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Bosnia-Outreach, 1995

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**Bosnia Peace Process Moves Forward
November 1, 1995**



"The responsibilities of leadership are real, but the benefits are greater. We see them all around the world -- a reduced nuclear threat, democracy in Haiti, peace breaking out in the Middle East and in Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere, when the United States leads we can make progress."

President Clinton
October 31, 1995

Peace Talks in Dayton, Ohio. Yesterday, President Clinton met with Secretary of State Christopher and our Bosnia negotiating team prior to their departure for Dayton, Ohio. With their help, the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will be meeting in Dayton for the first direct peace negotiations. The purpose is progress toward a final peace agreement.

Seizing the Chance for Peace. Thanks to American leadership, we now have the best chance for peace in Bosnia since war began four years ago. Continued American leadership is vital if we are to seize that chance and stand up for what's right -- for the people of Bosnia; for Europe; and for the United States.

The Clinton Administration's Efforts to Secure Peace in Bosnia Serve American Interests:

- **End the Suffering:** Securing peace will end the terrible toll of this war -- in innocent lives lost and futures destroyed. Over the past four years, the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: ethnic cleansing; concentration camps; mass executions; systematic rape and terror; terrible shortages of food, medicine, shelter and heat. And every day we learn more and more about the slaughter in Srebrenica. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to secure peace. We must stop the killing of innocent people in Bosnia, especially children.
- **Stop the War from Spreading.** Securing peace will prevent a war we have managed to contain from spreading into neighboring nations and igniting an even larger conflict. The former Yugoslavia lies in the heart of Europe, next door to key NATO allies and fragile new democracies. If the war there reignites, it could spread and spark a much larger conflict, the kind of conflict that has drawn Americans into two European wars in this century.
- **A Europe at Peace:** The United States fought two world wars and a Cold War in Europe this century to defend freedom and advance the vision of an undivided, peaceful, democratic Europe. Securing peace will bring us another step closer to realizing that vision -- with all the benefits that it would bring for America's long term security and prosperity.

- MORE -

Securing Peace in Bosnia Requires Continued American Leadership:

- American Leadership is Key to Peace: The progress we have made toward peace has been the result of American leadership. NATO's bombing campaign -- led by American pilots and their crews -- stopped Serb attacks against Sarajevo and the other safe areas. The Contact Group's determined diplomacy -- led by America's negotiating team -- brought the parties to the peace table. If a peace agreement is signed, NATO must help secure it and America, as NATO's leader, must take part in such an operation.
- If America Doesn't Lead, the Job Won't Get Done: The responsibilities of American leadership are real -- but its benefits are even greater. We see them all over the world: a reduced nuclear threat; democracy in Haiti; peace breaking out in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere around the world, if America does not lead, the job will not get done.

We Have Come a Long Way, But There is Still Work to be Done:

- Thanks to intensive diplomacy by the U.S. and its partners, parties agreed in Geneva (9/8/95) and New York (9/26/95) to basic principles of settlement, and subsequently to cease-fire.
- Many, many difficult issues still must be resolved, including: (i) an internal boundary between Bosnian-Croat Federation and Serb Republic; (ii) the status of Sarajevo; (iii) practical steps for separating forces and ceasing hostilities; (iv) procedures for elections.
- After Dayton, the next steps will be an international peace conference in Paris and a conference on implementation in London.
- The United States and its partners will continue to do everything in their power to press for peace. But only the parties themselves can make it. The eyes of world will be on them in Dayton.

BOSNIA OUTREACH MEETING

1. Agreed message points (see attached)
2. Pre-Dayton (Oct 27-31)
 - Press tours facility.
 - OPEDs (Brezinski, Goodpaster, Lieberman, etc).
 - Key columnists/opinion makers (POTUS?, WC, TL, Holbrooke).
- Oct 31
 - POTUS instructs team; 10 minute Rose Garden Statement
 - Roosevelt Room roundtable with columnists and team following?
- Congress
 - POTUS calls to leadership and Bush.
 - Staff discussions.
 - to Dayton.
3. DAYTON (Nov 1 - 12/15)
 - Nov 1 Christopher opens conference.
 - Nov 2/3 Holbrooke call via SVTS; release photo.
 - Daily NSC briefings.
 - Periodic calls from Holbrooke/Christopher (perhaps); WH photo release.
 - Key columnists/commentators - update?
 - Nov 4 Radio Address?
 - Sunday shows.
 - Morning shows.
 - Congress - POTUS meets large group week of 6 November.
4. Close of Conference (Nov 12/15 - ?)
 - Who present to initial agreement.
 - POTUS stopby if on way to APEC?
 - Bring team to D.C.?
5. Paris/London (TBD, 2-3 days each Nov 15-30)
TBD
6. Final Signing (TBD)
 - POTUS makes Oval office address including troop announcement.
7. Congressional resolution
 - Probably on eve of final agreement.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1995

UP

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Nancy Soderberg, Jill Schuker, Ambassador Schifter
CC: Don Baer
FROM: Julia Moffett
SUBJECT: Update on Outside Validation

Attached is the most up-to-date list of calls being made to outside validators. It is an impressive list, and, if the calls are made, will make a big difference as we move forward. A couple of things:

IMMEDIATE SUPPORT

While we have succeeded in generating some immediate support, it is not an overwhelming amount. Additional opportunities are being explored. The following are in motion so far:

- Op-ed by Adrian Karatnycky before Thursday (*New York Times* or *WSJ*)
- Op-ed by Lee Hamilton next week (*Washington Post*)
- Op-ed by Egelberger/Scowcroft (Time and place tbd)
- Op-ed by Brzezinski/Carlucci (Time and place tbd)
- Floor statements, one-minutes, special orders by Lieberman, Bonior, Hoyer
- Brzezinski prepared to testify if necessary

Good pastor

NEXT STEPS

I would like to propose the following timeline:

- Monday, 10-30: Continue to assign and make calls; Determine Legislative Timetable and Strategy.
- Tuesday/Wednesday, 10-31/11-1: Assess calls; Generate immediate support from those who are ready; Follow-up with others who are not.
- Thursday, 11-2: Both Tony Lake and Secretary Christopher have time to meet with influentials on this day.
- Week of November 6: Arrange small White House briefings for groups such as executive committees of Abramowitz group and Freedom House.
- Week of November 6: Arrange small dinners for groups of influentials.
- Week of November 13: Put plan to utilize generated support in action to coincide with end of the talks, possible signing, vote, and implementation.

(As of 9:00 am; 10-30)

The following list is comprised of: Opinion Leaders-Individuals and Groups, Former Elected Officials and Military, Journalists, and Current Members. Please take unassigned calls for your offices. Also, please add any names/groups you feel are missing, specifically group heads (Human Rights, Religious, etc...)

NSC (Lake, Berger, Vershbow, Schifter, Soderberg, Schuker)

Morton Abramowitz (Schuker)
Fouad Ajami (Schifter)
Richard Allen (Schifter)
James Baker (Lake)
Zbigniew Brzezinski (Schifter/Lake)
Richard Burt (Schifter)
Frank Carlucci (Schifter)
Hodding Carter (Berger)
Richard Cheney (Lake)
Patt Derian (Berger)
Lawrence Eagleberger (Schifter)
Frank Farenkopf (Berger)
Leslie Gelb (Lake)
Patrick Glynn, AEI (Schifter)
Andrew Goodpaster (Schuker)
Richard Haas (Lake)
Max Kampelman (Schifter)
Adrian Karatnycky-President, Freedom House (Schifter)
Jeane Kirkpatrick (Schifter)
Henry Kissinger (Lake)
Ron Lehman (Schifter)
Mike Mandelbaum (Lake)
George McGovern (Schifter)
Paul Nitze (Schifter)
Richard Perle (Schifter)
Colin Powell (Lake)
Eugene Rostow (Schifter)
Brent Scowcroft (Schifter/Lake)
Henry Siegman, American Jewish Congress (Berger)
Stephen Solarz (Berger)
Helmut Sonnenfeldt (Schifter)
John Sweeney (Berger)
William Howard Taft (Schifter)
Elie Weisel (Schifter)
Albert Wohlstetter (Schifter)
Paul Wolfowitz (Schifter)
Elmo Zumwalt (Schifter)

VPOTUS (Fuerth)

Martin Peretz

STATE (Christopher, Holbrook, Talbott, Tarnoff, Shattuck, Donilon, Steinberg)

George Shultz (Christopher)

DEFENSE (Perry, Slocum, Nye)

John Galvin (Perry)

USIA (Duffy, Kemble)

Leslie Gelb (Duffy)
Henry Louis Gates (Duffy)
Al Shanker (Kemble)
Jack Joyce (Kemble)
Norman Podoretz (Kemble)
Geraldine Ferraro (Kemble)
Morton Kondrake (Kemble)

USUN (Albright)

CONGRESSIONAL CALLS (NSC, State, DOD)

Dole, Daschle, Specter, Kerrey, Gingrich, Gephardt, Armev, Bonior, DeLay, Combest, Dicks, Spence, Dellums, Young, Murtha, Thurmond, Nunn, Stevens, Inouye, Levin, Lieberman, Cohen, Warner, McCain, Byrd, Exon, Gilman, Hamilton, Smith, Hoyer, Helms, Pell, Lugar, Biden, Callahan, Livingston, McConnell, Leahy, Wilson, Obey, Rogers, Mollohan, Kassebaum, Dodd, Kerry, Gramm, Hollings, Hyde, Mikulski, Feinstein, and Moran.

TO BE ASSIGNED:

Mike Barnes	Edmund Muskie
George Bundy	General Odom
Walter Cronkite	David Owen
Teddy Forstmann (Freedom House)	Pete Peterson
Al Haig	Norm Schwarzkopf
Karen Elliot House	Perry Smith (CNN Commentator)
Samuel P. Huntington (Freedom House)	George Soros
Douglas Herd	Bernard Trainor (ABC Commentator)
Catherine Kelleher, Women in National Security	Cyrus Vance
Ed Koch (Freedom House)	Casper Weinberger
Bill Moyers	John Whitehead
Andrew Young (Freedom House)	Warren Zimmerman

Schuker, Jill A.

From: Schuker, Jill A.
To: Schuker, Jill A.
Cc: /N, NonRecord at A1
Subject: Bosnia Public Affairs/Communications Strategy [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, October 18, 1995 7:43PM

AC-S
7/1/96
put in schedule

PURPOSE

In the wake of the congressional hearings on Bosnia this week, the subsequent coverage and the policy challenges ahead on the Hill and with the public, clearly we would benefit, and indeed need, daily coordination of message and action for the foreseeable future. POTUS leadership will be assessed to a significant extent on how this issue is handled.

To be consistent and uniform is critical--in the immediate looking toward next week's UN discussions and the end of the month Proximity Talks, and further down the road as we prepare for the Administration's policy decisions and results. It requires being on the same page, in the relevant news cycles, with the outreach and validation needed. We've gotten some real momentum in these last weeks especially on foreign policy issues in the public arena and. looking ahead, we need to keep the emphasis on the decisive and the positive.

We are at the beginning of a whole new phase on Bosnia for the American public to absorb as we complete 1995 and enter 1996 with the inevitable doubters, second-guessers and detractors. We need to think and act carefully and clearly. No issue in foreign policy is more sensitive and important to the perception of the President, his leadership and the Administration's effectiveness, than this. It will be viewed as the centerpiece of how our foreign policy message of engagement and definition of security will be measured. We need to plan in that context, anticipate different scenarios--backsliding included--and prepare for them, while projecting our message of US leadership--"no substitute", U.S. decisiveness, strength with flexibility, purpose, values, responsibility and commitment, and growth.

These meetings will be as long as necessary--and as short as useful. Clearly, everyone is very busy. But we need to be thinking ahead if we are to frame, shape, anticipate and cushion the impact. of Administration process and decisions.

VENUE AND PARTICIPANTS SCHEDULED

Daily beginning Friday October 20, 11am
Situation Room
SVTS for DOD/DOS

Baer/Stephanopoulos/McCurry - WH
Schuker/Johnson/Vershbow/Danvers/Naplan - NSC
Donilon/Kornblum/Leavy - DOS
Sullivan/Bacon - DOD

Sandy Berger will join us for tomorrow's meeting. If Nancy is back in time, I expect her to join us as well, for this and other meetings.

We'd like to keep this workable and focused with a steady, small group participating, able to make serious recommendations/decisions.. If some unchangeable scheduling conflict arises, please give us a heads-up at 202-456-9391.

For tomorrow's meeting, we specifically want to provide clarity on process and message; get a strong sense of congressional strategy and needs which Bill Danvers will offer; and most immediately, maximize this weekend, with the foreign policy focus of all the television Sunday shows as the opening shot opportunity (following the hearings) for the public presentation on this next phase vis-a-vis Bosnia. In that regard, a conference call among Sandy, Chris, Bill Perry and Madeleine will take place on Friday so that there is clarity on presentation of message. Chris also is expected to do a briefing for columnists/commentators on Friday focused on UNGA, but with the emphasis in all likelihood, on Bosnia. (Sandy will do a similar briefing on UNGA for WH press corps today.) We also will begin to review public

information ideas/plans for Bosnia looking ahead. A one/two-pager is being prepared as a synthesis of our Bosnia strategy and message.

Thanks. Any other thoughts?

BOSNIA: PROJECTED ACTION TIMELINE/NSC

LEAD-UP TO POTENTIAL CONGRESSIONAL VOTE AND DEPLOYMENT

PHASE I PRE-PROXIMITY TALKS

PHASE II PROXIMITY TALKS/DAYTON: INITIAL PHASE

PHASE III PROXIMITY TALKS/DAYTON: CLOSE OF TALKS

PHASE IV LONDON/PARIS AND/OR

PHASE V FINALIZING AGREEMENT

PHASE VI CONGRESSIONAL END-GAME

MESSAGE FRAMEWORK FROM ONE OF OUR BEST VALIDATORS:

POPE JOHN PAUL II TO PRESIDENT CLINTON IN NEWARK, NJ, IN SEPTEMBER 1995: " YOU KNOW I AM NOT A YOUNG MAN. I HAVE LIVED THROUGH MOST OF THIS CENTURY. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BEGAN WITH A WAR IN SARAJEVO, MR. PRESIDENT. YOU MUST NOT LET THE TWENTIETH CENTURY END WITH A WAR IN SARAJEVO.

NEW PROCEDURES:

DAILY TALKING POINTS DISTRIBUTED, DRAWN UP AND VETTED BY 9:30AM
VERSHBOW BOSNIA POLICY GROUP/JOHNSON

UPDATED DAILY MESSAGE POINTS (AS NEEDED)/SCHUKER WITH
BAER/BLINKEN

COORDINATION OF OUTREACH:

INFLUENTIALS' CALLS AND ACTIVITY COORDINATION/MOFFETT WITH
SCHIFTER, NAPLAN [JULIA/GRID, (EG, PHASE I: SPECIFICS
INFLUENTIAL OUTREACH, CONGRESSIONAL OUTREACH, ETC., , , , WHAT
WE NEED TO FILL IN...WHAT INDIVIDUALS ARE DOING, IE, TONY
LAKE: CALLS, RADIO, TV, SPEECHES, ETC)];

TARGETTING OF MEDIA OUTREACH/NAPLAN, MOFFETT, MCHUGH,
CULLIN (AND LEAVY);

DAYTON ACTION/LEAVY (DOS)

CLOSE COORDINATION WITH VICKI/MCHUGH/STRAUS RE: TV, RADIO

CLOSE COORDINATION WITH CABINET AFFAIRS: EXPANDED
PRINCIPALS'/SUBCABINET ACTION

9:30 AM POLICY SVTS

10 AM SVTS

SMALLER MESSAGE GROUP/DONILON, SULLIVAN, SCHUKER,
SODERBERG, BAER, STEPHANOPOLOUS, EMMANUEL, BLINKEN

CONGRESSIONAL GROUP/DANVERS, MOLDEN, STEWART, SHERMAN

PHASE I: MESSAGE- PROXIMITY PEACE TALKS READY TO BEGIN BECAUSE OF
CLINTON LEADERSHIP AND US ENGAGEMENT

TIMING: OCTOBER 25-OCTOBER 31

ACTIONS:

VP ON LARRY KING LIVE OCTOBER 25

HOLBROOKE ON EVANS AND NOVAK OCTOBER 28

OTHER POTENTIAL FOR WEEKEND?

POTUS CALL HILL LEADERSHIP: GINGRICH, DOLE, GEPHARDT AND
DASCHLE (BEGINNING OF REGULAR PROCESS)

CONGRESSIONAL DIRS. FROM NSC/DOS/DOD/WH MEETING WITH SENIOR
CONGRESSIONAL STAFF (HOUSE/FRIDAYS AND SENATE/WEDNESDAYS)

BERGER REGULAR WEEKLY FRESHMAN BREAKFAST ON BOSNIA

OUTREACH FOR VALIDATORS TO HILL AND EXTERNAL: VP, TONY AND
OTHER PRINCIPALS

POSSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL VISIT TO DAYTON (SUNDAY)

PRESS VISIT TO DAYTON (MONDAY)

POSSIBLE OP ED/BRZEZINSKI AND ?/NYT?

POSSIBLE OP ED/LAKE/NY DAILY NEWS (TUESDAY)

POTUS CALL TO BUSH

HOLBROOKE CALL TO FORD (ALREADY CARTER, NUNN) FEEDBACK??

VP SPEAKING TO COLUMNISTS (25TH)

TL MEETING WITH RUSSIA/NIS INFLUENTIALS (25TH)

POTUS ROSE GARDEN SEND-OFF OF DELEGATION (CHRIS, HOLBROOKE)
ON 31ST; 10 MINUTE POTUS STATEMENT (FYI, HOLBROOKE/PER
DONILON THINKS POSSIBLY SHOULD BE ON THE 30TH SO PRINCIPALS
CAN BE IN DAYTON ON 31ST); PHOTO OP OVAL OFFICE

SEND-OFF AT ANDREWS FOR OPEN PRESS

SET-UP PIECE(S)/TV (MORNING SHOWS)

ISSUES:

GRACHEV

YELTSIN

WEEKEND SHOWS/BRIEF COMMENTATORS

COORDINATE WITH TUESDAY EVENTS IN MOSCOW/DC FOR ROSE GARDEN

SENDOFF

NIGHTLINE.....??

TONGS/ONE-ON-ONES

PHASE II. MESSAGE: A NEW BEGINNING; EUROPE AT PEACE THROUGH US
EFFORTS; END OF HUMANITARIAN DISASTER

TIMING: TALKS BEGIN ON NOVEMBER 1 (APPROX. THROUGH THE 15TH)

DAILY PRESS: ALL BRIEFINGS/NEWS COMES FROM D.C./MCCURRY
REGULAR BRIEFINGS; EXTRA AS NEEDED

SVTS: POTUS ON WITH TEAM IN DAYTON (THURSDAY/FRIDAY)...PHOTO
OPS

DELEGATION(S) ARRIVAL SHOTS: NO REMARKS

SATURDAY RADIO ADDRESS

POSSIBLE SUNDAY SHOWS

BRIEFINGS OF COMMENTATORS, COLUMNISTS, SPECIALTY PRESS

ISSUES:

VISIBILITY OF POTUS? FLYBACKS OF PRINCIPALS?

VISIBILITY OF CONFERENCE.....OPENING PLENARY, NEGOTIATIONS

INTERVIEWS/CHRIS, HOLBROOKE, TONY, OTHER

EXCLUSIVES

OP EDS

PHASE III. MESSAGE: NEGOTIATED/PEACEFUL END TO ONE OF THE MOST VIOLENT CONFLICTS OF RECENT TIMES; LIVES SAVED; PEACE RESTORED; NO SUBSTITUTE FOR US LEADERSHIP

TIMING: SECOND WEEK IN NOVEMBER/PRIOR TO APEC(?)

ANTICIPATED PRESS INTERVIEWS TO SET UP SUCCESS STORIES

SEND-OFFS OF DELEGATIONS/DAYTON (STATEMENT/NO?)

POTUS ENDS CONFERENCE AS BEGAN: GREETING/PHOTO OP IN OVAL OFFICE; HELICOPTER/OVAL OFFICE GATHERING WITH ROSE GARDEN STATEMENT; NEXT STEPS

HILL BRIEFINGS

POTUS ADDRESSES NATION-?

HEARINGS?

PHASE IV. MESSAGE: COMMITMENT TO PEACE PROCESS INDELIBLE; BLUEPRINT FOR NEXT STEPS, FOR PEACEFUL FUTURE AS FRUITS OF US-INITIATED PROCESS; EUROPEAN ALLIES ON BOARD

TIMING: SOMETIME SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER

ISSUES:

ACTIVITY IN PARIS/LONDON (D.C.?)
 SIGNING?
 MOSCOW, BONN ROLES?
 RELATIONSHIP TO POTUS EUROPEAN (IRELAND, ETC) TRIP?
 APEC?
 ROLE OF HILL AND OTHERS IN MEETING/SIGNING?
 FOREIGN MEDIA?

PHASE V. MESSAGE: US LEADER OF PEACE BECAUSE WE/POTUS CARED. END OF LONG ROAD OF CONFLICT. RESPONSIBILITY DOESN'T STOP AT WATER'S EDGE; IT IS A PRICE OF LEADERSHIP. ROAD TO PEACE IS ONLY ROAD TO FUTURE. NATO AS THE RIGHT MILITARY VEHICLE FOR ALLIANCE. LIMITED ENGAGEMENT, CLEAR MISSION, MAKING SURE FIRE STAYS OUT. SMART, TIMELY PREVENTIVE CARE AND UNDERSTANDING OPPORTUNITIES

TIMING: FINAL SIGNING/NEXT STEPS ANNOUNCEMENT FOR US MILITARY/NATO

ISSUES:

WHERE/WHO/WHEN SIGNING?
 MILITARY VISITS...MEETINGS
 HILL
 MEDIA TONGS

PHASE VI: MESSAGE: IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST; WE GO IN PEACE--NOT WAR--WITH A CLEAR AND LIMITED MISSION: TO SECURE PEACE IN A (PRESENTLY) CONTAINED ENVIRONMENT THROUGH NATO--FREEDOM'S SHIELD FOR THE NEXT 50 YEARS AS IN THE LAST 50.

TIMING: END OF NOVEMBER (PRE THANKSGIVING??).

ISSUES:

BUILD-UP FOR VOTE (AND POST-VOTE SUPPORT)
 ROLE OF POTUS, VP, SHALI, PERRY, NATO/HUNTER, ET AL
 CONGRESSIONAL VALIDATORS (LUGAR, NUNN, FORMER MEMBERS??)
 THANKSGIVING SPEECH/POTUS

BOSNIA OUTREACH MEETING

1. Agreed message points (see attached)
2. Pre-Dayton (Oct 27-31)
 - Press tours facility.
 - OPEDs (Brezinski, Goodpaster, Lieberman, etc).
 - Key columnists/opinion makers (POTUS?, WC, TL, Holbrooke).

Oct 31

 - POTUS instructs team; 10 minute Rose Garden Statement
 - Roosevelt Room roundtable with columnists and team following?

Congress

 - POTUS calls to leadership and Bush. *134 at a time*
 - Staff discussions.
 - to Dayton.

*TL? WC
Holbrooke*
3. DAYTON (Nov 1 - 12/15)
 - Nov 1 Christopher opens conference.
 - Nov 2/3 Holbrooke call via SVTS; release photo.
 - Daily NSC briefings.
 - Periodic calls from Holbrooke/Christopher (perhaps); WH photo release.
 - Key columnists/commentators - update? *WC meets w/ POTUS*
 - Nov 4 Radio Address?
 - Sunday shows.
 - Morning shows.
 - Congress - POTUS meets large group week of 6 November.
4. Close of Conference (Nov 12/15 - ?)
 - Who present to initial agreement.
 - POTUS stopby if on way to APEC?
 - Bring team to D.C.?
5. Paris/London (TBD, 2-3 days each Nov 15-30)
TBD
6. Final Signing (TBD)
 - POTUS makes Oval office address including troop announcement.
7. Congressional resolution
 - Probably on eve of final agreement.

Jodi's

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6 November, 1995

MEMORANDUM

To: Tony Lake
Sandy Berger

From: Nancy Soderberg

Subject: Communications Issues

The following is a summary of the Saturday communications group meeting.

On Bosnia:

- We will begin adding a few paragraphs to POTUS domestic speeches stating our case on Bosnia.
- Wednesday 8: photo of Holbrooke call to POTUS in Oval Office will be released to media.
- Will try and move Wed 8 Congressional meeting to earlier time to accommodate press deadlines. Likely pool spray at top of meeting. Brief POTUS remarks.
- Thursday 9: attempting to add meeting with House or Senate friendlies; one more following week.
- Saturday 11: POTUS radio address topic may be Bosnia.
- Monday 6: Talbott travels to Dayton to meeting with Ivanov.
- Thursday 9: Talbott at National Press Club on Bosnia.
- Wednesday 8 or Thursday 9: Christopher possible trip to Dayton.
- Wednesday 8: Perry and Grachev meet in Brussels.

- Tuesday 7: Perry with Pentagon media visit to U.S. troops training for potential deployment at Hohenfels, Germany. Large media coverage expected.
- Wednesday: Tadjman returns to Dayton
- Thursday 9: Christopher roundtable with opinion leaders (tent.).
- Thursday 9: NDU event. Vershbow and Lodal brief "think tankers".
- Thursday 9: Perry meets with PFP representatives on Bosnia.
- all week outside validator program continuing, including outreach meetings, op/ed solicitation, ad placements.
- **urgently need final decision on locations of initialing and signing ceremonies.**

On APEC/JAPAN

- Thursday 9: Kantor speech on trade (Berger conversation with Kantor needed).
- Thursday 9: Tyson/Kantor announce favorable trade report.
- Friday 10: White House press corps briefing led by Christopher with Lake, Perry and possible Tyson. focus on America leadership, regional security, anti-isolationism, bi-lateral relationship with Japan.
- Thursday 16: POTUS departure statement.
- Sunday 19: NHK interview needs greater focus (need Berger to discuss).
- Schuker and Dorval working interagency media outreach plans.

On Ireland:

- agreement for POTUS (in advance of trip) to hold one hour roundtable with print media from U.S., U.K., Ireland and Northern Ireland and to conduct three additional ten minute television interviews with media covering the three regions.

- Wednesday 22: White House press corps briefing by Lake/Soderberg.

cc: Baer, McCurry, Stephanopoulos, Emanuel, Donilon, Steinberg, Sullivan, Schuker, Johnson, Danvers, Blinken, Bass, Hall

Pre - Dayton Phase

- Opred's Keyed to Dayton (LCS)
- Briefing ^{to POTUS and Sec. of State} Mon/Tues. w/ Team on proximity talks.
- POTUS to call leadership on H.U., from President's briefing
- Key columnists?

DAYTON. (Nov 1 - 12/15)

Periods

Thurs (Fri) Holbrooke talk by SVTS TO POTUS
Release with photos

Daily briefings of POTUS, be briefed by Mike.

Periodic photo of POTUS in phase.

Wed - opens proximity talks.

(Holbrooke fly) default.

Radio Address on 1st ~~SAT~~ SATURDAY.

Close of Conference

Team come to DC + do announcement here, not Dayton

? POTUS to drop by conference on way to APEC?

columnists write team in W.R., column commentators et al.

PARIS / LONDON ^{TBD} ^{2-3 day each} ^{blw} ~~could be simultaneous~~
(NOV 15-30)

FINAL Signing TBD

POTUS special Oval Speech, including troops announcement.

Oct 31
Moscow →

Briefing of
key columnists

Possible
Sunday
Shaw →



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM:

TO: PA-Tom Donilon
PA-Nick Burns

FROM: PA-David Leavy

SUBJECT: State Department Public Affairs Strategy for Bosnia

Objective:

- Focus media attention on the United States' **leadership** role in the peace process and away from a single-minded focus on US troop involvement.
- Continue the work begun in this week's Congressional testimony of persuading the American people and the Congress to support American participation in a NATO-led peace-implementation force.

Phases: The Bosnia outreach strategy is divided into four segments: the week of October 23rd; the two day media cycle from October 30th to 31st; the duration of the peace talks; and the implementation of the accord.

Message: The message should be simple, easy to communicate and build on the success of our leadership to date.

- o There can be no peace unless the United States **leads**.
- o Ending the worst conflict in Europe since W.W.II.
- o An undivided and peaceful Europe has been a US strategic interest for a century.
- o Stopping the ethnic cleansing and humanitarian disaster.

Speech: In addition to the following media opportunities, the Secretary should deliver a major policy address defining US interests in Bosnia. A definitive speech laying out US interests would anchor our public affairs strategy and supplement last week's Congressional testimony. The speech should be given before mid-November, outside of Washington, perhaps in a location where there is key Congressional support for US leadership in Bosnia.

I. PHASE 1: WEEK OF OCTOBER 22:

- CNN Lunch [Wednesday, October 25].
- Senior editorial writers and columnists roundtable with Secretary Christopher:

Al Hunt, *Wall St. Journal*
 Stephen Rosenfield, *Wash. Post*
 Tom Oliphant, *Boston Globe*
 Susan Bennett, *USA TODAY*
 Michael Kramer, *Time*
 Walter Mears, *AP*

Tom Friedman, *New York Times*
 Michael Elliot or Joe Klein, *Newsweek*
 Jim Mann, *Los Angeles Times*
 Finley Lewis, *Copley*
 Johnny Apple, *New York Times*
 Mort Kondracke, *RollCall*

- Interview with *Washington Post* and *New York Times* news writers [prior to departure on Friday, 10/27 for weekend set pieces].

II. PHASE 2: BEGINNING OF PEACE TALKS:

- **TOUR OF SEQUESTERED AREA (OCTOBER 29):**

- o Outer perimeter of the sequestered area.
- o One "separate but equal" living quarters.
- o Wright-Patterson Aeronautical museum.
- o Display of base's military capabilities (i.e. planes taking off and landing).

NOTE: I recommend we do not show the actual meeting hall prior to the start of the talks. They press should only be able to use the footage of the Secretary conducting the meeting itself, not a barren room with nobody in it.

- **ARRIVAL OF DELEGATIONS (OCTOBER 30):**

- o Arrival shots of the all delegations (3 Balkan participants, Contact Group etc.). Holbrooke to greet and no remarks.
- o Phone call interview for set up piece with Lee Katz of *USA TODAY* on Monday October 31st from plane ride back from Amman, Jordan.

- **START OF TALKS (OCTOBER 31):**

- o Interview on *TODAY SHOW*.
- o Photo-Op briefing POTUS in the Oval Office.
- o Departure from Andrews Air Force Base: OPEN PRESS.

- October 28 POTUS radio address: *Repeat Truman Dinner message on vision and goals for peace talks.*
- October 30 Moscow Summit
Press walk through at Wright-Patterson: *US prepares to host talks for set-up pieces.*
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Secretary Opens Proximity Talks.
- November 2 Secretary Christopher in press briefing room
- OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO:**
- November 3 Holbrooke flies to Washington to brief POTUS on status of talks.
- November 6 Secretary Christopher returns to proximity talks.
- November 8 POTUS announces "substantial progress" from White House briefing room.
- November 9 Secretary returns to proximity talks.
- November 11 POTUS trip to proximity talks to give final push to the negotiations.
- November 12 POTUS announces agreement from White House briefing room.
- November 13 Secretary closes conference and witnesses initialing of agreement.
- November 14 POTUS addresses the nation live from the Oval Office.
- November 15 Paris Conference begins.

ACTIVITIES FOR OTHER DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS
NOW THROUGH 11/12

- October 26: Washington Post Editorial Board with Assistant Secretary Holbrooke.
- October 27: Assistant Secretary Holbrook to background major dailies for Sunday papers.
- October 28: Assistant Secretary Holbrook on *Evans and Novak*.
- October 30: Assistant Secretary Holbrook to brief in State Dept. press room.
- October 30: Assistant Secretary Holbrook on the Jim Lehrer News Hour.

- November 1: Deputy Secretary speaks at Department-sponsored event.
- November 9: Deputy Secretary speaks at lunch at National Press Club.
- Coordinate with H to establish a Congressional surrogate group who will support our policy publicly.
- Radio Roundtable – for Assistant Secretary Holbrooke.
- Talbott to meet with senior foreign policy opinion leaders, date TBD (first in a series of such meetings; NSC Adviser Lake is beginning regular weekly meetings with a similar group).
- Radio outreach to focus on Bosnia.
- Legislatively targeted regional editorial board outreach.
- Daily talking points distributed to all Department press and congressional affair staff.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM:

TO: PA-Tom Donilon
PA-Nick Burns

FROM: PA-David Leavy

SUBJECT: State Department Public Affairs Strategy for Bosnia

Objective:

- Focus media attention on the United States' **leadership** role in the peace process and away from a single-minded focus on US troop involvement.
- Continue the work begun in this week's Congressional testimony of persuading the American people and the Congress to support American participation in a NATO-led peace-implementation force.

Phases: The Bosnia outreach strategy is divided into four segments: the week of October 23rd; the two day media cycle from October 30th to 31st; the duration of the peace talks; and the implementation of the accord.

Message: The message should be simple, easy to communicate and build on the success of our leadership to date.

- o There can be no peace unless the United States **leads**.
- o Ending the worst conflict in Europe since W.W.II.
- o An undivided and peaceful Europe has been a US strategic interest for a century.
- o Stopping the ethnic cleansing and humanitarian disaster.

Speech: In addition to the following media opportunities, the Secretary should deliver a major policy address defining US interests in Bosnia. A definitive speech laying out US interests would anchor our public affairs strategy and supplement last week's Congressional testimony. The speech should be given before mid-November, outside of Washington, perhaps in a location where there is key Congressional support for US leadership in Bosnia.

I. PHASE 1: WEEK OF OCTOBER 22:

- CNN Lunch [Wednesday, October 25].
- Senior editorial writers and columnists roundtable with Secretary Christopher:

Al Hunt, *Wall St. Journal*

Tom Friedman, *New York Times*

Stephen Rosenfield, *Wash. Post*

Michael Elliot or Joe Klein, *Newsweek*

Tom Oliphant, *Boston Globe*

Jim Mann, *Los Angeles Times*

Susan Bennett, *USA TODAY*

Finley Lewis, *Copley*

Michael Kramer, *Time*

Johnny Apple, *New York Times*

Walter Mears, *AP*

Mort Kondracke, *RollCall*

- Interview with *Washington Post* and *New York Times* news writers [prior to departure on Friday, 10/27 for weekend sct pieces].

II. PHASE 2: BEGINNING OF PEACE TALKS:

• **TOUR OF SEQUESTERED AREA (OCTOBER 29):**

- o Outer perimeter of the sequestered area.
- o One "separate but equal" living quarters.
- o Wright-Patterson Aeronautical museum.
- o Display of base's military capabilities (i.e. planes taking off and landing).

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Bosnia →
Non + Cheney

no peace w/out IFOR
no IFOR w/out peace

- To implement peace, only Nato can do
 - US leader of nato
 - 1: a failure by us to partic., terrible damage to peace + future of nato.
 - Cant believe congress w/out agree and acquit

→ warring parties w/out agree to peace without US Nato.

1.

2.

3. lot of negotiating ahead, Hyde park - unlikely.

Russian participation - desirable but not necessary
but hope will do.

we are working on it.

- implement peace accord, separate + sustain separation of forces
- violations → IFOR; parties wholesale - NTK meeting
→ help to implement terms in even handed way
- go in w/ force to implement, stronger
- IFOR breakdown ⇒ force can defend, back to NTK

If breaks down, force UN to defend itself.

→ won't tolerate violations, don't expect them to happen.

Duration

- fixed duration, hoped a yr, no precise date.
military planners believe done in a yr

ARM + TRAIN

don't want to leave parties so weak
building down, arms control, don't want to
invite attack

If there are a point, arms embargos should be lifted
believe need equilibrium on ground after forces leave,
need arms control but to create equilibrium
eq: p + train subiloge, to Bosnian forces
not thru IFAK

IRAN

Don't see a role in Bosnia for rogue states like
Iran + Iraq.

AFRICAN -

War criminal + reports of massacres, Josh B., make it more important
to bring an end, → Dayton on ~~Ag~~ all more imperative
Milosevic - not indicted; Cart always choose interlocutors,
those who can deliver
judicial → don't get into civil suits

→ don't expect any other travel outside Ohio.
- expect him to go only to Dayton & be engaged only
in negotiations.

- if interfering w/ IFOR, then we.

- mission is to enforce agreement
- if come within our reach, or come across them, we
arrest them.

Unwanted war criminals should not be allowed to POW.
in election.

Arken - deeply concerned, brought up with Mitosic
only increases need to get lead.

sanctions lifted → same times as embargo, not linked
suspend once peace ~~was~~ reached, lifted when implemented

vital i -

Genose

lastest capital since with
vital i in presently spread

TO: Nancy
FR: Mark Penn

10/25

Table 64: The United States needs to be sure that we act within the framework of international organizations like the United Nations. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly?

agree strongly	38%	79
agree somewhat	41	
disagree somewhat	11	
disagree strongly	7	
don't know	3	

Table 65: The United States needs to be sure that we act in close cooperation with Western Allies like Britain and France.

agree strongly	50%	84
agree somewhat	34	
disagree somewhat	5	
disagree strongly	6	
don't know	6	

Table 66: The U.S. needs close relationships with its Western Allies to improve our security from terrorists, our prosperity through trade and protect our values of liberty and decency?

agree strongly	49%	87
agree somewhat	38	
disagree somewhat	5	
disagree strongly	4	
don't know	3	

Table 67: Which of these is the best course of action for the U.S. to follow in general terms in setting its foreign policy:

act on our own in foreign policy	14%
work closely with our tradition allies	24
work within the framework of the UN	55
don't know	7

Table 68: Helping Europe with Bosnia is an important way to make sure we get the cooperation from European nations when we have issues like territory that affect mostly the United States.

agree strongly	33%	68
agree somewhat	35	
disagree somewhat	19	
disagree strongly	8	
don't know	5	

PK

Table 69: If the US tries to act too unilaterally in today's world it will repeat the mistakes of other superpowers in the past that became too arrogant and too isolated. We must get involved with our allies..

agree strongly	39%
agree somewhat	37
disagree somewhat	14
disagree strongly	6
don't know	4

Table 70: Bosnia is not a European problem, but a human problem, and it's important for the U.S. to become involved with it for the sake of our most basic value that of saving innocent human lives and promoting peace. (A)

agree strongly	35%	<u>68</u>
agree somewhat	33	
disagree strongly	15	
disagree strongly	13	
don't know	4	

Table 71: If, as part of a general cease-fire and peace agreement, Clinton agrees to send 25,000 US troops that would be part of 60,000 troops contingent from many countries. Would you support it?

strongly support	19%	<u>56</u>
moderately support	37	
moderately oppose	21	
strongly oppose	20	
don't know	4	

Table 72: Supporters say that we will only send in troops once a peace agreement is signed, and the war has ended. They say we'll be there to keep peace that has been agreed to. Would you support sending troops to Bosnia

strongly support	21%	55
moderately support	34	
moderately oppose	19	
strongly oppose	22	
don't know	3	

Table 73: Supporters say that innocent women and children are being raped herded into the equivalent of concentration camps and killed and that we must send troops to stop this tragedy. (A)

strongly support	37%	<u>74</u>
moderately support	37	
moderately oppose	10	
strongly oppose	13	
don't know	2	

Table 74: The US must keep faith with its western allies in NATO to help enforce the peace. If we don't participate, we won't be doing our part to hold up the alliance.

strongly support	22%
moderately support	38
moderately oppose	15
strongly oppose	18
don't know	7

60

Table 75: If we let this war continue, it will ultimately spread to America in the form of terrorism like the World Trade Center Bombing.

strongly support	25%
moderately support	27
moderate oppose	20
strongly oppose	24
don't know	4

52

Table 76: Sending a limited number of troops is justified as long as we believe this is the last step to creating a lasting regional peace, something that is both humane and good for world stability.



strongly support	35%
moderately support	38
moderately oppose	11
strongly oppose	14
don't know	2

73

Table 77: A lot of people in Congress are urging Clinton not to send troops to Bosnia to help enforce a peace settlement. He says he is going to send troops regardless of what anyone thinks because it's the right thing

strongly approve	21%
moderately approve	36
somewhat disapprove	14
strongly disapprove	26
don't know	3

57

Table 78: Some people say that even if we don't agree with Clinton's decision, we should admire him for doing what's right, even when it's unpopular, and standing up for America, regardless of what the polls say



strongly approve	33%
somewhat approve	39
somewhat disapprove	12
strongly disapprove	14
don't know	2

72

→ TL/NS/JS/BD —

Borna / Congressional

Here's what Pat and I discussed as plan for next few weeks with POTUS/cong, pursuant to my memo and discussions w/ you:

① POTUS telcos —

between now and Oct 31, POTUS calls a) Rohle/Gringrich b) Gepphardt / Daschle c) few other influential if possible. Pat to keep them somewhat engaged in Dayton, ~~Pat~~ seems to insulate from budget. Pat says meeting before Oct 31 impossible.

② Group of 40. Pat agrees

that meeting with that group before there is anything new would produce counterproductive dynamic. Suggests convening about week into Dayton —

NOV 06-07 for briefing (Holbrooke on SVTS?). Keep focus on negotiations. Set up next week.

This still envisions a) POTUS call to BUSH b) some public event here Oct 31 w/ negotiating team.

Ⓚ

Oct 26-31

POTUS calls to leadership

Tues 31

POTUS w/c/Holbrooke

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

+ 7730
7729 and
~~7730~~

October 24, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY LAKE
SANDY BERGER

FROM: BILL DANVERS

SUBJECT: President and Hill Bosnia Meetings

Attached (Tab I) is a proposal for the President to meet some time next week with the same group of members that he met with on September 29 to discuss Bosnia, specifically the proximity talks.

I raised the idea of having smaller meetings, but the general consensus at the morning SVTS-- including George, Wendy and Sandy Stuart-- was that we should keep the larger group together and continue to brief them throughout the process.

One way of focusing members on the diplomatic track would be to have Holbrooke give them a run down of where we are and what we can reasonably expect from the talks.

We can also go back to the SVTS group if you feel strongly about having the President meet with smaller groups and tell them that you feel strongly that it ought to be smaller groups. Alternatively, you might want to raise it at the 7:30 AM meeting.

Finally, attached (Tab II) is another scheduling proposal for the President to have a small meeting with the big four leadership-- Dole, Daschle, Gingrich and Gephardt-- to discuss Bosnia as soon as possible.

Concurrence by: ^{WSD for} Jill Schuker, John Feeley

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached scheduling requests.

Attachments

Tab I Large group scheduling request

Tab A Participants List

Tab II Small leadership group scheduling request

Schedule Proposal **THE WHITE HOUSE** date ____/____/____
 WASHINGTON

____ ACCEPT ____ REGRET ____ PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett
 Anne Walley

FROM: Anthony Lake
 Pat Griffin

REQUEST: Meeting with Members of Congress

PURPOSE: To continue efforts to win
 Congressional support for U.S.
 policy in Bosnia including the
 commitment of American troops as
 part of a NATO-led peace
 Implementation Force (IFOR).

BACKGROUND: As a follow on to the President's
 recent meeting with Congressional
 foreign policy leadership and
 testimony presented on the Hill by
 his foreign policy team, we
 recommend that the President meet
 with this group again before the
 peace talks between Bosnia, Serbia
 and Croatia in Dayton, Ohio. It is
 crucial that make every effort to
 win Congressional approval for U.S.
 participation in an IFOR. This
 meeting would be part of that
 effort.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Presidential meeting on September
 29.

DATE AND TIME: During the week of October 30.

BRIEFING TIME: 15 minutes

DURATION: One hour

LOCATION: East Room

PARTICIPANTS: See attached list for Congressional participants. Administration participants to include: Secretaries Christopher and Perry, General Shalikhvili, Ambassador Albright, Leon Panetta, Tony Lake, Pat Griffin, Sandy Berger, Leon Fuerth and Richard Holbrooke.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: President to make brief opening remarks then turn to Secretaries Christopher, Perry, and General Shali for brief remarks.

REMARKS REQUIRED: NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: None

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: N/A

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Yes

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

CONTACT: Bill Danvers 6-9171

ORIGIN OF THIS PROPOSAL: Bosnia working group.

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: N/A

Participants for Presidential
Meeting on Bosnia

Senate

Dole
Daschle
Byrd
Hatfield
McConnell
Leahy
Stevens
Inouye
Gramm
Hollings
Helms
Pell
Lugar
Biden
Thurmond
Nunn
Specter
Kerrey
Exon
Levin
Warner
Lieberman

House

Gingrich
Gephardt
Armev
DeLay
Bonior
Livingston
Obey
Callahan
Wilson
Young
Murtha
Rogers
Mollohan
Gilman
Hamilton
Spence
Dellums
Combest
Dicks
Hoyer
Neumann
Spratt

Schedule Proposal THE WHITE HOUSE date ___/___/___
 WASHINGTON

 _____ACCEPT _____REGRET _____PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett
 Anne Walley

FROM: Anthony Lake
 Pat Griffin

REQUEST: Meeting or Dinner with Congressional
 Leadership

PURPOSE: To discuss Bosnia policy including
 the commitment of American troops as
 part of a NATO-led peace
 Implementation Force (IFOR).

BACKGROUND: As a follow on to the President's
 recent meeting with Congressional
 foreign policy leadership and
 testimony presented on the Hill by
 your foreign policy team, we
 recommend that the President have a
 small meeting or dinner with
 Senators Dole and Daschle, Speaker
 Gingrich and Representative
 Gephardt. It is crucial that we
 make every effort to enlist their
 support if we are to get
 Congressional approval for U.S.
 participation in an IFOR.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Dinner last June with Speaker
 Gingrich, Senator Daschle and
 Representative Gephardt.

DATE AND TIME: As soon as possible.

BRIEFING TIME: 15 minutes

DURATION: One hour for a meeting. Two hours
 for a dinner.

LOCATION: Oval office for a meeting or
 residence for a dinner.

PARTICIPANTS: Administration: President, Vice President, Secretaries Christopher and Perry, General Shalikashvili, Ambassador Albright, Leon Panetta, Tony Lake, Pat Griffin, Sandy Berger, Leon Fuerth and Richard Holbrooke.
Congressional: Big four leadership Dole, Daschle, Gingrich and Gephardt.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: President to make brief, opening remarks, then ask Secretaries Christopher and Perry, as well as General Shali to make additional brief remarks.

REMARKS REQUIRED: NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: None

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: N/A

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Yes

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

CONTACT: Bill Danvers 6-9171

ORIGIN OF THIS PROPOSAL: Bosnia working group.

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: N/A

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY SODERBERG, DON BAER, JILL SCHUKER

From: Julia Moffett

Subject: Outreach Activities (Updated 11/4)

Attached is an update on the outreach program. As you know, the current activity is focused on: 1) Placing phone calls to determine where people are and to address any concerns/questions they may have at this juncture; 2) Providing guidance and materials to influentials prepared to author op-eds; and, 3) Putting together small groups for meetings or briefings.

Update

- Calls are going well. We need to finish the list and add others. (see pp. 2-4)
- Op-eds are always difficult to make happen. Four op-eds are either completed and awaiting placement or are in development. (see p.5)
- Briefings/meetings have started. We need to increase their frequency and number. We may also think about bringing the same people back in at the conclusion of the talks. (see p.6)
- We are beginning to see the results of this initial outreach. Supportive influentials have appeared on CNN, Nightline and in *The New York Times*.

Next Steps:

- We need a full assessment of how the calls have gone and what follow-up is needed, especially from Lake, Berger, DOD, and Shattuck.
- We need to confirm and set-up additional briefings. I would also like to explore the possibility of dinners around the end of the talks.
- We need to begin a similar program to reach-out to active press (Reporters, Columnists, Pundits).
- We need to plan for and identify some solid showing of support for the conclusion of the talks.

PHONE CALLS

The President

Former President George Bush

NSC (Lake, Berger, Vershbow, Schifter)

Morton Abramowitz (Lake/Schifter; met with 11/2; follow-up 11/6)
Elliot Abrams (Schifter)
Ken Adelman (Schifter; one discussion; will need follow-up)
Fouad Ajami (Schifter)
Richard Allen (Schifter)
Mike Armacost, Brookings (Schifter)
James Baker (Lake; not supportive)
Zbigniew Brzezinski (Schifter/Lake; supportive)
Richard Burt (Schifter; one discussion; will need follow-up)
Frank Carlucci (Lake/Schifter; met with 11/1; will be supportive)
Hodding Carter (Lake/Berger; met with 11/2; will be supportive)
Richard Cheney (Lake)
William Crowe (Lake)
Patt Derian (Berger)
Lawrence Eagleburger (Schifter; will be supportive)
Frank Farenkopf (Berger)
Leslie Gelb (Lake)
Patrick Glynn, AEI (Schifter; very supportive)
Andrew Goodpaster (Vershbow)
Richard Haass (Lake)
Max Kampelman (Lake/Schifter; met with 11/2; follow-up 11/6; supportive)
Adrian Karatnycky-President, Freedom House (Schifter; supportive)
Jeane Kirkpatrick (Lake/Schifter; met with 11/2; follow-up 11/6)
Henry Kissinger (Lake)
Ron Lehman (Schifter; supportive)
Mike Mandelbaum (Lake)
George McGovern (Schifter)
Paul Nitze (Schifter; supportive)
Richard Perle (Lake/Schifter; needs follow-up; will be supportive)
Marty Peretz (Schifter)
Colin Powell (Lake)
Peter Rodman (Schifter; supportive)
Eugene Rostow (Schifter)
Brent Scowcroft (Schifter/Lake; supportive)
Henry Siegman, American Jewish Congress (Berger)
Stephen Solarz (Berger)
Helmut Sonnenfeldt (Schifter; supportive)
John Sweeney (Berger)

NSC Calls, con't:

William Howard Taft (Lake/Schifter; met with 11/2; will be supportive)
Elie Weisel (Schifter)
Albert Wohlstetter (Schifter)
Paul Wolfowitz (Schifter; needs follow-up)
Warren Zimmerman (Schifter)
Elmo Zumwalt (Schifter; very supportive)

STATE (Christopher, Holbrooke, Shattuck)

James Baker (Christopher; not supportive)
Holly Burkhalter, Human Rights Watch (Shattuck)
Kerry Kennedy Cuomo (Shattuck)
Lawrence Eagleburger (Christopher; supportive)
Abe Foxman, ADL (Shattuck/Schifter)
Carl Gershman, National Endowment for Democracy (Shattuck/Schifter)
Betty Bao Lord, Freedom House (Shattuck)
Zainab Salbi, Women to Women in Bosnia (Shattuck)
George Shultz (Christopher; not supportive; having Abramowitz call again)
George Soros (Shattuck)
Julia Taft, International Rescues Committee (Shattuck)
Roger Winter, US Committee for Refugees, (Shattuck)

DEFENSE (Perry, Slocombe, White, Lodal, Warner)

George Bundy (Warner)
Richard Cheney (White)
John Galvin (Warner; No op-ed; Will talk to CEOs about support for policy.)
Andrew Goodpaster (Lodal; Considering op-ed; no commitment)
Al Haig (Lodal)
Karen Elliot House (Lodal)
Samuel P. Huntington (Warner)
Richard Perle (Slocombe; Currently opposing Administration, but coming around.
Pete Peterson (White)
Perry Smith-CNN (White)
Bernard Trainor-ABC (Warner)
Paul Wolfowitz (Slocombe)

USIA (Duffy, Kemble)

Geraldine Ferraro (Kemble)
Cornel West (Duffy)
Leslie Gelb (Duffy)
Jack Joyce (Kemble; Very supportive)
Morton Kondrake (Kemble; ; needs more information; Schifter will follow-up)

USIA Calls, con't:

Bill Moyers (Duffy)

General William Odom (Duffy)

Norman Podhoretz (Kemble; Skeptical about policy, but worries about our leadership credibility and strength of NATO if we don't do this.

Al Shanker (Kemble; Firmly opposed.)

USUN (Albright)

Mike Barnes (Very supportive; Preparing an op-ed)

Geraldine Ferraro (Very supportive)

Edmund Muskie (Very supportive)

John Whitehead (Very supportive; Will call GOP is asked; Schifter following-up)

Andrew Young (Very supportive)

ADDITIONAL CALLS THAT NEED TO BE MADE:

Additional current and former military

William Taylor (CNN)

Col. Mike Duggan (CNN)

Fred Barnes

Bob Kagan

Authors on Bosnia

Leon Wieseltier

OP-EDS

- **John Shattuck, *The New York Times***
Status: Attempting to place ASAP (State)
- **Adrian Karatnycky, *The New York Times* or *Wall Street Journal***
Status: Attempting to place ASAP (Schifter/Moffett)
- **Mike Barnes, *The Washington Post***
Status: Will attempt to place beginning 11/6 (Rubin/Moffett)
- **Eagleburger/Scowcroft, *TBD***
Status: In development for around end of talks (Schifter)
- **Brzezinski/Carlucci, *The Wall Street Journal***
Status: Awaiting sign-off from Carlucci (Schifter)
- **Lee Hamilton, *The Washington Post***
Status: ?? (Danvers)
- **Joe Lieberman, *TBD***
Status: ?? (Danvers)
- **Paul Nitze, *TBD***
Status: Happy to write one if we want (Schifter)
- **Patrick Glynn, *AEI, TBD***
Status: Happy to write one if we want (Schifter/Moffett)

Good pasted - Uershsaw →

MEETINGS/BRIEFINGS

The President

- Congressional Leadership (Dole, Daschle, Gingrich, Gephardt)
Date: Wednesday, November 1st
- Expanded Congressional Group of 40
Date: Wednesday, November 8th
- Congressional Meeting
Date: Thursday, November 9th (Tentative)

The Vice President

- Series of five Congressional Meetings
Date: In progress

Lake

- Met with Brent Scowcroft
Date: Thursday, November 2nd
- Meet with Action Council for Peace in the Balkans Executive Committee
Date: Thursday, November 2nd
Participants: Mort Abramowitz, Zbignew Brzezinski, Max Kampelman, Richard Perle, Hodding Carter, Jeane Kirkpatrick, William Howard Taft.
(Schifter will follow-up with the group on 11/6 and ask them to make phone calls to others; Lake should meet with them again around end of talks.)
- Heads of Think Tank Briefing
Date: Friday, November 10th
Participants: TBD--Approximately 20 (Tentative)

Christopher

- Series of Breakfast Meetings; List TBD
Date: Week of November 6th

Talbott

- Series of Small Meetings with Influentials; List TBD
Date: Week of November 6th

Shattuck

- Has had two meetings with human rights community; List being forwarded
Date: Week of October 23rd
- Is scheduling additional briefings for human rights groups
Date: Week of November 13th

White House

- Additional briefings for groups need to be identified, both by us and Public Liaison: Women, Ethnic, etc. (Meeting with Alexis on 11/6)

DOD

- White to meet with Richard Cheney
Date: Monday, November 6th
- Think Tank Briefing by Vershbow, Lodal, Steinberg at NDU
Date: November 9th
- Current and Former Military Briefing by Perry
Date: TBD (Tentative)

Other

- Small dinners for influentials hosted by principals have been suggested.
- Co-hosted briefings for small groups of influentials are being hosted by CSIS and Senator Nunn.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1995

**MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY SODERBERG, DON BAER, JILL SCHUKER
AND AMBASSADOR SCHIFTER**

From: Julia Moffett

Subject: Outreach Activities (Updated 9:00 am, 11-2)

Attached is an update on the outreach program. As you know, the current activity is centered around: 1) Placing phone calls to determine where people are and to address any concerns/questions they may have at this juncture; 2) Providing guidance and materials to influentials prepared to author op-eds; and, 3) Putting together small groups for meetings or briefings.

Next Steps:

- We need an assessment of how the calls have gone and what follow-up is needed from Lake, Berger, Shifter, Shattuck, and DOD.
- We need to firm-up the op-eds in development.
- We need to confirm and set-up additional briefings. I would also like to explore the possibility of dinners.
- We need to begin a similar program to reach-out to active press (Reporters, Columnists, Pundits).
- We need to plan for and identify some solid showing of support for the conclusion of the talks.

PHONE CALLS

The President

Former President George Bush

NSC (Lake, Berger, Vershbow, Schifter)

Morton Abramowitz (Lake/Schifter/Schuker-completed)
Ken Adelman (Schifter-completed)
Fouad Ajami (Schifter-completed)
Richard Allen (Schifter)
James Baker (Lake)
Zbigniew Brzezinski (Schifter/Lake-completed)
Richard Burt (Schifter)
Frank Carlucci (Lake/Schifter-completed)
Hodding Carter (Lake/Berger)
Richard Cheney (Lake)
William Crowe (Lake)
Patt Derian (Berger)
Lawrence Eagleburger (Schifter-completed)
Frank Farenkopf (Berger)
Leslie Gelb (Lake)
Patrick Glynn, AEI (Schifter)
Andrew Goodpaster (Vershbow-completed)
Richard Haass (Lake)
Max Kampelman (Lake/Schifter-completed)
Adrian Karatnycky-President, Freedom House (Schifter-completed)
Jeane Kirkpatrick (Lake/Schifter-completed)
Henry Kissinger (Lake)
Ron Lehman (Schifter)
Mike Mandelbaum (Lake)
George McGovern (Schifter)
Paul Nitze (Schifter-completed)
Richard Perle (Lake/Schifter-completed)
Colin Powell (Lake)
Peter Rodman (Schifter-completed)
Eugene Rostow (Schifter)
Brent Scowcroft (Schifter/Lake-completed)
Henry Siegman, American Jewish Congress (Berger)
Stephen Solarz (Berger)
Helmut Sonnenfeldt (Schifter-completed)
John Sweeney (Berger)
William Howard Taft (Schifter)
Elie Weisel (Schifter-completed)
Albert Wohlstetter (Schifter)
Paul Wolfowitz (Schifter-completed)
Warren Zimmerman (Schifter)
Elmo Zumwalt (Schifter)

VPOTUS (Fuerth)

Martin Peretz

STATE (Christopher, Holbrooke, Shattuck)

James Baker (Christopher-completed)
Holly Burkhalter, Human Rights Watch (Shattuck)
Kerry Kennedy Cuomo (Shattuck)
Lawrence Eagleburger (Christopher-completed)
Abe Foxman, ADL (Shattuck)
Carl Gershman, National Endowment for Democracy (Shattuck)
Betty Bao Lord, Freedom House (Shattuck)
Zainab Salbi, Women to Women in Bosnia (Shattuck)
George Shultz (Christopher-completed)
George Soros (Shattuck)
Julia Taft, International Rescues Committee (Shattuck)
Roger Winter, US Committee for Refugees, (Shattuck)

DEFENSE (Perry, Slocombe, White, Lodal, Warner)

George Bundy (Warner)
Richard Cheney (White)
John Galvin (Warner)
 [No op-ed, but will talk to CEOs about support for policy.]
Andrew Goodpaster (Lodal)
 [Will consider letter to the editor or op-ed; no commitment.]
Al Haig (Lodal)
 [Call placed.]
Karen Elliot House (Lodal)
 [Call placed.]
Samuel P. Huntington (Warner)
Richard Perle (Slocombe)
 [Currently opposing Administration, but coming around.]
Pete Peterson (White)
Perry Smith-CNN (White)
Bernard Trainor-ABC (Warner)
Paul Wolfowitz (Slocombe)
 [Out of the country until 11/14.]

USIA (Duffy, Kemble)

Geraldine Ferraro (Kemble)

Henry Louis Gates (Duffy)

Leslie Gelb (Duffy)

Jack Joyce (Kemble)

[Very supportive.]

Morton Kondrake (Kemble)

[Skeptical about success of talks; needs more information.]

Bill Moyers (Duffy)

General Odom (Duffy)

Norman Podhoretz (Kemble)

[Skeptical about policy, but worries about our leadership credibility and strength of NATO if we don't do this.]

Al Shanker (Kemble)

[Firmly opposed.]

USUN (Albright)

Mike Barnes

[Very supportive; Preparing an op-ed]

Geraldine Ferraro

[Very supportive]

Edmund Muskie

[Very supportive]

John Whitehead

[Very supportive; Will call GOP is asked]

Andrew Young

[Very supportive]

OP-EDS

- **John Shattuck, *The New York Times***
Status: In progress for placement before the end of the week. (State)
- **Adrian Karatnycky, *The New York Times or Wall Street Journal***
Status: In progress for placement by the end of the talks. (Schifter/Moffett)
- **Mike Barnes, *The Washington Post***
Status: In development (Rubin/Moffett)
- **Lee Hamilton, *The Washington Post***
Status: ?? (Danvers)
- **Brzezinski/Carlucci, *The Wall Street Journal***
Status: Awaiting sign-off from Carlucci (Schifter)
- **Eagleburger/Scowcroft, *TBD***
Status: Awaiting Lake meeting
- **Joe Lieberman, *TBD***
Status: ?? (Danvers)
- **Paul Nitze, *TBD***
Status: Ready to go. (Schifter)
- **Arnold Kantor, *TBD***
Status: Being contacted (Schifter/Moffett)

MEETINGS/BRIEFINGS

The President

- Congressional Leadership (Dole, Daschle, Gingrich, Gephardt)
Date: Wednesday, November 1st
- Expanded Congressional Group of 40
Date: Wednesday, November 8th

The Vice President

- Series of five Congressional Meetings

Lake

- Breakfast with Brent Scowcroft
Date: Thursday, November 2nd
- Meet with Action Council for Peace in the Balkans Executive Committee
Date: Thursday, November 2nd
Participants: Mort Abramowitz, Zbignew Brzezinski, Max Kampelman, Richard Perle, Hodding Carter, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Frank Carlucci.
- Heads of Think Tank Briefing (Pending)
Date: Friday, November 10th
Participants: TBD

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