

# FOIA MARKER

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Tuesday, April 6, 1999

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4-6-99

TO Burkhardt  
for Reply

OK



APR 6 AM 9:12

Staff Secretary

April 4, 1999

Dear President Clinton:

We are having a peace pipe healing ceremony between the Cowboys, Indians and Children of Europeans (Settlers) at Telluride's World Snowboard Championships this Thursday. In these times of strife, here is an opportunity to be an example to the world of sowing the seeds of peace, respect and reconciliation of our own genocidal wounds that we haven't dealt with.

Enclosed is the press release describing the ceremony. Who knows what the Great Spirit has in mind, given the spiritual leaders who have called us to participate. The Chairman of the Hopi also gave us his blessing, and is sending Miss Hopi. Raymond Yakaleya, leader of the First Nations of Canada, even asked to be on our board of directors. With the backing of 32 chiefs he is giving us a contract to bring our program across Canada and for me to help them develop and promote heli-skiing in the Yukon. He is also the leader of bringing his Dine People together with the Dine (Navajo) and Apache here, who are their descendants. These are the two largest reservations in North America. One of his cousins is their representative in Parliament, another the former Canadian Cross Country Champion. Considering these developments, and General Schwarzkopf's outspokenness, the times they are a changing...!

You have already empowered us to make history, being the first ski area in North America to give back the gift of skiing to tribe in North America. You empowered General Schwarzkopf to stand up for our First Americans. A few words from you on Fox and international TV, could empower ski areas across America, like Aspen, Steamboat and Purgatory, to make the next move to host similar heart warming unity events and joyful exchanges of skiing and native dancing like Telluride. This will let the world be aware that you want to make active steps to be a Champion of Native Americans and Mother Earth, like JFK did for the Blacks. You can and must fulfill his vision for them and us to survive, as well as your legacy.

Please fax us a just a few words of inspiration. God Bless you and your time of great introspection to do the right thing in Yugoslavia.

In Spirit,

Suzy Chaffee

P.S. A powerful prayer given me by a sage from Sedona is: "Oh Great Spirit (or Creator...), I am of Thine as President Melosovich (who like Hitler was probably sexually abused as a child), the People of Yugoslavia, the People of the America and the World, are of Thine, please do that which creates the greatest harmony between us." I found that by loving my enemy, the owner of Telluride, (who had an abuse background), who wouldn't let me work here as a celebrity skier these last three years-which made me have to survive on miracles, I got them to make this historical breakthru for the Utes, and now I am allowed to make a living here.

Post Office Box 3965 Telluride, CO 81435 • 970-728-1123

## TELLURIDE'S "TRIBAL" WORLD SNOWBOARD CHAMPIONSHIPS

April 6-8

The grand finale of Telluride Ski Area's season will be the dazzling unprecedented Native American opening of its 1999 Jr World Snowboard Championships. At 6:30 pm on April 6, 25 magnificent Ute, Navajo, Lakota, Pima and Hopi dancers will lead a parade of 18 countries thru historic Telluride, past where Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid robbed their first bank. Carrying our flag to honor our "First Americans" will be Ute Mt Medicine Man, Vete Nam Vet, Terry Knight, in fatigues and eagle war bonnet. At the end he will light the torch at the Gondola Plaza and Open the Games with a prayer. When Terry started Telluride's "Mountain Blessing Ceremony" in appreciation for a great winter 3 years ago, instead of the normal end of the year slush, Telluriders were treated to "Nirvana Sking"--winter snow & summer sun!

As a result of "Cowboys & Indians" coverage of Telluride's Native Ski Program, that exchanges skiing for dancing, everyone is touched that a few spiritual leaders have called to be a part of this possibly prophetic joyful coming together of world cultures: Pine Ridge Chief Mel Lonehill, who played in "Dances with Wolves", is great grandson of the Lakota Seer "Fool's Crow". "Strong Heart" is a 13 yr old descendant of Lakota Prophet Black Elk. Born 4lb 8 oz with fetal alcohol syndrome, she survived heart surgery in her first month, and has amazed everyone with how she has used sports to develop her full potential. "Chante Maza" told her mom that, "skiing and dancing in Telluride is what I want for my birthday." "What an inspiration to the world," said organizer Suzy Chaffee. They're joined by their families of artists.

Other dignitaries include Lakota Tom Redbear, direct descendent of Crazy Horse, Lloyd Bald Eagle, whose Association called "Kola" (Friends) has 10,000 Euros, Rowana Kagenveama, wife of the Snake Priest of the Hopi, Miss Navajo Sevaleah Begay, Sakina Bluestar, descendant of Pocahontas & S Ute royal Lindsey Box, whose father Orlan and Eugene Naranjo were just memorialized for starting this unity bridge.

The wisdom of these greats will be shared at a Native Ceremony at 1:30 pm on April 8th in the Mountain Village. Ute Bear Dance Chief Gerald Ketchum, will paraglide from the heavens, leading to a "Blessing of Competitors" and "Mountain Honoring," led by S. Ute Medicine man Alden Naranjo and Utah's Navajo Commissioner, Mark Maryboy, who opened the '92 Democratic Convention. Alden and Suzy are co-chairs of the Foundation, that includes leaders, like Maryboy, of both cultures working together to heal Mother Earth for our children. Harvard found that the reservation  
\* Native Voices Foundation is worth the blessing of the Hopi chairman.

and an American," said the tall blond who shared a little of her angelic ski ballet.

"Telluride is a great place to live. They make us Native Americans feel so welcome", proclaimed Tallbirds on national television, as he thanked the People of Telluride, especially Mike Hess, Teliski, their instructors and Telluride and Paragon Sports, for giving 120 Utes this season a chance to ski. My friend Suzy has done so much for our children. "I can see in their faces that this is great for their self-esteem", said Ute Mt Counselor Prislana Lopez, mother of the Little Miss Ute Mt Tracy Lopez. She melted hearts with Miss Ute Mt Vanessa Duchi, 5 yr old Taylor Anderson, and Cree-Ojibwe Sweetie Windyboy, who in appreciation, dazzled everyone with their colorful whirling dervish-like "fandance". Taylor and Sweetie, who live in Denver, met Chaffee at the Denver Powwow, when she was warmly introduced by comical MC Dale Oldhorn, as offering opportunities for ski and native dancing exchanges at Telluride and hopefully other Colorado ski areas next year, for the 18,000 Native Americans there. "This was really really fun—we must do this again and get others involved", said Cary Windyboy.

Holding a white feathered snow staff, Chaffee was inspired to lead a competitors' prayer so that they would take this feeling in Telluride back to their ski areas to connect with their local tribes. "We need to come together in a joyful way to heal Mother Earth for our children. We athletes are kindred with Nature, and as we approach the turn of the Millennium, we must lead this healing, so that your children will be able to enjoy these glorious mountains." A friend of the winds and waves, America's Cup Winner, Bill Koch, a Telluride skier, is a Native Voices supporter.

At the end ceremony, everyone joined the Natives in a mondo "Friendship Circle". Floating on Tony and the Snake's electrifying chanting and drumming, a few of the Alaskan girls, who love their Inuits, started freestyling their own dance in the center of the circle, to the delight of all.

"These Snowboarders remind me of the camaraderie and freespirted idealism we freestylers had in the '70's--sweet and down to earth", said Suzy, co-chair of Native Voices Foundation with Southern Ute Medicine man, Alden Naranjo. Already, competitors like Carlissa Delange, from Redlands, California, and Durango's Sabrina McKone and Mark Daley, have offered to share their sport with their local tribes. For more info, call Suzy at Native Voices Foundation, tel: 970-7281123 or [www.interaccessgroup.com/nativevoices/](http://www.interaccessgroup.com/nativevoices/)



March 8, 1999

It is entirely appropriate that Telski donate free skiing to members of the Ute tribes. Native Americans were the original conservationists, recognizing the importance of the environment and wildlife to the quality of life of human beings. Nowhere is that quality of life more visible than in Telluride. Further, Native Americans as a group have freely given their blood and their lives in our Armed Forces to preserve the freedoms that we all enjoy as Americans. It is indeed right for us to recognize them as the first Americans.

Sincerely,



H. Norman Schwarzkopf  
General, U.S. Army, Retired

## Telski donates free skiing to Ute tribes

By Jennifer Thurston

The Telluride Ski & Golf Company has donated free skiing to card-carrying members of the Ute Nation for the rest of the season, the company announced recently. The Utes are the original inhabitants of the San Juan Mountains and used the Telluride region as sacred hunting grounds

until the federal government relocated them to reservations more than a century ago.

The donation, facilitated by the work of the Native Voices Foundation, includes free lift tickets, lessons and rentals from Telluride Sports and Paragon Sports to members of the Ute Mountain Ute, Northern Ute and Southern Ute tribes.

Mike Hess, vice president of sales, marketing and skier services, explained the reason behind the donation in a press release. "We believe it is time in which we honor our past and look with hope to the future."

The Utes have a history in this area and we want to find a way to bring them back to the mountains.

Telski's communications manager. "It's a way of giving something back to the tribes. It seemed like a good way to expand previous programs, where children have come in to dance or perform in exchange for tickets, but this will bring skiing to more people in the tribe."

Suzy Chaffee, co-chair of the Native Voices Foundation whom the Utes call *Siñaw Woman*, said the free-skiing program was a "historical attempt to heal the injustices of the past" and hopes "to forge an even closer joyful connection that will, in the end, help heal Mother Earth."

Chaffee has recently been in Aspen helping coordinate celebration events there with members of the Ute tribes. With Telski's announcement, she said the Telluride Ski Area as well as Aspen were the "two most enlightened ski areas in America." Telluride, however, is the first ski area in the nation to offer unrestricted free tickets to a Native American tribe and was recently lauded by the president of Ski Area Operators of North



Olympian Suzy Chaffee speaks during the dedication of a monument to the Utes from the Town of Ophir last fall. The Telluride Ski & Golf Company has joined in efforts to link the Ute to the people of the Telluride area for the rest of the season.

Photo courtesy Native Voices Foundation

America as a role model for other resorts.

"This is a historical breakthrough for a ski area to honor the guardians of these lands for thousands of years," Chaffee said. "The Ute tribes are really excited. They can't believe it's true, almost, and they are very touched by this gesture."

Chaffee, through her work with the foundation, has long campaigned towards the development of programs for Ute children on the reservations as well as increasing understanding between native and non-native peoples. Following a "Welcome Home Utes" ceremony in

Telluride last year, now Aspen, Steamboat and Purgatory are following in their footsteps with similar events this ski season. Often, Chaffee has pointed to the link between self-esteem and good health, as well as the benefits of organized sports in reducing or even preventing alcoholism and drug dependencies among Native Americans.

Chaffee added that foundation board members Loey Rehnquist

and Tom Harve were instrumental in working with Telski to arrange the donation of free skiing to the Utes.

Chaffee and Ute leaders are working now to arrange Ute performances of chanting, dancing, drumming and singing on the ski area. Lucarelli added that additional events were also being planned in conjunction with Telski's Surf the Rockies events, which begin March 26.

\* this each bo's recreation department

# JFK ahead of his time

From Suzy Chaffee  
Native Voices Foundation

For those who have wondered what John F. Kennedy said about our "First Americans," it's timely to share these jewels of wisdom that introduce Ann Terrell White's "The American Indian."

Roland McCook, descendant of Ouray and Chipeta, who has continued their unity legacy here, said, "JFK's statement is the most profound of any American leader." Plus, it was 35 years ago!

Telski in its leadership in "honoring the past and hoping for a better future," by giving skiing and lessons to the Utes, is helping fulfill yet another vision of America's most beloved president. In joyfully empowering the guides to our survival in the 21st century, his wisdom has consequences on Mother Earth and our children of lunar landing proportions. (This vision)

Native Voices Foundation thanks the hundreds of people in this region who are helping turn the tide, especially the US Forest Service.

But let "the map" put your con-

## JFK continued from page 2

when we neglect the heroic past of the American Indian — we thereby weaken our own heritage. We need to remember their contributions our forefathers found here and from which they borrowed liberally.

"When the Indians controlled the balance of power, the settlers from Europe were forced to consider their views and deal with them by treaties and other instruments. The pioneers found that Indians in the Southwest had developed a high civilization with safeguards for ensuring the peace. A northern extension of that civilization, the League of the Iroquois, inspired Benjamin Franklin to copy it in planning the federation of States.

"But when the American Indians lost their power, they were placed on reservations, frequently lands which were strange to them, and the rest of the nation turned its attention to other matters.

contributions in perspective:

"For a subject worked and reworked so often in novels, motion pictures and television, American Indians remain probably the least understood and most misunderstood Americans of us all.

"American Indians defy any single description. They were and are far too individualistic. They shared no common language and few common customs. But collectively their history is our history and should be part of our shared and remembered heritage. Yet even their heroes are largely unknown to other Americans, particularly in the eastern states, except perhaps such figures as Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce warriors of the 1870s, Osceola and his magnificent, betrayed Seminoles of the 1830s, and possibly Sacagawea, the Shoshoni "bird woman" who guided the lost Lewis and Clark expedition through the mountain passes of Montana.

When we forget great contributors to our American history —

See "JFK" on page 8

"Our treatment of Indians during that period still affects the national conscience. We have been hampered — by the history of our relationship with the Indians — in our efforts to develop a fair national policy governing present and future treatment of Indians under their special relationship with the Federal government.

"Before we can set out on the road to success, we have to know where we are going, and before we can know that we must determine where we have been in the past. It seems a basic requirement to study the history of our Indian people. America has much to learn about the heritage of our American Indians. Only through this study can we as a nation do what must be done, if our treatment of the American Indian is not to be marked down for all time as a national disgrace."

— John F. Kennedy

~~Tribal~~  
**TELLURIDE'S SUPERBOWL OF SNOWBOARDING - MARCH 27**

With the energy of the Superbowl, a thousand of the raddest young snowboarders in America marched in a sunny Mountain Village parade to open the National Snowboard Championships at 4:30 pm Saturday. <sup>MARCH 27</sup> In a charming twist, it was the kids who did the American Indian war whoop as they followed the Ute drummer named "Snake", and the exquisite whirling Ute and Cree Indian girls and their families.

On center stage, Telski Marketing Director Mike Hess, Mayor Andy Hanley and USASA's President Tom Collins then gave the throngs a welcome befitting the returning of the Knights from the Crusades, which befits their high risk stunts to make it to these highly competitive nationals. Imagine a snowboard attached to Xena. Hanley even surprised the fans by promising to assist them in the partying events. But then, what would the ski industry and Telluride do without this vital snowboard infusion?

→ "The tone then changed from wild pep rally, to a 60's spiritual revival," said Cherokee Tom Harve, a Native Voices Foundation board member, as last year's returning snowboarders welcomed back <sup>ORGANIZED</sup> Olympian Suzy "Chapstick" Chaffee and Ute mountain's 3 time World Pow wow champ, Tony Tallbirds. A few snowboarders even chanted, "We love you Tony", as he again led a "Blessing for Competitors". He made their spirits strong, so that they could fly like eagles, shine in the Shining Mountains, and return safely to their families. He also reminded them that when we take from Mother Earth we need to give back and take just what we need. "The blessing was a priority for us", said Telski's Mike Hess (after last year's precedent & learning that no events or ground breakings in Hawaii are ever attempted without a tribal blessing.)

Chaffee, who organized the Native Ceremony, got caught up in the "love fest energy" after being greeted by handsome returning California competitor, Kyle Frankland, with a hug downtown. "I want to thank you all for helping us make history last year when John Jett asked us to open your championships with a Tribal Ceremony. As a result of the wonderful national publicity, it Inspired our First Lady → Hillary Clinton to stand up for our Native Peoples, and insure that the 2002 Olympics will open with our First American I love Snowboarders", she said, as she threatened to dive into the "Sea of Joy" in the Plaza.

"The energy from last year's ceremony also led to Telluride being the first ski area in North America to give back a tribe, the noble Ute Nation, the joy of skiing. "In standing up for our Utes, local General Schwarzkopf made me proud to be a Tellurider

and an American," said the tall blond <sup>Adriest</sup> who shared a little of her angelic ski ballet.

"Telluride is a great place to live. They make us Native Americans feel so welcome", proclaimed Tallblnds on national television, as he thanked the People of Telluride, especially Mike Hess, Telski, their Instructors and Telluride and Paragon Sports, for giving 120 Utes this season a chance to ski. My friend Suzy has done so much for our children. "I can see in their faces that this is great for their self esteem", said Ute Mt Counselor Prislana Lopez, mother of the Little Miss Ute Mt Tracy Lopez. She melted hearts with Miss Ute Mt Vanessa Duchi, 5 yr old Taylor Anderson, and Cree-Ojibwe Sweetie Windyboy, who in appreciation, dazzled everyone with their colorful whirling dervish-like "fancy dance". Taylor and Sweetie, who live in Denver, met Chaffee at the Denver Pow wow, when she was warmly introduced by comical MC Dale Oldhorn, as offering opportunities for ski and native dancing exchanges at Telluride and hopefully other Colorado ski areas next year, for the 18,000 Native Americans there. "This was really really fun—we must do this again and get others involved", said Cary Windyboy.

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UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR ECONOMIC,  
BUSINESS, AND AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS

99 MAR 31 AM 9:06

WASHINGTON

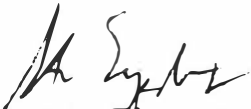
March 18, 1999

Dear Phil:

I had written you, as have others, about the Medal of Freedom for Robert Nathan.

Please advise if you think there is a realistic chance. He is now close to 90 and this would be a fitting tribute to him.

Very truly yours,



Stuart E. Eizenstat  
Ambassador

*Best wishes!*

Mr. Philip Kaplan,  
Deputy Assistant to the President,  
Executive Office of the President,  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW,  
Washington, DC 20500.

*Den -*

*I saw St. Eizenstat yesterday and told him that this probably wouldn't happen this year. But he mentioned there was a 90th birthday party for Nathan later this month. I said we could probably do some sort of letter/message to be read. Can you have someone call his office to follow-up. Phil*

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR ECONOMIC,  
BUSINESS, AND AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520-7512

Mr. Philip Kaplan  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Executive Office of the President  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20500

cc: Nancy Hennreich  
Mary Morrison  
for Radio  
Address

Copied  
Hennreich  
Morrison

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 6, 1999

Dana Rayl West  
334 Cloudes Mill Court  
Alexandria, Virginia 22304

Dear Dana:

Thank you so much for your thoughtful letter.  
It was great to hear from you, and I appreciate  
your kind words of support.

I know it's been difficult for you and Casey.  
Please say "hello" to him for me, and tell him  
to hang in there.

I wish you all the best in your pursuit of a  
position at the Commerce Department, and thanks  
again for all you said. It means a lot to me.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

You should bring  
Casey to a radio  
address some Saturday  
or Friday — call Nancy  
or Cheryl when you want  
to do that —

March 26, 1999

gfb

Dear Mr. President:

It has been a long time since I have written. I apologize for that. I realize you are very busy and can't read all of our letters. So rather than creating more work for your staff, I have written fewer letters. However, though you remain extremely busy, I wanted to share some thoughts with you and hope you personally get a moment to read this.

First of all, I wanted to say thank you for your kind words this week to those of us who worked for Ron Brown. He was an exceptional person in every way. I know you know that but it was very special this week to be reunited with many of my former colleagues and to have you there for the unveiling. I know you wouldn't miss it. You may or may not know, but Morrie Goodman is heading up the Public Affairs office over there now. I am actually trying to go back to work for Commerce. (I am not sure whether you knew, but my old position in the Secretary's office was eliminated a few years back. So, except for a temporary assignment in 1996 with NEA - which I thoroughly enjoyed - I have been here at the Pentagon).

The Pentagon has been an enlightening experience, though a little tough at times. It's not always easy being a civilian in this environment and of course, being a political appointee - well, you know how that is, sometimes. I have the utmost respect for Secretary Cohen and having Secretary Danzig on board has been a blessing. We miss John Dalton, but Danzig is a very special, forward-thinking, sensitive man. I have been fortunate enough to be one of the behind-the-scenes folks trying to get e-mail and Internet to all of our ships. Though there are security issues to be considered, I truly believe keeping our young people "connected" is absolutely essential if we are to address the whole issue of recruitment.

Speaking of young people, Casey turned 18 on March 14. You probably wouldn't recognize him. He is so big. For a long time, I didn't write because it was just too painful. He went through so much and it just hurt too much to have my hands tied by the courts. Raising a young person these days can be challenging, but the court situation for

families is often just too much to bear. It certainly took its toll on Casey, though I believe he has the inner strength to survive the ordeal. I would be remiss if I didn't continue to tell you that the father's rights groups have become far too powerful and that much of what we tried to accomplish through stricter child support enforcement only ended up harming our kids and families. I could never again encourage a woman to go for child support. It's too risky and our children's peace of mind is just too important.

I hope someday Casey can speak to you again. He is home again with me full time and has been for the past year. It feels like we are alive again. Casey's a little uncertain about what he wants to do with his future, though he is working hard these days. He certainly learned the hard way that our courts are a place where greed and peoples' careers are more important than the life of a child. The sad thing is he came here as a child with stars in his eyes and wanting to grow up to be just like you. Instead, his life was turned upside down and he learned that not all parents put their children first. I just pray that he has known enough good people - like you - who will always be in his heart and help him to be a good person.

Your daughter, by the way, is a beautiful young lady with a very good heart. I don't know that I ever told you but I ran into her a few years ago in Blockbuster on Connecticut Avenue. . . She was with her friends and they were talking about wearing their dads' jeans. . . It was a rather precious moment. I know you and Hillary are very proud of her.

Well, I am not sure you will have the time to read this, but I want you to know we all still think of you. Paul Woodson and I hang out together sometimes and he keeps me posted on you. The world is a tough place. We are grateful for the things you do to make it a better place. You have had a difficult job, and though I believe Al Gore can be a good president, the world will just never be the same without you as our President.

You are only human and I recognize you are not perfect. I accept that, though. You have been so strong in so many ways and that has always given me strength. I also wish you would tell Hillary for me that we love her. She's a tough lady, but she, too, is human. I know she probably

realizes how grateful so many people are to her, but please say "hello" to her for me. I saw her recently at the Navy Memorial - my, my she was looking radiant. I hope you two can survive all the nonsense people say . . . it must be hard sometimes. But I want you to know, even though you and Hillary and I are about the same age, we look to the two of you like the Mom and Dad, and we hope you know the rest of the "family" is with you.

[Mr. President, I know you know that none of us is perfect. That's why we roam the earth. Were we perfect, we would be somewhere else. Glad you are here with the rest of us mortals.

Well, I have rambled on enough. I miss those early days in New Hampshire. I wish somehow we could have avoided the hard times and listened to a lot more Motown. For now, you just keep doing what you know best and know we love you. You have made our lives so much better in so many ways. We need you to keep working for us, as you always do. This war is weighing heavy on your heart. I know that, and I know you truly care about people all around the world.

[I am grateful for my experience here at the Navy. I believe it has made me more sensitive to the feelings of the military. However, sometimes, I wish we could all trade places. . . just so we could understand each other better. Guess, we should all wear each other's moccasins once in awhile.

Mr. President, I will remember you in my prayers and hope that better days are not too far away.

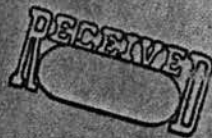
Sincerely,  
Tana Rayl West

President Clinton

First of  
this week  
an exc  
but  
of

Lana Rayl West  
334 Cloude Mill Ct  
Alexandria, VA  
22304

X-RAYED



Nancy Herrreich  
The White House  
Oval Office



Copied  
Berger  
Wing desk  
Podesta

4-6-99

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 2, 1999

# MEMORANDUM

TO: The President  
FROM: Mildred C. Alston  
SUBJECT: Recent Correspondence

Study  
This is worth reading  
not because it is right about  
Kosovo but because it raises  
the question in itself  
TAM

*Get this  
done*

**Jock Gill** shares with you an essay to read and consider entitled "Crisis De-escalation." The writer says that Serbia is not the primary crisis, but rather US-Russian relations, and those relations are at a most dangerous point. An exit strategy for NATO and bridge building strategy for America and Russia must be implemented. The possibility of an unforeseen incident must be obviated by good sense, good faith, and sound statesmanship at this extremely dangerous crossroads in post-Cold War Relations between the two Great Powers.





Jock Gill <jgill @ penfield-gill.com>  
03/29/99 08:14:57 PM

*Jock Gill*

Record Type: Record

To: Nancy V. Hernreich/WHO/EOP, Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP  
cc: John Podesta/WHO/EOP  
Subject: essay: CRISIS DE-ESCALATION

VIA EMAIL

March 29, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

I can not claim authorship for the thoughtful essay below. None the less, I agree that it is something you need to read and I hope you will consider its point of view carefully. I found the analysis and arguments made below to be compelling and very sobering.

99 MAR 31 PM 12:30

Very best regards,

Jock

#### CRISIS DE-ESCALATION

**ABSTRACT:** Events in the former Yugoslavia have produced a deterioration in United States/Russian Federation relations which constitute the most real possibility of a generalized European war since 1945. This memo offers an assessment and a workable exit strategy for this crisis.

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:** The ideological clash between Eastern and Western Europe has its roots in the theological schism between the Latin-Catholic West and the Greek-Orthodox East. Pan-Slavic, Eastern-Orthodox solidarity between Russia and Serbia must be viewed as absolute for at least the last 150 years. It is doubtful that the Russians can permit Ground Forces to attack the Serbians, and possibly, occupy Serbia without responding. Russian failure to take military action may well collapse the Yeltsin government, and lead to its replacement by either extreme rightwing nationalist elements, a de facto military government, or the reascension of the Communist Party to power.

*Samuel - one of the things that has to be considered on ground troops. Also - would military mobilization weaken or revive Russian economy?*

The historical significance of Kosovo lies at the heart of Serbian identity vis-a-vis their apocalyptic conflict with the Ottoman Turks. The brutality of Serbian conduct in Kosovo in recent days is undeniable and at stake is a perception of NATO by the entire Muslim world which could have long-range implications for the West's

relations with Islam as well as political reactions by NATO peoples  
revulsed by Serbian brutality.

Nonetheless, the recognition of and eventual solution of the now de facto Kosovar-Albanian refugee problem must be subordinated to the more pressing need for active Russian participation and cooperation in any viable and stable regional state system. Current events threaten the stability of Macedonia, Albania, and the still restive Croatia and Bosnia. But, the ultimate theater danger stems from the two NATO members, Greece and Turkey, who could be drawn into the conflict on opposite sides.

Compensatory action must come before the Russians send volunteers, regular units or weapons to Serbia in defiance of the UN embargo against Serbia in an effort to create either a Vietnam-like quagmire for the US and NATO or to engage in a direct conflict using Russian forces. They are preparing to make this kind of military commitment as a token of Russian seriousness and regional importance, and as a signal to their own population of their still-potent military status. Once military and political preparations have been placed on an actual war-footing, it is impossible to predict what might trigger generalized hostilities in any situation, much less the now fully inflamed Balkan Theater.

CRISIS PROBLEM: Serbia is not the primary crisis: US-Russian relations are the main event. The Serbs will fight to annihilation - *not sure.* and pan-slavic [Russian] galvanization against NATO and the US is imminent and occurrent as the bombing continues. Russian humiliation and loss of face over the last ten years has reached critical mass and has been sublated to a near war fervor. Any clash -- repeat any -- with NATO or American forces will play further into the hands of the worst extreme rightwing elements in Russia. The NATO air assault on Serbia, following on the heels of the integration of Poland, Checkoslovakia, and Hungary into NATO, has further fueled an historical and emotional response which interacts synergistically with Russian strategic perceptions of genuine threats on their own borders and buffer states (Ukraine, Romania). The possibility of war with Russia is non-zero -- and could go theater nuclear.

DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION: In six days since the bombing began, American-Russian relations have reached their most dangerous point of confrontation ever. An exit strategy for NATO and bridge building strategy for America and Russia must be implemented immediately.

Any exit strategy must allow both sides to retreat from the precipice with honor and dignity and obtain multi-partisan support for a rational rapprochement in the principle countries [America and Russia], whose vital and improving good relations have been egregiously disrupted by the regrettable events in the Balkans since the break up of the former Yugoslavia.

No vital American interest will be served by sending ground troops into Kosovo.

EXIT STRATEGY: Immediate talks must be held with the Russian government on its highest levels. The will of the American people as well as their vital interests are patently to assure good relations and future cooperation with the Russian Federation with respect to European peace and security as well as numerous areas of cultural, economic and scientific cooperation. The current policy is dangerous and untenable. A new policy must be associated with new implementors who have the experience to deal with the Russians credibly. If the administration is to successfully signal a change of policy and disassociate itself from escalating collateral carnage in Serbia as well as the worsening and increasingly embittered state of Russian relations, it must send a new face to deal with a Russian perception of unparalleled affront to their historical sensibilities and their notions of current strategic necessity and danger. Arrangements with the IMF are an inadequate guarantor of stable relations between major powers whose vital strategic and political interests are perceived as gravely threatened. Madeline Albright should resign to be replaced by James Baker, a seasoned hand with whom the Russians have had rapport and whose appointment will enhance bipartisan support in the US.

Patently, the current policy has blundered into confrontation with a major threat which it had not foreseen. The new governments of Britain, France and Germany are inexperienced. In seeking to assert an overly-localized view of European security, which fails to take into account relations between the US and the Russian Federation, these Governments have transformed a regional peacemaking exercise into a major power confrontation and have rekindled many of the most dangerous impulses of the Cold War between these Great Powers. The damage inflicted on Serbia by Operation Allied Force approximates an appropriate punishment for Serbian brutality in Kosovo. The signal failure of the current State Department policy to apprehend and foresee the implications of its potential for major power confrontation necessitates a new Appointment. The new Appointment must retrieve lost ground and reverse Russian perceptions of increasing marginalization by NATO in their historical and current Sphere of Influence. It is as important for the new Appointment to reassure the Russians of our respect and desire for a Great Power relationship as it is to enlist their aid in solving the current crisis, indeed perhaps more so. The current crisis between the United States and the Russian Federation can be seen as a self-amplifying confrontation stemming from the initial failure of the US to have consulted Russia and coordinated action with Russia in a fashion consistent with Russia's image as a damaged but still Real World Power. If the widening chasm is not closed swiftly, even future US Administrations may be unable to avoid new and hostile threats and alliances, whose structure is currently unforeseeable, but which may run the gamut from a Red-Brown alliance in Russia to a Eurasian alliance between Moscow, Beijing, and others, either of which may pose a New Peer Threat and necessitate a full-scale Two-War Capability by the United States.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION: The possibility of a genuinely unforeseen incident, which could spiral out of control into a general armed

conflict directly between the United States and the Russian Federation, as well as some of the possibilities cited above, must be obviated by good sense, good faith, and sound statesmanship at this extremely dangerous crossroads in post-Cold War Relations between the two Great Powers.

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Jock Gill  
[www.penfield-gill.com](http://www.penfield-gill.com)  
Infrared Internet Vision

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THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

4-6-99

Mr. President

Cong. Tauscher called - She is accompanying Secy Cohen to Brussels

She wants to know if you had anything you wanted her to look for or do for  
you while she is there.

bmc  
4-6-99

Sandy  
good to give our friends  
going on the trip a  
pre-look of our location -

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# Victims Become A Threat

By Misha Glenny

**N**ATO's plan to airlift 100,000 desperate refugees now streaming across the borders of Kosovo into Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro is a much needed measure. And it is appropriate that some NATO members — including the United States, Germany and Turkey — have offered to put up limited numbers of refugees in temporary camps.

Alas, none of this will come close to solving the problem, since the total number of refugees already exceeds 350,000, with thousands more on the way. And it will do little to ease the most pressing crisis in the Balkans: the political instability of Kosovo's neighbors, which threatens to turn a civil war into a regional disaster.

Albania, the poorest country in Europe, has an exceptionally weak Government. The northeast, where the refugees are arriving, is the most undeveloped part of the country. The

## The NATO airlift won't do enough for Kosovo's neighbors.

water and electricity supplies are erratic, and the roads are in terrible condition. How can Albania support refugees who continue to flow in at a rate of some 1,500 an hour, bringing sickness and disease with them?

Montenegro, which along with Serbia is all that remains of the Yugoslav Federation, is also in a precarious situation. The presence of refugees is likely to erode support for the republic's embattled President, Milo Djukanovic. He has been pursuing a pro-Western policy and is the only source of real opposition to Mr. Milosevic in the region.

But NATO's decision to bomb targets in Montenegro as well as in Serbia has swung popular support toward Mr. Milosevic, who has already removed Yugoslav officers suspected of sympathizing with Mr. Djukanovic and replaced them with Serb hard-liners.

However, it is in Macedonia that the arrival of refugees for a lengthy stay could have the most catastrophic consequences. Since its birth as a nation in 1992 this tiny landlocked country has been racked by internal conflict, with ethnic Albanians pitted against Macedonians, who are Slavs.

In addition, Macedonia remains the strategic hub of southeastern Europe, the only territory through which it is possible to cross the Balkan Mountains by land from north to south and east to west. As Otto von Bismarck, the 19th-century German Chancellor (who held the Balkans in contempt), once said, "Those who control the valley of the River Vardar in Macedonia are the masters of the

Balkans." That analysis is still true today.

Macedonia's ethnic Albanians, who make up 25 percent of the population, live mainly in the west, which borders on Albania and Kosovo. There is also a large concentration in the capital, Skopje, however, and in the years before Communism fell, these people's treatment at the hands of Macedonia's Communists was worse than that of their neighbors in Kosovo.

**B**ut since achieving independence, the Macedonian Government has recognized that the Albanian minority must have greater rights and freedoms to insure stability. So every recent Macedonian Government has included several Albanian Cabinet members and made strides toward addressing Albanian grievances, including improved schools and the right to local self-governance.

Nonetheless, there is considerable ethnic strife. Ordinary Macedonians view their Albanian neighbors as an implacable fifth column, scheming to create a greater Albania, and resent even the smallest concession to the Albanians. Albanians, in turn, see Macedonians as part of a Slav plot to crush Albanian culture. The Kosovo Liberation Army commands great respect among young Albanians. When Albania collapsed into chaos in 1996, the army's weapons depots were looted and many small arms, especially the rocket-propelled grenades called Kalashnikovs, were smuggled into western Macedonia.

The Government of Prime Minister Ljupco Georgievski is dominated by moderate Macedonian nationalists. While it is hostile to any attempts by Serbia to undermine stability, the Government is also aware that in times of crisis many Macedonians look to Serbia for protection against what they see as an Albanian threat. The perception among Macedonians that NATO is acting as the K.L.A.'s air force is also driving popular opposition to the bombing of Serbia.

In contrast to the claims of some in the West, the Macedonian authorities are not restricting the flow of refugees into their country out of a cynical disregard for their suffering. Macedonians are genuinely worried about the impact the refugees may have on the country's fragile domestic order. The presence of so many extra Albanians may well radicalize Macedonian nationalism and Albanian separatism, increasing the likelihood of war.

NATO did not cause the exodus of Albanians from Kosovo. Still, its actions have worsened the problem. All NATO members — not just the few countries that have come forward so far — are morally obligated to accept the great majority of refugees from Kosovo, because the small Balkan countries simply cannot cope with them. Sheltering the refugees would not serve the Serbs' brutal program of ethnic cleansing, as some have suggested. Most Albanians will eagerly return to Kosovo at the earliest opportunity.

But the political imperative is as pressing as the moral and humanitarian one. If war breaks out between the Macedonian and Albanian communities in Macedonia, President Clinton's main reason for approving the NATO campaign — to keep the conflict from spreading — will have failed. □

Misha Glenny, the author of "The Fall of Yugoslavia," is completing a history of Balkan nationalism.

Samuel  
This is very good  
It's right we should  
help more than 20,000  
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The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1999

4-6-99

## Trade and Tensions

China Is Close to Deal  
On WTO, Zhu Says,  
But Politics Interfere

Speaking on Eve of U.S. Trip,

A1 Premier Tells of Progress  
On Other Business Issues

## Tiananmen Square Revisited

BELJING — Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji, frustrated and irritated with China's critics in Washington, arrives in the U.S. today to take China's case for more cooperation directly to the American people.

At the top of his wish list is U.S. support for China's entry into the World Trade Organization, the body that regulates international trade. "We are this close" to a deal, he says, holding his thumb and forefinger less than an inch apart. But, he complains, in recent days, "due to pressure from Congress," the Clinton administration has balked at closing that gap.

Mr. Zhu, who is renowned in China for his blunt-spoken manner, indicates that Americans will see the same during his nine-day, six-city U.S. swing. Smilingly describing himself as an "ordinary Chinese with a bad temper," he says, "When I go to the U.S. it's very possible I'll have arguments with you. So you should be prepared for that."

Mr. Zhu's comments came in an interview with The Wall Street Journal on the eve of his first tour as premier, a post he assumed last year. During the 75-minute interview, Mr. Zhu was direct and forceful on trade and other economic issues.

By contrast, he was considerably more low-key on several foreign-policy issues. He drew a clear distinction between China's opposition to a proposed U.S. Theater Missile Defense for Japan, a U.S. ally, and for Taiwan, which China regards as a breakaway province. He also drew a remarkable comparison between the photo image of a young Chinese facing down a tank column near Tiananmen Square a decade ago and the image of a young Vietnamese girl fleeing a U.S. napalm attack in Vietnam.

Mr. Zhu's trip originally was intended to build momentum for the summit pledge last year of President Clinton and Chinese President Jiang Zemin to work toward creation of a "strategic partnership." Now, damage control could be the trip's only achievement.

In recent weeks, tensions between the U.S. and China have risen markedly. U.S. bombing in Yugoslavia is strongly opposed by China. The atmosphere has been further strained by China's crackdown on dissidents who recently formed an opposition party, by U.S. allegations of theft of nuclear secrets by China, by a widening U.S. trade deficit with China and by new U.S. charges in Geneva against China's human-rights record.

"Under such circumstances," Mr. Zhu said, "the thought crossed my mind: 'What is the significance of making a trip to the U.S. at this point in time? What could I accomplish?'"

Clearly, he hasn't given up on a deal to get into the WTO. Expressing some combination of genuine annoyance with critics in Washington and perhaps shrewd negotiation aimed at pressuring the U.S. to

conclude a deal during his visit, the premier said China had made "major concessions" in recent weeks. They were concessions, he said, that "were unimaginable three or five years ago."

Then he added, "Make no mistake. China is not begging for accession to the WTO."

China has been trying for 13 years to join the WTO or its predecessor organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The effort has come close to success over the past month, with China, obviously under Mr. Zhu's personal involvement, offering a series of far-reaching proposals that would pry open telecommunications, financial services and other sectors of its economy.

Mr. Zhu revealed that the U.S. and China have reached agreement on several long-standing trade disputes, clearing the way for U.S. wheat and citrus exports to China. He said he had urged the Clinton administration to separate these bilateral issues from the WTO talks and announce agreement so that blocked U.S. wheat and citrus exports could resume, helping momentum build for a WTO deal. But, he said — breaking into English — U.S. trade negotiators labeled this suggestion "impossible." (China has cited a plant disease in blocking wheat and the Mediterranean fruit fly in blocking citrus.)

He also revealed that China would allow foreign companies to hold 25% to 30% stakes in Chinese telecommunications companies, a level that in later years could climb higher. He called "unreasonable" U.S. demands that China allow foreigners to hold controlling interests in such companies, noting that Taiwan and South Korea have similar restrictions.

Asked if China has drawn a line and will refuse to make further concessions, he paused and answered: "Pretty much." Later, he added, "The problem is not that we cannot make any further concessions but, rather, that the concessions that the Americans are asking for are unreasonable."

But he stressed that he hasn't abandoned his goal of a WTO deal, saying he would take his case to the U.S. people. Such a deal would be "welcomed and supported by the American business community," Mr. Zhu noted.

On broader economic issues, Mr. Zhu sought to allay concerns that China, whose economic growth slowed to an officially reported 7.8% last year even as its unemployment rate and its population both grew, might be the next Asian economy to collapse. Noting that inflation is the historic fear in China, he said the country's real problem now is deflation. "The vast majority of the Chinese people are not aware of the dangers of deflation. I am one of the minority who see the danger," he said.

He lamented the unwillingness of many Chinese to spend. Weak consumption has helped slow growth. He said Chinese are saving 40% or 50% of their earnings and depositing the savings in China's government-run banks, which haven't been able to channel this capital into productive projects because they can't find worthwhile borrowers.

Surprisingly, Mr. Zhu expressed no concern about stagnant foreign investment. He dismissed as statistically insignificant a decline in investment during the first two months of 1999 and seemed unperturbed that foreign investment in 1998 grew less than \$1 billion over 1997 levels. He confidently predicted foreign investment would grow, both because China is more attractive than certain other Asian nations and because of new market openings such as telecom-

In discussing foreign affairs, Mr. Zhu was less personally engaged and less combative.

While he criticized U.S. actions in Kosovo, he avoided the vituperations that have defined coverage of the conflict in China's state-run media. Similarly, when invited to grade America's handling of its role as the world's only superpower, he said tactfully: "It is not easy to serve as a superpower, and it is not without its dangers. Looking at the whole of world history, no superpower remains a superpower forever." He gently chided the U.S. for acting alone in international affairs, saying: "In dealing with other countries, the United States should pay attention to democracy, freedom and equality, as it advocates."

More surprising was the low level of concern he expressed over a proposed missile-defense system for Japan. While the U.S. proposal to study deploying a missile-defense system for Japan has drawn sharp Chinese criticism, Mr. Zhu said merely that it "is not in conformity with the current antimissile treaties."

He drew a sharp distinction, however, between this and the idea of extending a defensive umbrella over Taiwan, the island off China's coast that enjoys de facto independence but that China is increasingly eager to reabsorb. Mr. Zhu said a defense shield over Taiwan would "constitute interference in China's sovereignty and internal affairs."

Although Mr. Zhu's policy comments were direct and substantive, he parried personal questions and shunned introspection. In contrast to President Jiang, who loves to sing American songs in public, Mr. Zhu traditionally has tried to keep the focus on substance, not self.

Mr. Zhu, 70 years old, is the only one among China's top leaders who was purged as a "rightist" for deviating from

Communist orthodoxy in the late 1950s. He worked on a farm and spent nearly 20 years in the political wilderness before finally regaining his political position when China began its market-oriented reforms in 1978.

Asked to discuss that time and what impact it has had on his governance of China today, he paused, offered a previous public nonresponse and, when pressed again, said simply, "Though that part of my life was a painful experience for me, it was also a useful one. It taught me more, and allowed me exposure with more strata of society."

Asked if the experience had made him more tolerant of divergent points of view, he again paused, said, "Probably"—and then burst into laughter.

Mr. Zhu's most philosophical moment concerned the Communist Party's violent 1989 suppression of the pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Officially, the event is still called a "counter-revolutionary" rebellion, and public discussion is forbidden. The most memorable image of those days—and indeed one of the most arresting photos of recent decades—is that of a lone Chinese man facing down a column of tanks on the Avenue of Eternal Peace.

Asked what he now thinks of that young man, the premier replied with a striking comparison for a Chinese leader. "There is another photo that left a deep impression on me," he said, citing the image of a young Vietnamese girl running naked down a country road after a U.S. napalm attack on her village.

Premier Zhu noted what he called one "entirely different" thing about the photos, in that the tank didn't crush the young man: "It avoided him." (Film at the time showed him pulled into the crowd by his friends and vanishing. The girl in the napalm photo survived and now lives in Canada.)

Mr. Zhu made one more, notable point about both photos: "We all hope not to witness the recurrence of such things."



Zhu Rongji

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4-6-99

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## Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

## More Sticks

The question we are wrestling with in Kosovo today is this: How should America react when bad things happen in unimportant places?

You need only watch the footage of refugees streaming out of Kosovo, and believe just half of their chilling tales of Serbian atrocities, to know that something really bad is happening there to which America should not be turning a blind eye.

But you need only ask your Congressman to find Kosovo on a map — and watch the blank stare that comes back at you — to appreciate how unimportant Kosovo is to any vital American interests.

Faced with this dilemma, the Clinton strategy has been to use NATO air power to try to reverse the bad things happening in Kosovo. But the Administration's unwillingness to commit ground troops to actually expel the Serbs from Kosovo is an admission that its liberation is not worth the loss of many, if any, U.S. lives. To put it another way, the cruise missile is the Clinton team's weapon of choice for combating evil in unimportant places.

It is too early to say this strategy will not achieve an acceptable outcome in Kosovo, and that troops will have to be sent in. What one can say now, though, is that for this strategy to work will require much tougher sticks and much fatter carrots.

Regarding the sticks, I wouldn't underestimate the impact on a modern European state of sustained NATO air bombardments, which should be intensified once the weather clears. People tend to change their minds and adjust their goals as they see the price they are paying mount. Twelve days of surgical bombing was never going to turn Serbia around. Let's see what 12 weeks of less than surgical bombing does. Give war a chance.

As for the carrots, while NATO steps up the air war, it also needs to step up its diplomacy. Remember, you can bomb, curse, condemn and kill the Serbs, but there is just one thing you can't do and that's make peace in the Balkans without them. There are too many of them. Let's dangle two options before the Serbs right now — either a modified Rambouillet deal that would give the Kosovars internationally protected autonomy in a Kosovo still under Serb sovereignty, or a partition of Kosovo. The Serbs would get the northwest sliver, which contains their Orthodox monasteries and holy sites, and the Kosovo Albanians would get the remaining 90

percent, with an international peacekeeping force separating them.

NATO needs to combine unreasonable bombing with a reasonable peace offer. For now, this strategy is preferable to a ground war, for two reasons. First, once NATO invades Kosovo, it owns Kosovo. Anyone who cares about the future of NATO does not want to see the alliance managing the daily relations between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. It would be an endless, debilitating task.

Second, if we have to fight a ground war, let's at least fight it in optimal political circumstances. As Michael Mandelbaum, a foreign policy expert at Johns Hopkins, points out: "George Bush's great achievement in the gulf war was the broad backing he earned from the American public and the allies, and the basic neutrality he earned from the Russians, by making it clear that he had gone the extra mile to get an acceptable diplomatic deal before launching the ground war."

All the foreign policy experts say that now that the war in Kosovo has started, "We have to win." O.K., but

## And fatter carrots in Kosovo.

win what? When you are trying to stop bad things in unimportant places your task is to minimize the bad without making the unimportant into a sucking chest wound that weakens NATO and diminishes America's overall position in the world. I don't want NATO to win Kosovo or the Kosovars. I want NATO to stop what was bad and get out. I want NATO to win Serbian agreement either for the Kosovo Albanians to return to their homes — with an international observer-peacekeeping force, including Russians, managing relations between Albanians and Serbs — or for a partition of Kosovo, with a peacekeeping force separating the factions.

We need to see if sustained, unreasonable bombing, combined with sustained, reasonable diplomacy, can achieve such goals. Sure, it will take time, but considering the years NATO will have to spend in Kosovo if this strategy doesn't work, I suggest we find the time. □

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1999

Is it true that  
we could take care  
of vast majority of  
unimportant + endangered  
Serbs w/ 10% of land? (if so  
with impunity)

March 31, 1999

**RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL**

**TO:** Kansas City Mayor-elect Kay Waldo Barnes

**DATE:** ASAP

**RECOMMENDED BY:** Minyon Moore and Orson Porter

**PURPOSE:** To congratulate Kay Waldo Barnes on winning Tuesday's mayoral election in Kansas City, Missouri. Barnes defeated City Councilman George Blackwood, 59% to 41%.

**BACKGROUND:**

Both Barnes and Blackwood are friends of Mayor Emmanuel Cleaver, who is term-limited. They both campaigned on a pledge to carry on his agenda. Barnes was an advocate for better coordination of the city's economic development efforts, improving public schools and reducing inflated city agencies. She was heavily favored by women by more than 2-1. Blackwood, who ran a grassroots campaign, received strong support from the minority communities, particularly African Americans. Voter turnout was 27%. Cleaver, who did not endorse either candidate, was supportive of Blackwood's candidacy and has declined to comment on the outcome of the race. Barnes will be inaugurated on April 10, when she will become the city's first female mayor. She celebrated her 61st birthday on Tuesday.

Don -  
per attached e-mails  
let's do an informal letter  
to the Mayor-elect. Call  
won't be made.

Phin

**TALKING POINTS:** You should congratulate her on a successful election and wish her a happy birthday.

**CONTACT INFORMATION:** (816) 333-4775 - home  
(816) 756-5544 - Craig Williams  
(816) 550-1726 - Cell phone

**DATE OF SUBMISSION:** March 31, 1999

**ACTION:**

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kansascity.com

LOCAL

SPORTS

BUSINESS

FYI

## Barnes defeats Blackwood in landslide in KC mayoral race

By LYNN HORSLEY and GROMER JEFFERS JR. - The Kansas City Star  
Date: 03/30/99 23:38

Kay Waldo Barnes celebrated her 61st birthday Tuesday by winning election as Kansas City's first woman mayor.

She defeated two-term Councilman George Blackwood by a decisive 59 percent to 41 percent in a race that gave voters a choice between maintaining the city's current direction, or trying to improve basic services while controlling spending.

The vote with 100 percent of precincts reporting:

Barnes 45,146

Blackwood 31,319

Barnes, who will be inaugurated April 10, campaigned as both an experienced politician and an outsider with fresh ideas and a creative approach to the city's problems. She spent more than a year laying the groundwork for an aggressive, well-financed and well-organized campaign, and she led in the polls since December.

"Well, we did it," Barnes told several hundred cheering supporters Tuesday night at the Hyatt Regency Crown Center hotel. "This is just the beginning. This is a very exciting night, not only for me...but for all of us. It demonstrated a large group of people can pull together and make some things happen."

Barnes said she was "deeply appreciative of the opportunity to serve as mayor of Kansas City."

"I take the responsibility very seriously and will do everything I can to be the kind of mayor of whom the city will be very proud."

Blackwood was gracious in defeat, saying that Barnes was an "outstanding candidate" and would be a "good mayor for Kansas City."

"We gave it our best shot, but it was not to be, and that's what elections are all about," Blackwood said at a campaign rally at the Holiday Inn Citi Centre hotel.

In an emotional tribute, Blackwood thanked City Council members Ken Bacchus, Judith Swope and Jim Glover for their



Francine Orr/The Star

Candidate George Blackwood cast his vote for Kansas City mayor Tuesday morning. The two-term councilman lost the election to Kay Waldo Barnes, who is Kansas City's first woman mayor.

City  
Blue Springs  
Blue  
Valley/Leawood  
Independence  
Lee's Summit  
Liberty  
Northland  
Olathe  
Platte County  
Shawnee &  
Lenexa  
Shawnee  
Mission  
Southland  
Wyandotte  
& Leavenworth



support. They each served eight years with him on the council and now must leave because of term limits.

"There is no doubt in my mind that we have made a difference for this city," Blackwood said. "Now it's up to a group of new people to take it up and go."

Blackwood said he would find a way to stay in public service after he left the council April 10.

"I will not just go away. I will find a role," he said. "This is one of the greatest cities on the planet."

Barnes said Tuesday night she thought Blackwood had a lot to offer the city and hoped to find the right appointment for him.

### **Historic victory**

Barnes' victory will go down in the history books because of her gender. That fact appeared not to be lost on women voters, who backed Barnes by better than a 2-to-1 ratio in a mid-March poll conducted by *The Kansas City Star*. The poll found Barnes and Blackwood attracting about the same amount of support from men.

Barnes' victory also reflected her substantial advantage over Blackwood among Northland voters. She garnered 72 percent of the vote in Platte County and 70 percent in Clay County. The Northland also improved its turnout to 26 percent, up from 15 percent in the March 2 primary.

Blackwood did best in the central city wards, garnering between 65 percent and 70 percent among those predominantly black neighborhoods.

Although Blackwood trailed Barnes in the polls, in the two weeks before the primary his campaign became more focused as he salvaged a second-place finish among six candidates.

He stayed the course and, as the weeks passed, his campaign gained momentum, especially as he emphasized how he would carry forward the agenda of Mayor Emanuel Cleaver.

Cleaver, who never publicly endorsed Blackwood but who supported his candidacy, declined to comment Tuesday night on the outcome.

In the four weeks since the primary, Barnes and Blackwood had endured intense campaign schedules, participating in dozens of debates, fund-raisers and small group meetings.

They clashed over many issues, particularly the mayor's role in the Kansas City School District, the city's approach to neighborhoods, and strategies for cutting the city budget.

They traded potshots over their television commercials. But in person they were always cordial to each other, and they each shared strong connections to the city's power brokers.

### **Return to politics**

Barnes has spent the last 30 years building a management consulting and public-speaking business. She also was a pioneer in Kansas City's women's movement, serving as one of two women on the 13-member Jackson County Legislature from 1974 to 1978 and as one of two women on the nine-member Kansas City Council from 1979 to 1983.

She lost her re-election bid in 1983 and got out of politics.

In 1996, she was appointed to the city's Tax Increment Financing Commission, which reviews tax breaks for major developers. She was chairwoman of the commission until 1998, and people impressed with her leadership style encouraged her to run for mayor.

Barnes quietly began exploring the idea more than a year ago and began campaigning in earnest more than six months ago. She had more than 1,600 campaign contributors and picked up most of the major endorsements, including the Citizens Association, labor groups, the Westport Citizens Action Coalition and Hispanic organizations. She even enlisted the help of her famous cousin, retired CBS news anchor Walter Cronkite.

In her campaign, Barnes said her priorities included ending the perception of corruption at City Hall, improving basic neighborhood services and controlling spending to rein in the city's \$881 million budget.

Blackwood, 59, ran his campaign as though he were the incumbent, describing the positive aspects of Kansas City and stoically sitting through Barnes' criticisms during debates and forums.

Blackwood did engage Barnes through his campaign commercials, making light of her record as a council member and attacking her for participating in closed-door meetings.

But in the end, Barnes apparently offered the right combination of qualities. She was a fresh face with a hands-on background at City Hall. Her enthusiasm on the campaign trail didn't hurt, either.

"People saw her as new but experienced," political consultant Jim Bergfalk said. "I don't believe anybody who was new and inexperienced could have won."

The Star's Steve Kraske contributed to this report

To reach Lynn Horsley, City Hall reporter, call (816) 234-4317 or send e-mail to [lhorsley@kcstar.com](mailto:lhorsley@kcstar.com)

To reach Gromer Jeffers Jr., City Hall reporter, call (816) 234-4316 or send e-mail to [gjeffers@kcstar.com](mailto:gjeffers@kcstar.com)

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**Phillip Caplan**

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04/06/99 11:48:59 AM

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Record Type:    Record

To:        Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Kay Waldo Barnes

The President has not made the call that you recommended to Kay Barnes, mayor-elect of Kansas City. Should we just forget it at this point and have a letter sent given everything that's going on?

---

**Phillip Caplan**

---

**04/06/99 11:50:34 AM**

---

**Record Type:    Record**

**To:        Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP**

**cc:**

**Subject:**

or maybe an inaugural letter since your memo says she's being inaugurated on April 10?

---

**Phillip Caplan**

---

04/06/99 12:27:20 PM

---

Record Type:    Record

To:        Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Kay Waldo Barnes 

ok, thanks.....i'll have a "congrats on your inaugural" letter done and it'll be run by you first

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
4-6-99

Stoney  
Thru Gordon  
PK

Copied  
Berger  
w/ desk  
Podesta

4-6-99

Warren Zimmermann

# On With the Air War

When a military operation goes sour, doubts, recrimination, second thoughts and frantic diplomatic fixes can distract attention from what is really important. The most important thing to keep in mind about NATO's use of force against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is why it was necessary in the first place. Milosevic's plan, initiated well before NATO's bombing of Serbia and accelerated during it, has been to denude the province of Kosovo of its Albanian population. The means he has chosen are forcible expulsion and (to an extent still unclear) murder. If he is not stopped, nearly 2 million people will be displaced or killed.

Improper comparisons with the Holocaust or World War I ought not to obscure the fact that Milosevic is in the process of perpetrating one of the most cynically barbarous acts of this bloody century. However culpable he has been in the past—in sowing the racial hatred that destroyed Yugoslavia, in waging wars against three of his neighbors, in being at least indirectly responsible for the atrocities in Bosnia, and in turning Serbia into a dictatorship and Kosovo into a colony—this is the farthest he has ever gone. Of course the West must stop him. The airstrikes launched by NATO were the right response. It would be both disastrous and tragic if the initial success of Milosevic's expulsion campaign were allowed to undermine them.

Talk of Kosovo as Serbia's "Jerusalem" overshadows equally legitimate Albanian claims in the province. The Albanians were on the Balkan peninsula a thousand years before the Slavs arrived in the 7th century. For the whole of this century, the Albanians have been the majority group in Kosovo; for

the decade before Milosevic's expulsion campaign they outnumbered the Serbs 9 to 1. Even in a centuries-long history of mutual hostility, Milosevic's actions against the Albanians from the very beginning of his rule have been extreme. His ruthless and unprovoked abolition of their political autonomy in 1989 and his subsequent treatment of them as a colonial appendage of Serbia amounted to the longest-running human rights violation in Europe.

Milosevic had a clear 10 years to solve the problem of a restive but not violent Albanian majority in Kosovo. The United States and others strongly prodded him to solve it. But they also cut him considerable slack in assuring him of their acceptance that Kosovo was a part of Yugoslavia. Milosevic did nothing with this opportunity except to increase the Serbian police and military presence in the province and to consolidate his suppression of Albanian rights. Not surprisingly, the moderate Albanian leadership, which had limited itself to peaceful resistance, began to lose ground to the militant Kosovo Liberation Army.

The rise of the KLA, an armed force insisting on independence and dedicated to violence, upset Milosevic's strategy of colonial subjugation and forced him to a choice. He could have conceded some form of Albanian autonomy while keeping Kosovo under Serbia. The West's proposed agreement, presented at Rambouillet with the concurrence of Milosevic's supporter Russia, offered him a face-saving way to do this: It maintained Serbian sovereignty, allowed the presence of Serbian security forces in Kosovo, and contained no reference to Albanian

independence. Instead, he chose the violent expulsion of an entire ethnic group that had lived in Kosovo for more than 2,000 years. His decision could have been anticipated in NATO's contingency planning. But the alliance's errors should not divert attention from the savagery of his actions.

Whatever mistakes of intelligence and execution have been made by NATO, the important task now is to maintain the determination and patience to keep the bombing going and to target it much more on Kosovo, where the atrocities are taking place. For the United States and its allies to descend into a frenzy of blame, self-doubt or panicky reversals would be to ensure Milosevic's success. The credible threat of a

ground war by NATO would have strengthened the West's hand. But even assuming the doubtful acceptance of a ground offensive by U.S. and European publics, it is difficult to see how it can be brought to bear quickly enough to be decisive.

It would be far more timely and effective for NATO to abandon its timorous reluctance to unleash a massive low-level air campaign directly against the Serbian aggressors in Kosovo. The increased risks are surely worthwhile if they can make the difference between winning and losing and if they can preserve the lives and futures of the Albanian victims.

The allied military campaign is off to a miserable start, but it is too early to say it has failed. If and when it can stop the expulsions and decimate Milosevic's military power, diplomatic options will emerge, though they will be limited. Unfortunately, Milosevic's ethnic cleansing has almost certainly doomed the multi-ethnic approach of Rambouillet. It is doubtful that Serbs and Albanians can ever again live peacefully in the same state. A north-south partition of Kosovo, with all its drawbacks, might turn out to be the only decent solution, depending on where the border is drawn. But this is emphatically not the time to be diverted into negotiating scenarios. No negotiated outcome remotely fair to the Albanians is possible under current conditions. What counts now is to open the path to diplomacy by winning the air war.

*The writer, a professor of international diplomacy at Columbia University, was U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1989 to 1992.*



REUTERS

*When an air war begins, it's over.*

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-6-99

Copied  
Berger  
Wudsk  
Podesta

# Not Enough Cruise Missiles to Go Around?

By Lawrence J. Korb

As the war against Yugoslavia entered its second week, there were ominous reports that the United States was running short of cruise missiles, the weapon of choice in this war as well as the recent attacks against Iraq and Osama bin Laden.

Some have cited this supposed shortage as evidence that the Clinton Administration has so seriously underfinanced defense that our military is not capable even of waging a brief air campaign against a third-rate power. To buttress their argument, these critics note that there is no money in the current defense budget for new cruise missiles.

These assertions are misleading. If there is a missile shortage, it is far from a crisis, and President Clinton deserves no more blame than his predecessors, George Bush and Ronald Reagan.

For one thing, the United States has the potential of running short only of air-launched cruise missiles.

Lawrence J. Korb, the director of studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, was an Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Reagan Administration.

The Pentagon said that as of April 1, after firing 50 missiles in the opening week of the air war, the Air Force was down to 100 of these conventionally armed cruise missiles, which are launched from B-52's. However, the Pentagon still had more than 2,000 Tomahawk cruise missiles, which are launched from Navy ships and have been the mainstay of the attacks on Kosovo.

In addition, this is hardly a Clinton-era problem. There is a potential shortage of the air-launched missiles because this generation of cruise missiles went out of production in 1986 and the next generation, the Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missile, is still in development. Production is scheduled to begin next year.

The main reason for the gap between these two missile programs is that in 1995 the Department of Defense was forced to cancel its initial replacement, the Tri-Service Standoff Attack Missile, because of cost and performance problems. The tri-service missiles would have cost \$2 million each, while 2,000 Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missiles will cost about \$400,000 each. The Navy's new Tomahawk missile, meanwhile, will not be ready until 2003.

Much of this planning and spending for cruise missiles predates the Clinton Presidency. And planning is an inexact science: the Clinton Administration has used far more cruise missiles than anyone could

have anticipated more than a decade ago, when production of the missiles was stopped by the Reagan Administration.

At the start of the Persian Gulf war, the Air Force had about 300 conventional air-launched cruise missiles in its inventory. Only 35 of these missiles were fired during the

## Even the fanciest weapons still need ammunition.

Persian Gulf war in 1991, but 92 were fired during the far shorter campaign against Iraq in December 1998.

The same types of numbers are seen in the use of Tomahawk missiles. During the six-week air campaign against Iraq in 1991, the Navy fired 288 Tomahawks. In last December's four-day operation, it fired 320.

The Air Force recognized this new phenomenon and before the war against Yugoslavia and requested money to convert nuclear-tipped cruise missiles into conventional ones, a request that is still pending. The Clinton Administration should have come to that realization as well

— several years ago, since it takes about 30 months to restart a cruise missile production line.

The bottom line is that the amount the Clinton Administration spends on defense has little to do with the problem. In his six years in office, the President has kept defense spending at about 90 percent of what this country spent on average from the end of Vietnam to the end of the cold war. The problem is in how the money is distributed.

Like its predecessors, including the Reagan White House, this Administration spends too much on weapon systems and not enough on ammunition. For example, according to the Secretary of the Air Force, that service has spent \$44 billion over the past decade upgrading its bomber fleet, but only \$1.3 billion on precision-guided munitions for the fleet. About \$500 billion is being spent to develop three new tactical aircraft; meanwhile we are counting missiles carefully for the aircraft we already have.

For more than a decade, analysts have urged the Department of Defense to buy more conventional cruise missiles. David Ochmanek of the Rand Corporation summed up the frustration perfectly last week. The good news, he said, is that the current situation vindicates these analysts' position. The bad news is that for all those years they weren't able to convince anyone. □

Sandy  
This you will run  
of the document in  
the Guide book —  
we need to consider  
allocation of funds  
Bz

Staff Sec.

KENNETH N. HALL

2300 Good Hope Road, S.E.  
Penthouse No. 1107  
Washington, DC 20020  
(202) 889-5057

99 APR 6 PM 3:45

March 16, 1999

Ms. Stephanie S. Streett  
Director of Scheduling  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Streett:

I received the proclamation from President Clinton signed April 24, 1998 and dated May 7, 1998.

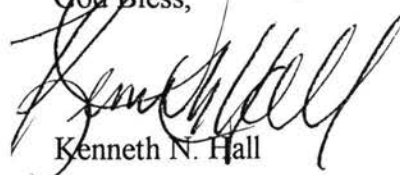
I would like to know if President Clinton intends for this date (May 7th) to be an ongoing date as National Day of Prayer.

It would be an honor for President Clinton to announce National Day of Prayer of May 7, 1999 in recognition for all young people who have lost their lives through needless violence to soon. As a father, I still grieve beyond definition for my daughter Hope Denise Hall, who was found brutally and viciously murdered in her Petersburg, Virginia apartment.

I have been a staunch observer of the President's political life and have come to hold him in high esteem for the respect he shows to all men irrespective of their station in life. As such, I am inviting the President, First Lady or a representative to speak at my church, Asbury United Methodist Church, 11th & K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on July 11, 1999 at the 11 o'clock AM service. This would be in celebration of a message of hope and renewed faith, so that our children, the future of America will know that a *Light Still Shines For Them*.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness, consideration and support.

Sincerely,  
God Bless,

  
Kenneth N. Hall

Day -  
Do you know anything about this?

Phil



SECRETARIAT OF STATE

FIRST SECTION - GENERAL AFFAIRS

From the Vatican, January 26, 1999

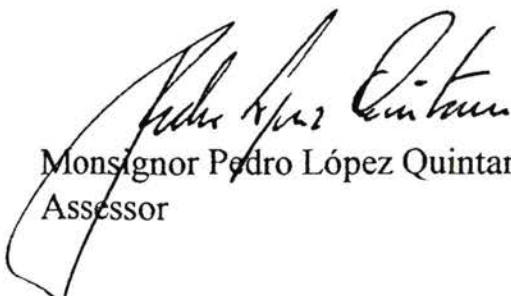
Dear Mr. Hall,

His Holiness Pope John Paul II has received your letter and enclosures, and he has asked me to reply in his name. He wishes you to know that he appreciates the sentiments which prompted you to write to him.

His Holiness cordially invokes God's blessings upon your efforts to combat violence and to promote prayer for a future of hope.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,



Monsignor Pedro López Quintana  
Assessor

Mr. Kenneth N. Hall  
2300 Good Hope Road, S.E.  
Penthouse No. 1107  
Washington, DC 20020

Final 04/06/99 9:40 a.m.  
Paul Glastris

406

4-6-99

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

**REMARKS ON HATE CRIMES**

**ROOSEVELT ROOM**

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**

**April 6, 1999**

topic d

at the time ✓

4-6 99

Acknowledgments: Maine Att. Gen Drew Ketterer;

Bishop Jane Holmes Dixon; Acting Ass At. Gen. Bill Lann

Lee; Secretary Riley; <sup>SEN. ARLEN SPECTOR</sup> Sen. Patrick Leahy; Rep. Ben Cardin;

Rep. William Delahunt; DC Pol. Chief Charles Ramsey

Ever since I became President, I have tried to stress to the importance of <sup>bridging the differences among us, teaching everyone on the basis</sup> ~~bringing people together, of bridging the ethnic,~~ <sup>in our common humanity is that we must not let our diff.</sup> ~~the diversity that exists in our common humanity is that we must not let our diff.~~ <sup>racial and other differences that sometime divide us.</sup> Today, I ~~now want to talk to you about new steps I am taking to prevent hate~~ <sup>inspired acts of violence here in America. Violent crimes</sup>

<sup>AGAINST PEOPLE</sup> <sup>simply</sup> <sup>BECAUSE OF WHO THEY ARE --</sup> ~~committed because of intolerance offend our most deeply held~~ values

Today, in Kosovo, thousands of families are being driven from their ancestral homes at the point of a gun, and many are being murdered, all because of their ethnicity and religion.

Today, brave American men and women, working with our NATO allies, are striking back at the forces committing these terrible acts--the forces of Slobodan Milosevic. Mr. Milosevic, who was responsible for the ethnic bloodshed in Bosnia and Croatia, is also responsible for this crisis. He can end it, now, by withdrawing his military, police and paramilitary forces from Kosovo; by accepting the deployment of an international security force; and by making it possible for all refugees to return as we move towards a political framework for Kosovo

based on the Rambouillet accords. ~~It is an outrage to think that~~  
 on the eve of a new millennium, ~~there are still people who~~  
*we must face the persistence of old hatreds*

~~allow their own self-worth to be determined by who they are~~  
~~not~~; ~~who think less about~~ *they can* lifting themselves up ~~than~~ *only by* of holding  
 others down; and who ~~insist that the identities of others are~~  
*point view of their own group Neg. an inherently*  
*negative argument of the other.*  
~~somehow a threat to their own.~~

Today we particularly recall the terrible genocide in Rwanda that began exactly five years ago. That time, the international community did not act quickly enough, it did not do enough--and a terrible bloodbath claimed ~~more than a~~ <sup>hundreds of thousands</sup> million lives. ~~We see the terrible price of bigotry containing~~ <sup>of lives. We see the terrible price of bigotry containing</sup> million lives. The kind of thinking that produces such ~~diff in the and outrageous treatment of women in the Balkans we have~~ catastrophe is particularly tragic when you consider that today ~~it is finally being put to rest in the world.~~ diversity can be one of our greatest sources of strength. It is no small irony that while Mr. Milosevic has impoverished Yugoslavia by pulling it apart along ethnic lines, most of the rest of Europe has been growing more prosperous by coming together. ~~And~~ <sup>steadily</sup> America itself has grown stronger as we have worked to bridge the our differences. Just look around this room. All of America is represented here, partnering with the faith and law enforcement leaders to strengthen the bonds of community that make this country great.

If the end of the 20th Century teaches anything it is that diversity can be manipulated into tragedy, or nurtured into a source of strength. Neither course is inevitable. That is why we have a real interest in nourishing tolerance and fighting violent intolerance, abroad as well as at home. In recent months, we have all been horrified by brutal acts of hate here in the U.S. These crimes strike at the heart of what it means to be an American. They challenge the values that define us as a nation. They threaten the peaceable diversity that underpins our strength and prosperity. We must reaffirm that we will not tolerate such acts.

Since I convened the first White House conference on hate crimes a year and a half ago, we have substantially increased the number of FBI agents devoted to hate crimes.

We have successfully prosecuted a number of serious hate crime cases. And we have formed local hate crimes working groups in U.S. Attorney's offices around the country, to coordinate training and prevention efforts among federal, state, local law enforcement officials and community leaders.

But we must do more. Over 8000 hate crime incidents were reported in 1997, the latest year for which FBI figures are available. That is nearly one hate crime every hour. We must do more to fight hate crimes now and prevent them in the future by reaching out to our young people. Today, I am pleased to announce important new steps to do just that.

85  
24  
260  
130  
1560  
7200  
~~8760~~

First, I am calling upon the Departments of Justice and Education to include in their annual report card on school safety crucial information on hate crimes among young people, both at and away from school. Second, I am directing the Department of Education, with assistance from the Department of Justice, to collect important data, for the first time, on hate crimes and bias on college campuses.

Third, I am very pleased to announce a new public-private partnership to help reach middle school students with the message of tolerance. Like any value, tolerance must be taught, nurtured, and encouraged. That is the aim of the partnership, which includes AT&T, Court TV, the National Middle School Association, the Anti-Defamation League, and Cable in the Classroom, with assistance from the Departments of Education and Justice.

The partnership will develop fresh new outreach methods, from in-school lessons to cable TV programs and websites.

<sup>again</sup>  
<sup>are</sup>  
Fourth, I ~~call on~~ Congress to pass the Hate Crimes

Prevention Act. Our Federal laws already punish some crimes committed against people on the basis of race or religion or national origin, but we should do more. This crucial legislation would strengthen and expand the ability of the Justice

Department to prosecute hate crimes by removing needless jurisdictional requirements for existing crimes and by giving Federal prosecutors the power to prosecute hate crimes committed because of the victim's sexual orientation, gender, or disability. All Americans deserve protection from hate.

Congress missed an opportunity to pass this crucial legislation last year. Congress should not miss that opportunity now.

As important as it is to pass a new hate crimes law, we

*it is more important to have practice + feel reconciliation*

~~must ultimately do more. we must be reconciled to one another.~~

We must believe in one another's fundamental humanity. So often today America faces the challenge of helping to prevent conflicts overseas, fueled by divisions of race, ethnicity, and religion. We cannot meet these challenges abroad unless we have healed our divisions at home.