



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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BOSNIA IN CRISIS
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC

June 7, 1995

Thank you, Chairman Smith. The United States Institute Of Peace, which this year celebrates its tenth anniversary, is pleased to be associated with the Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the sponsorship of this afternoon's briefing on the Crisis in Bosnia. This tragedy, which has been characterized by armed aggression, ethnic "cleansing," war crimes, brutality, refugees, and terrorism, is absorbing the concern and the conscience of our government and of increasing numbers of the American people. We are grateful, Mr. Chairman, to you and to Senator D'Amato, your co-chairman, as well as to your staff for helping to channel informed public attention to the serious international challenge represented by the crisis in Bosnia. I know that I also speak for the President of our Institute, former Ambassador Richard Solomon, who is in our audience, as well as for Dr. Ken Jensen of our staff who has helped organize this event.

The U.S. Institute of Peace was created by law to increase the American capacity to manage international conflict without violence. Our grants and fellowships go to scholars, educators and practitioners with that in mind. We help train diplomats in conflict resolution skills; and we support policy making through research and by informed public discussion. This event is in that spirit.

The armed aggression in the former Yugoslavia is the first post-Cold War challenge to the principle that peace and stability require that we not condone gain from armed aggression, a

principle we helped codify in the Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act. Americans are united on this principle, even as we continue to differ on how best to uphold that principle. Fundamental to that debate, healthy and proper for a democratic society, is the question of how the various policy options before us affect the military balance of power on the ground. Will lifting the arms embargo, for example, lead to increased killing and the devastation of Bosnia, or will it help Bosnia restore its boundaries and lead to realistic negotiations between the parties?

That issue has been raised but not yet adequately explored. It is to help that and related questions that this afternoon's program on "The Military Balance of Power in the Former Yugoslavia and Prospects for Diplomacy" is being presented to you. We believe this subject is fundamental to the political and diplomatic decisions we face in defining our national interest, our values, and our commitments as we enter a new world.

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We will proceed today with two 15-minute presentations - by Norman Cigar and Zalmay Khalilzad - on interpretations of the military balance, followed by a presentation by Eugene Rostow on the political and diplomatic implications of what we know about the military balance. Once Eugene Rostow has made his remarks, I will ask Professor Cigar and Dr. Khalilzad to comment briefly on those implications. After that, we will open the meeting to questions from the floor. Detailed biographies of the speakers are available.

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Norman Cigar is professor of national securities studies at the Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting in Quantico. He is the author of the recently published article "Correlating the Battlefield and the Negotiating Table: The Case of Bosnia."

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Zalmay Khalilzad is program director for strategy, doctrine, and force structure of RAND's Project AIR FORCE, and director of RAND'S Greater Middle East Studies Center. He was assistant deputy under secretary of defense for Policy Planning in 1991 and 1992, in which capacity he was responsible for long-range planning in the Department of Defense. It was also

the responsibility to advise his senior colleagues on the full range of U.S. defense policy and strategy issues.

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Since 1984, Eugene Rostow has been Distinguished Research Professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. Except for 1990-92, that is, when we managed to bring him to the Institute of Peace as one of our Jennings Randolph Distinguished Fellows. His long career includes service as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and Director of ACDA. Before moving to the National Defense University, he served on the faculty for Yale Law School for 40 years, including ten years as its dean.

CSCE NEWS RELEASE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

234 Ford House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-6460
Rep. Christopher Smith, Chairman
Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, Co-Chairman

Contact: Chadwick R. Gore
1-202-225-1901

Crisis in Bosnia Focus of Two Commission Briefings

For Immediate Release
May 31, 1995

Contact Erika Schlager or Chadwick R. Gore
1-(202) 225-1901

Washington — As NATO considers further action in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a team from the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia investigates allegations that Croatian forces attacked fleeing civilians during a recent offensive in western Slavonia, the world's attention to the war in the former Yugoslavia has intensified. At this critical juncture, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe will host two briefings on the latest developments relating to the former Yugoslavia. Both events will be open to **Members of Congress, their staff, and the public:**

THE MILITARY BALANCE OF POWER IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND PROSPECTS FOR DIPLOMACY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7

2:00 - 4:00 PM

ROOM 2200, RAYBURN OFFICE BUILDING

Organizers: CSCE & The United States Institute of Peace.

Moderator: Ambassador Max Kampelman, Vice-Chairman, The United States Institute for Peace

Panelists:

Norman Cigar, Professor of National Security Studies, Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting. Author of *GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA* and the soon-to-be-published article, *Correlating the Military Balance and the Negotiating Table: The Case of Bosnia*.

Zalmay Khalilzad, Program Director for Strategy, Doctrine, and Force Structure for RAND's Project AIR FORCE and former Assistant Deputy Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning.

Eugene Rostow, Distinguished Research Professor, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University. Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs; Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace, Author, most recently, of *TOWARD MANAGED PEACE: THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1759 TO THE PRESENT*.

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THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: UPDATE ON FUNDING, INDICTMENTS, AND RELATED ISSUES

MONDAY, JUNE 12, 10:00 AM - NOON

ROOM 2200 RAYBURN OFFICE BUILDING

Organizers: CSCE & The American Society of International Law.

Panelist: **Thomas S. Warrick**, partner, Pierson Semmes and Bemis. Served as senior counsel to M. Cherif Bassiouni, chairman of the United Nations Commission of Experts (tasked with investigating war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in the former Yugoslavia). Mr. Warrick will discuss the status of the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, including current indictments, funding questions for Congress, and prospects for the Tribunal's success.