



Intelligence Report

DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

23 November 1994

The Milosevic-Karadzic Break: Stalemated For Now

Serbian President Milosevic continues to work to undermine the Bosnian Serb leadership but probably has little additional leverage now to compel them to sign the Contact Group peace plan. In response, Bosnian Serb leaders Karadzic and Krajisnik are shoring up their internal support and publicly insisting that the international community guarantee Bosnian Serb sovereignty or reopen discussions of the map--conditions unacceptable to the Bosnian Government. Meanwhile, Milosevic is consolidating his support at home and in the Contact Group which should bolster his ability to squeeze the Bosnian Serbs.

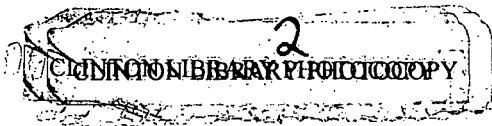
Milosevic Puts the Squeeze on the Bosnian Serbs

Milosevic has continued the public pressure on the Bosnian Serbs he began in early August.

- The government-controlled Serbian press continues to condemn the Bosnian Serb rejection of the international peace plan and has recently reported on disagreements and disunity within the Bosnian Serb leadership. As a tactic to increase Karadzic's paranoia, a Belgrade newspaper with ties to Milosevic's wife, published a scenario for the Bosnian Serb leader's overthrow.

- With the exception of Seselj's radicals, Serbia's major political parties are publicly supporting the Contact Group plan and criticizing the Bosnian Serbs. Milosevic orchestrated a vote of support in the Yugoslav Assembly for his hardline against the Bosnian Serbs.

Milosevic appears to be serious about preventing prohibited goods from entering Bosnian Serb areas in order to pressure the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Contact Group map. Although Milosevic is probably aware of the magnitude of the leakage, we have no hard evidence that he is directly involved in arranging



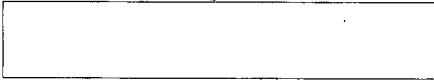
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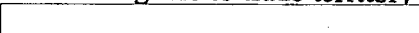
Karadzic also has strengthened his grip over Bosnian Serb levers of power.

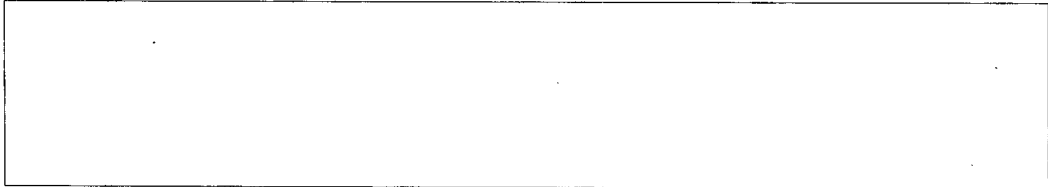
- Karadzic fired his interior minister, who reportedly had ties to Milosevic, and orchestrated the ouster of two party officials, at least one of whom the press says supported Milosevic's blockade of the Bosnian Serbs.

- Karadzic also replaced the director of the Bosnian Serb radio and TV, and assumed firm control of the media.



In press interviews, Karadzic has shown interest in negotiating territorial swaps with the Muslims but on terms that conflict with Bosnian Government preferences and Contact Group thinking.

-  Karadzic plans to ask former President Carter to help negotiate the division of Bosnia. Earlier this fall, Karadzic advocated "Camp David-style" negotiations, with the US and possibly Russia as mediators, and indicated a willingness to trade territory around Sarajevo for the eastern enclaves 



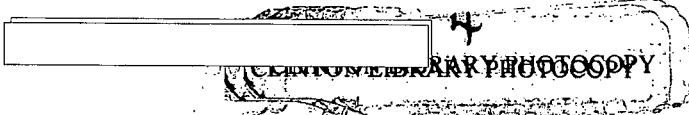
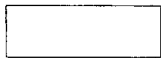
Options for Milosevic

Milosevic wants to rein in the Bosnian Serb leadership because he views Karadzic as an obstacle to solving the current impasse over Bosnia and as a rival who has interfered with Milosevic's efforts to consolidate control.

- Milosevic's strong personal dislike for Karadzic has been aggravated by Karadzic's defiance of Milosevic's wishes--for instance with his offensive this spring in Gorazde and with his rejection of the international peace plan.



In addition to Karadzic, Milosevic probably would also have to replace Bosnian Serb Army Commander General Mladic and Bosnian Serb "Assembly President" Krajisnik, who hold views similar to Karadzic and are at least as powerful.

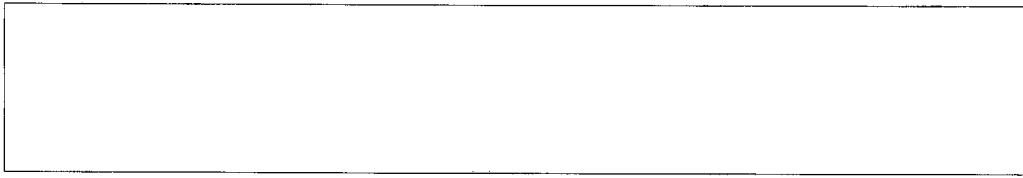


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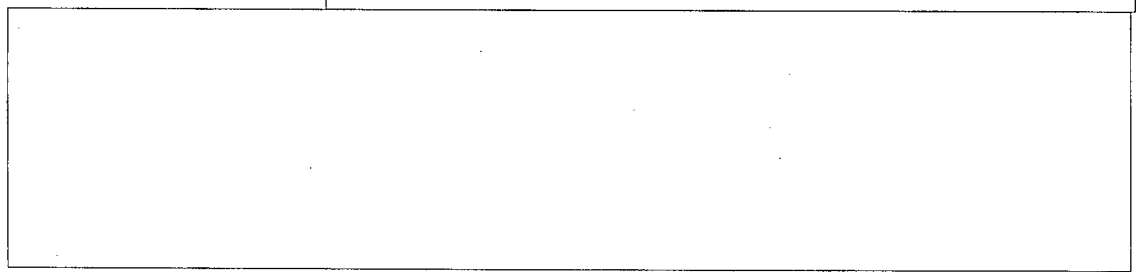


• [redacted] Milosevic may have considered replacing Karadzic with Mladic, Mladic told Milosevic that he was unwilling to sacrifice Bosnian Serb goals. [redacted]



Although he is finding the overthrow of Karadzic to be a complicated task, Milosevic reportedly is considering several options.

- Milosevic recently discussed with Bosnian Serb opposition leaders either a military overthrow of Karadzic or a more peaceful, political method to oust the Bosnian Serb leader [redacted]
- Bosnian Serb Vice President Koljevic reported an attempt last month to assassinate Karadzic, probably by two former members of a security force that Karadzic had created then disbanded, probably because of its ties to Serbia's secret police. [redacted]

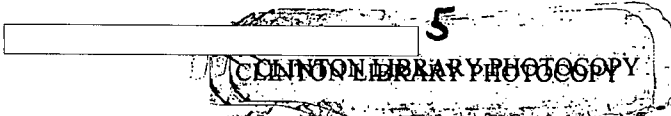


- Milosevic also could tighten sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs, although we have no evidence he has considered doing so. [redacted]

Next Steps



Milosevic is continuing to consolidate his support at home and in the Contact Group in ways that bolster his ability to pressure the Bosnian Serbs.

- Milosevic continues to work to marginalize the nationalist opposition, install his supporters in the hierarchy of the Yugoslav Army, and tighten his control of the media.




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- Most notably, he has jailed his biggest rival, Vojislav Seselj, because of Seselj's efforts to undermine Milosevic's approach toward the Bosnian Serbs. The loosening of sanctions Milosevic received in exchange for allowing international observers on the border almost certainly has boosted his popular support.
 - Milosevic also retired and reappointed generals in the Yugoslav Army, apparently weeding out some senior officers who had not shown loyalty to his break with the Bosnian Serbs.
 - Belgrade reportedly has begun to pressure the non-governmental media both financially and politically to be more responsive to its policies, according to the US Embassy.
 - Meanwhile, most Contact Group members advocate a further easing of sanctions against Serbia. Russia argues that the international community should lift the remaining sanctions and normalize relations with Belgrade in order to show the Bosnian Serb leadership the benefits of accepting the peace plan.
 - Milosevic almost certainly hopes Moscow will block any international effort to require Serbia to recognize Bosnia and Croatia's international borders in order to get further easing of sanctions--a step Milosevic reportedly told Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin recently he is unable to take.
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Milosevic also probably believes that his more cooperative stance is encouraging the Contact Group to modify their peace plan.

- French Foreign Minister Juppe has publicly called for a summit between Milosevic, Izetbegovic, and Tudjman. Juppe also recommended allowing the warring parties to make mutually agreed changes to the map.
- France and the UK have pressed for "equal rights" for the Bosnian Serbs to confederate with Serbia. At its ministerial late last month, the EU endorsed "balanced treatment" for the Bosnian Serbs and the Contact Group - apparently has signed on to this approach. 



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