

FOIA MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 2063				
Document ID: 9806953				
Stack: v	Row: 45	Section: 5	Shelf: 11	Position: 1

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9806953
RECEIVED: 10 OCT 98 13

TO: WILSON, HEATHER

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 25 NOV 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
NATO
SERBIA

HUMAN RIGHTS
CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PRES LTR TO REP WILSON ON KOSOVO

ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 22 OCT 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HURLEY

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
WH STRIPPING DESK

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
HURLEY
NSC CHRON
RUDMAN

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY  DATE 11/27 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTSM

CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9806953

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 HURLEY	Z 98101013 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
002 BERGER	Z 98111708 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
002 STEIN, L	Z 98112016 FOR SIGNATURE
003	X 98112321 KERRICK SGD MEMO
003 PRESIDENT	Z 98112321 FOR SIGNATURE
004	X 98112710 PRESIDENT SGD LTR
004 WH STRIPPING DESK	X 98112710 FOR DISPATCH

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003 981123	VICE PRESIDENT
003 981123	WH CHIEF OF STAFF
004 981125 WILSON, HEATHER	
004 981125 WH STRIPPING DESK	

UNCLASSIFIED

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 6953
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG 63 A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	
Rice			
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg			
Berger			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>8/11/25</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.	<u>3</u>		<u>D</u>

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

cc:

COMMENTS:

DATE November 25, 1998

1998 NOV 25 11 21 AM

Exec Sec Office has diskette _____

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 6953
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG DMK A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
 Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>11/17</u>	<u>Dis Done</u>
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>2</u>	<u>11/19</u>	
Steinberg	<u>copy</u>		
Berger	<u>copy</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>3</u>	<u>TR 11/20</u>	<u>Steinberg</u>
Records Mgt.			

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

cc:

COMMENTS:

Response to Rep Wilson
on Kosovo

Exec Sec Office has diskette

Yes

* While I understand your ~~views~~ concern about NATO airstrikes against Serbia, I believe we have a strong national interest in a peaceful, stable Balkans. Spillover violence could threaten the fragile stability of the entire region, including Bosnia and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in, making the situation even more precarious. It is vitally important that we take strong action now to prevent the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control.

Like you, I have always preferred to resolve the situation in Kosovo diplomatically. ^{However,} NATO's recent actions have made clear, ~~it was only through the credible threat of force that we~~ ^{has} ~~that~~ ^{has} ~~prevented a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter~~ ^{prevented a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter}

The threat of a military attack against Serbia was necessary to prevent a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter.

from the beginning ...

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 25, 1998

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I appreciate hearing your views about our policy and the strategic consequences of NATO intervention.

While I understand your concern about NATO airstrikes against Serbia, I believe we have a strong national interest in a peaceful, stable Balkans. Spillover violence would threaten the fragile stability of the entire region including Bosnia and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in, making the situation even more precarious. It is vitally important that we take strong action now to prevent the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control.

Like you, I have always preferred to resolve the situation in Kosovo diplomatically. However, as recent events have made clear, the threat to use military force against Serbia was necessary to prevent a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter.

From the beginning, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.

We have made substantial progress on each of these objectives. NATO determination backed by the credible threat of force has led to a cease-fire, followed by a substantial reduction of Serb security forces. Now that the shooting has stopped and security checkpoints have been dismantled, more than 40,000 displaced people have returned to their homes.

Since the eruption of the conflict in February, we have been aggressively pushing both sides towards a political settlement. The current draft agreement offers the Kosovars a high degree of autonomy, an indigenous police force, and complete control over

education, health and other institutions that most affect their daily lives. We are working hard to convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that they, too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

In order to verify Belgrade's compliance, NATO has implemented an intrusive air surveillance regime. We are also rapidly building up a 2,000-person verification mission, with personnel and funds contributed by OSCE nations, headed by Bill Walker, an experienced American diplomat. In support of this mission, NATO is establishing a force in Macedonia that will be close at hand to extract verifiers should that become necessary.

I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

98 NOV 23 PM 7:11

November 23, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER (12) F
LARRY STEIN JS

SUBJECT: Letter to Representative Heather Wilson Regarding
Kosovo

Purpose

Respond to a letter from Representative Wilson expressing concern about Kosovo.

Background

Representative Heather Wilson writes to express concern about possible U.S. military action against Serbia. She does not believe the United States has compelling interests in the region nor does she see how military action will achieve our political objectives.

Your reply describes an improving situation on the ground as a result of NATO's credible threat of the use of force against the FRY. It makes clear that our military strategy is directly linked to compelling the FRY to accept a peaceful and just political settlement with the Kosovar Albanians. You also point out that the United States has a strong interest in stability in the region.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Wilson
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

signed
11-25-98

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

6953

November 13, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER *OR*
THROUGH: GREG SCHULTE *GS*
FROM: MICHAEL HURLEY *cmh*
SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Representative Wilson on
Kosovo

Representative Heather Wilson wrote to express privately her concern about the use of military force to resolve the crisis in Kosovo.

Concurrences by: Mara Rudman and Nancy McEldowney *cmh* *NM*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to POTUS on Letter from Representative Wilson
Tab A Letter to Representative Wilson
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3101

October 7, 1998

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-0005

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to you to express privately my concern about U.S. policy toward Kosovo and the potential for NATO air strikes against Serbia in the coming weeks.

I have chosen to do this privately because U.S. threats to attack Serbia may, in themselves, avert a humanitarian disaster and I do not wish to reduce the likelihood of that occurring by orchestrating a message to Milosevic that the Congress does not support U.S. military action in Kosovo. I trust that you will appreciate this restraint is motivated by a sincere desire to see our diplomatic efforts succeed.

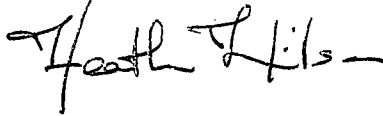
I am concerned by inconsistencies between our public rhetoric and the facts on the ground in Kosovo. In particular, relatively few refugees have crossed international borders. The strife in Kosovo shows no signs of spreading to neighboring countries and destabilizing the Balkans. While there are war crimes and retaliation, there is no evidence of ethnic cleansing or genocide. Offensive military action appears to have been suspended in the middle of last week.

But my concern about the prospect of air strikes goes further than a disagreement about the facts on the ground. Based on the brief discussions we have had with your Cabinet Secretaries thus far, it does not appear to me that there is a compelling U.S. national interest that justifies an attack on the Serbs and there does not appear to be a clear path from the military means to the political objectives we all seek.

Air strikes against Serbia would mark the first time in its 50 year history that NATO has launched an attack against a sovereign country. As odious as Milosevic is, the use of force by NATO other than in self-defense will certainly have long term implications for NATO's relationships with its neighbors -- particularly Russia. NATO will shift, and be seen to be shifting, from an alliance for collective self-defense to an agent to intervene militarily in other states.

The implications of this attack and the possible consequences are great -- in both lives and treasure. I hope that your diplomatic efforts are successful. I would encourage you to proceed cautiously and in full consultation with both houses of Congress.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Heather Wilson", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Heather Wilson
Member of Congress

cc: Secretary William Cohen, U.S. Department of Defense
Secretary Madeleine Albright, U.S. Department of State
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR GLYN DAVIES

NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: JANET MURGUIA
Legislative Affairs

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached are copies of letters sent to the President by various Members of Congress. Since these letters address national security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in drafting the responses.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please call Eli Joseph at x67500.

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Sen. Max Cleland (D-GA), expressing concern over Kosovo;
- 2) Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT), regarding Mr. John Kamm and the Prisoner Information Project with China;
- 3) Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), concerning the U.S. forest products industry;
- 4) Sen. Trent Lott (R-MS) and several other Senators, expressing concern over Kosovo;
- 5) Sen. Trent Lott (R-MS) and several other Senators, concerning a Presidential letter regarding the status of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty;
- 6) Sen. John McCain (R-AZ), expressing concern over Kosovo;
- 7) Sen. Paul D. Wellstone (D-MN) and Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-MI), expressing concern over the economic sanctions against Iraq;

9800719-012-08

- 8) Rep. Tom Campbell (R-CA) and thirty-three Members of Congress, expressing concern over Kosovo;
- 9) Rep. John D. Dingell (D-MI), concerning the U.S.-Japan trading agreement on flat glass;
- 10) Rep. George Radanovich (R-CA), expressing concern over the treatment of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia;
- 11) Rep. Curt Weldon (R-PA) and twenty-six other Members of Congress concerning U.S. and Iraqi relations; and,
- 12) Rep. Heather Wilson (R-NM), expressing concern over Kosovo.

ENCLOSURES

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9806953
RECEIVED: 10 OCT 98 13

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: WILSON, HEATHER

DOC DATE: 07 OCT 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
NATO
SERBIA

HUMAN RIGHTS
CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: AIRSTRIKES AGAINST SERBIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER

DUE DATE: 22 OCT 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: HURLEY

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

HURLEY

FOR CONCURRENCE

MCELDOWNEY

NAPLAN

RUDMAN

WIPPMAN

WITKOWSKY

FOR INFO

BAKER

BANDLER

SCHULTE

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

"6953"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the thoughtful letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I deeply appreciate your candid analysis of U.S. interests in the region and the strategic consequences of a NATO intervention. ~~I am also grateful that you conveyed your viewpoints privately, rather than provide Milosevic with reason to believe that Congress would not support use of military force to resolve the crisis.~~

①
②
③ ~~As you point out, and~~ as recent events have made clear, the threat of the use of force against Serbia has averted a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter. I am heartened that working with our NATO partners we have dramatically improved the situation for the better.

From the ~~outset~~^{beginning}, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe, ~~and~~ third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.

We have made substantial progress ~~toward~~ⁱⁿ each of these objectives. NATO determination backed up by the credible threat of force has led to a cease-fire, ~~that has held since early October~~ followed by a substantial reduction of Serb security forces. Now that the shooting has stopped and security checkpoints have been dismantled, more than 40,000 displaced people have returned to their homes.

~~We have also put much thought and effort into the root causes of the crisis.~~ Since the eruption of the conflict in February, we have been pushing aggressively both sides towards a political settlement. The current draft agreement offers the Kosovars a high degree of autonomy, an indigenous police force, and complete control over education, health and other institutions that most affect their daily lives. We are working hard to

convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that, they too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

~~There will be much work ahead to make this settlement last. We know that Milosevic ended his campaign of hatred only because he fears NATO. NATO has retained authority and has the forces to act if he backslides. In order to verify Belgrade's compliance, NATO has implemented an intrusive air surveillance regime. And we are rapidly building up a 2,000-person verification mission, with personnel and funds contributed by OSCE nations, headed by Bill Walker, an experienced American diplomat. In support of this mission, NATO is establishing a force in Macedonia that will be close at hand to extract verifiers in an emergency.~~

should that become necessary.

Our longer-term aim, shared by our NATO allies, is a democratic FRY that aspires to European integration. In this regard, we continue to support political pluralism and free and independent media in the FRY. Further efforts in these areas are an important part of our broader strategy.

① My view of the effect the Kosovo conflict has had on the region differs from yours. Estimates are that thousands of refugees have crossed into Albania and Macedonia. This in itself has a destabilizing effect on these countries. In addition, Serb attacks on Kosovar Albanians has inflamed ethnic rivalries throughout the region.

② ~~I also believe~~ we have a strong national interest in a peaceful stable Balkans. Spillover violence threatens the fragile stability of the entire region, including Bosnia, and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in. America has a strong interest in preventing the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control.

~~The path from our military policy to our political objective in Kosovo is clear. Our principal aim is for the Kosovar Albanians and the Belgrade government to arrive at a peaceful and just political settlement. The credible threat of the use of force has compelled Milosevic for the first time to accept meaningful political negotiations.~~

③ ^{also} NATO has a direct interest in the region. Eastern European countries are engaged with NATO through Partnership for Peace. NATO, and the United States specifically, have an enormous investment in bringing peace to Bosnia. Ending the violence in Kosovo before it spreads into wider hostilities in the area, is a proper and necessary role for NATO.

I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. ~~We have ended the cycle of violence, and I am hopeful that we are getting closer to a political resolution of the conflict.~~ Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me. ~~I deeply appreciate your insights. We will continue to consult with Congress on this important issue.~~

Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

953

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I appreciate your candid analysis of U.S. interests in the region and the strategic consequences of a NATO intervention.

~~My view of the effect the Kosovo conflict has had on the region differs from yours. [Estimates are that thousands of refugees have crossed into Albania and Macedonia. This in itself has a destabilizing effect on these countries. In addition, Serb attacks on Kosovar Albanians has inflamed their rivalries throughout the region.]~~ have

We have a strong national interest in . Spillover violence threatens the fragi region, including Bosnia and an alnea Greece and Turkey could be drawn in. interest in preventing the conflict in of control. ↑

Sorry so many changes.
(R)

NATO also has a direct interest in the ~~countries are engaged with NATO throug NATO, and the United States specifical investment in bringing peace to Bosnia Kosovo before it spreads into wider hc a proper and necessary role for NATO.~~

As recent events have made clear, the threat of the use of force against Serbia has averted a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter. I am heartened that working with our NATO partners we have dramatically improved the situation for the better.

From the beginning, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I appreciate hearing your views about our policy and the strategic consequences of NATO intervention.

While I understand your concern about NATO airstrikes against Serbia, I believe we have a strong national interest in a peaceful, stable Balkans. Spillover violence would threaten the fragile stability of the entire region including Bosnia and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in, making the situation even more precarious. It is vitally important that we take strong action now to prevent the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control.

Like you, I have always preferred to resolve the situation in Kosovo diplomatically. However, ~~as~~ ^{the} recent events have made clear, the threat ~~of a~~ ^{to use} military ~~force~~ ^{force} against Serbia was necessary to prevent a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter.

From the beginning, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.

We have made substantial progress on each of these objectives. NATO determination backed by the credible threat of force has led to a cease-fire, followed by a substantial reduction of Serb security forces. Now that the shooting has stopped and security checkpoints have been dismantled, more than 40,000 displaced people have returned to their homes.

Since the eruption of the conflict in February, we have been aggressively pushing both sides towards a political settlement. The current draft agreement offers the Kosovars a high degree of autonomy, an indigenous police force, and complete control over

education, health and other institutions that most affect their daily lives. We are working hard to convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that, they too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

In order to verify Belgrade's compliance, NATO has implemented an intrusive air surveillance regime. We are also rapidly building up a 2,000-person verification mission, with personnel and funds contributed by OSCE nations, headed by Bill Walker, an experienced American diplomat. In support of this mission, NATO is establishing a force in Macedonia that will be close at hand to extract verifiers should that become necessary.

I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

This piece should explain why our interests would never be met

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

House para to relate to her

I particularly appreciate your candid analysis of U.S. interests in the region and the strategic consequences of a NATO intervention.

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I appreciate hearing your candid analysis of U.S. interests in the region and the strategic consequences of a NATO intervention.

I believe
We have a strong national interest in a peaceful stable Balkans. Spillover violence threatens the fragile stability of the entire region, including Bosnia and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in. Estimates are that thousands of refugees have crossed into Albania and Macedonia. In addition, Serb attacks on Kosovar Albanians have inflamed ethnic rivalries throughout the region. (America has a strong interest in preventing the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control.) NATO also has a direct interest in the region and ending the violence in Kosovo before it spreads into wider hostilities in the area is a proper and necessary role for NATO.

As recent events have made clear, the threat of the use of force against Serbia has averted a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter. I am heartened that working with our NATO partners we have dramatically improved the situation for the better.

From the beginning, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.

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Since the eruption of the conflict in February, we have been aggressively pushing both sides towards a political settlement.

** she says not there*

There are just words stirring together

The current draft agreement offers the Kosovars a high degree of autonomy, an indigenous police force, and complete control over education, health and other institutions that most affect their daily lives. We are working hard to convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that, they too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

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I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Representative Heather Wilson Regarding
Kosovo

Purpose

Respond to a letter from Representative Wilson expressing concern about Kosovo.

Background

Representative Heather Wilson writes to express concern about possible U.S. military action against Serbia. She does not believe the United States has compelling interests in the region nor does she ~~see a clear path from military action to ultimate~~ ^{see how will achieve} political objectives. 002

Your reply describes an improving situation on the ground as a result of NATO's credible threat of the use of force against the FRY. It makes clear that our military strategy is directly linked to compelling the FRY to accept a peaceful and just political settlement with the Kosovar Albanians. ^{Yes} ~~The reply~~ also points out that the United States has a strong interest in stability in the region.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Wilson
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

We have made substantial progress on each of these objectives. NATO determination backed by the credible threat of force has led to a cease-fire, followed by a substantial reduction of Serb security forces. Now that the shooting has stopped and security checkpoints have been dismantled, more than 40,000 displaced people have returned to their homes.

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6953

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Representative Heather Wilson Regarding
Kosovo

Purpose

Respond to ^a letter from Representative Wilson expressing concern about Kosovo.

Background

Representative Heather Wilson writes to express concern about possible U.S. military action against Serbia. She does not believe the United States has compelling interests in the region nor does she see a clear path from military action to ultimate political objectives.

Your reply describes an improving situation on the ground as a result of NATO's credible threat of the use of force against the FRY. It makes clear that our military strategy is directly linked to compelling the FRY to accept a peaceful and just political settlement with the Kosovar Albanians. The reply also points out that the United States has a strong interest in stability in the region.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Wilson
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

REFERRAL

DATE: 27 NOV 98

MEMORANDUM FOR: WH STRIPPING DESK

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: WILSON, HEATHER

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 25 NOV 98

SUBJ: PRES LTR TO REP WILSON ON KOSOVO

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 28 NOV 98

COMMENT:



A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "J. Ficklin".

JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

6953

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the thoughtful letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I deeply appreciate your candid analysis of U.S. interests in the region and the strategic consequences of a NATO intervention. ~~I am also grateful that you conveyed your viewpoints privately, rather than provide Milosevic with reason to believe that Congress would not support use of military force to resolve the crisis.~~

①
②
③

~~As you point out, and as recent events have made clear, the threat of the use of force against Serbia has averted a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter. I am heartened that working with our NATO partners we have dramatically improved the situation for the better.~~

From the ^{beginning} ~~outset~~, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe. ~~And third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.~~

We have made substantial progress ⁱⁿ ~~toward~~ each of these objectives. NATO determination backed up by the credible threat of force has led to a cease-fire, ~~that has held since early October~~ followed by a substantial reduction of Serb security forces. Now that the shooting has stopped and security checkpoints have been dismantled, more than 40,000 displaced people have returned to their homes.

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convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that, they too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

~~There will be much work ahead to make this settlement last. We know that Milosevic ended his campaign of hatred only because he fears NATO. NATO has retained authority and has the forces to act if he backslides. In order to verify Belgrade's compliance, NATO has implemented an intrusive air surveillance regime. And we are rapidly building up a 2,000-person verification mission, with personnel and funds contributed by OSCE nations, headed by Bill Walker, an experienced American diplomat. In support of this mission, NATO is establishing a force in Macedonia that will be close at hand to extract verifiers in an emergency.~~

should that become necessary.

Our longer-term aim, shared by our NATO allies, is a democratic FRY that aspires to European integration. In this regard, we continue to support political pluralism and free and independent media in the FRY. Further efforts in these areas are an important part of our broader strategy.

① My view of the effect the Kosovo conflict has had on the region differs from yours. Estimates are that thousands of refugees have crossed into Albania and Macedonia. This in itself has a destabilizing effect on these countries. In addition, Serb attacks on Kosovar Albanians has inflamed ethnic rivalries throughout the region.

② ~~I also believe~~ we have a strong national interest in a peaceful stable Balkans. Spillover violence threatens the fragile stability of the entire region, including Bosnia, and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in. America has a strong interest in preventing the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control.

~~The path from our military policy to our political objective in Kosovo is clear. Our principal aim is for the Kosovar Albanians and the Belgrade government to arrive at a peaceful and just political settlement. The credible threat of the use of force has compelled Milosevic for the first time to accept meaningful political negotiations.~~

③ ^{also} NATO has a direct interest in the region. Eastern European countries are engaged with NATO through Partnership for Peace. NATO, and the United States specifically, have an enormous investment in bringing peace to Bosnia. Ending the violence in Kosovo before it spreads into wider hostilities in the area, is a proper and necessary role for NATO.

I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. ~~We have ended the cycle of violence, and I am hopeful that we are getting closer to a political resolution of the conflict.~~ Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me. ~~I deeply appreciate your insights. We will continue to consult with Congress on this important issue.~~

Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Sorry so many
changes.

(R)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6953

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I appreciate your candid analysis of U.S. interests in the region and the strategic consequences of a NATO intervention.

~~My view of the effect the Kosovo conflict has had on the region differs from yours. [Estimates are that thousands of refugees have crossed into Albania and Macedonia. This in itself has a destabilizing effect on these countries. In addition, Serb attacks on Kosovar Albanians has inflamed ethnic rivalries throughout the region.]~~ have

We have a strong national interest in a peaceful stable Balkans. Spillover violence threatens the fragile stability of the entire region, including Bosnia^o and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in. ✓ America has a strong interest in preventing the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control. ↑

NATO also has a direct interest in the region^{and} ~~Eastern European countries are engaged with NATO through Partnership for Peace. NATO, and the United States specifically, have an enormous investment in bringing peace to Bosnia. Ending the violence in Kosovo before it spreads into wider hostilities in the area, is a proper and necessary role for NATO.~~

As recent events have made clear, the threat of the use of force against Serbia has averted a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter. I am heartened that working with our NATO partners we have dramatically improved the situation for the better.

From the beginning, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I appreciate hearing your views about our policy and the strategic consequences of NATO intervention.

While I understand your concern about NATO airstrikes against Serbia, I believe we have a strong national interest in a peaceful, stable Balkans. Spillover violence would threaten the fragile stability of the entire region including Bosnia and an already struggling Albania. Greece and Turkey could be drawn in, making the situation even more precarious. It is vitally important that we take strong action now to prevent the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out of control.

Like you, I have always preferred to resolve the situation in Kosovo diplomatically. However, as recent events have made clear, the threat ~~of a~~^{to use} military ~~attack~~^{force} against Serbia was necessary to prevent a large-scale humanitarian disaster this winter.

From the beginning, we have had three overriding objectives in Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and third, to help the Kosovar people achieve a high degree of self-government.

We have made substantial progress on each of these objectives. NATO determination backed by the credible threat of force has led to a cease-fire, followed by a substantial reduction of Serb security forces. Now that the shooting has stopped and security checkpoints have been dismantled, more than 40,000 displaced people have returned to their homes.

Since the eruption of the conflict in February, we have been aggressively pushing both sides towards a political settlement. The current draft agreement offers the Kosovars a high degree of autonomy, an indigenous police force, and complete control over

education, health and other institutions that most affect their daily lives. We are working hard to convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that, they too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

In order to verify Belgrade's compliance, NATO has implemented an intrusive air surveillance regime. We are also rapidly building up a 2,000-person verification mission, with personnel and funds contributed by OSCE nations, headed by Bill Walker, an experienced American diplomat. In support of this mission, NATO is establishing a force in Macedonia that will be close at hand to extract verifiers should that become necessary.

I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

this para-
graph should explain why
our interest would need
an military force

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

please
para to relate
to her

I particularly appreciate
your candid
sharing your concerns
showing.

Dear Representative Wilson:

Thank you for the letter on the crisis in Kosovo. I appreciate hearing
your candid analysis of U.S. interests in the region and the
strategic consequences of a NATO intervention.

I believe
We have a strong national interest in a peaceful stable Balkans.
Spillover violence threatens the fragile stability of the entire
region, including Bosnia and an already struggling Albania.
Greece and Turkey could be drawn in. Estimates are that
thousands of refugees have crossed into Albania and Macedonia.
In addition, Serb attacks on Kosovar Albanians have inflamed
ethnic rivalries throughout the region. (America has a strong
interest in preventing the conflict in Kosovo from spiraling out
of control.) NATO also has a direct interest in the region and
ending the violence in Kosovo before it spreads into wider
hostilities in the area is a proper and necessary role for NATO.

As recent events have made clear, the threat of the use of force
against Serbia has averted a large-scale humanitarian disaster
this winter. I am heartened that working with our NATO partners
we have dramatically improved the situation for the better.

From the beginning, we have had three overriding objectives in
Kosovo. First, to end the violence that threatens the fragile
stability of the Balkans. Second, to prevent a humanitarian
crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and third, to help the
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We have made substantial progress on each of these objectives.
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Since the eruption of the conflict in February, we have been
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There are
just
words
strung
together

*
she
says not
there

The current draft agreement offers the Kosovars a high degree of autonomy, an indigenous police force, and complete control over education, health and other institutions that most affect their daily lives. We are working hard to convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that, they too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

In order to verify Belgrade's compliance, NATO has implemented an intrusive air surveillance regime. We are also rapidly building up a 2,000-person verification mission, with personnel and funds contributed by OSCE nations, headed by Bill Walker, an experienced American diplomat. In support of this mission, NATO is establishing a force in Macedonia that will be close at hand to extract verifiers should that become necessary.

I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Representative Heather Wilson Regarding
Kosovo

Purpose

Respond to a letter from Representative Wilson expressing concern about Kosovo.

Background

Representative Heather Wilson writes to express concern about possible U.S. military action against Serbia. She does not believe the United States has compelling interests in the region nor does she ~~see a clear path from~~ ^{see how} military action ~~to ultimate~~ ^{will achieve} political objectives. 002

Your reply describes an improving situation on the ground as a result of NATO's credible threat of the use of force against the FRY. It makes clear that our military strategy is directly linked to compelling the FRY to accept a peaceful and just political settlement with the Kosovar Albanians. ~~The reply~~ ^{you} also points out that the United States has a strong interest in stability in the region.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Wilson
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

We have made substantial progress on each of these objectives. NATO determination backed by the credible threat of force has led to a cease-fire, followed by a substantial reduction of Serb security forces. Now that the shooting has stopped and security checkpoints have been dismantled, more than 40,000 displaced people have returned to their homes.

Since the eruption of the conflict in February, we have been aggressively pushing both sides towards a political settlement. The current draft agreement offers the Kosovars a high degree of autonomy, an indigenous police force, and complete control over education, health and other institutions that most affect their daily lives. We are working hard to convince armed insurgent groups in Kosovo that, they too, must cooperate to bring about a peaceful settlement.

In order to verify Belgrade's compliance, NATO has implemented an intrusive air surveillance regime. We are also rapidly building up a 2,000-person verification mission, with personnel and funds contributed by OSCE nations, headed by Bill Walker, an experienced American diplomat. In support of this mission, NATO is establishing a force in Macedonia that will be close at hand to extract verifiers should that become necessary.

I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead, but I believe we are on the right road. Again, thank you for writing and sharing your concerns with me.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Heather Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6953

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Representative Heather Wilson Regarding
Kosovo

Purpose

Respond to ^a letter from Representative Wilson expressing concern about Kosovo.

Background

Representative Heather Wilson writes to express concern about possible U.S. military action against Serbia. She does not believe the United States has compelling interests in the region nor does she see a clear path from military action to ultimate political objectives.

Your reply describes an improving situation on the ground as a result of NATO's credible threat of the use of force against the FRY. It makes clear that our military strategy is directly linked to compelling the FRY to accept a peaceful and just political settlement with the Kosovar Albanians. The reply also points out that the United States has a strong interest in stability in the region.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Wilson
Tab B Incoming Correspondence