



William J. Clinton

Presidential History Project

Briefing Materials

Nancy E. Soderberg

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Assistants**

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NANCY E. SODERBERG NEWS TIMELINE

Prepared by Allison Elias and Jeff Chidester

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/23/2005

- 1980** Soderberg receives her B.A. from Vanderbilt University. (Shirley Anne Warshaw, *The Clinton Years*, New York: Facts On File, 2004, p. 298)
- 1982-1984** Soderberg works in Boston as a Budgets and Reports Analyst at the Bank of New England. (Warshaw, p. 298)
- 1984** Soderberg receives her M.S. in Foreign Service from Georgetown University. (Warshaw, p. 298)
- Soderberg works as a foreign policy advisor in the presidential campaign of Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN). (*Federal Staff Directory 1996*, Mount Vernon: Staff Directories, Ltd., 1996, p. 1325)
- 1988** Soderberg serves as Deputy Issues Director for Foreign Policy in the presidential campaign of Governor Michael Dukakis (D-MA). (*Federal Staff Directory 1996*, p. 1325)
- 1985-1992** Soderberg serves as a foreign policy advisor to Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA). (*Federal Staff Directory 1996*, p. 1325)
- 1992**
- June* Governor William J. Clinton (D-AR) hires Soderberg as Director of Foreign Policy for his presidential campaign. Soderberg coordinates foreign policy issues for Clinton out of the campaign's headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas, and works closely with the campaign's Senior Foreign Policy Advisor, Anthony Lake. (*The Boston Globe*, 06/11/1992)
- July* The Clinton campaign issues a statement criticizing the George H.W. Bush Administration for failing to show leadership in the Balkans and urges the White House to request UN approval for air strikes against Serbian targets in Bosnia. Soderberg and senior campaign foreign policy advisors Anthony Lake, Samuel R. Berger, and Leon Fuerth draft the statement. (*The New York Times*, 07/29/1992)
- August* Clinton delivers a major foreign policy address to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council. Soderberg, who accompanies Clinton to the speech, says that the objective is "to challenge the conventional wisdom that Bush's strength is foreign policy." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 08/15/1992)

- October* Soderberg engages in mock debates with Clinton to help him prepare for the presidential debate against George Bush and third-party candidate H. Ross Perot that will take place on the 11th. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/08/1992)
- Soderberg declares Clinton's opposition to a Bush Administration program to promote private enterprise and foreign investment in Latin America and the Caribbean through low-interest loans and job-training funds. Soderberg says, "U.S. tax dollars should not be used to export American jobs," pledging that Clinton will end the program once in office. (*Journal of Commerce*, 10/22/1992)
- November* Clinton defeats Bush in the general election to become the 42nd President of the United States.
- Clinton announces his transition team. Berger is named Assistant Director for National Security. Soderberg and Fuerth are named Deputy Assistant Directors for National Security. (*The New York Times*, 11/13/1992)
- December* On the 5th, Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Berger, and Soderberg, as well as representatives from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department, and the Pentagon, meet in Little Rock for an hour-long briefing session on foreign affairs, particularly discussing policy in Somalia. (*The Washington Post*, 12/05/1992)
- On the 17th, Soderberg attends a meeting with twenty-four ethnic specialists from across the nation on social, political, cultural and economic life in Eastern Europe. The three-hour brainstorming session helps shape the new Administration's ethnic policies in the region. (*Plain Dealer-Cleveland*, 12/16/1992)
- 1993**
- January* After the Bush Administration orders air strikes on Iraq, Clinton tells *The New York Times* that he has been having daily conversations with Soderberg about the foreign policy transition. (*The New York Times*, 01/13/1993)
- The Washington Post* reports that Soderberg will serve as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Staff Director of the National Security Council (NSC). Lake is named Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Berger is named Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. (*The Washington Post*, 01/15/1993)

Soderberg accompanies Clinton, Gore, and their families on a ceremonial bus tour through Virginia to Washington, D.C. for the inauguration. (*USA Today*, 01/18/1993)

Following the inauguration on the 20th, Clinton issues Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) 1 to departments and agencies concerned with national security affairs. PDD 1 revises and renames the framework governing the work of the NSC. ("History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997," <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/NSChistory.htm>)

On the 21st, Clinton issues PDD 2, approving an NSC decision-making system that enlarges the membership of the NSC and places greater emphasis on economic issues in the formulation of national security policy. ("History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997," <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/NSChistory.htm>)

February Clinton commissions the NSC to examine U.S. efforts in Somalia and Bosnia. (*The New York Times*, 09/23/1993)

March The media reports that Soderberg, serving under the new title of Staff Director, has "unusual access" to the Oval Office, equaling that of Lake and Berger. (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 03/14/1993)

May Secretary of State Warren Christopher travels to Europe to discuss the situation in Bosnia, but fails to convince America's European allies to support the Administration's "lift and strike" proposal. Clinton expresses frustration at shelving the proposal due to European resistance. Soderberg tells Clinton that the "lift and strike policy is a good one, and we shouldn't take no for an answer," urging Clinton not to give up on getting Europe on board. (Nancy Soderberg, *The Superpower Myth: The Use and Misuse of American Might*, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2005, pp. 28-29)

September On the media's coverage of foreign policy in the Clinton Administration, Soderberg declares, "Bosnia, Bosnia, everyone points to Bosnia. So you help democracy in Russia, you move toward a settlement in Haiti, you get the Middle East peace talks back on track and you put the relationship with the Japanese on a new footing. And still, everyone says: Well, yeah, but what about Bosnia?" (*The Boston Globe*, 09/12/1993)

1994

January Soderberg tells the media that as women move into positions of greater power in the realm of foreign policy, "you'll find they'll be equally aggressive and not so patient [as compared to men]." (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 02/20/1994)

Clinton speaks with Soderberg and Lake on the day he has to decide whether or not to grant a visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams. Clinton raises arguments against the visa from key Administration officials such as Christopher, Director of Central Intelligence James Woolsey, and Attorney General Janet Reno, but Soderberg and Lake refute each objection, arguing that it is a “win-win” situation for Clinton. Soderberg supports the visa because she is convinced that Adams is serious about peacemaking. Clinton claims that he has “developed great respect for her judgment” and is also impressed that Lake agrees with her. At the end of the conversation, Clinton approves granting the visa, issuing it to Adams on the 30th. (Soderberg, pp. 71-72; Bill Clinton, *My Life*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004, pp. 579-580; *The New York Times*, 02/02/1994)

April Soderberg defends the Administration’s efforts to gain congressional support for policy decisions concerning Northern Ireland and Greece, stating, “If you try to make these decisions in a vacuum, without the support of Congress, you will lose the support of the American people.” (*The Washington Post*, 04/07/1994)

July Soderberg attends a dinner for Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Jordan’s King Hussein at the White House. The dinner celebrates the signing of the Washington Declaration, which Clinton calls “a foundation for lasting peace between two nations who have been divided for too long.” (*The Washington Post*, 07/26/1994)

August U.S. Ambassador to Ireland Jean Kennedy Smith contacts Soderberg to urge her to persuade Clinton to make an exception to the immigration law by granting a visa to Joseph Cahill, one of the founders of the Provisional IRA who was convicted in 1942 of killing a police officer. Later, Soderberg comments, “[Kennedy Smith] was the driving force in pushing us to grant the visa.” Hours after Clinton authorizes Cahill’s entry, a ceasefire is declared. (*The Irish Times*, 03/09/1996)

September Soderberg chairs an interagency group that studies how the U.S. can best aid the Northern Ireland economy in peacetime. The group includes members from the NSC, the State Department, the Treasury Department, the Office of Management and Budget and the Agency for International Development. It requests that the British and Irish governments submit proposals within two weeks on how the U.S. can best help. (*The Irish Times*, 09/12/1994)

On the 18th, just hours before the deadline for military action in Haiti, Soderberg, Berger, Lake, Secretary of Defense William Perry, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, and a group of Clinton’s political

advisors join Clinton in the Oval Office to discuss the imminent conflict. Everyone gathered urges Clinton to stand firm on his deadline. Later that afternoon, Haiti's military junta agrees to a peaceful transfer of power. (Soderberg, p. 51)

The House of Representatives approves a feasibility study of a \$60 million equity fund to encourage foreign investment in Northern Ireland. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a government-backed agency that provides loans, loan guarantees, and political risk insurance to U.S. companies doing business overseas, would create the fund. (*The Irish Times*, 09/20/1994)

As the media focuses on female Clinton aides leaving the White House, Soderberg, crediting Clinton with hiring many women, comments, "This Administration is trying to give women an opportunity to break new ground professionally. Women have been excluded from this forever. This is the first time that women have had these opportunities." (*Omaha World Herald*, 09/23/1994)

The New York Times reports that Secretary of State Warren Christopher's willingness to allow people outside the State Department to dominate certain policy areas has allowed Soderberg to take control of the Administration's agenda in Northern Ireland. (*The New York Times*, 09/25/1994).

October

On the 3rd, Clinton lifts the twenty-year ban on official contact with Sinn Fein by allowing Adams to meet with top government officials at the State Department. He declines to receive Adams at the White House, reportedly upholding a promise to British Prime Minister John Major. (*Houston Chronicle*, 10/04/1994)

On the 4th, Soderberg attends a dinner for South African President Nelson Mandela at the White House. The dinner reinforces the alliance between Clinton and Mandela and their joint commitment to furthering racial equality in South Africa and the United States. (*The Washington Post*, 10/05/1994)

Soderberg is promoted from Special Assistant to Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. (*The Washington Post*, 10/31/1994)

Soderberg accompanies Clinton on his trip to the Middle East. He plans to be present at the signing of a draft peace agreement between Israel and Jordan and to visit U.S. troops deployed in Kuwait. (*The Washington Post*, 10/31/1994; *The Irish Times*, 10/20/1994)

November After two months of discussions, Soderberg's interagency group announces an aid package to revive the Northern Ireland economy, boosting the annual U.S. contribution to Irish economic development by \$20 million over the next two years. Soderberg reports that the economic package is designed to show the Administration's support for the ceasefires declared by loyalist and republican militants in Northern Ireland and the ongoing efforts by political leaders in Ireland, Northern Ireland and Britain to end 25 years of violence and civil unrest. (*The Irish Times*, 11/02/1994; *The Boston Globe*, 11/02/1994)

December On the 1st, Clinton announces his appointment of retiring Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell to Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. Clinton says that Mitchell will oversee the White House conference on trade and investment in Ireland and ensure implementation of initiatives announced in November that aim to increase U.S. involvement in Northern Ireland's economic, academic and political life. Mitchell will consult with the International Fund for Ireland and Congress, as well as begin a dialogue with the European Union to "to promote economic development in all these areas." (*The Irish Times*, 12/02/1994)

As fighting increases in the Bosnian city of Bihac, Administration officials propose to set a twelve-mile exclusion zone around Bihac. The zone includes part of Croatia in order to prevent Croatian Serbs from entering the fighting. After discussing the proposal with military officials, a White House interagency group, chaired by Soderberg, agrees to reduce the exclusion zone to nine miles, which does not include Croatian territory. (*The Washington Post*, 12/05/1994)

Soderberg travels to Rwanda as part of an eight-nation African tour headed by Lake. She takes note of the effects of genocide and the needs of the millions of refugees and displaced persons in the war torn nation. (Soderberg, pp. 277-285)

1995

March Clinton permits Adams to raise funds in the U.S. and invites Adams to the White House for a St. Patrick's Day reception for Irish Prime Minister John Bruton. (*The Washington Post*, 03/10/1995)

May *The New York Times* reports that Soderberg and Lake oppose U.S. establishment of full diplomatic relations with Vietnam because "they fear it could hurt Clinton politically." The question of normalizing relations arises after Vietnamese officials turn over a long-requested batch of documents about Americans missing in action. Among those in favor of

full recognition are the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord and Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown. (*The New York Times*, 05/20/1995)

The White House Conference on Trade and Investment takes place from the 24th to the 26th, focusing on developing economic opportunities in Northern Ireland and in the northern border counties of the Republic of Ireland. At the conference, Adams meets with Lake and Soderberg about the impasse over the decommissioning of arms. Irish and British officials and unionist and loyalist delegates also have both formal and informal discussions with Clinton Administration officials. (*The Irish Times*, 05/27/1995)

October On the 4th, Soderberg and U.S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James's William Crowe have separate meetings with Adams, Social Democratic and Labour Party leader John Hume, Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble, and Democratic Unionist Party deputy leader Peter Robinson in Belfast. The discussions involve the impasse on decommissioning IRA weapons. Soderberg continues meetings in Belfast on the 5th and travels to Dublin for talks on the 6th with Bruton and Ireland's Foreign Affairs Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring, in an effort to get the peace process moving before Clinton's visits to London, Belfast, and Dublin in late November. (*The Irish Times*, 10/05/1995)

Democratic Unionist Party leaders Ian Paisley and Peter Robinson meet with Gore, Lake, and Soderberg on the 27th. Paisley tells Gore to not interfere in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland. (*The Irish Times*, 10/28/1995)

November On the desire to achieve formal talks before Clinton's visit to Ireland, Soderberg says, "The press seems to be focusing on the President pulling a rabbit out of the hat. I don't think that's helpful or realistic." Soderberg continues, "Ultimately, we can help those who take risks for peace. But the parties in Northern Ireland will have to deal with their hundreds of years of hatred and mistrust. There are issues they can deal with. That's why we believe twin-track can work." (*The Boston Globe*, 11/26/1995)

On the 30th, Clinton visits Northern Ireland, meeting separately with the main leaders of the political parties including Adams, Trimble, and Paisley. (*The Irish Times*, 12/01/1995)

The Boston Globe reports that Clinton received an "overwhelmingly positive response...from both traditions in Northern Ireland and from the governments in Dublin and London." With understatement, Soderberg claims that it was a "pretty good day." (*The Boston Globe*, 12/03/1995)

1996

- January* Clinton welcomes the report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning chaired by George Mitchell, which is released in late January, as a “valuable tool” in reaching the goal of all-party talks. Clinton encourages all parties to use the report to advance the peace process. (*The Irish Times*, 01/25/1996)
- March* Following bombings in London, Clinton strongly appeals for an end to violence and restoration of the ceasefire as he receives the Irish American of the Year award in New York from *Irish America* magazine. (*The Irish Times*, 03/11/1996)
- October* Less than three weeks before the presidential election, Soderberg touts the progress being made in Haiti, Bosnia and the Middle East as a result of the Administration’s policies, saying that “America’s leadership is unquestioned around the world.” She admits, however, that “the American public traditionally is not fixated with foreign policy unless there is a crisis,” and predicts that domestic policy will continue to dominate the presidential campaign. (*USA Today*, 10/18/1996)
- November* On the 6th, President Clinton and Vice President Gore win reelection over Senator Bob Dole (R-KS) and former Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY). The Clinton-Gore ticket earns 379 electoral votes and 49 percent of the popular vote. Senator Dole receives 41 percent and third-party candidate H. Ross Perot takes 8 percent. (*The New York Times*, 11/07/1996)
- December* *The Washington Post* reports that Soderberg may be appointed Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, the number three position at the State Department. (*The Washington Post*, 12/04/1996)
- President Clinton announces the appointment or nomination of four new members of his national security team: Samuel Berger as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State, William Cohen as Secretary of Defense, and Anthony Lake as Director of Central Intelligence. (*The New York Times*, 12/06/1996)
- Soderberg announces that Clinton will seek Senate ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention next year. The accord bans the acquisition, development, production, stockpiling, transfer and use of chemical weapons. The Republican-controlled Senate failed to act on the convention in September. The treaty is to take effect in April 1997. (*The Christian Science Monitor*, 12/12/1996)

1997

- October* Clinton nominates Soderberg on the 6th to be the United States Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations and United States Alternate Representative to the Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. (*The Washington Post*, 10/08/1997; “Clinton Foundation,” <http://clintonfoundation.org/legacy/121697-president-names-recess-appointment-of-nancy-soderberg.htm>)
- November* Soderberg’s nomination is approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but is held up by Senator Rod Grams (R-MN), who expresses concerns about press leaks involving former Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State to Cuba Richard Nuccio. (*The Washington Post*, 11/17/1997)
- December* On the 16th, Soderberg assumes responsibilities as U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the UN and as U.S. Alternate Representative to the Sessions of the UN General Assembly. (“The Project on Justice in Times of Transition,” <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/justiceproject/nancysoderberg.htm>; Warshaw, p. 298)

1998

- March* UN officials work to coordinate a December 7 referendum in Western Sahara on whether the war-torn desert region will join Morocco or become an independent state. The U.S. Congress cut off funds to assist the UN effort in 1995 after making little headway since the UN-brokered ceasefire in September 1991. Soderberg does not rule out a renewed U.S. role in the effort, but warns that “continued United States support depends on the willingness of the parties to make progress.” (*Plain Dealer-Cleveland*, 03/15/1998)
- June* On the 18th Clinton nominates Richard C. Holbrooke to replace Richardson as U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN. (“Richardson Moving from UN to Energy Department,” 06/17/1998, <http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1998/06/17/richardson.holbrooke>)
- December* UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan travels to Libya in an effort to persuade Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi to turn over two suspects wanted in the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland. Soderberg says she expects Annan to secure the suspects during the visit, but Annan fails in his mission. (*The New York Times*, 12/06/1998)

1999

- January* The UN rejects an Iraqi attempt to expel fourteen British and American humanitarian workers following the December 1998 U.S.-British air strikes on the nation. Soderberg says the UN Security Council (UNSC) is pleased the UN decided “not to accede” to Iraqi demands. (*The Daily Telegraph-Sydney*, 01/07/1999)
- As fighting resumes between the Angolan government and the rebel UNITA movement, Secretary General Annan recommends that the UN mission in Angola be phased out. The U.S. and Russia join together in the UNSC to push for a continued UN presence in Angola. Soderberg says the move exhibits the “grave concerns” many in the Security Council have about the quickly deteriorating situation. (*The New York Times*, 01/22/1999)
- The UNSC approves a measure establishing panels to assess Iraq’s disarmament and obedience to other UN resolutions. Soderberg calls the measure “a strong first step” in restoring unity in the Security Council over Iraq policy in the wake of joint U.S.-British air strikes last month. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 01/31/1999)
- March* Soderberg defends U.S. and British air strikes over the no-fly zone in Iraq as necessary measures to protect the pilots patrolling the region who have been “increasingly targeted” by the Iraqi military. (*The Scotsman*, 03/04/1999)
- August* On the 5th, Richard Holbrooke is approved, by a vote of 81 to 16, to be U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN. He is accorded a cabinet rank. (Warshaw, pp. 163-64)
- The UNSC passes a resolution renouncing the recruitment and abduction of children to enter the military and urges governments to enforce treaties which protect children from war. Soderberg declares, “We must all work to ensure that hope is not extinguished by the blight of armed conflict.” (*St. Petersburg Times*, 08/28/1999)
- October* The UNSC gives Afghanistan’s Taliban government one more month to deliver suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden, who faces trial for the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Non-compliance means that Afghanistan will face UN sanctions. Soderberg expresses her hope that the Taliban will “cooperate with the international community in bringing bin Laden to justice.” (*Times-Picayune-New Orleans*, 10/16/1999)

2000

- February* Soderberg introduces a UNSC resolution to create a 5,500-person peacekeeping force to be deployed to Congo once hostilities cease between the nation's warring parties. Soderberg says the peacekeepers would be used to protect humanitarian workers in the region, not for "peace enforcement or forcible disarmament." (*The New York Times*, 02/09/2000)
- May* All five permanent members of the UNSC—Russia, France, China, Britain, and the U.S.—reject the proposal advocated by Annan for a rapid response peacekeeping force to be deployed in Sierra Leone. Soderberg says Annan's idea is "a very nebulous concept" and that "no country would do it." (*The Toronto Star*, 05/10/2000)
- The UNSC votes 15 to 0 to approve a U.S.-sponsored resolution placing an arms embargo on Eritrea and Ethiopia in an effort to end the fighting between the two nations. Soderberg says the vote "sends an unequivocal and strong message to the parties to bring an end to this conflict." (*The Independent—London*, 05/17/2000; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 05/18/2000)
- July* The UNSC approves a measure imposing an 18-month ban on the purchase of rough diamonds from Sierra Leone until the nation's government can establish proper regulations over the industry. The U.S. supports the resolution, but Soderberg criticizes the "arbitrary" time limit, saying those engaged in illegal activities could simply wait out the embargo. (*The New York Times*, 07/06/2000)
- August* Soderberg announces that the Clinton Administration will ask Congress for funding to send thousands of U.S. soldiers to Sierra Leone to participate in a UN peacekeeping effort. (*The Washington Post*, 08/05/2000)
- December* The UNSC votes 13 to 0, with China and Malaysia abstaining, to place an arms embargo on Afghanistan and to strengthen existing financial, diplomatic, and travel sanctions against the Taliban leadership for their role in harboring wanted terrorists. "Let no one misunderstand: They remain a continuing threat to us all," Soderberg says. "The Taliban leadership harbors the world's most wanted terrorist: Osama bin Laden." (*The Washington Post*, 12/20/2000; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 12/20/2000)
- 2001** Soderberg joins the International Crisis Group (ICG) as Vice President and Director of the New York office. The International Crisis Group is an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organization that works through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy to prevent and

resolve deadly conflict. (Warsaw, p. 298, “International Crisis Group,”
<http://www.crisisgroup.org>)

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NANCY SODERBERG SUGGESTED TOPICS

Prepared by Allison Elias

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/11/2005

Joining the Administration

- How did you come to meet Bill Clinton? What were your early impressions of him?
- With whom did you work most closely as Foreign Policy Director on Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign? What were the key foreign policy issues of the campaign? How did you prepare Clinton? Discuss his interest in, knowledge base about, and learning curve with respect to foreign policy issues in the campaign. How did Clinton's policy toward Ireland develop during the campaign?
- Comment on your role as Deputy Assistant Director for National Security for the transition.
- How did your appointment as Staff Director of the National Security Council come about? Did you have any discussions with Clinton or anyone else in the Administration about your portfolio in this position?
- What aspects of your work as Foreign Policy Advisor for Senator Kennedy were most helpful in preparing for your positions within the Clinton Administration?

National Security Council

- Describe your role as Staff Director of the National Security Council. What issues and activities most occupied your time (Northern Ireland, Somalia, Bosnia, Greece, the Middle East, Haiti)?
- How was the National Security Council organized under President Clinton? How did this differ from previous administrations?
- Discuss the National Security Council's interaction with major White House offices (Legislative Affairs, Communications, Political Affairs, Management and Budget, etc.) and executive departments (State, Defense, Justice, CIA, etc.).
- How did your responsibilities change when you became a Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs?
- Discuss your role as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. How did your relationship with Clinton, Berger, Lake, and other key members of the White House staff change?
- How did you communicate foreign policy options and advice to the President? Did Clinton prefer particular briefing formats or require specific types of information before making decisions? How often did you see the President?
- Which foreign policy issues engaged Clinton the most? Did Clinton's attention to foreign policy issues change over the years you worked with him?
- Discuss the Administration's efforts in the Northern Ireland peace process. What did the media not report about the Administration's meetings with key political leaders in Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland? Comment on the decision to grant Gerry Adams a visa. Describe your work as chairperson of the interagency group that studied U.S. aid options to the Northern Ireland economy.

The United Nations

- Comment on your transition from the NSC to the UN, particularly the process of being nominated and confirmed to a UN position.
- Describe your responsibilities as U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs and Alternate Representative to the Sessions of the General Assembly. What issues most occupied your time in these roles?
- How was the office of the UN Representative organized under President Clinton? How did this vary from the organization in previous administrations? What were the key differences between Bill Richardson and Richard Holbrooke as Permanent Representatives? How did this transition affect your work?
- Discuss the interaction between the UN Representative and major White House offices (Legislative Affairs, Communications, Political Affairs, etc.) and executive departments (State, Defense, CIA, etc.).
- Describe the conflict with the UN over U.S. financial obligations to the organization. What were the other major issues you dealt with at the UN that were of special historical importance?

The Clinton Presidency in Retrospect

- What do you consider your greatest accomplishment during your tenure in the National Security Council? The UN?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Clinton Administration in the realm of foreign affairs? How would you rate the President as a strategic thinker?
- What features of the Clinton Administration were missed or overlooked by the press?
- Evaluate President Clinton as a foreign policy leader and a world leader. How did foreign diplomats and heads of state view Clinton? Were there any common misconceptions?
- How should the Clinton Administration be viewed by future historians? What is the legacy of President Clinton's foreign policy?