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RECORD ID: 9903644
RECEIVED: 12 MAY 99 14

TO: BERGER

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 10 MAY 99
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA
KOSOVO

EUROPEAN UNION
INTL ECONOMICS

PERSONS: DJUKANOVIC, MILO

DJINDJIE, ZORAN

SUBJECT: POTUS FWDS NYT ARTICLE RE YUGOSLAVIA INTEGRATION INTO EU AFTER WAR
IS OVER

ACTION: NO FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED

DUE DATE: 18 MAY 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HURLEY

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9903644

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 HURLEY
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Z 99051218 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
X 99052715 NO FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

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001 990510 KENNEY, K

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STAFF OFFICER: HURLEY

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
HURLEY

FOR CONCURRENCE
BUTLER
HAMMONDS
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FOR INFO
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BLINKEN
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COMMENTS: INCLUDES CONCEPT PAPER

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Sandy - in Miami
Cousins

Libby to Bureau

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

5-10-99

THE NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED

After The War In Serbia Is Over

By Milo Djukanovic
and Zoran Djindjic

Despite the current conflict, we remain committed to Yugoslavia's integration into Europe, and eventually into the European Union. The road to Europe is the only route that will help our country solve its considerable problems and build a lasting peace and stability throughout the region. It is difficult to imagine that any economic or political renewal can occur in Yugoslavia without unambiguous and long-term international support.

Only a democratic and stable Yugoslavia can secure stability in the Balkans. We want to underscore that the democratic political forces in Yugoslavia are committed to that goal. The immediate concerns are ending the war, securing the return of the refugees and implementing a political settlement in Kosovo that will include the deployment of an international force.

But to establish a lasting peace, the outside world needs to do more than solve the Kosovo crisis. Military intervention in Kosovo has led to new problems, whether or not that was intended. With intervention, the West assumed part of the responsibility for finding solutions to these problems.

At the same time, intense efforts will also be necessary on the part of Yugoslavs to win the trust of the outside world and recover the moral standing lost because of Kosovo.

Even before the end of the war, the international community should state clearly and unequivocally that democratic and economic reconstruction in Yugoslavia represents its official and binding position. Such a statement would give hope to the citizens of our country and encourage the transformation of the political landscape.

The cycle of politics that over the past 10 years or more has led our country to this tragedy must be broken. If the war ends with a signature on a peace agreement and the same leadership in power, with Slobodan Milosevic at the helm, the tragedy and violence will continue.

Yugoslavia's stability is crucial

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Springtime



Setting Our

By James Conaway

AFREDERICKSBURG, Va. — Every year, about this time each year, Kenny Mills takes two five-gallon buckets and a net to the foot of the old concrete dam on the Rappahannock River and dips yellow and white perch from the tumultuous water. When the buckets are full he carries them up and around the dam, then releases the fish so they can swim upriver, toward a final destination imprinted in their DNA like celestial coordinates.

When the shad are running, Kenny performs the same oblations with the net and schleps the fish toward the prospect of survival. Ask why he does it and you get a Tidewater understate-

or, has spent his life on this stretch of the Rappahannock, one of several beautiful little rivers rising in the Blue Ridge that flow through Virginia's vernal Piedmont toward the Chesapeake Bay. The Rappahannock once boiled in the spring with migrating fish, which enriched the town of Fredericksburg, then a sporting paradise. As late as 1954 Kenny remembers seeing a sturgeon as big as himself

Big Western dams
aren't the only ones
that should fall.

democratic and economic reconstruction in Yugoslavia represents its official and binding position. Such a statement would give hope to the citizens of our country and encourage the transformation of the political landscape.

The cycle of politics that over the past 10 years or more has led our country to this tragedy must be broken. If the war ends with a signature on a peace agreement and the same leadership in power, with Slobodan Milosevic at the helm, the tragedy and violence will continue.

Yugoslavia's stability is crucial because of its size and geographical position in the Balkans and its role in determining the stability or instability of neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Albania. To date, however, international strategy on Yugoslavia has boiled down to crisis management, while ignoring the roots of crisis.

Yugoslavia will need democracy and its own Marshall Plan.

Democracy can be established in our country only with a complete political transition in Serbia and the rest of Yugoslavia. This depends on free and fair elections, the strengthening of Serbia's democratic opposition, close cooperation with the democratic Government of Montenegro, the complete isolation of undemocratic forces and the establishment of an outside body to help monitor the political change.

Respected European politicians with previous experience in the Balkans, like former Prime Minister Felipe González of Spain, former Chancellor Franz Vranitzky of Austria and Hans Koschnick, a veteran German Social Democrat, could work in such a commission under the auspices of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Accelerated economic reconstruction in the Balkans will be possible only with some variant of the Marshall Plan. The promise of outside aid would help the cause of democracy in Yugoslavia by tempering lingering anger. It will be difficult for the democratic opposition to function after this NATO campaign because people are likely to see us as part of that Europe — part of that West — that bombed us, destroyed bridges, roads and factories, and killed civilians. People will protest in both Serbia and Montenegro.

But there is hope for the democratic forces. Mr. Milosevic's policies are facing destruction, which would create the glimmer of a chance to build something new on those ruins. If anything good can be extracted from the evil that is now among us, it is the chance — with international help — for a new begin-

A investigation of the old concrete dam on the Rappahannock River and dips yellow and white perch from the tumultuous water. When the buckets are full he carries them up and around the dam, then releases the fish so they can swim upriver, toward a final destination imprinted in their DNA like celestial coordinates.

When the shad are running, Kenny performs the same oblations with the net and schleps the fish toward the prospect of survival. Ask why he does it and you get a Tidewater understatement: "I get satisfaction helping a few fish upriver, so they can spawn."

The shad may not be a glamour species like the salmon, and the Rappahannock may lack the visibility of the Columbia River, but the Embrey Dam is important because it represents thousands like it that serve no purpose and impose burdens both un-aesthetic and deadly. While the damage done by the monster dams in the American West may get the attention, many more of the nation's 75,000 dams are like the Embrey.

Kenny, a 58-year-old retired farm-

James Conaway is the author of eight books, including "The Kingdom and the Country," about public lands in the American West.

fish, which enriched the town of Fredericksburg, then a sporting paradise. As late as 1954 Kenny remembers seeing a sturgeon as big as himself

Big Western dams aren't the only ones that should fall.

rise in the pool below the dam, searching for a way around it.

He has not seen a sturgeon since, of any size. The perch, shad and herring runs are a mere shadow of what was, and the Embrey Dam itself a looming relic. Built in 1910 to generate electricity and divert water into a canal, it has precluded the spawning of an in calculable number of anadromous fish — those that live in salt water but spawn in fresh — and altered the river here beyond recognition.

Embrey Dam's generator is defunct; the water needed for the canal and for drinking could easily be diverted through a pipe upstream. These points were made three years ago by John Tippet, director

The Vatican's Mar

By Joaquín Navarro-Valls

On the evening of March 24, shortly after the NATO bombing began, I expressed the Vatican's position on the war in Kosovo with the following declaration: "In course to the use of force is always a defeat for humanity. We must help but think of the victims and the feelings of those who will inevitably arise. I must think of Pius XII's words in August 24, 1939: Nothing is lost with peace. All can be lost with war."

These words "nothing is lost with

Urging enemies to talk sooner rather than later

peace, all can be lost with war" represent the position of the Holy See and explain the Vatican's numerous initiatives, to which the American news media has given very little coverage. Such initiatives have the aim of stopping the suffering, massacre and destruction, and of encouraging the start of new negotiations to guarantee a just solution.

The position of the Vatican comes

destruction and death inevitably increase the hatreds and destroy reciprocal faith?

The Vatican, in effect, has creased its efforts in many directions. On March 30 the Secretary of State, Cardinal Angelo Sodano, gathered all the NATO ambassadors to the Holy See and permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to examine "actions which may contribute to bringing peace" in Yugoslavia.

On April 1, the Pope sent Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran, Secretary for the Relations With States, to Belgrade to bring a personal message to President Slobodan Milosevic and the Serb Orthodox Patriarch Pavle. The Holy See also sent a message to the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople, which fell within a week from one another.

In the Urbi et Orbi message of April 4, John Paul II said he hoped that a humanitarian corridor for refugees would be created, one would bring suspension of the eternal cleansing on the part of Belgium and interruption of the bombing by the part of NATO.

On April 18 the Pope wrote to the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow. On April 27 he sent a message to Amr, Secretary General of the United Nations, encouraging Mr. Amr to intervene personally to seek a negotiated solution.

The Holy See from the very day of the bombings, as it has ways done on similar occasions, prompted Catholic charitable or-