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Original OA/ID Number: 2751				
Document ID: 9907006				
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UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9907006
RECEIVED: 21 SEP 99 19

TO: WOLF, FRANK R

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 04 OCT 99
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
HUMAN RIGHTS

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR FM REP WOLF ON KOSOVO

ACTION: BERGER SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 02 OCT 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KAIDANOW

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KAIDANOW

LACKEY

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY SP DATE 10/04 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTCG

CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 3 OF 3

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9907006

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 KAIDANOW
002 BERGER
003

Z 99092119 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
Z 99092812 FOR SIGNATURE
X 99100410 BERGER SGD LTR

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003 991004 WOLF, FRANK R

UNCLASSIFIED

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
THE WHITE HOUSE**

10/1

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 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG 77 A/O _____

58

GIRE

JACOBSON

POWELL

SARGEANT

BRADTKE

RUDMAN

STEINBERG

BERGER

SITUATION ROOM

WEST WING DESK

RECORDS MGMT.

SEQUENCE TO INITIAL/DATE DISPOSITION

1	10/1/88	[Signature]	
2	10/2/88	[Signature]	
3			
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5	10/4 OK		
6			

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

SEP 28 12:37

COMMENTS:

Conq letter - Wolf - Kosovo

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE

[Signature]

Log # _____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Fm STS To MER Date 9/28

Mara,
Rec you ~~send up~~
for Sandy's signature.
✓
Sto

Fm _____ To _____ Date _____

Log # _____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Fm STS To MEER Date 9/28

Mara,
Rec you send up
for Sandy's signature.

✓
JH

Fm _____ To _____ Date _____

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

THE WHITE HOUSE

10/1

PROOFED BY: [Signature] LOG # 7000

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BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG FR A/O _____

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POWELL	_____	_____	_____
SARGEANT	<u>1</u>	<u>JS/128</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>
BRADTKE	_____	_____	_____
RUDMAN	<u>2</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>
STEINBERG	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
BERGER	<u>4</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
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GIRE

JACOBSON

POWELL

SARGEANT

BRADTKE

RUDMAN

STEINBERG

BERGER

SITUATION ROOM

WEST WING DESK

RECORDS MGMT.

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

99 SEP 28 PM 12:37

COMMENTS:

Comp Letter - Wolf - Kosovo

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE [Signature]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1999

Dear Frank:

On behalf of the President, I want to thank you for sending us the report of your recent visit to Kosovo. Your familiarity with the region makes your observations particularly compelling.

We have made important strides in Kosovo, and your letter reflects this. Most Kosovar Albanians have returned home, and while there are still serious security concerns for both Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo, the incidence of violence is decreasing due in part to the efforts of KFOR and UNMIK. As you point out, we must address the potential problem of organized crime spreading to Kosovo. In that regard, improving the border regime and developing a region-wide anti-corruption initiative via the Stability Pact are already under discussion.

We reached a key milestone on September 20 with the KLA demilitarization agreement. The establishment of a civilian Kosovo Protection Corps will ease the transition of former fighters and contribute to the rebuilding of homes and damaged infrastructure. We agree with you that revitalizing Kosovo's shattered economy must be a priority, although we expect the Europeans to assume the lion's share of the financial burden. Economic regeneration will also help in the process of ethnic reconciliation that you so rightly highlight. Your concern for the psychological needs of Kosovars is one we share; at our request, an expert team led by the International Rescue Committee traveled to Kosovo and will make its recommendations to us soon.

The tasks that remain for us in Kosovo are daunting, but we can ultimately make a tremendous difference in the lives of people there. We will continue to look for your support in Congress to achieve all of our objectives in Kosovo.

Sincerely,



Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Frank R. Wolf
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 28, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: CHRISTOPHER R. HILL

FROM: TINA KAIDANOW *TK*

SUBJECT: Letter from Congressman Wolf on Kosovo

Attached at Tab I is a response to a letter sent to you by Congressman Frank Wolf which describes his recent trip to Kosovo. Based on his observations, Congressman Wolf makes a number of recommendations regarding organized crime, the need for ethnic reconciliation, and the importance of economic development, among other issues.

The NSC received the incoming correspondence on September 21, 1999.

Concurrence by: Mark Tavlarides, ^{MS} Valerie Guarnieri, ^{VG}
Miriam Sapiro ^{MS}

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Congressman Wolf
Tab II Incoming correspondence

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
TRANSPORTATION—CHAIRMAN
TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE
GENERAL GOVERNMENT

FOREIGN OPERATIONS
EXPORT FINANCING AND
RELATED PROGRAMS

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
September 16, 1999

241 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4610
(202) 225-6136

13873 PARK CENTER ROAD
SUITE 130
HERNDON, VA 20171
(703) 709-5800
(800) 945-9653 (IN STATE)

110 NORTH CAMERON STREET
WINCHESTER, VA 22601
(540) 867-0990
(800) 850-3463 (IN STATE)

www.house.gov/wolf

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I wanted to share with you the report from my recent trip to Kosovo in which I make a number of observations and recommendations.

Thank you and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:ach

FRANK R. WOLF

10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:

TRANSPORTATION—CHAIRMAN

TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

EXPORT FINANCING AND

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COOPERATION IN EUROPE

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House of Representatives

341 CANNON BUILDING
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SUITE 130
HERNDON, VA 20171
(703) 709-5800
(800) 945-9653 (IN STATE)115 NORTH CAMERON STREET
WINCHESTER, VA 22601
(540) 667-0950
(800) 850-3463 (IN STATE)www.house.gov/wolf/

Report by U.S. Rep Frank R. Wolf

Visit to Kosovo and Macedonia

Ethnic Albanians Return Home to Post-war Kosovo

August 29 - 31, 1999

This report details my third visit this year relating to the Kosovo conflict. I went to Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia in February and later visited Kosovar refugees in Tirana and Kukes in April. The current trip was to Kosovo and Macedonia. I spent Sunday, August 29, and Monday, August 30, in Kosovo and traveled to Skopje, Macedonia, on Tuesday, August 31. This report gives an overview of my post-war trip as well as specific concerns and recommendations.

On my arrival in Pristina on a World Food Programme (WFP) flight from Rome, Italy, I was greeted by WFP and U.S. State Department personnel and taken by helicopter to view from the air the destruction of villages in the area between Pristina, Gjakova and Prizren.

Gjakova

Our first stop was the WFP operation center and food warehouse in Gjakova. A group of local citizens as well as the mayor and vice-mayor gathered to tell of their experiences during the conflict and voice their present concerns. Between 40 and 50 percent of the homes (about 5,500) in Gjakova have been destroyed or substantially damaged.

Some of the homes were burned as early as the summer of 1998. Some of the destruction was done by local Serbs known to their Albanian neighbors. One man told of a neighbor he had known for 50 years taking part in the burnings along with his wife and son who were dressed in para-military garb. Most of the destruction, however, was done by masked or unknown para-military bands with some participation by Russian mercenaries. One woman in the group recounted seeing her husband, brother, and brother-in-law shot in her house. She then watched her home burned to the ground. More than 1,000 Kosovar Albanians in

town were executed and there are still 1,200 men missing. The men in town who were not executed were taken away. The women and children were sent to a local factory and then told to leave the town immediately.

When asked if they could live together with Serbs in their town again, each person agreed that the memories were too fresh and none could see how it would be possible. Their main concern now is for the 1,200 missing men whom they believe are being held as prisoners in Serbia. Shelter is also a consideration. Many are still living in tents as they attempt to rebuild their homes. They did say they planned to start school soon for their children.

We then went by car on a tour of the town. There was extensive damage with whole streets of homes completely destroyed. The rebuilding effort was evident with much of the debris having been removed and some construction begun.

Prizren

There was little physical damage inside the city. Many surrounding villages had been destroyed and it was felt that the city was to have been the next target, but the NATO bombing prevented it. Prizren is very over-crowded as many of the outlying villagers have returned from refugee camps and moved into the city. This will be a problem as winter arrives, as more people from outlying areas come to the city when they are unable to build adequate shelter in time for winter.

We visited a waterworks plant where USAID/OTI (Office of Transition Initiatives) is working with local citizens to replace the pumps for the station which provides water to the city and many of the surrounding villages. The Kosovars we spoke with are concerned about the need for jobs for their young people. They also said that "good" Serbs are welcome to return to Prizren.

Just down the street from the water plant we stopped at a Serbian seminary guarded by German KFOR troops. Some 211 Serbs and Romas (Gypsies) are living there in crowded conditions. Those we spoke with expressed fear and will not leave the confines of the seminary grounds. The German soldier in charge told us there are also 13 additional Serbs living in homes just behind the seminary and 20 others in outlying parts of Prizren. These are the only known Serbs remaining in the city.

We were shown a house belonging to a Serb family which had been fire bombed a few days earlier. The fire had spread by the wind and also accidentally destroyed nearby Albanian homes. As a result, two local Albanian photographers, one who had fought with the KLA, created a poster appealing to their fellow Kosovars to "stop the burning." This poster is being used in a campaign funded by USAID/OTI as part of their co-existence/reconciliation projects and appears plastered all over the city.

Sunday night was spent in Pristina, where we met with WFP and State Department officials working in the country.

On Monday we met with various Kosovar political leaders, representatives of nine Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in the relief efforts, USAID country and regional directors, U.S. Brigadier General Brandenburg (highest ranking American in KFOR), and spokesman for UNMIK (United Nations Mission in Kosovo, the civilian arm). We also visited Camp Bondsteel, the military compound in the U.S. sector where we were briefed by General Peterson and his staff on the military work with KFOR. Our American soldiers are doing an excellent job and are well led. They are living in conditions that in the summer were either dusty or muddy and will be extremely cold in the winter. Seeing the massive undertaking of Camp Bondsteel leads me to believe our troops will be in Kosovo a long time.

Concerns

- The long picture. I believe this will be a slow recovery and that problems will remain for many years. All NATO countries need to address this. The bulk of rebuilding should be carried out by the European countries since the U.S. carried the major burden during the fighting.
- Reconciliation. Bringing reconciliation in Kosovo is going to be very difficult. In neighboring Bosnia, NATO troops have established peace and there appears to be normalcy in Sarajevo. However, in spite of what President Clinton has said, there has been very little progress in reconciliation. To this day, Sarajevo is practically void of Serbs. Serbs in the Bosnian Republic of Serbska seldom venture into Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Bosnian Muslims rarely go up to the Republic of Serbska. Tension also remains between Croats and Bosnians in areas such as Mostar. So we should not be naive about reconciliation prospects in Kosovo.

- Albanian retaliation against Serbs. Killings, disappearances, harassment and burning of homes occurs almost daily. Albanians are losing their moral high ground as their violence against Serbs continues.
- Missing Albanians. 7,000 plus Albanians are still missing and are believed to be held in Serbian prisons.
- Demilitarization of KLA. KLA weapons and uniforms are to be turned in on September 19. Will they all comply? And what will their future be as they shift focus to possible roles in the civic arena?
- Food and Shelter. These will continue to be pressing needs especially during the winter.
- Migration. People may return to Albania and Macedonia for the winter, creating a problem for those countries. People from mountains and outlying areas are moving into the urban areas for winter shelter and will overburden the cities and towns. Further, Serbs from Kosovo are continuing to move into Serbia and are unwanted there.
- De-mining operations. Extent of remaining Serb-planted mines and unexploded NATO ordinance used in bombing raids is unknown.
- Youth. The absence of jobs and employment opportunities has yielded large numbers of idle youth who spend their time on the streets and in cafes. This could mean future trouble. There will also be many psychological problems among all segments of the population.
- Organized Crime. Law and order is a huge concern. Drug addiction is moving heavily into the larger cities. The region has a strategic location and a history of criminal activity. See attached *Italy Daily* article.
- Leadership. Many of the problems in the Balkans have come from leadership of people who have incited ultra-nationalism and violence (Milosevic and Tudjman). Few leaders speak in terms of reconciliation and justice. There is a leadership vacuum in Kosovo as well.
- Terrorism. Kosovo could become a center for terrorist activity which would

threaten Europe and the U.S.

While there are many looming problems, I was encouraged about the spirit of the Albanian Kosovars. They obviously want to rebuild and improve their lives and I was much impressed with their entrepreneurial outlook. They seem to be actively working on their own, rebuilding homes and businesses and taking the initiative to improve their situations.

Nearly every Kosovar Albanian I spoke with expressed gratitude for the help of the U.S. both during and after the conflict.

Recommendations

- Ibrahim Rugova seems to be the best hope for unifying Kosovo at this time and we should encourage him. He has a lot of residual respect among the people for his years of speaking up for them. He is committed to non-violence and is a known commodity to the West. Ideally he should bring some of the younger, new blood to serve with him. Some people have been critical of President Rugova because he has not been out among the people since the fighting ended. Others, however, have expressed concern for his personal safety as he moves about the country.
- Support for food programs should be continued. WFP estimates that 80 percent of the Kosovar population will need food assistance through the winter.
- There will be need for psychological help after the physical rebuilding. The spiritual dimension should also be addressed.
- The U.N. and the U.S. should press the issue of missing Albanians thought to be held in Serbian prisons.
- The whole region could become a center of organized crime activity involving drugs, prostitution, smuggling and ensuing violence that will affect all of Europe and the U.S. This looms as a huge problem which should be promptly addressed. Serious consideration should be given to establishing a U.S. anti-crime advisory program in the Balkans/Eastern

Europe. Crime of all kinds is growing throughout Russia and Eastern Europe including this area. Gangs from Albania are already active in Kosovo. This must be a priority concern to the U.S. Administration and Congress. We are now seeing evidence of money laundering, drugs, prostitution and other organized crime activities being exported from this region to the West, including the U.S.

- An effort should be made to mobilize young people in the reconstruction and rebuilding activity. Lack of constructive activities and purpose for the youth and young adult population is a concern to many I met.
- While the Serb population in Kosovo has decreased significantly, we should support programs that address reconciliation. The "stop the burning" poster project in Prizren is a good example. USAID/OTI has other possibilities with the Art Media Performance group also in Prizren.
- In the end I believe that independence of Kosovo is the only thing that will be acceptable. The Kosovars did not endure all they did to accept anything short of independence from Serbia.

Acknowledgments

I wish to give special thanks to State Department personnel who arranged our meetings in Kosovo and accompanied us both days. Also thanks to the World Food Programme, particularly Mr. Mick Lorentzen, for all their assistance.

We left Pristina Tuesday morning to drive to Skopje, Macedonia. While there, I met with Arben Xhaferi, member of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia and a leader of the Albanian political party. I also met with Boris Trajovski, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs and candidate for president in the upcoming October elections. I was very ably accompanied by Ms. Laura Kirkconnell, U.S. deputy chief of mission in our embassy.

ITALY DAILY

PUBLISHED WITH  **CORRIERE DELLA SERA**

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1999

NEWS

COMMENT

The Adriatic's Crime Wave

By Fabrizio Tonello
SPECIAL TO ITALY DAILY

Ifear the consequences. I dread dangerous contacts; I sense the probability of intrigues and conflicts with the question of Montenegro." These were the words of a prescient President Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles peace conference in April, 1919.

Wilson feared the Balkans would fragment into a pack of elligerent micro-states, precisely the solution he was compelled to accept in the end.

Today, the dismembering of Yugoslavia is about to be completed with the imminent separation of Montenegro from Serbia. Eastern Europe is now a paradise for organized crime, not to mention a hotbed of ethnic conflict. Poland and the Czech Republic seem the only partial exceptions.

Already, Montenegro is a safe haven for Italian and Russian underworlds. Every day, speedboats that carry contraband cigarettes to the Italian coast leave the Montenegrin port of Bar. They unload hundreds of tons of tobacco products, valued at half a billion dollars per year, on the coast of Puglia.

The confident expectation of astronomical profits justify the military-style character of their operations. Preceded by scouts, the convoys move during the night at high speed, led by armored jeeps and trucks that crash any obstacles in their way, be they the cars of innocent bystanders, or highway barriers.

This modus operandi was invented by Russian gangs in the early 1990s, when former KGB agents put their expertise to work, and provided military muscle for the booming trade in cigarettes, and luxury items. No con-

tainer full of Veuve Clicquot, Perrier, or Armani suits reached the shores of Moscow or St. Petersburg without the proper protection. The *nouveaux riches* didn't care, as long as the money of International Monetary Fund, which was a breeze to steal, kept flowing in.

In fewer than ten years, Russia transformed itself in a full-scale criminal state, where the different mafias (from Yeltsin's entourage to Chechen guerrillas) pilfer the coffers at their leisure.

The situation in Puglia is still not at that point. Yet.

However, with Kosovo and Montenegro seemingly on their way to full sovereignty, soon there will be two more states on the eastern side of Adriatic where gangsters can gain a strong foothold. On the southern border of Montenegro, 50 miles from Puglia by sea, lies Albania, where the state is so weak that it often backs down from confrontations with crime gangs.

Eighty years ago, Wilson's foreign policy experts described it as "certainly an undesirable political entity."

They might have been prescient. Today, Albania is often described as a network of tribes and clans whose allegiance go to their cruelest warriors. Western journalists who lost their cash and their equipment while traveling to Kosovo have certified this description. Not even Enver Hoxha, the Stalinist dictator who led the country for four decades, was able to disarm the clans of shepherds living in the mountains. It seems unlikely that current prime minister, whose authority doesn't reach as far as the Vlore harbor, will be

able to do more.

Next November will mark a decade from those nights on November 1989 when young Germans dismantled the Berlin wall, and with it the Soviet regime from Dresden to Vladivostok. We all applauded, but today's reality is far less cheerful.

In Russia alone, according to the United Nations, 100 million people live in extreme poverty, something not far from starvation. The Caucasus is plagued by religious, ethnic and national conflicts, Daghestan being only the last example. Romania and Bulgaria suffered a terrible blow from the loss of bridges on the Danube to NATO bombings. Serbia's war-ravaged conditions are well-known, and Albania's principal fare is international aid.

Gangster capitalism is rapidly becoming the name of the game, and the spoliation will go on as long as the supply of oil, aluminum, wood, and whatever commodity these countries happen to contain, is not exhausted.

European leaders profess disbelief at the current situation, but it was easily predictable. Corruption in Russia was rampant, but Washington feigned to ignore it, and the IMF did the same. Did anyone really believe that Tatiana Yeltsin was some sort of Eleanor Roosevelt? If the IMF mistook Boris Yeltsin's cronies for Franklin Roosevelt's New Dealers, it should lay off a couple of its economists and hire half a dozen historians.

At least, they would know where to look for a bibliography about Montenegro.

Mr. Tonello is a professor of the History of North America at the University of Padua

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT A. BRADTKE
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: CHARLES M. BRAIN
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 Courtney Crouch at x67500.

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) and Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-GA), concerning the flow of drugs into the United States from Columbia and the deteriorating political and economic situation in Columbia;
- 2) Sen. Trent Lott (R-MS), concerning the recent meeting between the United States and Russian delegations in Moscow on August 17-18, 1999 to discuss the START III and Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaties;
- 3) Rep. Edolphus Towns (D-NY) and Rep. Thomas G. Tancredo (R-CO), concerning the case of the Buenos Aires Yoga School (BAYS) in Buenos Aires, Argentina; and,
- 4) Rep. Frank R. Wolf (R-VA), concerning the Representative's recent trip to Kosovo.

Enclosures

SEP 21 17:22

PRESIDENTIAL/NSA CORRESPONDENCE

IMMEDIATE ACTION REQUIRED

ACTION OFFICER:

~~Setty~~
Kaidanow

LOG NUMBER:

7006

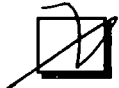
DUE DATE:

2 Oct 99

DATE STAFFED:

21 Sep 99

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO:



PRESIDENT



NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR

FROM:

Wolf, Frank

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.

7006
margins
need to
be fixed

Representative Wolf

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Frank:

On behalf of the President ~~and myself~~, I want to thank you for sending us the report of your recent visit to Kosovo. Your familiarity with the region makes your observations particularly compelling.

We have made important strides in Kosovo, and your letter reflects this. Most Kosovar Albanians have returned home, and while there are still serious security concerns for both Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo, KFOR and UNMIK have lowered the incidence of violence. As you point out, we must address the potential problem of organized crime spreading to Kosovo. Improving the border regime and developing a region-wide anti-corruption initiative via the Stability Pact are already under discussion.

Fortunately, ~~we~~

We reached a key milestone on September 20 with the KLA demilitarization agreement. The establishment of a civilian Kosovo Protection Corps will ease the transition of former fighters and contribute to the rebuilding of homes and damaged infrastructure. *We* agree with you that revitalizing Kosovo's shattered economy must be a priority, although we expect the Europeans to assume the lion's share of the financial burden. Economic regeneration will also help in the process of ethnic reconciliation that you so rightly highlight. Your concern for the psychological needs of Kosovars is one ~~we~~ share; at our request, an expert team led by the International Rescue Committee ~~just~~ traveled to Kosovo and will make its recommendations to us soon.

str
Ag ~~The~~ ~~to~~ ~~you~~ *at*

The tasks that remain for us in Kosovo are daunting, but we can ultimately make a tremendous difference in the lives of people there. We will continue to look for your support in Congress to achieve all of our objectives in Kosovo.

Sincerely,

Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

The Honorable Frank R. Wolf
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Kaidanow, Tina S. (SEE)

From: Tavlarides, Mark J. (LEGIS)
Sent: Thursday, September 23, 1999 2:57 PM
To: Kaidanow, Tina S. (SEE); Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)
Cc: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Subject: RE: letter to Congressman Wolf [UNCLASSIFIED]

Agree with Mona.

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

From: Kaidanow, Tina S. (SEE)
Sent: Thursday, September 23, 1999 2:09 PM
To: Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA); Tavlarides, Mark J. (LEGIS)
Cc: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Subject: RE: letter to Congressman Wolf [UNCLASSIFIED]

ok, Mark, you've got the final word on this.

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

From: Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)
Sent: Thursday, September 23, 1999 2:05 PM
To: Kaidanow, Tina S. (SEE); Tavlarides, Mark J. (LEGIS)
Cc: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Subject: RE: letter to Congressman Wolf [UNCLASSIFIED]

i say just one letter, from srb, but noting receipt of report by both he and potus. m

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

From: Kaidanow, Tina S. (SEE)
Sent: Thursday, September 23, 1999 1:28 PM
To: Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA); Tavlarides, Mark J. (LEGIS)
Cc: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Subject: letter to Congressman Wolf [UNCLASSIFIED]

I've got in my hands two identical letters (or, to be more precise, two Kosovo trip reports) from Congressman Wolf, one directed at Sandy and one at POTUS. Am I OK to draft one response from POTUS, or do I need two outgoing letters (text would be substantially similar, though the POTUS one could be made shorter)?

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9907006
RECEIVED: 21 SEP 99 19

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: WOLF, FRANK

DOC DATE: 16 SEP 99
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
HUMAN RIGHTS

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: RPT TO POTUS ON KOSOVO OBSERVATIONS & SUBSEQUENT RECOMMENDATIONS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER

DUE DATE: 02 OCT 99 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: ~~REDACTED~~ Kaidanow

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION
KAIDANOW

FOR CONCURRENCE
LACKEY
NAPLAN

FOR INFO
BAKER
HILL, C
SCHWARTZ
VON LIPSEY

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

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTCG

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

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10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

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COOPERATION IN EUROPE



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
September 16, 1999

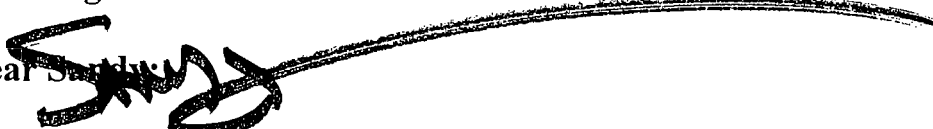
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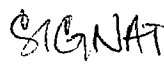
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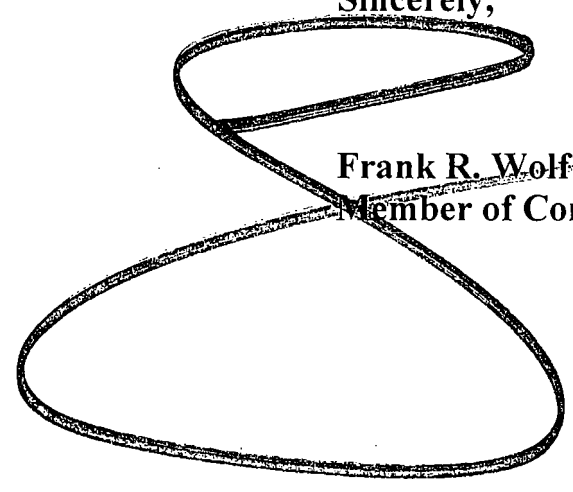
Mr. Samuel R. Berger
National Security Advisor
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear ~~Sam~~ 

I wanted to share with you the report from my recent trip to Kosovo in  which I make a number of observations and recommendations.

Thank you and best wishes.

Sincerely,


Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:ach

SEP 23 9:18

Kaidanow,
Please add to
7006
Thanks!

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Report by U.S. Rep Frank R. Wolf
Visit to Kosovo and Macedonia
Ethnic Albanians Return Home to Post-war Kosovo
August 29 - 31, 1999

This report details my third visit this year relating to the Kosovo conflict. I went to Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia in February and later visited Kosovar refugees in Tirana and Kukes in April. The current trip was to Kosovo and Macedonia. I spent Sunday, August 29, and Monday, August 30, in Kosovo and traveled to Skopje, Macedonia, on Tuesday, August 31. This report gives an overview of my post-war trip as well as specific concerns and recommendations.

On my arrival in Pristina on a World Food Programme (WFP) flight from Rome, Italy, I was greeted by WFP and U.S. State Department personnel and taken by helicopter to view from the air the destruction of villages in the area between Pristina, Gjakova and Prizren.

Gjakova

Our first stop was the WFP operation center and food warehouse in Gjakova. A group of local citizens as well as the mayor and vice-mayor gathered to tell of their experiences during the conflict and voice their present concerns. Between 40 and 50 percent of the homes (about 5,500) in Gjakova have been destroyed or substantially damaged.

Some of the homes were burned as early as the summer of 1998. Some of the destruction was done by local Serbs known to their Albanian neighbors. One man told of a neighbor he had known for 50 years taking part in the burnings along with his wife and son who were dressed in para-military garb. Most of the destruction, however, was done by masked or unknown para-military bands with some participation by Russian mercenaries. One woman in the group recounted seeing her husband, brother, and brother-in-law shot in her house. She then watched her home burned to the ground. More than 1,000 Kosovar Albanians in

town were executed and there are still 1,200 men missing. The men in town who were not executed were taken away. The women and children were sent to a local factory and then told to leave the town immediately.

When asked if they could live together with Serbs in their town again, each person agreed that the memories were too fresh and none could see how it would be possible. Their main concern now is for the 1,200 missing men whom they believe are being held as prisoners in Serbia. Shelter is also a consideration. Many are still living in tents as they attempt to rebuild their homes. They did say they planned to start school soon for their children.

We then went by car on a tour of the town. There was extensive damage with whole streets of homes completely destroyed. The rebuilding effort was evident with much of the debris having been removed and some construction begun.

Prizren

There was little physical damage inside the city. Many surrounding villages had been destroyed and it was felt that the city was to have been the next target, but the NATO bombing prevented it. Prizren is very over-crowded as many of the outlying villagers have returned from refugee camps and moved into the city. This will be a problem as winter arrives, as more people from outlying areas come to the city when they are unable to build adequate shelter in time for winter.

We visited a waterworks plant where USAID/OTI (Office of Transition Initiatives) is working with local citizens to replace the pumps for the station which provides water to the city and many of the surrounding villages. The Kosovars we spoke with are concerned about the need for jobs for their young people. They also said that "good" Serbs are welcome to return to Prizren.

Just down the street from the water plant we stopped at a Serbian seminary guarded by German KFOR troops. Some 211 Serbs and Romas (Gypsies) are living there in crowded conditions. Those we spoke with expressed fear and will not leave the confines of the seminary grounds. The German soldier in charge told us there are also 13 additional Serbs living in homes just behind the seminary and 20 others in outlying parts of Prizren. These are the only known Serbs remaining in the city.

We were shown a house belonging to a Serb family which had been fire bombed a few days earlier. The fire had spread by the wind and also accidentally destroyed nearby Albanian homes. As a result, two local Albanian photographers, one who had fought with the KLA, created a poster appealing to their fellow Kosovars to "stop the burning." This poster is being used in a campaign funded by USAID/OTI as part of their co-existence/reconciliation projects and appears plastered all over the city.

Sunday night was spent in Pristina, where we met with WFP and State Department officials working in the country.

On Monday we met with various Kosovar political leaders, representatives of nine Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in the relief efforts, USAID country and regional directors, U.S. Brigadier General Brandenburg (highest ranking American in KFOR), and spokesman for UNMIK (United Nations Mission in Kosovo, the civilian arm). We also visited Camp Bondsteel, the military compound in the U.S. sector where we were briefed by General Peterson and his staff on the military work with KFOR. Our American soldiers are doing an excellent job and are well led. They are living in conditions that in the summer were either dusty or muddy and will be extremely cold in the winter. Seeing the massive undertaking of Camp Bondsteel leads me to believe our troops will be in Kosovo a long time.

Concerns

- The long picture. I believe this will be a slow recovery and that problems will remain for many years. All NATO countries need to address this. The bulk of rebuilding should be carried out by the European countries since the U.S. carried the major burden during the fighting.
- Reconciliation. Bringing reconciliation in Kosovo is going to be very difficult. In neighboring Bosnia, NATO troops have established peace and there appears to be normalcy in Sarajevo. However, in spite of what President Clinton has said, there has been very little progress in reconciliation. To this day, Sarajevo is practically void of Serbs. Serbs in the Bosnian Republic of Serbska seldom venture into Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Bosnian Muslims rarely go up to the Republic of Serbska. Tension also remains between Croats and Bosnians in areas such as Mostar. So we should not be naive about reconciliation prospects in Kosovo.

- Albanian retaliation against Serbs. Killings, disappearances, harassment and burning of homes occurs almost daily. Albanians are losing their moral high ground as their violence against Serbs continues.
- Missing Albanians. 7,000 plus Albanians are still missing and are believed to be held in Serbian prisons.
- Demilitarization of KLA. KLA weapons and uniforms are to be turned in on September 19. Will they all comply? And what will their future be as they shift focus to possible roles in the civic arena?
- Food and Shelter. These will continue to be pressing needs especially during the winter.
- Migration. People may return to Albania and Macedonia for the winter, creating a problem for those countries. People from mountains and outlying areas are moving into the urban areas for winter shelter and will overburden the cities and towns. Further, Serbs from Kosovo are continuing to move into Serbia and are unwanted there.
- De-mining operations. Extent of remaining Serb-planted mines and unexploded NATO ordinance used in bombing raids is unknown.
- Youth. The absence of jobs and employment opportunities has yielded large numbers of idle youth who spend their time on the streets and in cafes. This could mean future trouble. There will also be many psychological problems among all segments of the population.
- Organized Crime. Law and order is a huge concern. Drug addiction is moving heavily into the larger cities. The region has a strategic location and a history of criminal activity. See attached *Italy Daily* article.
- Leadership. Many of the problems in the Balkans have come from leadership of people who have incited ultra-nationalism and violence (Milosevic and Tudjman). Few leaders speak in terms of reconciliation and justice. There is a leadership vacuum in Kosovo as well.
- Terrorism. Kosovo could become a center for terrorist activity which would

threaten Europe and the U.S.

While there are many looming problems, I was encouraged about the spirit of the Albanian Kosovars. They obviously want to rebuild and improve their lives and I was much impressed with their entrepreneurial outlook. They seem to be actively working on their own, rebuilding homes and businesses and taking the initiative to improve their situations.

Nearly every Kosovar Albanian I spoke with expressed gratitude for the help of the U.S. both during and after the conflict.

Recommendations

- Ibrahim Rugova seems to be the best hope for unifying Kosovo at this time and we should encourage him. He has a lot of residual respect among the people for his years of speaking up for them. He is committed to non-violence and is a known commodity to the West. Ideally he should bring some of the younger, new blood to serve with him. Some people have been critical of President Rugova because he has not been out among the people since the fighting ended. Others, however, have expressed concern for his personal safety as he moves about the country.
- Support for food programs should be continued. WFP estimates that 80 percent of the Kosovar population will need food assistance through the winter.
- There will be need for psychological help after the physical rebuilding. The spiritual dimension should also be addressed.
- The U.N. and the U.S. should press the issue of missing Albanians thought to be held in Serbian prisons.
- The whole region could become a center of organized crime activity involving drugs, prostitution, smuggling and ensuing violence that will affect all of Europe and the U.S. This looms as a huge problem which should be promptly addressed. Serious consideration should be given to establishing a U.S. anti-crime advisory program in the Balkans/Eastern

Europe. Crime of all kinds is growing throughout Russia and Eastern Europe including this area. Gangs from Albania are already active in Kosovo. This must be a priority concern to the U.S. Administration and Congress. We are now seeing evidence of money laundering, drugs, prostitution and other organized crime activities being exported from this region to the West, including the U.S.

- An effort should be made to mobilize young people in the reconstruction and rebuilding activity. Lack of constructive activities and purpose for the youth and young adult population is a concern to many I met.
- While the Serb population in Kosovo has decreased significantly, we should support programs that address reconciliation. The "stop the burning" poster project in Prizren is a good example. USAID/OTI has other possibilities with the Art Media Performance group also in Prizren.
- In the end I believe that independence of Kosovo is the only thing that will be acceptable. The Kosovars did not endure all they did to accept anything short of independence from Serbia.

Acknowledgments

I wish to give special thanks to State Department personnel who arranged our meetings in Kosovo and accompanied us both days. Also thanks to the World Food Programme, particularly Mr. Mick Lorentzen, for all their assistance.

We left Pristina Tuesday morning to drive to Skopje, Macedonia. While there, I met with Arben Xhaferi, member of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia and a leader of the Albanian political party. I also met with Boris Trajovski, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs and candidate for president in the upcoming October elections. I was very ably accompanied by Ms. Laura Kirkconnell, U.S. deputy chief of mission in our embassy.

ITALY DAILY

PUBLISHED WITH  **CORRIERE DELLA SERA**

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1999

NEWS

COMMENT

The Adriatic's Crime Wave

If fear the consequences. I dread dangerous contacts; I sense the probability of intrigues and conflicts with the question of Montenegro." These were the words of a prescient President Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles peace conference in April, 1919.

Wilson feared the Balkans would fragment into a pack of elligerent micro-states, precisely the solution he was compelled to accept in the end.

Today, the dismembering of Yugoslavia is about to be completed with the imminent separation of Montenegro from Serbia. Eastern Europe is now a paradise for organized crime, not to mention a hotbed of ethnic conflict. Poland and the Czech Republic seem the only partial exceptions.

Already, Montenegro is a safe haven for Italian and Russian underworlds. Every day, speedboats that carry contraband cigarettes to the Italian coast leave the Montenegrin port of Bar. They unload hundreds of tons of tobacco products, valued at half a billion dollars per year, on the coast of Puglia.

The confident expectation of astronomical profits justify the military-style character of their operations. Preceded by scouts, the convoys move during the night at high speed, led by armored jeeps and trucks that crash any obstacles in their way, be they the cars of innocent bystanders, or highway barriers.

This modus operandi was invented by Russian gangs in the early 1990s, when former KGB agents put their expertise to work, and provided military muscle for the booming trade in cigarettes, and luxury items. No con-

By Fabrizio Tonello

SPECIAL TO ITALY DAILY

tainer full of Veuve Clicquot, Perrier, or Armani suits reached the stores of Moscow or St. Petersburg without the proper protection. The *nouveaux riches* didn't care, as long as the money of International Monetary Fund, which was a breeze to steal, kept flowing in.

In fewer than ten years, Russia transformed itself in a full-scale criminal state, where the different mafias (from Yeltsin's entourage to Chechen guerrillas) pilfer the coffers at their leisure.

The situation in Puglia is still not at that point. Yet.

However, with Kosovo and Montenegro seemingly on their way to full sovereignty, soon there will be two more states on the eastern side of Adriatic where gangsters can gain a strong foothold. On the southern border of Montenegro, 50 miles from Puglia by sea, lies Albania, where the state is so weak that it often backs down from confrontations with crime gangs.

Eighty years ago, Wilson's foreign policy experts described it as "certainly an undesirable political entity."

They might have been prescient. Today, Albania is often described as a network of tribes and clans whose allegiance go to their cruelest warriors. Western journalists who lost their cash and their equipment while traveling to Kosovo have certified this description. Not even Enver Hoxha, the Stalinist dictator who led the country for four decades, was able to disarm the clans of shepherds living in the mountains. It seems unlikely that current prime minister, whose authority doesn't reach as far as the Vlore harbor, will be

able to do more.

Next November will mark a decade from those nights on November 1989 when young Germans dismantled the Berlin wall, and with it the Soviet regime from Dresden to Vladivostok. We all applauded, but today's reality is far less cheerful.

In Russia alone, according to the United Nations, 100 million people live in extreme poverty: something not far from starvation. The Caucasus is plagued by religious, ethnic and national conflicts, Daghestan being only the last example. Romania and Bulgaria suffered a terrible blow from the loss of bridges on the Danube to NATO bombings. Serbia's war-ravaged conditions are well-known, and Albania's principal fare is international aid.

Gangster capitalism is rapidly becoming the name of the game, and the spoliation will go on as long as the supply of oil, aluminum, wood, and whatever commodity these countries happen to contain, is not exhausted.

European leaders profess disbelief at the current situation, but it was easily predictable. Corruption in Russia was rampant, but Washington feigned to ignore it, and the IMF did the same. Did anyone really believe that Tatiana Yeltsin was some sort of Eleanor Roosevelt? If the IMF mistook Boris Yeltsin's cronies for Franklin Roosevelt's New Dealers, it should lay off a couple of its economists and hire half a dozen historians.

At least, they would know where to look for a bibliography about Montenegro.

Mr. Tonello is a professor of the History of North America at the University of Padua