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Langsdale Library
Special Collections Department
1420 Maryland Avenue Baltimore, MD 21201-5779

To: ALEX BERKIC
TOWSON OFFICE
HELEN BENTLEY

From: GREG VUKŠIĆ
(202) 224-4753

they do not have an actively supportive local population. As a result, they have, for the most part, moved into areas where Serbs are predominant or nearly so. This has three implications:

- o The YPA generally will operate on a prolonged basis only in areas which are principally Serb.

- o They may go into some areas for temporary military reasons such as to evacuate military garrisons or industries or to relocate isolated Serb populations (Papuk region) back into core Serbian areas.

- o Some critical areas they will take for the long term, including key transportation arteries, industrial/economic zones and culturally significant areas. In these areas, we can expect the expulsion of non-Serb populations and the resettlement of Serbs.

What are the territorial implications of this?

- o No significant move will be made on Macedonia. Like Slovenia, Macedonia has only a very small Serb population. While there are some significant medieval artifacts there, they do not match the Kosovo. Although some great Serbian military history was written in Macedonia during the two Balkan wars and WWI, the resources to take and keep the region would be simply too large. Also like Slovenia, the YPA voluntarily abandoned its garrisons in the republic, withdrawing all personnel and movable equipment.

- o The corridor south of the Sava River connecting Serbia to the Krajine must be retained. This is particularly the case of Zvornik, Loznica and Visegrad. Moreover, the Serbs will have to incorporate the area all around Tuzla if this single line of communication is to approach viability.

- o The Serbs have refrained from taking the area over to the coast between Sibenik and Zadar. They have the resources and popular base to do so, however. Were they to do so, they would cut off all of central and southern Dalmatia from the rest of Croatia by severing the one coastal highway and seriously disrupt one of the most productive parts of the republic.

- o Ultimately, the Serbs will go to great lengths to get control of the most significant cultural monuments from their medieval heritage on the Kosovo. The monastery at Decani, the old patriarchate at Pec and the battle site at the Field of Blackbirds will be most critical. There may also be an attempt to draw in the monastery at Gračanica. The rest they will let go -- even the seminary and other cultural monuments in Prizren. But, this will be for the long haul. Huge numbers of Albanians will probably leave this about one-sixth of the province.

o While there are other areas where the YPA may

operate, these are probably the most significant.

I believe that, on the political-military front, we will see a series of cease fires separated by fighting which ultimately will stabilize. The Serbs and Croats will call in UN -- maybe European -- peacekeepers who will create a situation not unlike Cyprus. Over time, the de facto boundaries will become real.

One other point. The Balkan situation did not start yesterday. It has a regional history. Unless we understand it, we will do as poorly in the inter-ethnic fights that will soon be springing up in other parts of east/central Europe as we have in Yugoslavia. Romania and the Serbs, Greece and the Serbs have been historical allies. The flag of Russia (white, blue, red horizontal stripes) is very similar to the Serbian historical colors (red, blue, white horizontal stripes) not accidentally. There is also a special Serb relationship with France from WWI which is fostered to this day. If the US becomes involved militarily in Yugoslavia -- particularly under a NATO mandate -- it sets the precedent for having to make hard choices in the other conflicts that will come in the less western parts of Europe.