides co-operate, he won’t be able to persuade Security Council to keep troops in Bosnia, but UN officials in NY say there are no serious discussions of withdrawal. Boutros-Ghali tells Izetbegovic that UN troops may pack their bags and leave as in Somalia, but Izetbegovic replies ‘This is not Africa. This is Europe’. Attacks continue on Bihac with Serbs reportedly able to enter town anytime. Serbs take 7 Ukrainian peacekeepers captive near Bihac. UN refugee spokesman says population of Bihac being ‘terrorised’ by Serbs. 450 UN soldiers still being held. Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak says Croatia may have no choice but to intervene if Bihac falls, but both US and France warn them not to do so.

December 1

Since the establishment of the ‘no-fly zone’ in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the total number of flights assessed as apparent violations of the ban was 3,317. Mortar, artillery fire between Croatia and Krajina Serbs in Limar and Vranovaca areas S. of Knin in latest of 129 violations in area in 2 days. Exchange occurs after Bosnian Serb commandos conduct raid into Krajina attacking UN post and capturing 7 Ukrainians taking them back into Bosnia. Attack crosses international border. UN says there is no large-scale movement of Croatian troops to indicate a new offensive, but classified report says Serbia/Montenegro supplying men, ammunition, fuel to Croatian Serbs in Bihac.

December 2

UN, NATO agree to halt flights over Bosnia, and entire UN leadership in Bosnia goes to Pale as a gesture to Serbs to accept cease-fire. Serbs say they will free UN troops and stop blocking convoys, but Karadzic rejects temporary cease-fire. Russia vetoes Security Council Resolution to stop Yugoslavia fuel supplies reaching Bosnian Serbs. Serb attacks on Bihac, also fire 3 anti-tank missiles at Bosnia presidential building in Sarajevo as Akashi arrives for meeting. Revised text of the Agreement on Economic Relations between Croatia and Srpska Krajina signed. Agreement regulates issues relevant to water supply, re-establishment of electricity supply, reopening of the oil pipeline, and starting of traffic on the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. Agreement also stipulates that negotiations will continue to reach an agreement on return of refugees and expellees, regulation of pensions and opening of the Zagreb-Okucani-Beograd and Zagreb-Knin-Split railway lines and Zagreb-Knin-Split road. The agreement was also signed by Owen and Stoltenberg, UNPROFOR general Pierre Peters, head of the EU monitoring mission Joachim Stutnagel. Co-signatories were also the US and Russian ambassadors in Croatia Peter Galbraith and Leonid Kerestedzian.

Foreign Ministers of the Contact Group adopted in Brussels the revised plan for the solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The plan stresses that solutions cannot be reached by military means, but only through negotiations on the basis of the former Contact Group plan (51% for Muslims and Croats, 49% for Serbs) and may be altered on the basis of agreement between the parties. The UN Security Council did not adopt the draft Resolution submitted by Croatia and the Islamic states, which called for the implementation of stricter economic sanctions against the Republika Srpska Krajina because of alleged oil deliveries from FR Yugoslavia to Serbs in Krajina and Bosnia.

December 3

Charles Redman, the US President’s envoy, met in the last three days with Karadzic, Silajdzic and Izetbegovic. He delivered to Izetbegovic a letter of the former US President Carter.
Serbs refuse to release UN hostages, including one with a heart condition, saying he cannot be released without a replacement. UN rejects this as ‘totally unacceptable’. Velika Kladusa, under siege by rebel Muslims, about to fall. NATO resumes overflights, but Karadzic says there is no reason for these and says Serbs have right to self-defence (shooting them down). Also says unless Croatia removes troops from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serb forces will target Zagreb. Boutros-Ghali says plans for withdrawal are ‘quite advanced’. Peacekeeper dies in Bihac area.

December 4

US Defense Secretary Perry says it would take 10,000 American troops to help evacuate UN troops, says US will participate in any effort. Clinton sends letter to Bosnian Government saying US is committed to preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state within existing borders. Serbs release 2 convoys of UN troops but continue to hold 329 Canadian, French, and Russian peacekeepers, and another 29 military observers. Serbs allow UN military force convoy into Bihac with supplies for Bangladeshi troops.

Milosevic received Foreign Ministers Douglas Hurd and Alain Juppé. They stated that stands of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the member states in the Contact Group, expressed in the revised plan of 2 December, represent the basis on which the parties in the conflict should start final negotiations on territorial adjustment and delimitation, including the possibility of exchange of territories in accordance with their agreement. Hurd and Juppé confirmed the positive attitude of the international community toward equal rights of the Muslim-Croatian Federation and Republika Srpska to enter into confederate relations with the Republic of Croatia i.e. FR Yugoslavia, which will be defined by constitutional arrangement for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After meeting with American envoy Charles Redman, Silajdzic stated that the Bosnian government rejected the new peace plan proposal of the Contact Group for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

December 5

Milosevic received delegation of Assembly of the Republika Srpska in order to gain information on the latest course of the peace process. The delegation expressed that if the interpretations of the latest proposal of the peace plan are not controversial within the Contact Group as a whole, the Assembly should assess the possibility of adopting the plan. Convinced of the existence of new elements and conditions for reaching peace, the delegation advocated immediate cessation of hostilities.

UN condemns Serbs for holding hostages, says this is deliberate, and calculated insult that cannot be allowed to pass without great cost. Serbs do allow 2 civilian aid convoys access Srebrenica and Gorazde. As Serbs advance in Bihac, Izetbegovic tells OSCE meeting in Budapest war is being prolonged due to western incapability, hesitation, and sometimes ill-will. Jeltsin tells conference that NATO is trying to split Europeans with its plans for admitting new members, says European is in danger of falling into a ‘cold peace’.

December 5-6

The Summit of heads of state or government of members of the CSCE was held in Budapest. Participants decided that the CSCE will change the name into the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Proposed Declaration on Bosnia-Herzegovina condemning Serb aggression on Bihac and Bosnia, submitted by the Bosnian delegation was not adopted. Participants did not reach a consensus, because Russian delegation assessed the proposal unacceptable. Participants of the summit adopted an Appeal on Bosnia, as an unofficial document, in which all warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly in Bihac, were invited to immediately proclaim cessation of hostilities, implement the cease-fire and enable unobstructed passage of humanitarian aid throughout the country’s territory.
December 6

Bosnian Serbs refuse to release UN officer with heart problem, and take 2 more hostage who were to replace him. 3 officers reportedly forced to park their vehicles for 8 hours on Banja Luka airfield to act as human shields against NATO air strikes. Serb deputy chief of staff General Milan Gvero says matter in hands of local commander.

December 7

French Foreign Minister Juppé accuses US of contributing to ‘total dead end in Bosnia’, that certain governments ‘have not lifted a little finger to put even one man on the ground’, and that position of French troops was untenable and plans for withdrawal had to be drawn up. Bosnian Croats take Celebic which had been in Serb hands for 2 years.

At a press conference in Pale, Aleksa Buha, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republika Srpska, read a statement welcoming the new interpretation of the Peace Plan of the Contact Group which enables further work on the maps, definition of the constitutional arrangement and peace agreement prior to definite adoption of the Plan. ‘We are ready to immediately end the war and start negotiations on amelioration and improvement of the Plan so that the entire package could be adopted’.

December 8

Clinton says as many as 25,000 US troops will be sent to assist in evacuation of UN forces in order that the US maintain its leadership role in NATO. Dole says Congress only willing to go along if US troops not subject to UN command. British and French officials in Washington say they welcome the president’s decision. Serbs release 55 Canadians, but 300 others remain hostage.

December 9

European allies back away from threats to remove troops since they now believe this would allow US to lift arms embargo. British and French say they will have to offer the Serbs new concessions to get them to accept peace plan.

December 10

Meeting of the heads of state or government of the member states of the European Union was held in Essen. A statement on the situation in the former Yugoslavia was adopted, expressing concern over repeated aggravation of conflict in Bosnia. The violation of the Safe Area in Bihac ‘by armed forces of the Bosnian Serbs’ was condemned. An immediate armistice in Bihac was demanded, and subsequently in the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. EU leaders offered full support to the Contact Group, convinced that the solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina may be found only at the negotiating table, pointing that territorial issues may be solved only in direct negotiations and stressing the principle of equal treatment of the Muslim-Croatian and the Serbian sides, provided the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is preserved. They also stressed that mutual recognition of all new states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia within their internationally recognised borders was inevitable.

Serb blockade has paralysed UN military and aid operations, UN says. Serbs release 187 French, Russian, and Ukrainian soldiers, but only 187 others are sent in to replace them. Croatian Serbs refuse to let Rose travel through their territory to see Bangladeshi troops in Bihac. Serbs let food convoy through to Srebrenica for first time in 6 months.
December 11
Serbs highjack UN fuel shipment as it tries to enter Sarajevo, also take 2 vehicles with satellite communication equipment. UN officials refuse to call for air strikes or overflights for fear of Serbs killing UN soldiers.

December 12
After meeting with Perry, French Defence Minister Leotard says France will not pull out its troops as this would undermine the credibility of NATO and UN. Also comments that UN mission must be more credible by demonstrating that it does not operate at tolerance of Serbs, says a ground corridor from Adriatic to Sarajevo for delivering aid could be established. Perry supports this position. Croatian Serbs ambush Bangladeshi peacekeepers in Velika Kladusa, killing 1, wounding 4. UN turns down request of Bangladeshi commander for air strikes claiming poor visibility.

December 13
British Defence Minister Rifkind cool to French proposal, says ‘these ideas have to be analysed and assessed’. NATO Secretary General Claes calls French plan ‘very constructive’, but rejects UN account that it did not call for air strikes on prior day after Bangladeshi troops called for them was due to Serb missiles posing a threat to NATO pilots, says NATO jets on runways ready to go, but UN afraid to call for them due to Serb threats of retaliation against US troops.

December 14
Karadzic contacts former US president Jimmy Carter to act as mediator in talks. Carter says he may go to Bosnia for talks with Serbs, Muslims if Karadzic carries out pledge to give free movement to UN convoys. Karadzic promises unilateral cease-fire for Sarajevo, reopening Sarajevo airport, release of Muslim prisoners under 19 years of age, and guarantees for human rights. White House sceptical of Karadzic promises, but visit to be allowed. 2 shells hit Bihac centre. Fighting around Mt. Igman, and in W. Bosnia as Serbs counter-attack against Croats. Heavy artillery and mortar fire around Bihac, also around Velika Kladusa.

December 15
Serbs continue to fire on civilians, harass UN forces, and block aid convoys to Sarajevo despite promises to do otherwise. Karadzic says in Belgrade magazine Telegraph that sovereignty is our minimum. Whether they allow it or not, our unification with Serbia is a matter of time. European parliament passes Resolution expressing support for all independent media in Yugoslavia, especially Borba.

December 16
Serbs allow aid convoy into Bihac town of Cazin. Heavy shelling of Velika Kladusa.

December 17
Sniper fire kills woman walking with her son in Sarajevo. Velusa Kladusa falls to Abdic’s forces. Carter arrives in Zagreb, holds meetings with Tudjman and Silajdzic. A French Etendard IV P jet on a NATO reconnaissance flight over Bosnia-Herzegovina was hit by ground fire and returned safely to an air base in Italy. The aircraft which had taken off from the French aircraft carrier Foch received tail damage.
**December 18-19**

Former US President Jimmy Carter met in Sarajevo with Izetbegovic, and in Pale with Karadzic. After several hours of meetings a 7-point agreement was reached and signed by Karadzic, Mladic and Carter. They agreed to reach an agreement between the warring parties on cessation of hostilities for a period of four months, that this time would be used for negotiations on a comprehensive peace agreement ‘with proposal of the Contact Group as the basis for negotiations and that during this period unobstructed movement of humanitarian convoys would be allowed. Each side would be responsible within the area under its control for total elimination and prevention of firing and protection of human rights in conformity with international standards. An early exchange of all detainees, under the auspices of the International Red Cross was also agreed. It was concluded that ‘in a final agreement, all has to be agreed, otherwise, nothing is agreed’.

**December 19**

Carter announces ‘the Bosnian Serb side agreed to an immediate cease-fire and to negotiations of a lasting cessation of hostilities, but Karadzic later says ‘we can’t stop our activities until we get an agreement on the cessation of hostilities’ and further that ‘we have worked out a new interpretation of the...plan’. Serb assaults on Bihac increased with 2 tank rounds being fired into city. Bosnian Government soldier killed, several civilians wounded by gunfire in Sarajevo. Milosevic travels to Greece for bilateral meetings with Greek premier Andreas Papandreou.

**December 20**

Carter gave a statement at the Sarajevo airport that after his new meeting with the leaders of the Bosnian Muslims and Serbs, the parties agreed with a partly modified text of the agreement reached in Pale on 19 December. Modified sections of the agreement refer to the agreement on cease-fire in the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina starting at noon on 23 December and obligation during the four-month armistice to resume negotiations on the global peace agreement ‘with the proposal of the Contact Group as a basis for negotiations, or adoption of the proposal by the Contact Group as the starting point for negotiations’.

Milosevic received in Belgrade Carter after his mediating mission between the warring parties. 2 Serb rockets hit Bihac, wounding 14 civilians. 1st UN aid flight in a month lands at Sarajevo airport under Serb guarantees of safety. UN to send more equipment but not more troops to bolster UNPROFOR mission.

**December 21**

Carter says that agreement is only a ‘tentative pact’ and ‘the whole thing can very easily come apart’. French Foreign Minister Juppé says of Contact Group plan ‘we will not accept any going back on the principles in the plan’ and that he ‘won’t see Karadzic until he has accepted the peace plan’. UN reports 4 (including 2 children) wounded in Cazin by shells, 2 missiles fall on Zedar. German government says it will send as much as 26 aircraft, including fighter-bombers, to assist in NATO evacuation of UN troops if necessary.

Milosevic met in Belgrade members of the Contact Group. Development of the elements of the peace plan was positively assessed, in addition to expressed anticipation that, in accordance with such development and successful mediation of Carter, the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina would continue with the negotiations on the entirety of the peace package.

The Zagreb-Belgrade highway opened after three years, as the first part of the implementation of the agreement on economic relations between Croatia and Srpska Krajina. On the sections of highway under the Croatian control Croatian police will be in charge of general security and traffic safety, and
on the sections going through the territory of RSK, these tasks will be performed by UNPROFOR soldiers.

December 22

Tudjman spoke in Croatian Sabor on the ‘situation of the Croatian nation’, assessing that it is ‘better than it ever was and much better than in many other states’. Tudjman announced that Croatia would cancel hospitality to UNPROFOR if ‘Knin continues to oppose all UN Resolutions, whether it enjoys Belgrade’s support for such conduct or not’.

Milosevic gave a comprehensive interview to the US TV network CNN in the ‘Larry King Live’ show. Shells hit Sarajevo market place killing 2, wounding 7.

December 23

With the mediation of Akashi, representatives of Bosnian Muslims and Serbs signed separately in Sarajevo and in Pale the Agreement on one-week overall cease-fire in the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Agreement came into force at noon on 24 December.

December 24

In a statement issued in Paris the Contact Group welcomed the establishment of cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina and expressed readiness to shortly start negotiations for the achievement of the overall peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

December 27

UN says cease-fire violations increasing, as Rose prepares to go to Bihac. Gunfire across frontline positions at Velika Kladusa which Serbs and rebel Muslims now mainly control. 4 mortar rounds land in Bihac, Serb sniper fire wounds woman in Sarajevo. UN records 10 mortar rounds near NE Posavina corridor.

December 28

Rose meets with Fikret Abdic but gets only verbal agreement. Karadzic promises to halt missile and artillery attacks on Bosanska Krupa.

December 29

Rose meets with Serb leaders in Pale trying to get them to agree to 4 month truce, freezing of front lines, and withdrawal of some troops. Bosnian Serb assembly says it is willing to resume negotiations. Cease-fire generally holding except around Velika Kladusa.

December 31

After Akashi shuttles back and forth between Pale, Sarajevo to work on the final text, representatives of Bosnian Muslims and Serbs signed separately in Sarajevo and in Pale an Agreement on complete cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Agreement was signed by Izetbegovic, Karadzic and Mladic, as well as Akashi and General Rose. The Agreement was due to come into effect at 12 noon on 1 January 1995 for a period of four months, with the possibility of extension with the consent of all parties. The Agreement contained 10 items, determining the measures to be carried out during the cease-fire and way of monitoring the cease-fire by UNPROFOR. The parties agreed that this Agreement should not prejudice the final political and territory solution. Sarajevo marks 1,000 days under siege.
Chronology 1995

January 1
Start of a truce for a period of four months.

January 2
Missile fired from Serb side hits Holiday Inn in Sarajevo. Bosnian Croats agree to observe truce.

January 3
Milosevic received in Belgrade Stoltenberg and Owen. It was pointed out that the Agreement on Cessation of All Hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina opened perspectives for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in this area.
Yugoslav Ambassador to the UN Dragomir Djokic submitted to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali the letter which the Yugoslav government had forwarded to the International Tribunal. It was said in the letter that the authorities of FR Yugoslavia would make decisions on submitting to the Tribunal the documentation on commitment of such acts in case they could not be prosecuted by Yugoslav tribunals.
Tram service begins again in Sarajevo. Mortar and artillery fire around Velika Kladusa as rebel Muslims and Croatian Serbs (who have not signed the truce) continue fighting.

January 4
Representatives of Croatia and Srpska Krajina adopted the joint plan on implementation of the Agreement on Economic Matters signed on 2 December 1994.
Fighting in Bihac with heavy shelling of Velusa Kladusa. Legislation introduced by Dole in US Senator to end US compliance with arms embargo, State Department says it is wrong idea at this point in the crisis. Croatian government threatens to end talks with Krajsnik. Serbs unless they implement provisions of December economic agreement, again threaten not to renew UNPROFOR mandate.

January 5
Serbs walk out of truce implementation talks at Sarajevo airport over governments refusal to withdraw 100-150 forces from Demilitarised Zone on Mt. Igman. Fighting continues around Velusa Kladusa, Bosanska Krupa, and Cojluk even though truce calls for withdrawal of foreign troops. Rebel Muslims block resupply convoy for Bangladeshi troops outside of Velusa Kladusa. 3 killed, 26 wounded in fighting. Serbs fire anti-aircraft guns, mortars near Mostar.

January 6
Serbs expand demands saying access to Sarajevo now dependent on government forces giving up all positions gained in fall fighting. Government troops take village of Klokot (near Bihac)

January 7
Relief flights into Sarajevo suspended for 1st time since truce came into effect after 2 planes hit by gunfire, UN spokesman says they may have come from Serbs celebrating Orthodox Christmas. UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko accuses both sides of foot-dragging. Overnight artillery, mortar, and gunfire strike Velusa Kladusa.
January 8

Mladic says they won’t lift Sarajevo blockade until government troops leave Mt. Igman (new demand). Aid flights resume. UN spokesman Paul Risley also attributes gunfire to celebration of Christmas, says it poses ‘no significant threats’ to the truce (thereby verifying that it is working).

January 9

US, Bosnian Governments at odds on whether Serbs will be allowed to change points of Contact Group plan with Bosnia saying the West has given in to Serbs. US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke now says peace plan ‘the basis for further negotiations’. Croats announce that tourism brought in $1.3 billion in ‘94. Tudjman meets with delegation from Croat-Muslim federation including Zubak and Ganic.

January 10

Serbs attempt to retake village of Klokot and its water reservoir. Rose rebuffed in attempts to meet with Krajina Serb leaders about truce. Serbs claim meeting cancelled for ‘technical reasons’. OSCE delegation told in meeting with Milosevic that they cannot reopen offices in Kosovo unless Yugoslavia is readmitted to OSCE as a member.

January 11

In AN interview to Associated Press Karadzic said that the Bosnian Serbs accepted the proposal of the Contact Group on settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a basis for future negotiations. In 10 hours of face-to-face talks Serb commander Mladic and Bosnian commander Delic along with Rose agree to open UN ‘blue routes’ connecting government-controlled areas with Sarajevo for civilian and humanitarian assistance in exchange for Serbs being able to cross airport to get to suburbs under their control; First Red Cross convoy since October makes it into Bihac; Croatian negotiator in talks with Krajina says sides have agreed to reopen Adria oil pipeline connecting coast with Hungary; Krajina Serbs still have not signed cease-fire which commits all foreign troops to leave area. Increased fighting in Bihac with reports of Serbs using Croats and Muslims as human shields.

January 12

UN Security Council adopted Resolution 970 on extending for a period of another hundred days the suspension of some sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia as provided by the Resolution 943 (suspension of the ban of air and sea traffic as well as co-operation in the field of sports and culture). Russia abstains due to extra restrictions on oil convoys from Serbia to Serb-held Croatian territory. Croatia informed the Contact Group, UN Security Council and Vatican on decision that mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia should be terminated and UN forces should leave the country by 31 March 1995. Tudjman added he was willing to negotiate conditions for withdrawal may continue to use Zagreb as UN regional Headquarters. Germany and US both critical of Tudjman move. Speaking before the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives former American Secretary of State James Baker said that the unilateral proclamation of independence on the part of Croatia and Slovenia and their use of force in taking the border crossings had caused the civil war in Yugoslavia.

January 14

UN declares supply road near Sarajevo airport reopened after failure to get agreement from Serbs in late-night negotiations, and Serbs use opportunity to get 4 carloads of their people across before telling
UN they will shoot civilians at traffic crossings. UN describes this as ‘outrageous’. Serb artillery kills 4 civilians in Bihac despite truce.

January 15

Continued Serb artillery attack on Bihac kills 2 women, wounds 11 others. Mortar fire near Velusa Kladusa, shelling and groundfire near Maglaj. Serbs tell UN their commanders have relented and allowed crossings to reopen. Serbs then cross several hundred of their men before closing it again to UN, Bosnian Government. UN reports Abdic forces using forced labour on front lines including women. Government troops blockade UN forces at Tuzla airport, and call for immediate withdrawal of UN troops.

Prime Minister of Slovenia Janez Drnovshek said that Slovenia would normalise its relations with FR Yugoslavia at the same time when the decision to do so was made by the international community. FR Yugoslavia expressed serious concern for the official position taken by Croatia not to extend the mandate of the UN peace-keeping forces after 31 March 1995.

January 16

UNPROFOR tells Croatian military to leave Bosnia. UN finds 50 Bosnian soldiers on Mt. Igman in Demilitarised Zone. BBC says Rose planned to give Serbs copies of NATO flight plans for Bosnia as confidence building measure, but NATO did not agree and will no longer provide this info to UN. Belgium withdraws its 130 troops as planned, Jordan now contemplating same.

January 17

UN Security Council in a presidential statement expressed its concern for possible serious implications of the Croatian demand for withdrawal of the UNPROFOR from Croatia after 31 March 1995. In the statement was also said that the Security Council re-affirmed its commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia within its internationally recognised borders. Bosnian Government tells Rose to either reopen Tuzla airport by February 1 or remove 200 UN troops here. Government 11th Corps continues to blockade UN troops over Rose’ deployment of Serb liaison officer Colonel Slavko Guzvic at airport (Rose was trying to get Serbs to reopen airport through appointment). Serbia offering free credits to Serbs who want to buy houses in Kosovo or return there, goal to settle 100,000 in region. Bosnian Serbs reported to have forced 500 more from homes in Banja Luka, Kotor Varos, Bosanska Gradiska, Kljuc, and Doboj areas.

January 18

General Rose fails to convince government forces to end blockade of 1,000 UN troops around Tuzla. Muslim-Croat Federation president Kresimir Zubak refuses to step down after 6 months as president in favour of Ejup Ganic, prompting cancellation of federation assembly session. Croats say rotation of the office only possible 6 months after election of a president which cannot be held during wartime. Krajina Serbs fly 20 supply missions to forces in Bihac. Serbs reported to have reinforced positions around Srebrenica. Federation Constituent Assembly fails to meet due to sides not reaching agreement on rotation of leadership.

January 19

Contact Group members to return to Sarajevo in effort to renew negotiations on ending war. Over 400 shells fired in Bihac area by government and Serb forces, 800 explosions S. of Velusa Kladusa. Serbs advance 1.5 kilometres within Srebrenica Safe Area. US Secretary of State Christopher sends letter to
Izetbegovic telling him that US hopes to negotiate directly with Bosnian Serbs despite UN Security Council Resolution barring such contacts.

January 20

First Serb-Muslim prisoner exchange under terms of cease-fire takes place. Government troops in Bugojno fire artillery at Donji Vakuf, Serbs respond. Serbs set up roadblocks into Srebrenica. Brief mortar exchange E. of Tuzla while government blockade of UN troops in 9th day.

January 21

Fighting renewed in Bihac. Serb liaison officer leaves Tuzla airfield, Bosnian forces lift blockade of UN forces. UN Security Council votes to extend sanctions placed on Bosnian Serbs. Serbs attack Livno in Bihac area.

January 22

US envoy Charles Thomas goes to Pale for first direct talks with Serbs since they rejected Contact Group plan, saying they are conditional upon Serbs reopening roads to Sarajevo. Government angered by meeting. Krajina Serbs fire 200 artillery/mortar rounds around Velusa Kladusa. Zegar, Vedro Polje in Bihac area attacked by Croatia Serb tanks, mortars.

January 23

Tudjman says in Der Spiegel interview that Serbia is unable or unwilling to risk new war with Croatia. Abdic forces, Serbs attack SE of Velusa Kladusa (Vedro Polje, Klokoc, Zegar). Cease-fire violations reported in Sarajevo, Ribnica, and Orašje-Bosanski Samac front.

January 24

General Rose's tour of duty officially ends, but is summoned to meet with Boutros-Ghali and successor, British Lt. General Rupert Smith, 51, former assistant chief of British defence staff (who is said to follow Rose' approaches and the pro-Serb Foreign Office), to discuss future of peacekeeping. Thomas holds 2nd round of talks in Pale, then with Bosnian Vice President Ganic and Federation President Zubak. Contact Group mediators go to Pale for talks. Serbs continue attacks on Bihac pocket. Tudjman, Izetbegovic meet to discuss issues. Serbs expel more Croats, Muslim from Banja Luka, arrest 21 mainly elderly Croats and put them in Kamenica detention camp.

January 25

Izetbegovic gives Serbs 2 months to accept Contact Group plan (May 1), or they may pull out of cease-fire arrangement themselves. BBC quotes Milosevic as saying UNPROFOR departure could have ‘unforeseeable consequences’. Contact Group, Serbs continue negotiations on reopening ‘blue routes’ to Sarajevo. More fighting in Velusa Kladusa. Croatian Serbs open fire on Slavonski Brod (in Croatia). At a press conference in Geneva UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said that the withdrawal of the UNPROFOR from Croatia would be a disaster and he requested the President Tudjman to change his decision not to renew the mandate of the peace-keeping forces in Croatia. Boutros-Ghali warned that in case Croatia did not change its decision the UN peacekeeping forces would withdraw both from Croatia and Bosnia.
January 26

UN admits that heavy fighting has occurred between government troops and Bosnian Serbs. Hundreds of explosions in Bihac area as Serbs, Croatian Serbs press assault on Bihac. Croatian Serbs fire at least 8 shells across border into Bihac, and UN says Serbs in tanks have crossed into Bihac from Croatian territory in recent days. Heavy shelling, fighting south of Velusa Kladusa. Government, Croatia reportedly capture village of Bugar (9 miles NW of Bihac). Rose’s replacement, General Rupert Smith, formally takes up duties, pledges to ‘give aid to unfortunate and long-suffering people caught up in this conflict’, meets with Izetbegovic and plans to meet with Karadzic. Serbs detain Muslim journalist Namik Berberovic after Russian soldiers violation UN policy and open door of APC to Serb inspection. Contact Group unwilling to quit negotiations due to Serb intransigence. Zagreb, Bosnian Governments call on Washington to act as mediator in Federation disputes. Adriatic pipeline scheduled to start pumping oil again. New ethnic Serbian party, Independent Serbian Party (SSS), to be formed by Milorad Pupovac on January 29 to represent Serbian interests in Croatia

January 27

Police chief in government-held Tesanj arrests local Croat officials in response to Croat arrests of government officials earlier in week. Ganic and Zubak meet in Mostar to resolve differences, agree to sign accord on Monday for release of all prisoners, and that federation leaders should visit Tesanj area. Carter launches new effort at peace talks, says Serbs should be allowed to enter negotiations ‘on the basis’ of the plan but without formally accepting it. Croatian Parliament adopted declaration supporting the decision of Tudjman not to extend the mandate of the UNPROFOR in Croatia after 31 March 1995. It was said that the peacekeeping forces had not fulfilled the Croatian requests, and that deputies ‘resolutely reject all pressures on Croatia to change the decision not to extend the mandate of the UN peace-keeping forces’.

January 28

UN reports high tension between government and Croat forces near Tesanj, Serb tanks re-entering Bihac, say 66 artillery shells hit near Velusa Kladusa. French troops fire warning shots at 40 government soldiers trying to enter Demilitarised Zone on Mt. Igman.

January 29

Fighting intensifies in Velusa Kladusa with 400 explosions as Serb artillery fires on government. Government troops push Serbs back across border into Croatia in S. Bihac. Serbs moving lines closer to Srebrenica cause government troops to blockade 75 Dutch troops. French troops shoot 4 government soldiers in Sarajevo for evading inspection.

January 30

Draft plan of the ‘Z-4’ for the solution of the relations between Croatia and Srpska Krajina was handed Tudjman by French Ambassador Jean Jacques Gayard and President of the Republika Srpska Krajina Milan Martic. The plan, drawn up by EU, UN, US and Russian representatives, aimed to bring a political settlement to the conflict in Croatia. Martic said that Srpska Krajina would not consider the plan until the Z-4 gave guarantees that the UN peace-keeping forces would remain in the territory of RSK after 31 March 1995 in a capacity as protection forces and not as observers. President Milosevic refused to receive Z4 ambassadors. Bihac hit by more than 1,000 shells. Silajdzic, in US, meets with administration officials but does not get commitment on lifting arms embargo. Also meets with Dole. US ambassador Galbraith and
members of Z-4 (Zagreb) group meet with Tudjman. German Foreign Minister Kinkel in Zagreb to try to persuade Tudjman to extend UNPROFOR mandate.

January 31

Minister of Foreign Affairs of France Alain Juppé proposed a new international conference on the former Yugoslavia. Juppé said in Paris that this initiative was co-ordinated with the USA and Russia, but US diplomats say this is not the right time.

Z-4 efforts to meet with Krajina Serbs and Milosevic fail when Serbs refuse until UNPROFOR is allowed to stay on in Croatia. Fighting heavy in Bihac. Muslim, Serbs carry out for 1st time agreement between them (on evacuation of wounded, sick).

February 1

Izetbegovic says government troops could attack Serb forces in Bosnia if Bosnia and Krajina Serbs do not halt attacks in Bihac area. Krajina Serbs reported to be preparing for new offensive in Bihac. Serbs partly reopen road to Sarajevo to 8 UN-related relief agencies, but not to civilian traffic. Ganic, and Zubak and their military commanders (Delic, Tolimir, Blaskic) meet in Kresevo to discuss tensions in Vares, Usora areas. 5 member of Bosnia collective presidency (2 Croatia, 2 Serbian, and 1 Muslim) protest TV footage showing Bosnian army brigade troops wearing Islamic green headbands and carrying flags with Islamic inscriptions, saying this violates multiethnic principle of Bosnia-Herzegovina state, but Izetbegovic and Ganic disagree saying freedom of relations extends to the military. Belgrade government says it wants to close Tito Memorial Centre.

February 2

Silajdzic says French proposal for international meeting would only be good for public relations and giving Serbs opportunities to expand their conquests.

Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic said that Croatia was willing to negotiate the plan proposed by the ‘Z-4’ although it contained some provisions which were unacceptable to Croatia.

February 3

UN warns that truce is threatened with constant violations. Karadzic says that if Croatian attacks rebel territory, ‘we will defend it’. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Jovanovic says Croatian Foreign Minister Granic may still visit Belgrade this month. Dutch UNPROFOR observers report that as many as 20 Serbian helicopters land near Srebrenica to resupply Serbs. Russian, Bosnia agree to exchange diplomatic representatives, Kozyrev says Russian supports Bosnia territory integrity.

February 4

Senator William Cohen (R-ME) calls for sweeping air attacks against Serbs if UN forces are further harmed, says this is necessary ‘to establish the credibility of UNPROFOR’s mission and might’ and ‘the response should be disproportionate to the transgression, and no area of Serbia ruled out of our bombsights’ while British Defence Secretary Rifkind says Cohen should consider the ‘vast improvements in Bosnia in the past year’.

February 5

US convened a meeting in Munich in support of the Bosniak/Croat Federation. A nine-point aid plan was announced and Muslim and Croat officials agreed to the appointment of an arbiter for Muslim/Croat disputes. UNPROFOR says record number of violations (168) occurred between Croats...
and rebel Serbs in Krajina. Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic and Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev agree to exchange diplomatic representatives, and to take further steps toward establishing full relations, with Kozyrev saying that Russia accepts territory integrity of all former Yugoslavia republics.

**February 6**

EU Foreign Ministers agree to back French plan for international conference on former Yugoslavia and invite Milosevic, Tudjman, and Izetbegovic. US warns this type conference will require careful preparation. Russian Deputy Premier Oleg Davydov visits Belgrade, holds talks with Milosevic and comments that sanctions ‘imperils peace and security on the wider European scene’. BBC reports Serbs agree to limited reopening of Sarajevo airport. US mediators get Croats and Muslims to accept binding 9-point arbitration of disputes. 20 US troops on Brac setting up intelligence operations, CIA reported to be launching both manned and unmanned reconnaissance planes from this site.

It was stated in Paris that President Mitterand might invite Presidents Milosevic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic to meet in Paris. The objective of that meeting would be mutual recognition of all states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia as well as paving the way for convening a new international conference on the former Yugoslavia.

**February 7**

The Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina decided to break off the negotiations with Croatia on economic matters until it changed its decision not to extend the mandate of the UN peace-keeping forces. The Assembly also decided to proclaim the state of emergency.

UN says since 1 February a total of 62 Serbian helicopters flew into E. Bosnia in violation of ban, threatens possible air strikes. Milosevic calls idea for Yugoslavia-area summit ‘a waste of precious time’, refuses to recognise Croatia and Bosnia as this ‘would prejudge fundamental solutions’ while Yugoslavia Foreign Minister Jovanovic says it is ‘out of the question’. US envoy Holbrooke says further talks with Serbs pointless unless they accept peace plan. Belgrade-controlled Borba begins campaign to encourage Serb settlement in Kosovo. Serbia, Russia agree to long-term natural gas deliveries to year 2010, with Moscow prepared to send prohibited aircraft fuel to Serbia.

**February 8**

First railroad transport in Bosnia capital in 2 years. Krajina Serb legislation suspended all economic and political negotiations with Croatia until she reversed her decision on terminating the UNPROFOR mandate, sets up military alert in response to Tudjman’s efforts to cancel UNPROFOR mandate. UN says Serbs denied them access to border radar 4 times in previous week and that there were 62 helicopters flights near Srebrenica. Serbs fire mortars at Sarajevo.

**February 9**

UN aid convoy finally reaches Bihac area (Cazin), but 3 of 10 trucks seized as toll in Velusa Kladusa by Abdic troops. Bosnian Serbs fire artillery into Bihac area, UN counts 650 explosions in Bihac. Serbs fire 8 shells at government bunkers in Sarajevo, small arms fire exchanged around Jewish Cemetery.

Government says 1 killed, 2 wounded by sniper fire in city. Government forces reportedly digging trenches between government-controlled Butmir and Serb-held Ilidza. Bosnian Government arrests Svetlana Boskovic, Serb working with UNHCR, for spying (along with Croat co-worker), but probably in retaliation for Serb detention of Bosnian journalist Namik Berberovic, claim he was involved in kidnapping Sarajevo residents trying to pass Serb checkpoints in UN vehicles. NY Times reports that US administration no longer believes direct contacts with Bosnian Serbs useful (Holbrooke comments ‘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’). UN says Serbs preventing their access to radar installations at Belgrade airport so military flights cannot be detected.

At a press conference in New York Cyrus Vance, former special envoy of the UN Secretary General in Yugoslavia, said that the premature recognition of Croatia and other former Yugoslav republics had been a terrible mistake since no comprehensive political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis had preceded it.

**February 10**

Serbs trying to take Bihac water supply system on plateau above town. Serbs halt aid convoys into Sarajevo in retaliation for government arrest of Boskovic, UN suspends airlift as of 2-11.

**February 11**

Serb assault begins on Bosanska Krupa. General Delic says that training, preparation for new fighting after cease-fire necessary. 2nd road out of Sarajevo opened this month. UN reports more violations of no-fly zone around Banja Luka. Serbs fire on British helicopters carrying Serb liaison officer to Banja Luka.

**February 12**

Heavy fighting in Bihac pocket as tanks, mortars, artillery all used. Reports of 1,000 Serbs crossing over from Croatia as Serbs try to push 5th Corps away from border. UN says that all sides have violated flight restrictions but that Serbs have been ‘especially active’ with daily flights from Banja Luka and Krajina in past 2 weeks. Karadzic says if Croatian attacks Krajina Serbs his troops will defend them and this will lead to practical unification. UN commander General Smith meets with Delic. Fighting also on Velusa Kladusa, and Bosanska Krupa fronts.

**February 13**

International Tribunal indicted 21 Serbs of atrocities against Croats, Muslims, but only 1 of the suspects in custody in Germany. Karadzic refused to allow extradition of anyone. FR Yugoslavia ruled that alleged FRY war criminals must be tried there. UN says Serbian combat aircraft involved in flights around Tuzla, but NATO says it can’t detect them on radar. 1,000 more Krajina Serbs reported in Bihac. UN warns of imminent starvation in Bihac. US envoy Charles Thomas to leave position as representative to the Contact Group and be replaced by part-time appointee (Thomas to concentrate on the Croat-Muslim alliance), US now feels direct negotiations with Serbs not productive. US ambassador to Bosnia Jackovic reassigned to Slovenia after being disenchanted with talks with Serbs. The Assembly of the Republika Srpska expressed willingness to negotiate the peace process with the Contact Group and international mediators but only on equal footing and with no ultimatums. Deputies also forwarded letter to Milosevic expressing their hope that Serbia ‘will not recognise Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and make the same mistake as did the international community’.

**February 14**

Clinton administration switches policy by endorsing Contact Group proposal to lift economic sanctions against Serbia in exchange for its recognition of Croatia, Bosnia (Albright and Gore advisor Leon Fuerth argue against this). Government claims to have retaken most gains made by Serbs in Bihac counteroffensive (boundaries of ‘safe-area’ around Bihac city), but UN cannot confirm this. Karadzic says Contact Group ‘a bewildered bunch that does not know how to solve the war’ and states Serbs will no longer just strike in forests but where it hurts the most, also imposes news blackout in Bihac pocket.
UN helicopter airlifting 3-month old infant fired on by Serbs over Gorazde, handgrenade thrown at peacekeepers in Srebrenica, and UN observation post fired on in Serb provocations.

**February 15**

Ten food truck convoy fired on in Abdic-controlled territory but manages to get into Muslim-held part of Bihac. Heavy fighting near Bosanska Krupa, shelling near Velika Kladusa, and UN reports government now controlling 95% of Safe Area. sniper attacks over last 2 days wounds 2 in Sarajevo. Serbs complain that government resupply flights are getting into Tuzla. Karadzic meets with Krajina leader Martic to discuss joint military plans.

**February 16**

Government checkpoint in Sarajevo stops Russian APC from taking Bosnian Serb doctor out of city in violation of UN rules, take him into custody. AFP reports increased military activity on both sides between Dubrovnik and Prevlaka areas in Croatia, and on Serb-held side of Bosnia and Montenegro, Serbs increasing artillery batteries, and Yugoslavian navy conducting exercises in Kotor Bay, Croats building bunkers in Glavica (near Montenegro). UN again allowed access to radar facilities at Belgrade airport.

Unofficially confirmed in Paris that the Contact Group accepted the French initiative on a partial and temporary suspension of the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia in case it recognised Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**February 17**

Prime Minister of Croatia Nikica Valentic said that the ‘Z-4’ plan was unacceptable to Croatia because ‘it actually leads up to dissolution of Croatia’.

Abdic forces block UNHCR convoy, other convoy coming from Zagreb also blocked.

**February 18**

Abdic forces launch attack to reclaim land lost to government forces in Bihac area, heavy fighting reported. 3 Ukrainian soldiers taken hostage by government troops in Zepe. Government gunfire kills 2 in Serb-held Sarajevo suburb of Grlica, Serbs threaten to close airport, fire mortars at suburb.

**February 19**

Milosevic, in meetings with Kozyrev, refuses to recognise Bosnia, Croatian borders in exchange for suspension of sanctions.

**February 20**

In talks in Knin with President of Srpska Krajina Milan Martic Akashi said that the Serbs had expressed willingness to start political negotiations with Croatia and resume implementation of the economic agreement if the mandate of the UNPROFOR in the UNPAs was extended.

More fighting in Bihac, Krajina Serbs stop UNHCR convoy, reroute it to Velusa Kladusa. Bosnian and Croatian Serbs discuss joint military strategy if Croatian attacks Krajina area, create joint military council in Banja Luka. OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities, Max van der Stoel in Macedonia, calls for restraint after riots, meets with Gligorov. Karadzic, Martic form Supreme Defence Council for joint military actions. Fighting in Posavina corridor (N. Bosnia). Bonn promises to send 200 troops (including 33 officers to Kiseljak) to help with possible UN withdrawal. Both sides reported to be digging trenches in Krajina in preparation for fighting.
February 21

*Washington Post* reports that UN observers saw C-130 cargo planes unloading high tech equipment for Bosnian forces at Tuzla, but NATO denies this happened, says UN should change its report. Tudjman decision on UNPROFOR said to be ‘irreversible’ by EU external affairs communication. Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia all protest to UN about Yugoslavia claim to be sole legitimate successor to old system. Akashi sees ‘a glimmer of hope’ in negotiations on UN relief convoy held by Serbs.

February 22

UN convoy of 99 tons of food aid reaches Bihac pocket, first to get through to area since May. Shelling in Velusa Kladusa area, French peacekeepers come into line of fire in Sarajevo. Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha in Belgrade for talks with top Serbian officials. Croatian Cardinal Franjo Kuharic meets with Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan Jovan Pavlovic. Catholic Bishop Ratko Peric goes to Trebinje in Serb-held E. Herzegovina to bring relief supplies, hold talks with Orthodox leaders.

February 23

BBC says reported flights of C-130 transports into Tuzla may be either US resupply efforts of Bosnian forces, or US protecting another country doing just this. Fighting continues in Velusa Kladusa and Bosanska Krupa areas, while Karadzic, Krajisnik visit Posavina corridor, tell crowds without the corridor there is no Bosnian Serb Republic. In Krajina, Milan Babic says new Supreme Defence Council part of effort to set up greater Serb federation. 2,000 Macedonia students demonstrate against Albanian language university saying it is pretext to break up of Macedonia. Milosevic received political directors of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, France and Germany. In his interview to New York Times Minister of Foreign Affairs of FR Yugoslavia Vladislav Jovanovic said that recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina could be considered but not until all open questions related to the position of the Serbs in those former Yugoslav republics were resolved.

February 24

Milosevic discussed with Akashi the current situation in the former Yugoslavia and assessed that the decision of Croatia not to extend the mandate of the UNPROFOR in the protected areas after 31 March 1995, was a dangerous step jeopardising peace and endangering the process of normalisation of relations between Zagreb and Knin. It was concluded that the Vance plan for Croatia was a solid basis for settlement of the disputes by peaceful means.

UN reports Serbs storing 4 heavy weapons in Rajlovac warehouse (Sarajevo suburb) in violation of exclusion zone. UN accuses Muslim military of co-ordinated campaign to drive out UNPROFOR.

February 25

UN says Serbs renewing beatings, robberies, and other intimidation of non-Serbs in Banja Luka forcing 300 more to flee (only 30,000 Muslim, Croats now left in area). Serb helicopter flights, attacks on Croats inside Bosnia. Government troops blockading UNPROFOR troops for 3rd day in Gornji Vakuf. Advance plane for Turkish president Demirel’s visit to Sarajevo hit by gunfire. UN reports 20 explosions in Travnik area, 2 East of Vitez, and 2 around Zenica, brief exchange of fire near Tesanj. Serbs close 1 of 2 civilian rights out of Sarajevo over fuel dispute with UN. 3rd convoy in as many days reaches Bihac. UN officials discover heavy weapons in Sarajevo exclusion zone. UN agrees with NATO there is no conclusive evidence of aircraft actually landing in Tuzla.
February 26

Croatian ambassador to UN, Miomir Zuzul, says only chance for peace in Croatia lies with Serbs accepting reintegration, that war will come if Bosnia and Croatian Serbs join forces, or if Serbia intervenes directly in Croatia. Government troops set up roadblocks against British peacekeepers in Gornji Vakuf to protest presence of 2 Bosnian Serb liaison officers, UN lodges protest over this ‘serious irritation’. Serbs prevent UN officials from inspecting suspected arms cache in Sarajevo, also prevent resupply of Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica. Western diplomatic says Karadzic responds to UN requests for security guarantee with ‘extreme evasion’.

February 27

Demirel’s trip cancelled due to Serbs firing Sarajevo airport (UN forces return fire) and refusal of Karadzic to guarantee his safety during visit, goes to Zenica in C. Bosnia instead to visit 1,500 Turkish peacekeepers, then to Zagreb to talk with Tudjman. Serb sniper fire wounds 5, halts trams in Sarajevo.

February 28

Kozyrev meets with Yugoslavian Defence Minister Pavle Bulatovic, says ‘UN Security Council and the Contact Group owe Belgrade’, says he favours lifting sanctions. UN officials say Serbs mopping up ethnic cleansing in Banja Luka of Muslim, Croats. Fighting increases in Bihac pocket, 9 empty relief trucks shelled. UN calls NATO statement on flights over Tuzla being its own or commercial, ‘ludicrous and insulting’, and hints that flights may be either US or Turkish resupply efforts. 63 Catholic graves desecrated in Novi Sad, but police say they are random acts. Government troops under heavy attack South of Velusa Kladusa, launch counteroffensive, 5 killed. Government attacks near Travnik force Serbs to evacuate 300 villagers. Serbs also violate cease-fire along Orasje-Tuzla road, Usora, and Livno-Kupres front. Croatian court sentences 4 Serbs in absentia for war crimes around Sibenik (Djordje Bjegovic, General Kosta Novakovic, General Mile Novakovic, and Goran Hadzic).

March 1

Clinton administration considering putting 500-1,000 more troops to a maximum of 10,000 in NATO-led division in Macedonia. Albanian deputies in Macedonia parliament boycott session over issue of education and university in Tetovo. Croatian Defence and National Security Council says it remains firm on UNPROFOR pullout. 679 Muslims and Croats expelled from Banja Luka area, their houses dynamited while 6 members of Muslim charity ‘Merhamet’ arrested. Serbs issue blanket ban on all UN refugee agency convoys to Sarajevo. Contact Group meets with Milosevic. Pro-Bosnian Serb head of Yugoslavia army propaganda division, Col. Ljubodrag Stojadinovic fired after military tribunal finds him guilty of impugning Milosevic and the military. 800 detonations reported S. and SE of Velusa Kladusa. 15 wounded by shelling in Travnik.

March 2

Contingent of Zagreb doctors arrives at C. Bosnia monastery in Nova Bila whose hospital had been destroyed in ‘93 fighting. Krajina Serbs put total ban on food convoys for town of Bihac. 342 explosions in Velusa Kladusa area. 1 killed, 1 wounded by sniper fire from Serbs in Sarajevo, UN cargo plane hit by gunfire after leaving Sarajevo airport.
March 3

At a press conference in Vienna UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said that ‘it would be a real tragedy for the former Yugoslavia if we were forced to withdraw the troops from Bosnia or Croatia’. He also appealed to all members of the international community to ‘to do all they should to keep the UN troops within the former Yugoslavia’. Bosnian Serbs claim they are trying to start talks with government, but government denies story.

March 4

UN says it will not tolerate Serb blockade against Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde. Serbs let through 30 tons of food aid for 500 Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica, but not medical aid.

March 6

Croatia and Croat-Muslim Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina agree to set up military alliance, and Croatian Chief-of-Staff, General Janko Bobetko says joint command will defend the Croatia-Muslim federation’. Serb General Mladic says UNPROFOR not welcome in Bosnia-Herzegovina if they leave Croatia. Pale authorities levy 200 DM monthly per capita tax on Bosnian Serbs living abroad. Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijancic says an expanded war is coming. Abdic forces gain ground S. and E. of Velusa Kladusa. 1 killed, 2 wounded by snipers in Sarajevo. EU adopted negotiating mandate for Trade and Co-operation Agreement between the EU and Croatia, but made start of the negotiations dependent on continued UN presence in Croatia.

March 7

Slovenian Premier Janez Drnovsek says Slovenia prepared to resolve ‘practical’ issues with Yugoslavia, and that a Slovenia bureau may be opened in Belgrade ‘in the near future’.

March 8-10

Zubak and Ganic, in Bonn, signed the Petersburg Agreement on the implementation of the Bosniac/Croat Federation.

March 9

UN relief agency cuts food aid to Croatian Serbs, Abdic’s supporters to try to force them to allow aid into Bihac. More fighting in area, with Croatian Serbs shelling Bihac. UN reports increase in military activity in Croatia ahead of deadline for UNPROFOR to pull out troops. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says Croatia may have all of its foreign relations frozen if it does not relent on UNPROFOR. Krajina Serbs reported to be mobilising 5,000 ‘volunteers’ in expectation of renewed fighting with Zagreb. Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia given membership in World Bank. CIA report on war crimes says Serbs committed 90% of war crimes, and that Serbs alone were involved in systematic use of ethnic cleansing, that this is not a civil war, but a case of Serbian aggression.

March 10

BBC reports that US tried to stifle CIA report for fear of alienating Milosevic, but US Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke admits it is authentic. Manoeuvres of tanks, heavy weapons reported in E. Krajina. 130 Orthodox tombs vandalised in Kumanovo. Bosnia Croats, Muslim conclude pact in Bonn to strengthen Federation which includes provisions on return of refugees, and creating police system. Herzegovinan Croats contend that Bosnian Government forces in Bihac pocket kidnapped
Croatian General Vlado Santic on March 8. Serbs launch campaign to draft ethnic Albanians in Kosovo into army.

March 11

Tudjman backs down on demanding UNPROFOR withdraw in exchange for the troop contingent being reduced to 5-6,000 of which 10% will guard border crossings into Bosnia and Serbia. Tudjman comments that ‘the US has pledged to assist Croatia in restoring its sovereignty over the whole of its territory’.

March 12

Akashi’s aeroplane hit by gunfire as it approaches Sarajevo airport. Artillery and sniper fire kill 3 (including 2 girls hit by government soldier in Serb-held suburb), wound 8 in Sarajevo. Russian Federation Council member Sergei Shirshov accuses US of ‘arming Croatia for struggle against the Serbs’, says Russian should provide economic assistance to the Serbs. US Vice President Al Gore met in Copenhagen with President Tudjman (they participated there in the UN Summit on Social Development). At the joint press conference Tudjman said that the UN peace keeping forces might stay in Croatia after 31 March until a new, changed mandate of those forces was defined, while their number would be reduced.

March 13

NATO planes give cover to UN flight over Sarajevo as Indonesian President Suharto leaves city. Heavy fighting in Velusa Kladusa.

March 14

9 French peacekeepers killed in accident when their truck falls off road on Mt. Igman. Akashi finishes talks with government and Serbs but no progress on truce. NY Times says ‘a considerable number of tanks’ has moved into Krajina from Serbia in anticipation of international monitors being stationed on border. HINA reports Serb attacks in Gradačac, Stolac, Orašje, and Mostar areas.

March 15

UNPROFOR to change names to UN Forces in Croatia (UNFIC) if new arrangement on guarding of borders is worked out. Karadzic rejects idea of UN forces on border separating Croatia from Bosnia. Tudjman to US for talks on new force, also to attend ceremony on 1 year anniversary of Croat-Muslim federation. Izetbegovic did not attend since the anniversary ‘conflicts with the previously arranged schedule for his visit to Germany’. Government arrests 3 Muslim military policemen in connection with Santic murder. British peacekeeping force comes under Serb fire near Gorazde.

March 16

Bosnian Muslim and Croat leaders meet in White House with Clinton and Christopher who promise them economic aid, military advice. NATO working on evacuation for UN peacekeepers called ‘Determined Effort’ which may include 70,000 troops (force could include 2,000 German troops to be used in Croatia). Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj reported to be in Bosnia claiming to have 1,000 ‘volunteers’ from the Sandzak. Macedonia reportedly also wants UNPROFOR mandate changed so that it has organisational structure distinct from that of Croatia and Bosnia. Yugoslavia reports 3 army officers arrested for spying for Croatia. In separate meetings, Tudjman and Zubak meet with Clinton in Washington. Izetbegovic, in Bonn, says there will be no extension of cease-fire unless Serbs
accept Contact Group peace plan. Italian Foreign Minister Agnelli says Italy may support easing of sanctions against Belgrade.

**March 17**

Nasa Borba reports that Milosevic, Bosnia and Krajina Serb representatives secretly met with Orthodox Patriarch Pavle. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Jovanovic meets with Pope John Paul II. China, Bosnia agree to establish diplomatic relations. British vehicles hijacked by Serbs in Ilidza, Serbs close civilian route into Sarajevo.

**March 19**

2 killed by snipers in Sarajevo. Serbs renew attacks on airport firing on French air transport causing French to fire back. Serbs also firing on government supply road and arrest Russian UN observer in campaign of harassment against UN. Bosnian Vice President Ganic sends condolences to Zubak for murder of Croatia General Vlado Santic in Bihac area on March 8.

**March 20**

Serb shell hits government army barracks in Tuzla killing 26, wounding 80. Fighting also near Travnik as government attacks and Serbs retaliate with shelling of cities. Shelling also of Prijedor, Jablanica, and Lukavica which ends only due to blizzard conditions. UN reports 2,000 government troops moving into Stolice area. 6 wounded by sniper fire in Sarajevo.

Fred Ekhard, UN spokesman for peace-keeping operations, said in New York that ever since the cease-fire had been signed in early 1995 by the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina it was now most seriously violated in the region north-eastern from Tuzla. Actually, the Bosnian army conducted a large-scale offensive against the army of the Republika Srpska. In response the Bosnian Serbs opened mortar fire on military installations in Tuzla. There were also some small-scale combats along the Sava-valley corridor as well as near Travnik and Konjic.

**March 21**

Final report of UN Commission of Experts on the Bosnian War says evidence shows ‘a systematic rape and sexual assault policy’ against Muslim and Croat women, that attacks ‘do not appear to be random, and indicate a policy of at least tolerating rape and sexual assault’, that rape was part of a ‘a highly developed’ Serb strategy of ethnic cleansing, and ‘that there is no factual basis for arguing that there is a ‘moral equivalence’ among the warring factions’ (that all sides do it equally). Serbs shell civilian targets in Kalesija (NE Bosnia), also retake 3 hilltops near Majevica lost to government previous day. Serbs take 2 UN vehicles from Dan, French peacekeepers in Ilidza.

**March 22**

UN reports 1,432 detonations in Majevica area (near Tuzla) in 24 hr. period with government possibly having gained some territory.

**March 23**

In a letter to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghabi leader Izetbegovic required that the mandate of the UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina, expiring on 31 March, should be extended not later than 1 May 1995. He also requested that within this period possibilities should be explored for a change of the mandate.
March 24

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali proposed to the Security Council that UNPROFOR should be renamed UNPF (United Nations Peace Forces) and divided into three separate units - for Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia. Each UNPF would be headed by its civilian chief and have its own military commander and the headquarters of all three operations would remain in Zagreb. It would be under command of the current UNPROFOR commander French General Berndard Janvier while Akashi, special envoy of the UN Secretary General, would keep on being the key political figure of the operations. According to this proposal the peace-keeping forces were neither willing nor equipped to impose solutions on the warring parties but they should help them achieve the lasting peace negotiated by the parties themselves.

Karadzic, in response to losses, calls for immediate and direct negotiations.

March 25

UN reports government forces take control of communication tower at Stolice, and on Mt. Vlasic, with Serbs shelling Sarajevo, Mostar, Velusa Kladusa, Gracanica, Gorazde, and Tuzla in response. UN says 1,200 Serb civilians flee government advance which has taken 30-50 sq. kilometres, and sends Serbs relief aid to Skender Vakuf. German TV reports that Karadzic calls for retaking Tuzla, says this is ‘last call’ for ‘immediate direct talks on peace, with cessation of all offensives’. Serb snipers fire on US ambassador car in Sarajevo.

March 26

Karadzic writes to world leaders saying they need to ‘bring a halt to the Muslim offensives’ but Bosnian Government says he must accept Contact Group plan first. Karadzic also calls for General mobilisation of all Bosnian Serbs and threatens to confiscate property of reservists who do not return home from abroad. Krajina Serbs reported to be conducting manoeuvres in Slavonia with 100 tanks, some taken from UN collection points, but including 13 new T-72 and M-84s brought across Danube on pontoon bridges. Both sides reported regrouping around Tuzla as government forces now surround Serbs at Stolice.

March 27

Serbs hit Sarajevo road with 500 cannon rounds in retaliation for government offensive near Tuzla. Nasa Borba reports that Bosnian ambassador to Swit., Muhamed Filipovic meets previous week at Serb request in Belgrade with Milosevic to discuss status of Muslims living in Serbia. Krajina town Bracel Dolac shelled by Croat, Bosnian Croat forces. 7 member delegation of Sarajevo Serbs in Belgrade to plea for peace, prove they are not discriminated against. International women’s convoy still blocked from Bihac by Serbs.

Meeting of high diplomatic officials of the Contact Group in London issued a statement saying that all of its members expressed concern over the situation in Bosnia which had aggravated in the field. They invited all parties to observe the agreement on cessation of hostilities. The Group would continue its efforts that would lead to imminent negotiations and it also invited the Bosnian Serbs to adopt the plan of the Contact Group as a basis for further negotiations. It welcomed the agreement on the presence of the UN forces that would be continued in Croatia and also stressed the importance it attached to the imminent mutual recognition of the states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

March 28

Fighting for TV tower continues near Stolice, also on Vlasic plateau. UN investigating Croatian claim that 900 Yugoslavian troops, 20 tanks, ground-to-ground rockets and other weapons have crossed
Danube into E. Slavonia, Newsday reports Belgian battalion tried to block them but Russian General ordered them to back off, UN says it can’t confirm claim. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic criticises UN peacekeeping force plan saying it violates spirit of Copenhagen agreement between Zagreb and US. UN has decided to rename force UN Peace Force One which Croatia doesn’t like since it doesn’t have Croatia in title.

March 29

Serbs shell Velusa Kladusa, government troops destroy 2 tanks in Majevac. Dutch peacekeeper killed by artillery.

March 30

Serbs still control TV transmitter in Majevica hills (NE of Tuzla) but government reported to be picking up ground. UN scales back relief effort to Sarajevo as Serbs blockade food convoys (airlift to Sarajevo now only at 40% of capacity. Turkish parliament approves bill allowing Council of Ministers to lift arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina. British peacekeepers rescue 66 Croat soldiers including commander of Croatian forces General Janko Bobetko, from convoy stranded in snow in W. Bosnia, find 5 frozen to death.

Republika Srpska Krajina issued a statement that it could not allow blockade of the borders of RSK to be imposed by any military formations unless the mission of those forces was based on the principles on which the UN protection forces had been established so far. It was ‘quite unacceptable’ to Krajina that the new mandate of the peace-keeping forces was to be defined as an interim arrangement for creation of the conditions that would facilitate political settlement which would be ‘consistent with the territory integrity of Croatia’ if this included the territory of RSK which is ‘a sovereign state of the Serb people and all its citizens and is not within the territory of Croatia’.

March 31

The UN Security Council adopted three separate Resolutions defining the missions of the peace-keeping forces in Croatia (Resolution 981), Bosnia-Herzegovina (982) and Macedonia (983). UNPROFOR would be divided into three separate organisational and military units called ‘The United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia, known as UNCRO’, ‘United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)’ in Bosnia-Herzegovina and ‘United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)’ within Macedonia. Each operation will be headed by a civilian chief of mission and have its own military commander, but all three will be under the overall command and control of the current special envoy of the UN Secretary General, Akashi, and the current UNPROFOR commanding general, General Janvier. Their headquarters will remain in Zagreb. The mandates of the peace-keeping forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia will chiefly remain unchanged. However UNCRO’s mandate shall include: ‘performing fully the functions envisaged in the Cease-Fire Agreement of 29 March 1994 between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities’, ‘facilitating implementation of the Economic Agreement of 2 December 1994’, ‘facilitating of all relevant Security Council Resolutions’, ‘assisting in controlling, by monitoring and reporting, the crossing of military personnel, equipment, supplies and weapons, over the international borders between the Republic of Croatia and Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) at the border crossings for which UNCRO is responsible...’. The Council also decided that UNCRO should be an interim arrangement to create the conditions that will facilitate a negotiated settlement consistent with the territorial integrity of Croatia and which guarantees the security and rights of all communities.

Resolution 981 reducing size of UN force in Croatia, renaming it UN Conference Restoration Operation in Croatia (name in title to emphasise sovereignty over all Croatia territory by Croatia, while
Krajina leader Martic rejects name change. 1,000 peacekeepers to patrol border as part of total force of 7-8,000, but does not authorise them to stop shipments across orders. Women’s convoy returns to Zagreb after failing to get Serb permission to continue, but British civilian and translator of Croat origin, Mirko Buzuk taken away by Serbs. US ambassador Victor Jackovic leaves Bosnian post.

April 1

431 explosions in Majevica area, 293 around Kalesija (E. of Tuzla), government still hasn’t captured Stolice tower. In north-west Bosnia, artillery shells smashed into the UN-protected Safe Area of Bihac, injuring several people and badly damaging a water pipeline. In Sarajevo, separatist Serbs ended a blockade that had prevented trucks from carrying international aid from the airport to the besieged city. Croats in Mostar kidnap local bishop after he tries to replace Franciscan monks with diocesan priests who are less nationalistic, bishop and his security are released after 8 hrs.

German Parliament cleared the way for the first international war crimes trial since post-World War II by agreeing to extradite a Bosnian Serb Dusan Tadic accused of murdering and torturing Muslims. Tadic was arrested in Germany in February 1994 and charged with genocide after witnesses accused him of killing at least 10 prisoners and torturing 150 others while he was a guard at separatist Serb-run concentration camps in north-western Bosnia in 1992. Tadic is also accused of forcing Muslims out of their homes, and of organising gang rapes.

US ambassador to Bosnia, Victor Jackovic, announced he will leave Bosnia soon, probably forced out due to his support of Bosnian Government, now to become ambassador to Slovenia. His expected replacement is John Menzies, who became deputy chief of mission for Bosnia late last year. Cardinal Vinko Puljic, the newly appointed Roman Catholic archbishop of Sarajevo, announced that he will be in Chicago next week as part of the mission to alert the rest of the world that war atrocities are still committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

April 2

Serb infantry, artillery, and tanks attacking Bihac in waves, fighting heavy around Velusa Kladusa. Abdic says on radio that entire pocket will be under his control in days. German relief worker arrested by Bosnian Serbs in harassment effort.

In a statement given to the state news agency HINA Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic said that Resolution 981 ‘is the most vigorous political document adopted by the Security Council for the benefit of Croatia’. In his words the Resolution strongly affirmed the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia, introduced the mechanism of control of the borders of the Republic of Croatia, directing Knin to enter negotiations on political issues concerning its peaceful reintegration into Croatia.

April 3

In his first reaction President of the Republika Srpska Krajina Milan Martic assessed that the Resolution 981 disturbed the initiated peace process, endangering the results achieved so far in the field of peaceful settlement of the dispute between the RSK and Croatia.

Serbs seize 2 Swiss UNESCO workers en route to Sarajevo airport at illegal checkpoint. Krajina Serbs and rebel Muslim continue attacks in Bihac. Heavy fighting in Majevica Hills (NE of Tuzla), and Serbs fire artillery in Livno area and attack Orasje-Samac area causing material damage. China becomes 92nd country to recognise Bosnia-Herzegovina.
April 4

Swedish peacekeepers reported fierce artillery exchanges in the Majevica hills near Tuzla with Serbs firing 2,000 rounds of artillery at government positions. UN officials reported the second Serb attack in two days on the UN-declared Safe Area of Bihac town. One UN observer and his interpreter were slightly wounded. UN observers said Bosnian troops had taken control the Stolice television tower at the summit of Mt Vlasic, which rises over the government-held town of Travnik. Control of Vlasic secures access routes to the towns of Donji Vakuf, Jajce and Skender Vakuf. Serbs attack Zvornik, Teocani areas, as well as Gradacac, Kalesija, and Gracanica. UN monitors say Yugoslavia keeping its borders closed. Serbs deny Belgian cardinal permission to visit Banja Luka Catholics.

April 5

The people of Sarajevo began fourth year of war. About 15 people gathered in Sarajevo to place flowers on the grave of Suada Dilberovic, the first woman killed in the Bosnian war. Members of Contact Group met in London, reportedly discussing another sanctions-easing proposal for Serbia. A UN official said that the diplomats are hoping to persuade Milosevic to recognise Croatia and Bosnia in exchange for relief from UN sanctions. Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic stated that Serbia’s stand on this issue ‘has been established three years ago -- we are open to recognition of former Yugoslav republics as independent states when conditions for that are met.’

International observers monitoring Belgrade’s blockade of rebel Bosnian Serbs said they were satisfied Serbian authorities had closed the border despite reports of goods getting through. NATO warplanes over Bosnia forced a single-engine Cessna down over government-held territory twice. The plane was flying over Visoko, north-west of Sarajevo in territory controlled by the Bosnian government, the spokesman said.

Pope John Paul issued one of his strongest appeals for peace to come to former Yugoslavia, saying that the fighting there was the worst tragedy to hit Europe since WWII.

April 6

Fighting continues, 1,500 rounds of artillery fired in exchanges in Majevica area, government claims to have closed escape route of Serbs at TV tower, but Serbs claim to have retaken strategic hill. Pro-government Serb leader, Ljubomir Berberovic, hit by Serb sniper fire in Sarajevo. UN protests Serb attacks on Safe Areas. Owen says international community will not accept secession of any parts of former Yugoslavia (Krajina, Kosovo), tells Kosovo Albanians to work for political autonomy. Reports of Croatian troops moving into Sector West around Daruvar (in Slavonia). Krajina suspends permission for UNPROFOR patrols in Sector East.

April 7

Karadzic says he expects relations with UN to deteriorate. Krajina Serb leader Martic rejects UN Resolution 981 (transforming UNPROFOR into UNCRO) blaming it on US, German dominance in Security Council, says ‘there are no borders between Serbian territories’. Serb leader Nikola Koljevic
was quoted as warning Belgrade would unleash a civil war among Serbs in former Yugoslavia if it agreed to recognise Bosnia and Croatia.

Serb forces backed by heavy artillery launched a co-ordinated assault on two hills near Tuzla, and captured both objectives, Bosnian army sources told Reuters in Tuzla. A rocket slammed into a government-held suburb of Sarajevo, Hrasnica. In another incident French peacekeepers and Serb soldiers were engaged in a tense stand-off on a road outside Sarajevo. Serb soldiers at the checkpoint near the airport, known as Sierra Four, harassed UN convoys, hijacked vehicles, stolen radios, weapons and flak jackets and detained civilians carrying UN identification. ‘The French deployed a full platoon of soldiers and four armoured personnel carriers to the airport road checkpoint this morning,’ said Alexander Ivanko, a UN spokesman in Sarajevo.

NATO pressed ahead with contingency plans for a possible pullout of UN peacekeepers if fighting broke out of control and decided to send 80 communications experts to the region, alliance said. The communication experts are the first NATO ground troops in the region.

April 8

US C-130 relief plane hit by 10 bullets at Sarajevo airport by Serb snipers damaging hydraulic system, hitting cockpit, UN suspends flights as result saying Serb harassment is on increase. UN agrees to let Serbs check all vehicles on road to airport in exchange for guarantees of safety for all vehicles, Bosnian Government protests action saying UN has caved in to Serb pressure. Heavy shelling in NE Bosnia, and large movement of Krajina Serbs/Abdic forces in Bihac. CIA reports that 2 oil rigs have been shipped from Iran to Serbia in violation of UN embargo. Macedonian president Giligorov rules out possibility of Balkan federation or confederation, says this will only lead to new divisions and conflicts, but agrees to sign treaty with Greece on their common border.

President of Srpska Krajina Milan Martic said that the Resolution 981 was ‘absolutely unacceptable’. ‘Control of the borders between us and our brothers from the Republika Srpska will never be allowed’. ‘We are to organise our state as proper as possible and no one will push us into Croatia where we do not want to be’.

April 9

UN says Serbs using 120mm mortars in violation of cease-fire agreement in Sarajevo killing 3, wounds 7, UN requests NATO air presence over city. Intense fighting in Tuzla, Bihac areas with government forces claiming capture of Mt. Vlasic including TV relay station North of Travnik. Assembly of Serbian Citizens (pro-government) meets in Sarajevo, calls on government for ‘constituent nation’ status within Croat-Muslim federation. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visits Yugoslavia, meets Jovanovic, criticises international sanctions.

German Foreign Minister Kinkel announced that the envoys from the Contact Group will visit Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb to promote their peace plan. Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic stated that international pressure to extend a battered truce will help Bosnian Serb forces cement the gains they have made on the battlefield. ‘Because the Contact Group cannot pressure the Serbs it always ends up pressuring the Bosnian government,’ said Silajdzic.

UN charged Serbs with targeting Sarajevo’s civilian neighbourhoods with ‘big guns’, which are supposed to be banned from around the capital.

April 10

French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé rounded on Milosevic accusing him of killing efforts to prevent a return to all-out war. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Jovanovic says ‘we do not wish to repeat the mistake (of) prematurely recognising the former Yugoslavia representatives’.

NATO fighters fly for several hours over Sarajevo in response to UN concerns over Serb shelling. Snipers kill 1, wound 2 in city. Serbs, Croats fight near Zepce (N. of Sarajevo). Krajina Serbs fire on
UN vehicles S. of Zagreb, hijack 2 UN cars. Bosnian artillery shelled town of Doboj and nearby Teslic, wounds 5 civilians in Serb-held Teslic.

April 11

UN dismisses Russian commander, Maj. General Alexander Perelyakin, in Sector East (Krajina) for 'severe shortcomings' and lack of leadership (allowing soldiers, weapons to cross from Serbia into Krajina, wide-spread corruption, smuggling in Sector East), replaces him with deputy UN commander in area who is Belgian. Moscow says he remains commander in sector and that he 'will only be changed in accordance with a plan'. Bosnian Government bans public gatherings to reduce casualties from Serb sniping. Members of Contact Group go to Belgrade for talks. Renewed fighting as Serbs attack Gorazde with 13 artillery shells hitting city causing NATO overflights. Serb and Bosnian forces battle on Mt. Majevica. Serbs remove, then replace heavy gun from UN storage depot near Sarajevo. Izetbegovic wants UN to declare Sarajevo Demilitarised Zone, says Serbs will get all-out attack if they do not quit shelling, sniper fire. Croatia reported to want all-European peacekeeping force since they will have more clout with Serbs than 3rd world forces, UN says no to this. Milosevic and Contact Group concluded in Belgrade that the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina was a realistic formula serving as a basis for a comprehensive political settlement upon which the negotiations between the warring parties could be resumed. UN spokesman Chris Gunness said two children were killed when two shells hit a school in the government-held town of Tesanj, about 50 miles north of Sarajevo. Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak said Croatia will demobilise 30,000 troops and send them back to civilian work due to labour shortages, despite lingering tensions with rebel Serbs. Albania denied accusations that it had violated international sanctions by smuggling vast amounts of fuel to Serbia.

April 12

Contact Group called off mission to Sarajevo as hostilities escalated across Bosnia and Serbs won’t guarantee security. US State Department said that Milosevic refused to recognise Bosnian and Croatian independence and would not support an extension of a cease-fire in the former Yugoslav republic. Bosnian Serbs hijacked a pickup driven by UN military observers outside Sarajevo. Three military observers, along with their interpreter, were held up by Serb soldiers on the road leading from Sarajevo to Pale and forced to hand over their vehicle. Serb shell hits downtown Sarajevo wounding 7. Airport closed for 5th day, Mladic sends letter to UN saying claims of attacks are 'incorrect and tendentious'. Government helicopters attack Serb positions around Donji Vakuf, Serbs launch attacks in several areas. Dubrovnik shelled, killing 1, wounding 3.

April 13

US admits that it is facilitating transfer of large ('hundreds of tons') weapons shipments from Iran to Bosnian Government forces. Krajina Serbs, Abdic forces launch new attacks on Velusa Kladusa. Karadzic praises Milosevic for refusing to recognise Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both Macedonia and Greece reveal they have seized contraband oil-drilling equipment headed for Serbia (shipped through Iran by Canadian firm). Representatives of all seven Danube-basin countries agreed to forward a letter to the UN Committee for Sanctions to explain the problems in traffic on the Danube caused by the embargo against FR Yugoslavia. All delegations supported the idea to plead for at least easing and some even for lifting of the sanctions imposed against FR Yugoslavia. *New York Times* said that 'a former senior member of the Serbian secret police has come forward with documents that could incriminate Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic as a war criminal.'
April 14

Serb nationalist leader Vojislav Seselj led thousands of cheering supporters across a bridge between Serbia and Bosnia on Friday to demand an end to a blockade of Bosnian Serbs by Belgrade. Bosnian Serbs began forcing Muslims from their homes in north-eastern Bosnia in a repeat of an 'ethnic cleansing.' ‘After more than four months of calm a new wave of expulsions of minority members has begun in Bijeljina,’ said Nina Winquist, spokeswoman for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Sarajevo. The World Health Organization stated that a million people in former Yugoslavia need medical help to fight war-related psychological trauma and only some five percent are likely to receive it.

French peacekeeper killed in Sarajevo while driving through Dobrinja. 2 Pakistani peacekeepers wounded when UN convoy fired on by Serbs SE of Tuzla. Serb gunmen rob UN relief fuel convoy at Serb checkpoint outside of Sarajevo of $7,200 worth of German marks.

April 15

Sniper fire kills 2nd French peacekeeper in 2 days. French Defence Minister Leotard says France may discuss withdrawal of troops. Serbs drag aid workers from UN vehicle, steal vehicle, flak-jacket, and radio at Serb checkpoint. Sarajevo Jews open ancient (600 years) illuminated manuscript brought from Spain in 15th Century to commemorate Passover, Izetbegovic tells them to ‘stay in this country, because this is your country’.

April 15-17

A three day session of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska in Sanski Most, behind closed doors, dealt with the military and political situation in the Republic. General Mladic delivered a military report. Karadzic said that conclusions were directed towards promotion of the combat power with the aim of achieving a final military victory unless a political solution to the Bosnian conflict was soon found. The Assembly also adopted to work out a plan on unification with Srpska Krajina. Karadzic denied rumours of disagreement between the political and military leadership. A Belgrade source who visited Pale told Reuters that the ‘leadership has no clue what to do next. They are sitting on top of their mountain, having lost touch with reality.’

April 16

Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole said in an interview that he would move soon to lift the US arms embargo against the Bosnian government. ‘My view is that they (Bosnia) are an independent nation, a member of the United Nations. They are entitled to the right of self-defence’. He also said that he is opposed to sending US troops to Bosnia.

April 17

UN negotiators tried to get Serbs to promise not to attack Sarajevo airport, and were reconsidering concessions that Bosnian officials said violated previous agreements. The US ambassador to Bosnia, Victor Jackovic, and eight other Americans were forced to take a dangerous land route out of the Bosnian capital Monday after Serbs refused to guarantee the safety of their flight. US Secretary of State Warren Christopher later ‘expressed anger’ over a Serb refusal to let the US ambassador to Bosnia fly out of Sarajevo and said he would have ‘something to say’ to the UN about it. French Foreign Minister official says his country ‘looking to avoid a withdrawal at all costs. In our eyes it would be a solution of despair’. Government troops push E. of Bihac and Serbs shell town in response. Government also gains ground on Treskavica Mt. range killing 14 Serb soldiers in push toward Gorazde.
April 18

Serbs fire 26 artillery rounds at Hrasnica, government fires artillery back hitting Ilidza, while US planes fly overhead. Serbs raid UN collection depot and use artillery to fire 6 rounds at Sarajevo from one location, 4 rounds from another. 4 explosions S. of Sarajevo airport. France called for an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council after the deaths of two French peacekeepers in Sarajevo and said it would have to withdraw its troops from Bosnia if a ceasefire was not extended. Germany urged France not to react to the killing of two French soldiers on peacekeeping duty by pulling its troops out of Bosnia. Bosnian Serbs heavily shelled the only land route out of Sarajevo - at least 30 mortar rounds were fired, a UN spokesman said. UN source said Croatian troops have advanced to within artillery range of Knin, the rebel Krajina Serb stronghold in Croatia, after pushing through mountain passes in adjacent Bosnia. ‘The Croats could hit Knin now with long-range artillery,’ a UN source said.

Karadzic said that if the war in Bosnia continues it will be a war to the end, ‘to their [Bosnian Government] complete military defeat.’

April 19

In violation of UN imposed embargo about 90 trucks believed to be carrying fuel and other contraband entered Serb-held territory in Croatia from neighbouring Yugoslavia, UN officials said. Serbs fired a shell at Cilipi, near Dubrovnik, at the same time when Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic was opening a newly-refurbished building at Cilipi Airport. There were no injuries or damages reported. In an emergency session today, the UN Security Council debated a draft Resolution on Bosnia, condemning the killing of UNPROFOR personnel and to call upon the Secretary General to recommend ways to deter future attacks on UNPROFOR. Serbs shell Sarajevo with UN-collected weapons until NATO overflight causes them to quit, fire mortar at Dubrovnik-Cilipi airport. Croats now on Mt. Dinara east of Knin in position to strike at Serbs. UN War Crimes tribunal says documents about Milosevic responsibility for crimes of ‘no evidentiary value’.

April 20

Silajdzic tells Akashi cease-fire not to be extended. Bosnian Serbs raided UN-monitored weapons collection sites and, ignoring warning shots from Ukrainian peacekeepers, used artillery impounded there to shell Sarajevo. Milosevic agreed to allow foreign experts to analyse radar tapes for possible helicopter violations of Serbia’s blockade against Bosnian Serbs. UN radar registered about 25 helicopter sorties from Bosnia into Serbian territory between April 2 and April 7, according to the monitoring mission report.

Three British soldiers wounded when their patrol wandered into a mine field in the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde.

April 21

New acting US ambassador to Bosnia, John Menzies arrives at Sarajevo airport, but Serbs prevent his entering city until he agrees to visit Serb military barracks.

April 22

Menzies gives up trying to enter Sarajevo, vows to return. 3 French peacekeepers killed, 4 others wounded while trying to defuse explosives at airport. Karadzic says Sarajevo is Serbian airport and that no political visitors to the Bosnian Government will be allowed to use it, rejects Contact Group plan, and refuses US and German representatives, and Akashi without their gaining access to Sarajevo.
Milosevic meets with Krajina Prime Minister Mikelic, Abdic, and Mladic in Belgrade. Boutros-Ghali says UNCRO may have to be pulled out since Serbs and Croats cannot agree on its size or presence. UN Security Council Resolution 988 puts tougher restrictions on lifting embargo against Belgrade, sanctions can now only be lifted temporary for 75 instead of 100 days (as Resolution 943 provided). France invited all five heads of state from the former Yugoslavia to ceremonies in Paris marking the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe. Strong Bosnian government attack on Doboj, 22 miles south-west of Brcko, was reported by the Serbs.

April 23

Fighting largely limited to Brcko area over Orthodox Easter weekend. Krajina Serbs block Zagreb-Belgrade highway in 2 places.

April 24

Richard Goldstone, chief prosecutor of the International Tribunal named Karadzic, General Mladic and Micho Stanisic, former Minister for Internal Affairs and secret police chief as war crimes suspects. ‘My office is currently investigating the question of responsibility of these prominent individuals for genocide, murder, rape, torture and the forced removal of many thousands of civilians from large parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina,’ Goldstone told reporters in The Hague. Pakistani peacekeepers came under Serb fire on a front-line route about 35 miles north of Sarajevo.

April 25

The UN said Britain had asked for soldiers from another nation to replace its peacekeeping troops in the Serb-besieged enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia. Meeting of the Montenegro/Croatia interstate commission on Prevlaka agreed to establish a joint sub commission which should contribute to realisation of the already established security regime in the so-called blue and yellow zones until the dispute between the two countries over the state border was settled.

UN indicates that it may concede to Serb demand that flights out of Sarajevo only carry official passengers in order to secure delivery of fuel supplies to the capital. 7 wounded in gunfire in Sarajevo. Krajina Serbs lift blockade of Zagreb-Belgrade highway after Tudjman says force may be used to reopen it, Serbs still saying they will not allow convoys under the UNCRO designation due to their rejection of being part of Croatia. Britain says it wants its contingent of 350 out of Gorazde in September at end of tour of duty. Russian says accusations against Mladic, Karadzic will escalate tensions and that this will damage peace efforts. Karadzic welcomes Serbian Patriarch Pavle, who criticises Milosevic for abandoning Bosnian Serbs, says ‘it is better to die than to betray our soul’.

Mazowiecki’s 15th report on Bosnia accuses Serbs of ‘unrelenting terrorisation and discrimination’. Serbs hijack UN military observer team near Ilidza, Pakstani peacekeepers fired on by Serbs 35 miles N. of Sarajevo.

April 26

Josip Gelo, spokesman for Bosnian Croat forces (HVO) said that HVO controlled ‘most of Mount Dinara and we can see (the towns of) Glamoc, Grahovo and Knin as if they were on the palm of our hand.’ Rumours fly around Livno that a major, co-ordinated Croat-Moslem offensive could start soon but HVO is reluctant to admit any large-scale operations are imminent. The State Department announced that the senior officials of the Contact Group will meet in Paris to try to extend the current cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1st war crimes suspect Dusan Tadic pleads not guilty. Shelling in Brcko area, government forces take Vel. Skocaj and Cot plateaux (S. of Bihac, near Croatia). Serbs fire 2 tank shells into Bihac. 5 wounded
in Sarajevo. US ambassador Menzies arrives in Sarajevo by land route as Serbs continue to refuse security guarantees to UN flights carrying non-civilian personnel. Russia says it may withdraw its troops if cease-fire is not renewed, while French Prime Minister Balladur again says France may also. HVO forces in Bosnia now within 10 miles of Knin, Glamoc, and Grahovo. Clashes reported in Bosnia’s North-East, North-West and in Sarajevo, where increased sniping led officials to close all schools temporarily. Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic said that the Bosnian government will not extend a battered truce due to expire in three days despite mounting outside pressure and threats to withdraw peacekeepers. He added that Bosnian Government will abandon war when the Serbs accept the deal dividing Bosnia in two between Serbs and a Federation of Moslems and Croats.

April 27

Bosnian Serb Minister of Information says Hague Tribunal accusations false, states the ‘undisputed military and political supremacy of the Serbs over the side which was predestined for destruction. The victory for the Serbs gained through the regular means of a liberation struggle cannot be proof that [they] have committed a crime’. UN warns of ‘full-scale war’, protests both sides using heavy weapons in exclusion zone, and threatens use of ‘all available means’ to prevent attacks on civilians as fighting intensifies. Fighting continues near Doboj and government continues 3-day old offensive near Bihać. French peacekeepers return Serb sniper fire near Holiday Inn, and in W. suburb of Stup. Danish peacekeepers return fire near airport. Bosnian army General Vahid Karavelic says ‘Pale will soon come under attack by our forces...I’m certain we will manage to lift the blockade by the end of the year.’ UN says it won’t be that fast.

April 28

Security Council adopted Resolution. 989 supplementing the Resolution 981 of 31 March 1995 concerning the new mission of the UN forces in Croatia - UNCRO. This additional Resolution fixed the number of UNCRO, reducing them from the previous 12.000 to 8.750. The Council invited Croatia and the local Serbs to co-operate to a full measure with the UNCRO in implementing the mandate of the peace-keepers.

April 28

Fighting escalated in North-Eastern Bosnia, along front lines near Serb-held Doboj, before ebbing later in the day. Bosnian government troops continued a three-day-old infantry attack on Serb positions south of the besieged government enclave of Bihać, in North-Western Bosnia. Serbs refused permission for UN commander Lt. Gen. Bernard Janvier, to fly to Srebrenica. They also prevented peacekeepers from leaving Gorazde. The UN warned Serbs in Croatia that refusal to accept controls on borders with Yugoslavia and Serb-held Bosnia will force peacekeepers to withdraw. Heavy fighting near Brcko as Muslim, Croats press attacks against Serbs. Sarajevo’s perimeter was also rocked by mortar exchanges. A UN van carrying locally hired civilians was hit twice by sniper fire, provoking bursts of machine-gun and automatic weapons fire from French peacekeepers nearby. UN aid officials sounded the alarm on the food situation around Bihać. The lack of food is ‘getting more and more critical every day,’ affecting more than 90 percent of the area’s 205,000 aid recipients, said a UNHCR report. UN efforts to contain Bosnia’s war after a cease-fire expires at midnight April 30th, were dealt a serious blow when Serbs from Croatian attacked the Bihać enclave in north-west Bosnia. Akashi to go to Pale for last-ditch effort to extend truce. Izetbegovic confirmed that he would not extend the truce, though he promised that his forces would show restraint. Contact Group agrees to new low-level talks.
April 29

2 Serb planes based in Croatia bomb Bihac dropping cluster bombs killing 1, wounding 4 as Serbs launch ground, artillery, and tank attacks in area. UN observers spot 70 Croatian Serb troops crossing into Bosnia.

April 30

Both sides reject UN efforts to extend truce but Silajdzic says government will show restraint if Serbs stop harassing food convoys and shelling civilian areas. Karadzic says new cease-fire possible only if international sanctions are lifted. Croats and Krajina Serbs battle and Serbs close recently reopened highway.

May 1

Four months cease-fire ends and fights escalate. Start of the Croatian offensive, ‘Operation Flash’, to retake western Slavonia and launch attacks on 3 fronts against Krajina Serbs. 2 Croatian MiG-21s attack key bridge on Sava river linking Croatia to Bosnia. Croatian Serbs responded by shelling, and detained some UN personnel. Serbs claim Croatia have shelled 2 Serb-held towns on N. border with Bosnia. Karadzic threatens to come to their aid. US, UN Security Council condemn Croatian attack. Serbs shell Sarajevo, enter UN weapons collection point in Ilidza and prepare to take tanks. Ukrainian peacekeepers trapped inside by mines laid outside (2nd site entered in 2 days). Sniping increases along Sniper Alley. Serbs also shell village of Pazaric (10 miles SW of Sarajevo) killing 2. More fighting around Brcko as Croatian government forces shell corridor. Government troops come under Serb attack in corridor while other government forces launch attack against Serb communication tower in Majevica hills (S. of Brcko).

May 2

Croatian government declared that it took over the UNPA territory, Sector West, and the organised resistance of the Serbs had been broken down. In this way ‘it was completed the action taken by the combined police and armed forces of Croatia with the aim of opening the highway and railroad’. Prime Minister of Croatia Nikica Valentic said that this military action had made possible ‘the beginning of a peaceful reintegration of the occupied territories into the Croatian state and legal system’. Krajina Serbs fire rockets with cluster bombs into Zagreb town squares killing 5, wounding 121. US ambassador Galbraith calls it ‘a repugnant act clearly intended to kill many people’ says it is designed to provoke full-scale war. US evacuates 35 from Zagreb. Rockets probably fired from Petrinja (25 miles S.). Karlovac also hit by rockets. Tudjman says Croatian offensive over after surrender of Okucani, but talks between Krajina Serbs and Croats near Zagreb airport suspended as safety of Serbs cannot be guaranteed. Serbs shell Sarajevo.

After an urgently summoned session the UN Security Council issued a presidential statement demanding Croatia to immediately stop the offensive in Western Slavonia or ‘the Sector West’. The Council also demanded from the warring parties to immediately stop all their hostilities and observe the current agreement on cease-fire. Milosevic, Montenegro president Bulatovic, and FR Yugoslavia president Lilic meet to discuss Croatian attack, call it criminal and inexcusable to attack civilians. Russian Foreign Minister demands hostilities cease at once and negotiations resume.

May 3

Serbs fire more rockets at Zagreb, killing 1, wounding 43. Flow of Serb refugees into Bosnia largely halted as Croats now control north side of Sava bridge at Bosanska Gradiska. Serbs free UN personnel
held hostage, cease-fire negotiated. Speculation that Milosevic, other Serb leaders considered Sector West indefensible and would not come to its aid. Up to 1,000 Croatian soldiers reported moving into Sector South (Dalmatia). Tension high in Gospic-Medak area.

Through UN mediation Croatia and Srpska Krajina signed an immediate and general cease-fire in Western Slavonia and on all other front lines. Akashi and Janvier, verified the truce.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Srpska Krajina Milan Babic forwarded a letter to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. He informed him that about 400 Serb civilians had been killed while more than 6,000 people escaped from Western Slavonia to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Babic appealed to Boutros-Ghali to do all he could in order ‘to stop the Croatian army and prevent massacre of the Serb population’.

May 4

Council of Ministers of the EU adopted a declaration saying that by taking a military action in Western Slavonia the Croatian government had violated the truce and endangered the past efforts of the international community in reaching a peaceful settlement for Krajina. The governments of the EU member countries also condemned the reprisal taken by the Serb forces on some urban zones in Croatia, including Zagreb. In future negotiations over the agreement on establishment of co-operation with Croatia, the EU would take into consideration the Croatia’s acting in implementation of the UN Resolutions as well as its behaviour in the peace process.

Tudjman addressed the nation on TV. He said that ‘by winning this and such victory Croatia has proved to the rebel Croatian Serbs as well as to the international community that its armed forces are capable of liberating all areas which are still occupied’. Tudjman warned the Serbs that ‘if they do not stop offering their armed resistance Croatia will know how and be able to establish its power all over its territory in its internationally recognised borders and it will be done in the same way it was done yesterday and the day before yesterday in Western Slavonia’.

The joint Council of Defence of Srpska Krajina and Srpska chaired by Martic and Karadzic assessed that ‘the latest aggression (against Western Slavonia) was committed with the tacit approval of the international community and was followed by a mild reaction of the UN Security Council which is unacceptable’. The UN Security Council was bound to ensure ‘liberation of the occupied Serb population and withdrawal of the Croatian army to the old lines of separation between the warring parties’. If this was not fulfilled RS and RSK were ‘determined to liberate the Serb population and the whole area of Western Slavonia by all available means’.

Pakrac (55 miles SE of Zagreb) falls to Croatian forces, 5,000 civilians, troops surrender. Bosnian Serbs expel 9 Catholic nuns to Croatia in retaliation, convents abandoned. 800-1,000 Serbs taken away by Croatia despite UN protests. UN Security Council passes Resolution condemning Croatia behaviour in Pakrac, Serb missile attacks, calls on Croatia to withdraw to previous positions. Serb war-criminal Seselj sends ‘volunteers’ to defend Krajina, as is ‘Arkan’ (Zeljko Raznatovic). Drunk French peacekeepers throw grenades killing Bosnian soldier. Serbs in Maglaj wound 6 British peacekeepers, drawing ‘strong protest’ from UN to local Serb headquarters, also shell Bihac killing 1, wounding 6 (4 children).

May 5

Croatia shows hundreds of well-treated prisoners to TV to disprove charges it is mistreating them. Croats, Serbs move forces into UN separation zones, some shelling reported. Croatian authorities say minors and men over 60 to be released that night. Prime Minister Valentic, in Pakrac, says all civilians may return to be ‘peacefully reintegrated into the Croatian system’. UN official reports both sides concentrating troops in E. Croatia. Sarajevo airport closed for all but UN military flights, Serbs shell Mr. Igman road and government threatens retaliatory shelling of Serb supply lines if it continues.

Government troops launch ‘probing attack’ near Turbe (C. Bosnia), Serbs attack Croatia enclave of Orašje (N. Bosnia), shelling by both sides. Serbs confine Banja Luka Catholic Bishop Komarica to
house arrest, bishop says he has been told nuns abducted in stolen ICRC vehicles. US to give $28
military in aid to refugees in Croatia, Bosnia. Ukrainian peacekeeper killed in Zepa.
Government of FR Yugoslavia forwarded letter to the UN Security Council condemning aggression of
Croatia against Srpska Krajina as well as the crimes which had systematically been committed against
the Serb civilians and captured soldiers. It demanded that the Security Council immediately take
measures to stop criminal activities against captured and endangered Serbs and make the Croatian army
and police withdraw to their old positions.
The Security Council adopted a presidential statement inviting the warring parties in Western Slavonia
to immediately stop all hostilities and enter into negotiations with no delay. The Council condemned
the action of the Croatian army as well as shelling of Zagreb committed by the Serbs. It demanded
from the Croatian government to fully respect rights of the Serb population in accordance with
international standards which they had severely violated. Before this ambassador Garrekhan,
representative of the UN Secretary General, had submitted a report on the severe violation of human
rights of the Serbs in Western Slavonia.
At the press conference in New York ambassador of Croatia to the UN Mario Nobilo said that the
action of the Croatian army in Western Slavonia had been peaceful, the Serb population was not
mistreated and there was no plundering in that area. He accused ambassador Garrekhan, whose reports
had misinformed the Security Council.

May 6
EU military monitors say Serbia moves 27 tanks towards Croatian border, but they are operating in
daylight indicating a warning only. Croatian army building up near Osijek where thousands of Serb
civilians are being evacuated. Croatia moves 300 troops into UN buffer zone over Drava River. Over
5,000 of western Slavonia’s 15,000 Serbs have fled into Bosnia. Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak
says Serb casualties 450 dead. Krajina Serb leader Martic admits he ordered rocket attack on Zagreb.

May 7
Serbs shell Sarajevo suburb of Butmir killing 11, injuring 40 near tunnel under airport battles around
Jewish cemetery, mortars, rockets hit Holiday Inn. Bihac hit for 4th straight day, UN backs off threat of
air strikes. Serbs in Krajina fire 24 rockets at Coralici (W. Bosnia). Serbs claim to shoot down Bosnian
helicopter near Zepa killing 12, wounding 11. Serbs also blow up 2 Catholic churches, set fire to
another in N. Bosnia in retaliation for Croatian offensive. Vice President Ganic tells UN General
Rupert Smith government troops will shell Serb civilians if NATO doesn’t stop Serb attacks. NATO
jets fly over capital but UN doesn’t call in strikes. Croatian Chief-of-staff General Zvonimir Cervenko
meets with leader of Croatian Serbs Borislav Mikelic who are in opposition to Krajina Serbs.

May 8
Serbs fire on Tuzla killing 4, UN protests. Serbs also attack Sarajevo, but UN turns down General
Smith’s request for air strikes citing safety concerns of peacekeepers. NATO jets circle Lukavica (Serb-
held) for 2 hrs. UN confirms Serbs have dozens of heavy weapons within Sarajevo exclusion zone, also
says Serb tanks fired on government positions inside zone. 2 killed in Serb artillery attack on Jelah (near
Maglaj). UN also reports that it knew of Croatian air strikes against bridge at Bosanska Gradiska during
offensive but could not confirm that a convoy of civilians had been attacked.

May 9
UN buses Serb civilians out of area captured by Croatia (first time UN used to help expel Serbs during
war). Bosnian Government says UN no longer feels competent to defend Sarajevo after Serb shelling
which killed 11. Monument to victims of fascism at Jasenovac reported to have survived Croatian
advance. Akashi meets in Belgrade with Milosevic, Martic, others to try to keep situation in Krajina under control. Serbs concentrating heavy weapons 80 km SE of Zagreb, also fire 3 artillery rounds near Dubrovnik. Serbs also shell Tuzla.

Richard Goldstone, the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal said in The Hague that he had initiated investigation of the persons who were suspected to be responsible for the genocide ethnic cleansing which the Bosnian Croats had deliberately committed over the Muslims from October 1992 till May 1993 in the Lashva valley in Central Bosnia. Goldstone requested that the Tribunal should be provided with information from the UN and other international sources on the plausible new violence and violation of international law committed in Western Slavonia by Croatian units and formations of the Croatian Serbs.

May 10

Fighting in Posavina corridor between Serbs and Croats as Croats claim that town of Orasje (N. of corridor and part of Croat-controlled pocket in region) came under Serb attack. Shells explode in Sarajevo Old Town wounding 4. Artillery shell explodes in Serbian town of Mali Zvornik killing 1, wounding 2, Yugoslavia ambassador to UN says Belgrade will not tolerate attacks on its territory. Krajina leader Martic accuses Croats of massacring 150 in attack on Western Slavonia but no evidence offered.

May 11

National Assembly of Serbia most severely condemned the aggression of Croatia against Srpska Krajina and particularly violation of the truce agreement, as well as crimes committed against Serb civilians. Assembly appealed to the Serbs not to respond by way of reprisal. The Assembly expected that the international community would ensure that the truce agreement would be fully observed, this implying withdrawal of the Croatian armed forces and resumption of the peace negotiations. French peacekeeper killed, 8 civilians wounded by sniper fire in Sarajevo, government snipers wound 2 in Grbavica. French Foreign Minister Juppé says new French government will debate withdrawal of troops if UN presence is not secured, but also says giving them ability to use more force could be one solution. Serbs still shelling Orasje with 500 shells hitting Matici alone, government shelling Brcko. Serbian leg. condemns Slavonian attack. UN now backing away from accusations that Croatian army shot fleeing civilians.

May 12

Die Presse says Dutch peacekeepers in Bosnia-Herzegovina under investigation for using children to search for mines.

May 13

Bishop Komarica protests to Bosnian Serb leadership after nun and priest’s burned bodies found in church destroyed by explosions (Serbs have destroyed 40 in area).

May 14

Heavy fighting around Orasje pocket, Posavina corridor, Croatian and HVO forces shell Brcko after Serbs fire 5,000 shells on Orasje. Government 5th Corps firing on Bosanska Krupa with artillery, mortars to gain control of key road, Serbs firing machine guns at Mt. Igman road. 208 Muslim bussed by Serbs into government territory at Turbe after being forced to pay $350 each to leave homes, 40 men taken from buses by Serbs.
May 15

Bosnian Serb forces fail to push back Croatian troops after week-long officer in Orasje- Grebnice-Vidovice areas, UN denies that Croats have launched counter-offensive against Brcko area. Serbs cut off national gas supply line to Sarajevo despite agreement not to do so.

May 16

Heaviest fighting in 2 years hits Sarajevo with hand-to-hand fighting in trenches, mortars, rockets, and heavy artillery, at least 5 killed, 26 civilians, 2 peacekeepers wounded. Fighting begins with government mortar attack on Serb military base near Serb supply road to Pale, Serbs attack government positions near Lukavica. Government plea for NATO air strike turned down despite presence of NATO planes overhead. Boutros-Ghali said to be favouring reduction and redeployment of UN forces. Croatian ambassador to UN Mario Nobilo tells UN Security Council that Croatian forces will complete withdrawal from buffer areas of Sector South that day. Croatian Serb commander General Milan Celeketic hands in resignation to Martic saying he no longer has ‘the moral force necessary’ to lead troops. Tudjman in Bonn for conversations with Kohl, Kinkel promises again that Croatian troops will withdraw.

May 17

UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 994 demanding from the warring parties in Western Slavonia to withdraw their forces from the zone of separation without delay, and that Croatia should fully respect rights of the Serb population, this including freedom of movement and access of representatives of international humanitarian organisations. It also demanded to observe the existing agreements and abstain from taking any measures and actions that could lead to escalation of the hostilities.

Milosevic, in negotiations with US Contact Group representative Robert Frasure, reportedly ready to recognise Bosnia-Herzegovina in return for 200 day lifting of sanctions. Heavy shelling continues in Sarajevo with UN reporting hundreds falling, but also saying it is mainly ‘military on military’ (15 wounded including 2 peacekeepers, 5 government soldiers, and 8 civilians). Serbs fire 12 shells in Safe Area of Bihac killing 3, wounding others. UN says Serbs fail to gain ground in NE offensive to strengthen narrow supply corridor with Serbia. Serbian administration in Kosovo plans to settle 10,000 refugees from Slavonia in Kosovo.

May 18

Shelling and sniping in Sarajevo kills 2, wounds 7. Both sides pledge not to resume fighting unless attacked. Government forces take town and 3 villages S. of Bihac, Serbs have apparently evacuated up to 6,000 Serb civilians from area. Serbs blow up 6th Catholic church in recent weeks in Banja Luka area. Catholic bishop in Banja Luka, Franjo Komarica goes on hunger strike in protest, while UN says ‘an atmosphere of panic and fear reigns’ among remaining Croats. UN orders Serbs, Croats to move from buffer zones near Krajina. Serbian Orthodox church in Belgrade issues condemnation of violence against Catholics saying ‘evil is evil, regardless of who does it and against whom’. Slovene government denies entry visa to Patriarch Pavle saying his visit could cause ethnic tensions within Slovenia.

May 19

Government troops reported to be burning Serb homes in retaken Bihac area. Some mortar explosions in Sarajevo as lull in fighting sets in. NATO asks members to confirm their commitment to sending in troops to help with UN withdrawal if needed.
**May 20**

Assembly of Srpska Krajina demanded that the Supreme Defence Council should urgently make an analysis of the fall of Western Slavonia and reorganise the army to ensure the defence of the Republic and take back the occupied areas. The Assembly also established a commission to ascertain individual responsibility of government and army authorities for the events in Western Slavonia. The government of RSK was ordered to demand from the international community to force Croatia to immediately withdraw from the territories of Western Slavonia. The Assembly unanimously decided on unification between RSK and the Republika Srpska and that a decision should be made at the joint session of the two assemblies in May 1995.

Fighting in Posavina corridor near Brcko. Macedonia Defence Minister Blagoj Handziski returns from US trip, says two countries agree on new forms of co-operation, including training in US. UN says government troops in Bihac not systematically burning Serb homes as Serbs claim.

**May 21**

Prime Minister of Srpska Krajina Borislav Mikelic said that unification between RSK and the Republika Srpska was a matter that should be thought over since it could make the position of Krajina even more unfavourable. He also said that the military leadership of RSK and President Milan Martic were responsible for the fall of Western Slavonia and not the government and parliament of RSK. Thousands of Croatian Serbs heading into Bosnia. UN reports almost 2,000 explosions in Posavina corridor as fighting heats up with Serbs launching artillery, infantry attacks against government positions along Orasje-Samac line, and attack government positions on Mt. Trebevic and Treskavica (S. of Sarajevo). Karadzic threatens to take UN personnel hostage if air strikes are carried out, also pledges to take Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde.

UN says 1,400 Croatian troops have not left buffer zones in Dalmatia as of previous day. Approximately 4,000 Serb refugees from Croatia ‘Opereration Blitz’ (May 1-2) leave shelters, head to E. Slavonia. Croatian authorities admit that 20 Serbs were killed in crossfire during operation. Contact Group officials say Milosevic close to making recognition deal.

**May 22**

Serbs raid UN heavy weapons depot, taking 2 guns, later shell Sarajevo killing 3, wounding 6.

**May 23**

Frasure fails to get Milosevic to agree to recognise Bosnia. UN Security Council extends sanctions against Bosnian Serbs for their failure to accept peace plan. Croatian Bishop Franjo Komarica in 6th day of hunger strike to protest Serb attacks on Croats, Catholic churches, and clergy.

**May 24**

General Smith warns Bosnian Serbs and government forces to stop using banned weapons in exclusion zone by noon on the 25th, and tells Serbs to return 4 guns taken from collection points or NATO air strikes will be ordered. Karadzic responds that UN failure to stop Croatian offensive in Croatia means UN has betrayed Serbs, says if UN orders strikes ‘we are going to treat them as our enemies’. Heavy fighting at Debelo Brdo hill in southern part of Sarajevo killing 5, wounding 20. Government troops push Serbs out of several villages in Bihac fighting. HVO and Croatian troops putting pressure on Serbs in Livno valley. Perry, in Germany, says he has been ‘very forceful’ in urging UN to use air strikes. Bosnian Serb legislation votes to unify with Krajina Serbs. UN estimates 100 Croatian, 50 Serbs still in Dalmatian buffer zones, and that 11,000 Serb refugees have left since the Croatian offensive.
Assembly of the Republika Srpska supported the decision of the Assembly of Srpska Krajina adopted on 20 May 1995 on unification of RS and RSK in a single state. Speaker of the Assembly of RS Momcilo Krajisnik said that such single state west from the Drina would just be a transitional creation for a short term and it would precede unification of all Serbs which would occur soon after.

**May 25**

Milosevic talked in Belgrade with Alexander Zotov, special Russia envoy. During those talks they exchanged their views on the possibilities for settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. At a press conference in Zagreb UN special rapporteur for human rights Tadeus Mazowiecki said that during the Croatian offensive against Western Slavonia there had been cases of violation of human rights and killings of civilians which could not be justified by military actions. During the offensive civilian buildings had been shelled, there had been plundering and destruction of the property belonging to the Serbs. He said that it was difficult to determine the proportions of such actions since during the first five days of the Croatian offensive the access to those areas had been banned to the international observers.

Four hours after the expiration of the ultimatum UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia Rupert Smith had given to stop combat in the Sarajevo zone, in ‘Dual-key’ NATO air strikes NATO aircraft (US, Spain, Dutch, French) fired two missiles at Serb ammunition site 1.2 miles from Karadzic headquarters, but do not do substantial. Serbs retaliate by shelling Tuzla, killing approximately 70 most outside a cafe. Serbs also attack UN weapons storage depot near Sarajevo. Both attacks said to be in defiance of UN. Shelling also of Srebrenica, Bihac and Gorazde. Russians calls for ‘maximum restraint in the use of force’ on air strikes, but Jeltsin says Serbs were warned.

**May 26**

Early in the morning Akashi demanded from the Muslims and Serb to withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and store them in depots by noon that day. Akashi warned both sides on this rather dangerous situation. He said there was an urgent need for desisting from the military option and turning to a peace dialogue by all parties. An hour and a half before the expiration of the ultimatum six NATO aircraft attacked Serb positions near Pale. Serbs retaliate by stealing weapons in UN depots, then by seizing 145 UN military observers and peacekeepers hostage. Bosnian Serb TV shows 6 of the peacekeepers handcuffed to poles near ammunition dumps and Mladic tells Smith that their lives will be in danger if there are any more air strikes. British Prime Minister Major suggests it may be necessary to withdraw British troops from Bosnia. France demands that UN protect peacekeepers or France will withdraw its contingent. Clinton calls hostage taking ‘totally wrong’, Pentagon orders aircraft carrier and cruiser into Adriatic Sea. After Milosevic intervenes, and after Lt. General Bernard Janvier, the UN commander, pledges no more air strikes, the hostages are released over several weeks. The Government of FR Yugoslavia expressed deep concern for the resumed escalation of combat in Bosnia-Herzegovina since it undermined the peace process and favoured those who supported violent solutions in the Yugoslav crisis. The FR Government invited the warring parties to immediately stop their military activities and supported the proposal made that day by Akashi that both parties should immediately cease combat with the aim of creating necessary conditions for resumption of the dialogue and reaching a political settlement.

**May 27**

Serbs seize more hostages bringing total to over 200. Serbs disguised as French peacekeepers capture 12 French peacekeepers at Vrbana Bridge in central Sarajevo, then get in firefight with UN reinforcements (1 French soldier killed, 4 Serbs). Mladic calls Smith, demands release of 4 captured Serbs. France sends aircraft carrier *Foch* to Adriatic Sea to pressure Serbs. NATO meets in emergency
session but cannot decide how to respond. 1 French peacekeeper killed by sniper in Sarajevo. Tuzla shelled.

The Information Service of the General Staff of the Army of the Republika Srpska issued a statement saying that after finding out that the NATO forces will resume their attacks on targets of the Republika Srpska, the General Staff assigned to command positions, depots, fire positions and other installations captured members of UNPROFOR and other foreign citizens who, acting against the Serbs have proved to be their enemies. Members of UNPROFOR and other captured foreigners are safe and will be treated correctly, while their fate will depend on the future decisions and actions of the NATO forces.

The Committee for Defence and Security of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly adopted in Budapest a resolution condemning ‘the barbarian taking of the unarmed UN military observers whom the Bosnian Serbs use as a human shield, which is opposite to all humanitarian principles, international conventions and rules of acting in war’. The Committee demanded that the hostages should be set free and it invited all warring parties to immediately stop their aggression and attacks against civilians. It also expressed its support to the efforts to establish peace and gave credits to the NATO for its contribution in achieving those targets.

President Chirac had a telephone conversation with President Milosevic and appealed to him to use all his influence over the Bosnian Serbs in order to make them set free the UN peace-keepers which they took hostage.

The UN Security Council considered the situation in Bosnia but could not reach agreement on a presidential statement since Russia opposed to the proposal. In a statement given by the President of the Security Council, Jean Bernard Merimé, the Council condemned the artillery attacks of the Bosnian Serbs on the Safe Areas and demanded they should immediately stop them. The Council stressed that all parties should observe the Security Council Resolutions on Safe Areas. Merimé pointed out that the Security Council was deeply concerned of the totally unacceptable actions of the Bosnian Serbs (taking of hostages) which strongly affected the security and freedom of movement of UNPROFOR and UN personnel and it demanded from them to immediately set free all persons they had taken.

May 28

33 British in Gorazde and 8 Canadians in Ilijas seized bringing total number of hostages now to 325. Serbs shoot down helicopter near Cetingrad in Serb-held Croatia killing Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic (1 of 3 co-presedients of governing Party of Democratic Action). UN spokesman Ivanko says Serb army now acting ‘like a terrorist organisation’. NATO aircraft fly over Pale drawing anti-aircraft fire, but do not fire back. Serb Lt. Col. Milovan Milutinovic says 168 peacekeepers held at ‘potential air strike targets’. Serbs have now taken 200 guns/mortars from UN collection points, also have cut off water, electricity, gas to Sarajevo, continue to shell Tuzla killing 1, wounding 2. Borislav Mikelic, Prime Minister of Srpska Krajina, forwarded a letter to the Assembly of RSK severely criticising President Milan Martic and Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Babic. He pointed to the decision of the Assembly of RSK to enter into the process of prompt unification with the Republika Srpska which, in his opinion, had been a great error.

May 29

Contact Group meeting in Berlin, agrees to expand peacekeeping force rather than limit it so as to protect UN forces or allow them to evacuate. Serbs push offensive in north with use of captured weapons. 5,000 British troops to join French and American forces (2,000 marines) in Adriatic. Clinton administration official says use of US troops to conduct commando actions to free hostages not ruled out. Hurd says there must be better co-ordination between NATO, UN, and that ‘we are not going to be combatants in this war’. French ambassador to US says France must find credible ways to reinforce peacekeepers ‘or the withdrawal will have to take place’. Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev says ‘Russia
can no longer tolerate barbarity as regards to peacekeepers in Bosnia, Russian envoy Alexander Zotov says 'we are really outraged...it was quite unfortunate the local (Serb) leadership resorted to those extreme actions'. Serbs seize 35 UN armoured vehicles from hostages, shell road connecting Sarajevo to Split near Mostar. 900 shells fired in Posavina corridor. Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina cast a vote of non-confidence and ousted the government of the Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic.

May 30

North Atlantic Council demands that the shelling of Safe Areas be stopped and that UNPROFOR members and UN observers held hostage by the Bosnian Serbs be released unharmed, unconditionally. British forces begin landing in Croatia. John Major sends message to Karadzic, Mladic saying they will be held personally responsible if any British hostages are harmed. 174 French, 55 Canadian, 41 Ukrainian, 37 Russian, 34 British, and 26 others now being held hostage. Government attacks in Mt. Ozren area gains ground. Milosevic discussed with Russian special envoy Alexander Zotov the crisis and escalation of fighting in Bosnia. Zotov conveyed a message of President of Russia Boris Jeltsin asking Milosevic to assist in resolving the Bosnian conflict and setting free the captured members of UNPROFOR whom the Bosnian Serbs took hostages.

May 31

Bosnian Serbs call for talks which will give security guarantees to Serbs, but UN rejects this saying hostages must be freed unconditionally (UN spokesman Ivanko comments ‘UN appears to be beyond any reconciliation with the Serbs’, while General Smith says Mladic is ‘behaving like a terrorist’. French aircraft carrier arrives off Croatia. 20 British troops arrive in C. Bosnia. UN estimates Serbs have stolen 16 APCs, 6 tanks, and hundreds of uniforms and helmets. Heavy fighting for hours in Sarajevo with artillery, also in Gorazde. French say new rapid deployment force (RDF) will be under UN command. Clinton says US ground troops being considered to help possible UN evacuation if NATO needs them. Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha says changing UNPROFOR mandate would mean war. Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic says Contact Group and Belgrade may reach a deal. US envoy Frasure in Belgrade for talks to try to get Milosevic to help in releasing hostages.

June 1

British troops landing in Split with heavy weapons. French Foreign Minister Alain de Charette says US and French policy ‘are now the same’. Serbs taken 1st civilian UN worker prisoner in Banja Luka. Karadzic warns that rescue attempts of hostages ‘would resemble a butcher’s shop’. 350 shells hit Gorazde, heavy fighting also in Srebenica and near Doboj. Germany, in policy switch says it will send more than 2,000 troops to help with UN redeployment.

June 2

Serbs shoot down US F-16 with SA-6 missile while on routine patrol over Banja Luka, pilot cannot be located despite search and rescue effort. Clinton meets with Perry, Shalikashvili to discuss Bosnia policy, says policy ‘remains firm’ on limiting role of Americans. Serbs release 121 hostages sending them to Serbia after Milosevic ‘appeal’. Bosnian Serbs call this goodwill gesture to the world. French armed forces chief, Admiral Jacques Lanxade, resigns after Chirac accuses his military leaders in Bosnia of cowardice. NATO Defence Ministers announce RDF which will bring total (with British troops) to 10,000, US to supply AC-130 gunships, AH-1 Cobra attack helicopter, cargo and troop-carrying aircraft, and other equipment. Members to be under UN control but will wear national uniforms and not blue helmets. Serbs attack 2 UN positions and seize more hostages, renege on promise to provide
information on US pilot despite telling AP that he was in their hands. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says concessions given to Milosevic are ‘moral capitulation’.

June 3

In Paris ministers of defence of fourteen member countries of the EU and NATO, with soldiers deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, decided to establish ‘a Rapid Reaction Force’ in Bosnia. Its assignment was to strengthen protection of UNPROFOR and help them carry out their mission within the mandate they had been given.

Serbs attack Dutch peacekeeping post in Srebrenica while Bosnian government says 2 of its army corps within 1 mile of linking up on Mt. Ozren (near Tuzla). UN says 1,900 shells fired on this front, 1,300 more in Majevica Hills.

June 4

For the time being the NATO suspended possible attacks on the antiaircraft batteries of the Army of RS after shooting down the American F-16. This was explained by the concern and uncertainty for the fate of the pilot as well as by the fact that part of the captured members of UNPROFOR were still kept by the Bosnian Serbs.

Serbs refuse to clarify fate of American pilot, resume shelling of civilians killing 5, wounding 6 in Sarajevo suburb. Mladic threatens to widen war by launching missile attacks on heavily-populated areas of Croatia in retaliation for new Croatian army offensive along border with Bosnia (near Knin).

June 5

Croatian army offensive continues as Croatia tries to cut off supply line for Serbs. Serb leader Martic appeals to UN to stop Croatian attack or face renewed missile attacks on Zagreb and Split. Croatia said to have gained control of 4 key mountains. Serbs continue to shell cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Washington announces that it has received beeper signals from area where US pilot was downed.

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Karasin says Russia opposes NATO taking independent stance in Bosnia. Greek Foreign Minister and Defence Minister and Milosevic aide put pressure on Karadzic to release hostages.

After talks with Milan Martic, President of Srpska Krajina and chief of cabinet of Croatian President, Akashi appealed to the warring parties to abstain from further military activities in Sector South. He informed the UN Secretary General and President of the UN Security Council of the current situation in Sector South. President of the Security Council Detley Rundkau informed journalists that after the report submitted by the UN Secretariat on the artillery and infantry attack of the Croatian forces against the Serbs in the region of Dinara mountain, the Council ‘has expressed its concern for this military action taken by Croatia’.

June 6

NATO ministers of defence agree on the establishment of an international quick reaction force, existing of French, British and Dutch forces.

US says signal from pilot has ceased, but Bosnian Serb official says they are not holding him. Croatian forces still trying to cut supply road for Serbs, but Serbs have not launched counterattack. US calls on Croatia to cease shelling of area. US says 1,500 US troops and 50 helicopters would be moving from Germany to Italy although they are not on alert. Karadzic says he has ‘no immediate plans’ to free hostages. Milosevic reported to have expressed concerns over Croatia moves against Krajina to Akashi.

Kozyrev now says Russian ‘somewhat reassured’ about NATO RRF role in Bosnia. Talks between Frasure and Milosevic break down when Milosevic refuses to let organisation other than UN Security Council reintroduce sanctions.
June 7

Serbs free 108 hostages claiming to have got agreement from NATO to halt air strikes. 3 more hostages released later in the day. UN official tells NY Times that there are to be no more air strikes. Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbey accuses UN of placing higher priority on saving troops than Bosnian civilians. Serbs take tank, 100mm gun from UN depot near Sarajevo. Heavy fighting in Sarajevo with 1 patient in hospital killed by stray bullet. Artillery being used again in city. Siege of Orasje now 1 month long. Milosevic’s office says all remaining hostages will be released in next few days. Serbs halt 10-truck food convoy headed for Zepa saying it is carrying ammunition, launch heave attack on town, also fire 4 mortar rounds into Tuzla, attack government positions on Mt. Trebevic and positions controlling communication in Lukavica-Pale.

Prime Ministers of Croatia and Slovenia, Nikica Valentic and Janez Drnovshek, met to discuss moot issues in relations between two countries. It was said that most of the border issues had been resolved except the claim made by Slovenia to be granted a path to open sea at the Piran bay.

June 8

A special unit of US Marines, consisting of around forty men, found and pulled out from the territory of the Republica Srpska pilot Scott O’Gradey whose plane had been shot down by the antiaircraft defence of the Army of RS (pilot had hidden from Serbs for six days) after he established voice contact with a NATO aircraft in the vicinity.

With 318 votes for and 99 against the House of Representatives adopted a Resolution requiring that Clinton should unilaterally lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims.

Fighting along Kupres-Livno front, 3 killed, 22 wounded in Sarajevo. Serbs fire artillery on Dubrave-Crni Vrh (in Teslic region). Serbs fire 40mm tank cannons at government positions on Igman road which have been targeting Serb supply routes. British APC hit by small arms fire at Sarajevo airport, 3 French APCs fired on by tanks. UN says 3 Serb tanks operating S. of Debelo Brdo, and that Serbs have taken tank and 100 mm gun from UN depot. Serbs reported to have fired white phosphorus rounds (banned by General convention) at UN personnel near Vrbanja bridge. France deploys heavy mortars in Igman Demilitarised Zone to support peacekeepers. Serbs agree to reopen aid flights into Sarajevo, but UN says it doesn’t have the truck capacity to bring in the needed 6,000 tons per month.

June 9

White House refuses request by Prime Minister Silajdzic to lift arms embargo, and says President will veto legislation requiring it. Serbs promise Red Cross access to remaining hostages soon. Serbs give remains of Bosnian Foreign Minister Ljubjankic to government in Bihac. Krajina Serb planes bomb Croatian positions in Dinara range as Croatia offensive in area continues. French president Chirac tells Greek Prime Minister that Serbs are not fighting for relations but instead are ‘terrorists’. Former Prime Minister of Sweden Carl Bildt was appointed new Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia as a representative of the European Union. He replaced David Owen who had decided to resign from this duty.

June 10

Three British peacekeepers wounded by mine in Gornji Vakuf, Canadian peacekeeper wounded by sniper near Visoko. Serbs fire 15 rounds from 88mm at UN depot in Hrasnica, Butmir suburbs, 27 mortar rounds from Kovacici into Hrasnica. Tudjman visits Okucani (W. Slavonia), tells Serbs that another lightning offensive will be carried out if they do not reintegrate with Croatia by end of October when UNCORO mandate runs out.
June 11

Fighting in Gorazde, Doboj, Bihac, and in Orašje-Bosanski Samac area. Government and Croats cooperation near Travnik. Government forces claim to be making gains in Majevica Hills. Malaysian peacekeepers near Breza (N. of Sarajevo) forced to abandon positions after 5 artillery rounds fired at them. New York Times reports Yugoslavia still paying salaries of some Bosnian Serb officers, and supplying troops with ammunition, fuel, and training. Government Vice President Ganic rejects Boutros-Ghali’s peace plan since this would allow Serbs to keep occupied territory. Bosnian Serbs seize food aid for Muslim in Zepa.

June 12

1st aid shipment in 3 weeks reaches Sarajevo brought in by government drivers escorted by Bosnian Serb police after Akashi approves scaled-back UN operations in exchange for allowing aid into Sarajevo, 5 other areas. Red Cross says Serbs have stopped them from visiting UN hostages. Serbs continue shelling Croat positions on Orašje-Samac front including villages of Ostra Luka and Vidovice. Milan Babic named Prime Minister in Krajina to replace Borislav Mikelic

June 13

Serbs say they have released all but 14 hostages, but promise they will be freed in coming days, Karadzic pronounces crisis over, but says if Serbs are attacked they will defend themselves. Akashi contends that no deal cut with Serbs over hostages. Government troops reported massing at several locations near Sarajevo for possible offensive to break Sarajevo siege. UN officials say they have been ordered by New York not to challenge Serbs, and Serbs continue to refuse to turn over heavy weapons taken from UN.

June 14

UN now warns that 15,000 government troops are massing N. of Sarajevo, Nasa Borba says possibly as many as 20-30,000. Serbs say they will increase shelling of city if attacked. Clinton tells Silajdzic ‘the military solution is not available to the Bosnian Government’. 50 Krajina Serbs allowed to return to homes in W. Slavonia region by Croatian government.

June 15

Government attack begins with pre-dawn attack and shelling (1,800 explosions counted by UN) against Serb positions on mountains near Serb supply lines near Ilijas (12 miles N. of Sarajevo) and Vogosca (3 miles N. of city). Government troops attacking around Teslic on Doboj-Banja Luka road. Karadzic calls offensive ‘a last try to change the situation on the ground’. Bosnian Government closes only road into city due to danger and warns Sarajevo population to stay inside. Government won’t say if this is attempt to break siege but Sacirbey says city cannot live through another winter like this. Government strategy said to be to stretch Serb resources too thin. UN says 91 peacekeepers detained by Serbs still unable to leave posts. Krajina Serb refugees being pressganged into military service in Serbia despite this being illegal according to UN charter. Serbs still holding 26 peacekeepers. At a closed session in Jahorina the Assembly of the Republika Srpska discussed the current military and political situation. The Assembly also adopted the Decision and Constitutional Law on Unification between the Republika Srpska and Republika Srpska Krajina.
June 16

UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 988 on reinforcement of UNPROFOR and establishment of Rapid Reaction Force. The Council permitted an increase in the number of UNPF/UNPROFOR personnel up to 12,500. Council approved RRF by 13-0 (Russian, China abstain) with troops wearing national uniforms and not using white vehicles.

Government offensive continues causing Serbs to launch counterattack on Sarajevo, killing 20 (including 2 in hospital). UN says government has won some territory N. of city, and may have cut Serb supply lines. Government forces advancing S. of Sarajevo also and may have cut supply route here too. UN reports that government forces have taken 42 heavy weapons from UN depots, disarmed Russian peacekeeping unit. Fighting around Teslic, Mostar. Clinton tells G-7 meeting that he will back Rapid Reaction Force but can not promise to pay for it due to Congress opposition.

June 17

After a several day discussion on the situation in Croatia, based on the report submitted by Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, the Security Council adopted a presidential statement inviting both parties to co-operate with the UNCRO as fully as possible. The Council ‘warns the warring parties, and the Government of the Republic of Croatia in particular, to stop the military operations in the Sector South’.

At the summit in Halifax, Canada, members of the Group-7 of the most industrialised countries of the world and Russia invited all parties in Bosnia to urgently declare a moratorium on military operations in order to enable political negotiations without which no lasting solution to the conflict in Bosnia would be possible to achieve.

Izetbegovic says on TV that troops will eventually lift siege but time might not be right for all-out offensive. Government troops consolidating gains, Pale targeted for missile attacks. Serbs declare ‘state of war’ exists outside of Sarajevo, suspend civilian authorities, and step up drafting of men. Also call on G-7 summit to denounce government offensive. Some shelling of Sarajevo. Serbian Radical Party’s anti-Milosevic rally in Belgrade draws 5,000 supporters, SRS leader Seselj not in attendance since he is in jail.

June 18

Last group of 26 members of UNPROFOR, captured by the Bosnian Serbs on 27 May 1995, set free. Total number of UN in Bosnia-Herzegovina captured and then set free was 388.

Serbs wound 10 in Sarajevo by shelling those lined up for water. UN abandons heavy weapons collection sites leaving 284 artillery pieces subject to Serb seizures, says move necessary to prevent another hostage crisis. Serbs also win release of 4 Serbs being detained by UN, although UN denies it is a prisoner swap. UN reports 700 explosions in Majevica Hills. Serb supply lines N. and S. of capital cut. Serbs declare special mobilisation in Sarajevo area, declare ‘state of war’.

June 19

Serbs reject Izetbegovic offer to end offensive if they respect 20-km exclusion zone. UN reports that Pale-Lukavica road still in Serb hands.

June 20

600 Canadian UN soldiers detained by government forces in Visoko who threaten to destroy the camp if they are interfered with. Bosnian forces explain this as necessary so that offensive plans not divulged to Serbs. Fighting on N. and S. fronts of Sarajevo. French peacekeepers destroy Serb tank after being fired on by it. Bosnian Croat leader Zubak says Croatian forces will back government troops ‘to the
end’. Serbs shell Croat held territory on Bosnia side of Sava river. Zagreb rejects Krajina demands that Croatian forces withdraw from W. Slavonia, or at least from Dinara heights overlooking Knin, Tudjman says army will retake Krajina if talks fail within a year. Russian special envoy Vitaly Churkin makes unannounced visit to Milosevic and Karadzic to ‘exchange ideas’.

June 21

2 Serb warplanes violate no-fly zone but General Janvier rejects NATO request to strike at airbase. Western diplomats, UN sources confirm that a deal was struck with Serbs in secret meetings to remove air strike threat in exchange for hostages (France, Russian, and Greece said to have part of the deal). UN spokesman says NATO request was NATO’s way of getting UN to admit that deal was cut. Serbs shell French peacekeepers on Mt. Igman, Danish peacekeepers in E. Sarajevo. 6 civilians killed, 12 wounded by Serb shells in Dobrinja, 3 killed, 11 wounded by Serbian artillery in Sreb. Government troops advance 12 miles S. of Sarajevo, but lose Bihac town of Vrnograc to Bosnian and Krajina Serb forces. Food convoy gets through to Sarajevo, but UNPROFOR troops replaced by UN command with Serb military through Serb territory. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Croatia Mate Granic said in interview given to the Zagreb weekly Panorama that Croatia was determined to achieve ‘reintegration of the occupied territories’ (the Republika Srpska Krajina). ‘There is no dilemma on whether these territories will be reintegrated or not, but it is only the question whether it will be achieved peacefully or we shall have to liberate the occupied areas’, said Granic.

June 21-23

Co-Chairmen Bildt and Stoltenberg talked in Sarajevo with Izetbegovic, in Zagreb with Tudjman and in Belgrade with Milosevic. The basic aim of these talks was to get newly-appointed Co-Chairman Bildt acquainted with the positions of the key politicians in the region as well as with the possibilities for initiating a new political process directed towards settlement of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

June 22

In an interview given to the BBC Karadzic said that the Army of RS had taken hostages in order to avert NATO from possible future air attacks on the Serb positions in Bosnia. He said that this action had been a mistake. International Herald Tribune reports that Akashi sent letter to Karadzic reassuring him that RRF will not open roads for convoys by force, and that ‘all sides’ have caused UNPROFOR problems. US ambassador to UN Albright calls letter ‘highly inappropriate’.

June 23

UN Security Council adopted presidential statement expressing its deep concern for a blockade of UNPROFOR in Visoko, Gorazde, Gornji Vakuf and Kladanj imposed by the Bosnian government and restriction of movement for members of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo placed upon it by the Bosnian Serbs. The Council emphasised that such actions were unacceptable and demanded that all parties should fully respect the security and freedom of movement of members of UNPROFOR.

June 24

Both Serb and Government troops steal supplies from French peacekeepers on Igman. Former commander of Yugoslavia army special units, General Mile Mrksic, reported to be in charge of reorganising Krajina Serb forces proving allegations of Yugoslavian involvement in Croatia. Croatia protests to Akashi presence of increasing Yugoslavian forces in Croatia especially in Krajina.
June 25

Government troops recapture strategic hill outside of Sarajevo, also continue block peacekeeping movements until clarification received of RRF role (government fearful RRF will hamper offensive). Shelling and sniping kill 9 in Sarajevo.

June 26

German Chancellor Kohl’s cabinet agrees to send military forces to support UN in Bosnia, Belgrade condemns move. Serbs again shell Sarajevo killing 1, wounding 8, also fire on UN convoy provoking French peacekeeper warning shots.

June 27

EU mediator Bildt says increased war likely in near future. Serbs shell Sarajevo again killing 1 child, 1 man while wounding 7 more children, 8 others. Karadzic rejects EU truce offer saying ‘temporary cease-fires ...have been misused by our enemies for regrouping and for the further obtaining of weapons’, while Mladic says Serbs will fight and are prepared for protracted conflict. Serbs fire on civilian targets in NW, and in Sarajevo killing 2, wounding 15. Sacirbey says Bosnia prepared to accept UN withdrawal, although government is not seeking this. Tudjman says Croatia not planning offensive against Krajina Serbs unless provoked.

June 28

Serb rockets hit TV station, nearby buildings in Sarajevo killing 5 in retaliation for government shelling, attacks on Serb-held suburbs. Karadzic tells troops in honour of Vidovan holiday, attacks should be stepped up to end war. NATO approves ‘last resort’ withdrawal plan.

June 29

Government demands UN mission be reviewed even as 3 mortar rounds hit UN headquarters (UN spokesman comments ‘it is difficult to say but, when we receive 3 rounds together, we are obliged to consider this as a direct attack’). Zubak tell British, French RRF that they will only be allowed to stay around Tomislavgrad for 1 month. Croatia protests to UN over growing Yugoslavian presence on Croatia territory (5,000 troops cited).

June 30

7 wounded in Sarajevo when shell hits market, 13 others injured elsewhere. Government offensive continues, Serbs press offensive in Bihac. Bosnian Government says it will no longer deal with Akashi since he is too conciliatory to the Serbs. Clinton tells Congress $50 military from Pentagon budget will be used to support RRF. US petitions UN to impose travel ban against 40 key Bosnian Serb leaders (‘94 UN sanctions already prohibit non-peace talk travel) including Karadzic, Mladic. French Foreign Ministry officials accuse US of supplying, instructing Muslim-Croatian forces, US denies it. German Bundestag votes 386-258 to send jet fighters to fly cover for RRF and medical personnel to the territory of the former Yugoslavia (considerable protest during debate). Serbs say German decision is tantamount to a military invasion.

July 2

UN HQ at Sarajevo shelled by Bosnian Serbs.
**July 3**

UN convoy on Mount Igman fired at and returned fire.

**July 4**

Serbs fire on French peacekeepers for 3rd straight day with French returning fire. 1 killed, 17 wounded in Sarajevo shelling. Bosnian Croats again say they will not allow RRF to pass until their mission is clarified. Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic says Operation Blitz (May 1-2) was limited and no new attacks will be made, but Croatian troop movements reported near Krajina. Muslim National Council of the Sandzak reports to UN that ethnic cleansing, terror in region continuing. 90 US logistics troops arrive in Split to support RDF. Austria tells Germany it may use its airspace for planes supporting UN mission.

**July 5**

UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 1003 extending the existing partial suspension of the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia in the fields of air and sea traffic and culture and sports for another 75 days or until 18 September 1995. The Council also called for early mutual recognition between the States of the former Yugoslavia within their internationally recognised borders, recognition between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the FR of Yugoslavia, and urged the authorities of FR of Yugoslavia to take it. 14 members of the Security Council voted for the Resolution while Russia abstained.

Serb plane attacks Ostrozac power plant in NW Bosnia (3rd no-fly zone violation in 2 months), Silajdzic says embargo makes UN accomplice to murder. 1 killed, 14 wounded in shelling of Sarajevo. UN peacekeepers move 3 convoys into Sarajevo over Mt. Igman route under cover of night. 2 British armoured vehicles on Mt. Igman fired on by Serb mortars, anti-aircraft batteries. AFP reports that 140,000 of 760,000 workers in Croatia have not been paid in months.

**July 6**

Serbs shell Srebrenica killing 4, wounding 17, pin down Dutch peacekeepers, hit Dutch observation post with tanks, mortars, and hit refugee centre. Serbs reported to be attacking N. and S. perimeters of enclave. Sarajevo’s suburbs hit by mortars killing 6, wounding 11. UN relief convoy arrives in Sarajevo under cover of fog. EU mediator Bildt meets with UN, Bosnian Government officials trying to convince government to allow 12,000-man British-French RRF to be allowed in. Zubak tells RRF that it must leave Herzegovina by end of month if his questions about its mission not clarified. UN says RRF not subject to civilian vetoes (Akashi) but will be resorted to Janvier.

**July 7**

Serbs attack Mt. Igman road where Bildt is travelling, and then fire 3 rockets near his helicopter site after Bildt comments that he is not a tourist and not going to Pale because he doesn’t think he will achieve anything there. More Serb artillery attacks on Sarajevo brings 2-day casualty toll to 8 dead, 21 wounded. Serbs claim 5 civilians killed, 4 wounded in Serb parts of city. Heavy Serb attacks on Srebrenica, UN convoys fired at near Tuzla, Sarajevo. Amnesty International says most of Bosnian atrocities work of the Serbs although all sides have committed some.

**July 8**

Serbs launch tank, infantry assaults on Srebrenica with dozens reported dead and wounded, NATO planes called in but not requested to attack. Dutch observation post under attack and 15 forced to
withdraw. 1 Dutch peacekeeper killed. Serb shell hits line of people waiting for water in Sarajevo killing several.

July 9
UN officials tell Mladic that air strikes will be called for if Serbs continue attacks on Dutch peacekeeping force in Srebrenica causing Dutch to return fire and stymie advance. Serbs now hold 32 Dutch peacekeepers hostage. Serbs continue to bombard Sarajevo. 2,000 French enter Tomislavgrad area despite Croatia warnings against it.

July 10
Serbs tell refugees in Srebrenica to leave safe area within 48 hours, some civilians already fleeing into hills. Dutch peacekeepers fight with Serbs on outskirts of town, UN again declines to call in NATO air strikes due to hostages and British UN official says 'the Serbs have limited aims' in Srebrenica. Serb guns hit Sarajevo and Zepa. Bosnian Government accuses UN of ‘deliberate inactivity’ around Srebrenica, and women in Tuzla threaten to blockade UN unless UN stops Serbs in Srebrenica. After carrying out an investigation in Western Slavonia and Bosnia UN special rapporteur on human rights Tadeus Mazowiecki submitted a report to the UN Commissioner for Human Rights on violation of humanitarian law committed by units of the Croatian Army during and after the four day’s action when they had taken Western Slavonia. Specifying the breeches it was said that the Croatian government was responsible for violation of humanitarian law committed in this military operation, of which many were severe but not done to a large scale.

July 11
Srebrenica falls to Serb forces, NATO carries out 2 air strikes requested by Dutch after observation posts, UN base compound, and hospital come under fire. Attack hits Serb tank but UN calls off 3 strike after Serbs threaten to kill 30 Dutch peacekeepers and Mladic promises to shell refugees. Mladic says he wants to ‘demilitarize’ area and that civilians have nothing to fear if they stay. Serbs also threatening to take Zepa where 16,000 refugees are located. Silajdzic says UN failure is betrayal and sentence of death for people in Srebrenica. Thousands now fleeing to nearby Potacari where Dutch forces remain even as Serbs continue shelling them. Serbs shell UN headquarters in Sarajevo in response to air strikes. 5th Corps gains ground near Cojluk. Serb shells hit Catholic cathedral, residential area in Sarajevo.

July 12
Serbs expel 5,500 Muslim refugees from Potocari where up to 30,000 seek safety. Mladic comes into area at head of convoy of buses, trucks and personally takes charge of expulsion. Women, children, and elderly told to abandon camp while males over 16 held for interrogation. UN decries ‘cleansing’ as ‘outrageous’, US says it is largest single instance in war. Izetbegovic says government probably will not renew UN mandate in November, demands UN restore Safe Area with force. French President Chirac calls for military action to recapture Srebrenica but he is not joined in this. Boutros-Ghali says UN force not capable of defending other Safe Areas, much less recover Srebrenica. President Clinton presses UN to keep troops in Bosnia even though they cannot carry out task. British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind says ‘with. must remain an option’ but also calls on Milosevic to pressure Bosnian Serbs to ‘behave in a more civilised fashion’. UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 1004 demanding that the Bosnian Serb forces cease their offensive and withdraw from the Safe Area of Srebrenica immediately. The Security Council also demanded that the parties respect fully the status of the Safe Area of Srebrenica in accordance with the
Agreement of 18 April 1993 but does not threaten action. Karadzic comments ‘srebrenica is our
country’. EU demanded Bosnian Serb withdrawal from Srebrenica.

July 13

Muslim refugees from Srebrenica tell of hangings, torture, rapes as Serbs take over town, UN estimates 8,000 have arrived in Tuzla. NATO General Secretary Claes warns that Zepa is now in danger due to artillery, tank, and shelling attacks. Serbs demand that Zepa and Gorazde be demilitarised even as they continue to shell both it and Sarajevo. France demands that Srebrenica be retaken by force if necessary, Clinton comments ‘this is a serious challenge to the UN mission’. Russia criticises French proposal to retake Srebrenica since it would involve the use of force. Dutch Defence Minister Voorhoeve comments ‘we have no authority to demand anything...the Serbs have won’.

Contact Group held a high-level meeting in London. Deputy US Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Bildt and Stoltenberg also participated. Bildt informed the meeting of the visits he had made in the previous weeks. The Contact Group gave its support to Bildt to continue with his peace efforts. It also supported the Security Council Resolution 1004 on the Safe Area of Srebrenica.

July 14

Serbs begin full scale attack on Zepa, shell 3 UN positions in enclave, move tanks and infantry on town, NATO jets fly overhead but do not attack. UN tells its force of 79 Ukrainian peacekeepers not to resist. French Defence Minister sets 48 hour deadline for European allies to meet French demand to use military force. 20,000 refugees from Srebrenica now in Tuzla, continue to tell of atrocities.

The Republika Srpska Krajina State Commission assigned to establish the reasons and ways of the fall of Western Slavonia, completed its work and submitted a report to the Assembly. It was said that Milan Martic, President of RSK, bore the greatest responsibility for taking of Western Slavonia by the Croatian Army. The Commission suggested that the Assembly should call Milan Martic to account for ‘not acting in accordance with the Constitution in the field of defence’ what caused ‘the disgraceful military defeat in Western Slavonia’.

July 15

Serbs press assault on Zepa trying to take heights around town, Serb leadership says it has moved into UN posts and disarmed Ukrainian troops. UN says it has lost radio contact with its troops. In Gorazde government troops seize 4 armoured vehicles and some weapons from Ukrainian troops. Bosnian Government denies this saying it was the action of angry civilians. French pushing plan to defend Gorazde, reportedly have given up on Zepa. British drag feet on response by instead scheduling meeting of Contact Group for the 21st.

July 16

Serbs launch tank, infantry attacks on Zepa, overrun 3 UN peacekeeping posts, but halt later that evening once inside the enclave. NATO planes called in but not for strikes. Karadzic comments ‘the Muslim enclaves are not viable and must disappear, or we will do it by force’, also says ‘ethnic cleansing has never been part of our policy...what's happening is not ethnic cleansing. It’s ethnic displacement--people who want to leave’. Akashi says UN ‘in a very difficult position’, while Bildt says hard line against Serbs will only broaden war. Government says chief of Yugoslavian General Staff, Momcilo Perisic, led attack on Srebrenica with assistance from Yugoslavia artillery and Arkan’s troops. French fire 30 mortar rounds at Serb positions after Serbs attack UN convoys on Igman road.
July 17

Serbs detain Ukrainian peacekeepers, threaten to kill them if NATO uses air strikes. Government troops continue to resist. Serbs temporary halt infantry advance, but continue shelling, officials negotiate for evacuation of enclave’s 16,000 Muslim. UN officials still unable to make contact with 4,000 males missing since fall of Srebrenica (Serbs now in violation of international law). AFP says as many as 15-20,000 may be missing. 4,000 soldiers, civilians make it through Serb lines to Tuzla.

July 18

Government troops in Zepa surround UN camp and say they will use Ukrainian peacekeepers as shields unless NATO calls in air strikes (now both sides are using same hostages). Serbs shell Zepa for 5th day, refuse offer of Izetbegovic to negotiate evacuation of women and children. Sacirbey says UN should either leave voluntarily or be shown the way out of Bosnia. US Senate considering legislation which would require US to break arms embargo in certain cases. Karadzic warns that attempts to reinforce Gorazde will mean a war against the Serbs. Croatian media report that Serb forces attacked Croatian troops and UN peacekeepers near Osijek and killed 2. Arkan denies that his troops are in Bosnia due to Milosevic but instead are voluntarily to defend Serbian people. Israeli Prime Minister Rabin says Jordan King Hussein called to suggest that Israel send troops to support Jordan’s 2,000 troops which are in Bosnia.

July 19

Serbs claim to have captured Zepa, but government troops are still fighting, civilian authorities may have worked out deal with Serbs. British, UN officials predict fall of Zepa. More accounts of Srebrenica atrocities being reported to UN. Serb and Abdic forces attack across border in Bihac with artillery and tanks. Karadzic says government forces in Gorazde should surrender immediately and that NATO aircraft will be shot down if they help the Muslim. Clinton asks Dole to delay vote on lifting arms embargo before meeting with allies in London.

July 20

Bosnian troops still resisting Serb advances in Zepa despite some civilian leaders’ surrender. When negotiations break down, Serbs shell city. US proposes to allies that Serbs be issued ultimatum to leave Gorazde alone or face large-scale air strikes including attacks on military targets, and pre-emptive strikes against missile and anti-aircraft sites, attacks to continue even if hostages are taken. Chirac still favours reinforcing Gorazde with troops supplied by US helicopters but agrees to accept US proposal also. 30,000 refugees now in Tuzla area with 6,600 at airport alone. Bosnian and Krajina Serbs have now taken much territory in W. Bihac. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says Zagreb will take steps to protect the enclave. Artillery shell hits Bosnian president building while Bildt is visiting. Croatian Serbs take town of Sturlic causing 1,200 to flee while tanks, artillery shell part of Bihac driving back government troops 3 km.

UN Security Council adopted a presidential statement condemning the offensive of the Bosnian Serbs on the Safe Area of Zepa and the recent acts of violence and intimidation of UNPROFOR personnel, which had been committed by the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims. The Council demanded from the Bosnian Serbs to immediately stop their attacks on the Safe Area of Zepa. It condemned violations of humanitarian law and warned that the persons who had committed those acts as well as the givers of such orders would be individually responsible for them.
July 21

The International Conference on Bosnia took place in London. Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence and Chiefs of General Staffs participated of 16 countries: members of the International Contact Group, and troop contributors Italy, Canada, Ukraine, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Bangladesh, Belgium and Turkey. Secretary Generals of UN and NATO Boutros-Ghali and Claes and Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Bildt and Stoltenberg also participated. The conference gave full support to the peace efforts of the Co-Chairmen. It was emphasised that there was an urgent need for resumption of negotiations between the parties concerned which should be conducted over the territorial and constitutional aspects for settlement of the crisis in Bosnia and based on the plan proposed by the Contact Group. The Bosnian Serbs were severely warned that they would be faced with a resolute, prompt, substantial and decisive reaction, this including the use of air force, in case they tried to take the Safe Area of Gorazde. Christopher says in London that Sarajevo can be included in air strikes without specific authority if shelling continues, and that Russia does not have a veto since these actions are already authorised by UN. Allies agree to reinforce Sarajevo UN garrison, use part of RRF to open relief corridor to Sarajevo. British Defence Minister Rifkind says some countries (British, France) ‘are concerned about the risk’, while Kozyrev complains that West ‘artificially restraining the political process’. Also states that Russia opposed to escalation of use of force by peacekeepers. The Government of FR Yugoslavia expressed its concern for the escalation of military activities and tension in Bosnia-Herzegovina which jeopardised the efforts directed at strengthening of the peace process and settlement of the crisis through negotiations. The Federal Government particularly appealed to the military leadership of the Republika Srpska not to attack Gorazde since, apart from causing the loss of human lives and suffering of the civil population, the escalation of military activities was also a factor which produced strong negative effects on the peace process and its successful outcome. More atrocities reported at Srebrenica including Serbs posing as UN peacekeepers and machine-gunning 20-30 women and children, and possible massacre of up to 2,000 men by Serbs, others of rapes and killing of children. British paper Independent interviews Serbs living across Drina from Srebrenica who confirm that as many as 4,000 soldiers may have been massacred. Pope John Paul II calls for ‘defensive and proportionate’ intervention in Bosnia in a ‘just war’ to defend civilians. Yugoslavian parliament tells Bosnian Serbs not to attack Gorazde as this would endanger the peace process, but Mladic accuses Muslims of aggression and threatens that ‘by autumn we will occupy Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac, and, if need be, even Sarajevo and end this war’. 14 German Tornado fighter-bombers arrive in N. Italy for RRF support. Serbs shell Sarajevo wounding 10 including 4 children, 5 children killed by Serb attack in Bihac, 12,000 flee homes. Israel and Jordan launch joint medical relief supply effort for Bosnia Muslims. Bildt says he has reached deal with Belgrade on recognition of Bosnia, but US says it is not conclusive.

July 22

Serbs fire on convoy killing 1 French peacekeeper, also fire rockets at UN compound killing another French peacekeeper, and shell Zepa. Tudjman, Izetbegovic meet in Split with large delegations including US ambassador to Croatia, Galbraith, Izetbegovic asks for urgent military help which Tudjman promises. Delegations of Croatia, Muslim-Croatian Federation and Bosnia-Herzegovina in Split adopted a declaration on co-operation and permanent co-ordination of defence activities between Croatia and Bosnia. The declaration was signed by Tudjman, Izetbegovic, Zubak and Silajdzic. It was said that the leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the Muslim-Croatian Federation invited Croatia to urgently offer military as well as all other kinds of aid for the purpose of defence against the aggression, particularly in the area of Bihac, which has been accepted by of Croatia.
July 23

UN commanders order the Rapid Reaction Force to send artillery units to Sarajevo to protect convoy road after previous day’s Serb shelling. UNPROFOR says the situation is escalating. US administration officials say France launched 2 air strikes with 3 Mirage fighters against Pale in retaliation for deaths of French peacekeepers (apparently 1st raid hits home of someone close to Karadzic). Serbs press assaults on Zepa and Bihac, shell Sarajevo killing 6 wounding 35, while UN warns that Bihac is the largest Serb offensive in Bosnia and that Serbs are preparing for major battle for city. Tudjman offers to send emergency military aid to Bihac, while Granic says fall of Bihac will affect his country’s ‘vital interests’. UN feels this is prelude to Croatia launching offensive against Krajina. UK, US and French representatives delivered ultimatum to Ratko Mladic, commander of the RS army: attacking Gorazde or putting UN lives at risk there would lead to extensive air strikes.

July 24

Boutros-Ghali contends that air strikes must be authorised by him, while US says no. Confusion continues on rules for air strikes. Pale again reported rocked by explosions. 300 British and 500 French soldiers move onto Mt. Igman to establish artillery, light tank positions. Serb shelling wounds 9 in Sarajevo, UN says Bosnia and Krajina Serbs have taken 30 sq. miles in 6-day offensive in Bihac which avoids the UN Safe Area. UN human rights envoy Mazowiecki accuses Serbs in Srebrenica of atrocities, calls findings evidence of ‘barbarism’, while UNspokesman Chris Gunness says Serb ‘actions are an affront to the values of all civilian people’. Kozyrev in Belgrade for meeting with Milosevic, brings Churkin. Milosevic condemns international ‘threats... and military action’ aimed at Bosnian Serbs.

July 25

The UN Security Council adopted a presidential statement expressing its deep concern for the situation in the Safe Area of Zepa, and in particular for the critical conditions of civilians and other persons protected by international law. The Council invited the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw from the Safe Areas of Srebrenica and Zepa.

After days of conflicting reports, the Safe Area of Zepa crumbles before advancing Bosnian Serb forces. Government denies Zepa has fallen, but civilian authorities have made agreement with Serbs to evacuate women, children, and elderly, and 21 buses of people leave area for Kladanj. Many Muslim refugees seek cover in the hills surrounding the town. After executing the Muslim commander of the Muslim government forces, the Serbs take and burn the town, after the UN ignores NATO air strike request by Ukrainian peacekeepers in the enclave.

Former UN human-rights investigator, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, issued his final report on war crimes in former Yugoslavia by citing evidence of mass murder after Srebrenica was overrun by Serbs. The report said that Serbs lined up unarmed male prisoners and shot them, slit their throats, and shelled refugees fleeing the town. Mazowiecki says 7,000 missing from Srebrenica, calls situation ‘barbarism’. A UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination issued an urgent call for Bosnia to be given ‘all means to protect itself’ - effectively asking the UN to exempt the Bosnian government from the UN arms embargo.

The Bosnian Parliament, which is controlled by the SDA, changed the constitution, taking over from the Executive Council the power to replace members of the presidency who are unable to continue in their posts. Parliament also determined that as long as the war lasts, the president of the council, currently Izetbegovic, be a Muslim and a party member.

Albania warned that rump Yugoslavia’s moves to resettle Croatian Serb refugees in Serbia’s Kosovo province could cause the region to be engulfed in turmoil and become ‘another Bosnia.’ Croatia threatened a new war against Serbs in Bosnia if they did not stop bombardg the area around the historic Adriatic seaside town of Dubrovnik.
Krajina forces have reached edge of Bihac Safe Area, as Serbs try to split enclave in two, while Security Council warns them not to continue. NATO ambassadors appeal to Boutros-Ghali to devolve air strike decisions to military commanders in Bosnia. Croatian forces attacking Serbs in Bihac pocket, General Atif Dudakovic says 30,000 Serbs/Muslim are on the offensive in area. Malaysian Prime Minister Mohamad says he is ‘disgusted’ with West’s inaction, says he is willing to face sanctions to ship arms to Bosnian Government, while Saudi King Fahd calls on UN to lift embargo.

North Atlantic Council decisions specified that further Bosnian Serb offensive action must be met with a firm and rapid response with the ‘aim of deterring attacks on Safe Areas and responding, if necessary, through the timely and effective use of airpower...until attacks on or threats to the Safe Areas have ceased’. Graduated NATO air operation triggered by: ‘Any concentration of forces and/or heavy weapons, and the conduct of other military preparations which, in the common judgement of the NATO and UN military commanders, presents a direct threat to the Safe Areas’, or ‘Direct attacks (e.g. ground, shelling, or aircraft) on the Safe Areas’. Authorised operations ‘to support the defence of the Safe Areas within a wider zone of action’ than had previously been considered. Using the latest NAC guidance, NATO planners developed individual air attack plans for the defence of each Safe Area into a comprehensive graduated air strike plan under the name of ‘Operation Deliberate Force’.

UN War Crimes Tribunal formally charges Karadzic, Mladic, Martic, 21 others with crimes against humanity for ‘atrocities perpetrated against the civilian population throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the sniping campaign against civilian in Sarajevo, and for the taking of UN peacekeepers as hostages and their use as human shields’. The three individually or in agreement with others, had planned, encouraged, ordered or in some other ways participated in planning, preparations and execution of the acts of genocide and crimes against humanity as well as other acts, or had had the knowledge that their subordinates had intended to commit or had committed the acts mentioned above, and had not taken necessary and reasonable measures to prevent such acts or punish the persons who had committed them.

**July 26**

1,400 Zepa refugees begin arriving in Kladenanj, men aged 16-60 detained by Serbs or in hiding. UN negotiations with Serbs for mens’ safety. Boutros-Ghali gives air strike authority to military commander General Bernard Janvier bypassing Akashi. NATO agrees on graduate escalation campaign of air strikes if Gorazde attacked or threatened, also plans to protect Bihac, Sarajevo but these are not yet approved. Serbs intensify attacks in Bihac and 8,000 flee advance, Bihac Mayor Mersud Ferizovic says 25,000 Serbs involved, and 58 civilians killed, 180 wounded in recent days. US Senate votes 69-29 to end arms embargo in 12 weeks after Bosnia calls for UN forces to leave, but also gives Clinton 30-day waiver if more time is needed, and also requires him to go to Security Council to seek full removal of embargo. Mladic calls on Gorazde to surrender. Abdic declared himself President of the ‘Independent Republic of Western Bosnia’.

**July 27**

Assembly of the Republika Srpska Krajina appointed a new government and Milan Babic as its Prime Minister. In case of Croatian attack against the Republika Srpska Krajina the Army Command proclaimed a general mobilisation in the area of operation of the North Dalmatian corps. Silajdzic calls US Senate action ‘of lifting arms embargo a great victory of justice and principle...We are very grateful for this’ and predicts other countries will do the same. Mladic says this will not effect the war since Bosnia already ‘saturated’ with weapons. Cargo plane delivers supplies to government forces in Bihac but UN, NATO say they don’t know whose plane it is. Serbs say last 5,000 evacuated from Zepa, refugees are not mentioning atrocities as with Srebrenica. HVO forces advancing along Tomislavgrad-Grahovo line, and in Livno region, now within 4 km of Glamoc and 8 km from Grahovo. 250 Serbs flee to Knin, while Muslim refugees in north now number 8,000 in Bihac.
Mazowiecki resigns position as UN special rapporteur for human rights citing ‘lack of consistency and courage displayed by the international communication and its leaders’, saying he could not participate in pretence of protection of human rights. Serbs shell Sarajevo killing 2, also Mostar and Gorazde (killing 1 civilian). Serb tank fires on UN post in Krupac (S. flank of Mt. Igman) wounding French peacekeeper. Auxiliary Bishop of Sarajevo Pero Sudar calls on West to destroy Serb stockpiles of weapons, ammunition, and military infrastructure.

July 28

The war widens as Croatia sends thousands of troops into Bosnia. Republika Srpska and Srpska Krajina both declared state of war. Croat, HVO forces attack Serb forces in Krajina border area cutting Serb supply line and taking town of Grahovo which controls it. Glamoc also taken and 20,000 reported to have fled area. Bosnian Serbs declare general mobilisation of men 18-60 for all areas of Serb-held territory. UN says war in danger of being widened as Croats mass thousands of troops along border, move into Livno Valley in effort to retake Krajina. UN spokesman says Croats have taken 100 sq. miles of territory in Grahovo area. Bihac area but not town being shelled by Serbs so as to keep NATO pressure off, UN reports 1,000 explosions in 1 hr alone in NW. Krajina Serb parliament elects Babic Prime Minister. Zadar airport closed, Croatia highway shut off as military supplies moved to front. Dutch paper accuses Dutch UNPROFOR commander of cutting deal with Serbs allowing his men to leave Srebrenica in exchange for Muslim men between 17-60 being arrested and ‘debriefed’. NY Times says Zepa defenders were hit with chemical agent BZ which is banned by international agreement. Buses from Belgrade being used to transport Muslim refugees out of Zepa.

July 29

Akashi talked to Tudjman and Martic with the aim of averting a Croatian offensive but no results achieved. Tudjman warns Serbs to negotiate or be reincorporated into Croatia by force. Karadzic orders generals to use ‘all necessary measures’ to retake Grahovo, Glamoc. Krajina serbs say they will fire missiles at Croatia coastal cities if attack comes. BBC reports that Zepa burned and looted, Muslim civilian negotiator detained and military commander has disappeared. Mladic tells UN he ordered execution of Zepa military commander Avdo Palic who had successfully ambushed Serb forces 3 years earlier.

July 30

UN reports Croatian troops continuing to mass along edge of Krajina. Mladic says Croatia ‘will pay dearly’ for attacks, but Yugoslavian president Lilic only calls for negotiations without pre-conditions, but also for lifting of sanctions. Belgrade condemns Croatia for its ‘aggressive behaviour’. Krajina Serbs reported to be leaving Bihac to help defend Knin. French group ‘Doctors of the World’ says military-age men of both Srebrenica and Zepa have ‘completely disappeared’. 4 Croatia brigades mobilised in Zagreb with almost all men of military age being assigned to units. Akashi and Martic had talks in Knin in also participated Prime Minister Milan Babic and commander of the Army of RSK Milo Mrksic. They signed an agreement binding the RSK to have its units withdrawn from Bihac, the area would not be shelled and military observers would be allowed to deploy along the border area between the Bihac enclave and RSK. Tudjman rejects 6-point agreement worked out by Krajina Serbs and Akashi as ‘unacceptable’, says UNCRO must be deployed on all of Croatia frontiers especially since new troops coming into the country across Danube, and that Krajina must be reintegrated into Croatia. Tudjman stipulated four terms for further negotiations with the Serbs: the Croatian government would not negotiate with Milan Martic, negotiations could start 24 hours after the Serbs put into operation the oil pipeline, negotiations on opening communication lines running through the Krajina and the Zagreb-Split railway should start immediately, and that negotiations should
start over ‘the immediate implementation of the Constitution of Croatia in the occupied territories and provisions of the Constitutional Law on the Rights of the Serbs Ethnic Community’.

July 31

More fighting in Bihac as Serbs attack government forces less than 24 hrs after promising Akashi they would not do so in border area. Advisor to Croatian Foreign Minister says ‘Bihac is of vital strategic importance to Croatia’, and that military intervention legal due to military alliance between Croatia and Bosnia. Croatian forces poised to attack at 4 locations and has ‘blocking force’ in E. Slavonia to slow Serb resupply effort, but no signs of Bosnian Serbs sending troops or material to assist Krajina. Bosnian Government and Croatian forces pushing west and north to cut 2 Serb supply roads between Bosnian Serbs and Krajina.

August 1

NATO agrees to extend threat of air strikes to other safe-areas, including all forces which attack Safe Areas (Krajina Serbs, Abdic forces). UN General Janvier begins concentrating UNPROFOR forces to prevent Serb retaliation against them, US sending more radar jamming planes, and NATO Secretary General Willy Claes to ask Tudjman to authorise use of Croatian airspace in NATO strikes. 3 Serb jets fire rockets at Croatian positions near border, shell outskirts of Gospic. Nearby Otocac under general alert. US Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck interviews refugees in Tuzla, Zenica, says reports of mass executions credible. US House of Representatives votes to lift arms embargo by vote of 298-128, Clinton administration says they might still be able to sustain veto. Russia protests Croatian attacks in Krajina, says this could lead to escalation of violation.

August 1

Karadzic and Martic appeal to Milosevic to send them aid in the face of impending Croatian attack, but Milosevic has already sent Mladic, Izetbegovic letters calling for peace, saying fighting would only result in ‘enormous human...losses’, inviting them to take a decision on cessation of the hostilities between the Muslim and Serb forces in order to establish conditions for resumption of the peace process, termination of the war and establishment of a final peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

August 2

US ambassador to Croatia Galbraith meets secretly in Belgrade with Krajina Prime Minister Milan Babic who apparently agrees to key Croatia demands including negotiations on reintegration of Krajina to Croatia. Israeli TV reports that sophisticated Israeli weapons are being sold to Serbia by Israeli military with French dealers.

August 3

Operation Deliberate Force was briefed by Admiral Smith and Lt Gen Ryan to NATO Secretary General Willy Claes and General Joulwan, SACEUR. UN establish Croatia has 100,000 mobilised. Serbs fire missiles at Gospic, Otacac, also Dubrovnik where 3 killed, 3 wounded. Serbs say they will continue to shell Dubrovnik unless Croats stop shelling Drvar (W. Bosnia). Both sides sending mid-level delegation to Geneva for talks with Stoltenberg. Croat troops breach Krajina Serb lines in at least 30 places, planes destroy Celavac radio-tv stations and other points. UNCRO says Croatian army had notified them of operation and that Canadian commanders had passed the information on to Krajina Serbs. Serb shelling of Mostar over last 2 days kills 5. Last 70 peacekeepers pull out of Zepa. US ambassador Galbraith meets with Tudjman near Zagreb, appeals for peace, but 2 hours later Serbs fire rockets at Dubrovnik. Silajdzic gives letter of resignation to
parliament in dispute with ruling Party of Democratic Action (Muslim party) over inefficiency, corruption.

Prime Minister of the Republika Srpska Krajina Milan Babic said in Belgrade that RSK was willing to negotiate with Croatia over the political settlement of the crisis. The basis for negotiations would be a modified Z-4 plan offered by the international mediators. Integral part of the peace process would be implementation of the Agreement on economic issues.

UN-brokered talks in Geneva, between Croatian Government and Republika Srpska Krajina broke down since the Croatians refused to accept the text offered by international mediator Stoltenberg. The Croatian delegation insisted on including an additional paragraph on ‘peaceful integration of the occupied territories into Croatia’.

August 4

Croatian armed forces launched operation ‘storm’ attacking from all directions Republika Srpska Krajina, using artillery, air force and infantry units, rapidly retaking most of remaining Serb-held land in Croatia, sending up to 180,000 Serbs fleeing to Banja-Luka and Vojvodina in Serbia. Smaller numbers agreed to move to Kosovo. All bigger towns and villages in Krajina territory, including Knin, were under artillery and missile fire. Every 15 minutes the Croatian Radio broadcast a statement of Tudjman saying that ‘Croatia is forced to take military and police measures aimed at reintegration of the occupied territories into its constitutional and legal system’, since ‘this was refused by the Serbs (in Geneva) to be done in a peaceful way’. Tudjman invited ‘members of the Serb paramilitary units to surrender their weapons to the Croatian authorities and give themselves up, as well as to be pardoned or tried justly’. Croatian government says Knin surrounded, troops reported to be within several miles of city centre. UN estimates 1,500-1,800 shells have fallen on city by evening. Serb lines penetrated in as many as 30 places but claims cannot be independent confirmed as UN forces are caught in crossfire and communication is minimal. UN commander in Knin requests air strikes against those shooting at UN troops (1 Danish peacekeeper killed, 2 Polish peacekeepers wounded) but Janvier only considering this. Croatian tanks attack Serb positions in area. Town of Petrinja reclaimed by Croats, 760 Serbs said to be ‘neutralised’, along with Serb missile system and destruction of Serb communication centre and brigade headquarters. Serbs respond with fiercer resistance than Croats expect even as Croatian Foreign Minister Granic claims that entire operation will be done in 1 week and ‘artificial Krajina Serb regime will collapse immediately’. 15 rockets fired at Karlovac, 1 missile hits Zagreb suburb.

FR Yugoslavia condemned the aggression against the Serbs in the Republika Srpska Krajina and required the UN Security Council to order a prompt cessation of all hostilities, ensure a withdrawal of the Croatian forces to lines of separation fixed by relevant Resolutions and create conditions for resumption of negotiations between the two parties.

Bildt said in Geneva that the offensive should be condemned as early as possible, since it came at a moment when the Serbs had clearly shown that they were willing to make considerable concessions in the economic and political field. Bildt particularly condemned the artillery firing on civilians. He also said that Tudjman was responsible for criminal acts committed by the Croatian army and expressed fears that there might occur a new humanitarian tragedy in Europe, with tens of thousand of Serb refugees.

Bildt, Stoltenberg and Milosevic said in Belgrade of the Croatian attack that it endangered the peace in the whole region and pointed to the necessity of taking decisive political measures aimed at stopping the negative developments in the region as well as resolute steps which would be directed towards stopping of the escalation of war. At the moment it was necessary to prevent escalation of the fighting, ensure cessation of all hostilities and create conditions for an unhindered resumption of the peace process.

After lengthy consultations, the UN Security Council strongly condemned the decision of the Croatian Government to launch an extensive offensive in Krajina and demanded from Serbs and Croats to
immediately cease all military activities. The Security Council condemned artillery attacks on civilian targets and attacks of the Croatian army on UN peacekeepers in which one Danish soldier had been killed.

Kozyrev, Russian Foreign Minister, issued a statement in Moscow condemning the offensive and warned that it could spread the war in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Russia says nations issuing weak protests are really supporting Croats. State Department spokesman said that the United States regretted the resort to force by Croatian military forces and called on all sides to exercise restraint and to respect the safety and rights of civilians, prisoners-of-war, and especially peacekeepers. Clinton expresses only ‘concern’ about war spreading, says offensive ‘launched in response to the Serb attack on Bihac’ while Perry says with luck ‘the Croats will have limited objectives and will succeed in these objectives, in keeping the Krajin Serbs out of the Bihac fighting’. Dole blames attack on failure of UN policy.

Karadzic demotes Mladic from supreme military commander to advisor while Karadzic takes on military role, blames Mladic for Croatian capture of Glamoc, Grahovo: Karadzic decided, as President of the Republika Srpska and supreme commander of armed forces, under the conditions of imminent war threat and state of war, to rename the Main Headquarters into Supreme Headquarters of the RS Army, assuming direct leadership and command, and appointing General Mladic the special advisor to the Supreme Commander and co-ordinator of the joint defence of the Republika Srpska and Republika Srpska Krajina.

Four NATO aircraft fired two missiles on the radars of the Army of the Republika Srpska Krajina surface-to-air missile radar sites near Knin and Udbina using anti-radiation ‘HARM’ missiles. Two U. S. Navy EA-6Bs and two U. S. Navy F-18Cs struck sites in self-defence after the aircraft’ electronic warning devices indicated they were being targeted by anti-aircraft missiles. The NATO.

After killing a soldier and injuring two members of the UN peacekeeping forces during the attack of Croatian artillery near Petrinja, general Janvier said in Zagreb that for the purpose of protecting the blue helmets UNPROFOR consider the possibility of asking a close air support of the NATO.

**August 5**

Army, political leadership of the Republika Srpska Krajina and most of the population left Knin, while the Army command retreated to the ‘reserve position’. Croatian forces seized Knin at 12.30 pm without any considerable resistance by Serb forces. Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic sent a protest to Carl Bildt, calling the latter’s statement about the responsibility of President Tudjman cynical, and demanding an apology. Croatian army units started combined artillery, tank and infantry attacks on the eastern part of the Republika Srpska Krajina - Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem. Bosnian Government troops reported to have crossed into Croatia to aid Croatian army. UN protests Croatian attack saying it violates international law due to civilian casualties, and that Croatia has targeted UN peacekeepers. Russian Foreign Minister condemns attack saying the situation was not properly assessed by Zagreb. 2 Czech peacekeepers killed near Gospic, 2 others wounded. 40 manned UN posts taken, 200 peacekeepers briefly detained by Croatians. Serb resistance crumbles as Gracac, Lovinac, Ljubova, and 280sq. miles of Krajina fall. Serbs fire artillery shells into E. Croatia cities. Croatian government leaves 2 corridors open for Serbs to flee into Bosnia.

Information Office of the Republika Srpska’s Army Main Headquarters issued a communication, stating that ‘in connection with unconstitutional and illegally taken decision’ of President of Republika Srpska Radovan Karadzic, referring to appointment of General Ratko Mladic for special advisor and co-ordinator of joint defence of RS and RSK, General Ratko Mladic stated that he refused this cabinet duty, considering it as his removal from the duty of the commander of the Main Headquarters of the RS Army in an illicit way. He said that he intended to remain in his previous position as long as ‘the Serb soldiers and people support him’ and until he had been ‘released from this duty in conformity with the Constitution and the valid Army and Defence Law’.
Momcilo Krajisnik, Speaker of the Assembly of the Republika Srpska said that according to the agreement between RS and RSK the two are ‘obliged to defend every step of Serbian territory west of the Drina’ and that the Republika Srpska ‘will militarily aid the Republika Srpska Krajina to defend itself from the latest Croatian aggression’. ‘Besides us, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must also become involved in this, as it is obliged to this by the Vance plan’, added Krajisnik.

August 6

Croats capture Petrinja, Slunj, Cetingrad, Plitvice, while tens of thousands of Serb refugees flee towards Banja Luka. Tudjman visits area, says victories ensure security of Croatia for centuries. 2 Serb tank companies holding out near Karlovac. CROATIAN army blocking UN bases preventing monitoring. Denmark, UN protest Croatian use of 7 Danish peacekeepers as human shields in front of advancing troops, Croatia denies incident. Sacirbey says Silajdzic asked to rescind his resignation.

In Geneva, Javier Solana, Foreign Minister of Spain and President of the EU conveyed to Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic the condemnation of the EU regarding the Croatian offensive in Krajina and seizure of Knin. According to Solana, Croatia’s recent revival of war represents the most critical moment since the onset of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Granic said in Zagreb that ‘the Americans understood our operation in Bosnia and our concern over Bihac’ and volunteered ‘some very strong suggestions regarding Serb civilians, members of the UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia and the extent of operations’.

The Government of FR Yugoslavia claims that, in spite of severe condemnation by numerous countries and international fora, Croatia continues unperturbed its ruthless and brutal aggression on RSK. The Federal Government expresses its profound dissatisfaction at the inefficiency of the international community in stopping the Croatian aggression and expects and demands that the international community, and the UN Security Council in particular, take immediate and resolute measures to put an end to the aggression and the killing of the innocent civilian population, to prevent ethnic cleansing and ensure that the Croatian armed forces withdraw to the separation lines. The Federal Government also points to dramatic humanitarian situation resulting from the exodus of tens of thousands of refugees. Milosevic tells International Herald Tribune calls Croatia ‘the biggest threat to peace in the Balkans’, calls on international community to ‘justly’ take action.

Akashi and advisor of the Croatian President, signed an agreement by which the Croatians guarantee the safety of civilians and UN personnel in the territory of Krajina.

The Collegium of the Commander of the Main Headquarters of the Republika Srpska Army, at a meeting held in Banja Luka on 5 and 6 August concluded that they cannot accept and implement the decision of the President Karadzic ‘by which he removed the commander of the Main Headquarters of the RS Army and ordered other systematic, organisational and personnel changes’. The text of the conclusions, addressed to the Assembly of the Republika Srpska and to the President of RS, was signed by 18 generals of the RS Army. Bosnian Serb parliament meets in Banja Luka to support Karadzic even as 18 top generals back Mladic.

August 7

Serbia sends tanks, troops to E. Slavonia in show of force, declare war alert and exchange artillery fire with Croats at Osijek. UN says 50,000 refugees trapped by new fighting in Krajina, UN now claims that 150,000-200,000 are refugees from fighting, while EU monitors say none of them are being recruited to fight for Bosnian Serbs. Cease-fire collapses after Croatian government says Bosnian Serb jets bomb Croatian cities (Sisak, Zupanja, Pozega, Daruvar, Novska Grahovica, Podravska, Slatina, Mackovac, Savski Bok) killing 2, wounding 11. 6,000 Serbs said to be resisting near Topusko, 5 wounded in Karlovac by Serb rocket. Croatia anti-aircraft fire shoots down 2 Serb ‘Eagle’ aircraft. Croatian Defence Minister Susak says as Krajina Serb agree to surrender, that they will be allowed to leave for Bosnia or Serbia if they leave weapons, but those suspected of war crimes to be detained. Susak also says war
could widen as Croatia will not renounce claims to E. Slavonia but that Croatia is demobilising.
Karatxic, Vice President Biljana Plavsic say Milosevic responsible for loss of Knin, while Serbia calls
for sanctions against Croatia, calls their attack ‘shameless aggression’. 5th Corps enters Velusa Kladusa,
all fighting ceases as Abdic troops surrender.
At a press conference in Zagreb, Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak said that operation ‘storm’,
whose aim was to return the Republika Srpska Krajina under the Croatian authority, had been
completed and that all fighting ceased at 6 pm. The casualties of the Croatian Army in the four-day
operation included 118 killed and 620 wounded. The UN informed that three members of the UN
peacekeeping forces were killed in this Croatian offensive.
Deputy head of UNPROFOR Belgrade Office Sergei Kosenko revealed that he had information that
Croatian soldiers and members of the Muslim 5th Corps from Bihac fired with automatic weapons and
cannons on a column of 12,000 Serb refugees from Krajina on the Topusko-Dvor road near a place
called Bojna.
Jeltsin invites Milosevic, Tudjman to Moscow for peace talks, but Croatia says no decision has been
made. US State Department says former US generals working for Virginia based Military Professional
Resources, Inc. helping Croatian army to democratise. Mladic appoints Greek lawyer Alexandros
Lykourezos to defend him at International Criminal Tribunal at the Hague.

August 8

5 refugees killed when escape route bombed by Croatian jets on Bosnian side of border, Croatia denies
it. UN estimates 15,000 refugees near Dvor trapped by fighting as well as 40,000 more on way to
Bosnia. Red Cross to begin bringing relief supplies into Banja Luka airport, while first relief convoy
since May reaches Bihac, and that government forces have burned 6 Serb villages, possibly shot 5
elderly Serbs. Croatian troops restricting refugee access to prevent roughly 10,000 Krajina soldiers from
entering Bosnia, while Bosnian Serbs have set up court martial in Banja Luka and sentenced 20 for
leaving Knin, Benkovac battlefields. Martic appears on Bosnian Serb TV supposedly from Krajina town
of Srb, appeals to all Serbs to defend the fatherland. UN warns that Serbs in Banja Luka area carrying
out another wave of ethnic cleansing while Newsday reports Srebenica refugees say Mladic pledged ‘it is
going to be a ‘meze’ (a long, delectable feast). There will be blood up to your knees’, and told his troops
to ‘enjoy’ the best-looking women, and that ‘for every one of mine, 1,000 of yours are going to die’.
Serbian Orthodox Church says Serbian, Montenegro representative governments no longer ‘fit’ to lead
Serbian nation.
Akashi said to the press in Zagreb that it was necessary to ensure at least a temporary cease-fire in
Krajina to allow safe passage to all Serbs who wished to leave that area. Akashi mentioned that he had
an information that Croat forces deliberately fired on refugees and harassed Serbian civilians. Croatian
Foreign Minister Mate Granic sent a letter to the President of the European Commission Jacques
Santer, informing that Croatia cannot co-operate with European mediator Carl Bildt. The reason he
mentioned was Bildt’s statement about the possible responsibility of the Croatian President Tudjman
for criminal acts committed by the Croatian army in Krajina.
Milan Babic, Prime Minister of the Republika Srpska Krajina said in Belgrade that he was shocked to
learn that the Supreme Headquarters of the Srpska Krajina Army and President of RSK Milan Martic
had ordered complete evacuation of the population and retreat of the army, although no serious
military activities had taken place at most contact lines. ‘I cannot believe that anyone wanted mass
exodus of people from Krajina only to force FR Yugoslavia to get directly involved in war’, said Babic.

August 9

President of the Republika Srpska Krajina Milan Martic said at a press conference in Banja Luka that he
did not recognise the outcome of the Croatian aggression as long as there was one single Krajinian
from RSK, that the population able for military service were willing to return and place themselves at
the disposal of the Krajina Serb Army, and that they would victoriously return to Krajina.
Croatian civilians attacking convoys of fleeing Serb refugees near Sisak, stoning some, beating others.
UN reports troops wearing Bosnian government uniforms kill 5 elderly, possibly mentally retarded,
Serbs in village on border. Danish peacekeepers report Croatian planes drop bombs on refugee column
near Dvor. Clinton administration accuses Bosnian Serbs of human rights violations based on
eyewitness accounts, says it has spy photo evidence suggesting mass grave near Srebrenica, calls for
international war crimes investigation. Also says Croatian offensive creates ‘additional cause for
concern’, but ambassador Galbraith says British and French wrong in accusing Zagreb of ethnic
cleansing. Tudjman refuses talks in Moscow unless Izetbegovic allowed to participate (probably to
defuse speculation that he and Milosevic will cut deal on Bosnia). Jeltsin agrees to invite Izetbegovic.
Jeltsin, in interview, says war crimes accusations against Karadzic, Mladic ‘unjust’ since this is civil war
and neither side is ‘right’ or guilty’. Karadzic writes letter to Milosevic accusing him of turning his back
on Krajina and being a traitor to all Serbs, and Milosevic responds that problem lies with Karadzic and
Krajina leadership refusing to accept peace initiatives. Le Figaro
says Serbs must no longer be viewed as
aggressors and Muslim, Croats as victims. 10,000 demonstrate in Belgrade against Milosevic.

August 10

During a two-day visit to Russia, Milosevic had meetings with President Jeltsin, Prime Minister Victor
Chernomyrdin, Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, and Speaker of the State Duma Ivan Rybkin. Jeltsin
expressed full support to Milosevic’s policy and condemned Croatia’s military attack on Krajina and
ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Croatian army. He indicated that, if the international community
failed to lift sanctions against FR Yugoslavia in the close future, Russia might be compelled to
unilaterally abandon the enforcement of sanctions. Russian President suggested an idea about the
summit meeting of the leading states in the world aimed at stopping the war and establishing peace, and
presented his peace initiative for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.
The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1009, demanding from Croatia to cease immediately all
military actions in Krajina, to respect human rights of the local Serb population in Krajina, including
their right to remain, leave or return to their homes in safety, and allow access for representatives of
international humanitarian organisations. The Resolution also emphasised that all those who commit
violations of international humanitarian law will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts.
President of FR Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic sent a message to the UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali
expressing, on behalf of FR Yugoslavia, the strongest resentment and disappointment over the Security
Council’s reluctance to condemn unequivocally and resolutely Croatia’s aggression on the Republika
Srpska Krajina along with the monstrous crimes committed by the Croatian army against Serb civilians,
prisoners of war and columns of refugees.
US President Clinton’s National Security Adviser, Anthony Lake, began four-day trip to London, Bonn,
Paris, Madrid, Rome, Moscow and Ankara to outline new US peace initiative, based on the existing
Contact Group map. The aim of these visits was to consult with the European allies about the new
American plan.
NATO and UN commanders signed a memorandum of understanding on the execution of NATO air
operations for the protection of UN-designated ‘safe Areas’ in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Aim is to deter
threats of attack against Safe Areas and to conduct air operations in order to eliminate any threat or to
defeat any force engaged in an attack on a Safe Area. The agreement followed the London Conference
of 25 July 95 and the subsequent North Atlantic Council decisions of 26 July and 1 August 95.

August 11

President Clinton vetoed the Congressional legislation that would lift the arms embargo against the
Bosnian government and declared that unilateral US action was not the answer to the Bosnian crisis.
Karadzic backs off efforts to reorganise military community at Mladic’s expense. In response to the appeal of Patriarch Pavle, Serbian intelligentsia, people and soldiers, as well as Serbian generals, in the name of Serbian unity and victory Karadzic decided to suspend all proposed changes in the RS Army, reports the Press Office of the Republika Srpska.

Ron Redmond, UNHCR spokesman said in Geneva that Serb refugees leaving Krajina are being exposed to harassment, beating and insulting while going through the Croat territory, and that they have reports that abandoned Serbian houses in Krajina are being burnt down and robbed.

Abdic reported under house arrest in Zagreb. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia donates $13 million to Bosnian Muslims in start of fund-raising campaign there. Government troops massing near Donji Vakuf, Croatian forces doing same around Dubrovnik. UN says tensions declining near E. Slavonia.

August 12

Croatian forces launch new attack on Serbs near Dubrovnik, Serbs fleeing from Trebinje inside Bosnia. Bosnian Government forces pushing towards Donji Vakuf, Bosanska Krupa, and Prijedor with Bosnian Croatian forces providing some artillery support (1,300 explosions in 3 hr period). Russia sends 90 tons of food, medicine to Belgrade for refugees, says it is not in violation of embargo. Russian Duma adopted a law on unilateral lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia. At the same session, the Duma adopted a law imposing economic sanctions against Croatia because of its genocide against the Serbs and mass violation of their human rights. Both laws shall come into force if signed by the President Jeltsin.

August 13

Heaviest artillery exchanges near Dubrovnik since ‘91. Bosnian Government troops slow advance towards Donji Vakuf, Croatian troops do not appear to be helping. Clinton administration offers Serbs chance to make changes in Contact Group map once negotiations begin. Izetbegovic says Gorazde not to be traded.

US National Security Adviser Anthony Lake met with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev and presented the new American plan for the settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. There are still differences between the two countries, particularly regarding the lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia.

August 14

Croatian troops trying to push across Bosnian border near Dubrovnik but making little progress. Serb artillery attacks continue while Croats shell Trebinje. Bosnian Government troops renew their attack on Donji Vakuf. Serb police give up trying to keep out military-age men with refugee from Krajina as over 130,000 now fleeing into Serbia. 600-1,000 more Croats driven out of Banja Luka to Davor. 670 Krajina Serb refugees arrive in Kosovo for resettlement, and 450 in Montenegro. Martic calls for all Croatian Serbs to return home to fight. US Defense Department says 2 of 4 $2 military-each ‘Predator’ spy drones lost over Bosnia, 1 due to motor failure, the other possibly shot down (based at Gjader, N. Albania). Karadzic, Mladic reportedly both saying the other is ‘crazy’. Russian Foreign Minister now says lifting sanctions unilaterally not being considered.

Consistent with the MOU between NATO and UN, and following co-ordination with Lt General Smith, COMD UNPROFOR, Lt General Ryan, COMAIRSOUTH, briefed the concept of operations for Operation Deliberate Force and obtained agreement in principle from CINCSOUTH and FC UNPF for both the operation and associated targets. Additionally, in accordance with the MOU, an Air-Land Co-ordination Document was developed by COMAIRSOUTH, the NATO air component commander, COMD UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, and Major General David Pennyfather at the Rapid Reaction Force Operational Staff Headquarters in Kiseljak, specifying the necessary operational details of joint/combined operations.
August 15

UN says most of remaining 15,000 Croats in Banja Luka area will be forced out by an organised campaign within next several days. 900 Croats cross Sava from Bosnia to Croatia. 370 Croats expelled from homes in N. Serbia being resettled in E. Croatia while 800 Serbs refuse resettlement in Kosovo. Refugees being refused entry to Belgrade. Karadzic says he is not causing refugees, but they are leaving to be reunited with families. Holbrooke meets with Croatian Foreign Minister Granic and Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbey on new plan for division of Bosnia, but Bosnian ambassador to Britain Filipovic says 'it has no chance at all'. Croatian army commander-in-chief General Zvonimir Cervenko tours Dubrovnik after Serb shelling, says 'I will destroy their (Serbs) towns, not just Trebinje (source of shelling), but all of them - reduce them to a state they cannot imagine...they know this'. 3,000-man Croatian 'Puma' brigade arrived in Dubrovnik over weekend. Hard-line Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic removed, replaced by another Milosevic ally, Milan Milutinovic. Washington begins intensive effort for a new peace plan.

August 16

Croatian forces advancing against Serbs around Drvar in W. Bosnia-Herzegovina. More Serbs fleeing Trebinje in anticipation of Croatian attack. Fighting continues for Donji Vakuf. Holbrooke meets with Tudjman over plan to redraw borders according to ethnic lines. Bildt meets with Serbs Jovan Zametica, Momcilo Krajsnik. Serbs still expelling Muslims and Croatian from Banja Luka. Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana’s car hit as it enters Sarajevo. Medicines without Frontiers says of Serb expulsions of Croats from Banja Luka that ‘the transport of cattle is done better than this’. 700 refugees from Krajina now in Montenegro, 2,000 in Kosovo. Yugoslavian Prime Minister Kontic asks Denmark to unfreeze its assets so they can be used for humanitarian aid.

August 16-18

American delegation headed by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke visited Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo where they presented the new American plan for the settlement of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia to the Presidents Tudjman, Milosevic and Izetbegovic.

August 17

Holbrooke meets with Milosevic on new peace plan, calls talks ‘extremely useful’. Milosevic reported to be generally favourable to it. Bosnian Serb Momcilo Krajsnik says plan would allow Serbs access to Adriatic and would give them wider links between east and west Serb territory. Silajdzic says peace plan does not include land swap. Mladic sends fax to news agencies saying Karadzic ‘is probably aware that he has lost the support of the main pillars of our society, the people and the army’.

August 18

Croatia claims to have captured Drvar (across border in Bosnia) and destroyed elite Podrinjska Brigade, Serbs deny capture. 10,000 Croatian troops massing near Dubrovnik. 1 killed, 14 wounded as rifle grenade hits bus in Sarajevo. UN peacekeepers begin withdrawal from Gorazde as UN claims NATO can protect city from the air, Serbs refuse to let 90 Ukrainian peacekeepers leave unless they take all of their weapons with them. Croatian Defence Minister Susak says his country willing to help other countries ship weapons to Bosnia if asked to do so, states ‘Croatia will do everything it can for Bosnia to be liberated’. Izetbegovic shakes up command structure of army, especially at corps level. Abdic reported to be under arrest in Zagreb Palace Hotel. Croatia says it expects Serbs to expel up to 20,000 Bosnian Croats and that 4,769 have already arrived from Banja Luka area, another 406 from Srijem. 350 Muslim expelled by Serbs to Travnik.
President Izetbegovic issued a 12-point peace as the first official government response to a US-sponsored plan to end 40 months of war.

August 19

US negotiators Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Frasure, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence Joseph Kruzel, and NSC aide Col. Samuel Drew killed when their APC plunges off Mt. Igman road while travelling to Sarajevo to meet President Izetbegovic. Other members of the American delegation, including Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, at the time of accident were in another vehicle and remained unharmed. Karadzic offers condolences.

Christian Science Monitor reporter says he has found evidence in Srebrenica of bones and ammunition near supposed mass grave site. Artillery exchanges continue in Dubrovnik area, Serbs shell Osijek killing 1, wounding 6. Bosnian Serb artillery hits Gorazde killing 3 children. Serbs now demanding $1,200 in German marks from those they expel around Banja Luka.

August 20

US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke arrived in Croatia.

August 21

Nationalist Bosnian Serbs blocked Ukrainian peacekeepers trying to pull out of Gorazde. A day after Serbs shell Gorazde, killing three girls, the UN says it will replace peacekeepers defending the Safe Area with 50 unarmed observers.

UN protests to Yugoslavian government about their deporting of 1,000 military age men back to Serb-held Bosnia in previous week. New evidence of Croatian army having killed civilians, burned and looted Serb homes. UN appeals to Zagreb not to return 25,000 Muslim refugees loyal to Abdic to Bihac area, and accuses Zagreb of not admitting Muslim refugees from Banja Luka area. Serbs reported building up in Dubrovnik area. Tudjman urges Russian president envoy Aleksandr Zotov to persuade Serbia to recognise Croatia. Total number of Krajina Serbs in Yugoslavia now 154,079 (according to BETA) with 83,000 in Vojvodina.

August 22

Government fires 14 mortar rounds at Serb ammunition factory in Vogosca (Sarajevo suburb), killing 2 civilians. Serbs retaliate by shelling Sarajevo after 12 more rounds fired killing 6, wounding 38 in city. Sacirbey accuses UN of abandoning Gorazde. Karadzic tells Croatia that if they evacuate area around Trebinje, Serbs will grant peace accord, also calls for 30 km of Prevlaka peninsula (down to Bay of Kotor in Montenegro) being turned over to Serbs otherwise fighting to continue. Serbs fire on UN observation post in Sarajevo wounding 6 Egyptian peacekeepers and other civilians, RRF returns fire.

Croatian cultural centre opens in Sarajevo. Serbs shell Tuzla airbase where refugees are being housed. Croatia says 11,782 refugees of ethnic cleansing in Banja Luka have arrived between 8-14 and 8-24. Yugoslavian officials now say 5,000 Serbian refugees are in Kosovo, another 7,000 expected, but 50 have already left Prizren for Serbia.

August 23

Karadzic says 'any solution below 70% of the territory is painful for us, but any one below 64% - which we have according to land registers - is unjust'. Clinton administration names Robert Owen to head up new negotiations team which includes Brig. General Donald Kerrick, James Pardew (Defence Department), and Christopher Hill (State Department). Reports about peace plan say Bosnian Government must give up Zepa and Srebrenica. 58 Ukrainian peacekeepers pull out of Gorazde and
government troops reportedly demanding $13,350 from them for rent and environmental damage. Croatian Defence Minister Susak says Croatia could push Serbs out of E. Slavonia, and that his government will no longer tolerate shelling of Dubrovnik. Serbs in Trebinje now preventing everyone from leaving area without special permission. Catholic bishop in Banja Luka says Serbs dynamited 43rd church in area on August 19.

**August 24**

British peacekeepers kill 2 government soldiers in Gorazde after 30 attempt to take supplies from British before their scheduled pullout. 3 British convoys with 76 peacekeepers pull out and head for Serbia. Russian envoy Zotov meets in Belgrade with Milosevic.

**August 25**

Croatia signs cease-fire with E. Slavonia Serbs. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic rejects Serb calls for territory exchange in S. Croatia. 700 Serbs still holed up in UN headquarters in Knin as Croatia wants to examine 61 they suspect of being war criminals. Sacirbey says US peace plan has no provisions for punishing Serbs if they reject proposal. Krajsnik says Bildt has given Serbs ’guarantees that there will be two separate states with compact territory within the former Bosnia-Herzegovina (Croatian and Bosnian authorities will not meet with Bildt). EU administrator of Mostar threatens to withdraw EU police force unless Croatians and Muslims unify their police forces, accuses Croats of blockading Muslims. Yugoslavian trade minister says Russian planning to resume deliveries of gas to Yugoslavia. In response to a letter by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso, Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic denies charges Croatian troops have systematically destroyed Serb property and violated human rights of Serbs in Krajina. The Croatian army undertook no actions against the civilian population and did all it could to protect civilians and their property. However, Granic allowed the possibility that ‘some isolated incidents’ could have happened and explained them by the extent of the operation ‘storm’.

**August 26**

Foreign Ministers of Greece, Karolos Papoulias, Bulgaria, Georgi Pirinski, and Romania, Theodore Malescanu, in Yanina (Gr) assessed that the Yugoslav crisis could be solved only by political means. They demanded on behalf of these three Balkan countries the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia within the process of searching for a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Croats being resettled in Krajina area with government assistance, reported not to be paying for former Serb homes. Rail line between Zagreb and Split reopened for first time in 4 years. Tudjman says of Serbs who fled they ‘disappeared ignominiously, as if they had never populated this land. We urged them to stay, but they didn’t listen to us and, well, bon voyage.’

**August 27**

Clinton administration backs away from plan to send 25,000 troops to Bosnia to help enforce peace agreement, Holbrooke says smaller force may be used as part of NATO contingent in event of peace agreement, and that NATO air strikes may be used if Serbs continue to resist peace.

**August 28**

Serbs shell central Sarajevo Markale market killing 37, wounding 86. Muslim media in Sarajevo blamed the Army of the Republika Srpska that it fired this shell. General Mladic said that the RS Army had no connection with the incident and demanded from UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Rupert Smith, to set up a joint commission of representatives of UNPROFOR, Serbs and
Muslims to investigate the incident. According to the first report of UN representatives, their analysts were unable to precisely locate the spot from which the shell had been fired. S blames Serbs for attack and calls on UN and NATO to respond militarily. Kosevo hospital hit by shell after attack. Bosnian Serb official Miroslav Toholj calls shelling ‘a classic act of Islamic terrorism’. Silajdzic calls for NATO air strikes and suspension of peace talks until ‘the obligations and role of NATO are clarified’, but Izetbegovic goes to Paris for talks anyway. Holbrooke in Paris for talks and Karadzic comments that the ‘American initiative takes account of the minimum interests of the Serbian side’. Chirac said to be ready to propose demilitarisation of Sarajevo but government opposes this. Controversy continues in Netherlands over whether Dutch peacekeepers allowed civilian massacres in Srebrenica. 565 Croats expelled from Vojvodina to Croatia, while 300 cross Sava River from Srbac to Davor. More reports of pressganging by Serbian authorities for military service in E. Slavonia. Operation Deliberate Force was triggered by a BSA mortar attack on Sarajevo. A ‘Dual-Key’ decision was made by CINCSOUTH and FC UNPF to initiate air strikes on 29 August. Subsequently, COMAIRSOUTH directed COMFIVEATAF, Lt General Fornasiero, to launch NATO forces with an execution time planned for not earlier than 0200 on 30 August.

August 29

The Government of FR Yugoslavia condemned the massacre of innocent civilian population in Sarajevo. It is necessary to undertake a detailed investigation, find and adequately punish the perpetrators of this crime, says a communication of the Federal Secretariat of Information. UN public relations officer in Sarajevo Alexander Ivanko said that the commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, General Rupert Smith, ‘after being acquainted with the results of investigation, established beyond any doubt that the attack (on the Markale market) came from the Bosnian Serb positions’. Russian commander of UN peace forces in the Sarajevo sector, colonel Andrei Demurenko said that ‘some technical aspects of yesterday’s incident in Sarajevo leave room for serious doubts of the validity of claims that mortar shells had been fired by the Serbs’. He clarified that ‘the odds of hitting such a place with a mortar are one to million’. UNPROFOR turned down General Mladic’s request for the establishment of a joint commission composed of representatives of UNPROFOR, Serbs and Muslims to investigate and determine all relevant facts regarding the explosion of a shell on the Markale marketplace. Karadzic accuses Bosnian Government of staging ‘a massacre of its own population to sabotage the peace process’, but UN says it has ‘concluded beyond all reasonable doubt’ Serbs were responsible. The Assembly of the Republika Srpska welcomed the American initiative for a political solution of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and confirmed the willingness of the Republika Srpska to conclude a lasting and just peace. The statement also emphasised that a delegation of the Republika Srpska must be included in negotiations. The Assembly demanded normalisation of political and economic relations between the Republika Srpska and the FR of Yugoslavia. At a joint meeting of FR of Yugoslavia, Republika Srpska and Serbian Orthodox Church an agreement was reached about joint action in the negotiating process. ‘The leadership of the Republika Srpska agrees to harmonise completely its approach to the peace process with the leadership of FR Yugoslavia. The Republika Srpska shall delegate three members into one single delegation of six members, headed by the President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic shall be decisive.’ The Agreement was signed by Radovan Karadzic, Nikola Koljevic, Biljana Plavsic, Momcilo Krajesnik, Dusan Kozic, Aleksa Buha and Colonel-General Ratko Mladic (on behalf of the Republika Srpska) and by Zoran Lilic, Slobodan Milosevic, Momir Bulatovic, Radoje Kontic, Pavle Bulatovic and Colonel-General Momcilo Perisic (on behalf of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). On behalf of the Serbian Orthodox Church the Agreement was signed by Patriarch Pavle and bishop Irinej Bulovic. Karadzic sends letter to Carter calling for ‘comprehensive peace agreement’ based on US initiative, US says it is encouraged by Karadzic proposal but this would not deter NATO strikes in retaliation for
previous day’s attack. Karadzic later agrees to talks in Belgrade and to co-ordinate negotiations strategy with Belgrade.

**August 30**

NATO planes begin attacks on Serb positions in pre-dawn hours, continue throughout the day. 60 planes (mostly American) launch strikes on air defence radar installations, SAM batteries, communication facilities, and ammunition factories, dumps. NATO planes also attacked the positions of Bosnian Serbs near Tuzla, Gorazde, Stolice on Mt. Majevica and Mostar. UNPF commander Janvier previously sent a written warning to General Mladic that NATO air strikes would be launched if attacks or threats of attack on the protected area (Sarajevo) did not cease. NATO Secretary General Claeys, UN commander Janvier, and Admiral Smith all approve attacks, Claeys saying they will intensify if Serbs don’t remove heavy weapons from 12 mile exclusion zone and if they don’t stop threatening Tuzla, Gorazde. RRF fires at least 1,000 artillery rounds at Serb positions in support. The Army of the Republika Srpska opened artillery fire on three UN facilities in Sarajevo in retaliation for NATO air strikes and attacks of the Rapid Reaction Force on the Serb positions. These attacks caused no casualties among the UNPROFOR members. 5 EU monitors killed in Serb-held suburb by shell. A French fighter was shot by a SAM-7 missile by Bosnian Serb militia. The two pilots ejected from the aircraft, but their fate is unknown. International Herald Tribune says US, French, and British commandos behind Serb lines had been identifying targets for several months.

Karadzic calls attacks ‘a moral disaster for the West and NATO’ that ‘may trigger a third world war’. Mladic rejects UN demands saying ‘we will not be the first to fire, but we will respond to every attack’. Russian President Jeltsin condemned ‘any violence and use of force in the former Yugoslavia’. Use of force, in particular air strikes, do not lead to a solution, as they only cause new violence through counterattacks. Jeltsin renewed his proposal for convening an international conference for the solution of the Bosnian crisis.

American President Clinton assessed that the return NATO action ‘had to be undertaken’. ‘I strongly support this operation. I find it an appropriate response to the shelling of Sarajevo’. He also said that he did not believe that the bombing would hamper the peace process in Bosnia. ‘Activities within the American peace initiative will continue and I hope they will be successful’, said President Clinton. Dole says he will postpone attempt at overriding Clinton arms embargo veto, but that ‘it should have happened a year ago or two’. British muted in their support of attacks. Croatian government says Operation Storm included 402 Serb soldiers, 116 Serb civilians, 211 Croatian soldiers, and 42 Croatian civilians and that Croatia has identified 217 Serb rebels it want to try as war criminals. Holbrooke holds 4 hrs of talks with Milosevic in Belgrade.

‘RS’ and ‘FRY’ leaderships announced that joint negotiating team, led by President Milosevic who would have casting vote, would consider US peace plan.

**August 31**

NATO attacks continue, although more limited due to cloud cover. Three strike packages attacked targets in the Sarajevo area. Majority of targets attacked were Integrated Air Defence System nodes, ammo depots and equipment storage and maintenance facilities. Continuous CAS and SEAD coverage provided. A 24 hour suspension of air strikes beginning at 0400, 1 September was requested by COMD UNPROFOR in support of negotiation efforts. Mladic says he is willing to remove guns around Sarajevo, and that ‘it is time to talk about peace, even after this dreadful bombing’. Holbrooke meets for 2nd day with Milosevic, and with Tudjman and Sacirbey in Zagreb. Clinton says NATO attacks ‘the right response to savagery’.
**September 1**

State Department announces Bosnian Serbs have agreed to talks in Geneva next week on allowing ethnic confederations within existing states, and that Milosevic will take part in negotiations. NATO planes continue bombing Serbs in morning but suspended to allow for negotiations with Serbs. More than 500 sorties have been completed. Claes says attacks to resume unless Serbs withdraw heavy weapons, and that ‘we are ready to maintain and enhance our attacks’. UN says not many of 300 Serb artillery pieces have been destroyed. Washington to send 10 more planes to assist in strikes. Fighting around Bihac, UN counts 300+ explosions after Serbs launch attack on town. 5 EU monitors reported dead taken by Serbs to Visegrad and released to Zagreb.

Commander UNPF, General Janvier, demanded from the RS Army command to pull back their heavy weapons to a distance of at least 20 km around Sarajevo, as the condition for the suspension of NATO air strikes on the Bosnian Serb positions. Request for a 24 hour suspension of air strikes honoured. The deadline is set as September 4, 11 o’clock local time. CINCSOUTH in Naples confirmed that NATO attacks on Bosnian Serb positions have been suspended until further notice to allow the RS Army to withdraw its heavy weapons from the exclusion zone around Sarajevo. Recce missions focused on bomb damage assessment. German assets were tasked following RRF request for recce. RRF artillery continued to fire on BSA positions. Uninterrupted CAP, NAEW, AAR, ABCCC, ELINT/ESM, and daylight CAS and SEAD continued.

**September 2**

NATO suspends air strikes, but Mladic, in 14 hour meeting with Janvier in Zvornik, refuses UN demands to remove guns around Sarajevo unless Bosnian Government also removes theirs. 7 wounded in rocket-propelled attack in Sarajevo suburb by Serbs, French peacekeepers fire 24 rounds in response. Janvier meets with Mladic for 13 hrs beginning previous night, Mladic tries to set conditions for removal of weapons. Silajdzic warns Bosnia may pull out of general talks if NATO, UN compromise with Serbs.

**September 3**

Holbrooke calls Mladic reply to ultimatum insulting, says ‘this bombing package, it has only just begun’ and ‘the problem is Mladic’. UN opens Mt. Igman road to private traffic and brings aid convoy into city. NATO planes fly over Sarajevo but do not renew attacks, while Sacirbey charges NATO has ‘let their finger slip off the trigger’. Serbs attacking in W. Bosnia to widen supply corridor to Serbia, shell Gradacac.

Commander UNPF, General Janvier, warned that failing to receive by 4 September at 11 pm firm assurances from the RS Army command that they would withdraw their heavy weapons from the 20 km exclusion zone around Sarajevo, NATO forces would resume their attacks on Serb targets in Bosnia. RRF Artillery continued firing on threatening BSA positions.

**September 4**

Bombing deadline passes with no new NATO action. Mladic sends letter to UN stating ‘nobody, not even myself, has the right to order a withdrawal. This is a political question, not in the jurisdiction of generals’, while Karadzic aide Nikola Koljevic sends letter saying they have accepted NATO demand. Greece and Macedonia agree to resume negotiations on flag, name issues.

**September 5**

NATO launches hour-long attacks in response to Bosnian Serb intransigence, UN spokesman says they ‘will go on until the Serbs comply with our demands’. Attacks occur after NATO, UN conclude Serbs
not pulling back weapons as demanded. Mladic says on TV ‘the more they bomb us, the stronger we are’, and Serb artillery hits Sarajevo wounding several. Previous attacks now estimated to have destroyed 10% of artillery positions, 15% of anti-aircraft systems, and 40% of communication network. UN War Crimes Tribunal investigating Croatian actions in Krajina and UN says 50 bodies found in area and Orthodox Churches possibly destroyed/desecrated. Serbs continue deportations of Muslim, Croats. Holbrooke in Belgrade for meeting with Milosevic who protests air attacks.

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said in New York that the UN would continue to support the use of NATO air force against the Bosnian Serb targets until all Serb heavy weapons had been withdrawn from the positions around Sarajevo. General Mladic accused the NATO and the UN of openly siding with Muslims and Croats against the Serbs. He also warned that fire would be returned in the case of NATO attacks.

September 6

Serbs refuse to move heavy weapons causing NATO to renew bombing around Sarajevo (Lukavica, Hadzic, Cajnice and Foca E. Bosnia), and Kalinovik and Nevesinje (S. Bosnia). Karadzic said in an interview to the American TV network CNN that Bosnian Serbs cannot pull out any more heavy weapons and that they must sustain further destruction, because the Serbian civilians would not allow them to do this. ‘We have withdrawn as much armament as we could in view of our own safety and safety of the Serb population in Sarajevo.’ (‘They are bombarding us so terribly that it hasn’t been seen since the second World War in European, and it can’t be justified by any reasons’). Also says he is still in charge and that Mladic takes his orders, and that Sarajevo ‘was once entirely Serbian’. RRF fires 18 105mm 155mm shells at Serb mortar firing on Mt. Igman road. Admiral Leighton Smith shows video of hit Mt. Jahorina radar complex but comments that Serb artillery difficult to target, not as many targets hit as he would like. Jeltsin warns that Russian may have to aid Serbs.

After returning from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Russian intelligence officers said in Moscow that shelling of civilians near the Markale market in Sarajevo on 28 August had been prepared by the experts of Western secret services and carried out by the troops of the Muslim commander Rasim Delic. Russian intelligence officers also accused the UNPROFOR command for inadequate reports on the explosion which decisively affected the results of investigation.

September 6, 7 and 8

NATO forces conducted search and rescue missions for the two downed French aircrew members. While over Bosnia on the night of 8 September, two NATO crew members were slightly wounded by enemy fire as their aircraft attempted to locate the downed French aviators. All three missions returned to their bases without confirmed contact with the French air-crew.

September 7

NATO strikes continue hitting ammunition dumps (in Pale) and military base at Lukavica (2nd time). Holbrooke says Foreign Ministers talks will cover controversial issues, but not territory. Yugoslavia tells UN that NATO strikes jeopardise peace process. UN Security Council condemns Croatia for exodus of 150,000 Serbs and human rights violation against Serbs, also condemns Bosnian Serbs for not allowing access to Muslim prisoners.

Government of FR Yugoslavia demanded from the UN Security Council the immediate cessation of bombing of Serb positions and other targets in the Republika Srpska, which would eliminate the danger from possible escalation of conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and threat to the international peace and security in the entire region. President Jeltsin said that prolonged NATO air and artillery strikes on Bosnian Serbs undermine the efforts for the political resolution of the crisis. These strikes ‘go beyond the framework of the UN Security Council decisions, drawing the international community into the war against one party in conflict in Bosnia’.
NATO refused Jeltsin’s criticism of air strikes on the Bosnian Serbs, explaining that they are fully compatible with international law. ‘The stakes are too high to revoke the operation’, said a NATO official in Brussels, and added that the NATO mission would continue until Serbs have been forced to fulfil the UN demand for withdrawal of heavy weapons around Sarajevo.

UN Security Council adopted a presidential statement, expressing the Council’s deep concern over the grave situation of Serb refugees from Krajina and over the violation of international humanitarian law by the Croatian authorities. The Council was also concerned by the information of the burning of Serb houses, rubbing of property and killings, and demands from the Croatian authorities to undertake adequate measures to investigate these crimes and stop the violence.

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the member states of the Contact Group and representatives of the Organisation of Islamic Countries met in Paris to discuss the possibilities to end the war in the former Yugoslavia. The ministers concluded that the chances for diplomatic progress seem better than recently, but that negotiations would be long and difficult.

**September 8**

Foreign ministers of Bosnian Croatia and Yugoslavia agree in Geneva in the presence of representatives of the Contact Group to the division of Bosnia into Serb and Muslim-Croat entities within one state. 51:49 territorial division proposed by the Contact Group would be the basis of the agreement. This proposal would be open for modification through mutual agreement. Both entities will continue to exist with their valid constitutions and entitled to the establishment of parallel relations with the neighbouring states, in conformity with the sovereignty and territory integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both entities will undertake reciprocal obligation to hold elections at all levels under international supervision, to adopt and observe the international standards of human rights. The entities in principle agreed to the setting up of a Committee for Displaced Persons, for Human Rights, establishment of public companies that would own and manage transport and other infrastructure, a Committee for the Preservation of National Monuments and to the elaboration and implementation of a system of arbitration for the settlement of disputes. Refugees would be allowed to return to their homes or be compensated for losses, and freedom of movement would be guaranteed, but issue of E. Slavonia still unresolved.

Serbs fire anti-air missile at NATO jet prompting RRF to fire 40 artillery shells. Serbs say 10 patients, hospital staff killed, 22 wounded due to RRF shelling. Jeltsin at first press conference in year condemns attacks, says Russia may reconsider expansion of NATO and blames foreign ministers for failures, hints at changing Kozyrev, while Christopher says Russia has stake in peace being achieved.

**September 9**

More NATO strikes against Lukavica barracks, Serbian air defence systems, bridges in E. Bosnia. Croatia threatens military action against E. Slavonia unless solution is found ‘within 2 or 3 months’. Clinton administration has proposed that Serbia would retain control for present but Croatia would regain territory. Russian Duma votes 258-2 in non-binding Resolution that Kozyrev be fired for lack of Russian diplomatic successes, calls on Jeltsin to suspend participation in NATO PfP program.

Five strike packages planned. Two aborted because of weather. Three were delayed but successfully conducted planned attacks. Stand-off weapons including Anti-radiation Missiles (HARM) and GBU-15, 2000 lb glide bombs employed against Integrated Air Defence System targets in well-defended NW Bosnia-Herzegovina. Reports of possible BSA vehicles moving out of Sarajevo late at night resulted in a temporary suspension of air strikes against targets in the immediate vicinity of Sarajevo.

**September 10**

Strike packages struck targets which were not previously attacked because of weather. A US Navy ship, in support of NATO Operation ‘Deliberate Force,’ launched Tomahawk Land Attack Missiles against
Bosnian Serb air defence assets in north-western Bosnia and radio, communication sites at Lisina (near Banja Luka). Thirteen missiles were launched, jets hitting same targets. Commander UNPROFOR requested suspension of strikes on targets in the immediate vicinity of Sarajevo to assess BSA intentions to remove heavy weapons. Recce mission tasking was increased in support of the effort to verify reports of BSA removal of weapons from Sarajevo. Pentagon considering using F-117 Stealth bombers, but Italy balking at this. Both France and Italy concerned about escalation of attacks. UN says they have seen some Serb movement NE of Sarajevo but don’t know what it means. Mladic says weapons will not be removed since they are necessary to protect civilians. UN requested CAS support following BSA shelling of UN positions near Tuzla airport, three flights of fighters supported the CAS requested. Two command bunkers and an artillery position were identified, targetted and successfully engaged.

September 11

More ammunition dumps in hit. Assistant Russian Foreign Minister Churkin says about use of cruise missiles ‘we are very worried that this will get out of hand’. NATO officials, Pentagon differ on effectiveness of missile use with Pentagon expressing disappointment. Bosnian Serbs say more attacks could threaten peace talks, Karadzic calling them a declaration of war. Serb authorities restricting Red Cross access to Banja Luka and can’t confirm Serbs accusations of civilian casualties. Bosnian Croatian forces take mountain pass of Mliniste and peaks of Demirovac and Vitorog, government forces advancing Mt. Ozren area and take town of Voguca connecting Tuzla and Zenica.

September 12

NATO continues bombing ammunition dumps at Vogosca (near Sarajevo) and in the Doboj area in campaign to damage military infrastructure. Option 3 being considered (attacks on power plants, transport, etc. UN says supplies now getting through to Sarajevo but that Serb threat to city remains. Russian calls attacks ‘genocide’, says it will release humanitarian aid to Bosnian Serbs and that attack is part of US plan for world domination. Bosnian Government forces take Donji Vakuf while Croats capture Sipovo, and Drvar.

UN Secretary General spokesman Joe Sills confirmed in New York the existence of a secret MOU, signed on 10 August 1995 at Zagreb airport by the commander of NATO forces for Southern Europe Leighton Smith and commander of UN Peace Forces for the former Yugoslavia Bernard Janvier. This Memorandum allows the NATO air forces to bomb Bosnian Serb positions and Serb-populated areas in Croatia (Republika Srpska Krajina), in the case of ‘attack or attack threat’ by the RS Army on the four areas under UN protection - Gorazde, Sarajevo, Bihac and Tuzla. Sills said that the Memorandum is an ‘internal document’ of which the Secretariat is not obliged to inform the UN Security Council nor the member states of the Security Council.

September 13

At UN headquarters in New York Foreign Ministers of Greece and Macedonia signed an agreement on the normalisation of relations. Greece and Macedonia undertake to observe the sovereignty, territory integrity and political independence of the two countries, accepting the present internationally recognised common borders. Macedonia will remove from its state symbols the Alexander of Macedonia’s golden six-pointed star of Vergina, while Greece undertakes to lift within 30 days the economic blockade of Macedonia, introduced in February 1994. Negotiations about the a change of the name of Macedonia will take place subsequently. Stand-off weapons used to complete attacks on Integrated Air Defence System targets in NW Bosnia-Herzegovina. Poor weather resulted in a significant reduction in tempo - over 40% of the day’s sorties did not fly. Rocket-propelled grenade fired at US embassy in Moscow, speculation that it is in response to NATO bombing. Muslim (7th Corps)-Croatian force captures Donji Vakuf and Jajce (15 miles N.)
surrounding 6,000 Serbs whose leaders tell them to surrender weapons to Croats rather than
government troops. BiH threatens Bosanski Petrovac as 5th Corps pushes south out of Bihac and
Croats move north 40,000 Serbs from this area (including Sipovo, Mrkonjic Grad) flee towards Banja
Luka, 5,000 more fleeing government advances near Mt. Ozren. NATO, US warn Bosnian-Croatian
force to use restraint. Serb resistance reported to be light (Jajce to have been given back to Bosnian
Government in peace accords), and Karadzic claims that Serb casualties are light. Russian accuses
NATO of genocide, Kohl rejects this as unacceptable.

September 13-14

US Government delegation, headed by the Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke met in
Belgrade with Milosevic, in Zagreb with the Tudjman and in Mostar with Izetbegovic. The talks
focused on controversial issues in the search for political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina
and in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

September 14

NATO General Secretary Claes said that he ordered a 12-hour suspension of air strikes against the
Bosnian Serbs. Claes said that the ambassadors of NATO member states agreed upon a temporary
suspension of air operations, so that the American special envoy Richard Holbrooke could negotiate
with the commander of the Bosnian Serb Army General Mladic about the fulfillment of the conditions
for the withdrawal of heavy weapons of the RS Army from around Sarajevo. Offensive air operations
were suspended in response to a letter from Commander UNPF to CINCSOUTH. Representatives of
the warring factions had agreed to the conditions set out in the UN-brokered Framework Agreement:
Cease all offensive operations within the Sarajevo TEZ, remove heavy weapons from the TEZ within
144 hours, unimpeded road access to Sarajevo, Sarajevo Airport opened for unrestricted use, BIH and
BSA commanders meet to formalise a cessation of hostilities agreement. The initial suspension would
last 72 hours (17 Sep). Compliance with initial conditions would result in an additional 72 hour
suspension after which UN/NATO would review progress toward full compliance with the
Framework Agreement (20 Sep).

Russian President Jeltsin refused to sign the two laws adopted in the Russian Duma on 12 August: the
Law on unilateral lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia and the Law on imposing of sanctions
against the Republic of Croatia.

Karadzic, Mladic sign agreement with Holbrooke to withdraw most heavy weapons (exclusion
mortars under 82mm and artillery under 100mm) 12 1/2 miles from Sarajevo after 11 hrs. of talks in
Belgrade with Milosevic. Holbrooke seeks Izetbegovic assurance that government will refrain from
offensive around Sarajevo as Serbs pull back. Government and Croatian forces continue to make gains
in west, and government troops move forward towards Ozren liberating 10 villages. Serbs withdrawing
towards Doboj. Serbs fire artillery at Tuzla-area towns, villages around Gracanica, also at Vranovaca
and Rajska to divert attention from arms convoy moving along corridor.

September 15

In the presence of Milosevic an agreement was signed on the withdrawal of heavy weapons of the RS
Army deployed around Sarajevo. The agreement sets out that within 72 hours the Bosnian Serbs should
withdraw heavy weapons from the 20 km exclusion zone around Sarajevo. The Agreement also binds
the Muslims to refrain from offensive actions in and around Sarajevo. The Agreement was signed by
Karadzic and Mladic and Holbrooke

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1015 extending the existing partial suspension of the
sanctions against FR Yugoslavia in the fields of air and sea traffic, culture and sports for another six
months or till 15 March 1996.
Clinton welcomes Serb decision but warns that NATO air strikes will resume if they do not honour commitment, also says Serbs have promised to halt all offensive actions in Sarajevo area. 5th Corps captures Bosanski Petrovac, moves on towards Kljuc and Sanski Most, Serbs withdrawing towards Prijedor, Banja Luka leaving behind stores of weapons, ammunition. US says Bosnian Government not asked to sign agreement like Serbs did. Serbs open 2 roads into Sarajevo as promised to allow convoys into city, French cargo plane with flour supplies lands at Sarajevo airport (1st plane since April). Holbrooke in Geneva for meeting with Contact Group. Fire destroys equipment at independent radio station ‘studio 99’ in Sarajevo which is critical of government, arson suspected by operators. Prosecutor International Tribunal, Richard Goldstone, warns against making deal in peace negotiations granting immunity to war criminals.

September 16

NATO tells Serbs that it will resume air strikes if they don’t speed up withdrawal, 71 artillery pieces moved by nightfall, although Defense Secretary Perry says ‘preliminary indications are positive’. BiH troops on outskirts of Sanski Most and Prijedor. Perry also says F-117s will not be brought over to Italy. UN reports that atrocities against civilians may have been committed by both sides in Donji Vakuf. 1st US Air Force C-130 lands with relief supplies at Sarajevo airport. Holbrooke back in Belgrade for more talks with Milosevic. Serbs says 100,000 refugees in Banja Luka, UN says 60,000.

September 17

Smith and Janvier say enough weapons are being withdrawn to allow another 72 hr halt in bombing. Bosnian Serb commander in Sarajevo General Dragomir Milosevic says half of weapons have been withdrawn, rest will be gone by 20 September deadline and UN spokesman Lt. Col. Chris Vernon now says Serbs have been told to remove 82mm mortars and 100mm cannons as well. Holbrooke shuttles from Belgrade to Zagreb to Sarajevo, then back to Belgrade. The three Presidents also talked with the British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind. Serbs still losing ground in west, government-Croat forces now about 30 miles from Banja Luka. Karadzic says Serbs have taken ‘heavy losses’ and Belgrade radio confirms that Sanski Most, Bosnia Krupa, and Prijedor have fallen.

September 18

UN says Bosnian Government-Croatian forces now control as much as half of country, and that government artillery now only 10 miles from Banja Luka, but Izetbegovic and Tudjman in meeting with Holbrooke in Zagreb say attack on city is not imminent. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says Croatian army will stop moving on Banja Luka and ‘this is the right time for the end of war and for a final just peace’. Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbey comments it is ‘a little premature’ to discuss land division and ‘the best diplomacy is created on the ground’. Government says troops have taken 36 sq. miles around Mt. Ozren for a total of over 2,400 sq. miles captured in past week, forces pressing in on Bosansko Petrovo Selo, and Doboj-Tuzla road claimed to be under government control. Fighting now along Sava River between Prijedor and Sanski Most. Member of Government General staff says enough Serb weapons taken to arm 2 infantry brigades, and artillery and tank companies. Nasa Borba reports column of refugees 70 km long leaving Banja Luka and heading for Derventa and Serbia. Sacirbey says his government willing to negotiate with ‘reasonable leaders’ in Banja Luka as forces close in. British Defence Minister Rifkind urges restraint on Bosnian Government, and other British officials contend that government successes will only draw Serbia into the war. State Department cautions Bosnian Government noting ‘now is not the time to escalate the war’. Mladic reported in Belgrade hospital due to kidney stone surgery keeping him away from battlefield. War criminal Zeljko ‘Arkan’ Raznatovic in Banja Luka with troops. Bosnian Croats reported to be willing to hand over to Tribunal indicted war criminal Ivica Rajic for massacre of Muslim civilians in Stupni on October 23, ’93.
UN Security Council President, Italian Ambassador Paolo Fulci, summoned the heads of missions with the UN of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and warned them on behalf of the Security Council that Muslim and Croatian forces must immediately cease offensive activities in Bosnia. The White House press secretary, said that President Clinton warned the Muslim and Croatian authorities to immediately cease military activities in Bosnia and return to the peace process for the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. During 15 days of air raids, NATO airplanes dropped more than 1,000 bombs and missiles on Serb emplacements in the Republika Srpska.

September 19

After repeated talks with US envoy Richard Holbrooke, who conveyed a message of President Clinton, Croatian President Tudjman ordered the regular troops of the Croatian Army to cease further attacks on Serb positions in Bosnia. Tudjman, Izetbegovic and Federation President Zubak met in Zagreb. They reached a 9-point Agreement in which they confirm support for the American peace initiative and Contact Group plan for the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, reiterate the commitment to the Washington Agreement on the establishment of the Muslim-Croatian Federation and all subsequent agreements aimed at strengthening the Federation and its relations with Croatia, demand immediate integration of functions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the Muslim-Croatian Federation, consent that all refugees and displaced persons from Bosnia-Herzegovina should be entitled to return to their homes.

September 20

In a joint statement, UN and NATO commands said that Bosnian Serbs had withdrawn heavy weapons to 20 kilometers from Sarajevo before the set deadline, and that UN and NATO commanders had agreed that the air strikes on the Bosnian Serb positions need not be resumed for the time being. UN ‘content’ with Serb compliance, says 250 weapons withdrawn and no new air strikes to take place unless Sarajevo again attacked.

Croatian Parliament adopted Law on the Temporary Seizure and Management of Certain Property, which legalises and regulates the disposal and use of all property of Serb refugees from Krajina and immovable property in Croatia owned by citizens of FR Yugoslavia.

Croatian and government forces continue to move toward Banja Luka, now also attacking Prijedor, and Croats take Bosnia Kostajnica and Bosnia Dubica. 5th Corps reported to have moved into Bosnia Novi. Bosnian Government sends letter to UN saying offensive will end if Banja Luka is demilitarised, and Silajdzic tells Serbs that an attack will come on Banja Luka if it resists reintegration in to Bosnia. Karadzic warns that his troops will take revenge now that they have consolidated themselves. UN says Croatian government has misled press about offensive. Bosnian troops in Sarajevo fire 3 mortar rounds at Serb positions in violation of promise to UN, UN condemns it, calls it ‘provocation’, also claims government troops shelling Doboj. Bosnian Serbs fire 2 missiles at NATO plane near Sarajevo, plane not hit. Bosnian Serbs claim Croatia firing mortars at Serb civilians from across border. EU report says of 18,232 houses in 240 Serb villages in Krajina, more than 13,600 (73%) have been partly or fully destroyed. Serbs have expelled 944 Muslim, Croats from Banja Luka, 432 from Doboj, and 442 from Mrkonjin Grad. Milosevic issues statement with Stoltenberg saying ‘it was necessary to bring about the end of...hostilities’, and Milosevic says he is in favour of diplomatic solution. Croatia lower house of parliament dissolves itself so as to begin early election campaign which Tudjman, HDZ (Croatia Democratic Community) are expected to win due to war successes.

September 21

Serbs beat back Croatian offensive in N. Bosnia with Croatia taking heavy casualties, Western diplomats say Croats push across Una River poorly planned, executed, and Serbs have been bombing them with cluster bombs (NATO takes no action). Serbs counterattacking to keep back
government forces near Prijedor, Sanski Most and UN reports 5th Corps has stalled 10 km SW of Bosanski Novi and 12 km W of Sanski Most with thousands of government- Croatian troops moving from Travnik. Heavy fighting on Mt. Ozren with Serbs shelling civilian areas in response to government advances. 2nd and 3rd Corps advancing on Doboj causing Serb civilians to flee to Bijeljina. Serbs fire rocket at Maglaj wounding 20. French and US commandos fail in 3 attempts to rescue 2 French flyers in Serbian control. US apparently commits to further rescue efforts.

*September 22*

UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1016, in which it recognises that it received the assurances of the Governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia that they would stop offensive activities in Western Bosnia, but warns parties of their obligation to strictly observe the demands of the Council of 18 September. The Security Council demands from the warring factions to cease hostilities without delay and to immediately sign a cease-fire agreement. The Council requests greater involvement of the international community in relieving the dramatic humanitarian situation in Bosnia.

Bosnian troops in Sarajevo again fire mortar at Serbs, UN condemns action. 5th Corps commander General Dudakovic says of goals, ‘We want to connect the three Bs: Bihac, Banja Luka, and Bijeljina’. Izetbegovic calls for demilitarisation of Banja Luka and says refugees can stay in town and army will not enter if this is accepted, also calls for free access to Gorazde as condition for 60-day cease-fire. Serb member of Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, Mirko Pejanovic, calls on Serbs living in Pale-run areas to set up their own civil authorities. Yugoslavia Foreign Minister Milutinovic says Yugoslavia army’s involvement cannot be ruled out in conflict. German Foreign Minister Kinkel warns Croats to respect abandoned Serb property in Krajina and not to hinder return of Serb refugees.

Head of the Office for Refugees of the Croatian Government Adalbert Rebic said in Zagreb that Croatia had abolished refugee status for 100,000 Muslims and Croats from Bosnia and that it would send them back to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The order for their deportation was issued by President Tudjman.

*September 23*

Both sides accuse other of pre-dawn attacks near Brcko, heavy fighting near Sanski Most with Arkan’s paramilitary involved. Silajdzic announces mass grave of 540 bodies found near Krasulje probably from 1992 and this gives government reason to pursue advance on Banja Luka. UN says Serbs still in control of Sanski Most, Mrkonjic Grad, and launching small counterattacks. 5th Corps recapture 10 villages and 130 sq. miles of territory in area in past 2 days, capture 16 APCs, and other artillery. Croatian and Bosnian Governments agree to return of 100,000 Bosnian refugees in Croatia. UN spokesman Ivanko says Serbs now hold only 49.7% of territory, while Government has 29.4%, Croatians 20.9%.

*September 24*

Bosnian Government says it will not participate in peace talks in New York probably due to successful offensive in Banja Luka area. Government troops advancing in Ozren mountains (N. of Doboj), reported to have killed 25 Serb troops and capture large amounts of weapons. Government, Croats fire artillery at Serbs in NE corridor, Yugoslavian army claimed to be involved in fighting on Brka-Vranovaca front (S. of Brko), and Government-Croat forces counterattack near Gradacac and capture village of Krecane but have to abandon it due to Yugoslavian intervention. Serbs shell Gorazde. Bosnian Serbs reject demilitarisation of Banja Luka, and Silajdzic says offensive will continue. US ambassador Galbraith tells Croatian government that postwar aid will be linked to treatment of Serbian minorities.

German Minister for Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel disclosed the contents of the Contact Group’s draft peace plan for Bosnia. The proposal contains four phases. The first one is signing of a cease-fire agreement. In the second phase, territorial division in 49:51 proportion would be determined, along...
with the future constitutional arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The third phase would include the implementation and insurance of the peace plan, with the participation of new peace forces with new mandate, disarmament and control of permitted armament of the warring parties, insurance of borders and regulation of refugee issues. The fourth phase implies the reconstruction of the country, including humanitarian aid to all parties, and aid for reconstruction that would be provided only to areas heavily destroyed during the war which, according to Kinkel, excludes the Serb side. This phase also includes the ‘reintegration of the successors of the former Yugoslavia’ into the international community.

September 25

Secretary of State Christopher calls Izetbegovic, urges him to participate in peace talks, then meets with Foreign Ministers in New York to keep peace talks on track. Government and Croatian troops put pressure on Serb territory near Banja Luka to allow equipment to come through. UN tells Serbs that attacking Gorazde would be ‘mad’. Tudjman meets in Paris with Chirac, both stress that Bosnia must not become a radical Islamic state. Tudjman also says 100,000 of 200,000 refugees to be returned to liberated areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but Bosnian Government says it was not consulted on this. Izetbegovic writes to Tudjman saying that Muslim minorities in Croatia do not have guaranteed representatives in parliament. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Milutinovic meets with German Foreign Minister Kinkel (first such high-level meeting since ’91).

September 26

With the mediation of the Contact Group, Foreign Ministers of FR Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia at a meeting in New York, chaired by Holbrooke and Bildt, adopted the Agreement on the constitutional arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Agreement is elaboration of constitutional arrangement provisions contained in the Geneva Agreed Basic Principles of 8 September 1995. The New York Agreement sets out an obligation for both entities (Muslim-Croatian Federation and Republika Srpska) to hold elections as soon as social conditions allow. Within 30 days after OSCE delegations have determined that elections could be properly held, the governments of the two entities will hold free and democratic elections and will fully co-operate with international monitors of the elections. Two thirds of the parliament/assembly will be elected in the territory of the Muslim-Croatian Federation, and one third in the territory of the Republika Srpska. All parliamentary decisions will be taken by majority vote, provided the majority includes at least one third of votes of each entity. The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be elected by the same principle and it will decide in the same way as the assembly. If a third of members of the assembly or Presidency disagrees with a decision, or deems it harmful for vital interests of the one or both entities, the issue shall be referred to the parliament of the one or both entities. If any of these parliaments by a 2/3 majority confirms the disagreement with the said decision, it cannot become effective. Common government and Constitutional Court shall be set up and operate according to similar principles. The mentioned institutions will be responsible for foreign policy. The parties will continue to negotiate about the extent of responsibility of these institutions for other issues, in accordance with all agreed constitutional principles.

Clinton re-pledges US troops to secure agreement, says ‘America will strongly oppose the partition of Bosnia’, but Republic senators express opposition. Karadzic says agreement ‘a confirmation of the existence of the Serb Republic’. 2/3rds of parliament to come from Muslim-Croatia territory, 1/3rd from Serb areas, parliament action to require 1/3rd from each entity to pass, president to be elected based on 2/3rds-1/3rd formula but size not decided upon. 17 Muslim and 17 Serb prisoners exchanged at Sarajevo airport with another set for Tuzla. UN says 1,000 Muslim/Croats (half of remaining population) expelled by Serbs from Doboj this past week. BBC reports Serbs still pressganging among Croatian Serb refugees. Novi List quotes Tudjman as saying ‘I promise today that we will soon enter Ilok and Vukovar’. Croats, Serbs fire artillery at each other in border area near Slavonski Brod and Novska. Mladic in Banja Luka again, says diplomacy way to solve war, but also threatens of wider war if
it continues. Spokesman of UNHCR said at a press conference in Geneva that this Commissariat is profoundly concerned at the intention of the Croatian authorities to forcefully return to Western Bosnia some 100,000 Muslim and Croat refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that it will resolutely demand from the Croatian authorities to abandon this decision.

September 27

BiH troops very near to Mrkonjic Grad, within shelling distance of Banja Luka, Serbs shell Travnik with cluster bomb killing 2, also hit Zenica in retaliation for government offensive Silajdzic says government will not negotiate while civilians being killed. UN says more than 400, including soldiers, arrested in Croatia for looting and burning Serb homes in Krajina. Serbs claim government attacking rail and road junctions at Doboj. Mayor of Jajce says ‘Herceg-Bosna’ authorities ban Croats from settling in ‘Bosniak’ (Muslim) houses in anticipation of Croats returning to towns held by Bosnian Government. International Tribunal sends Milosevic letter saying it is his resolution to hand over Karadzic, Mladic. Christopher says administration will ask for Congress approval before committing troops to peacekeeping effort. Shalikashvili welcomes non-NATO states to contribute troops to potential peacekeeping force. Ostobodjenje reports that now 2,000 bodies have been discovered in Kljuc mass grave instead of just 540. Council of Europe approves Macedonia membership for November 9 under name of Foreign Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia.

September 28

Bosnian troops press offensive in Banja Luka area shelling Serb positions around Mrkonjic Grad (40 miles from Banja Luka), Serb MiG-21s used against them. Government says it has captured Serb Army volunteers fighting with Bosnian Serbs but have executed them. Government commanders in area say they have been ordered to take high ground around Banja Luka and cut city off from other Serb territory. Silajdzic says troops will keep fighting ‘as long as there is no peace, there is war’, and calls for NATO air strikes in response to previous day’s attacks on Zenica, Travnik, but NATO says no as these are not Safe Areas. Stoltenberg in E. Slavonia for talks with rebel Serbs. International Herald Tribune says Clinton administration has endorsed civil suit against Karadzic filed by 2 Bosnian women. Mladic reported to have arrested officers responsible for Serbs’ defeat in Croatia-Bosnia offensive. Russia said to have gained 2 Tomahawk cruise missiles from Bosnian Serbs who shot down US reconnaissance aircraft.

Government of FR Yugoslavia gave full support to the New York Agreement on the basic principles of constitutional arrangement for Bosnia-Herzegovina, while cessation of hostilities is the absolute prerequisite for successful continuation and completion of the peace process. The Government also stated that immediate lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia is an unavoidable part of the present peace process, without which it cannot be successfully brought to the close.

NATO forces suspended the French air-crew search based on the French assessment that further missions would not be productive.

September 29

UN Security Council issued a presidential statement that it fully shares the concern of UNHCR, which warned that the decision by the Croatian authorities on the abolition of refugee status for 100,000 Muslims and Croats from Bosnia means forceful deportation of people into areas which are neither safe nor economically capable of receiving them. The Council demands from the Croatian Government to allow all refugees, irrespective of their origin, to remain in Croatia and reiterates its demand for full observance of human rights for the Serb population in Krajina, including their right to stay in their homes or return in safety. Elizabeth Rehn from Finland was appointed the new special rapporteur for human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia instead of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who resigned.
Serb cannons fire on Konjic killing 2, attack Zenica killing 1, and Gorazde, fighting also around Kljuc and Mt. Ozren, while UN reports some fighting between Muslim and Croats over reconquered territory but says their alliance holding. Holbrooke in Sarajevo for meetings. Ireland, Bosnia-Herzegovina establish diplomatic relations. Clinton responds to Republican Senator letter of September 25 that he is not keeping them informed of Bosnia plans by meeting with 24 Republic and Democratic congress leaders, tells them costs of peacekeeping and rebuilding Bosnia cheaper than continuing war. Dole still opposed and prefers lifting arms embargo, Gingrich calls meeting ‘interesting’, Lugar says it is a ‘good discussion’. North Atlantic Council, taking note of a report by NATO military commanders, stated that the Bosnian-Serb reply to UN demands was not a sufficient basis for the termination of air strikes, and set out further conditions.

September 30

EU, UN officials accuse Croatia of violation against Serbs in Krajina, calls actions part of systematic campaign to kick 3,500 remaining Serbs out of region. Bodies of slain elderly Serbs being found, whole villages being destroyed. Croatia claims this is the action of ‘renegades’, says 370 have been arrested for looting. US Assistant Secretary of State Shattuck calls for end to ‘major human rights abuses’ in Krajina. Serbs fire guns at Gradacac, mortars on Mt. Ozren fired at villages around Gracanica. Fighting around government-held Konjic (25 miles SE of Sarajevo) where 3 civilians killed, 10 wounded by shellings, heavy fighting around Mrkonjic Grad. Holbrooke in Belgrade, says ‘all fundamental issues...remain unresolved...(the sides are) very far apart’. UN says report which blames Serbs for firing market on August 28 correct despite British, Russian contentions otherwise. Croatian Primate Cardinal Kuharic tells Croatia soldiers in mass that there is no justification for harming a human being regardless of ethnic origin. Vecernji List says 3/4rds of Catholic churches in Krajina destroyed under Serbian control, while only 2.5% of Orthodox buildings ruined.

October 1

7th Corps said to be on Mt. Manjaca only 20 km away from Banja Luka, heavy Serb artillery response, 3 at Zenica. Holbrooke continues shuttle diplomacy meeting with Tudjman, Milosevic, says sides don’t agree on how to stop fighting. Milosevic calls for cease-fire as first step. Holbrooke says reintegration of E. Slavonia into Croatia essential but must be peaceful. Croatia ruled out a referendum or special status for Eastern Slavonia, the last of its territories under Serb control, in any overall peace settlement for the former Yugoslavia. In the New York talks, the three sides in the wars in Bosnia and Croatia struck a deal on the future of Bosnia, laying the constitutional ground for a possible end to the conflicts.

October 2

Bosnian government troops launched a major attack south of Sarajevo in an attempt to cut a key Serb supply route. A Bosnian Serb radio report that ‘the Bosnian army launched an artillery and infantry attack in the Treskavica mountain region with the aim of taking control of the Sarajevo-Trnovo road.’ EU Foreign Ministers endorsed in Luxembourg Franco-German plan to rebuild Bosnia in the event of peace, but held back from calling for a European to co-ordinate the multi-national effort. The six points in the plan were:
(1) implementing the peace plan,
(2) dealing with refugees,
(3) providing humanitarian aid,
(4) reconstruction,
(5) controlling arms and regional security, and,
(6) dealing with open questions such as human and minority rights.
Silajdzic in Moscow for talks with Kozyrev, Chernomyrdin. Serb tanks and mortar fired at government troops NE of Bosnia Krupa, government fires back killing 3, UN says no new changes in sides’ positions.

**October 3**

With the mediation of Co-Chairman Stoltenberg and American Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith, a meeting was held in Erdut between the representatives of the Srem-Baranja region (‘sector East’ of the Republika Srpska Krajina) and Republic of Croatia. The delegations agreed on basic principles for the future negotiations on the settlement of the status of this area. The Agreement sets out a transitional period for this region, the length of which should be determined subsequently. During this period a transitional authority will be established, composed of the representatives of the interests of the Croatian Government, local Serbs, Croatian refugees and displaced persons, and ethnic minorities. During the transitional period international forces will ensure peace and compliance with the final agreement. The area will be demilitarised during this period. All persons entitled to Croatian citizenship irrespective of their ethnic background will be afforded the right to return to their homes, repossess their property or to compensation for property that cannot be recovered.

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov (78) was injured in an assassination attempt when a remote-control bomb exploded near the president’s passing car in downtown Skopje. Bosnian Government troops, Serbs fight near Banja Luka. Government forces launch attack around Mt. Treskavica (S. of Sarajevo) to cut Serb supply road between Sarajevo-Trnovo, Serbs demand to be allowed to return their weapons to area to respond but UN says no. UN protests government attack. UN says Serbs regain some territory in NW. Government says 3 killed, 3 wounded in Gorazde. Secretary of State Christopher says if US does not participate in NATO peacekeeping force it could mean end of alliance. Akashi says elderly Serb civilians murdered in village in Krajina by men wearing military uniforms. Holbrooke, in Belgrade, says talks not at impasse.

**October 4**

NATO planes attack 2 Serb SAM systems in Central Bosnia and another in south after batteries lock onto NATO craft. Serbs continue offensive in W. Bosnia with intense fighting around Otoka, Bosnia Krupa. Government troops of 4th Corps near Mostar say they have driven Serbs off key heights near Sarajevo-Trnovo road and are controlling road between Konjic and Kalinovic (Mladic’s home town). Holbrooke says he has been given ‘serious cease-fire proposal’ by Bosnian Government authorities. UN protests torture of Serbs by Croats to Tudjman saying Croatian security forces probably involved. Zubak admits to conflicts between Croat and Bosnian forces but downplays them. US ambassador to Bosnia, John Menzies, arrives in Sarajevo to take up post.

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso sent a warning from Geneva to the Croatian President Tudjman regarding the drastic violation of human rights in Krajina. ‘United Nations are profoundly concerned at everything that the Croatian authorities and/or their Army are doing in the devastated Krajina. That is why the UN warn the Zagreb officials that such drastic violation of human rights will no longer be tolerated,’ concludes the High Commissioner.

EU monitors said that a Bosnian army general was hurt and seven soldiers were killed in ‘friendly fire’ between allied Bosnian Government and Croat HVO forces in Mrkonjic Grad, western Bosnia; a Bosnian army source denied it.

**October 5**

Clinton announces Bosnia cease-fire to take effect on 10 October after electricity, gas restored to Sarajevo, all shooting to stop, and no new mines laid or barriers imposed, but existing positions to be temporary maintained. Cease-fire to last 60 days, negotiations to begin in US on 25 October. Agreement drafted by Holbrooke, signed by Izetbegovic, Karadzic and Mladic, witnessed by Milosevic.
No US troops to be involved until formal peace settlement reached. Agreement does not include Croatia, and UN says over 100 Croatian troops have moved into Bihac area, but Croatian government to be full partner in cease-fire due to presence of Croatian troops in Bosnia. Jeltsin calls agreement ‘major step toward peace’. Croatian artillery positioned near Dvor in Croatia. Serbs firing artillery at Gracanica, Zavidovici, and Maglaj. Yugoslav army fighting in Doboj-Kraljina-Bosnia Petrovo Selo area. UN says 1/3rd of peacekeeping force (9,000) to be removed due to stabilisation and progress of peace talks. Russia says it will resume deliveries of national gas to Sarajevo but land mines need to removed from around electric pylons. Official Dutch explanation of Dutchbat role in fall of Srebrenica contradicted by soldiers who say they knew executions were going on, and that Dutch commanders preferred to deal with Serbs who they considered to be professional soldiers. UN warns Croatia, Bosnia to protect their minority citizens better.

October 6

Approx. 3,500 Croatian troops providing artillery support for Bosnian Government forces who repel Serb advance west of Bosanska Krupa (125 miles NW of Sarajevo), and 400 Croatians have crossed into Bihac area in past 3 days. EU says Kljuc (85 miles NW of Sarajevo) still in government hands but Serbs say they will recapture it as early as tomorrow. Government gains made near Trnovo (S. of Sarajevo). Holbrooke says delays in re-establishing utilities to Sarajevo could temporary delay cease-fire. Tudjman says Croatian troops to observe cease-fire, Russia says it will contribute troops to multinational force.

At the initiative of Italy, an expanded Contact Group meeting was held in Rome. Besides representatives of five Contact Group members, the meeting was attended by diplomats of Italy, Canada and Japan, Foreign Ministers of FR Yugoslavia Milan Milutinovic and Bosnia, Muhamed Sacirbey, and deputy Foreign Minister of Croatia Ivo Sanader. Participants welcomed the cease-fire and termination of all hostilities. Constitutional and territorial modalities for the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been discussed, as well as ways for reconstruction of war-afflicted areas.

In a presidential statement the UN Security Council welcomed the signing of the cease-fire and termination of all hostilities throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

October 7

Momcilo Krajsnik, close associate of Karadzic, and president of the assembly of the Republika Srpska, announced continuation of military operations in Bosnia so that separatist Serbs till next Tuesday, when cease-fire comes into force, could gain the best possible position.

Delegates of the lower house of Russian Parliament, tried to outvote the veto of Russian president Jeltsin on their decision for unilateral lifting sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. Two-third majority of 300 needed votes was not achieved as only 248 delegates voted.

The Bosnian government threatened to call off peace talks due at the end of the month.

White House Chief-of-Staff, Leon Panetta, said President Clinton could send US troops to Bosnia as part of NATO peacekeeping force without authorisation from Congress.

Following an 8 October meeting in Geneva with US Defense Secretary William Perry, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said the two sides had reached an agreement in principle on Russian participation in a Bosnian peace implementation force.

World Bank Vice-president Wilfried Thalwitz suggested that Bosnia’s Government will need at least three billion dollars to rebuild its economy and create a decent standard of living. This figure is lower than that called earlier by Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic who said Bosnian Government will need 12 billion dollars in post-war reconstruction aid.

Serbs expel 450 women, children, and old people from around Banja Luka to Zenica, refugees say many of them expelled by Arkan and his troops, males have been taken to unknown locations. Heavy fighting around Bosanska Krupa. UN says it will be clearing mines from road leading to Gorazde as
part of government demands for cease-fire. Tudjman confirms that regular Croatian troops still in Bosnia.

**October 8**

Serb planes bomb refugee camp at Zivinice near Tuzla with cluster bomb (M-87 Orkan rocket) killing at least 6, wounding 30, NATO planes respond but call off strikes due to bad weather (Bosnian Serb TV blames Bosnian Government of massacring own citizens). Serb planes bomb Tesanjka (N. Bosnia) killing 9, wounding 45, while Croatia reports that Serb planes also drop cluster bombs on Croatian villages of Jelah, Lepenica in Usora River valley (N. Bosnia). Artillery and rocket fire near Bosanska Krupa, heavy fighting near Kljuc. Silajdzic threatens to call off peace talks if attacks not stopped, but Izetbegovic says cease-fire to be observed if mines cleared as agreed.

**October 9**

NATO planes bomb Serb bunker which has been directing shelling of Tuzla for 2nd day (16 dead, 90 wounded, including Norwegian peacekeeper and 2 civilians). Moscow criticised NATO’s air attack, saying such actions could jeopardise efforts to establish a ceasefire in Bosnia. Serb units directed by Arkan expel 3,500 from Prijedor and Bosanski Novi (near Banja Luka). Women refugees report that men were taken away and that they were detained in stadium for several days without water. Bosnian Government says cease-fire to be delayed since utilities have not been restored to Sarajevo, and Croatian newspapers say Bosnian Government forces ready to take Mrkonjic Grad. Croatian officials say they have found mass grave in Krajina of mostly elderly Croatian citizens killed by Serbs in '91 in area retaken from Serbs. Macedonian parliament ratifies interim agreement with Greece.

**October 10**

After a seven months of blockade gas and electricity flowed into Sarajevo. Bosnian Government says amount of electricity powering Sarajevo homes inadequate, refuse to accept truce under these conditions, but Serbs say they are not authorised to accept offer and will have to consult leaders. The Bosnian Serbs responded to the Bosnian-Croat federation’s offer of a cease-fire starting 12 October. The cease-fire was originally due to have started on 10 October. UN says Serbs in final push to ethnically cleanse territory and have expelled 10,000 Muslim, Croats in last 4 days with the usual rapes, murders, and robberies. Bosnian Croat troops captured Mrkonjic Grad, 40 km south of Banja Luka, the last Serb-held town on the vital Bihac-Sarajevo in the early afternoon. Other big towns on the route - Donji Vakuf, Jajce, Kljuc and Bosanski Petrovac - were seized in an offensive last month. Serbs say they will shell Croatian border towns in retaliation. BiH stops Serb advance on Bosnia Krupa and Kljuc and gained ground near Doboj. Government troops start offensive towards Mt. Vis (S. of Kalesija, E. of Tuzla). Serbs fire artillery at Okucani wounding 3. The Bosnian Army’s 5th Corps based in Bihac said the town of Sanski Most was re-captured. The fall was confirmed by Serbs in Banja Luka. The Army’s 5th Corps reported it found bodies of 50 Croat & Muslim civilians - eleven civilians’ were reportedly shot in the back, while 15 were killed by automatic rifles’ fire. Bodies of 10 killed civilians were found in the Trnova village, while two mass graves were found near Catholic church in the Sasina village. 7th Corps links up with Croats at Ugar River, 1st Corps has liberated 100 sq. km near Trnovo and moving towards Gorazde. Serb headquarters calls for last stands in defence of Prijedor and Sanski Most, says Manjaca Hill near Banja Luka under BiH rocket-launcher fire, 15,000 more Serbs flee fighting and 3,200 soldiers missing, killed, or captured in these offensives according to Serbs.

Ibro Osmanovic, 30, gave first accounts of routine beatings, torture and deaths at a Serb prison camp in Bosnia during hearings held by the UN criminal tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in the Hague. The testimony came during the hearing of evidence against Dragan Nikolic, accused of murdering and torturing prisoners while running the Susica camp in northeastern Bosnia in the summer of 1992.
UN announces that it (temporary) will replace Akashi at end of month with Ghanian diplomatic Kofi Annan, UN General Undersecretary for Peacekeeping. Akashi will leave this post on 1 November at his personal request.

October 11

Serbs accuse Bosnian Government of delays implementing cease-fire as tactic to seize towns of Mrkonjic Grad and Sanski Most to widen corridor between Sarajevo, Bihac. Cease-fire document signed by Foreign Minister of the Republika Srpska Aleksa Buha, and by Hasan Muratovic on behalf of Bosnian Government. Karadzic ordered the Main Headquarters of the RS Army, members of the Interior Ministry and all armed units to cease fire and all military activities as of 12 October at 00.01. The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina ordered Army commander Rasim Delic to issue orders to armed units ‘to cease all military activities except defensive’.

October 12

Bosnia-wide sixty-day cease-fire (36th) begins after midnight, 2 days later than scheduled but within time frame. Cease-fire largely in effect although fighting in NW. Both sides accuse other of violation of truce with Serbs saying government forces shelling road between Sanski Most and Banja Luka. UN monitors still prevented from entering war zone and can’t verify fighting. More fighting reported around Sanski Most despite government having taken town, BiH also advancing N. on Prijedor and claims to have taken highway 6 miles W. of town. Government says that forces had advanced within 12 miles of Banja Luka prior to cease-fire. 5th Corps commander Dudakovic meets with central Bosnian 7th Corps commander General Mehmet Alagic in Sanski Most to plan next advances. UN convoy testing openness of road out of Sarajevo turned back due to Serb mines, French peacekeepers begin clearing them. UN establish of refugees from fighting between 9,000-40,000 with most Croatia-Muslim men unaccounted foreign government troops find mass grave with 15 bodies in village of Kokic near Jajce.

In a presidential statement the UN Security Council welcomed the cease-fire in Bosnia asking all warring parties to observe it strictly and restrain from taking any military action that could discredit and endanger the peace process. The Council also expressed its deep concern for the violent displacement of population and condemned any ethnic cleansing by whosoever, demanding that such actions should be immediately stopped. Macedonia admitted into OSCE.

US Assistant Secretary of State and peace negotiator Richard Holbrooke announced that negotiations on Bosnia will start on October 31, in US and will last until the results are obtained. The NATO Council decided that multinational forces of NATO equipped with helicopters and tanks will arrive to Bosnia immediately after the signing of peace agreement.

October 13

Bosnian Federation, ignoring a nation-wide cease-fire, attacked the north-western town of Prijedor forcing 40,000 Serbs to flee under a barrage of shells. There were 70,000 refugees from other areas in Prijedor itself. Prijedor shelled, loses electricity and radio while Karadzic visits, and UN spokesman Vernon says Dudakovic probably wants to take city despite what he has told UN. Karadzic says ‘American has brokered this cease-fire, and it is obliged to stop the Muslim’. Bosnian Serb officials threatened in a meeting with UN-officials to quit the peace process, and Deputy Serb commander General Milan Gvero demands NATO air strikes. Serbs say 2 villages S. of Banja Luka evacuated and one on fire, Banja Luka hospitals crammed with wounded. Serbs set up checkpoints around Banja Luka to keep population from leaving. UN allowed into Sanski Most for ‘controlled’ visitation UN says Serbs’ ethnic cleansing starting again in Banja Luka.

After four day negotiations in Skopje representatives of Greek nad Macedonian governments signed the Memorandum on Implementation of the Agreement on Normalisation of the Macedonian-Greek
Relations which had been signed in New York on 13 September. The Greek government issued a statement saying that ‘all restrictions on movement of goods from and to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be lifted’ at midnight that day. In this way Greece lifted the trade and economic blockade it had imposed against Macedonia on 16 February 1994.

October 14

UN favourable on reduction of fighting but criticises government for not allowing monitoring, while government commanders in Sanski Most say they were not given orders to halt advance until 4 days after the cease-fire. Sacirbey calls on Serb civilians not to flee homes. Silajdzic tells UN that large numbers of Yugoslav troops, weapons crossing into Bosnia in recent days which prompts government to halt further fighting. Bosnian Serbs say they will adhere to cease-fire and send representatives to peace talks in US. Shalikashvili meets with Izetbegovic in Sarajevo and says air strikes still option to enforce truce. Bosnian Serb leader Koljevic says they will call on Yugoslavia and Orthodox/Slavic countries to aid them in stopping BiH/Croatian advances.

UN Brigadier-General Alain Forand of Canada, released a detailed report of Croat atrocities against Serbs in Croatia’s Krajina region. The report gave details of murders of elderly civilians, looting and house burning. The details confirmed reports by media and human rights groups over the past month. Forand said the crimes were ‘ongoing.’

October 15

Aid workers say that older Serb refugees are dying in refugee camps due to exhaustion caused by fighting (many of them in Omarska, former prison camp). UN says Croatian army unit with 22 tanks crosses back into Croatia, and 2,500 Croatian troops move away from positions along N. border. Government army commanders meet in Sarajevo and send representative to NW to ensure cease-fire. Serbs claim fighting still going on in this area with shelling of Prijedor. There can be no lasting settlement in Bosnia-Hercegovina ‘without a military defeat’ for the Serb separatists, Bosnian General Atif Dudakovic said in an interview published in the Madrid daily ABC. Government forces in Sanski Most find corpses of 85 civilians killed by Serbs during their retreat, 1,000 Muslim men missing in this town alone. Tudjman re-elected head of Croatia Democratic commander (HDZ).

October 15-16

Assembly of the Republika Srpska discussed in Banja Luka military and political situation, peace process and problems concerning the accommodation for refugees coming from ‘the occupied territories of the Republika Srpska’. The Assembly removed Prime Minister Dushan Kozic but Karadzic demands army leadership ‘bear the consequences’ for losses and Assembly decided on retirement of four generals: Deputy Serb commander, Milan Gvero, military intelligence chief Djordje Djukic and local commanders, Zdravko Tolimir and Grujo Borić as well as lieutenant-colonel Milovan Milutinovic, because they ‘have made some mistakes in performing the duties they have assigned to’. Generals are blamed for military defeats in various parts of Bosnia, particularly in western Bosnia. A group of former Karadzic’s associates, led by Radoslav Dodik, requested Karadzic and Mladic to be removed as well, as the ones guilty for series of military defeats. According to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA the Bosnian Serbs have asked Serbia for ‘protection of the Republika Srpska and its people’.

October 16

UN says truce holding 80% but fighting persists, with Bosnian government troops and Serb forces fighting a fierce artillery duel near Sanski Most, northwest Bosnia, in continued violation of a ceasefire which was officially in its fifth day. More refugees flooding into Banja Luka area with 40,000 Serbs
fleeing Prijedor in 1 day. AFP reported that Bosnian Croats and Muslims expelled from the Banja Luka area claim the Bosnian Serbs have reopened two concentration camps near the north-western city of Sanski Most. Financial Times says 2,500 Croatian troops have not returned from Bosnia to Adriatic garrisons, may be headed to E. Slavonia. Quoting sources in Pentagon, The Washington Post writes that the US found the second half of the next month to be the final dead-line for the deployment of the peacekeeping troops in Bosnia.

Washington-based National Democratic Institute (NDI) suggested that forthcoming elections in Croatia would be far from fair. NDI said President Franjo Tudjman was inflating the ballot with votes from nationalist Croats outside Croatia, rigging constituency boundaries and media access to favour his party and to squeeze the Serb minority out of the political picture.

October 17

Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev urged top policy-makers from the five-nation Contact Group to find a ‘balanced’ approach in their peace efforts in Bosnia.

Christopher, Perry present administration plan for sending troops to Bosnia to Congress. Perry comments that ‘if US forces are attacked... they will bring a large hammer down on them immediately’. Both say US forces to be under NATO command, not UN. US announces site of new peace talks to be Wright-Patterson AFB in Dayton Ohio. BiH says Mladic now requesting meetings with their commanders. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung says 22 Croatia tanks pulled out of Bosnia to be sent to Nasice near E. Slavonia. Montenegro says Croatian Serbs moving into Montenegro causing humanitarian problem. Holbrooke arrives in Belgrade for talks with Milosevic.

Concerning the decision on retirement of four generals, the general staff of the Army of the Republika Srpska issued a statement saying that the officers had been accused ‘on no grounds and without any evidence’. Such action was a part of the campaign which had been waged against the Army of RS ‘in order to make it responsible for all failures of the state policy, this particularly regarding to the incapability to verify the results of our struggle at the international level’. The decision ‘cannot be accepted because it would endanger giving of orders, commanding and operation of the general staff and army as a whole’.

Representatives of the Contact Group met in Moscow to co-ordinate their views on settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was the last meeting of the Contact Group before the negotiations due to start on 1 November in Dayton.

October 18

Bosnia and Serbia agree to open liaison offices in each other’s capitals. UN reports 100 Muslim killed by Serb paramilitary forces in Bosanski Novi. Croatia says 25 arrested in killing of Serb civilians in Krajina. In 2nd day of testimony before US Congress, administration officials are grilled by sceptical legislation about committing US force. Karadzic, in first admission that Serbs hold 2 French pilots says unknown group, possibly Muslim, has kidnapped them.

October 19

Fighting around Sanski Most with Serbs retaking 4 sq. miles, and around hydroelectric station near Jajce (Croatia-held). Bosnian Serbs demand government give back land taken in past month. Tudjman tells Holbrooke that Croatia will try peaceful methods to regain E. Slavonia. Unnamed ‘western officials’ say they have evidence of thousands of Muslim men and boys killed by Serbs in Banja Luka area in past week, UN sources say US is deliberately remaining silent on the issue so as not to derail peace talks. For the first time during the current cease-fire a humanitarian aid convoy reached Gorazde. The UN convoy used the road via Pale and Rogatica, facing no obstructions, nor it was stopped by Serb paramilitary at their checkpoints. UN officials in Bosnia issued a 24-hour deadline to the Bosnian Government and Bosnian Croats to allow UN observers access to their territory to monitor compliance
with the cease-fire agreement or be condemned for obstruction. At the moment, the Federation forces control 52.26% of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After several cease-fire violations which had become effective on 12 October the Central Joint Commission of the Warring Parties for Implementation of the Agreement and representatives of UNPROFOR held a meeting at Sarajevo airport. Parties agreed that a full cease-fire should be implemented throughout the territory of Bosnia on 19 October at 24.00. French officials in Belgrade with Foreign Minister de Charette say Milosevic doesn’t seem to know about pilots, call Karadzic story ‘grotesque’. EU negotiator Bildt detained by French troops at Sarajevo airport but finally allowed to leave, no explanation given. Karadzic says map is key question in future settlement, says relations with Mladic good. Bosnian Serbs reported to have arrested 1 British, 2 American journalists at Pale. Holbrooke says Sarajevo should not become a divided Berlin.

October 20

Holbrooke, assistant US Secretary of State, announced that Bosnia and Serbia agreed to open liaison offices in each other’s capital. US Defense Secretary Perry says he believes Congress will support President Clinton’s plan to commit more than 20-thousand US troops to implement a peace accord in Bosnia. Retired General Colin Powell said US troops would be an ‘appropriate tool’ to police a Bosnian peace agreement. After Belgian parliament voted to send him to court over corruption allegations NATO’s Secretary General, Willy Claes, said he will resign from his post. Russian President Boris Jeltsin ruled out Russian troops coming under any form of NATO command and instead proposed some form of shared leadership - an unacceptable condition for Washington.

Izetbegovic announces 20 goals of Bosnia-Herzegovina including maintaining sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Contact Group map being considered valid, no surrender of Gorazde, or Brcko, an undivided Sarajevo, agreement to be enforced not by UNPROFOR but by ‘powerful international forces’ who must be deployed throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and not only along separation lines, Croatian forces to remain on Bosnia-Herzegovina territory only 30 days after agreement signed. Government formally calls for Abdic’s extradition. Cease-fire around Sanski Most agreed on by front-line commanders. Car bomb explodes in front of county police station in Rijeka killing 1, seriously wounding 2.

October 21

France supports Russian peacekeeping contribution, Chirac says, and comments that ‘Russian and French positions on this point are perfectly convergent’. Serbs free 2 Turkish journalists, 2 Saudi aid workers, and Vladimir Srebrov, a pro-government Serb writer, while government frees 10 Bosnian Serbs including 1 soldier at Sarajevo airport. UN reports 55 women who refused to leave homes in Prijedor beaten to death by Serbs, also says that fighting in NW is now at ‘negligible’ levels. Arkan says his troops will be redeployed to E. Slavonia. Militant Egyptian Islamic group, Al-Jama’ ah al-Islamiyah, claims responsibility for Rijeka explosions, calls for release of their spokesman who has been detained by Croatian police since September.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel was quoted as saying the signing of a Bosnian peace agreement would not automatically lead to the lifting of international sanctions against rump Yugoslavia.

October 22

Bosnian Serbs accuse government forces of firing on Serb positions in Doboj and Mt. Ozren. US Defense Secretary Perry says Russian unwillingness to send peacekeepers under NATO command a ‘major hang-up’ for peacekeeping mission and that NATO would unravel if the United States failed to send troops to help enforce a possible future peace accord in Bosnia. Jeltsin tells UN that Russian peacekeepers will go to Bosnia ‘but only under a strict mandate of the UN Secretary Council’, and that ‘military force should never be used in those cases when diplomacy has not yet managed to succeed’ and calls NATO use of force in Bosnia ‘an obvious and clear-cut’ violation of UN principles. Perry,
Christopher refuse to guarantee that US peacekeeping role will only last 1 year, instead say this is an ‘approximate date’. French Defence Minister Charles Millon says Milosevic has given some assurances that 2 pilots are alive, speculating that they are held by Yugoslavia secret police but no negotiations are being conducted with Milosevic. Bosnian Serb assembly appoints Banja Luka mayor Rajko Kasagic as new premier.

October 23

Bosnian Serb assembly calls for part of Sarajevo to be under their control, the right to hold a referendum on secession from Bosnia within a year, the return of some land lost in recent battles. Serbs also still demanding access to Adriatic and a 12-mile wide corridor linking territory in E. and W. Bosnia. Government has no immediate reaction. Jeltsin, Clinton meet in New York, discuss Bosnia but come to no agreement on participation of Russian troops under NATO command. Karadzic inspect Arkan’s troops in Bijeljina who have now postponed their departure. Bosnian Government protests Bosnian Croats running in upcoming Croatia parliament elections (12 of 127 seats are reserved for Croatia diaspora. Tudjman, Izetbegovic, and Turkish president meet in New York, discuss return of Abdic refugees to Bosnia, but Bosnian Minister of Justice demands extradition of Abdic.

October 23-24

Negotiations between the delegations of Srem-Baranja region (Eastern Slavonia) and the Republic of Croatia took place in Osijek. Mediators, Co-Chairman Stoltenberg and American ambassador to Croatia Galbraith offered a draft agreement on a peaceful settlement of the problem in this region. The negotiations were broken off but Croatian-Serb negotiators say they have made progress with Serbs accepting principle of peaceful reintegration. Tudjman says Zagreb not to use force to retake E. Slavonia.

October 24

Western road out of Sarajevo opened by UNPROFOR after cleared of mines. Bosnian Government says Croatian government decision to allow Bosnian Croats to vote in Croatia elections undermines sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tudjman insists in interview (USA Today) that no Islamic nations help in reconstruction of Bosnia, and this would cause Croatia to withdraw from peace negotiations. Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic says Belgrade participation in peace talks conditional upon lifting of sanctions. US officials ask Milosevic to help locate hundreds of missing Muslim, Croatics in Banja Luka area. Karadzic, Koljevic, Krajinsnik in Belgrade for talks with Milosevic but Yugoslav media do not report on meeting. Croatia arrests 15 (13 Serbs, 2 Croats) including human rights activist Radovan Jovic for spying for Yugoslavian army in ‘91, providing information to Krajina Serbs.

October 25

Clinton, Jeltsin agree that as many as 2,000 Russian troops to carry out support functions for peace accord, although details of how they will answer to NATO not worked out. Peace talks delayed 1 day to allow Jeltsin to meet the leaders in Moscow on October 31. UNHCR estimates that 2-3,000 Muslim men missing in Banja Luka area due to October expulsions. Croatian and Croatia-Serb negotiation resume.

October 26

Bosnian Serbs say they will allow relief organisations immediate and unrestricted access into areas such as Banja Luka where Muslim prisoners are or executions have taken place after Milosevic promises this to US official, but Red Cross says they are still being denied. UNHCR spokesperson Jankowski says he
has more evidence that 2-3,000 Muslim men were perhaps killed by Serbs in Banja Luka area. Perry, Grachev meet in Washington, make little progress on how Russian troops would work with NATO. Dole, 50 other Republic senators write Clinton requesting he seek authority before committing 20,000 troops to peacekeeping force, but Perry says Clinton will seek non-binding ‘sense of the Congress’ ‘at the right time’. Izetbegovic says stable peace not possible unless accused war criminals are removed, but also comments that Russian should not be excluded from NATO-led peacekeeping force. Tudjman wound up a parliamentary election campaign with a speech promising to win back every inch of Croatian territory, if possible with peace, but if not possible with peace, we will use all means available. Military action now expected.

October 27

British television station, Channel Four, said it had unearthed evidence of US involvement in covert weapons drops to Bosnian forces in violation of an international arms embargo. Four days before the start of the US-led peace talks, chief negotiator Holbrooke warned that there will be no peace if Serbs continue to insist on the right to secede from Bosnia and Herzegovina. UNICEF said it had ferried 53 tonnes of aid into Gorazde since its first convoy in 15 months reached the town 10 days ago. Some 60,000 people are besieged in the Gorazde enclave. Many are from nearby villages while others are from two former Safe Areas Zepa and Srebrenica. A group of Islamic volunteer fighters held up and threatened to kill British soldiers in a UN convoy in central Bosnia, backing off only after a Bosnian army officer intervened, the UN said. French Major Herve Gourmelon said the UN estimated there were between 1,000 and 2,000 of the Islamic fighters in central Bosnia.

October 28

Negotiations between delegations of the Srem-Baranja region (Eastern Slavonia) and Croatia resumed in Erdut. The changed text of the draft agreement offered by mediators Stoltenberg and Galbraith was not accepted by the Serbs since that agreement ‘implies prompt, full and almost unconditional reintegration into Croatia’, as was said by Serb delegation head Milan Milanovic. Slavko Dokmanovic says they could not allow for Croatia police immediately being stationed on border with Yugoslavia. Serbs say column of Yugoslavia army tanks moving towards border with E. Slavonia. Zagreb continuing to hint it will attack in mid-November unless Serbs agree to submit to Croatian authorities. Holbrooke pessimistic about Dayton talks saying his greatest fear is that bringing together 3 presidents ‘will prove to have been a mistake’ and that ‘there will be no peace’ if Serbs insist on secession.

October 29

Croats vote in parliamentary elections. Ruling Croatian Democratic Union won 73 of the total of 127 seats and fall short of 2/3rds majority necessary for amending Constitution. OSCE observers note polling irregularities and some infringements of secret balloting. Diplomats trying to keep Croatia, Serbs from attacking each other in E. Slavonia. 30 Islamic volunteers hold up, threaten to kill 5 British
peacemakers in retaliation for British soldier having killed one of them, UN protests. UN accuses US of having made weapons drops to BiH over summer (according to British TV), US denies it. US gives war crimes prosecutors photo evidence of 6 more mass grave sites in Srebrenica area, says it had not done this earlier to prevent Serbs from destroying evidence. 1st passenger bus to leave Sarajevo since April ’92 heads west under UN escort. Government, Serbs exchange 19 prisoners, 5 corpses in Sarajevo. About 1,000 Muslim refugees have returned to homes in Sanski Most, Kljuc and Mrkonjic Grad. Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic said the minimum outcome acceptable by his government from peace talks planned in the Dayton, US, ‘is the sovereignty and territory integrity of Bosnia and the creation of central government bodies ensuring this integrity.’

October 30

Dutch Defence Minister Voorhoeve said that the ‘number of men killed in Srebrenica cannot yet be established, but may be several thousand.’ He added that ‘There is strong evidence to suggest mass execution and the existence of mass graves outside the enclave.’ The Dutch, in his words, could not be blamed for the carnage: ‘I refuse to apportion blame to any particular person or institution, except the Bosnian Serbs.’ Dutch say their peacekeepers were not responsible for fall of Srebrenica after Boston Globe publishes UN documents sent to Dutchbat in July which state ‘giving up any weapons and military equipment is not authorised and is not a point of discussion’, and ‘take all reasonable measures to protects refugees and civilians in your care’. New York Times says US now claims that Serbs massacred up to 6,000 Muslim in Srebrenica tried to hide it by destroying bodies and moving them from mass graves.

US House of Representatives votes 315-103 in favour of non-binding resolution telling Bosnia peace negotiations that US troops should not be presumed to be available to enforce agreement. Izetbegovic leaves for talks saying he will not accept division of country, will hold out for united Sarajevo, while EU Foreign Ministers meet in Luxembourg and agree to provide $2 billion in reconstruction aid and call for Bosnia-Herzegovina to remain single state with 2 entities. Bosnian Government, Serbs have now exchanged more than 500 civilian, military prisoners in Koprivna (near Sanski Most). UN reports Bosnian Serbs shelling near Dubrovnik previous day, Croatian Foreign Minister Granic threatens retaliation while Bosnian Serbs say Croatian army has conducted shelling. UN says it will withdraw 6-8,500 of its 18,000 man force for cost-cutting purposes. At the farewell reception for the UNPROFOR Commander to Bosnia-Herzegovina, British General Rupert Smith, Bosnian president Izetbegovic presented him with a painting and Bosnian passport saying he would always be welcome to Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

October 31

Clinton administration official says parties in Dayton peace talks will not initially face each other but instead be in proximity to one another. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, Bildt to co-chair talks. Milosevic says he is optimistic about talks and that ‘our aim is peace’, Tudjman that he is ‘hopeful’. UNHCR says expulsions of Muslims continuing in Banja Luka area, Sacirbey calls for investigation of fall of Srebrenica says Milosevic ultimately responsible for slaughter of thousands. Serbian Assembly of Srem-Baranja Region (E. Slavonia) formally reject reintegration proposals, negotiator Milantovic calling for 5 year period of UN control.

November 1

Izetbegovic, Tudjman, Milosevic convene for peace talks, begin meeting by shaking hands, Christopher meets separately with Tudjman, Milosevic. Izetbegovic, Tudjman reach agreement on first phase of refugee problem, while Milosevic, Tudjman agree to settle E. Slavonia problem peacefully. Christopher submitted to the delegations the draft peace plan in ten chapters which had been made by the expert team of international mediators. Christian Science Monitor correspondent David Rohde disappears in Serb
territory, US tells Serbs it holds them responsible for his safety. German newspaper *Die Tageszeitung* reports that on May 24 Britain, France and Russia voted to abandon Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde and that US, German tacitly consented. Paper also contends that Chirac gave Janvier order not to authorise 5 air strikes requested by Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica and that French and US secret services were aware of Serbian plans. Yugoslavian government denies *Washington Post* reports that its troops were involved at Srebrenica, denies existence of prison camps for Bosnia Muslim on Yugoslavian territory.

**November 2**

Christopher says NATO forces can’t be expected to serve if Bosnian Serb leadership remains in power. Saricbey comments ‘we know we are going to be sitting across the table from some monsters but if that’s what it takes to make peace we’ll do it’. Washington said to be offering to turn information on Milosevic and advisors over to War Crimes Tribunal if they do not co-operate in peace talks. *The Guardian* reports that prisoners exchanged by Bosnian Serbs said that Serbs massacred civilians during withdrawal from Sanski Most, possibly as many as 151.

**November 4**

HVO troops block Muslim refugees from coming back to Jajce for prayers despite agreement on opening it up. British intelligence says US had info on Srebrenica assault by tapped phone lines between Bosnian Serb leaders but Washington denies it had anything more than general info. Stoltenberg and Galbraith had separate talks in Erdut with members of the delegations of the Srem-Baranja region and Croatia. They presented a somewhat changed proposal of the agreement on a peaceful settlement of the problem in this region. Negotiations would be resumed in Dayton through direct talks between Milosevic and Tudjman. Newly-appointed special envoy of the UN Secretary General for the former Yugoslavia Koffi Anan arrived to Zagreb where he entered upon his duties.

**November 5**

Tudjman backs off pledge made in Dayton and now says force may be used to regain E. Slavonia, that Serbs have until November 30 to sign agreement restoring region to Croatia (also says Croatia will not renew UN mandate in Croatia). Bosnian Serbs reject proposal to drop Karadzic, Mladic as part of peace agreement. After strong protests at Dayton by US, officials allowed to meet with *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Rohde who is serving 15-day sentence for illegal border crossing. Tudjman replaces Prime Minister Valentic with Zlatko Matesa, former minister for relations with EU.

**November 6-7**

French peacekeepers from RRF attacked, wounded at base near Mostar, assailants unknown. Ejup Ganic says that government agrees to NATO dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into 3 military sectors under US, French, and British control. French to be based in Mostar, British to be responsible for W. Bosnia with headquarters in Gornji Vakuf, and US to be headquartered in Tuzla with NATO General headquarters in Sarajevo. Bosnian Government accuses Bosnian Croat authorities of not allowing several hundred Muslim families to return to Jajce.

UN special envoy for human rights Elizabeth Rehn submitted to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali and the UN General Assembly her first report on respect of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The report related to violations of human rights on the part of the Croatian authorities and army during and after military operations in Krajina, violations of human rights in particular in Bihac region, Banja Luka and Srebrenica. The report also included conditions concerning respect of human rights in FR Yugoslavia.
November 7

In a letter forwarded to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali FR Yugoslavia asked the UN to extend the mandate to the UNCRO after 30 November until a satisfactory and acceptable political solution was found for the Srem-Baranja region.

Clinton administration tells War Crimes Tribunal it is withholding evidence for ‘national-security reasons’, says Goldstone’s complaints about this are ‘unfortunate’. Goldstone says ‘quality and timeliness’ of US intelligence ‘disappointing’. US again denies it has intelligence information about phone calls between Mladic and Yugoslavian Army commander General Momcilo Perisic with Perisic advising Mladic on Srebrenica. Serbs in E. Slavonia say they are willing to fight. US administration officials now say Christopher ‘misspoke’ about not sending troops if Karadzic, Mladic remain. Bosnian Government allowing Abdic followers to return to Velusa Kladusa, but UNHCR says Croatia’s ‘voluntary return’ of 11,000 refugees is a forcible relocation. UNHCR also says Muslim, Croats recently evicted in Banja Luka area are now being forced to sleep in the open. Bosnian Government agrees to adopt Deutsch Mark as official currency with Bosnia dinar. Boutros-Ghali says in interview that he has ‘no criticism of Dutchbat. They performed good work’. Nasa Borba says 71,750 Serb refugees in Banja Luka, 60,000 more have been moved into ‘individual accommodations’.

November 8

Russia and US report compromise allowing Russian troops to participate in peacekeeping efforts independent of direct NATO command, Russian brigade to consist of 3 battalions (1,000 troops) attached to 1st Armored Division, to be under day-to-day ‘tactical’ control of its commander, but ‘operational’ control to be carried out by Russian commander who will be deputy to General Joulwan. Reporter for Christian Science Monitor released after 2 weeks captivity by Bosnian Serbs, Karadzic saying David Rohde had been ‘cleared of all charges’. Clinton administration now tells War Crimes Tribunal it will give it any intelligence information relevant to its inquiries.

November 9

Dayton talks get agreement on reviving Bosnian-Croat Federation. War Crimes Tribunal for first time links Serbia with war crimes after it indicts 3 Yugoslavian army officers (General Mile Mrksic of JNA, aides Miroslav Radic and Veselin Slijivancanin) who had ‘command responsibility’ for massacre of 261 men in Vukovar hospital in ‘91. US proposes that draft constitution for Bosnia prevent Karadzic, Mladic from holding office as Holbrooke says Karadzic is ‘complicates or worse in the worst war crimes since the end of the Second World War’, but Milosevic refusing to budge on ousting them. UN Security Council unanimously approves Resolution condemning all violation in former Yugoslavia, urge Serbs to close detention camps, provide monitors with access to suspected grave sites, Croatia told to respect rights of Krajina Serbs to return home. Macedonia becomes 37th member of Council of Europe. US troops participate for first time in joint exercises with Macedonia. Perry says 12 NATO PfP members offer troops or logistical support. Jeltsin vetoed law on unilateral lifting of sanctions against FR Yugoslavia adopted by State Duma on 12 August 1995.

November 10

Tudjman and Izetbegovic singed in Dayton a new agreement on strengthening of the Muslim-Croat Federation. As provided by the new agreement a common customs union would be established, free movement of all citizens would be enabled throughout the territory of the Federation as well as repatriation of refugees, and the status of Mostar as a single town would be established.

Sniper wounds 1 in Sarajevo, first such incident in 2 weeks. Bosnian Government agrees to give most domestic authority to Bosnia-Croatia federation leaving central government with foreign trade, foreign political, currency, and air-traffic control. Shattuck says after talks with Banja Luka mayor that
Serbs have finally admitted to arresting Muslim civilians, that 1,400 Banja Luka Muslim have been arrested or imprisoned. Shattuck also tells Serbs to allow war crimes investigators into Banja Luka area, says 'the guilty will be found' but western diplomats say policy without substance. UN human rights investigator Elizabeth Rehn accuses Croatia of abuses against Krajina Serbs and 120 killings, and accuses Bosnia 5th Corps of abuses against Abdic followers. UN sanctions committee allows Yugoslavia to import national gas, liquid petroleum gas, and heating oil from Russia despite previous agreement to prevent this until peace accord reached, but on condition flow of gas to Sarajevo be uninterrupted. 750 troops of Croatia 5th Corps reported moving towards E. Slavonia

November 11

UN holds ceremony in Sarajevo marking end of WW I. NATO unanimously decided in Brussels on accession of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the ‘Partnership for Peace’ programme.

November 12

Serbs in Erdut (E. Slavonia) with Galbraith and Stoltenberg as witnesses sign agreement made by Milosevic, Tudjman to reintegrate area into Croatia, Croatian government signs in Zagreb. agreement calls for 1-year transitional period which may be extended to 2, interim administration created by UN, troops deployed to act as peacekeepers, local elections 30 days before transition period ends, Serbs to have own municipal council, return of thousands of Croatia refugees, and respect for human rights. Agreement to come into effect when UN Security Council ratifies it.

November 13

6 members of HVO and Bosnia branch of HDZ indicted for war crimes (removal, death of Muslim population in Lasva valley) during fighting against Bosnian Government, group includes commander of HVO Tihomir Blaskic, and President of Bosnian branch of HDZ Dario Kordic. German media report that Karadzic, Mladic tried to cut deal with Washington having them leave office without fear of indictment by Hague, NIN says US refused it. UNHCR estimates repatriation costs $300-500 million, to take 2 years. IMF mission in Sarajevo for talks.

November 14

Goldstone says he will resign from Tribunal if Karadzic, Mladic avoid prosecution, Bosnian Serbs say neither will resign. Tudjman appoints accused war criminal outgoing chief of the general staff Blaskic as inspector of Croatian army. Mladic reported at JNA ceremony in Obrenovac, Serbia (1st appearance in 6 weeks). E. Slavonia Serbs reported to believe that peace agreement means they can hold referendum on sovereignty in 2 years. Zoran Macai, ally of Arkan, found guilty of inciting murder in Hungary, given 10 years in Serbian prison, and Marinko Magda sentenced to death in absentia for 6 murders in Vojvodina. 4 other members of Arkan’s Tigers also given jail terms.

November 15

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Rohde tells of fresh burial sites, possibly mass graves in Eastern Bosnia, says Serbs are tampering with evidence. NATO commander of RRF meets with top government officials in Sarajevo to plan NATO deployment. Russian Defence Minister Grachev says Russia has route to veto NATO orders for its troops in Bosnia. Tudjman leaves Dayton talks with no explanation, speculation that it is due to Blaskic controversy. Bosnian Muslim arrested in Netherlands at request of War Crimes Tribunal on suspicion of war crimes.
At NATO headquarters in Brussels Prime Minister of Macedonia Branko Crvenkovski signed the 'Partnership for Peace' programme. Macedonia was the second country in the territory of the former Yugoslavia (after Slovenia) which accessed to the programme.

**November 16**

UNPROFOR reports 8 shells fired by government, Serbs in Sarajevo. Perry rejects Russian position, says they can only pull troops out. War Crimes Tribunal hands down new indictments against Karadzic, Mladic charging them with genocide in attack on Srebrenica for ordering (Karadzic) and participating (Mladic) in executions of thousands. Prosecutor Goldstone meets with US administration to try to convince them to include the surrender of these two as condition of peace accords, but admits that White House would not give assurances. Milosevic reportedly holding out to try to get sanctions against Belgrade removed. Bosnian Government demands in writing that agreement requires all signers to 'arrest, detain, and transfer' indicted individuals to Tribunal. US criticises Croatia for giving accused war criminals positions in Croatian army, but Croatian Prime Minister Matesa says Croatia has no intention of turning over 6 indicted Bosnian Croats since charges have not been substantiated. Bosnia, Croatia agree to link dinar (Bosnia) and kuna (Croatia) based on the Deutschmark and go into effect January 20. Kosovo group Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms says it will give War Crimes Tribunal documents which could lead to Milosevic indictment and that of Serbian police chief Zoran Sokolovic, others

**November 17**

US, UN contend Milosevic, Yugoslavian army rebuilding Bosnian Serbs’ communication network, repairing air defence systems, conference UN report dated October 30, says helicopter and fixed-wing transports spotted making regular night flights into Banja Luka with parts to repair Serbs’ planes. House of Representatives votes 243-171 to bar Clinton from sending troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina unless Congress approves money in advance. Tudjman back in Dayton for talks. Christopher meets twice with Milosevic. Albright meets with UN Security Council ambassadors to discuss possible removal of sanctions. Zubak says he will not sign Dayton accord unless Bosnian Croat interests are taken into account. UN in Sarajevo says that Bosnian Government, Bosnian Croat forces denying UN free movement. Newsday says War Crimes Tribunal may hand down indictments against Croatian Defence Minister Susak.

**November 18**

Bosnian Serbs reported to be removing bodies of massacres, disposing of some of them in abandoned mine in Ljubica (?). 8 Muslim found after hiding in forest near Srebrenica 130 days. Sacirbey resigns saying this will make way for Bosnian Croat in power-sharing arrangement, but sources say it is because of rivalry with Silajdzic and the direction of peace negotiations. Sacirbey comments 'a bad peace is better than a war'. State Department says 'significant gaps’ between parties on ‘all the major issues’, Christopher making rounds between sides to close gaps, and may have promised to equip and train Bosnian army should Serbs fail to disarm.

**November 19**

Christopher tells negotiations they have until 10 November 20 to conclude deal, territorial issues said to be sticking point. Ethnic Croatian and Minister of Justice in Bosnian Government, Mato Tadic resigns. Yugoslavia legislation foreign political chairman Borisav Jovic says Belgrade not prepared to turn over accused war criminals to War Crimes Tribunal but says ‘we will prosecute criminals if there are any’.
**November 20**

Christopher foregoes threat to call off talks, holds extra day of meetings as Milosevic and Serbian delegation prepare to leave, State Department calls this ‘great theatre’. Croatian, Serbian Foreign Ministers sign agreement on release of all detainees.

**November 21**

After twenty day talks in Dayton, the peace negotiations on Bosnia were completed by initialising the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 12 Annexes as an integral part of the Agreement, which reached providing for Bosnian Serb representative and Muslim-Croat federation within the representative, parties co-operating with international authorities on prosecuting war crimes. Sarajevo to remain intact under government control, land corridor to link Banja Luka with E. Bosnia, status of Breko to be left to international arbitration, land corridor to be set up between Sarajevo and Gorazde, withdrawal to agreed positions and monitoring of forces by NATO. FR Yugoslavia and Bosnia recognize each other as sovereign independent States within their international borders. Each representative to retain own armed forces, but central government to have control over foreign political, trade, monetary political, citizenship, immigration. Elections to be held next year to choose president and parliament. Shared president, constitutional court, and federation government to be establish. Indicted war criminals to be banned for life from politics. Refugees to be allowed to return to homes or receive ‘just compensation’. Military annex to treaty calls for general arms reduction talks to begin within 30 days, no importing weapons of any sort for 90 days after pact signed and no heavy weapons (tanks, artillery 75mm or above, mortars of 81mm or above or anti-air weapons of 20mm or above) for 180 days. Arms within Bosnia would have to be divided equally among all parties. Izetbegovic says ‘to my people: This may not be a just peace, but it is more just than a continuation of war’. Milosevic comments ‘No party should regret the concessions which were given’, calls it ‘just solution’ since Serbs get more land than in previous agreements. Krajisnik says ‘The agreement that has been reached does not satisfy even a minimum of our interests’ and says they have warned Milosevic that ‘no one has the right to sign such a plan’. Jeltsin calls accord a ‘big step’. Agreement also calls for lifting arms embargo on Bosnia, and an end to sanctions against Serbia.

**November 22**

UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1021 on gradual lifting of embargo on arms delivery to the states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Embargo should be lifted after it had been reported that Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and FR Yugoslavia had signed the Peace Agreement and it should be implemented in the following way: during the first 90 days after signing of the Agreement all measures of the embargo would remain effective, during the second 90 days all provisions of the arms embargo would be lifted except delivery of heavy weapons, ammunition, mines, military aircraft and helicopters, that would keep on being prohibited until the agreement on arms control became effective, and after 180 days after the Secretary General had submitted a report on implementation, all measures of the embargo on arms delivery would be lifted unless decided otherwise by the Council.

UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1022 on suspension of the sanctions against FR Yugoslavia and decided that ‘the measures which were introduced or re-affirmed by the Resolutions 757 (1992), 787 (1992), 820, 942 (1994), 988 992, 1003 and 1015 should be indefinitely suspended and this immediately becomes effective’. Suspension would not apply to those which had been imposed against the Bosnian Serbs until commander of the peace-keeping forces, which were to be deployed in accordance with the Peace Agreement, reported to the Council through the Secretary General, that the Bosnian Serbs had withdrawn from the separation zones set by the Peace Agreement. If the Council was notified that FR Yugoslavia or Bosnian Serbs did not to a considerable extent fulfil obligations they had undertaken in accordance with the Peace Agreement, the above mentioned suspension would be
lifted the fifth day after such report had been received, unless the Council decided otherwise. The Council decided to lift all measures the tenth day after the first free and fair elections.

UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1023 on Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem and accepted establishment of the Transitional Authority and engagement of international forces. The Council stressed that Croatia and local Serb authorities should fully co-operate and refrain from any military activities or measures that could endanger implementation of the transitional arrangements, and fully co-operate with the UNCRO and ensure its security and freedom of movement.

November 23

The leaderships of FR Yugoslavia and the Republika Srpska met in Belgrade. Participating were President of FR Yugoslavia Lilic, Presidents of Serbia and Montenegro Milosevic and Bulatovic, Federal Prime Minister Kontic and Minister of Foreign Affairs of FRY Milutinovic, and from the Republika Srpska Karadzic, Speaker of the Assembly Krajsnik, Vice-Presidents Plavsic and Koljevic, Prime Minister Kozic, Ministers of Foreign and Interior Affairs Buha and Kovac and assistant commander of the general staff of the Army of RS general Zdravko Tolimir. The leadership of the Republika Srpska stated that it accepted the Dayton Agreement and in spite of some painful solutions it would implement the Agreement and meet all obligations provided negative consequences resulting from some solutions would be overcome by endeavours of the whole community and with the assistance of FR Yugoslavia.

November 24

Karadzic says on Bosnian Serb TV ‘the time has come to use political means to achieve our goals’, but heads of Serb-held suburbs remain defiant. Karadzic and Krajsnik both say their demands ignored at negotiations by Milosevic. Milosevic meet with Yugoslavian president Lilic and Montenegro president Bulatovic to consider what to do if Bosnian Serbs reject peace accord. Bosnian army loots UN base as peacekeepers prepare to leave, Croats burning and looting in area to be given to Serbs in NW.

November 25

Thousands of Serbs protest in Serb-held Sarajevo suburbs. Karadzic says agreement must still be ratified by Bosnian Serb parliament, and that Sarajevo remains sticking point, that it should be renegotiated.

November 26

US officials say they will not renegotiate accord while Karadzic says Sarajevo will ‘bleed for decades’. US National Security advisor Anthony Lake says US expects Milosevic to ‘be able to enforce discipline on the Bosnian Serbs [and] that the cease-fire will hold’.

November 27

Clinton says in national speech that risks are necessary because America’s ‘interests and values demand it’. Public/political support for plan mixed. 1,400 NATO troops including 735 Americans to leave for Bosnia within days, and 1,200 NATO troops including 700 Americans to set up headquarters in Zagreb. US Joint Chiefs of Staff approve ‘mission statement’ to reinforce 18-page military annex to Dayton accords, statement says peacekeepers ‘not responsible for election security, conducting humanitarian missions, or clearing mines’, ‘mission is not disarmament. It will not attempt to collect and control weapons’. Annex also gives troops right to use force in face of perceived threat. More reports of Croats (possibly HVO) burning, looting Serbian property while Banja Luka Croatia bishop Komarica calls on Croatian troops to respect Serb property.
November 28

Chirac calls for giving Bosnian Serbs greater security guarantees, but US says Dayton accord to be signed as is in Paris. Austria pledges 300 troops for IFOR. Clinton administration officials lobby Congress for support. Republicans generally resigned to mission. Public opinion polls generally negative about mission. Albright comments ‘this is not an agreement that the US has forced down anybody’s throat’ and that troops would be there ‘to implement a peace and not to be part of a war’.

November 29

Serbs expel 93 sick, elderly Muslim from Banja Luka area. Hungarian parliament votes 312-1 to allow US troops to stage deployment from Hungarian territory. Czech Republic offers to send 1,000 for IFOR. Perry states US will arm Bosnia within 6 months if talks prove unsuccessful in arms reduction. Tudjman meets with Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati in Zagreb to discuss ‘trilateral co-operation’ with Bosnia, Iran. Velayati says lifting arms embargo will mean Iran will begin weapons supplying to these two.

November 29-30

The Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina supported the decision made by the delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to initialise the Dayton General Framework Agreement and authorised the delegation to sign the Agreement in Paris on 20 December 1995. The Assembly also approved the Agreement on Strengthening of the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed in Dayton on 10 November 1995.

November 30

UN Security Council adopted three Resolutions on extending the mandate of the UN peace-keeping forces in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Resolution 1025 extended the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia and Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem till 15 January 1996. Not later than 15 December UN Secretary General was bound to prepare a proposal of the solution for new peace-keeping forces and Transitional Authority in the region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem. Resolution 1026 extended the mandate of the UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina till 31 January 1996 for the purpose of handing over their authorities to the new peacekeepers - the Implementation Force (IFOR), which should be formed in accordance with the Peace Agreement made in Dayton. Resolution 1027 extended the mandate of the UN preventive forces (UNPREDEP) in FYR Macedonia till 30 May 1996.

Rocket fired from Serb suburb hits building in Sarajevo. Silajdžić rejects Chirac call for more security guarantees saying Serbs enjoy same protection as everybody else. Defence Secretary Perry says costs of deployment will probably be $2 billion, not $1.5 and require 32,000 instead of 20,000 troops, says in testimony before Congress that 5,000 would be necessary for backup in Croatia, and 7,000 support personnel will be needed in Hungary and Italy. Costs to be $1.2 billion for Bosnia, $500 military for support units, and $300 military for missions including flying air operations out of Italy, says ‘these are costs which are not in the present budget’. Dole says of criticism in Congress it is ‘time for a reality check in Congress’ and that ‘we should find a way, if possible, to support our men and women in Bosnia’. Greece agrees to establish diplomatic relations with Bosnia. Slovenia recognises FRY. Frankfurter Allgemeine reports Milosevic purging hard-liners from government including ideologist Mihailo Markovic and Borisav Jovic.
December 1

NATO Council agrees to send 2,600 ‘enabling force’ to Bosnia to prepare for deployment. Christopher says US forces ‘will not be asked to guarantee the success of democracy of reconstruction or to act as a police force’, says 1st 6 months of deployment will be used trying to convince Serbs to reduce their arsenal but that since this is unlikely, 2nd 6 months to be used to ensure Bosnian Government to get weapons, training. Christopher says US will not directly arm or train Bosnian forces, but will ‘co-ordinate’ other nations doing it. Clinton defends policy by noting that NATO allies assisted US in Persian Gulf and Haiti crises.

At a press conference Tudjman said that Croatia was not against the intention of FR Yugoslavia to keep its continuity with the former SFR Yugoslavia. Accepting that continuity did not imply FR Yugoslavia as the only successor of the former state.

December 2

At its meeting in Mostar the Executive Council of the Croatian Democratic Union for Bosnia accepted the resignation of Kreshimir Zubak, who had acted as President of the Muslim-Croat Federation. Zubak resigned for his disapproval of a part of the Dayton Peace Agreement on territorial division of Posavina (the Sava River basin). The Council also accepted the resignation of Dario Kordic who had acted as President of the Executive Council of the Croatian Democratic Union for Bosnia. (On 13 November 1995 the War Crimes Tribunal had brought charges against him, and five other Croats from Bosnia, for crimes committed against the Muslim population by members of the Croatian Council of Defence of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia during 1992 and 1993).

Mladic, in first remarks since Dayton accords signed, demands changes in Sarajevo governance saying ‘we cannot let our people live under butchers’ rule...Serbs cannot agree with the maps’. Bosnian Government liaison to UN mission in Sarajevo, Hasan Muratovic, asks for change in NATO deployment plan due to pro-Serb bias of Brigadier General Jean-Rene Bachelet who had described Sarajevo plan as unworkable and said Serbs would have to choose between ‘the suitcase and the coffin’ under Muslim-Croat rule. Muratovic accuses French of providing fuel to Serbs for civilian buses during Serb protests. UN denies it.

December 4

NATO deployment begins with 28 soldiers (French, British, Belgian and Americans) arriving in Sarajevo. 56 British communication experts arrive in Split. Pentagon orders 3,800 reservists to prepare for duty in Bosnia. Sarajevo Serbs say they will hold referendum on December 12 on peace accord to allow Sarajevo Serbs to make their views known. France orders General Bachelet back home due to comments. Croatia says 3 million mines laid in that country after ‘91 and 100,000 unexploded shells remain.

In accordance with the Resolution 1022 of 22 November, ministers of Foreign Affairs of EU suspended sanctions against FR Yugoslavia. (The European Community had been the first to impose sanctions against the former SFR Yugoslavia and it made such decision on 8 November 1991). EU Ministers offered their full support to the Peace Agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, initialised in Dayton.

December 5

Bush, Ford back Clinton on issue of American leadership despite doubts about mission. Dole forced to postpone Senate resolution supporting deployment but only with ‘conditional authorisation’ in face of Senate criticism. Resolution also calls for ‘immediate effort, separate and apart’ from peacekeeping force to arm and train Bosnian army. Secret meeting held between representatives of Croatian INA oil firm and Yugoslavian firm Jugopetrol on reopening Adriatic oil pipeline.
December 6

First 12 Americans arrive in Tuzla to help in refurbishing airport. Perry says Clinton plans to begin bringing troops home in October 1996. Christopher, Kozyrev meeting in Brussels, say pact can be carried out so as to take account of Serb complaints but that it cannot be renegotiated. US intelligence says 2 French pilots shot down on August 30 have been killed by Bosnian Serb captors. British peacekeeper officer says he witnessed Bosnian Croat police setting fire to 2 villages to be handed over to Serbs in C. Bosnia, UN condemns action.

December 7

Bosnian Serbs expel 60 more Muslim families from village of Dubrave in Banja Luka area, fly Serb flags over their houses. Bosnian Croatian authorities release from jail in violation of accords military commander Ivaca Rajic indicted for '93 Stupni Do massacre, US protests. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says Croatia wants to co-operation with War Crimes Tribunal regarding Dario Kordic but also says Croatia wants to defend him. UN demands Croatian forces stop scorched earth policy in C. Bosnia of territory to go to Serbs, also says Serbs have been blocking access to Gorazde for week. Perry says US not approaching the peace accords ‘as psychologically neutral’. US diplomats urge Bosnian Government to send 2,000 Islamic fighters home. UN protests forced eviction of 60 Muslim families in N. Bosnia.

December 8

Izetbegovic tells Holbrooke that it will remove foreign Islamic fighters by mid-January or even before, and ensure Serbs safety. French Foreign Minister de Charette demands immediate release of 2 French pilots, says this could endanger peace process, and sets deadline of December 10. France demands Dayton accords be known as ‘Elysee Treaty’, State Department calls this ‘very imaginative’. Serbia announces large increases in military spending (military annex allows Serbia 5:2 advantage over both Croatia, Bosnia). Serbian Renewal Movement head Vuk Draskovic first opposition leader to accept Dayton accords. OSCE agrees to oversee elections, arms control and human rights in Bosnia (France opposes US candidate for job).

December 8-9

Third International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, entitled Peace Implementation Conference, took place in London. Ministers of Foreign Affairs of 43 countries and 12 international organisations, participated. These were representatives of the states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, neighbours of the former Yugoslavia, NATO member states, EU, Organisation of Islamic Conference, Japan and China, United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund. The conference dealt with future work on resolving the overall Yugoslav crisis and in particular with preparations for implementation of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the signature at the Paris Conference on 14 December. It was said that ‘with the signature of the Peace Agreement, important objectives of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) have been met and a new structure is required to manage peace implementation’. A Peace Implementation Council (PIC), composed of all those states, international organisations and agencies attending the Conference, will subsume ICFY. Meeting of the PIC to review progress in peace implementation will be held in Italy in June 1996 under chairmanship of Italian government. A Steering Board composed of representatives of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom, United States, Presidency of the EU, European Commission and Organisation of Islamic Conference, will be established with immediate effect under the chairmanship of the High Representative. It will give him political guidance on peace implementation. The Conference approved designation of Carl Bildt as High Representative, who will continue to act as EU Mediator for Former
Yugoslavia. The Conference invited the UN Security Council to agree Bildt’s designation as High Representative.

December 9

Holbrooke meets with Milosevic, appeals for release of 2 French pilots. 3 C-130 Hercules transports bring 110 US soldiers to Taszar airfield in Hungary to establish staging area (1st NATO forces to be stationed there). Clinton says in interview, US troops should leave after a year, that even if war breaks out again, ‘we gave them a chance’. French Foreign Minister tells Serbs there will be ‘hits’ and ‘strikes’ against them if they don’t give information on 2 pilots by 10 December. Chirac says Milosevic personally responsible for information about them. Krajisnik says Karadzic should attend peace conference, that ‘full political independence’ for Republika Srpska has been agreed to. World Bank estimates rebuilding costs to be $4.9 billion, promises $600 million emergency money.

December 10

22 US Marines, 32 special forces troops arrive in Sarajevo. Karadzic says peace accord signing means war ‘will come to a definite end’. UN War Crimes Tribunal rejects Russian request for freeze on proceedings against Karadzic so that he could attend peace signing. Tribunal orders release of Bosnian Croatian soldier accused of killing Bosnian Serbs after Belgrade refuses to give evidence to support indictment. French say they have not heard from Serbs on fate of 2 downed pilots by deadline. Bosnian Croatian parliament approves Dayton accord. Izetbegovic promises all foreign Islamic fighters to be gone within 30 days. Bosnian Croatian forces in Mrkonjic Grad blocking 5 British APCs, also move reporters out of city.

In Mostar the Assembly of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia supported Dayton. The delegations of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were, however, asked to try through negotiations to bring back the Bosnian part of Posavina (the Sava River basin) to the Muslim-Croat Federation before signing of the Agreement in Paris on 14 December.

December 11

Yugoslavian army Chief-of-staff Perisic says French pilots to be handed over to Yugoslavian authorities by 12th, Mladic reported to have been using their release as means to get indictments against him dismissed. Serbs reported to be fleeing Sarajevo suburbs. Kosovo ‘shadow state’ to open information office in Washington.

December 12

French pilots turned over to Yugoslavian authorities by Bosnian Serbs, then to French authorities. Both French, US officials deny that deal was cut with Bosnian Serbs for release. Bosnian Serbs in Sarajevo area vote to reject Dayton accords while Bosnia Constitutional Assembly votes to accept it. Zagreb court gives prison sentences of 10-20 years to 18 rebel Serbs for destruction of village of Skabrnja, deaths of 43 Croats in ‘91. Dole, McCain tell Clinton they want US to assure arming of Bosnian Government and to clarify this point before Senate vote on deployment. Clinton replies that he intends to keep promise on getting assistance to Bosnia. British ambassador to Washington says this will harm impartiality of peacekeeping forces. US to fly U-2s over Bosnia from French airbase. Croatian parliament accepted General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina initialised and The Basic Agreement on the Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, signed in Erdut and Zagreb on 12 November 1995.
**December 13**

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of FR Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Macedonia, fifteen member states of the EU, Russia, USA, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and several Islamic countries representing the Contact Group of Islamic Countries met near Paris. They dealt with the process of stability and good neighbourly relations in South-Eastern Europe. A Declaration on the Process of Stability and Good Neighbourly Relations in South-Eastern Europe was adopted expressing necessity to make joint and sustained efforts for improvement or gradual reopening of dialogue and re-establishment of confidence, prevention of tensions and crises, reconciliation, promotion of regional co-operation, economic restoration and establishment of good neighbourly relations. It was proposed to hold a regional round table on strengthening of stability, good neighbourly relations and co-operation in South-Eastern Europe.

Clinton leaves for Paris before Congress votes on deployment. House votes 287-141 to support troops but criticises decision to send them. Senate defeats similar resolution, 52-47, rejects House-passed bill to cut off Defence Department funding, 77-22, adopts Dole-McCain Resolution, 69-30 to offer qualified support for mission. House leaders say they will refuse to vote on Dole Resolution.

**December 14**

Milosevic, Tudjman, and Izetbegovic sign Dayton peace agreement in Paris. Izetbegovic says his government ‘taking part ...without any enthusiasm’, but that signing ‘is being done with full sincerity on our part’. Milosevic comments that peace ‘is the only path open to civilised men’, later on Serb TV tells Bosnian Serbs that ‘room for fears or worries does not exist’.

**December 15**

UNSCR 1031 terminated Resolutions 781,816,824 and 936 which provided authority for operation Deny Flight.

UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 1033 giving IFOR a year mandate to make possible implementation of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina signed in Paris. By taking over authority from UNPROFOR the mandate of the UNPROFOR in Bosnia would cease. The Council also agreed designation of Carl Bildt as High Representative of the Peace Implementation Conference for Bosnia.

Government of FR Yugoslavia supported activities of the Yugoslav delegation led by Milosevic and assessed that its role had been prominent and constructive. Signing of the Peace Agreement was the crown of the past peace efforts.

President of Montenegro Bulatovic said in interview the Croatians had not fulfilled the obligations undertaken in Dayton. ‘We and the Croats absolutely reached accord on the text of agreement on normalisation of our relations. However, in order to implement such agreement issues at dispute should be resolved. And the issues at dispute are the path of the Republika Srpska to the sea, and Prevlaka which should belong to Montenegro, and all that is based on the clearly acceptable process of fixing of borders between the sovereign states in this area...Our position is clear: a full normalisation of our relations would be possible when Croatia fulfils the obligations it once undertook’. In Zagreb Tudjman said that ‘from the Croatian point of view we can be content with the Peace Agreement because we have achieved all our goals’. He stated that FR Yugoslavia and Croatia had not recognised each other because no agreement on Prevlaka had been reached. According to his interpretation ‘today it is not legally possible to sign the agreement on Prevlaka because the hinterland of Dubrovnik is within Bosnia and Herzegovina’ which FR Yugoslavia had recognised. He said Croatia accepted international arbitration in resolving the issue and it would agree with the decision made.
December 16

North Atlantic Council adopted in Brussels beginning of the operation Joint Endeavour under command of CINCSOUTH, American admiral Leighton Smith. IFOR would consist of 73000 soldiers from 12 NATO member countries as well as 15 other countries. The greatest contingents would be American - 20000 soldiers, British - 15000, French - 10000 and German 4000. As for non-NATO countries the greatest numbers would come from Pakistan - 3200, Russia - 2000, Malaysia - 1600 and Bangladesh - 1200. NAC also agreed that Operation Deny Flight should be terminated on Transfer of Authority to the Implementation Force for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

NATO Supreme Allied commander in Europe, General George Joulwan, issues activation order for Operation Joint Endeavor saying ‘the mission is clear: limited in time and scope and with robust rules of engagement’. 826 US troops from 5th Corps land in Kaposvar, Hungary. 922 NATO troops already in Bosnia (200 American with 80 in Tuzla), 915 in Croatia. Fog continues to prevent deployment of troops to Tuzla as 12-20 planes unable to land.

At their summit in Madrid EU leaders said that signing of the Peace Agreement was a crucial step in resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and all signatories were invited to fully implement it. The EU was willing to contribute to the agreement on restoration of Bosnia-Herzegovina and it invited the international community to help in those efforts by equally sharing the costs. All EU member states should immediately normalise their relations with FR Yugoslavia and exchange ambassadors.

December 17

Preparatory conference for negotiations on implementation of the Regional Stabilisation provisions of the Peace Agreement took place in Petersberg near Bonn. 32 countries participated. Negotiations on disarmament and regional stability should begin on 4 January 1996 in Vienna under auspices of the OCSE.

Assembly of Republika Srpska met on Mt. Jahorina (above Sarajevo), conditionally accept accords with 10-point list of objections, particularly one relating to the status of Sarajevo. The Assembly reserved the right to peacefully and by political means settle the issues at dispute and reject war crimes charges against Karadzic who says they ‘do not consider the Americans our enemies’ and that ‘Dayton represents an overall defeat of the Serbs’. Bosnian Government denounces Serb comments.

December 18

Heavy fog prevents US troops deployment in Tuzla for 4th day, with some NATO planes being redirected to Sarajevo. 2 trains en route from Hungary to Zupanja, Croatia (137 miles E. of Zagreb) with US troops, equipment to build bridge across Sava.

December 19

Break in weather allows 16 transport planes to land in Tuzla. Airstrip still unlighted, new ground radar system installed. Yugoslavian ambassador to UN (former Foreign Minister) Vladislav Jovanovic sends letter to Security Council accusing Bosnian Muslims of having carried out massacre of thousands of Muslim in Srebrenica.

Sarajevo gets lights as new electricity line paid for by Germany is turned on. British Major General Sir Michael Walker arrives in Sarajevo to help co-ordinate NATO troops. 7 US C-130, 1 C-17 cargo planes bring more troops and food to Tuzla. Unnamed 48-year old Serb arrested in Dusseldorf on suspicion of having been involved in genocide. Bosnian Serb premier Rajko Kasagic calls on Serbs to co-operate
with IFOR ‘because our future will depend on such co-operation.’, says stealing international vehicles to end. Albright says Jovanovic has insulted intelligence of Security Council, accusations a ‘big lie’.

December 20

UN turned over its Bosnian operation to NATO Implementation Force. Deny Flight thus ceased. Forces associated with Deny Flight were transferred to Operation Decisive Endeavor - as part of the overall NATO operation Joint Endeavor - to provide support to IFOR and close air support for the UN RNCRO forces in Croatia. Admiral Leighton Smith takes command replacing UN commander General Janvier. At Sarajevo airport Smith says NATO is not ‘a bunch of cowboys looking for a fight’, but ‘on a peaceful mission’.

Montenegro president Bulatovic says Belgrade won’t recognise Croatia until Prevlaka Peninsula dispute settled.

Assembly of FR Yugoslavia accepted the results achieved at the Peace Implementation Conference in London and the Conference in Paris at which the General Framework Agreement for Peace was signed. Before Minister Milutinovic addressed the Assembly most deputies coming from opposition parties had left the session because the Speaker of the Chamber of Citizens Radoman Bozovic had said that the session would be closed and the work of the Assembly would not be broadcast on TV.

Under the auspices of the European Commission and the World Bank the first conference of representatives of 14 European countries and 20 international financial institutions and specialised agencies took place in Brussels. The greatest attention was given to the immediate assistance which should be offered to Bosnia as well as setting of mechanisms for organisation of the programme as a whole. US promised to provide US$ 135 million in the next months for the reconstruction and humanitarian relief to Bosnia. US president Clinton will demand from the Congress additional US$ 600 million for the reconstruction of Bosnia in the coming three years.

December 21

UN Security Council passes Resolution 1034 rebuking Jovanovic for blaming Srebrenica massacre on Muslims, blames instead Bosnian Serbs, condemning its armed forces and paramilitary units for killing a large number of persons in the former Safe Areas of Srebrenica and Zepa, as well as in Banja Luka, Sanski Most and other areas which were suspected to be the places of mass crimes committed against the Muslim population. Serbs to provide immediate access to mass graves and not to hide or remove the evidence of the committed crimes or impede the investigation in the area. The Security Council also condemned Croatian forces in Bosnia for the current mass plunder of houses and other property in Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo which should belong to the Republika Srpska in accordance with the Peace Agreement. The Council requested Croatia to annul with no delay all time limits for return of the Serbs to their homes as well as all limits related to restitution of their property. Croatia should also remove all actual, legal and administrative obstacles for their return to Krajina. At the same session the Council adopted the decision on sending 1,700 persons to assist organisation and training of the local police to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Commander of US forces in Bosnia, Major General Wm. Nash says all parties beginning to pull back, clear mines, indicates co-operation with all groups and that he had been in Serb territory for launching bridge allowing US troops to cross Sava R. delayed due to weather. Some Serbs reported to be digging up coffins of dead, fleeing Sarajevo despite Serb authorities trying to prevent them, government encouraging them to stay. Serbs in Banja Luka release Bishop Komarica from 7 months of house arrest.

Muslim, Croats establish joint army and police commands to report to one another. Admiral Smith meets with chiefs-of-staff of 3 forces in Sarajevo, all promise co-operation in pulling back, following accords. Serbia, Croatia resume civilian telephone service for first time in 4 years. Deputy commander of Russian forces in Bosnia, Major General Nikolai Staskov meets with Mladic in E. Bosnian town of Han Pijesak despite prohibition of this in Dayton accords, Russian explains it as not effecting them
until their forces are deployed in January. OSCE names Swiss diplomat Gret Haller as human rights ombudsman for Bosnia set up under Dayton accords.

December 23

Small arms fire hits US C-130 transport, British helicopters near Sarajevo, Admiral Smith says ‘I hope the parties will knock it off. It’s stupid, and it’s very dangerous. I put the onus on the leaders to find out who did it and to stop it from happening again’ and ‘if we see who’s doing it they will come under direct fire, and if we learn who’s doing it we will have them apprehended’, but US ‘target acquisition radar’ for detecting hostile fire not in place yet. Civilian, military officials, including Smith, say Bosnian Serbs have been co-operative in allowing freedom of NATO movement into Bosnian Serb territory. General Nash says Sava bridge should be in place by December 29. EU negotiator Bildt says he does not expect NATO mission to solve problems in 1 year.

December 24

Bosnian Government and Serbs exchange 245 prisoners W. of Tuzla including some who were taken prisoner in fall of Srebrenica, 2nd exchange of 28 (14 from each side) near Sanski Most but NATO spokesperson says Serbs prisoners in poor condition while government troops look to have been treated well and with their possessions. British helicopters fired on as it flies over Croatian-held Jajce, source of shots not determined (5th such incident). 8 US Apache and Blackhawk helicopters of 1st Armored Division land in Tuzla, French peacekeepers take control of checkpoints N. of Sarajevo, resort in Ilidza to be NATO headquarters. The weekly Le Canard Enchaine reported that two French pilots freed after 104 days in Bosnian Serb hands were mistreated by their captors but a French general told them to cover it up. The paper said the pilots were badly beaten after they parachuted from their burning plane and landed in mountains near the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale on August 30.

December 25

Christmas mass held in Sarajevo Catholic cathedral to standing-room only with Muslims attending also. Croatian Cardinal Kuharic calls for all Croatian Serbs who fled to return home if they declare themselves loyal citizens.

December 26

NATO says Mladic sent Smith letter previous week asking for delay in Sarajevo reunification by 6 months, say they want reply by January 6th (Orthodox Christmas), Smith says he was noncommittal but also that he has authority to modify some Dayton deadlines. Dayton agreements stipulate that NATO commander must not have communication with indicted war criminals. 8 fighting vehicles of 1st Armored Division cross pontoon bridge over Sava to secure other bank, 2nd column of American troops leaves Tuzla, goes 40 miles N. into zone of separation to secure building for meetings of military commanders of all sides. US troops set up first checkpoint in Brcko corridor.

December 27

Bosnians and Serbs pulling back from front-line positions near Sarajevo according to treaty deadline. Bosnian Government protests Smith offer to consider Serb request to delay reunification of Sarajevo. General Nash meets with leaders of 3 armies in Posavina Corridor to discuss American deployment. 400 French peacekeepers forced to evacuate near Mostar due to flooding. Unidentified gunman fires automatic weapons into area occupied by US troops, no one injured. British peacekeepers find 12 bodies near Sanski Most probably result of retreating Serb forces. French Defence Minister admits
Serbs under Mladic’s direction beat, abused 2 French pilots. ICRC says all sides preventing them from proper access to prisoners.

December 28

US and Russia suspend sanctions against Serbia, Montenegro. Sava River flooding forces US troops to evacuate. 35,000 IFOR troops now in Bosnia, Croatia. Commander of the IFOR ground forces in Bosnia British general Michael Walker said that all parties demonstrated spirit of co-operation and respect of the peace agreement. He also stated that he was very satisfied with the results achieved during the first 10 days of IFOR in Bosnia. Talks between Milosevic and commander of the NATO forces in Europe, general Joulvan in Belgrade. They expressed content for the fact that implementation of the Peace Agreement was successfully going on.

December 29

Nash promises Sava bridge to be open within 24 hrs. Admiral Smith makes first trip to Banja Luka, now says he has no authority to change deadline except by several hours for purely military or logistical reasons and that only EU moderator Bildt could do more. UN says airlift will end next week now that roads are open. EU administrator in Mostar Hans Kochnik says talks have broken down where to draw cities borders.

December 31

Us armour begins crossing into Bosnia, gets caught in traffic jam, but begins deploying throughout Posavina corridor on road to Tuzla.