



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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6 August 1997

Ambassador Max Kampelman  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue  
8th Floor  
Washington, DC  
20004

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Let me once again say how delighted I am that you will be able to join us for what promises to be a lively discussion. I have enclosed Robert Hayden's piece "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers," the article upon which I based this Policy Forum. I have also enclosed the invitation which includes all confirmed panelists, along with the date, time, and venue.

The format for the Policy Forum will be as follows: Hayden will speak for about 25 minutes, presenting salient points of his article. Each primary panelist will speak for about 15 (i.e. 20 maximum) minutes. Then, we will allow the discussants 15 minutes to present their comments, followed by 15 minutes (total) for response time from panelists. Finally, we will reserve the last 40 plus minutes for question and comment by audience members. Should you wish to change the format in any way, please let me know in advance.

Lastly, at your earliest convenience, please forward to me a one page biography of yourself for inclusion in the agenda questions or recommendations.

Once again, thank you for serving as moderator for our Forum; please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions.

Sincerely,

Vera Lichtenberg  
Program Officer  
Central and Eastern European Programs



The International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX)  
and  
The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

present a panel discussion on

**Ethnic Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia:  
Perspectives and Implications**

Friday, August 22, 1997, 9:30 am - 12 noon  
Helena Rubinstein Auditorium  
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

**Panel Members:**

Helen Fein  
Executive Director, Institute for the Study of Genocide

Robert Hayden  
Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh

George Kenney  
Writer

Dave Marash  
Correspondent, ABC News, "Nightline"

**Discussants:**

Paul Wallace  
Professor of Political Science, University of Missouri

Susan Woodward  
Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

**Moderator:**

Max M. Kampelman  
President, American Academy of Diplomacy  
Chairman, Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy  
Member, Committee on Conscience, United States Holocaust Memorial Council

August 21, 1997

For: Ambassador Kampelman  
@ Fax 639-7008

From: Paul Shapiro *PS*  
Tel: 202-488-6566

Subject: USHMM-IREX Program on Ethnic Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia

Attached are the program order and bios for tomorrow morning's program and presenters. I have included also a list of RSVP respondents for the program--which includes some media and several foreign embassies.

Dave Marash is a highly awarded journalist and will lead off. You have seen Robert Hayden's article. Helen Fein will respond to his argument. Her credentials to do so are clear.

I have attached an article from *The Nation* that includes a full middle section on George Kenney, whom you may remember as a State Dept. Officer who resigned over lack of US action in Bosnia. Since that time, he has done a turn-about and become involved in a debate about exaggerated press coverage of atrocities in Bosnia--quickly picked up by a pro-Serb publication called *Living Marxism*. ITN-London has also been involved on the media side, as the article explains, with implications for tribunal proceedings as well. The claim of exaggerated press coverage has encouraged some interested parties to minimize the scope and intensity of the crimes committed. The article is worth reading as you shape your introductions, etc. The press at the program may pursue this issue.

Both commentators have excellent and long academic records focused on Yugoslavia and ethnic mix situations.

Wesley Fisher will provide a welcome for the Museum along the lines you, Walter and I discussed yesterday, including reference to the Committee on Conscience resolutions and other Bosnia-related USHMM activities.

Thank you for absorbing all of this on short notice. Your participation will be a real service to the Museum. Whether the media will have an interest in follow-up comments from the panelists and from you after the program is unclear, but this may happen.

RSVP LIST  
FOR

## ETHNIC CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: PERSPECTIVES &amp; IMPLICATIONS

Nadine Asef-Sargent, World Learning, Inc.  
Amirela Balic, Embassy of B&H  
Dwight Bashir, Nat. Bahai Assembly  
Magdalena Bentkowska, Embassy of Poland  
Beth Berrean, IREX  
Mike Bromberger, World Net TV (on accreditation)  
Kimberli Brown, Counterpart International  
Gerald Cerny, National Archives  
Agata Chawastowicz, GWU  
Beate Dafeldecker, IREX  
Alexandra Dethens, Delphi International  
Camille Donoghue, Department of State  
Kerry Douma  
Tamara Dunbar, IREX  
Allison Dzeilanam, VOA Bosnia  
Dr. Ernest Latham, American Romanian  
Ray Ewing, Mediterranean Quarterly  
Helen Fein, (Presenting)  
Marci Fein  
Aurelius Fernandez, Foreign Service Journal  
David Fishman, GWU  
Kathleen Flynn, Amnesty International  
Kristin Foellmer, Deutschewelle TV  
Michael Fox, Professor-UMD  
Katherine Fox, Professor-UMD  
Francesca Gerleen, Atlantic Council  
Kristen Gilley, House International Comm.  
Peter Graves, USAID  
Laura Greenwald, IREX  
Mirijan Gubic, Croatian Embassy  
Zbigniew Gurzynsici, Embassy of Poland  
Robert Hand, Helsinki Commission  
Frank Havlicek, Atty  
Robert Hayden, (Presenting)  
Nina Heinsolm, German Embassy  
James Herbert, NEH  
Mrs. Herzer, Holocaust Museum Member  
Meke Holkeboer, US Catholic Conference  
Stacy Holscher, Atlantic Council  
Murray Howder  
Joseph Hunter, retired teacher  
Max Kamelman, (Moderating)  
George Kenney, (Presenting)  
Vladimir Kikilo, ITAR-TASS  
Elzbieta Kizanowoka, ICFJ  
Bojan Klima, VOA Croatian  
Charles Krause, News Hour w/ Jim Lehrer, PBS  
Elzbieta Kronowoka, ICFJ  
Mr. Kuglitch, DCM, Embassy of Austria  
John Lampey, Wilson Center  
Scott Lansell, IFES  
Susan Lavery  
Thomas Leary, USIA

RSVP LIST  
FOR

## ETHNIC CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: PERSPECTIVES &amp; IMPLICATIONS

Vera Lichtenberg, IREX  
Jennifer Linchy, IREX  
Don Lippincott, ICFI  
Mrs. Livingston (Richard)  
Richard Livingston,  
Dave Marash, (Presenting)  
Lynne Martin, USIA  
Paul McCarthy, Nat. End. for Dem.  
Jacqueline McMillen, Russian Information & Business Center  
Elizabeth Murphy, Cornell University  
Susan Nelson, State Dept. INR/RES  
Leonard Oberlander, Center for Study of Presidents  
Julia Ondrejcekova, Russian-American Chamber of Commerce  
Will Painter, Congressman David Obie  
Evan Parker, Voice International  
Slobodan Pavlovic, Nasa Borba  
Maya Peretze  
Don Peretze  
Petio Petev, Bulgarian Embassy  
Nancy Pettis, Voice International  
George Pick, Consultant  
Claudia Pinto, Portugese Embassy  
Allison Portnoy, USIA  
Djordje Putic, VOA-Serbian  
Charlotte Quian, National Intelligence Council  
Jennifer Ragland, IREX  
V.J. Rasevic, USIA Retired  
Philip Reeker, USIA  
Yuri Rifelj, Slovenia Embassy  
Touval Saadia, SAIS  
Stel Sandris, American University  
Ambassador John D. Scancian, CEELI  
Erika Schlager, Helsinki Commission  
Dwight Schultheis, Office of Foreign Assets Control  
Margit Serenyi, Office to Aid Catholic Church CEE  
Sydney Smith, US Dept. of Labor  
Dr. Spiro Manolas, Office of Secretary of Defense (Retired)  
Daniela Stein, Atlantic Council  
Robert Sucharek, Deutschewelle TV  
Terry Thielen, Common Ground Productions  
Ljiljana Toskovic, Yugoslav Embassy  
Dr. Urban, Catholic University  
Mary Anne Walker, USAID-Bosnia  
Paul Wallace, (Presenting)  
Mr. Weiss, 1st Secretary Pub. Diplom., Embassy of Austria  
Susan Woodward, (Presenting)  
Craig Zelizer, IREX



The International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX)  
and  
The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

invite you to a policy discussion

**"Genocide" in Bosnia?**

Friday, August 22, 1997, 9:30 am - 12:00 noon  
Helena Rubenstein Auditorium  
The US Holocaust Memorial Museum  
100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW  
Washington, DC

**Panel Members**

ROBERT HAYDEN

25

(2)

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH  
*Author of "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers"*

HELEN FEIN

25

(3)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF GENOCIDE

DAVID MARASH

15

(1)

CORRESPONDENT, ABC NEWS, NIGHTLINE

GEORGE KENNEY

15

(4)

WRITER

**Moderator**

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

PRESIDENT, AMERICAN ACADEMY OF DIPLOMACY

CHAIRMAN, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF DIPLOMACY

MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON CONSCIENCE OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

**Discussants**

PAUL WALLACE 10

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

SUSAN WOODWARD 10

SENIOR FELLOW

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

In his article "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers," Robert Hayden argues that the collapse of Yugoslavia had to result in the creation of ethnic states, and that the bloodshed involved would have been minimized if this tragic fact had been recognized at the outset. According to Hayden, events in the former Yugoslavia have been misrepresented by many scholars, policy makers and the media: they failed to acknowledge that territorial partition and forced population movements are inevitable in certain circumstances, such as those in Punjab in 1947 and Bosnia in 1992. He further argues that labeling these processes "genocide," "ethnic cleansing" or "population transfers" is an exercise in political rhetoric that is not dependent on analysis of events on the ground. A distinguished group of panelists will discuss Hayden's provocative thesis and the debate surrounding genocide and ethnic cleansing.

Please RSVP to IREX if you plan to attend: attention Jennifer Linchy  
(tel) 202-628-8188 (fax) 202-628-8189 (e-mail) [jlinchy@irex.org](mailto:jlinchy@irex.org)

## Participant Biographies:

**Helen Fein** is Director of the Institute for the Study of Genocide and an associate of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. She has written numerous articles and several prize-winning books on genocide, including *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization During the Holocaust* (Sorokin Award of the American Sociological Association in 1979) and *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* (the PIOOM Award, 1991). *The Prevention of Genocide: Rwanda and Yugoslavia Reconsidered* (Fein, ed.; December 1994) was distributed to members of the U.S. Congress by the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. Dr. Fein was a founder and first president of the International Association for Genocide Scholars (1995-1997).

**Robert M. Hayden** is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Associate Professor of Law at the University of Pittsburgh. He holds a J.D. and a Ph.D. from the State University of New York at Buffalo. Since 1981, Professor Hayden has done research in and on the former Yugoslavia, spending a total of about five years there, and is fluent in Serbo-Croatian. Since 1989, he has concentrated on constitutional structures, and politics and nationalism in the Yugoslav successor states, publishing widely on these topics in professional journals. He is the author of numerous articles, including "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers," (*Slavic Review*, vol. 55, no. 4, Winter 1996). Dr. Hayden also has done extensive research in India. He has served on several IREX selection committees and participated in various program initiatives.

**Max M. Kampelman**, a lawyer, diplomat, and educator, was Counselor of the Department of State, and Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva. In January, 1989, he rejoined the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, where he is now "Of Counsel." Previously, he served as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to several CSCE conferences. From 1989 to 1993, he was Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association. He is now a member of the Committee on Conscience of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Chairman Emeritus of Freedom House, and Honorary Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation. He serves as Chairman of the American Academy of Diplomacy, Chairman of Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and, by Presidential appointment, Vice Chairman of the United States Institute for Peace. Ambassador Kampelman is also a member of the Executive Committee of the American Bar Association Special Committee on the Central and Eastern European Law Initiative. His book, *Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life*, was published in 1991 by HarperCollins.

**George Kenney** is a writer and consultant based in Washington, D.C. He focuses on issues of Balkan and European security. Mr. Kenney has written more than fifty op-ed pieces and articles on the Balkans for major national and international papers, including *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New Republic*. He also appears frequently on television and radio as a commentator on



foreign policy. His guest appearances include ABC, NBC, and CBS evening news; the "McNeil/Lehrer News Hour"; the "Lehrer News Hour"; CNN's "Crossfire"; "Larry King Live"; and two ABC Peter Jennings' specials on the Bosnia crisis. From October 1992 until September 1994, Mr. Kenney was a consultant at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In February 1993 Mr. Kenney testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In August 1992 he resigned from the U.S. Department of State to protest policy on the Yugoslav crisis. He was a career Foreign Service Officer, last serving in Washington in the European Bureau as acting officer in charge for Yugoslav affairs. Mr. Kenney has lectured at over one hundred colleges, universities, and organizations, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Stanford, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Brookings Institution.

**Dave Marash** was named a correspondent for ABC News, reporting for "Nightline," in June 1992. Since then, Mr. Marash has filed a series of highly acclaimed reports on the wars in the former Yugoslavia, his work honored most recently with a 1994 Emmy Award. Over the past year, Mr. Marash has filed numerous breaking news stories for "Nightline," including coverage of suicide bombings in Tel Aviv; the explosion of TWA Flight 800, and the bombing at the Atlanta Olympics. Previously, Mr. Marash spent more than a decade in local news in New York and Washington, D.C. He was a correspondent for ABC News "20/20" from 1978-1980, where he won a national Emmy Award for his reporting on the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. Mr. Marash has won numerous broadcasting honors, including seven local Emmys, a New York Press Club Award for his WNBC-TV series on the lack of facilities to save victims of smoke inhalation, and an Overseas Press Club Award for his 1972 CBS Radio reports on the terrorist attack at the Munich Olympic Games. He also has published articles in major papers and magazines, including *The New York Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and *The Washington Journalism Review*.

**Paul Wallace** is Middlebush Professor of Political Science and Department Chair at the University of Missouri-Columbia. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of four books, including *Political Dynamics and Crisis in Punjab* and *Region and Nation in India*. He also has authored numerous articles and chapters, including "Ethnic, Minority Politics in Punjab, India: The Lessons for Yugoslavia," in *Minorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, Yugoslavia, December 1996) and "Problems of Partitions in Europe and South Asia" (*Slavic Review*, vol. 55, no. 4, Winter 1996). Professor Wallace is on the editorial boards of *Asian Survey* (University of California), *Punjab Journal of Politics* (India), and the *International Journal of Punjab Studies* (United Kingdom). Dr. Wallace has received five Smithsonian-funded national election studies in India: 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, and 1996. He has lent his expertise to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (India and Sri Lanka), and the U.S. Attorney General's Office and lawyers in the U.S. and Canada (political asylum for Sikh refugees). He also has lectured extensively in numerous universities in the U.S., Europe, and India, including the University of Wisconsin, Duke, and the University of Chicago.

**Susan Woodward** is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies program of the Brookings Institution. Her area of expertise is Central and Eastern Europe, including the former Yugoslavia; reform communism; and the transition in Eastern Europe from socialist political economies to market economies and electoral democracies. Prior to joining Brookings, Dr. Woodward was a national fellow at the Hoover Institution; Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale University; and Assistant Professor in the political science departments of Williams College, Mount Holyoke College, and Northwestern University. Dr. Woodward's most recent book, on the Yugoslav civil war as a paradigm for future conflicts in the post-communist and post-Cold War worlds, is *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War* (Brookings Institution, 1995). She is also the author of *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990* (Princeton University Press, 1995). Her published essays include "Time for a Post-Mortem on Bosnia?" (*The Brookings Review*, Summer 1995); "United States Policy Toward Eastern Europe," with John D. Steinbruner, in William James Adams, ed., *Singular Europe: Economy and Polity of the European Community After 1992* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992); "The Tyranny of Time: Eastern Europe's Race to the Market," (*The Brookings Review*, Winter 1991-1992); and "Soviet Rehearsal in Yugoslavia? Contradictions of the Socialist Liberal Strategy," in Ralph Miliband and Leif Panitch, eds., *Communist Regimes: The Aftermath* (Merlin Press, 1991). Susan Woodward has served on several IREX selection committees and has participated in many IREX programs.



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and  
The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

present a panel discussion on

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Perspectives and Implications**

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**Panel Members:**

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**Discussants:**

Paul Wallace  
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Susan Woodward  
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**Moderator:**

Max M. Kampelman  
President, American Academy of Diplomacy  
Chairman, Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy  
Member, Committee on Conscience, United States Holocaust Memorial Council

**REMARKS BY**  
**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**  
**"ETHNIC CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:**  
**PERSPECTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS"**

**United States Holocaust Memorial Museum  
Washington, D.C.**

**August 22, 1997**

**Our discussion this morning revolves around troubling questions surrounding the continuing tragedy of ethnic conflict and cruelty in the former Yugoslavia, with particular attention to Bosnia. We meet in this auditorium of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum out of a prevailing concern over the deeply disturbing implications of that tragic conflict. When, at the end of World War II, the civilized world came to understand the horrendous dimensions of the Holocaust, it proclaimed "Never Again." And yet, within the same century, whatever the appropriate defining term, we saw the evil in Man once again released against fellow human beings, shamelessly brutalizing, killing, maiming, raping, hounding, hating. We are grateful to the Holocaust Memorial Museum and the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) for sponsoring this meeting so that we can continue to explore and try to understand this savage phenomenon and its implications.**

**In a book review published a few days ago in The New York Times, Dr. Walter Reich, Director of this Museum, wrote: "The Holocaust was the greatest crime in modern history. In it, a modern state focused itself on the systematic and industrial murder of an entire people." Dr. Reich went on to state that the challenge represented by the Holocaust and its memory "requires a**

commitment to uphold a universal responsibility to prevent genocides at any time, in any place, by any group." It is this spirit which makes it appropriate that we meet in this place. We must not permit our horror at the Holocaust to trivialize, ignore, or justify tragedies of lesser dimension. That is why the Museum itself has joined in condemning the overwhelming evidences of inhumanity in the former Yugoslavia; and why I have agreed to moderate this program.

My task this morning is to moderate this forum and not necessarily meddle in it. I will, however, share with you one all-consuming series of questions which dominates my reaction to our subject. Our world, as a result of unbelievable scientific, technical, medical and communication advances, has come closer together. Globalization is the dominant theme. No government can any longer have a monopoly of information, thereby undermining the foundations of authoritarian governments. We now live longer as a people and larger numbers of us are healthier. No country or city or community can for long effectively isolate itself from the ideas, or the culture, or the attractions of its neighbors. Our economies as well as our political orientation must be "other" directed, internationally oriented, if our peoples are to achieve the medical and practical benefits of our evolving civilization which have the potential of achieving dignity for themselves and their children.

Yet, alongside this obvious globalization, with its potential for improving the human lot, we have continued to witness a tribalization, much of it in its ugly form of hate, brutality and other dehumanizing behavior. Is this evil so deeply ingrained in the human psyche as to make it a close to surface human characteristic that easily appears and cannot be eliminated? We know from the teachings of religious sages of all traditions that the human struggle between

good and evil is a permanent fundamental of our being. Are we witnessing new evidence that we cannot escape that evil?

Are we entering the 21<sup>st</sup> century likely to see the struggle of good and evil manifest itself as tribalism versus globalism? Is a harmony between tribal pride and globalization possible? Can we lift ourselves above the struggle, or is our aspiration to reach for the stars an inevitable exercise in frustration?

As I bring the members of our panel to the microphone this morning, I do not presume to suggest that they necessarily address these questions. Rather, my purpose is to suggest that these questions will be in my mind — and perhaps in yours — during our forum this morning.

Our first speaker will be David Marash of ABC News, winner of a 1994 Emmy Award and many other professional honors, who will put the developments in Bosnia within a perspective, as seen through the eyes of an experienced, sensitive and perceptive journalist with extensive international experience. Mr. Marash will take 15 minutes to share his perceptions with us.

\* \* \*

Thank you Mr. Marash.

In preparing for this morning, I read the provocative and yet deeply thoughtful article "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers" which appeared in the winter 1996 issue of Slavic Review, written by Dr. Robert Hayden, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh, who is with us this morning. I found this well-written and profound



article, as well as the commentaries that followed it, to be unsettling, which is why I look forward to our presentations and discussion this morning. Professor Hayden will now, in a condensed form, give us the results of his studies. He will have 25 minutes to do so.

\* \* \*

Thank you, Professor Hayden. You have planted the seeds for further debate and discussion. Helen Fein, the Executive Director of the Institute for the Study of Genocide and an associate of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, will now provide us with her reactions to what we have just heard, as well as her own observations based on her very extensive studies. She, too, will have 25 minutes to do so.

\* \* \*

Thank you, Helen Fein.

George Kenney, our next panelist, has witnessed the evolution of the Bosnia crisis from the vantage point of a diplomat within the State Department. He left the State Department as a form of protest against our government's policy in Yugoslavia. He has now had the opportunity for further thought and observation. He will have 15 minutes to share his views with us..

\* \* \*

Dr. Paul Wallace, Professor and Chairman of the Political Science Department at the University of Missouri-Columbia, will now open our discussion period. A distinguished scholar, author and lecturer, he has developed

**an outstanding reputation as an expert on India, a subject that has been raised with this morning. You have 10 minutes.**

**\* \* \***

**Thank you, Dr. Wallace. Susan Woodward, our next discussant, is a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program of the Brookings Institution. Her specialty is Central and Eastern Europe and the list of her scholarly affiliations and writings is a tribute to her extraordinarily fine reputation.**