

Attachments

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United States Department of State
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Office
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Historian

**History of the
Department of State
During the Clinton Presidency
1993-2001**



January 2001

I. The Department of State Leadership

Secretary of State

Warren Christopher

Warren Christopher was sworn in as the nation's 63d Secretary of State on January 20, 1993. Christopher came to the Department of State with a deep background in government and foreign affairs. In the Kennedy administration, he had been Under Secretary of State George Ball's special envoy to sensitive textile trade talks in Tokyo; in the Johnson administration, he was Deputy Attorney General; and he served as Deputy Secretary of State during the Carter years. He also had a broad range of civic activities in Los Angeles, where he had practiced law for over 40 years. In 1965, he served as vice chairman of the McCone Commission, which investigated the events surrounding the Watts riots; and in 1992, he chaired the Christopher Commission, which investigated the Los Angeles Police Department in the wake of the Rodney King incident.

Christopher also had a strong relationship with President Clinton. During the 1992 campaign, he served as one of Governor Clinton's foreign policy advisers. He also headed the Vice Presidential search process, leading to the selection of Al Gore as the Vice Presidential nominee (he returned to do the same for Vice President Gore during the 2000 presidential campaign, which led to the selection of Senator Joseph Lieberman). Christopher also led President-elect Clinton's 1992 transition team from Little Rock, Arkansas, during which he was asked to return to Foggy Bottom as Secretary of State.

Secretary Christopher came to the State Department without an overarching, single-word doctrine for American foreign policy. He believed that in the post-Cold War era, challenges were too diverse to be summarized in a neatly tailored doctrine like "containment." Instead, he came into office guided by four broad principles, which he outlined during his confirmation hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January 1993. (Document I-1) Each principle addressed the fundamental challenges of post-Cold War international relations: the globalization of commerce and capital; the rise of new security threats like terrorism and weapons proliferation; global challenges like the environment, disease, and drug trafficking; protecting nascent democracies; and the problem of conflict—particularly intra-state conflict—fueled by ethnic and religious tensions.

The principles Secretary Christopher articulated in 1993 provided the fundamental underpinning of the policies he pursued. First, he sought to recognize the multi-dimensionality and complexity of "security," stressing that economic and global interests like trade and the environment were just as important to American diplomacy as military security. That meant focusing on completing the GATT agreement and getting Senate approval of NAFTA, and assuring that opening markets abroad became a key aspect of American diplomacy.

Second, Secretary Christopher stressed that maintaining America's military might was indispensable to successful diplomacy. He pointed out that the United States would confront a wide array of challenges, from civil war and ethnic conflicts to outright invasions and possible genocide, which might warrant the use of military force. While there was no single "magic formula" for when and how to use force under such

conditions, he said that “the discreet and careful use of force in certain circumstances—and the credible threat in general—will be essential to the success of our diplomacy and foreign policy.”

Third, Secretary Christopher aimed to transform the State Department, both conceptually and bureaucratically, to deal with the new array of global challenges. He called for actively supporting democracy and human rights everywhere; a mantra of his tenure as Secretary was “open markets and open societies.” This commitment stemmed from his earlier experiences in the Carter administration, when as Deputy Secretary he oversaw the coordination of the first State Department human rights reports. He also sought to highlight new global issues like the environment, transnational crime, and narcotics, and transformed the State Department bureaucratically to deal with them more effectively. As a result, a new Under Secretary for Global Affairs was created, and Tim Wirth, the former Senator from Colorado, was appointed to the post. (Regarding global issues, see Chapters VII and VIII.)

Finally, Secretary Christopher believed that in order for diplomacy (and the State Department) to be most effective, he and his team had to work with Congress to build a new domestic consensus for American engagement abroad. He understood that in the complexities of the post-Cold War world, the administration had more than ever to explain to the American people that events abroad mattered to their daily lives. “Today, foreign policymakers cannot afford to ignore the public, for there is a real danger that the public will ignore foreign policy,” he said. The irony was that as the world was becoming even more interconnected, many Americans were sympathetic to the view that the United States could draw back and focus more exclusively on domestic problems. Secretary Christopher wanted to blunt this temptation; in order to show that America’s foreign policy was not really “foreign,” and that the State Department mattered to all Americans, he called for creating a symbolic “America’s desk.” (See also Chapter X.)

Christopher brought with him a trusted group of associates to the Seventh Floor. In addition to Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff (see below), his Chief of Staff and Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs was Tom Donilon, who oversaw the Secretary’s schedule, paper-flow, speeches and media contacts. Donilon, who was a law partner of Christopher’s at O’Melveny and Myers, had been a senior official on Clinton’s 1992 campaign and also helped Christopher with the transition.

Madeleine K. Albright

Background

Madeleine Korbel Albright was sworn in as Secretary of State on January 23, 1997, after serving the previous 4 years as a member of President Clinton’s cabinet as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

The first woman ever to hold the position, Secretary Albright assumed the post on the cusp of the new century, her personal history and outlook having been profoundly shaped by the calamities of the previous one. The daughter of a Czechoslovakian diplomat, Secretary Albright was a refugee of the Second World War and emigrated to the United States from Prague, where the hope of post-war freedom had been crushed by the long arm of Soviet Communism.

By the time Secretary Albright assumed her duties in 1997, the administration had made substantial progress in adapting Cold War institutions, but much remained to be done in preparing for the challenges of the new century.

The process of NATO enlargement was well underway, yet the effectiveness of a new NATO to meet post-Cold War security challenges had yet to be tested. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia ended with the conclusion of the Dayton Accords (1995), but Slobodan Milosevic remained a menace to minority rights and democracy in Kosovo, Montenegro, and throughout Yugoslavia.

More people lived in democracies than at any previous time, yet the euphoria of newly found freedoms gave way to threats to fragile governments imperiled by corruption, international crime, trafficking in weapons, drugs, and even human beings, and by the pandemic of HIV/AIDS. In this new phase, democracies searched for the means to assist one another in bolstering and sustaining their freedoms. In particular, they sought to deliver their fellow citizens the prosperity and security they had expected to flow from the transition to democracy.

Significant progress had been made in the effort to stanch the spread of nuclear and weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to carry them. Through the 1994 Agreed Framework, North Korea's nuclear program was frozen and China had moved fitfully into the nonproliferation mainstream. But missile proliferation was a growing concern; the North Korean missile program continued apace and the export practices of Russia and China were a continuing concern. Meanwhile, a landmark nonproliferation agreement, the Chemical Weapons Convention which banned poison gas, remained in limbo, despite efforts to secure America's ratification. And the United States had yet to develop a comprehensive approach to address the danger to the nation from missile proliferation.

America's effort to press for reform at the United Nations had begun to bear fruit, and the administration had successfully developed an approach to peacekeeping in Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD-25) grounded in national interests, capabilities, and American values. Yet that process had a long way to go, and U.S. debts to the UN mounted, as the budget of the State Department continued a steep decline that had begun in the middle of the previous decade.

Guiding Principles and Policies

When Secretary Albright assumed office, the effort to define guiding principles was also a work in progress. The previous 4 years, which had come to be known simply as the post-Cold war period, was coming to a close. Euphoria was not a long-term policy for sustaining the surge of democracy around the world. And Secretary Albright undertook to develop a framework in which to pursue U.S. interests and international security in this dynamic setting.

Looking at a snapshot of the world on the eve of the new century, Secretary Albright discerned four basic categories of countries: 1) those that participated as full members of the international system; 2) those that were in transition and seek to participate more fully; 3) those that were too weak, poor or mired in conflict to participate in a meaningful way; and 4) those states of concern that openly rejected the

very rules and precepts on which the system is based. In a general way, Secretary Albright's policy priorities corresponded to the four-part challenge reflected by this framework.

First, Secretary Albright sought to strengthen the bonds and prevent ruptures among the leading nations. When she began her tenure, she set out to ensure that the nations that enjoyed the greatest respect and clout were at peace and had come increasingly to define their interests in ways compatible with one another. This focus would serve America's interests in stability, vibrant economic relationships, and having partners available to respond to regional and global problems. During her tenure, the Secretary paid the greatest attention to cementing the U.S. key relationships and harnessing them to constructive ends. Examples included enlarging NATO and adapting it to the challenges of the new century; U.S. collaboration with Europe and Russia in building peace in Bosnia and Kosovo; conclusion of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and economic agreements with the EU; and cooperation with South Korea in strengthening our alliance and supporting Kim Dae Jung's brave and historic outreach to the North. The administration revitalized the U.S.-Japan defense relationship, a bedrock for the security of both our nations.

During Secretary Albright's tenure, the United States secured Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China, paving the way for its entry into the World Trade Organization, and worked with Beijing on a range of bilateral issues, including nonproliferation, South Asia, and the Korean Peninsula, and human rights.

The Clinton administration continued to work with Russia in reducing nuclear dangers, and took steps to strengthen fundamental arms control agreements with Moscow, including the 1972 ABM Treaty, while working to make America safer against the growing missile danger to America and its friends and allies. It supported the development of the rule of law in Russia, and funded nongovernmental organizations working to build freedom of the press and the institutions of a free society.

The administration worked tirelessly to establish a comprehensive and lasting Middle East Peace. Despite setbacks, Israel concluded a peace agreement with Jordan, and Israel and the Palestinian Authority reached important agreements through the Oslo process. For the first time since the Middle East conflict began, the key outlines of a comprehensive peace, including Jerusalem were on the table.

Through the Summit of the Americas process, the United States forged a hemispheric consensus in support of democracy and the rule of law, and in 2000 the Secretary won passage of Plan Colombia to help Bogota address the threats to its democracy from drug traffickers, while staunching the flow of illegal narcotics from the region to U.S. cities.

Second, the Secretary identified the need to fortify the international system by helping transitional or otherwise troubled states become full participants. When financial crises threatened to undermine governments in Asia and Latin America, the administration worked quickly and effectively to shore them up with a combination of emergency assistance and by mobilizing the international financial institutions. The Secretary also launched programs designed to focus on transition democracies.

With the strong backing of the United States, more than 100 countries met in Warsaw, Poland for the Community of Democracies (CD) ministerial meeting, where the assembled nations endorsed a strong set of democratic principles in which nations agreed to maintain and improve standards and lend support to one another in the effort to secure democracy where it was still insecure. The CD process was well established by the end of the administration, an informal democracy caucus operated out of the United Nations, and South Korea had agreed to host the next meeting in 2002.

The Secretary also focused the Department's energies on four countries, whose fate would have an impact on their respective regions and on larger U.S. interests. The Four Priority Democracies initiative focused on four particularly difficult cases—Colombia, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Ukraine—and U.S. effort, energy, and assistance generally followed, although each of these nations continued to face difficult challenges. Meanwhile, the United States helped its friends in Central Europe and the New Independent States to navigate financial minefields, fend off criminals, rebut Communist backsliders, and position their societies for entry into key regional institutions.

The administration also focused efforts to address transnational dangers that challenged transitional democracies. The Secretary established international law enforcement academies overseas, to help nations build the capacity to keep their citizens secure. The administration concluded a Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime to outlaw and prevent trafficking in women and children as well as agreements to prevent corruption, drug trafficking, and money laundering. It established a rule of law program to help in the development and strengthening of legal institutions in support of effective criminal justice systems and the development of free-market societies.

Third, the administration worked to boost weaker states that were willing to help themselves, but still lacked the capacity to do so. In that era, there were no geographic barriers to full participation in the global economy or, more generally, in world affairs. But there remained burdens of debt, poverty, unresolved disputes, and a lack of effective institutions that left many nations at the margins. Accordingly, the United States worked consistently to help Haiti overcome divisions and build its young democracy. From the Caucasus to the Congo, U.S. diplomats were engaged with regional leaders and international organizations in trying to end destructive conflicts. In 2000, they helped to reach a peace agreement to end the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The United States helped establish war crimes tribunals in Rwanda to bring justice to those who committed crimes against humanity and some measure of peace of mind to grieving survivors now left with the task of moving forward. The administration persuaded Congress to enact the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, which emphasized trade as a complement to aid, rewards reform, and backed the promise of a more self-reliant and prosperous Africa. It eliminated the debt to the world's most impoverished nations through passage of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries program, and more than doubled America's spending for treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS in the developing world where, for example, the United Nations estimated a quarter of the adult population in South Africa and a third of adult Botswanans were HIV positive.

Finally, the Secretary took steps to deal with threats to the international community from those who defied the system of laws and relationships that affected the security of all nations. During her tenure, the ranks of states of concern thinned; among

those still defying the international system, several took halting steps toward the international mainstream. Those few nations remaining outside the system continued to be contained. Meanwhile, international agreements and action to address the dangers posed by states of concern and others who flouted international rules were established or strengthened.

In the Balkans and elsewhere, the Secretary was a forceful advocate for moderation and tolerance against the ruthless exploiters of ethnic hate. NATO's 78-day air campaign, the first military action in the history of the Alliance, successfully ended ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, permitting the return of 800,000 refugees, and preventing the possibility of a wider conflict in the region. By the end of the administration, NATO and Russian peacekeepers were working side-by-side to maintain the peace in Kosovo, and the European Union, working with the United States, supported the effort to build a rule-based economy and functioning criminal justice system.

Meanwhile, U.S. steadfastness in support of democracy in the Balkans reinforced the will of the Yugoslav people, who voted out Slobodan Milosevic in September 2000, and the following month mounted a peaceful revolt on the streets when he refused to submit to the people's will. By the end of the administration, the United States had reestablished diplomatic relations with and lifted sanctions on the new democratic Yugoslavia. Belgrade, meanwhile, took its proper place at the UN, the OSCE, and in international financial institutions. Meanwhile, the War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague continued to try and prosecute those charged with crimes against humanity.

The administration strongly supported the historic efforts of South Korean Prime Minister Kim Dae Jung to pursue his sunshine policy with North Korea. Working closely with the South, as well as Japan and China, the United States pursued missile restraint with the North; encouraged four-party dialogue with Pyongyang; welcomed its participation in regional organizations, including the ASEAN Regional Forum; and provided humanitarian food aid.

The Secretary also welcomed signs of positive change in Iran, and extended a hand of support by announcing gestures expanding trade and people-to-people contacts, and offering to discuss without preconditions issues of concern, including Iran's continued pursuit of weapons of mass destruction; opposition to the Middle East Peace Process; and support for terrorism.

Where nations continued to defy the international system, the United States has remained vigilant. It contained Iraq, while successfully enacting the Oil-for-Food program, so that Baghdad's people do not suffer as a result of its leader's cynicism and defiance. It responded with force to terrorism, including the bombings of our Embassies in Dar Es Salaam and Nairobi, and pursued investigations and tried suspects in U.S. federal courts. Most importantly, the United States prevented terrorist acts, including the discovery and disruption of millennium terrorist threats.

The United States created monitoring and inspection regimes to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and poison gas, while imposing penalties on those who violate global standards. The Secretary presided over many efforts to halt the proliferation of advanced missile technologies, while proceeding to develop theater and national missile

defense systems to cope with threats when and where they emerged, and she took unprecedented steps to confront transnational security dangers that respected no borders.

Her visit to North Korea in October 2000 secured an indefinite moratorium on missile flight tests and paved the way for a broader agreement for restraint in North Korea's indigenous and missile export programs. One of the Secretary's first accomplishments was to lead the administration's effort to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1997, so that America would be a founding party of the Treaty.

Outreach/Resources/Reorganization/Security

In putting forward her vision of a world in which more nations could grow to enjoy the fruits of democracy and prosperity, Secretary Albright made outreach to the American public one of her highest priorities. The Secretary reached out to Americans wherever they were: from throwing out the first pitch in 1997 at opening day at the Baltimore Orioles home field to appearing on the Oprah television show during her last week in office. She traveled to many cities in all parts of the nation.

Outreach was essential for building the consensus necessary for maintaining public support for an active and engaged foreign policy and for mustering the resources to pay for it. The Secretary frequently made the case that diplomacy was America's first line of defense and that America's diplomats made it less likely young U.S. men and women would be sent into battle, and more likely that America would grow more prosperous and remain at peace.

Her frequent travels throughout the country, and intensive work with Congress paid off. In 1997, the Secretary inherited a budget that had dropped by almost 30 percent during the previous eight fiscal years. Working closely with members of both parties, over the course of four years the State Department budget grew by 17 percent. Congress appropriated virtually the full amount of funds requested by President Clinton for fiscal 2001, the President's last budget, for the first time in the eight years of the Administration.

During this time, the administration also won passage of Helms-Biden legislation to pay back U.S. debt to the United Nations, in exchange for reform of the way the UN billed its member states.

Conclusion

Secretary Albright's foreign policy priorities, her belief in the importance of American leadership and engagement, her desire to build a Europe whole and free; her emphasis on bolstering transitional democracies; and on dealing with transnational security issues that endangered them and the intensive effort to bring peace to the Middle East were reflected in her travels.

Her more than one million miles traveled (1,038,702 miles of official domestic and foreign travel, according to the Executive Secretariat) were more than any other Secretary of State, including 7 around-the-world trips. The Secretary frequently visited Europe and made 10 separate trips to Russia and the New Independent States. She met not only with the Russian leadership, but with democracy activists and independent journalists, and business people. In Europe, she met regularly with her G-8 counterparts; and during the Kosovo campaign intensively with her counterparts in the contact group.

Throughout her tenure she met for regular breakfasts with states in and around the Balkans to lend her support for their democratization efforts. She traveled annually to Africa, the first Secretary of State ever to do so, including to Botswana, ravaged by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. She met regularly with our Western Hemispheric neighbors through the Summit of the Americas process, and with leaders in the Caribbean Basin. She traveled regularly to Asia, visiting China, Japan, and South Korea each five times, and making the first of a Secretary of State ever trip to North Korea. She helped to set the stage with the President for a new relationship with India, and traveled with the President to Bangladesh, where she met with girls and boys reintegrated into their society after having been sold into slavery, for labor and sexual exploitation. She may have been the first person ever to have left South Asia, where she accompanied the President on his historic summit to India, for Geneva in order to support a resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission on human rights in China, returning back to South Asia to meet up with the President for a stop in Pakistan.

Animating Secretary Albright's tireless efforts to promote peace and strengthen democracy was her fundamental belief, shaped by her life experience and underscored by her experience on the job, in the importance of American leadership to world security and in the fundamental goodness of American power.

Deputy Secretary of State

The Deputy Secretary of State is the second ranking officer in the Department and serves as Acting Secretary in the absence of the Secretary. While the position has no direct line oversight of under secretaries or assistant secretaries, it includes wide-ranging responsibilities, which at the discretion of the Secretary of State can include day-to-day management oversight and troubleshooting on specific crises or difficult diplomatic assignments.

The first Deputy Secretary in the Clinton administration was Clifton Wharton, Jr., the highest-ranking African-American ever in the State Department. When he resigned from the Department in late 1993, Strobe Talbott moved up from Special Adviser for the New Independent States (NIS) to the position of Deputy Secretary, a position he held until the end of the second Clinton administration.

Before his State Department years, Talbott had an extensive background as a journalist, biographer, and historian covering the Soviet Union and security issues, especially arms control. Although he dealt on an ad hoc basis with several issues requiring immediate attention of the national security leadership—for example, the problems in Haiti in 1994—he devoted the vast majority of his time to the subjects he knew best, specifically the NIS, the new Baltic states, European security issues, and arms control. In the latter area, Talbott frequently consulted John Holum, the administration's senior adviser on arms control matters, in advancing the U.S. government's disarmament and nonproliferation objectives.

Among the most complex and difficult European security issues requiring the attention of the foreign policy leadership was the crisis in Kosovo. Talbott made seven trips in ten weeks to Europe and Russia during the height of the conflict, first to assuage the Russians to acquiesce in the NATO allies military actions in Kosovo and then to

negotiate with Russia's special envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin the terms for ending the military conflict. When India and Pakistan began testing nuclear weapons, Talbott visited the subcontinent several times to try to moderate the escalating tensions and obtain assurances from both countries on nonproliferation issues. In the last year of the Clinton administration, he also focused on obtaining China's assurances on the Missile Control Technology Regime and missile defense.

Under Secretaries of State

Although an organization chart of the State Department shows five Under Secretaries of State with regional and functional bureaus located directly below them (see Appendix 3), the State Department leadership encouraged a task-oriented focus that allowed any individual under secretary to range Department-wide in dealing with specific issues. While the functions and duties of four under secretaries are briefly recounted in Chapters II, IV, V, and VII, corresponding to their principal subject areas, the under secretaries also often worked closely with other parts of the bureaucracy on specific issues and crises. The other under secretary, in many ways the most important, is discussed below.

Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Because the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, generally acknowledged as the number three person and chief policy manager in the Department, has responsibilities worldwide as well as throughout the Department and the complex interagency consultative process, the incumbents could best reach out to many different parts of the foreign affairs bureaucracy.

Traditionally, senior Foreign Service professionals usually filled the position of Under Secretary for Political Affairs. By the end of the twentieth century, however, the predominance of career diplomats was no longer sacrosanct, as the three incumbents before Thomas Pickering (1997-2001), a career senior Foreign Service Officer and ambassador seven times, were political appointees. The last of the three before Pickering was Peter Tarnoff (1993-1996), who served his longtime friend Secretary Christopher. Tarnoff had served during the Carter administration as the Department of State's Executive Secretary when Christopher was Deputy Secretary. Christopher later wrote that Tarnoff "served with great ability and dedication ... [and] skillfully handled some of the most delicate and difficult diplomatic assignments for the President and the State Department." (Christopher, *In the Stream of History* (1998), p. 39n)

Both Tarnoff and Pickering understood the importance of their leadership in department decision-making and in projecting U.S. political influence in world affairs. They did not have specific line authority, yet the regional bureaus looked to them for guidance. Because Pickering's previous assignment was as Ambassador to the United Nations, he also interacted frequently with the Bureau of International Organization Affairs and the New York office of UN Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. The incumbent served as the point person for all diplomatic crises. Pickering managed, for example, the process of transition to democracy in several countries—Colombia, Indonesia, Nigeria, Ukraine, and Peru—and key aspects of the crises in Kosovo and Sierra Leone.

Moreover, he oversaw the emergency evacuations of Americans in foreign crises and a working group on Afghanistan terrorism.

Counselor

The position of Counselor has no set portfolio, and traditionally Secretaries of State had given the incumbents different responsibilities. When Warren Christopher became Secretary of State, he appointed Tim Wirth, former Senator from Colorado, as his Counselor. After Wirth assumed the position of Under Secretary for Global Affairs in May 1994, Christopher chose not to fill the Counselor vacancy, although he considered moving Wendy Sherman from the position of Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs to Counselor before she left the administration in March 1996.

Ms. Sherman returned to the State Department as Counselor under Secretary Albright in September 1997. Ms. Sherman had extensive leadership experience in both the public and private sectors and had been active in the Democratic party. Calling her "an exceptionally valued adviser" (*In the Stream of History*, p. 179), Christopher had appreciated her consistently strong support as Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs in promoting the Department's position on budget issues ranging from funding of NAFTA, Russia and the New Independent States, arms control, and the Dayton accords.

As Counselor, Secretary Albright gave Wendy Sherman wide-ranging responsibilities. In addition to a continuing interest in budgetary questions, the major issues Ms. Sherman oversaw included Central America and the Middle East peace process. She also headed an interagency policy group on Cuba, which developed several initiatives to expand and streamline the people to people program with that country. Perhaps most noteworthy, she was a key adviser in reviewing the administration's policy toward North Korea. She traveled with former Defense Secretary William Perry to North Korea in May 1999 and subsequently was appointed Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State and the North Korea policy coordinator. She accompanied the Secretary in her historic trip to North Korea in October 2000. Beyond these efforts, Ms. Sherman saw virtually all the papers that came across Secretary Albright's desk. She assumed responsibility for keeping the Secretary focused on her priority goals and making sure issues did not fall between the cracks and were driven forward.

Policy Planning Staff

In the Clinton administration, Samuel W. Lewis served briefly as Director of Policy Planning (S/P), hoping to create the sort of policy planning staff that had existed under Secretary Kissinger. In 1993 and early 1994, the functions of speechwriting for the Secretary, and of analyzing the resource needs and implications of policy were separated from S/P and moved to PA/S and (S/RPP), respectively. This streamlining of S/P allowed its remaining staff to devote fuller attention to substantive policy and planning issues.

James B. Steinberg became Policy Planning Director in March 1994. Steinberg's background, combining experience both in government and with several leading think tanks, made him well suited for bridging the gap between the dual roles of policy formulation and planning. In the best tradition of S/P Directors, Steinberg enjoyed complete access to the Secretary of State, and instilled in S/P a reinvigorated sense of

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During Steinberg's tenure, S/P played a central role in both policy review and coordination, and in establishing several longer-range initiatives. It participated in the Dayton peace talks on Bosnia and helped set the U.S. agenda at G-7 and APEC Ministerial meetings. S/P also took the lead on reform of the United Nations, and helped to launch the Secretary's global environmental initiative.

Steinberg revived the tradition of meeting regularly with other governments' Policy Planning Staffs. S/P also co-sponsored seminars with outside organizations such as the Carnegie Commission on the Prevention of Deadly Conflict and the United States Institute of Peace on such issues as conflict prevention, sovereignty, and non-violent alternatives to secession.

Two Policy Planning Directors served during Secretary Albright's tenure. Gregory B. Craig, a prominent Washington defense attorney and former foreign policy aide to Senator Edward Kennedy, served from May 1997 to September 1998. During Mr. Craig's tenure, the Policy Planning Staff celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding and Mr. Craig convened a meeting of several of the former directors of Policy Planning, all of whom but one (Gerard Smith) were living at the time. Mr. Craig worked closely and traveled regularly with Secretary Albright. He and his staff focused on a range of issues, including working with the Deputy Secretary to formulate a strong U.S. response to the nuclear tests in India and Pakistan; developing a comprehensive energy policy toward the Caspian Basin; and developing an approach to Turkey that encompassed the full range of foreign policy concerns, including human rights. Mr. Craig also focused on Tibet, serving in the newly created position of Senior Coordinator. Alan D. Romberg continued to serve as Mr. Craig's principal deputy director.

Morton H. Halperin was Director of Policy Planning from December 1998 to January 2001. Mr. Halperin had served as Special Assistant to President Clinton and Senior Director for Democracy at the National Security Council. Mr. Halperin focused on a series of special projects of particular interest to Secretary Albright, including democracy promotion (the Community of Democracies and inauguration of the four

priority democracies), nuclear issues; a review of the way that the United States responds to humanitarian disasters overseas, and north-east Asian security. Mr. Halperin was also integrally involved in management of the Kosovo crisis and the crisis in East Timor. During this period the speechwriting office returned to S/P. In addition, S/P worked closely in ensuring the State Department budget matched the Secretary's priorities. In this regard, the S/P Director worked with S/RPP Director Anne Richard on preparing a series of budget briefings by the Assistant Secretaries for the Under Secretaries and the Secretary. James C. O'Brien served as the Principal Deputy Director until January 2000, and Lee A. Feinstein served as the Principal Deputy thereafter.