

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 2051				
Document ID: 9805208				
Stack: v	Row: 45	Section: 5	Shelf: 7	Position: 1

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9805208
RECEIVED: 21 JUL 98 15

TO: BERGER

FROM: DOWLING
COVEY

DOC DATE: 17 AUG 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
HUMAN RIGHTS

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PRES CORRESPONDENCE

ACTION: OBE / STATUS OF ORIGINAL UNKNOWN DUE DATE: 01 AUG 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: SCHULTE

LOGREF: 9804704 9805332

FILES: WH

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
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTSM

CLOSED BY: NSVJD

DOC 2 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9805208

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 DOWLING	Z 98072115 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
002 BERGER	Z 98081820 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
002 SCHULTE	Z 98082217 FOR REDO
002 BERGER	Z 98091412 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
002 DOWLING	Z 98091916 FOR REDO
002	X 98111214 OBE / STATUS OF ORIGINAL UNKNOWN

UNCLASSIFIED

Darnes, Victoria J.

From: Darnes, Victoria J.
Sent: Thursday, October 22, 1998 10:23 AM
To: Dowling, John N. (Nick)
Cc: Ficklin, John W.; Dean, Susan W.
Subject: RE: [UNCLASSIFIED]

Okay, but give us everything that was returned to you from Execsec so that we can close these out properly.

Call me if you have questions...6-9221

Vicki

-----Original Message-----

From: Dowling, John N. (Nick)
Sent: Wednesday, October 21, 1998 5:47 PM
To: Darnes, Victoria J.; @RECORDS & ACCESS MGMT
Subject: [UNCLASSIFIED]

5724 and 5208 are now NFAR. No longer have folders, as these were packages sent back from ExecSec.

Not returned as of 11/12/98.
Closed w/ copies from WWD.

National Security Council
The White House

5203 + 5225

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 5200

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG 3 A/O _____

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	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	<u>1</u>	<u>PR 18</u>	<u>edit done</u>
Rice			
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>2</u>		
Steinberg			
Berger			
Situation Room	<u>3</u>		
West Wing Desk	<u>3</u>		
Records Mgt.	<u>4</u>	<u>PR 22</u>	<u>SNAP</u>
<u>Schultz</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>All note</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS:

98 AUG 18 AM 3:00

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

To: Greg Schulte

Greg - Welcome back. Please take a look at the attached letters. We need a tight, clear letter on our Kosovo policy. Probably worth your time to put your pen to work to construct a letter that can be used as the example for future letters. Need to start with a statement of our policy then move into the strategy for achieving that policy.

Call with questions.

Thx -
Ed Rice

National Security Council
The White House

9/11/47
1147

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 5208-Redo
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PBS NSC INT ARS
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG TE NO _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>9/11</u>	<u>make take</u> <u>edit consistent</u>
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>2</u>	<u>9/11</u>	
Steinberg	<u>3</u>		<u>ed. [initials]</u>
Berger	<u>4</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>9/19</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.			
<u>Dowling</u>	<u>6</u>		<u>A = [initials]</u> <u>note</u>

A = Action I = Information D = [initials]

cc:

SEP 11 1947
COMMENTS

*Letter
Congress on*

Exec Sec Office has diskette 46

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Update Post PC

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5208

Redo

August 17, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOCK COVEY *[Signature]*
FROM: J. NICHOLAS DOWLING *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

We have received five different letters to the President, signed by dozens of Senators and Members of Congress, urging that we do more to end the violence in Kosovo. We and legislative affairs recommend that we respond with one comprehensive letter on our policy in Kosovo.

The memorandum to the President at Tab I recommends he sign a letter in response to these multiple inquiries.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman *[Signature]*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Proposed Response for Signature
Tab B Incoming Correspondence from Senator Lott et al.
Tab C Incoming Correspondence from Representative
Olver et al.
Tab D Incoming Correspondence from Representative Lee
Tab E Incoming Correspondence from Representative Engel
et al.
Tab F Incoming Correspondence from Senator D'Amato
and Representative Smith

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5208

Redo

August 17, 1998

WWD - New copy for the File

9/11/98

658

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOCK COVEY *[initials]*
FROM: J. NICHOLAS DOWLING *[initials]*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

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The memorandum to the President at Tab I recommends he sign a letter in response to these multiple inquiries.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman *[initials]*

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Olver et al.
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et al.
Tab F Incoming Correspondence from Senator D'Amato
and Representative Smith

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Members of Congress

Purpose

Respond to letters from several dozen Members of Congress on Kosovo.

Background

Five letters have come in, signed by several dozen Senators and Members of Congress, urging action to end the violence in Kosovo. These letters all echo the same themes: advocating stronger U.S. leadership and consideration of NATO military action to end the violence.

We have prepared a comprehensive response that is appropriate to answer all five letters. The response summarizes our three-part policy of negotiations and humanitarian relief backed by the credible threat of NATO military force.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Senator Lott et al.
Tab B Incoming Correspondence from Senator Lott et al.
Tab C Incoming Correspondence from Representative Olver et al.
Tab D Incoming Correspondence from Representative Lee
Tab E Incoming Correspondence from Representative Engel et al.
Tab F Incoming Correspondence from Senator D'Amato and
Representative Smith

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter concerning the situation in Kosovo. I share your concern about the continuing violence and human suffering, as well as the risks posed to regional stability.

I believe that the responsibility for the situation rests squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined with our European Allies and Russia to press him to halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and to enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

Our strategy with respect to the crisis has three parts. First, Ambassador Christopher Hill is engaged in intensive diplomatic efforts to stop the violence and initiate negotiations toward a political settlement that provides an enhanced status for Kosovo and safeguards the rights of all its inhabitants. Ambassador Hill has had some recent success in this regard, pulling together a Kosovar Albanian negotiating team and attaining Milosevic's consent to an agreement that would grant the Kosovar Albanians a degree of self-government and be subject to review in 3-5 years.

Second, we are mounting with our Allies and Russia a substantial humanitarian effort to alleviate the suffering of those displaced by the fighting and to create the conditions for the safe return to their homes before the onset of winter. Working with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other humanitarian agencies, we are seeking to increase the scale of humanitarian relief efforts and ensure a visible international presence in locations to which Kosovars return. We have sent additional staff to assess humanitarian requirements and I have just authorized an additional \$20 million in emergency assistance. We have made very clear to Milosevic what steps he needs to take to create the necessary conditions for returns.

Third, we are implementing various measures through NATO to help stabilize the surrounding region, including through intensified Partnership for Peace activities with Albania and Macedonia. NATO is also developing a wide range of military options to contain the conflict and help achieve a political settlement. Recent exercises have demonstrated that the Alliance can quickly bring its military power to bear in the region.

To facilitate freedom of movement and humanitarian access in Kosovo, we have established a multinational Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM), comprising monitors from the United States, the European Union and Russia. The overt presence of KDOM has already helped improve access by humanitarian relief organizations, and can in the future be used to implement confidence-building measures between the parties.

Again, thank you for writing. I look forward to working with you and other Members of Congress as we seek to achieve a lasting peace in Kosovo.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

5208

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 15, 1998

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing out of concern for the present situation in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo. We believe the escalating tension and violence presents a clear threat to international efforts toward peace in the Balkan region.

By continuing a United States military presence in Bosnia under NATO, the United States has made clear its intention to achieve sustainable peace in the Balkans. In addition to a military presence in Bosnia, the United States maintains a peacekeeping force in Macedonia and has allocated a substantial amount of funding for economic reconstruction and development across the region.

We are concerned that these investments made by the American people will be lost if Slobodan Milosevic continues to control the negotiation process in the region. In recent weeks the violence in the region has continued despite diplomatic efforts, and as tension in the region grows, the Serb and Albanian sides become more extreme in their positions. The power and influence of the Kosovo Liberation Army have clearly expanded and the moderate leadership of Dr. Rugova is waning.

The violence in Kosovo could easily spread to neighboring Montenegro, Macedonia, and Albania and has already destabilized the region generally. The potential for refugee flows to Italy and other Mediterranean nations, coupled with age-old tensions with Bulgaria, Turkey, and Greece, lead to an undeniable possibility for widespread conflict. In light of this, we believe decisive action under U.S. leadership is necessary to prevent a fourth Balkan war.

Although we acknowledge the efforts of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke to resolve the situation in Kosovo, the United States must do more. Additionally, if Ambassador Holbrooke is confirmed as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, we urge you to appoint a special presidential envoy of notable public stature to Kosovo to ensure consistent attention is dedicated to finding a workable solution. Recent actions by Mr. Milosevic in Kosovo, as well as restricting free media in Serbia and manipulating the representative power structure for Montenegro, show his clear intention to defy the international community. A more comprehensive and serious approach, including restating the "Christmas Warning," is necessary to address growing problems in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Since the first massacre of ethnic Albanians at Drenica in February, the situation in Kosovo has only worsened. **Over 400 ethnic Albanians have reportedly been killed by Serb paramilitary units and the Yugoslav Army using helicopter gunships and ground troops. The United Nations estimates that 65,000 refugees have fled to neighboring Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro. In addition, regional humanitarian sources indicate an estimated 150,000 internally displaced persons within Kosovo.** Both sides have been driven to extremes by the violence, and the prospect of a peaceful solution through negotiation is scarce.

Economic sanctions have had no effect on the leadership in Belgrade. Serbia, already suffering from economic hardship, feels little pain from these measures. In addition, Belgrade is aware of divisions among our European Allies on how to resolve the conflict in Kosovo.

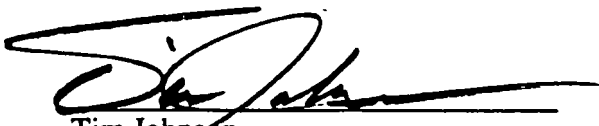
Our Allies seek United States leadership, and we should accelerate the analysis of military options currently occurring within the NATO planning and command structure. If we fail in Kosovo, we not only face the inevitable consequence of renewed war, but a weakening of our leadership position in the Balkans and worldwide.

To demonstrate the concern of the United States, we urge you personally to make a statement outlining a clear stance toward Belgrade and the situation in Kosovo. Without a direct Presidential statement, the situation will likely deteriorate from low-intensity conflict to all-out war. Therefore, we recommend a Presidential statement consisting of the following requirements and commitments:

1. An immediate cessation of hostilities by both Serbian and Kosovar forces.
2. The immediate withdrawal of all Serb paramilitary and Yugoslav Army forces from Kosovo.
3. Full United States support for a peaceful resolution of the Kosovo conflict if possible, but a commitment by the United States to lead future military efforts to end the conflict, if necessary.

In Kosovo, Milosevic has found a new political life and a new podium to appeal to his people. As a result, we believe he will continue to push the limits the international community has placed on him until you make a strong statement that the United States will not tolerate the senseless massacre of ethnic Albanians and are prepared to act. Therefore, we urge you to take the necessary steps toward ending this conflict now.

Sincerely,



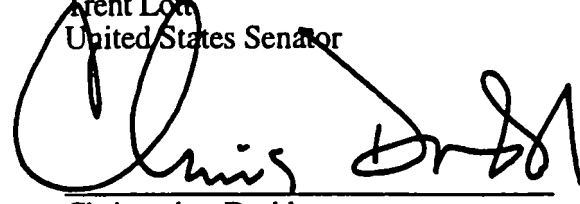
Tim Johnson
United States Senator



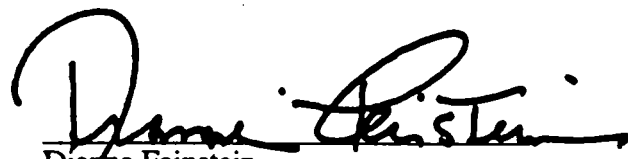
Trent Lott
United States Senator



Gordon Smith
United States Senator



Christopher Dodd
United States Senator



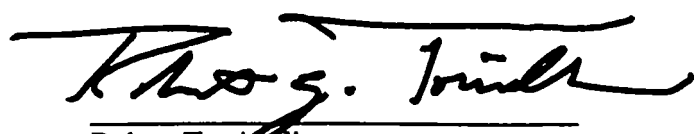
Dianne Feinstein
United States Senator



Alfonse D'Amato
United States Senator



Joseph Lieberman
United States Senator



Robert Torricelli
United States Senator

5411

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

July 20, 1998

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

On this third anniversary of the brutal massacre at Srebrenica in Bosnia, we urge the United States to stop Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic from pursuing his campaign of ethnic cleansing in the Serbian province of Kosova. It is time for the U.S. to send a clear message to Milosevic that NATO will intervene if Serbian forces do not stop attacking ethnic Albanian citizens and destroying their villages. It is also time to demand the prosecution of those responsible for the war crimes committed throughout the Balkans.

In 1991, Slobodan Milosevic launched his regime's campaign of terror across the former Yugoslavia -- beginning in Vukovar and the Krajina region of Croatia, then crossing over the border into Bosnia where they committed the gravest war crimes in Europe since WWII. The apex of their criminal acts occurred three years ago in Srebrenica. In July 1995, 8,000 unarmed men and boys were murdered in this small Bosnian town. The chief architects of this massacre, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, both indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), remain free. Yugoslav President Milosevic, the mastermind behind the genocide in Bosnia, has not even been indicted.

Over the past seven years, the U.S. and its allies have responded to this bloodshed through a series of compromising agreements with Milosevic. These agreements have served to bolster his position as Serb leader, and solidify his power in the region, to the extent that he is again killing and displacing large numbers of civilians -- this time in Kosova. Today, 700,000 Yugoslavian citizens of Albanian descent are living under siege in Kosova, 80,000 have been internally displaced, tens of thousands have fled to neighboring countries, and hundreds have been tortured and killed.

We urge the United States to lead the international community in recognizing that the Milosevic regime's violent pursuit of nationalistic aims is the primary cause of the continuing bloodshed and instability in the Balkans. **Specifically, we urge you to adopt the following measures as part of a comprehensive policy to ensure long-term peace and stability among the nations of the former Yugoslavia:**

- Demand that Milosevic immediately halt all attacks by Serbian special police, military and para military units against civilians in Kosova or face swift NATO intervention.
- Demand that Milosevic begin the complete withdrawal of all special police, military and

The Honorable William J. Clinton
July 20, 1998 -- Page 2

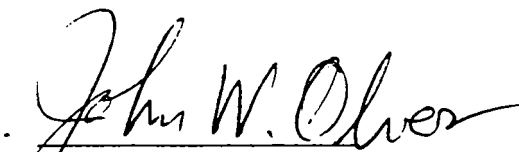
para military units from Kosova, and allow immediate access to food and medical convoys, independent human rights monitors, and the International War Crimes Tribunal.

- Demand that the Kosova Liberation Army cease all attacks against Serb civilians.
- Establish a NATO no-fly zone over Kosova to neutralize Serbian air superiority and prevent escalation of the conflict by any party.
- Pursue the immediate arrest of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic for war crimes committed in Srebrenica as required by UN Security Council Resolutions.
- Actively support the indictment of Slobodan Milosevic by the ICTY and release any evidence of his role in the Bosnian genocide.
- Maintain full economic sanctions on Yugoslavia until significant progress has been made in restoring full autonomy and human rights to Kosova.

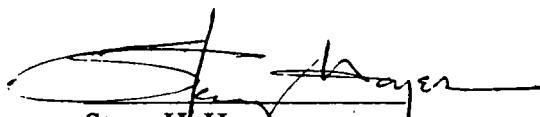
In remembering the victims of Srebrenica, we believe the continued, conciliatory response of the international community toward Milosevic is ineffective and dangerous. We are strongly in favor of resolving violent conflict by diplomatic negotiation. However, Milosevic has demonstrated -- both in Croatia and Bosnia -- that his aggression will only be deterred by the credible threat of force.

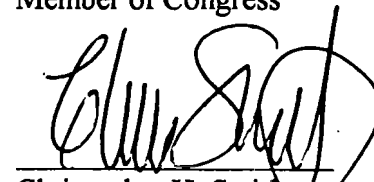
We urge you to adopt the above proposals in order to stop the conflict in Kosova and bring an end to the campaign of terror that has been waged by the Milosevic regime throughout the pre-1991 Yugoslavia.

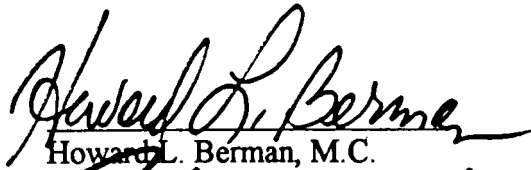
Sincerely,

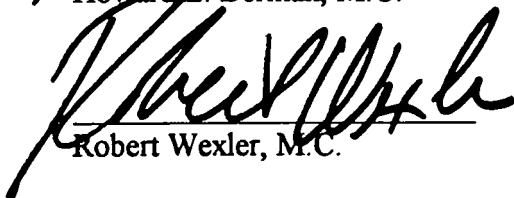

John W. Olver
Member of Congress


Tom Lantos
Member of Congress

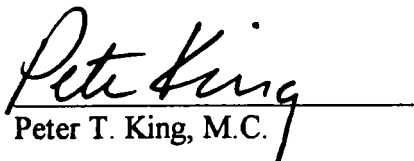

Steny H. Hoyer
Member of Congress

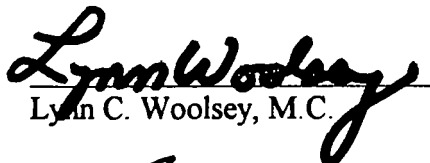

Christopher H. Smith
Member of Congress

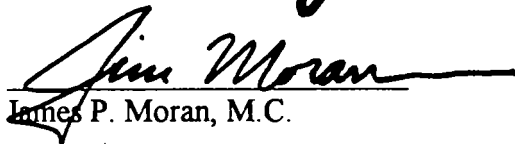

Howard L. Berman, M.C.

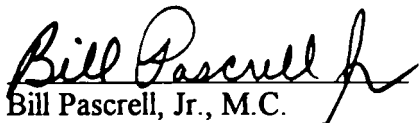

Robert Wexler, M.C.

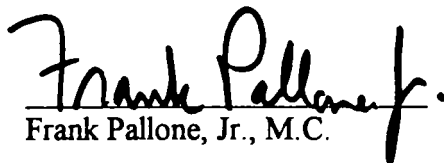

Steven R. Rothman, M.C.


Peter T. King, M.C.


Lynn C. Woolsey, M.C.


James P. Moran, M.C.


Bill Pascrell, Jr., M.C.

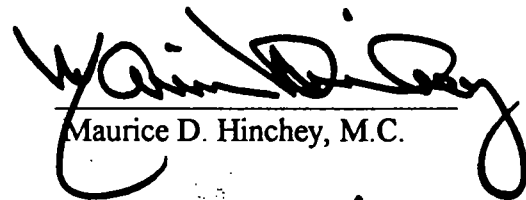

Frank Pallone, Jr., M.C.


Thomas M. Davis, M.C.

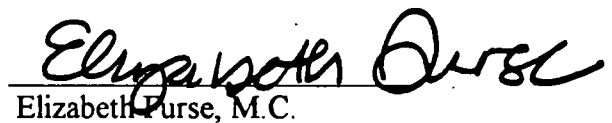

Nancy Pelosi, M.C.

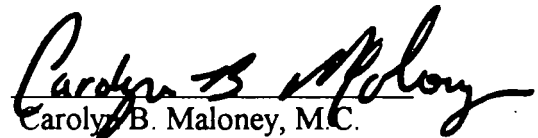

Robert Menendez, M.C.

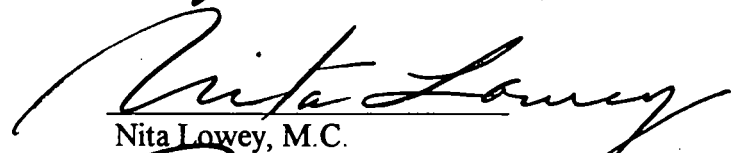

Robert E. Andrews, M.C.

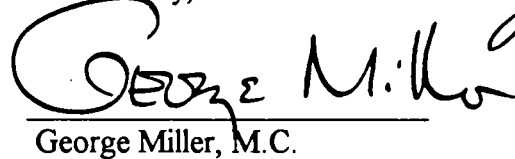

Maurice D. Hinchey, M.C.


Donald M. Payne, M.C.

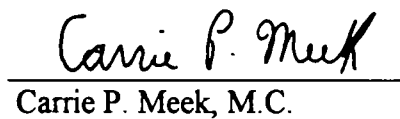

Elizabeth Furse, M.C.

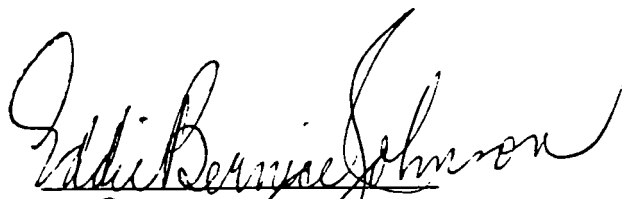

Carolyn B. Maloney, M.C.

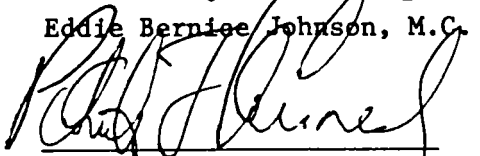

Nita Lowey, M.C.

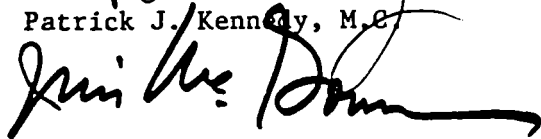

George Miller, M.C.


Bernard Sanders, M.C.

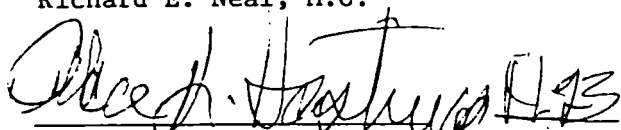

Carrie P. Meek, M.C.


Eddie Bernice Johnson, M.C.

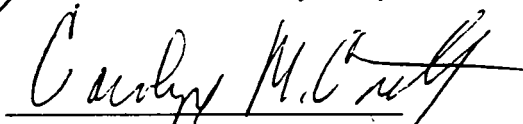

Patrick J. Kennedy, M.C.

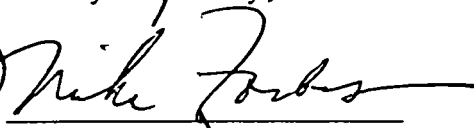

James P. McGovern, M.C.


Richard E. Neal, M.C.


Alcee L. Hastings, M.C.

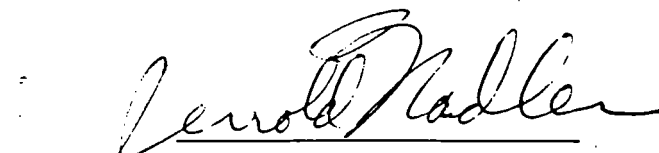

James A. Traficant, Jr., M.C.

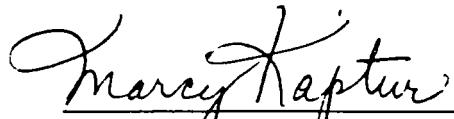

Carolyn McCarthy, M.C.


Michael P. Forbes, M.C.


Charles E. Schumer, M.C.

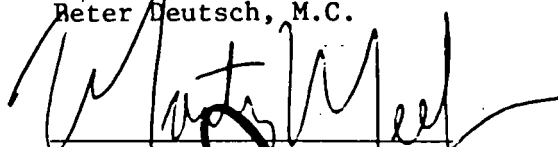

John Edward Porter, M.C.

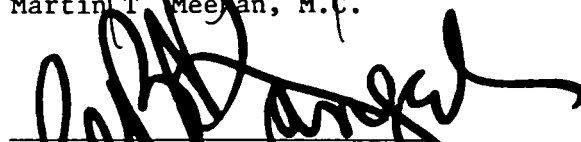

Jerrold Nadler, M.C.

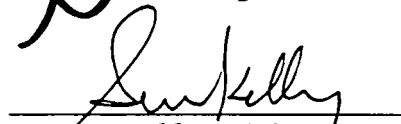

Marcy Kaptur, M.C.


Thomas H. Allen, M.C.

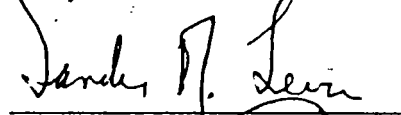

Peter Deutsch, M.C.

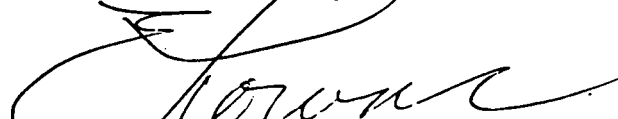

Martin T. Meenan, M.C.

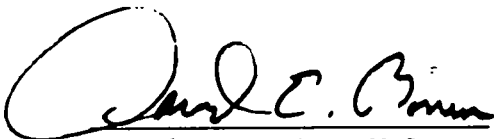

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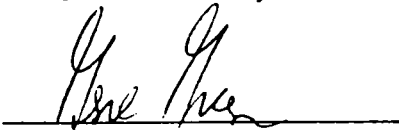

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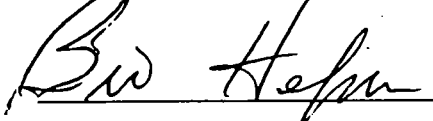

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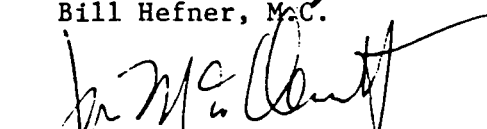

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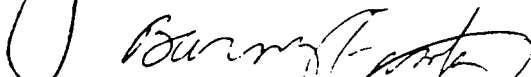

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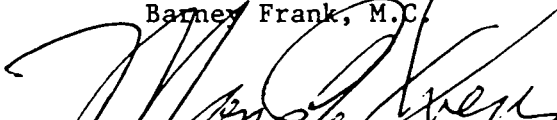

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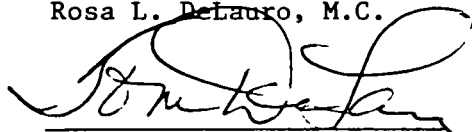

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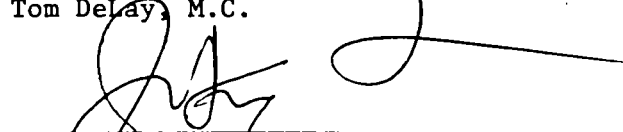

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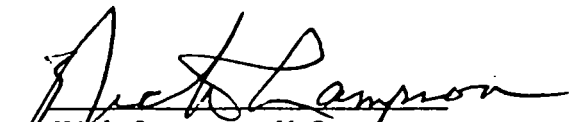

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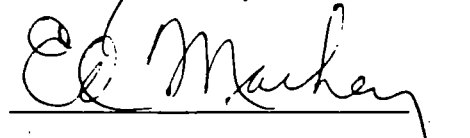

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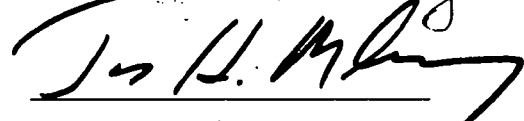

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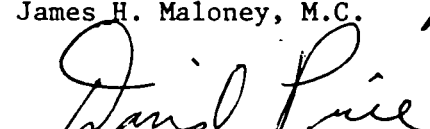

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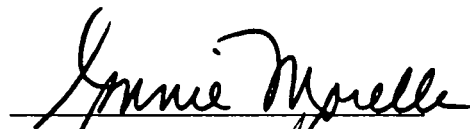

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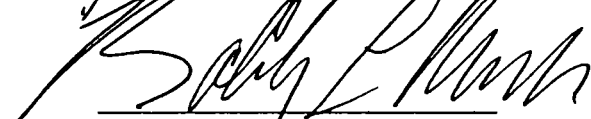

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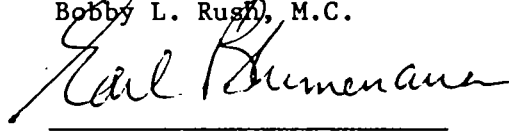

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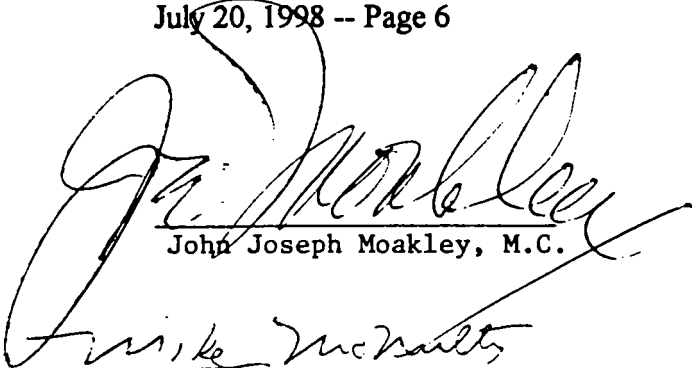

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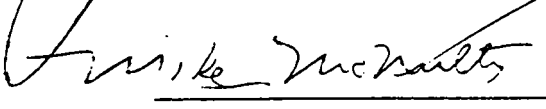

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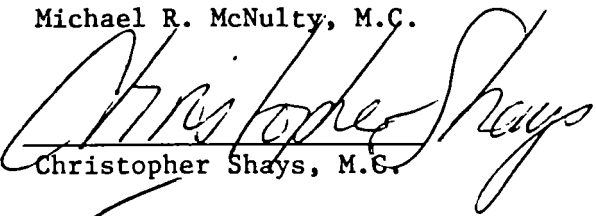

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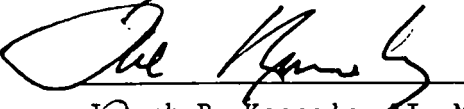

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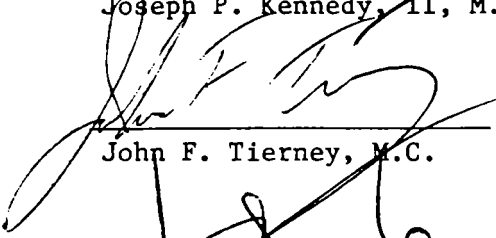

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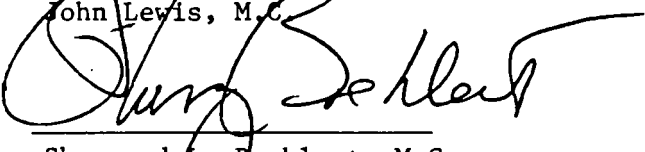

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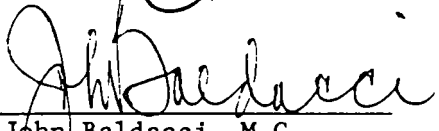

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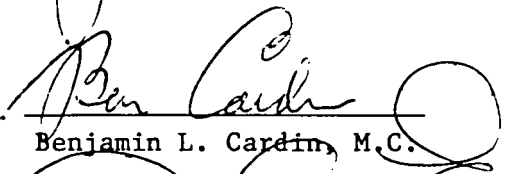

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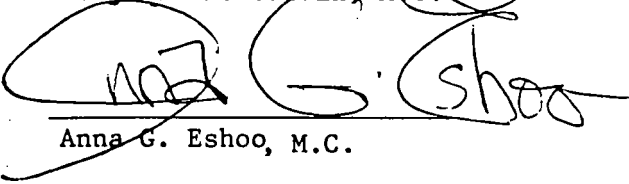

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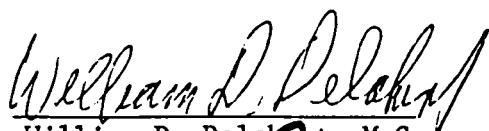

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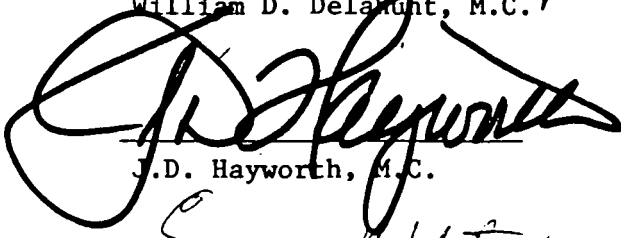

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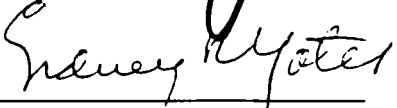

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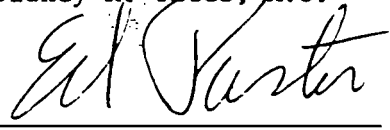

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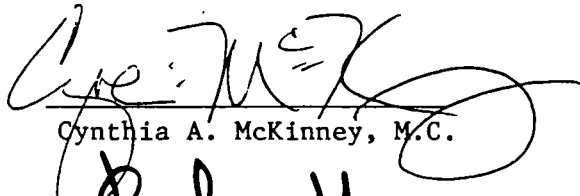

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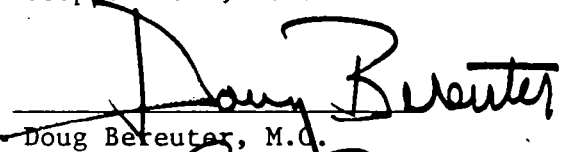

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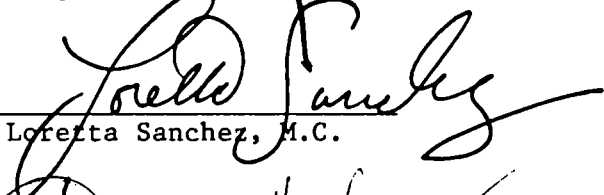

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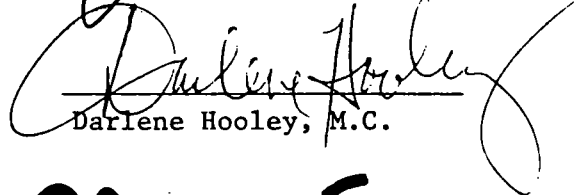

Ed Pastor, M.C.


Cynthia A. McKinney, M.C.


Stephen Horn, M.C.


Doug Bereuter, M.C.


Loretta Sanchez, M.C.


Darlene Hooley, M.C.


Martin Frost, M.C.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0509

5332

July 16, 1998

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to share my concern regarding the situation in Kosovo. As the representative of a well-informed, engaged and involved constituency, my thoughts reflect the concerns of those who provide humanitarian supplies, as well as moral and spiritual support to the embattled people in Bosnia and Kosovo.

In my opinion, the current situation in Kosovo requires urgent and timely United States involvement, direction and guidance.

As you are aware, for months Serbian forces have not allowed food and medicines to reach the people in the areas of conflict in Kosovo. In spite of the war that is going on in the region, women still need to give birth to babies, and illness and infection need to be treated.

In 1989 massive numbers of Serbian troops were moved into Kosovo. Albanian students were forced out of the University and secondary educational system. Almost all of the Albanian civil servants in Kosovo were fired. Throughout the war in Bosnia, people in Kosovo adopted a nonviolent strategy assuming that their desires for a return to normalcy at the end of the war would be settled along with the Bosnia-Croatia-Slovenia situation. Kosovo was hardly mentioned in the Dayton peace accords and clearly was not part of the negotiated settlement. Human rights abuses, as well as deterioration of educational and medical services in Kosovo, are serious violations of international agreements and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

Albanians students have been denied education in their own language in secondary and higher education since 1989. The Albanian parallel government established parallel schools that met in homes, and empty buildings. The students began a nonviolent campaign to regain access to their schools, which continues to this day but has been entirely eclipsed by the violence of a small, but rapidly growing group of armed resistance fighters, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). An education agreement was signed by all parties almost two years ago promising to return secondary schools and parts of the University to Albanian students.

Page Two

To: President William J. Clinton

Re: Kosovo

July 16, 1998

The Serbian side has systematically ignored this agreement. At the present, only one badly damaged building has been returned to the Albanian University students. Before the Albanians will trust any further negotiations, the schools agreement must be honored by the Serbian regime.

Before March, 1998 nonviolence was embraced by the vast majority of Albanians in Kosovo. However, as the Serbian forces intensified the attacks on many communities in Kosovo, the appeal of a violent strategy increased.

Frustration with the increased hostility and violence from the Serbian forces meant that the KLA began to draw support away from the nonviolent leadership. The media gave broader coverage of the increased violence in Kosovo although it had ignored the violent movement for many years. This communicated to the Albanian Kosovars that a violent strategy could be more effective on the global stage. The moment for nonviolent solutions is passing as warfare continues to escalate and hundreds are killed and tens of thousands are driven from their homes. The citizenry is increasingly feeling the need and the willingness to fight.

I believe that it is crucial now that the international communities ensure that humanitarian aid can reach Pristina as well as the villages and towns all over Kosovo that are under attack. This would communicate to the people of Kosovo that they are not alone and that the world cares. It would also enable respected members of the international humanitarian aid community to assess the current situation within Kosovo and disseminate information to the rest of the world. In addition, it would strengthen those in Kosovo supporting a nonviolent resolution to the conflict. In my opinion, our reticence will only serve to strengthen the forces within Kosovo supporting war and their goal of complete independence.

The UN should impose a no-fly zone. The Kosovar Albanian villagers have no recourse against Serbian attacks with helicopter gun ships. A no-fly zone would send a signal to Belgrade that the west will not countenance this aggression. The political forces in Montenegro are also growing stronger and that country is becoming more interested in independence itself. A "Balkania" proposal is circulating in Kosovo that Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo assemble to form a federation in which each state is autonomous with its own police force, its own education system, and its own constitutional Assembly. It is thought that some form of this proposal could be the basis for a negotiated settlement. However, until the schools agreement is implemented and other agreements are kept, it will be very difficult for the Albanians to have confidence in any negotiations concerning the long-term resolution to this problem.

Page Three

To: President William J. Clinton

Re: Kosovo

July 16, 1998

Things are changing very rapidly in this environment as approximately ten Albanians per day lose their lives. It is not known how many Serbian people are losing their lives, as they do not release casualty figures. Presently ethnic cleansing continues.

I respectfully suggest that maximum pressure be exerted on the combatants to stop the violence immediately, to allow humanitarian aid into the villages as well as the cities, and to implement agreements already made as a way of building trust. The time to act is now, not after hundreds of people are killed and Kosovo lies in ruins.

Thank you for your continued monitoring of the situation and effort to develop a proper course of action to prevent further ethnic killing in Kosovo will prevent a repetition of our behavior in Rwanda.

Your consideration is greatly appreciated. I look forward to your response and to working with you on this and other issues of critical concern.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Barbara Lee".

Barbara Lee
Member of Congress

BL/yl

ELIOT L. ENGEL
17TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

COMMITTEE:
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEES:

TELECOMMUNICATIONS, TRADE, AND
CONSUMER PROTECTION

FINANCE AND HAZARDOUS MATERIALS

OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS

2303 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3217
(202) 225-2464

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3217

August 6, 1998

5721
DISTRICT OFFICES:
3655 JOHNSON AVENUE
BRONX, NY 10463
(718) 796-9700
655 EAST 233RD STREET
BRONX, NY 10466
(718) 652-0400
177 DREISER LOOP, ROOM 3
BRONX, NY 10475
(718) 320-2314
250 SOUTH 6TH AVENUE
MOUNT VERNON, NY 10550
(914) 699-4100
87 NEPPERHAN AVENUE
YONKERS, NY 10701
(914) 423-0700

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me yesterday morning about the situation in Kosova. I enjoyed our conversation and the brief opportunity to share my views with you. As I explained, I am chairman of the Congressional Albanian Issues Caucus and have worked extensively on Balkan Issues during my years in Congress.

As you are aware, the people of Kosova, of whom more than 90% are ethnic Albanian, have faced harsh repression and ethnic discrimination throughout the 1990s. However, because the question of Kosova was not included in the Dayton process, it did not received the attention it deserved from the United States or the international community when the current crisis could have still been prevented.

During this decade, I and others consistently warned that sooner or later the situation in Kosova would boil over. Now, vital United States interests are at stake as a regional conflagration seems more likely each day and a humanitarian catastrophe seems around the corner. Tragically, 10% of the Kosovar population -- over 200,000 people -- have been forced out of their homes since the beginning of Milosevic's attacks and, only yesterday, credible news agencies reported the existence of two mass graves -- one containing the bodies of hundreds of children.

Earlier this year, you said that the United States would not permit another Bosnia-like situation to recur in Kosova. I am afraid that with these reports of ethnic cleansing and mass murders, the world is witnessing a series of events in Kosova alarmingly similar to that which consumed Bosnia.

Mr. President, in the short term, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic only understands force, or at the very least the credible threat of force. In Bosnia, you drew the line for Milosevic with air strikes and ended the horror. That is what is needed in Kosova -- robust air strikes ending the ethnic cleansing coupled with a no-fly-zone. Specifically, our diplomats should tell Milosevic that unless his troops immediately halt attacks and withdraw from the region, American

The President
August 6, 1998
page two

jets will heavily bomb his military forces and their command and control network. Ironically, if we issued such a credible threat, it is rather possible that we would never have to proceed down the military route as Milosevic understands all too well -- because of the potency of your actions in Bosnia -- that he should not tangle with United States military power.

In the long term, after halting the bloodshed and the growing humanitarian catastrophe, the world can then focus on what the ultimate status of Kosova should be and how that should be achieved. Please allow me to offer my suggestions for United States policy in that regard.

Our diplomats have said many times publicly that independence is off the table for Kosova. I believe that this policy is severely misguided because it sets as a precondition to the Albanians' participation in talks the rejection of the Albanians' very goal. Properly focused, our diplomats should say that all topics are appropriate for discussion.

Moreover, we should realize that similar to Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosova deserves the right to determine its future political status. There are those who would argue that Kosova was an autonomous province, not a republic, in the former Yugoslavia and, therefore, does not deserve to exercise the right to full self determination. I believe that this interpretation is incorrect.

First, the international community should recognize that autonomy is not a viable option. In the old Yugoslavia, there were seven other representatives, including Kosova, on the Yugoslav federal presidency to counter Serbia. This is no longer the case. Indeed, Kosova's position in Yugoslavia and its autonomy were unilaterally -- and unconstitutionally under Yugoslav law -- taken from the region in 1989 and 1990. In the end, there is no reason to believe that autonomy would work in the future or that it would ever be trusted by the Kosovars. Why would those oppressed by Belgrade want to be part of a nation that oppresses them? Second, the West should finally acknowledge that the Yugoslav and Serbian governments, especially as ruled by Milosevic, have, through their barbarous policies, forfeited the right to govern Kosova or determine its future status.

Given those necessary starting points, one is unavoidably led to the conclusion that the Kosovars must be granted the full ability to determine their future. While I understand that this could occur over a period of stages, they already governed themselves during the 1990's through the shadow administration of President Ibrahim Rugova, even as they peacefully campaign for freedom -- a breath of fresh air for the Balkans. That it took many Kosovars

The President
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page three

this long to turn to force of arms in the face of what this year's State Department's Human Rights report called the most widespread and worst abuses in Yugoslavia is actually a testament to their patience and Rugova's nonviolent approach.

In that vein, I believe that we must do what we can to bolster Rugova's authority within Kosova. He is the democratically elected leader of the Kosovars and needs to show his people that he can improve their lives and deliver in future negotiations. We help him by working to create a Kosovar negotiating team that has the imprimatur of the elected parliament and by helping him press Milosevic to remove a large block of Yugoslav forces.

Mr. President, the world is looking to the United States for leadership to end the bloodshed in Kosova and to find a way out of the crisis. I have been always among the strongest supporters of your Administration and will be pleased to continue our dialogue in the future to find a way to resolve the Kosova conflict.

Sincerely,

Eliot

Eliot L. Engel
Member of Congress

I look forward to calling you to dialogue further on this important issue.

4704

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

June 23, 1998

JUN 29 AM 9:58

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We write to express our extreme concern about the deteriorating situation in Kosova. As you know, since the beginning of the year more than 200 people have died as Belgrade stepped up its attacks against Kosovar villages.

First, we would like to express our support for the fine work carried out by Ambassador Robert Gelbard and most recently by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. Their efforts created the climate for the first face-to-face meeting between Kosovar President Ibrahim Rugova and FRY President Slobodan Milosevic, and a follow-on meeting with negotiating teams -- albeit without the crucial participation of an international mediator.

Unfortunately, just as the negotiating teams began to talk, Milosevic stepped up the brutality of his attacks on the Kosovar population. In fact, on May 25, 1998, alone, ten ethnic Albanians were killed and their villages burned in what the Financial Times and other media are calling a 'scorched earth' policy. These events not only remind us of the Bosnia tragedy, but demonstrate that another spate of deliberately engineered ethnic cleansing is intensifying and the number of refugees is swelling.

We must not allow Milosevic to use the recently-begun talks as a mere cover for stepped up attacks on Kosovar civilians. Rather, he must immediately withdraw his armor and heavily-armed military and paramilitary units and fully commit himself to a diplomatic solution. Until that time, we urge the United States and our partners in the Contact Group to reimpose the international ban on investment in Serbia which helped to bring Milosevic to the table in the first place and to consider further targeted economic sanctions.

Given the intensified violence, the United States and the international community must also now begin to consider the implementation of more effective measures to halt Belgrade's escalation and prevent the conflict from spreading throughout the region. We strongly support the on-going, intensified planning at NATO headquarters for a military response to the crisis. In Bosnia, Milosevic only responded after NATO jets pounded Serb

The President
June 23, 1998
page two

forces there. If the conflict over Kosova continues to escalate, military operations such as air strikes or the enforcement of a no-fly-zone may be needed.

Furthermore, we strongly support the immediate imposition of additional steps, including the placement of international monitors throughout Kosova and the indictment in the international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia of anyone suspected of committing or ordering war crimes or acts of genocide with respect to the Kosova conflict.

~~Every day, Kosova is being transformed more and more from a site of smothering repression to a battlefield of open inter-ethnic warfare. We share your commitment to preventing another Bosnia from occurring in Kosova and stand ready to work with you to halt the violence.~~

Sincerely,



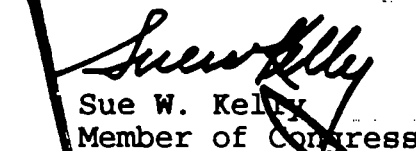
Eliot L. Engel
Member of Congress



Peter T. King
Member of Congress



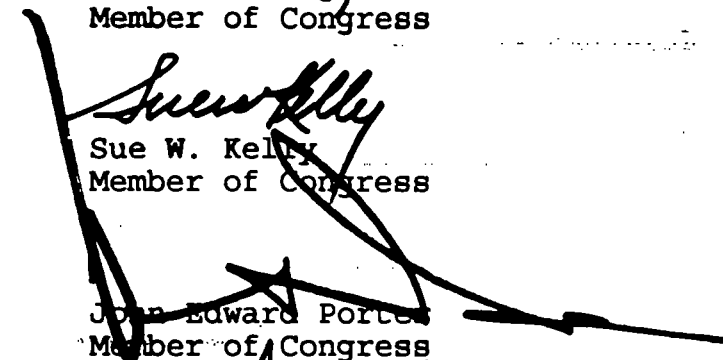
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Member of Congress



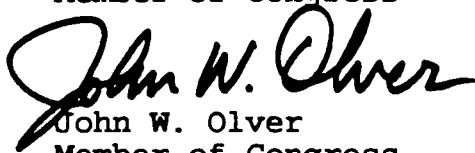
Sue W. Kelly
Member of Congress



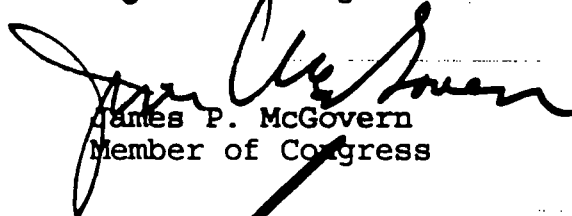
Tom Lantos
Member of Congress



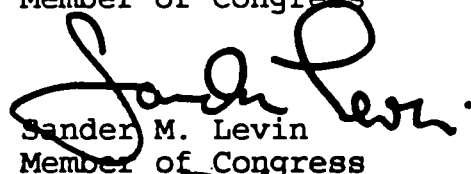
John Edward Porter
Member of Congress



John W. Olver
Member of Congress



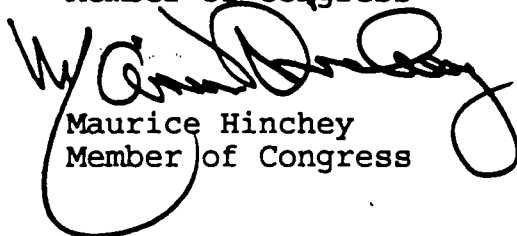
James P. McGovern
Member of Congress



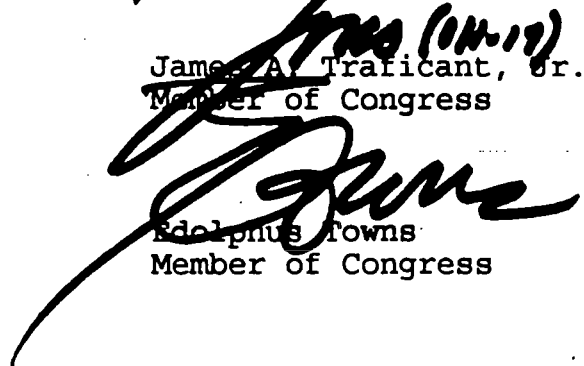
Sander M. Levin
Member of Congress



James A. Traficant, Jr.
Member of Congress



Maurice Hinchey
Member of Congress

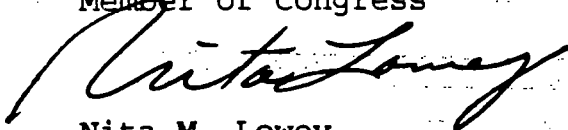


Edolphus Towns
Member of Congress

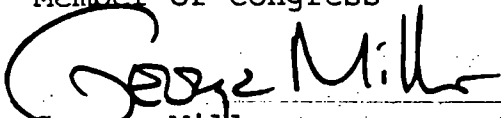
The President
June 23, 1998
page three



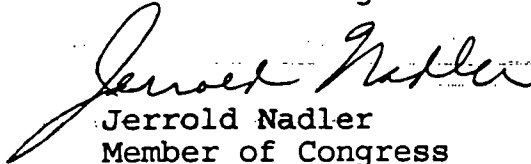
Donald M. Payne
Member of Congress



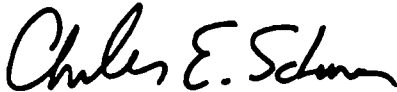
Nita M. Lowey
Member of Congress



George Miller
Member of Congress



Jerrold Nadler
Member of Congress



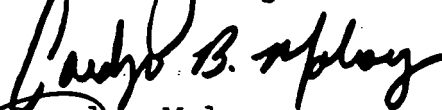
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Member of Congress



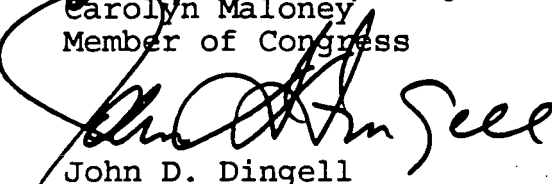
Jesse Jackson, Jr.
Member of Congress



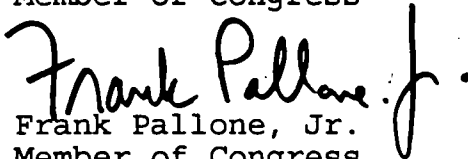
Steny Hoyer
Member of Congress



Carolyn Maloney
Member of Congress



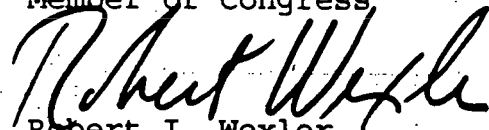
John D. Dingell
Member of Congress



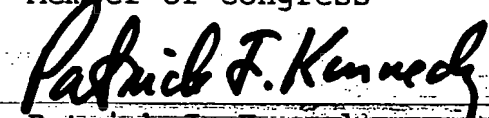
Frank Pallone, Jr.
Member of Congress



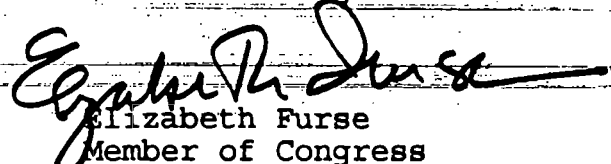
Dana Rohrabacher
Member of Congress



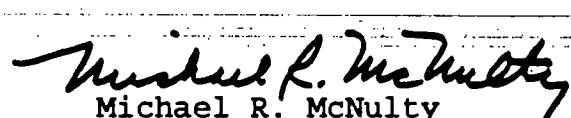
Robert I. Wexler
Member of Congress



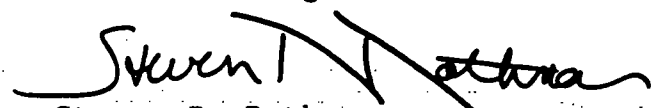
Patrick J. Kennedy
Member of Congress



Elizabeth Furse
Member of Congress



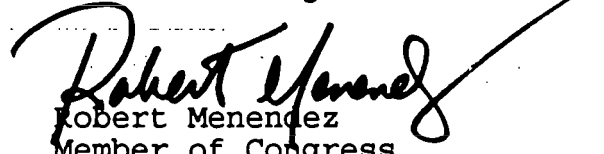
Michael R. McNulty
Member of Congress



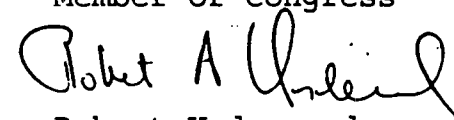
Steven R. Rothman
Member of Congress



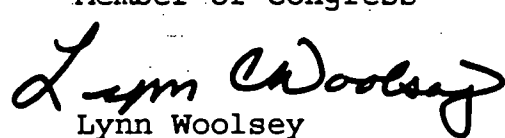
Christopher H. Smith
Member of Congress



Robert Menendez
Member of Congress

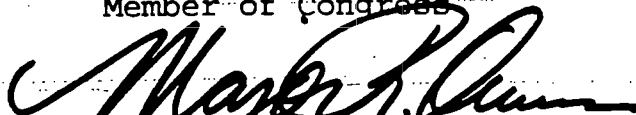


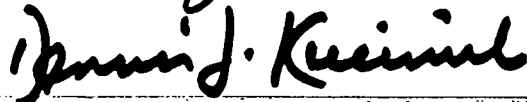
Robert Underwood
Member of Congress

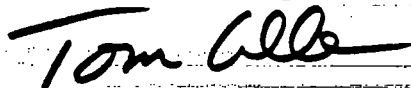


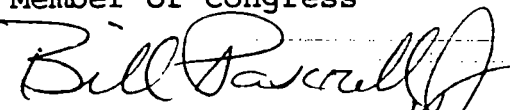
Lynn Woolsey
Member of Congress


Howard L. Berman
Member of Congress


Major R. Owens
Member of Congress


Dennis J. Kucinich
Member of Congress


Thomas H. Allen
Member of Congress

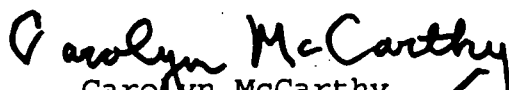

William J. Pascrell, Jr.
Member of Congress


Thomas J. Manton
Member of Congress

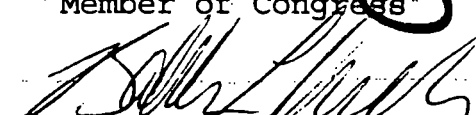

Carrie P. Meek
Member of Congress

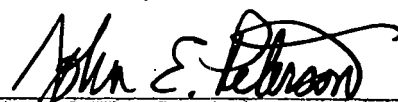

Gary L. Ackerman
Member of Congress


Charles B. Rangel
Member of Congress

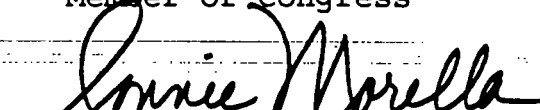

Carolyn McCarthy
Member of Congress


Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress


Bobby Rush
Member of Congress

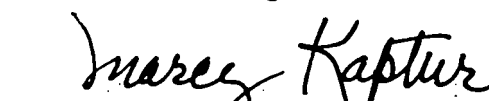

John E. Peterson
Member of Congress


Vito Fossella
Member of Congress


Constance A. Morella
Member of Congress


Christopher Shays
Member of Congress


Thomas M. Davis III
Member of Congress

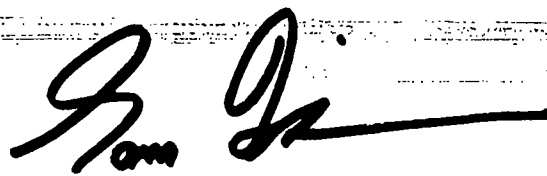

Marcy Kaptur
Member of Congress

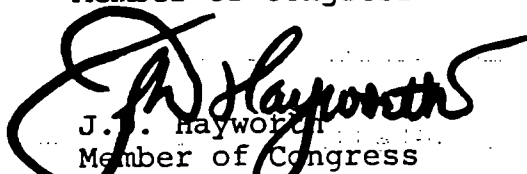

Michael P. Forbes
Member of Congress


James H. Maloney
Member of Congress

The President
June 24, 1998
page five


Peter Deutsch
Member of Congress


Sam Gejdenson
Member of Congress


J. J. Hayworth
Member of Congress

5730

**COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

**234 FORD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6460
(202) 225-1901**

FAX: (202) 226-4199

E-MAIL: CSCE@MAIL.HOUSE.GOV

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**MICHAEL R. HATHAWAY, CHIEF OF STAFF
DOROTHY D. TAFT, DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF**

August 4, 1998

AUG 7 PM 2:05

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We urge you to take immediate and decisive action to stop the conflict in Kosovo before the ethnic cleansers win.

Yugoslav/Serbian forces using tanks and other heavy weapons are attacking Albanian-inhabited towns and villages in several regions of Kosovo. Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is engaged in a major escalation of the conflict, despite his personal assurances to the contrary to U.S. officials just last week. The dead numbers at least in the hundreds, though the actual number may be much higher. The displaced population has climbed rapidly to 200,000, and humanitarian organizations face mounting difficulties obtaining access to them as winter approaches, threatening the largest humanitarian catastrophe to date in the Balkan wars.

We believe that strong action to stop the fighting is urgently needed. We need a forceful response to these Yugoslav/Serbian attacks, or a new crisis in the Balkans will result. This crisis cannot be avoided by additional aid, but only by stopping its cause, Milosevic's use of armed force to pursue his political ambitions. Moreover, we know Milosevic's record not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 but now in Kosovo as well. Milosevic will only cooperate with our diplomatic efforts when he can no longer freely use force to attain his goals.

Therefore, Mr. President, we urge you to seek an agreement within NATO to act directly against those within Kosovo who are attacking civilian populations. We understand that the Alliance is planning for action in Kosovo. Furthermore, unless attacks against innocent civilians are halted, the continued slaughtering and displacement of innocent people will preclude a viable negotiated agreement on Kosovo's future. The Serbian ethnic cleansers will have prevailed.

The Honorable William J. Clinton
August 4, 1998
Page 2

Dozens of Senators and Members of Congress have already written to you urging a variety of responses to Kosovo. We support these efforts. An active and direct response, however, is what is needed most right now. It is strongly in our interest to prevent this conflict from escalating further rather than to wait until massive atrocities, or the flow of fighting and refugees across international borders brings other parties into the conflict, and compel our involvement under even more difficult conditions. As with Bosnia-Herzegovina, delay will prove costly and reduce the chance for success.

Mr. President, the Balkan wars have presented the greatest challenge to internationally protected human rights in Europe since the end of World War II. If the ethnic cleansers win, even while the spotlight of international attention is turned on them, hope for a peaceful future for all of mankind where each individual's rights are respected under the rule of law will be diminished for the foreseeable future. The promise of Nuremburg will have been repudiated by Milosevic's successful aggression. The time for action is now.

Sincerely,



Christopher H. Smith, M.C.
Co-Chairman



Alfonse D'Amato, U.S.S.
Chairman

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9805208
RECEIVED: 21 JUL 98 15

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHNSON, TIM
LOTT, TRENT
SMITH, GORDON

DOC DATE: 15 JUL 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
HUMAN RIGHTS

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR FM SEN JOHNSON ET AL RE KOSOVO

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER

DUE DATE: 01 AUG 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: DOWLING

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION
DOWLING

FOR CONCURRENCE
COVEY
NAPLAN
RUDMAN

FOR INFO
BAKER
SCHWARTZ

COMMENTS: IF FINAL REPLY CANNOT BE PREPARED BY DUE DATE, AN INTERIM RESPONSE
MUST BE PREPARED FOR MARA RUDMAN'S SIGNATURE.

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTSM

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter concerning the situation in Kosovo. I share your concern about the continuing violence and human suffering, as well as the risks posed to regional stability.

I believe that the responsibility for the situation rests squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined with our European Allies and Russia to press him to halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and to enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

Our strategy with respect to the crisis has three parts. First, Ambassador Christopher Hill is engaged in intensive diplomatic efforts to stop the violence and initiate negotiations toward a political settlement that provides an enhanced status for Kosovo and safeguards the rights of all its inhabitants. Ambassador Hill has had some recent success in this regard, pulling together a Kosovar Albanian negotiating team and attaining Milosevic's consent to an agreement that would grant the Kosovar Albanians a degree of self-government and be subject to review in 3-5 years.

Second, we are mounting with our Allies and Russia a substantial humanitarian effort to alleviate the suffering of those displaced by the fighting and to create the conditions for the safe return to their homes before the onset of winter. Working with the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees and other humanitarian agencies, we are seeking to increase the scale of humanitarian relief efforts and ensure a visible international presence in locations to which Kosovars return. We have sent additional staff to assess humanitarian requirements and I have just authorized an additional \$20 million in emergency assistance. We have made very clear to Milosevic what steps he needs to take to create the necessary conditions for returns.

National Security Council
The White House

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SNAP

all note

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

CC:

COMMENTS:

'98 AUG 18 pm 3:19

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

To: Greg Schulte

Greg - Welcome back. Please take a look at the attached letters. We need a tight, clear letter on our Kosovo policy. Probably worth your time to put your pen to work to construct a letter that can be used as the example for future letters. Need to start with a statement of our policy then move into the strategy for achieving that policy.

Call with questions.

Thx -

Ed Rice

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5208

August 17, 1998

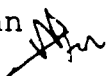
ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOCK COVEY 
FROM: J. NICHOLAS DOWLING 
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

We have received five different letters to the President, signed by dozens of Senators and Members of Congress, urging that we do more to end the violence in Kosovo. We and legislative affairs recommend that we respond with one comprehensive letter on our policy in Kosovo.

The memorandum to the President at Tab I recommends he sign a letter in response to these multiple inquiries.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman 

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Proposed Response for Signature
Tab B Incoming Correspondence from Senator Lott et al.
Tab C Incoming Correspondence from Representative
Olver et al.
Tab D Incoming Correspondence from Representative Lee
Tab E Incoming Correspondence from Representative Engel
et al.
Tab F Incoming Correspondence from Senator D'Amato
and Representative Smith

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Members of Congress

Purpose

Respond to letters from several dozen Members of Congress on Kosovo.

Background

Five letters have come in, signed by several dozen Senators and Members of Congress, urging action to end the violence in Kosovo. These letters all echo the same themes: advocating stronger U.S. leadership and consideration of NATO military action to end the violence.

We have prepared a comprehensive response that is appropriate to answer all five letters. The response summarizes our two track policy of negotiations backed by the credible threat of NATO military force.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Senator Lott et al.
Tab B Incoming Correspondence from Senator Lott et al.
Tab C Incoming Correspondence from Representative Olver et al.
Tab D Incoming Correspondence from Representative Lee
Tab E Incoming Correspondence from Representative Engel et al.
Tab F Incoming Correspondence from Senator D'Amato and
Representative Smith

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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In the meantime, Ambassador Chris Hill is ably leading diplomatic efforts in the region, but the continued fighting so far prevented a resumption of talks. Our objective remains the initiation of a dialogue that can produce confidence-building measures, reduce violence and lead to a political settlement that provides an enhanced status for Kosovo and safeguards the rights of all inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of ethnic origin. We do not support demands for the independence of Kosovo, however, as that would feed pan-Albanian tendencies that clearly risk destabilizing the region, and would be inconsistent with important provisions of the Helsinki Accords and principles of international law. We admire Dr. Rugova's non-violent policies and are working to establish, under his leadership, a broadly representative negotiating team. We have urged both sides to cease offensive operations and return to the table, but we continue to hold Belgrade primarily responsible for both the situation and current level of violence.

To facilitate freedom of movement, security and humanitarian conditions throughout Kosovo, we have established a multinational Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM), comprised of monitors from the United States, the European Union, and Russia. The overt presence of the KDOM has already helped improve access by humanitarian relief organizations, and can in the future build confidence among the parties. We will continue to insist that both sides allow complete and unimpeded access to these monitors.

Again, thank you for writing. I look forward to working with you and other Members of Congress as we move forward in the cause of peace in Kosovo.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

what
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(S. 1070)
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to get it.

UNITED STATES SENATE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4104

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Jim Johnson
U.S.S.

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

RECEIVED
WHITE HOUSE MAIL SECTION
1998 JUL 17 AM 8:03



X-RAY AT FDS
MAIL U.S.S.

5208
Redo -

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter concerning the situation in Kosovo. I share your concern about the continuing violence and human suffering, as well as the risks posed to regional stability.

I believe that the responsibility for the situation rests squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined with our European Allies and Russia to press him to halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and to enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

Our strategy with respect to the crisis has three parts. First, Ambassador Christopher Hill is engaged in intensive diplomatic efforts to stop the violence and initiate negotiations toward a political settlement that provides an enhanced status for Kosovo and safeguards the rights of all its inhabitants. Ambassador Hill has had some recent success in this regard, pulling together a Kosovar Albanian negotiating team and attaining Milosevic's consent to an agreement that would grant the Kosovar Albanians a degree of self-government and be subject to review in 3-5 years.

Second, we are mounting with our Allies and Russia a substantial humanitarian effort to alleviate the suffering of those displaced by the fighting and to create the conditions for the safe return to their homes before the onset of winter. Working with the United Nations High Commissioner ~~on~~ ^{for} Refugees and other humanitarian agencies, we are seeking to increase the scale of humanitarian relief efforts and ensure a visible international presence in locations to which Kosovars return. We have sent additional staff to assess humanitarian requirements and I have just authorized an additional \$20 million in emergency assistance. We have made very clear to Milosevic what steps he needs to take to create the necessary conditions for returns.

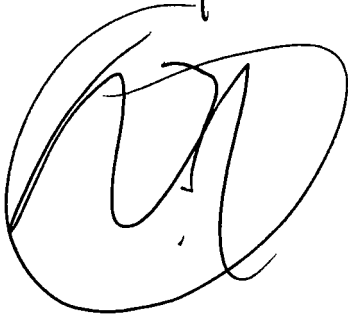
Third, we are implementing various measures through NATO to help stabilize the surrounding region, including through intensified Partnership for Peace activities with Albania and Macedonia. NATO is also developing a wide range of military options to contain the conflict and help achieve a political settlement. Recent exercises have demonstrated that the Alliance can quickly bring its military power to bear in the region.

To facilitate freedom of movement and humanitarian access in Kosovo, we have established a multinational Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM), comprising monitors from the United States, the European Union and Russia. The overt presence of KDOM has already helped improve access by humanitarian relief organizations, and can in the future be used to implement confidence-building measures between the parties.

Again, thank you for writing. I look forward to working with you and other Members of Congress as we seek to achieve a lasting peace in Kosovo.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510



*respond to the risks posed
by the conflict*

*respond to the risks posed
by the conflict*

5208
Redo

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter concerning the situation in Kosovo.
I ~~We~~ share your concern about the continuing violence and human suffering, as well as the risks posed to regional stability.

I ~~We~~ believe that the responsibility for the situation rests squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined with our European Allies and Russia to press him to halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and to enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

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Again, thank you for writing. *I look forward to working with you and*
~~I am grateful for the support~~
~~that you and others are showing toward our efforts on this~~
~~important issue.~~

Other Members of Congress as we seek to achieve a lasting peace in Kosovo.
 Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
 Majority Leader
 United States Senate
 Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

① Dipol solution to crisis.
②

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter regarding Kosovo. I share your concern about the deteriorating situation there. Our efforts to facilitate a political resolution to the conflict have been augmented by stiff sanctions against Belgrade, but must ultimately be backed up by credible military force. ~~if the circumstances so warrant.~~

The nations of the Contact Group, led by the United States, demand that Belgrade cease repression and withdraw security forces, permit effective international monitoring, facilitate international assistance to and returns of those displaced by the fighting, and make rapid progress in talks with Kosovar Albanians.

To increase pressure on Belgrade, the United States led the international community's application of stiff sanctions -- such as a freeze of overseas assets, a ban on new investment and suspension of ~~ing~~ rights. These measures are having a substantial impact on the FRY economy but are not in themselves designed to prevent a broader conflict. NATO must be prepared to act to prevent a broader conflict or a humanitarian disaster. We also believe that NATO's resolve, the greater the prospects for a peaceful resolution.

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Under active accelerated contingency planning. While we have nearly finalized some of these plans, the needs of the Alliance will not have been met until we have in place a full range of concrete and effective plans and can demonstrate the Alliance's will to implement them, if necessary. We are working actively with our Allies and other partners, individually and collectively and at every level, to put this critical part of our strategy in place as soon as possible. That said, we have not reached a decision to employ military force and we will continue to consult with Congress as this process moves forward.

This plan
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

① Dipr Pol Solv to
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②

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Under active U.S. leadership, NATO initiated and then accelerated contingency planning. While we have nearly finalized some of these plans, the needs of the Alliance will not have been met until we have in place a full range of concrete and effective plans and can demonstrate the Alliance's will to implement them, if necessary. We are working actively with our Allies and other partners, individually and collectively and at every level, to put this critical part of our strategy in place as soon as possible. That said, we have not reached a decision to employ military force and we will continue to consult with Congress as this process moves forward.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

① Dip Pol Soln to
Crisis.
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Under active U.S. leadership, NATO initiated and then accelerated contingency planning. While we have nearly finalized some of these plans, the needs of the Alliance will not have been met until we have in place a full range of concrete and effective plans and can demonstrate the Alliance's will to implement them, if necessary. We are working actively with our Allies and other partners, individually and collectively and at every level, to put this critical part of our strategy in place as soon as possible. That said, we have not reached a decision to employ military force and we will continue to consult with Congress as this process moves forward.

In the meantime, Ambassador Chris Hill is ably leading diplomatic efforts in the region, but the continued fighting has so far prevented a resumption of talks. Our objective remains the initiation of a dialogue that can produce confidence-building measures, reduce violence and lead to a political settlement that provides an enhanced status for Kosovo and safeguards the rights of all inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of ethnic origin. We do not support demands for the independence of Kosovo, however, as that would feed pan-Albanian tendencies that clearly risk destabilizing the region, and would be inconsistent with important provisions of the Helsinki Accord and principles of international law. We admire Dr. Rugova's non-violent policies and are working to establish, under his leadership, a broadly representative negotiating team. We have urged both sides to cease offensive operations and return to the table, but we continue to hold Belgrade primarily responsible for both the situation and current level of violence.

To facilitate freedom of movement, security and humanitarian conditions throughout Kosovo, we have established a multinational Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM), comprised of monitors from the United States, the European Union, and Russia. The overt presence of the KDOM has already helped improve access by humanitarian relief organizations, and can in the future build confidence among the parties. We will continue to insist that both sides allow complete and unimpeded access to these monitors.

Again, thank you for writing. I look forward to working with you and other Members of Congress as we move forward in the cause of peace in Kosovo.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

what
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(strategy)
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to get it.

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Members of Congress

Purpose

Respond to letters from several dozen Members of Congress on Kosovo.

Background

Five letters have come in, signed by several dozen Senators and Members of Congress, urging action to end the violence in Kosovo. These letters all echo the same themes: advocating stronger U.S. leadership and consideration of NATO military action to end the violence.

We have prepared a comprehensive response that is appropriate to answer all five letters. ~~Draft response at Tab A~~ ^{The response} summarizes our two track policy of negotiations backed by the credible threat of NATO military force.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter ^{at} Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Lott *et al.*
Tab B Incoming Correspondence from Senator Lott *et al.*
Tab C Incoming Correspondence from Representative Olver *et al.*
Tab D Incoming Correspondence from Representative Lee
Tab E Incoming Correspondence from Representative Engel *et al.*
Tab F Incoming Correspondence from Senator D'Amato and Representative Smith

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter regarding Kosovo. I share your concern about the deteriorating situation there. Our efforts to facilitate a political resolution to the conflict have been augmented by stiff sanctions against Belgrade, but must ultimately be backed up by credible military force if the circumstances so warrant.

The nations of the Contact Group, led by the United States, demand that Belgrade cease repression and withdraw security forces, permit effective international monitoring, facilitate international assistance to and returns of those displaced by the fighting, and make rapid progress in talks with Kosovar Albanians.

To increase pressure on Belgrade, the United States led the international community's application of stiff sanctions -- such as a freeze of overseas assets, a ban on new investment and suspension of Yugoslav Air landing rights. These measures are having a substantial impact on the FRY economy but are not in themselves decisive. We believe NATO must be prepared to act to prevent a broader regional conflict or a humanitarian disaster. We also believe that the clearer NATO's resolve, the greater the prospects for productive negotiations. ✓

Under active U.S. leadership, NATO initiated and then accelerated contingency planning. While we have nearly finalized some of these plans, the needs of the Alliance will not have been met until we have in place a full range of concrete and effective plans and can demonstrate the Alliance's will to implement them, if necessary. We are working actively with our Allies and other partners, individually and collectively and at every level, to put this critical part of our strategy in place as soon as possible. That said, we have not reached a decision to employ military force and we will continue to consult with Congress as this process moves forward.

In the meantime, Ambassador Chris Hill is ably leading diplomatic efforts in the region, but the continued fighting has so far prevented a resumption of talks. Our objective remains the initiation of a dialogue that can produce confidence-building measures ~~which~~ ^{that} reduce violence and lead toward a political settlement. ~~which~~ provides an enhanced status for Kosovo and safeguards the rights of all inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of ethnic origin. We do not support demands for the independence of Kosovo, however, as that would feed pan-Albanian tendencies that clearly risk destabilizing the region, and would be inconsistent with important provisions of the Helsinki Accord and principles of international law. ~~We~~ ^{we} admire Dr. Rugova's non-violent policies and are working to establish, under his leadership, a broadly representative negotiating team. We have urged both sides to cease offensive operations and return to the table, but we continue to hold Belgrade primarily responsible for both the situation and current level of violence.

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Again, thank you for writing. I ~~am grateful for the support of~~ ^{look forward to working with} ~~that you and other Members of Congress are showing toward our~~ ^{giving to} ~~efforts on this issue~~ as we move forward in the cause of peace in Kosovo.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

PRESIDENTIAL/NSA CORRESPONDENCE

IMMEDIATE ACTION REQUIRED

ACTION OFFICER:

Doyle

LOG NUMBER:

5208

DUE DATE:

1 AUG

DATE STAFFED:

21 JUL

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO:



PRESIDENT



NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR

FROM:

SEN JOHNSON, ET AL

PREPARE A RESPONSE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S OR NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE WITHIN 10 DAYS. IF A LETTER DOES NOT REQUIRE A RESPONSE, PLEASE RETURN IT TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT (RM 379) WITH THIS FORM, ANNOTATED ACCORDINGLY.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

UNITED STATES SENATE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4104

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Jim Johnson
U.S.S.

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

RECEIVED
WHITE HOUSE MAIL SECTION

1998 JUL 17 AM 8:03



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