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## Intelligence Report

DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force	23 November 1994
The Milosevic-Karadzic Break: Stalemated For N	Now
Serbian President Milosevic continues to work to undermin leadership but probably has little additional leverage now to the Contact Group peace plan. In response, Bosnian Serb l Krajisnik are shoring up their internal support and publicly international community guarantee Bosnian Serb sovereign discussions of the mapconditions unacceptable to the Bosn Meanwhile, Milosevic is consolidating his support at home Group which should bolster his ability to squeeze the Bosnia	compel them to sign eaders Karadzic and insisting that the ty or reopen nian Government.
Milosevic Puts the Squeeze on the Bosnian Serbs	
Milosevic has continued the public pressure on the Bosnian S August.	erbs he began in early
<ul> <li>The government-controlled Serbian press continues to Serb rejection of the international peace plan and has disagreements and disunity within the Bosnian Serb le to increase Karadzic's paranoia, a Belgrade newspape Milosevic's wife, published a scenario for the Bosnian overthrow.</li> </ul>	recently reported on adership. As a tactic
<ul> <li>With the exception of Seselj's radicals, Serbia's major publicly supporting the Contact Group plan and critici Serbs. Milosevic orchestrated a vote of support in the for his hardline against the Bosnian Serbs.</li> </ul>	zing the Dosmian
Milosevic appears to be serious about preventing prohibited g Bosnian Serb areas in order to pressure the Bosnian Serbs to a Group map. Although Milosevic is probably aware of the ma leakage, we have no hard evidence that he is directly involved	accept the Contact
mat he is directly involved	in arranging

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ppc oug ilos	tions. Sarajevo consistently has alleged that Belgrade continue out to the Bosnian Serbs, however, Bosnian Prime Minister Silar Continue of the Serbian President sevic had made a genuine effort to close the border and would dizic if he remained obdurate.	djzic, normally
e E	Bosnian Serbs have reacted with surprise and indignation at Mil	osevic's action
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	<ul> <li>Karadzic publicly blamed Milosevic's blockade for the losses Serb Army suffered to the Bosnian Government around Biha</li> </ul>	the Bosnian
	billion of the Boshan Government around Billion	ann Kubres
∟ sni	an Serbs Remain Stubborn	
spi an	te these pressures, the Bosnian Serbs are maintaining their defi- sigent stance, especially by disrupting relief efforts.	ant,
	<ul> <li>Karadzic responded last month to a public appeal by Milosev war by stating that the international community is wasting its for a positive response by the Bosnian Serbs.</li> </ul>	ic to end the time waiting
	<ul> <li>The Bosnian Serb Army is vigorously pursuing a counteroffe Bihac area, attempting to eliminate government forces in the</li> </ul>	nsive in the region.
	• The Bosnian Serbs have also denied UNPROFOR requests for and convoys carrying winterization materials to the eastern enactacked a humanitarian convoy in Goradze, and hijacked a noutside Sarajevo, and have stepped up harassment attacks on including an attack on the Holiday Inn housing US diplomats foreigners, according to Embassy and press reporting. The Halso continue to disrupt efforts to reopen the UN-protected reconnects.	nclaves, nedical convoy the city and other Bosnian Serbs
	connects Sarajevo to the rest of federation territory.	
bass	port was prepared by Office of European Analysis, at the request sador Thomas, Department of State. Comments and queries are welcome and may it to Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force,	of be
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Karadzic also has strengthened his grip over Bosnian Serb lever	rs of power
and garden and garp over Bosinair Bero icver	is or power.
<ul> <li>Karadzic fired his interior minister, who reportedly had and orchestrated the ouster of two party officials, at least press says supported Milosevic's blockade of the Bosnia</li> </ul>	st one of whom the
• 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 with the Muslims but on terms that conflict with Bosnian Goverand Contact Group thinking.	territorial swaps
•	
President Carter to help negotiate the division of Bosnia Karadzic advocated "Camp David-style" negotiations, we possibly Russia as mediators, and indicated a willingnes around Sarajevo for the eastern enclaves	ith the US and
·	
Options for Milosevic	
Milosevic wants to rein in the Bosnian Serb leadership because as an obstacle to solving the current impasse over Bosnia and as interfered with Milosevic's efforts to consolidate control.	he views Karadzic s a rival who has
• Milosevic's strong personal dislike for Karadzic has bee Karadzic's defiance of Milosevic's wishesfor instance this spring in Gorazde and with his rejection of the inter-	with his offensive
In addition to Karadzic, Milosevic probably would also have to Serb Army Commander General Mladic and Bosnian Serb "Ass Krajisnik, who hold views similar to Karadzic and are at least a	sembly President"
and the second s	•
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considered replacing Karadzic	with Mladia 1	Milosevi	c may have
was unwilling to sacrifice Bosn	ian Serb goals	VITAUIC TOID IVI	HOSEVIC that he
The is finding the overthrow of	f Vonodnia ta	1 11	
gh he is finding the overthrow o vic reportedly is considering sev	eral options.	be a complica	ted task,
•	-		•
Milosevic recently discussed wi military overthrow of Karadzic	th Bosnian Se	rb opposition	leaders either a
the Bosnian Serb leader	or a more bea	cetui nomica	method to oust
Doorion O. 1. XV. D. Co.			
Bosnian Serb Vice President Ko assassinate Karadzic, probably t	ljevic reporte	d an attempt 1	ast month to
uial Karadzic nad created then d	isbanded, pro	memoers or a bably because	a security force .
Serbia's secret police,		OGOTT DOCUMENT	ZOLJIS HES.III
	•		
Milosevic also could tighten san	ctions against	the Bosnian S	Serbs, although
we have no evidence he has con	sidered doing	so.	
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eps ic is continuing to consolidate h	is support at l	home and in t	he Contact Group
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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.

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.

