



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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# Serbia

## Transition to Democracy?

If Serbia wants to rejoin Europe as a respected member of that community, its leaders will have to honor democratic values and institutions, says Max Kampelman, former ambassador to the CSCE.



The leaders of Serbia, besieged by months of pro-democracy demonstrations in Belgrade, have an important choice to make, says **Max M. Kampelman**, vice chairman of the board of directors at the U.S. Institute of Peace. They can resist the tide of democracy and be swept away like former Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu, or they can facilitate the peaceful transition to democracy and compete fairly in electoral politics.

Kampelman visited Belgrade in late December representing the United States as part of a fact-finding delegation for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). He has played a leading role in the U.S. engagement in the OSCE and its predecessor, the Commission for

Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), since 1980, when he served as ambassador and head of the U.S. delegation to the organization's Madrid conference. The delegation to Serbia—headed by **Felipe Gonzalez**, former prime minister of Spain—met with lawyers, judges, two Serbian vice presidents, the foreign minister, and the three opposition leaders, including **Vesna Pesic**, leader of the Citizens Alliance party. Pesic, who was a senior fellow at the Institute in 1994–95, received the Medal of Freedom from President Clinton for her anti-war activities in Serbia during the Bosnian conflict. She is the author of an Institute report entitled *Serbian Nationalism and the Origins of the Yugoslav Crisis* (Peaceworks no. 8).

Based on the recommendations of the delegation—whose members included representatives from Canada, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, and Switzerland—the OSCE adopted a resolution in early January calling on Milosevic to validate all municipal election results, including in Belgrade, and urging him to enter into dialogue with opposition leaders to examine what changes would be required to turn the country into a democracy. "That resolution was in fact Europe speaking. The Serbian

government indicated it would like to get back into the OSCE. The resolution said in effect, 'These are the kinds of things you have to do, if you want to belong.'"

Kampelman took time out from a hectic schedule of meetings to join the demonstrators on December 21. "My purpose was to give the demonstrators encouragement. The people I talked with said they were there to demonstrate their eagerness for democracy. They all wanted the election results validated."

Pesic also discussed the struggle for democracy in Serbia with **Joseph Klaitz**, director of the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, by phone in December. During that conversation, she urged the West to support the opposition protests in the name of democratic values and regional security. The notion that Milosevic is a force for stability in the region is highly ironic, Pesic said, because in her view he bears major responsibility for leading the former Yugoslavia into bloody conflict as the country broke apart, and for Serbia's subsequent economic collapse. She foresees that Milosevic, should he survive the current crisis, is likely to prove increasingly unpredictable as economic conditions continue to worsen in Serbia and political unrest, consequently, continues to grow.

**Left: Pro-democracy demonstrators fill the streets in Nis, Serbia's second largest city, on December 23.**

**Insert: Max Kampelman (left) talks with a pro-democracy demonstrator in Belgrade (photographed from a CNN video tape).**



# Bosnia's Security and U.S. Policy in the Next Phase

It has become obvious over the past year that a functioning multiethnic Bosnia cannot be imposed by outsiders, "no matter how well-meaning," concludes a recent policy paper funded in part with a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace. The report says that the political, military, and economic dynamics on the ground in Bosnia have demonstrated clearly that the Muslim, Croat, and Serb factions are at best "reluctant partners," just as they were reluctant signatories to the Dayton Accords in 1995,

and that these factions are unlikely to form a democratic, multiethnic state in the near or mid-term. Yet the United States and the international community still possess the means to influence developments toward peaceful economic interaction and formation of common institutions.

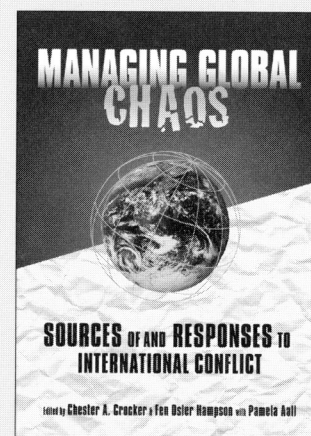
The 22-page policy paper, "Bosnia's Security and U.S. Policy in the Next Phase," was produced by the Atlantic Council of the United States; the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, East

European Studies division; and the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX). In addition to the Institute, the NATO Office of Information and Press also helped to fund the project. **Roger Kirk**, director of the Atlantic Council, served as project chairman, and **Jack M. Seymour, Jr.**, director of the council's program on Atlantic cooperation, and **John Lampe**, director of East European Studies at the Wilson Center, were project directors.

The paper's conclusions and recommendations are based on the research of more than 20 experts, including academics, businessmen, lawyers, and former government and military officials. Four contributors with linguistic and practical expertise in Bosnia traveled widely in the country to assess a range of security matters, including military, economic, and public safety issues. A number of the paper's recommendations are already being implemented. Additional recommendations from the report are listed below.

## Recommendations

The task force recommends that the United States, in concert with the NATO allies and other participants in the Stabilization Force



## Managing Global Chaos Sources of and Responses to International Conflict

edited by **Chester A. Crocker** and  
**Fen Osler Hampson** with **Pamela Aall**

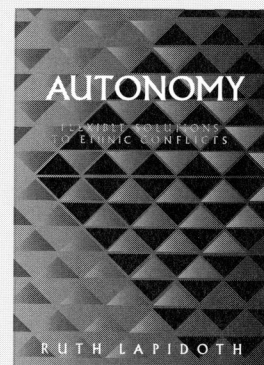
*"This thoughtful collection of essays makes an important contribution toward understanding and identifying approaches to the prevention, management, and solution of present-day conflicts."*

—Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees

Includes 41 chapters written by renowned specialists.

September 1996 • 672 pp. • 7 x 10

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## Autonomy Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts

**Ruth Lapidoth**

Explores the origins of the concept of autonomy and examines the roles it can play in mitigating conflict. Includes 10 case studies.

February 1997 • 288 pp. • 6 x 9

\$19.95 (Paper) 1-878379-62-3 • \$32.50 (Cloth) 1-878379-63-1

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703-661-1590

## Zaire

Continued from  
page 1



Participants noted that—with the government in Zaire largely a fiction and its president, Mobutu Sese Seko, being treated for cancer in Europe—the country's regions have operated autonomously for many years. Thus the recent Tutsi-led rebellion in the east—in part a result of the ethnic conflicts in neighboring Rwanda and Burundi—was an understandable development. **Crawford Young** of the University of Wisconsin-Madison said the rebellion succeeded in a state that has lost its competence and credibility.

Although the formal state structure exists, its operation is nominal in many spheres. For example, no resources are available for maintaining the country's infrastructure, and the economy is a shambles, Young said. Copper production fell from a peak of 471,000 tons in 1985 to 35,000 tons in 1995. Inflation hit 23,770 percent in 1994, and was "a mere" 542 percent in 1995, Young said. The country's currency, the zaire, was worth two U.S. dollars in 1967; it had fallen to over 21 billion zaires per dollar in 1995. "With the domestic currency virtually worthless, accumulation often depends on illicit international trade, dealing in commodities such as gold, diamonds, ivory, stolen vehicles, or recently, narcotics," Young said. "Presidential resources themselves derive in important measure from smuggling."

Nevertheless, he argued, the government is still "well short of a collapsed state." Other participants said, however, that the state is in imminent danger from the factors Young cited, combined with the rebellion in the east and pressures from other countries in the region, including Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, southern Sudan, and Angola.

## Filip Reyntjens of

the University of Antwerp said that the governments of Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda have actively supported the rebellion in eastern Zaire, in part to create a security buffer zone on their borders. Even if the rebellion is put down, the eastern border will remain volatile and unstable. "This potential for ongoing conflict involves four government armies; a former government army [from Rwanda]; and over 10 rebel movements from five countries," Reyntjens said. All the players have their own agendas and are involved in potentially shifting alliances. "The local actors and their regional and international sponsors who have

opened this Pandora's box bear a heavy responsibility for a situation that might develop beyond control," Reyntjens cautioned.

## What Can the International Community Do?

One participant urged formation of a contact group that would bring together the Organization for African Unity (OAU); the United Nations; African leaders; and key Western interests including the United States, France, Belgium, and the European Union. The group could press for an internal dialogue within Zaire; promote reconciliation among Zaire, Rwanda, and Uganda, with the chief aim of ending armed cross-border interventions; and create an international-Zairian partnership with a credible chance of revitalizing a transition to an elected government. Further, he recommended that the United Nations enlarge its presence in Zaire to oversee elections, revitalize core ministries, and lay the



groundwork for the country's rehabilitation and recovery.

Participants agreed on the urgent need for such measures, but cautioned that mobilizing support for such a major intervention would be difficult in the best of circumstances, especially in Zaire's case—many donors and international actors have virtually "given up on Zaire," in part because of past abuses and the lack of a legitimate government.

Left to right:  
**Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja**,  
**Crawford Young**, **David Smock**, and  
**Chester Crocker**.





### The Media and Conflict Resolution

**T**he media can cover conflicts in ways that will have a positive influence and thus help to facilitate resolution, says Gordon Adam, former producer for British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio. He discussed "The Mass Media's Role in Conflict Resolution" at the Institute December 10 as part of a continuing series of discussions on "Media and Conflict," organized by the Office of Communications. Adam based his talk on a report he researched and wrote for Great Britain's Overseas Development Agency (ODA). Reporters and editors can contribute to peacemaking without compromising their roles if they work harder to report on the positive aspects of a situation, in addition to its negative aspects. Adam said they also can provide social education programming that stresses cultural themes relating to reconciliation and use their stories to open channels of communication between opposing parties. "The most successful conflict resolution initiatives result from a partnership between enlightened media editors and conflict resolution specialists," he said.

### Economic Reform Necessary in North Korea

**I**f North Korea begins economic reform, the South Korean government is prepared to offer generous economic and technical assistance to the process, says Moo-Hong Moon, South Korea's assistant minister for unification policy. He met with Institute president Richard H. Solomon, Stanley Roth, director of the Research and Studies Program, and Scott Snyder, program officer, December 17 to discuss the current situation in North Korea and issues in coordinating a joint U.S.-South Korean policy. Moon provided his assessment of North Korea's changing leadership structure and stressed that economic reform is necessary in that country to prevent a collapse of the state.



Moo-Hong Moon (second from left) and his assistants meet with Scott Snyder (second from right) and Richard Solomon (far right).





(F)

**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**  
SUITE 800  
1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-2505

December 17, 1996

U. S. Department of State  
Office of Personnel  
Washington, DC 20520

Gentlemen:

This letter will serve as my agreement to take the short-term  
Belgrade assignment (departing 12/18/96) without compensation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'M. M. Kampelman', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the left.

Max M. Kampelman

Standard Form 86  
Revised September 1985  
U.S. Office of Personnel Management  
5 CFR Parts 731, 732, and 736

Form approved:  
O.M.B. No. 3208-0007  
NSN 7540-00-834-4038  
85-111

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**I Authorize** any investigator, special agent, or other duly accredited representative of the authorized Federal agency conducting my background investigation, to obtain any information relating to my activities from individuals, schools, residential management agents, employers, criminal justice agencies, credit bureaus, consumer reporting agencies, collection agencies, retail business establishments, or other sources of information. This information may include, but is not limited to, my academic, residential, achievement, performance, attendance, disciplinary, employment history, criminal history record information, and financial and credit information. I authorize the Federal agency conducting my investigation to disclose the record of my background investigation to the requesting agency for the purpose of making a determination of suitability or eligibility for a security clearance.

**I Understand** that, for financial or lending institutions, medical institutions, hospitals, health care professionals, and other sources of information, a separate specific release will be needed, and I may be contacted for such a release at a later date. Where a separate release is requested for information relating to mental health treatment or counseling, the release will contain a list of the specific questions, relevant to the job description, which the doctor or therapist will be asked.

**I Further Authorize** any investigator, special agent, or other duly accredited representative of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Defense, the Defense Investigative Service, and any other authorized Federal agency, to request criminal record information about me from criminal justice agencies for the purpose of determining my eligibility for access to classified information and/or for assignment to, or retention in, a sensitive National Security position, in accordance with 5 U.S.C. 9101. I understand that I may request a copy of such records as may be available to me under the law.

**I Authorize** custodians of records and other sources of information pertaining to me to release such information upon request of the investigator, special agent, or other duly accredited representative of any Federal agency authorized above regardless of any previous agreement to the contrary.

**I Understand** that the information released by records custodians and sources of information is for official use by the Federal Government only for the purposes provided in this Standard Form 86, and that it may be redisclosed by the Government only as authorized by law.

Copies of this authorization that show my signature are as valid as the original release signed by me. This authorization is valid for five (5) years from the date signed or upon the termination of my affiliation with the Federal Government, whichever is sooner. Read, sign and date the release on the next page if you answered "Yes" to question 21.

Signature (Sign in ink)

Full Name (Type or Print Legibly)

Date Signed

Other Names Used

MAX M. KATZBERMAN

12/17/96





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# Executive Branch CONFIDENTIAL FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE REPORT

Employee's Name (Last, first, middle/initial) <b>KAMPEWILLAN, MAX M.</b>		Position/Title	Grade	Reporting Status: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New entrant <input type="checkbox"/> Annual
Agency <b>STATE</b>		Branch/Unit and Address	Work Phone <b>202-639-7020</b>	If New Entrant, Date of Appointment <b>12/18/96</b>
Check box if special Government employee (SGE) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		If an SGE, Home Address (Number, Street, City, State and ZIP Code) <b>3154 HIGHLAND PL NW WASHINGTON DC 20008</b>		
I certify that the statements I have made on this form and all attached statements are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.			Signature of Employee <i>[Signature]</i> Date <b>12/17/96</b>	

Date Received by Agency	On the basis of information contained in this report, I conclude that the filer is in compliance with applicable laws and regulations (except as noted in "comments" box below).	Signature and Title of Supervisor/Other Intermediate Reviewer (If agency requires)	Date
Signature of Agency's Final Reviewing Official and Title		Date	Comments of Reviewing Officials
			(Check box if continued on reverse) <input type="checkbox"/>

## Part I: Assets and Income

None ☐

**Identify for you, your spouse, and dependent children:** 1) assets with a fair market value greater than \$1,000 at the close of the reporting period or producing income over \$200; and 2) sources of earned income such as salaries, fees, honoraria (other than U.S. Government salary or retirement benefits, such as the Thrift Savings Plan) which generated over \$200 in income during the reporting period. Earned income sources of your spouse must be reported if greater than \$1,000 (greater than \$200 for honoraria). No earned income needs to be reported for dependent children.

Assets include (but are not limited to): stocks, bonds, tax shelters, real estate, mutual funds, pensions, annuities, IRAs, trusts, commodity futures, trades and businesses, and partnership interests.

Exclude your personal residence, unless you rent it out, and deposit accounts in financial institutions. See instructions for additional exclusions.

Use copies of blank pages for continuation

Assets and Income Sources (Identify specific employer, business, stock, bond, mutual fund, type/location of real estate, etc.)		(X) if no longer held	Nature of Income over \$200 (Rent, interest, dividends, capital gains, salary, etc.)	Date (Only for honoraria)
Examples	Rental Condo, Anchorage, Alaska		Rent	
	Dec. Jones & Smith, Hometown, USA	X	Salary	
	(S) Alexandria Medical Clinic, Alexandria, VA		Salary	
	Franklin Equity Mutual Fund		Dividends/Capital Gains	
1	MUNICIPAL BOND - PHOENIX ARIZ STR + HWY		INTEREST	
2	MUNICIPAL BOND - NY STATE HSG. FIN AGENCY		INTEREST	
3	MUNICIPAL BOND - TRIBOROUGH BRIDGE + TUNNEL		INTEREST	
4	MUNICIPAL BOND - NY ST TWY AUTH. HWY + BRG		INTEREST	
5	MUNICIPAL BOND - WASH. STATE - G/O		INTEREST	
6	U.S. TREASURY NOTE - SER Y - 1999		INTEREST	
7	AMERICAN GREETINGS (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
8	BANK OF NY (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
9	COLGATE PALMOLIVE (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
10	CORNING INC (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	



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Employee's Name (Last, first, middle initial) <b>KAMPELMAN MAX M</b>		Position/Title	Grade	Reporting Status: <input type="checkbox"/> New entrant <input type="checkbox"/> Annual
Agency		Branch/Unit and Address	Work Phone	If New Entrant, Date of Appointment
Check box if special Government employee (SGE) <input type="checkbox"/>		If an SGE, Home Address (Number, Street, City, State and ZIP Code)		
I certify that the statements I have made on this form and all attached statements are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.			Signature of Employee	Date
Date Received by Agency	On the basis of information contained in this report, I conclude that the filer is in compliance with applicable laws and regulations (except as noted in "comments" box below).		Signature and Title of Supervisor/Other Intermediate Reviewer (If agency requires)	
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Examples			
Rental Condo, Anchorage, Alaska		Rent	
Dee, Jones & Smith, Hometown, USA	X	Salary	
(S) Alexandria Medical Clinic, Alexandria, VA		Salary	
Franklin Equity Mutual Fund		Dividends/Capital Gains	
1 FED. HOME LOAN MTG (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
2 GENERAL ELECTRIC (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
3 HANNAFORD BROS INC (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
4 MCI COMMUNICATIONS (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
5 PEPSICO (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
6 TRAVELERS GROUP (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
7 UNITED HEALTHCARE (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS	
8 ARTHUR DANIELS MIDLAND (COMMON STK)		DIVIDENDS	
9 CHARLES E SMITH RESIDENTIAL REALTY		DIVIDENDS	
10 CHARLES E SMITH LTD PARTNERSHIP UNITS		DIVIDENDS	

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I certify that the statements I have made on this form and all attached statements are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.				Signature of Employee	
				Date	
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Dec. Jones & Smith, Hometown, USA	X	Salary	
(S) Alexandria Medical Clinic, Alexandria, VA		Salary	
Franklin Equity Mutual Fund		Dividends/Capital Gains	
1 ZENITH NATL INSURANCE (COMMON STOCK)		DIVIDENDS + BOARD OF DIRECTORS FEES	
2 DREYFUS SHORT TERM INCOME FUND		DIVIDENDS + CAP GAINS	
3 ISRAEL BONDS		INTEREST	
4 TIAA/CREF ANNUITY		ANNUITY	
5 FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER + JACOBSON PENSION PLAN		PENSION (UNFUNDED)	
6 (LIMITED PARTNER - R.E. IN MT VERNON NY) PALMER AVENUE REALTY, L.P.		PARTNERSHIP INCOME	
7 (L.P. OWNS R.E. IN NYC) 245 CENTRAL PARK WEST ASSO., L.P.		PARTNERSHIP INCOME, CAP. GAINS + RENTS	
8 (REAL ESTATE IN NY) NEVADA TOWERS, L.P.		CAP. GAINS + PARTNERSHIP INCOME	
9			
10 (REAL ESTATE IN NY) FFHS + J ASSO., L.P.		NONE	



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Agency		Branch/Unit and Address		Work Phone	If New Entrant, Date of Appointment
Check box if special Government employee (SGE) <input type="checkbox"/>		If an SGE, Home Address (Number, Street, City, State and ZIP Code)			
I certify that the statements I have made on this form and all attached statements are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.				Signature of Employee _____ Date _____	
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Signature of Agency's Final Reviewing Official and Title _____		Date _____		Comments of Reviewing Officials _____ (Check box if continued on reverse) <input type="checkbox"/>	

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Examples	Rental Condo, Anchorage, Alaska		Rent	
	Dec. Jones & Smith, Hometown, USA	X	Salary	
	(S) Alexandria Medical Clinic, Alexandria, VA		Salary	
	Franklin Equity Mutual Fund		Dividends/Capital Gains	
1	RENTAL SINGLE FAMILY HOME - BRICKTOWN NJ		RENTAL	
2	MTG RECEIVABLE - DARDINE		INTEREST	
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

Employee's Name (Last, first, middle initial)

Work Phone

## Part II: Liabilities

None ☐

Report for you, your spouse, and dependent children liabilities over \$10,000 owed at any time during the reporting period (over \$10,000 at the end of the period if revolving charge accounts). Exclude a mortgage on your personal residence unless it is rented out; loans for autos, household furniture or appliances; and liabilities owed to certain family members (see instructions).

Creditors (Name and address)		Type of Liability (Mortgage, promissory note, etc.)
Example	First Alaska Bank, Anchorage, Alaska	Mortgage on rental property in Anchorage, AK
1	CASE MANHATTAN	MTG ON RENTAL PROPERTY, NJ
2		
3		

## Part III: Outside Positions

None ☐

Report any positions, whether or not compensated, which you held outside the U.S. Government during the reporting period. Positions include (but are not limited to) an employee, officer, director, trustee, general partner, proprietor, representative, executor, or consultant for a business, non-profit or labor organization, or educational institution. Exclude positions with religious, social, fraternal, or political entities or those solely of an honorary nature. You need not report any positions of your spouse or dependent children.

Organization (Name and address)	Type of Organization	Position	(X) No longer held
Example	Dec. Jones & Smith, Hometown, USA	Law Firm	Associate
1	SEE ATTACHMENTS		
2			
3			
4			

## Part IV: Agreements and Arrangements

None ☒

Report your agreements or arrangements for current or future employment, leaves of absence, continuation of payment by a former employer (including severance payments), or continuing participation in an employee benefit plan.

You need not report agreements or arrangements of your spouse or dependent children.

Terms of Any Agreement or Arrangement	Parties	Date
Example	Will receive retained pension benefits (independently managed, fully funded, defined contribution plan)	Dec. Jones & Smith, Hometown, USA
1		12/95
2		
3		

## Part V: Gifts and Travel Reimbursements

Do not complete this part if you are a new entrant or special Government employee.

None ☒

Report for you, your spouse, and dependent children gifts or travel reimbursements you have received from one source totaling \$250 or more. Exclude anything valued at \$100 or less; anything received by your spouse or dependent child totally independent of their relationship to you; anything from a relative or from the U.S. Government; anything given to your agency in connection with your official travel; and food, lodging, or entertainment received as personal hospitality at the donor's residence or premises.

Source	Description (For travel-related items, include itinerary)	Date
Example	Dec. Jones & Smith, Hometown, USA	Leather briefcase as a departing gift
1		12/95
2		
3		
4		



**Attachment to OGE-450**  
**Part III: Outside Positions**

**Max M. Kampelman**

**Organization**

Action Council for Peace in the Balkans  
 American Academy of Diplomacy  
 American Bar Asso.  
 American Bar Asso.  
 American Enterprise Institute  
 American Jewish Committee  
 Builders for Peace  
 Center for Strategic and International Studies  
 Ethics and Public Policy Center  
 Executive Council on Foreign Diplomacy  
 Freedom House  
 Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson  
 Henry M. Jackson Foundation  
 G'town Univ. Inst. for the Study of Diplomacy  
 Institute for International Studies  
 Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs  
 Jewish Institute for Nat'l. Security Affairs  
 Washington Quarterly  
 Wash. Inst. for Near East Policy  
 Zenith National Insurance Company

**Type**

Non-profit educ.  
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 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Law Firm  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Non-profit educ.  
 Insurance company

**Position**

Executive Committee  
 Chairman  
 Counselor, Standing Comm. on Law & National Security  
 Member, Executive Board, CEELI  
 Adjunct Fellow  
 Chairman, Nat'l. Adv. Council.  
 Member, Board of Directors  
 Senior Adviser  
 Member, Bd. of Directors  
 Member, Bd. of Directors  
 Chairman Emeritus  
 Of Counsel  
 Member, Bd. of Directors  
 Chairman  
 Advisory Council  
 Member, Bd. of Directors  
 Member Bd. of Directors  
 Board of Editors  
 Board of Advisors  
 Member, Bd. of Directors

## ITINERARY

Madrid Visit of Ambassador Max Kampelman  
December 19, 1996

### **THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19**

09:30 Airport Arrival via Continental Airlines

NOTE: Met at airport by Political Officer Katharine Koch who will accompany Ambassador Kampelman to Ambassador Gardner's Residence to rest and freshen up.

13:30 Depart from Residence for PSOE Headquarters

14:00 Lunch hosted by Felipe Gonzalez in honor of Amb. Kampelman

U.S. attendees: Ambassador Kampelman  
Ambassador Gardner  
Henry Kelley  
Virginia Ghent, Embassy Interpreter

Spanish attendees: Felipe Gonzalez  
Jorge Dezcallar, Political Director,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NOTE: Follow-on schedule to be determined.

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#### **Control Officer**

Katharine Koch, Political Officer  
American Embassy Madrid  
TEL: (34-1) 587-2393/589-2387  
FAX: (34-1) 587-2391

#### **Accommodation**

Ambassador's Residence  
TEL: (34-1) 587-2200, Ext. 2382

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## Tensions continue amid talks in Yugoslavia

December 21, 1996

Web posted at: 8:15 p.m. EST (0115 GMT)

**BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (CNN)** -- As tens of thousands of people protested yet another day Saturday, an international mission investigating Serbia's election fraud crisis concluded its work and said it would make recommendations within a week.

crowd

The mission from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) talked with both sides in an effort to resolve the standoff between President Slobodan Milosevic and the opposition.

The Zajedno coalition of opposition parties claimed it proved to the OSCE that it was cheated out of victory in Belgrade and 14 other towns in local elections. The claim unleashed five weeks of street demonstrations against Milosevic.

Members of the OSCE delegation said privately they favor the opposition view that election victories were stolen, and they will recommend to the government that the original results stand.

Opposition sources said the OSCE persuaded Milosevic to surrender the towns, including Belgrade, but that he would exercise his right to call a fresh poll early in 1997 to try to recover the towns for his ruling socialists.

Opposition leader Vuk Draskovic said once the election results are resolved, the state of the country's political system must be addressed.

"We are ready to start dialogue concerning media, the position of the political parties, the electoral system in Serbia," Draskovic said.

Draskovic

☐ (135K/15 sec. AIEF or WAV sound)

More than 100,000 opposition supporters and students demonstrated in Belgrade on Saturday along with 40,000 in Kragujevac and 20,000 in Leskovac.

In Kragujevac, 100 miles outside the capital, police kept the opposition protest and a socialist counter-demonstration apart as



the two sides traded insults then hurled eggs at each other.

banner

It was the first clash between pro-government and anti-government street demonstrators in the latest unrest. After more than a month on the streets, the patience of both sides is wearing thin.

Mingling in Belgrade with street demonstrators who are protesting for the 34th consecutive day, OSCE

delegate Max Kampelman got an earful.

"I think the United States could do much more than they are doing now," one man said to Kampelman. "What do you think?"

Kampelman

"You have to solve your own problems, and make your own demonstrations," Kampelman said.

☐ (128K/11 sec. [AIFF](#) or [WAV](#) sound)

The Milosevic government thus far has only hinted at a limited compromise: to rerun the disputed elections -- something the opposition says is out of the question. The first

international efforts to defuse the crisis suggest that neither side is ready for a compromise.

*Correspondent Peter Arnett and Reuters contributed to this report.*

### Related stories:

- [Milosevic's wife, opponents warn of civil war](#) - December 20, 1996
- [Students march on Milosevic's Belgrade home](#) - December 18, 1996
- [Milosevic promises to uphold election law](#) - December 17, 1996
- [Milosevic concedes second city; huge rallies continue](#) - December 16, 1996
- [Belgrade protesters hold out hope for reforms](#) - December 12, 1996
- [Serbian opposition loses challenge to nullified elections](#) - December 10, 1996

### Related sites:

*Note: Pages will open in a new browser window*

- [Belgrade History](#)
- [Europe Yugoslavia](#)
- [Yugoslavia.com](#)
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## **Zajedno believes OSCE will report in its favour**

04:38pm, Dec 21, 1996 EST

BELGRADE, Dec 21 (Reuter) - Serbia's opposition leaders expect an international mission to persuade President Slobodan Milosevic to recognise their victory in disputed elections and then order a new ballot, opposition sources said on Saturday.

Experts from the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) visited Belgrade to seek a way out of almost five weeks of conflict between Milosevic and the Zajedno (Together) opposition coalition.

The sources, who would not be identified, said the OSCE mission would rule after its return to Vienna that Serbia's ruling socialists cheated Zajedno of control of Belgrade and 14 other big towns and appeal to Milosevic to honour the result.

Milosevic was expected to do so but also to order a re-run of the November 17 local poll early in the new year.

Former Spanish prime minister Felipe Gonzalez, leader of the OSCE mission, told a news conference he would recommend action within a week.

His remarks and an official mission statement were bland although an American member, Max Kampelman, said the evidence it found of election fraud "seems to be impressive."

The dispute over the elections has resulted in daily mass demonstrations in Belgrade and shaken Milosevic's grip on power only weeks after he won an overwhelming victory in federal parliamentary elections.

More than 100,000 opposition supporters and students demonstrated in Belgrade on Saturday along with 40,000 in Kragujevac and 20,000 in Leskovac. Police kept the Kragujevac protest and a socialist counter-demonstration apart as the two sides traded insults.

Zajedno accused police of intimidating the population of smaller towns to stop them demonstrating after Vranje activist Goran Krstic was arrested and beaten on Thursday. Other arrests were reported in Zajecar and Kraljevo.

The socialists' use of courts to overturn Zajedno results for secret "irregularities" has inspired a U.S.-led push for democratic reforms in Serbia after half a century of communist and socialist rule.

The OSCE team met Zajedno and the authorities separately.

Zoran Djindjic, the main Zajedno leader and its mayoral candidate in Belgrade, said:

"The differences between the original results and the unprecedented court interventions are clear to all OSCE commission members. The only question is how to reinstate the original election results and resolve the crisis."

Vuk Draskovic, another member of the leadership, said: "The OSCE were shocked when we showed them the clean-cut decision of the Belgrade election commission when it proclaimed 60 seats for Zajedno."

The commission's ruling gave the opposition its first majority in the 110-seat city council and a potent springboard to attack socialist rule nationally.

Opposition sources said Milosevic could order fresh local elections within a month in an attempt to regain control of the lost towns, many of them industrial centres where repudiation by the working class majority was a socialist humiliation.

He is expected to come under heavy pressure to allow international monitoring of new elections and to give access to the state-controlled media by the opposition.

Winning fairly would be a tough challenge for the socialists, reportedly accused by Milosevic of allowing their local organisation to run down and rely on the power of state television to deliver election majorities.

But there are signs that he has already started to sweeten voters by paying out frozen pensions and benefits to workers in state industry.

Although the opposition demonstrations have been peaceful, the risk of confrontation has risen in the last week since the socialists began organising counter protests against the disruption.

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## REPORT FROM MR FELIPE GONZALEZ TO THE CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE OF THE OSCE

(unofficial translation from the Spanish)

1. Mr. Felipe Gonzalez, in his capacity as Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, accompanied by an ad hoc delegation, has paid a visit to Belgrade, in the fulfillment of the mandate assigned to him by the OSCE Chairmanship, after the invitation of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its acceptance by the OSCE.

2. The framework and guidelines established by the Chairmanship of the OSCE are expressed in the letter of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office in annex II. Annex III deals with the composition of the delegation which traveled to Belgrade on the 20 and 21st of December 1996.

3. During its stay in Belgrade and following the mandate received, the delegation met representatives of all political forces, institutions and the judiciary of the FR Y. Annex IV deals with the program of the visit which took place as scheduled and in a frank and open manner.

4. Several of the interlocutors presented the delegation with documentation related to its mandate. In annex V, there is an outline of the documents received.

5. At the end of his visit to Belgrade, the Personal Representative published a press release which is also annexed to this document as annex VI.

6. In the fulfillment of his mission, the Personal Representative and the delegation have been guided at all times both by their mandate and by the principles of the OSCE. Particularly, the Personal Representative reminded his interlocutors of the principles adopted by the OSCE Paris Summit held in 1990 and signed by the then Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, particularly of the following paragraphs:

We undertake to build, consolidate and strengthen democracy as the only system of government of our nations. In this endeavour, we will abide by the following:

Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings, are inalienable and are guaranteed by law. Their protection and promotion is the first responsibility government. The respect for them is an essential safeguard against an over-mighty State. The observance and full exercise are the foundation of freedom, justice and peace.

Democratic government is based on the will of the people, expressed regularly through free and fair elections. Democracy has as its foundation respect for the human person and the rule of law. Democracy is the best safeguard of freedom of expression, tolerance of all groups of society, and the equality of opportunity for each person. Democracy, with its representative and pluralist character, entails accountability to the electorate, the obligation of public authorities to comply with the law and justice administered impartially. No one will be above the law.

7. After having carefully listened to all the Parties and carefully examined all the information and documents, the Personal representative of the Chairman-in-Office submits to the Chairman-in-

-2-

Office of the OSCE the following conclusions and recommendations in relation to the local elections which took place in the FRY on 17 November 1996.

- a) I believe that the elections of 17 November, considered in their entirety, and without ignoring some critical observations on the functioning of the electoral system, reflected the will of the majority of the citizens of FRY.
- b) I have reached the conclusion, on the basis of all the data that I have, that the candidates of the coalition Zajedno, have won the local elections in the municipalities of: Pirot, Kraljevo, Uzice, Smederevska Palanka, Vrsac, Soko Banja, Kragujevac, Pancevo, Jagodina, Nis, Zrenjanin, Lapovo, Sabac, as well as nine municipalities in Belgrade.
- c) There is no question about the results of the local elections in the rest of the municipalities, nor of the fact that the candidates of the coalition, SPS, JUL and ND, won the majority of the votes in the elections.
- d) It is my opinion that both the authorities and all political forces in the FRY must accept and abide by the results of the local elections of 17 November, as reflected in the above conclusions.
- e) I recommend that the relevant organs in the OSCE support these conclusions and urgently call the authorities and political forces in the FRY to implement the will of the citizens as expressed in the polls, through implementation of the adequate procedures and in a spirit of dialogue and cooperation, while fully respecting human rights and democratic principles.

## Kampelman, Max

---

**From:** Vartanian, Thomas  
**To:** Kampelman, Max  
**Subject:** RE:  
**Date:** Tuesday, December 17, 1996 3:49PM

Sorry you won't be there. Enjoy the assignment..

-----  
**From:** Kampelman, Max  
**To:** Vartanian, Thomas  
**Cc:** Taft, William; Birenbaum, David; Cobb, Peter v.Z.; Levine, Alan  
**Date:** Tuesday, December 17, 1996 3:42PM

I have just been asked by the Department of State to be the U. S. representative at a meeting in Belgrade with Milosevic. I have agreed to go and leave tomorrow afternoon. It is not at all likely that I will be back in time for the Saturday night firm event.





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 23, 1996

Amb. Max M. Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Amb. Kampelman:

In connection with the processing of your recent appointment as a Special Government Employee, certain documents were prepared by the Office of the Legal Adviser. My understanding is that you asked for a copy of the 18 USC §208 waiver determination and the recusal letter you signed on December 18. In addition to the enclosed copies of those documents, I am enclosing a copy of the conflict of interest clearance prepared by us relating to your appointment.

If we can be of further service to you, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Mary Reynolds".

Mary Reynolds  
Chief  
Financial Disclosure Division  
Office of the Legal Adviser

Enclosures



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

To: Mr. Max M. Kampelman

18 U.S.C. §208(b)(1) Determination

I have been advised of the various particular matters that the Secretary's Special Representative to the OSCE Delegation on Democratization in Serbia-Montenegro may be asked to address. In light of these matters, I have reviewed the information provided on your financial interests and outside affiliations.

In accordance with 18 U.S.C. §208(b)(1), I have determined that, with respect to the issues for which you would be personally and substantially responsible as Special Representative, your financial interests and outside affiliations, as reflected on your SF-450 Executive Branch Confidential Financial Disclosure Report dated December 17, 1996, are not so substantial as to be deemed likely to affect the integrity of the services which the Government may expect from you in these matters.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James H. Thessin".

---

James H. Thessin  
Acting Legal Adviser

December 21, 1996



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 18, 1996

Mr. James H. Thessin  
Deputy Legal Adviser and  
Designated Agency Ethics Official  
U.S. Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520 - 6310

Re: Ethics Undertakings

Dear Mr. Thessin:

I am committed to the highest standards of ethical conduct for government officials. If appointed as the Secretary's Special Representative to the OSCE Delegation on Democratization in Serbia-Montenegro, I will not participate in any particular matter which, in violation of applicable rules, would have a direct and predictable effect on financial interests attributed to me.

I do not receive any partnership income from the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. I retired from that firm and receive only fixed retirement income.

In addition, during the entire time I am serving as the Special Representative, I will not act as agent or attorney for anyone before the U.S. Government in connection with any particular matter in which the United States is a party or has a direct and substantial interest and in which I have at any time participated personally and substantially as a Special Government Employee. If I serve as the Special Representative for more than sixty days, I further understand that I may not act as agent or attorney in relation to any particular matter involving specific parties pending before the Department, nor shall I receive compensation for any such services, whether rendered personally or by another. Moreover, I will recuse myself, as necessary, from any matters involving the interests of the outside organizations with which I am affiliated, as listed on the enclosure to this letter.

I will also recuse myself as appropriate from participation in any particular matter in which, in my judgment, it is desirable for me to do so in order to avoid the possible appearance of impropriety, despite the lack of any actual conflict.

Sincerely,

  
Max M. Kampelman

Enclosure





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 18, 1996

MEMORANDUM

To: PER/CSP/POD - Ms. Mary Jo Fisher

From: L/EP/FD - Mary Reynolds *MR*

Subject: Conflict of Interest Clearance (SF-450) - Max M.  
Kampelman - Secretary's Special Representative - SGE

This is to advise you that we have reviewed the Executive Branch Confidential Financial Disclosure Report (SF-450), dated December 17, 1996, which was submitted by Mr. Kampelman in connection with his appointment to be the Secretary's Special Representative to the OSCE Delegation on Democratization in Serbia-Montenegro.

In our review, we examined Mr. Kampelman's interests in light of the issues that he may be asked to address in his position as Special Representative, and have concluded that only a small likelihood exists that he would need to recuse himself on matters involving the interests he will retain. He has executed a recusal dated December 18. In addition, we have determined that neither Mr. Kampelman nor his law firm, Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, are registered as foreign agents as confirmed by the Department of Justice.

Regarding Mr. Kampelman's outside affiliations, a waiver under 18 USC §208 was issued and signed by Mr. Thessin today.

In light of the commitments Mr. Kampelman has made in his ethics undertaking to recuse himself as appropriate, and the waiver issued by Mr. Thessin, we have determined that the report discloses no conflict of interest under applicable laws and regulations.