

**THE EUROGROUP**  
&  
**THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL**  
**OF THE UNITED STATES**

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1992 EUROGROUP WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

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***SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE 1990s:***  
**NATO'S CONTRIBUTION TO AN UNDIVIDED EUROPE**

**JUNE 21 & 22, 1992**

**JW MARRIOTT HOTEL, GRAND BALLROOM**  
**1331 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

## THE EUROGROUP

The EUROGROUP was established in 1968 as an informal grouping of Defense Ministers of European governments within the framework of the NATO alliance. It aims to insure that the contribution which its twelve members—Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the United Kingdom—make to Alliance defense is as strong and cohesive as possible. It lays special stress on promoting practical cooperation and has technical sub-groups working in the fields of training, logistics, communications, military medicine, and operational concepts.

The defense ministers of the EUROGROUP countries meet every six months to direct this activity and to discuss major defense and security issues, especially those related to NATO's defense planning business. In addition, the EUROGROUP seeks to advance open dialogue on issues of European defense and the NATO alliance.

## THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

The annual conference in Washington, D.C., contributes to the multinational dialogue by inviting U.S. government officials, members of the private sector, and national and international media to join EUROGROUP delegations, ministers of defense, and permanent representatives to NATO in an open forum to discuss European and trans-Atlantic security issues.

In 1992, H.E. Fernando Nogueira, Minister of Defense of Portugal, will preside over the Washington conference as President of the EUROGROUP.

## THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL

The Atlantic Council is a non-profit public policy center addressing the advancement of U.S. interests engaged in the Atlantic and Pacific communities. The Council identifies challenges and opportunities, illuminates choices, and fosters informed public debate about U.S. foreign, security, and international economic policies. It is also dedicated to the education of generations that will succeed to America's international leadership.

The Council, a national, bipartisan organization, conducts an integrated policy education program of studies, colloquia and publications. Constituent networks include the *Board of Directors*, *Corporate Sponsors*, *National Councillors*, *Academic Associates*, and *Young Leaders*. The Council regularly engages the U.S. government and Congress, national and international media, diplomats, and business leaders in its activities.

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1992 EUROGROUP WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

PROGRAM

SUNDAY, JUNE 21

1830-1855 RECEPTION JW MARRIOTT  
 CAPITOL FOYER  
 HOST **His Excellency Francisco Treichler Knopfli**  
 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Portugal  
 1900-2045 DINNER CAPITOL BALLROOM  
 CHAIRMAN **His Excellency Dr. Fernando Nogueira**  
 Minister of Defense of Portugal and President of the EUROGROUP  
 SPEAKER **Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski**  
 Counselor of the Center for Strategic and International Studies  
 Professor, American Foreign Policy, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

MONDAY, JUNE 22

0830-0900 REGISTRATION LOWER CONFERENCE LEVEL  
 0900-0920 WELCOMING REMARKS BALLROOM III & IV  
 CHAIRMAN **General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.)**  
 Chairman of the Atlantic Council of the United States  
 SPEAKER **His Excellency Dr. Fernando Nogueira**  
 Minister of Defense of Portugal and President of the EUROGROUP  
 0920-0950 SESSION I BALLROOM III & IV  
 THEME **SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE 1990s**  
 CHAIRMAN **Dr. Madeleine K. Albright**  
 President of the Center for National Policy  
 SPEAKERS **The Honorable Reginald Bartholomew**  
 Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs, United States of America  
**His Excellency Virginio Rognoni**  
 Minister of Defense of Italy  
 COMMENTATOR **Dr. Alton Frye**  
 Vice President and Washington Director of the Council on Foreign Relations  
 0950-1025 DISCUSSION PERIOD  
 1030-1040 COFFEE BREAK BALLROOM I & II  
 1045-1115 SESSION II BALLROOM III & IV  
 THEME **NATO: A TRANSFORMED ALLIANCE**  
 CHAIRMAN **General Jack N. Merritt, USA (Ret.)**  
 President and Chief Operating Officer of the Association of the United States Army  
 SPEAKERS **Senator Robert Dole (R-KS)**  
 Minority Leader of the United States Senate  
**His Excellency Johan Jørgen Holst**  
 Minister of Defense of Norway  
 COMMENTATOR **Mr. Keith Smith**  
 Deputy for Policy, European and Canadian Affairs, United States Department of State  
 1115-1150 DISCUSSION PERIOD  
 1200-1330 LUNCHEON BALLROOM I & II  
 CHAIRMAN **General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.)**  
 Chairman of the Atlantic Council of the United States  
 SPEAKER **The Honorable Brent Scowcroft**  
 Assistant to the President of the United States of America for National Security Affairs

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1400-1430 ADDRESS BALLROOM III & IV  
 CHAIRMAN **General Gonçalves Ribeiro**  
 Director General for Defense Policy of the Ministry of Defense of Portugal  
 SPEAKER **Admiral David E. Jeremiah, USN**  
 Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States of America  
 1430-1500 SESSION III BALLROOM III & IV  
 THEME **EUROPEAN DEFENSE & NATO: COOPERATION OR COMPETITION?**  
 CHAIRMAN **The Honorable Helmut Sonnenfeldt**  
 Guest Scholar of the Brookings Institution  
 SPEAKERS **Lieutenant General Edwin S. Leland, USA**  
 Director for Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff  
**The Honorable Jörg Schönbohm**  
 State Secretary of the Ministry of Defense of the Federal Republic of Germany  
 COMMENTATOR **Mr. David C. Gompert**  
 Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs,  
 United States National Security Council  
 1500-1535 DISCUSSION PERIOD  
 1540-1555 COFFEE BREAK BALLROOM I & II  
 1600-1640 CLOSING DISCUSSION BALLROOM III & IV  
 CHAIRMAN **General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.)**  
 Chairman of the Atlantic Council of the United States  
 PANELISTS **His Excellency Prosper Thuysbaert**  
 Permanent Representative of Belgium to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
**His Excellency Ole Bierring**  
 Permanent Representative of Denmark to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
**His Excellency Christos Zacharakis**  
 Ambassador of Greece to the United States  
**His Excellency Alphonse Berns**  
 Ambassador of Luxembourg to the United States  
**His Excellency Aurelius L. ter Beek**  
 Minister of Defense of the Netherlands  
**His Excellency Carlos Miranda**  
 Permanent Representative of Spain to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
**His Excellency Nevzat Ayaz**  
 Minister of Defense of Turkey  
**The Right Honorable Archibald Hamilton, M.P.**  
 Minister of State, Armed Forces, United Kingdom of Great Britain & Northern Ireland  
 1645-1715 ADDRESS BALLROOM III & IV  
 CHAIRMAN **General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.)**  
 Chairman of the Atlantic Council of the United States  
 SPEAKER **The Honorable Donald J. Atwood**  
 Deputy Secretary of Defense of the United States of America  
 1715 CONCLUDING REMARKS BALLROOM III & IV  
 SPEAKER **His Excellency Dr. Fernando Nogueira**  
 Minister of Defense of Portugal and President of the EUROGROUP  
 1720 ADJOURNMENT

1992 EUROGROUP WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

**EUROGROUP DELEGATIONS**

1992 PRESIDENCY:

**PORTUGAL**

**His Excellency Dr. Fernando Nogueira**  
Minister of Defense and President of the EUROGROUP

VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**His Excellency José Gregorio de Faria** Permanent Representative to NATO  
**Major Chaves** Public Affairs Officer and Counselor to the Minister of Defense  
**Major General Melo Correia** Chairman, Staff Group of the EUROGROUP  
**Lieutenant Colonel Valença Pinto** National Representative, Staff Group of the EUROGROUP  
**Lieutenant Colonel Pinto Ramalho** Diplomatic Advisor to the Minister of Defense  
**General Gonçalves Ribeiro** Director General for Defense Policy, Ministry of Defense  
**Mr. Vitor Santos** Aide-de-Camp to the Minister of Defense

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Francisco Treichler Knopfli** Ambassador to the United States of America  
**Mr. Nuno Brito** First Secretary  
**Lieutenant Colonel Jose Henriques** Military Attaché  
**Colonel Jose Monroy** Defense and Air Attaché  
**Mr. Luis de Sousa** Counselor for Press Affairs

**BELGIUM**

**His Excellency Prosper Thuysbaert**  
Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**Mr. Jean de Ruyt** Director of Politico-Military Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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**BELGIUM**  
(continued)

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**Mr. Frank Geerkens** First Secretary  
**Mr. Jan Grauls** Minister  
**Colonel André Wauters** Assistant Defense, Military, Naval, and Air Attaché

**DENMARK**

**His Excellency Ole Bierring**  
Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**Mr. N.A. Rasmussen** Head of Section of the Ministry of Defense

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Peter Dyvig** Ambassador to the United States of America  
**Brigadier General Kristian D. Andersen** Defense, Military, Naval, and Air Attaché  
**Mr. Lars Hormann** Political Counselor

**THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

**The Honorable Jörg Schönbohm**  
State Secretary of the Ministry of Defense

VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Dr. Hans-Friedrich von Ploetz** Permanent Representative to NATO  
**Lieutenant Colonel Raimund Kaschke** Office of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defense

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Jürgen Ruhfus** Ambassador to the United States of America  
**Brigadier General Winfried Dunkel** Defense Attaché  
**Dr. Gunter Pleuger** Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs  
**Mr. Claus Wunderlich** Counselor

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GREECE

**His Excellency Christos Zacharakis**  
Ambassador to the United States of America

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**Mr. Theodossis Demetracopoulos** First Press Secretary

**Mr. Ioannis Economou** Counselor

**Mr. Nikos Papaconstantinou** Press Counselor

**Colonel Antonios Sarantopoulos** Assistant Air Attaché

ITALY

**His Excellency Virnilio Rognoni**  
Minister of Defense

VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Enzo Perlot** Permanent Representative to NATO

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**Mr. Silvio Fagiolo** Deputy Chief of Mission

**Major General Sandro Ferracuti** Defense, Defense Cooperation, and Air Attaché

**Mr. Luca Giansanti** First Secretary

**Mr. Francesco Scarlata** Counselor

**Mr. Carlo Trezza** Press Counselor

LUXEMBOURG

**His Excellency Alphonse Berns**  
Ambassador to the United States of America

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**Mrs. Arlette Conzemius** Counselor

THE NETHERLANDS

**His Excellency Aurelus L. ter Beek**  
Minister of Defense

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VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Adriaan Jacobovits de Szeged** Permanent Representative to NATO

**Mr. Dirk Barth** Director, General Policy, Ministry of Defense

**Major R.A. Hardenbol** Aide-de-Camp to the Minister of Defense

**Mr. Bert Kreemers** Deputy Director for Information, Ministry of Defense

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Hans Meesman** Ambassador to the United States of America

**Mr. Cornelis W. Andreae** Counselor

**Mr. Adriaan Stok** First Secretary for Press and Cultural Affairs

**Rear Admiral J.S. Tichelman** Defense and Naval Attaché

NORWAY

**His Excellency Johan Jørgen Holst**  
Minister of Defense

VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**Mr. Tom Eidesen** Director, Ministry of Defense

**Lieutenant Colonel Gunnar Mjell** Military Assistant to the Minister of Defense

**Mr. Erik Senstad** Director General (Press Spokesman), Ministry of Defense

**Mr. Stein Weber** Assisting Defense Counselor, Permanent Delegation to NATO

WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Kjeld Vibe** Ambassador to the United States of America

**Major General Olav Aamoth** Defense Attaché

**Mr. Jørg Willy Bronebakk** Counselor of Politico-Military Affairs

SPAIN

**His Excellency Carlos Miranda**  
Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**Major Campins** Directorate for Defence Policy of the Ministry of Defense

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**Mr. Carlos Gomez Mugica** Executive Advisor to the Defence Minister

**Lieutenant General Francisco Veguillas** Director General for Defence Policy, Ministry of Defence

### WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Jaime de Ojeda** Ambassador to the United States of America

**Mr. Manuel Larrotcha** Counselor

**General Gaspar Recalado** Defense Attaché

### TURKEY

**His Excellency Nevzat Ayaz**  
Minister of National Defense

### VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**Rear Admiral Erdal Baykal** Chief of Plans and Principles

**Major General Seyhan Canova** Assistant Secretary

### WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Nuzhet Kandemir** Ambassador to the United States of America

**Mr. Burak Gursel** Counselor

### THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

**The Right Honorable Archibald Hamilton, M.P.**  
Minister of State for the Armed Forces

### VISITING NATIONAL DELEGATES:

**His Excellency Sir John Weston** Permanent Representative to NATO

**Mr. Crispin Hain-Cole** Head, NATO & European Policy Secretariat, Ministry of Defence

**Mr. Julian Miller** Private Secretary to the Minister of State for the Armed Forces

### WASHINGTON EMBASSY DELEGATES:

**Mr. Ewen Buchanan** Second Secretary

**Air Vice Marshal Peter Dodworth** Head, British Defense Staff and Defense Attaché

**Mr. Adam Thomson** First Secretary

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### DISTINGUISHED OBSERVERS

#### THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

**Mr. Todor Tchourov**  
Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

#### CANADA

**Mrs. Catherine Kerr**  
Director General, International and Industry Programs, Department of National Defense

#### THE CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC

**Mr. Ladislav Mravec**  
Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

**Colonel Jiri Giesl**  
Defense and Military Attaché, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

#### THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY

**Captain Otto Nagy**  
Assistant Military Attaché, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

#### ICELAND

**His Excellency Sverrir Gunnlaugsson**  
Permanent Representative to North Atlantic Treaty Organization

#### THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

**Colonel Marian R. Moraczewski**  
Defense, Military, Naval, & Air Attaché, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

**Mr. Jerzy Wieclaw**  
Counselor for Political Affairs, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

#### THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

**His Excellency Georgiy Mamedov**  
Deputy Foreign Minister

**Lt. Colonel Dmitriy A. Babychuk**  
Assistant Military Attaché, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

**Mr. Igor Khripunov**  
First Secretary, Embassy, Washington, D.C.

## EUROGROUP HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

**His Excellency Prosper Thuysbaert**  
Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
Belgium

Born in Lokeren, Belgium, in 1931, Mr. Thuysbaert attended Louvain University, where he earned a Doctorate of Laws. He received a degree in Notarial Science and a diploma in Thomist Philosophy.

Mr. Thuysbaert entered diplomatic service in February 1958, and was appointed embassy attaché in Luxembourg in 1960. Following a tour in France as Economic Attaché (1961-63) and Israel as Embassy Secretary (1963-64), he was adviser to the Minister for Foreign Trade until 1965. Following five years as counselor in the Belgian Permanent Delegation to the European Community (1965-70), he served as adviser to the Foreign Minister and Deputy Head of the Foreign Minister's Private Office for seven years.

In 1977, Mr. Thuysbaert took the position of Deputy Head of the Private Office of the Prime Minister, and in 1980 became the director of the European Organizations Department. In addition to his other duties, he was Vice President of the International Energy Agency from 1974 to 1976 and President of *Vereniging voor internationale relaties* from 1975 to 1985.

Mr. Thuysbaert served as Director General for Political Affairs with the title of Ambassador beginning in 1983. He was later appointed as Permanent Representative in Geneva and later to NATO. Ambassador Thuysbaert was appointed Permanent Representative to NATO on December 17, 1987. Previously, he served as Permanent Representative in Geneva from 1985 to 1987.

**The Honorable Jörg Schönbohm**  
State Secretary of the Ministry of Defense  
The Federal Republic of Germany

State Secretary Schönbohm was born in Neu-Golm on February 9, 1937. Upon graduating from high school, he underwent training to become an officer in the artillery in 1957.

Upon joining the military, he moved quickly up the ranks. In 1959, he became platoon leader in 55th Armored Artillery Battalion and 22nd Rocket Artillery Battalion. Mr. Schönbohm then became an instructor at the Army Officer School in Hannover. In 1964, he made battery commander in the 11th Field Artillery Battalion and two years later became fire direction officer in the 1st Artillery Regiment in Hannover.

In 1970, Mr. Schönbohm became Chief of General Staff Division 1, Personnel and Leadership and Civic Education. Following this, he held the office of the Commander of the 85th Armored Artillery Battalion in 1976. In 1982, he was named Senior Military Assistant to the Federal Minister of Defense, Dr. Manfred Wörner.

In 1989, Mr. Schönbohm was appointed Deputy Chief of the Planning Staff for the Federal Ministry of Defense in Bonn. Later that year, he became the Commander of the 3rd Armored Division and the Chief of the Planning Staff for the Defense Ministry in Bonn. In 1990, he was appointed Commander of the Federal Armed Forces Eastern Command, and in 1991 the Army named him Chief of Staff. On January 3, 1992, Jörg Schönbohm was nominated as Germany's State Secretary, Ministry of Defense.

**His Excellency Christos Zacharakis**  
Ambassador to the United States of America  
Greece

Born in 1939 in Athens, Mr. Zacharakis attended the University of Athens, where he received a law degree.

Mr. Zacharakis began his foreign service career in 1964 as attaché in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served for one year in the Consulate General of Greece in New York as vice consul, followed by a tour in Denmark as secretary at the Embassy of Greece before becoming Consul in the Consulate General of Greece in Turkey in 1969.

In 1971, Mr. Zacharakis was appointed First Secretary in the Permanent Delegation of Greece to NATO, where he served for three years. His tour as Consul General in Alexandria, Egypt, was followed by service in Cyprus as counselor at the Embassy of Greece.

Mr. Zacharakis served one year in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was appointed Ambassador to Cyprus in 1979. He became Permanent Representative to NATO in 1985 and Ambassador to the United States in 1989.

**His Excellency Alphonse Berns**  
Ambassador to the United States of America  
Luxembourg

Mr. Berns was born April 9, 1952. He received his B.A. in International and EC law at the University of Aix-en-Provence (France) and did his post-graduate studies in EEC law at the European University Center in Nancy (France).

Mr. Berns served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Eastern Europe and CSCE Department (1977-78); as Deputy Permanent Representative at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (1978-79); as Deputy Permanent Representative at NATO in Brussels (1979-86); as Director for Budget, Finance and Administration in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1986-88); and as Director for International Economic Relations and Cooperation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1988-91).

Alphonse Berns was appointed Ambassador to the United States in November 1991 and was recently appointed as Ambassador to Canada as well.

**His Excellency Aurelus Louis ter Beek**  
Minister of Defense  
The Netherlands

Aurelus Louis (Relus) ter Beek was born on January 18, 1944, in Coevorden, the Netherlands. After having obtained the modern grammar school certificate in science subjects, he studied political and social science at the University of Amsterdam.

In 1968-69 he was chairman of the Federation of Labor Party Youth Groups of the Dutch Labor Party and 1970-71 worked as a research assistant for the VARA Broadcasting Association. He was elected to the Lower House of the States General in 1971.

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Mr. ter Beek has served as chairman of Politeia, the Democratic Socialist Student Association, as International Secretary of the Labor Party, and as a member of its national executive committee. He was a member of the board of the VARA Broadcasting Association, the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Assembly of the Western European Union, and the North Atlantic Assembly.

On November 7, 1989, Mr. ter Beek was appointed Minister of Defense in the third Lubbers' government.

### **His Excellency Johan Jørgen Holst** Minister of Defense Norway

Johan Jørgen Holst was appointed Minister of Defense in November of 1990. He was also Minister of Defense in Gro Harlem Brundtland's second Labour Government from 1986 to 1989. Except for his tenure as Defense Minister he has been Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs since November 1981. From 1976 to 1979, Mr. Holst served as State Secretary in the Ministry of Defense. From 1979 to 1981 he held the same post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, part of the time in Mrs. Harlem Brundtland's first Labour Government. Previously, Mr. Holst had served as Director of Research at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.

Born in 1937 in Oslo, Mr. Holst graduated from the Norwegian Army Language School with a degree in Russian and received a Bachelor of Arts in Government from Columbia University, New York (1960). He also earned a Magistergrad in Political Science at the University of Oslo (1965).

He has been a research associate at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1962-63), the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment (1963-67) and the Hudson Institute, New York (1967-69). In 1970 he was visiting professor at Carleton University, Ottawa. In 1972 he was appointed Acting Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. He was a member of the Advisory Council on Arms Control and Disarmament of the Norwegian Government from 1969 until he entered government. From 1974 to 1975, he was a member of the Trilateral Commission Task Force on Ocean Policy and headed the Steering Group on New Approaches to Non-Proliferation: European Approaches (NANPEA) from 1984 to 1986.

Prior to his appointment as Minister, Mr. Holst was a member of the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and a member of the Trilateral Commission. He is a member of the Foreign Policy Council of the Norwegian Labour Party and was special assistant to the Chairman of the World Commission on Environment and Development and scientific consultant to the Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues. He has lectured widely at universities, research institutes, and conferences in Europe, North America and Asia. His publications cover a range of security and foreign policy themes, both domestic and international, and include numerous books, monographs, chapters of books and articles in journals.

### **His Excellency Dr. Joaquim Fernando Nogueira** Minister of Defense Portugal

Dr. Nogueira was born March 26, 1950, in Matosinhos, Oporto. He earned his law degree from the University of Coimbra in 1974 and in the same year joined the Law Faculty as an assistant professor. Dr. Nogueira taught until 1980 and then conducted research at the International University Institute in Luxembourg, where he specialized in European family law.

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A leading member of the Social Democratic Party, Dr. Nogueira was appointed Secretary of State for Regional Development in 1983. In November 1985, he was appointed Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, and in August 1987, he became Minister of Justice and Deputy Prime Minister.

Joaquim Fernando Nogueira was appointed to his present position of Minister of Defense, while retaining his title of Deputy Prime Minister, in March 1990.

### **His Excellency Nevzat Ayaz** Minister of Defense Turkey

Mr. Ayaz was born in Cankiri in 1930. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Ankara in 1954 and joined the Ministry of the Interior. Between 1954 and 1975, Mr. Ayaz held positions in the General Directorate of Security in the Ministry of the Interior and was Director, Head of the Department, and Assistant Director General of Security.

Mr. Ayaz served as Governor of Zonguldak (1975-79); as Governor of Istanbul (1979-1988); and Governor of Izmir (1988-89). He retired in 1989.

In the general election of 20 October, 1991, he was elected to the Parliament as deputy of Cankiri from the True Path Party.

Nevzat Ayaz assumed his present office as the Minister of National Defense in the coalition government formed by Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel on November 21, 1991.

### **The Right Honorable Archibald Hamilton, M.P.** Minister of State for the Armed Forces The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The Right Honorable Archibald (Gavin) Hamilton was born in 1941. He was educated at Eton. He is a farmer and was previously proprietor of his own small engineering company. From 1960-62 he served in the Coldstream Guards on a short-service commission.

Mr. Hamilton was a Counselor on the Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council from 1968-71. He served on the Housing and Welfare Committees and was a school governor. He contested the Dagenham Parliamentary Constituency in both General Elections of 1974 and was elected Member of Parliament for the Constituency of Epsom and Ewell in 1978, a seat he still holds.

Following the General Elections of May 1979, Mr. Hamilton was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary of State for Energy. In 1982 he was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Transport. In May 1982, he was also appointed an Assistant Government Whip, and in 1984 was appointed Lord Commissioner to Her Majesty's Treasury (Whip).

In September 1986, Mr. Hamilton was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Defence Procurement at the Ministry of Defence. Shortly after the General Election in 1987 he was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Prime Minister. In July 1988, Mr. Hamilton returned to the Ministry of Defence as Minister of State for the Armed Forces. He was reconfirmed in this position following the General Election in 1992.



1992 EUROGROUP WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

**UNITED STATES SPEAKERS**

**Dr. Madeleine Korbel Albright**  
President  
Center for National Policy

Born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Dr. Albright speaks Czech, French, Polish, and Russian. She is an honors graduate of Wellesley College and has an M.A. and a Ph.D from Columbia University, where she also earned a Certificate in Russian Studies.

In 1976, she joined Senator Edmund S. Muskie's staff as his Chief Legislative Assistant. She remained on the Hill until March 1978, when she was asked to become a member of President Carter's National Security Council staff, responsible for coordinating the national security legislation of the Administration.

Prior to joining the Georgetown faculty, she spent a year (1981) as a Woodrow Wilson International Fellow, writing about developments in Poland. She has also been a Senior Fellow in Soviet and Eastern European Affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. She is author of several books about political change in Czechoslovakia and Poland and numerous op-ed pieces, and she appears regularly as a commentator on radio and television.

Since 1982, Dr. Albright has been the Donner Professor of International Affairs and Director of the Women in Foreign Service Program at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. She has taught courses on the American Foreign Policy Making Process, U.S.-Soviet Relations, Soviet Government, East European politics, and International Relations. As Director of the Women in Foreign Service Program, she worked to train women in foreign policy decision-making.

Since leaving the White House, she has participated actively in politics. She was the Foreign Policy Coordinator of the Mondale-Ferraro campaign. In 1987, she became the Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Michael S. Dukakis and served in this capacity throughout his presidential campaign. She is a Vice Chair of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

Dr. Albright was elected President of the Center for National Policy, a non-profit, non-partisan organization devoted to public policy research, in October 1989.

**The Honorable Donald J. Atwood**  
Deputy Secretary of Defense  
United States of America

Donald J. Atwood was nominated by President Bush to be Deputy Secretary of Defense on January 29, 1989, was confirmed on April 19, 1989, and took the oath of office on April 24, 1989.

Before his nomination to be Deputy Secretary of Defense, Mr. Atwood was Vice Chairman of the Board of General Motors and President, Delco Electronics Corporation and GM Hughes Electronics.

Mr. Atwood was born May 25, 1924, in Haverhill, Massachusetts. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and was awarded the Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Electrical Engineering. While at MIT, he was associated with the research work which pioneered the development of inertial guidance

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systems. In May 1988, Mr. Atwood received an Honorary Doctor of Engineering Degree from Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology. He served in the U.S. Army from 1943 to 1946.

Mr. Atwood joined General Motors in 1959 as an Associate Director of the Research and Development Laboratory of the AC Spark Plug Division. In 1961 he became Director of the facility. In 1962 he was named Director of Engineering of the AC Spark Plug Division in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In 1970, when the Detroit Diesel Engine and Allison Divisions were consolidated into the Detroit Diesel Allison Division, Mr. Atwood was named Manager of the Indianapolis Operations.

In 1974, he became the first General Manager of GM's new Transportation Systems Division and later that year was named General Manager of the Delco Electronics Division. In 1978, Mr. Atwood was named Vice President and Group Executive in charge of the Electrical Components Group, and in November 1981 he was given the responsibility for the worldwide Truck and Bus Group. In 1984 he was named Executive Vice President of the Corporation and was elevated to the position of Vice Chairman of the Board in 1987.

Mr. Atwood had been active in many civic and industry-related organizations. These include Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; the Board of Directors of the Charles Stark Draper Laboratory, Inc.; the National Academy of Engineering; the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics; the Board of Directors of the Michigan Opera Theatre; and the National Executive Board of the Boy Scouts of America.

**The Honorable Reginald Bartholomew**  
Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs  
United States Department of State

Ambassador Bartholomew was born in Portland, Maine, on February 17, 1936. He received his B.A. from Dartmouth College in 1958, did graduate study in Political Science at the University of Chicago from 1958-61, and received his M.A. in International Relations in 1960. Before entering government service, Ambassador Bartholomew taught social sciences at the University of Chicago (1963-64) and was Lecturer in Government at Wesleyan University (1964 to 1968).

Ambassador Bartholomew has served as Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs since April 20, 1989, with responsibility for arms control, non-proliferation, security assistance and arms transfers, nuclear matters, technology transfer and controls, scientific and technological affairs, and other international security matters. On May 5, 1992, the President announced his intention to nominate Ambassador Bartholomew as the next U.S. Ambassador to NATO. He is a career member of the U.S. Senior Foreign Service, class of Career Minister.

Ambassador Bartholomew previously served as U.S. Ambassador to Spain (1986-89) and as U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon (1983-86). He served in 1982-83 as U.S. Special Negotiator, with the personal rank of Ambassador, for Defense and Economic Cooperation negotiations between the U.S. and Greece. In 1981-82, he served in the Department of State as the Special Cyprus Coordinator.

In 1979-81, Ambassador Bartholomew served as Director (Assistant Secretary of State) of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. He was assigned from the State Department to the National Security Council (1977-79) as head of the East-West Relations and USSR and Eastern European cluster. From 1974 until 1977, he was the principal Deputy Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff.

From 1968 to 1974, Ambassador Bartholomew served in the career Civil Service in the Department of Defense. His assignments included Director of the Policy Planning Staff in the Office of International Security Affairs, and Director of the DOD Task Force on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions.

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His recent government service awards include Presidential Meritorious Service Awards in 1986 and 1988 and the Presidential Distinguished Service Award in 1990.

He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Ambassador Bartholomew holds Honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from Wesleyan University (1985), and Hobart and William Smith College (1987).

### **Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski**

**Counselor for the Center for Strategic and International Studies**

**Professor of Foreign Policy, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies**

Dr. Brzezinski was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1928 and is the son of a diplomat posted to Canada in 1938. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from McGill University (1949 and 1950, respectively) and his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1953.

From 1973 to 1976, Dr. Brzezinski was Director of the Trilateral Commission. He has been a member of the Boards of Directors of Amnesty International, Council on Foreign Relations, and the Atlantic Council of the United States. He held positions with several presidential campaigns including chairman of the Humphrey Foreign Policy Task Force (1968); principal foreign policy advisor to Jimmy Carter (1976); co-chairman (with Brent Scowcroft and Henry Kissinger) of the Bush National Security Advisory Task Force (1988).

Dr. Brzezinski served as National Security Advisor to the President of the United States from 1977 to 1981. In 1981, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his role in the normalization of U.S.-Chinese relations and for his contributions to the human rights and national security policies of the United States.

From 1988-90, Dr. Brzezinski was a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, and from 1987-88 he was a member of the National Security Council-Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy.

He was on the faculty of Columbia University from 1960-89 and of Harvard University from 1953-60. He is the author of the bestseller *The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the 20th Century*, as well as *National Security Advisor*; *The Fragile Blossom: Crisis and Change in Japan*; *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Age*; *The Soviet Bloc: Unity and Conflict*; and many other books and articles published in U.S. and foreign academic journals.

Dr. Brzezinski serves as an international advisor to several major U.S. and global corporations and is a frequent participant in annual business and trade conventions. He is president of Z.B. Inc. (an advisory firm on international issues to corporations and financial institutions). He is also a frequent public speaker, commentator on major domestic and foreign television programs, and contributor to domestic and foreign newspapers and journals.

He is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Endowment for Democracy; Honorary Chairman of the AmeriCares Foundation; member of the Board of the Trustees of Freedom House; trustee of the Trilateral Commission; co-chairman (with Senator Robert Dole) of the American Committee for Aid to Poland; and member of the Board of Directors of the Polish-American Enterprise Fund.

His academic awards include honorary degrees from Georgetown University, Williams College, Fordham University, College of the Holy Cross, Alliance College, the Catholic University of Lublin, and Warsaw University. He was awarded the Hubert Humphrey Award for public service from the American Political Science Association as well as fellowships of the Arts and Sciences in 1963, and was selected by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as one of America's Ten Outstanding young Men of the Year.

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### **The Honorable Robert Dole**

**Minority Leader  
United States Senate**

Senator Dole was born in Russell, Kansas, on July 22, 1923. He is married to Elizabeth Hanford Dole, President of the American Red Cross.

A decorated and wounded combat veteran of World War II, Senator Robert Dole was born and raised on the plains of western Kansas. A self-described, "common sense conservative from America's heartland"; Senator Dole has been the Senate Majority leader, the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, a two-time candidate for President, his party's nominee for Vice President, a member of the House of Representatives, the Chairman of the Republican Party, a State legislator and a county attorney.

Currently in his fourth term as the Senate Republican Leader, Senator Dole is the President's point man on Capitol Hill, a job the Kansas Republican has handled so effectively that President Bush said, "I count my blessings that he's leader in the Senate for our party. He's been a great Republican Leader, as great as any in the past." As one of only 15 Americans to serve as Senate Majority Leader, Senator Dole has won national praise, and according to Congressional Quarterly, "it is against his performance and ability to use power that Senate leaders in the foreseeable future will be judged."

During the second World War, Bob Dole was a platoon leader in the legendary 10th Mountain Division in Italy. In 1945, he was gravely wounded on the battlefield and was later twice decorated for heroic achievement. His decorations include two Purple Hearts and a Bronze Star with Oakleaf Cluster.

### **Dr. Alton Frye**

**Vice President and Washington Director  
Council on Foreign Relations**

Dr. Frye was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1936. In 1958, he graduated Summa Cum Laude from St. Louis University. He obtained his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1961.

Dr. Frye's background is diverse, ranging from a radio reporter and announcer in Nashville and St. Louis to a Visiting Assistant Professor, University of California, Los Angeles. As a staff member for the Rand Corporation from 1962-68, he wrote numerous studies. At Harvard University, he worked from 1965-66 as a Research Fellow, Center for International Affairs, and as a lecturer for the Department of Government. He served as Legislative and Administrative Assistant for Senator Edward W. Brooke from 1968-71.

Dr. Frye wrote the Pulitzer Prize-nominated *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere, 1933-41*, (1967). He has contributed articles to *Foreign Affairs*, *New York Times Magazine*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsday*, *Yale Review*, and many other journals and papers.

Dr. Frye narrates and authors a series of television productions for the U.S. International Communication Agency, including "U.S. Foreign Policy: The Domestic Context." In 1975, he co-authored a commemorative film for the bicentennial of the American Congress. Since 1984, he has participated on the editorial board for the *Orbis*.

Dr. Frye has served as an advisor to many national and international committees, including the Subcommittee on National Security Decision-Making and the Committee for Economic Development. He

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also acted as a consultant to the United States Senate—most recently from 1983 to 1989—and on The American Assembly Steering Committee on the Changing Global Role of the U.S., from 1988 to the present.

For the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., Dr. Frye first worked as Director of Membership Affairs and then as Director of the International Affairs Fellowship Program.

**Mr. David Charles Gompert**  
**Special Assistant to the President and**  
**Senior Director for European and Soviet Affairs**

The President appointed Mr. Gompert Special Assistant for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for European and Soviet Affairs on October 11, 1990.

During 1989-90, Mr. Gompert was President, Systems Management Group, Unisys Corporation. His prior assignment in Unisys was Vice President, Corporate Development and Strategy. He joined Unisys in 1989 after six years with AT&T as Vice President, Civil Agency Programs and Sales (1986-89), Regional Director, Americas (1986), and Director, International Market Planning (1983-86).

Mr. Gompert held a number of positions in the U.S. Government from 1973 to 1983, including Deputy to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Deputy Assistant Secretary for NATO, Deputy Director of the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, and Special Assistant to the President's Deputy National Security Advisor.

As a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations from 1975 to 1977, Mr. Gompert edited and wrote several books and articles on international security issues. He is a member of numerous foreign affairs institutions, including the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He was a Director of the Institute for East-West Security Studies from 1983 to 1990.

Mr. Gompert has a Master of Public Affairs degree from the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University (1973) and a Bachelor of Science (Engineering) degree from the U.S. Naval Academy (1967).

**General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.)**  
**Chairman**  
**The Atlantic Council of the United States**

General Goodpaster was born in 1915 in Granite City, Illinois. He was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1939 and commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers.

General Goodpaster commanded the 48th Engineer Combat Battalion in North Africa and Italy during World War II. He returned to the United States in mid-1944 and was assigned to the Operations Division, General Staff, War Department, where he served until mid-1947. This period included a one-year tour with the Joint War Plans Committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

During 1947-1950, he attended Princeton University, where he received the Master of Science degree in engineering and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in international relations. During the last six months of 1949, he was assigned to the Joint Chiefs of Staff as a member of the Joint Advanced Study Committee.

During his military service, General Goodpaster was Special Assistant to the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe; Defense Liaison Officer and Staff Secretary to the President of the U.S.;

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Commander of the 8th U.S. Infantry Division in Germany; Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Director, Joint Staff, Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Director of Special Studies in the Office of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army; Commandant of the National War College; Deputy Commander of U.S. Forces in Vietnam; and Commander-in-Chief, United States European Command and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. He assisted President Nixon in organizing his administration for the conduct of foreign policy and international security affairs.

After retiring in 1974, General Goodpaster was a Senior Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, and assistant to Vice President Rockefeller on the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy. He served as Professor of Government and International Studies at The Citadel in 1976 and 1977. He was recalled to active duty as the 51st Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy in 1977. In 1980, he was special representative of President Carter for discussions with Argentina and Brazil following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

General Goodpaster has served as Chairman of the Atlantic Council of the United States since 1985. He retired as President of the Institute for Defense Analyses in 1985 and served as Chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission from 1986 to 1990.

He has been awarded the U.S. Medal of Freedom and many military decorations; the Distinguished Service Cross; the Defense Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster; the Army Distinguished Service Medal with 3 Oak Leaf Clusters; the Navy and Air Force Distinguished Service Medals; the Silver Star; the Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster and many foreign awards. He has also received the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service. In 1991, the Association of the U.S. Army awarded him the George Catlett Marshall Medal.

He is the author of *For the Common Defense* and numerous monographs. He has received honorary degrees from Princeton University, the University of Maryland, McKendree College, and The Citadel.

**Admiral David E. Jeremiah, USN**  
**Vice Chairman**  
**The Joint Chiefs of Staff**

Admiral David E. Jeremiah was born on February 25, 1934, and is a native of Portland, Oregon. He graduated from the University of Oregon in 1955 and received his commission through Officer Candidate School in 1956. Admiral Jeremiah has a Master of Science degree in Financial Management from George Washington University. He attended the Armed Forces Staff College from July 1970 until January 1971, followed by four months as a student at the Harvard Business School's Professional Management Development Course.

Admiral Jeremiah served on seven Pacific Fleet destroyers, including command of the USS Preble (DDG 46). He commanded Destroyer Squadron 24 from September 1979 until October 1980. While serving as Commander, Cruiser-Destroyer Group Eight, from August 1984 until April 1986, he commanded Task Force 60 in the Mediterranean and directed the capture of the Egyptian airliner carrying the hijackers of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro. He also directed actions resulting in the sinking of two Libyan warships and the destruction of an anti-air missile site during freedom of navigation operations in the Gulf of Sidra between January and March 1986.

His early shore assignments included two tours in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations and a tour in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation. After serving as Executive Assistant to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, from October 1980 until May 1982, he was reassigned to Washington, D.C., and served as Executive Assistant to the Chief of Naval Operations

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until July 1984. In June 1986, he assumed duties as Director, Navy Program Planning, and was promoted to Vice Admiral on July 1, 1986.

Admiral Jeremiah received his fourth star in September 1987 and became the 23rd Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, that same month. He was appointed by the President as the second individual to be named the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, assuming that position on March 1, 1990. He began his second term on March 1, 1992. As the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral David E. Jeremiah serves as the nation's second highest ranking military officer.

His Navy awards include the Distinguished Service Medal with three Gold Stars, Legion of Merit with Gold Star, Meritorious Service Medal with Gold Star, and Achievement Medal with Combat "V." In July 1991, President Bush awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal for significant contributions during the Persian Gulf crisis and the successful liberation of Kuwait. He also has various foreign awards, unit commendations and campaign ribbons.

### **Lieutenant General Edwin S. Leland, USA** Director, Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate Joint Chiefs of Staff

Lieutenant General Leland was born in Washington, D.C., on May 3, 1939. He was commissioned a second lieutenant and awarded a Bachelor of Science degree in Engineering from the United States Military Academy in 1961. He holds a Master of Science degree in Operations Analysis from the United States Naval Post-Graduate School. Military Education includes the Armor Officers Basic Course, the Marine Corps Amphibious Warfare School, the Army Command and General Staff College, and the Army War College.

Prior to his present position as Director, Strategic Plans and Policy, Joint Staff, General Leland served as Chief of Staff, United States European Command. Other key assignments held recently include Commanding General, National Training Center, Fort Irwin, California; Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, United States Army Forces Command, Fort McPherson, Georgia; and Commander 1st Brigade, 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Stewart, Georgia.

General Leland has served as Executive Officer to the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, and Chief, Force Readiness Division, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, United States Army, Washington, D.C. He was Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 (Operations), 3rd Infantry Division; Commander, 1st Battalion, 64th Armor, also in the 3rd Infantry Division, Germany; and Assistant Professor and Course Director, Department of Engineering, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.

Awards and decorations he has received include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with Oak Leaf Cluster, the Bronze Star Medal with "V" and Two Oak Leaf Clusters, the Purple Heart, the Meritorious Service Medal, the Joint Service Commendation Medal, and the Army Commendation Medal. He is also authorized to wear the Combat Infantryman Badge, the Parachutist Badge and the Ranger Tab.

### **General Jack N. Merritt, USA (Ret.)** President and Chief Operating Officer Association of the United States Army

General Merritt received his Bachelor of Military Science in 1959 from the University of Nebraska, and an MBA in 1965 from the George Washington University. He was a Distinguished Graduate from the Air

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Command and Staff College at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama in 1965, and in 1970 received a Distinguished Graduate Diploma from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in Washington, D.C.

General Merritt served in the United States Army from 1952 to 1987, rising from the rank of private to four-star general. He was the U.S. Representative to the NATO Military Committee from 1985-87 and Director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1983-85. In 1983, he was Commander of the Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, serving concurrently as Commandant, Command and General Staff College and Deputy Commanding General of the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command. General Merritt was Commandant of the U.S. Army War College at Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania from 1980-82. At Fort Sill, Oklahoma, he served as Commandant of the Field Artillery School and Commanding General from 1977-80.

General Merritt held various staff and command positions with the U.S. Army from 1963 to 1977 including Assistant Division Commander and Chief of Staff of Artillery Commander, 1st Cavalry Division; Battalion Commander in Vietnam; and Battery Commander in Korea and Europe.

He served on the National Security Staff from 1970-73 as Deputy Director for Program Analysis. From 1966-68, he was a Systems Analyst in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, where he worked on NATO force structure and strategy for the Assistant Secretary of Defense.

General Merritt serves as a consultant to the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena, California. He is also a Director of the Atlantic Council of the United States and the George C. Marshall Foundation, as well as an Adjunct Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He is an advisor to the United States Army for its Interagency Committee on Nuclear Weapons, addressing nuclear and conventional arms control matters. He is also a lecturer and speaker on national security issues and NATO in the United States and abroad.

General Merritt serves on the Board of Advisors of The Citadel and the National Board of Advisors of Georgia Tech. He is a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Association of the United States Army, the 1st Cavalry Division Association, National Field Artillery Association, Association of Corporate Directors, the Military Order of the World Wars, and other professional organizations.

He was a lecturer on Western Military Strategy at the East-West Conference held by the Moscow Institute of International Relations in 1989, and a delegate on the East-West Dialogue for the USSR-U.S. Conference of the Atlantic Council of the United States, also in 1989. From 1988 to 1989, he was a member of the Commission on the West Point Honor Code and Honor System. He was a member of the Board of Directors and past chairman of the NATO Workshop in Political-Military Decision Making. General Merritt is the author of various articles on defense and arms control matters.

### **The Honorable Brent Scowcroft** Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

General Scowcroft was born in Ogden, Utah, on March 19, 1925. He was educated in Ogden City schools and entered the Army in 1943. He received an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, where he graduated in 1947. He received a Master's Degree (1953) and a Doctorate (1967) in International Relations from Columbia University. He has also attended Lafayette College, Georgetown University School of Language and Linguistics, the Armed Forces Staff College, and the National War College.

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He graduated from pilot training in October of 1948 and then served in a variety of operational and administrative positions from 1948 to 1953. In 1953, he was assigned to the Department of Social Sciences at the U.S. Military Academy, where he was appointed Assistant Professor of Russian History. He remained there until 1957, when he entered the Strategic Intelligence School in Washington, D.C.

From June 1959 to August 1961, General Scowcroft was assigned as Assistant Air Attache in the American Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. In February 1962 he was transferred to the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado and served as Professor and Acting Head of the Political Science Department.

From September 1964 to June 1967, General Scowcroft was assigned to Headquarters, U.S. Air Force, in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Operations, and served in the Long Range Planning Division, Directorate of Doctrine, Concepts and Objectives. He was assigned in 1968 to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs and served in the Western Hemisphere Region. In 1969, he was reassigned to Headquarters, U.S. Air Force, in the Directorate of Plans as Deputy Assistant for National Security Council Matters. In 1970, he joined the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and became the Special Assistant to the Director of the Joint Staff.

General Scowcroft served as Military Assistant to the President from February 1972 until August 1973. In January 1973, he became Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. In November 1975, he was appointed Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, a position which he held until the end of the Ford Administration on January 20, 1977. He was retired from military service on December 1, 1975, with the rank of Lieutenant General.

He served as a member of the Board of Visitors at the U.S. Air Force Academy during 1977-1979 and was a member of the President's General Advisory Committee on Arms Control from 1978 to 1981. In 1983, he was appointed Chairman of the President's Commission on Strategic Forces and in 1985 was appointed to the President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management. He served in 1986-1987 as a Member of the President's Special Review Board (Tower Board) investigating the Iran-Contra affair.

Until assuming his current position, General Scowcroft was Vice Chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc. and member of several corporate boards. He was a Director of the Council on Foreign Relations and Atlantic Council of the United States, Vice Chairman and Director of the United Nations Association of the U.S., member of the Advisory Council of the Johns Hopkins University Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, member of the Board of Visitors of the Mershon Center of Ohio State University, Trustee of the Gerald R. Ford Foundation, Meridian House International and the George C. Marshall Foundation.

General Scowcroft has an aeronautical rating as a pilot. His decorations and awards include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, National Security Medal, Air Force Distinguished Service Medal with two Oak Leaf Clusters, Legion of Merit with one Oak Leaf Cluster, and the Air Force Commendation Medal.

General Scowcroft was appointed Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs on January 20, 1989. President Bush presented to him the Medal of Freedom on July 3, 1991, at the White House.

### **Mr. Kevin Smith**

**Deputy for Policy, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs  
United States Department of State**

Mr. Smith was born in California and received his university education in Utah and Texas.

As a member of the Senior Foreign Service, Mr. Smith is the Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs and heads the European Policy office. Mr. Smith's office is

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engaged in setting policy and planning priorities for Europe and in directing the European Bureau's operational responsibilities in several functional areas.

For seventeen years he has worked on European affairs, with special emphasis on Eastern, Northern and Western Europe. His most recent overseas assignments were as Deputy Chief of Mission in Hungary and in Norway. His last Washington assignment was as Deputy Special Advisor on East European Assistance in Deputy Secretary Eagleburger's office.

### **The Honorable Helmut Sonnenfeldt**

**Guest Scholar  
The Brookings Institution**

Mr. Sonnenfeldt was born in Germany in 1926. He received his primary and secondary education in that country and in England and attended Manchester University, and, after serving in the U.S. Army in 1945-46, The Johns Hopkins University. He has A.B. and M.A. degrees from that institution.

Mr. Sonnenfeldt served in the U.S. government from 1952 to 1977, and, before that, in 1947. Between 1952 and 1969, Mr. Sonnenfeldt was a research and intelligence specialist in the Department of State dealing with Soviet, East European and international communist affairs. During the mid- and late-1960s, he headed the Office of Research and Analysis for the USSR and Eastern Europe in the Department of State. For approximately one year (1960-61) he served as a policy officer in the U.S. Disarmament Agency, predecessor of ACDA.

From 1969 to 1974, Mr. Sonnenfeldt was assigned to the National Security Council as a senior staff member dealing with U.S.-European and East-West relations. Subsequently, he served as Counselor of the Department of State (1974-77) with similar substantive responsibilities. He retired from the State Department and the Foreign Service in 1977.

Between March 1977 and August 1978, he was a Visiting Scholar at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. Mr. Sonnenfeldt has worked as a consultant on international affairs to several American corporations. He lectures in this field at academic and other professional institutions and participates in several groups dealing with East-West, security and other public policy issues. Mr. Sonnenfeldt has published articles on various foreign policy matters in *Foreign Affairs*, *Washington Quarterly*, the *NATO Review*, and several newspapers and other publications in the United States, Japan and elsewhere. An *Adelphi Paper*, entitled "Soviet Perspectives on Security," written with William G. Hyland, was published in 1979. Mr. Sonnenfeldt appears frequently as a commentator on international issues on U.S. and foreign radio and television programs.

Mr. Sonnenfeldt is a Trustee of The Johns Hopkins University and a member of the Advisory Council of that institution's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. He is a member of the Council of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council of the United States, and other professional associations. He has been on the Board of Visitors of the National Defense University and in 1978 was a Bates Scholar at the Naval War College.

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**Mr. Jonathan Hosmer**  
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**Remarks of**  
**SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER**  
**BOB DOLE**

**The Atlantic Council**

**June 22, 1992**

**THE CONVENING OF THIS  
CONFERENCE IS ONE MORE  
INDICATOR THAT THE COLD WAR  
MAY BE DEAD -- BUT 'NATO' ISN'T.**



NATO. ONE OF THE GREAT  
"SUCCESS STORIES" OF OUR  
TIME. PROBABLY THE  
STRONGEST AND MOST  
EFFECTIVE ALLIANCE OF ALL  
TIME.

NATO. WHICH WON ITS  
"WAR" BY KEEPING THE PEACE;  
WHICH DID ITS JOB BY  
STANDING FIRM AGAINST

**TYRANTS' THREATS.**

**NATO. ENTERING A NEW  
ERA, AND FACING NEW  
CHALLENGES; BUT AS VITAL AS  
EVER TO THE CAUSE OF  
FREEDOM, SECURITY AND  
STABILITY ACROSS THE NORTH  
ATLANTIC.**

**I DON'T HAVE TO RELATE  
FOR YOU THE HISTORY OF**

**3 →**

**NATO. YOU HAVE LIVED IT.**

**I SUSPECT THAT SOME IN  
THIS AUDIENCE WERE THERE  
WHEN REPRESENTATIVES OF 12  
NORTH ATLANTIC STATES MET  
IN WASHINGTON TO SIGN A  
PACT PLEDGING MUTUAL  
DEFENSE AGAINST  
AGGRESSION. I DOUBT THAT  
ANY IN THAT AUDIENCE,**

**4 →**

**THOUGH, DREAMED JUST HOW  
STRONG, AND TENACIOUS, NATO  
WOULD BE IN THE FOUR  
DECADES THAT FOLLOWED.**

**IN THOSE DAYS, OF  
COURSE, WE ALL SAW NATO'S  
PRINCIPAL GOAL AS THE  
CONTAINMENT OF COMMUNISM,  
AND THE BLUNTING OF THE  
THREAT OF SOVIET-LED**



**AGGRESSION AGAINST CENTRAL  
AND WESTERN EUROPE. FORTY  
YEARS LATER, WE CELEBRATE  
THE TOTAL ACHIEVEMENT OF  
THAT GOAL.**

**WHILE NATO STANDS  
STRONG, THE 'IRON CURTAIN'  
HAS COLLAPSED. WHILE NATO  
LIVES ON, COMMUNISM LIES  
BURIED IN HISTORY'S ASHES.**

**LAST WEEK, I HAD THE  
REMARKABLE EXPERIENCE OF  
LISTENING TO BORIS YELTSIN  
DELIVER AN ELOQUENT  
ADDRESS ON DEMOCRACY AND  
PEACE IN THE CHAMBER OF THE  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES;  
AND THEN, THE VERY NEXT DAY,  
OF TAKING MR. YELTSIN TO THE  
'HEARTLAND OF AMERICA', MY**

**7 →**

**HOME STATE OF KANSAS, TO  
TALK TO "REAL AMERICANS" AT  
A MEAT PACKING PLANT, A  
UNIVERSITY, AND IN THE FIELDS  
OF A FAMILY FARM.**

**THE SETTING AND THE  
STYLE OF HIS ORATORY WAS  
DIFFERENT, BUT MR. YELTSIN'S  
CORE MESSAGE WAS THE SAME  
IN KANSAS AS IT WAS IN**

WASHINGTON. COMMUNISM IS  
DEAD IN RUSSIA, MR. YELTSIN  
DECLARED, AND DEMOCRACY IS  
NOT JUST AN "EXPERIMENT," BUT  
A COMMITMENT. THE COLD  
WAR IS OVER, AND PEACE IS  
NOT JUST THE "ABSENCE OF  
WAR" BUT AN OPPORTUNITY FOR  
A WHOLE NEW KIND OF  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RUSSIA



**AND THE WEST.**

**GETTING HERE WAS NOT  
EASY, AND IT WAS NOT CHEAP.**

**BUT THE NATIONS OF NATO,**

**INDIVIDUALLY AND**

**COLLECTIVELY, BORE THE**

**BURDEN AND PAID THE PRICE.**

**I COULD CITE EXAMPLE**

**AFTER EXAMPLE, BUT LET ME**

**MENTION JUST ONE -- THE**

**10 →**

**DEPLOYMENT BY NATO OF U.S.  
INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES  
IN THE LATE 1980'S. WITHOUT  
DOUBT, HISTORY WILL RECORD  
THAT WISE AND COURAGEOUS  
ACT AS THE "DEATH KNELL" OF  
THE MILITARY THREAT OF THE  
WARSAW PACT; AS A VITAL  
FACTOR IN THE RISE OF "NEW  
THINKING" AND 'REFORMISM' IN**

11 →

**THE SOVIET UNION; AND AS THE  
"BEGINNING OF THE END" OF  
SOVIET-LED COMMUNISM IN  
EUROPE.**

**BUT IF RESISTING, AND  
EVENTUALLY DEFEATING THE  
THREAT OF SOVIET-LED  
COMMUNISM WAS NATO'S MAIN  
"PRODUCT," IT ALSO PRODUCED  
SOME EQUALLY IMPORTANT "BY-**

**PRODUCTS."**

**WHILE DEFENDING  
WESTERN EUROPE AGAINST  
COMMUNISM, NATO ALSO  
STARTED THE PROCESS OF  
BRINGING ITS MEMBER STATES  
TOGETHER, FOR CAUSES THAT  
NOW GO WAY BEYOND A  
COMMON DEFENSE.**

**LET'S NOT FORGET -- THE**

**13 →**

**BLOODIEST "HOT WARS" OF THIS  
CENTURY WERE WARS BETWEEN  
WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS,  
NOT WARS PITTING THEM  
AGAINST AN OUTSIDE  
ADVERSARY. PEACE AND  
COOPERATION AMONG THE  
EUROPEAN STATES IS NOT  
SOME "AUTOMATIC," NATURAL  
STATE OF AFFAIRS; BUT THE**

**RESULT OF THE  
STATESMANSHIP AND COMMON  
SENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE'S  
CONTEMPORARY GENERATION  
OF LEADERS -- LEADERS WHO  
FOUND IN NATO BOTH AN  
INSPIRATION AND A VEHICLE  
FOR THEIR LEADERSHIP.**

**WITHOUT THE SHIELD AND,  
EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE**

EXPERIENCE OF NATO, WE  
WOULD NOT HAVE HAD THE  
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE  
WOULD NOT HAVE THE STILL  
GROWING POLITICAL  
COOPERATION OF THE  
EUROPEAN STATES. AND WE  
WOULD NOT HAVE HAD THE  
IMPENDING ECONOMIC  
INTEGRATION OF EUROPE.

**AND NATO NOT ONLY  
HELPED PROVIDE THE "CEMENT"  
FOR A NEWLY COHESIVE  
EUROPE -- IT ALSO SERVED AS A  
VITAL "BRIDGE" ACROSS THE  
ATLANTIC. EARLIER IN THIS  
CENTURY, IN THE YEARS AFTER  
THE FIRST WORLD WAR,  
AMERICA CHOSE A PATH OF  
'ISOLATIONISM,' WITH**





**DISASTROUS RESULTS. AFTER  
THE SECOND WORLD WAR, WE  
DETERMINED NOT TO MAKE THE  
SAME MISTAKE.**

**NATO WAS THE INSTITUTION  
WHICH MADE MANIFEST THE  
VITAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED  
STATES IN THE SECURITY AND  
STABILITY OF EUROPE. IT WAS  
THE VEHICLE WHICH BROUGHT**

**THE UNITED STATES AND  
WESTERN EUROPE TOGETHER,  
IN THE COMMON ENDEAVOR OF  
KEEPING THE PEACE. AND, AS  
WITHIN RELATIONS INTERNAL TO  
EUROPE, NATO HAS ALSO  
BECOME THE MECHANISM FOR  
CONSULTATION AND  
COOPERATION ON MANY, MANY  
IMPORTANT ISSUES THAT GO**

**BEYOND NATO'S ORIGINAL AND  
NOW LARGELY ACCOMPLISHED  
GOALS.**

**WHICH BRINGS ME TO THE  
REAL REASON FOR THIS  
GATHERING TODAY. NATO'S  
BEEN A GREAT SUCCESS, TO BE  
SURE -- BUT WHERE DO WE GO  
FROM HERE? HAS NATO, BY ITS  
VERY SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING**

20 ➔

**ITS GOALS, WORKED ITSELF OUT  
OF A JOB?**

**IN MY VIEW, THE ANSWER  
OUGHT TO BE LOUD AND CLEAR;  
NATO STILL HAS A BIG JOB TO  
DO -- DIFFERENT THAN THE JOB  
IT DID IN THE PAST, BUT NO  
LESS IMPORTANT. EQUALLY TO  
THE POINT, IT MAKES NO SENSE  
TO THROW IN THE TRASHCAN A**

21 →

**MECHANISM FOR ACTIVE AND  
EFFECTIVE COOPERATION ON  
ISSUES OF VITAL, COMMON  
CONCERN TO NATO'S MEMBERS  
WHEN THERE ARE STILL PLENTY  
OF THOSE ISSUES OUT THERE,  
DEMANDING URGENT  
ATTENTION.**

**NATO TOOK AN IMPORTANT  
AND TIMELY STEP IN RESHAPING**

**ITS AGENDA TO MEET THE  
CHALLENGES OF THE 1990'S  
THREE WEEKS AGO IN OSLO. BY  
VOTING TO EXPAND ITS ROLE TO  
INCLUDE PEACEKEEPING  
OPERATIONS IN COOPERATION  
WITH THE "CSCE", NATO HAS AT  
LEAST POTENTIALLY DEALT  
ITSELF INTO ONE OF THE  
HIGHEST STAKES "GAMES"**

**FACING EUROPE TODAY:  
DEALING WITH THE INCREDIBLY  
COMPLEX AND VOLATILE ETHNIC  
DIVISIONS WHICH THREATEN TO  
TEAR APART SOME OF THE  
NATIONS OF THE CONTINENT.**

**I SAID EARLIER THAT  
NATO'S CARDINAL  
ACCOMPLISHMENTS WERE  
KEEPING THE PEACE IN EUROPE,**

**BY FACING UP TO, AND  
EVENTUALLY DEFEATING  
COMMUNISM. IRONICALLY, IT IS  
THE VERY COLLAPSE OF  
COMMUNISM THAT HAS  
CATALYZED A NEW AND  
DANGEROUS INSTABILITY IN  
SEVERAL EUROPEAN NATIONS.**

**THE FRONT PAGE OF  
TODAY'S PAPERS MENTION**

**25 →**



**THREE DIFFERENT CRISES -- IN  
MOLDOVA, IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
AND IN BOSNIA -- WHOSE ROOTS  
ARE IN ETHNIC DIVISIONS. IN  
EACH OF THOSE CASES, THE  
HARSH TYRANNY OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMUNIST STATE  
FOR DECADES KEPT AN  
ARTIFICIAL "LID" CLAMPED  
TIGHTLY ON SEETHING**

**HATREDS. WITH THE DEMISE OF  
COMMUNIST ARMIES AND  
SECRET POLICE FORCES, THAT  
"LID" HAS BEEN BLOWN OFF,  
AND ANCIENT ANIMOSITIES  
HAVE EXPLODED, OR THREATEN  
TO EXPLODE, IN  
CONFRONTATION AND  
CONFLICT.**

**AND, WHILE NATO IS NOT IN**

**27 →**

A POSITION TO DO MUCH ~~ABOUT~~  
DIRECTLY ABOUT MOLDOVA,  
AND WHILE THE SITUATION IN  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA CAN  
HOPEFULLY STILL BE RESOLVED  
/ PEACEFULLY<sup>1</sup> AMONG THE  
CONTENDING PARTIES, I  
BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT NATO  
MUST MOVE NOW, URGENTLY,  
TO EXERCISE ITS NEW MANDATE



**TO HELP RESTORE PEACE,**  
**PROTECT DEMOCRACY, AND**  
**FOSTER STABILITY IN THE**  
**FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.**

**CANDIDLY, WE -- AND I**  
**SPEAK HERE BOTH OF MY OWN**  
**COUNTRY, THE UNITED STATES,**  
**AND OF NATO -- WE ARE**  
**ALREADY LATE INTO THIS**  
**"GAME." WE HAVE BEEN TOO**



**LATE IN SPEAKING OUT; TOO  
LATE WITH A STRONG  
DIPLOMACY; TOO LATE WITH  
OUR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS;  
TOO LATE TO HELP THOUSANDS  
AND THOUSANDS WHO HAVE  
DIED, OR FACE IMMINENT DEATH  
FROM WAR AND STARVATION.**

**WE ARE LATE. I JUST HOPE  
WE ARE NOT TOO LATE.**

**30 →**

**MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT  
IT -- THE SITUATION IN THE  
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA IS  
COMPLEX, AND THERE HAVE  
UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN EXCESSES  
AND ERRORS ON ALL SIDES.  
BUT THE ROOT OF THE  
PROBLEM IS CLEAR: SLOBODAN  
MILOSEVIC IS AN OLD-STYLE,  
COMMUNIST DICTATOR, AND A**

**VIRULENT NATIONALIST IN THE  
MOLD OF A SADDAM HUSSEIN  
OR, YES, EVEN AN ADOLF  
HITLER. WHAT HE WANTS IS  
NOT TO ADVANCE THE  
"LEGITIMATE INTERESTS" OF THE  
SERBIAN PEOPLE -- AND INDEED  
THOSE PEOPLE HAVE INTERESTS  
JUST AS "LEGITIMATE" AS THOSE  
OF THE BOSNIANS, OR THE**

**CROATIANS, OR THE ALBANIANS,  
OR ANY OF THE OTHER GROUPS  
WHICH MADE UP THE FORMER  
YUGOSLAVIA.**

**BUT MILOSEVIC IS NOT  
ABOUT ADVANCING THOSE  
INTERESTS, BUT ADVANCING HIS  
OWN PERVERTED AGENDA:  
PERSONAL POWER, ELIMINATION  
OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION,**





OCCUPATION OF NEIGHBORING  
STATES, AND THE DISLOCATION  
OR, IF NEED BE, SLAUGHTER OF  
EVERY ETHNIC GROUP EXCEPT  
HIS OWN.

WE SHOULD HAVE <sup>“</sup>BLOWN  
THE WHISTLE <sup>“</sup>ON MILOSEVIC  
MONTHS AND MONTHS AGO.  
WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR TO ALL  
BUT THE MOST RIGID-MINDED

THAT YUGOSLAVIA WAS 'GOING  
DOWN THE TUBES, WE SHOULD  
HAVE SIDED PUBLICLY AND  
DECISIVELY WITH THE FORCES  
OF DEMOCRACY. INSTEAD, WE  
DID NOTHING -- HIDING BEHIND  
THE FOOLISH, AND PERHAPS  
EVEN PHONY, ARGUMENT THAT  
WE DIDN'T WANT TO BE BLAMED  
FOR "DESTROYING" YUGOSLAVIA.



**TRAGICALLY, BUT  
PREDICTABLY, MILOSEVIC TOOK  
OUR INACTION AS A "GREEN  
LIGHT" FOR CONTINUED  
AGGRESSION. AND THE REST IS  
BLOODY HISTORY.**

**SO WE ARE LATE. BUT LET  
US NOT USE THAT AS JUST THE  
LATEST EXCUSE FOR DOING**

**NOTHING. WE ARE LATE. BUT,  
GOD WILLING, NOT TOO LATE.**

**SO LET US LOOK TO NATO  
FOR THE SAME KIND OF  
LEADERSHIP IN THIS CRISIS AS  
IT HAS PROVIDED IN SO MANY  
OTHERS. IT IS THE ONLY  
ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS THE  
ESSENTIAL QUALITIES TO MAKE  
A DECISIVE DIFFERENCE IN THE**

## **FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.**

- **NATO'S MEMBERSHIP**

**ENCOMPASSES THE**

**ESTABLISHED DEMOCRACIES OF**

**EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.**

- **NATO HAS A CLEAR AND**

**VITAL INTEREST IN RESTORING**

**STABILITY IN AN AREA OF**

**HISTORIC AND NATURAL VITAL**

**CONCERN.**



- **NATO HAS A LONG ESTABLISHED MILITARY AND POLITICAL RATIONALE, AIMED AT PRESERVING PEACE AND STABILITY.**

- **NATO HAS THE POLITICAL CLOUT TO HAVE AN IMPACT, EVEN SHORT OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF MILITARY FORCE; BUT THE MILITARY**

**CLOUT BOTH TO ADD  
CREDIBILITY TO ITS DIPLOMACY,  
AND TO ACT MILITARY, IF IT  
MUST.**

● **NATO HAS A "TRACK  
RECORD" OF ACTING  
DECISIVELY IN EMERGENCIES.**

**WE ARE LATE. BUT LET US  
ACT NOW, BEFORE IT SURELY  
BECOMES TOO LATE.**

**40 →**

**TODAY, I CALL ON NATO TO  
BEGIN URGENTLY TO  
IMPLEMENT A FOUR STEP  
PROGRAM:**

**1. AUTHORIZE THE USE OF  
ALLIANCE FORCES, IF  
NECESSARY, TO REESTABLISH  
PEACE IN BOSNIA AND OTHER  
THREATENED AREAS OF THE  
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, SUCH AS**



**KOSOVA.**

**2. ORGANIZE A "STAND-BY"  
FORCE WITH THE MILITARY  
ASSETS TO ACCOMPLISH  
SEVERAL URGENTLY NEEDED  
INITIAL TASKS:**

**-- TO CLOSE THE  
AIRSPACE OVER  
BOSNIA, WHERE  
SERBIAN JETS TODAY**

**ROAM FREE,  
DESTROYING HOMES  
AND HOSPITALS, AND  
SLAUGHTERING  
INNOCENT PEOPLE.  
-- TO PROTECT  
CONVOYS OF  
DESPERATELY NEEDED  
HUMANITARIAN  
SUPPLIES -- FOOD AND**

**43 →**

**MEDICINE -- FOR A  
POPULATION FACED  
WITH IMMINENT  
STARVATION.  
-- TO PLAN FOR  
AIRSTRIKES, IF  
FEASIBLE, AGAINST  
SERBIAN POSITIONS IN  
BOSNIA AND IN SERBIA.**

**3. CONSULT WITH THE**

**44 →**

'CSCE, THE U.N. AND OTHER  
APPROPRIATE BODIES, TO  
ACHIEVE THEIR COOPERATION  
IN USING FORCE, IF NECESSARY.

4. ISSUE AN ULTIMATUM TO  
MILOSEVIC TO END HIS  
AGGRESSION, AND PULL BACK  
HIS FORCES, OR FACE THE  
CONSEQUENCES.

I UNDERSTAND THE

45 →

**COMPLEXITIES INVOLVED, BOTH  
POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY. I  
UNDERSTAND WE ARE  
BREAKING SOME NEW GROUND,  
AND TAKING SOME RISKS.**

**BUT I ALSO UNDERSTAND  
THAT PEOPLE ARE DYING, AND  
IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD NO  
ONE SEEMS TO BE DOING MUCH  
ABOUT IT.**

**THE BOTTOM LINE IS:**

**MILOSEVIC MUST BE STOPPED,**

**NOW. AND, IN MY VIEW, ONLY**

**NATO IS CAPABLE OF STOPPING**

**HIM.**

**THE 'COLD WAR' IS OVER.**

**BUT, EVEN AS WE TAKE**

**SATISFACTION IN ITS END, WE**

**ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE**

**FACT OF A BLOODY CONFLICT,**

**47 →**

**AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A  
BROADER WAR, ON NATO'S  
DOORSTEP.**

**IT IS A CHALLENGE THAT  
WE CANNOT IGNORE, EXCEPT AT  
THE PERIL OF SEEING NATO'S  
GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS UNRAVEL  
IN A "NEW WORLD DISORDER."**

**IN OVER FOUR DECADES,  
NATO HAS NEVER FAILED TO**



**MEET A CHALLENGE. IN THE  
FINAL DECADE OF THIS  
CENTURY, IT CANNOT FAIL TO  
MEET THIS ONE.**

