

AN OFFICIALS WIDE ACCORD

and Britain Express
s That Agreements
Be Complied With

RBARA CROSSETTE

ial to The New York Times

Aug. 27 — An international conference on the former Yugoslavia ended tonight with an agreement between Bosnian and Serbian leaders to lift the siege of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities and to return heavy weapons to United Nations control. But doubts were immediately expressed over whether they would live up to the commitments. The conference also converted itself into a week-long time conference that will be held in Geneva under the leadership of Cyrus R. Vance, a former U.S. Secretary of State who is representing the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who today was named as the U.S. Community's chief negotiator for the Balkans, after the resignation of William J. Perry on Tuesday.

One hour after the conference ended, British and American leaders announced that they were optimistic about Bosnian compliance to the new agreement.

The Serbs at the center of the conflict — Slobodan Milosevic, the leader of Serbia, and Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs — agreed to a complex regimen of military and political actions.

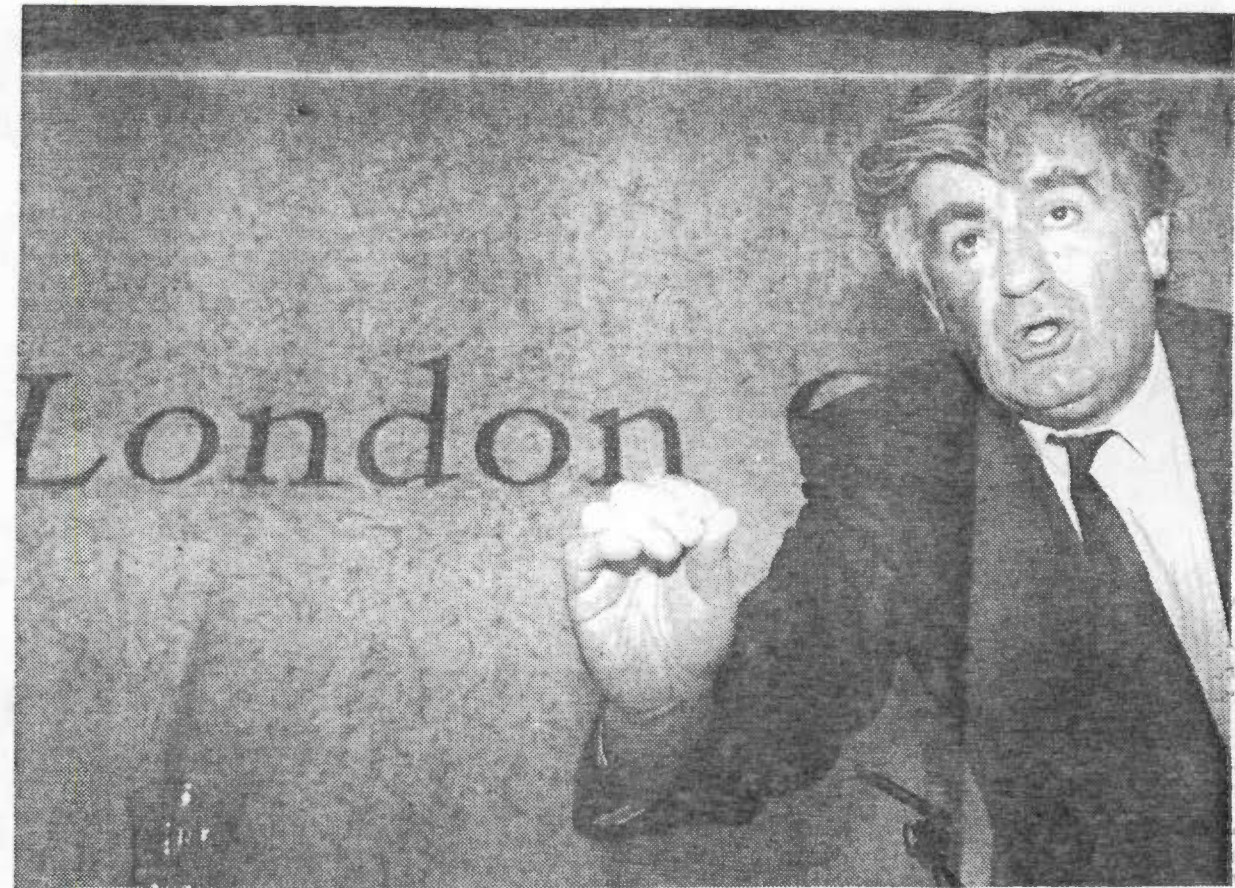
Mr. Karadzic did so with something less than enthusiasm. France's Foreign Minister, Jean-Marie Godefron, told reporters today that Milosevic had quarreled with Godefron, the Prime Minister of France, in front of the conference. And Mr. Karadzic said that the Bosnian Serbs were not besieged, so such strictures did not apply.

Mr. Eagleburger Expresses Doubts

Mr. Eagleburger said he has no particular evidence to believe that the Bosnian Serbs will live up to the bar set by his philanthropic attorney, Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger said of Mr. Milosevic's conference tonight.

The four documents issued at the conference this evening, Mr. Eagleburger said, placed the placement of humanitarian monitors and sanctions on the former Yugoslavia to emphasize that Serbia must live up to its commitments. Mr. Karadzic, Mr. Eagleburger said, "cannot be an incoherent." The Acting Secretary of State believed that Bosnian Serbs were receiving support from Serbia and that they were refusing to go into details, he said. Mr. Karadzic had been the danger of refusing to surrender heavy weapons.

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Associated Press

Serbian leaders announced an agreement yesterday to lift the siege of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities. Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, spoke at a news conference in London.



The New York Times

Complex actions are weighed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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Mr. Major and others said the conference had laid down a marker for Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs. "The Yugoslav parties have pledged themselves in front of the world to a code of conduct," he said.

According to conference documents, they also pledged to honor the borders of the former republics, recognize the new governments in them and return territory seized in recent fighting.

Mr. Eagleburger began his day today with a brief exchange with journalists over the resignation on Tuesday of an acting State Department chief of Yugoslav affairs, George D. Kenney.

"There is no question you have to have a great deal of sympathy for an officer who spent hours every day dealing with what is clearly a very terrible and messy situation," he said. But Mr. Eagleburger added that he, President Bush and James A. Baker 3d, who just left the State Department to become White House chief of staff, had to weigh the question of using force in the former Yugoslavia against a number of other considerations.

"Essentially what some New York Times editorial writers and Mr. Kenney are talking about is the use of force," Mr. Eagleburger said. "It is far too easy to talk about some surgical strike or some particular military act, because the consequences of that act have to be thought about."

He again raised the specter of Vietnam as a war in which the United States became entangled in increments. Mr. Eagleburger continues to insist that if sanctions are enforced, and the Danube is blocked against shipments of fuel and other goods to Bel-

grade, Serbia and its irregulars in Bosnia will be unable to carry on fighting.

The United States, which has initiated nearly all the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, first acted in September 1991 by imposing an arms embargo on all of the former Yugoslavia. In December, the Bush Administration stopped aid, and canceled trade privileges and a textile agreement.

In May, the United States co-sponsored a Security Council resolution imposing a trade embargo on Serbia and Montenegro, froze their assets abroad, ended air traffic, reduced diplomatic relations and called for a general ban on Serbian-Montenegrin participation in all international cultural, sports and scientific events. The Administration began closing Yugoslav consulates in the United States.

On Aug. 19, the Administration offered to send experts and logistical support to Romania to police sanctions, which were being violated by smugglers and other traders transiting neighboring countries.

3 Die Waiting for Bread

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aug. 27 (AP) — The fighting in Sarajevo quieted today for the first time since the weekend, but mortar shells struck a bread line and a cafe, killing 3 people and wounding 29. Women ran screaming with their children, old men and women tripped over one another and blood splattered over the bread being distributed.

Yugoslav peace talks yield pledges for a cease-fire

Richard O'Mara
Bureau

GENEVA — Driven by what British Prime Minister John Major called "a sense of anger," the international conference on the Balkans last night declared it had won a commitment from the parties involved for a full and permanent cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The conference also declared it was based on a promise from the Bosnian government to lift their siege of Sarajevo and other towns and cities in Bosnia, and as their agreement to put heavy weapons under United Nations supervision and bring "all forces, including irregulars, under international control."

The provisions of the agreement were supposed to be implemented within four days, but grave doubts were cast whether they actually would be implemented. The conference itself did not end, but only agreed to continue in a more permanent role in Geneva.

One of the parties — especially the Serbians — fully committed themselves to a return of land seized by force in the last six months of the war in Bosnia.

Asked if he thought the fighting would really stop, Mr. Major said, "The events will prove that. That is the pressure has to be kept up." Referring to Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian leader who was in London, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the U.S. secretary of state, told a news conference: "I don't have any other evidence that he will live up to the bargain."

Bosnia promised to cease assisting irregulars in Bosnia in their



ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Bosnian girl appeals for peace outside the London conference.

war against the government of Bosnia, and to try to "restrain them from taking territory by force and expelling the local populations," the so-called "ethnic cleansing" that has so agitated the world's conscience.

The Serbians also said they would use their influence with the Serbs in Bosnia to "obtain the closure of their detention camps . . . and to permit the return of refugees to their homes."

No carrot was offered to the Serbian government of President Milosevic for these concessions, only the stick of tighter economic sanctions.

The pressure on Serbia will be turned up. Serbia is considered by

most experts as the instigator and author of the violence that has occurred as Yugoslavia disintegrated into its constituent parts.

Currently the United Nations and European Community are enforcing a ban on trade and air traffic into Serbia, and have frozen Serbian assets. From now on monitors will be placed along the Serbian borders with Bosnia (to prevent assistance to the Bosnian Serbs), and on its outer borders, to prevent goods from reaching the Belgrade regime.

The Danube River route for trade and smuggling into Serbia from now on will be closely watched.

U.N. monitors, in what Mr. Eagleburger called a "preventive diplomacy," will also be placed in Kosovo province in southern Serbia, in Macedonia and other areas where ethnic conflict has been anticipated or Serbian intervention.

"The sanctions will go when the killing ends and there is no need for sanctions," said Mr. Major.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the U.N. secretary-general, announced that the U.N. protective force already in Bosnia and Croatia would be enlarged by the inclusion of an unspecified number of troops. Various countries at the conference had promised more troops, and Western European Union would be marshaling new contingents for former Yu-

goslavia starting today.

A ban on military flights over Bosnia will be enforced, said the secretary-general.

The conference also achieved "full collaboration in delivery of humanitarian relief by road throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina" as well as the progressive return of refugees to their homes.

The parties also agreed to the dismantling of detention camps and the release of all civilians detained.

And in response to demands for some kind of retribution against those who have committed atrocities in the Bosnian war, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said the conference "is studying the possibility of creating an international penal tribunal."

The U.N.-European Community conference, a summit in full panoply, brought together not only the leaders of all the warring states and factions in former Yugoslavia, but the heads of governments and international organizations far removed from the Balkans, such as Japan, and nations from the Persian Gulf that are concerned by what they perceive as persecution of Bosnian Muslims by the Christian Serbs and Croations; both of whom have seized large segments of Bosnian territory.

The conference, in fact, opened amid a heavy atmosphere of pessimism that sufficient force could be marshalled to make the Bosnian Serbs and Croations surrender the territory they had gained during the seven months of civil war in that country.

That pessimism was hardly dispelled last night. The Bosnian Serbs, it was noted, had promised to return only 20 percent of the territory the Serbs were holding.

Mr. Major and Mr. Eagleburger both pointed out that the Bosnian Serbs, all parties to the conference, agreed to abide by the basic principle under which the conference was organized — respect for the integrity of frontiers and "non-recognition of all advantages gained by force or fait accompli . . ."

Said Mr. Eagleburger: "The conference sent a clear symbol that the international community would not endorse aggression."

No matter what the Bosnian Serbs think, he said, the conference will insist on a "return to the status quo ante."

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Europe's Envoy in Yugoslav Crisis Quits

By BARBARA CROSSETTE
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Aug. 25 — Lord Carrington, the European Community envoy who for nearly a year tried and failed to negotiate peace in the Balkans, resigned today on the eve of an international conference on the region.

Talking to reporters after his resignation, Lord Carrington, a former Foreign Secretary in Britain, said this was a good moment to step aside because, "Things are going to change."

The incipient changes were on display for all to see, as leaders of more than 40 nations, world organizations and ethnic factions at the heart of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina gathered here for talks that are to take place on Wednesday and Thursday.

The prominence given to Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his special envoy, Cyrus R. Vance, along with Lord Carrington's resignation, seem to signal that Europe, having failed in a year to deal with this problem on its doorstep, has yielded considerable authority to the United Nations.

Panel on Bosnia Crisis

Lord Carrington and Mr. Boutros-Ghali were at odds earlier this summer over a European plan, announced without United Nations concurrence, to have United Nations peacekeeping forces take custody of weapons in Bosnia.

The London conference is sponsored by the United Nations and the European Community, whose rotating chairmanship is now held by Britain. But as if to underscore the priorities of the British public on the issue, major news programs today put the wounding in Sarajevo of a British television journalist, whose life was never in danger, ahead of Lord Carrington's resignation and other news of the conference.

There has also been a perceptible closing of ranks today behind a proposal, favored by the Bush Administration, to create a new international panel to work more or less around the clock on the Bosnia crisis.

Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of Russia went as far as any leader has gone in giving the body a name and function in a joint news conference with Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger today.

Eagleburger's Concern

Mr. Kozyrev, speaking in English, called the proposed body a "task force," and said that it would be in-

Leaving because things 'are going to change.'

involved in the verification of any agreements reached here. It was Mr. Kozyrev, not President François Mitterrand of France, who made the first perilous trip by a national leader into Sarajevo, at the end of May.

The importance of verifying agreements was underlined by Lord Carrington, who warned those who follow him into the Balkan minefields to "be wary of the willingness of everyone in Yugoslavia to break their word time after time."

The London meeting, described by analysts here as a strange kind of peace conference called while the war is still raging, will focus primarily on Bosnia and Herzegovina. That focus did not worry Mr. Eagleburger, whose concern about the spread of violence in the Balkans is on record.

"The principal question is, how do you deal with the conflagration in Bosnia and Herzegovina," he said today. "Hopefully by dealing with that you make it less likely, if not impossible, for it to spread to the other areas of what was Yugoslavia."

Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd of Britain outlined the goal he wanted to see achieved by the meeting.

"I think there is a hope that all concerned will accept there is a country called Bosnia, which cannot be partitioned without regard to the people who live there," he said. "It would be quite an achievement if we could get that much."

The London conference is taking on the improbable job of trying to change the thinking of Bosnia's warring factions after ruling out in advance any threat of force. No one here seems to have concrete ideas about how to persuade Serbs to give up territory.

Conferees will instead threaten some of the most recalcitrant nationalists of the era with world rejection and isolation.

Sanctions Rather Than Force

Leaders will ask the warring factions to agree to "four principles of civilized behavior." These are: the cessation of the use of force, the closing of detention camps, the end of "ethnic cleansing" and respect for national border and the rights of ethnic minorities.

"We want to mediate," Mr. Boutros-Ghali told reporters today. "We want to encourage a dialogue. At the same time we want to reinforce our humanitarian assistance."

Underlining Western fears of being drawn into the war, NATO representatives meeting in Brussels today delayed action on a plan that would engage some 6,000 soldiers in protecting convoys of relief trucks in Bosnia.



Agence France-Presso

More Shells Hit Sarajevo

Sarajevo residents running for cover yesterday as the Bosnia capital came under heavy mortar and rocket attack yesterday. Both the Presidential palace and the Bosnian military headquarters took

direct hits. The BBC also reported that its correspondent, Martin Bell, had been hit by shrapnel in Sarajevo. He suffered leg and stomach injuries, which were said not to be life-threatening.

The Many 'Non-Negotiable Demands'

By **CHUCK SUDETIC**

Special to The New York Times

ZAGREB, Aug. 25 — Leaders of the many factions in the former Yugoslavia go to the negotiating table in London on Wednesday with what are essentially irreconcilable positions on all major issues.

Serbia Belgrade will seek recognition of the new Yugoslav state, made up of Serbia and Montenegro, as the legitimate heir to the former Yugoslavia, which had six republics.

Serbia will remain obdurate in the face of appeals to recognize the independence of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina without border adjustments that would benefit Serbian minorities in the former republics.

Belgrade will also reject pressure to accept mediation on the question of Kosovo, a tense region in Serbia with a population that is 90 percent ethnic Albanian and which, at the very least, wants restoration of the autonomy that Belgrade quashed three years ago.

Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina After capturing about 65 percent of Bosnia and systematically expelling hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Croats, the Serbian leaders in Bosnia who have proclaimed their own republic say they are ready to talk peace.

The representatives, who have only observer status at the conference, will press for the breakup of Bosnia into cantons for Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

Kraljina Rebel Serbs in Croatia, who



The New York Times

Bosnia and Herzegovina delegates are working to reverse the dismemberment of their country.

control about 30 percent of the republic, will seek recognition in London, though their representatives, too, are only observers. Like the Serbs in Bosnia, Krajina's rulers clearly hope the territory they control will become a part of the new truncated Yugoslavia.

Bosnia and Herzegovina Sarajevo's representatives will work to reverse the Serbian dismemberment of the republic and seek Western air support and a lifting of a United Nations arms embargo that has left Bosnian forces at a distinct disadvantage. They will also oppose a ceasefire unless ethnic Serbs agree to withdraw their forces from Bosnia.

since April.

Sarajevo rejects ethnic cantons and will press for Bosnia to remain unified, with four regions whose borders would be determined by economic interests and historical and topographical considerations as well as ethnic makeup.

Bosnia will also seek the repatriation of all refugees.

Croatia Zagreb will join other former Yugoslav republics in attempting to block the new Yugoslavia's claim to the legitimacy of the old Yugoslav state. Croatian representatives will also press for the return of the 30 percent of Croatia seized by Serbs since August 1990.

Croatia will call on the conference to impose a total economic embargo and assert military pressure against the new Yugoslavia to end the fighting in Bosnia. Zagreb, saying it is concerned for the welfare of Bosnia's Croatian minority, supports cantonization. But it is clear that Croatia's leaders, like Serbia's, would accede to the dissolution of Bosnia if it meant territorial gains.

Slovenia The Slovenes, who like Croatia declared independence more than a year ago, will ask the conference to apply more economic and military pressure on Serbia to stop the fighting in Bosnia and to join in serious talks on dividing the assets and debts of the old Yugoslav state.

Macedonia Skopje's representatives will press for recognition of an independent Macedonia and for interna-

Balkans Session Is Long on Talk, Short on Action

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Aug. 26 — An international conference on the crisis in the former Yugoslav republics opened here today to rousing condemnation of the Serbs from nearly two dozen nations but virtually no calls for action beyond tightening economic sanctions and sending observers.

Only the Foreign Ministers of Turkey, speaking for the Islamic Conference, and of besieged Bosnia and Herzegovina suggested that the use of force might be the only effective response.

The Bush Administration, arguing that a tighter embargo could weaken the Government in Belgrade and cut its support for Serbian nationalists in Bosnia, proposed that Serbia be virtually encircled by international inspectors to end "flagrant" violations of economic sanctions.

'The U.S. Is Ready'

Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger said in a speech to the conference that the goal of these measures would be to interrupt the shipment of goods into Serbia overland and along the Danube.

"We must resolve no longer to tolerate continuing and flagrant violations of the sanctions regime," he said.

"We will move quickly to place multinational sanctions monitors in Romania," he said. "The United States is ready to coordinate experts and equipment to the operation." He said

Continued on Page A16, Column 3



Agence France

Sarajevo was hit yesterday with its heaviest bombardment of rockets and mortars in weeks. Bodies were laid out at a morgue in Sarajevo.

At Balkan Talks, Tough Language but No Action

Continued From Page A1

similar arrangements should be made with Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Macedonia.

The conference on the Balkans is taking place in orderly, genteel London against a backdrop of daily news reports of some of the most intensive bombardment of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities seen in weeks.

Mr. Eagleburger called the attacks an "outrage," and said that by the end of the session the talks, sponsored by the United Nations and the European Community, might propose punitive action. But by the end of today, State Department officials were expecting only position papers and a still-undefined "action plan" for the sanctions and monitors to be produced at the end of the talks.

Saying that the crisis in what was once Yugoslavia "was willed by men seeking to perpetuate Europe's last Communist regime by manipulating age-old hatreds and fears," Mr. Eagleburger also called today for the immediate stationing of human rights monitors in areas that could be the next targets of Serb nationalists: three re-

gions in Serbia named Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandzhak. Kosovo, in the south, has many residents of Albanian heritage, and Sandzhak, a region in Serbia northwest of Kosovo, has many Muslims among its people.

Americans could be part of the human rights and sanctions monitoring teams, officials said.

Tough Talk by Germany

The toughest language of the opening session of the talks came from Germany's Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel, who accused the Serbs, sitting across the table, of genocide and warned them that they would keep no land. Germany has a long relationship with Croatia, and has been a leading critic of the Serbian leadership.

"Do not deceive yourselves," Mr. Kinkel said to the Serbs. "The international community will never accept the acquisition of territory through force and terror."

He accused them of a "war for a greater Serbia" as ethnically pure as possible, and added that "here the root of crimes against humanity lie."

Mr. Eagleburger echoed the warnings later when he said: "History teaches that the conquests of past ethnic cleansers have tended to be short-lived."

Serbian Offer Is Welcomed

The Acting Secretary of State welcomed an offer by some Serbs to permit the stationing of international observers along the Serbia-Bosnia border and at air bases in Serbia and Montenegro to prevent the movement of arms or supplies to Bosnian Serbs.

That pledge was made here Tuesday and again today by Milan Panic, the Prime Minister of what remains of Yugoslavia, made of Serbia, the old Yugoslavia's largest republic, and Montenegro, its smallest. Mr. Panic is attending the talks as an individual because his government is not recognized as the successor to the old Yugoslav state.

Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic, did not oppose the idea when it was proposed, American officials said.

But as if to underline the divisions



The New York Times

The United States said Serbia should be encircled by inspectors to end violations of an embargo.

among Serbs, and illustrate the limited influence of Mr. Panic in Bosnia, the leader of Bosnia's Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, walked out of today's session because he was relegated to observer status at the talks. His symbolic gesture was intended to demonstrate that he wanted equal status with the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bosnia 'Doesn't Exist Anymore'

"Bosnia-Herzegovina doesn't exist anymore as a state," Mr. Karadzic told the BBC.

Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in March, following Cro-

atia and Slovenia in departing from the Yugoslav federation, a nation born in 1918 of a group of "south Slav" peoples and religions. Since then the republic has been carved up into ethnic enclaves by militias in fierce fighting that has left thousands killed and hundreds of thousands homeless out of the total population of 4.3 million. One Bosnian cease-fire after another has been declared and then quickly broken, and the Muslims, who make up almost half the population, have accused Serbia of being the aggressor.

Mr. Milosevic, who had a place at the table as the leader of Serbia, sat in stony silence through most of today's proceedings. American officials said that he had not sought a meeting with Mr. Eagleburger, a former United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia whom he has known for many years.

Mr. Panic told a reporter in Belgrade that he would have preferred to have Mr. Milosevic, the Serbian Communist-turned-nationalist, skip the conference. But Mr. Panic said, Cyrus R. Vance, the former Secretary of State who is now the United Nations negotiator for the region, had urged both men to come.

"If I disagree with him in London, it looks like I'm a traitor," Mr. Panic, a Serbian-born American citizen, said before leaving for the talks. "If I agree with him, I look like I'm his man. But Cyrus Vance called me and told me to bring him, so that's what I'm doing."

Bosnia Fighting Heats Up

Serbian aircraft attacked Novi Travnik, 50 miles northwest of Sarajevo, the radio said.

Serbs in the hills encircling Sarajevo pummeled the city with hundreds of rockets and mortar shells and raked the streets and buildings with heavy machine-gun fire today, in the second day of intense fighting.

Bosnia's Health Ministry said 30 people were killed and 263 wounded across the republic in the previous 24 hours, including 14 dead and 126 injured in Sarajevo. Daily casualties since the fighting intensified over the weekend have been roughly twice that of the previous week.

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