

FOIA MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 4072				
Document ID: 0000133				
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. resume	Curriculum Vitae: Robert Anthony Pape, Jr. [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	11/00/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kosovo])
OA/Box Number: 4072

FOLDER TITLE:

0000133

2008-0994-F

ke5965

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 0000133
RECEIVED: 07 JAN 00 15

TO: BERGER

FROM: PAPE, ROBERT

DOC DATE: 03 NOV 99
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO AP
NSA CORRESPONDENCE

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PAPE REQUEST INTERVIEW W/ NSA RE KOSOVO

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES DUE DATE: 19 JAN 00 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: NONE LOGREF: 9908876

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BERGER
GOBUSH
HILL, C
HILLIARD
HOLTZAPPLE
KAIDANOW
NSC CHRON
YEE

COMMENTS: REFERENCE PACKAGE # 9908876

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OPENED BY: NSTCG CLOSED BY: NSTCG DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 0000133

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001

X 00010715 FOR RECORD PURPOSES

UNCLASSIFIED

To:
GOBUSH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
5828 SOUTH UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO - ILLINOIS 60637

MATT-
SANDY SAID
NO TO THIS.
DO YOU WANT
TO SEE IF

MONA-
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Optional!
@

@SEE IS
INTERESTING
THX.
@

Sandy Berger
Advisor to the President for National Security Affairs
The White House

by fax: (202) 456-2883

November 3, 1999

Dear Mr. Berger,

I am writing to request an interview with you on the subject of why Milosevic surrendered Kosovo. As you know, over the summer, a number of Serb leaders have suggested that Milosevic surrendered because the United States was on the verge of inflicting large-scale civilian casualties by increasing the strategic bombing of Serbia's economy and population centers to a scale not seen since World War II. However, you and other members of the Clinton administration have suggested nearly the opposite: the key pressure on Milosevic was the decision taken by the United States and some other NATO countries in late May to launch a ground invasion of Kosovo before winter. Accordingly, the problem now is that the historical record contains two dramatically different interpretations of why Milosevic surrendered. If these are not reconciled soon, many people could adopt an erroneous understanding of this case, potentially leading to future policy mistakes and other adverse consequences for the United States.

Only a comprehensive interview with you can get to the bottom of the matter. Above all, we need to know the air and ground pressures the American government were willing to use to return the Albanians, the time-table for applying those pressures over last summer, and the signals sent to Milosevic about these matters in late May and early June. Only you can set the record straight because only you know how these three components fit together.

I enjoyed meeting you last year at Dartmouth and I hope we will be able to meet again for this purpose. As you will see from my vita, I have been publishing major academic books and articles on the subject of coercive air power for a decade. In general, I have argued that threats to increase costs and risks to civilians rarely produce much coercive leverage and that the threat of military defeat is usually the only factor strong enough to compel modern states to abandon important territorial interests. However, I want to stress that, even if it turns out that threats to Serbian civilians were far more important than I expected, I am quite concerned to set the record straight. Scholars make mistakes, but scholarship contributes most by continuing to take into account new evidence.

JAN 4 11:27

If you grant this request, I am naturally willing to meet with you at your convenience. Or, if you wish, the University of Chicago would be pleased to have you give a public talk according to a format of your preference.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Robert A. Pape".

Robert A. Pape
Associate Professor

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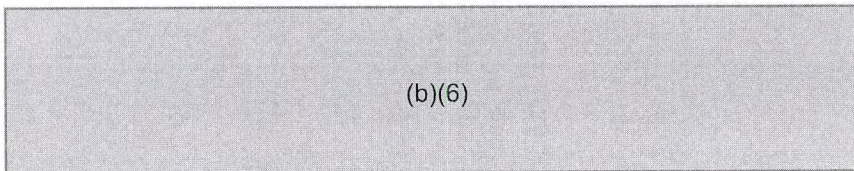
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November 1999

CURRICULUM VITAE

Robert Anthony Pape, Jr.
 Political Science Department
 University of Chicago
 Chicago, IL 60637
 (773) 702-8071 (O)
 (773) 702-1689 (F)
 (773) 752-6672 (H)

Personal Data



[001]

(b)(6)

Education

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Chicago, December 1988.
 M.A., Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, August 1982.
 B.A., Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, April 1982
 (Phi Beta Kappa; Senior of the Year; Truman Scholar).

Academic Positions

Associate Professor, University of Chicago, July 1999 - present.
 Assistant Professor, Dartmouth College, 1994-June 1999.
 Assistant Professor, Air University, Montgomery, Alabama, 1991-1994.
 Visiting Professor, University of Michigan, 1990.

Research and Teaching Interests

National security affairs, theory of coercive air power, deterrence theory
 Economic sanctions, ethnic conflict, american grand strategy
 International Relations, theory of international moral action.

Grants Received

1999	Earhart Foundation.
1998	Dartmouth Class of 1962 Fellow.
1997-98	Smith Richardson Junior Faculty Research Fellowship.
1997	Earhart Foundation, Rockefeller Center, Dickey Center, and Sayles Fund Travel Grants.
1996	Sayles Fund Travel Grant.
1991	Earhart Foundation Travel Grant.
1989	USAF Historical Research Agency Travel Grant.
1988-91	MacArthur Post-doctoral Fellowship, University of Michigan.
1986-87	MacArthur Pre-doctoral Fellowship, University of Chicago.

Publications: Book

Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Publications: Articles in Refereed Journals

"Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade," with Chaim Kaufmann, International Organization (Fall 1999).

"Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work," International Security, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Summer 1998), pp. 66-77; "Correspondence: Reply to David Baldwin," International Security, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Fall 1998), pp. 189-98.

"The Limits of Precision Guided Air Power" and "The Air Force Strikes Back: A Response to My Critics," Security Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter 1997-98), pp. 93-113 and 189-212. Also reprinted in Benjamin Frankel, ed., Precision and Prudence: Debating Robert Pape's 'Bombing to Win' (forthcoming, Cass 1999).

"Why Economic Sanctions Do not Work," International Security, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 90-136.

"Why Japan Surrendered," International Security, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 154-201.

"Coercion and Military Strategy: Why Denial Works and Punishment Doesn't," Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 15, No. 4 (December 1992), pp. 423-475.

"Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War," International Security, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Fall 1990), pp. 103-146.

Publications: Other

"Lift Sanctions for Concessions on Acquiring Weapons," Los Angeles Times (December 18, 1998).

"A Workable Policy for Iraq," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (April 1998).

"Partition: An Exit Strategy for Bosnia," Survival, Vol 39, No. 4 (Winter 1997-98), pp. 25-28.

"A Surgical Strike that Could Backfire," New York Times (April 27, 1996).

"US Air Power: The Key to Containing Saddam," with James Feldman, Boston Globe (November 17, 1994).