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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-seventh session
Agenda item 97 (c)
HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS:
HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND
REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS
AND REPRESENTATIVES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 18 December 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the following documents:

- (a) Depositions of Serbian women given to the State Commission for War Crimes (see annex I);
- (b) Analysis of the medical-psychological examinations of one group of people released through the exchange of prisoners (see annex II).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and those documents circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 97 (c), and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX I

Depositions of Serbian women given to the
State Commission for War Crimes

Rapings

The exchanged women confirmed rumours of the abuse of women and children who were ethnic hostages in Novi Grad. "Eight men came one night around 11 p.m.", said one of the exchanged women. "They were half drunk and they beat us all. They took out two girls, L. D. (15) and S. D. (21), and raped them both.

"It was a group of some 10 boys from Posavska Mahala and the surrounding villages who called themselves 'horses of fire'. I knew most of them personally. In particular, Marijan Brnic. I implored, I begged him to let me go, reminding him of his past neighbourly relations with my family. He told me to be glad that he was alone since the procedure was different with others, five or six on one girl. They pulled my friend B. M. (19) by the hair, beat her and put a knife to her throat when she tried to break free. She was raped by two of the group. The rest were dispersed by police. When they were detained by their own police to prevent them from molesting us again, all of Posavska Mahala was on its feet. They threatened to come and set fire to all of us and Novi Grad if the boys were not released. Police let them go. The rapings continued", says Z. M. (22), one of the raped girls.

"They came at night, half intoxicated, some of them even drugged. They put women onto trucks and took them away, returning them at sunrise, naked and tormented. They also took women who had small children. Some of the women who could not muster courage to get out of the forest in which they were raped" describe their pain, women who wanted to stay anonymous but who are ready to witness in a court of law. A 10-year-old girl, M. L., was raped in Novi Grad. This grave crime was committed by Mate Burugdzic from the village of Pecnik. "I was taken away half an hour past midnight. There were six of them. I was abused and treated foully by all of them. They told me: 'You have to give birth to a little Ustasha!'. For days thereafter I roamed around like mad hiding in the forest", says ...P. from Novi Grad.

Bretelj Detention Camp, Capljina

In an article published in the Slobodno Nevesinje newspaper (No. 6 of 20 September 1992), a witness to the Bretelj hell confirmed rumours about the raping of Serb women and girls. "Women who were not so many in the camp as men were subjected to brutal torture and humiliated. I can say that they were raped in front of their other inmates, even their detained relatives. That was awful."

The Tarcin area

Physical torture to which Serbs from this area have been subjected by Muslims is particularly brutal. Serb women are charged with possession of radio stations and keeping of war journals. They are arrested on these charges and physically and mentally abused and humiliated. A woman from the village of Ferhatlije, near Pazaric, committed suicide after such torture. Particularly notorious are Nijaz Lihovac called Tera, Mirsad Sabic called Mirso and Muhamed Turcinovic called Zeko, former police officer of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Extracts from the confession by Alija Selimagic of the crimes
committed in the villages around Bosanski Brod with a
facsimile of the part containing his signature

Rapings

Some three days thereafter I went with the same group of people to Sijekovac. Before we set off, Enes Havic and Becir Hodzic told us that we were going to abduct Serbian girls. We came to Sijekovac in a van and Havic's car. Once there, we started from the "Zidic" store and the bus station in direction of Derventa raiding houses. A number of girls, i.e. younger women, were raped in the houses in which they were found and, as far as I remember, 28 Serbian women were kidnapped and taken to Slavonski Brod in the van.

I was the first to break into a house with Enes Havic, Becir Hodzic and Sead Mujcin (Aga), where we found a man and a woman (both of about 50 years old) and their 23-year-old daughter. First, we tied her father and mother and then began to rape their daughter. I was the first to rape her, assisted by Becir Hodzic and Enes Havic. After me, she was raped by the other three and we raped her mother too. Thereafter, I cut her mother's throat and Enes Havic did the same to her father.

We took the girl to the van. Becir Hodzic drove the girl off while we continued raiding other houses. When Hodzic came back and rejoined the group, he told us that the van was crowded and that the girls had been driven to Slavonski Brod. When the van came back again, my group abducted six or seven more girls who, too, were driven to Slavonski Brod. I do not know their names or the families they belong to. Where we found the girls' parents or relatives, we tied and left them in their homes. I do not know if and how many relatives of the abducted girls the people from other groups killed. When the action was completed, Becir Hodzic told us that the girls were taken to Slavonski Brod and placed in the brothels to cater for the needs of the Croatian army. I remember very well that in the end I, Hodzic, Havic and Mujcin kidnapped a girl for each of us and took them to Gornje Kolibe. We kidnapped a Serbian girl, M. M., who worked at a shop in Gornje Kolibe and three Moslem girls, Z. J., J. C. and E. C. We caught them in the street. We took them to Kolibe in the van driven by Enes Havic. I took Z. J. to my home, where I held her for three or four days. At first, she refused to have intercourse with me and I threatened to kill her, whereupon she consented. Thereafter, I let her go home at her request.

Deposition made by J. L., a nurse from Brcko, of her own
accord on 20 October 1992 at the Gynecology-Obstetrics
Clinic in Belgrade

On 12 January 1992, I was visiting my aunt in Germany, where I was spending the second half of my annual leave. I left Germany on 26 January. On 28 January we were stopped by police on the highway, a few kilometres away from Sisak: they checked our passports and six of us, four girls and two men, all young, were forced to step out. The driver was told to drive on. He complained and he was beaten and maltreated and eventually had to leave without us.

We were taken to the police station somewhere near Sisak, where we were split into two groups. One was sent to Slavonska Pozega and the other to Slavonski Brod. I was assigned to the group which went to Slavonski Brod.

When we arrived there, it was clear to all of us that it was a camp, that all kinds of atrocities were inflicted upon prisoners, but we were completely powerless. It was no use saying anything or protesting, since things could only get worse for us. We were left alone for two days.

After successful operations on the front, they came to us for rest and pleasure. That day I met many women from Kninska Krajina who were imprisoned, mistreated, tortured and some of them even disfigured. Some among them were very beautiful women. Younger women were put aside. Later on, we realized that they made it their purpose to increase the birth rate of Croatian children.

A group of younger women like myself were used for their pleasure and sometimes were brutalized.

One day, a group of newly arrived women, including myself, had a nightmarish experience. Five or six men on top of me and I blacked out. I could not believe it was happening to me and I could not remember anything until daybreak. After that experience, we were mistreated, abused and invariably raped day in and day out.

Sometimes they let us be for two or three days. When this happened, we were given no water, no food, no nothing. If food was given to us at all, it was so poor that not even animals would eat it.

I will remember a very striking, and very distressing for me, incident which occurred in Slavonski Brod and which is occasionally the cause of my bad dreams when I see their ugly faces.

One night, they came after midnight. They were very angry since they had to withdraw. We were placed in a hangar storing petrol barrels. We took

these barrels out as they were empty and had no use. So, we slept in them. Each of us was given only a thin blanket. I had nothing else on me except for the clothes they brought me in. All our belongings were taken away from us earlier.

That night they came to our hangar, they connected a few empty oil barrels and by taking one woman at a time, four of them molested her. My turn came. One tried to cut off my arm by axe. I still have a scar there, while the other was already inside me. A third one stabbed my leg and I fainted. They left me naked on these barrels all night. I was hungry, thirsty and terribly cold.

When they found out that many women were pregnant, myself included, they did not disturb us from time to time for the benefit of Croatian children. They had nothing against Serbian women bearing children by them, since fathers are Croats and therefore the children will be Croats too.

At that time, the oil refinery was on fire and we were also used as fire fighters. In this total chaos, I had been detained in Slavonski Brod since 28 January and was detained in the oil refinery till 22 April.

On the latter date, they transported us in trucks to the Sava river and therefrom to the other bank by boats. They moved us to the Odzak detention centre guarded by the joint forces of two nations: Croats and Muslims.

They knew that there were many pregnant women among us, so they grouped us in a building which used to be, as I heard, a school. At times, they dragged us to other buildings and used us as a shield against the attacking Serbian military units, i.e. "Krajsnici".

Many of us pregnant women were left alone, since our pregnancy was advanced (four or five months). I will now tell you what happened once.

After four or five hours of raping and torture in this school, they brought the imprisoned Serbs, young and old alike, ordering them to lick us after the obscene acts.

On last 16 July, the black legionaries or black shirts, whatever they called them, came asking us for any hidden money or gold as ransom which would save our lives. Until the very end we did not know what was going on and what made them act that way.

When I left Germany I had DM 800 on me. I hid DM 500 in the sole of my boot because of the customs and the rest of DM 300 were in my handbag, which was taken from me when I was arrested. They took all my belongings, so that during the whole period of my detention in the camp I was only in a blouse, a bodice, a denim jacket, a pair of blue jeans, one piece of underwear, one pair of stockings and boots.

The DM 500 I sewed in my jeans, so I had money to buy out my life.

We were taken out of the school one at a time. There was a man with a box sitting outside. Those who had nothing of value were lined up on one side and those who had some money on the other.

Those who had the money actually bailed themselves out and we were later exchanged. We had no idea that life was worth that much money you had in your pocket, or a ring or DM 50 or any other amount you had on you at the moment.

In Odzak we were received by the Krajina corps. That night they let us have a good sleep. We were given food, drink and cigarettes. It was the first time after six months that I drank juice and milk. I was a non-smoker for four years, but I lit a cigarette then. I could not believe my eyes and ears that I was free, that my head was still on my shoulders.

We were then sent to the hospital in Bosanski Samac. Once there, I asked to be sent to my hometown of Brcko, where I arrived on 18 July.

The following month I was treated in the Brcko hospital and I asked the doctors to terminate my five-and-a-half-month pregnancy.

But the doctor in Brcko was not for termination of my pregnancy because of my poor health. I had lost 30 kilos in five months. I had heart problems and my health improved somewhat after a month.

I heard nothing of my parents. I had a father, mother, a brother, sister-in-law and their children.

They all disappeared. I had no news of them. My friends from the "Srpska Biljenska Garda" tried to help me. They tried to trace the whereabouts of my parents, brother, sister-in-law and their children, but with no success. After a month's time, they helped me to visit my house, which was hit by three shells. I found some of my personal effects, which I packed into several bags. I also found out that my 74-year-old aunt was still alive and I called on her. I took over to her place my bare necessities. I also found some money at home and decided to visit my cousin in Belgrade.

She welcomed me and later left for Germany. So, I am presently alone in her apartment.

I went to see a doctor for advice on my health and pregnancy. Two doctors from Zemun recommended the Gynaecology-Obstetrics Clinic, where I was admitted in late August and early September. I previously contacted the Health Centre of Stari Grad Municipality, after which I was hospitalized here to see what could be done for me.

Thanks to Dr. Krstic, I am here today and thanks to all his fellow doctors I managed to find my peace of mind, if this is possible at all.

A baby girl was born and put up for adoption while I myself have to fight for my own life.

I found out that my parents are safe and sound and that they are somewhere around the town of Prijedor. My brother is on the front. So I have calmed down. But I still have no information about my sister-in-law and her children.

I will tell you about some other events.

In Slavonski Brod one man was called "Plavi", they all had nicknames and we had no idea what their real names were or where they came from.

His speciality was to burn down an eyebrow of a beautiful woman or to cut it out along its lines. He also liked to bite off a piece of ear or to gouge an eye. He did all of these things together or at least one of them.

There was a woman who came to Slavonski Brod camp in the seventh month of her pregnancy. They tore out her belly and took a live baby out of her womb.

Once, I don't know the reason why, something was stolen or someone was falsely accused, one soldier crushed the skull of a 40-year-old Serb by a rifle butt.

In Odzak, two Muslims circumcised all men without exception according to the Muslim ritual.

Many women had their finger cut off for a ring or their ears for ear rings.

Once I saw the lower lip of a very beautiful girl from Kninska Krajina being shredded by a man called "Crni" who previously raped and molested the girl. He enjoyed it.

We seldom saw other imprisoned men. We did not meet them often, and when we did they had visible marks of strangulation by metal wire, knife cuts on their necks, heads; some were with no eyes, or a hand, etc.

One, like an executioner, enjoyed to cut off a leg to the knee by axe, and let the bleeding men die.

There was a warehouse in Odzak where Serbs were imprisoned for 10 days with no water or food and left to urinate and empty there. They were mistreated and tortured day and night. Each night the bodies of two or three victims were removed to cover up the crimes.

Sometimes, they poured petrol on a cloth fixed to a stick and burned the skin of a naked man or woman. The more the victim screamed, the more they enjoyed it.

And another example. An 11-year-old girl, who was daily abused, had to serve them as a waitress completely naked.

This is all I can tell about myself and what happened to me. I find it very difficult to even bring myself to talk about this.

Belgrade, 20 October 1992

Deposition made by
J. I. (Signed)

Deposition taken by

Milena Vasiljevic
Senior Stenographer
at the Federal Assembly

Remark:

Gave birth to a baby girl who was put up for adoption.

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English
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THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC
MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE
WAR DEPARTMENT ILIDZA

No. 810/92
Date: 5 October 1992
Processed by: A 15
PM.

OFFICIAL MEMO

Pursuant to a suggestion from the National Security Service, a deposition was taken from Nada Jovović which gravely incriminates Hamdo Šasić and three members of Juka's army for the rape and possible murder of Sanja Ikić in her flat at No. 1, Oteška Street.

Nada Jovović has also given a statement for television Belgrade and Novi Sad to their correspondent from Ilidza. That story, as well as a story on the rescue of Croats from Oteš, has been shelved until the rescue action is finished. This job was done in cooperation with military security bodies and the military police of the Ilidza brigade and a report thereon will be submitted on its completion.

Note: Nada Jovović's deposition is attached herewith.

(Signed) Srdjan SEHOVAC

MINUTES

Citizen NADA JOVOVIĆ, born on 7 June 1969, father Novica and mother Dragica, nee Todorović, agricultural technologist, single, permanent residence at No. 34 Darovalaca krvi Street, Sarajevo, commune of Novo Sarajevo, C.Reg. No. 0706969177668, has made the following statement.

On 30 September 1992, around 9 p.m., Hamdo Šašić, MP commander for the city of Sarajevo, accompanied by two members of "Juka's army", came to the apartment of Sanja Ikić at No. 1, Oteska Street, block 1. They asked me and Sanja Ikić what we had done at Joze Oroz's place, how had Stjepan Kalem, nicknamed Pepo, gone and why he had not taken us with him. They cursed our Cetnik mothers and verbally abused us. Hamdo Šašić asked me where my brother and brother-in-law were. We did not respond to any of his provocations. At a certain point a third member of the so-called "Juka's army" arrived and addressed Hamdo Šašić with the words: "That is not how things are done, my brother, but like this". Having said that, this member of "Juka's army" took Sanja Ikić by the hand and took her to the adjoining room. The two other members of "Juka's army" joined them. After that I only heard screams and sounds of Sanja Ikić struggling to wrest herself free. I stayed in the room with Hamdo Šašić and, tearful and scared, asked him: "Why are you doing this to me when I am guilty of nothing". I begged him to go into the room and to make them let her go. He replied: "No, Nada, we must make Moslem children". At that moment one Juka's soldier entered the room buttoning up his black coveralls and said to Hamdo Šašić: "Our business is done". Three Juka's soldiers went towards the front door and I ran to the room in which my friend was. I found Sanja on the floor, naked, her body was red, especially her neck. Her face was white as a sheet and she was frothing at the mouth. I went to her and took her by the shoulders, I called her name, but she did not respond. I could not ascertain whether she was dead or alive. I ran towards the front door seeking to escape, but Hamdo Šašić caught up with me, grabbed my shoulder and turned me to face him.

Through tears I begged him to let me go but he would not let go of me. I started screaming and Hamdo hit me with his head, drawing blood from my nose and mouth. He lightly pushed me towards the floor. I fell on the floor and Hamdo Šašić said to me: "Tomorrow night you will be raped by me and you will bear a Moslem".

After that Hamdo took the key and locked the door from the outside, taking the key with him. Through the window of the flat, which was on the first floor above the "Hollywood" pizzeria, I climbed down to the street across some sandbags, then I ran to the other side of the street and went into building L near the railway track. There I spent the night and the next morning at 9 a.m. crossed the river Željeznica and into Vreoca.

Statement given by

(Signed) JOVOVIĆ, Nada

Minutes kept by

(Signed) (illegible)

Statement taken by

(Signed) (illegible)

/...

Deposition made by S. K. on 6 November 1992 at
the Gynaecology-Obstetrics Clinic in Belgrade,
26 Visegradska Street

My name is S. K. I was born 11 July 1968, in Nisic, municipality of Ilijas.

I was captured on 26 May 1992 in the forest near my house. I was with two other refugee girls from Visoko - J. and N. R. We were captured by 10 men in camouflage uniforms; they had "lily" insignia on their caps. They put us in a truck and took off in an unknown direction. They drove us to Breza camp. We were detained in a basement with small windows; it was a dirty, damp and cold place. They raped us immediately on arrival; groups of them raped and beat us. I remained there two days.

I was then moved to another building, another room where there were five women and girls: two Nadas, Rosa, Mira and Olja. I was in that room until our release on 15 August 1992.

We were in the room almost all the time, except when we were taken out to watch prisoners being beaten up, tortured and executed. The torture consisted of slaughter, tearing of bodies bit by bit, drowning in a pool which looked like a swimming pool - what else was in it besides water, that I do not know.

Prisoners were forced to do hard labour and we were taken out from our room only to watch killings and tortures, or to clean and do the gardening. I did not know other prisoners; they were from Breza, Visoko and Vares.

We were repeatedly beaten and raped by scores of men; sometimes as many as 20 of them violated me one after the other. When we fainted, they poured water on us.

We did not have a bath. There was a bathroom but we were not allowed to have a bath or take a shower. There was a wash-basin where we could wash our faces, and if we managed we could wash ourselves speedily.

We were tortured simply by taking us to watch other prisoners being tortured. Once, they forced a father to rape his daughter who was about 17 years old. They beat them but both father and daughter refused to do what they were told. It was only when they pressed a knife to his throat that his daughter cried and begged him to do so in order not to be killed. He eventually did it and I do not know whether he was killed later on, but anyone who leaves that prison is a living death.

We were fed by pieces of mouldy bread or macaroni, probably leftovers, and a soup which was in fact slops.

We girls and women, occupying that room, could not talk to each other since we were never alone; there was always some one of them with us both when we worked and when we were in the room.

They constantly mentioned a name Kula, probably an alias. They kept asking themselves whether he would be satisfied by the way and how much they beat and raped us. They laughed as they did so.

Later on, when I returned home, I heard that Kula was the warden and that he was from Semizovci. I never saw him.

When I was freed, the five girls who were with me in the room were also released. Two of them committed suicide immediately after their release and the rest of them left the village with their parents. They set us free because we were pregnant and their purpose was to make us pregnant.

I am horrified of confined spaces and I wish to go back home as soon as possible.

Deposition recorded by

Zorica Stevic
Senior Stenographer
at the Federal Assembly

Deposition made by

S. K.

Deposition made by S. K. from Sarajevo, Belesici,
on 23 November 1992 at the Gynaecology-Obstetrics
Clinic in Belgrade

I was born 7 February 1972 in Sarajevo, where I lived until the outbreak of the war. When it broke out, I was taken to prison last April at the time when the roadblocks began to be set up.

I completed elementary school and the high hairdressers' course.

I worked in a private hairdresser's lounge, "Buba-Mara", and was a part-time student of the Faculty of Physical Education (I completed two years).

While I was returning home from my job, I was stopped by four armed members of the green berets who pushed me into a car, blindfolded me and drove me to a basement (I do not know where it was located). When we arrived there, I was put, together with a 16-year-old girl named Jelena, in a small partitioned corridor having no windows or ventilation.

On the first night, 12 men wearing black overalls, which served as a kind of their uniforms, came. They first molested Jelena and then forced themselves upon me. I did not know any of them; I only heard that they called one of them "Alibaba". He tore all my clothes and, since I was virgo in tacta, he was very brutal, he slapped me and made me have both oral sex with him and intercourse. Then the other two came who pinned me down on the floor while Ismet Bajramovic, known as Celo (I later found out what his name was), led the rape. He was the leader of the group. He has an organisation of his own which still operates in Sarajevo. He assaulted me first, then the others took their turn and the whole ordeal was repeated throughout the night: I had to have oral sex and intercourse with them. I found out his name during my 25-day detention with Jelena in that corridor. Jelena stayed behind when I left. As I could see later on, it was a smaller apartment building which had a basement where the two of us were detained. The basement space next to us resounded with cries and screams of other women. During those 25 days I was there, I was repeatedly abused day in day out; both of us were forced to have oral sex and intercourse. All those who did that to us said that Serbs were doing the same to their Moslem sisters. This was their pretext, a justification for what they did.

On my last, 25th, day there, Ismet Bajramovic-Celo came and told me he had to let me go because of the strings pulled on my behalf, advising me to forget all about what happened to me there for my own sake.

The husband of a friend of mine, a Moslem, used his connections to find out where I was and get me out. He told me that the building I had been in was in Pofalici. Everything has been pulverized and there is no Serb house left in that suburb now.

I left in the same manner I was brought in - blindfolded. They drove me to Kosauska Rdo, a Moslem-controlled sector of Sarajevo, opened the door and

threw me out. I walked to a friend, Emir Tufekcic, whose wife Radmila is a Serb.

Since I was mentally disturbed, my friend Emir Tufekcic, who was not a member of the green berets at the time but had to comply with a work order, and his wife Radmila helped me to go to the psychiatric clinic "Kosevo" in Kosevo, to see a Dr. Haris, whose surname I do not know. I found out what his name was while I was treated at the clinic: they called him Haris there. I was hospitalized for 28 days. Having left the clinic, I stayed with Emir and Radmila Tufekcic who hid me in their home.

After a month I felt sickness, I vomited, which indicated pregnancy. I went again to "Kosevo" clinic intending to have an abortion. They said that I could have it only if I said to the journalists that I was raped by Serbs. I indignantly refused, since I could not besmirch my people, the religion I belong to, and myself. They have no humanity or compassion; they salute each other with "Selam alekum and merhaba". So, I decided: if there was no chance for me to have an abortion, I would give birth to the child and strangle it. I hope one can understand such thoughts in such moments. The child was not a fruit of love; I would feel only hatred and rage for it and it would always remind me of the awful and horrible things I went through.

I was still with my friends Emir and Radmila Tufekcic, who fed me and gave me clothes, since I did not have any clothes of my own. There was no chance for me to pass to the Serb-controlled territory. I was with them until 15 November (midnight). They helped me to be included in the list of people to be evacuated to Serbia. The list began to be compiled in July, but it was not until November that the convoy of evacuees left for Serbia. The convoy departed Sarajevo on 15 November and reached Belgrade on 17 November 1992. I arrived in Belgrade at midnight, where I slept and a day later I was admitted to the Gynaecology-Obstetrics Clinic, where I gave birth.

Deposition taken by

Milica Dunic
Senior Stenographer
at the Federal Assembly

Belgrade, 24 November 1992

Deposition made by

S. K.

Deposition made by M. R. of her own accord

I was born on 16 March 1954, in the village of Visori on Mount Majevisa and lived in the village of Brezje, also on Majevisa. I am a peasant farmer.

At that time, my brother-in-law Drago was on the battlefield, and my husband too. We took our children to Sremska Mitrovica along with other children from our village.

It happened early in June, one afternoon. They simply raided the village of Brezje. It is a small village. They surrounded it. Three men stood outside each house so it was not possible to escape or step out for a single moment. They singled out 36 youngsters and took them away. Women and girls were divided into groups.

Some were raped outside their homes. Ljubomir of Gornje Brezje, I cannot remember his surname, killed himself because they raped his wife and daughter in front of his home. They classified men as well and left the elderly people, so that nothing is presently known of their fates, whether they are still alive or dead, and no one can reach them. My father and mother stayed behind. I do not know anything about them.

They took things out of houses, they even tore our doors and windows and transported them to Srebrnik. Later on, they set fire to the houses. I know that they first slaughtered Stokan Djukić and his wife Kata, who was Croatian. They were the first victims. The attackers were armed and wore greenish, patterned disguise uniforms. They also killed Stojan Djukić. They forced Ilija Mihajlović to dig up a hole for himself and then to cover it with earth again. Later on, they made a big wooden cross for him, fixed him alive onto it and left him like that.

Our village is a small one, so that no one could run away and the entire population was killed. We received no news that people escaped or at least saved their lives and property of any significance. They looted everything and burned whatever was left.

They separated women from men, put us into covered trucks, similar to vans, where there was no air, and took us to a camp. It was in the afternoon, I was wearing the blouse and a skirt that I had on at home. They took us to Tuzla; they put us into a tunnel, women only. It was dark inside, no light from anywhere. There were guards watching us and we were not even allowed to talk for fear of mistreatment.

I spent more than five months in the camp. We were exchanged some 10 days ago. There were two other elderly women from our village, Danica and Petra, who were also exchanged.

During all that time, five months, they never took us outside. They gave us food and a plastic bowl with water to drink. I still wore the same clothes in which I left the house. We could neither wash ourselves nor our clothes.

We were 10 women. There was a partition in the tunnel, but somewhere there was not. They separated girls from women. It is unimaginable what they did. I cannot even talk about it. When they came to rape us, they first blindfolded us, so that we could not recognize them. You could neither see who approached you nor what he was doing to you, to prevent you from perhaps recognizing your neighbour.

They changed one after the other, doing whatever they pleased. They came whenever they wanted; sometimes there were three on one woman. For this to happen it was enough to utter a word during mealtime. They asked me what caused me most pain and where my husband was. I could not say he was on the front, so I said I did not know. Then they said: "You do not know where he is? You are hiding him". Then they asked me where my children were. They knew I had a brother-in-law, Drago, and a husband, saying that they knew that they were on the opposite side. They joined the Army, they said, adding that they won't be able to do anything on that side. They will just die like the rest of the Serbs until they were so few that they can all sit at one dining-table. They wore camouflage uniforms and were disguised so as not to be recognized.

They said that Serbian women should no longer give birth to Serbian children, but to Moslem and Croatian. They did not allow me to be exchanged before my pregnancy was well advanced.

I thought a lot about everything. I even thought of suicide. Some people went insane and lost self-control, for not everyone can endure all those tortures. I wanted to kill myself, but the thought of my two children, whom I have to support because my husband is on the front, made me stop. They told me: "Milosevic will not be with you, we will put you on trial".

They did not want to take their own people who surrendered. There were dozens of them waiting to be exchanged, but they did not want them; they said - since they surrendered, you may do with them whatever you want, we do not need them.

All information about us, camp inmates, was obtained from our neighbours, inhabitants of the neighbouring Muslim village of Hunci. I never did any harm to anyone from that village. When the exchange was to be effected among myself, two other women and one man, they were asked who should be exchanged. There was a separate part of the camp for men. The man who was released with us was Nenad Kojo. His brother, Sima Kojo, remained in the camp. He told us that red-hot wire was pushed through his nose while he was forced to walk down the corridor and wherever there was a drop of blood, his brother had to lick it. That was the first exchange of prisoners from our camp. There were 17 Muslims to be exchanged for four of us. They blindfolded us again, put us in a van and took us to Sibosnica, where they left us. From Sibosnica to Piper we were driven in a car; there we were taken over by our crisis team. My village of Brezje is on the slopes of Mt. Majeveca and belongs to the Municipality of Lopare. I have two children. My son was born in 1978 and my daughter in 1982. I suffer very much because I haven't seen them for six

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months, nor have I fed them or given them anything to wear; I don't know how they are. My husband is on the front. I lost everything, but my relatives will take me here, and I will do any work anywhere in order to support my children.

Belgrade, 16 November 1992

Deposition made by
(Signed) M. R.

Stenographer: Roza Mitrović
Stenographer at the Federal Assembly

A testimony of a Serbian woman who was a slave
in the brothel for Alija's warriors for more
than five months

G. T., a 28-year-old housewife from the Serbian village of Blagaj near Kupres, spent more than five months besieged in a brothel at Livno and the "Ciglane" area in Sarajevo.

She is five months pregnant and wishes to abort the unwanted foetus at any expense. She is the mother of two girls; one is 11 and the other is 7 years old. Fortunately, she sent both daughters to her brother's in Belgrade. She was reluctant to leave without her husband, who was among the first in their village to join the JNA units.

At the beginning of April, early in the morning, her school friend from Kupres, Mensur Zujkić, appeared at the door followed by a group of armed men.

That April morning, Mensur Zujkić grabbed her like a wild beast, abused her, pulled her out of the house and without any explanation took her to Livno. From that morning she was in hell.

In a large, luxuriously equipped house at Livno, every morning G. had to serve as a source of pleasure to her schoolmate, thus paying the price of her seemingly happy youth.

There were other women in that house too, said G. Younger and older ones, ranging from 18 to 40. All of them were Serbian women, except one who was Ruthenian. When they brought me there, it seemed that they were already used to their misfortune and despair. None of them would even scream or cry. They accepted the soldiers bluntly, as if it were happening to someone else. I saw them rarely, but once, when I got permission to go outside to feel the sun, one of the women seriously scorned me: "Why are you complaining, necessity is a must when the devil drives. Your screams disturb us and those beasts as well, and then they abuse us longer. It then takes them longer. Persevere, be silent. God help us, they'll let us go." I feel like dying, when the doorknob turns. Lying on that bed I pray for death. It seemed to me that the attic was falling on top of us, as if it were cracking with my children and my husband peeping through and watching those shameful and obscene acts.

G. had to belong only to Mensur Zujkić. When he left Livno and went to Sarajevo in late June, he took her along. As the front moved, Zujkić dragged her as well all over Sarajevo, and finally put her to a brothel in the "Ciglane" area, where again she was only his property.

"Ciglane" is a dreadful place, G. remembers. Very young girls are there too. I could drop dead immediately from what I saw. Young girls stretched out with 7 to 8 Muslims taking their turns on them. I thought of my younger daughter. These girls were not older than 10 or 12 ... "Ciglane" had good security, so no one was allowed to make a sound.

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The days which G. spent in the "Ciglane" area, where Alija's main military headquarters for the defence of Sarajevo are situated, seemed to have lasted forever. Drunk Croat and Muslim warriors and some "mercenaries" were coming in and out, firing on and off. They shouted: "We are making Serbian women bastards!" Like the one I now want to get rid of. I have to, G. said nervously.

God forgive me, this must have about five months, as if she were talking about cancer. If only someone would remove it ... If not, I'll get rid of it myself. I'm not even sure that "it" would be normal, considering everything I went through. I'm no longer normal either. Let only my and my husband's children be living and healthy, whatever may happen to me.

Brothels with Serb women established by Moslem and Croatian forces:

1. Sarajevo: "Zagreb" hotel, about 40 to 50 Serb women are placed in the cellars, and they are maltreated by members of the Moslem Territorial Defence of BH;
2. Sarajevo: "Bjelave" dormitory, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
3. Sarajevo: "Zetra" Sports Centre, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
4. Sarajevo: "Borsalino" cafe, about 10 women of Serbian nationality;
5. Sarajevo: District of "Ciglane", former premises of the "Djordjevic" firm, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
6. Sarajevo: School of civil engineering, about 100 women of Serbian nationality; the manager of the brothel is Mirza Delibasic, a famous basketball player;
7. Hadzici: The village of Urduk near Pazaric, about 10 women of Serbian nationality;
8. Hadzici: Primary school in the village of Tarcin, about 50 women of Serbian nationality;
9. Tuzla: Secondary school premises, about 100 women of Serbian nationality;
10. Tuzla: Private house on the road towards Srebrenik, near Previla, about 15 women of Serbian nationality;
11. Bugojno: House of the killed Serb Relja Lukić, about 15 women of Serbian nationality;
12. Bugojno: "Rostovo" ski centre, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
13. Konjic: In the village of Buturovic Polje, about 50 women of Serbian nationality;
14. Konjic: "Amadeus" cafe in the centre of the town, about 20 women of Serbian nationality;
15. Bihać: House owned and managed by Mustafa Vukovic, about 30 women of Serbian nationality.

Apart from these 15 brothels, on which we have gathered information and where about 800 women of Serbian nationality are being raped by members of the Moslem TD of BH and Croatian Army, an unprecedented terror of women and girls of Serbian nationality is carried out in all concentration camps for Serbs.

ANNEX II

Analysis of the medical-psychological examinations of one group of people released through the exchange of prisoners

I. INTRODUCTION

A team of experts from the Institute for Mental Health and Military Psychology at the Military Medical Academy, made up of two physicians-neuropsychiatrists and two psychologists, examined the whole group of people released through the exchange of prisoners. The group of 380 members of the Croatian paramilitary formations was returned in exchange for this group of 41 prisoners. The exchange took place on 27 March 1992, and the medical-psychological examinations were made on 28 March 1992.

Our purpose was both to establish their actual psycho-physical conditions and determine all the forms of brutal physical and mental treatment and violence on the basis of general medical examinations, semi-standardized psychological-psychiatric interviews and verbal statements of the prisoners examined.

II. BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC AND OTHER IMPORTANT DATA

All the prisoners from the group exchanged were of the average age of 48. The youngest was 24 and the oldest 73. There were 5 women with an average age of 44, out of which 4 were housewives and 1 an unqualified worker. Among the male members of the group, most of them were farmers, workers, pensioners, two technicians and one professor, among which 9 were members of the Armed Forces - 4 Territorial Defence members, 2 volunteers (aged 37 and 62), 2 reservists and 1 JNA Junior Officer. They were arrested between 6 November 1991 and 13 March 1992.

The circumstances under which these people were deprived of their liberty were different, ranging from those most common - in their houses while watching television, or in the streets - to even more unusual, on the highway, on their return from a wedding (R. P., aged 42) or on their way back to the village from the medical examination (B. C., aged 73 suffering from an ulcer). Some of them were ambushed by the Croatian Ministry of the Interior (B. B., aged 66) or captured in the field while gathering corn (K. T., aged 57) or plums (I. S., aged 56). The only one JNA member, a junior officer (Z. S., aged 49), a Serb, married to a Croatian woman, was arrested on his leave, while sleeping.

Almost all the prisoners, after being interrogated for 3 to 10 days in Vinkovci, Sisak, Slavonska Brahovića, Slavonska Požega, Podravska Slatina, Djakovo, Novska, Našice, etc., were taken to prisoner camps in Osijek or Zagreb (in Zagreb to Kerestinac and Gaj). The most brutal and cruel physical

and mental treatment by depriving them even of their basic physiological needs (water, food, sleep, movement) was committed during the "inquiry". Throughout their captivity, they were exposed to some more mild forms of physical, mental and social torture. Torturing continued even on the buses, on the way from the prison in Osijek to the determined point of exchange. That was testified by the cases of T. R., aged 32, and J. M., aged 55, who got fresh bloody swellings in the region of the right cheek-bone, i.e. lower jaw.

III. MOST FREQUENT FORMS OF PHYSICAL TREATMENT

Classification into physical and psychological, i.e. psycho-social, forms of treatment is of a relative character, because these forms cannot be easily distinguished, one from the others. Some of the most often forms of physical torture registered are:

- deprivation of basic physiological needs, for instance, leaving prisoners five days without water and food or forbidding them to relieve themselves while being tied to hot radiators (I. S., aged 56);
- hitting the heads of the prisoners against the wall until they faint (B. B., aged 66);
- beating with truncheons, wire ropes, butts of guns, broomsticks till the loss of consciousness;
- electrocution with electro shocks, electric wires tied to the wrists in the region of the neck, heavy thighs and even to the genitals;
- "coming to life" of fainted prisoners by brutal physical torture, for instance by pouring vinegar, brandy or even urine into the mouth;
- kicking prisoners with boots while lying on the concrete, blindfolded as not to see faces of their torturers;
- "demonstration" of gouging the eyes of Serbs by sticking fingers into the eye sockets;
- permanent jumping from a bench or a table onto the stomachs of the victims lied on their back on the concrete, until they get hernia (K. T., aged 53, with a hernia large as a human head; C. M., aged 42, with a bit smaller hernia);
- tying men with spread legs and beating them with truncheons on the genitals;
- raping of women with their arms and legs tied in a so-called "black room" for days (M. R., aged 38, lost 25 kg for three months);

- stripping them naked and beating them with boots, truncheons until they faint;
- extinguishing butts of cigarettes into the mouth of victims, forcing them to swallow them;
- swallowing extinguished butts previously plunged into urine;
- chaining the left arm to the left leg (Z. N., aged 43);
- trampling with both legs, fixing the neck with one leg and kicking in the region of the heart with the other one;
- plucking hair and forcing prisoners to eat it (J. N., aged 38);
- extracting teeth, mostly with a barrel of a revolver (two teeth: M. G., aged 42);
- nailing handcuffed prisoners to a fixed hook on a wall, then beating till the loss of consciousness and leaving them in a such position;
- trampling with boots upon the surgical scar from the operation for gastric ulcer (operated on 10 November, arrested on 30 December 1991, D. N., aged 38);
- putting bags over the head, roping around the neck, knocking down to the concrete and then savagely kicking with boots, truncheons, etc.;
- striking on the head with a big metal ladle of 1 m until they faint;
- striking with a "hammer" made of 1-2 kg salt folded in a sheet, knotted and plunged into water so as to gain in weight;
- tying to a tree, in winter at -15° C and watering prisoners in order to hasten their freezing;
- carrying bags full of sand from one side of the camp to the other without any reason under threats: "Who's told you to do that, take it back!", without any end to it;
- forcing to relieve themselves in the room where they sleep, on the floor because there are no buckets;
- forcing to take shower with cold and hot water alternately so as to suffer burns;
- tying the prisoners to a tree for two days and nights in snow in winter, depriving them of water and food and beating them (N. G., aged 35, permanently relieved from military duty because of illness);

- cutting ears with a knife and forcing prisoners to lick knives under threats of being slaughtered;
- carving the skin on the back with a knife and pouring salt in a wound;
- beating with steel cable on the bare feet;
- there is a case when torturers started to slaughter a prisoner (D. N., aged 42) when, by accident, he was saved by the Commander of the Ministry of the Interior, his school friend from the elementary school.

IV. MOST FREQUENT FORMS OF MENTAL ILL-TREATMENT

The forms of mental ill-treatment ranged from bullying, threats, blackmail, recruitment and humiliation to brutal maltreatment, homosexual and heterosexual abuse. We present herewith the most frequent forms of mental ill-treatment:

- putting the pistol barrel into the prisoner's mouth and a knife under his neck threatening him that he would be "slaughtered as all members of his family had already been";
- prisoners were told that their children had been already slaughtered; that it was their turn; that that was the way of "solving the Chetniks problem";
- the prisoners were forced to cross themselves and to bow down with curses before the photo of S. Milošević;
- the prisoners were forced to masturbate before Tito's picture;
- "night dances" - the prisoners were forced to dance with the music turned on loudly and in the presence of drunken Ustashes. During the dance the male and female prisoners were half naked so to be "stimulated". Afterwards they went to the dark room where the torturers raped the young female prisoners, whose arms and legs were tied and stretched;
- the group of male prisoners was forced to masturbate in front of the half-naked older female prisoners. This was followed by the brutal verbal humiliation and music which add to the physical and psychological ill-treatment;
- the young female prisoners were forced to bathe in the morning and then to swallow the sperm of 10 to 20 Ustashes;
- the young male prisoner was requested to make oral sex on an older male person;

- anal heterosexual intercourse with a victim who was then forced to make oral sex and to swallow the sperm;
- group masturbation; then a wife of one prisoner was forced to make oral sex on a prisoner while her husband was watching;
- "special dance" - naked male and female prisoners were forced to dance permanently for 4 to 5 hours until completely exhausted and then they underwent the "process of reanimation";
- "games without frontiers" - the prisoners were carrying plates with hot water on their heads and then forced to run so that the water could splash out and cause the burns;
- the prisoner was requested to write a statement, several pages long and then to eat it (C. M., 44 years old);
- a prisoner was made to move on his knees and elbows while another one was riding him. While doing this they had to repeat permanently: "Živjela vječna Hrvatska" (Long live the everlasting Croatia!) but if they pronounced the word "živjela" in a different way (like "živila" or "živela") they underwent additional ill-treatment;
- the prisoners were questioned: "Who is the Croat?" The answer was: "Sir". "Who is the Serb?" - "The gypsy";
- the prisoners were shown the tapes with the massacred wounded persons and corpses in order to see "what Chetniks do to the Croats";
- the prisoners were made to sing some new songs like "Milan Martić, the son of a bitch";
- the prisoners were requested to say the evening prayer: "Mother of Lord, the Serbian vagina wishes you good night ...";
- "riddles": How can you hold your ears with one hand? The answer: "This can be done if an Ustasha cut one of your ears and put it in your hand";
- deliberate exposure to death (O. M., 37 years old, together with other prisoners, was sent into the streets of Osijek to collect the garbage while vigorous combat was in course. The Ustashas with snipers watched them in order to prevent them from finding shelter);
- the prisoners were put in chains and taken from one restaurant to another presented as "Milosević's Chetniks";

- while grinding the bullet in front of the prisoner (J. N., 51 years old) the torturer explained that the death would be easier for him;
- the prisoner (M. C., 33 years old) was forced to sing "Lily Marlene".

V. PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ILL-TREATMENT

By the medical check-up we found the following: fresh blood bruises on lower jaw, cheek-bones, hand, wrists where there were also scars made by hanging the victims with handcuffs on their hands on hooks fixed in the wall, scars on the hand, wrists, necks and legs made by electric devices.

Difficulties in opening the mouth were also registered as the prisoner's broken jaw was not treated medically (T. M., 38 years old). In fact, this prisoner refused the surgery intervention in Zagreb for fear of being killed. Two large hernias were found caused by the ill-treatment as described in the above text. The patients suffer from pains in the chest, they expectorate lymph, there are traces of blood in their urine and stool. There are visible scars on the forehead and other parts of the prisoners' heads which are obviously the result of cuts made by a sharp object. The patients complained of pains in the back, chest, breasts and wrists.

The most prominent mental discomforts were: insomnia, increased sweating, emotional disturbance, anxiety, fear, nightmares with permanent reminiscences of experienced and seen trauma scenes, apathy, crying mood, lack of appetite, arrhythmia, psycho-motoric disturbance, headaches, feeling that it was impossible to breathe, anxious and depressive reactions with all female patients.

The persons that underwent the medical check-up expressed, although they had been exposed to prolonged strong stress situations and humiliation, mature consideration for their own state and unexpected mental resistance to intensity and duration of stress events. Some of them expressed even some sort of pride that they "did not knuckle under pressure". Some of the patients were given the necessary medicaments and it was suggested that they undergo other necessary medical treatment. We must point out that the medical check-ups were completed in the morning hours some 15 hours after the exchange. Owing to this fact it is possible to expect some delayed reactions to stress as post-trauma stress disturbance. Because of this it is necessary to continue with following the psychological adaptability of the patients as well as to undertake available mental-hygiene and medical measures.

VI. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the medical and psychological check-ups of one group of prisoners released by exchange exposed the fact that those individuals had been exposed to severe physical torture, ill-treatment and criminal activities.

The psychological ill-treatment was directed at destroying the motivation regarding safety, self-confidence and affiliation. At the same time the torturers tried to develop with the prisoners the feeling of uncertainty, helplessness, fear, anxiety and even the feeling of losing one's own identity.

Social pressure was directed at degradation of personality by destroying basic human dignity. The characteristics of the psycho-social ill-treatment were animal hatred against the victim, sadism up to bestiality and extreme cruelty.

We consider such treatment of prisoners as a crime against humanity and that it is necessary to inform the domestic and international public of this fact so as to observe all this in the light of international war law and conventions regarding prisoners of war and victims of war in general.

We suggest that a medical check-up of other groups of released prisoners be done, especially of the Armed Forces personnel, by the team of doctors - forensic specialists, neuro-psychiatrists and psychologists.

Head of the Institute for Mental Health and
Military Psychology,

Colonel, Professor Bratislav Petrović, Ph.D

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UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERALS/RES/970 (1995)
12 January 1995

RESOLUTION 970 (1995)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3487th meeting,
on 12 January 1995

The Security Council,

Recalling all its earlier relevant resolutions, and in particular resolution 943 (1994) of 23 September 1994,

Welcoming the measures taken by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), in particular those detailed in the annex to the Secretary-General's letter of 4 January 1995 to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/6), to maintain the effective closure of the international border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with respect to all goods except foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for essential humanitarian needs, and noting that those measures were a necessary condition for the adoption of the present resolution,

Stressing the importance of the maintenance by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) of the effective closure of that border, and of further efforts by them to enhance the effectiveness of that closure, including by the prosecution of persons suspected of violating measures to that end and by sealing border crossing points as requested by the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY),

Expressing appreciation for the work of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the ICFY and of the ICFY Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and stressing the importance it attaches to the availability of all necessary resources for the work of the Mission,

Noting that paragraph 9 of resolution 757 (1992) of 30 May 1992 remains in force,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

95-00964 (E)

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1. Decides that the restrictions and other measures referred to in paragraph 1 of resolution 943 (1994) shall be suspended for a further period of 100 days from the adoption of the present resolution;
2. Calls upon all States and others concerned to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and international borders of all States in the region;
3. Reaffirms that the requirements in paragraph 12 of resolution 820 (1993) that import to, export from and transshipment through the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia and those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, with the exception of essential humanitarian supplies including medical supplies and foodstuffs distributed by international humanitarian agencies, shall be permitted only with proper authorization from the Government of the Republic of Croatia or the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina respectively, apply to all shipments across the international border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
4. Requests the Committee established by resolution 724 (1991) urgently to expedite its elaboration of appropriate streamlined procedures as referred to in paragraph 2 of resolution 943 (1993), and to give priority to its consideration of applications concerning legitimate humanitarian assistance, in particular applications from the International Committee of the Red Cross and from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other organizations in the United Nations system;
5. Requests that every thirty days the Secretary-General submit to the Security Council for its review a report as to whether the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY Steering Committee certify that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) are effectively implementing their decision to close the international border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with respect to all goods except foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for essential humanitarian needs, and are complying with the requirements of paragraph 3 above in respect of all shipments across the international border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and further requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council immediately if he has evidence, including from the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY Steering Committee, that those authorities are not effectively implementing their decision to close that border;
6. Decides that if at any time the Secretary-General reports that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) are not effectively implementing their decision to close that border, the suspension of the measures referred to in paragraph 1 above shall terminate on the fifth working day following the report of the Secretary-General, unless the Security Council decides to the contrary;

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7. Decides to keep the situation closely under review and to consider further steps with regard to measures applicable to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in the light of further progress in the situation;

8. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Peace team discusses new deal for Bosnian Serbs

BY JAMES BONE IN NEW YORK AND EVE-ANN PRENTICE, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

PEACE negotiators are considering new concessions to Bosnia's Serbs to break the stalemate in the Balkans. At a strategy session in New York this week, Russia insisted that the international Contact Group should amend its "take-it-or-leave-it" proposal to allow the Bosnian Serbs to form a confederation with the Serb-led rump of Yugoslavia.

Three factors have given the group's discussions increased urgency: Washington's plan to seek a six-month timetable for lifting the UN arms embargo on the Muslim-led Bosnian government; fears of a new war in Croatia; and the prospect of a third winter of conflict in Bosnia, with United Nations peacekeepers trapped between hostile warring sides on the ground and a Nato which wants to adopt a more aggressive airstrike policy.

European governments are desperate to make progress in peace talks before the spring. The negotiators are also anxious to involve Croatia more closely in an overall settlement and to resolve the status of secessionist Serbs in Croatia.

Lord Owen, the European Union negotiator, said this week: "The Croatian Serbs feel they have not had enough political attention. It is not in anybody's interest for the Croatian Serbs to be pushed in frustration into the arms of the Bosnian Serbs."

Britain, France, Germany and America have accepted Russia's case in principle that the Bosnian Serbs should be able to confederate with Serbia and Montenegro in the same way that the Muslim-



Owen: emphasises need to hear Croatian Serbs

Croat part of Bosnia can join Croatia. America, fearing the final break-up of Bosnia and the creation of a "Greater Serbia", argued that the Bosnian Serbs should not be given this right until they have committed themselves to a peace plan guaranteeing the existence of a single Bosnia.

Russia is seeking a further easing of sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia — a move opposed in Europe and America. The five-nation group is trying to break the deadlock caused by the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to accept a peace package allotting them 49 per cent of Bosnian territory, compared to 70 per cent that they now hold. A series of meetings in New York this week culminated in a discussion of peace moves among senior officials from all five countries on Wednesday. With the Serb-led rump of Yugoslavia already stopping all but humanitarian supplies to the Serbs across the border in Bosnia, the Western powers were looking for ways to put more pressure on the Bosnian Serbs. The Western Contact Group ne-

tions said they wanted to increase the Bosnian-Serbs' isolation by seeking the mutual recognition of the three states at the centre of the conflict — Bosnia, Croatia and the rump Yugoslavia.

Of the three, only Bosnia and Croatia have formally recognised each other's existence since the break-up of the old Yugoslavia. Mutual recognition of all three states would leave the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia out in the cold.

At Wednesday's strategy session, however, Russia argued that it would be political suicide for President Milosevic of Serbia to recognise both Bosnia and Croatia without further concessions to the Serbs.

□ Belgrade: Mr Milosevic told Bosnian Serbs last night in his first public appearance for months here that the war in Bosnia must stop.

At a celebration marking the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Serbia, he said the Bosnian Serbs had achieved their goals and taken superior territory from their enemies. (Reuters)

Disciples of holy war answer call to fight and die

FROM ANTHONY LOWE
IN ZENICA

The Tunisian fighter was a long way from home. In the distance stretched the green of Bosnia's hills but, despite rock music booming from a café near by and pretty women clad in skin-bugging clothes, he felt bonded to this land.

Motioning behind him to Travnik's minarets, he spoke with certainty of the fate awaiting him and his brothers. "We are coming here to die, not to leave. That is why we shall win."

The presence of the Mujahidin in Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of the most contentious aspects of the conflict. The participation of the Islamic freedom fighters — shock troops or extremist exiles — in a European war has excited Western paranoia with visions of a Bosnian Islamic state: the supply lines stretching from the Adriatic and Turkey to Iran and laying the foundation of a disaffected Muslim nation within the frontiers of Europe.

They are the face of a complex international brotherhood of Islamic fighters, linked by so-called "aid organisations" and sources of funding. To dismiss the Mujahidin as a passing phenomenon is to underestimate their financial clout and misunderstand the concept of their *jihad* (holy war) and the opportunity offered to them by Bosnia's plight.

First arriving in Bosnia in 1992, they were led by Abdul Aziz, a red-bearded Saudi. He organised the groundwork for their deployment in the cen-

■ The presence of Mujahidin fighters from around the world on Bosnian battlefields is unnerving the West

tral Bosnian town of Travnik, historically the seat of the Ottoman Grand Vizier. According to a man who was party to this initial stage of operations, Mr Aziz was a veteran of the Afghan war and one of the main figures behind an international "star chamber" of Mujahidin that takes its holy war to far-flung theatres ranging from the Philippines to Kashmir.

Mr Aziz has since left Bosnia, first for Albania and latterly Pakistan. He was succeeded for a time by Abul Haris, a Libyan, and more recently, by a new "emir". Between 400 and 600 fighters have spread throughout the state, arriving via staging posts in Bosnian Serb and Croatian territory.

The panoply of nationalities — Saudi Wahabites, Syrian Alawis, Iranian Shias, Palestinians from Hamas, Muslim Brotherhood Egyptians, Afghanis, Kuwaitis, Sudanese, and North Africans — is drawn together by their determination to defend and reclaim Islamic purity from the threat of the infidel.

"The West says we are terrorists, but look what it did in Africa, in Algeria: nobody tells them that they are Fascists and terrorists," the Tunisian fighter said. "To become a member of the Mujahidin is

something very serious, a sacrifice. You cannot return to your home once the government there knows what you are. Instead, we must follow the eternal path of *jihad*."

Denigrated by their opponents as either an embarrassment to Bosnia's secular pretensions or the vanguard of fundamentalism, their place in the republic's future is either exaggerated or dismissed. "We have come to Bosnia only to help," said one of their commanders, an Algerian named Abu Mansi, at Mujahidin headquarters in Podbrezje, outside Zenica.

A black Islamic flag hung in the courtyard. In front of a row of weathered four-wheel-drive vehicles, the fighters gathered in groups. There were Arabs, Caucasians and Africans. Most of them were bearded, some with shaven heads, all in well-worn combat dress and heavily armed — hawk-eyed, lean and unforgiving.

Among them stood a handful of youthful Bosnians, part of an indigenous cadre of between 40 and 50, who are trained for six months at a time in Podbrezje before joining *al-Mujahid*, the primary integrated Bosnian Mujahidin unit. Similar fledgling units, either trained, advised or influenced by the Mujahidin have sprung up elsewhere, such as the 37th Muslimanaka Brigade, or the self-styled "al-Fatah".

A UN source in Zenica said: "Five years from now, there will be factionalised groups in this place: Lebanese, Afghan-style groups, very radical because of what they've been through and the homelands they cannot return to. It's the ideal location from which to launch terrorist action in Europe, with authorities who will not, for a long time, be strong enough to control it."

The Times Oct. 21, 1994

BEN 11:18 U.N. May Leave Demilitarized Zone Since Muslims Do Not Honor It

Sarajevo, Oct. 19 (Bloomberg) -- The United Nations may withdraw from the demilitarized zone on Mount Igman near Sarajevo since the Muslim government is refusing to honor it, the British Broadcasting Corp. reported. The U.N. commander in Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, has broken off talks with Ejup Ganic of the Bosnian presidency in a dispute on the subject. About two weeks ago, Bosnian government forces were found to have infiltrated the area and set up positions. Over 500 were pushed out by French U.N. troops, but about 500 more are still there, the, BBC said.

Yesterday, a Bosnian driver was killed and another wounded after a U.N. aid convoy bound for Gorazde came under attack by Bosnian Serbs.

(BBC 10/19)

(International news: BEN43. Human interest news: BEN42. United Nations news: NI UN. Country news: NI YUGO. For more media summaries: BEN16)

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UN and Nato agree on Gen Rose's replacement

By Peter Almond
Defence Correspondent

THE successor to Lt Gen Sir Michael Rose as United Nations commander in Bosnia is likely to be Maj Gen Rupert Smith, the assistant chief of the defence staff.

Britain, Nato and the UN have tentatively agreed that Gen Smith will take up the post on Jan 24.

It had been suggested that Gen Rose, who increasingly has come into conflict with Nato over the use of air strikes in Bosnia, be replaced next month. But he has vowed not to be "chased" out of the job like his two predecessors, and this is being respected, according to Ministry of Defence officials.

Gen Smith will probably have to concentrate on the withdrawal of UN troops from Bosnia.

The general commanded the 1st Armoured Division in the Gulf war. He is regarded as a skilled tactician who has a good rapport with American commanders, whose forces would be vital in protecting UN troops if the withdrawal runs into difficulties.

Nato leaders are already anxious about Serb attacks on UN troops. They are meeting Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN secretary general, in New York today to try to persuade him to allow more devastating air strikes.

Gen Smith would be replaced as director of operations at the MoD by Air Vice Marshal "Rocky" Goodall, the commander of the RAF's 2 Group in Germany.

● Serb forces backed by artillery barrages are fighting their way toward hilltops overlooking a vital supply route to Tuzla, UN peacekeepers said yesterday.

More than 1,200 rounds of mortar and artillery fire were recorded at the weekend along the battlefield, the biggest in Bosnia, about 15 miles north of Sarajevo, as the Bosnian Serbs advanced.—AP

The Times Oct. 17/94

Albanian mafias target drug routes

FROM TIM JUDAH IN BELGRADE

FROM the lawless shores of the Black Sea to the placid waters of Lake Geneva, the "Albanian connection" is rapidly establishing itself as a key new drugs-smuggling route into Western Europe.

Crime syndicates from Kosovo, the southern Serbian province with an overwhelmingly ethnic Albanian population, have already taken control of 70 per cent of the Swiss heroin market, and police sources across Europe say Albanian gangs are now second only to Turks in controlling the Balkan routes.

Albanian mafia bosses have been able to take advantage of large communities of their compatriots in Switzerland and Germany whom they exploit as couriers. Increasingly these Kosovo drug barons are using Albania as a drug route. According to the Paris drugs watchdog Observatoire Géopolitique des Drogues (ODG), they are also using Albanians from Albania by giving them false Yugoslav passports. With these they can apply for asylum in Germany or Switzerland, saying they are fleeing Serb repression in Kosovo. Before 1991, much of the heroin from the "golden

crescent" countries of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan reached Europe via Turkey and then across Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The war cut this route and diverted it northwards. The Albanian mafias are establishing a new route across Albania and Macedonia, where there is a large ethnic Albanian population.

A senior source in the Macedonian Interior Ministry confirmed that a new route is emerging. In 1993 and the first nine months of this year, the Macedonian police arrested 189 people, mostly ethnic Albanians, on charges related to drugs trafficking. A big network was also broken up with the help of the Italian police.

The ODG believes that drug trafficking by Albanian mafias is directly related to the smuggling of arms for an uprising in Kosovo. There appears to be little supplementary evidence to support this claim, however. Genc Pollo, spokesman for President Berisha of Albania, accuses the ODG of fabrication and exaggeration. He does not deny that there is drugs trafficking across his country but says: "The problem is under control."

The Times
Oct. 18/94

Albanian leader threatens split in Macedonia

BY MISHA GLENNY

THE southern Balkans will either take a big step towards peace tomorrow, when Macedonians vote to elect a parliament and President, or towards the disintegration of the country.

Over the past two years, President Gligorov has done a remarkable job in steering this former Yugoslav republic through the choppy waters of independence. Few believe that Mr Gligorov's main nationalist opponent, Ljubisha Georgievski, leader of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (VMRO), will dislodge him.

The key to Macedonia's stability lies in the outcome of

edonia is beginning to show serious economic strain. This has added to an increasingly tense electoral campaign.

Mr Crvenkovski's Social Democrat Party is the mainstay of the union of Macedonia, which is committed to sharing power with the largest Albanian party, the PDP. The union is under pressure from a new organisation, the Democratic Party, as well as its traditional enemies, the VMRO. The Democratic Party is headed by Petar Gosev, a former Prime Minister who led the Communists at the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia. Like the nationalists, the Democrats refuse to accept the principle of collective rights for the minority Albanians, who are demanding a greater say in the state administration which is dominated by the Macedonians.

Just as Mr Crvenkovski has his hands full with the Democratic Party and the nationalists, so too do his Albanian allies in the PDP. Earlier this year, their party split and a group of radicals, personified by the charismatic Menduh Thaqi, 29, are now standing as independent candidates. Mr Thaqi has issued a warning that if there is no rapid progress towards satisfying his demands the Albanians would consider establishing their own assembly in Tetovo, the western Macedonian capital.

This possibility carries sinister echoes of the political breakdown between the Croats, Muslims and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina before the outbreak of war there. That is why the people of the southern Balkans are taking an inordinate interest in the Macedonian elections.



the parliamentary elections. Nationalists from the country's two main communities, the Slav Macedonians and the Albanians, could win enough votes to challenge the delicate coalition of Macedonian and Albanian nationalists under the leadership of Branko Crvenkovski, the Prime Minister. Observers in the capital, Skopje, fear that if the coalition fails at the polls then the Albanians and Macedonians could be set on a political collision course.

Squeezed between four neighbours and two trade blockades, land-locked Mac-

The Times
Oct. 15/94

Financial Times Oct. 19/94

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Danke Deutschland!

Cartoon superhero of the streets is Bosnia's symbol of survival

HE IS faster than Batman and braver than Superman. He is armed with "justice and truth". But, for all that, he is just a regular guy inside a colourful, indestructible tight-fitting uniform with a fleur-de-lis, the Bosnian coat of arms, on his chest.

He is Bosman, the hero of the first comic book published in Sarajevo since the war started.

Bosman faces dangers that are familiar to people in the Bosnian capital. His creators intended him to be everyman, spending time in the trenches and fighting Bosnian Serb extremists.

"Bosman is a symbol of the people who have survived this war, a symbol of the people who opposed the beast and who fought only with rifles," said Enes Pehlivanovic, who works on the comic. "This is not a fairy tale."

The adventures of Bosman start when he sees

The creators of Bosman hope their comic will prepare children for a new war, reports Emma Daly in Sarajevo

Bosnian Serb nationalists, with Yugoslav tanks, planning the assault on Sarajevo.

He tries to warn friends of the impending slaughter. At the end of the first issue, the city is close to war.

However, Bosman's exploits inspire a mixed response from adults in Sarajevo, for whom self-deprecating humour is an art form. Far from seeing the character as their alter-ego, most react to his deeds with shrieks of laughter.

"It's true, we're heroes," said one soldier, trying to keep a straight face. "But I don't think I'm like this guy. He looks like a copy of Batman or Superman. It's the same guy, but they have put him in our environment."

One of Bosman's creators, who asked to remain anonymous, said conflicts over the character had not been resolved.

With a square jaw like Clark Kent's and a priggish expression, "he doesn't even look Bosnian," he said.

"The children I know who read it said it was very naïve, with some ridiculous situations. And they are children who live here, and are very familiar with reality."

Others were kinder. Fatima Selak said: "I think it's great and the kids are really interested."

On the wall of the Bosman office, a former pool hall, a letter from a young fan is on display. "I'm a refugee from [Serb-held] Vogosca. I'm

glad that I have met you and I would like to congratulate you on your victory against evil," wrote Denis, 12. "I wish you would go to Vogosca and kill all our enemies. My father is on [Mount] Igman and I know nothing about him."

Unfortunately, the events that Bosman reacts to and the bad guys he fights are all too real. The fizz of a bullet, the rattle of a Kalashnikov and the rumble of a Yugoslav army tank are well known sounds to Bosman's readers. The publishers intended it that way, having a harsh message for children.

"This war happened to us. Nobody was prepared," said Mr Pehlivanovic, who used to work for *Ozlobodenje*, Sarajevo's daily newspaper. "When we draw rifles or pistols for our children, it's not that we think they should play with guns, but perhaps that they need to be prepared for the next war."

The Independent Oct. 19/94

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

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4 February 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 721 (1991)

INTRODUCTION

1. The present further report is being submitted to the Security Council pursuant to its resolution 721 (1991), which was adopted unanimously on 27 November 1991. In addition, it takes into account resolution 727 (1992) of 8 January 1992, which the Council also adopted unanimously and by which, *inter alia*, it approved my report 1/ of 5 January 1992.

2. It will be recalled that the Security Council, in its resolution 721 (1991), expressed the hope that the Secretary-General would present early recommendations to the Council including the possible establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia. In resolution 724 (1991), the Security Council endorsed my predecessor's view, expressed in his report 2/ of 11 December 1991, that the conditions for establishing a peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia still did not exist. In resolution 727 (1992) the Council welcomed the signing of an implementing accord at Sarajevo on 2 January 1992, concerning modalities for implementing the unconditional cease-fire agreed to by the parties at Geneva on 23 November 1991, 2/ and endorsed my intention to send to Yugoslavia a group of up to 50 military liaison officers to promote maintenance of the cease-fire.

3. The military liaison mission, headed by Col. John Wilson (Australia) and consisting of unarmed officers detached from three existing United Nations peace-keeping operations, arrived in Yugoslavia on 14 January 1992. On Thursday, 23 January, I received a visit from Mr. Branko Jovic, Chairman of the Federal State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations on Peace-keeping Matters. On the same day I received a visit from Mr. F. Greguric, Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia. Both visitors reiterated the commitments of their respective authorities to the cease-fire and requested the earliest possible deployment of a peace-keeping operation. I responded that there remained a number of obstacles in the way of such a deployment, bearing in mind the resolutions of the Council on the subject, but that I had asked the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs,

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Mr. Marrack Goulding, to travel to the area to assess the state of the cease-fire and to examine how those obstacles could be removed. This was also intended to be a signal to the parties that I wished to be of help to them. Mr. Goulding arrived in Belgrade on 26 January 1992, accompanied by Col. Heikki Purola, my Deputy Military Adviser, and Mr. Shashi Tharoor, Special Assistant to the Under-Secretary-General. Col. Wilson also formed part of the delegation.

4. Mr. Goulding held discussions in Belgrade on 26 January 1992 with political and military leaders there. On the following day he met leaders of the Serbian community in Eastern Slavonia and then travelled to Knin for discussions with the leadership of the Serbian community in the region of Krajina, the largest of the proposed United Nations Protected Areas. On 28 January he met with the Croatian leadership in Zagreb. On 29 January he held further consultations in Belgrade with the political and military leadership there and met a delegation of the Serbian community of Western Slavonia. The meetings with the leaders of the Serbian communities in the three United Nations Protected Areas took place in response to requests by the Federal and Serbian leaderships that Mr. Goulding should give the local leaders a further explanation of the plan for a United Nations peace-keeping force and respond to the concerns which they had expressed about it. Mr. Goulding and his team returned to New York on 30 January 1992. A full description of their programme is attached as annex I to the present report.

I. SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS AND FINDINGS

5. During his discussions with political and military leaders in Yugoslavia, Mr. Goulding sought to identify ways of removing the principal obstacles that remained to the deployment of a peace-keeping operation. He pointed out to the parties that, before such an operation could be deployed, it would be necessary for them to observe an unconditional and effective cease-fire, the modalities for the implementation of which had been agreed in the Sarajevo accord; 1/ to accept, fully and explicitly, the concept paper for a United Nations peace-keeping force 2/ and the practical details of its implementation; and to make an unconditional commitment to ensure full cooperation with such a peace-keeping force should the Security Council decide to establish it. The paragraphs that follow summarize the main points in the report which Mr. Goulding has made to me.

A. The cease-fire

6. In its resolution 721 (1991), the Security Council had endorsed the statement of the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, that the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation could not be envisaged without, *inter alia*, full compliance by all parties with the agreement signed at Geneva on 23 November 1991. 1/ Of the provisions of that agreement, the unblocking and withdrawal of Yugoslav National Army (JNA) units

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in Croatia had taken place, and satisfactory progress had been made in relation to the humanitarian aspects of the agreement, though the overall humanitarian situation remained grave. However, in my most recent report 1/ of 5 January 1992, I had observed that a lasting, effective and unconditional cease-fire had so far eluded the parties. Following the Sarajevo accord, the mission of the military liaison officers was aimed at assisting the parties to achieve and maintain such a cease-fire by facilitating communication between them and providing good offices to help to defuse any tensions that might arise. A full description of the composition, deployment and functions of the military liaison mission is attached in annex II to the present report.

7. During their two weeks on the ground in Yugoslavia, the military liaison officers have received daily allegations of cease-fire violations. None the less, since the Sarajevo accord went into effect on 3 January 1992, the cease-fire has been generally observed, although there have been sporadic violations. It is, sadly, the case that people are still dying, although the majority of the alleged cease-fire violations on both sides have been comparatively minor. There have been almost no complaints of movements of formations of platoon size or larger and the commanders on both sides have shown evidence, which was lacking before, of a readiness to make serious efforts to respect the cease-fire. Unfortunately, however, the military forces on both sides continue to include irregular armed elements who are not fully under the control of the established military commands and who have been responsible for a substantial proportion of the alleged cease-fire violations. Both parties assured Mr. Goulding that they have taken, and will strengthen, actions to bring these elements under their effective control.

B. The United Nations plan

8. The plan for the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping force, which had been endorsed and accepted by the principal signatories of the Geneva agreement, as confirmed in paragraphs 11 to 14 of my earlier report, 1/ rests on two central elements: on the one hand, the withdrawal of JNA from all of Croatia and the demilitarization of the United Nations Protected Areas; on the other, the continuing functioning, on an interim basis, of the existing local authorities and police, under United Nations supervision, pending the achievement of an overall political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. This concept had been described in explicit terms to all the principal parties during the recent missions of my Personal Envoy, Mr. Vance, and of the Preparatory Group sent to the area under resolution 724 (1991).

9. On this basis, and in response especially to concerns expressed by the Serbian communities in the United Nations Protected Areas, Mr. Goulding provided the following clarifications and explanations to all interested parties:

(a) As stated in paragraph 5 of the plan, 1/ and subject to the agreement of the Security Council, the United Nations force would not be withdrawn before an overall political solution was found to the Yugoslav

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crisis, it being understood that rapid progress would need to be made in the Conference on Yugoslavia;

(b) The deployment of the force would not prejudge the outcome of the political process; on the contrary, its purpose would be to stop the fighting and to create the conditions in which political negotiations could take place;

(c) In respect of arrangements for local government and the maintenance of law and order in the United Nations Protected Areas, the deployment of the force would not change the status quo; police arrangements would be as provided for in paragraph 19 of the plan; 5/

(d) Following from this, the United Nations Protected Areas, as at present, would continue not to be subject to the laws and institutions of the Republic of Croatia during the interim period pending a political settlement;

(e) The force would protect the local population and ensure its safety during and after the demilitarisation of the United Nations Protected Areas.

10. In the course of his discussions in Belgrade, Mr. Goulding again received unqualified assurances from Mr. Branko Kostic, Vice-President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Borisav Jovic, Chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations on Peace-keeping Matters, and General Blagoje Adzic, Acting Federal Secretary of Defence of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Chief of Staff of JNA, that they accepted the plan and would cooperate fully in its implementation. President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia also reiterated his full acceptance of the plan. Mr. Goulding explained to his interlocutors what would be expected of them in relation to the implementation of the plan and was satisfied that they fully understood and accepted their obligations under it.

11. Also in Belgrade, Mr. Goulding met on 27 January with Mr. Goran Hadzic, leader of the Serbian community in the region of Eastern Slavonia, one of the proposed United Nations Protected Areas. Following an exposition of the principles spelled out in paragraph 10 above, Mr. Hadzic expressed reservations about only one aspect of the plan: the reference 5/ to the United Nations Protected Areas being "in Croatia", which in his view prejudged a pending political issue. When Mr. Goulding said that I would record that view in the present report and explore with the Security Council the possibility of emphasising in a future resolution the point that the peace-keeping force did not prejudge the political negotiations, Mr. Hadzic confirmed his acceptance of the United Nations plan and undertook to cooperate with it. Similar assurances were obtained from Mr. Veljko Dzakula and other members of the leadership of the Serbian community of a second proposed United Nations Protected Area, Western Slavonia, in a meeting with Mr. Goulding on 29 January 1992. (However, subsequent press reports suggest that Mr. Hadzic may have revised his position.)

12. Mr. Milan Babic, the leader of the Serbian community in the third proposed United Nations Protected Area, with whom Mr. Goulding had five hours of discussions in Knin on 27 January, declared his inability, and that of his

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colleagues in the "Government" of the self-proclaimed "Republic of Serbian Krajina", to accept the United Nations plan. Like Mr. Hadsic, Mr. Babic expressed the view that the plan's reference to the United Nations Protected Areas as being "in Croatia" was unacceptable because it prejudged the political solution, but he did not consider Mr. Goulding's proposal to cover that point in a Security Council document as offering adequate reassurance. Further, Mr. Babic rejected the demilitarisation of the United Nations Protected Areas, stating that, if that was to occur, the Croatian armed forces should also be disarmed. He did not believe that United Nations forces could sufficiently protect the population of the Krajina from Croatian attack, particularly since recent public statements by President Tudjman had portrayed the prospective United Nations operation as a means of asserting the authority of the Republic of Croatia over the territories included in the United Nations Protected Areas. In addition, Mr. Babic stated that the recognition of the Government of Croatia by certain countries and the establishment of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" required, in accordance with the "doctrine of changed circumstances", a revision of the plan. The plan had been approved by the Security Council before those events; it needed to be recast to resolve the main problem, which was the one existing between his "Government" and that of the Republic of Croatia. Mr. Babic added that only his "Government" could enter into commitments on behalf of his community via-à-via the Security Council. The population of the Krajina would therefore refuse to cooperate with the United Nations plan, to surrender their weapons or to permit JNA to withdraw. As an alternative, Mr. Babic proposed that United Nations forces should deploy along either side of the present front lines of the conflict, an option already rejected by the Croatian authorities. Mr. Goulding declined to alter a plan that had already been agreed by the main parties and approved by the Council.

13. In Zagreb on 28 January, President Franjo Tudjman and senior members of his Government also stated that they could not accept a fundamental aspect of the plan, thus retracting the full and unconditional acceptance of it that had been conveyed to my Personal Envoy, Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, on 1 January. Mr. Tudjman's objection related to the proposed arrangements for local government and the maintenance of public order. 1/ He said that he could not accept any formula that did not provide for the immediate restoration of the full authority of the Republic of Croatia in the United Nations Protected Areas. The latter would have to function under the Constitution and laws of Croatia and all local government institutions (including the police) would have to be accountable to Zagreb. When it was pointed out that the United Nations force's deployment would be for an interim period only pending the outcome of political negotiations on an overall settlement, Mr. Tudjman stated that, following the international recognition of his Republic, there were no political issues left to negotiate. Mr. Goulding pointed out that that retraction of Mr. Tudjman's acceptance of the plan would, if maintained, remove one of its two central elements and invalidate the basis on which the other parties had accepted it. However, despite five hours of discussion, Mr. Goulding was unable to overcome this new and unexpected obstacle to the deployment of the United Nations force.

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II. OBSERVATIONS

14. There are a number of positive and encouraging elements in Mr. Goulding's report and one discouraging element.

15. The cease-fire is generally holding. In recent days there has, however, been a marked increase in the number of allegations of cease-fire violations, although it has not been possible to confirm most of them. It is important that both sides should redouble their efforts to bring irregular elements under control and that they should respect scrupulously all other provisions of the Sarsjevo accord of 2 January 1992. But I am persuaded that the level of violations reported by Mr. Goulding, which I hope, of course, will be reduced, is not sufficiently grave to make it impossible to deploy a United Nations peace-keeping force, if the other necessary conditions for such deployment are fulfilled.

16. To judge from its first two weeks of operations, the group of United Nations military liaison officers that was deployed to Yugoslavia in mid-January is making a significant contribution to the efforts of the international community to help the Yugoslav parties to maintain and strengthen the cease-fire. In particular, I am pleased to learn that a workable division of labour with the European Community Monitoring Mission (ECMM) has been established and that the two groups are working together in a harmonious and complementary way to achieve the common goal. In paragraph 22 below I recommend that the United Nations group should now be modestly enlarged for technical reasons related to the fact that its deployment in Yugoslavia now seems likely to be rather longer than originally envisaged.

17. Mr. Goulding was able to confirm that two of the signatories of the Geneva agreement of 23 November 1991, together with the remaining elements of the Federal leadership in Belgrade, continue to maintain their complete acceptance of, and support for, the plan and are indeed anxious that the United Nations force should be deployed at the earliest possible time. At his meetings, Mr. Goulding was also able to win acceptance of the plan by the local Serbian leaders in two of the three areas where the force would be deployed, although one of his interlocutors appears to have had second thoughts.

18. I am also encouraged by the decision of Lord Carrington, Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, to visit Yugoslavia in the coming days in order to discuss with the parties concerned the next stages of the Conference's work. The main purpose of the United Nations force is, of course, to help to create conditions for the Conference to succeed in negotiating an overall settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. I do not believe that the members of the Security Council would wish a large and expensive force to remain deployed in Yugoslavia indefinitely, and it is important, therefore, that all the Yugoslav parties should demonstrate their readiness to work purposefully and quickly in the Conference on Yugoslavia.

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19. The discouraging element in the situation reported by Mr. Goulding is that one of the signatories of the Geneva agreement and another party on whose cooperation the United Nations force's ability to carry out its tasks would depend appear to have rejected key elements in the plan. I regret to have to conclude that the positions currently adopted by the Government of Croatia and by the local leaders in what would be the Krajina United Nations Protected Area would, if maintained, constitute major obstacles to a decision by the Security Council to establish and deploy the peace-keeping operation described in annex III to my report of 11 December 1991, 2/ which was approved by resolution 724 (1991).

20. If this operation is to be launched, as is widely desired in Yugoslavia and by the international community at large, action needs to be taken to convince the Government of Croatia and the Serbian leadership in Krajina that the early deployment of a United Nations force, accompanied by a resumption of the work of the Conference on Yugoslavia, is the best, and perhaps the only, available way to create the conditions for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. On 3 February 1992, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia transmitted to me a communication from the Vice-President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Branko Kostic, informing me that "the Serbian representatives" of the proposed United Nations Protected Areas had given their consent to the plan. Mr. Kostic's letter is attached as annex III. However, on the same day a number of messages were received from Mr. Milan Sabic denying that he had accepted the plan and repeating his objections to it. The question of whether or not a peace-keeping force deployed in the Krajina United Nations Protected Area would receive the necessary cooperation thus, unfortunately, remains unclear.

21. In these circumstances it is all the more necessary for action to be taken quickly in order to forestall any tendency for the current cease-fire to unravel. In this context, I have been disturbed to hear of allegations, including in the media, that the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in resolution 713 (1991) is not being observed. In the circumstances, it is all the more essential that the arms embargo be scrupulously respected, and the Security Council will no doubt wish to keep the situation under careful scrutiny in order to ensure this. In addition, it would be helpful if the Council could urge that all those who are in a position to influence the parties would make every effort to convince them to accept, and cooperate with, the United Nations peace-keeping plan. I, my Personal Envoy and my staff remain ready to extend any assistance which the Council may consider appropriate.

22. It is clear that the circumstances described above do not permit me to recommend the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping force at this time. This makes it necessary to consider the future of the United Nations military liaison officers who were deployed in Yugoslavia in January 1992 to help to consolidate the cease-fire. Their mission was conceived of as a brief interim arrangement, pending an early decision by the Security Council on the possible deployment of a larger force. The group's strength was accordingly decided on the assumption that its mission would be for a period of only four weeks. The group has shown that it is able to make an important contribution to the maintenance of the cease-fire, and I therefore recommend that it should

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Yugoslav sanctions

One senior NATO official, speaking with the *Washington Times*, said his understanding was that some international flight plans had been filed for the embargo-busting flights. Efforts to confirm that an Iranian jumbo jet was holed by air traffic control in countries neighbouring Croatia on the night of Oct. 12-13 were unsuccessful.

"Nobody would be stupid enough to fly around in a jumbo jet without a flight plan, let alone one as close to that much as you're on the edge of a war zone," the official said.

A comprehensive embargo is that the flight on Oct. 12-13 flew with the tacit concurrence of Washington. "We might be an accident, but in more ways someone has decided not to stop them," the officer said.

Washington wants the arms embargo against Bosnia lifted. Canada, Britain, France and other major UNPROFOR troop-contributing countries are opposed, and have threatened to withdraw their forces from the region if it happens.

Recent evidence of increased arms flows to the Bosnian army has been matched by its first significant military successes, notably in breaking out of the Bihac pocket and pulling military on a narrow belt-held corridor in northeastern Bosnia.

Gen. Crabb said the influx of arms "needs antitank weapons and small arms... isn't enough to tip the balance," largely because the Bosnian army remains bereft of tanks and desperately short of artillery.

If the frequency of the support flights increased to "a 747 a week," Gen. Crabb said, "then I would be worried." A fully-laden Boeing 747 can carry nearly 70 tonnes of arms more than 11,000 kilometres.

He then posed the question as to whether the Canadian government would regard non-enforcement of the arms embargo as tantamount to lifting it. He repeated that "a lifting would make [Canada's] membership of troops in Bosnia untenable," and they would be withdrawn.

Canadian peacekeepers have remained in Croatia for the past two years despite a significant training program there that has included the clandestine acquisition of tanks and warplanes. It has been easier for the international community to ignore Croatia's training because of the uneasy ceasefire that has existed between its forces and their counterparts based by Belgrade.

Diverting a large civilian aircraft to divert for inspection is not difficult. The Yugoslavians have done just that when a chartered CC-8 carrying weapons tried to deliver them to Croatia in the early days of its war to secede. And U.S. Air Force jets intercepted and diverted a civilian aircraft over the Mediterranean to catch a suspected informant.

Does NATO have the mandate to divert suspected aircraft? NATO says no, but in the past the 16-member alliance had liberally interpreted its Yugoslav mandate. For instance, it unilaterally imposed a 20-kilometre heavy-weapon exclusion zone around Sarajevo last winter. In its mission statement, NATO says it will "conduct operations to monitor and enforce compliance with UN sanctions, [including the prevention] of all arms from entering former Yugoslavia."

So far, NATO has restricted its role to maritime interdiction. It says that no ship has successfully broken either the arms embargo or the economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

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