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Folder Title:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	For Donald Kerrick from Greg Schulte. Subject: Checklist for September 4 DC on Kosovo. (4 pages)	09/02/1998	P1/b(1)
001b. paper	Discussion Paper for NSC Deputies Committee Meeting on Kosovo. [Record ID: 9820736] [Duplicate at vz6237_003b, this case] (6 pages)	08/29/1998	P1/b(1)
002a. form	Fax Cover Sheet [partial] (1 page)	09/08/1998	P3/b(3)
002b. memo	For Leslie Davidson et al. Subject: Interagency Working Group Meeting on Pol-Mil Planning for Kosovo...September 11, 1998. (1 page)	09/08/1998	P1/b(1), P3/b(3)
003a. email	Gregory Schulte to @NSA. Subject: Holbrooke's Memo on Kosovo. (1 page)	09/09/1998	P1/b(1)
003b. memo	To the [Secretary of State] and the National Security Advdisor from Richard Holbrooke. Subject: Kosovo: What Next? [Duplicate of rs1038_001b, 2014-0547-M] (5 pages)	09/08/1998	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Kosovo: Preparing for an Ultimatum. [Duplicate ke5709_001a, this case] (3 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)
004b. paper	Options for Averting a Humanitarian Catastrophe and Promoting a Political Settlnent in Kosovo [Duplicate of ke5709_001e, this case] (4 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)
005a. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Kosovo: Preparing for an Ultimatum. [Record ID: 9806519.] [Duplicate ke5709_001a, this case] (4 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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005b. memo	Options for Averting a Humanitarian Catastrophe and Promoting a Political Settlement in Kosovo [Duplicate of ke5709_001e, this case] (3 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)
006. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Kosovo: Preparing for an Ultimatum. [Record ID: 9806519.] [Duplicate ke5709_001a, this case] (3 pages)	09/24/1998	P1/b(1)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

XXXX

September 17, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR MELANNE VERVEER

FROM: GREG SCHULTE ^{GS} NICK DOWLING ~~N~~
SUBJECT: FLOTUS Drop-by with Veran Matic

B92
80% list
99% no conk
More list/beta
Radio Belgrade

The First Lady is scheduled to meet with Veran Matic, head of the key independent media outlets in Belgrade, at 12:00 noon on Friday for a brief drop-by and photo-op. John Fox from the Open Society Institute and an interpreter will be with Mr. Matic. Greg Schulte and Nick Dowling from the NSC will also attend.

Veran Matic is the founder of the most prominent independent radio station in Serbia, Radio B-92. Since beginning broadcasts in 1989, Radio B-92 has been the only sustained broadcast alternative to the State run media, and remains an important source of news for Serb citizens as well as a beacon for democratization in Serbia. B-92 carries a mix of programming including news, public affairs shows, entertainment and music, including programming from Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and the BBC. In recent years, Matic has expanded his independent media efforts. As Chairman of the Association of Independent Electronic Media in Yugoslavia (ANEM), Matic has launched new independent radio and TV networks as well as Serbia's first internet service, OpenNet. Matic also helped reform media in Bosnia by giving programming to Banja Luka SRT.

USAID and the Soros foundation are two of the leading funders of B-92 and ANEM. Most recently the USG provided \$2.5 million to help launch the ANEM TV network which is beginning to bring independent television to Serbia.

The Milosevic government has regularly interfered with or attempted to close down Radio B-92, most notably when they shut down the station in the student protests of late 1996. At that time, B-92 programming and dispatches were continued through re-transmission from VOA and through the internet. The Milosevic regime is at it again this month, having ordered B-92 to stop transmitting by the end of September.

Attachments

Tab A Suggested Talking Points

Tab B Biography and Additional Background Information

Meeting with Veran Matic

- I want to express my appreciation and admiration for your work to bring free media and democratization to Serbia and Montenegro.
- As you know, the United States is committed to bringing peace, stability and democracy to the Balkans. Our support for Radio B-92 and your other projects is a critical part of that effort.
- Free media in Serbia is particularly important now with the conflict in Kosovo. Both the President and I are deeply concerned about the humanitarian consequences if the current fighting continues into the winter.
- What reaction have you received from your coverage of events in Kosovo? What do the Serb people think about the terrible tragedy unfolding in Kosovo?
- I understand that the Milosevic government is threatening to shut down B-92 again. What can we do to help?
- Again, you have our blessings and support. Keep in touch with the State Department on these issues. We will do everything we can to help.

Veran Matic--Biography

Veran Matic is Editor-in-Chief of Radio B92, the principal independent radio station in Serbia (Belgrade) since 1989, and chairman of the Association of Independent Electronic Media in Yugoslavia (ANEM), 32 radio and 18 television stations across Serbia and Montenegro. Mr. Matic is also Executive Director of the International Committee to Protect Independent Media in Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - FREE 2000 - and Director of the *Right to Pictures and Words* project, which monitors the media situation in Yugoslavia and publishes its findings in the monthly *Media*.

Born in 1962, in Sabac, Yugoslavia, near Belgrade, Mr. Matic studied world literature at the faculty of philology, University of Belgrade. Mr. Matic has been engaged in journalism since 1984 with alternative and youth media in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. He began his career with NTV Studio B, Belgrade's former independent television station. In May 1989 he founded Radio B92, the first independent radio station in Serbia. This station was banned several times, but managed to continue broadcasting throughout the last nine years. Radio B92 broadcasts 24 hours a day, with a mix of news, information programs, call-in shows, entertainment and music. Its news programs are the core of the joint ANEM Radio Network programming, which provides independent news to audiences on upwards of 70% the Yugoslav territory.

Under his guidance, Radio B92 set up and developed: an Internet center, OpenNet, the first Internet provider in the country; publishing department of over 30 titles, including books of research and commentary on the war in ex-Yugoslavia and minority rights; two magazines; the culture center Cinema REX (a venue for the alternative and progressive culture scene); a film and video department (winner of a number of national and international awards); and a CD label which features young and progressive artists in Yugoslavia.

Mr. Matic has organized a number of anti-war activities, social and cultural events, and projects in the independent sector. Radio B92 has become a focus of new, young intellectual and urban circles from all over Serbia-Montenegro, and has cooperated with independent journalists in Kosovo. B92 is the leader of the independent electronic media in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia gathered in ANEM, a network providing technical, programming, legal and training assistance to its members and seeking to promote democracy through dissemination of independent information and closer links with other non-governmental organizations in the country and the region.

Veran Matic received the 1993 annual Freedom Award of the New York-Based Committee to Protect Journalists. His articles have appeared in the New York Times, the New York Review of Books, The Wall Street Journal, Index on Censorship, and elsewhere.

Radio B92's Awards

- 1998 Free Media Pioneer by the International Press Institute and the Forum Foundation*
- 1998 Solidarity Award by AMARC (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters)*
- 1996 Radiostation des Jahres by Medienhilfe*
- 1993 Peace Award by Danish peace movements*
- 1993 Peace Plume by the Flemish peace organization*

Serbian Radio-TV Director Demands Removal of Independent Radio Transmitters

Source: Radio B92, Belgrade, in Serbo-Croat 1930 gmt 2 September 1998

Excerpt from report by the Belgrade-based independent Radio B92 on 2 September 1998

BBC Summary of World Broadcasts--September 4, 1998, Friday

[Announcer] Acting on the orders of the Federal Telecommunications Ministry, the director of Serbian Radio-TV [RTS], Dragoljub Milanovic, has ordered B92 and Indeks radio [independent student station in Belgrade] to switch off and remove the transmitter from the RTS broadcasting building in Zvezdara [part of Belgrade] within a month.

The director of the Association of Independent Media [ANEM], Veran Matic, and the director and editor in chief of Indeks radio, Nenad Cekic, said at a press conference that the order was legally unfounded and above all incomprehensible since RTS and not the two radio stations is the owner of the transmitter in question, and it would be unlawful and physically impossible to execute the order.

Matic said that such a gesture was a unilateral cancellation of the agreement on the 10-year use of frequencies and added:

[Matic] What is important is that the order says that we must remove the equipment in Zvezdara which we use for broadcasting. Mr. Milanovic does not seem to know that we have been broadcasting our programmes for years via their [RTS] equipment. He asked us to remove their equipment and we cannot do that. We will try to protect Mr. Milanovic from being tortured by the Federal Telecommunications Ministry which allegedly issued such an order.

I suppose Mr. Milanovic does not want to have fresh problems with us since experience shows that these problems affected him more when he tried to pursue the whole thing to the end...

In November 1996, the Serbian government's annulment of municipal elections won by the opposition spawned what the international news media labeled the "Internet revolution": the first major political conflict in which the Internet appeared to play a crucial role as a force for democratization. Nearly two years later, the man the protesters wanted to topple -- President Slobodan Milosevic -- still keeps a stranglehold on Serbia, letting his soldiers exercise a violent repression in the Kosovo province and snubbing international economic sanctions. It is a fact that, politically, the 1996 revolt has failed. "The opposition movement fell apart owing to internal frictions and personal motivations of those that were leading it," said an American observer working for a nonprofit organization in Belgrade and who asked not to be identified. Yet something was left from 1996: technology. The revolt had planted a digital seed in the Serbian society. The spread of the Internet has continued and even accelerated after the opposition coalition crumbled, despite growing government's restrictions on Internet systems within the universities.

"Serbia is not the black hole that everybody seems to believe," the American added. "It is strongly connected internationally -- through the Internet. And cyberspace is probably the strongest action field for independently minded people seeking to making change there." It all started when Milosevic took Radio B92 off the air. The radio station, which was the only independent broadcaster in Belgrade at that time, had been covering the growing street demonstrations that had followed the annulment of the election results. On Dec. 3, 1996, the government unplugged B92 -- but could not stop it from spreading the story of the revolt. B92 (which had had a Web service for a few months called Opennet) and the students and faculty at the University of Belgrade started distributing news reports over the Internet, both in text and in RealAudio format.

Not many Serbs outside the universities' campuses could access the Internet, yet international radio stations like the BBC, the Deutsche Welle and the Voice of America picked up the dispatches and reports, re-sending them into Serbia over short-wave radio, while expatriates faxed transcripts of them back home. The political process in Serbia is very much conditioned by the reactions and behavior of the international community, and those news bulletins proved crucial in drawing attention and gaining support from international media and foreign politicians. Three days later, B92 was back in the air, but it did not lose the momentum generated by the protest and seized the opportunity to continue to build up its Internet activities. As a result, Opennet is today at the core of a multifaceted and vibrant cultural and political opposition network whose lifeline is the Internet. "It's like a new level of public sphere," explained Bela Marias, an ethno-musicologist from Yugoslavia who took refuge in Hungary. "People don't protest anymore by standing in front of a policeman, but they keep on working, exchanging ideas, disseminating information that are not available through the state-controlled media -- all by way of the Internet," he said.

Live election coverage, electronic arts projects, training, public-access Internet libraries, and continuous online news in both text, audio and video are among the Opennet initiatives. To protect users, its e-mail servers use a sophisticated encryption system. Opennet's activities are spreading well beyond Belgrade. Its director, Drazen Pantic, recently returned from Mongolia, where he participated in an Internet training project. He and his team have been installing Internet systems from Azerbaijan to small cities in Montenegro, where they took all the equipment needed to connect the local radio stations. "The phone infrastructure here is quite bad," Pantic, a former professor of mathematics, explained in an interview last week. "Therefore streamed audio could hardly be used effectively for radio broadcasts within the region."

Yet Opennet has figured out an original way to use the Internet to clear the hurdle of the state ban on the use of ground transmitters: it is using it in combination with a satellite loop to share programs with local radio stations. "We send the B92 signal over a high-capacity Internet connection to Amsterdam and then to London, where the BBC uploads it to a satellite and beams it back to Serbia," Pantic explained. The signal is then picked up by 35 small radio stations that are part of the Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM, in Serbian) and re-broadcast locally. Using this method, the ANEM radio network's broadcasts can cover nearly 85 percent of the Serbian territory. "Connectivity problems are indeed still huge here," explained Sonja Licht, a human-rights advocate in charge of the Open Society Fund in Yugoslavia, which is financed by the billionaire George Soros and is among Opennet's backers. "However, an increasingly larger number of NGOs [non-governmental organizations], local radio stations, and a decent number of civic institutions have access at least to e-mail," she added. Opennet estimates that nearly 60,000 Serbians (out of a population of about 8 million) have access to the Internet. Digital technology is now moving into Kosovo, which belongs to Serbia but is inhabited by a majority of Albanians. Two local radio stations that were denied frequencies just started to distribute information on the Internet.

The independent Albanian-language newspaper Koha Ditore, published in the province's capital city of Prishtina, and the Belgrade-based news agency Beta teamed up to launch Kosovo-on-line which, Licht said, "is probably the only ongoing form of dialogue between Serbs and Albanians today." B92 is also preparing to send reporters this week to Kosovo, armed with digital cameras and cellular phones. "Kosovo may actually be the first mobile war," said B92's editor-in-chief, Veran Matic, hinting at mobile telephony. "Everyone has a cellular phone there -- the native Albanians, the police, the peace brokers," he explained in an interview. "It serves as a simulation of personalized radio broadcasting."

giussani@nytimes.com

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Dowling, John N. (Nick)

From: WHSR
Sent: Thursday, September 17, 1998 9:54 AM
To: Bouchard, Joseph F.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Clarke, Richard A.; Davidson, Leslie K.; Dowling, John N. (Nick); Hurley, C. Michael; Schulte, Gregory L.
Subject: B-92 AND ITS FOUNDER, VERAN MATIC

Categories: Press Guidance
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
DTG: 171217Z SEP 98
MSGTO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9203
RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
PREC: IMMEDIATE
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TOR: 980917095119 M3469274

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E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PREL, SR

SUBJECT: B-92 AND ITS FOUNDER, VERAN MATIC

B-92

1. (SBU) RADIO B-92, THE FIRST INDEPENDENT RADIO STATION IN SERBIA, WAS FOUNDED IN MAY 1989 BY VERAN MATIC, THE STATION'S CURRENT EDITOR-IN CHIEF. THE STATION HAS RECEIVED SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SINCE ITS INCEPTION, INCLUDING USD 199,450 SINCE LAST APRIL TO ASSIST IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT ELECTRONIC MEDIA (ANEM) RADIO NETWORK (DISCUSSED BELOW). IN B-92'S NEARLY TEN YEARS OF EXISTENCE, THE GOVERNMENT HAS INTERFERED WITH OR ATTEMPTED TO CLOSE THE STATION SEVERAL TIMES.

2. (SBU) RECENTLY, THE GOVERNMENT ORDERED B-92 TO REMOVE ITS TRANSMITTER FROM THE PREMISES OF STATE-RUN RADIO TELEVISION SEIA (RTS). MATIC RESPONDED THAT HE COULD NOT COMPLY WITH THE ORDER, SINCE RTS OWNS THE TRANSMITTER AND B-92 IS MERELY RENTING THE USE OF THE EQUIPMENT. THE AUTHORITIES APPEAR TO BE RETHINKING THEIR STRATEGY, BUT IN THE INTERIM, THEY ARE ASSIGNING NEW STATIONS FREQUENCIES THAT ARE VERY CLOSE TO B-92 ON THE BROADCASTING BAND. AS A RESULT, B-92, WHICH HAS A WEY SIGNAL, IS SUFFERING INCREASING "INTERFERENCE" BY OTHER BROADCASTERS.

3. (SBU) B-92 BROADCASTS 24-HOURS A DAY. ITS PROGRAMMING IS A MIXTURE OF NEWS, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, CALL-IN PROGRAMS, ENTERTAINMENT, AND MUSIC. IN SPIRIT, IT IS VERY MUCH LIKE A COLLEGE RADIO STATION IN THE UNITED STATES. B-92 REBROADCASTS NEWS IN SERBIAN FROM THE VOICE OF AMERICA, RADIO FREE EUROPE, AND THE BBC. SUCH BROADCASTING HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF IRRITATION TO THE GOVERNMENT. B-92 HAS SOME 200 ASSOCIATES -- JOURNALISTS, ARTISTS, WRITERS, MUSICIANS, DESIGNERS, ARCHITECTS, AND FILM AND THEATER PEOPLE. IT HAS MADE

ITSELF A FOCAL POINT FOR YOUNG INTELLECTUALS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

4. (U) IN ADDITION TO ITS RADIO BROADCASTS, B-92 HAS BECOME AN INTERNET PROVIDER THROUGH A SERVICE CALLED "OPENNET." IT HAS A PUBLISHING ARM THAT HAS PRINTED MORE THAN THIRTY WORKS, INCLUDING BOOKS ON THE WAR IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND MINORITY RIGHTS. B-92 PUBLISHES TWO MAGAZINES, A LITERARY MAGAZINE CALL "REC" ("RECH," MEANING WORD) AND A WOMEN'S MAGAZINE, "PROFEMINA." MATIC/B-92 OPERATES A CULTURAL CENTER, CINEMA REX, WHICH HAS BECOME BELGRADE'S LEADING VENUE FOR ALTERNATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE CULTURAL EVENTS. THE CENTER ALSO FEATURES FILM AND VIDEO DEPARTMENTS AND MAINTAINS ITS OWN CD LABEL.

THE ANEM NETWORK

5. (SBU) B-92'S NEWS PROGRAMS FORM THE CORE OF THE ANEM RADIO NETWORK. ANEM, WHICH HAS BANDED 32 RADIO STATIONS AND 18 TELEVISION STATIONS INTO A NETWORK INTENDED TO PROMOTE THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL SOCIETY, PROVIDES INDEPENDENT NEWS TO RADIO STATIONS THAT COVER SEVENTY PER CENT OF YUGOSLAVIA. THUS, ANEM -- AND B-92 -- PRESENT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN SERB HISTORY, A CHALLENGE TO THE STATE'S MONOPOLY OVER NATIONWIDE NEWS BROADCASTS. AS MOST YUGOSLAV CITIZENS DERIVE THEIR NEWS FROM RADIO AND TELEVISION, ANEM PRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT CHALLENGE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO MOLD PUBLIC OPINION IN ITS FAVOR.

6. (SBU) AS A RESULT, THE STATE HAS REFUSED LICENSES TO MANY ANEM AFFILIATES OR ATTEMPTED TO IMPEDE THEIR OPERATION THROUGH OTHER MEASURES, SUCH AS REMOVING EQUIPMENT OR ATTEMPTING TO EVICT BROADCASTERS FROM THE PREMISES THEY ARE OCCUPYING. RADIO IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN YUGOSLAVIA BECAUSE INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS ARE NOT WIDELY READ DUE TO THEIR RELATIVE EXPENSE GIVEN THE COUNTRY'S POOR ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

MATIC: BIO

7. (SBU) IN ADDITION TO BEING THE FOUNDER AND EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF B-92, VERAN MATIC IS THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PROTECT THE INDEPENDENT MEDIA IN YUGOSLAVIA AND THE DIRECTOR OF THE RIGHTS TO PICTURES AND WORDS PROJECT, WHICH MONITORS THE MEDIA SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA. MATIC BEGAN HIS CAREER IN JOURNALISM IN 1984. IN THE EARLY STAGES OF HIS CAREER, HE WORKED WITH ALTERNATIVE AND YOUTH MEDIA IN BELGRADE, ZAGREB, AND LJUBLJANA. MATIC ALSO WORKED FOR STUDIO B, AT THAT TIME BELGRADE'S FIRST INDEPENDENT

TEVISION STATION. MATIC WAS BORN ON MAY 19, 1962, IN THE VILLAGE OF SUVO SELO. HIS PARENTS ARE FARMERS. HE STUDIED WORLD LITERATURE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE. HE IS MARRIED AND HAS TWO CHILDREN -- A DAUGHTER, ANA, AND A SON, DJORDJE. MATIC'S WIFE, LOLA, IS AN ENGINEER. MATIC UNDERSTANDS ENGLISH, BUT ALWAYS USES AN INTERPRETER. MILES



SEP 16 1998

U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR

FROM: AA/BHR, Hugh Q. Parmer *HQP*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Mr. Veran Matic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio B92, Belgrade, Serbia and Chairman, ANEM Network

DATE: Thursday, September 17, 1998

TIME: 2:30 - 3:30 p.m.

PLACE: Deputy Administrator's Office

Participants:

1. Veran Matic, Editor-in-Chief, Radio B92 and Chairman, ANEM Network
2. John Fox, Open Society Institute
3. Sinclair Cornell, Open Society Institute
4. Tom Nicaastro, ENI/DGSR
5. Peter Graves, ENI/DGSR
6. Rick Barton, BHR/OTI
7. Nick Cox, BHR/OTI (Notetaker)
8. David Adams, EUR/EEA

Purpose: Mr. Matic will update you on the ANEM (Association for Independent Electronic Media) radio and TV networks and report on the status of the government's attempts to shut down independent media outlets (including Radio B92 and Radio Index). Mr. Matic will also provide an update on Kosovo and ANEM's activities related to Kosovo.

Background: The Administrator has met with Mr. Matic on two previous occasions: December 1996 and October 1997. His first visit was to discuss the formation of the ANEM radio network and the October 1997 trip was to request funding to start the ANEM TV network. USAID's ongoing support to ANEM has been significant, totaling approximately \$1 million through USAID/ENI and USAID/OTI. Over \$2.5 million is planned, primarily to establish Serbia's first independent TV network, in close collaboration with Soros and the E.U. Since starting in June 1996, the ANEM radio network has increased to 33 member stations (up from 15 in Oct. '97), covering 80% of Serbia and Montenegro. Ratings show that the network is rated #2 in listenership. Overall, USAID and ANEM have a strong, positive relationship which Mr. Matic will reportedly highlight on his US visit.

Issues:

- Matic will update you on the progress made thus far in the radio network and establishing the TV network. He will stress the need for more coverage of the conflict in Kosovo and likely press for more funding. OTI has and continues to work extensively with ANEM and other outlets to provide objective information on Kosovo to the rest of Serbia-Montenegro -- funding of Kosovo-based reporters for media outlets in Serbia and Montenegro, funding of a permanent bureau for a Serbian news agency in Kosovo, and distribution of local and international programs providing objective information about Kosovo to the rest of the country.
- Matic will brief you on the government crackdown on independent media in Serbia. Most of the TV and radio station shutdowns have been targeted to affiliates of ANEM, which is the largest source of independent electronic media in Serbia. So far, shutdowns have been smaller stations in smaller markets. The fear is that these are test cases to judge international reaction (which has been virtually none) before targeting larger ones. Recent movements by the government to violate agreements on the use of government transmitters by two larger stations, Radio B92 - the ANEM radio network flagship station in Belgrade - and Radio Index would seem to support that fear. Mr. Matic will stress the need for increased diplomatic pressure on Milosevic to halt the crackdown.

Talking Points:

- Matic should be congratulated on the speed and professionalism with which he has undertaken the radio and TV network and for his outspoken stance defending free media and free expression in the face of increasing government repression.
- We are content with the present media assistance package we have in place in Serbia and Montenegro. Including OTI, this \$3.5m package includes support of the radio network; TV training, programming and co-production; training for print journalists; and direct grants to independent media outlets and civic organizations. Our assistance will continue in FY99 and will focus on providing objective information on the conflict in Kosovo, strengthening the radio and TV networks to increase their market share and resist government repression, and increasing training in all areas.

- Reassure Mr. Matic of USAID's commitment to supporting free media in Serbia and highlighting its importance within the USG and the international community as a vehicle to facilitate a solution to the Kosovo crisis and to facilitate a peaceful and democratic transition in a post-Milosevic era. What more can USAID do to assist independent media outlets operating in such a hostile environment?

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Biography of Mr. Veran Matic
- Tab 2 - Breakout of USAID/OTI funding for ANEM
- Tab 3 - Breakout of USAID/ENI funding for ANEM



United States Agency for International Development
Bureau for Humanitarian Response
Office of Transition Initiatives

Revised: September 1, 1998

Contact: Nick Cox, USAID/BHR/OTI (202-712-5062)

Below find information regarding USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) completed, ongoing and planned activity with the Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM) in Serbia and Montenegro. The implementation of these projects is dependent on coordination with other donors and on the outcome of negotiations with individual project partners. The information below reflects the activity of only a portion of our entire media portfolio. Grants to ANEM members comprise around 40% of the media assistance Serbia- Montenegro and 22% of the entire portfolio. Total grants to ANEM amount to nearly \$800,000 as of September 1, 1998.

ANEM RADIO NETWORK

- 1) Radio Index studio equipment. (\$61,915).
- 2) Radio Index special correspondent in Montenegro. Interview with Djukanovic aired over all ANEM stations. (\$261).
- 3) Radio Montena (Niksic, Montenegro) transmitter. Signal now hitting eastern RS. (\$51,530).
- 4) Radio Uzice (Uzice, Serbia). Transmitter and computers. (\$23,200).
- 5) Radio BOOM 93 (Pozarevac, Serbia). Broadcasting studio equipment and computers. (\$17,850).
- 6) 35 computers for all ANEM members to establish Internet and Real Audio/Internet connectivity. (\$43,825).
- 7) Radio Trstenik (Trstenik, Serbia). Studio equipment. (\$7,016).
- 8) City Radio (Nis, Serbia). Studio equipment. (\$12,620).
- 9) Radio Pirot (Pirot, Serbia). Computers. (\$1,189).
- 10) Expansion of Internet connectivity for 3 new stations and Podgorica and Pristina bureaus. (\$6,200).
- 11) Radio 021 (Novi Sad, Vojvodina). Studio equipment. (\$11,500).
- 12) Radio VK (Kikinda, Vojvodina). Equipment for new regional studio. (\$13,000).

TOTAL SUPPORT TO ANEM RADIO NETWORK: \$250,106.

ANEM TELEVISION NETWORK

- 1) Entertainment program purchase. (\$102,000).
- 2) TV Montena (Podgorica, Montenegro). Transmitter. (\$12,956).
- 3) TV Bajina Basta (Bajina Basta, Serbia). Transmitter. (\$26,414).
- 4) TV Negotin (Negotin, Serbia). Transmitter. (\$13,522).
- 5) Technical assistance in documentation preparation for Federal Frequency

- Tender. (\$29,700).
- 6) TV Trstenik (Trstenik, Serbia). Purchase of video tapes. (\$7,450).
 - 7) CBS entertainment program purchase. (\$116,800).
 - 8) TV Pancevo (Pancevo, Vojvodina). Studio equipment. (\$13,000).
 - 9) TV Pirot (Pirot Serbia) Studio equipment. The station was illegally shut down by the government. (\$20,620).
 - 10) TV Montena (Podgorica, Montenegro). Editing system. (\$20,000).
 - 11) TV Sky Sat (Herceg Novi, Montenegro). Subtitling equipment. (\$2,980).
 - 12) TV Montena/Sky Sat. In house assistance in expanding news program. (\$8,554).
 - 13) TV Pancevo. Transmitter to cover parts of Belgrade. (\$60,000).
 - 14) PSA campaign produced by B 92 TV production. (\$48,000).
 - 15) Air time buy on ANEM for Kosovo anti-war PSAs. \$29,000.

TOTAL SUPPORT TO ANEM TV NETWORK: \$510,996

SUPPORT FOR ANEM AS ORGANIZATION

- 1) Promotional campaign of TV and radio networks. (\$31,000)

TOTAL ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT: \$31,000

GRAND TOTAL SUPPORT TO ANEM: \$792,102

PLANNED ACTIVITIES With ANEM Radio and TV Networks to November 30th:

- 1) Sky Sat/Montena TV (Montenegro) expansion of signal to cover 75% of Montenegro. \$110,000.
- 2) TV Montena/Sky Sat expansion of news program. Operational support through August 1999. \$45,000.
- 3) TV production workshop for TV Trstenik and TV Kragujevac. Value \$7,800.
- 4) Mobile TV training studio. Independent trainers group from Nis, Serbia. Value \$50,000.
- 5) Radio Pancevo. Studio equipment. Value \$10,000.
- 6) TV5 Uzice (Uzice, Serbia). Post-editing computer. value \$4,000.
- 7) Emergency equipment drop on ANEM TV members. Stations being reviewed. \$50,000.
- 8) TV Kragujevac studio equipment. \$20,000.
- 9) ANEM bureau in Montenegro. Equipment and operations through FY99. \$45,000.
- 10) Radio BOOM 93 (Pozarevac). Radio link for independent station in Milosevic's hometown. \$10,000.
- 11) Radio Index political satire radio theater. To be broadcast over the network every week. \$40,000 for FY99.

TOTAL PLANNED SUPPORT: \$391,800



United States Agency for International Development
Bureau for Europe and the Newly Independent States

Revised: September 16, 1998

Contact: Peter Graves, USAID/ENI/DGSR (202-712-4114)

USAID/ENI Support to ANEM through IREX/ProMedia

Total Support: \$199,450

Future Support: \$2,148,000

A. Past Support

Since the Serbian ProMedia program began in April 1997, ProMedia has provided \$124,450 in grants to the ANEM Radio and Television Networks. Total training support has amounted to approximately \$75,000; therefore, total direct and indirect support amounts to approximately \$200,000.

In all cases, funding has been coupled with training and consulting for the network and its affiliate members.

Total funding provided to ANEM, April 1997 - September 1998: \$199,450

Including direct support for:

- o Four Radio Journalism Training Seminars \$48,450
- o Radio Market Research \$47,000
- o Radio Management Support \$9,000
- o Television Management Support \$20,000

Training support totaling \$75,000

Results:

1. The only private radio and television networks competing with state media.
2. 1.65 million regular listeners for ANEM Radio network; 650,000 listeners for B-92/ANEM news.
3. 33 Radio affiliates covering 80% of territory of Serbia and Montenegro.
4. Over 50 correspondents in Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia trained to international standards.
5. Newly Launched Television Network.
6. Cooperation between ANEM and Kosovar media in Pristina.

SE: 17 1998 1115 JMD:KRL 101 147 4125 1115 00

B. Future Assistance includes continued support for ANEM radio and TV networks:

- o Radio: \$148,000
 - ANEM Coordinator support (\$12,000)
 - Market Research and Training (\$94,000)
 - ANEM Radio Resource Center (\$23,000)
 - Radio journalism training (\$18,450)
- o TV: \$2,000,000
 - Belgrade TV studio
- o Total \$2,148,000

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	For Donald Kerrick from Greg Schulte. Subject: Checklist for September 4 DC on Kosovo. (4 pages)	09/02/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. paper	Discussion Paper for NSC Deputies Committee Meeting on Kosovo. [Record ID: 9820736] [Duplicate at vz6237_003b, this case] (6 pages)	08/29/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002a. form	Fax Cover Sheet [partial] (1 page)	09/08/1998	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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SECRET

Chen

TIME OF TRANSMISSION:

TIME OF RECEIPT:

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE

CLASSIFICATION:

RELEASER: _____

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

DATE/TIME: _____

MESSAGE #: _____

FROM: GREG SCHULTE

PH: 456-9101

ROOM: 469

SUBJECT: IWG MEETING NOTICE

PAGES: 2

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>ROOM</u>	<u>PHONE</u>
<u>STATE</u>	<u>LARRY ROSSIN</u>	_____	<u>647-0608</u>
<u>DEFENSE</u>	<u>BEAR MCCONNELL</u> ✓	_____	<u>614-0661</u>
<u>CIA</u>	<u>(b)(3)</u>		
<u>JCS</u>	<u>GEORGE CASEY</u> ✓	_____	<u>695-2870</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

SECRET

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: VR Date: 1/3/2024

2008-0994.F3

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. memo	For Leslie Davidson et al. Subject: Interagency Working Group Meeting on Pol-Mil Planning for Kosovo...September 11, 1998. (1 page)	09/08/1998	P1/b(1), P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F
vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. email	Gregory Schulte to @NSA. Subject: Holbrooke's Memo on Kosovo. (1 page)	09/09/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE**B**

S/S #

SEP 8 1998

'98 SEP -8 P 12

MESSAGE NO. 012559 CLASSIFICATION ~~SECRET~~ No. Pages 5
FROM: PHIL GOLDBERG D 78931 7220
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Memo on Kosovo from Richard Holbrooke

<u>TO: (Agency)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>Extension</u>	<u>Room No.</u>
NSC	SANDY BERGER		
NSC	JAMES STEINBERG		
NSC	DON KERRICK		
	<i>DP</i>		
	<i>Shuttle</i>	<i>Dawling</i>	<i>DAVIDSON</i>
	<i>Bamber</i>	<i>Alamman</i>	

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☒ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: _____

KMJS/S Officer: *Pheldberg*UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTSInitials: *vr* Date: *2/26/2024**2008-0444-F-3*

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. memo	To the [Secretary of State] and the National Security Advisor from Richard Holbrooke. Subject: Kosovo: What Next? [Duplicate of rs1038_001b, 2014-0547-M] (5 pages)	09/08/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F
vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9805225
RECEIVED: 22 JUL 98 14

TO: DEMIREL, SULEYMAN

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 16 SEP 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TURKEY
ALBANIA
HS

KOSOVO
HUMAN RIGHTS

chron
H

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR FM PRES DEMIREL OF REPUBLIC OF TURKEY RE KOSOVO

ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 03 AUG 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DOWLING

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
STATE

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
COVEY
DOWLING
NSC CHRON

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: *VR* Date: *1/3/2024*

2008-0914-F3

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSSWD

CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 4 OF 4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORD ID: 9805225

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 DOWLING	Z 98072214 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
002 BERGER	Z 98082016 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
002 SCHULTE	Z 98082217 FOR REDO
002 BERGER	Z 98091412 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
003 PRESIDENT	Z 98091421 FOR SIGNATURE
004	X 98091709 PRESIDENT SGD LTR
004 STATE	X 98091709 FOR DISPATCH

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

001 980720	STATE
003 980914	VICE PRESIDENT
003 980914	WH CHIEF OF STAFF
004 980916 DEMIREL, SULEYMAN	
004 980916 STATE	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____

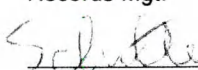
LOG # 5225

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG 2 A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
 Cosgriff	_____	_____	_____
Rice	<u>1</u>	_____	_____
Davies	_____	_____	_____
Kerrick	_____	_____	_____
Steinberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>3/22</u>	<u>STAFF</u>
Records Mgt.	_____	_____	_____
 Schulte	<u>3</u>	_____	<u>All Hqs</u>

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

cc:

COMMENTS: Pres letter to Pres of Turkey
Demirel

98 APR 19 AM 4:42

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 5225-Redo

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG TC A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>@ 9/11</u>	<u>Ed [signature]</u>
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>2</u>	<u>@ 9/11</u>	
Steinberg	<u>3</u>		<u>Ed [signature]</u>
Berger	<u>4</u>	<u>AB 9/14</u>	
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>@ 9/11</u>	<u>D [signature]</u>
Records Mgt.			

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

CC:
38 SEP 11 AM 7:08

COMMENTS:

*Letter to President of
Rep. of Turkey*

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 5225

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG 2 A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
<u>h</u> Cosgriff	<u>1</u>	<u>Kyc</u>	_____
Rice	_____	_____	_____
Davies	_____	_____	_____
Kerrick	_____	_____	_____
Steinberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>D 9/16</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 September 16, 1998 ?

Exec Sec Office has diskette _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1998

Dear Mr. President:

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

I believe that the responsibility for the situation rests squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined you and others in the international community in demanding that he halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

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

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

The multinational Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM) is also playing a useful role in promoting freedom of movement and we will continue to insist that both parties accord it complete and unimpeded access. We would certainly welcome Turkish participation in the KDOM and other efforts by your government to help improve the humanitarian situation in Kosovo.

Third, as you know, we are implementing various measures through NATO to help stabilize the surrounding region, including through intensified Partnership for Peace activities with Albania and Macedonia. NATO has also developed a wide range of military options to contain the conflict and help achieve a political settlement.

Again, thank you for writing. I am grateful for your country's active support in seeking a resolution to this crisis.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized flourish at the end.

His Excellency
Suleyman Demirel
President of the Republic of Turkey
Ankara

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1998

98 SEP 14 PM 5:13

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 

SUBJECT: Letter from the President of the Republic of Turkey

Purpose

Respond to letter from President Suleyman Demirel on Kosovo.

Background

President Demirel wrote to express concern about the situation in Kosovo. He is urging you and other leaders to take action to end the violence in Kosovo and facilitate a dialogue between the parties. He notes that Turkey is ready to contribute to "all measures to be taken with respect to resolution of the Kosovo problem, including participation in any multinational peace mission."

Your response thanks President Demirel for his support and outlines our three-part policy of negotiations, humanitarian efforts and NATO planning.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Response to the President of the Republic of Turkey

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TURKISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 13, 1998

The Honorable Donald Bandler
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director of European Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Room 368
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Mr. Bandler.

As a follow-up to my letter dated July 21, 1998, I have the pleasure to enclose herewith the original of a letter addressed to The Honorable William J. Clinton, President of the United States, from His Excellency Suleyman Demirel, President of the Republic of Turkey, regarding the situation in and around Kosovo.

Your kind assistance in forwarding this original letter to its High Destination would be most appreciated.

With the renewed assurances of my highest consideration,

Sincerely,

Baki Ilkin

Baki Ilkin
Ambassador

Enclosure

AUG 19 1998



The President

Ankara, 21 July 1998

Dear Mr. President;

I wish to convey to Your Excellency through this letter my growing concern about the situation in and around Kosovo.

As you very well know, during the past weeks the problem has unfortunately spilled over beyond the borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Close to 100 thousand refugees have fled the region, moving either within the country or leaving it, particularly to Albania, where around 15 thousand Kosovar refugees are now already displaced.

Last week I paid a visit to Albania and had useful talks with President Meidani. The Kosovo issue was our main topic of discussion and our mutual concern was the urgency to stop bloodshed and start discussions. Foreign Minister İsmail Cem, who accompanied me, visited Tropoja in northern Albania, where around 7 thousand Kosovar refugees are living in dire conditions. Minister Cem saw for himself the deplorable situation of the refugees and the limited capacity that the compassionate local population had to offer them for shelter. There is no question that the Albanian government is in urgent need of well coordinated and large-scale humanitarian assistance to cope with this serious problem.

The situation in and around Kosovo seriously threatens stability and security in southeastern Europe. In order to prevent the recurrence of the great human tragedy we all witnessed in Bosnia and Herzegovina the international community should be giving a more timely and proportionate response to this issue.

AUG 18 9:16

The Honorable William J. Clinton

I strongly believe that putting an immediate end to the bloodshed in Kosovo should be our first and foremost priority. Secondly, the Yugoslav authorities and the representatives of all the people of Kosovo must be urged to enter into constructive dialogue, the purpose of which should be to reinstate the democratic rights and basic freedoms of all the inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of their ethnic origin. Certainly, effective measures also have to be taken to ensure the safe and secure return of all displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo.

The international community failed to thwart the aggression and prevent the vast human suffering that Bosnia and Herzegovina was exposed to just a few years ago, leaving a scar on its credibility. As time is running short, I am afraid the region may witness a human tragedy of similar proportions if effective and resolute action is not taken. That is why I am calling on all leaders to shoulder their responsibilities to maintain peace and security.

On its part, Turkey is carrying on consultations with the countries of the region and is ready and willing to contribute to all measures to be taken with respect to the resolution of the Kosovo problem, including participation in any multinational peace mission.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

S. Demirel
Süleyman Demirel

**TURKISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

August 13, 1998

The Honorable Donald Bandler
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director of European Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Room 368
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Mr. Bandler.

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Your kind assistance in forwarding this original letter to its High Destination would be most appreciated.

With the renewed assurances of my highest consideration,

Sincerely,

Baki Ilkin

Baki Ilkin
Ambassador

Enclosure

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 9805225

REFERRAL

DATE: 22 JUL 98

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: DEMIREL, SULEYMAN

DATE: 20 JUL 98

SUBJ: CONCERN ABOUT SITUATION IN KOSOVO

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE DATE:

COMMENT:

FOR


JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 9805225

REFERRAL

DATE: 22 JUL 98

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: DEMIREL, SULEYMAN

DATE: 20 JUL 98

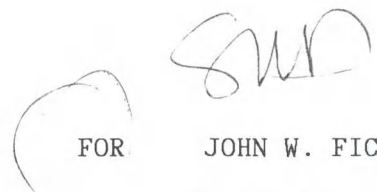
SUBJ: CONCERN ABOUT SITUATION IN KOSOVO

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE DATE:

COMMENT:

FOR


JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9805225
DATE 20 JUL 98

SUBJECT: CONCERN ABOUT SITUATION IN KOSOVO
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE

TIME

SIGNATURE

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FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
ROOM 7224
2201 C STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20520
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: W Date: 1/3/2024
708-0644-23

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 379 OEOB

PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5225
Redo

August 13, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH:

DONALD BANDLER *B*

FROM:

J. NICHOLAS DOWLING *JD* JOCK COVEY *JC*

SUBJECT:

Letter to the President of the Republic of Turkey

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to the President recommending that he sign a letter to the President of the Republic of Turkey Suleyman Demirel on Kosovo.

Concurrence by:

Miriam Sapiro *ms*

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Letter to the President of the Republic of Turkey

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter from the President of the Republic of
Turkey

Purpose

Respond to letter from ~~the President of the Republic of Turkey~~
Suleyman Demirel on Kosovo.

Background

President Demirel wrote to ~~you~~ expressing concern about the situation in Kosovo. He is urging you and other leaders to take action to end the violence in Kosovo and facilitate a dialogue between the parties. He notes that Turkey is ready to contribute to "all measures to be taken with respect to resolution of the Kosovo problem, including participation in any multinational peace mission."

your ~~Response at Tab A~~ thanks President Demirel for his support and outlines our two track policy of negotiations backed by the credible threat of NATO force.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Response to the President of the Republic of
Turkey
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter regarding Kosovo. I share your concern about the deteriorating situation there and welcome your willingness to work together to restore peace and stability.

We have made it clear that Belgrade must cease repression and withdraw its security forces, permit effective international monitoring, facilitate international assistance to those displaced by the fighting and make rapid progress in talks with the Kosovar Albanians.

As you know, NATO initiated and then accelerated contingency planning. I firmly believe that NATO must be prepared to act, even in the absence of a UN mandate, to prevent a broader regional conflict or a humanitarian disaster. I also believe that the clearer NATO's resolve on this point, the greater the prospects for peaceful negotiations. It is, therefore, essential to put in place a full range of concrete and effective plans and to demonstrate the Alliance's will to implement them, if necessary.

The key obstacle to ^{achieving goal} this is the desire of some Allies for a United Nations mandate. Some fear the precedent it might set for NATO to act on its own authority. For others, it is a matter of practical parliamentary politics. While I have worked very hard to assure a close and cooperative relationship between NATO and the Russian Federation, I believe it is a practical and strategic mistake to let Russia or others ~~to~~ have a veto over NATO missions.

At this point, Milosevic has clearly concluded that he is immune from NATO action because Moscow will shield him from a UN Security Council Resolution. My foreign policy team and I are therefore working actively with our Allies and other partners to reinforce this critical part of our strategy as soon as possible. I would welcome your support in this.

Ambassador Chris Hill is ably leading U.S. diplomatic efforts among the parties to begin serious negotiations once the fighting stops. Our objective remains the initiation of a dialogue that can produce confidence-building measures, reduce violence and lead toward a political settlement ~~which~~ ^{that} provides an enhanced status for Kosovo and safeguards the rights of all inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of ethnic origin. We ~~simply~~ do not support demands for the independence of Kosovo and have made that clear. We admire Dr. Rugova's non-violent policies and have worked to establish, under his leadership, an effective and representative negotiating team.

The multinational Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM) is also playing a useful role in promoting freedom of movement, and we will continue to insist that both parties accord it complete and unimpeded access. We would certainly welcome Turkish participation in the KDOM and other efforts by your government to help improve the humanitarian situation in Kosovo.

Again, thank you for writing. I am grateful for your support on this issue of great importance to both our countries and the Alliance.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Suleyman Demirel
President of the Republic of Turkey
Ankara

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
~~LARRY STEIN~~

SUBJECT: Letter from the President of the Republic of
Turkey

Purpose

Respond to letter from President Suleyman Demirel on Kosovo.

Background

President Demirel wrote to express concern about the situation in Kosovo. He is urging you and other leaders to take action to end the violence in Kosovo and facilitate a dialogue between the parties. He notes that Turkey is ready to contribute to "all measures to be taken with respect to resolution of the Kosovo problem, including participation in any multinational peace mission."

Your response thanks President Demirel for his support and outlines our three-part policy of negotiations, humanitarian efforts and NATO planning.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Response to the President of the Republic of
Turkey

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

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

I believe that the responsibility for the situation rests ^{you are} squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined ~~with~~ others in the international community in demanding that he halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

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

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

5225

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

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

~~I~~ We believe that the responsibility for the situation rests squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined with others in the international community in demanding that he halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

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The multinational Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM) is also playing a useful role in promoting freedom of movement and we will continue to insist that both parties accord it complete and unimpeded access. We would certainly welcome Turkish participation in the KDOM and other efforts by your government to help improve the humanitarian situation in Kosovo.

Third, as you know, we are implementing various measures through NATO to help stabilize the surrounding region, including through intensified Partnership for Peace activities with Albania and Macedonia. ~~As you know,~~ NATO has also developed a wide range of military options to contain the conflict and help achieve a political settlement. Milosevic, however, apparently believes that he is immune from any military response, on the assumption that NATO would only act on the basis of a United Nations Security Council resolution, but that Russia would block it. We must not allow Milosevic to have this sense of security.

Again, thank you for writing. I am grateful for your country's active support in seeking a resolution to this crisis.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Suleyman Demirel
President of the Republic of Turkey
Ankara

5225

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

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

I believe that the responsibility for the situation rests squarely with Slobodan Milosevic. We have joined you and others in the international community in demanding that he halt his security forces' operations against the civilian population and enter into a serious dialogue with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community.

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

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5223

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Again, thank you for writing. I am grateful for your country's active support in seeking a resolution to this crisis.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Suleyman Demirel
President of the Republic of Turkey
Ankara

Chior

5724

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 24, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: GREG SCHULTE *JS*
FROM: J. NICHOLAS DOWLING *JD*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Representatives Tom Campbell, David Skaggs, Henry Hyde and thirteen other Members of Congress have written cautioning the President on the need to involve Congress in any decision to use force in Kosovo, and stating specifically that "Congress would have to authorize ... hostile military intervention against Yugoslavia". The letter also requests that decisions on deployment not be made while Congress is in recess or adjournment, unless necessary to defend the safety of U.S. forces or other citizens.

The memorandum to the President at Tab I recommends he sign a letter in response to this inquiry. The response commits to extensive consultations with the Congress prior to any commitment of forces into Kosovo.

Concurrences by: Mara Rudman, Jamie Baker *JS*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Proposed Response for Signature
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Members of Congress

Purpose

Respond to letter from Members of Congress on Kosovo.

Background

Representatives Tom Campbell, David Skaggs, Henry Hyde and thirteen other Members of Congress have written cautioning you on the need to involve Congress in any decision to use force in Kosovo, asserting that Congress must authorize hostile military action against Yugoslavia. In particular, they ask that such a decision not be made in recess or adjournment, unless made to defend the safety of U.S. troops or other U.S. citizens.

Draft response at Tab A notes your concern with the situation in Kosovo, underscores the merit of questions it raises and states that we will continue to consult with Congress on the issue.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Campbell
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Campbell:

Thank you for your letter regarding the situation in Kosovo. We are deeply concerned about the continuing violence and human suffering, as well as the risks posed to regional stability.

We are committed to continuing discussions with Congress about the situation and the steps we are taking to protect U.S. interests in the area. We are implementing various measures through NATO to help stabilize the surrounding region, including intensified Partnership for Peace activities with Albania and Macedonia. NATO is also developing a wide range of military options to contain the conflict, should we see a need to move in that direction. Our objective is to achieve a political settlement without resorting to the use of force. Recent NATO decisions to authorize force generation for air operations in Kosovo will enable the Alliance to quickly bring its military power to bear in the region if necessary, but no decision has yet been made that such power will be used. You raise important questions about the nature of legal authority for direct military intervention against Yugoslavia, questions that will be explored thoroughly. You can also be sure that we would consult extensively with the Congress before sending U.S. forces into Kosovo.

Again, thank you for writing. I appreciate the concern you and others are showing on this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Tom Campbell
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0515

AUG 10 1998

August 7, 1998

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

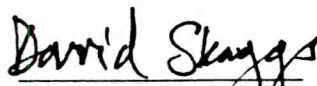
Dear Mr. President:

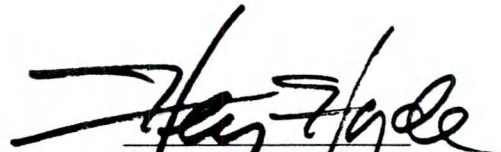
There have been many disturbing developments in the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia in the last several weeks. The Administration and NATO officials have acknowledged that planning is underway for possible military intervention by NATO forces, presumably led by American air and ground forces. Given the attitude and record of Yugoslavian President Milosevic, it seems likely that any such NATO intervention would occur without the consent of the Yugoslav government and, therefore, would be hostile in nature.

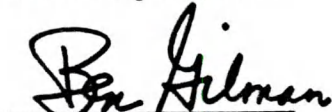
Without prejudging the merits of such an intervention, or our own decision to support it or not, we want to remind you that Congress would have to authorize such a hostile military intervention against Yugoslavia. In the event intervention is necessary, we urge you to involve the Congress in any plans to send U.S. troops into Kosovo, and that decisions on deployment not be made while Congress is in recess or adjournment, unless necessary to defend the safety of U.S. troops or other U.S. citizens.

Sincerely yours,

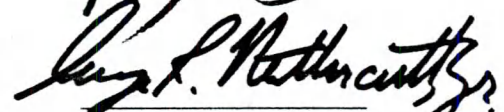

Tom Campbell, M.C.

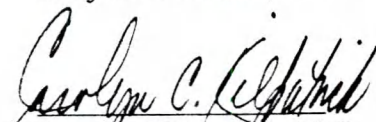

David Skaggs, M.C.

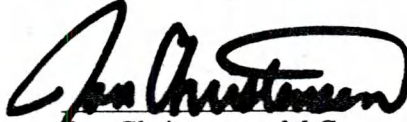

Henry Hyde, M.C.

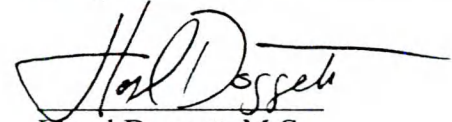

Benjamin Gilman, M.C.

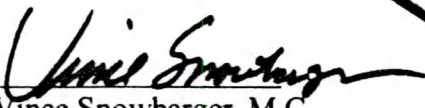

Dana Rohrabacher, M.C.

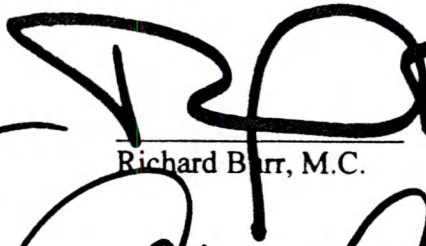

George Nethercutt, M.C.


Carolyn Kilpatrick, M.C.


Jon Christensen, M.C.

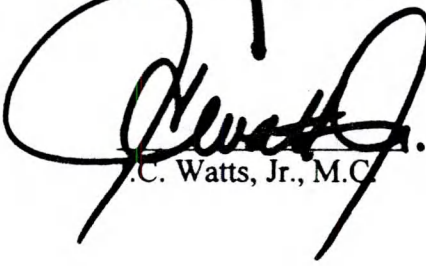

Lloyd Doggett, M.C.


Vince Snowbarger, M.C.

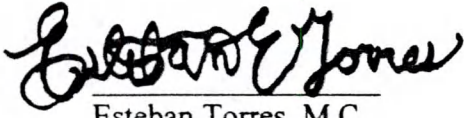

Richard Burr, M.C.


Bill Barrett, M.C.


Michael Doyle, M.C.


J.C. Watts, Jr., M.C.


William Lipinski, M.C.


Esteban Torres, M.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 12, 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) Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R-FL), regarding the present situation in Cyprus and American interests in the Eastern Mediterranean region;
- 2) Rep. Tom Campbell (R-CA) and fifteen other Representatives, urging that Congress be involved in any plans to send U.S. troops to the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia;
- 3) Rep. Bob Clement (D-TN), thanking the Administration for its efforts in obtaining the release of several Christians imprisoned by the Saudi Arabian government;
- 4) Rep. Mike Doyle (D-PA), requesting the release of Lori Berenson, an American citizen being held in Peru on political charge;
- 5) Rep. Eliot L. Engel (D-NY), concerning the current situation in the Kosova region of Yugoslavia;

AUG 12 1998

- 6) Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO) and thirty-six other Representatives, regarding the current political and economic situation in Indonesia, and the safety of the ethnic Chinese community;
- 7) Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-NY) and eight Representatives, concerning proposals to increase U.S. food assistance to North Korea;
- 8) Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-IN) and sixteen other Representatives, expressing concern at the prospect that Russia intends to proceed with its planned sale of S-300 missiles to the Republic of Cyprus;
- 9) Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-IN), supporting the full implementation of the United Nations Settlement Plan for the Western Sahara region;
- 10) Rep. Karen McCarthy (D-MO), on behalf of two constituents, Burton and Ingeborg Richardson, requesting the release of Lori Berenson, an American citizen being held in Peru on political charges;
- 11) Rep. John Joseph Moakley (D-MA) and Rep. James P. McGovern (D-MA), urging direct involvement by the Administration to ensure full compliance by all U.S. agencies to their request for the complete and uncensored release of all documents regarding the 1980 killings of four U.S. missionaries in El Salvador;
- 12) Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) and sixteen other Representatives, requesting Deferred Enforced Departure for thousands of Honduran nationals who have sought safety and freedom in the United States; and,
- 13) Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ) and Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), urging the President to take immediate and decisive action to stop the conflict in the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia.

ENCLOSURES

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0515

PUBLIC DOCUMENT

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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1998 AUG 10 AM 9:03

Via Carrier

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Tom Campbell

M.C.

X-RAYED

Chris
6224

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 23, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: GREG SCHULTE *[Signature]*

FROM: C. MICHAEL HURLEY *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Letter from Harry Bajraktari of Bajraktari
Management Corporation

Attached at Tab I for your signature is a proposed response to Mr. Bajraktari.

He is an Albanian-American businessman from New York who is a recognized spokesman for the Albanian-American community. He argues in his letter that the United States should use the credible threat of military force against Serbia to end the humanitarian crisis in Kosovo.

Bajraktari and the Albanian-American coalition could help build support for the next steps in our Kosovo policy, including getting the UCK to stand down and Americans to stop providing them funding. Suggest you agree to meet with them to enlist their support.

Concurrence by: Stephen Flanagan *[Signature]*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Proposed Response to Mr. Harry Bajraktari

Tab II Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Bajraktari:

Thank you for your letter detailing the Albanian-American community's concerns about events in Kosovo. No American can regard the atrocities committed against civilian populations in Kosovo and the scale of human suffering taking place there with anything other than outrage. The responsibility for the crisis and its tragic consequences rests with Slobodan Milosevic alone. We are working intensively with our European Allies and with Russia to press him to halt immediately his security forces' operations against Kosovar civilians and to begin a serious dialogue with the Kosovar Albanian leadership to arrive at a political settlement.

Our policy has three parts. First, Ambassador Christopher Hill is engaged in ongoing diplomatic efforts to stop the violence and initiate negotiations leading towards an enhanced status for Kosovo with safeguards for all its inhabitants. Ambassador Hill has pulled together a Kosovar Albanian negotiating team and obtained Milosevic's consent to the concept of an agreement that would grant the Kosovar Albanians a degree of self-government and be subject to review in 3-5 years.

Second, we are taking steps to augment substantially humanitarian assistance to the suffering Kosovars. Working closely with the United Nations High Commission on Refugees and other relief agencies, we are making every effort to provide displaced Kosovars with shelter, food and medicine before the onset of a harsh winter. The President has recently authorized an additional \$20 million in emergency assistance.

The third element of our policy centers on NATO's role in stabilizing the region and helping to resolve the Kosovo problem. NATO Defense Ministers have just reviewed NATO military planning and agreed that the necessary forces should be identified and readied for possible action. This should send a

clear signal that Serbia's continued defiance of international law risks a NATO response.

I want to address your specific concern and assure you that our policy does not depend on the good will of Milosevic. Recent Serb attacks on some of the very "return sites" Serbia itself had designated only serve to reinforce what we know all too well: that Milosevic's agreements cannot be accepted at face value; we must independently verify all of his promises.

To that end, our humanitarian policy emphasizes an expanded distribution network for assistance rather than promoting returns to unsafe areas. We are moving relief operations closer to the locations of displaced persons, which reduces checkpoint delays, enhances flexibility of delivery and restricts opportunities to interfere.

I know a number of my colleagues value the constructive dialogue they have had with you and other members of the Albanian-American community on this crucial matter over the last several months. I sincerely hope that, working together, we can bring an end to the bloodshed and set in-train a process that will restore the legitimate rights and freedoms of the people of Kosovo. I would be happy to meet with you and representatives of the Albania-American Coalition to discuss further our Kosovo policy.

Sincerely,

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

Mr. Harry Bajraktari
Bajraktari Management Corporation
617 East 188th Street
Bronx, New York 10458

BAJRAKTARI

MANAGEMENT CORP.

617 East 188th Street, Bronx, NY 10458
tel. (718) 365-4310 fax (718) 367-7386

September 7, 1998

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

For six years, the Albanian-American community has listened attentively and supportively to your comments and those of your Administration with respect to U.S. policy on the Kosova crisis. Most recently, we were encouraged by your commitment that the Administration will not allow another Bosnia to occur in Kosova and the unequivocal statement by Secretary of State Albright that the Serbs will not be allowed to do in Kosova what they could no longer get away with in Bosnia.

Considering your policy statements and our steadfast belief in the veracity of your pronouncements, you can imagine the outrage of the Albanian-American community and leadership when we learned that the United States has agreed to provide support to 11 "humanitarian centers" under the organization and operation of the Belgrade regime!

There is no question that Kosova has been turned into the worst European humanitarian disaster since Bosnia, with more than 400,000 men, women and children made refugees in their own country as a result of recent Serbian aggression. However, the logic of placing the perpetrator of ethnic cleansing and the fomentor of blatant brutality directed at civilians in charge of efforts to save them from famine and freezing defies the imagination.

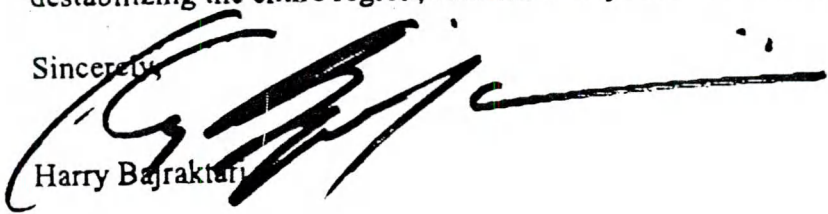
What are we to believe in this matter? The word of the President of the United States and his Secretary of State, or the policy actions taken by the Administration? Regrettably, actions speak much more loudly than words.

The New York Times in an editorial September 7 stated the truth of the matter: "Making a partner of Mr. Milosevic is not an acceptable way to help the displaced... Most crucial, however, is to get Mr. Milosevic to stop the shooting. This will require intense pressure on Belgrade, with the credible threat of military force if necessary."

04/08/1998 15:45 7102201720

Mr. President, we once again appeal to you and Secretary Albright to display the courage and leadership to deal with this war criminal once and for all. Until that reality is recognized and acted upon with strength and determination, the Kosova crisis and its inherent potential for destabilizing the entire region, remains a very real threat to America's national interest.

Sincerely,



Harry Bajraktari

CC: Secretary of State Madeline Albright
Secretary of Defense William Cohen
National Security Adviser Samuel Berger
Ambassador Richard Holbrooke
Ambassador Chris Hill
Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Eileen Molloy
U.S. Senator Al D'Amato
U.S. Representative Chris Smith
U.S. Representative Eliot Engel
U.S. Representative Peter King

=== COVER PAGE ===

TO: _____

FAX: 12024562883

STAFF

FROM: HARRY BAJRAKTARI

FAX: 7182201726

TEL: 7183654310

COMMENT:

SEP 9 1998

BAJRAKTARI

MANAGEMENT CORP.

617 East 188th Street, Bronx, NY 10458
tel. (718) 365-4310 fax (718) 367-7386

9/8/98

Honorable National Security Adviser Samuel Berger

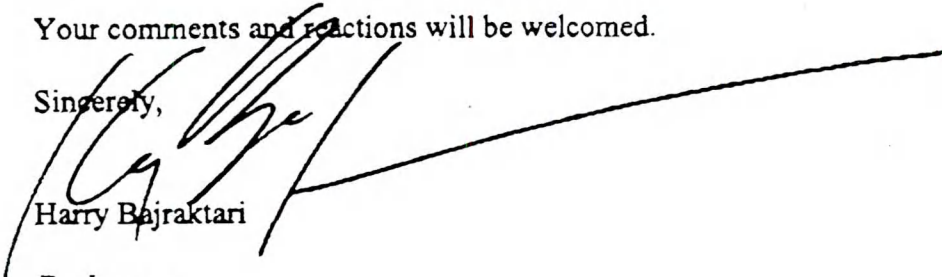
Dear Mr. Berger :

The attached letter to President Clinton expresses the current concerns of the Albanian-American community with respect to one specific action of the Administration, announced recently: U.S. funding of Serb "humanitarian centers."

The impending human nightmare is the direct result of uncontrolled Serbia ethnic cleansing in Kosova. Above all else, the fighting must stop, and only the U.S. can accomplish that imperative action.

Your comments and reactions will be welcomed.

Sincerely,



Harry Bajraktari

Enclosure

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BAJRAKTARI, HARRY

DOC DATE: 07 SEP 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
HUMAN RIGHTS

ALBANIA
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: HUMANITARIAN DISASTER IN KOSOVO

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER

DUE DATE: 22 SEP 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: DOWLING

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION
DOWLING

FOR CONCURRENCE
FLANAGAN
NAPLAN
SCHULTE

FOR INFO
BAKER
SCHWARTZ
WEISS

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSSWD

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

6519
Redo

September 20, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: GREG SCHULTE *BS*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on Kosovo

I attach a proposed memorandum to the President following up on Friday's Principals Meeting on Kosovo.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum.

Attachment

Tab I Proposed Memorandum to the President

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5 (b, d)

Declassify On: 9/20/98

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By n NARA, Date 2/26/2024
2008-0994-F-3

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Kosovo: Preparing for an Ultimatum. [Duplicate ke5709_001a, this case] (3 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F
vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. paper	Options for Averting a Humanitarian Catastrophe and Promoting a Political Settlement in Kosovo [Duplicate of ke5709_001e, this case] (4 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005a. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Kosovo: Preparing for an Ultimatum. [Record ID: 9806519.] [Duplicate ke5709_001a, this case] (4 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F
vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005b. memo	Options for Averting a Humanitarian Catastrophe and Promoting a Political Settlement in Kosovo [Duplicate of ke5709_001e, this case] (3 pages)	09/20/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Kosovo: Preparing for an Ultimatum. [Record ID: 9806519.] [Duplicate ke5709_001a, this case] (3 pages)	09/24/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for September [1998] [1]

2008-0994-F
vz6238

RESTRICTION CODES

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