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MAIN STAFF OF THE ARMY
OF REPUBLIKA SRPSKA
STR. CONF. NO. 03/4-434
17 March 1995

VERY URGENT

Directive for Up-Coming Operations
TO THE COMMAND OF THE 1ST KK /Krajina Corps/

Enclosed with this document, we are sending you the Directive for Further Operations
op. no. 7.

Confirm receipt of the above-mentioned Directive by returning a copy of this
document.

DK/SZ

CHIEF OF STAFF
Lieutenant General
Manojlo MILOVANOVIĆ
/signed and stamped/

/stamp:/
21 März 1995 / as written/

/stamp:/
COMMAND
OF THE 1ST KRAJINA CORPS
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21 March 1995

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**SUPREME COMMAND OF THE
ARMED FORCES OF REPUBLIKA SRPSKA****NATIONAL DEFENCE
STATE SECRET**Ref. no: 2/2-11
8 March 1995**VERY URGENT****TO THE COMMANDS OF THE 1ST AND 2ND KK /Krajina Corps/, SRK /Sarajevo - Romanija Corps/, IBK /Eastern Bosnia Corps/, HK /Herzegovina Corps/, DK /Drina Corps/, ViPVO/Air Force and Air Defence/ and CVŠ VRS /Centre of Military Schools of the Army of Republika Srpska/****DIRECTIVE
FOR FURTHER OPERATIONS OP. NO. 7****1. MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY AND
POLITICAL SITUATION**

The Contact Group has not really abandoned its plan for the former BH /Bosnia and Herzegovina/. However, it has reached an impasse and is now trying through contacts with representatives of the RS /Republika Srpska/ to find a cosmetic formula which would enable them to continue the process of negotiation. America's latest initiatives are aimed at formally maintaining Contact Group unity and its own domination. By using pressure and a compromise solution regarding the signing of the agreement on a temporary cessation of hostilities they have created conditions for the military strengthening and arming of Muslims and Croats, the survival of Muslim enclaves (the Cazin Krajina, Goražde, Žepa, Srebrenica, Sarajevo), additional pressures and the depletion of the Serbian defence potential. They reckon that the conflict between Serbian leaders will be exacerbated and that Serbs will split. They are therefore endeavouring to impose this Plan as a "starting point for the continuation of negotiations", which is a *de facto* acceptance of the Plan under even more unfavourable conditions than when it was first mooted, while allegedly providing an opportunity for the leadership of the RS to participate in the peace process.

By exerting pressure on the FRY /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/ and the RSK /Republic of Serb Krajina/, the West has achieved the signing of an agreement between the RSK and the NDH /Independent State of Croatia/, the implementation of which creates favourable conditions for the RSK's economic reintegration into the NDH, supported by a UN Security Council resolution envisaging that Franjo TUĐMAN and Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ must approve any flow of goods from the FRY to the RSK or the RS. This effort is aimed at ensuring the RSK's full economic reintegration into the NDH while making it dependent on it, and the RS dependent on the Muslim Government. This is the basic precondition for the political reintegration and recognition of Croatia and BH within their administrative borders. They plan to attain this objective by increasing pressure on the Serbian people in all spheres, counting on widening the split among their political leaders. They think that the FRY will not interfere militarily in the case of NDH aggression against the RSK, or more particularly, the RS. Meanwhile, they try to ensure this by adopting new resolutions and imposing new agreements in order to eliminate the Vance plan which does not

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prejudice political solutions and does not exclude the VJ's (Yugoslav Army's) legitimate participation in preventing aggression against the RSK.

The Americans are determined to secure a dominant position in the Balkans through the work of the Contact Group and an immediate military presence in the NDH, Albania, Macedonia, former BH, Bulgaria and Romania. In this regard, they have probably come to a secret agreement with Russia. Russia is forced to do so because of its internal economic and political problems. At this stage one should not expect any significant opposition by Russia to the Americans.

Western European countries, especially France and Britain, are aware of the danger of Islam spreading across Europe, but in these countries the prevalent stand is that they can successfully neutralise fundamentalism by virtue of the so-called civil option. For the moment, they have no real hope or intention of preventing the establishment of an Islamic state in the Balkans because of the interests and dominance of America and Germany and the belief shared by West European countries that they are capable of controlling the Islamic factor in Europe; in this context, the Orthodox church has an important role to play.

Western diplomacy, in particular that of Great Britain, sees the integration process as a solution to the political crisis in the Balkans involving the establishment of a so-called Balkan federation or confederation which would incorporate the former Yugoslav republics, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania. This would call for the former Yugoslav republics to recognise one another within AVNOJ /WW II Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia/ borders. Serbia proper and Montenegro are here seen as being the parent countries of the Serbian people. The idea is being propagated that such a model would be the best solution to the problem of ethnic minorities. This whole association would then supposedly be incorporated into the European Union. They expect the associated left-wing parties in the former Yugoslavia to be the vehicle to implement this project. Members of the association would have the status of autonomies with national characteristics, police and a joint assembly. NATO would "guarantee" its security.

The West, headed by the U.S.A. and Germany, will keep up pressure in order to preserve the Croat-Muslim Federation and its confederation with the NDH. They have estimated that the establishment of a Muslim-Croat coalition creates a balance of forces with the Serbs and that the military option, involving no direct engagement of NATO ground troops, will allow them to impose a solution on the former Yugoslavia, should the Serbs refuse to accept the political solution under pressure (the Contact Group Plan).

2. MUSLIM-CROAT COALITION FORCES

2.1. FEDERATION FORCES

Relations within the Federation are burdened by distrust and a lack of tolerance as both sides endeavour to gain the upper hand, the Muslims to secure a unitary state and the Croats to "fill their stomachs" by dominating the Muslims while drawing closer to the borders of a Greater Croatia. However, both sides are well aware of the fact that at

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this stage neither of them needs a new war and will, therefore, try to avoid open armed conflict.

Regardless of the fact that they have failed to either organise federal bodies or set them in motion, including the Joint Staff of the Federation, the coordination of Muslim-Croat activities is provided by American-led sponsors, who sent their high-ranking officers to the former BH in order to form and start the Joint Staff of the Federation. They are also directing activities against the RS through political and diplomatic channels along selected lines of advance which are of interest to both sides (the attack on Kupres – *Cincar 94 /Tzintzar 94/*, the attack along the Glamoč and Grahovo axis – *Zima 94/95 /Winter 94/95/* aimed at supporting the 5th Muslim Corps). Similar joint action may be expected in the direction of Teslić (given the Croatian interest in the village of Komušina and Banja Vrućica) and the Serbian Posavina /Sava river basin/, subject to prior agreement on future territorial demarcation in the area, as well as a coordinated action by Muslim forces along the Mostar-Nevesinje line of advance and the Croatian forces on the Čapljina-Stolac line.

2.1.1. MUSLIM ARMED FORCES

2.1.1.1. Probable Objective and Plans of Muslim Forces

After signing the agreement on a ceasefire and cessation of hostilities, not a segment of which is being respected, the Muslims have embarked on the reorganisation of their armed forces, forming operational and tactical manoeuvre units and divisions (in the 1st, 2nd and 7th K /?Corps/), training intensively, bringing manpower, materiel and equipment up to strength (by massive production of military equipment and illegal imports) and engaging in other preparations for attack operations in the spring of 1995 before the expiry of the agreement to cease hostilities. Their military and most of their political leaders are in favour of continuing the war and make no secret of it. They expect the international community not to pressure them to accept a political solution to the crisis in the former BH, accepting the changes to the Contact Group Plan, hoping that the results of their offensive action will receive the stamp of international approval. The beginning of the attack may be expected in March 1995 with the tacit approval of the international community, should the Muslim-Croat armed forces succeed. Should they fail, the RS would be exposed to strong pressure from the international community through NATO to halt our counteroffensive. They will constantly threaten us and possibly use NATO airforce.

UNPROFOR ground troops will probably not be directly engaged, except in the case of immediate danger. The engagement of NATO ground troops is very unlikely. The so-called Army of BH consists of six corps (112 brigades and 45 independent battalions and artillery battalions), numbering approximately 270,000 men. They have about 120 tanks, 80 APCs, 340 artillery pieces, 90 VBRs /multiple rocket launchers/, 230 LRLs /light missile launchers/, 1800 mortars, 450 PATs /anti-aircraft guns/, 700 PAMs /anti-aircraft machine guns/, 200 PARs /anti-aircraft missiles/ (*Stinger* or *Strela 2M*), 370 POR /anti-armour rockets/, 16 transport helicopters and 17 sport and agricultural aircraft.

The Muslims are planning a "spring offensive" along selected lines of attack (in the direction of Šipovo, Srbobran, Vlašić, Teslić, Doboj, Brčko, Majeвица, Kozluk,

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Šekovići, Vlasenica, Han Pijesak, the Semizovac-Olovo road, Trnovo, Borci, Krupa n/u /? na Uni/ and Ripač.

It is to be expected that in the first stage they will try to take the area which the Contact Group Plan envisions as being conceded to the Muslims, focusing on the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo from the north-west and south-west, linking up the central and eastern parts of the former BH, seizing Vozuća and Ozren, cutting off the corridor, taking Brčko and Derventa and gaining control over the wider area of Vlašić, Srbobran, Jajce and Teslić.

In the second stage, they will probably keep up these activities in order to seize the rest of the RS territory and link up the Muslim-held territories in order to create a unitary state. They will focus on linking the enclaves and reaching the Drina river, continuing the attack along the Jajce-Mrkonjić Grad-Ključ-Sanski Most axis with the aim of joining up the forces of the 5th and 7th Corps and seizing Borak and Nevesinje. This would enable them carry the offensive further, towards the sea.

Action in the direction of the Serbian Posavina will depend on relations in the Federation and the intentions of the NDH regarding the RSK. These activities have already been planned and prepared.

In combat operations, they will probably send in strong DTG /sabotage groups/ and forces both closer to the confrontation line and deeper into the rear of our forces in order to launch sudden attacks on specific segments of our combat disposition on the front line and deep within our territory, especially on our fire support, command posts, supply and evacuation routes, and routes for bringing in intervention units. After creating panic and disorganising our defence they will engage stronger forces from the front to take advantage of the situation and strengthen the positions taken.

On other lines of advance, they will probably engage in diversionary tactics in order to engage and stretch our forces. If they surprise us and secure initial gains, they can quickly regroup and continue operations in order to exploit the initial gains.

2.1.2. ARMED FORCES OF HR HB /Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna/ (HVO) /Croatian Defence Council/

2.1.2.1. Probable Objectives and Plans of the HVO

Both the political and military strategies of the HR HB depend on the policy of the NDH. It is, therefore, subject to frequent change and adjustment to the immediate and long-term political and military interests of Croatian national policy. Its main objectives are to incorporate the HR BH into the NDH, preserve the Croat ethnic regions in Central Bosnia and join them to other Croatian territories, and to seize the Serbian Posavina. They are incapable of attaining any military objective without the direct participation and support of the HV /Croatian Army/.

The HVO is organised into four military districts (four guards brigades, 32 home-guard regiments and four independent battalions – artillery battalions), numbering some 60,000 soldiers. They have around 70 tanks, 40 APCs, 140 artillery weapons, 30 VBRs /multiple rocket launchers/, 750 mortars, 270 PATs /anti-aircraft guns/, 60

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PARs /anti-aircraft missiles/ (*Stinger and Strela 2M*), 200 PORs /anti-armour rockets/ and 12 transport helicopters.

Offensive action by the HVO is to be expected in the Teslić region in order to take the village of Komušina and Banja Vrućica, along the Kupres-Šipovo axis with the aim of taking Jajce in coordination with the 7th Muslim Corps, in the Stolac region and in the direction of the Serbian Posavina. Actions along the Grahovo and Glamoč line will depend on NDH intentions regarding the RSK. The HV will be the main agent to implement these actions.

Offensive operations will involve the large-scale engagement of artillery, sabotage and guards units to ensure a breakthrough deep into the territory. For consolidation of gains, they will engage units of the home guard with massive obstruction and fortification of lines taken.

2.2. ARMED FORCES OF THE RH /REPUBLIC OF CROATIA/ (HV) /CROATIAN ARMY/

2.2.1. Probable objective and plans of the HV

At this time, the Croatian military and political leadership will step up the military, political and economic pressure with the support of the international community and via the FRY /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/, particularly on the RSK /Republic of Serb Krajina/, with a view to its integration into the NDH /Independent Croatian State/. At the same time, in their relationship with Muslims in the former BH they will formally embrace negotiations and agreements, while in reality they will only implement those provisions which are in the Croats' interest, including joint combat operations (Serbian Posavina, Kupres and Jajce).

The Croatian policy-makers are prepared to enter into a permanent alliance with the Republika Srpska with a view to eliminating Muslims as a political factor, on condition that the RSK be reintegrated into the NDH as an autonomous entity.

NDH policy towards the Republika Srpska will be adjusted depending on deteriorating relations between Croats and Muslims, and is basically guided by Croatian interests which they intend to achieve through a two-faced political game of gentlemen's agreements on the Serbs gaining access to the sea; the exchange of some territories in the RSK for territories in the Republika Srpska; the creation of conditions, through internal and secret agreements between the NDH, the FRY and the RS, for the reintegration of the RSK into the NDH in such a way as to strip the RSK of its status as an entity in the form of a republic or with a high degree of autonomy, and to strip it of as much territory as possible, thus precluding any eventual regionalisation, federalisation or confederalisation of the NDH (Istria, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, Slavonia and the RSK).

2.2.2. HV rules of engagement and capabilities

The HV will deploy the brunt of its forces against the RSK. Mobilisation, regrouping of forces and a political and diplomatic campaign, encouraged by Germany, are under way in preparation for aggression against the RSK. The purpose of the political and diplomatic campaign is to provide legitimacy for the aggression, eliminate the Vance Plan for the RSK and what would be the legitimate involvement of the VJ in

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preventing aggression against the RSK, and with Federation forces tying down the VRS /Army of Republika Srpska/ in the former BH, prevent them from forestalling Croatian aggression against the RSK. For the time being these measures serve as a show of force and pressure on the RSK to accept a "peaceful reintegration" into the NDH, as well as to save the 5th Muslim Corps from defeat. They expect to achieve both goals by implementing this option, but the military option advocated by Germany is not excluded. America would support a military option, while the European Allies would accept the outcome - the factual situation.

The HV has deployed about 25,000 troops (equivalent to 12 brigades), 120 tanks, 60 APCs, 130 artillery pieces, 30 multiple rocket launchers, 350 mortars, 120 anti-aircraft guns, 80 anti-aircraft missiles (*Strela 2 M* or Stinger), 120 anti-armour rockets against the RS along the Dubrovnik-Trebinje line, the Glamoč and Grahovo frontline and on the north bank of the Sava from Slavonski Brod to Županja.

The forces in the Slavonski Brod - Županja area are planning to carry out offensive operations in coordination with the 4th ZP /Military District/ of the HVO and Muslim forces in order to take the Serbian Posavina. The bulk of their forces will probably be engaged in establishing a bridge-head in the Svilaj area which would allow them to extend their attack toward Modriča and Derventa, while auxiliary forces would provide backup to the 4th ZP around the Orašje bridge-head and attack along the Dubočac - Derventa line.

On the Dubrovnik - Trebinje line, the HV has deployed 3 brigades (about 9,000 troops) which they can reinforce by bringing in troops from the rear. It is to be expected that they will mount small-scale offensive operations with a view to improving their tactical position and capturing the western parts of Popovo Polje.

Along the Grahovo and Glamoč lines the HV has deployed around 5,000 troops with the possibility of reinforcements. Further operations will follow if they assess that a peaceful reintegration of the RSK into the NDH is not feasible, with the ultimate goal of putting the Knin Krajina at an operative disadvantage by cutting it off.

3. THE TASKS OF THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA ARMY

The Republika Srpska Army has the following tasks: (1) to repel all attacks on RS territory by mounting a resolute defence in all sectors of the war front, and prevent at all costs, through a decisive defence on the N/W and S/W sectors of the Sarajevo war front, the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo from without and the cutting off of the Sarajevo - Trnovo - Kalinovik communications line; (2) not to allow significant enemy incursions on any sector of the frontline or operative-tactical surprises of the Bihać or Kupres type, particularly to the north of Zvornik, on Mt. Majevisa, Vozuća, Vlašić, around Brčko, Teslić or Srbobran; (3) to carry out, during the ceasefire, the tasks and duties arising from the Order of the Commander of the VRS Main Staff, Strictly Confidential No. 03/4-182 of 5 February 1995; (4) by carrying out organised and coordinated combat operations, to inflict on the enemy as many losses as possible both in personnel and TMS /equipment and materiel/.

Make timely preparations and provisions for carrying out 1 - 2 strategic, and 3 - 4 tactical operations, in the event that the ceasefire collapses and war resumes, with the following objectives: (1) through planned and organised material, propaganda and

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other activities, regrouping of forces and resources, combat activities of tactical significance or for diversionary purposes within and without the areas of planned operations, to deceive the enemy as to our true intentions and then by carrying out resolute operations with mechanised and armoured forces from several directions, advance deeply into enemy territory, crush and destroy his forces, inflict as much damage on its troops, equipment and materiel as possible, and thus, by force of arms, impose the final outcome of the war on the enemy, forcing the world into recognising the actual situation on the ground and ending the war; (2) to improve the operational and strategic position of the VRS; (3) to reduce the frontline and create conditions for an economic revival in the RS by sending a number of military conscripts home; (4) to create optimum conditions for the state and political leadership to negotiate a peace agreement and accomplish the strategic objectives of the war.

4. I HEREBY DECIDE: Through a decisive defence by the 30th pd /infantry division/, 22nd pbr /infantry brigade/, TG /Tactical Group/-2/1st KK /Krajina Corps/ in the SRK /Sarajevo-Romanija Corps/ area of responsibility, and towards the Republic of Croatia forces, and by putting up a resolute defence in other sectors of the war front, coupled with intensive operations on the segment of the frontline within the areas of responsibility of the other corps, inflict on the enemy as much personnel, equipment and materiel damage as possible, prevent any rapid or deep incursions into the operative-tactical lines sector or any division of the territory, and by 1-2 strategic-level operations with forces of up to corps strength (in the 1st KK - IBK /Eastern Bosnia Corps/ and SRK /Sarajevo-Romanija Corps/ - HK /Herzegovina Corps/ zones of responsibility), and 3-4 tactical-level operations, advance as far as possible toward major enemy administrative and industrial centres, crush and destroy his forces and thus create conditions for a triumphant end to the civil war.

The brunt of the defence shall be in the SRK, 30th pd, TG-2/1st KK areas of responsibility, in Semberija and Posavina, and the main thrust of offensive operations along the lines leading concentrically to Tuzla from the 1st KK, IBK and DK /Drina Corps/ areas of responsibility, as well as in the area of the rivers Neretva and Zujevina.

Combat activities at strategic level shall be backed by all available forces and materiel of the V and PVO /Air Force and Air Defence/.

Defence readiness shall be implemented immediately, and operations operational and strategic level by 20 April 1995, by which time all operative-strategic and material preparations for the coming VRS operations must be completed.

When carrying out strategic-level operations, Operation *Sadejstvo-95* /Coordination-95/ shall be carried out first followed by Operation *Prozor-95* /Window-95/. Operation *Spreča-95* is to take place in the run-up to Operation *Sadejstvo-95* /Coordinate Action-95/, and in the run-up to Operation *Prozor-95* planned operations within the responsibility of the SRK and DK will take place.

5. UNIT ASSIGNMENTS:

2ND KRAJINA CORPS: proceed to consolidate, as soon as possible, and no later than the end of March, with existing reinforcements, the bridge-heads in the Krupa na Uni area in the N/W sector of the warfront, thus reducing the front and creating conditions for sustained offensive operations, and open up the Skočaj-Baljevac-Ličko Petrovo Selo communications line S/E of Bihać. In further active combat operations, enable an advance to the right /east/ bank of the Una River in the Bihać area, and in

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coordination with the SVK /Army of the Serb Krajina/ forces inflict as much damage on the enemy as possible and crush the offensive power of the 5th Muslim Corps.

On the S/E part of the front, regroup your forces and, when favourable conditions are created, in cooperation with forces of the 30th pd and the SVK, break the Ustasha forces and reach the Čaprazlije village - Čelebići village line as soon as possible. At this point, take up defensive positions, remaining ready for a possible further attack towards Livno, Kupres and Duvno.

The corps KM shall be in the region of Oštrej, and the IKM /forward command post/ shall be determined at the corps commander's discretion.

1st KRAJINA CORPS: Any breakthrough by enemy forces in the region of the operative-tactical axes should be prevented by a decisive defence of the border with the RH in the area of responsibility of the 30th pd, 22nd pbr and the TG-2. Active operations should tie down as many enemy forces and cause as many losses in troops, materiel and equipment as possible. On the rest of the front, improve the operative-tactical position on Vlašić, Komar and Vozuća by very persistent defence and execution of planned and surprise battles and engagements. In preparation for operative-strategic level operations, carry out planned withdrawal, training and grouping of forces within the operative-tactical directions leading to Tuzla.

By mid-March, under the leadership of the VRS Main Staff and together with the commands of the IBK and DK plan a strategic-level operation with the aim of cutting off the Muslim armed forces north of Tuzla, breaking them up and destroying them, thus forcing the Muslim political leadership to recognise the factual situation on the warfront and sign an agreement on ending the war.

Engage all available forces of the 1st KK, IBK, DK, V and PVO and the VRS Main Staff in the operation, with maximum measures of operative and strategic camouflage and deception of the enemy, preparation of the population and all segments of society as well as securing strategic material supplies for logistics support during the operation.

During preparation and planning of the operation, define precisely the time it begins and ends, its duration and each stage, the manner of its execution, forces to be engaged, coordinated action, forces to execute the main and supporting thrust, etc. All preparations are to be kept in strict secrecy and offensive combat operations carried out energetically and with lightning speed. Maximum responsibility for carrying out assigned tasks should be secured at all levels of command and control.

Primary responsibility for planning and carrying out the operation lies with the VRS Main Staff while the commands of the 1st KK, IBK, DK and V and PVO cooperate. Plan to use forces of the 1st KK along the main direction of the thrust and forces of the IBK and DK along the auxiliary directions.

The operation is to be planned and executed under the name *Sadejstvo-95*.

The corps KM shall be in Derventa, while the IKM, which is at the same time the IKM of the VRS Main Staff shall be in Modriča during the operation.

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EAST BOSNIAN CORPS: Any breakthrough and joining-up of the coalition forces in the broader Brčko region should be prevented by decisive defence in the Posavina and Semberija, in cooperation with forces of the 1st KK, and through organised and planned execution of battles and engagements seize every opportunity to improve the operative-tactical position in the Posavina and Semberija and on Mt. Majevisa.

Under the leadership of the VRS Main Staff and in cooperation with the commands of the 1st KK, DK and V and PVO, all necessary preparations and planning for the strategic operation *Sadejstvo-95* should be carried out by mid-March. The aim of the operation is to cut off and destroy the Muslim armed forces north of Tuzla, widen the corridor and definitively eliminate any danger of a breakthrough and consolidation of coalition forces in the Brčko region.

In cooperation with the DK, planning should be carried out by mid-March for an operational level operation under the name *Spreča-95*, with the following aim:

- in the first phase of the operation, cut off Muslim armed forces in the wider regions of Teočak and Sapna, then continue the attack and in the second phase break them up and destroy them in the newly created Teočak enclave. Planning and command of combat operations during the operation shall be the responsibility of the IBK command.

The time for the operation to begin shall be determined by the VRS Main Staff, and following its completion, implementation of the strategic operation *Sadejstvo-95* should follow.

On the other parts of the front, wherever possible, the operative-tactical position should be improved by diversionary and planned execution of battles and engagements and operative-tactical camouflage measures, keeping as many enemy forces as possible tied down, thus preventing them from regrouping and pulling out for use in other directions.

The corps KM shall be in Bijeljina, and the corps IKM shall be determined at the corps commander's discretion.

DRINA CORPS: Enemy breakthroughs along selected operative-tactical lines should be prevented by extremely persistent and active defence in cooperation with part of the forces of the SRK on the N/W part of the warfront and around the enclaves. As many enemy forces as possible should be tied down by diversionary and active combat operations on the N/W part of the front, using operational and tactical camouflage measures, while in the direction of the Srebrenica and Žepa enclaves complete physical separation of Srebrenica from Žepa should be carried out as soon as possible, preventing even communication between individuals in the two enclaves. By planned and well-thought-out combat operations create an unbearable situation of total insecurity with no hope of further survival or life for the inhabitants of Srebrenica and Žepa.

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In case the UNPROFOR forces leave Žepa and Srebrenica, the DK command shall plan an operation named *Jadar* with the task of breaking up and destroying the Muslims forces in these enclaves and definitively liberating the Drina valley region.

By mid-March 1995, in cooperation with the HK and SRK commands, the *Zvijezda-95* operation is to be planned, its task being to liberate Serbian areas in the Goražde enclave and reduce the enclave to the size of a protected area of 3 kilometres from the town centre, as well as to inflict a definitive military defeat on the Muslim armed forces and remove any possibility of their joining up with forces on Mt. Igman or Mt. Bjelašnica.

Planning and execution of combat actions in both operations shall be the responsibility of the DK command. The *Zvijezda-95* operation is to be executed after the end of the *Spreča-95* operation and before *Prozor-95*.

By the end of March, in agreement with the IBK command, take part in the planning of the *Spreča-95* operation, which has the task of cutting off the Muslim armed forces along the Kalesija-Simin Han line, and then breaking up and destroying them in the region of Teočak, Sapna and Vitinica, thus finally removing the danger of a Muslim breakthrough towards the Drina, north of Zvornik.

Planning and execution of combat operations in the *Spreča-95* operation shall be the responsibility of the IBK command.

The operation shall begin after completion of planning and preparation, when material support is in place and at the decision of the VRS Main Staff.

The corps command shall form brigade-strength ready forces for intervention along threatened axes and carrying out offensive operations in their area of responsibility and those of others corps.

The corps KM shall be in Vlasenica, and the IKM shall be determined at the commander's discretion.

SARAJEVO-ROMANIJA CORPS: External lifting of the siege of Sarajevo, the severing of the Sarajevo-Trnovo-Kalinovik road or occupation of the Vogošća, Rajlovac and Hadžići industrial areas should be prevented at any cost by decisive defence in the N/W and S/E parts of the warfront and persistent and determined defence of its central part, in cooperation with forces of the HK and the 1st Gmtbr /?Grbavica/ Motorised Brigade/. Improve the operative-tactical position in the wider area of Trnovo by planned execution of diversionary and active b/d /combat operations/ (battles and engagements) and various measures of operative-tactical camouflage, tying down as many enemy forces as possible and creating conditions for a strategic-level operation in the Zujevina and Neretva river valleys with the aim of definitively cutting off Sarajevo and joining up forces of the HK and SRK in the wider area of Konjic.

The strategic-level operation *Prozor-95* is to be planned by the end of March under the leadership of the VRS Main Staff and together with the command of the HK. Its

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aim is to cut Sarajevo off and physically separate the Muslim forces of the 1st and 4th Corps.

All available forces of the SRK, HK, VRS Main Staff with reinforcements from the 1st KK, IBK and DK, the equivalent of up to six brigades, are to be engaged in this operation, which will be regulated by a special order.

In agreement with the HK and 1st Gmtbr, an operation named *Lukavac-95* is to be planned by mid-March 1995, with the aim of recapturing lost positions on Mt. Igman, Bjelašnica and Treskavica, thus creating conditions for extending the attack towards Ivan Sedlo. The command of the SRK shall be in charge of planning and executing the operation.

In the N/W and S/W parts of the front (Vogošća and Trnovo regions) have a ready battalion in each place continually prepared for rapid intervention along endangered axes and for combat operations in the Corps areas of responsibility.

The strategic operation *Prozor-95* is to be carried on completion of operations *Sadejstvo-95*, *Zvijezda-95* and *Lukavac-95*.

The KM of the Corps shall be in Lukavica, and the IKM shall be determined at the commander's discretion.

HERZEGOVINA CORPS: An enemy breakthrough from the Dubrovnik hinterland and the wider area of Konavle towards Trebinje and from the middle reaches of the Neretva river towards the Podveležje region should be prevented by a very persistent and determined defence.

In the wider region of Rogoj and on the southern slopes of Mt. Treskavica battalion-strength ready forces should stand by for intervention and strikes at the flank and rear of the Muslim forces in case of attack on Trnovo and Kijevo and the threat of severing the Sarajevo-Trnovo-Kalinovik road.

By mid-March 1995, in agreement with the SRK command, take part in planning and producing the *Lukavac-95* operation, aimed at recapturing lost positions on Mt. Igman, Treskavica and Bjelašnica and creating conditions for a thrust towards Ivan Sedlo.

The SRK command shall be in charge of planning and carrying out the operation.

The *Zvijezda-95* operations is to be planned with the command of the DK. Its aim is to break up the Muslim forces in the Goražde enclave and liberate the Ustiprača-Goražde-Srbinje road.

The DK command shall be in charge of planning and carrying out this operation.

By the end of March 1995, the HK command shall plan operations for reaching the Neretva river valley, named *Krivaja-95*, and for coming out onto the coast in the

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Prevlaka-Cavtat sector, named *More-95 /Sea-95/*. The operations shall be planned and the combat operations led by the HK command.

The operations shall begin after preparations are complete, material support is in place and at the decision of the VRS Main Staff. Besides HK forces, envisage and plan for the use of free forces from the DK, SRK and VRS Main Staff equivalent to two brigades, which will be regulated by a special order.

The corps KM shall be in Lastva, and the IKM shall be determined at the corps commander's discretion.

AIR FORCE AND AIR DEFENCE: Focus mainly on preparing and acquiring the required skills to successfully resist and destroy enemy aircraft in /?our/ airspace and /provide/ air and fire support to the main VRS forces in case of foreign aggression, primarily armed aggression by the RH against the RSK and RS, as well as on improving the resistance and resilience of the VOJ /Aerial Surveillance and Reporting/ system in conditions of electronic air and ground interference.

Special attention should be devoted to preparing individuals and units for air and fire support to forces during the execution of the strategic-level operations *Sadejstvo-95* and *Prozor-95*.

By the end of March 1995, form a mixed helicopter section (two transport helicopters, two anti-tank and one general-purpose helicopter) and train them for combat operations in difficult weather conditions and at night, both in RS territory and behind enemy lines, as well as for air combat with enemy helicopters. Particular attention should be given to selection and training of crews.

With help from the VRS Main Staff, possibilities should be found as soon as possible to ensure continuity of training for LBA /fighter and bomber/ pilots, either in the FRY or in the RS and RSK.

The command post shall be in Banja Luka, and the IKM shall be determined at the discretion of the V and PVO commander.

The VRS RAJKO BALAC' CVŠ /military schools centre/: Focus the work on the complete execution of tasks and duties as set out in the 1995 Training Instructions, staff the Centre with suitable instructors and improve the material basis for better quality training, living conditions and student work.

Whenever possible, hold practical training as close as possible to the front or on it, while live-fire exercises using artillery, mortar, anti-aircraft and tank weapons should be carried out against enemy targets.

The command of the CVŠ VRS shall form a mixed battalion of soldiers, officers and students and use the available combat teaching equipment. This battalion will be on 12-hour stand-by for dispatch to take part in combat tasks, at the decision of the VRS Main Staff.

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The battalion is to be formed, supplied with ammunition and other MS and brought to the ordered level of combat readiness by planned training and tests of its combat readiness.

The mixed battalion should be treated as a reserve of the VRS Main Staff.

The KM of the CVŠ VRS shall be in Banja Luka, and the IKM shall be determined at the Centre commander's discretion.

6. SUPPORT FOR COMBAT OPERATIONS

6.1. Moral and psychological support

The political leadership of the State and the military leadership are hereby obliged to show maximum readiness and initiative and to take all measures necessary to affirm pan-Serbian unity, define clear and unified national strategies, overcome existing differences and to encourage whatever brings us together, and not what separates us.

The entire leadership of the Serbian people is to be brought together and a unified State-political and military concept under a common leadership established.

Externally, a more aggressive propaganda and information presence should be maintained, aimed at gaining allies, deepening discord in the coalition, unmasking the biased and hostile activities of certain individuals and parts of UNPROFOR and some humanitarian organisations and undermining the enemy's fighting morale. This is to be achieved through planned and organised information and propaganda activities coordinated from State level. Internally, raise the awareness of people and soldiers of the necessity and possibility of waging an armed struggle and militarily defeating the enemy, make them also aware of the need to put all available human and material resources at the disposal of the liberation struggle in order to create a free and unified Serbian state in the former Yugoslavia.

The relevant State and military organs responsible for work with UNPROFOR and humanitarian organisations shall, through the planned and unobtrusively restrictive issuing of permits, reduce and limit the logistics support of UNPROFOR to the enclaves and the supply of material resources to the Muslim population, making them dependent on our good will while at the same time avoiding condemnation by the international community and international public opinion.

In the implementation of other forms of support for combat operations, all measures are to be taken according to Directive Op no. 6. The focus of logistics support in 1995 shall be on units envisaged for the execution of strategic-level operations.

Special attention is to be given to training and full combat readiness of all PVO systems and units. These are to be trained for effective combat against all aerial targets, especially NATO combat formations.

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7. COMMAND AND CONTROL:

The command post of the Supreme Command shall be in the Pale area and the KM and PKM of the VRS Main Staff shall be in the Han Pijesak area.

At VRS level, communications are to be organised according to existing work schedules, while for operations controlled by the VRS Main Staff, communications are to be organised according to special orders and schedules, with strict observance of cryptographic protection instructions.

Submit reports as follows:

- a) Regular reports – by 1900 hours, with situation as at 1700 hours.
- b) Interim reports – as the need arises and in the case of surprise action or incursions by the enemy.
- c) Reports on readiness for offensive operations.
- d) Summary reports – every third day during active combat operations.

8. Send corps commanders' decisions for approval to the Commander of the VRS Main Staff seven days before carrying out the planned operation.

Drafted by: Colonel Radivoje MILETIĆ
Typed by: Staff Sergeant Spasoja ZELJKOVIĆ

Typed in two copies.

SUPREME COMMANDER
Dr Radovan KARADŽIĆ
/signed and stamped/