

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Chronos for December 1998 [5]

Staff Office-Individual:

Kosovo Office-Schulte, Gregory

Original OA/ID Number:

1706

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
39	1	6	2	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Summary of Conclusions for Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee, December 31, 1998. [Record ID: 9821128] (3 pages)	01/05/1999	P1/b(1), P3/b(3)
001b. draft	[Draft of 9821128] (2 pages)	01/04/1999	P1/b(1), P3/b(3)
002a. form	NSC/RMO Profile. Record ID: 9830298. [Restricted 2 Dec PC Meeting on Kosovo] (1 page)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
002b. form	Cover Sheet. 9830298. Annotated. (1 page)	01/15/1999	P1/b(1)
002c. memo	For Samuel Berger from Greg Schulte. Subject: [Restricted PC on Kosovo] [Record ID: 9830298] (3 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
002d. paper	[Record ID: 9830298] Subject: [Milosevic] (2 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
002e. paper	[Record ID: 9830298] Subject: [Annex II: Action] [Substantive duplicate of 004d] (4 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
002f. draft	[Record ID: 9830298] Paper. Subject: [Serbian Opposition] [Duplicate of 004e] (8 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
002g. report	Serbia, Inc.: Part of the Problem, not the Solution. (8 pages)	11/24/1998	P1/b(1)
003a. form	NSC/RMO Profile. Record ID: 9830319. [Background for Tuesday 22 Dec PC Meeting on FRY] (1 page)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)
003b. memo	For Samuel Berger from Greg Schulte. Subject: [Tuesday's PC on the FRY] [Record ID: 9830319] [with cover sheet] (5 pages)	12/19/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

vz6261

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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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
004a. form	NSC/RMO Profile. Record ID: 9830321. [State Department Discussion Paper for 22 Dec PC Meeting on FRY] (1 page)	12/22/1998	P1/b(1)
004b. memo	For Samuel Berger from Greg Schulte. Subject: State Department Discussion Paper for Tuesday's PC on FRY. [Record ID: 9830321] (1 page)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)
004c. paper	[Record ID: 9830321] Subject: [Milosevic] [Duplicate of 002d] (2 pages)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)
004d. paper	[Record ID: 9830321] Subject: [Annex II: Action] [Substantive duplicate of 002e] (4 pages)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)
004e. paper	[Record ID: 9830298] Subject: [Annex III: Serbian Opposition] (8 pages)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)

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Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
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TO: FUERTH, L
ET AL

FROM: DAVIES

DOC DATE: 05 JAN 99
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO
DC

SOC

File

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR DC MTG ON KOSOVO 31 DEC

ACTION: RICE SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 04 JAN 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: SCHULTE

LOGREF:

FILES: IFM

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BAKER
BARTLETT
COSGRIFF
HACHIGIAN
KERRICK
NSC CHRON
SCHULTE
STEINBERG

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTTS

CLOSED BY: NSDMK

DOC 2 OF 2

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By 12 NARA, Date 1/25/2024
2008-0994-F3

~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 9821128

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 STEINBERG
002

Z 99010417 FOR DECISION
X 99010514 RICE SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

<u>DOC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>DISPATCH FOR ACTION</u>	<u>DISPATCH FOR INFO</u>
002	990105	FUERTH, L	
002	990105	KENNEY, K	
002	990105	REYNES, J	
002	990105	BASKETTE, A	
002	990105	KYLE, R	
002	990105	ECHAVESTE, M	
002	990105	HUPP, V	
002	990105	CONROY, R	
002	990105	MANNING, M	

~~SECRET~~

National Security Council
The White House

1/5/98
0859

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 9821128

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG OMK AO _____

[Signature]
Cosgriff

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Rice	1/3	CR 1/4 YS	
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg	2	JS/NA	<i>[Signature]</i>
Berger			<i>[Signature]</i>
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	4	1/5 OMK	<i>[Signature]</i>
Records Mgt.			

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

CC:

COMMENTS: SOC-DC-Kosovo
31 Dec 98

99 JAN 4pm 4:26

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

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~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

21128

January 5, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice
President for National
Security Affairs

MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. JOSEPH REYNES, JR.
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MS. AMBER BASKETTE
Staff Assistant to the
Representative of the U.S.
to the United Nations

MR. ROBERT D. KYLE
Associate Director for
National Security and
International Affairs
Office of Management and
Budget

MS. MARIA ECHAVESTE
Deputy Chief of Staff

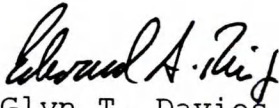
MS. VICKI M. HUPP
Acting Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

MS. RYAN CONROY
Executive Secretary
Agency for International
Development

COL. M. MANNING, USMC
Secretary, Joint Staff

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for Deputies Committee
Meeting on Kosovo on December 31, 1998 ~~(C)~~

Attached at Tab A is the summary of conclusions for the Deputies
Committee meeting on Kosovo on December 31, 1998. ~~(C)~~


for: Glyn T. Davies
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

~~CONFIDENTIAL WITH~~
~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies
Reason: 1.5 (a,b,d)
Declassify On: 1/4/09

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By W NARA, Date 1/25/2024
2008-0994-13

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Summary of Conclusions for Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee, December 31, 1998. [Record ID: 9821128] (3 pages)	01/05/1999	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 December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

vz6261

RESTRICTION CODES

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: _____

IMMEDIATE
 PRIORITY
 ROUTINE

RELEASER: _____
 DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO: _____ CLASSIFICATION: **~~SECRET~~** PAGES: 6
 (Including Cover)
 FROM: NSC West Wing Desk (202) 456-9425 WH Situation Room
 (NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: SOC for Kosovo DC 31 DEC
 NSC LOG # 21128

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>State</u>	<u>Executive Secretary</u>	_____	_____
<u>DoD</u>	<u>Executive Secretary</u>	_____	_____
<u>USUN</u>	<u>Amber Baskette</u>	_____	_____
<u>CIA</u>	<u>Executive Secretary</u>	_____	_____
<u>USAID</u>	<u>Executive Secretary</u>	_____	_____
<u>JCS</u>	<u>Secretary, Joint Staff</u>	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

REMARKS:

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 OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
 Initials: VZ Date: 1/25/2024
2008-0044-F3

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SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

WHSR CONTROL
TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE
FLASH
IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: _____

DATE/TIME: _____

MESSAGE #: _____

NSC # 21128

FROM: National Security Council PHONE: 202-456-9425 ROOM: WHSR
SUBJECT: SOC for Kosovo DC # 31 DEC PAGES: 6
(w/
Cover)

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

DEPT/AGENCY	NAME/OFFICE	PHONE	SECURE FAX
<u>USUN New York</u>	<u>Ms. Amber Baskette</u>	<u>212-415-4029</u>	<u>212-415-4177</u>

SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS

Eyes Only for Amber Baskette for hand delivery to Ambassador Peter Burleigh.

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: h Date: 1/25/2024

2008-0094-f3

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SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9821128
DATE 05 JAN 99

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR DC MTG ON KOSOVO 31 DEC
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:	DATE	TIME	SIGNATURE
MR. LEON FUERTH ROOM 292, OEOB WASHINGTON, DC 20506 OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>1</u> _____
MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE 2201 C STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520 DEPARTMENT OF STATE	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>FAX+1</u> _____
COL JOSEPH REYNES, JR ROOM 3E880 PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>FAX</u> _____
MS. AMBER BASKETTE USUN/W ROOM 6333, DEPARTMENT OF STATE 2201 C STREET, NW WASHINGTON D.C. 20520-6319 U.S. MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>FAX</u> _____
MR. ROBERT D. KYLE ATTN: MR MARK MAGEE VIA ROOM 238 OEOB OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT & BUDGET	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>1</u> _____
ECHAVESTE, M	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>1</u> _____

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VR Date: 1/15/2024
2008-0494-F3

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 379 OEOB
PAGE 01 OF 02 PAGES

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9821128
DATE 05 JAN 99

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR DC MTG ON KOSOVO 31 DEC
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:	DATE	TIME	SIGNATURE
MS. VICKI M. HUPP EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT ROOM 7E12, HEADQUARTERS WASHINGTON, DC 20505 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>FAX</u>
MS. RYAN CONROY 1300 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE ROOM 6.08 WASHINGTON, DC 20523-6801 AGENCY FOR INTL DEVELOPMENT	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>FAX</u>
COL. MICHELLE MANNING SECRETARY JOINT STAFF ROOM 2E865, PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20318-0001 JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: <u>FAX</u>

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 379 OEOB
PAGE 02 OF 02 PAGES

January 4, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

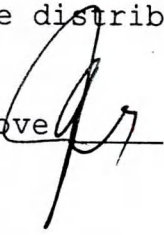
FROM: GREG SCHULTE 

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for Deputies Committee
Meeting on Kosovo on December 31, 1998

The memorandum at Tab I summarizes the conclusions from the Deputies Committee meeting on Kosovo that you chaired on December 31.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the summary of conclusions at Tab A and authorize that it be distributed to agencies.

Approve  Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for Signature

Tab A Summary of Conclusions

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

21128

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice
President for National
Security Affairs

MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. JOSEPH REYNES, JR.
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MS. AMBER BASKETTE
Staff Assistant to the
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MR. ROBERT D. KYLE
Associate Director for
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Executive Secretary

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Reason: 1.5 (a,b,d)
Declassify On: 1/4/09

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By h NARA, Date 1/25/2024
2008-0994-F3

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001b. draft	[Draft of 9821128] (2 pages)	01/04/1999	P1/b(1), P3/b(3)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002c. memo	For Samuel Berger from Greg Schulte. Subject: [Restricted PC on Kosovo] [Record ID: 9830298] (3 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

vz6261

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) 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)]

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A

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002d. paper	[Record ID: 9830298] Subject: [Milosevic] (2 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

vz6261

RESTRICTION CODES

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B

ANNEX I: DEMOCRATIZATION IN SERBIA-MONTENEGRO

Achieving real political and economic reform in Serbia-Montenegro is essential for building a stable, democratic FRY contributing to regional peace and playing a positive role in Euro-Atlantic institutions. The moribund political opposition in Serbia will not be able to bring about the necessary change without considerable financial, technical and moral support from the West. Any actions that support the growth of political pluralism in Serbia and the FRY weakens Milosevic's control over the levers of power. The recommendations below should be pursued vigorously, but with the understanding that it is in support of change in the FRY over the long-term. The opposition is simply too weak and fragmented to capitalize immediately and seize the initiative from Milosevic.

Strengthen Political Alternatives

- **Help the opposition help itself.** Experienced NGOs, including NDI and IRI, are prepared to expand their efforts to help opposition political parties build a strong organizational base. Milan Panic's *Alliance for Change* in particular will need good expert consultants to avoid the internal frictions that doomed the Zajedno reform coalition in 1997. Current funding for democracy-assistance projects should be increased substantially.
 - We should continue efforts to build up ex-Socialist (and now "Democratic Alternative" head) Nebojsa Covic as a national figure. Also explore possible link with wealthy ex-pat Boris Vukobrat. A Panic-Vukobrat alliance would bring significant financial resources to the table.
 - An offer of a significant amount of assistance for the FRY contingent on moves toward political and reform could boost the opposition, but Milosevic has already weathered significant economic crisis without serious problems.
- **Manipulate divisions within the Socialists.** It is more likely that Milosevic will be replaced from within his own party than by either a Radical or an opposition figure. The recent purge of senior Socialist party officials demonstrates that Milosevic is sensitive to this threat. An information campaign against corruption of the Milosevic family could help in exploiting the divisions within the party structure.

- **Develop reform-minded leaders at the local levels into national figures.** The only demonstrably effective leadership in the opposition parties is at the municipal level. We should increase efforts to provide support -- including training and technical assistance -- to build a new generation of democratically-inclined leaders.

Building Other Centers of Opposition

- **Build the Unions.** The independent trade union movement led by Branislav Canak is a potentially powerful tool. The union suffers from poor organization, factionalism, and serious financial constraints -- nearly all of its membership is un- or under-employed. We are working with AFL/CIO to help professionalize and shape the independent unions.
- **Revitalize the student movement.** Student activism in Serbia collapsed along with the Zajedno movement. Rebuilding the student movement is critical. Focus should be on youth exchanges and building student organizations at the local and University levels. Democratically-inclined academics purged from the faculty by Milosevic would be likely allies.
- **Expand ties to the Church.** The Serbian Orthodox Church is no fan of Milosevic or the Socialist Party -- which Church leaders see as an extension of communist anti-clericalism. Although the Church's influence is limited, we should broaden our contacts with the Church hierarchy and encourage the Church leaders to support the development of democracy in the FRY. The Montenegrin Church could also be expected to play a constructive role in this regard.

Support Independent Media

- **Strengthen the independents.** Unlike in the former Soviet Union, international media has little credibility among most Serbs in the FRY. We should concentrate on building indigenous media -- particularly electronic media -- rather than looking at ways to make western news outlets more widely available in the FRY (i.e. VOA/RFE, BBC, etc).
- Milosevic does not hesitate to crack down on the independent press when it suits his purposes. We are

already spending nearly USD 5 million per year on assistance to independent media. Need to consider **possible "force multipliers" for the resources available**, including:

- Providing expert advice on marketing for independent media, including support to produce a "TV guide;"
 - Expert/tech support in producing news magazines (modeled on *Dateline* and *60 Minutes*) and other unique programming unavailable on state-run TV;
 - Making competitive programming (NBA basketball, etc.) available to ANEM TV and other independents;
 - Building additional networks linking independent print and electronic media (*synergy*).
- We can work closely with Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic on this issue and use Montenegro as a base of operation, including for electronic media and for print media banned in Serbia.
 - If the ANEM network is shut down, we should consider re-broadcasting indigenous Serb media through a network of transmitters in neighboring states, including Montenegro, Bosnia, Hungary, Romania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. ANEM is already preparing to broadcast into Southern Serbia using a transmitter based in Montenegro.

Bolster Djukanovic and Montenegro, the Vanguard of Perestroika

- Djukanovic has national aspirations and represents **the only viable current (as opposed to potential) threat to Milosevic's control of the FRY**. SR Gelbard has developed a strong working relationship with Djukanovic and has already discussed with him additional steps to promote political and economic reforms in Montenegro.
 - **Immediately expand diplomatic representation in Montenegro**, beginning with TDY officers at the information center in Podgorica and moving rapidly to an embassy branch office and then a full consulate. This will send a strong message of support for the reform-minded Montenegrin government.
- Initiate a Washington-based training program for Montenegrin diplomats as part of the SEED program in the FRY.

-- Press the OSCE to establish a permanent presence in Montenegro -- perhaps in a support capacity for the Kosovo Verification Mission. The OSCE could use the port of Bar to deliver material for the KVM.

- Search out creative sources of **financial assistance for Montenegro**, including: possible IFI access, distribution of one-half of the FRY share of gold reserves in the BIS, and EU trade preferences for Montenegrin goods.

c

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002e. paper	[Record ID: 9830298] Subject: [Annex II: Action] [Substantive duplicate of 004d] (4 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

vz6261

RESTRICTION CODES

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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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D

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002f. draft	[Record ID: 9830298] Paper. Subject: [Serbian Opposition] [Duplicate of 004e] (8 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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002g. report	Serbia, Inc.: Part of the Problem, not the Solution. (8 pages)	11/24/1998	P1/b(1)
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National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
OA/Box Number: 1706

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. form	NSC/RMO Profile. Record ID: 9830319. [Background for Tuesday 22 Dec PC Meeting on FRY] (1 page)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chrons for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. memo	For Samuel Berger from Greg Schulte. Subject: [Tuesday's PC on the FRY] [Record ID: 9830319] [with cover sheet] (5 pages)	12/19/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F

vz6261

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. form	NSC/RMO Profile. Record ID: 9830321. [State Department Discussion Paper for 22 Dec PC Meeting on FRY] (1 page)	12/22/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chronos for December 1998 [5]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. memo	For Samuel Berger from Greg Schulte. Subject: State Department Discussion Paper for Tuesday's PC on FRY. [Record ID: 9830321] (1 page)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004c. paper	[Record ID: 9830321] Subject: [Milosevic] [Duplicate of 002d] (2 pages)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
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30321

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-- The United States should **deliver a tough private message to SPO leader -- and would-be Milosevic partner -- Vuk Draskovic that entering into coalition with the Socialists would be the end of his political career.** *how?*
Milosevic may be counting on Draskovic and the SPO to fill the void that would be created if he decided once again to move against his current partner, the ever obstreperous Vojislav Seselj. The consequences for Draskovic of choosing collaboration with Milosevic must be made absolutely stark and clear.

-- An offer of a significant amount of assistance for the FRY contingent on moves toward political and reform could

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boost the opposition, but Milosevic has already weathered significant economic crisis without serious problems.

- **Manipulate divisions within the Socialists.** It is more likely that Milosevic will be replaced from within his own party than by either a Radical or an opposition figure. The recent purge of senior Socialist party officials demonstrates that Milosevic is sensitive to this threat. An information campaign against corruption of the Milosevic family could help in exploiting the divisions within the party structure.
- **Develop reform-minded leaders at the local levels into national figures.** The only demonstrably effective leadership in the opposition parties is at the municipal level. We should increase efforts to provide support -- including training and technical assistance -- to build a new generation of democratically-inclined leaders.

Building Other Centers of Opposition

- **Build the Unions.** The independent trade union movement led by Branislav Canak is a potentially powerful tool. The union suffers from poor organization, factionalism, and serious financial constraints -- nearly all of its membership is un- or under-employed. We are working with AFL/CIO to help professionalize and shape the independent unions.
- **Revitalize the student movement.** Student activism in Serbia collapsed along with the Zajedno movement. Rebuilding the student movement is critical. Focus should be on youth exchanges and building student organizations at the local and University levels. Democratically-inclined academics purged from the faculty by Milosevic would be likely allies. We should offer material support to breakaway professors looking to found an alternative University.
- **Expand ties to the Church.** The Serbian Orthodox Church is no fan of Milosevic or the Socialist Party -- which Church leaders see as an extension of communist anti-clericalism. Although the Church's influence is limited, we should broaden our contacts with the Church hierarchy and encourage the Church leaders to support the development of democracy in the FRY. The Montenegrin Church could also be expected to play a constructive role in this regard.

Support Independent Media

- **Strengthen the independents.** Unlike in the former Soviet Union, international media has little credibility among most Serbs in the FRY. We should concentrate on building indigenous media -- particularly electronic media -- rather than looking at ways to make western news outlets more widely available in the FRY (i.e. VOA/RFE, BBC, etc).
- Milosevic does not hesitate to crack down on the independent press when it suits his purposes. We are already spending nearly USD 5 million per year on assistance to independent media. Need to consider **possible "force multipliers" for the resources available**, including:
 - Providing expert advice on marketing for independent media, including support to produce a "TV guide;"
 - Expert/tech support in producing news magazines (modeled on *Dateline* and *60 Minutes*) and other unique programming unavailable on state-run TV;
 - Making competitive programming (NBA basketball, etc.) available to ANEM TV and other independents;
 - Building additional networks linking independent print and electronic media (*synergy*).
- We can work closely with Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic on this issue and use Montenegro as a base of operation, including for electronic media and for print media banned in Serbia.
- If the ANEM network is shut down, we should consider re-broadcasting indigenous Serb media through a network of transmitters in neighboring states, including Montenegro, Bosnia, Hungary, Romania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. ANEM is already preparing to broadcast into Southern Serbia using a transmitter based in Montenegro.

Bolster Djukanovic and Montenegro, the Vanguard of Perestroika

- Djukanovic has national aspirations and represents **the only viable current (as opposed to potential) threat to Milosevic's control of the FRY**. SR Gelbard has developed a strong working relationship with Djukanovic and has

already discussed with him additional steps to promote political and economic reforms in Montenegro.

- **Immediately expand diplomatic representation in Montenegro**, beginning with TDY officers at the information center in Podgorica and moving rapidly to an embassy branch office and then a full consulate. This will send a strong message of support for the reform-minded Montenegrin government.
 - Initiate a Washington-based training program for Montenegrin diplomats as part of the SEED program in the FRY.
 - Press the OSCE to establish a permanent presence in Montenegro -- perhaps in a support capacity for the Kosovo Verification Mission. The OSCE could use the port of Bar to deliver material for the KVM.
- Search out creative sources of **financial assistance for Montenegro**, including: possible IFI access, distribution of one-half of the FRY share of gold reserves in the BIS, and EU trade preferences for Montenegrin goods.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004d. paper	[Record ID: 9830321] Subject: [Annex II: Action] [Substantive duplicate of 002e] (4 pages)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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Chronos for December 1998 [5]

2008-0994-F
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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]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004e. paper	[Record ID: 9830298] Subject: [Annex III: Serbian Opposition] (8 pages)	12/21/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)
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FOLDER TITLE:

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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]
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