



# Intelligence Report

DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

19 May 1995

## Inter-Serbian Sanctions: No Discernible Improvement in Serbian Enforcement

*There has been no discernible improvement in Serbian and Montenegrin (FRY) enforcement of the inter-Serbian sanctions since the UN Security Council extended sanctions relief on 22 April. The apparent deterioration in FRY enforcement that occurred since early February 1995 has not been rectified, although Belgrade apparently has continued to hold overall shipments across the FRY-Bosnia border below pre-August 1994 levels. Widespread small-scale smuggling via the ant trade continues undiminished and occasional larger prohibited commercial shipments appear to cross the FRY-Bosnia border.*

*the Yugoslav Army continues to covertly support the Bosnian Serb Army, and that Serbian President Milosevic is aware of this. A staffing decline has rendered the ICFY monitoring mission unable to verify Belgrade's compliance with the embargo against Pale.*

---

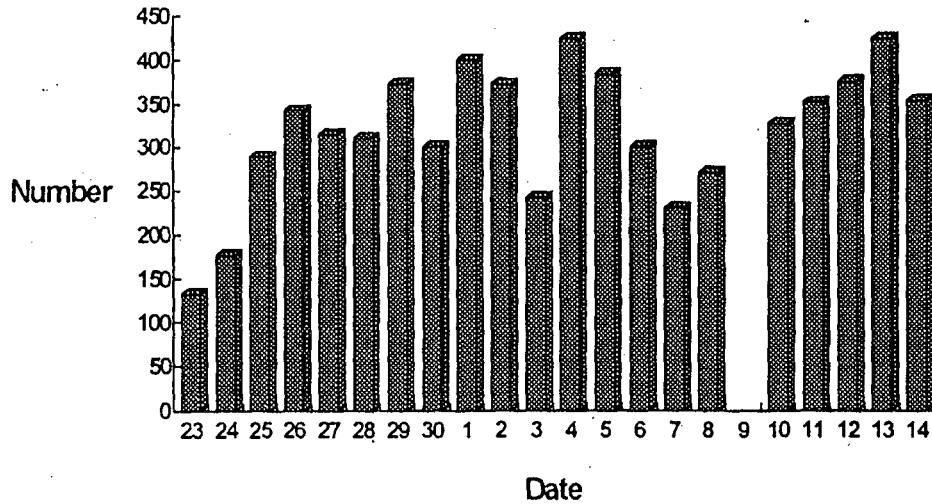
This memorandum was prepared by analysts of the DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force. The report was requested by Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs, to provide information on Serbia's sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force on



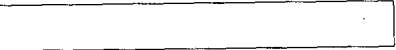
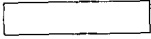
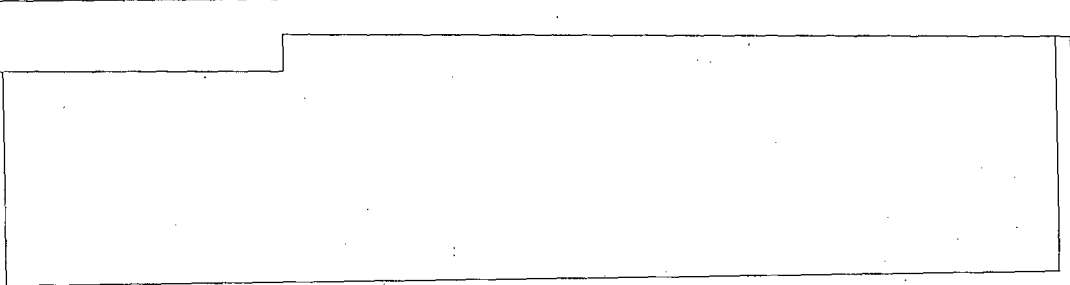
The Ant Trade: Undiminished

[redacted] the ant trade continues unabated since 22 April. Moreover, the decline in ICFY monitoring and improved springtime road conditions will probably allow an increase in violations. Nearly 30,000 persons, most of whom appear to be smuggling, transit the border daily. In addition to the thousands of automobiles, several hundred buses, trucks, and tractors cross the border daily. FRY authorities confiscate some prohibited goods, but most non-humanitarian goods are allowed into Bosnia. [redacted]

Daily Cross-Border Bus, Tractor, and Truck Crossings at Selected ICFY Checkpoints, 23 April - 12 May 1995



Some smuggling is occurring across the Drina River, but it may be limited by high springtime river levels. [redacted]



~~Top Secret~~**Large Commercial Shipments: Probable**

[redacted] *some large commercial shipments into Bosnia may be occurring, particularly across Montenegrin crossings.* [redacted] vehicle tracks, apparently from trucks, around barricades and on bypass roads. [redacted]

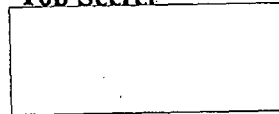
[redacted]

**ICFY-FRY Cooperation: Problems Persist**

Although [redacted] overall cooperation as good, [redacted] [redacted] the monitors continue to face inconsistencies and shortcomings in FRY cooperation and enforcement. FRY authorities have made a few arrests, confiscated some material, sometimes refused to allow vehicles to continue to their destination, and repaired damaged crossing barriers. As before 22 April, however, authorities fully inspect only a fraction of all buses and let most vehicles enter Bosnia unimpeded. ICFY head Tuano Nieminen recently expressed concern about the sincerity of FRY customs head Kertes, the ICFY mission's main interlocutor, according to US Embassy reporting. Separate from the occasional problems with FRY customs and the military, [redacted] the monitors have had the most trouble with local police. On at least two occasions, for example, police refused [redacted] to investigate suspicious activity several hundred yards from a border crossing by stating that it was outside their jurisdiction. On two occasions, [redacted] the police had been cool toward the monitors [redacted]

[redacted]

~~Top Secret~~



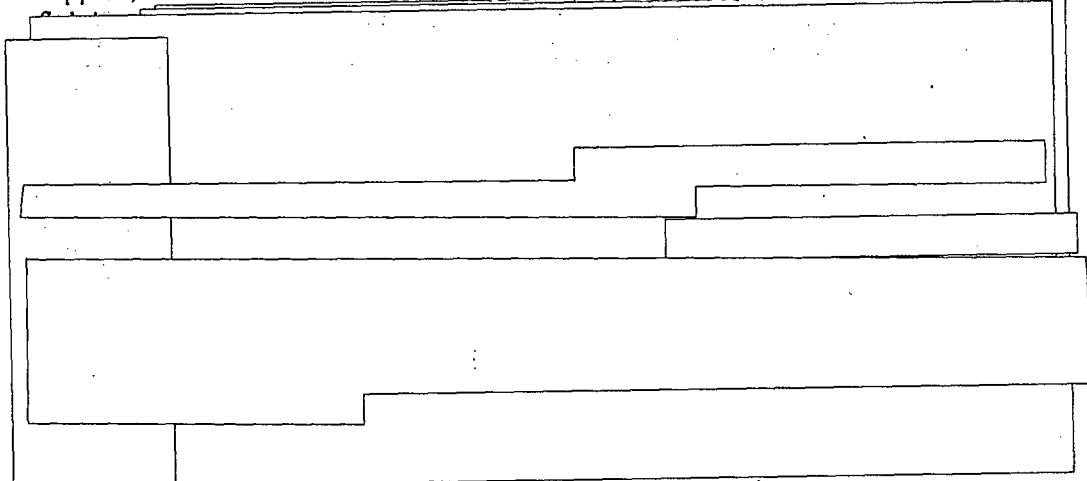
**The ICFY Mission: Inadequate**

The international monitoring mission, currently staffed at less than 150 monitors because of funding problems, is *incapable of verifying that the FRY has closed its border with Bosnia*, and its border coverage has continued to decline. The mission ended 24-hour coverage at five crossings since 22 April, lowering to 14 the number of crossings monitored on a full-time basis. The mission also has severely curtailed its patrols. The VJ, *whose commitment to enforcement is questionable*, is in sole charge of numerous crossings. *The mission would need about 400 people to adequately monitor the 340-mile border, which has more than 100 major and minor crossings, and to perform tasks such as sealing humanitarian shipments. Even the quality of field monitors' reports to Belgrade has declined. The mission also has neither the equipment nor personnel to verify that Belgrade has ended airspace violations.*

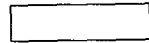
**VJ-BSA Military Ties: Ongoing**

[Redacted] *the VJ is covertly providing limited support to the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA).*

[Redacted] Milosevic's dispute with Bosnian Serb President Karadzic reportedly has resulted in a recent decline in VJ support, but aid will be increased if the BSA begins to lose significant ground in the



*Serbian President Milosevic may not wish to confront the VJ over their support for the Bosnian Serbs.* According to US Embassy reporting, Milosevic is worried about controlling the VJ and has used surrogates to periodically threaten the VJ over opposition to his policies. Many VJ officers, feeling it is their duty to help their former Yugoslav National Army (JNA) colleagues in the BSA, maintain close ties to the BSA, and consider BSA commander Ratko Mladic to be one of their own. Milosevic may also believe that maintaining at least some aid to the BSA will help him coax Mladic to split with Karadzic.



~~Top Secret~~  
[redacted]

VJ-BSA contact, [redacted] has continued since 22 April. [redacted]

[redacted] Mladic has participated in meetings in Belgrade, sometimes with Milosevic and FRY customs chief Kertes, [redacted] BSA Deputy Commander Milan Gvero was in Belgrade [redacted] [redacted] VJ-BSA contacts are most frequent between mid- and low-level officers, according to US defense attache reporting: [redacted]

[redacted] the Bosnian Serbs also continue to purchase goods from and via the FRY *that may be funded in part by Greek officials.* [redacted]

[redacted] Uniformed soldiers continue to transit the FRY-Bosnia border, although in smaller groups than whole busloads of soldiers, [redacted]

[redacted] FRY border authorities allowed 266 uniformed personnel to transit the border in both directions despite being warned repeatedly that it was considered a violation. [redacted] Separate from soldiers in cars, vans, and buses, between 23 April and 14 May, the monitors at Vrbanj on the Montenegro-Bosnia border recorded 67 military vehicles, *presumably trucks or jeeps*, crossing the border heading toward Bosnia, with a similar number of vehicles later returning to the FRY. *Because some Montenegrin villages and presumably VJ troops are between the checkpoint and the Bosnian border, the vehicles may be reinforcing VJ troops closer to the border. The frequency of the trips, however, seems excessive compared to the occasional military vehicle crossings reported before February.*

[redacted]

[redacted]  
~~Top Secret~~