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<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Clara J. Shin to Bruce McNamer, re Gib Myers [partial] (1 page)</td>
<td>04/14/1999</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004. email</td>
<td>Lael Brainard to Sonal R. Shah at 12:35:17.00. Subject: Re: POTUS Sarajevo trip. (2 pages)</td>
<td>07/09/1999</td>
<td>P5</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System
OPD ([General Wesley Clark])
OA/Box Number: 250000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[03/08/1999 - 01/27/2000]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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</tbody>
</table>
good point on guarantees. MIGA and IFC are already looking into ideas of creating regional funds and guarantees which would include Kosovo. OPIC already proposed a plan.

Just talked to Mark, Treasury is very reluctant to do anything with Bank/Fund. They would like to disaggregate Croatia and Romania from the rest of the Pact. Romania has $277 million BOP gap which will be filled by an IMF program if they negotiate with their creditors on their pvt sector debt. Croatia is reneging on its IMF commitments.

The others however, could use the help. Macedonia, needs $100 million, Bulgaria about $45 million, Albania has budgetary gaps and Bosnia has about $30 million. Altogether about $200 million (not chump change) and we can announce maybe some technical assistance. Sorry to harp on this idea -- i know we would like to keep the IFIs pure, but they are not and they can do what the main aim of the Marshall program was (provide a cushion). FYI. IFI conditionality is much stricter than Marshall plan conditionality was.

In any case, i have asked Mark and Nancy to come up with some variations noting again that either we can be proactive or reactive.

They are rightly concerned that this will give these countries a reason to lax on their conditionality and not follow through on their commitments. I just the following concerns:
1. We have taken on this commitment for regional stability and POTUS likely to do a speech on it or Berger will.
2. Given above commitment, we need to show that we mean what we say.
3. It would one thing if there was not a conflict -- we could afford to be hard-nosed, not sure that we have so much of that flexibility.
4. We should rightly push the EU to take on the burden of integrating these countries, but how are we going to help them get from here to there.

Anyway, this will be a tough battle and would appreciate your insight.
I think your idea is worth exploring. Might want to add in the investment guarantee guys (EBRD, IFC, EIB, etc). You are absolutely right that POTUS will not do anything prescriptive/tough love without some money to make it credible.

Wesley Clark in an interview claimed NATO can support the Heads of State meeting in Sarajevo. EU has not agreed yet to pay. Decision to be made on Monday.

On deliverables, we are going to face a real problem. State (Bialos) has come up with this idea about an Investment Climate Initiative which basically would have the President telling the SEE countries what they would need to reform to attract private investment, with nothing to back it. I have several problems with the proposal (as do all others in EB and Commerce):

1. This is not Presidential -- I can't imagine POTUS talking about licensing requirements and judiciary changes -- its a Finance Ministry or Commerce type discussion.
2. The leaders are going to say -- Mr. Pres. you said take refugees, troops, ... and we will help you. We have 500 mill. BOP and budgetary gaps due to the conflict and now you are telling us that if we make these reforms the private sector will invest -- where's the money...
3. There is no way that this conference can take place without talk of money...

My idea:

I think that treasury needs to push the Fund and Bank to fill these gaps. Frankly, the Fund has been nowhere to be seen. Is there any way in which we can get some basic set of reforms that POTUS can push and have IFI money backing there agreement (THIS WOULD BE A ONE TIME BOP/BUDGETARY SUPPORT) for post conflict. Then we would push for the countries to get IMF programs and meet with conditionality. Whatever residual gaps there are we should push the Euros.

This seems to me the only option of real money and POTUS can claim leadership on this issue. We would really need to push Treasury. To be honest, the fear is that if we don't do something POTUS will and we will be left scrambling like in Central America.

Your views????

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
TEXT:
Wesley Clark in an interview claimed NATO can support the Heads of State meeting in Sarajevo. EU has not agreed yet to pay. Decision to be made on Monday.

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Sonal R. Shah
07/09/99 12:11:05 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Lael Brainard/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc: Sharon H. Yuan/OPD/EOP@EOP
Subject: POTUS Sarajevo trip

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Your views????
Re: Vieques

Appreciate this; Wanted to sneak over to this AM's Senate hearing but ran out of time. (Am also trying to track down WHF icon Gen Clark's recent testimony on behalf of keeping the range open in anticipation of our lunch with Barcelo). Finally, in the wake of the intergalactic debacle over the terrorist clemency, can Hillary speak with any credibility on this issue?!??!

Juan

> -----Original Message-----
> From: John_B._Buxton@opd.eop.gov [SMTP:John_B._Buxton@opd.eop.gov]
> Sent: Tuesday, October. 19, 1999 9:57 AM
> To: 'Ariel. zwang' ; 'Barry Price'; 'Chris Moore';
> Daniel_F._Feldman@nsa.eop.gov; 'Esther Benjamin'; 'Gary Hall';
> Jacqueline_F._Lain@who.eop.gov; John_B._Buxton@opd.eop.gov; 'Juan
Garcia';
> 'Khalid Azim'; 'Lance Wyatt'; 'Melissa Goldstein'; 'Peter Najera';
> Reynaldo_Valencia@who.eop.gov; Sonny_Garg@omb.eop.gov; 'Tim Wu'
> Subject: Vieques

> (Addendum to Pete's email) Panel's recommendations on Vieques:
>
> October 19, 1999
>
> Panel Backs Firing Exercises in Puerto Rico
>
> By ELIZABETH BECKER

> WASHINGTON -- A Presidential panel recommended Monday
> that the United States military be allowed to resume live
> firing exercises on Navy property in Puerto Rico but that the range be
> shut down in five years, despite demands from the territory's
> governor that it be closed immediately and all bombing halted.
>
> Since April, when a Marine pilot killed a Puerto Rican guard in
> a bombing accident on the range, Puerto Rican protesters have
> occupied it and prevented any target practice while the territory's
> politicians have argued that the range was an unacceptable threat to the

The Navy has suspended all bombing on the island of Vieques, pending a final decision. Anticipating criticism of Monday's recommendation, Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen said in a written statement that Navy and Puerto Rican officials should continue searching for a compromise.

"It's clear from the panel's report there are serious concerns among the residents of Vieques which need and deserve the careful attention of the Navy and the Department of Defense," Cohen said in the statement issued while he was traveling in the Middle East.

Gov. Pedro J. Rossell of Puerto Rico and Delegate Carlos Romero-Barceló, a Democrat who is Puerto Rico's nonvoting representative to Congress, were traveling to Washington today and were unavailable for comment. Both officials oppose resuming exercises on Vieques and are to appear on Tuesday before a Congressional committee holding hearings on the range.

Carlos Ventura, president of the Fishermen's Association of Southern Vieques, which has set up a protest camp on the range, told The Associated Press: "For us, it is unacceptable that the Navy start exercises again. We are going to stay there and continue our civil disobedience."

The panel's recommendation was immediately criticized by Hillary Rodham Clinton, a presumed candidate for senator from New York. She endorsed the position of most Puerto Rican politicians in New York, who have promised to make the closing of Vieques an issue in next year's Presidential and Senate elections.

"There should be an immediate and permanent end to the bombing," Mrs. Clinton said Monday. "The use of live fire on the island has put the people of Vieques at risk, degraded the environment and hampered economic development."

Last month Mrs. Clinton angered several Hispanic leaders in New York,
when she urged the President to withdraw his offer of clemency to members of a Puerto Rican terrorist organization. And in Monday's move, she was more in step with the Democratic Party establishment.

In a private conversation over the weekend, Vice President Al Gore told State Senator Olga Mendez, a Democrat from Manhattan, that he also favored shutting down the range, said an official with Gore's Presidential campaign. But a spokesman for Gore would say only that the Vice President was working for "a resolution to this important issue."

Senator Charles B. Schumer, Democrat of New York, said Monday that he, too, favored "the immediate cessation of all military activity on the island."

The Defense Department says that despite months of searching, it has found no replacement for the range, which the Secretary of the Navy has called "the only suitable training site."

"If the United States is to maintain military forces, it owes its sailors, marines, soldiers and airmen the best possible training," the Navy Secretary, Richard Danzig, said Monday.

Secretary Danzig asked Congress to endorse the findings of the four-member panel, which was headed by Francis Rush, principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for force management policy.

After a Congressional recommendation on the range, President Clinton will make a final decision.

The United States Government owns nearly two-thirds of the 33,000-acre island of Vieques. Because the island is far from the major commercial shipping and air routes, the Navy and Marines have mounted exercises with live ammunition for amphibious assaults, aerial bombing and aircraft carrier-based attacks.
Pentagon officials said that as the only range for such exercises on the East Coast, Vieques had been critical for training for every war since World War II.

In June President Clinton appointed the panel to resolve the competing demands of the American military and the Puerto Rican government.

But the President tipped his own hand in a private letter to his national security adviser, Samuel R. Berger, written on July 26, a White House official said. In it, the official said, the President said he agreed with Ruben Berrios-Martinez, a Puerto Rican friend of the President, who said that Vieques was being treated like "a colonial commonwealth."

"This is wrong," the President wrote. "I think they don't want us there. That's the main point. The Navy can find a way to work around it."

In its unanimous recommendation, the panel said it recognized the need to hold the training but said the military should substantially reduce the number of days it holds live-fire operations and cut back by half the amount of ammunition used.

Lee H. Hamilton, head of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, was a member of the panel, along with a retired Marine Corps general, Richard Neal, and a retired Navy vice admiral, Diego Hernandez, a former commander of the Navy's Third Fleet.

In nearly two months of testimony and travel to Puerto Rico, the panel said Hamilton, a former Democratic Representative from Indiana, the incensed by this and they all want it stopped immediately."
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<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- Automated Records Management System [Email]
- OPD ([General Wesley Clark])
- OA/Box Number: 250000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- [06/16/2000 - 10/13/2000]

**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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  - P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
  - PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
  - RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
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  - b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
To All:

Mike's input for the Speakers Committee, kath

--- Original Message ---

To: Kathryn Allen@IOS.IO@OS.DC
From: <Michael_R._Fenzel@nsc.eop.gov>
Date: Thu Sep 28 15:11:25 2000
Attached: Headers.822

Kath,

Thanks for the heads up. Here are some of my thoughts:

*Having the Service Chiefs scheduled (one at a time, on different dates—followed by the Chairman, JCS).

*Henry Kissinger

*President Carter, President Bush

*Donny Osmond

*George Will

*Stephen Ambrose

*3 or 4 Supreme Court Justices, followed by the Chief Justice (Rehnquist)

*Robert McNamera

*The Surgeon General

*Jesse Jackson

*Admiral Blair

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
*Wesley Clark

*Bill Gates

*Steve Case

*Marie Osmond

*Jack Welch (GE CEO)

OK, I dropped in Donny & Marie to see if I still had your attention! Hope all is well.

Mike
Does anyone need an extra brother?

-----Original Message-----
From: Kathryn Allen [mailto:kallen@os.dhhs.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 28, 2000 3:40 PM
To: david.aronberg@do.treas.gov; Scott.Berns@ost.dot.gov; jfenzel@opm.gov; ghez.marissa@hq.navy.mil; dlussier@opd.eop.gov
Subject: Fwd: Re: The Speakers Committee

Comments:
To All: Mike's input for the Speakers Committee, kath

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Mike

----------------------------------------
-- Even though this E-Mail has been scanned and found clean of
-- known viruses, OPM can not guarantee this message is virus free.
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-- This message was automatically generated.
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<td>09/24/1997</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records  
Automated Records Management System  
WHO (General Wesley Clark)  
OA/Box Number: 300000

**FOLDER TITLE:**  

**REasioN CODES**

- **Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
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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.
RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (PAGER)
CREATOR: Mail Link Monitor (MAILMGT) (SYS)
CREATION DATE/TIME: 17-APR-1996 18:17:28.06
SUBJECT: PAGER CONFIRMATION - VALDEZ, SUZANNA A.

TO: Janice A. Enright (ENRIGHT_J) (WHO)
READ: NOT READ

TEXT:

PAGE FOR VALDEZ, SUZANNA A., WAS TRANSMITTED 17-APR-1996 18:09:33.35
TEXT TRANSMITTED WAS:
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<td>12/22/1997</td>
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<td>06/17/1998</td>
<td>P5, P6/b(6)</td>
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<td>005. email</td>
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<td>06/17/1998</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<td>006. email</td>
<td>Kelly K.Terrence to Sean E. O'Connor [et.al.] at 08:54:15.00. Subject: Re: take 3... (4 pages)</td>
<td>06/18/1998</td>
<td>P5</td>
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System
WHO ([General Wesley Clark])
OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:
[11/03/1997 - 06/18/1998]

Whitney Ross
2006-0325-F
wr10678

RESTRICION CODES

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

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jeffrey L. Farrow (CN=Jeffrey L. Farrow/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 27-JAN-1998 18:03:19.00

SUBJECT: Army Southern Command in Puerto Rico

TO: DOBBINS_J (DOBBINS_J@A1@CD@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN]) (NSC)
READ:UNKNOWN

DESOUZA_P (DESOUZA_P@A1@CD@LNGTWY@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN]) (NSC)
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
DoD DepSec has asked for a re-evaluation by 3/1 of the announced decision to move the Army's Southern Command to Puerto Rico when it leaves Panama.

We went to some effort to work the decision in Puerto Rico (mollifying the Independence Party's strong concerns with statements about this not limiting Puerto Rico's opportunity for independence or a sovereign Puerto Rico's rights) with SouthCom Gen. Clark. We succeeded publicly, especially because of the economic contributions that it would make to P.R., although the independentistas are still nominally against the move.

Reversing the decision would be misunderstood in P.R. and a great disappointment to its officials.
Dear Fellows,

I also agree with Brad. I had the same initial thoughts when I read an earlier draft, but, because I was not present at your discussion, hesitated to say anything about it, since I assumed that there was consensus on the approach. I think the specific "criticism" referred to
is insufficiently constructive, disregards the decisionmaking power the
"Program Director" actually has and should have, and is a little nitpicky
and harsh.

I think it is fair to say something like, "we agreed that prior
consultation about significant decisions in trip planning (e.g.,
cancellation of Incirlik stop) should be made with the entire class in
those cases where prior consultation is possible. In cases where prior con-
sultation is not possible, some explanation of why the decision was made
should be shared with the Fellows." I offer the second sentence because
it may be that a quick decision was required, and because there are
important considerations (for our class or the WHF program in general)
that Jackie had to consider that we may not have been aware of (e.g.,
related to the fact that Gen. Clark is a Commissioner).

I think that the tone of most of the letter is very constructive -- with
lots of dead-on suggestions -- without personalizing the criticism and
pointing the finger at any individual failures. My belief is that,
although real failures may have occurred, we are best served with the
constructive approach that characterizes most of the otherwise
well-crafted letter.

Peter

*Carson, Brad , OSD/P&R* <CarsonB @ PR.OSD/MIL>
06/17/98 05:14:43 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: RE: memo...
> ---- Original Message ----
> From: Amy Alving [SMTP:AAlving@doc.gov]
> Sent: Wednesday, June 17, 1998 4:36 PM
> To: carson.brad@osd.pentagon.mil; cdorsey@dol.gov;
> Clifford.A_Skelton@oa.eop.gov; fjames@ustr.gov; gupta_s@al.eop.gov;
> JamieMetzl@aol.com; jennings_j@al.eop.gov; John.C._Burchett@hud.gov;
> jprieto@os.dhhs.gov; KellyTK@hqda.army.mil;
> lois_scott_at_pobox12@email.exim.gov; matice.wright@treas.sprint.com;
> Peter_Rundlet@oa.eop.gov; sean_n_o'connor@oa.eop.gov
> Subject: memo...
> Dear fellow Fellows,
> A number of people have submitted comments to Sanjay on the memo
to Jackie. As the new business chair, I guess I should coordinate this
now.
> The memo has been revised to try to simultaneously account for
the
> many opinions it represents, and I think it covers the middle ground
of
> comments we have heard. Also, there is a cover letter to go with it.
Both
> are attached to this email. Please take a look at them at your
earliest
> convenience and let me know if you have a violent objection.
Otherwise we
> will send them in to Jackie in the near future so she has time to use
the
> suggestions.
> Thanks.
> Amy
Dear Fellows,

Several people commented on the last paragraph of the trip-planning sections; most comments were sent to the whole class, so you've seen them. There had been a couple of comments on the previous draft so it had been toned down, for instance by removing the original reference someone had made about "personal biases" and so on. However, it seems the changes were not sufficient. The general flavor of the current comments is that they are too personal (her son, etc), too harsh, and not constructive/pointless.

Several people offered re-write suggestions, and after thinking about
Finally, there was concern expressed over some decisions made by the Director. We understand that at times a decision about travel must be made "at the top" rather than by the Fellows. However, in such cases good communication is very important. Fellows expressed frustration that, after we had put much time and effort into carefully planning a trip, the Director sometimes made decisions to change important aspects without discussing the impact of the trip and without explanation. Two examples illustrate this point. On our Seattle trip we had arranged for meetings with the Mayor and the Governor, but the Director changed the trip timing and this resulted in our visit taking place when both of these elected leaders were out of town. Similarly, the sudden decision she made to cancel the trip to Incirlik Air Force Base in Turkey -- in order to accommodate GEN Clark's schedule -- was not based on a full understanding of the options available at that point; she should have consulted with the people who had spent several months carefully planning the trip before making a decision about how to change the schedule. In such cases it is important to get input from the class before making the decision, and to communicate its reason afterwards. Better communication will help ensure the best possible decisions are made about trips.
(Then continue with the bullet.)
I, too, want to thank you for all the work, and apologize for joining the discussion late -- my email has been acting up lately, and I just received the email traffic on the letter this morning (which I thought had been finalized and delivered while I was gone the other week).

I must adamantly agree with Brad, Francis and Peter. This 3rd draft still has a personal flavor which, I am sure, will offend Jackie (not to mention...
piss her off). It is much better to offer suggestions for improvement rather than to pick on unfortunate instances and failures. As several good suggestions have been given on language, I will not offer any myself. Also, as I recall the conversation at the dinner, no one had a problem with the fact that Jackie rescheduled the Seattle trip and canceled the Incirlik stop, only that she did so without consulting us, or in the case of Incirlik in an overly brusque manner. I specifically recall saying that I would certainly have agreed to moving the Seattle trip if she had consulted us, but was upset at her for not doing so -- I thought there was general agreement on that point, but maybe I was wrong. Finally, she is, after all, the director and can set this up any darn way she pleases, and consult with us or not as she chooses.

I hope that the letter will not go forward with a personal flavor. If it does, I will have no other choice but to nonconcur with it and let Jackie know that I do. Also, the cover letter says, in effect, that this is the middle ground in a spectrum of opinion. I do not think that is the answer -- it should be a consensus. If someone, or some group of us has a strong opinion that is not agreed upon and therefore not in the letter, they should let Jackie know in some other forum.

I hope this helps. Once again, sorry to be so late in joining this conversation.

TK
Terrence K. Kelly, Ph.D.
White House Fellow
Office of the Under Secretary for Global Affairs
U.S. State Department
(202) 647-6349

> From: Amy Alving[SMTP:AAliving@doc.gov]
> Sent: Wednesday, June 17, 1998 8:10 PM
> To: Carson, Brad, CIV, OSD; cdorsey@dol.gov; Clifford_A._Skelton@oa.eop.gov; fjames@ustr.gov; gupta_s@al.eop.gov; jamieMetzl@aci1.com; jennings_j@al.eop.gov; John_C._Burchett@hud.gov; jprieto@os.dhhs.gov; Kelly, Terrence K., MAJ, OCLL; lois_scott_at_pobox12@imail.exim.gov; matice.wright@treas.sprint.com; Peter_Rundlet@oa.eop.gov; sean_e._o'connor@oa.eop.gov
> Subject: take 3...
Several people offered re-write suggestions, and after thinking about the response and the original intent, I offer one below. During the dinner, this was a topic of much discussion -- comments were coming so fast it was hard to write them down. My notes say things like "DON'T reschedule dates...pattern of personal desires outweighing class'...resentment when things are canceled for personal reasons...Jackie had personal bias against Cedars (affecting our participation) and the retreat (which never happened)...sometimes it is necessary for her to make a decision, but where is the line drawn?" As for Brad's question of what we are trying to do here, my understanding is the same thing as in the rest of the memo -- to let Jackie know what she, in addition to the rest of the staff, can do to improve the program. Judging from the reaction at dinner, it would be a good thing if she can avoid making decisions in a way that generates so much flak. It's important not to be undiplomatic, but writing something too vague and unspecific doesn't seem helpful either. With that said, let's see if this comes closer to navigating between those two extremes. *(The part about Incirlik didn't generate comments even from Brad ... :)*

... so it's unchanged.)

It's late and I'm going home. See you all tomorrow at Mary's event, I hope.

Amy

*******

Finally, there was concern expressed over some decisions made by the Director. We understand that at times a decision about travel must be made "at the top" rather than by the Fellows. However, in such cases good communication is very important. Fellows expressed frustration that, after we had put much time and effort into carefully planning a trip, the Director sometimes made decisions to change important aspects without discussing the impact on the trip and without explanation. Two examples illustrate this point. On our Seattle trip we had arranged for meetings with the Mayor and the Governor, but the Director changed the trip timing and this resulted in our visit taking place when both of these elected leaders were out of town. Similarly, the sudden decision she made to cancel the trip to Incirlik Air Force Base in Turkey -- in order to accommodate GEN Clark's schedule -- was not based on a full understanding of the options available at that point; she should have consulted with the people who had spent several months carefully planning the trip before making a decision about how to change the schedule. In such cases it is important to get input from the class before making the decision, and to communicate its reason afterwards. Better communication will help ensure
> the best possible decisions are made about trips.
> (Then continue with the bullet.)
## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
### Clinton Library

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<td>06/06/1999</td>
<td>P5, P6/b(6)</td>
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<td>002. email</td>
<td>Peter Baird to Sean P. Maloney, re trip [partial] (1 page)</td>
<td>06/07/1999</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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### COLLECTION:
- Clinton Presidential Records
- Automated Records Management System
- WHO ([General Wesley Clark])
- OA/Box Number: 500000

### FOLDER TITLE:
- [05/28/1999 - 06/10/1999]

### RESTRICTION CODES

- **Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
  - P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
  - P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
  - P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
  - P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
  - P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
  - P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
  - PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
  - RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- **Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**
  - b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
  - b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
  - b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
  - b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
  - b(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA]
  - b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
  - b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
  - b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
TO JEN AND MEG: This note started as a response to Meg's mail to me. I began addressing issues Jen needs to know, too, so it just morphed into a double e-mail. The part for Meg is at top.

Please forgive lack of proper memo writing but everything is a crisis in this country, everything is strenuous. I have no place to work: I borrow computers on the weekend, and desk space as people go to lunch. And that is the kind of thing this embassy can not fix quickly: This is Albania. You don't even want to know a shard about the nasty Internet politics here. (Info is power...)

FOR MEG:
Hey, Meggie. What a nice surprise. Finding an e-mail like that can make ya feel kinda human again.

Very hot afternoon, as they all are, here in very dusty Tirana. The people are good but complicated. Everything here is complicated, everything has layers and layers of 'meanings' and histories and vendettas. And, even if it is simple, and DOESN'T have a meaning, people think there is some hidden meaning. Nothing here, said one to me, is black and white; there are always three shades of grey.

Gangs and gangwars quite the sport here. Albania has hundreds and hundreds of years of history based on clans - the only local "law" - and they all have elephant-capacity memory. Some gangs are industrial-strength, and drive smoked-glass Mercedes and wear all the right designer clothes; others are local to a few blocks, and quite territorial. Everyone has guns. Guns are absolutely everywhere. When Albania went through the anarchy in 1997 of the collapse of the pyramid
schemes, there were also raids on munitions dumps, and a half-million Kalishnikovs disappeared into this country...somewhere. So there's lots of shooting at night. You can hear now and then. Sure, there are families on the dusty streets during the days...walking and talking with kids with ice cream, but, everyone vanishes, vanishes to a total ghost town, by 10:00 PM. There is a sort of an unofficial "truce" afoot with the gangs, since NATO came, and NATO knows it, too, though no one ever said it aloud: Since NATO came, a 'deal' seems simply to have evolved, for practical reasons, that the mobs will lay off until 10:00 PM (and this is 'new' for life in Tirana) but, anyone on the streets after 10:00 PM, is simply...fair game.

We ('official' Americans) are living under the very constraining discipline of a 'critical threat' post, which has been the case here since the embassies in Africa were bombed in August. Our movements are strictly limited and guarded. Sandbags and blastwalls are piled thick and topped off with mounds of lacy razor wire. There are guards everywhere - theirs, ours and God-knows-whose, openly strolling with hard vests and nasty large response weapons. We cannot travel anywhere unless in a "hard-car", also accompanied by guards. We cannot go for a walk; we cannot run to the store. Plans are made carefully and in groups. They're HOPING to revise this slightly -- and let, at least, let us walk across the street during broad daylight, on, of course, only certain streets. Hope so. We are prisoners of our offices, hotel rooms and hard cars. I can go to appointments, and restaurants, but everything has to be 'planned' and co-ordinated and guarded.

I've done a lot of "hard-car" hard-time before. That's the way we existed in Manila, and Tuzla, and Sarajevo, and Gaza, and Caracas, and everywhere. I have been doing this since the days (20 years ago, you youngsters) of the Red Brigade and Bader Meinhof. So it's quite familiar. I'm uncharacteristically co-operative -- because I GET IT about the bad-guy stuff. But, it's still hard.

TO BOTH OF YOU: The above? Tom (my husband) is NOT to have this pointed out to him. He's worried enough. Thanks.
WORK ORIENTED: [Here’s where the e-mail started to morph into a note for Jen, too:]

Been working very very very hard. Came in with intention, and mission, of getting press to do more stories on human side of crisis, since that is the reason we're doing this. Realised immediately we needed to tighten contact and co-operation among NATO, and the two U.S. mil units in country, and with the U.S. embassy, to be productive.

But - that halted immediately when we saw with shock how appallingly under-resourced and under-staffed all of those public info offices were. All for different reasons. But all: appallingly. At total ground zero. No phones. No wheels. No press lists. No professional support staff. Little or ZERO press and media experience. NUTHIN. No contact with each other. No hard-wired contact with the Albanians, which means, also, the Kosovars. A lot of critical missionary work needed on all public affairs fronts, from homefront in U.S., to upset residents of tents here.

Have spent, to exhaustion, first 10 days, struggling with them, and for them, to get into country what EACH needs: For NATO, for U.S. Embassy, for each of US Mil units; by hook and crook, staffing up.

I parcel everyday between working with
1) AFOR ("Albania Force"). Public Info Ofcr, a tremendous British Lieut Col, and we think hard together and spin off and see people, and then collude again;
2) Embassy - which is severely crippled and engaging me hard (leaning on me hard) as we solve problems, even admin, handle crisis projects and their press and Public Affairs aspects, so it works right for us;
3) US Mil units: Their public affairs officers are quite quite good, but couldn't get going since so crippled by lack of support from Pentagon. Been figuring ways through problems for them; figured out some phone access; things to do like how to do hometown interviews which we all knew needed to be done.
4) Albania: We need Albania working with us and we are working with them so they are comfortable working with us. This gets critical PR reach, on behalf both of US and NATO, to the... 5) ...Kosovars, with whom we are also doing a lot.
6) US Press in country.

US PRESS now pouring back into country. Hoping for a real war; deflated to think it all might happen in Skopje.

Reality: This story will surge twice, and we are getting NATO ready for that and U.S. ready for that: It will surge:
A) When troops cross the border at Macedonia, and secure Kosovo and
B) The shift back to here, when the hundreds of thousands of refugees go back to Kosovo from HERE.

WHAT DOING: Slowly - too slowly - staffing up NATO Press Office and USIS. Not only having to assign tasks, but teach them how each is done. Everything from clips to media monitoring. Just NOT DONE here.

NATO: Sent pretty blunt memo to London and Brussels today - at their request and with their blessing - spelling out what needs to happen to accelerate the PIO buildup. (JEN: The memo was all about NATO, but I shall hard-copy you on Monday.)

We all here, in these places, know that firm order must be given to military, US and NATO, to start attaching troops to units. Working hard with NATO on what must happen. Same order needs to come from the Pentagon. More on this later, verbally.

[I am QUITE hamstrung trying to talk openly to you, when I only have open e-mail with matters like this, and open cell phones and open land lines, and it is cramping.]

MILITARY:
I need one contact in the US chain of command, at EUCOM in Europe, who can respond quickly to things we need here with and for US military. Will contact Jen about this separately. This is already being worked through General Clark's office for me at Mons, but I shall need Washington help.

[UPDATE: Jen I started writing this before I called you Sunday. This is a post phone call insertion.] USIS officer from Washington, Jim Bigart, who is quite good and knows how to do things, is telling me this afternoon the logjam is broken for Tirana. Things will start
happening. All we need to do is ask and
everything for Tirana is now 'urgent'.
I am showing PAO Bill Cook here, who is
good guy but NOT an 'urgent' kind of guy,
and NOT a press-oriented guy, and not
a proactive message-manager guy, I am
telling him step by step what he needs
to ask for, what people we need, what
tasks we need to do.

WE'VE FOUND AMERICAN PRESS: Word is
out that I'm in town and they are
finding me. I've been calling also
to DC and NYC offices of the 'majors'
to find out who they have in Albania,
and how to reach them, or to leave
messages. Starting to work, and
pick up steam.

Did briefing for US press with our
ambassador here last night. Total
background. They played by rules, and
loved it. We needed to get their heads
straight before they bolted out of town
into wilds of Albania. This town
full of rumours and deliberate
disinformation. Ambassador has been
on line, by my arrangement, with Leavy
or Hammer directly any time he (Amb.)
might get near press. Very sensitive
here and that is necessary. Also, this
embassy TOTALLY disconnected and gets
no info: One TV set; only gets CNN
sometimes; internet constantly
crashes (that's totally Albanian nasty
tower-play politics) but we often
don't have a clue. Everyone here,
press and feds and military, all help
each other, trading every shard of
info they hear. It is really tough here.

Even with all that, we're starting:
INTERVIEWS BACK TO LOCAL U.S.:
About ready, on a damned shoestring, probably within 48-72 hours, to start generating stories about good good people, Americans, volunteering in this country with the right attitude, whether military or doing the work, in the camps. I've been identifying the "good ones"; so has the military.

Among Jeff's recommendations were getting local press over here; he's right, but still hard to do because Albania is just HARD to do anything.

BUT we can start doing this by phone, reporters in U.S., in comfort of their air-conditioned offices, can talk by phone with US workers and military here.

Even though the phones don't work much if at all, we have connived ways to work with that.

I am identifying the people (good ones). I have made a 'system' for contacting the papers, from here, starting small, in a few days, then growing.

Schedule: We can make the contacts each afternoon here, when the U.S. "wakes up", to set 'phone appointments' with the good Americans and their hometown paper or radio, for the following day or so. Phone 'appts' are necessary. Nobody has phones in field.

STAFFING: Finally, after 11 days, will get first USIS PIO in here, even for a short stay. His time will be split between our critical hook to NATO Press Office here and embassy for U.S. purposes.

ALSO: Got Embassy to do local hire, short term contract, for crummy money, on energetic young woman who used to be the Natl Dem Inst rep here in Albania. Has right personality to assist, as supervised, in press offices, to make those local calls. She will need heavy supervision, and will have it. At least it's something. She has a PULSE and she's here. ERIN SABERI. If she calls you all for help (like needing a phone number of a local paper), that's who this is. USIA blessing and assisting with this short term hire.

JEN: Still need that second USIS officer. I'm told it's in pipeline.
YIPPEE!! Getting USIS/Vienna to buy the satellite phones and get 'em to Tirana. Just two, for starters.

I'm getting then in here within about five days, which will FINALLY give us some freedom, still limited, but freedom. Will allow us to do RADIO interviews with folks here, to back home.

Not only getting them for US Embassy, but also organizing rapid purchase for NATO/Albania so they aren't crippled anymore either, and our US Mil units.

So - yeah - been doing a lot.

Oh: ADVANCE SCHOOL
I used the Elie Wiesel trip to show whole embassy really/really how to do it: How to do it at presidential efficiency level, both in terms of time and product, not just 'float' through a day wasting time.
How to schedule, what to schedule, how to prepare a site, select participants, (and all without ruining natural look)
how not to waste time of principal,
how to pre-interview, do a press schedule, liveshots, how to get rid of strap-hangars (including our own), how to do a clean shot, how to get media to come...WHEW.
The embassy folks were GREAT. Coupla natural advance people here. I'm takin' names.

Ambassador and I having fun doing big one/two punch. 'He's good. I'm an 'expendable political hack', which is how I introduce myself, and how I think of myself.

JEN PLEASE DO THESE THINGS:

1. Please follow with USIS on urgency of material and people, though logjam seems maybe broken. Best contact is JIM BIGART at 202-647-6988; he is in charge of all admin (people and money) for all of USIS/Europe and he gets it, and he is now involved and our champion. (More to it than this but I shall tell you at another time; it doesn't matter now.)

2. PLEASE ADVISE: As we start doing interviews with Americans back to local papers and radio, please advise whether there are any districts or markets you would have us target? We can try to find someone from those places here or we can accelerate someone whose name we have now.
3. JEN: Might need you to contact
Pentagon for help here. PJ knows about
this and Ken Bacon is even waiting for
logjam to break. Might be able to break
it today by phone at Mons (Belgium); if
not, I'll come back for help.

4. JEN: SecDef might need to get involved
so it is clear - crystal clear - that US
press get properly attached to US mil
units. The press here are all seasoned and
know how to do this, better than some of
the younger troops do. But US military needs
to get the command to DO IT. This is matter
of hours, not days. Also trying to unstick
this through General Clark at Mons. This is
a big deal; it is the ballgame, and it is
NOT a done deal, no matter what anyone back
there thinks. I shall let you know fast
if I need you.

5. Tell me I still have a job back there,
and tell me you didn't send me to this
difficult and impossible place like a
practical joke. I'm jealous of them over
in Skopje: They have all the military and
support, and they have phones that work
and they probably have bathtubs.

Internet takes forever even to type.
Everything slow here.
These people deserve better. Some
crooks sucked up all Albania's money
and put it Swiss banks and these
people ride horsecarts through downtownstreets which crumble as you drive.
Even the professionals in town, with
jobs, don't have phones at home, and
maybe not plumbing.

Even the press are transformed this time.
You can't be here and not be changed,
by seeing the best of people and the
worst of people in this intense town.
at this intense time.

Must go. Internet connection will collapse
on me shortly.

With love,
with thanks for all you have done,
Anne

PLEASE TREAT THIS AS A PRIVATE NOTE.

Very busy.
Get your free, private email at http://mail.excite.com/
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<td>09/24/1999</td>
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<td>009. email</td>
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<td>11/01/1999</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System
WHO ([General Wesley Clark])
OA/Box Number: 500000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[09/21/1999 - 11/22/1999]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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Message from POTUS on the presentation of the Legacy of Leadership Award to GEN Wesley K. Clark to be read at the October 1 dinner of the White House Fellows Alumni Association.

Contact person: Jackie Blumenthal 5-7474 or jblumenthal@whf.gov

Media: C-SPAN may cover the dinner. Other press have been invited but no commitments have been made to date. A camera crew will be filming the event as part of a documentary being made about John Gardner.

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1. Even as it focuses on General Clark, the President’s message should speak broadly about the vision of John Gardner and the contributions of White House Fellows, both during their service as Fellows and afterwards as they assume leadership roles in their professions and communities.

2. Please note that although the President has a relatively close relationship with General Clark, recent political decisions by the Pentagon regarding Clark may heighten the impact of the President’s words about him.
RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)


CREATION DATE/TIME:23-SEP-1999 16:42:45.00

SUBJECT: RE: Corcoran Museum Oct.1 Event'

TO: Maureen A. Hudson (CN=Maureen A. Hudson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO ] )

TEXT:
Per our conversation, I received this request from Stephanie Streett's assistant. It's for the White House Fellows Alumni Association Gala dinner on October 1. They're honoring the visionary founder of the WH Fellows and presenting the first-ever Legacy Award to Gen. Clark - see below.

Please note that although the President has a relatively close relationship with General Clark, recent political decisions by the Pentagon regarding Clark may heighten the impact of the President's words about him.

---------------------- Forwarded by Eileen P. McCaughey/WHO/EOP on 09/23/99 04:36 PM ----------------------

Anne Whitworth
09/23/99 02:51:02 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Eileen P. McCaughey/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: RE: Corcoran Museum Oct.1 Event

Eileen-

DO you know how I would go about handling this request? Thanks for your help. Annie

---------------------- Forwarded by Anne Whitworth/WHO/EOP on 09/23/99 02:50 PM ----------------------

Jackie Blumenthal <jblumenthal@whf.gov>
09/22/99 08:38:10 AM
Record Type: Record

To: Anne Whitworth/WHO/EOP
cc:
Subject: RE: Corcoran Museum Oct.1 Event

Anne: Here's a document laying out the context and details pertaining to the message we need from the President. Whoever works on this should feel free to contact me for any help or further info needed. Please let me know if the letter will be produced or not. Thanks, Jackie
Anne Whitworth

From: Anne_Whitworth@who.eop.gov [SMTP: Anne_Whitworth@who.eop.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, September 21, 1999 4:07 PM
To: Jackie Blumenthal
Subject: RE: Corocoran Museum Oct. 1 Event

Jackie- If you want to give me a some more details I can forward it to the right person. Thanks.

(Embedded image moved to file: PIC13005.PCX)

Record Type: Record

To: Anne Whitworth/WHO/EOP

CC:

Subject: RE: Corocoran Museum Oct. 1 Event

Thanks for getting back to me Anne. Could we get a letter? I think Gen Clark would appreciate it and I could read it aloud to the guests (we're up to 300 guests so far from all over the country). Can you get that moving or what should I do to get a letter done? Who should I give particulars (name of award etc.) to? Thanks.

PAW

From: Anne_Whitworth@who.eop.gov [SMTP: Anne_Whitworth@who.eop.gov]
Sent: Monday, September 13, 1999 5:56 PM
To: Jackie Blumenthal
Subject: Corocoran Museum Oct. 1 Event

Jackie-

I am Steph's assistant, she has been out of town so I was trying to catch her up on some of her emails. On October 1 the President will be in Nevada and California. Would you like a letter for Gen. Clark or is there something else that we can do? Please let me know.

Thanks. Annie Whitworth
Unable to convert ARMS EXT:[ATTACH.D64]ARMS22668076D.236 to ASCII.
The following is a HEX DUMP:
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**Contact person:** Jackie Blumenthal 5-7474 or jblumenthal@whf.gov

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<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Irma L. Martinez to Sean P. O'Shea at 16:11:01.00. Subject: Re: FLOTUS Box: Additional Ideas. (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/05/2000</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
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<td>002. email</td>
<td>Sean P. O'Shea to Kris M. Balderston at 15:30:28.00. Subject: FLOTUS Box: Additional Ideas. (1 page)</td>
<td>01/05/2000</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<tr>
<td>003. email</td>
<td>Wendy Arends to Anne W. Bovaird at 17:34:52.00. Subject: Re: FLOTUS Box: Additional Ideas. (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/05/2000</td>
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<td>004. email</td>
<td>Sean P. O'Shea to Setti D. Warren and Anne W. Bovaird at 16:20:30.00. Subject: FLOTUS Box: Additional Ideas. (2 pages)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]
WHO [(General Wesley Clark)]
OA/Box Number: [500000]

**FOLDER TITLE:**

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

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

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

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

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Mr. O'Shea -- always on the ball.

In addition to my previous submissions (below) here are some other ideas based on 1999 happenings that you may wish to pass along to the First Lady for consideration:

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7. Genome Scientist: I don't know the scientists name, but given the import and the President's interest, we may want the scientist who led the
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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Wendy Arends ( CN=Wendy Arends/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-JAN-2000 17:34:52.00

SUBJECT: Re: FLOTUS Box: Additional Ideas

TO: Anne W. Bovaird ( CN=Anne W. Bovaird/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
he probably already did

Anne W. Bovaird
01/05/2000 05:31:43 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Wendy Arends/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: FLOTUS Box: Additional Ideas

I don't know why he doesn't email the First Lady directly instead... ;)
---------------------- Forwarded by Anne W. Bovaird/WHO/EOP on 01/05/2000
05:31 PM ----------------------

Sean P. O'Shea
01/05/2000 04:20:25 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Anne W. Bovaird/WHO/EOP@EOP, Setti D. Warren/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: FLOTUS Box: Additional Ideas

You guys fell off my OCA list...Y2K!!!!!!!!!!
---------------------- Forwarded by Sean P. O'Shea/WHO/EOP on 01/05/2000
04:20 PM ----------------------

Sean P. O'Shea
01/05/2000 03:30:23 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Kris M Balderston/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Thurgood Marshall Jr/WHO/EOP@EOP, Irma L. Martinez/WHO/EOP@EOP,
Wendy Arends/WHO/EOP@EOP, William T. Glunz/WHO/EOP@EOP
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records  
Automated Records Management System [Email]  
WHO ([General Wesley Clark])  
OA/Box Number: 500000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[05/02/2000 - 06/14/2000]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

- **Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
  - P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
  - P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
  - P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
  - P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
  - P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
  - P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

- **PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).**
  - RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- **Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**
  - b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
  - b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
  - b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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  - b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
  - b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
  - b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Update on Byrd/Warner as of Friday afternoon.

The Letter: the effort to get 34 signatures bogged down on Friday because friendly Republicans were reluctant to use "V" word this early in the process. They settled on a multi-step process -- beginning with a dear colleague signed by ten Senators (6 Democrats and 4 Republicans -- McCain, Hagel, Lugar and G. Smith) expressing opposition to the amendment -- with Wes Clark's letter attached. (The Dear Colleague went out on Friday afternoon). The 34-letter is still a possibility for later in the process.

The Veto Threat: Cohen sent his veto letter to Stevens on Friday morning -- and DoD Press provided to Eric Schmit on Friday evening.
The Alternative: Democrats continue to work on alternative language. Several staff meetings occurred on Friday and another is planned on Monday afternoon. Levin's staff plans to propose the following to the group on Monday:

1) in lieu of the Byrd section (automatic withdrawal unless Congress authorizes), the Levin proposal would require a report by July 1, 2001 on the utility of the participation of U.S. forces in the operation; and

2) in lieu of the Warner section (burdensharing benchmarks), Levin would retain the same basic structure -- with the exception that a failure to certify would trigger expedited procedures for a withdrawal resolution (i.e., the presumption is reversed -- U.S. forces remain in Kosovo unless Congress forces them to withdraw).

It is not clear to me that these staffers have thought through exactly how such an alternative would be used (e.g., as an organizing tool for the 34-letter . . . or as an actual amendment for the floor);

I have not seen any text yet. They have asked for input from us, especially on ways to modify the Warner benchmarks to ensure that we can make the certification;

Briefings/Party Caucuses: Gen. Clark is willing to do briefings/meetings next week as needed. Daschle' staff has asked that Clark/Cohen/Shelton provide a bi-partisan briefing for all Senators and that the same trio attend the Democratic policy lunch on Tuesday. There are several problems with this request. First of all, it is unlikely that Clark/Cohen/Shelton will appear together in any forum; and second, we need to maintain a bi-partisan tone.
I suggest the following:

1) that the Pentagon ask the Republicans to host a bi-partisan briefing for all Senators. If they decline (which they probably will), we drop back to a McCain/Lugar/Levin/Biden-sponsored briefing in S-407;

2) that we make the same request to both party lunches -- unclear what the Republican reaction will be.

I suspect the result will be a bi-partisan briefing of some sort -- and an appearance by Wes Clark at the Democratic lunch.

If this approach looks OK, we need to get the logistics for the briefings/party caucuses rolling Monday morning.
## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
### Clinton Library

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>003. email</td>
<td>Shannon E. Butler to Nancy V. Hemreich and Mary Morrison at 18:13:19.00. Subject: MTG w/ Wesley Clark - CANCELED. (1 page)</td>
<td>01/10/2001</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004. email attachment</td>
<td>Aircraft Manifest: Washington, D.C. to Zurich, Switzerland to Davos, Switzerland to Zurich, Switzerland to Washington, D.C. (5 pages)</td>
<td>01/11/2001</td>
<td>P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F)</td>
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</table>

**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System
WHO ([General Wesley Clark])
OA/Box Number: 500000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[12/15/2000 - 01/18/2001]

**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.

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- b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

2006-0325-F
wr10690
TO: Shannon E. Butler (CN=Shannon E. Butler/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ: UNKNOWN

TO: Jennifer C. Self (CN=Jennifer C. Self/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ: UNKNOWN

CC: Michele Ballantyne (CN=Michele Ballantyne/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ: UNKNOWN

CC: Rachael F. Goldfarb (CN=Rachael F. Goldfarb/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ: UNKNOWN

CC: Drew T. Gardiner (CN=Drew T. Gardiner/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:
10:00
10:15. am- am
MEETING WITH GENERAL WESLEY CLARK
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett
PRIVATE MTG - JAN 16

10:00
10:15 am-

MEETING WITH GENERAL WESLEY CLARK

OVAL OFFICE

Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett
RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL  (NOTES MAIL)


CREATION DATE/TIME: 10-JAN-2001 18:13:19.00

SUBJECT: MTG w/ Wesley Clark - CANCELED

TO: Nancy V. Hernreich ( CN=Nancy V. Hernreich/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO: ] )
READ: UNKNOWN

TO: Mary Morrison ( CN=Mary Morrison/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO: ] )
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:
POTUS requested to do this meeting post presidency.
------------------------------------------ Forwarded by Shannon E. Butler/WHO/EOP on
01/10/2001 06:12 PM ------------------------------------------

Sarah R. Rozensky
01/10/2001 04:35:31 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Shannon E. Butler/WHO/EOP@EOP, Jennifer C. Self/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Michele Ballantyne/WHO/EOP@EOP, Rachael F. Goldfarb/WHO/EOP@EOP, Drew T. Gardiner/WHO/EOP@EOP
Subject: MTG w/ Wesley Clark - CANCELED

10:00
10:15 am-

MEETING WITH GENERAL WESLEY CLARK

11:00

11:15 am-

MEETING WITH GENERAL WESLEY CLARK

10:00

MEETING WITH GENERAL WESLEY CLARK

Oval Office

Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jeller@pstrategies.com">jeller@pstrategies.com</a> to Stefanie Sanford, re happy holidays etc. [partial]</td>
<td>01/07/1997</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td><a href="mailto:MJO@honigman.com">MJO@honigman.com</a> to Madge H. Henning, re Yale (2 pages)</td>
<td>04/01/1997</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003. email</td>
<td><a href="mailto:gbruno@btl.net">gbruno@btl.net</a> to Marsha Scott, re Building a bridge (2 pages)</td>
<td>05/17/1997</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004. email</td>
<td>G. timothy Saunders to R. Thomas III at 10:24:00.00 Subject: Nomination of General Clark: Supreme Allied Command, NATO. (3 pages)</td>
<td>05/23/1997</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005. email</td>
<td>G. Timothy Saunders to Todd Stern at 10:08:00.00. Subject: Nomination of General Clark: Supreme Allied Command, NATO. (2 pages)</td>
<td>05/23/1997</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006. email</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Poppy.Meier@mail.house.gov">Poppy.Meier@mail.house.gov</a> to Carolyn T. Wu, re Happy Hour (2 pages)</td>
<td>08/08/1997</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
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<td>007. email</td>
<td><a href="mailto:louis_scott_at_pobox12@imail.exim.gov">louis_scott_at_pobox12@imail.exim.gov</a> to Jon P. Jennings, re Goody Suggestion [partial] (5 pages)</td>
<td>10/21/1997</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>008. email</td>
<td><a href="mailto:mlewinsk@pagatepa.osd.mil">mlewinsk@pagatepa.osd.mil</a> to Ashley L. Raines, re Medical Report (4 pages)</td>
<td>10/22/1997</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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</table>

**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- Tape Restoration Project
- Default ([General Wesley Clark])
- OA/Box Number: 1100000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- [01/07/1997 - 11/16/1997]

**RESTRicTion Codes**

- Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
- Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

### Restriction Codes:

- **P1** National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: G. Timothy Saunders (G. Timothy Saunders@EOP@LNGTWY@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 23-MAY-1997 10:24:00.00

SUBJECT: Nomination of General Clark: Supreme Allied Command, NATO

TO: Edwin R. Thomas III (Edwin R. Thomas III@EOP [UNKNOWN])
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:
Message Creation Date was at 23-MAY-1997 10:24:00

fyi

---------------------- Forwarded by G. Timothy Saunders/WHO/EOP on
05/23/97
10:29 AM ---------------------------

G. TIMOTHY
SAUNDERS
05/23/97 10:08:38 AM

Record Type: Record

To: STERN_T @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY, CAPLAN_P @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
cc:

Subject: Nomination of General Clark: Supreme Allied Command, NATO

When we brought this package over, we attached a copy of the announcement of
Clark's selection by White House Press Release of 3/31/97 (it is exceedingly
odd that the announcement preceded the actual nomination/approval package for

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
This NATO command package has several component parts.

Once the President has approved Clark's selection for the NATO position, the letter to Secretary General Solana will be sent, requesting the release of the incumbent (General Joulwan) and requesting that the Defense Planning Committee of the North Atlantic Council (NATO) approve the "nomination" of General Clark (to replace General Joulwan). (this is why the White House announcement of 3/31/97, announcing the President's nomination of Clark appeared so odd -- I've worked many of these rather complex packages and have never seen one announced by the White House before the President requests release of the incumbent and "nomination" of successor formally from NATO).

At any event, once NATO has communicated their concurrence (assuming they do and this may take some time), a simultaneous Pentagon/Brussels press release will be issued (this should not be issued by the White House). The President may then nominate Gen. Clark to the Senate to be reassigning in the grade of
general (4 stars).

Once the Senate confirms Clark, the President then MAY send the azure letter to General Clark we have edited and prepared in final. While I don't object to it, in my opinion, this letter from the President to Clark is not required --

and indeed was NOT done by the President for Joulwan in 1993.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Brad Carson to aalving, brad carson, cدورsey et al. at 20:57:45.00. Subject: Re: take 3... (6 pages)</td>
<td>06/18/1998</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td>Amy Alving to Peter Rundlet at 01:17:12.00. Subject: ... no subject... (2 pages)</td>
<td>06/18/1998</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<td>003. email</td>
<td>Terrence K. Kelly to Brad Carson, aalving, cدورsey, et al. at 12:50:28.00. Subject: RE: take 3... (6 pages)</td>
<td>06/18/1998</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<tr>
<td>004. email</td>
<td>John Tien to Bruce McNamer and <a href="mailto:r@ustr.gov">r@ustr.gov</a>, re My next assignment [partial] (2 pages)</td>
<td>03/03/1999</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Tape Restoration Project
WHO ([General Wesley Clark])
OA/Box Number: 500000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[06/18/1998 - 03/03/1999]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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Amy asked that I submit language that would satisfy me about the contested paragraph on page 7 of the memo to Jackie. This is therefore thrown out there in the interest of further spurring debate.
"Planning trips, whether international or domestic, is a laborious and

time-consuming exercise for both staff and Fellows. For the Fellows,

trip planning is most easily done when the desires and interests of the

staff are expressed early and unequivocally. The trips this year have

been successes, which speaks well of the existing coordination between

the Fellows and the staff. But the lines of open and clear

communication between staff and Fellows must be constantly safeguarded;

the occasional breakdown in communication was an altogether avoidable

source of anxiety for the Fellows. Prompt notification by the staff of

all scheduling conflicts is appreciated, as are any changes made by the

staff to a trip's itinerary -- changes which are best done early in the

planning process and preferably in consultation with the Fellows."

> -----Original Message-----
> From: Amy Alving [SMTP:AAlving@doc.gov]
> Sent: Wednesday, June 17, 1998 11:10 PM
> To: carson.brad@osd.pentagon.mil; cdorsey@dol.gov;
> Clifford_A._Skelton@oa.eop.gov; fjames@ustr.gov; gupta_s@al.eop.gov;
> JamieMetzl@aol.com; jennings_j@al.eop.gov; John_C._Burchett@hud.gov;
> jprieto@os.dhhs.gov; KellyTK@hqda.army.mil;
> lois_scott_at_pobox12@imail.exim.gov; matice.wright@treas.sprint.com;
> Peter_Rundlet@oa.eop.gov; sean_e._o'connor@oa.eop.gov
> Subject: take 3...
>
> Dear Fellows,
>
> Several people commented on the last paragraph of the
trip-planning
sections; most comments were sent to the whole class, so you've seen
them.
There had been a couple of comments on the previous draft so it had
been
toned down, for instance by removing the original reference someone
had
made about "personal biases" and so on. However, it seems the changes
were
not sufficient. The general flavor of the current comments is that
they
are too personal (her son, etc), too harsh, and not
constructive/pointless.
Several people offered re-write suggestions, and after thinking
about
the response and the original intent, I offer one below. During the
dinner,
this was a topic of much discussion -- comments were coming so fast
it was
hard to write them down. My notes say things like "DON'T reschedule
dates...pattern of personal desires outweighing class'...resentment
when
things are canceled for personal reasons...Jackie had personal bias
against
Cedars (affecting our participation) and the retreat (which never
happened)...sometimes it is necessary for her to make a decision, but
where
is the line drawn?" As for Brad's question of what we are trying to
do
here, my understanding is the same thing as in the rest of the memo --
let Jackie know what she, in addition to the rest of the staff, can do
to improve the program. Judging from the reaction at dinner, it would be
good if she can avoid making decisions in a way that generates
much flak. It's important not to be undiplomatic, but writing
too vague and unspecific doesn't seem helpful either. With that said,
let's see if this comes closer to navigating between those two
extremes.
(The part about Incirlik didn't generate comments even from Brad ...
:) ... so it's unchanged.)
It's late and I'm going home. See you all tomorrow at Mary's
event, I hope.

Amy

********

Finally, there was concern expressed over some decisions made by the
Director: We understand that at times a decision about travel must be made "at the top" rather than by the Fellows. However, in such cases good communication is very important. Fellows expressed frustration that, after we had put much time and effort into carefully planning a trip, the Director sometimes made decisions to change important aspects without discussing the impact on the trip and without explanation. Two examples illustrate this point. On our Seattle trip we had arranged for meetings with the Mayor and the Governor, but the Director changed the trip timing and this resulted in our visit taking place when both of these elected leaders were out of town. Similarly, the sudden decision she made to cancel the trip to Incirlik Air Force Base in Turkey -- in order to accommodate GEN Clark's schedule -- was not based on a full understanding of the options available at that point; she should have consulted with the people who had spent several months carefully planning the trip before making a decision about how to change the schedule. In such cases it is important to get input from the class before making the decision, and to communicate its reason afterwards. Better communication will help ensure the best possible decisions are made about trips.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
> (Then continue with the bullet.)
Dear Fellows,

Several people commented on the last paragraph of the trip-planning sections; most comments were sent to the whole class, so you've seen them. There had been a couple of comments on the previous draft so it had been toned down, for instance by removing the original reference someone had made about "personal biases" and so on. However, it seems the changes were not sufficient. The general flavor of the current comments is that they are too personal (her son, etc), too harsh, and not constructive/pointless.

Several people offered re-write suggestions, and after thinking about the response and the original intent, I offer one below. During the dinner,

this was a topic of much discussion -- comments were coming so fast it was hard to write them down. My notes say things like "DON'T reschedule dates...pattern of personal desires outweighing class'...resentment when things are canceled for personal reasons...Jackie had personal bias against Cedars (affecting our participation) and the retreat (which never happened)...sometimes it is necessary for her to make a decision, but where is the line drawn?" As for Brad's question of what we are trying to do here, my understanding is the same thing as in the rest of the memo -- to let Jackie know what she, in addition to the rest of the staff, can do to improve the program. Judging from the reaction at dinner, it would be a good thing if she can avoid making decisions in a way that generates so much flak. It's important not to be undiplomatic, but writing something too vague and unspecific doesn't seem helpful either. With that said,
let's see if this comes closer to navigating between those two extremes:
(The part about Incirlik didn't generate comments even from Brad ... :) ... so it's unchanged.)

Finally, there was concern expressed over some decisions made by the Director. We understand that sometimes a decision must be made "at the top" rather than by the Fellows. However, some such decisions were made without sufficient discussion or input from the class. For instance, on our Seattle trip we had arranged for meetings with the Mayor and the Governor, but the Director changed the trip timing and this resulted in our visit taking place when both of these elected leaders were out of town. In addition, the sudden decision she made to cancel the trip to Incirlik Air Force Base in Turkey -- in order to accommodate GEN Clark's schedule -- was not based on a full understanding of the options available at that point; she should have consulted with the people who had spent several months carefully planning the trip before making a decision about how to change the schedule. In cases such as these, we would like to see better communication to ensure the best possible outcome.
(Continue with bullet -- In those cases, etc.)
Amy,

I, too, want to thank you for all the work, and apologize for joining the discussion late -- my email has been acting up lately, and I just received the email traffic on the letter this morning (which I thought had been

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
finalized and delivered while I was gone the other week).

I must adamantly agree with Brad, Francis and Peter. This 3rd draft still has a personal flavor which, I am sure, will offend Jackie (not to mention piss her off). It is much better to offer suggestions for improvement rather than to pick on unfortunate instances and failures. As several good suggestions have been given on language, I will not offer any myself. Also, as I recall the conversation at the dinner, no one had a problem with the fact that Jackie rescheduled the Seattle trip and canceled the Incirlik stop, only that she did so without consulting us, or in the case of Incirlik in an overly brusque manner. I specifically recall saying that I would certainly have agreed to moving the Seattle trip if she had consulted us, but was upset at her for not doing so -- I thought there was general agreement on that point, but maybe I was wrong. Finally, she is, after all, the director and can set this up any darn way she pleases, and consult with us or not as she chooses.

I hope that the letter will not go forward with a personal flavor. If it does, I will have no other choice but to nonconcur with it and let Jackie know that I do. Also, the cover letter says, in effect, that this is the middle ground in a spectrum of opinion. I do not think that is the answer -- it should be a consensus. If someone, or some group of us has a strong opinion that is not agreed upon and therefore not in the letter, they should let Jackie know in some other forum.
I hope this helps. Once again, sorry to be so late in joining this conversation.

TK
Terrence K. Kelly, Ph.D.
White House Fellow
Office of the Under Secretary for Global Affairs
U.S. State Department
(202) 647-6349

> ---------
>
> From: Amy Alving
> SMTP: AAlving@doc.gov
> Sent: Wednesday, June 17, 1998, 8:10 PM
> To: Carson, Brad, CIV, OSD; cdorsey@dol.gov;
> Clifford_A._Skelton@oa.eop.gov; fjames@ustr.gov; gupta_s@a1.eop.gov;
> JamieMetzl@aol.com; jennings_j@al.eop.gov; John_C._Burchett@hud.gov;
> jprieto@os.dhhs.gov; Kelly, Terrence K., MAJ, OCLL;
> lois_scott_at_pobox12@imail.exim.gov; maticewright@treas.sprint.com;
> Peter_Rundlet@oa.eop.gov; sean_e._o'connor@oa.eop.gov
> Subject: take 3...
>
> Dear Fellows,
>
> Several people commented on the last paragraph of the trip-planning
> sections; most comments were sent to the whole class, so you've seen
> them.
>
> There had been a couple of comments on the previous draft so it had been
> toned down, for instance by removing the original reference someone had
> made about "personal biases" and so on. However, it seems the changes
were
not sufficient. The general flavor of the current comments is that they
are too personal (her son, etc), too harsh, and not
constructive/pointless.
Several people offered re-write suggestions, and after thinking
about
the response and the original intent, I offer one below. During the
dinner,
this was a topic of much discussion -- comments were coming so fast it
was
hard to write them down. My notes say things like "DON'T reschedule
dates...pattern of personal desires outweighing class'...resentment when
things are canceled for personal reasons...Jackie had personal bias
against
Cedars (affecting our participation) and the retreat (which never
happened)...sometimes it is necessary for her to make a decision, but
where
is the line drawn?" As for Brad's question of what we are trying to do
here, my understanding is the same thing as in the rest of the memo -- to
let Jackie know what she, in addition to the rest of the staff, can do to
improve the program. Judging from the reaction at dinner, it would be a
good thing if she can avoid making decisions in a way that generates so
much flak. It's important not to be undiplomatic, but writing something
too vague and unspecific doesn't seem helpful either. With that said,
let's see if this comes closer to navigating between those two extremes.
(The part about Incirlik didn't generate comments even from Brad ... :)
...
so it's unchanged.)

It's late and I'm going home. See you all tomorrow at Mary's event,
Finally, there was concern expressed over some decisions made by the Director. We understand that at times a decision about travel must be made "at the top" rather than by the Fellows. However, in such cases good communication is very important. Fellows expressed frustration that, after we had put much time and effort into carefully planning a trip, the Director sometimes made decisions to change important aspects without discussing the impact on the trip and without explanation. Two examples illustrate this point. On our Seattle trip we had arranged for meetings with the Mayor and the Governor, but the Director changed the trip timing and this resulted in our visit taking place when both of these elected leaders were out of town. Similarly, the sudden decision she made to cancel the trip to Incirlik Air Force Base in Turkey -- in order to accommodate GEN Clark's schedule -- was not based on a full understanding of the options available at that point; she should have consulted with
people who had spent several months carefully planning the trip before making a decision about how to change the schedule. In such cases it is important to get input from the class before making the decision, and to communicate its reason afterwards. Better communication will help ensure the best possible decisions are made about trips.

(Then continue with the bullet.)
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<td>03/07/2000</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<td>From: General Wesley Clark To: President Clinton; RE: Letter to the President and Mrs. Hillary Clinton (partial) (1 page)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- WHORM Subject File-General

**OA/Box Number:** 14065

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- 414423

**RESTRICTION CODES**
- Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
  - P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
  - P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
  - P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
  - P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
  - P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
  - P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
  - PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
  - RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

Thank you for your kind note. It was a pleasure to welcome you to the White House, and I'm glad you enjoyed your visit.

Americans owe a profound debt of gratitude to our military families, and my Administration remains committed to supporting them just as well as to all the men and women in uniform under their command, for they have supported our military personnel in defending America's freedom, promoting our values, and carrying out vital humanitarian and peacekeeping missions.

We are particularly grateful to you for your contributions as Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Commander-in-Chief U.S. Forces in Europe during the most challenging period in NATO's history.

Your leadership in the effort to forge a stable and democratic Europe has been invaluable, and I deeply appreciate all your efforts. Hillary and I are always glad to hear from you, and we send you and Gert our very best.

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Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]
NSC (Wesley Clark...)
OA/Box Number: 1200000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[05/28/1999-06/11/1999]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: swanjohnsonfamily@ibm.net (swanjohnsonfamily@ibm.net [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-JUN-1999 11:12:58.00

SUBJECT: Re: Paper by Lynn Hansen

TO: Jeffrey D. McCausland (CN=Jeffrey D. McCausland/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Thanks. Our DTRA guys gave me a copy of it yesterday.

I've known Lynn since he was the Greg Govan for our Stockholm negotiations and our me was Bob Barry.

I think Lynn's set us back quite a bit with the tone of his remarks and with the audience he chose. The ad hominem attacks on Wes Clark, especially those that suggested he was dishonest, were way over the top. It will make it much harder than it was before for our JCS colleagues to push themselves away from the table and rethink this.

However, if we can strip out the ad hominem remarks and the claptrap about being born in a log cabin, we may be able to reshape those arguments so that they are more clearly focused on what is and isn't in our own selfish national interests. And that brings me to something where maybe you can be helpful -- in both your current role and in your professorial one.

When we were negotiating the Stockholm document (I was the guy writing the instructions in EUR), our bedrock assumption was: We are an open society, due to our obligations to our own public, we're going to be telling our journalists a heck of a lot more than we're committing ourselves to tell any foreigner. The Soviets are a closed society, so anything we can get from them will put us ahead of where we are now, and potentially increase warning time, thus allowing us to have a lower level of peacetime readiness, leading to less possibility of an unintended face-off, therefore greater stability, etc.

There's no USSR now and there's no military force in Europe that approaches U.S. force projection capabilities. Is the JCS beginning to totally rethink the value of conventional arms control and confidence building? Has the world changed so radically that what we're trying to do in CFE and in the OSCE on limitations and transparency is fundamentally no longer in our interests from the point of view of our own military? We've already gotten signals from the SFRC that they may be inclined to think that way. Are we moving that way elsewhere as well?

I'm not sure I'm going to like the answers to those questions, but I probably should have some insights into which way the wind is blowing.

Thanks, David.
TEXT:
I agree with both your impressions. First, the attacks on General Clark were not helpful and could come back to haunt us in trying to get other things done. By the way, someone asked me if I had assisted Lynn in writing the paper -- the answer is a categorical NO! I have not seen him since December. Having said that I tend to agree with the general thrust of what he says here.

We have been able to get the JCS to move along way from where they were in April. At that point they were all for saying "no" to anything involving the Vienna Document. The legal people have been no help as they provided their "legal" justification that Vienna Document did not apply in time of armed conflict though they could never answer my question -- are you saying there is an armed conflict ongoing in FYROM and Albania? The fundamental problem for JCS has been that the CINC has been adamantly opposed to this so there hands are tied. I am told he discussed his approach in the FYROM inspection with Shelton and the Chairman concurred. Consequently, even if I can convince JCS I have to move the issue to the highest levels. That is why I went to the Pentagon last week and got the deputy J5 to agree that we can now map out the deployment of KFOR and determine when we will exceed certain force levels in "certain countries". This will allow us even now to prepare how we will report under Chapter IV and how we will handle Chapter V observations or Chapter VIII inspections, if requested. I plan to use this device to hopefully find out how much the CINC wishes to continue his opposition. If so, I will elevate the issue for resolution before we get to the 11th hour.

The other issue for me right now is the need for the Chapter V observation in FYROM to go well. It seems to me that this would serve to repair some damage we have done (unnecessarily I might add........) to relations with both the allies and the Russians. It would also serve to remove the obvious isolation of the US on this issue that others may attempt to exploit. Finally, since we are earnest in our desires to have other countries outside the alliance (i.e., Russia) participate in KFOR this would serve as an excellent opportunity to assist in that coordination. I will push soon for guidance to NATO on the conduct of this observation. Might use the HLTF on 16 June as the vehicle. Have discussed this in the interagency and with contacts at NATO who all agree on the desirability for this observation to go well. Have you considered calling Ambassador Vershbow to potentially exchange views on this and perhaps solicit his intervention? I am also considering a direct appeal to the POLAD at SHAPE to get involved.

On your last point I fear you are correct. I have already perceived a change in views by the JCS. Whereas we wished CFE initially to assist in the removal of excessive Soviet forces from Central Europe that reason has disappeared. The TD and ETD issue highlights a JCS concern about force flexibility that will only be underscored by Kosovo. Furthermore, this appears to me to be running against an allied perspective that they wish
to insure legal constraints also apply to the unilateral use of force by us! I have confirmed that point in discussion with various contacts I have throughout the alliance most notably Germany and France. I think you may see additional trouble here as we work out the details of the inspection regime for TD and ETD in that regard. Up until now CFE had been a treaty to count "things" within prescribed geographic limits while VD had been to inspect "activities". Now we will codify activity inspection in the CFE. The recent experience with VD has made the JCS and more importantly EUCOM much more skeptical. The key here is the CINC, however, since General Shali when he was the CINC actually pushed for the VD observations and reporting in Bosnia. I am just unsure why the CINC is so opposed and am, as I suggested above, trying to find a host of ways to get at him on the issue.

Finally, I do perceive a general lack of interest in CFE and conventional arms control in general on the Hill. As I suggested in a previous email they perceive it as a tool to achieve other goals (i.e., Russians out of Moldova) as opposed to a conflict prevention or crisis management effort. It is only a secondary interest in terms of making the case of how important it is to our key European allies and efforts to regularize our relations with Russia. This is a theme that I believe we now need to emphasize. CFE can serve to assuage to a degree Russian concerns, allow them to reduce their conventional forces (which they must), and modify their increasing dependence on nukes. It is part of an effort to make our relations with Russia in my mind similar to our relations with France -- we may disagree frequently but do not go to DEFCON 3 when it happens........If we are successful I believe it will now serve to accelerate the Dayton Article V process under the SEEI to bring the former states of Yugoslavia into this regime.

Sorry to be so long winded...........I may be over later in the summer. Will keep you posted.

Jeff
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]
NSC ([Wesley Clark...])
OA/Box Number: 1200000

FOLDER TITLE:
[06/24/1999 - 09/02/1999]

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sonal R. Shah (CN=Sonal R. Shah/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUL-1999 16:57:23.00

SUBJECT: Re: POTUS Sarajevo trip

TO: Lael Brainard (CN=Lael Brainard/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Good point on guarantees. MIGA and IFC are already looking into ideas of creating regional funds and guarantees which would include Kosovo. OPIC already proposed a plan.

Just talked to Mark. Treasury is very reluctant to do anything with Bank/Fund. They would like to disaggregate Croatia and Romania from the rest of the Pact. Romania has $277 million BOP gap which will be filled by an IMF program if they negotiate with their creditors on their pvt sector debt. Croatia is reneging on its IMF commitments.

The others however, could use the help. Macedonia, needs $100 million, Bulgaria about $45 million, Albania has budgetary gaps and Bosnia has about $30 million. Altogether about $200 million (not chump change) and we can announce maybe some technical assistance. Sorry to harp on this idea -- i know we would like to keep the IFIs pure, but they are not and they can do what the main aim of the Marshall program was (provide a cushion). FYI. IFI conditionality is much stricter than Marshall plan conditionality was.

In any case, i have asked Mark and Nancy to come up with some variations noting again that either we can be proactive or reactive.

They are rightly concerned that this will give these countries a reason to lax on their conditionality and not follow through on their commitments. I just the following concerns:
1. We have taken on this commitment for regional stability and POTUS likely to do a speech on it or Berger will.
2. Given above commitment, we need to show that we mean what we say.
3. It would one thing if there was not a conflict -- we could afford to be hard-nosed, not sure that we have so much of that flexibility.
4. We should rightly push the EU to take on the burden of integrating these countries, but how are we going to help them get from here to there.

Anyway, this will be a tough battle and would appreciate your insight.
I think your idea is worth exploring. Might want to add in the investment guarantee guys (EBRD, IFC, EIB, etc). You are absolutely right that POTUS will not do anything prescriptive/tough love without some money to make it credible.

Sonal R. Shah  
07/09/99 12:11:05 PM  
Record Type: Record

To: Lael Brainard/OPD/EOP@EOP  
cc: Sharon H. Yuan/OPD/EOP@EOP  
Subject: POTUS Sarajevo trip

Wesley Clark in an interview claimed NATO can support the Heads of State meeting in Sarajevo. EU has not agreed yet to pay. Decision to be made on Monday.

On deliverables, we are going to face a real problem. State (Bialas) has come up with this idea about an Investment Climate Initiative which basically would have the President telling the SEE countries what they would need to reform to attract private investment, with nothing to back it. I have several problems with the proposal (as do all others in EB and Commerce):

1. This is not Presidential -- I can't imagine POTUS talking about licensing requirements and judiciary changes -- it's a Finance Ministry or Commerce type discussion.
2. The leaders are going to say -- Mr. Pres. you said take refugees, troops, ... and we will help you. We have 500 mill. BOP and budgetary gaps due to the conflict and now you are telling us that if we make these reforms the private sector will invest -- where's the money...
3. There is no way that this conference can take place without talk of money...

My idea:

I think that treasury needs to push the Fund and Bank to fill these gaps. Frankly, the Fund has been nowhere to be seen. Is there any way in which we can get some basic set of reforms that POTUS can push and have IFI money backing there agreement (THIS WOULD BE A ONE TIME BOP/BUDGETARY SUPPORT) for post conflict. Then we would push for the countries to get IMF programs and meet with conditionality. Whatever residual gaps there are we should push the Euros.

This seems to me the only option of real money and POTUS can claim leadership on this issue. We would really need to push Treasury. To be honest, the fear is that if we don't do something POTUS will and we will be left scrambling like in Central America.

Your views????
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**COLLECTION:**  
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Automated Records Management System [Email]  
NSC ([Wesley Clark...])  
OA/Box Number: 1200000

**FOLDER TITLE:**  
[02/16/2000 - 06/12/2000]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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it's fine as far as it goes.  I assume you were trying to ignore the points that she raised about Wes Clark, etc., which is probably the right thing to do.  CRH
Update on Byrd/Warner as of Friday afternoon.

The Letter: the effort to get 34 signatures bogged down on Friday because friendly Republicans were reluctant to use "V" word this early in the process. They settled on a multi-step process -- beginning with a dear colleague signed by ten Senators (6 Democrats and 4 Republicans -- McCain, Hagel, Lugar and G. Smith) expressing opposition to the amendment -- with Wes Clark's letter attached. (The Dear Colleague went out on Friday afternoon). The 34-letter is still a possibility for later in the process.
The Veto Threat: Cohen sent his veto letter to Stevens on Friday morning -- and DoD Press provided to Eric Schmit on Friday evening.

The Alternative: Democrats continue to work on alternative language. Several staff meetings occurred on Friday and another is planned on Monday afternoon. Levin's staff plans to propose the following to the group on Monday:

1) in lieu of the Byrd section (automatic withdrawal unless Congress authorizes), the Levin proposal would require a report by July 1, 2001 on the utility of the participation of U.S. forces in the operation; and

2) in lieu of the Warner section (burdensharing benchmarks), Levin would retain the same basic structure -- with the exception that a failure to certify would trigger expedited procedures for a withdrawal resolution (i.e., the presumption is reversed -- U.S. forces remain in Kosovo unless Congress forces them to withdraw).

It is not clear to me that these staffers have thought through exactly how such an alternative would be used (e.g., as an organizing tool for the 34-letter . . . or as an actual amendment for the floor);

I have not seen any text yet. They have asked for input from us, especially on ways to modify the Warner benchmarks to ensure that we can make the certification;

Briefings/Party Caucuses: Gen. Clark is willing to do briefings/meetings next week as needed. Daschle’ staff has asked that Clark/Cohen/Shelton provide a bi-partisan briefing for all Senators and that the same trio
attend the Democratic policy lunch on Tuesday. There are several problems with this request. First of all, it is unlikely that Clark/Cohen/Shelton will appear together in any forum; and second, we need to maintain a bi-partisan tone.

I suggest the following:

1) that the Pentagon ask the Republicans to host a bi-partisan briefing for all Senators. If they decline (which they probably will), we drop back to a McCain/Lugar/Levin/Biden-sponsored briefing in S-407;

2) that we make the same request to both party lunches -- unclear what the Republican reaction will be.

I suspect the result will be a bi-partisan briefing of some sort -- and an appearance by Wes Clark at the Democratic lunch.

If this approach looks OK, we need to get the logistics for the briefings/party caucuses rolling Monday morning.

Message Sent
To:

Mara E. Rudman/NSC/EOP@EOP
Jacob J. Lew/OMB/EOP@EOP
Sylvia M. Mathews/OMB/EOP@EOP
Martha Foley/WHO/EOP@EOP
Charles E. Kieffer/OMB/EOP@EOP
Robert D. Kyle/OMB/EOP@EOP
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<td>004. cable</td>
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<td>008. cable</td>
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<td>009. cable</td>
<td>re: FYROM Request for Funding [sic] in Support of Kosovo Contingency Operations (2 pages)</td>
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<td>010. cable</td>
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<td>re: Principal Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Lodal meets with Bulgarian Deputy Minister of Defense Kunchev (3 pages)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Cables  
Jan 1997-Dec 1998 ([Gen Clark])  
OA/Box Number: 520000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[10/03/1997-03/30/1998]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

- **P1** National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- **P2** Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- **P3** Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- **P4** Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- **P5** Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- **P6** Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
- **C.** Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- **PRM.** Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- **RR.** Document will be reviewed upon request.

- **b(1)** National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- **b(2)** Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- **b(3)** Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- **b(5)** Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- **b(7)** Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- **b(8)** Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- **b(9)** Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
SUBJ: FYROM REQUEST FOR FUNDING IN SUPPORT OF KOSOVO CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS.

TEXT:

UNCLAS SKOPJE 000661

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: MASS, MK
SUBJECT: FYROM REQUEST FOR FUNDING IN SUPPORT OF KOSOVO CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS.

1. ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT IS URGENTLY NEEDED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA (FYROM) FOR SUPPORT OF CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS RELATED TO THE RECENT KOSOVO SITUATION.

2. DURING THE MEETING ON 7 MAR 98 BETWEEN DR. KITANOSKI, FYROM MINISTER OF DEFENSE, AND GEN CLARK, SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER EUROPE, THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE REQUESTED ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT THAT IS VITALLY NEEDED TO CONDUCT CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS IN RESPONSE TO THE KOSOVO CRISIS. THIS REQUEST WAS FOR 2000 BULLET PROOF VESTS/FLAK VESTS/BODY ARMOR, COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT FOR UNITS FROM PLATOON TO BRIGADE, NIGHT VISION GOGGLES, ARMORED TRANSPORT VEHICLES, GROUND SURVEILLANCE RADARS, AND OBSERVATION HELICOPTER SUPPORT. THIS EQUIPMENT IS NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION AND CRISIS IN KOSOVO.

3. THIS REQUEST IS IN ADDITION TO FYROM'S $7.9 MILLION FOR FY98 FOREIGN MILITARY FINANCING WHICH IS ALREADY EARMARKED FOR EQUIPMENT AND...

4. RECOMMEND THAT FYROM BE SUPPORTED IMMEDIATELY WITH EQUIPMENT OR FUNDS TO EQUIP A MINIMUM ESSENTIAL (2000 SOLDIERS) FORCE (BRIGADE (-)) WITH FLAK JACKETS, OFF THE SHELF COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT (SUCH AS THE MOTOROLA GP-300 THAT THEY CURRENTLY USE IN THE SF UNIT), AND NIGHT VISION CAPABILITY.

5. RECOMMEND FUNDING TO FACILITATE IMMEDIATE PURCHASE OF THIS EQUIPMENT OR EMERGENCY SHIPMENT ON A GRANT BASIS.

HILL

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0661
TOR: 980319080451 M3204774
DIST: SIT: BOUCHARD BRADEN CLARKER COVEY DAVIDSON DOWLING FLANAGAN MCELDOWNEY RAGAN
SIT: NSC

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<td>Fulton T. Armstrong to James F. Dobbins and Brenda J. Kinser-Kidane. (1 page)</td>
<td>09/20/1996</td>
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<td>Geoffrey Pyatt to James Baker re: Evacuation (1 page)</td>
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<td>004. email</td>
<td>Elizabeth Verville to Peter Boynton and Theodore Piccone re: Panama (2 pages)</td>
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<td>John Sparks to James Baker and Alan Kreczko re: Peru (2 pages)</td>
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<td>Michael Orfini to Leon Fuerth and William Wise re: Peru (4 pages)</td>
<td>12/18/1996</td>
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<td>James Dobbins to Fulton Armstrong re: Cuba (1 page)</td>
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<td>011. email</td>
<td>Theodore Piccone to Katherine Veit re: Panama (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/31/1997</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Gen Clark])
OA/Box Number: 590000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[09/20/1996-01/31/1997]

**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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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
Jim:

FYI for your meeting with Amb. Negroponte this morning ... You probably have already heard this from Ted and his contacts, but folks working Panama at State and Joint Staff are expressing aggravation over SOUTHCOM's reluctance to commit to post-99 force structure and to formulate concrete position on counternarcotics center proposal. Just this week, they said, Gen. Clark remanded yet another draft proposal. In conversations with them yesterday, I got the feeling that Washington community wants to move ahead -- to get Negroponte primed and to get exploratory talks underway -- but SOUTHCOM is not coming through.
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<td>09/12/1996</td>
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<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td>Theodore Piccone to Geoffrey Pyatt re: POTUS/CINCs (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/27/1997</td>
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<td>003. email</td>
<td>Theodore Piccone to Joseph Sestak re: MOMEPE (5 pages)</td>
<td>02/14/1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>004. email</td>
<td>Peter Boynton to Richard Clark and Elizabeth Verville re: General Wes Clark (2 pages)</td>
<td>03/07/1997</td>
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<td>005. email</td>
<td>Joseph F. Bouchard to Robert G. Bell. Subject: General Clark Nomination. (1 page)</td>
<td>04/01/1997</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail-Record (Sept 94-Sept 97) ([General Clark])
OA/Box Number: 570000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[09/12/1996-04/17/1997]

**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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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Bob, One of the reasons I warned David Johnson yesterday that we should go slow on a Presidential statement until after coordinating with our NATO allies is that General Clark has very little NATO experience compared with his predecessors. Galvin, Rodgers, Shalikashvili and Joulwan all had significant NATO experience and were well known among our European allies. Clark had three years in Germany as a major in the 1970s. His only recent experience related to Europe was as the Director for Strategic Plans and Policy (J5) on the Joint Staff, which included serving as the senior military member of the U.S. negotiating team that crafted the 1995 Dayton peace accords. His relative lack of experience may not come up, but a premature announcement that creates the appearance of slighting the North Atlantic Council could cause a negative reaction in Europe in which his "lack of experience" becomes an issue.

Joe
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<td>Larry Rossin to Rand Beers and Richard Clarke re: Lake/Aristide talkers (5 pages)</td>
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<td>Larry Rossin to Wilma Hall et al. re: Lake/Aristide Meeting (1 page)</td>
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<td>010. email</td>
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<td>012. email</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- NSC Emails
- MSMail-Record (Sept 94-Sept 97) ([Wes Clark])
- OA/Box Number: 590000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[09/22/1994-01/31/1995]

**RESTRICTION CODES**
- (a)1) National security classified information
- (a)2) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (a)3) Financial information
- (a)4) Personal privacy
- (a)5) Advisory
- (a)6) Personal privacy
- (a)7) Internal personnel rules of an agency
- (a)8) Trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (a)9) Geological or geophysical information
- (b)1) National security classified information
- (b)2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules or practices of an agency
- (b)3) Federal statute
- (b)4) Trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)5) Personal privacy
- (b)6) Clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)7) Law enforcement purposes
- (b)8) Financial institutions
- (b)9) Geological or geophysical information
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<td>Joan Edwards to Jessica Stern re: 9837 (3 pages)</td>
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<td>Marcia Norman to Carolyn Cleveland and Martin Indyk re: Request for Concurrence (7 pages)</td>
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Clinton Presidential Records
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OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:
[09/22/1994-01/31/1995]

RESTRICTION CODES

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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
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OA/Box Number: 590000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[09/22/1994-01/31/1995]

**RESTRICION CODES**

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

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TIME-LINE FOR BOSNIA PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY

Objectives:

1) To convey with clarity the Administration's Bosnia policy as Congress reconvenes.

2) To influence Congressional opinion on unilateral lift through careful targetting of media markets.

(Note: Though not proposed below, on-the-record and/or on-camera briefings and interviews, can be organized as circumstances warrant)

December 26 - January 3
(Carter initiative, Bosnia-Bosnian Serb Negotiations)

Major Markets
-- Secretary Perry and General Shalikashvili joint byline op-ed (targetted for Washington Post and various regional and international papers through the Los Angeles Times Syndicate)


-- Tony Lake, Madeleine Albright and Secretary Perry separately background leading pundits/columnists/news analysts.

Regional Markets

-- Albright, Deutch and Slocombe begin background meetings with DC-based regional reporters (i.e. Chicago Tribune, Boston Globe, Cox, Knight Ridder, etc.)

-- Vershbow, Hunter, Slocombe, Nye, Wes Clark, Kruzel et. al. begin editorial board conference calls with various regional papers, targetted to markets in Congressional target group districts ((Dole, Gingrich, Cohen, Levin, Hyde, Berman)

International Markets

-- Vershbow, Slocombe, Nye, Clark et. al. begin background meetings with foreign press.

January 4 - 10
(Senate Hearings?, Consultative Group Meeting? Galbraith in Washington)

-- Put on standby possible Dr. Perry Bosnia Speech? (For rebroadcast and distribution through posts and via WorldNet)

Major Markets

-- Place Rogers/Galvin oped.

-- Continue formal backgrounding by principals as necessary.

Regional Markets

-- Continue ed board, columnist call-arounds with Administration's Senate Hearing briefers.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
-- Solicit/Place Congressional opeds.

-- Repackage Perry Speech for opeds.

International Markets

-- Peter Galbraith backgrounds selected foreign writers.

January 11-17
(Bosnia Sanctions roll-over, Hurd in Washington, Senate Hearings?, Consultative Group Meeting?)

Major Markets

-- Hunter, Vershbow/Holbrooke/Nye call-around to targeted editorial writers/columnists on sanctions roll-over decision (January 13).

-- Solicit Hurd unilateral lift op-ed for placement in major daily (January 16 or 17)?

Regional Markets

-- Hunter, Nye, Vershbow, Clark, Kruzel ed board call-arounds

January 18-24
(Retired Flags Meet with POTUS, Ambassadors Crowe and Harriman in Washington, FM Juppe in Washington)

Major Markets

-- Solicit and place op-ed for signature by one or two retired flags who will meet with the President on January 23. (Truly, Woerner, Perry Smith, etc.)

-- Ed board meetings and/or interviews as necessary for Crowe.

Regional Markets

-- Ed board, columnist call-arounds continue
The attached incorporates revisions suggested by State and Defense.

Thanks,

JS[[ BOSSTRAT.DOC : 3844 in BOSSTRAT.DOC ]]

BOSNIA PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY

OPPOSING UNILATERAL LIFT LEGISLATION

Objective:

-- To influence Congressional votes on unilateral lift.
-- To limit the intrusion of Bosnia on the Administration's other objectives.

ACTIVITIES AND TIMING

In conjunction with public legislative affairs offices at State and Defense, we will be prepared to implement the following initiatives as circumstances on the Hill, within NATO, and in the Balkans require. Because the strategy is calibrated to influence Congressional votes, we must avoid spotlighting the issue prematurely.

Major Markets


-- PUNDIT PUSH. As legislative circumstances warrant, Ambassador Albright, National Security Adviser Lake, Secretaries Christopher Perry separately background leading pundits/columnists/news analysts.

-- INTERVIEW BLITZ. In the week preceding Secretary Christopher's departure for his European meeting with Kozyrev, seek four to six satellite local television interviews in which unilateral lift will be a primary subject. Timing: week of January 9, 1995.

Regional Markets

-- OPED ONE. Solicit and place op-ed for signature by one or two retired flags who will meet with the President on January 23. (Truly, Woerner, Perry Smith, etc.)

-- OPED TWO. Solicit and place supportive Congressional opeds in appropriate regional papers.

-- OPED THREE. Solicit Bernard Rogers and John Galvin joint oped on unilateral lift to reach selected papers in individual Congressional Districts if a legislative vehicle emerges on which a vote might occur. Draft provided nlt January 10, 1995.

-- TALK RADIO. Identify markets for talk radio that will maximize pressure on swing votes. When unilateral lift emerges, deploy sub-Cabinet officials for targetted regional markets; Ambassador Crowe and Redman should be deployed, from abroad as needed. Timing,
Week of January 16; markets and vehicles identified by January 6.

-- REGIONAL BACKGROUNDERS. Sub-Cabinet officials begin background meetings with DC-based regional reporters (i.e. Chicago Tribune, Boston Globe, Cox, Knight Ridder, etc.) when legislative calendar warrants.

-- REGIONAL EDITORIAL BOARDS. Sub-Cabinet officials, (including Vershbow, Hunter, Slocombe, Hobrooke, Nye, Wes Clark, Kruzel, Frasure, Kerrick et. al.) begin editorial board conference calls with various regional papers, targetted to markets in Congressional target group districts.
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
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OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:
[02/07/1995-05/31/1995]

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**FOLDER TITLE:**
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Spoke with Jim Pardew this am. Says Slocombe may be getting cold feet. Although Clark has large impact on Slocombe. Slocombe is in hospital today - routine, I'm told. But, you might call Kruzel or Slocombe to keep heat on.

Pardew also says OSD really turning against blue hats. Says even CJCS really doesn't care. We likely won't be making calls on step two until next week.

From: Vershbow, Alexander R.  
To: Kerrick, Donald L.  
CC: /R, Record at A1  
Subject: RE: Pls Call Wes Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]  
Date: Thursday, April 20, 1995 07:25 PM

We spoke. He has to go to CJCS but agrees that we've met their concerns and that PC should be avoided. Is OSD still on board?

From: Kerrick, Donald L.  
To: Vershbow, Alexander R.  
CC: /R, Record at A1; Kerrick, Donald L.  
Subject: Pls Call Wes Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]  
Date: Thursday, April 20, 1995 02:06 PM

Sandy:

Disturbing news from the Joint Staff. They are sending thru Wes Clark a recommendation to the CJCS to block the narrow 505 sending it to a PC. They hang their hat on CINC, EUCOM objections that it places US in jeopardy, etc. Pls call Clark and make following points:

- Heard you are working 505 issue and are recommending to refer it to a PC because of CINC concerns.
- Reason we went with narrow 505 in first place was at your insistence.
If it goes to a PC, CJCS will find himself isolated in opposition.

Support to Federation is high priority. President has agreed to support both in economic and military terms. Narrow 505 is military component that needs to be approved.

Suggest you agree to narrow 505 now, rather than face strong push from Lake and Christopher at PC.
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

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Note for Tony, Sandy and Nancy:

There was an interagency meeting on Guatemala chaired by Richard Feinberg. We are in last stages of coordinating response to Specter and Kerrey inquiry for documents.

Coordinated with WH LA, USTR and State on China MFN. Once Bob's points are cleared, we will be ready to roll first thing in the morning.

On a Christopher Jerusalem letter, Martha Foley would not let it go until Tony has talked to Leon Panetta about the veto reference in the letter. Has been cleared interagency, this is last hurdle.

On Haiti, State has begun making some calls on a notification they are sending to the Hill next week for $12 million for police training. Obey, Leahy and Hamilton all believe that despite potential problems (holds) notification is absolutely necessary.
On Bosnia, the SFRC has requested a hearing with State on Tues.-- Tarnoff will go since Christopher will be in Haiti on Monday and off to the Middle East on Wed.

SASC has requested a hearing and Perry is tentatively scheduled to testify before them on Wed. HCONS has requested a hearing for Thurs and Slocombe and Wes Clark are scheduled to testify.

There have or will be a number of Staff briefings. HACD (with foreign ops), HCONS, SASC and HIRC. In addition, Sandy Vershbow will brief Dole's and Gingrich's foreign policy staffers tomorrow morning. We will ask them if they want a leadership briefing at that time. The problem is that Christopher, Perry and Shali are not around much next week.

Dick Armey wants a briefing on Tuesday morning. He wants a comprehensive briefing on how the situation in Bosnia since '91 or '92 has evolved, as well as an update on the current crisis. Would Sandy Vershbow be best for such a briefing. Please advise.

Finally, in addition to all the calls we have been making on this issue over the past couple of days, Christopher will make some calls to the Hill on his flight back from Europe.

We had a meeting with key House Dem staff on HR 1561 today. Their strong recommendation is to hang tough and work against the bill. They do not believe that the Rs are serious about negotiations. They will try to eliminate many egregious foreign policy provisions without putting reorg. or resources on the table. (It is also unclear just how far they would be willing to give on foreign policy provisions.)

On the issue of whether Tony Hall will be able to cut his own deal, there are mixed accounts. According to staff at this briefing and to a conversation that State had with Howard Berman, Hall is on his own and has no specific plan as of yet. His original suggestion was to plus up money for Africa and Lat America and to establish a commission on reorganization. There are others who believe that Hall may be close to cutting a deal and has support of some key Dems. This seems unlikely considering all that we have heard, but this is being checked out tonight and tomorrow.

It is unclear how much AIPAC has pressed on the bill. We will know more next week when Dems get back and they do an other whip count. State, Commerce, DoD, Ag and Treasury have all been making calls on the bill.

Possible amends include:

Hyde-- War powers (he may let this slip because of Bosnia)
Burton-- cutting AID operating expenses
Roth-- 1/3 cut in resources
Manzullo-- cut funds for exchanges
Ackerman-- a reorg report instead of Gilman report
Gejdenson-- Sense of Congress on Iran sanctions
Andrews-- either one to eliminate OPIC or a Turkey-related amend
Reed-- cutting IMET to Indonesia
Traficant-- across the board cut
Roemer-- Chechnya
Bilbray-- border commission
Burton-- Panama
Mica-- buy out authority for riffed employees as a result of consolidation
Smith-- additional funds for war tribunal to include Rwanda
Hamilton-- exempting S. Africa from an effort to deauthorize the AID Housing Guarantee program
Roth-- S of Congress and report on Syria
Possible Sense of Congress on N. Korea

While not all amends will be offered, this gives us an idea of what we could be facing. There will also be a manager's amendments that will take care of a number of amends en bloc. This amend will likely be used to try to get members to vote for the bill.

Unclear what the Dem vote count is at this point. According to Dem whip's office, we have at least 5 or 6 Dems who will vote yes. We will know better next week, when members return.

We had a read out on R vote count (not completely sure of accuracy), which indicates that they may be 30 votes short of passage. There are some Rs who may not support the bill, which means they need Dem support to get it passed. They are focusing on pro-life and yellow dog Dems. Tony Hall, who is pro-life, is a good example. Rs are whipping this hard.

We could possibly win this fight or at least put in a good showing. We will need to continue work it hard with calls, etc.

The Hill believes, because of the President's veto threat, the SAP and the public statements by Christopher, Tony and others, that we remain adamantly opposed to this bill. Any change in that position would have to be carefully and closely coordinated with our Dems. They have been backing us on the bill and would feel undermined and betrayed if we did not consult them and work with them on any possible changes.

In addition, it would not work to our advantage to negotiate with the Rs from anything but a position of strength, particularly because of all the rhetoric we have generated on this bill-- i.e. worst foreign policy bill in last 50 years, etc. That is to say if we were to negotiate, and I recommend that we don't, we would have to have a complete overhaul of the bill in order to protect our political credibility.

I believe if we win the vote on this week, or at least have a good showing, we will be in a much stronger position to craft a compromise with the Rs on reorg and resources. I am not suggesting we up the ante or the rhetoric,
only that we stay the course unless there is a clear sign that the Rs want a deal. (It is my understanding that Hamilton and Berman have indicated that they would be open to such a discussion but the Rs have not responded.)

Finally, we have not had a foreign assistance act for 10 years, we don't necessarily need one now. We will probably be able to get the necessary waiver if we indicate to them that we have no problem working with them, its just this bill we don't like. The appropriators are much more reasonable and want a bipartisan bill.

On War Powers, I spoke to Pat, who feels strongly that next week is not a good week to get the President engaged in this debate. Nonetheless, he agreed that we should check with Hamilton and Berman to see how they feel about the letter. I did, indicating to them we favor a repeal but that the only issue is the letter. Their staff indicated they believed their bosses would be against the letter going forward until after bill action is completed. They were confirming this with their bosses.

On terrorism, WH LA is holding an interagency leg meeting tomorrow on the terrorism bill.

There is an EAA meeting tomorrow as well with the Hill.
PLEASE PASS TO TONY/NANCY

Tony:

Want to give you a headsup that General Shali is sending you note expressing reservations about his involvement in the proposed Dematos/Ben Ben visit. Gen Dave McIlvoy confirmed this moments ago. McIlvoy suggested that Shali's concern is about his office being used incorrectly. On Tuesday, Nancy spoke to Gen Wes Clark who, at the time, was okay with the visit but was concerned that it could be seen as a failure if either General, on return to Angola, reengages in military operations.

McIlvoy also implied that Gen Shali, anticipating closer scrutiny during his reconfirmation hearing, might be reacting to recent media criticism of his handling of the Bosnian situation and charges of inappropriate use of his office (involvement in policy).

Recommend you call Gen Shali (preempt note) and make the following points:
- His involvement in this visit can help advance U.S. objectives in Angola.

- Our purpose is to engage the senior military leaders of both the Angolan Government and UNITA more fully in the peace process and possibly undermine their will to pursue destructive agendas.

- Expose leaders in a practical way to the role of the military in a democratic society.

- Demonstrate professionalism, efficiency and effectiveness of our military by traveling to one or more military bases to witness troop training, weapons testing, etc.

If your decision is for Gen Shali not to be involved, recommend Secretary Perry be asked. I have discussed this with Nancy.

Mac
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For Tony and Sandy (prior to Tony's Meetings on Hill)

Wes Clark confirms that the Chairman has no problem saying that we envisage offering an IMET program (in areas like language training) to the Bosnian Federation and that some of the instructors could be uniformed military personnel. But JCS wants to stick with the mantra regarding "no U.S. military personnel" and would be very unhappy if we added a qualifier such as "in Bosnia" or "in the region." Wes agrees that, in practice, there might be the occasional involvement of uniformed personnel -- e.g. officers working in OSD or in DSAA -- but that any formula implying that "some" military personnel would participate would be too open-ended and opposed by the Chairman.

Therefore, I suggest you stress to the hardliners on the Hill that it is important that we keep our formulation unchanged in order to maintain the maximum PUBLIC distance between the U.S. military and the equip/train program. In practice, we expect that this will not be a blanket exclusion, and IMET is one example. Thus, we don't mind more permissive language in the resolution that would allow U.S. military personnel outside Bosnia to be involved.

---

On the second Dole/Barratta complaint, everyone in town has no problem amending our mantra to say we will play a "leadership role" or "leading role" in coordinating the international equip/train effort, along the lines of the current Dole-McCain text.

---

Other items: I don't know where things stand on the "whereas" paragraphs. Holbrooke said Silajdzic promised to knock out the description of the Dayton agreement as "ratification of ethnic cleansing" (the ONLY
characterization of the agreement that appears in the Dole-McCain text). If it seems opportune, you should reiterate our objections to this phrase, arguing that it is an insult to the Bosnian Government as well as to the USG, and that it could spell the difference between our supporting vs. acquiescing in the resolution.
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Larry:

Your State list of "no-goes" looks basically right to me with the exception of McKinley. He has spent most of his working hours since May on these issues, as opposed to most of the others on your no-go list. (The fact that he is not a standing member of the Ex Com doesn't change that.) I think it would be wrong to exclude him.

Eric

From: Rossin, Larry
To: Clarke, Richard A.
CC: Lindsey, Wanda D.; Norman, Marcia G.; Schwartz, Eric P.; Simon, Steven N.
Subject: Query re USG guest list
Date: Wednesday, October 12, 1994 09:29 PM

Dick, I asked State to give me names for people to invite to the Friday event with POTUS and Aristide, now set for 10:15-10:45 outside the West Wing Lobby portico. Then it occurred to me I shd cast the net a bit wider; I view this as a perk for those who have worked this issue hard as well as a
standard invite list. I looked at the EXCOMM list plus a few of my contacts. I think I can get in up to 20 (I've shown us at the bottom but don't count since we don't need invitations to get in). What do you think of below? Any I'm missing/shd add? I need to get this to OPL Thursday morning.

(FYI: State people I did not put on my list: Doug Bennet, Cook/PM, Wendy Sherman, Anne Patterson, Brunson McKinley, Shattuck, Oakley, Skol, Bill Bartlett/IO/PHO, Joe Snyder/IO/UNP, Debbie Bolton/PM/ISP, Ross Rodgers/INM/ICJ)

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FRIDAY EVENT WITH POTUS AND HAITIAN PRESIDENT ARISTIDE

USG INVITEES

State

Strobe Talbott
Peter Tarnoff
Alexandre Watson
Jon Plebani
James Dobbins
John Leonard
Michael Kozak
Robert Gelbard
Thomas McNamara
Nancy Jackson

OSD

Walter Slocombe
John Christiansen

JCS

LTG Wesley Clark
MG Jared Bates
Col Michael Hostage

AID

J. Brian Atwood
Mark Schneider
Marcia Bernbaum

(NSC

Richard Clarke
Eric Schwartz
Steven Simon
Larry Rossin)
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- 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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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

**RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.**

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
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<th>DOCUMENT NO.</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>013. email</td>
<td>William Leary to James Baker re: Bosnia Document Notes (6 pages)</td>
<td>09/23/1996</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- NSC Emails
- MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Wesley Clark])
- OA/Box Number: 590000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[06/04/1996-01/27/1997]

**RESTRICION CODES**

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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]
 Apparently, State Protocol is waiting for the White House OK on including Ambassador Luigi Einaudi and General Wesley Clark on the official Presidential delegation list for the Ecuadoran inauguration. Are things on track? Thanks.

From: Cicio, Kristen K.  
To: Harmon, Joyce A.  
CC: /R, Record at A1; Soderberg, Nancy E.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @INTERAM - Inter-American  
Subject: FW: Ecuador Delegation Leader [UNCLASSIFIED]  
Date: Thursday, August 01, 1996 04:43 PM

Joyce,

SRB suggests "Mack McLarty, Donna Shalala (good sport), Henry Cisneros"

From: Harmon, Joyce A.  
To: Berger, Samuel; Soderberg, Nancy E.  
CC: /R, Record at A1; Dobbins, James F.; Piccone, Theodore J.  
Subject: Ecuador Delegation Leader [UNCLASSIFIED]  
Date: Thursday, August 01, 1996 02:56 PM

Please pass to NES and SRB as soon as possible:
As predicted, all of the proposed candidates to head the delegation to the Ecuadoran president's inauguration (Perry, Kantor, Babbitt) have declined the invitation to do so.

Do either of you wish to suggest alternative nominees? I had been given to understand that it would be important to make this a Cabinet-level appointment in order to maintain parity with the treatment we gave Peru. I defer to you whether that is necessary; it will probably be difficult to find a Cabinet level official to do this on such short notice and in August.

State Protocol is also seeking additional names from State/ARA.

I await your guidance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Mary McCarthy to Richard Clarke re: Summary (1 page)</td>
<td>12/03/1996</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td>Elizabeth G. Verville to Beverly J. Roundtree at 09:15. Subject: Christmas Party. (1 page)</td>
<td>12/05/1996</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003. email</td>
<td>Peter Boynton to Peter Bass et al. re: DOD Cuts Drugs 20% (3 pages)</td>
<td>01/07/1997</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004. email</td>
<td>William Davis to Gorán Bendick et al. re: C-P-B lunch comments (3 pages)</td>
<td>01/09/1997</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005. email</td>
<td>William Davis to Fulton Armstrong re: FW:Haiti (5 pages)</td>
<td>02/13/1997</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006. email</td>
<td>Richard Clarke to Elizabeth Verville re: FW: Columbia (1 page)</td>
<td>02/13/1997</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007. email</td>
<td>William Davis to Gordon Bendick et al. re: FW: Haiti Discussion Paper (13 pages)</td>
<td>02/20/1997</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008. email</td>
<td>James Seaton to Angelyn Moody re: 0657 (21 pages)</td>
<td>02/25/1997</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>009. email</td>
<td>Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>03/24/1997</td>
<td>b(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010. email</td>
<td>Eric Rubin to Joseph Bouchard re: FW: Wes Clark for SACEUR (1 page)</td>
<td>03/31/1997</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail-Non-Record (Sept 94-Sept 97) ([Wes Clark])
OA/Box Number: 605000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[12/02/1996-04/17/1996]

**RESTRICION CODES**

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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]
Christmas Party [UNCLASSIFIED]

Some ideas for invitees (bet I can guess which ones RAC will cut!):

McCaffrey, Janet, Tim Atkin, Wanda, Bob Brown

Jane, Bob Gelbard, Nancy (Ely-Raphel), Jonathan Winer, Bob Sims; David Passage (would be fun)

Mark Richard, Mary Lee Warren (surprise!)

What's the new FBI guy's name, Steve something? (Moody's replacement - he's nice and helpful) John O'Neil of course

Jim Johnson, Kelly (? I still don't know him), Rick Newcomb

Dick Canas

Alan Holmes, Brian Sheridan

Adm. Kramek

Dave Carey

Gen Wes Clark; George Close in case they're in town
<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Kevin Cosgriff to June Bartlett et al. re: Play of the Day (3 pages)</td>
<td>03/24/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td>Eric P. Schwartz to Glyn T. Davies et al. Subject: Humanitarian issues. (3 pages)</td>
<td>03/31/1999</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003. email</td>
<td>Gregory Schulte to Glyn Davies et al. re: Soldiers (1 page)</td>
<td>04/01/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004. email</td>
<td>Kevin Cosgriff to Keirm Brown re: FW: Appeal on Call (2 pages)</td>
<td>04/01/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005. email</td>
<td>Lawrence Butler to Nancy Maxfield re: FW: Draft Memcon, POTUS-British PM Blair, 1 April 1999 (6 pages)</td>
<td>04/02/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006. email</td>
<td>Glyn Davies to Stephen Flanagan re: Appeal on call (2 pages)</td>
<td>04/02/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007. email</td>
<td>David Wippman to Eric Schwartz re: Possible Kosovo site (1 page)</td>
<td>04/02/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008. email</td>
<td>Gregory Schulte to June Bartlett et al. re: TP on Kosovo for Blair call (2 pages)</td>
<td>04/03/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>009. email</td>
<td>Lawrence Butler to Susan Braden and Keirm Brown re: FW: Draft Memcon, POTUS-British PM Blair, 3 April 1999 (7 pages)</td>
<td>04/05/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010. email</td>
<td>Gregory Schulte to Donald Kerrick re: FW: PDB Item (2 pages)</td>
<td>04/06/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97- Jan 01) ([Wes Clark])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:
[03/24/1999-04/08/1999]

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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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/31/99 11:19:48 AM
FROM Schwartz, Eric P.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Humanitarian issues [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Davies, Glyn T.
Dejban, Donna D.
Hachigian, Nina L.
Kerrick, Donald L.
Millison, Cathy L.
Moretz, Sheila K.
O'Brien, Penelope R.
Rice, Edward A.
Scott-Perez, Marilyn L.
Storey, Sharon V.
Sutphen, Mona K.

CARBON_COPY Allen, Charles A.
Baker, James E.
Bandler, Donald K.
Bell, Robert G.
Blinken, Antony J.
Bolan, Christopher J.
Braden, Susan R.
Brown, Keirn C.
Busby, Scott W.
Butler, Lawrence E.
Crowley, Philip J.
Davidson, Leslie K.
DeRosa, Mary B.
Flanagan, Stephen J.
Gobush, Matthew N.
Gordon, Philip H.
Gray, Wendy E.
Guarnieri, Valerie N.
Halperin, David E.
Hurley, C. Michael
Kaufman, Stuart J.
Krass, Caroline D.
Lackey, Miles M.
Leavy, David C.
Malinowski, Tomasz P.
McCausland, Jeffrey D.
McEldowney, Nancy E.
Please pass to Sandy and Jim

Please pass to Sandy/Jim as soon as possible

Sandy/Jim:

First, a read-out of 10 am humanitarian IWG. The 552 drawdown has been signed by the Secretary, and will be with POTUS today. We need him to sign. DoD is now thinking "big and soon," including airlift, tents and other supplies, and serious EUCOM involvement.

Here is where I come out on the humanitarian coordination issues that Jim raised:

Internal Coordination:

NSC must take the lead, NSC should chair an IWG:

After the crisis of last fall, NSC handed over management of humanitarian issues to a State-chaired IWG. They simply cannot do the job that is now needed, for a variety of reasons. Dobbins called me again to urge that we formally take this over. He is correct.

Military representative:

Wes Clark, in his capacity as CINC EUCOM, should appoint a General officer at EUCOM, with planning background and excellent PR skills, to lead the U.S. military response. He need not be based in a frontline state, but should lots of time in the region -- he should get into Albania asap -- perhaps with the EUCOM assessment team scheduled to go in shortly.
Civilian public affairs

Our lead could be either Atwood or Taft. In this instance, given the refugee dimension, I'd recommend Julia. Rather than formally designate her (and anger Atwood), however, this will just happen.
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<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Samuel A. Moyn to Andrew S Weiss, Jack D. Segal, C. Michael Hurley, and Miriam E. Sapiro. Subject: RE: Clark pg.</td>
<td>08/03/1999</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td>David E. Halperin to Lindsey E. Huff. Subject: Re: CJCS event and Gen. Clark.</td>
<td>08/06/1999</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003. email</td>
<td>Joseph F. Bouchard to David E. Halperin at 4:03:27. Subject: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark.</td>
<td>08/06/1999</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005. email</td>
<td>M. Kay Joshi to Wendy E. Gray at 10:03:19. Subject: RE: POTUS CJCS remarks for Monday.</td>
<td>08/09/1999</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006. email</td>
<td>Matthew Mclean to Miriam Sapiro re: Deputies Lunch</td>
<td>08/10/1999</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007. email</td>
<td>Address (Partial)</td>
<td>08/10/1999</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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<td>008. email</td>
<td>Address (Partial)</td>
<td>08/10/1999</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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OA/Box Number: 620000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[08/02/1999-08/10/1999]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
OK; per Miriam, these contingency points are with Press.

Did Clark
order Jackson to take Pristina airport? Did Jackson refuse? Did the
President side with Jackson?

* NATO has welcomed Russian participation
in KFOR. Russian troops have worked well in Bosnia and are integrating
well into KFOR.

* I'm not going to comment further on this press
report.

-----Original Message-----
From: Weiss, Andrew S.
(RUE)
Sent: Tuesday, August 03, 1999 11:42 AM
To: Segal, Jack D. (RUE); Moyn, Samuel A. (EUR/INTERN); Hurley, C. Michael (EUR);
Sapiro, Miriam E. (EUR)
Cc: Kaufman, Stuart J. (RUE)
Subject: RE:
Clark pg [UNCLASSIFIED]

See below from Hammer.
<< Message: press
[UNCLASSIFIED] >>

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

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
From: Segal,
Jack D. (RUE)
Sent: Tuesday, August 03, 1999 11:42 AM
To: Moyn,
Samuel A. (EUR/INTERN); Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)
Cc: Hurley, C.
Michael (EUR); Sapiro, Miriam E. (EUR)
Subject: RE: Clark pg [UNCLASSIFIED]

I'd say definitely not change the answer already given --- should pick up whatever they said at this point. Carlos is out this morning at meetings.
AW: anything to add?

-----Original Message-----
From: Moyn,
Samuel A. (EUR/INTERN)
Sent: Tuesday, August 03, 1999 10:39 AM
To: Segal,
Jack D. (RUE)
Cc: Hurley, C. Michael (EUR); Sapiro, Miriam E. (EUR)
Subject: RE: Clark pg [UNCLASSIFIED]

Obviously I have no idea what really happened... I do know that Jamie Rubin and Ken Bacon's deputy dodged this question yesterday, calling it ancient history and a matter for historians. I followed them in adopting an evasive tack. Should we do otherwise?

-----Original Message-----
From: Segal,
Jack D. (RUE)
Sent: Tuesday, August 03, 1999 10:34 AM
To: Moyn,
Samuel A. (EUR/INTERN)
Subject: RE: Clark pg [UNCLASSIFIED]

Sam, do we know anything about the substance? Is this a fabrication or a true story? Only the first point of your proposed reply is responsive to the question. JDS

-----Original Message-----
From: Moyn,
Samuel A. (EUR/INTERN)
Sent: Tuesday, August 03, 1999 10:25 AM
To: Sapiro,
Subject: Clark

Context: The Washington Times report that Gen. Mike Jackson refused to move on SACEUR Gen. Wes Clark’s order to take control of Pristina airport before Russian arrival there in mid-June. Jackson reportedly told Clark: "I'm not going to start World War III for you." The article reports that U.S. civilian authorities overruled Clark.

Did Clark order Jackson to take Pristina airport? Did Jackson refuse? Did the President side with Jackson?

* We can't comment on the accuracy of this report.

* In Sarajevo, the President explained his unwavering confidence in General Clark and said that it is a "false inference" to connect the recent decision on SACEUR command rotation to Clark's performance.

* NATO has welcomed Russian participation in KFOR. Russian troops have worked well in Bosnia and is integrating well into KFOR.
DATE-TIME: 8/6/99 3:18:47 PM

FROM: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)

CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO: Huff, Lindsey E. (PRESS)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY:
call me 69377

-----Original Message-----
From: Huff, Lindsey E. (PRESS)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 3:18 PM
To: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Subject: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

Do you have the schedule for the ceremony? And, I am just about to call CFR to have the remarks changed...

-----Original Message-----
From: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 3:00 PM
To: Blinken, Antony J. (EUR); von Lipsey, Roderick K. (EUR); Leavy, David C. (PRESS); @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @KERRICK; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @KOSOVO
Subject: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

Another factor: Cohen and Shelton will speak before POTUS. Cohen's speechwriter was similarly perplexed, but almost certainly will recognize Clark, and what POTUS says may depend on that.

-----Original Message-----
From: Blinken, Antony J. (EUR)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 2:51 PM
To: vonLipsey, Roderick K. (EUR); Leavy, David C. (PRESS); Halperin, David E. (SPCHW);
@DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @KERRICK; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters;
@PRESS - Public Affairs; @KOSOVO
Subject: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

this is a must-to-do.

-----Original Message-----
From: vonLipsey, Roderick K. (EUR)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 2:37PM
To: Leavy, David C. (PRESS); Halperin, David E. (SPCHW); @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @KERRICK; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @PRESS - Public Affairs;
@KOSOVO
Subject: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

just a note that Clark is a 4-star. Haven't seen who is attending (assume would recognize certain others), but in light of last week's furor over the Ralston/Clark issue, POTUS will surely want to recognize Clark.

-----Original Message-----
From: Leavy, David C. (PRESS)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 2:30PM
To: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW); @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @KERRICK; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters;
@PRESS - Public Affairs; @KOSOVO
Subject: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

i think we need to recognize him and that is probably what the president will want to do but clearly an srb question

-----Original Message-----
From: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 2:27PM
To: @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @KERRICK; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @KOSOVO
Subject: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
Question
for all our experts in military affairs and/or communications:

OSD
tells me that Gen. Wes Clark will attend Monday's Chairman JCS event.
Do you think POTUS should:

-- Mention Gen. Clark in his opening acknowledgments? (thereby slighting the other 3-stars present?)

-- Thank and acknowledge the presence of Gen. Clark in the part of the remarks where he discusses the Kosovo conflict? (producing inevitable applause that could overshadow JCS chairmen)

-- Both

-- Neither

Vote
on-line now. Thanks. David
Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME: 8/6/99 4:03:27 PM
FROM: Bouchard, Joseph F. (DEFENSE)
CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT: RE: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)

CARBON_COPY: Andreasen, Steven P. (DEFENSE)
Bell, Robert G. (DEFENSE)
Binnendijk, Johannes A. (Hans) (DEFENSE)
Bouchard, Joseph F. (DEFENSE)
Brackman, Stella S. (DEFENSE)
Kelly, Sandra L. (DEFENSE)
Mitchell, Rebecca (Julie) J. (NSA)
Mulligan, George D. (DEFENSE)
Peterman, David (Brian) (DEFENSE)
Pimentel, Betsy J. (DEFENSE)
Wasserman, Elaine P. (EXSEC)
Witkowsky, Anne A.

TEXT_BODY:

David,

I've been out all afternoon; just saw this. I strongly recommend including his name in the opening acknowledgements, but not singling him out later in the Kosovo remarks. Not mentioning his name at all might be misinterpreted as a slight. Singling him out is not appropriate because the focus of the event is on the Chairmen -- and General Clark is not the Chairman. The positive statements about US forces in Kosovo will reflect positively on General Clark without his name being mentioned.

Joe

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From: Halperin,
David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 2:27 PM
To: @DEFENSE
 - Defense Policy; @KERRICK; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @KOSOVO
Subject: CJCS event and Gen. Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

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<thead>
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<th>DATE-TIME</th>
<th>8/9/99 9:35:09 AM</th>
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<td>FROM</td>
<td>Gray, Wendy E. (SPCHW/CNSLR)</td>
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<td>CLASSIFICATION</td>
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<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>FW: POTUS CJCS remarks for Monday [UNCLASSIFIED]</td>
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<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>Joshi, M. Kay (EXSEC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>TEXT_BODY</td>
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-----Original Message-----
From: Gray, Wendy E. (SPCHW/CNSLR)
Sent: Monday, August 09, 1999 9:18 AM
To: @CROSS - Cross Hatches
Subject: FW: POTUS CJCS remarks for Monday [UNCLASSIFIED]

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From: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 5:42 PM
To: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW); @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @NONPRO - Export Controls; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs; @KOSOVO
Subject: RE: POTUS CJCS remarks for Monday [UNCLASSIFIED]

For SRB/JBS,

POTUS remarks for Monday JCS event, delivered in final to staff secretary for POTUS. The only revision from SRB-approved version is additional acknowledgments in the first paragraph.
One new acknowledgment is of Wes Clark. Secretary Cohen, speaking before POTUS, will likely also acknowledge General Clark. Of course, other 4-star officers there won't be acknowledged, and we don't want to overshadow the JCS Chairmen, but it seems to make sense to single out Clark under the circumstances. Bouchard, Leavy concur.

Also, there is some chance Senator Helms will attend, which could heighten interest in our CTBT message.

-----Original Message-----
From: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, August 06, 1999 11:30 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @NONPRO - Export Controls; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs; @KOSOVO
Subject: POTUS CJCS remarks for Monday [UNCLASSIFIED]

POTUS remarks for Monday's event commemorating the 50th anniversary of the office of Chairman, JCS. Mostly drafted by Ted. SRB-approved and delivered to staff secretary.

<< File: cjes 1.doc >>
Large type version to follow later today.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

cjes 1.doc
8/6/99 5:00 pm
Widmer/Halperin

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHAIRMAN OF JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
FORT MEYER, VIRGINIA
AUGUST 9, 1999

Thank you, Sec. Cohen, for your fine remarks and for your remarkable leadership.
Gen. Shelton, thank you for your eloquent words and for all you are
doing to keep
America strong and secure. Sec. West; Sen. Thurmond, [others tk],
and all the
members of Congress here; our service secretaries; Gen. Wes Clark --
I am
extremely grateful for your tremendous leadership in our victory in
Kosovo; other
leaders and members of our armed forces; Alma Powell and all the
families; Gen.
Joe Ralston and all the current and former members of the Joint
Chiefs of Staff;
and especially the former Chairmen who are here -- Adm. Thomas
Moorer, Gen. David
Jones; Gen. John Vessey; Adm. William Crowe; Gen. John
Shalikashvili: I am very
honored to be with you to celebrate a half-century of extraordinary
leadership
and service.

As we have heard, it was fifty years ago that Omar Bradley was
summoned to assume
the new office of Chairman of the JCS. The great general who had
commanded the
First Army on D-Day once again answered his nation's call, as
America faced a
post-war stand-off at times as dangerous as the war itself.

Soon after, war broke out in Korea, and American forces again were
asked to
defend freedom. Coordination among the services and with the State
Department
and the White House was more important than ever. With Gen.
Bradley playing a
crucial role, America met its most urgent imperatives -- helping to
preserve
freedom in South Korea, even as we defended Europe and allowed
democracy to
flourish there. We proved, yet again, that our military is second to
none.

Since Gen. Bradley, 13 remarkable leaders have assumed the high
mantle of this
office, providing wise and honest counsel at crucial moments to every
President
and Secretary of Defense ... helping to shape a world of greater
promise than our
parents' generation could have imagined. Challenges always will
remain. But at
the end of the century, freedom is ascendant. America is secure. Our
people can
I look forward with confidence. These 14 men deserve a great deal of the credit.
To Gen. Shelton and the former chairman here today, let me say, thank you for all you have done for America.

I have worked very closely with three Chairmen, Colin Powell, John Shalikashvili and Hugh Shelton -- as well as with a previous Chairman, Bill Crowe. My admiration for all of them is beyond measure. My esteem for the office has only grown more as I have met other former Chairmen. Few positions require its occupant to think harder about the threats that a nation faces and will face; few force a man, and someday a woman, to weigh more soberly the cost of action against the cost of inaction; few require a person to spend more time considering not only how to win war, but just as important, how to avoid war.

That includes the grave danger of nuclear war. Omar Bradley once said: "The way to win an atomic war is to make certain it never starts." The nuclear threat has receded in some respects, and increased in others. There is something we can do right now to reduce the risk further: We can ask the Senate to vote for ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty -- to end nuclear testing forever.

The Treaty was proposed by President Eisenhower and championed by President Kennedy. The American people consistently have supported it. The United States and 151 other countries now have now signed it; 41 countries -- including many of our allies -- have already ratified. We must not let this extraordinary opportunity slip away.


The reason why is clear: The United States has already stopped
nuclear testing. Leading experts say we can maintain a safe and reliable nuclear deterrent without further tests. So the question is: will we join-- or will we lose-- a verifiable treaty that could prevent other countries from testing nuclear weapons?

If we do not ratify, the Treaty, by its terms, cannot enter into force. And countries around the world will feel increased pressure to develop and test nuclear weapons, in ever-more destructive varieties, threatening the security of everyone on Earth.

So today once again I call on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hold hearings on the Treaty this fall. The full Senate should vote for ratification as soon as possible. It should do so for one simple reason: because the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty will strengthen the national security of the United States and help build a safer world.

As we approach a new century, Americans have never been prouder of our men and women in uniform. Thanks to their courage and skill during NATO's campaign in Kosovo, a brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing has been reversed, our alliance is united and strong, and there is new hope for a world where people are not murdered and uprooted because of their ethnic heritage or the way they worship God.

Operation Allied Force was one of the most remarkable military campaigns of the century: over 30,000 sorties flown, and no combat casualties. But let us be clear. It is dangerous to believe in the illusion of a risk-free war. There is no such thing. In Kosovo, our pilots risked their lives every day; they took enemy fire; they faced enemy aircraft; time and again, they put themselves in greater danger to avoid hitting civilians on the ground. And not every conflict
will be like Kosovo; not every battle will be won from the air.

Our job is to reduce the risks as much as we can. That is why we should not send our servicemen and women into harm's way unless we are certain that the purpose is clear, the mission is achievable, and peaceful options have been exhausted. And when we do send them, we must make sure they have the tools they need to get the job done.

Our forces prevailed in Kosovo because of their incomparable skill and courage and also because the American people gave them the best equipment and training in the world. That must never change. We must always maintain a high level of readiness. We must prepare now for tomorrow's threats. We must never forget: Freedom is not free.

In his memoir of World War II, Omar Bradley wrote that no matter how high an officer's rank, it was important to "scoff at the myth of the indispensable man, for we have always maintained that Arlington Cemetery is filled with indispensable men." That statement is a tribute to the decency and humility of a remarkable leader. But surely it does not do full justice to the role played by the exceptional men who have filled this office. So to all of the Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, thank you, once again, for your lifetimes of service to our great nation.

# # #

3

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT cjes.big.doc
8/6/99 5:00 pm
Widmer/Halperin

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
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and especially the former Chairmen who are here -- Adm. Thomas Moorer, Gen. David Jones; Gen. John Vessey; Adm. William Crowe; Gen. John Shalikashvili: I am very honored to be with you to celebrate a half-century of extraordinary leadership and service.

As we have heard, it was fifty years ago that Omar Bradley was summoned to assume the new office of Chairman of the JCS. The great general who had commanded the First Army on D-Day once again answered his nation's call, as America faced a post-war stand-off at times as dangerous as the war itself.

Soon after, war broke out in Korea, and American forces again were asked to defend freedom. Coordination among the services and with the State Department and the White House was more important than ever. With Gen. Bradley playing a crucial role, America met its most urgent imperatives -- helping to preserve freedom in South Korea, even as we defended Europe and allowed democracy to flourish there. We proved, yet again, that our military is second to none.
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countries --
including many of our allies -- have already ratified. We must not let this
extraordinary opportunity slip away.

Shalikashvili -- have issued a statement endorsing the Treaty and its
accompanying safeguards. They agree with Gen. Shelton that the Treaty is in
America's national interest.

The reason why is clear: The United States has already stopped nuclear testing.
Leading experts say we can maintain a safe and reliable nuclear deterrent without
further tests. So the question is: will we join -- or will we lose -- a verifiable treaty that could prevent other countries from testing nuclear weapons?

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# # #

1
Thanks. Laura Marcus left here happy!

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From: Gray, Wendy E. (SPCHW/CNSLR)
Sent: Monday, August 09, 1999 9:35 AM
To: Joshi, M. Kay (EXSEC)
Subject: FW: POTUS CJCS remarks for Monday [UNCLASSIFIED]

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<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Hoyt Yee to Cameron Munter re: Turks (3 pages)</td>
<td>01/05/2000</td>
<td>P1/b(1), P5</td>
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<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td>Roger Cressey to Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley re: cable (10 pages)</td>
<td>01/06/2000</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>003. email</td>
<td>Robert A. Bradtke to Johannes A. Binnendijk at 3:25:01. Subject: RE: state of the union. (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/06/2000</td>
<td>P5</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97- Jan 01) ([Wes Clark])
OA/Box Number: 620000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
[12/21/1999-01/06/2000]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
no, you got one out of two. ali is already on the list being considered.

-----Original Message-----
From: Binnendijk, Johannes A. (Hans) (DEFENSE)
Sent: Thursday, January 06, 2000 10:38 AM
To: Bradtke, Robert A. (EXSEC)
Subject: RE: state of the union [UNCLASSIFIED]

could
we get Mohammad Ali.... sportsman of the century? I know you were
looking for junior officers, but how about Wes Clark? I may be thinking
too big. Hans

-----Original Message-----
From: Bradtke, Robert A. (EXSEC)
Sent: Wednesday, January 05, 2000 10:05 AM
To: @PRESS - Public Affairs; @SENIORS - Senior Directors; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Cc: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Pimentel, Betsy J. (DEFENSE)
Subject: state of the union [UNCLASSIFIED]

all
senior directors:

as in the past, we have been asked to suggest
persons who should be included in the first lady's gallery for the
state of the union address. essentially there are two categories
of persons: a member of the armed services who has been involved

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
in some action in support of the administration's policies and "celebrities."

for
the first category, betsy pimentel has the lead in working with execsec
to ask dod to come up with a list of five recommended persons for
the chief of staff's office to review and select one. most likely,
it would be someone who was involved in kosovo in some way, although
other suggestions from podesta's office included persons who have
been involved in drug interdiction, humanitarian relief, nato expansion.
we do not need to come up with specific individuals. dod will do
that. but if you have suggestions where we might ask dod to look,
they would be welcome.

in the second category, the only suggestions
from podesta's office were george mitchell and nelson mandela. i
would welcome senior director comments and suggestions. ideally,
the person would be an american, but this is not necessary, providing
his or her actions are worthy of recognition.
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

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<td>001. email</td>
<td>Cameron Munter to Antony Blinken et al. re: Davos (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/11/2000</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
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<td>Cameron Munter to Antony Blinken re: Davos Update (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/18/2000</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
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<td>003. email</td>
<td>Cynthia Gire to Robert Bradtke re: Davos Update (3 pages)</td>
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<td>006. email</td>
<td>Antony Blinken to Cameron Munter re: Davos Update (2 pages)</td>
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<td>P1/b(1)</td>
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<td>Tina Kaidanow to June Bartlett et al. re: DC Paper (11 pages)</td>
<td>01/25/2000</td>
<td>P1/b(1), P5</td>
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<td>009. email</td>
<td>Roderick von Lipsey to Christopher Hill re: Cable (1 page)</td>
<td>01/27/2000</td>
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<td>010. email</td>
<td>Betsy Pimentel to Philip Cullom re: Talking Points (4 pages)</td>
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<td>Betsy Pimentel to Kenneth Lieberthal re: Upcoming CINCs Conference (5 pages)</td>
<td>01/28/2000</td>
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Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97- Jan 01) ([Wes Clark])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:
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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.

RESTRICION 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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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

### Clinton Library

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>014. email</td>
<td>Betsy J. Pimentel to David E. Halperin et al. at 11:46:04. Subject: FW: Toast to CINCs--revised. (5 pages)</td>
<td>01/28/2000</td>
<td>P5</td>
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### COLLECTION:
- Clinton Presidential Records
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Betsy, Phil- Do you think the third para will have them squirming in their seats thinking, 'did I just get my butt chewed?' Considering the ongoing controversy surrounding jointness, this toast may be perceived as a roast. Don't think David wants to go there, even though this comment ties to a remark at the end of speech. Needs redo in my opinion. Am I off the mark?

-----Original Message-----
From: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 10:52 AM
To: @SPEECH
- NSC Speechwriters; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @MULTILAT - Multilateral
and Humanitarian Affairs
Subject: Toast to CINCs -- revised [UNCLASSIFIED]

Revised remarks for toast at CINCs dinner. Please see if the jokes work. Comments to me by 1 pm, please.

Betsy: Just doublechecking:
Adm.
Gehman is not retiring?
Gen. Schwartz should be called "Thomas," not "Tom"?

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

cincs toast.doc
1/28/00 10:30 am
David Halperin
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT CINCS DINNER
THE WHITE HOUSE
FEBRUARY 1, 2000

Sec. Cohen; Gen. Shelton; leaders of our armed forces; Mr. Berger; honored guests:

Hillary and I are delighted to welcome you to White House. We're grateful for the chance once again to meet with you and your spouses -- and to say: Thank you for your extraordinary service.

The schedule I received from my staff directs me to make "brief remarks." I interpret that to mean I shouldn't go on any longer than I did in the State of the Union. You know, one proposal we considered for the State of the Union was an initiative, focused on our military, to heal bitter divisions that have separated Americans for too long, and move toward One America. But, in the end, we decided it was hopeless. We'll never end interservice rivalries.

I want to acknowledge the leaders attending this dinner for the first time in their new roles: Gen. [Eric] Shinseki [shin-SEH-kee], Army Chief of Staff; Gen. [Jim] Jones, Marine Corps Commandant; Gen. [Thomas] Schwartz, CINC of U.S. Forces Korea; Adm. [Denny] Blair, CINCPAC. I also want to acknowledge Gen. [Joe] Ralston, our JCS Vice Chairman, who will be our new SACEUR; and Gen. [Dick] Myers, who will move into the Vice Chairman's slot. And I especially want to recognize Gen. [Wes] Clark, who is retiring. Wes, thank you for the remarkable job you have done leading our forces in Europe, particularly in the Kosovo conflict. Thank you for all you have done for our military and our country.

Our victory in Kosovo gives us new hope as we begin a new century. But still America faces a fundamental question: Will we continue to lead in the world, for peace and freedom and prosperity? We cannot lead if we do not remain strong. And the armed forces of the United States -- you and the men and women who serve

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
under you -- are the foundation of our strength.

In the past year, we have dealt with some difficult security challenges. I'm proud that we've faced them together, as a team. I'm grateful for the tremendous skills you have brought to bear and for the candid, insightful advice you have provided.

The troops under your commands also have done a remarkable job, at great sacrifice and risk. They maintained our vigilance against Iraq and North Korea. They worked with our Asian partners to restore peace and give democracy a chance in East Timor. They helped our neighbors in the Americas and our allies in Turkey recover from devastating natural disasters. And they braved the skies over Serbia in NATO's struggle against brutal ethnic cleansing and for a safer Europe. Now, they are helping the people of Kosovo, along with those in Bosnia, seek the path to stability.

I am glad that I had so many opportunities to meet with our troops last year: observing rebuilding efforts in Honduras; addressing Air Force Academy graduates and presenting the CINC's trophy in Colorado Springs; honoring 50 years of leadership by chairmen of the Joint Chiefs; meeting many times at bases in the U.S. and Europe with the troops who made a difference -- and are still making a difference -- in the Balkans.

We all know that our strong economy has increased the challenge of recruitment and retention, and we will intensify our efforts to meet that challenge. But I can say, from all my visits with troops last year, that despite the obstacles, our forces are full of outstanding men and women. Their skills are matched by their patriotism; their courage equaled by their commitment to defend America and make a better world. And they have inspired by the power of their example --
people of different backgrounds working together for the common
good. Our men
and women in uniform truly are leaders in building the One America
we seek.

This year's budget will do more to give them the tools they need and
the quality
of life they deserve. It will help keep our forces ready and give us the
modern
weapons to maintain our edge. As in other areas of our budget, it will
not solve
every problem. But we have worked together to make tough spending
choices, and I
believe they are the right choices for our future.

Tonight, many Americans are looking to New Hampshire, as we
renew our democratic
process. I am honored to be spending this evening with the leaders of
the forces
that make possible our freedom and democracy at home -- and give
hope to so many
around the world.

Please join me in a toast to the men and women of America's armed
forces.

###

1

1
We still need to work on the opening. The reference to the length of the State of the Union is good, but the One America section could be taken in a variety of ways to include as a lecture to the CINCs about a divisive military. It would be better to build briefly on the length comment (my attempt is weak, but no ideas are coming to me) rather than leave questions in people's mind about a comment about rivalries.

From: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:21 AM
To: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW); @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @MULTILAT
-----Original Message-----
From: Halperin, David E. (SPCHW)
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 10:52 AM
To: @SPEECH- NSC Speechwriters; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @MULTILAT - Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs
Subject: Toast to CINCs -- revised [UNCLASSIFIED]

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Adm. Gehman is not retiring?

Gen. Schwartz should be called "Thomas," not "Tom"?

<< File:
cinCs toast.doc >>

-- Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs

Subject: RE: Toast to CINCs -- revised [UNCLASSIFIED]

some more edits and a query from Tom and me

---

Sec. Cohen; Gen. Shelton; leaders of our armed forces; Mr. Berger; honored guests:

Hillary and I are delighted to welcome you to White House. We're grateful for the chance once again to meet with you and your spouses -- and to say: Thank you for your extraordinary service.

The schedule I received from my staff directs me to make "brief remarks." I
interpret that to mean I shouldn't go on any longer than I did in the State of
the Union. In the interest of getting to our dinner, though, I will be brief.
I want to acknowledge the leaders attending this dinner for the first time in
their new roles: Gen. [Eric] Shinseki [shin-SEH-kee], Army Chief of
Staff; Gen. [Jim] Jones, Marine Corps Commandant; Gen. [Thomas] Schwartz,
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want to recognize Gen. [Wes] Clark, who is retiring. Wes, thank you for the
remarkable job you have done commanding our forces in Europe, and leading
NATO to victory in Kosovo. Thank you for all you have done for our military and our
country.

We emerged from the Kosovo conflict with brighter hopes for the new
century. But still America faces a fundamental question: Will we continue to lead
in the world, for peace and freedom and prosperity? We cannot lead if we do not remain
strong. And the armed forces of the United States -- you and the men and women
who serve under you -- are the foundation of our strength.

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observing rebuilding efforts in Honduras; addressing Air Force
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Ramstein to Camp Bondsteel meeting with the troops who made a
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We all know that our strong economy has increased the challenge of
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<tr>
<td>001. email</td>
<td>Gregory Schulte to Philip Crowley re: Question (3 pages)</td>
<td>07/06/2000</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>002. email</td>
<td>Thomas Greenwood to Gregory Schulte re: Backbrief (3 pages)</td>
<td>07/27/2000</td>
<td>P1/b(1), P5</td>
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<td>004. email</td>
<td>Robert Malley to Mara E. Rudman at 11:03:05. Subject: RE: Request from Annan's office for call with SRB, Friday, 0900. (3 pages)</td>
<td>10/20/2000</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<td>005. email attachment</td>
<td>Progress Report (1 page)</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>P1/b(1)</td>
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i would rule out wes clark entirely. will discuss reasons offline.

-----Original Message-----
From: Moran, Kevin S. (NSA)
Sent: Thursday, October 19, 2000 6:26PM
To: Malley, Robert (NESA); @KERRICK; @RUDMAN
Cc: Riedel, Bruce O. (NESA); Siberell, Justin H. (NSA)
Subject: RE: MEPP -- COMMISSION [UNCLASSIFIED]

DLK response:

"Rob... I wouldn't
rule him out completely. Others: George Joulwan; Shali; Steve Abbot;
General Jamerson (USAF); Butch Saint; Chuck Boyd (USAF). Joulwan
is tough, former SACEUR. Abbott, Jamerson, Saint, Boyd, are all
retired four stars, and all but Saint were DCINCrs and had most of
the day to day responsibility for Israel. Jamerson has good rep,
as does Boyd." k

-----Original Message-----
From: Malley, Robert (NESA)
Sent: Thursday, October 19, 2000 5:29PM
To: @KERRICK; @RUDMAN
Cc: Riedel, Bruce O. (NESA); @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Subject: MEPP
-- COMMISSION [UNCLASSIFIED]

DON --
Everyone loved your idea of Wes Clark -- until Bruce happened to come across an article he wrote for Time in which he basically praises Israel's self-restraint and charges the Palestinians with using casualties as a strategic tool.

Well, so much for him.

That said, the idea of a military to be on the commission remains a good one. Any other suggestions??
**Exchange Mail**

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<th>10/20/2000 11:03:05 AM</th>
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<td>CLASSIFICATION</td>
<td>UNCLASSIFIED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>RE: Request from Annan's office for call with SRB, Friday, 0900. [UNCLASSIFIED]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>Rudman, Mara E. (NSA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARBON_COPY</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**TEXT_BODY**

Father Hesberg was on our list. Aaron is very positive about him, so I trust that. He also is on the anti-incitement committee. I just thought we wanted someone with more name recognition, but he could he a good second.

I think checking with Tyrer would be a good idea.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudman, Mara E. (NSA)
Sent: Friday, October 20, 2000 10:37 AM
To: Malley, Robert (NESA)
Subject: RE: Request from Annan's office for call with SRB, Friday, 0900. [UNCLASSIFIED]

any of the first four : chris to mitchell. i don't know the mil guys well -- but i also don't place a lot of faith in don's read here... i can doublecheck impressions with tyrer, whose read on this stuff i do trust. also mary beth cahill yesterday mentioned father hesburgh??? don't know if christine raised that name with you or not. i'm not familiar with him (though i think sandy is), but wanted to pass it along.

-----Original Message-----
From: Malley, Robert (NESA)
Sent: Friday, October 20, 2000 7:45 AM
To: Rudman, Mara E. (NSA)
Subject: RE: Request from Annan's office for call with SRB, Friday, 0900. [UNCLASSIFIED]
Really?
I worked with him quite a bit and had a very different impression.

Who
would be your favorite(s) on the list?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudman, Mara E. (NSA)
Sent: Thursday, October 19, 2000 9:45 PM
To: Malley, Robert (NESA)
Subject: RE: Request from Annan's office for call with SRB, Friday, 0900. [UNCLASSIFIED]

i also would not go with Atwood. he's is quite unpredictable and doesn't have the strongest political/people reading instincts.

-----Original Message-----
From: Malley, Robert (NESA)
Sent: Thursday, October 19, 2000 7:25 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary;
@RUDMAN
Cc: @NESASIA - NE/South Asia
Subject: FW: Request from Annan's office for call with SRB, Friday, 0900. [UNCLASSIFIED]

Sandy,

This may be a good opportunity to engage Kofi on the commission -- which suggests the call may be a bit premature. If it could take place a little later in the day, we could work this internally a bit more and outline our ideas:

-- 2 to 3 members, with expert staff.
One or two US, one Norwegian.

-- If possible, we could suggest some names -- which we probably could do if we had until the afternoon. Atwood was suggested today, and most of us thought it was a good idea. Wes Clark was initially viewed as a perfect choice, until we noticed that he had published an article in this week's Time Magazine praising Israel's restraint and suggesting that the Pals were using casualties as a diplomatic tool.

Other names on a possible list:
Christopher, Eagleburger, Hamilton, Mitchell. We might also want to consider other military suggested by Don K: George Joulwan; Shali; Steve Abbot; General Jamerson (USAF); Butch Saint; Chuck Boyd (USAF).

-----Original Message-----
From: Hargis, Robert C. (WHSR)

Sent: Thursday, October 19, 2000 7:17 PM
To: @NESASIA - NE/South Asia; @MULTILAT - Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @WHSR - WH Situation Room
Subject: Request from Annan's office for call with SRB, Friday, 0900. [UNCLASSIFIED]

UNSYG's office called to request an Annan-Berger call for Friday, 20 October at 0900.

Office number to coordinate: (212) 963-3730.
<table>
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<tr>
<td>001a. memo</td>
<td>Anthony Lake to John Podesta re: Military Nomination (1 page)</td>
<td>02/23/1994</td>
<td>b(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001b. report</td>
<td>Re: Rear Admiral John H. Fetterman, Jr. (2 pages)</td>
<td>ca. 02/23/1994</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001c. memo</td>
<td>Keith Hahn to Anthony Lake. Subject: Military Nomination re Officer nomination. (1 page)</td>
<td>02/14/1996</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<tr>
<td>001d. memo</td>
<td>SSN (Partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>ca. 01/1994</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001e. memo</td>
<td>Memorandum for the President from Alphonso Maldon. Subject: Flag Officer Nomination. (1 page)</td>
<td>02/02/1994</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001f. memo</td>
<td>Memorandum for the President from William J. Perry. Subject: Flag Officer Nomination. (1 page)</td>
<td>01/30/1994</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001g. memo</td>
<td>Edwin Dorn to the Director, White House Military Office re: Rear Admiral John H. Fetterman, Jr. (2 pages)</td>
<td>01/26/1994</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001h. memo</td>
<td>Edwin Dorn to Sam Nunn re: Rear Admiral John H. Fetterman, Jr. (2 pages)</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
((Gen. Clark))
OA/Box Number: 185

FOLDER TITLE:
9401134

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MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL

FROM: KEITH HAHN

SUBJECT: Military Nomination RE Rear Admiral Fetterman

Tab II nominates two military officers for promotion -- one active duty and one retired. The active duty nomination is for Major General Wesley Clark to be appointed to the grade of lieutenant general and to be assigned as Director for Strategic Plans and Policy (J-5) on the Joint Staff. There are no problems with this nomination.

The retired officer being nominated for promotion is Rear Admiral John Fetterman who served as Chief of Naval Education and Training at the rank of vice admiral until July 1992, when he reverted to one-star rank after he received a letter of censure from then Secretary of the Navy O'Keefe for creating the appearance of fraternization with an enlisted member of his staff. Upon the request of the Senate Armed Services Committee, DoD General Counsel reviewed the Navy IG report that led to this reprimand. On November 4, 1993, Secretary Dalton withdrew the letter of censure and, in its place, issued a non-punitive letter of caution. Since Admiral Fetterman had attended Tailhook in 1991, Secretary Aspin withheld a decision on whether to restore him in retirement to three-star rank. On January 30, Secretary Dalton determined that the Admiral had not engaged in any personal wrongdoing with regard to Tailhook and recommended his promotion in retirement.

Tab A provides a summary of the adverse information on RADM Fetterman and rationale for the DoD recommendation that he be retired at the three-star level. We concur in the DoD recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to John Podesta at Tab I.

Attachments
Tab I Memorandum to John Podesta
Tab A Adverse Information Summary Sheet
Tab II Incoming Correspondence
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
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<tr>
<td>001a. note</td>
<td>Nancy S. to Sandy S. [concerning Pentagon draft defending Clark's actions] (1 page)</td>
<td>09/19/1994</td>
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<td>001b. note</td>
<td>To Nancy [concerning John Deutch and General Shalikashvili's feelings concerning Clark] (1 page)</td>
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<td>001c. memo</td>
<td>From Margie Sullivan to Nancy Soderberg. Subject: Lieutenant General Wesley Clark. (1 page)</td>
<td>09/15/1994</td>
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<td>002. letter</td>
<td>To the President [concerning General Clark's credibility] (3 pages)</td>
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
[Wesley Clark]  
OA/Box Number: 212

FOLDER TITLE:
9407198

RESTRICITION 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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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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To: Sandy V.

The Pentagon sent over a draft response defending Clark’s actions. Their line is that Clark and his staff never received the US Charge D’affairs’ disapproval of Clark’s meeting with Mladic. They say he made all the right points in all meeting (“he clearly and forcefully expressed US concerns about the Bosnian Serbs’ lack of cooperation in the peace process and pressed Mladic to make a significant overture of peace such as to demilitarize Sarajevo or one of the other safe zones.”) [I’ve killed draft because it is too detailed and defensive.]

Please check with State on their view and draft response. TL suggest the following:

- appreciate concern, apparently there was a miscommunication with State
- Clark stated our policy clearly in meeting.
- The Serbs have no doubt about policy.
- Don’t make judgement on whether Clark’s action was appropriate or not.

Thanks, Nancy S.
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<td>002. email</td>
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<td>004. email</td>
<td>Donald Bandler to Keirn Brown re: Small Group Preparation (13 pages)</td>
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<td>005. email</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- NSC Emails
- Exchange-Non-Record (Mar 97-Jan 01) ([Wes Clark])
- OA/Box Number: 630000

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- [02/06/1998-03/05/1998]

**REstriction Codes**

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
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Doug will plant that seed with SHAPE tomorrow.

PJ

-----Original Message-----
From: Blinken, Antony J.
Sent: Thursday, March 05, 1998 5:31PM
To: Crowley, Philip J.
Subject: RE: Status of Defense Writers Group [UNCLASSIFIED]

makes sense.

-----Original Message-----
From: Crowley, Philip J.
Sent: Thursday, March 05, 1998 5:08PM
To: Blinken, Antony J.
Cc: @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: RE: Status of Defense Writers Group [UNCLASSIFIED]

Well, Clark's the guy who will be responsible for integrating these new forces into NATO, working military plans, infrastructure and so on. When we say this is doable without altering NATO's strengths, Clark is it. I understand how easily the discussion can get highjacked by Bosnia, but I would bet that Shelton's first response to such a suggestion would be "I'm not the right guy."

PJ
yeah -- that would
be great. But is he too associated with Bosnia? Point we want to
make is that NATO is not about new fangled out of area expeditionary
forces, but first and foremost about defending security of member
states (and larger NATO can do that even better...)

Shelton just did DWG on February 13, so I
don't know if Harry would want him that quickly. I would think we
would want to do this with Wes Clark, the guy who actually has to
make it work. Clark was in town this week and will be back o/a March
25, according to the JCS. We can get Ken Bacon/Doug Wilson to plant
that seed with his folks if you want.

PJ

Berger nodded and
said yes in principle but don't bother me with this now. Still,
two things:
1. We may be able to convince him to do it on NATO +, given problem we're having with "mission creep" argument.

2.
We propose having Shelton do the DWG on NATO + ASAP.

-----Original
Message-----
From: Crowley, Philip J.
Sent: Thursday, March 05, 1998 4:44 PM
To: Blinken, Antony J.
Cc: @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: Status of Defense Writers Group [UNCLASSIFIED]

Did we reach any decision on DWG at Communications Meeting. Harry has become my phone pal.

PJ
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

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<td>003. email</td>
<td>James Covey to Glyn Davies et al. re: Albania/Kosovo (2 pages)</td>
<td>05/11/1998</td>
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<td>004. email</td>
<td>Stephen Flanagan to James Covey re: Notes for Small Group (2 pages)</td>
<td>06/01/1998</td>
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<td>005. email</td>
<td>James Covey to Glyn Davies et al. re: Meeting with SACEUR Wes Clark (3 pages)</td>
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<td>006. email</td>
<td>James Covey to Lawrence Butler re: Presidential Call (8 pages)</td>
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<td>008. email</td>
<td>Stephen Flanagan to James Covey et al. re: Kosovo (3 pages)</td>
<td>06/09/1998</td>
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<td>009. email</td>
<td>Anthony Campanella to James Covey et al. re: Kosovo (3 pages)</td>
<td>06/09/1998</td>
<td>P1/b(1), P5</td>
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<td>010. email</td>
<td>George Chastain to M. Kay Joshi re: Blair MemCon (8 pages)</td>
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<td>012. email</td>
<td>Stephen Flanagan to Sharon Storey et al. re: Kosovo (3 pages)</td>
<td>06/12/1998</td>
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COLLECTION:
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NSC Emails
Exchange-Non-Record (Mar 97-Jan 01) ([Wes Clark])
OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/02/1998-06/12/1998]

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2006-0325-F
kh727
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<tr>
<td>013. email</td>
<td>Stephen Flanagan to Leonard Hawley re: Kosovo (3 pages)</td>
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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 6/12/98 8:55:51 AM
FROM Sapiro, Miriam E.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: for Jim re Letters from Greek Community [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Malley, Robert

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

understnd you have note below..

----Original Message-----
From: Bandler, Donald K.
Sent: Wednesday, June 10, 1998 5:43 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: FW: for Jim re Letters from Greek Community [UNCLASSIFIED]

Please pass
to JBS from Don/Miriam

Jim -- two letters and background you should
be aware of:

(1) Andy Manatos, Andy' Athens and Phil Christopher
wrote to the President complaining about Adminstration officials' statements about Cyprus' efforts to acquire S-300 missiles, specifically excluding acceptable statements made by Dick and Tom. We had no idea what the offending official statements were; Tom asked Andy Manatos, who did not know (!) but said he would find out. Andy then faxed info about statements by Mike McCurry and Wes Clark. These are correct statements of our policy and concerns, and we do not believe that a reply would be productive.

(2) Andy Manatos and others have sent the President a long letter sharply critical of our "misguided policy" for the past five years, and stating that we will "bear considerable blame" if a war breaks out between Greece and Turkey. This letter deserves a response; we will try to set the record straight. What is interesting is that Andy told Tom that
he and some of the other signers had not wanted to sign but were pressured as a "loyalty test."

We wanted you to be aware of both letters. Dick and Tom remain in close touch with the Greek community, including and especially Senator Sarbanes. Overall reaction to our diplomatic efforts has been supportive and we hope these two letters remain an exception.
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<td>Anthony J. Blinken to Daniel Benjamin at 5:37:02. Subject: RE: Korea Massacre. (2 pages)</td>
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<td>002. email</td>
<td>Mark Tavlarides to Miles Lackey re: Legislative Update (1 page)</td>
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<td>005. email</td>
<td>Tina Kaidanow to Christopher Hill re: One Additional Sentence (6 pages)</td>
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<td>007. email</td>
<td>Antony J. Blinken to Cameron P. Munter at 11:19:47. Subject: FW: note to Bradtke on Clark (2 pages)</td>
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<td>008. email</td>
<td>Cameron P. Munter to Hotelsheba N. Crocker et al. at 11:27:52. Subject: General Clark and Davos Delegation. (2 pages)</td>
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<td>009. email</td>
<td>Robert A. Bradtke to Mona K. Sutphen et al. at 10:21:05. Subject: RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation. (2 pages)</td>
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<td>Robert A. Bradtke to Wendy E. Gray and Mara E. Rudman at 1:44:31. Subject: FW: General Clark and Davos Delegation. (3 pages)</td>
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<td>011. email</td>
<td>Cameron P. Munter to Hoyt B. Yee at 4:17:49. Subject: RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation. (3 pages)</td>
<td>01/19/2000</td>
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## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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<td>013. email</td>
<td>Roderick von Lipsey to Tina Kaidanow re: DC Paper (13 pages)</td>
<td>02/07/2000</td>
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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 10/12/99 5:37:02 PM
FROM Blinken, Antony J. (EUR)
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Korea Massacre [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Benjamin, Daniel (TNT)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

sort of like Wes Clark....

-----Original Message-----
From: Benjamin,
Daniel (TNT)
Sent: Tuesday, October 12, 1999 5:22 PM
To: Blinken,
Antony J. (EUR)
Subject: RE: Korea Massacre [UNCLASSIFIED]
yup.
mixture of relief and revulsion at how he was treated. he heard
from Howie Kurtz that he was being replaced.

-----Original Message-----
From: Blinken,
Antony J. (EUR)
Sent: Tuesday, October 12, 1999 5:21 PM
To: Benjamin,
Daniel (TNT)
Subject: RE: Korea Massacre [UNCLASSIFIED]

interesting.
I have yet to connect with him. Have you?

-----Original Message-----
From: Benjamin,
Daniel (TNT)
Sent: Tuesday, October 12, 1999 1:46 PM
To: Blinken,
Antony J. (EUR)
Subject: FW: Korea Massacre [UNCLASSIFIED]

fyi.
An odd question: Joe Bouchard tells me you are handling the Korean massacre issue, which I haven't followed at all. A friend of mine, Chuck Lane, called me inquiring if there was any need for someone to either run the investigation or write the report. You may have heard of Chuck -- until two weeks ago he was the editor of The New Republic. He is obviously a talented journalist, seems incredibly interested in the issue and in offering his services. I told him that I had no idea what was going on, but that a) some even greater eminence, someone who had been in government, would probably run the show but that b) there probably be someone in charge of the drafting. He still seemed interested in the latter, so I said I would check. What's the word on this?
I understand he's been trying to get an invite without success.

-----Original Message-----
From: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)
Sent: Friday, January 14, 2000 9:36 AM
To: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: Davos: Wes Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

Cindy et al:

We have a request from
General Clark to be included in the President's delegation. He has not been invited this year (they must see him as yesterday's guy). But he would like to go and can get there himself. Would it be possible to get him on the official delegation?
Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME: 01/18/2000 11:19:47 AM
FROM: Blinken, Antony J. (EUR)
CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT: FW: note to Bradtke on Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)

CARBON COPY

TEXT BODY

per a conversation with bob, let's make this a note to SRB with CC. to bob and Cindy Gire.

-----Original Message-----
From: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)
Sent: Tuesday, January 18, 2000 11:09 AM
To: Blinken, Antony J. (EUR)
Subject: note to Bradtke on Clark [UNCLASSIFIED]

Tony,
for your comments.

UNCLASSIFIED

January 18, 2000

TO: SRB
THROUGH: TONY
BLINKEN
FROM: CAMERON MUNTER
SUBJECT: DAVIDOS: WES CLARK ON POTUS DELEGATION

Wes Clark's POLAD called us last week with a request that the President list Wes Clark on the Davos delegation. Clark, who was invited to Davos in the past, was dropped from the list this year (probably because he's "on his way out") and the POLAD was told by our mission in Bern that the only way he could get in would be as a delegation member. Clark would make his own arrangements for travel, overnight, etc. [i.e. he would not fly with us on AFI or need to be included in our hotel manifest.]

We strongly support
Clark's inclusion on the President's delegation list. Clark deserves to have been invited, and it can only strengthen the delegation to have our top soldier in Europe as one of its members.
January 18, 2000

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would make his own arrangements for travel, overnight -- i.e. he would not fly on Air Force 1 nor would he need to be included on our hotel manifest.

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cc: Bradtke, Gire
my view is that this is a relatively small gesture towards someone who has been of considerable service to the president. i've checked with vershbow, who sees no problem, provided that a) clark goes in his us (not his nato) hat; and b) we give osd a heads up. mara will call tyrer.

-----Original Message-----
From: Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)
Sent: Tuesday, January 18, 2000 8:56 PM
To: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs; Gire, Cynthia L. (EXSEC)
Subject: RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]
bob - sandy wants your thoughts on this.

-----Original Message-----
From: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)
Sent: Tuesday, January 18, 2000 11:28 AM
To: @APNSA
Cc: @EUROPE
- European Affairs; Gire, Cynthia L. (EXSEC); Bradtke, Robert A. (EXSEC)
Subject: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]

UNCLASSIFIED

January
18, 2000

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THROUGH: TONY BLINKEN
FROM: CAMERON MUNTER
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cc: Bradtke, Gire
Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 01/19/2000 1:44:31 PM
FROM Bradtke, Robert A. (EXSEC)
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Gray, Wendy E. (NSA)
Rudman, Mara E. (NSA)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

fyi. will you mention this to tyrer.

-----Original Message-----
From: Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)
Sent: Wednesday, January 19, 2000 1:32 PM
To: Bradtke, Robert A. (EXSEC); Munter, Cameron P. (EUR); @APNSA
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs; Gire, Cynthia L. (EXSEC)
Subject: RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]

sandy said ok. m

-----Original Message-----
From: Bradtke, Robert A. (EXSEC)
Sent: Wednesday, January 19, 2000 10:21 AM
To: Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA); Munter, Cameron P. (EUR); @APNSA
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs; Gire, Cynthia L. (EXSEC)
Subject: RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
From: Sutphen, Mona
K. (NSA)
Sent: Tuesday, January 18, 2000 8:56 PM
To: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR); @APNSA
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs; Gire, Cynthia L. (EXSEC); Bradtke, Robert A. (EXSEC)
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UNCLASSIFIED

January 18, 2000

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cc: Bradtke, Gire
Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 01/19/2000 4:17:49 PM
FROM Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Yee, Hoyt B. (EUR)

You're the one who gets to ride on the roof with him.

-----Original Message-----
From: Yee, Hoyt B. (EUR)
Sent: Wednesday, January 19, 2000 4:17 PM
To: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)
Cc: Blinken, Antony J. (EUR)
Subject: RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]

Thanks,
but you deserve the credit, and the ride on the helo (I've had enough near-death experiences on SACEUR helos over the past 6 years). And when Wes asks to be added to the President's AF-1 manifest I want no linkage to me. Hoyt

-----Original Message-----
From: Munter, Cameron P. (EUR)
Sent: Wednesday, January 19, 2000 2:57 PM
To: Blinken, Antony J. (EUR); Yee, Hoyt B. (EUR)
Subject: FW: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]

Hoyt delivers! Wes owes you a ride in a helicopter.

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From: Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)
Sent: Wednesday, January 19, 2000 1:32 PM
To: Bradtke,
Robert A. (EXSEC); Munter, Cameron P. (EUR); @APNSA
Cc: @EUROPE
- European Affairs; Gire, Cynthia L. (EXSEC)
Subject: RE: General Clark and Davos Delegation [UNCLASSIFIED]

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