

IN.813 Page 1 UTC Time: 93-05-01 23:12:49

NL BURUN LES 482340286- ECMM X 1-MAY-1993 21:02:20 447501

FROM: HEC ZENICA

TO: HQ ECMM/ ATTN HOM  
DHOM (POL-OPS)  
COO - POLADVISER

DATE: 1 MAY 1993

ECMM HQ, ZAGREB 'COMMS CELL	
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SPECIAL REPORT  
ECMM ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: POLITICAL/MILITARY SITUATION IN MIDDLE BOSNIA

THE LATEST MEETING OF THE "AUTHORITIES OF HERCEG-BOSNA" IN CITLUK, 30 APRIL 1993, HAS REVEALED THE POLITICAL SIDE OF THE LAST MILITARY EVENTS.

AND IT IS TIME NOW, OR NEVER, TO EXPRESS THE COMMON, CLEAR FEELING OF THE 23 ECMM MONITORS OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

1/ THE BOSNIAN CROATS CONTINUE TO COMPLAIN THAT THEY ARE ATTACKED BY THE "MUSLIM FORCES", "ON ALL FRONTS", DESPITE THE EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE ENTIRELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OPENING OF THE CONFLICT ON THE 14 APRIL AND, LARGELY, FOR ITS CONTINUATION.

- THEY HAVE PREPARED IT SEVERAL WEEKS AHEAD BY A CONTINUOUS STRATEGY OF TENSION RAISING IN ALL THE AREA, SEIZING ALL PROVOCATION OPPORTUNITIES :

. MULTIPLICATION OF AGGRESSIVE CHECKPOINTS, DESPITE THE AGREEMENTS REACHED TO REMOVE THEM, APPLIED ONLY BY THE MUSLIM SIDE (OF MY LAST REPORTS ON THIS ISSUE). THE RESTRICTION OF THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT HAS LEAD TO A DEEP DIVISION AMONG THE COMMUNITIES, WITH CONTINUOUS PRACTICE OF HARASSMENT ON THE CIVILIANS, ESPECIALLY BY THE HVO MILITARY POLICE, CREATING MISTRUST, REGULAR INCIDENTS;

. MULTIPLICATION OF CROATIAN FLAG RAISING IN SENSITIVE AREAS, FOR EXAMPLE TRAVNIK, USING EASTER AS A RELIGIOUS JUSTIFICATION FOR IT. IT WAS SO UNAVOIDABLE TO CREATE QUARRELS AND, OFTEN, FIGHTING.

VOLUNTEER WITHDRAWAL OF ALL LEGITIMATE LOCAL AUTHORITIES, WHEN THERE IS A MUSLIM MAJORITY, WITH CREATION, WHEN POSSIBLE, OF PARALLEL AUTHORITIES FOR THE CROATS, INCLUDING POLICE, SOCIAL CARE, EDUCATION, WITH THE STRONG FINANCIAL AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT OF MOSTAR, WHEN NOT OF CROATIA. FOR EXAMPLE THE BRAND NEW UNIFORMS AND EQUIPMENTS OF THE POLICE FORCES OF HERCEG-BOSNA, TILL TRAVNIK, ARE EXACTLY THE SAME AS IN CROATIA! SEPARATE SCHOOLS, ONLY FOR CROATS, ARE CREATED, WITH NEW SCHOOLBOOKS COMING FROM ZAGREB, USING THE "TRADITIONAL CROAT LANGUAGE", WHAT LEAD TO NEW DIVISIONS. THE SAME IS COMMITTED, BUT AT A LARGER SCALE WHEN THE MAJORITY IS CROAT. ~~THE MUSLIMS ARE SYSTEMATICALLY PUSHED OUT IN BEING~~ OBLIGED TO ACCEPT THE "MODEL" OF HERCEG-BOSNA. IT IS FOR EXAMPLE THE SITUATION IN MOSTAR.

LAST BUT NOT LEAST WAS THE SYSTEMATIC USE DURING LAST WEEKS, WITH A SYSTEMATICAL ENDOCTRINMENT AT ALL THE LEVELS, USING RADIOS AND NEWSPAPERS, OF THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR WILLING OF SEIZING IMMEDIATELY THE TERRITORY OF "THEIR PROVINCES". THE PRESENT MAP OF THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN BEING CONSIDERED AS THE "RECOGNITION OF THE HISTORICAL RIGHTS OF THE CROATS ON THEIR LEGITIMATE TERRITORIAL INHERITAGE".

ALL THIS HAS BEEN CLOSELY MONITORED IN CENTRAL BOSNIA BY DIRECT HVO HIGH LEVEL COMMISSIONERS, M. DARIO KORDIC, MATE BOBAN'S COUSIN AND "MINISTER FOR HERCEG-BOSNA", LOCATED IN BUSOVACA (!) SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TROUBLES THERE, M. ANTON VALENTA, HVO VICE-PRESIDENT, LOCATED IN TRAVNIK WHERE HE TOOK A DECISIVE PART TO THE RECENT TROUBLES, JUST BEFORE THE CONFLICT, M. IGNAZ KOSTROMAN, GENERAL SECRETARY OF HVO, TRAVELLING THE AREA.

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- THE FIGHTING BEGAN WITHOUT DOUBT ON THE INITIATIVE OF THE HVO, CLAIMING THAT IT WAS ONLY ANSWERING A SYSTEMATIC ANTI-CROAT ATTITUDE. IT WAS OBVIOUSLY AN ATTEMPT TO SEIZE AND SECURE THE "CROATS PROVINCES".

BUT THEY HAVE LOST QUICKLY THE INITIATIVE ON THE GROUND DUE TO THE STRONG REACTION OF THE BIH FORCES. THEY HAVE SO EASILY ACCEPTED A CEASE-FIRE WHICH HAS ONLY STOPPED THE MUSLIM FORCES TO RETALIATE ON THE HVO, ESPECIALLY IN CENTRAL BOSNIA.

AS DIRECT ACTOR OR WITNESS OF ALL THE EFFORTS MADE, OR NOT, BY BOTH SIDES TO REACH A CLEAR CEASE-FIRE AND TO EXPRESS A SINCERE WILLING OF APPEASEMENT, I CAN REPORT THAT THE CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN ACCEPTED SINCERELY BY THE BIH REPRESENTATIVES, ESPECIALLY MR. GANIC AND HALILOVIC, WHO HAVE ACCEPTED, DESPITE STRONG SECURITY CONCERNS, TO GO AND NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY IN MOSTAR, WHO HAVE ALWAYS PROPOSED JOINT ACTIONS TO GO ON THE GROUND, TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS.

IT WAS HOWEVER FOR THEM A SERIOUS DILEMMA, AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF MANY ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY HVO FORCES ON CIVILIAN POPULATIONS, ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, WHEN ONLY FEW CASES ARE TODAY ALLEGED OF SUCH BEHAVIOUR ON THE MUSLIM SIDE.

IT HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT AND SOMETIMES DANGEROUS WORK TO PERSUADE ON THE GROUND LITTLE PEOPLE WHO HAVE LOST QUITE EVERYTHING TO ACCEPT NOT TO KEEP THE MILITARY ADVANTAGE THEY HAVE GAIN DESPITE THEIR ABSOLUTE INFERIORITY IN EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONS. BUT THEY HAVE DONE IT, AND QUITE ALL OFFENSIVE ACTIONS FROM BIH SIDE ARE STOPPED NOW.

ON THE CROAT SIDE, SUCH NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN RELUCTANTLY CONDUCTED, WITH SEVERAL PRECONDITIONS AND OFTEN DOUBLE LANGUAGE.

HVO ACCEPT THE CEASE-FIRE IN CENTRAL BOSNIA, BECAUSE IT IS ITS MILITARY INTEREST. HOWEVER IT CONTINUE TO USE IT ARTILLERY SUPERIORITY ON THE GROUND TO THREAT BIH POSITIONS. BURNING OF VILLAGES CONTINUES, IN PARTICULAR IN KISELJAK AREA, AT LESS THAN ONE KILOMETRE OF THE UN BH COMMAND.

BUT A LARGE SCALE OFFENSIVE CONTINUE WEST OF JABLANICA, AIMING THE CONTROL OF THE KEY POSITION OF SLATINA, TO REACH THE ELECTRICITY PLANT OF JABLANICA, WHICH IS OF STRATEGICAL IMPORTANCE FOR ALL WESTERN HERZEGOVINA AND ... SOUTH CROATIA.

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THE HVO CUT SO THE ROAD TOWARD PROZOR-GORNI-VAKUF, WHICH IS A MAJOR COMMUNICATION ROAD TOWARD THE NORTH, ESPECIALLY FOR HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS. WITHOUT ANY SIGNIFICANT REACTION OF UNPROFOR, WHICH ATTENTION IS INTENTIONALLY DRAWN BY HVO ON THE SITUATION OF TWO CROATS VILLAGES EAST OF JABLANICA, NOW "PROTECTED" EACH BY A SPANISH PLATOON! OR ON THE SITUATION OF THE FRIARS AND NUNS OF KONIJIC, REGULARLY REPORTED IN THE CROATIAN PRESS AS BEING IN JAIL, WHEN NOT KILLED, WHAT RAISED THE PERSONAL ATTENTION OF GENERAL WHALGREEN. EVERYBODY FORGET SO THE SITUATION OF THE LARGE AREA WEST OF JABLANICA WHERE ENTIRE MUSLIM VILLAGES ARE REPORTED BURNED OUT, WHERE IMPORTANT HVO FORCES ARE CONCENTRATING, PROBABLY WITH THE HELP OF MILITARY UNITS OF CROATIA. THE INVOLVEMENT OF SUCH UNIT IS EVIDENT ON THE GROUND. MILITARY CROATIAN CONVOYS CAN BE SEEN EVEN AT DAYLIGHT CROSSING THE "BORDER".

2/ THE LATEST EVENTS SHOULD SO LEAD THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO TAKE A STRONG WARNING POSITION TOWARD CROATIA AND THE BOSNIAN CROATS.

THE POLITICAL PRESSURE PUT LAST WEEK ON CROATIA WAS FRUITFUL, BUT NOT POWERFUL ENOUGH. IT HAS MAYBE HELPED TO STOP THE LARGE SCALE MILITARY ACTIONS, IN PARTICULAR IN PROHIBITING, AT LEAST FOR THE WHILE, THE LARGE SCALE INVOLVEMENT OF THE MILITARY FORCES OF CROATIA, IN ORDER TO "DEFEND THE CROAT COMMUNITY AGAINST THE MUSLIM EXTREMISTS". BUT THE STRATEGY OF TENSION RAISING CONTINUE.

- THE MEDIA WAR IS STILL ONGOING, WITH THE WILLING OF THE CROATS TO APPEAR AS VICTIMS, WHAT THEY MISSED, WHATEVER WERE THEIR HUGE EFFORTS, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT. THEIR CONTINUOUS PROPAGANDA (OF THE CASE OF THE FRIARS AND NUNS OF KONIJIC) PRODUCE SLOW BUT EFFICIENT EFFORTS, LEADING THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES TO ACCEPT THE COMFORTABLE IDEA OF A BALANCE IN THE ATROCITIES, WHICH MAKE IT EASIER TO FORGET THE IMPOSSIBILITY TO REACH A LARGE NUMBER OF MUSLIM VILLAGES UNDER HVO CONTROL. AND WHEN SUCH A BALANCE IS ESTABLISHED, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE WESTERN PUBLIC OPINIONS WILL BE MORE SENSITIVE TO THE "DANGER" OF HAVING AWFUL MUSLIMS, MAYBE MOUJAHIDINES, THAN TO THE "SELF DEFENSE" ACTIONS OF GENTLE HVO MEN WEARING AT THE SAME TIME RIFLE GUNS AND CHAPLETS AROUND THE NECK. THIS NEUTRALITY, AT LEAST, OR HIDDEN UNDERSTANDING IS THE AIM OF THE MEDIA WAR.

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- IN THE MILITARY FIELD, LARGE OFFENSIVE ACTIONS OF HVO ARE CONTINUING TO ENSURE THE CONTROL OF STRATEGICAL POINTS LIKE JABLANICA POWER STATION, WITHOUT ANY PROTEST OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

THE SUCCESS OF THIS PARTICULAR ACTION WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE A MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE HVO, BUT WOULD PROBABLY ALSO LEAD TO A RENEWAL OF THE CONFLICT IN ALL THE AREA, WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF A DESPERATE ACTION OF THE BiH FORCES, PREFERRING TO DESTROY THE POWER PLANT THAN TO ABANDONED IT.

IT IS SO NOT VERY ASTONISHING THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MILITARY ANNEXA OF THE JOINT STATEMENT OF NM ITZEBEGOVIC AND BOBAN, IN ZAGREB LAST WEEK, IS SLOW DESPITE THE WILLING OF M. HALILOVIC TO COMPROMISE ON EVERY DIFFICULTY.

IT HAS FOR EXAMPLE BE THE CASE WITH THE LOCATION OF THE JOINT HQ, WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO BE DEFINITELY IN TRAVNIK. ACCEPTING THE "PRECONDITION" OF THE HVO CinC PETKOVIC, CinC HALILOVIC, AFTER HEBITATION AND CONSULTATION OF PRESIDENT ITZEBEGOVIC, HAS SO ACCEPTED A MOBILE HQ, ONE MONTH IN MOSTAR, ONE MONTH IN ZENICA. WHAT IS A WAY TO PREVENT ITS QUICK EFFECTIVENESS.

FINALLY MOVEMENTS OF CROATIAN TROOPS ARE STILL REPORTED, GIVING A CONFIRMATION THAT THE HUGE MOVEMENTS OF PROFESSIONAL UNITS OF THE CROATIAN GUARD, REGISTERED THESE LAST WEEKS IN SOUTH CROATIA, WERE NOT ONLY (OR WERE NEVER) AIMED AT SECURING CROATIA FROM A SERB ATTACK, OR TO ATTACK THE CROATIAN KRAJINA, DESPITE THE EXPECTANCIES, BUT WERE A WAY TO ALLEVIATE THE TENSION ON THE HVO UNITS ON THE (HOWEVER VERY QUIET) FRONT LINE WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS, AS WELL AS A WAY TO PRE-POSITION IMPORTANT TROOPS TO ENTER SUDDENLY IN HERZEGOVINA, ANSWERING A "DISTRESS CALL OF THE CROATS BROTHERS".

- THIS ANALYSIS IS NOW CORROBORATED BY THE LAST DECISIONS OF CITLUK.

THE WILLING OF THE "AUTHORITIES OF HERCEG-BOSNA" TO CONSIDER PRESIDENT ITZEBEGOVIC AS BEING ONLY A "MUSLIM LEADER", THEIR DESCRIPTION OF THE BiH ARMY AS A MUSLIM ARMY, HOWEVER MANY CROATS ARE PART OF IT, THEIR REFUSAL TO RECOGNISE THE DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC, EVEN IF ITS CROATS MEMBERS HAVE BEEN REGULARLY ELECTED, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE CROATS PARTIES, ALL IS A NEW STEP IN THE DECOMPOSITION PROCESS OF BiH THEY HAVE INITIATED SINCE SEVERAL MONTHS, IN FACT SINCE THE PROCLAMATION OF HERCEG-BOSNA IN LAST OCTOBER.

IT IS A CLEAR BREACHING OF ALL THEIR SOLEMNOUS DECLARATIONS CONSIDERING HERCEG-BOSNA AS ONLY A PROVISIONNAL AUTHORITY, RESPECTING SOVEREIGN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

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### 3/ PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

- THE DISINTEGRATION PROCESS IS, FOR THE WHILE, "ONLY" AIMED TO WEAKEN THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION PLANNED BY VANCE-OWEN PLAN. FULL DISINTEGRATION WOULD MAKE DISAPPEAR VANCE-OWEN MAP, WHAT WOULD THREAT THE MAIN AIM FOR THE CROATS: TERRITORIES.

SO THEY WOULD LIKE TO ACHIEVE A WEAK CONFEDERATION. AN IDEA THAT M. TUDJMAN WAS USED TO RAISE BEFORE VANCE-OWEN PLAN AND IS NOW RAISING AGAIN (OF HIS LAST PRESS STATEMENTS).

IT IS ALSO NOW THE OFFICIAL AIM OF THE HVO, AS STATED IN A VERY CLEAR LETTER SENT LAST WEEK TO ECMM AND THE UN BY THE HVO VICE-PRESIDENT, THAT IS THE REAL NUMBER TWO, AFTER N. BOBAN, OF THE HVO AS POLITICAL BODY, M. ANTON VALENTA. (COPY WAS SENT TO ECMM/HQ LAST WEEK).

THEY CLAIM FOR "A PROVINCE FOR EVERY OF THESE THREE NATIONS, SO THAT EVERY INDIVIDUAL IS ABLE TO CHOOSE THE MOST APPROPRIATE PLACE FOR LIVING".

WHAT SOUND AS THE END OF A MULTI-ETHNIC BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

AT HIS DEMAND, I WILL HAVE A MEETING IN VITEZ THIS AFTERNOON WITH M. VALENTA, WHO IS JUST COMING BACK FROM CITLUK WHERE HE HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE, AS OFFICIAL HVO REPRESENTATIVE IN CHARGE OF THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL-BOSNIA.

I WILL MAKE A SPECIAL REPORT ON THIS MEETING.

BUT I INTEND TO STRESS VERY FIRMLY THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF ECMM, CONCERNING THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN, CONSIDERED AS A WHOLE, POLITICALLY AND GEOGRAPHICALLY, AS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY TO ACCEPT FAIRLY AND SINCERELY, WITHOUT CREATING, ESPECIALLY TODAY, ARTIFICIAL DIVISIONS.

- THE POLITICAL ANSWER OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS STAYS FOR THE WHILE VERY POOR AND UNEFFECTIVE.

THEY ARE CONCENTRATING ON THE INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, WAITING FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN AND THE HELP, IF NECESSARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

LACK OF ORGANISATION, INEXPERIENCE (AFTER ALL THE REPUBLIC HAS ONLY ONE YEAR OF HISTORY, AND IS IN WAR SINCE THE BEGINNING) OR POOR CALCULATION (NOT TO SPEAK OF A PROBLEM CONSIDERED AS THE BEST WAY TO MAKE IT DISAPPEAR) THEY HAVE BEEN UNABLE, AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, TO GO OUT OF SARAJEVO AND TO KEEP THE CONTACT WITH THE CROATS, AND EVEN WITH THE REALITY OF MIDDLE BOSNIA, THEY JUST HAVE DISCOVERED, AMAZED, DURING THESE LAST DAYS, THEY HAVE OBVIOUSLY LOBBIES RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE MILITARY RESPONSIBLE WHO ARE AWARE OF THE REAL SITUATION: QUITE DEFINITIVE LOSS OF EASTERN BOSNIA AND NECESSITY TO ACCEPT IN ADDITION TO GIVE TO THE CROATS LARGE AREAS WHERE THE MUSLIMS ARE IN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY, WHAT HAS NO SENSE. AND SUCH A FEELING WOULD BE EASILY SHARED BY THE HUNDRED OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WHO HAVE LOST EVERYTHING, WHO ARE A BURDEN FOR THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND WHO HAVE BEEN REFUSED IN ALL THE CROATS CONTROLLED AREAS WHERE THEY ARE IN FACT LIVING OF CHARITY.

SUCH DESPERATING CONDITIONS EXPLAIN THE RETURN TO THE RELIGION, EVEN FOR OLD COMMUNISTS, THE ACCEPTANCE OF A LARGE HUMANITARIAN HELP OF THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES, WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL IN CERTAIN AREAS. THIS HELP, AN OTHER FORMS, PROBABLY FINANCIAL AND MILITARY, FOR SMALL ARMS AND AMMUNITION, HAVE A POLITICAL COST: CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES, ACCEPTANCE OF MUSLIMS UNITS OF BELIEVERS, ACCEPTANCE OF FOREIGN VOLUNTEERS, WHO BRING MONEY AND TROUBLES.

IT IS ALSO THE COUNTERPART OF THE ARM EMBARGO, WHICH OBVIOUSLY REACH ONLY THE MUSLIMS IN THIS CONFLICT.

MILITARILY QUITE ALONE AND POLITICALLY LOOSER, IF THE VANCE-OWEN MAP IS CHANGED AT THEIR DETRIMENT, EITHER THE MAP OR THE PRINCIPLES, WHICH ARE FOR THE MUSLIMS AS SENSITIVE AS THE MAP, THE MUSLIMS WOULD EASILY BE THE PALESTINIANS OF EUROPE IF WE DON'T EFFICIENTLY TAKE CARE.

- THE ACTION OF THE BERBS IN THIS DETERIORATION IS ALSO TO BE CONSIDERED.

IT IS NOW CONFIRMED THAT THEY HAVE TAKEN AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE RECENT TROUBLES, SELECTIVE SHELLING (FOR EXAMPLE ON THE CROATS AREA OF ZENICA, OR ON VITEZ) ADDING TO THE CONFUSION AND MISTRUST.

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MANY FORMER JNA OFFICERS ARE ALSO CONVINCED THAT THE SERBS SECRET SERVICE, KOB, IS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE FALSE INFORMATIONS WHICH POURED OIL ON THE FIRE DURING THE LAST MONTHS. PROVOCATIVE SPECIAL ACTIONS COULD ALSO HAVE BEEN EASILY MANAGED DURING THE TROUBLES, TO DEEPEN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CROATS AND MUSLIMS. IT IS IN FACT VERY EASY TO BURN UNOCCUPIED VILLAGES DURING THE NIGHT, OR TO ACT AS "MOULJAHIDINES". IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IN MANY PLACES THE FRONTLINE WAS NOT SECURED AS BEFORE, ESPECIALLY IN TRAVNIK AREA (VILLAGE OF TURBE) OR KONJIC AREA WHERE HVO UNITS HAVE WITHDRAWN. IN FACT THE IDEAS NOW PROPOSED BY THE CROATS ARE VERY CLOSE FROM THE ONE THAT THE SERBS COULD ACCEPT. MORE THAN A REAL AGREEMENT AMONG THEM, A CONSPIRACY WHICH WOULD HAVE EXPLAIN WHY THE CROAT HERZEGOVINA IS SO QUIET SINCE SO MANY MONTHS, IT IS MORE THE RESULT DE FACTO OF COMMON INTERESTS: TO SECURE THE LARGEST TERRITORY POSSIBLE, BY MILITARY ACTION OR NEGOTIATION, THE STRONGEST COMMON POINT BEING THEIR COMMON UNCONTROLLED HATE FOR THE MUSLIMS AND THEIR POSSIBILITY TO BE ONE DAY THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRY. AT LEAST THE OCCURENCE OF THE CONFLICT JUST BEFORE THE TIME LIMIT FOR MILITARY SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA HAVE REALLY BEEN GOD'S GIFT.

- ONLY A VERY STRONG AND CLEAR PRESSURE ON CROATIA AND THE BOSNIAN CROATS CAN STOP THE PROCESS, WHICH IS NOW DEADLY DANGEROUS FOR THE PEACE PLAN HIMSELF. MOST OF THE PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THIS ARE NOT REALLY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AVERAGE CROAT COMMUNITY. BUT AFTER A WHILE LIES, PROPAGANDA, NATIONALISM ACT AS A SLOW POISON, AND NEIGHBOURS FROM EVER BEGINN TO KILL EACHOTHER, ARTIFICIALLY AFRAID OF THE OTHERS DIFFERENCES. IF SUCH A POLITICAL ACTION WERE NOT POSSIBLE OR EFFICIENT THE ONLY HONEST SOLUTION WOULD BE TO LIFT THE ARM EMBARGO, AT LEAST CONCERNING DEFENSIVE WEAPONS.

BEST REGARDS,

JEAN-PIERRE THEBAULT.

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