

# William J. Clinton Presidential History Project

# **Briefing Materials**

Warren Christopher
With Strobe Talbott

**April 15-16, 2002** 

**Prepared by Kelli Coughlin, Research Assistant** April 3, 2002

## Warren Christopher Timeline

Prepared by Kelli Coughlin Miller Center, University of Virginia

Under Secretary of State George W. Ball asks Warren Christopher for assistance with international trade negotiations. Christopher agrees and serves as Special Counsel to Under Secretary Ball through 1965. (Warren Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, New York: Scribner, 2001, pp. 35-39)

1965 Christopher serves as Vice Chairman of California Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown's (D) commission to investigate the Watts riots. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 43-46)

President Johnson appoints Christopher as Deputy Attorney General under Ramsey Clark. Christopher serves in this capacity until 1969, and his duties include investigating the 1967 Detroit riots and the 1968 riots after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 40-60)

1977 Christopher becomes Deputy Secretary of State under Cyrus Vance's. While in this position, Christopher helps secure the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties and the release of the American hostages in Iran. Carter awards Christopher the Medal of Freedom in 1981 for his work to release the hostages.

In the wake of the Rodney King beating, Christopher heads an independent commission investigating the Los Angeles Police Department.

1992

At the request of Clinton campaign Chairman Mickey Kantor, Christopher introduces Clinton at a Beverly Hills fundraiser on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Following the fundraiser, Kantor contacts Christopher to say that Clinton was pleased with the introduction and hopes that Christopher will remain involved in the campaign. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 143-144)

April On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Christopher and Kantor fly to Tallahassee to meet with Clinton and begin the search for a running mate. At Clinton's request, Christopher heads the search. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, p. 145)

May

Clinton names Washington lawyer Vernon Jordan and Vermont Governor Madeleine Kunin (D) to serve with Christopher as Co-Chairs of the vice-presidential search committee. (Christopher, Chances of a Lifetime, p. 148)

July

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, Christopher meets with Clinton to brief him on the results of his investigations into the backgrounds of the five remaining candidates for Clinton's running mate. Christopher and Clinton then meet with Mark Gearan, Bruce Lindsey and Hillary Clinton to make a final decision. At 11:35 pm, Clinton calls Al Gore to ask him to be his running mate. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 154-155)

November

Clinton is elected President of the United States.

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Clinton names Vernon Jordan as Transition Chairman and Christopher as Transition Director. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, p. 159)

December

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, Clinton nominates Christopher to be Secretary of State.

#### 1993

January

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Christopher meets with outgoing acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger to discuss the situation in Haiti. After the meeting, Christopher and Eagleburger issue a joint statement urging the factions in Haiti to support efforts by the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of American States (OAS) to find a solution to the current crisis. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 01/07/1993)

Christopher is confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of State.

Christopher's recommendation for Attorney General, Zoë Baird, withdraws her nomination. (Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994. p. 41)

In his first talk with State Department employees on the 26<sup>th</sup>, Christopher says that Clinton will not appoint ambassadors solely based on political connections, and that Christopher will seek to bring Foreign Service Officers back into the decision making process in the Department. (*The New York Times*, 01/26/1993)

**February** 

Christopher meets with ousted Haitian President Reverend Jean-Bertrand Aristide. He tells Aristide that restoring him to power is a top priority for the U.S.

Christopher announces the Administration's plan for bringing peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The six-point plan includes a call for renewed diplomatic negotiations, increased humanitarian assistance to Bosnia, and tighter economic sanctions on Serbia. The plan also offers the services of Reginald Bartholomew, current US Ambassador to NATO, as a special U.S. envoy. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 02/11/93)

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, Christopher leaves on a nine day trip to the Middle East and Europe. (*The New York Times*, 02/19/1993, 02/22/1993)

On the 20<sup>th</sup>, Christopher meets with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. Assad tells Christopher that he will not enter negotiations with Israel until Israel commits to a full withdrawal from the Golan Heights. Christopher relays this message to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, p. 219)

On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Christopher meets with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev in Geneva. The two announce an upcoming summit between Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin on April 4. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 02/26/1993)

Christopher meets with NATO foreign ministers in Brussels on the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>. The foreign ministers indicate that they will not provide logistical support for the proposed airdrops of food and medicine to Bosnians, saying the US proposal is a mostly symbolic gesture. (*The New York Times*, 02/27/1993)

US planes begin to airdrop aid to Bosnian Muslims. (*The New York Times*, 03/01/1993)

March

Testifying before the Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee on the 10<sup>th</sup>, Christopher indicates that the Clinton Administration wants to renew favorable terms of trade with China, but that this renewal will be contingent upon progress in the field of human rights and other conditions. (*The Washington Post*, 03/11/1993)

On the same day, Christopher announces that Middle East peace talks will resume in Washington on April 20<sup>th</sup>. (*The Washington Post*, 03/11/1993)

Clinton meets with Christopher, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Anthony Lake, Ambassador-at-Large and advisor to Christopher on the New Independent States Strobe Talbott, and White House Communications Director George Stephanopoulos. They discuss possible responses to Yeltsin's announced intention to dissolve

Parliament, assume emergency powers, and call for a referendum on how Russia should be ruled. (Drew, p. 120)

In a speech to Chicago's Council on Foreign Relations on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, Christopher warns that failure to aid Russia will contribute to the potential for a resurgence of despotism in the country. The speech is interpreted as a warning to Yeltsin not to resort to force to resolve his struggles with the Russian legislature. (*The Washington Post*, 03/23/1993)

Christopher appoints a panel to investigate charges that the State Department misled Congress about atrocities committed by the El Salvadorean military in the 1980s. (*The New York Times*, 03/25/1993)

In testimony before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Christopher indicates that the US is moving to impose stiffer sanctions on North Korea in an effort to prevent its withdrawal from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. (*The New York Times*, 03/26/1993)

Testifying on the 30<sup>th</sup> before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Christopher says he favors an escalation of the sanctions against Libya, specifically an oil embargo, because of Libya's continued refusal to turn over suspects accused of the bombing of Pan American Flight 103. In the same testimony, Christopher signals the possible toughening of the US approach to Iran, calling the country an "international outlaw." (*The New York Times*, 03/31/1993; *The Wall Street Journal*, 03/31/1993)

The World Bank approves a new loan to Iran over US objections. (*The Washington Post*, 03/31/1993)

April

Azerbaijan requests that Christopher and UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali intervene in the faltering peace talks between Azerbaijan and Armenia. (*The New York Times*, 04/02/1993)

Making the first public criticism of either side in the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict, Christopher strongly rebukes Armenia for seizing territory in northwest Azerbaijan. (*The New York Times*, 04/07/1993)

Christopher announces that the US has honored Russia's request to delay imposing new sanctions on Bosnian Serbs in order to give the Russians more time to try to persuade the Serbs to change their behavior. (*The New York Times*, 04/13/1993)

At a meeting of the Group of Seven in Japan, Christopher makes an appeal for more assistance with the proposed U.S. aid package to Russia. (*The Washington Post*, 04/15/1993)

After Haitian Prime Minister Marc L. Bazin rejects the United Nations' proposed mediation effort in the country, calling it "doomed to failure," Christopher meets with UN envoy Dante Caputo. Christopher warns on the 17<sup>th</sup> that the Administration hopes a weekend of reflection will lead the Haitian military to reverse its decision. (*The New York Times*, 04/21/1993)

Palestinian officials announce their intention to resume peace talks with Israel in Washington on the 27<sup>th</sup>. Christopher calls the decision "courageous." (*The Washington Post*, 04/22/1993)

Over thirty House members sign a letter to Clinton urging military action against the Serbs. At the same time, twelve State Department specialists on the Balkans reportedly send a letter to Christopher asking him to urge the U.S. to employ military force to stop the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (*The Washington Post*, 04/23/1993)

Mideast peace talks resume on the 27<sup>th</sup>. Christopher urges the negotiators to stop wrangling over procedures and begin addressing key issues. (*The Washington Post*, 04/28/1993)

In testimony before the a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee on the 27<sup>th</sup>, Christopher lays out the conditions under which the U.S. would undertake military action in Bosnia. The four conditions require a clearly stated goal for the mission, high chances of success, a clear exit strategy, and sustained popular support for both the action and exit strategy. (*The New York Times*, 04/28/1993)

Gore and Christopher hold separate meetings in which they tell Iraqi dissidents that the U.S. will press the UN to place human rights monitors in Iraq and to establish a war crimes commission for the crimes committed during the Persian Gulf War. (*The Washington Post*, 05/01/1993)

May

Clinton decides to use military force against the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Following a four hour meeting including Clinton, Christopher, and other foreign policy advisors, Christopher tells reporters that the US wants to take unified action, though U.S. allies have no veto power over Clinton's plan. Christopher leaves for Europe to persuade allies to participate. (*The New York Times*, 05/02/1993; *The Washington Post*, 05/02/1993)

Toward the end of nearly two hours of talks between Christopher and Russian officials, Yeltsin tells Christopher that Russia will be willing to commit troops to Bosnia for peace keeping purposes only. (*The Washington Post*, 05/06/1993)

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, Christopher meets with Clinton and other members of the foreign policy team to report on his European trip. He reportedly tells Clinton about allied opposition to the U.S. plan for limited military action. (*The Washington Post*, 05/13/1993)

Christopher meets with UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the 12<sup>th</sup>. After the meeting, Christopher indicates that no decisions by the Administration are likely until the Serbian referendum on the Vance-Owen peace accord takes place. Christopher also says that there has been "considerable progress" towards reinstating ousted Haitian President Aristide. (*The Washington Post*, 05/13/1993)

Christopher and Lake reportedly recommend that Clinton recognize the Angolan government led by Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Dos Santos is currently being challenged by rebel forces previously supported by the U.S. (*The Washington Post*, 05/19/1993)

Christopher tells European allies that the U.S. is now willing to use air power to protect peacekeeping forces responsible for guarding Muslim safe havens in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (*The New York Times*, 05/22/1993)

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, Christopher officially announces the new Balkan action plan in conjunction with the foreign ministers of Russia, Britain, France and Spain. (*The Washington Post*, 05/24/1993)

Christopher warns Iraqi President Saddam Hussein that the U.S. is "watching carefully" to see if Iraq intends to launch an offensive against a Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq. (*The New York Times*, 05/25/1993)

Clinton confers most favored nation status on China, and issues an executive order calling on China to make "overall, significant progress" on human rights and other issues in order to gain MFN status next year. The order requires the State Department to certify China's progress on certain issues, including emigration, before China can achieve MFN status again. (*The Washington Post*, 05/29/1993)

June

Christopher says that pressure from the U.S. was pivotal in the Guatemalan armed forces' decision to force President Jose Serrano out of office on the 1<sup>st</sup>. He also warns the military that democracy should be restored quickly. (*The Washington Post*, 06/03/1993, 06/04/1993)

After a meeting with the twelve European Community foreign ministers in Brussels, Christopher announces that he pressed the ministers for "a collective policy of containment to halt Iran's nuclear and chemical weapons program." (*The Washington Post*, 6/10/1993; *The Wall Street Journal*, 6/10/1993)

Christopher meets with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel and Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin. He offers Turkey \$336 million in military aid and cautions that improved relations with the U.S. will depend on an improvement in human rights practices. (*The New York Times*, 06/13/1993; *The Washington Post*, 06/13/1993)

Christopher gives a speech as part of the opening session of the World Conference of Human Rights. In his remarks, Christopher warns that "we cannot let cultural relativism become the last refuge of repression" and calls for the establishment of a UN high commissioner on human rights and the appointment of a UN special rapporteur on violence against women. Christopher also announces that the Clinton Administration will ask the Senate to ratify four human rights treaties signed during the Carter Administration. (*The New York Times*, 06/15/1993; *The Washington Post*, 06/15/1993)

U.S. ships fire 23 Tomahawk cruise missiles at Iraqi intelligence headquarters in retaliation for an Iraqi plot to assassinate former President Bush during his visit to Kuwait in April. Christopher is sent to Kennebunkport, Maine to brief Bush on the situation. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, p. 235; *The New York Times*, 06/27/1993)

July

Christopher warns that the U.S. might stop its active role in the Middle East peace process, saying that while he thought the parties involved still wanted U.S. participation, "if the parties don't want our assistance, if they really don't want us to play this role, of course we will not impose ourselves." (*The New York Times*, 07/05/1993)

Christopher tells reporters that the U.S. has all but reached its limit in Bosnia, saying, "That's a tragic, tragic situation in Bosnia, make no mistake about that....It's the world's most difficult diplomatic problem, I believe. It defies simple solution. The United States is doing all it can consistent with our national interest." (*The Washington Post*, 07/22/1993)

Christopher tells Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen that the U.S. has evidence of Chinese exports of missile supplies to Pakistan. He warns that the U.S. will move to impose punitive sanctions if China does not act quickly to remedy the situation. (*The Washington Post*, 07/26/1993)

Christopher brokers a cease-fire between Israel and Lebanon, ending seven days of shelling and air attacks carried out by Israel in response to Lebanese rocket attacks on northern Israel. (*The New York Times*, 08/01/1993)

August

On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, Christopher meets with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who requests that Christopher ask Syrian President Hafez al-Assad if he will sign a stand-alone treaty with Israel and engage in diplomacy to signal his commitment to peace in exchange for a five-year Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, p. 221)

When Christopher relays Rabin's message to Assad, Assad tells him that public diplomacy will come only after a peace agreement, that he will not agree to early normalization before the completion of Israeli withdrawal, and that he will only accept a six-month withdrawal. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 221-222; *The New York Times*, 08/05/1993)

Stephen Walker, the State Department's Croatia desk officer since June, becomes the third State Department official in less than a month to resign in protest over the Administration's policy on Bosnia. Bosnian desk officer Marshal Freeman Harris and Intelligence and Research Bureau worker Jon Western both quit in early August. (*The Washington Post*, 08/18/1993)

Christopher talks with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in a hastily arranged meeting in California. The two discuss a plan to resolve the dispute over the Gaza Strip and Jericho. The plans come as a result of a breakthrough in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in Oslo, Norway. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 199-200; *The Washington Post* 08/29/1993)

September

Arafat and Rabin attend an historic White House ceremony in which Peres and PLO official Mahmoud Abbas sign the peace accord negotiated in Oslo. Rabin and Arafat shake hands after the ceremony. (*The Washington Post*, 09/12/1993)

Yeltsin appears on Russian national television to declare presidential rule and call for the disbanding of parliament with new elections to follow in December. Christopher calls Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev to pledge support, and announces that U.S. support for Yeltsin is an investment in US national security. (*The New York Times*, 09/22/1993, 09/23/1993)

As Clinton meets with Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, Christopher warns Japan that not enough progress has been made in US-Japan trade talks. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan is expected to reach \$50 billion by the end of the year. (*The Washington Post*, 09/28/1993)

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali sends a letter to Christopher in which he warns that a US withdrawal of troops from Somalia would destroy UN peacekeeping efforts. The letter comes in response to a paper given to Boutros-Ghali by Christopher on September 20. The paper expressed a desire to redeploy and withdraw some US troops as soon as possible. (*The New York Times*, 09/30/1993, 10/01/1993)

October

Christopher organizes a donor conference that generates \$2 billion in pledges to help the PLO take administrative control of the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank. Christopher calls the conference, which is attended by 43 countries, "a striking success however you measure it." (*The Washington Post*, 10/02/1993)

Christopher tells Mexican officials that the debate in Washington over NAFTA could get "ugly." He urges Mexico to invite observers to monitor its next presidential election, to support Clinton's call for a UN high commissioner on international human rights, and to otherwise polish Mexico's international image. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 10/04/1993)

Twelve American soldiers are killed, 78 wounded, and an unknown number are missing after a failed raid leads to a fifteen hour battle in the streets of Mogadishu. Christopher warns, "In the face of these kinds of attacks, it's a time for Americans to be very steady in our response and not talk about getting out." (*The Washington Post*, 10/05/1993)

Christopher and Secretary of Defense Les Aspin hold a ninety minute Administration briefing to discuss US policy on Somalia. The meeting is attended by over 200 members of Congress. After the frequently contentious meeting, Christopher sends a warning to Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed through the press. He cautions Aideed against harming any of the captured soldiers. (*The Washington Post*, 10/06/1993)

A U.S. ship carrying 200 soldiers is refused a docking berth in Port-au-Prince as a hostile crowd on shore threatens journalists, US charge d'affaires Vicki Huddleston and UN special envoy to Haiti Dante Caputo. Huddleston and Caputo are unable to make their scheduled meeting with Haitian General Raoul Cedras. Christopher asks the Security Council for "an urgent report on the situation in Haiti" and "prompt consideration" of penalties. The Security Council warns Haitian military leaders that economic sanctions will be renewed if the ship is not allowed to dock. (*The New York Times*, 10/12/1993; *The Wall Street Journal*, 10/12/1993)

During a visit to Hungary, Christopher urges NATO to place membership expansion on its agenda for the upcoming January, 1994 meeting. Christopher says the Administration's proposed "Partnership for Peace" is a good start on the road toward incorporating Hungary and other former members of the Warsaw Pact into NATO. (*The Washington Post*, 10/22/1993)

Yeltsin reportedly tells Christopher that the proposed security partnership between NATO and former Warsaw Pact countries is "terrific." Christopher and Foreign Minister Kozyrev also announce that Clinton and Yeltsin will meet in mid-January in Moscow. (*The New York Times*, 10/23/1993; *The Washington Post*, 10/23/1993)

November

During testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Christopher outlines the six priorities of the Administration's foreign policy: economic security, reform in Russia, a new NATO framework, trade relations with the Far East, improving the situation in the Middle East, and securing nuclear nonproliferation. (*The Washington Post*, 11/05/1993)

Deputy Secretary of State Clifton R. Wharton resigns. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 11/09/1993)

Christopher fires two State Department employees after State Department Inspector General Sherman Funk briefs Christopher on their involvement in the leaking of personnel information in September. The employees reportedly were involved in the retrieval of 160 personnel files of political appointees from the Bush Administration, and the disclosure to *The Washington Post* of some of the information from the files. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 11/11/1993; *The Washington Post*, 11/11/1993)

As leaders gather for an APEC forum, Christopher reportedly warns Chinese Foreign Minister Qian that China will have to show rapid progress in human rights performance if it wants to maintain its favorable trade status with the U.S. (*The Washington Post*, 11/18/1993)

In a speech at Washington University, Christopher warns North Korea that the U.S. will recommend UN sanctions if North Korea continues to refuse to open its nuclear installations for inspection. (*The New York Times*, 11/18/1993)

December

Christopher cautions a meeting of European Community officials that failure to reach an agreement by the 15<sup>th</sup> on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would be very damaging to the global economy. (*The Washington Post*, 12/2/1993)

In a meeting with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko, Christopher advises Ukraine that that the U.S. may reduce aid to Ukraine if it continues to delay the dismantling of its nuclear arsenal. (*The Washington Post*, 12/04/1993)

Admiral Bobby Ray Inman is nominated to replace outgoing Defense Secretary Aspin.

Clinton nominates Strobe Talbott to the position of Deputy Secretary of State. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 12/28/1993)

#### 1994

January

On the eve of a meeting with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian, Christopher says that China has not made enough progress on its human rights record to win renewal of trade benefits. (*The New York Times*, 01/24/1994; *The Washington Post*, 01/25/1994)

Christopher reportedly tells French leaders that the U.S. will "live up to its obligations" to use air power for limited ends, but warns, "as far as the situation overall, I have to emphasize again that the United States is not prepared to put ground troops into Bosnia in order to resolve or impose a solution to the conflict there." (*The Washington Post*, 01/25/1994)

*February* 

After Admiral Inman withdraws his nomination, Defense Department Deputy William J. Perry is nominated and then approved by the Senate to be the new Secretary of Defense. (*The New York Times*, 02/04/1994)

Clinton directs Christopher to consult with US allies on the "appropriate next steps" to be taken in response to a mortar shell attack on a crowded Sarajevo market. (*The New York Times*, 02/06/1994)

Christopher meets with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic to discuss a peace proposal that would join Bosnian Muslims and Croats and partition Bosnia. (*The Washington Post*, 02/22/1994)

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, the Senate votes to confirm Talbott as Deputy Secretary of State. (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 02/26/1994)

Christopher meets for thirty minutes with Bosnian Muslim and Croatian leaders to discuss ideas for a peace plan. (*The New York Times*, 02/27/1994)

March

Christopher testifies to the need for continued assistance to Russia and asks Congress for \$900 million more in aid to former Soviet Union republics. (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 03/05/1994)

Christopher meets with PLO envoy Nabil Shaath to discuss conditions for the resumption of peace talks with Israel. (*The New York Times*, 03/05/1994)

Chinese officials detain and release dissident Wang Dan. Speaking from Australia, Christopher criticizes the "recent detentions and hostile measures" in Beijing. His remarks prompt the Chinese foreign ministry to announce that foreign governments do not have the right to "make irresponsible remarks" or interfere in Chinese affairs. (*The Washington Post*, 03/09/1994)

Christopher travels to Japan to discuss trade issues, including the possibility of Motorola gaining access to the Japanese market. After meeting with Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa and Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata, Christopher tells reporters, "No one would agree with the contention that Japan has met its commitments." (*Los Angeles Times*, 03/11/1994; *The New York Times*, 03/11/1994)

Christopher arrives in Beijing and soon cancels all activities except for official meetings. During a lunch meeting Qian accuses State Department human rights envoy John Shattuck of breaking Chinese law by meeting with dissident Wei Jingsheng. Christopher reportedly shows Qian a letter signed by over 270 members of Congress supporting Clinton's threat to deny favorable trade status to China should it fail to improve its human rights record. (*The Washington Post*, 03/12/1994, 03/13/1994)

Christopher offers a compromise plan in which the US would require China to show general progress on human rights instead of meeting specific steps. In return Chinese officials offer a previously requested accounting of 235 political and religious prisoners, agree to inspections of prison labor camps suspected of producing goods for export to the U.S., pledge to continue talks about the jamming of Voice of America broadcasts, agree to continue talks about allowing the Red Cross access to Chinese prisons, and decide to allow a small number of Chinese citizens to emigrate. (*The Washington Post*, 03/14/1994, 03/15/1994)

Christopher announces that Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and the PLO will return to peace talks. (*The New York Times*, 03/19/1994)

North Korea announces that it will no longer allow inspections of its nuclear facilities and that it will withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty if the US resumes military exercises on the Korean peninsula. Christopher responds that the U.S. will ask the UN to impose economic sanctions unless full inspections of nuclear facilities are allowed. (*The New York Times*, 03/21/1994)

Christopher recommends to the White House that Syria should remain on the list of nations involved in the international drug trade. Christopher's decision, which reportedly goes against the advice of several lower-level State Department officials, heads off an expected Congressional uproar. (*The Washington Post*, 03/31/1994)

Christopher and Agency for International Development Administrator J. Brian Atwood meet with members of Congress to discuss the Administration's proposal to overhaul the foreign aid program. The legislation is currently stalled in both the House and the Senate. (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 04/02/1994)

April

The New York Times reports on a dispute between Defense and State Department officials over how to respond to Serbian attacks on a UN-designated safe area. Secretary of Defense William Perry and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John Shalikashvili are said to oppose using force to protect the town of Gorazde. State Department officials tell the Times that Christopher prefers to keep all options open and does not think the fighting "can go unaddressed." (The New York Times, 04/06/1994)

Christopher tells the Commerce, Justice, State, Judiciary and Related Agencies Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee that the U.S. must escalate the bombing in Bosnia. He tells the Subcommittee that this measure is needed not only to prevent a broader European conflict, to maintain NATO's credibility, and to stem the tide of Bosnian refugees, but also to boost U.S. credibility. (*The Washington Post*, 04/22/1994)

Christopher takes a one-week trip to the Middle East to stimulate the peace process. (*The New York Times*, 04/25/1994)

Christopher meets with Jordan's King Hussein to discuss sanctions against Baghdad that are imposing costs on Jordan's economy. (*The Washington Post*, 4/26/1994)

Christopher and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd announce that the U.S., Russia, the UN and the European Union are creating a contact group to coordinate international efforts to mediate the conflict in Bosnia. The U.S. representative to the group will be US special envoy on the Balkans conflict Charles Redman. (*The Washington Post*, 04/26/1994)

Christopher meets with Saudi Arabia's King Fahd and other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Christopher stresses the need to maintain UN sanctions against Iraq. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 04/28/1994)

At a joint news conference attended by Christopher, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak announces May 4<sup>th</sup> as the target date for the signing of an accord that would clear the way for limited Palestinian autonomy in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. Christopher agrees to stay in the region to assist with the final negotiations and to witness the signing. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 04/29/1994; *The Washington Post*, 04/29/1994)

Christopher brings a peace plan proposed by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. Assad rejects the plan, which includes a proposal for Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, arguing that negotiations should begin from the premise that Syria is sovereign over the Golan. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 222-223; *The Washington Post*, 05/03/1994; *The New York Times*, 08/29/1997)

May

Despite last-minute hesitation by Arafat, Rabin and Arafat sign an agreement formally beginning Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 206-207; *The New York Times*, 05/05/1994)

Christopher meets with Vietnamese Deputy Prime Minister Tran Duc Luong to press for more information on missing US soldiers and for human rights progress in Vietnam. (*The Washington Post*, 05/21/1994)

Christopher sends a letter to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk supporting Ukraine's control over the Crimean peninsula. Christopher's message is said to be a warning to Russian nationalists and those in Moscow who support the nationalists. (*The Washington Post*, 05/24/1994)

Christopher tells Clinton that China has met two key requirements for renewing MFN status: cooperation in ending the export of goods made in prisons, and allowing close family members of dissidents to leave China. While he says there is more work to be done in the other five areas set out by Clinton's executive order in 1993, Christopher suggests imposing more targeted sanctions on China for its continuing shortcomings in the field of human rights. Christopher's arguments provide the legal ground on which Clinton can renew China's MFN status. (*The New York Times*, 05/24/1994; *The Washington Post*, 5/24/1994)

Clinton extends China's MFN status. (*The Washington Post*, 05/26/1994; *The New York Times*, 05/26/1994)

June

Christopher dismisses Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Stephen A. Oxman and replaces him with career Foreign Service officer Richard C. Holbrooke. This decision comes as Lake replaces the top Western European specialist on the National Security Council. (*The New York Times*, 06/14/1994)

Counselor to the President David Gergen becomes a foreign policy advisor to Christopher as well as to Clinton. Christopher issues a statement saying that Gergen "will bring to our discussions at the White House a well-honed sense of how this administration can better communicate its foreign policy goals to the American people." (*The Washington Post*, 06/28/1994)

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Christopher calls for a special tribunal to investigate the genocide in Rwanda, saying the Genocide Convention calls on the international community to prevent and punish acts of genocide. (*The Washington Post*, 07/01/1994)

July Christopher cancels plans to meet with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguygen Manh Cam, saying there has been insufficient progress on finding American MIAs from the Vietnam War. (*The Washington Post*, 07/11/1994)

At a White House news conference, Christopher tells reporters that Clinton has not yet decided whether the U.S. will invade Haiti if its current military rulers refuse to relinquish power. (*The Washington Post*, 07/16/1994)

Christopher attends a meeting between Jordan's Prime Minister Abdel Salam Majali and Israel's Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, while both pledge that their countries will continue to work toward a resolution of the conflict between Jordan and Israel. (*The Washington Post*, 07/21/1994)

After meeting with Christopher, PLO leader Yasser Arafat reasserts the controversial Palestinian claim to Jerusalem, saying that it is not within Christopher's rights to invite Jordan's King Hussein to Jerusalem. Arafat instead extends the offer himself. (*The Washington Post*, 07/22/1994)

When asked to comment on the situation in Rwanda, Christopher says that the killing of Tutsis by Hutus constitutes genocide. (*The Washington Post*, 07/23/1994)

At a ceremony on the White House lawn, Jordan's King Hussein and Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin end the 46-year old war between their countries. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 07/26/1994)

Christopher meets with the foreign ministers of Britain, France, Germany, and Russia in Geneva. He recommends setting a new deadline to pressure Bosnian Serbs to accept a peace settlement or else face a bombing campaign. He also pushes for new economic sanctions on Yugoslav patrons of the Bosnian Serbs. (*The New York Times*, 07/31/1994; *The Washington Post*, 07/30/1994, 07/31/1994)

August

Christopher meets with Arafat and Egyptian President Mubarak. He discusses Palestinian administration of the Gaza Strip and Jericho, and the prospects for Syrian participation in the peace process. (*The Washington Post*, 08/08/1994)

Christopher participates in the first visit to Jordan by an Israeli leader as Rabin travels to Aqaba to meet with Hussein and open a border crossing between the two countries. (*The New York Times*, 08/09/1994)

Christopher meets with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad for roughly five hours, after which he tells the press that it was a "productive meeting." (*The Washington Post*, 08/14/1994)

Christopher announces that the Administration will not bow to congressional pressure to expand talks with Castro to include democratic reform and economic incentives. He says the Administration will only discuss migration issues. (*The Washington Post*, 08/29/1994)

September

Christopher says that Clinton has the constitutional prerogative to deploy troops quickly, which would allow him to invade Haiti without first seeking congressional approval. (*The New York Times*, 09/12/1994)

Christopher meets with former President Jimmy Carter in Plains, Georgia, to discuss Carter's recent trip to Haiti to broker a deal with the Haitian military. (*The New York Times*, 09/25/1994)

Responding to a request from Christopher, the UN Security Council votes to lift its economic embargo on Haiti as soon as Aristide returns to Haiti. (*The Washington Post*, 09/30/1994)

At a meeting with the Gulf Cooperation Council, Saudi Prince Saud Faisal tells Christopher that the Council will end elements of the Arab League boycott of American firms doing business with Israel. (*The Washington Post*, 10/01/1994)

October

Christopher and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen sign an agreement committing the US and China to work together to end the production of fissile materials suitable for nuclear weapons. The two parties also settle a disagreement over Chinese sales to Pakistan of missile components and technology. (*The New York Times*, 10/05/1994)

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahya meet with Christopher at the State Department. Christopher announces that he will travel to the Middle East again in an attempt to break the latest impasse in the Israeli-Syrian negotiations. (*The Washington Post*, 10/05/1994)

As Iraqi troops mass behind the Kuwaiti border, Christopher issues a strong warning to Iraq against attacking Kuwait. The U.S. orders 4,000 troops to the region. (*The New York Times*, 10/09/1994)

Christopher meets with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. After the meeting he reports that both Israel and Syria are moving toward a comprehensive peace agreement. (*The Washington Post*, 10/12/1994)

In a news conference with Christopher, Jordan's King Hussein reverses his stand during the Gulf War and condemns Iraq's aggressive gestures toward Kuwait. (*The New York Times*, 10/12/1994)

November

During a visit to Seoul, Christopher assures South Koreans that the recent Republican sweep of both houses of Congress will not change U.S. foreign policy. (*The New York Times*, 11/10/1994)

December

Christopher joins with the foreign ministers of Britain, Germany, France, and Russia to endorse equal treatment for all of the warring parties in Bosnia. (*The Washington Post*, 12/03/1994)

Christopher returns to the Middle East amid intense debate over whether U.S. troops should be used in the Golan Heights to enforce a possible peace agreement. (*The Washington Post*, 12/04/1994)

#### 1995

January

The Clinton Administration indicates that it has little choice but to support Russian President Boris Yeltsin, despite evidence that he is losing control of the military. Christopher says, "We need to not rush to judgment or rush to conclusions. It is worth remembering that he is the first elected President of Russia." (*The New York Times*, 01/07/1995)

Christopher submits a proposal to Gore's "Reinventing Government" program recommending that the Agency for International Development (AID), the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) and the US Information Agency (USIA) be folded into the State Department. This proposal encounters fierce opposition, especially from AID and ACDA officials, at a White House meeting on the 5<sup>th</sup>. (*The Washington Post*, 01/11/1995)

Christopher defends the Administration's decision to offer \$40 billion in loan guarantees to Mexico, explaining that a healthy Mexican economy will make a better market for U.S. goods. (*The Washington Post*, 01/16/1995)

Arriving in Geneva for talks with Kozyrev, Christopher warns that continued violence in Chechnya will have "unfavorable consequences" for Russia. Kozyrev later assures Christopher of Russian's intention to negotiate a peaceful settlement in the region. (*The New York Times*, 01/18/1995; *The Washington Post*, 01/18/1995)

Christopher tells the new Republican majority in Congress that its efforts to curtail U.S. involvement in UN missions is going to leave the US with the choice of "acting alone or doing nothing" when pursuing foreign policy. (*The Washington Post*, 01/27/1995)

Gore's "Reinventing Government" team decides against combining AID, ACDA and USIA into one "Department of International Relations" reportedly because the uproar anticipated by the move would have occupied too much of Christopher's time and would have caused too much turmoil in Congress. (*The Washington Post*, 02/03/1995)

**February** 

Christopher holds a Blair House meeting with a PLO representative and the foreign ministers of Egypt, Israel, and Jordan. (*The Washington Post*, 02/12/1995)

Christopher and Defense Secretary Perry recommend that Clinton veto the House Republicans' defense bill if it makes it through Congress. They allege that the bill would limit U.S. ability to respond to international crises and would get in the way of Clinton's "constitutional responsibility to conduct US foreign policy." (*The Washington Post*, 02/15/1995)

While visiting Canada with Clinton, Christopher is briefly hospitalized for treatment of a bleeding ulcer. (*The New York Times*, 02/24/1995)

March

Christopher backs the call for IRA and Protestant paramilitary groups to surrender their arms made by Sir Patrick Mayhew, Britain's chief official on Northern Ireland. (*The New York Times*, 03/08/1995)

Christopher resumes Middle East peace negotiations. During his trip to the Middle East, Christopher secures a promise from Arafat to prosecute Palestinian terrorists and a promise by the Gulf Cooperation Council to maintain sanctions against Iraq. He also reports that Syria and Israel have agreed to resume the face-to-face negotiations that were broken off last December. (*The Washington Post*, 03/09/1995, 03/11/1995, 03/14/1995, 03/15/1995)

While meeting with Kozyrev in preparation for an upcoming Clinton-Yeltsin summit, Christopher warns Kozyrev that Russia's assault on Chechnya and its pending sale of nuclear reactors to Iran endanger its

potential integration into the G-7. (*The New York Times*, 03/23/1995; *The Washington Post*, 03/25/1995)

April

Christopher recommends that the U.S. ban most trade with Iran, as the current US strategy of isolation is not working. His recommendation meets with opposition from the Defense, Commerce, Treasury and Energy Departments, which argue that isolating Iran would only hurt U.S. companies. (*The New York Times*, 04/01/1995; *The Washington Post*, 04/05/1995)

May

Christopher announces plans to cut 500 jobs at the State Department and to save \$15 million in operating costs by closing as many as 25 U.S. diplomatic missions. (*The New York Times*, 05/07/1995; *The Washington Post*, 05/09/1995)

Christopher orders Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Frasure to return home after Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic rejects a U.S.-backed plan to suspend economic sanctions in exchange for Serbian recognition of Bosnia. (*The New York Times*, 05/23/1995)

June

On Christopher's recommendation, Clinton renews China's MFN status. (*The New York Times*, 06/03/1995)

Christopher, Lake, Perry, Albright, Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff, CIA Director John Deutch and White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta hold an hour-long meeting on Bosnia. The meeting concludes with the decision to recommend that Clinton consult with congressional leadership on ways to assist the UN operation in the region. (*The Washington Post*, 06/07/1995)

Christopher begins his thirteenth trip through the Middle East. His trip is designed to pave the way for Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations, to promote Israel's extension of Palestinian self-rule, and to ease tensions between Israel and Egypt. During his trip, Israel agrees to hand over all civilian powers to Palestinian authorities in the West Bank, and Christopher secures a June 27 date for the resumption of talks between Israel and Syria. (*The Washington Post*, 06/07/1995, 06/08/1995; *The New York Times*, 06/11/1995)

Christopher recommends that Clinton establish full diplomatic relations with Vietnam. (*The New York Times*, 06/14/1995)

Negotiations between Syria and Israel are called off after Assad imposes new and unacceptable conditions for Syrian participation, including prior agreement on the type of early warning system to be installed on a redefined Israeli-Syrian border. (*The Washington Post*, 07/15/1995)

July

Despite intense lobbying by Christopher, Perry, and Shalikashvili, the Senate takes up a bill requiring the U.S. to break with an arms embargo in Bosnia. (*The New York Times*, 07/19/1995)

August

Christopher meets with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian and carries a letter from Clinton assuring China of U.S. desire to repair US-Chinese relations. Christopher warns that a proposed meeting between Clinton and Chinese President Jiang Zemin would be endangered by a Chinese refusal to release detained US human-rights activist Harry Wu. The meeting takes place following two months of tense relations after the U.S. granted a visa to Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 07/31/1995; *The New York Times*, 08/02/1995; *The Washington Post*, 08/02/1995)

Christopher arrives in Vietnam to reestablish U.S. relations with the country. (*The Washington Post*, 8/5/1995)

Christopher asks the Defense Department for an explanation of its decision to send two officers to monitor Chinese military exercises. The military attaches were expelled from China, jeopardizing Christopher's efforts to reopen dialog with China. (*The New York Times*, 08/04/1995)

Christopher becomes the first Secretary of State to visit Cambodia in four decades. (*The Washington Post*, 08/05/1995)

September

Christopher warns that he will have no choice but to recommend that Clinton veto a Senate spending bill that slashes the State Department budget. (*The Washington Post*, 09/13/1995)

Meeting in New York, Christopher and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian fail to reach an agreement on a U.S.-China summit. Obstacles to agreement include the location of the summit and whether it would be afforded the status of an official state visit. During the meeting Qian announces that China will drop plans to sell two nuclear power reactors to Iran. (*The New York Times*, 09/28/1995; *The Wall Street Journal*, 09/28/1995)

October

Christopher warns that Clinton will not be bound by any congressional resolutions barring him from using funds to deploy U.S. forces to Bosnia. (*The Washington Post*, 10/18/1995)

Christopher, Albright, and OMB Director Alice Rivlin lobby Congress for the funds to pay off growing U.S. debt to the UN. (*The Washington Post*, 10/31/1995)

November

Talks between Bosnian Muslims, Serbs, and Croats begin at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. Serbian President Slobodan

Milosevic, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman attend. At the opening talks, Christopher warns that a failure to end the four-year war could plunge Europe into a wider war. (*The Washington Post*, 11/02/1995)

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin is assassinated by a 27-year-old Israeli opposed to the peace process. Christopher travels with Clinton to Rabin's funeral.

Christopher cuts short a trip to Japan to return to Dayton in an attempt to save the negotiations. (*The Washington Post*, 11/16/1995)

State Department spokesperson Nicholas Burns, the only official authorized to make statements about the negotiations in Dayton, confirms that the Balkan leaders are close to reaching a comprehensive agreement on ending the war. (*The Washington Post*, 11/17/1995)

In a Rose Garden ceremony, Clinton announces that a Bosnian peace deal has been brokered in Dayton.

As Congress questions the Administration's exit strategy for Bosnia, Christopher says he does not anticipate any extension of the 1996 deadline for removing troops. (*The Washington Post*, 11/24/1995)

December

Christopher meets with members of Congress who are promoting sanctions against foreign companies that do business with Iran's energy sector. Afterwards, Christopher announces his support for the sanctions. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 12/12/1995)

## 1996

January

Christopher attends Israeli-Syrian negotiations at the Wye Plantation in Maryland. (*The Washington Post*, 01/4/1996)

Christopher makes his 16<sup>th</sup> trip to the Middle East for more work on the Israeli-Syrian track of the Middle East peace process. During the trip, Israel and Syria agree to resume talks on the 24<sup>th</sup>. Christopher also secures a commitment by Arafat to reduce Palestinian terrorism. (*The Washington Post*, 01/11/1996, 01/13/1996, 01/14/1996)

In remarks delivered to Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, Christopher lays out the Administration's foreign policy agenda for the coming year. U.S. goals for 1996 include repairing relations with China, reducing narcotics trafficking, pursuing international environmental issues, bringing war criminals to justice in Bosnia and

Rwanda, and ending the Arab-Israeli conflict. (*The Washington Post*, 01/19/1996)

Christopher warns Russia that it must abide by international law in its dealing with Chechen rebels. (*The New York Times*, 01/19/1996)

**February** 

Christopher visits Bosnia to push Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Serbs to comply with the portions of the Dayton Accords that deal with human rights, prisoner releases, and policing. (*The New York Times*, 02/05/1996)

Christopher announces that more Israeli-Syrian talks will take place in the U.S. on the 26<sup>th</sup>, despite Peres' move to speed up Israeli elections. (*The New York Times*, 02/07/1996)

Christopher secures Arafat's promise to seek the amendment of the 1964 PLO charter calling for the "elimination of the Zionists in Palestine." (*The Washington Post*, 02/08/1996)

Citing "numerous problems" with the implementation of the Dayton Accords, Christopher announces a meeting in Rome of the three Balkan leaders and representatives from the US, Europe, and Russia. (*The Washington Post*, 02/15/1996)

Christopher begins a trip through Latin America designed to promote democratic reform and increased trade with the U.S. (*The Washington Post*, 02/27/1996)

Christopher asks the US Export-Import Bank to stop financing any deals with China for the next 30 days while the Clinton Administration decides if it is going to impose sanctions on China for it sale of nuclear technology to Pakistan. The Ex-Im Bank cooperates. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 02/28/1996)

March

As China conducts military exercises in the waters near Taiwan on the eve of Taiwanese elections, Christopher calls the move "unnecessarily risky" and "unnecessarily reckless." (*The Washington Post*, 03/11/1996)

In a joint news conference with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Christopher announces that he will invite 29 countries to attend a March 28<sup>th</sup> meeting in Washington to encourage cooperation in countering global terrorism. In particular, Christopher says, "The time has come for our friends and allies in Asia and Europe to reconsider their stance toward Iran." (*The Washington Post*, 03/16/1996)

Christopher attends a meeting between Balkan leaders, U.S. officials, and European diplomats to discuss implementation of the Dayton Accords.

Milosevic, Tudjman, and acting Bosnian President Ejup Ganic agree to hand over some officers for questioning about war crimes, to release prisoners of war, and to restore air and rail links to the region. (*The New York Times*, 03/19/1996)

Christopher reassures East European nations that, despite Russian objections, the U.S. will not veer from its pursuit of NATO expansion. (*The Washington Post*, 03/21/1996)

Despite visits by Christopher and NATO Secretary General Javier Solana, Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov tells reporters "Russia will not accept NATO's enlargement." (*The Washington Post*, 03/23/1996)

Christopher joins Perry and Lieutenant General Wesley Clark of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in urging the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention banning the production and use of chemical weapons. (*The Washington Post*, 03/29/1996)

April

In a speech at Stanford University, Christopher stresses the importance of the environment for U.S. foreign policy. Christopher remarks, "Addressing natural resource issues is frequently critical to achieving political and economic stability and to pursuing our strategic goals around the world." (*The Washington Post*, 04/15/1996)

Christopher meets with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian for the sixth time in a year. The two discuss Chinese nuclear sales to Pakistan, as well as human rights and the U.S. "one China" policy. (*The Washington Post*, 04/20/1996)

Christopher shuttles between Israel and Syria in an attempt to stop hostilities between the Hezbollah and Israel. At one point, Assad declines to meet with Christopher after Christopher flies in to relay Israeli proposals for a cease-fire. (*The Washington Post*, 4/21/1996; *The New York Times*, 04/22/1996, 04/24/1996)

Accompanied by almost 400 security agents, Christopher visits Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri in an attempt to gain support for a U.S. plan for a cease-fire. (*The Washington Post*, 04/25/1996)

After sixteen days of rocketing and shelling, Christopher succeeds in brokering a cease-fire agreement between Israel and Lebanon. (*The Washington Post*, 04/27/1996)

May

After receiving assurances that the Chinese would stop selling nuclear weapons-related equipment to countries seeking to develop nuclear arms,

Christopher agrees to forgo economic sanctions on China. (*The Washington Post*, 05/11/1996)

June

Christopher announces that U.S.-led NATO peace keeping forces in Bosnia will start conducting "more visible and proactive patrols." This move comes after Milosevic refuses to guarantee that two Bosnian Serbs wanted by the UN war crimes tribunal on Yugoslavia would be turned over to the Hague. (*The Washington Post*, 06/03/1996)

Nineteen U.S. soldiers are killed and hundreds of soldiers and civilians are injured as a truck bomb explodes at Khobar Towers, part of the U.S. military barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Christopher interrupts a visit to Israel to fly to Saudi Arabia, survey the damage, and visit service members and civilians being treated in nearby hospitals. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, pp. 225-232)

July

Christopher and Russian Foreign Minister Primakov announce that the U.S. and Russia will press for international ratification of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. (*The New York Times*, 07/24/1996)

Christopher travels to Jakarta for a meeting with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian. The two agree on a schedule of meetings that could culminate in the first Chinese-American summit since 1992. (*The New York Times*, 07/25/1996)

Christopher meets with Indian Foreign Minister I. K. Gujral, who tells him that India will not support a draft treaty designed to ban nuclear weapons testing. (*The Washington Post*, 07/26/1996)

August

Christopher meets with the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. During the meeting the parties set dates for the dismantling of the Croat ministate and the transfer of some Bosnian Muslin powers to the federation established in the Dayton Accords. The parties also renew their promises to allow free and fair elections on September 14<sup>th</sup>. (*The Washington Post*, 08/13/1996)

Christopher travels to Sarajevo to urge Bosnians to participate in the upcoming election. (*The New York Times*, 8/16/1996)

September

Clinton and Christopher contact allied leaders to discuss U.S. cruise missile attacks against Iraq in retaliation for Iraqi incursions into the northern exclusion zone created to protect the Kurds. (*The New York Times*, 09/03/1996)

Britain agrees to patrol an extended flight-exclusion zone with the U.S. After a meeting between Christopher and French President Jacques

Chirac, France announces it will patrol only the previously set boundaries. (*The Washington Post*, 09/06/1996; *The New York Times*, 09/06/1996)

Christopher offers Russia a formal charter establishing a cooperative relationship with NATO. The move is designed to convince Russia that NATO expansion will not pose a threat to Russia. (*The Washington Post*, 09/07/1996)

Christopher meets with Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy on the eve of a White House meeting between Clinton and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu. During the meeting Christopher pushes Israel to act more quickly to ease the closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. (*The New York Times*, 09/09/1996)

Netanyahu rejects US calls to pull out of portions of Hebron. (*The Washington Post*, 09/10/1996)

Christopher declares the Bosnian elections a "major victory for the democratic process" and says that the U.S. will stay on schedule for the withdrawal of peacekeeping troops by the end of the year. (*The New York Times*, 09/19/1996)

Christopher and Russian Foreign Minister Primakov meet for three and a half hours, but fail to resolve their differences over NATO expansion, U.S. policy toward Iraq, and UN economic sanctions on Bosnian Serbs. (*The Washington Post*, 09/24/1996)

As violence erupts in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Christopher undertakes intense "telephone diplomacy" in an attempt to get Netanyahu and Arafat to meet and find a way to end the fighting. (*The Washington Post*, 09/28/1996)

October

Christopher travels to the Middle East to urge swift progress on peace talks. U.S. officials, Israelis, and Palestinians meet at the Erez checkpoint between Israel and the Gaza Strip to restart talks. (*The Washington Post*, 10/07/1996)

Christopher makes his first trip to Africa, pledging to give the continent "the attention it deserves." During his trip he will stress the importance of democratic reform, free markets, and environmental protection. (*The Washington Post*, 10/08/1996)

Christopher sets a new record for miles logged by a secretary of state in four years as he passes the 700,131 mile mark set by James Baker, III. (*The Washington Post*, 10/11/1996)

November

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Clinton is reelected President. Christopher meets with Clinton in Little Rock at 4 p.m. and tells him that he will be leaving the State Department. (Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime*, p. 305)

Christopher travels to the Middle East in an attempt to break the deadlock over Israeli withdrawal from Hebron. (*The Washington Post*, 11/13/1996)

Christopher travels to China to pave the way for upcoming talks between Clinton and Chinese President Zemin. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 11/21/1996)

December

During his final overseas trip as Secretary of State, Christopher urges NATO allies to join with the U.S. in demanding that Serbian President Milosevic recognize last month's municipal elections and open dialog with opposition leaders. (*The Washington Post*, 12/10/1996)

#### 1997

January

Christopher warns that a "new isolationism" is growing in Congress and is responsible for the closing of consulates and embassies around the world. He cautions that any more budget cuts would seriously undermine U.S. foreign policy. (*The New York Times*, 01/16/1997)

In his final remarks to State Department employees, Christopher says he leaves the Department assured of the fact that "Americans are safer, more secure and a little more prosperous" than when he first took office. (*The Washington Post*, 01/19/1997)

As Clinton is inaugurated, Christopher leaves his position as Secretary of State. U.S. Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright will replace Christopher. (*The New York Times*, 01/21/1997)

#### 2000

April

Vice President Gore names Christopher as head of his vice-presidential selection process. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 04/07/2000)

August

Gore announces the selection of Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) as his running mate. (*The New York Times*, 08/08/2000)

November

Christopher and William Daley oversee the recount of the Florida presidential vote. (*The Washington Post*, 11/12/2000)

## **TIMELINES**

- Warren Christopher Timeline, prepared by Kelli Coughlin, Miller Center, University of Virginia.
- Clinton Administration Timeline, Peter B. Levy, *Encyclopedia of the Clinton Presidency* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002).

## 1992 CAMPAIGN

• Warren Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime* (New York: Scribner, 2001), pp.143-156.

## 1992 TRANSITION

- Warren Christopher, Chances of a Lifetime (New York: Scribner, 2001), pp.157-176
- David Gergen, *Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership, Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000) pp.257-262.
- Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp.21-41.

#### THE STATE DEPARTMENT

## Organizational Reform

- Department of State Organizational Chart, *U.S. Government Manual*, 1992/1993, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Federal Register, National Archives Records and Administration, 1992.
- "Foreign Aid Reform Programs Scrapped," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Volume L*, (Washington, D.C., Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), pp.452-453.
- "Entrenched Constituencies Help Kill Merger; Proposed Absorption of 3 Foreign Policy Agencies by State Department Fails Quickly and Bitterly," *The Washington Post*, 02/02/1995.

## Relations with Congress

- Warren Christopher, "Foreign Policy, Hamstrung," *The New York Times* 02/13/1995.
- Warren Christopher, "State Offers 2-Party Policy," *The Plain Dealer*, 05/06/1996.
- Warren Christopher, "Investing in US Leadership," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 01/21/1997.
- Thomas Lippman, "Christopher Lobbying for \$3 Billion More in Foreign Aid," *The Washington Post*, 12/17/1993.

#### BOSNIA

- "Chronology of Key Events," from Ivo H. Daalder, *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America's Bosnia Policy*," Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- Warren Christopher, "Don't Delay Bosnia's Vote," *The New York Times*, 06/14/1996.
- Warren Christopher, "No Troops, No Peace," *The New York Times*, 11/27/1995.
- Daniel Williams, "A Third State Department Official Resigns Over Balkan Policy," *The Washington Post*, 08/24/1993.
- "Administration Struggles With Bosnia Policy," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Volume XLIX*, (Washington, D.C., Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1994), pp.493-499.
- Michael R. Gordon, "US Officials Debate Policy to Halt Serbs," *The New York Times*, 04/06/1994.
- Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp. 138-163, 273-284.
- "The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina," Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe: Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina website,
  - <a href="http://www.oscebih.org/documents/dannex9.htm">http://www.oscebih.org/documents/dannex9.htm</a> last accessed 01/15/2002.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

- Warren Christopher, Chances of a Lifetime (New York: Scribner, 2001), pp.194-224.
- David Hoffman, "Serious Doubts on Mideast Talks; 1991 Goal of Autonomy Loses Favor Among Israelis, Palestinians," *The Washington Post*, 07/23/1993.
- Daniel Williams and Ann Devroy, "Arafat and Rabin to Sign Pact Here; Clinton Vows to Preserve Israel's Safety," *The Washington Post*, 09/12/1993.
- Thomas W. Lippman, "At State, a Stoic Response to Israel's 'New Reality'; Christopher and Top Peace Negotiators Express No Public Dismay about Netanyahu Win," *The Washington Post*, 06/19/1996.

#### **OTHER FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES**

#### China

- Warren Christopher, "My Trip to Beijing Was Necessary," *The Washington Post*, 03/22/1994.
- "Human Rights Still a Central Element, U.S. Officials Say," *The Los Angeles Times*, 05/28/1994.
- R. Jeffrey Smith and Ann Devroy, "US to Seek Closer Ties With China; More High-Level Talks Contemplated Between Top Officials This Spring," *The Washington Post*, 02/21/1996.

#### Russia

- Carla Anne Robbins, "Senate Subcommittee Leaders Criticize Administration Handling of Russia Aid," *The Wall Street Journal*, 01/20/1994.
- "Congress Backs Massive Aid to Russia," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Volume XLIX* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1994), pp.509-515.

## NATO, Partnership for Peace

- Warren Christopher, "NATO Plus," *The Washington Post*, 01/09/1994.
- "Partnership for Peace: Invitation," NATO On-line Library, Ministerial Communiqués, <a href="http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c940110a.htm">http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c940110a.htm</a> last accessed 02/11/2002.
- "Partnership for Peace: Framework Document," NATO On-line Library, Ministerial Communiqués, <a href="http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c940110a.htm">http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c940110a.htm</a> last accessed 02/11/2002.

#### Somalia

- Ann Devroy, "Somalia Options Reviewed as Discontent in Congress Grows; New Deployment Raises Confusion of U.S. Goals," *The Washington Post*, 10/06/1993.
- Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp.316-331.

#### Haiti

- Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge*, pp.332-335.
- "Clinton's Haiti Gamble Pays Off," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Volume L* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), pp.449-451.

# Japan

Warren Christopher, "Leaders of the Seven Richest Industrialized Countries Meet in Tokyo This Week," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 07/05/1993.

## **Warren Christopher Suggested Topics**

Prepared by Kelli Coughlin
Miller Center, University of Virginia

## Pre-Clinton Experiences in Federal Government

• What among your pre-Clinton executive branch experiences proved most useful in preparing for your roles in the Clinton presidential campaign, in the transition, and as Secretary of State?

## 1992 Clinton Presidential Campaign

- Your selection by Clinton as head of the vice-presidential selection team.
- Relationship with co-chairs Vernon Jordan and Vermont Governor Madeleine Kunin.
- Process through which the search committee identified and researched potential candidates. Key players in the search.
- Clinton's level of participation in the search.

#### 1992 Transition

- Your selection as transition director. How your working relationship with Clinton developed.
- Your relationship with transition chairman Vernon Jordan.
- The process by which Cabinet appointees were selected, including the division of labor between Little Rock and Washington.
- Notable nominations, including Zoë Baird.

## Secretary of State (1993-1997)

- Relationship with the Administration's foreign policy team, including National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, Deputy National Security Advisor Samuel Berger, Defense Secretaries Les Aspin and William Perry, CIA Directors James Woolsey and John Deutch, US Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright, Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell and General John Shalikashvili, and Special Adviser to the President David Gergen.
- Relationship with White House staff, including Chiefs of Staff Mack McLarty and Leon Panetta.
- Relationship with other members of the Cabinet, including Treasury Secretaries Lloyd Bentsen and Robert Rubin, OMB Directors Leon Panetta and Alice Rivlin, US Trade Representative Michael Kantor.
- Relationship with staff at State Department, including Deputy Secretaries of State Clifton R. Wharton and Strobe Talbott, Chief of Staff Tom Donilon, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff.
- Resignation of Deputy Secretary of State Clifton R. Wharton.
- Relationship with career Foreign Service Officers.
- Your role in appointment of ambassadors.
- Relationship with Congress, including debates over State Department budget.
- Proposal to fold AID, ACDA, and USIA into the State Department.
- Reasons for leaving the State Department after Clinton's first term.

### Events & Issues While Secretary of State

- *Bosnia*: Key players in generating and communicating policy on Bosnia. Internal dissension in State Department over policy. Coordination with NATO and US allies. The Dayton Accords.
- *Haiti*: Key players in effecting the regime transition in Haiti, including Lake and Carter.
- Decision to fire Tomahawk missiles on Iraq in retaliation for assassination attempt against George Bush.
- *Middle East Peace Process*: 1993 signing of Oslo accords. 1994 agreement between Arafat and Rabin. Multiple tracks of the peace process (Israel-Syria, Israel-Jordan, Israel-PLO). Effect of Rabin's assassination on process. Your views on the prospects for future peace in the Middle East.
- China: Evolution of US stance toward China, especially regarding human rights and most favored nation trade status. Dealing with Chinese export of nuclear weapons materials. The effect of Congress on US policy toward China.
- *Somalia*: Formulation of policy including decisions to intervene and to withdraw. Reaction to October 1993 battle in Mogadishu—including administrative briefing to Congress with Aspin after the event. Relations with the UN over US Somalia policy, especially with Secretary General Boutros-Ghali.
- Russia: Evolving US stance toward Yeltsin. Russia's reaction to NATO expansion. The Partnership for Peace. Coordinating with Russia over Bosnia.
- Rwanda: The process leading to the Administration's stance on Rwanda.
- *Mexico*: Coordination with Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin and Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan on public and congressional campaign for support of loan guarantees.

## The Clinton Presidency in Retrospect

- What do you consider your greatest accomplishment as Secretary of State?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Clinton Administration?
- What features of the Clinton Administration were missed or misunderstood by the press?
- How was the Clinton Administration viewed by diplomats and heads of state around the world? Were there any misconceptions that should be cleared up?
- Your thoughts on Clinton as a foreign policy leader. Did he have a strategic vision? Your thoughts on Clinton as a popular leader and a legislative leader. The relationship between these various forms of leadership in the Clinton presidency.
- How should the Clinton Administration be viewed by future historians?