

# Conflict in the Balkans: Dividing Bosnia While Keeping It Together

## U.S. Seeks New Mechanism To Try to End Balkan War

By DAVID BINDER  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20 — The United States will press next week for tightening sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and for the creation of a more durable international negotiating "mechanism" aimed at ending the Balkan conflict, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the Deputy Secretary of State, said today.

In an interview, Mr. Eagleburger, who will take over the State Department as Acting Secretary on Sunday, said he would bring both proposals to a conference in London that begins on Wednesday. Last June the United States joined other members of the United Nations in imposing economic and political sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, which are viewed as the supporters of Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### NATO Drafts Plan

"I think we have to do what we can to tighten down the sanctions," Mr. Eagleburger said. "I hope we'll get agreement at the conference on that."

The resignation of Secretary of State James A. Baker 3rd is effective Sunday, when he will become White House chief of staff, and Mr. Eagleburger will

sions with Romania about dispatching United States technical personnel to monitor shipping on the Danube and other border traffic to prevent evasion of the embargo, particularly shipments of oil. Serbia produces about 15 percent of its own petroleum needs.

The three-day London conference next week is scheduled to bring together representatives of the warring parties from former Yugoslavia along with the 12 European Community members, the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Representatives of all six former Yugoslav republics have been invited, but Mr. Eagleburger said it was not clear who might attend. "I gather Milosevic is playing coy," he said, referring to Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia, who is treated by the Bush Administration as the main instigator of the Balkan fighting.

Of the London discussions, Mr. Eagleburger said: "You cannot expect and should not expect that this conference is going to end the war. But what we can do is something that deals with it on a day to day basis more directly."

"The thing I hope for the most," he said, was agreement by the London conference on "an establishment of some sort of permanent mechanism." He described this as "a mechanism that's there every day to try to deal with this issue, to pursue negotiations for peace."

### Seeks Permanent Negotiators

He said he could not provide more details about the mechanism, but that it would set up a permanent negotiating staff and location under European or United Nations auspices to serve as a forum for ending the war and resolving the political disputes that led to it.

Mr. Eagleburger said the London conference would also address the problem of how to assist the more than 2.2 million refugees scattered about the Balkan territory as a result of the fighting in Croatia and Bosnia.

"I hope there will be a fairly substantial agreement on some steps," he said. "We are going to have to deal with a lot of refugees this winter."

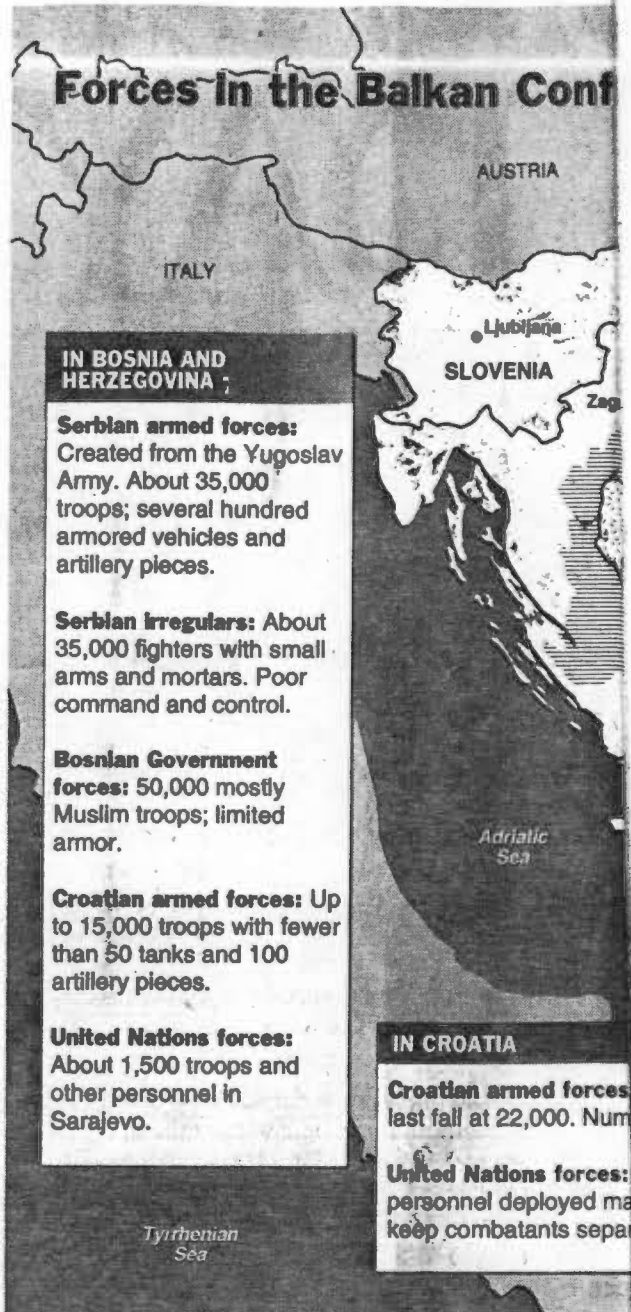
Under the NATO plan drafted in Brussels today, mechanized infantry forces would be used to guard relief convoys from the Adriatic port of Split in Croatia to Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, while aircraft would fly protective missions overhead. The bulk of that route is under the control of Croatian forces. The last stretch, mostly through mountains, is controlled by Serbian forces.

### U.S. Offers Air Support

The new plan comes in the wake of recent statements by Britain and France that they are prepared to deploy modest forces to ensure the delivery of aid. The United States has so far said only that it is willing to provide air power. Mr. Eagleburger repeated that position today.

The new plan represents a substantial scaling back of a proposal originally drafted by the NATO military authorities at the request of the Bush Administration, which urged the alliance to devise a plan for carrying out the United Nations Security Council resolution earlier this month that authorizes the use of force.

Originally, NATO military authorities concluded that 100,000 troops were needed to secure the land route from the Adriatic to Sarajevo and to protect the airport. But last week that plan was rejected by alliance members because it called for too large a force.



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Lawrence S. Eagleburger during an interview yesterday.

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The United Nations Security Council has also authorized the use of force to protect the shipment of food and medicine to beleaguered civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Brussels today, military authorities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization completed a plan to protect such shipments by deploying 6,000 to 11,000 troops. Alliance members are scheduled to confer on the plan Monday in Brussels.

According to diplomats at the United Nations, a major unanswered question about whatever troops are deployed is who will lead them — the United Nations or some sort of European-led authority. American negotiators joined with representatives from other countries to discuss this issue with representatives from the Balkan countries.

### U.S. May Monitor Danube

## Serbs' Gains in Bos

Continued From Page A1

control most of the territory where Serbian populations dominate, the fighting continues as they lay siege to Muslim-held pockets and put pressure on non-Serbs to give up their property and leave. They are also fighting forces from Croatia that are seeking to seize large parts of the republic.

### A Nominal Leader

Nominal control of the government of the new country proclaimed here lies in the hands of Radovan Karadzic, a former psychiatrist, who as the President of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shuttles by helicopter at treetop level from his mountainside headquarters in Pale, just outside Sarajevo, to Belgrade and Banja Luka.

The helicopter, like all of the arms and equipment used by Serbian forces, was provided originally by the Yugoslav Army when it abandoned the area in May.

"Bosnia and Herzegovina is like Switzerland 200 years ago," Mr. Karadzic said in a recent interview, alluding to the professed desire of Serbs for "ethnic cantons" in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "Two centuries from now, we'll be as peaceful as Switzerland. Two centuries from now, we'll kiss each other."

A local quip offers the retort: "The difference between Switzerland and Bosnia and Herzegovina is that there are no Swiss in Bosnia and Herzegovina."

Simo Drljaca, who runs the republic's army, has reportedly had a falling out with local army officers.

Mr. Karadzic said he is responsible for the military operations in Prijedor's non-Muslim centers and transit camps, thousands of civilians who dared resist the Serbs under his control including Keraterm.

Undercutting denial by government leaders that the policy behind the formation of the former Muslim Slavs and Croats in the Serbian Republic, Mr. Karadzic said frankly of how to "cleanse" the area.

"With their mosque just break the minaret. You've got to shake the foundations because that means build another. Do that, and go. They'll just kill themselves."

In Celinac, witness extremists set off five new mosques from its former Serbian leaders, how they created a series of "ethnic cantons" because, they say, the Muslims will remain.

The measures have already resulted in house arrest of 34 Muslim mobilization orders. Serbs are confined to the area from 4 P.M. to 6 A.M. and forbidden contact with relatives without permission. Serbs are forbidden to travel by car or to bathe or fish in the area.



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The sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro followed a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning the two republics, which now constitute Federal Yugoslavia, for aggression against neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to State Department assessments, the sanctions have begun to bite in Serbia and Montenegro, but loopholes remain, especially along Serbia's frontier with Romania, a major part of which runs along the Danube.

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Originally, NATO military authorities concluded that 100,000 troops were needed to secure the land route from the Adriatic to Sarajevo and to protect the airport. But last week that plan was rejected by alliance members because it called for too large a force.

The plan circulated today is deemed more politically acceptable but would entail higher military risks. Under the plan, forces would not seek to secure the land route but would use armed escorts and air cover to protect road convoys. The size of the force would depend on the disposition of the United Nations. If the United Nations peacekeeping force in Bosnia stayed in place, 6,000 additional troops would be needed. If the United Nations force pulled out, NATO envisions the deployment of 11,000 troops.

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The area controlled by Serbs is actually a patchwork of territories under the authority of various independent or semi-independent forces or fiefdoms, and citizens traveling across what was once a unified area now must cross different checkpoints that seem not even to communicate with one another. Some of these fiefdoms are controlled by well-known warlords who compete for authority with Mr. Karadzic.

The most powerful warlord in the Prijedor area is the local police chief,

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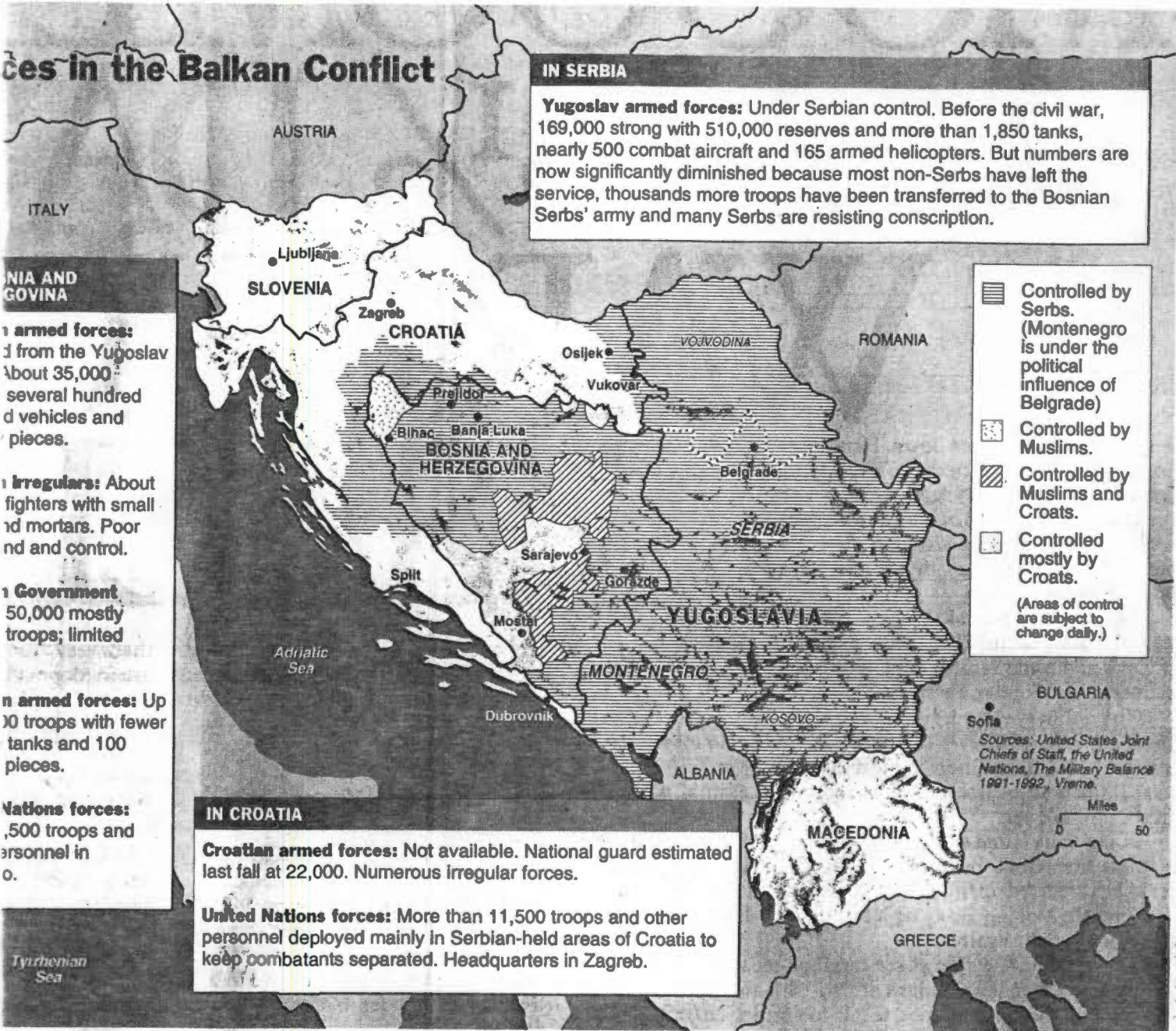
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United Nations' forces clearing mines last week in the town of Banja Luka, Bosnia.

Brogi/Contrasto/Saba

# While Keeping It Together



# Serbs' Gains in Bosnia Create Chaotic Patchwork

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Simo Drljaca, who runs the militia and has reportedly had serious clashes with local army officers.

Mr. Karadzic said Mr. Drljaca was responsible for the inhumane conditions in Prijedor's notorious detention centers and transit camps, which hold thousands of civilians alongside men who dared resist the Serbs. The camps under his control include Omarska and Keraterm.

Undercutting denials by Government leaders that there is no official policy behind the forced expulsion of Muslim Slavs and Croats from the Serbian Republic, Mr. Drljaca speaks frankly of how to "cleanse" undesirable.

"With their mosques, you must not just break the minarets," he said. "You've got to shake up the foundations because that means they cannot build another. Do that, and they'll want to go. They'll just leave by themselves."

In Cellnac, witnesses said Serbian extremists set off five charges to jar a new mosque from its foundation. Local Serbian leaders, however, have decreed a series of "special measures" because, they say, they want the Muslims to remain.

The measures have placed under house arrest 34 Muslims who refused

forces now. No single individual exercises effective authority over the separate command structures of army, territorial defense and police units.

Indeed, military analysts in Yugoslavia say that the effective fighting force totals only about 35,000, and that these forces are gripped by low morale and huge gaps in the command structures.

Among the forces known as Serbian "irregulars," whose numbers the United States Defense Department estimates at 35,000, are Belgrade-based "Chetniks," who have taken the name of royalist Serbian guerrillas who fought the Communist partisans and Germans in World War II. There are also the "White Eagles," an ultra-violent, ultra-nationalist gang also based in Serbia. Neither the Serbian nor Yugoslav Government has admitted the existence of these paramilitary organizations on their territory, much less taken steps to curb their activities.

While the Serbian Government in

**Even many Serbs are desperate to escape.**

ering supplies every day despite the fact that almost none of the Serbian Republic's factories are in operation.

The leader of a well-known paramilitary unit is a Belgrade gangster named Zeljko Raznjatovic, who controls the Serbian Volunteer Guard and is known to have links with the former Yugoslav secret police. He took part in a meeting of the Serbian Republic's parliament this month in Banja Luka.

For months before the war broke out in late March, the Yugoslav Army delivered weapons to Bosnian Serbs. The army did nothing to stop the Serbs' first unprovoked bombardments of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital. It helped the Serbian militiamen trap the thousands of civilians who are still suffering in the town of Gorazde, and it aided "ethnic-cleansing" operations elsewhere in the Drina River valley.

But the Yugoslav and Serbian Governments in Belgrade have maintained that they have had nothing to do with the Bosnian conflict since the Yugoslav Army withdrew from the republic in mid May.

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**Desperate to Leave**  
"We never mixed in politics," said a Muslim who is terrified because his brother's name appeared on the list of people under house arrest. "We are prepared to sign away all of our property just to leave here."

"We just want to save our heads," he said, adding that he is one of about 28,000 Muslims and Croats who have applied to emigrate from the Serbian Republic. "I want to get as far away from this Balkan darkness as possible."

The night of Aug. 13, a local policeman said, Muslims ambushed and killed seven Serbian soldiers from Celinac near the Jajce front. Reports are already circulating that extremists killed some of Celinac's Muslims over the weekend in retaliation.

"World War II was bitter here," said Vojo Kupresanin, a leader of the Serbian fiefdom based in Banja Luka. "Serbs were butchered, and many families were left with only one male member. Now these people are the soldiers and carrying guns. Now the chance has arisen for people to take revenge."

There are an estimated 80,000 Serbs under arms in Bosnia, most of them former members of the Yugoslav Army. But it has never been clear, despite the fact that the army has a single commander, who controls these

forces now. No single individual exercises effective authority over the separate command structures of army, territorial defense and police units.

Indeed, military analysts in Yugoslavia say that the effective fighting force totals only about 35,000, and that these forces are gripped by low morale and huge gaps in the command structures.

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Belgrade clearly has influence over the Serbian forces here, the connections are ill-defined. The question of authority, however, is critical because it makes unclear who would be in a position to make peace someday, if ever.

### 'Greater Serbia' Sought

The Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, who remains in Belgrade, joined with his allies in the former Yugoslav Army and the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina to open the war in the multi-ethnic republic in late March as part of a plan to carve a "Greater Serbia" out of the former Yugoslavia. He did so despite warnings from abroad that any changes in internal borders made by force would not be recognized.

"The Serbian army and police are unable to control the paramilitary groups and vigilantes," said Mr. Kupresanin, the Serbian leader in Banja Luka. "Their goal is not freedom for the Serbian people, but to plunder everyone. They are even murdering people. They are prone to every sort of crime, including rape."

There is plenty of evidence of visible links between the Serbian forces in this self-declared republic and Belgrade. Yugoslav Army soldiers, including men wearing sidearms and Yugoslav Army insignia, ride back and forth on regular passenger buses between Belgrade and Banja Luka, for instance.

Hundreds of Yugoslav tractor-trailers, including oil tankers, also ply the roads between the two republics deliv-

ering supplies every day despite the fact that almost none of the Serbian Republic's factories are in operation.

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But the Yugoslav and Serbian Governments in Belgrade have maintained that they have had nothing to do with the Bosnian conflict since the Yugoslav Army withdrew from the republic in mid May.

"We are a separate state," Yugoslavia's new Prime Minister, Milan Panic, said recently. "We have nothing to do with Bosnia now. The West does not understand that we have no influence over Karadzic and his forces."

Local Muslims are convinced that the republic's political leaders, especially at the local level, support the Serbian irregular forces.

### Civilians Look for Basics

With the ultimate political authority and status of their villages unsettled, many civilians in the Serbian-controlled areas are preoccupied with insuring that they have basic necessities.

People, especially refugees dependent on aid packages, complain of hardship and a lack of food, but severe hunger, especially among the Serbs, is not widespread because people have backyard gardens and stockpiles of food.

Banja Luka's streets are crowded with pedestrians and bicycles but nearly empty of cars because the one gasoline station with supplies accepts only German marks as payment. There are long lines, but most people do not have the hard currency to even join them.

Medical supplies at the hospital are in short supplies, and nurses said they were cleaning and sterilizing bandages for reuse.

Blackouts last 12 hours in the larger towns and longer in the villages because the republic's northern half is cut off from sources of power by the war. One of the main reasons that the Serbs are attacking the town of Jajce is to capture a hydroelectric power plant.

People adjust to the blackouts by hooking up their televisions and radios to car batteries, but few people walk about with flashlights because there is a shortage of batteries.

## 5 Relief Planes Reach Sarajevo as Airport Reopens

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aug. 20 (AP) — United Nations forces reopened Sarajevo's airport today, allowing the first relief flights to arrive after anti-aircraft fire forced it to close for two days.

The airport, a lifeline for the ravaged capital, closed Tuesday after militiamen locked radar onto a British Hercules transport plane and fired anti-aircraft machine guns.

United Nations peacekeepers said they suspected that only the Serbs who were besieging the Bosnian capital had such radar-aided guns.

A Ukrainian soldier in the United

Nations contingent was killed by a sniper outside his barracks today, said a United Nations military officer, speaking on condition of anonymity. He was the second United Nations soldier to be killed in Bosnia, a United Nations spokesman in Zagreb, Croatia, said.

The first plane to touch down today was the same British Hercules that was fired at on Tuesday. Four other planes arrived soon afterward, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said.

The United Nations commander in Bosnia, Gen. Satish Nambiar of India, announced on Wednesday that the air-

port would be reopened after he had received assurances from all sides in the conflict that relief flights would not be harmed.

Constant supply flights are crucial to Sarajevo. With a population of more than 300,000, it is being kept going on 200 tons of relief a day.

Also in Sarajevo, the Bosnian Government late on Wednesday delivered to the United Nations a signed agreement reached with Serbian forces that would let United Nations troops oversee their heavy weapons.

But there was no word on when it would take effect.

...vid probably never had a chance."

"He had lost too much blood and the bullet had done too much internal damage," Mr. Donaldson said, his

pital, where he died on the operating table. His body was flown out yesterday afternoon on a C-130 cargo plane to the U.S. Rhein-Main Air Base near Frankfurt, Germany.

riences," Mr. Fitzwater said. Mr. Kaplan "was probably the only producer who could ever tell Sam Donaldson what to do and how to do it."

forces, there will be no ground observers unless special forces are inserted for this role. Even then, given the small numbers available, only a limited number of targets could be

They are difficult to spot and shells arrive with little warning. Mortar-locating radars can detect them but need troops to man and protect them.

Air cover for humanitarian

# Eagleburger crashes ceiling for Foreign Service officers

By Martin Sieff  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

At age 62, Lawrence Eagleburger is going where no Foreign Service officer has gone before.

Mr. Eagleburger, named acting secretary of state yesterday as James A. Baker III moved over to be White House chief of staff, will be the first professional diplomat in history to hold the top slot for more than a week.

The appointment was both logical and widely expected, but it also had its ironies.

Mr. Eagleburger has served for the past three years as a loyal and capable deputy to Mr. Baker, but he was always the outsider — a professional diplomat among political pragmatists who disdained professional diplomats, a large and ruffled veteran among crisp young professionals.

Chain-smoking, outspoken and earthy, he looked at times as out of place as a construction worker at a Georgetown dinner party.

Whenever a thankless job had to be done, Mr. Eagleburger was the one to do it. When unpopular and controversial administration policies on Iraq and Yugoslavia had to be defended on Capitol Hill, it was Mr. Eagleburger who had to limp up the

steps of Congress on his cane to defend them.

But while Mr. Baker and his alter ego, policy planning chief Dennis Ross, focused on the big, dramatic issues that caught the headlines — German reunification, strategic arms talks and the Israel-Arab peace process — it was Mr. Eagleburger who was left to run U.S. policy in the rest of the world.

He has carried his burdens through severe health problems, but with grace and a self-deprecating wit. Physically a big bear of a man, he has a salt-of-the-earth style that is the antithesis of the typical soft-spoken diplomat. He speaks his mind and does not suffer fools gladly — if at all.

None of this has hurt his career. He is, in fact, liked and trusted on Capitol Hill, where he is regarded as an honest, straight shooter who says what he thinks.

His career experience is enormous. No prominent American diplomat since the legendary W. Averell Harriman has served so many presidents for so long in top slots.

He hit the big time in 1968 when, at the age of 39, he joined Henry Kissinger's team at the National Security Council. He served Mr. Kissinger in both the NSC and the State Department for eight years, going

on to serve as ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1977 to 1980.

He was a key architect of detente and the warming of relations with the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe in the Nixon and Ford administrations.

In 1984, having already done more than most Foreign Service professionals dream of, he left public life to join his old boss as a partner in Kissinger Associates in New York, where he worked for four years to, as he put it, earn some money for his three sons.

When he was proposed as deputy secretary in 1988, the Kissinger connection and his role in 1970s detente provoked conservative criticism. Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, a powerful member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, fought the appointment.

Like Mr. Harriman, the secrets of his success are an enormous capacity for work; fierce, undeviating loyalty to whomever he served from Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan; and an experience unparalleled by those around him.

Now, he has been handed another thankless task, in which he will be seen as a "lame duck" secretary, expected only to keep the chair warm until Mr. Baker returns triumphantly in January or a new Pres-



Lawrence Eagleburger

ident Clinton appoints his candidate.

There is widespread concern over his health. A chain-smoker who suffers from asthma and limps with a cane after a knee replacement, he is never seen without an inhaler.

"He has a lot of health problems," said Douglas Seay of the Heritage Foundation.

Mr. Eagleburger is also being treated for myasthenia gravis, according to a State Department source who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"This is an autoimmune disease, on the same spectrum as Grave's disease," the source said. "The disease is well under control and is not life-threatening."

# Baker leaves as new c

By Martin Sieff  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Secretary of State James A. Baker III leaves his successor with several problems long thought intractable, apparently solved, but with several new situations erupting around the world.

On the credit side, with the exception of Romania, genuine democracy and sweeping free market reforms have been established in other four former Soviet satellite eastern Europe; the three Baltic states are independent nations for the first time in half a century; the Soviet Union has disintegrated; and its successor states are seeking to implement democratic reforms.

Also, two dramatic, sweeping strategic arms reduction agreements have been concluded with the former Soviet state and its successors.

Mr. Baker's tough policy on Israel guaranteed to Israel helped topple that country's Likud-led government, replacing it with a moderate one led by Yitzhak Rabin under which relations with Washington have warmed up again.

With U.S. encouragement, and both the old and new Israeli govern-

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Washington Times