

Bosnia - Dec. 1995; Late Dec [1995]
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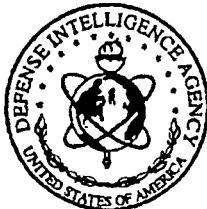
Intelligence Report

DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

29 December 1995

Implementation of the Dayton Accords: Status Report #1

Executive Summary



The former combatants in Bosnia are implementing the Dayton Accords, albeit sometimes in a hesitant fashion. There has been virtually no armed resistance to IFOR, military and civilian officials are generally proving cooperative, and the sides have met several important early deadlines.

- In particular, the various armed forces have fully met important military requirements of the accord. IFOR reporting indicates Serb and Muslim forces have withdrawn as required from positions around Sarajevo. Additionally, the former combatants have, with minor exceptions, turned off their air defense radars. [redacted]



Yet progress in the political realm at this early stage of the implementation process has been uneven, and few gains have been recorded on difficult questions concerning Federation structures, the constitution, and elections.

- The sides are providing full access for aid organizations and paying lip service to the refugees' right of return, but privately all aim for ethnic homogeneity; [redacted]

- In general, Muslim and Serb officials have been far more focused on implementing the military provisions of the Dayton Agreement than on concrete action on its political requirements. Serbs claim, for example, that the Bosnian Government has not yet set up a joint commission to implement the new Bosnian constitution. Similarly, Croat and Muslim implementation of the Federation agreement remains sketchy at best, with both sides ignoring provisions that do not mesh with their own political agendas. [redacted]

This memorandum was prepared by [redacted]

DCI Interagency Balkan
Task Force. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to Chief, DCI Interagency
Balkan Task Force [redacted]

[redacted]
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There are several other noteworthy problem areas in implementation of the accords:

- Although available intelligence indicates the Bosnian Government is encouraging the departure of foreign-born mujahedin, some mujahedin are being given the option of integrating into Bosnian society.
- The Bosnian Government has taken no steps--and has given no indication of a readiness to take steps--to reduce its military and security relationship with Iran. Indeed, Iranian arms deliveries recently have increased [redacted]

At this stage, there is no intelligence indicating that the key parties to the accords--including Croatian President Tudjman or Serbian President Milosevic--are insincere in their commitment to the process, or that any party is actively preparing for resumption of the conflict in the near term. There has been some intelligence reporting, however, that Milosevic and some senior Croatian officials do not expect the Dayton process to succeed in creating a unified Bosnian state over the longer-term. [redacted]

The parties' ability in the weeks ahead to meet key political and military deadlines will help establish the depth and durability of their commitment to the accords. All foreign forces are to be out of Bosnia by 13 January. Progress toward the establishment of a joint constitutional commission--implicitly required by the accord in mid-December and already overdue--as well as the scheduled start in mid-January of negotiations on military manpower and weaponry, will be particularly significant indicators of the intentions of the parties. [redacted]

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Implementation of Key Provisions of the Dayton Accords

Military Provisions of the Agreement

Ceasefire Violations/Cessation of Hostilities. Deadline: Ongoing

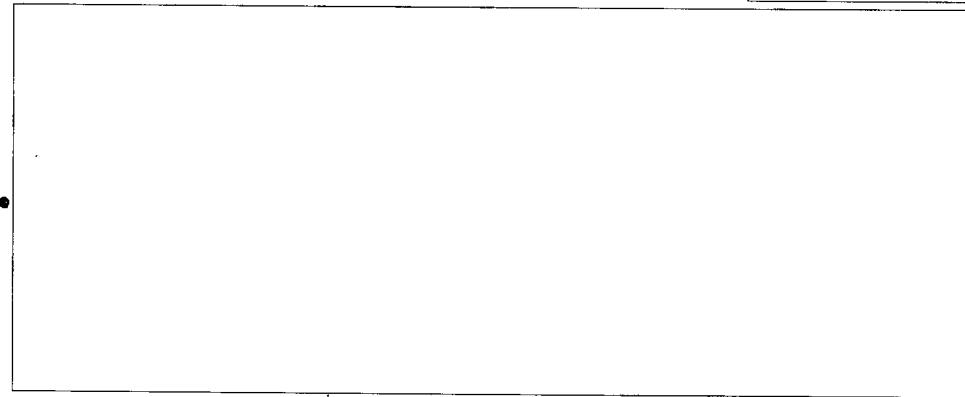
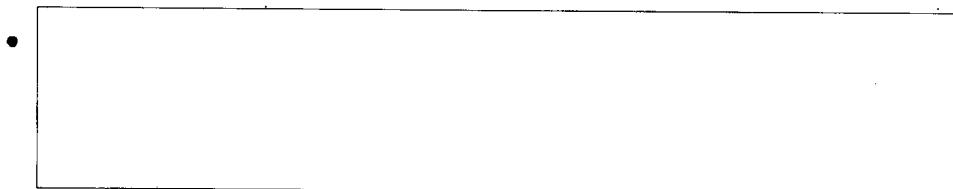
The parties continue to accuse each other of small-scale cease-fire violations throughout Bosnia [redacted]
UN and NATO personnel reportedly have observed so-called celebratory fire on several occasions and fire has been directed at personnel and vehicles. Since entry into force of the agreement, no large-scale fighting has been reported. [redacted]

Cooperation with IFOR. Deadline: Ongoing.

Military and local civilian officials on all sides are cooperating with IFOR, despite the misgivings of individuals--some at high levels in their respective governments--about aspects of the Dayton Agreement. [redacted]

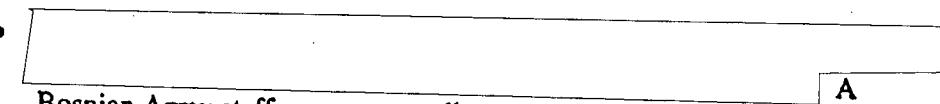
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**Bosnian Army:****IFOR Freedom of Movement. Deadline: Ongoing.**

IFOR continues to expand its movement across Bosnia. The former warring parties have challenged neither IFOR personnel nor IFOR vehicles.

- Spanish IFOR troops met no resistance upon crossing into Serb-held areas while traveling from Mostar to Nevesinje on 27 December, according to press. Spanish NATO officials reportedly met with Bosnian Croat, Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Government leaders and won their agreement for the deployment.
- US NATO forces set up Checkpoint Cadillac on a road between Orasje and Tuzla on 26 December, according to press. They reportedly crossed Croat and Serb lines and a US officer said IFOR forces were receiving a lot of cooperation from the parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- British NATO forces moved onto Bosnian Serb-held territory near Krupa na Vrbasu on 24 December, according to press. No incidents were reported, although forces reportedly encountered Serb soldiers who had not been notified in advance of the British deployment.



A
Bosnian Army staff paper reportedly recommended that the checkpoints

be removed in keeping with the Dayton accord, among other reasons.

Establishment of Colocated Command Posts and Liaison Officers with IFOR.
Deadline: Ongoing.

A variety of reporting indicates that IFOR has had contact with military liaison personnel from each of the parties' militaries, and we have no evidence of efforts to resist carrying out the commitment to establish and maintain proper liaison with IFOR.

Air Defense/Early Warning Radar Shutdown. Deadline: 17 December 1995

With a handful of reported exceptions, most radars have been shut down.

Sarajevo: Withdrawal of Parties from Selected Positions. Deadline: 27 December 1995

Withdrawals of BSA and Bosnian Army Forces occurred on schedule, but Serb civilian authorities in Sarajevo are seeking to delay implementation or to renegotiate other Dayton commitments.

- French General Ziller confirmed on 28 December that Bosnian Serb and Muslim forces have pulled back from the 40 key front-line positions around Sarajevo, according to press.

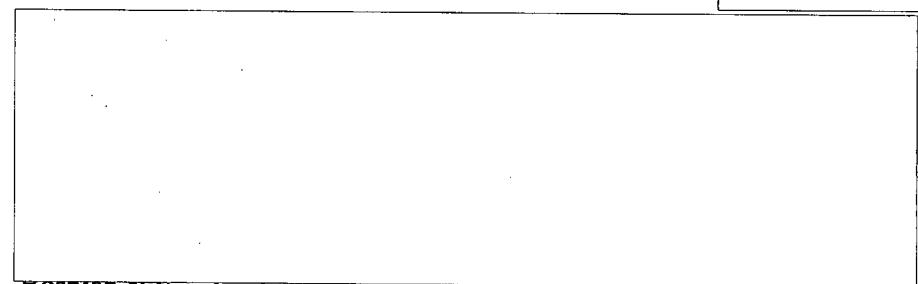
Foreign Forces Withdrawal. Deadline: 13 January 1996

Iranian Presence in Bosnia:

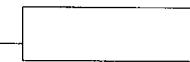
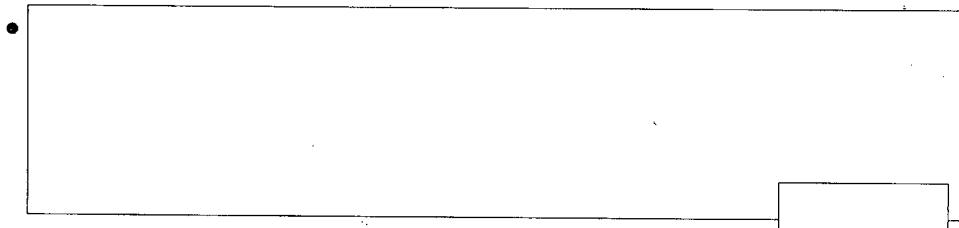
There is no evidence of any effort to reduce the Iranian presence in Bosnia. Iran apparently is taking a long view in Bosnia and is determined to weather US pressure to leave. Tehran will continue to lower its profile in the country to accommodate Bosnian leaders rather than withdraw its personnel.

Foreign Islamic Volunteer Forces in Bosnia (Mujahedin):

The Bosnian Government has moved quickly to integrate or expel the mujahedin and appears to anticipate small-scale resistance, and we have reports that some of the mujahedin are taking advantage of the opportunity to "go to ground" in Bosnian society or to join the army. Other mujahedin reportedly are leaving some areas in central Bosnia.



Bosnian authorities believe that other than the "hard-core" personnel, the overwhelming majority of mujahedin would integrate themselves rapidly and peacefully into Bosnian society if given the chance. The Bosnian Government reportedly would not bow to Western pressure and take action against these rank and file.

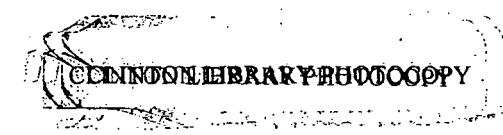


Croatian Army (HV) Forces in Bosnia:

Although some HV forces have withdrawn, a portion of the HV deployed in Bosnia holds an area of strategic importance to Croatia, and Zagreb is unlikely to entrust the defense of this territory to the HVO.

- HV forces in Bosnia--elements of three to five infantry brigades or regiments estimated to have between 1,500 and 2,500 troops--appear to man a frontline sector some 65 kilometers long north of the Croatian city of Dubrovnik. HV positions reportedly begin about 20 kilometers south of the Bosnian Croat-held town of Stolac and run to the tri-border area between Bosnia, Croatia, and Montenegro, southeast of the town of Trebinje. HV troops have deployed in this sector since 1992.
- HV forces, however, appear to have completed their withdrawal from northwestern Bosnia. [redacted] Bosnian Croat (HVO) forces have taken over former HV positions to the Croatian border, west of Drvar. [redacted]

Other Foreign Forces in Bosnian Serb Territory:



Press sources have raised the possibility that Serbian forces will join the BSA --a potential violation -- amid other reports that indicate that foreign forces are withdrawing from Bosnian Government-held territory.

- A Greek Foreign Ministry official claimed on 27 December that the Greek Government believed that all Greek volunteers fighting alongside the Bosnian Serbs had now returned to Greece. [redacted]
[redacted] The volunteers reportedly numbered about 30. A Greek volunteer unit--possibly 100 to 200 personnel--has served within the BSA for some time, and reportedly took part in the capture of the Srebrenica enclave this summer.
- A senior member of Serbian paramilitary leader Arkan's "Serbian Volunteer Guard" (SVG) stated on 26 December that the unit, currently stationed in Serb-held UN Sector East, Croatia, could soon become part of the BSA or the Bosnian Serb Interior Ministry (MUP), according to press reports. The Serbian State Security Service (RDB) has overall control of the SVG, and Arkan almost certainly would have to receive approval from the RDB to redeploy to Bosnia. [redacted]

Clearance of Ceasefire Line Zone of Separation and Marking of Minefields.
Deadline: 19 January 1996, or as determined by IFOR Commander

All sides are providing information on the locations of mines and clearing efforts are ongoing, but we cannot assess the progress in mine removal because of uncertainties about the number of mines to be removed and the scope of removal efforts.

HVO:

- Bosnian Serb, Bosnian Government, and Bosnian Croat corps-level officers supplied detailed information and maps regarding the locations of mines at a 27 December meeting with US Major General Nash, according to press.

BSA:

- Bosnian Serb, Bosnian Government, and Bosnian Croat corps-level officers supplied detailed information and maps regarding the locations of mines at a 27 December meeting with US Major General Nash, according to press [redacted]
- French soldiers reported on 26 December that Bosnian Serbs and Moslems were cooperating in efforts to clear mines in Sarajevo, according to press [redacted]

Bosnian Army:

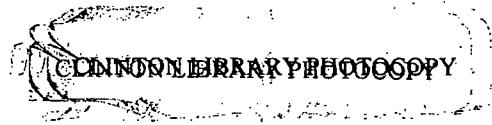
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[redacted]

Force Withdrawals from the Zone of Separation. Deadline: 19 January 1996

A variety of reporting indicates that the militaries of all parties are preparing to vacate the zone of separation on schedule.
[redacted]

HVO:

[redacted]

BSA:

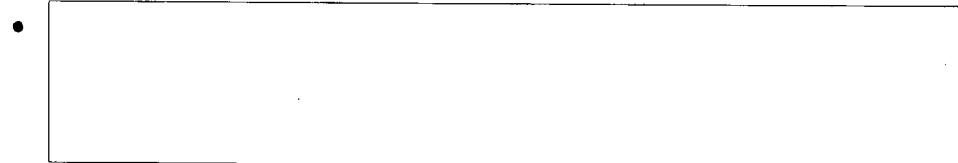
- The BSA withdrew some heavy weapons from forward positions in the Doboj area.
- Serbs are withdrawing in the ZOS near Gradacac and reportedly are stripping the villages there of all essential items.

Bosnian Army:

- Bosnian Government forces are preparing or refurbishing fall-back defensive positions on the government side of the Zone of Separation near Tuzla.

Force Withdrawals from Areas to Be Turned Over. Deadline: 3 February 1996

A variety of reporting indicates that the militaries of all parties are preparing to vacate the zone of separation on schedule.

**IFOR Provision of Military Security in Turned Over Areas/End of IFOR Security**

- IFOR can exercise this provision beginning 19 January 1996. IFOR's right expires on 20 March 1996.

Entry of Forces into Turned-Over Territory. Deadline: No Dayton Party forces can move into areas to be transferred before 19 March 1996.

Bosnian Serb civil authorities in Sarajevo want to delay the entry into force of this commitment as it applies to Sarajevo.

- Bosnian Serb "assembly" Speaker Krajisnik on 26 December asked the IFOR commander to delay for a year the transfer of Serb areas of Sarajevo to Federation control, according to press.

Heavy Weapons Withdrawals to Cantonments/Barracks or Force Demobilization. Deadline: 18 April 1996. ("Heavy weapons" refers to all tanks and armored

vehicles, all artillery 75 mm and above, all mortars 81 mm and above, and all antiaircraft weapons 20 mm and above.)

All of the parties have sketched out plans to demobilize and restructure their forces in the near future along lines consistent with the intent of the Dayton agreement, according to press [redacted]

HVO:

[redacted]

BSA:

[redacted]

Bosnian Army:

- Bosnian Government Commander Delic said army personnel needed to reconstruct the nation would be demobilized as a matter of priority, according to press. [redacted]

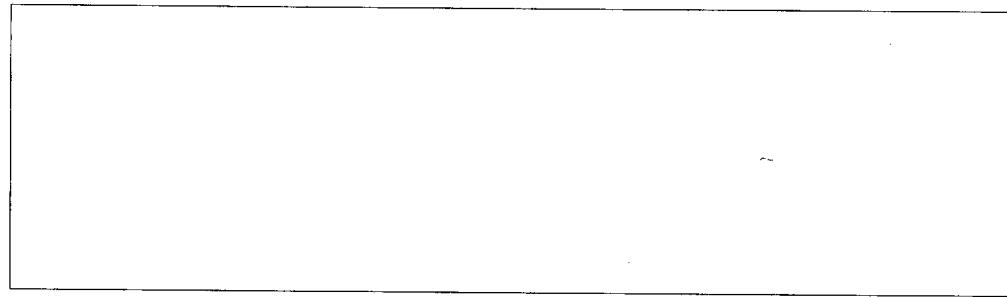
Gorazde Roads Status. Deadline: Ongoing.

- Civilian vehicles successfully traversed the route between Gorazde and Sarajevo during the reporting period. [redacted]

Disarming/Disbanding Armed Civilian Groups. Deadline: 19 January 1996

No significant activity by armed civilian groups has been reported, and all parties have indicated an intent to disarm their civilian population in the future.

[redacted]



- Unconfirmed reporting states that members of the BSA's Ozren Brigade have formed a militia-style organization in the town of Potacani,
[redacted]

Political/Humanitarian Provisions

Provide full and unrestricted access, as well as security guarantees, to international and non-governmental relief organizations. Deadline: ongoing.

All parties, for the most part, are complying with the Dayton agreement's access provisions.

- Since the signing of the agreement, there have been very few problems reported with obstruction of relief deliveries and harassment of aid workers. UN relief officials on 21 December reported that aid convoys--including those to Gorazde--were experiencing full and unrestricted access, and thus were no longer using military escorts, according to press reports.
- The one notable exception involves relief deliveries to Serb-held Banja Luka, where helicopter relief flights have been postponed since mid-December because Bosnian Serb forces shot at one of the flights, according to press reports. [redacted]

Undertake all necessary steps to prevent activities which would hinder or impede refugee returns. Deadline: Ongoing.

The Bosnian Muslims--and to a lesser extent the Bosnian Serbs--are abiding by this part of the Dayton agreement, while the Bosnian Croats reportedly continue to violate it, particularly in northwestern Bosnia.

- UN officials in early December publicly reported that the Bosnian Croats were carrying out a systematic scorched-earth policy in the towns of

Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo--areas that are to revert to Serb control. Bosnian Croat and Croatian Army units had destroyed almost half the buildings in Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo, UN officials reported, although the torchings have subsided since the agreement was signed.

- [redacted] Bosnian Serbs were burning and dismantling houses in Vranici and Kolovarice--towns near Gorazde that are to revert to Bosnian Government control--although this activity, too, has slacked off.
- Sarajevo Radio on 27 December reported that some departing Bosnian Serbs had set their homes on fire in Serb-held districts near the airport and southwest of the city--areas that are to come under Bosnian Government control--and that withdrawing Bosnian Serb forces had torched two warehouses in the Zunovica Barracks. Although the reports have not been confirmed, some are probably valid; Sarajevo Serb officials have threatened a "scorched-earth" policy in Serb-held areas of the city if the Dayton agreement is not modified. [redacted]

Permit, encourage, and facilitate the return of refugees and displaced persons without harassment or obstruction. Deadline: Ongoing.

All parties publicly endorse the right of return for all ethnic groups, but privately support ethnically homogeneous areas, particularly where their respective ethnic group has a clear majority.

Establish a Joint Interim Commission with Federation and Serb representatives to begin discussions on the new Bosnian constitution. Deadline: The accords implicitly envision establishment of the commission as soon as possible.

Both sides probably will delay implementation of this provision until pressed by the international community.

- The Bosnian Serb "assembly" has formed a task force to begin studying constitutional issues, including incorporating provisions of the new Bosnian constitution into the constitution of the Serb Republic, according to press reports. However, we have no reporting to indicate whether the Bosnian Government has yet taken action on this requirement or whether there have been any joint meetings between officials from the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serbs.
- Public statements by Bosnian Serb leaders indicate they will concentrate on ensuring their autonomy and maintaining ties to Serbia, rather than on creating common political institutions with the Federation.

Present biweekly reports on status of Federation implementation. Deadline: To begin 24 November 1995.

We have no reporting to confirm whether Federation officials have begun to file these reports.

Implement existing Federation regulations on Mostar to provide for free civilian movement and access to medical training facilities. Deadline: 10 December 1995.

Civilian freedom of movement between the Croat and Muslim areas of Mostar has been reestablished, according to various reporting, although it is unclear at this time if free access to the medical center has been resumed.

Convene all interim cantonal legislatures in Federation territory. Deadline: 10 December 1995.

For the most part, cantonal legislatures have not been reconvened in that part of the Federation territory controlled by Bosnian Croats.

- Bosnian Government officials have publicly complained about their Bosnian Croat counterparts' reluctance to convene cantonal assemblies and have blamed Bosnian Croat officials for obstructing implementation of the Federation agreement's political provisions.

Introduce legislation in the Federation's Constituent Assembly, including provisions on the separation of powers between the Federation and the Republic. Deadline: 10 December 1995.

The Constituent Assembly of the Bosnian Federation held a special session on 12 December to debate legislation implementing Federation structures. While the Assembly has made some progress in passing the legislation, it remains to be seen whether these measures are a serious attempt to strengthen the Federation or are more shallow measures that were passed quickly to meet the deadline set by the Dayton Federation Agreement.

- The Constituent Assembly passed bills on defense and internal affairs, but has yet to approve a draft budget for the Federation, according to press reports. Delegates from both sides agreed to delay consideration of the budget bill until additional information could be disseminated.
- The Assembly postponed a vote on the Federation government structures until 8 January for lack of a quorum, according to press reports. Each side blamed the other for the delay. [redacted]

Establish a Federation Customs Administration and eliminate all internal customs checkpoints. Deadline: 10 December 1995.

Little progress has been made in persuading many local officials in Federation-held territory to dismantle internal customs checkpoints.

- [redacted] the reluctance on the part of Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat officials to eliminate customs checkpoints is proving to be a barrier in implementing the Federation agreement's political provisions. Many of the checkpoints are manned by Bosnian Croats, who have used them to collect customs fees and who probably are reluctant to give up a lucrative source of income. [redacted]

Finalize interim Federation statute for Mostar. Deadline: 31 December 1995.

The joint Croat-Bosniak Commission is still discussing the interim statute but has yet to reach a final agreement. [redacted]

Establish Federation-Serb commissions to operate joint public facilities.
Deadline: 1 January 1996.

According to the Dayton agreement, two commissions are to be established to operate joint public facilities, including transportation, utilities, communications, and postal services. We have no reporting to indicate that either commission has been or is about to be established on a formal basis.

- In early December, the Bosnian Serb "assembly" formed task forces to study enforcement of the Dayton Agreement's provisions on transportation and communications issues for the Sarajevo region, according to press reports.
- There is even less evidence of concrete movement by either party to fulfill pledges whose deadlines are further in the future. Progress is likely to depend on the amount of pressure exerted by High Representative Bildt or the OSCE Mission.

Exchange ambassadors between Sarajevo and Belgrade. Deadline: 12 February 1996.

According to a side agreement at the Paris peace conference, the governments of Bosnia and Serbia agreed to exchange ambassadors and formally open embassies. While no concrete steps have yet been taken to formalize the mutual recognition agreement reached at Paris, there is no indication at this time that either the Bosnian or the Serbian government plans to stonewall on establishing diplomatic relations in February.

Establish Federation-Serb commissions on human rights, for displaced persons and refugees, and on national monuments. Deadline: 13 March 1996.

We have no reporting to indicate that these commissions have been or are about to be formally established.

Amend constitutions of both the Federation and the Serb Republic to conform with new Bosnia-Herzegovina constitution, as outlined in Dayton Agreement.
Deadline: 13 March 1996.

The Bosnian Serb "assembly" has formed a task force to begin studying constitutional issues, including incorporating provisions of the new Bosnian constitution into the Serb Republic's constitution, according to press reports. We

have no reporting to indicate if the Bosnian Government has begun similar discussions.

Hold elections for Mostar city councils. Deadline: 31 May 1996.

On 27 December, the joint Bosniak-Croat Commission publicly announced that its deliberations on an election decree were at a stalemate.

Hold elections to elect representatives to Federation and Serb Republic assemblies and presidencies. Deadline: June-September 1996.

Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serb officials have spoken only in general terms about the elections that must be held between June and September of next year. Both sides have expressed their commitment, both publicly and privately, to conform to the Dayton Agreement's election requirements.

Arms Control Provisions

Compliance with Arms Embargo. Deadline: Light weapon imports banned until 13 March. Heavy weapon imports banned until 11 June, unless further barred by arms control agreement.

The Bosnian Muslims reportedly have imported some 900 metric tons of infantry weapons and munitions since 14 December in contravention of the Dayton Agreement.

- Iranian military transports and chartered aircraft have carried some 700 tons of Iranian arms donations to a Croatian airfield for transshipment to the Muslims.
- Other chartered aircraft have carried some 600 tons of arms donated by Islamic nations such as Pakistan and Jordan, and small arms and ammunition purchased on the gray market in Albania.

Zagreb, which keeps 30 percent of the arms crossing its territory as a transshipment fee, has acquired some 400 metric tons since the Paris signing. We have noted no additional information on Croatian arms acquisitions since 14

December, but judge it likely that Zagreb's robust gray-market procurement network remains active. [redacted]

The FRY seldom imported arms during the conflict, and is unlikely to have done so since the signing; although we have noted no recent information on Bosnian Serb arms imports, Pale probably has continued to purchase munitions from the FRY. [redacted]

Negotiation/Implementation of Agreed Confidence-Building Measures.
Deadline: 2 February 1996

Negotiations are scheduled to begin 4 January 1996 in Vienna to flesh out, expand, and implement Article II Confidence-and Security-Building Measures outlined in the Dayton Agreement. [redacted]

Negotiation/Implementation of Sub-Regional Arms Control Measures.
Deadline: Negotiations are scheduled to be completed by 26 June 1996,
otherwise an arms control formula in the Dayton Agreement will take effect.

Negotiations are scheduled to begin 4 January 1996 to establish an arms control regime for the three fighting parties in Bosnia as well as Croatia and Serbia.
[redacted]

Assessment of Data on Forces. Deadline: All parties to the Dayton Agreement are required under Article IV of Annex 1-B to submit data on their equipment holdings 14 January 1996.

This will apparently also satisfy the Article II requirement for an immediate exchange of data. Apparently based on verbal agreements at Dayton, these data are expected to be aggregated at the army level and will probably not show individual unit holdings. [redacted]