

Baker, Cheney clash on new Bosnia policy

Debate centers on action vs. caution

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The new U.S. policy of limited military engagement in the Yugoslav conflict marks an uneasy compromise between the views of cham-

NEWS ANALYSIS

pions of the "new world order" and military leaders concerned about avoiding the mis-

takes of Lebanon.

After previously steering clear of any involvement in Yugoslavia, U.S.

spokesmen announced Tuesday that American air and sea power would be committed to ensuring the safe transport of United Nations and other relief supplies to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, besieged for nearly three months by Serbian irregular forces.

The crucial decision to "tilt" to the new policy, which still takes care to avoid the deployment of any American ground troops, appears to have been taken last Friday at a White

see BOSNIA, page A9

BOSNIA

From page A1

House meeting attended by President Bush, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

The main debate on the issue, administration sources said, was between Mr. Baker and Mr. Cheney, who was backed in his views by Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Mr. Cheney and Gen. Powell were concerned that deployment of U.S. troops on the ground in Yugoslavia could lead to heavy casualties, just as the commitment of U.S. Marines to an ambiguous peacekeeping role in Beirut in 1982 led to the deaths of 241 of them in a suicide truck-bomb attack.

Mr. Scowcroft was the man in the middle of the debate.

"On the one hand, there is trepidation of involvement in the stickiest kind of conflict possible," he said in a speech Monday to the Atlantic Council. "On the other, there is the painful vision of slaughter going on while we all stand and watch. I really don't know what the answer is here."

In a weekend television interview, Mr. Scowcroft compared the situation in Bosnia to that in Northern Ireland, another long-standing European ethnic conflict with no clear demarcation lines between the two sides.

But Mr. Baker, and his key advisers on Yugoslav policy, Warren Zimmermann, the last U.S. ambassador to the old Yugoslav federation, and Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, another former ambassador to Yugoslavia, have now come to the reluctant view that nothing short of the credible display of force by either U.S. or international units can deter further Serbian aggression.

After long efforts to compromise

with, pacify, warn, cajole and threaten Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, senior State Department policy-makers have concluded that he is a force-obsessed extremist who, for all his considerable intelligence, is blind to compromise.

"The only thing the man understands is power," one senior State Department official said in a recent background briefing. "Unless you can array against him an equivalent or a similar degree of power, and I'm not talking about military power so much here as I am talking about political and economic power, unless you can do that, he is not going to give in."

"For Milosevic the word compromise is a dirty word," he added. "The word compromise means treason and surrender. It does not mean reaching a moderate conclusion."

Mr. Baker is also deeply concerned that if Serbia is allowed to get away with forcibly annexing large chunks of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, it will destroy the "new world order" precedent set by the successful Persian Gulf war.

Then, Serbia may set a darker precedent that will encourage the proliferation of bloody ethnic conflicts among the 12 successor states to the Soviet Union and in other parts of the world if the principle of upholding the sanctity of frontiers is lost.

The current compromise in policy appears designed to satisfy the concerns of Mr. Cheney and Gen. Powell and to avoid the danger of American forces being sucked into a ground conflict during an election year.

But it also is meant for the first time to bring the threat of America's awesome combat power to bear on Serbia.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker appear eager to show U.S. determination in the crisis before the annual G-7 summit of the major industrialized nations takes place in Munich this weekend.

Military Uneasy at Balkan Commitment

Limited Use of Force May Be Inadequate to Accomplish Mission

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The road the Bush administration has traveled in the past three weeks from nonengagement to military commitment in the Balkans has left some senior military leaders with deep misgivings about the compromises made along the way.

President Bush's decision to use force if necessary—but not U.S. ground combat troops—to deliver food and medicine to starving civilians in Sarajevo is described by senior officials as an attempt to strike a balance among political, diplomatic, humanitarian and military exigencies.

But most senior officers interviewed this week expressed anxiety that the president's commitment could overtake his constraints.

One spoke of "the python and the elephant," saying the crisis in the former Yugoslavia may be too big to swallow and too big to spit out. Another, in a similar image, said a shark cannot release its prey after clasp- ing its teeth.

"If you face opposition," one Army officer said, "the only way you can ensure that you accomplish your mission is by putting forces on the ground."

For the moment, U.S. and allied attention is focused

on the ongoing attempt to secure Sarajevo's airport with a battalion of U.N. peacekeepers and establish a stable enough cease-fire to permit large-scale distribu- tion of food and medicine. Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney has directed the U.S. European Command in Stuttgart to provide what one official described as "a blank check" to the United Nations for aircraft and ma- teriel.

"We are ready to go," said another official. "The U.N. now will tell us what they want us to get, from where, and when, and we're prepared to do that."

But administration officials remained skeptical yester- day of the brittle cease-fire arrangements, and the airport had not yet been declared secure and open for relief. Officials in Washington and at the United Nations continued to say a resolution granting authority for the use of force would pass the 15-member U.N. Security Council rapidly if Serb forces prevent relief from arriv- ing in quantity.

Should force become necessary, senior defense policy officials and two-, three-, and four-star officers sug- gested in interviews this week that even those who would have responsibility for planning or executing the operation do not know exactly what they may be asked to do or which allies they could count on for a coalition.

See BALKANS, A34, Col. 3

BALKANS, From A1

Traditional French objections, officials said, have blocked attempts to coordinate planning under a NATO umbrella, and thus far commitments of participation are scarce.

For months, as Serb forces rangled the capital of Bosnia-hercegovina, U.S. military leaders hid in interagency debates here that they could not be confident of breaking the siege forcibly without at least two ground combat divisions—and even then they were a quagmire akin to Lebanon or Northern Ireland. That view, officials said, did not change.

But as shock and anger grew over the bombardment of helpless civilians in Sarajevo—what Secretary of State James A. Baker III called a "humanitarian nightmare"—Baker and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft convinced Bush that he could no longer wait for a cease-fire to bring relief. U.S. intelligence agencies assessed starvation to be a key strategic aim of Serb forces besieging Sarajevo, officials said, and predicted that the Serbs would not now aid to arrive without at least

a credible threat of outside military intervention.

The debate over whether to commit military forces was not a simple matter of Pentagon versus State Department or White House, officials said. Rather, it followed the lines of what Gen. John R. Galvin, in an interview shortly before retiring last week as NATO's supreme commander, described as "the essential, fundamental political-military conversation."

"The politician says to the military man, 'Here's your mission.' The military man says, 'For that mission I need these resources.' The politician says, 'I don't have those resources.' Then the military man says, 'Okay, we've got to either change the mission or we've got to take on greater risks,'" Galvin explained.

One senior administration official, citing what he called "a real time clock," said there was "only so long you could string it out before [Sarajevo's civilians] literally starved. . . . We had intelligence estimates on this and some of the heightened activity related to that."

Coinciding with the threat of starvation was a growing sense of political damage to Bush. "We

were starting to take serious water in the United States over this policy," the official said. "The television pictures were terrible; the editorialists and commentators were starting to increasingly write, 'What about the new world order? . . . Where is the foreign policy leadership?'"

Ultimately, Galvin said in a second interview this week, Bush "didn't see how the United States

could stand by and not be involved." On the other hand, officials said, Bush drew the line at introduction in the Balkans of American ground combat forces, which U.S. planners believe would sustain chronic losses as "special targets" of Serb guerrillas.

Staff writer Ann Devroy and researcher Lucy Shackelford

White House backs U.N. threat to Serbs

By Mark Matthews
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration committed itself yesterday to joining in the use of military force if relief supplies are blocked by fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Raising the political risks for President Bush, the United States declared for the first time that it would "do its part" if force is required to ensure delivery of humanitarian aid to 300,000 Bosnians under siege by Serbian militias.

Administration officials did not spell out what it meant for the United States to "do its part."

The new U.S. position was announced as the United Nations Security Council, moving quickly to take advantage of a Serbian withdrawal from Sarajevo's airport, ordered 1,100 Canadian peacekeepers in to secure the field in preparation for the desperately needed flights of food and medicine.

As an early contingent of 200 peacekeepers raised the U.N. flag



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
A Serbian soldier waves as he leaves Sarajevo airport after agreement was reached to relinquish control to U.N. peacekeeping forces.

over the tarmac, France, which has assumed a high-profile role, announced that a French airlift containing 6 tons of medicine and other supplies had landed even before the

airport was fully secured.
If all goes well, large amounts of aid could start moving in a few days.

See BOSNIA, 6A, Col. 3

Man with a photo of the royal family rests during protest in Belgrade.

voys and or flights into Sarajevo."

The toughened U.S. stance reflects a new international determination — advanced by the European Community on Saturday and dramatized by French President Francois Mitterrand's visit to Bosnia on Sunday — not to allow the threat of armed interference to block the relief effort.

It moved the United States and European countries a major step closer to a dangerous and extremely complex international military mission that the Pentagon, fearing a quagmire, has been reluctant to contemplate.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff solicited the views of its commanders in Europe on possible courses of action to support a U.N. request for humanitarian relief two weeks ago, a Pentagon spokesman said.

The spokesman said he was unable to offer any specifics either on relief flights or contingency plans. The United States has pre-positioned relief supplies at Rotterdam in the

Netherlands and at Pisa, Italy.

But other officials said plans for possible military action to ensure the success of relief efforts were now seriously under way.

One U.S. official said that to secure delivery of humanitarian aid would require controlling the ground around the airport, eliminating mortar, artillery and anti-aircraft fire and placing more troops along a land corridor.

Air cover may also be needed, the official said.

One Western diplomat acknowledged that any allied military involvement might eventually raise the question of moving beyond delivery of humanitarian aid to quelling the conflict that caused the nightmare in the first place.

Miss Tutwiler refused to be drawn into such speculation, saying actions contemplated are strictly humanitarian.

Karen Hosler of the Washington Bureau contributed to this article.

THE
SUN
6-30-92

omats said, easing the danger of spread starvation.

A U.S. role in airlifting these supplies was anticipated.

But the Security Council, mindful of the area's recent history of short-lived cease-fires and broken commitments, warned that in the absence of operation on the ground, it did "exclude other measures to deliver humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and its environs."

Delivery of relief has been blocked weeks by heavy shelling near the port by Serbian irregulars intent on crushing Bosnia's separation from what was Yugoslavia.

At the State Department, spokeswoman Margaret D. Tutwiler prepared the ground for another Security Council resolution aimed at protecting the relief mission:

"If the United Nations votes on a resolution to take all necessary measures to facilitate provision of humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it would be an action that we would support, as the president said last night, the United States will do its part."

"All necessary measures" is the standard language, used before the Persian Gulf war, by which the Security Council threatens military force. An official who briefed reporters said Mr. Bush's trip next week to the summit of industrialized democracies said the United States hopes the threat of force is enough to persuade the Serbs to back off.

"That's our hope but it's not our assumption," he said. "Our assumption is that force will be required, and we're prepared to join others in making such a commitment . . . knowing what a difficult military environment this is. No one is under any illusions about that."

"The operational details have yet to be worked out," he said. "But we're prepared to make a commitment as part of a multilateral effort to provide military support to ensure safe passage of humanitarian relief con-

Serbs React With Anguish as the Sanctions Bite

Continued From Page A1

even as he was encouraging Serbs to fight for territory beyond the republic's borders, is tearing sharply. So is the tight control he has maintained over political debate and dissent.

For the last 11 days, students occupying the university, where the enrollment is 80,000, are demanding that Mr. Milosevic "step down and go away."

The bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which is sometimes described as "more Serbian than Christian," have also called for Mr. Milosevic to resign in favor of a "Government of National Salvation."

A Rally Is Planned

The more formal political opposition, long stymied by Mr. Milosevic's control of television and by the wide appeal of his image as a uniter of all Serbs, is organizing a rally for this Sunday that its leaders say is sure to stagger the Government, if not yet



The New York Times

Serbia's facade of aloofness from the war has been torn asunder.

bring it down. The main figure in this opposition, Vuk Draskovic, a 44-year-old writer and lawyer, said the protest, which was originally scheduled for last week, was delayed until St. Vitas Day,

Adding still more yeast to the suddenly heady brew of Serbia's politics, the son of Yugoslavia's last King is scheduled to arrive here this weekend intent on eventually restoring the monarchy that ended when his father, King Peter, fled the throne as Nazi forces invaded. Although he speaks Serbo-Croatian only haltingly, the pretender, Alexander Karajorjevic, has generated some support among young people, who seem to regard him less for his royal lineage than for the understanding and respect for democracy they assume he acquired by living in Britain. For some others, the monarchy is revered as a link to the pre-Communist past.

'Anything Can Happen'

"We can see for him a role like that of Juan Carlos in Spain," said Voja Kalic, a 25-year-old philosophy student taking part in the university protest. "He may be the only person in this country who can attract enthusiasm from people like us and also appeal to the people in the countryside who are supporting Milosevic because they think he will bring them their dreams of Greater Serbia."

A few days ago a local newspaper used the headline "Anything Can Happen" to describe the political situation that has developed in the wake of sanctions. In the article and in seemingly never-ending discussions in every restaurant and coffeehouse, the possibilities suggested range from the toppling of Mr. Milosevic by the kind of peaceful protests that succeeded in Czechoslovakia to dire warnings of civil war in Serbia or an even wider conflict that would once again directly involve Serbs and Croats.

Fears are being expressed that students at the university might be attacked by workers, the police or any of several paramilitary groups to inhibit attendance at the Sunday rally. When a delegation planning the demonstration week asked for Government assurances that the army would not intervene, they were told by Dobrica Cosic, the nationalist writer chosen by Mr. Milosevic to head a new Yugoslav Federation that links just Serbia and Montenegro, that he could not offer them such a pledge.

Three weeks ago, 5,000 dinars brought \$500, today \$2.70.

liament they had chosen in clandestine balloting.

But there is mounting evidence to suggest that however much Mr. Milosevic might be tempted to confront the students, the political opposition or the Albanians, he is constrained from doing so by the sanctions.

On the outskirts of Vukovar, a Croatian city of 43,000 that Serbian guns blasted into a stark wasteland during three months last fall, ethnic Serbs complained that the region they had carved out of Croatia and renamed Krinea was in danger of being sold out by Belgrade.

Even more indicative of Mr. Milosevic's reduced options has been the silence of the Government-controlled

news media about recent attacks by Croats against ethnic Serbian units across a six-month-old cease-fire line. The television and radio here have played down the news, presumably to keep the public from either demanding military action, which could only bring about greater isolation and international reprisals, or from asking whether in the light of Croatian gains and their own current sacrifices, Government policies had been worthwhile.

In the absence of a military option, it appears the Government continues to pin its hopes on some miraculous political stratagem that will lead to a reduction of sanctions without forcing the resignation of the leadership here.

In this vein, there were reports today that Mr. Cosic, who has not yet appointed a Yugoslav Prime Minister, as he was constitutionally obliged to do two days ago, is continuing discussions with Milan Panic, a naturalized American and a millionaire entrepreneur from California, in hopes of persuading him to take the post. Mr. Panic had earlier refused to consider such an offer.

nd writer and lawyer, said the protest, which was originally scheduled for last week, was delayed until St. Vitas Day, the most significant date in Serbian history.

Not only does it mark Serbia's nation-building defeat in the battle of Kosovo in 1389 and the beginning of what was to be 500 years of occupation by the Turks, it is also the day chosen by a Serbian nationalist named Gavrilo Princip to assassinate Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, while he was visiting Sarajevo in 1914. The shooting ignited World War I.

"Every Serb is aware of history," said Mr. Draskovic, a bearded and long-haired man who, dressed in floral Hawaiian shirts and with a retinue of bodyguards, looks like a rock star. Asked about the potential for violence at the demonstration, he said it was taking place on the only day of the year when it was "unthinkable for Serbs to kill Serbs."

"We expect our rally will mark the beginning of the end of Communist rule and a new and better time for Serbs, for Serbia and for Europe," he said.

congress, that he could not offer them such a pledge.

"A view widely held among Mr. Milosevic's critics is that he has in the past vaulted over problems in Serbia by aggressively defending Serbs and Serbian interests in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. "Whenever he runs into trouble at home he extends the field of battle," said Miodrag Perolic, a mathematician who publishes an opposition monthly, Monitor, in Montenegro.

A Diversion Is Suspected

Such analysis, on the first anniversary of Croatia's and Slovenia's secession from Yugoslavia, has led some of Mr. Milosevic's opponents to suspect that the Government may try to divert attention from its difficulties by raising the nationalist banner over Kosovo. Although two million ethnic Albanians form 90 percent of the population of Kosovo, it lies dear to the hearts of all Serbs as the site of their defeat by the Turks. A few of the critics said their suspicions grew after Serbian forces surrounded an Islamic school in Pristina on Wednesday to prevent the Kosovo Albanians from

Use of U.S. force in Bosnia possible, Baker says

By Barry Schweid
ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Bush administration is not ruling out the use of force to break the Serbian blockade of international relief efforts to Bosnian civilians suffering under sustained "barbarism at its worst extreme," Secretary of State James A. Baker III said yesterday.

While announcing stepped-up diplomatic and political pressure on the Serbian-dominated government in Belgrade, Mr. Baker said American military planners were holding "intensive consultations" with other governments on the U.N. Security Council on ways to alleviate the suffering.

"We have not ruled out — we haven't ruled it in but we have not ruled out — participating in some multilateral operation, if that should become necessary," Mr. Baker told the Senate Foreign Relations Com-

mittee.

In Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, U.N. officials yesterday abandoned hope of quickly securing a 48-hour truce to airlift supplies to tens of thousands of starving civilians.

Sarajevo radio reported last night that at least 38 persons were killed and 205 wounded in Bosnia — more than half in Sarajevo alone — in the last 24 hours of ethnic war in the Balkan republic that declared independence from Yugoslavia in March.

Serb bombardment of Sarajevo's densely populated center and medieval quarter from hill positions above the city continued into the evening. One of the dead was an 11-year-old child.

In his testimony yesterday, Mr. Baker stressed that in contrast to the bombing and invasion of Iraq in Operation Desert Storm to liberate Kuwait, any force in what was once

Yugoslavia would be confined to opening Sarajevo airport and other measures to deliver food and supplies to trapped civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Even so, Mr. Baker's statement represented a tougher administration line on what he again referred to as "a humanitarian nightmare." Asked by Sen. Richard G. Lugar, Indiana Republican, if collective force might be necessary to ease the suffering, Mr. Baker replied:

"I think as this nightmare drags on, the willingness of countries around the world to see it happen or stand by as it does happen is going to diminish and diminish and diminish. . . .

"And I think it is an absolute outrage and it is barbarism at its worst extreme," Mr. Baker said of attacks by Serbian militia on the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo.

As a result, Mr. Baker said, the United States would no longer ac-

cept diplomats from Belgrade as representing a legal government, would close the consulate in Chicago and require the rump federation of Serbia and Montenegro, which is all that remains of what was once Yugoslavia, to apply all over as new nations to the United Nations and other world groups.

At the Pentagon, spokesman Pete Williams said the Pentagon is making preparations in the event the United Nations seeks U.S. help in Yugoslavia "with the provision of humanitarian assistance, and it's solely related to humanitarian assistance."

Mr. Williams said the planning consists of deciding where such supplies might come from, where it would be flown from, what type of aircraft would be used to fly such supplies, and what kind of manpower would be needed to handle the operation.

"So, we want to be ready if we get

a request from the U.N., which we have not yet received," Mr. Williams said.

Earlier this month President Bush acted to bring the United States into conformity with U.N. sanctions against the Belgrade government by banning all exports and imports, revoking Yugoslav landing rights in the United States and suspending certain contracts.

The United States has also withdrawn its ambassador, closed Yugoslav consulates in San Francisco and New York and made clear it will not recognize the federation of Serbia and Montenegro as the successor to Yugoslavia "until all forces are withdrawn from neighboring states and minority rights are respected."

As in the past, Mr. Baker hinted the sanctions against Belgrade were not the end of the line for the administration if fighting continues and relief shipments remain blocked.

New U.S. Sanctions Imposed on Serbia

Baker Reports Talks on Breaching Blockade

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State James A. Baker III, declaring the killing of defenseless civilians in Bosnia to be "an absolute outrage," announced new U.S. sanctions against Serbia yesterday and said international consultations are underway about military steps to end the blockade of humanitarian assistance.

The new sanctions, which are largely symbolic, are extensions of U.S. diplomatic steps that were announced by Baker May 22 and appear to have had little effect on the fighting and atrocities in the former Yugoslavia. Baker suggested that more forceful action may be coming, telling the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "as this nightmare drags on," the willingness of nations around the world to tolerate it "is going to diminish and diminish and diminish."

"It's hard to believe really in this day and age that armed forces will fire artillery and mortar indiscriminately into the heart of a city, flushing defenseless men, women and children out in the street and then shooting them," Baker declared.

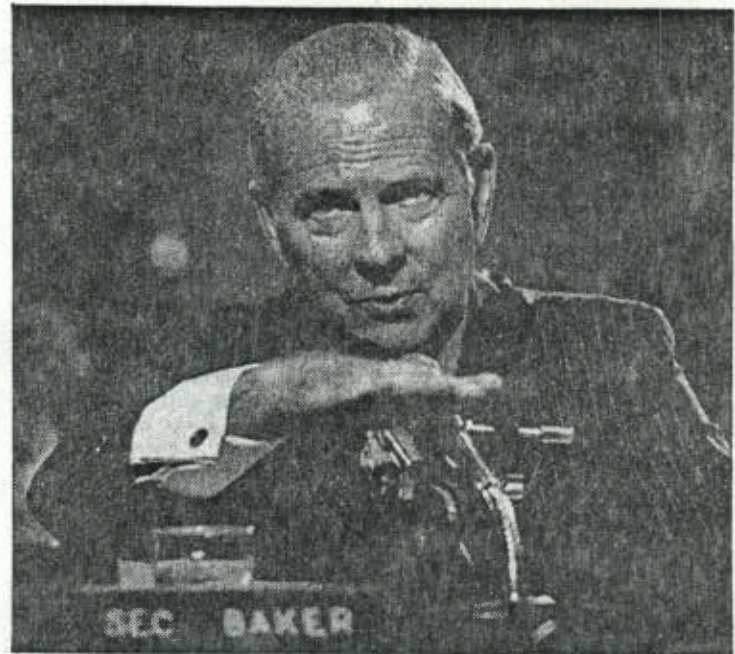
Administration officials said that if the fighting continues unabated, the commander of the U.N. peace-

keeping force in Sarajevo, Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, may soon report to the world body that his mission has failed, thus precipitating another round of decision-making by the U.N. Security Council that could center on the use of military force to open Sarajevo airport and food distribution channels for humanitarian assistance.

Baker said the administration has ruled out unilateral use of U.S. force to achieve a political settlement in Yugoslavia, but it has not ruled out participating in a multilateral operation to provide humanitarian assistance.

Presidential national security adviser Brent Scowcroft hinted in a speech Monday that the administration may be inching toward possible military intervention on a humanitarian mission, saying the continued fighting risks "impinging on the interests of the Euro-Atlantic community." U.S. officials said there has been extensive contingency planning between the Joint Staff in Washington and the U.S. European Command staff in Stuttgart, Germany, about what action would be taken if U.S. forces were ordered to make a forcible entry into Sarajevo.

No such order is currently anticipated at the Pentagon. A White House official said there have been



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

Secretary Baker said administration has ruled out unilateral use of U.S. force.

no recent meetings of the National Security Council or its deputies committee on the Yugoslav fighting, suggesting that a new military decision is not imminent.

Baker, declaring that "the time has come for us to do more," announced that the United States will no longer accept an ambassador from the Belgrade government, which Washington holds responsible for inspiring the Serbian militias that are perpetrating much of the violence. Officials said Ambassador Drevad Mujezinovic, who is a native Bosnian and described as "an honest messenger," may be relieved of his accreditation but may not be expelled.

Baker also announced the administration is closing the Yugoslav consulate in Chicago, which was left open on May 22 when other consulates were ordered closed. Additionally, he said the United States will undertake a more active drive to suspend Serbia and its small ally, Montenegro, from the United Nations and other international organizations, where they typically occupy the former Yugoslav seat.

Staff writer Barton Gellman in Washington and special correspondent Trevor Rowe at the United Nations contributed to this report.

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Baker gets closer to use of force to calm Sarajevo

From Wire Reports

WASHINGTON — Increasingly frustrated at the world's inability to stop the carnage in Yugoslavia, Secretary of State James A. Baker III said yesterday that it would be possible to create an international air squadron to bomb the Serb fighters besieging Sarajevo if peaceful methods proved inadequate.

Although he continued to rule out military measures by the United States acting alone, Mr. Baker edged closer to advocating the use of armed force by the sort of multinational coalition that fought the Persian Gulf war.

Asked on the CNN program "Newsmaker Saturday" about possible air action to break the 2½-month siege by Serb irregulars around Sarajevo, Mr. Baker replied: "No one has ruled out the possibility of some sort of multilateral [military] engagement."

At the same time, he cautioned that it could be far more difficult to dislodge the Serb forces from their mountain strong points around the Bosnia capital than it was to overrun the Iraqi army in the Kuwaiti desert.

"Germany had many, many divisions for a long, long time [during World War II] trying to suppress the situation in the mountains of Yugoslavia," Mr. Baker said. "So it is not a simple and easy situation."

For the time being, Washington supports the United Nations effort to negotiate a cease-fire that would permit reopening of the Sarajevo airport to relief flights, he said. Mr. Baker added that the United States wanted to allow time for U.N.-imposed economic, political and diplomatic sanc-

tions to work before turning to possible military action.

The fighting in Sarajevo eased yesterday, but clashes overnight and early in the day suggested the Serbs were trying to capture the suburb of Dobrinja before handing over the adjacent airport to U.N. forces.

The top U.N. official in Sarajevo yesterday denounced cease-fire violations by both sides and said he was suspending efforts to reopen the city's airport unless a truce holds for at least 48 hours.

Shortly after Gen. Lewis Mackenzie demanded a halt to the fighting, his own convoy came under fire as it was returning from the airport to U.N. headquarters in Sarajevo. Three U.N. soldiers were injured, one seriously.

Later, the U.N. building was nearly hit twice by mortar fire.

The Bosnia presidency also formally declared a state of war yesterday.

The decree put into effect emergency regulations including a general mobilization and a stipulation that public enterprises must remain open at all times, the Belgrade-based Tanjug news agency said.

The full implications of the declaration for the U.N. peacekeeping mission were not immediately clear.

More than 7,000 people have been killed and 25,000 wounded since fighting erupted after Bosnia's majority Slavic Muslims and Croats voted for independence Feb. 29, according to Bosnian figures. Leaders of the Serbs, who make up about one-third of Bosnia's 4.3 million people, want a separate Serb state that would keep links with the Serb-dominated remnants of Yugoslavia.

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U.S. Quietly at Work to Oust New Yugoslavia From the U.N.

By FRANK J. PRIAL
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, June 12 — Here and in capitals around the world, the United States is working quietly to oust the truncated nation that calls itself Yugoslavia from the United Nations.

In April, the federation formed by Serbia and Montenegro, called the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia, declared itself the successor to the Yugoslavia that began to disintegrate last year, and took that country's seat in the General Assembly.

At the time, Edward J. Perkins, the United States representative, challenged the status of the new country

before the General Assembly, saying it should be required to apply for membership and be held to the same standards as other applicants.

Since then, American diplomats have been talking to foreign ministries around the world, urging them to join in challenging the new Yugoslavia's right to replace the old Yugoslavia, not only in the United Nations but also in various international bodies. Most recently, the United States challenged the right of the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia to take part in the Earth Summit.

Diplomats said the legal steps to challenge Yugoslavia's membership in

the organization were unclear.

"It's never happened before," an official said. One possibility being considered was a review of the rump country's qualifications for membership at the time of the next General Assembly in September. The Security Council's credentials committee routinely examines each member's credentials before the General Assembly opens, the official said. Presumably, Yugoslavia could be asked to reapply at that time.

If the United Nations accepted the American position on the legitimacy of the new Yugoslavia, that might prompt other organizations like the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

and the International Monetary Fund to bar the country as well.

Some analysts said much depended on whatever a majority of the European members decided. "Some want to go along with the U.S." a Western diplomat said. "Some want to do nothing and others haven't decided what to do." Most of the European member nations were scheduled to meet on the ministerial level in Brussels on Monday to discuss the American initiative.

Russia provided the most recent example of a surviving nation taking its predecessor's seat here when its representative moved into the place formerly occupied by the Soviet Union's. No overt objections were raised.

Bush on U.S. Role in Yugoslavia: 'We're Not the World's Policeman'

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration acknowledged yesterday that it is looking at ways for U.S. military forces to help the United Nations ease the suffering in Yugoslavia. But President Bush played down speculation that such action might be imminent and said the United States is "not the world's policeman."

"We're concerned about the situation in Yugoslavia, but there's no commitment on my part," Bush told reporters at the White House. He was responding to reports that the administration is considering options to supply, escort and project humanitarian-relief efforts in the strife-torn former Yugoslav federation.

"We're going to do what we can in a humanitarian way, and we're working with the United Nations," Bush added. "We will do what we should do, but I'm not going to go to the fact of using U.S. troops. We're not the world's policeman."

The administration also sent Ralph Johnson, a deputy assistant secretary of state who has acted as a special envoy to the feuding ethnic factions in Yugoslavia, to Capitol Hill to underscore Bush's policy priorities. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Europe, Johnson stressed that the administration wants to give the economic sanctions imposed by the U.N. Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro a chance to work before turning to other options.

"While we have ruled out unilateral U.S. military action, we are prepared to cooperate with future multilateral efforts to keep the peace and preserve cease-fire agreements when they are reached," Johnson added. "But we have repeatedly stated that we should focus our current efforts on political, economic and diplomatic measures. As the president stated, we will act with prudence and caution when it comes to U.S. involvement in this crisis."

State Department sources said that Johnson's statement had been drafted at the highest levels of the government and was intended to serve as a reference point for all questions about administration policy on Yugoslavia.

When senators pressed him for further details, he declined to discuss possible U.S. military actions, but said that the United States has not been asked to contribute any troops to the 1,100-man force that the United Nations hopes will be able to open the airport at Sarajevo, the besieged capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to relief flights.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams also said yesterday that there has been no request for U.S. support of the Sarajevo operation. "Even so, we're actively looking at how best we could support the U.N. effort to get humanitarian aid to Bosnia," Williams added.

Like Johnson, Williams and other officials refused to discuss any details of what the United States might do if called upon to help ease the suffering in Sarajevo. The city, whose largest population group is composed of Slavic Muslims, has been besieged by Serb irregular forces for two months as part of a campaign to bring large parts of Bosnia under Serbian control.

The continued assaults on Sarajevo reportedly have caused the administration to move reluctantly toward the view that the United States—working under a U.N. umbrella—should be prepared to use military assets to encourage and sustain a cease-fire. The activities reportedly under consideration involve U.S. participation in an airlift of humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo and deployment of armed guards and other protection for convoys making their way through Serbian-controlled territory.

The administration's top officials are understood to be skeptical about the chances that outside military intervention can impose a durable peace in Yugoslavia. Senior Pentagon officials, in particular, are known to be strongly opposed to any direct combat role for U.S. forces.

But some State Department officials reportedly feel that demonstrating a willingness to use arms in defense of relief missions might prove to be the only way to convince Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's government that the international community means business.

Some influential members of Congress feel that the United States should go even further and prod its allies to cooperate. Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), who chaired yesterday's hearing, and Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) are discussing a resolution

that would call on Bush to seek stronger action from the Security Council than economic sanctions.

Congressional sources said last night it was not clear whether they would muster enough support to go forward with such a resolution. The sources said the precise form of the resolution also is unclear. But Lugar reportedly favors asking the Security Council to set a deadline for Serbia to halt its aggression and, if that is not heeded, to authorize individual U.N. members to take military action similar to the U.S.-led allied operation that evicted Iraqi forces from Kuwait last year.

So far, there has been no enthusiasm in the 15-member council for such action. Even the proposal to put a relief force at the Sarajevo airport is contingent upon the United Nations being able to work out a viable cease-fire that would clear Serbian irregulars and their gun emplacements from the airfield and surrounding hills. An advance force of about 60 U.N. military officials reached Sarajevo yesterday, and the Security Council is unlikely to take further action until this advance force reports on the chances for a cease-fire.

Washington Post 6-1-92

Serbian Leader Opposition Mounts Massive De

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

BELGRADE, May 31—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today shrugged off the imposition of U.N. economic sanctions against the new Serbian-controlled Yugoslav state and predicted that its international isolation would not last long.

Sanctions are "the price we have to pay for supporting Serbs outside Serbia," said Milosevic, whose overthrow is the implicit goal of Saturday's U.N. sanctions vote. "Serbia will oppose the blockade with truth," he said. "The accusation of Serbian aggression in Bosnia is ridiculous; every citizen knows that we did not do it."

Milosevic, the last Marxist strongman in Europe, made his remarks after voting in a parliamentary election staged by the

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Lift sanctions, Serbs say as U.N. faults Croatia

6/5/92
wash. Times

Washington Times
9/5/92

By Slobodan Lekic
ASSOCIATED PRESS

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Serbian authorities demanded yesterday that harsh sanctions be lifted after release of a U.N. report that partly blames Croatia for ethnic warfare in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the same time, the president of Montenegro suggested he was rethinking his republic's alliance with Serbia.

U.N. sanctions announced Saturday apply to both the republics, the only members of the original six remaining in what is left of Yugoslavia. Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia seceded in the past year.

"I leave open the possibility that we have made mistakes," Momir Bulatovic said of Montenegro's decision to remain in Yugoslavia. "Change is possible. The course is going to be corrected generally."

His comments marked the first public indications of strains with Serbia since the United Nations imposed trade, oil, commerce, transportation and sports sanctions Saturday.

In Washington, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell called for a U.N. naval blockade and possible military action to halt Serbian aggression against neighboring states.

"We should promptly seek a U.N. Security Council resolution authorizing the use of [U.S., NATO, Russian and Ukrainian] naval assets to blockade the coast of Montenegro," Mr. Pell, Rhode Island Democrat, said in a speech on the Senate floor.

Beyond that, the United States should lead the way in the Security Council for "immediate military action to stop the killing now," he said, calling for authority to attack the

a catalytic role — is important ... but I'm not giving up on sanctions," he said, noting that the sanctions approved by the United Nations had been in effect only a few days.

In Sarajevo, at least a half-dozen mortar shells exploded among buildings near the headquarters of U.N. peacekeepers, sending up plumes of smoke and scattering pedestrians. Small-arms fire also was heard. Earlier, several shells hit the main thoroughfare, Marshal Tito Street.

U.N. mediators met with Muslim and Serbian forces to discuss reopening Sarajevo's airport to allow the safe passage of relief supplies into the Bosnian capital.

An estimated 5,700 people have been killed since Feb. 29, when Slavic Muslims and Croats voted for independence. The Serbs, one-third of Bosnia's population, want to remain allied with Serbia.

Fighting was reported in Tuzla and Tesanj in central Bosnia.

A U.N. convoy that arrived yesterday in Sarajevo after a 30-hour ride from Belgrade, dodging bullets and mortars, was held up by fighting around Tuzla.

On the sixth day of U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia, there was little sign of hardship in Belgrade except for long lines of cars at gas stations.

The U.N. report, made public Wednesday, said Serbian fighters in Bosnia no longer are under direct control of Belgrade and have launched some of the worst violence in violation of orders to show restraint.

It also said Croatian soldiers were on the offensive in Bosnia.

The report by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was not available to the Security Council when it imposed the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Thousands Protest Milosevic Regime

YUGOSLAVIA, From A1

imposed, and hundreds of travelers were stranded at Belgrade airport today as most of Europe halted commercial flights to and from Yugoslavia.

"The whole world cannot be guilty; it must be Serbia," said Korica Milkovic, 25, a Serbian optician who lives and works in Zurich. Her flight back to Switzerland was canceled this morning, and she was still waiting at the airport 10 hours later for an 18-hour bus ride to Zurich.

In central Belgrade, meanwhile, tens of thousands of protesters carried a mile-long black crepe-paper ribbon through the streets in a peaceful protest against the Bosnian war and Milosevic's hard-line socialist regime. "Slobo Saddam Khaddafi," read one protest placard, which was cheered loudly by a crowd that included many of Serbia's best-known actors, artists and writers.

For the most part, however, the demonstration was a sober affair with thousands of young and middle-aged Serbs walking slowly past the Serbian parliament, clutching the black ribbon and chanting: "This is Serbia." Vuk Draskovic, a leader of the political opposition, declared later that "the patience and humiliation of the Serbian people has reached the boiling point." Speaking of the U.N. sanctions, Draskovic said they "should alarm the Serbian people to the fact that their enemy is not anywhere else but in Belgrade."

Last week, the powerful Serbian Orthodox Church called for the ouster of Milosevic, condemned today's parliamentary election as a sham and asked all church members to join an opposition boycott of the vote. Many clergy took part in the demonstration today, and one of them, the Rev. Petar Jarakovic, said he had told his congregation not to vote.

"I told them that voting is participating in killing Serbia," Jarakovic said. The bearded priest acknowledged, however, that the church is overmatched by the power of the state-run electronic media. "TV is hypnotizing the people in the village where I live," Jarakovic said. "They don't know what they're doing."

Turnout for the vote appeared low in Belgrade, despite television reports tonight that it was "very good" and well above the 50 percent mark necessary to validate the outcome. All parties opposed to Milosevic's ruling Socialist Party—the renamed Communist Party—refused to participate in the election.

A report last week by the 52-nation Conference on Security and Co-



Belgrade motorists push cars toward fuel pumps as U.N. oil embargo begins.

operation in Europe said it was "highly unlikely" the vote would be "free or fair." Describing the election as an attempt "to gain legitimacy" for the new Serb-created Yugoslav state, the CSE report said that "Yugoslavia is a multi-party state in form but not in function. . . . As currently structured, its electoral system will result in an even more one-sided political environment in which the only genuine opposition is extra-parliamentary."

[In Washington Sunday, a senior American official said that even though the United States has not recognized the new Serbia-Montenegro union as successor to the decades-old six-republic Yugoslav federation, "we are dealing with them as people we hold accountable" for the warfare in Bosnia.

[He added that the administration's expectations are embodied in the U.N. sanctions, saying, "The resolution pretty much speaks for itself." A second U.S. official said that the diplomatic relationship is "a bit ambiguous, obviously, because we don't recognize the new entity."

[A spokesman at the old Yugoslav Embassy in Washington said it is now being run by the charge d'affaires, while Ambassador Dzevad Mujezi-

novic is in Belgrade for consultations with the Foreign Ministry. Three weeks ago, Washington and the 12 European Community nations recalled their ambassadors from Belgrade.]

But despite world-wide criticism of the Milosevic regime and the calls for an election boycott, many people here did vote today, and a good number said they could not understand why the world was against Serbia. Their faith in Milosevic was unshaken, they said.

"Serbs are not to blame for what is happening in Bosnia. It is Muslims and Croats—not Serbs—who are shelling Sarajevo," said a 62-year-old cardiologist. "These sanctions are the most immoral thing that has ever happened in my lifetime."

Other voters, by turns, accused the United States of trying to destabilize Serbia by using CIA agents, charged that Germany was secretly orchestrating the U.N. sanctions and claimed that Russia—a traditional ally of Serbia—had voted for the sanctions to win billions of dollars of aid from the West.

Staff writer Jim McGee in Washington contributed to this article.

U.N. Trade Embargo of Serbia Leaves Options for International Military Role

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The United Nations' vote to impose sweeping economic sanctions against the Serbian government of Yugoslavia will usher in a new phase of discussion of use of military force, potentially involving the U.S., to stop Serbia's aggressive actions.

So far, the U.S. hasn't seriously planned for any military role in the efforts to stop Serbia's assaults on the newly independent republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, senior administration aides said. But the officials also said that military moves in conjunction with other nations haven't been ruled out as a way to follow up and enforce Saturday's U.N. Security Council vote imposing sanctions.

There are three ways in which an international military force might be used to curb Serbia's assaults against Bosnia and Croatia, another breakaway republic. The first would be as part of a new peacekeeping force constituted to keep order if the economic sanctions persuade Serbia to curb its assaults.

The second application of military force would be the introduction of a naval blockade to enforce the U.N. economic sanctions banning trade going in or out of Serbia and its tiny allied republic, Montenegro.

And thirdly, there has been some discussion by diplomats of forming international military escorts to accompany shipments of humanitarian aid to beleaguered citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbian attacks on the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo

have blocked aid shipments there, producing reports of potential starvation among the city's residents.

Last week, senior administration aides said that serious planning for such international military moves had been put off while the focus of American and European diplomacy was kept on the U.N. vote on economic sanctions. But they also said that President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker, their desire to curb Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic mounting, were pointedly refusing to rule out military options. Officials stressed the U.S. wouldn't consider making any military moves on its own, but only as part of organized international efforts mounted by the U.N. or, perhaps, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The U.N. sanctions amount to a sweeping economic blockade of the Yugoslavian government run by Serbia, and they resemble the economic stranglehold put on Iraq two years ago. They ban trade except in food and humanitarian goods. Notably, the embargo includes sales of oil, a step some nations that sell oil to Serbia had once been reluctant to approve. In addition, air links are to be suspended, Yugoslav diplomatic missions reduced, and Yugoslav participation in international sports events suspended.

Significantly, Russia, Serbia's longtime ally, voted in favor of the sanctions. China, which routinely opposes international intrusion in poorer nations, abstained.

NYT
6-1-78

With Sanctions Voted, U.S. Favors Attrition Over Force

By ERIC SCHMITT
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 31 — Bush Administration officials expressed reluctance today to use armed force to support tough new economic sanctions against the Yugoslav Government, preferring first to assess the effects of the United Nations embargo approved on Saturday.

Washington's immediate goal, senior officials said, was to persuade the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav military to lift its blockade of Sarajevo. For two months, the people of the besieged capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been trapped under daily artillery attack from ethnic Serbs in the hills. Many badly need food and medical care.

The United Nations resolution imposed a security zone around Sarajevo's airport, but without military enforcement it was unclear what would prevent the Serbs from shelling the airport or attacking convoys carrying relief supplies to the city.

President Bush sent a letter to Con-

A horror fantasy: another Beirut in an election year.

gressional leaders today, saying he had frozen \$214 million in Yugoslav holdings in this country. But there are reports that Belgrade may have shifted much of its \$1.5 billion in foreign currency reserves from Western banks to private or secret accounts in Cyprus.

Administration officials conceded that enforcing sanctions in Serbia, a landlocked country with porous borders, could be difficult, but held out hope that worldwide condemnation would jar Belgrade into compliance. If not, officials said it could take months, perhaps years, before life became desperate enough for the Serbs to force them to make meaningful changes.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d has refused to rule out military intervention to end the fighting and speed relief for Sarajevo. But the Administration would strongly resist sending American troops into a Beirut-type operation in an election year.

"No one is pushing the military option very hard at this point," a senior Pentagon official said. "At the moment, the emphasis is trying to get as much international political and economic support to pressure the Serbs."

American armed intervention in Yugoslavia would risk some of the dangers that troops faced in Beirut in 1983, diplomats and military analysts said, including counter-violence from elusive guerrilla forces with little to lose.

If economic sanctions fail, members

of Congress urged the Administration to consider a blockade of Adriatic ports and the closing of Bosnian airspace to Serbian planes as a way of giving relief flights a chance to reach Sarajevo.

Representative Lee H. Hamilton, Democrat of Indiana, said in an interview today: "We've ratcheted up pressure on Serbia, and now we have to see how effective that is. We must be prepared to take additional steps to tighten it. At this moment, it's not the time for military options, but neither do I think they are remote."

Foreign officials expressed similar views. "This does not have to be the last word from the Security Council," Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek of the Netherlands said on Dutch radio today. "I see it really as a first step."

But recent use of international sanctions is not encouraging. The American-led embargo of Haiti has worsened economic conditions there, but has failed to oust the military Government.

Didn't Hurt Iraq Much

Economic sanctions against Iraq, which served as the model for the Yugoslav embargo, failed to persuade President Saddam Hussein to withdraw his army from Kuwait. More than a year after the Persian Gulf war ended, economic sanctions against Baghdad are still in effect, and the Iraqi economy is surviving.

Serbia is relatively self-sufficient: It easily feeds itself, exports electrical power, maintains an oil reserve for its army and has oilfields that meet about a quarter of its needs. Its proximity to sympathetic neighbors like Greece, and to Serbs in Bosnia, who are not affected by the embargo, could blunt the sanctions, too.

Among other things, the United Nations embargo requires nations to cease trading in any commodity, including oil, with the new Yugoslav federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

While diplomats here and abroad pondered the possible effect of sanctions, an intricate piece of Balkan politics was brought home today in the streets of Washington.

Thousands of Greek-Americans, shouting "Macedonia is Greek!" marched to dispute a former Yugoslav republic's right to use Macedonia as its name. The protesters, waving American and Greek flags, marched from The Mall to the White House. Many wore T-shirts with likenesses of Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedonia.

Greece has sought to block recognition of Macedonia because the republic retained the name when it declared independence from Yugoslavia last year. Athens insists that the name Macedonia belongs exclusively to the Greek province of that name, and has accused the former Yugoslav republic of having designs on its territory.

U.N. Votes Curbs On Yugoslavia

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, May 30—
The U.N. Security Council condemned Serbian-controlled Yugoslavia's aggression in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina today and imposed an immediate economic embargo against the Belgrade government to force it to halt its bloody military campaign.

Meanwhile, Serb forces continued to shell Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, and the historic Adriatic city of Dubrovnik in Croatia, which has seceded from Yugoslavia along with Bosnia, Slovenia and Macedonia.

The sanctions resolution, which had been sought by the United States, was adopted by a 13-to-0 vote of the 15-member council, with China and Zimbabwe abstaining.

Its embargo provisions apply to Serbia and its tiny neighbor, Montenegro, which have banded together as the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The resolution condemned these two states and the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army for failing to heed previous U.N. calls for an end to the fighting.

The sanctions are similar to those imposed by the council on Iraq in August 1990 following its occupation of Kuwait. They ban imports and exports, including oil, but exempt food and medicine. An embargo on arms deliveries has been in effect since September.

In the past two months, Serb forces have seized about 70 percent of Bosnia in fighting that has left at least 2,500 dead and more than 700,000 homeless. Most of the refugees are Slavic Muslims, Bosnia's largest population group.

As was the case with Iraq, the sanctions were approved under

See NATIONS, A28, Col 1

U.N. Security Council Imposes Sanctions, Demands on Yugoslavia

NATIONS, From A1

Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter, which authorizes measures up to and including military action to enforce the council's will against a recalcitrant country. U.N. sources have stressed that there is no likelihood at this stage that the world body will move toward military action of the kind that culminated in the Persian Gulf War, but the resolution could set the stage for possible air and sea blockades of Serbia and Montenegro.

"Anybody who believes that this is the last word on this matter from the Security Council is in for a bad surprise," said the British ambassador, Sir David Hannay.

Asked whether this meant that the council might be prepared to consider military measures, Hannay replied: "I'm not prepared to speculate. But it must be clear that the council is not prepared to walk away from these problems."

Edward Perkins, the new U.S. ambassador, said, "By its aggression against Bosnia and Hercegovina and Croatia, and by its repression within Serbia, the Serbian regime can only condemn itself to increasingly severe treatment by a world united in its opposition to Serbian aggression."

For the moment, however, the emphasis here is on seeing whether the economic sanctions moderate Serbia's behavior in the days just ahead.

Key support for the resolution came earlier today when President Boris Yeltsin said in Moscow that Russia, which traditionally has had close ties with Serbia, was ready to back sanctions. As a permanent member of the Security Council, Russia could have vetoed the resolution.

In addition to the trade restrictions, the resolution demands that all U.N. members freeze the financial assets of Serbia and Montenegro abroad, cut off all air links and reduce foreign diplomatic representation in Serbia and Montenegro. It also calls for suspending scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with the two states and barring them from participation in international sports events.

The government of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who is viewed by many Western govern-



SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC
... sent appeal to Bush, Yeltsin

ments as the prime instigator of the bloodshed in Bosnia and Croatia, has vowed that it will not be deterred by U.N. sanctions from pressing its territorial claims against other parts of the now defunct Yugoslav federation. Nevertheless, Serbia made a pair of last-minute bids to avert today's sanctions vote.

Milosevic sent a letter to President Bush and Yeltsin that made a vaguely worded appeal for the United States and Russia to place "all the forces involved" in the Bosnia fighting under their control. He also called on the United Nations to delay voting on sanctions and instead convene an international conference on Yugoslavia.

However, these moves were regarded here as thinly disguised delaying tactics by a Belgrade government whose word has become highly suspect in the international community because of its repeated violation of past cease-fires and other agreements.

The United States, which previously had characterized the Yugoslav civil war as primarily a European problem, recently took the initiative in what U.S. officials described as "jump-starting" a concerted international approach to curbing Serbia. While attending a conference in Lisbon last week, Secretary of State James A. Baker III called publicly for U.N. sanctions.

In initial discussions here between the United States, Britain, France and Belgium, the Europeans advocated a two-stage approach that would apply some sanctions immediately but hold the tougher measures, such as the oil embargo, in reserve. The idea was that a gradual approach would be more palatable to Russia and China, which had been opposed to sanctions. As another permanent council member, China also could have vetoed the resolution.

However, the United States demanded an immediate, tough response to escalation of the fighting including a salvo of mortar shells—apparently fired by Serb militia forces—that hit a crowded marketplace in Sarajevo on Wednesday, killing at least 20 civilians and wounding more than 100.

Despite some resistance from other council members, the United States won most of its demands. As a gesture to Russia, the final draft of the resolution noted that "all parties bear some responsibility for the situation."

Similarly, a U.S. proposal to have the resolution explicitly challenge Belgrade's claim that it has inherited Yugoslavia's U.N. membership was dropped. Instead, the resolution took the more passive approach of noting that Serbia's claim to the U.N. seat "has not been generally accepted."

Perkins said Washington will oppose any effort to award Belgrade the seat until Serbia has shown its willingness "to disband, disarm and withdraw" the Yugoslav army and Serbian militias from Bosnia.

The Russian decision to support the sanctions came after Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev visited Belgrade last week in an unsuccessful attempt to arrange a cease-fire. In casting Moscow's vote today, Russian Ambassador Yuli Vorontsov said, "Belgrade has not heeded the warning, and has brought upon itself the sanctions of the international community."

Joining the United States and Russia in voting for the resolution were two other permanent members of the council, France and Britain, and Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco and Venezuela.

5/31/92

Milosevic Viewed as U.N.'s Target

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

BELGRADE, May 30—
The unstated goal of the U.N. sanctions imposed today on the new Serb-controlled Yugoslavia is to topple Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

After more than a year of downplaying evidence of his regime's aggression against Yugoslav republics that

**NEWS
ANALYSIS**

have declared their independence, Western governments have come to view Milosevic, in the words of U.S. and West European diplomats, as a brutal adventurer, a polished con man and an inventive tactician whose survival in power guarantees bloodshed in the Balkans. They view him as the prime instigator of Yugoslavia's descent into ethnic chaos and say his removal from power is the key to peace in the region.

Despite his frequent denials of responsibility for the violence, Milosevic has been assessed by the West as the commander of Serbian forces that have used terror, shelling and murder to

See YUGOSLAVIA, A28, Col. 1

Serb Leader Regarded as U.N.'s Target

YUGOSLAVIA, From A1

seize two-thirds of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia.

Although he did not refer to the Serbian leader by name, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger on Friday summed up the American view of Milosevic's regime.

"We think it is more than time that the Serbs be held responsible for the murder they are committing. But I can't promise you that it is going to stop," said Eagleburger, a former ambassador to Yugoslavia and a diplomat who knows Milosevic well.

In the words of one Western ambassador recently recalled from Yugoslavia as part of the international protest against Serbian aggression, it has taken more than a year for U.N. and European Community peace negotiators to realize that Milosevic "plays by different rules than other European leaders. . . . He makes promises that mean nothing. He signs documents that mean nothing. He lies."

In the last two months, Serb forces have executed an ethnic "cleansing" of Slavic Muslims, who make up 44 percent of Bosnia's population. The offensive has killed thousands and created more than a million homeless.

The Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, where about 300,000 people have been trapped for two months, is under daily artillery attack by Serb forces in the surrounding hills. Serbian fighters have attacked unarmed relief agencies attempting to deliver food and medicine to city residents, many of whom are desperately short of food.

Slobodan Milosevic, 50, a former banker, is the last major Communist-era leader to survive on into Eastern Europe's era of democracy.

He has done so by demonstrating a genius for exploiting the Serbian people's aggrieved sense of national destiny. After centuries of being conquered, ruled and butchered by Ottoman Turks, invading Germans and neighboring Croats, Serbs have an abiding feeling of victimization and historical injustice.

Using a finely tuned propaganda machine, Milosevic has succeeded in convincing a substantial portion of the Serbian population that their very survival is threatened by their neighbors.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Bosnian Muslim woman sits on a street in besieged Sarajevo with her two children, begging for money or food.

He rose to power in the late 1980s by discovering that he had a knack for fiery nationalist speeches and by grasping, far ahead of all other East European Communists, that nationalism was the wave of the future.

Milosevic has since become something of a recluse, often going for weeks without making a public appearance. He has evolved in four years from a rabble-rousing populist to a stiff-backed authoritarian figure who appears uncomfortable when speaking to large crowds.

But in personal meetings with Western diplomats and would-be international peace-makers he has shown off what one American diplomat describes as "extraordinary personal charm. . . . He can persuade you when you talk to him that he is totally sincere. He can utter the most egregious falsehoods with the appearance of the utmost sincerity."

Stopping Milosevic, in the view of analysts who have charted his rise to power, will take much more than today's package of U.N. sanctions.

From a strictly economic point of view, analysts agree that sanctions are unlikely to have a quick crippling impact on a relatively well-developed country that easily feeds itself, exports electricity, has a strategic oil reserve for its army and, surprisingly for a country in Europe, has domestic oil fields that meet about 27 percent of its annual needs.

Since 9 of 10 people in Kosovo are ethnic Albanians, a "cleansing operation" exodus such as that administered in Bosnia would put irresistible pressure on neighboring Albania to step in, igniting a full-blown Balkan war.

Such a war, diplomats here say, might deflect international opinion from viewing Milosevic as the principal provocateur of violence in the region.

There is also fear that violence could then spread to another multi-ethnic former Yugoslav republic, Macedonia, whose territory is coveted not only by Serbs but by Greeks and Bulgarians.

The simplest and safest restraint on a spreading Balkan war, in the view of many Western and Serbian analysts, is the emergence inside Serbia of a credible opposition movement that could channel the discontent caused by U.N. sanctions into mass political opposition to Milosevic.

Although opposition parties here have been badly fragmented, poorly led and distracted by nationalist sentiment, there are tentative signals that an umbrella democratic opposition is beginning to emerge.

Opposition leaders have recently joined with prominent intellectuals who have deserted the Milosevic camp to form the Democratic Movement of Serbia, which embraces the old Serbian monarchy and enjoys

ened by their neighbors.

Threats, as explained to the Serbian people, include the "Great Albanian" ambitions of the ethnic Albanian minority in Serbia, the "neo-Nazi" territorial ambitions of Croats working in league with the newly unified Germany and the "radical Islamic" ambitions of Bosnian Muslims supported by Iran and Libya.

Western diplomats dismiss these claims as tactics being used by Milosevic's regime as part of its refusal to grant its citizens the civil and economic freedoms now available throughout the post-Communist world.

But interviews in the streets of Belgrade, the Serbian capital, suggest that Serbs are still listening to—and believing—Milosevic's version of the truth. Many find it plausible that there is both a neo-Nazi and an Islamic fundamentalist conspiracy to deny Serbs their rights.

Until the mid-1980s, Milosevic was an obscure functionary in Yugoslavia's odd blend of communism and corporatism. The son of parents who both committed suicide, he is married to a resolutely hard-line Marxist academic whose mother was tortured and murdered during World War II.

Europe, has domestic oil fields that meet about 27 percent of its annual needs.

Western economists say it will take months or even years before life in the new Yugoslavia—consisting of Serbia and its small ally, Montenegro—becomes desperate.

In addition, a "circling of the wagons" response to sanctions is expected from many Serbs. As one prominent Milosevic lieutenant said last year, Serbs "will eat roots" before they will surrender to foreign domination.

Sanctions also are widely expected to force Milosevic to resort to what for him has been a proven tactic of political survival.

"Milosevic solves a problem by creating a bigger problem," says Ivan Djukic, a Belgrade journalist and author of a recent book about the Serbian leader.

After wars in the former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, the next likely trouble spot is expected to be within Serbia itself. The State Department fears that Milosevic may soon provoke an explosion of ethnic violence in the Serbian province of Kosovo, where a seething but ill-armed ethnic Albanian majority lives under strict Serbian control.

ment intellectuals who have deserted the Milosevic camp to form the Democratic Movement of Serbia, which embraces the old Serbian monarchy and enjoys the support of many Serbian traditionalists.

Crown Prince Alexander—the son of the last king of Yugoslavia, who was forced into exile during World War II—met recently in Washington with senior White House and State Department officials. This week, he expressed his willingness to preside over a constitutional monarchy in cooperation with the Democratic Movement and spoke of a coalition government that would fall into the mainstream of European democracy.

It seems likely that the coalition will win the backing of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which reportedly has dispatched senior clerics to meet with the prince. In a historic and perhaps pivotal break with the Serbian leadership, the church this week called on the Milosevic regime to give up power.

Serbia's violent past, however, suggests that a smooth transfer of power in this Balkan state is unlikely. Based on the evidence of the past four years, there are few Serbs who believe that Milosevic will surrender power without a struggle that will be as labyrinthine as it is violent.

U.S. SEEKS FULL BAN ON YUGOSLAV TRADE BY THE U.N. COUNCIL

NYT 5/29/92

WINS BACKING OF 3 ALLIES

Embargo on Oil and a Freeze on
Assets Abroad — Russia or
China May Block Move

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By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, May 28 — The United States pressed the United Nations Security Council today to impose an immediate and virtually total economic embargo, including a ban on all oil sales, on the rump Yugoslav Government in Belgrade to get it to end Serbian intervention in neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Britain, France and Belgium, the Council's three European Community members, accepted the American position in consultations at the Security Council today after earlier favoring a weaker plan for imposing sanctions in stages. But Russia and China, two permanent Council members with a veto, which are also Serbia's principal oil suppliers, have appeared reluctant about sanctions in the past and it was not certain that they would accept the embargo plan being pushed by Washington.

The sanctions the United States now wants are as comprehensive as those imposed on Iraq before the Persian Gulf war and include a ban on trade, with the exception of medicine and approved supplies of food.

Severing of Air Links

They require the severing of all air links with Serbia, the freezing of its external bank accounts and other financial assets, an end to cultural, scientific and sporting contacts and "significant" cuts in the size of its diplomatic missions abroad.

The United States, with the support of Britain and Belgium, also wants the Council to rule that the Belgrade Government cannot automatically take over the old Yugoslav seat in the United Nations, but instead must apply for membership. This would give the United States a veto over its eventual readmission. However, France has not yet agreed to this.

Islamic nations, which have been angered by Serbian attacks on Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslim population, were reported today to be urging Russia and China to support the tough sanctions. The United States is expected to have the majority of the 15-nation Council in support of the sanctions, and therefore the only suspense was whether Moscow and Beijing, which have gone along with a series of tough Council resolutions on Iraq in the past two years, would break with their recent practice.

U.S. Hardens Stand

The American move, which followed Wednesday's bloody mortar attack in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that killed 16 civilians, represented a hardening in Washington's position. The Bush Administration had earlier seemed ready to support the European plan for a two-stage sanctions package with an oil embargo delayed until the second stage. In Brussels on Wednesday, the 12-nation Euro-

Continued on Page A10, Column 3

Church Pressure in Serbia

The Serbian Orthodox Church urged the President of Serbia to step aside and backed a boycott of elections for a new parliament. Page A11

pean Community imposed a limited economic embargo on the Belgrade Government, but left a decision on a ban on oil sales to the United Nations Security Council.

The sanctions the United States is seeking include an embargo on all trade with the rump Yugoslavia except in food and medicine, the severing of all air links, the freezing of the Belgrade Government's external bank accounts and other financial assets, an end to cultural, scientific and sporting contacts and cuts in the size of its diplomatic missions abroad.

"We are going for comprehensive economic sanctions against Serbia including a trade embargo, an oil embargo, a break on all air links with Serbia and a freeze of all Yugoslavian assets abroad," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said in Washington.

Criticism of Europeans

The new American pressure came just a week after Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d seized the lead in organizing resistance to the bloodshed in Bosnia from the European Community, accusing it of moving too slowly, calling for punitive measures against Belgrade and warning that military intervention might prove necessary.

Appearing on the NBC News program "Today" this morning, the United States Ambassador in Belgrade, Warren Zimmermann, who was recently withdrawn as a sign of protest, accused Slobodan Milosevic, who as President of Serbia is the dominant figure in the new Yugoslavia, of "waging a war of aggression" against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mr. Zimmermann said that the Serbs who constitute one third of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina are now "trying to take over two-thirds of the country" by driving other ethnic groups from their homes.

He said the mortar bombs which struck a civilian bread line in Sarajevo on Wednesday probably came from Serbian attackers in the hills outside the city. And he warned that if conditions worsen further the international community will have to consider "some kind of multilateral use of force."

Disgust Over Attack

American officials said the Administration is toughening its stance partly out of disgust with Wednesday's Sarajevo attack, which was widely shown on television around the world on Wednesday night.

They accused the Belgrade Government of double-crossing the world by seeking to carve a Greater Serbia out

of Yugoslavia, and of trying to keep the federation from peacefully separating into independent states: Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the rump Yugoslavia, which includes the Serbia and Montenegro. Macedonia has also declared independence but has not yet received worldwide recognition.

Many foreign diplomats here speculated that political factors entered into the the Bush Administration's sudden decision to take the lead in forcing Belgrade to cease its interference in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These include a desire for President Bush to appear decisive, with six primary elections scheduled for next Tuesday. In addition, the Bush Administration, unhappy over the decision of France and Germany to create the nucleus of their own joint force outside of NATO, may also be seeking to take

Washington has the will to be decisive. The aim of the sanctions the United States favors is to force the Belgrade Government to carry out the peace proposals the Security Council adopted earlier this month for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The draft sanctions resolution starts by condemning Serbia and the Yugoslav National Army for failing to cease their interference in Bosnia and Herzegovina and demands that all elements of the Croatian Army also withdraw from that republic.

Acting under Chapter Seven of the United Nations Charter, the resolution then imposes a list of sanctions on Serbia that would stay in force until the Security Council decides it has fully complied with the earlier peace terms.

This means Belgrade must use its

disband and disarm elements of the Yugoslavian Army there, end the forced displacement of ethnic groups, disarm all irregular forces and grant free access for United Nations and other humanitarian agencies.

Finally, the Security Council has demanded that all communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina take part in talks on a new constitution for the independent republic that the European Community mediators want to organize.

The 21-paragraph resolution then forbids all trade and financial dealings with Serbia except for sales of medicine and approved supplies of humanitarian foodstuffs.

It freezes outside financial assets but allows Greece and other countries that transship goods through Serbia to continue to do so.

Audience Listening to Prince in the Wings

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 28 — Ignored by most Western governments while his country fell apart and descended into civil war, the heir to the toppled throne of Yugoslavia has been heard at last by officials of both the United States and Britain.

The decisions by Washington and London to receive the heir, Crown Prince Alexander, was a symbol of a change in their policies. On May 21, he talked in the White House with President Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, and in the State Department with Assistant Secretary of State Thomas M. T. Niles, three days earlier, he had been received in London by Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

In an interview today, Prince Alexander said he had argued unsuccessfully against the imposition of international sanctions against Serbia. Its Government, led by Slobodan Milosevic, is being blamed by the United Nations and the European Community for instigating violence against Muslims and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the current focal point of the Yugoslav civil war.

But the Prince said a trade embargo would hurt the Serbian people more than it would hurt their "unworthy" leaders.

"The great majority of Serbs are fed up with Milosevic," he said. "I



Associated Press

Crown Prince Alexander

feel we should separate the Serbian people from his regime, which has used every trick to maintain its power base. But by imposing sanctions, we are hurting the people and polarizing them to support him out of desperation.

"Sanctions are a signal, but one must try to avoid putting too much pressure on the people."

Instead of sanctions, he said, the West should support leaders of the

More diplomacy, maybe a throne, but not sanctions.

democratic opposition and nurture a free press.

He said that withdrawing ambassadors from Belgrade, as the United States has done, could put pressure on the Serbian leadership to reconsider its policies. "They're very vain people," said the Prince, who is a Serb.

A Long Absence

"The only solution," he said, "is a national coalition Government of salvation in Belgrade, consisting of personalities from the opposition, intellectuals and members of the former Communist party who believe in democracy."

Prince Alexander has proposed a constitutional monarchy, with himself at its head, but neither the United States nor Britain has endorsed this.

Prince Alexander was born in London in 1945, four years after his father, King Peter II, was forced into exile. The Prince has been in Yugoslavia only once, for a three-day visit to the Belgrade area last October, but was warmly received by a crowd estimated at 70,000.

U.S. Places Sanctions On Serbia

Recognition Refused; Consulates Closed; Violence Denounced

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

LONDON, May 22—The United States imposed a series of diplomatic sanctions on Serbia today and denounced the death and destruction in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and detention of civilians there as a "humanitarian nightmare."

The new measures, which represent a policy reversal by Washington, include breaking U.S. military contacts with the Serb-led Yugoslav government, closing Yugoslav consulates in New York and San Francisco, and reducing the U.S. Embassy staff in Belgrade.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III announced the steps at 10 Downing St. after a dinner meeting with British Prime Minister John Major and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. Later Baker announced that Washington also has decided not to recognize Serbia and Montenegro—the only two Yugoslav republics not to seek independence—as the legal successors to the disintegrating country until all of the Serb-led forces are withdrawn from neighboring states and minority rights are respected.

Until a few days ago, Washington encouraged European nations to take the lead in addressing the violence, which is close at hand for the nations of the continent. Earlier this week, however, Washington acted first in revoking the landing rights in the United States of the Yugoslav airline JAT, and today it went ahead of the Europeans with

See SANCTIONS, A25, Col. 1

In Reversal of Previous Policy, U.S. Puts Sanctions on Serbia

SANCTIONS, From A1

the new list of measures, which were made known in advance to members of the European Community through diplomatic notes sent to their capitals Thursday.

The greater activism on the part of the U.S. administration appeared to reflect frustration that the European Community has been divided on and relatively inactive in dealing with the violence. It also appeared to be a response to increasing criticism in the United States about the passivity of U.S. policy.

Speaking to reporters on his airplane en route from Washington on the first leg of a five-day overseas trip, Baker said he did not necessarily believe that "political and diplomatic measures alone" will resolve the ethnic strife in Yugoslavia. But at this stage, he said, it is incumbent on the outside world to do all it can along these lines.

Tonight, when asked by a British reporter about the possibility that European military forces might be used to stop the violence in Bosnia, Baker responded that the world could act together to do all it can politically, diplomatically and economically. "If measures in these fields fail, then and only then it would be my view you could take a look [at] solving military matters."

A senior American official said Baker's answer did not suggest the use of U.S. troops even as a last resort because he had specifically directed his comments at Europeans. The Bush administration has adamantly opposed involving American forces in such ethnic strife.

Baker reiterated the U.S. demand that Yugoslav forces permit the reopening of the airport of the besieged city of Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital, and provide safe conduct for humanitarian and medical convoys.

"I don't think that the world is going to be willing to continue to accept a humanitarian nightmare, and that's what this situation has now become," Baker told reporters.

Major and Hurd left the prime minister's official residence before Baker made his statement to reporters outside, and therefore did not comment on the U.S. measures. Baker said the British leaders were "totally and completely understanding" of the U.S. positions, and hinted they are discussing measures of their own.

Meanwhile, at the United Nations, the General Assembly admitted the three former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia, Slovenia and Croatia today as individual member states, raising

U.N. membership to 178. The rump Yugoslavia formed by Serbia and Montenegro wants to retain Yugoslavia's seat, but the United Nations has not made a decision on whether that will be allowed.

U.N. officials also announced today that they were temporarily suspending relief operations in Bosnia, after Serb irregulars seized a U.N. relief convoy at a checkpoint 90 miles north of Sarajevo. The office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said it needed "additional guarantees of security" in Bosnia if work is to resume. U.N. officials in Belgrade said Serb leaders in Bosnia were trying to secure the return of the 12 trucks carrying supplies of food and medicine.

The latest Serb attacks on relief convoys followed one Monday on an International Red Cross convoy that left one Swiss relief worker dead and two wounded. After the attack, the Red Cross suspended operations in Sarajevo, leaving UNHCR as the only major international relief organization in Bosnia.

Baker said he also has been closely following another ethnically based conflict that has been coming to the fore in recent days. The threat of widening warfare between Armenia and Azerbaijan in two disputed regions in the Caucasus has prompted concern that Turkey, which borders one of the regions and is a NATO ally of the United States, might intervene militarily.

In the past few days, said Baker, he has communicated about the growing tension with the foreign ministers of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkey. He said he plans meetings with these ministers or their representatives this weekend in Lisbon, the next stop on his tour. He has also discussed the conflict with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, Baker said.

"We've urged the Turkish government to exercise maximum restraint" in the face of Armenian gains in Nakhichevan, a part of Azerbaijan that is separated from it by Armenia and borders Turkey and Iran. Baker said nothing about contacts with Iran, which is reportedly seeking to mediate the conflict.

Within the past several days, both Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, commander of the Commonwealth of Independent States military forces, and Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovannisian have said that outside intervention in the conflict could touch off a new world war.

Special correspondent Laura Silber contributed to this article from Belgrade.

U.S. Recall of Ambassador Underlines Lack of Influence in Yugoslav Conflict

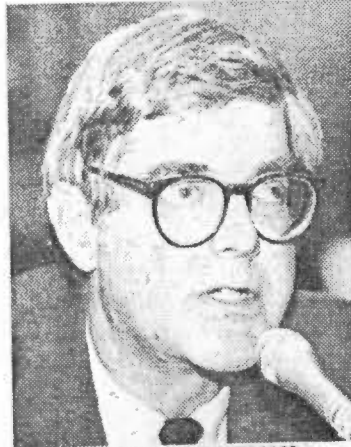
By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

The recall of Ambassador Warren Zimmerman from Belgrade is the latest effort by the United States to use its dwindling supply of diplomatic weapons to halt the ethnic bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But U.S. officials maintain that neither the United States nor its European allies can do much to stop Serbia from imposing its will on the other republics of the shattered Yugoslav federation.

The U.S. action followed a similar move Monday by the European Community and also came a day after Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic met with Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger to plead for help in ending the grisly slaughter of the Bosnian populace by the Serb-led Yugoslav army and Serbian irregulars. However, Silajdzic said in an interview with The Washington Post yesterday, U.S. officials have told him they will not go beyond diplomatic and economic pressure on Serbia.

Several U.S. officials, who spoke on condition that they not be identified, acknowledged that such measures have had no effect on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's government. The officials said the only thing that might deter Serbia from dismembering Bosnia and then moving against other republics such as Macedonia is the threat of massive military intervention.

But asked yesterday about the possibility of U.S. intervention, State Department spokesman Mar-



WARREN ZIMMERMAN
... being recalled from Belgrade

garet Tutwiler said: "No. That is not an option. That is not something the United States is considering doing."

Tutwiler was responding to questions about why the United States was unwilling to mount in Yugoslavia the kind of force it used last year to end Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. She replied that in the case of Kuwait, President Bush had determined that the use of force "was in the national security interest of the United States."

Other officials said the United States has put clearly delineated limits on how far it is willing to go to halt the Yugoslav civil war. They said that President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III are appalled by how conflicting territorial claims and renewed feuds among Yugoslav ethnic factions

have caused thousands of deaths and a swelling horde of refugees—estimated by the United Nations at more than 1 million—in Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

But, the officials continued, the bottom line for U.S. policymakers is their conviction that Yugoslavia is primarily a European problem.

"We are willing to help, to add our voices to the Europeans and to join them in concerted diplomatic and economic actions to make Serbia and other Yugoslav extremists behave responsibly," said a senior U.S. official. "But we are not about to get out in front of the Europeans. They must define the distance and set the pace for the international community in dealing with Yugoslavia."

That represents a considerable turnabout from where the United States stood as recently as last June when Baker visited the various Yugoslav republics to warn them against violence and declare that the United States wanted the federation kept together. As Tutwiler recalled yesterday, "Everyone said 'Thank you very much' and went on and did exactly what they wanted to."

As a result, U.S. officials reassessed their approach to Yugoslavia.

"When Baker talked of the necessity of keeping the federation intact, it was a reflex of the old Cold War mentality that regarded Yugoslavia as an important piece in the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union," said Michael Mandelbaum of the Council on Foreign Relations. "With the Cold War over, it began to dawn on U.S. officials that what happened in Yugoslavia was important to Europe—particularly to neighbors like Italy or Greece or Bulgaria—but it no longer had any real strategic or political importance to the United States."

Said the senior official: "We realized that there's no percentage in injecting yourself in the cross-fire between people intent on killing each other and yelling 'stop' when they're not listening. We had to fall back on the idea that there wasn't much that we or anyone could do until they got the blood lust out of their system and became more willing to listen to reason."

For several months, while the conflict centered on Serbia's disputes with Croatia and Slovenia, the U.S. role was a relatively passive one. The State Department made periodic appeals to end the violence, criticizing Serbia in particular for having aggressive designs on its neighbors. The United States also supported various peace initiatives attempted by the European Community and the United Nations.

Last month, after the fighting had moved to Bosnia and as Serbian irregulars began killing innocent civilians in horrifying numbers, Baker undertook a new burst of activity. He made a round of urgent appeals to the European allies in hopes of organizing a protest sufficiently strong to force the Serbian leaders to back off. He also considered breaking diplomatic relations with the Serbian-dominated remnants of

U.S. Joins Western Europe In Action Against Belgrade

BOSNIA, From A25

World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will be challenged. The sanctions being considered are said to range from seizure of foreign assets to denial of international air-landing rights.

Describing Milosevic as "the slickest con man in the Balkans" and "a Machiavellian figure for whom truth has no inherent value," several diplomats said that Washington and the EC had grown fed up with arranging cease-fires that Milosevic and his lieutenants routinely ignored.

"He can persuade you when you talk to him that he is totally sincere; he can utter the most egregious falsehoods with the appearance of the utmost sincerity," said a diplomat who has met frequently with the Serbian leader. "But this cannot work in Bosnia because the facts are too obvious."

Officials at Western embassies said that Milosevic, using his "extraordinary personal charm," had managed to deceive such senior statesmen as U.N. special envoy Cyrus Vance, EC peace mediator Lord Carrington and U.N. peace-forces director Murrack Goulding into believing that the Belgrade government is serious about truce talks. Now, the diplomats said, Washington and the EC have embarked on "a

world is taking steps against them, then there is something wrong with the leadership at home." A senior European diplomat expressed the contrasting belief, however, that if "the Serbs have got nothing left to lose, they will go for broke" in Bosnia.

Thus far, the reaction of Belgrade officials to heightened Western criticism has been one of denial, counter-accusation and obfuscation. The Milosevic-controlled executive council of the new Yugoslav union said today that the "one-sided approach of the EC does not contribute to an objective view of the situation and does not contribute to reaching an end to the war. This bias... has encouraged war."

Serbian officials have often accused the EC of being a servant of Germany, which they claim has neo-Nazi designs on the Balkans, and today the Serbian Foreign Ministry declared that EC support of Bosnia's Muslims "opens the doors for the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Europe." Western governments dismiss such charges as self-serving absurdities, yet interviews today in the streets of Belgrade suggested that many residents are convinced Western Europe and the United States have fallen into a secret plot to allow Germany to dominate Serbia.

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But even as diplomats spoke, they acknowledged that the pressure campaign against Serbia is not likely to produce a quick turnaround—in large measure, because of Milosevic's demonstrated ability to use state-controlled media to appeal to the nationalist sympathies of the Serbian people.

"There is no silver bullet that can bring immediate results," said one diplomat. "We are in for a long period during which Milosevic will be isolated. It could take a year." He added that the West must overcome "a rather remarkable example of mind control through manipulated media. What we hope is that over the long term it will be clear to the Serbian people that if the whole Western

world is taking steps against them, then there is something wrong with the leadership at home." A senior European diplomat expressed the contrasting belief, however, that if "the Serbs have got nothing left to lose, they will go for broke" in Bosnia.

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"I don't understand why America is not our friend anymore," said Albert Albahari, 69, a retired economist. "America is going together with our common enemy from World War I and World War II."

Echoing the views of many Serbs, Albahari said he believes Washington is badly informed and that Bosnia is becoming a dangerous Islamic regime. "I can't understand why America is sympathetic to a regime that is no good," he said.

Meanwhile, the EC withdrew its last 12 observers from Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, which has been cut off from the rest of the republic by Serb forces who bombard its 600,000 food-short residents daily with heavy artillery. EC officials said it simply had become too dangerous to work in the smoldering, shell-shattered city.

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The recall this week of Zimmerman and the EC ambassadors was an attempt to underscore that threat. But, the officials said, Milosevic and the Serbian generals made clear to Johnson that they are prepared to accept such diplomatic slaps. Johnson reportedly returned to report the only thing likely to sway Serbia is the threat of a military force—a force that Belgrade appears confident will not be used.