1977-1979  Steinberg works as a clerk to Judge David Bazelon in the U.S. Court of Appeals and as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation in the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. ("Biography of James B. Steinberg," U.S. National Archives and Records Administration)

1979-1980  Steinberg works as Special Assistant to the U.S. Assistant Attorney General

1981-1983  Steinberg serves as Minority Counsel to the U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.


1985-1987  Steinberg is named Senior Fellow of U.S. Strategic Policy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

1987-1988  Steinberg works as Senior Deputy Issues Director for foreign policy and national defense for the presidential campaign of Governor Michael Dukakis (D-MA).

1989-1993  Steinberg works as a Senior Analyst at the RAND Corporation.

1993  Steinberg is named Deputy Assistant Secretary for Analysis in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. (The New York Times, 06/12/2000)

1994

March  Steinberg is named Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff (Jerusalem Post, 03/09/1994)

The Clinton Administration signals a shift in its Russia policy, moving away from a "Russia-first" posture and warning Moscow to stop efforts to expand its influence in the region. Steinberg reportedly writes the paper outlining the shift. The paper gains support, particularly with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, in the wake of Russia's meddling in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. (Chicago Sun-Times, 03/28/1994)

Steinberg meets with Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Anthony Lake and other foreign policy officials to discuss the Administration's plan of action for NATO expansion in preparation for Clinton's upcoming trip to Warsaw. (The Washington Quarterly, Winter 1998)
June
Steinberg and Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott meet with Pentagon officials
to discuss the proposed military landing in Haiti. *(The Washington Post, 09/25/1994)*

July
The *New York Times* reports that Steinberg is aiding new Special Adviser to the
President and the Secretary of State David Gergen in his efforts to distract the
White House press corps from discussing Haiti policy during Clinton's trip to the
G-7 summit in Naples. Steinberg voluntarily offers the media a mid-air pre-
briefing on the summit agenda. *(The New York Times, 07/10/1994)*

October
Steinberg adds several noted experts on Asia and human rights to the Policy
Planning Staff. *(The Washington Post, 10/24/1994)*

1995

October
Steinberg outlines the Administration's new policy to look at environmental factors
in the analysis of the causes of war and threats to international security, especially in
Rwanda and Somalia. He states, "Now we're focusing more on internal factors that
can destabilize governments and lead to civil wars and ethnic strife. Now we're
paying much more attention to early warning factors, like famine and the
environment." In order to further this view, the Administration sets up a computer
information network called "Relief Net" so as to better share information between
aid organizations and government agencies. *(The New York Times, 10/05/1995)*

December
The Clinton Administration announces the deployment of 20,000 troops to Bosnia
as a means of implementing the Dayton Peace Accords. The Administration tries
to sell the deployment to the public through mass media such as radio talk shows
and internet chat rooms. Steinberg comments on the Administration's strategy for
radio talk shows, "It is absolutely essential that people understand that you are not
afraid to take on their questions, that you have got answers." *(The Washington
Post, 12/13/1995)*

1996

January
At the request of U.S. Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright, Steinberg
heads an interagency team to compose a paper outlining for the Clinton
Administration reasons to oust current UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-
Ghali and nominate UN Undersecretary General for Peacekeeping Kofi Annan as
an acceptable candidate for the position. *(The Washington Post, 01/07/1997)*

May
Secretary of State Warren Christopher names Steinberg to head a State
Department task force designed to emphasize environmental politics and policy.
The two main targets set by Christopher include a worldwide agreement to ban
pesticides known to be dangerous, and a "co-operative" with China aimed at
dealing with environmental degradation caused by growth. (*The Guardian*, 05/01/1996)

Steinberg is among a group of State Department officials to meet with Muslim and Croat leaders to create a joint military command under Bosnia's Muslim-Croat federation. This joint military command will aid in U.S. efforts to equip and train the federation's military forces. (*The Washington Post*, 05/15/1996)

**November**
Steinberg replaces Thomas Donilon as the State Department's Chief of Staff. (*The Washington Post*, 11/06/1996)

**December**
Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Samuel "Sandy" Berger replaces Anthony Lake as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Clinton names Steinberg and Brig. Gen. Donald Kerrick as Deputy Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs. (*Houston Chronicle*, 12/19/1996)

**1997**

**March**
Steinberg and Berger meet with top political officials in Northern Ireland, including Fianna Fail leader Bertie Ahern and Social Democratic and Labor Party leader John Hume, to gain perspective on the peace process in Northern Ireland: (*The Irish Times*, 03/14/1997)

Steinberg defends Clinton's decision to increase foreign visits during his second term, citing the current political climate. "There is a sort of chance that we have right now to lock in a foreign policy architecture for the 21st Century. There are only relatively rare moments in history when that sort of opportunity comes up," he states. (*The Washington Post*, 03/17/1997)

Clinton continues to push for an enlargement of NATO to include the nations of the former Warsaw Pact. Steinberg supports Clinton's goal by emphasizing the need to lay the framework of international relations for future generations "given this relatively tranquil moment in history." (*The Washington Post*, 05/22/1997)

The Clinton Administration reaches out to Iran's newly-elected moderate President Mohammad Khatami to encourage Iran to end all support for terrorism and opposition to the ongoing Middle East peace process. Clinton himself expresses hope that the U.S.'s estrangement with Iran could be lessened, but Steinberg reaffirms that the "next move is up to Iran." (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 05/29/1997)

**July**
The Clinton Administration begins an initiative to inject new energy into the peace process between the Israelis and Palestinians. Of the lack of progress in
recent months, Steinberg says, "There is a sense that too much time has passed with little movement." (Times-Picayune, 07/10/1997)

NATO includes the three nations recently invited to become members--Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland--in a security summit in Madrid. Steinberg, when asked about French reticence toward the invitations, expresses support for the new members. (St. Louis Dispatch, 07/10/1997)

Steinberg and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Susan Rice meet - with Gilbert Chagoury, a foreign businessman with close ties to Nigerian head of state General Sani Abacha, to discuss the dictator's policies on human rights, drugs and movements toward democracy. Steinberg says that this meeting was an "ideal way to get a clear message" to Abacha's regime, which has gained notoriety recently for its violations of human rights. (The Washington Post, 11/22/1997)

**September**

Steinberg and Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor John Shattuck meet with Tong Yi, an assistant to leading Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, to hear her case for Wei's release. Tong argues for Clinton to uphold his promise to support human rights in China by asking for Wei's release during next month's summit with Chinese President Jiang Zemin. (The Washington Post, 09/17/1997)

**October**

Clinton comes under pressure to address Argentine President Carlos Menem's actions in opposition of free press on his upcoming trip to Latin America. While in Argentina, Steinberg and Senior Adviser to the President Sidney Blumenthal meet with five Argentine journalists to learn more about Menem's violations of free press. (Sidney Blumenthal, The Clinton Wars, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003, p. 283)

**November**

Clinton begins to advocate for the continued presence of U.S. peacekeeping troops in Bosnia beyond the original June 1998 date for withdrawal. Clinton meets with congressional leaders to express his concerns about troop withdrawal. Steinberg says that there was general consensus during the meetings "that we don't want to see the war restart" by pulling out of Bosnia prematurely. (The Washington Post, 11/05/1997)

In advance of Clinton's meeting with Singapore's Premier, Goh Chok Tong, Steinberg says America's relations with Singapore are "a very important part of our presence in Southeast Asia" and that Singapore is instrumental as a "partner in our efforts to try to engage China" to be an active member of the Southeast Asian community. (South China Morning Post, 11/23/1997)

Iraqi officials argue that UN weapons inspectors should not have access to Saddam Hussein's presidential compounds and castles. Steinberg issues a statement saying that UN weapons inspectors have "clear authority" to investigate the presidential compounds. (The Toronto Star, 11/25/1997)
**December**  
Steinberg and Berger act as "referees" in meetings between the Administration and top security officials in the debate over whether to impose sanctions on foreign companies who contract with Iran in violation of American law. The law had been established to counter Iran's support of terrorism, their continued hindrance to the Middle East peace process, and their efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction.  
*The New York Times, 12/16/1997*

**1998**

**February**  
Clinton lays out his plan to both the Pentagon and the public for military action against Iraq if diplomatic measures on weapons inspections do not succeed. Steinberg advises the President to keep the American public informed as to the stakes in the weapons crisis with Saddam Hussein.  
*USA Today, 02/17/1998*

**March**  
The Administration tries to further the Northern Ireland peace process through St. Patrick's Day talks with Northern Ireland's top political leaders in Washington. Steinberg and Berger head the coordination of these talks between U.S. and Irish officials. Steinberg encourages the Northern Irish leaders "to look beyond short-term calculations...at the brighter future that's available to them."  
*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 03/17/1998; The Boston Globe, 03/18/1998*

**April**  
Chile commits troops to UN peacekeeping missions in Western Sahara and Bosnia. Steinberg highlights the commitment of troops as a "remarkable achievement" that "reflects not only the maturing democracy" but also the changed focus of Chilean military operations.  
*The Washington Post, 04/18/1998*

Northern Ireland leaders agree to the Good Friday Peace Accords, ending more than thirty years of violence. Clinton calls April 10th "one of the happiest days of my presidency."  
Steinberg travels to Europe to meet with Irish and British officials to further discuss the Northern Ireland peace process and the Good Friday Peace Accords.  
*(The Star-Ledger, 04/22/1998)*

**May**  
In response to continued economic freefall and violence in Indonesia, the Administration calls for political reform from President Suharto's government and continues its aid to the faltering economy. Steinberg states clearly that political change is necessary: "Unless there's confidence in the political situation in Indonesia, it's difficult to pursue economic reforms."  
*USA Today, 05/15/1998*

Steinberg travels with President Clinton to the G-8 conference in Birmingham, England.  
*(The Star-Ledger, 05/15/1998)*

India successfully completes five nuclear weapons tests. It is rumored that Pakistan will respond with nuclear tests of their own. Steinberg affirms that the U.S. is engaging in talks with Pakistan to prevent these tests and is "not prepared at this point to accept the idea that India would pursue a nuclear weapons program
as a fait accompli" in reference to India's nuclear tests. (*The Boston Globe*, 05/15/1998; *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 05/18/1998)

**June**

Steinberg flies to Beijing four days before the start of Clinton's tour of China in order to finalize progress on a "nuclear targeting plan" and an agreement on - missile technology exports. As a result of Steinberg's talks with Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Yang Jiechi, the two nations release a statement saying that China will "actively consider joining the missile accord." (*The New York Times*, 06/30/1998)

**August**

Terrorists detonate bombs at the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, leaving nearly 300 dead and nearly 5,000 injured. The attacks are attributed to Osama bin Laden, leader of the terrorist organization al-Qaeda. In response to the attacks, Clinton says, "We must see...that justice is done." (Blumenthal, p. 460)

Steinberg issues a statement in response to the resignation of Scott Ritter, head of the UN special disarmament panel in charge of Iraqi weapons investigations. Ritter accused the U.S. and the UN of being soft on Iraq even after its efforts to obstruct weapons investigations. Steinberg affirms U.S. policy but expresses disappointment at the loss of Ritter, "We believe what's going on is sound policy, I want to make clear that we think Scott Ritter has done a terrific job." (*The Washington Post*, 08/27/1998)

**September**

Clinton travels to Moscow and Ireland. In Northern Ireland the President meets with leaders of the new Northern Ireland Assembly. Clinton secures an agreement with David Trimble, leader of the Unionist Party and First Minister in the new Assembly, to meet with Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams. Steinberg expresses hope that the visit will be successful in its goal to "pay tribute to the courage and determination of the leaders and the people of Northern Ireland." (*Financial Times*, 09/02/1998; *The New York Times*, 09/04/1998)

In the midst of allegations of sexual impropriety with a former White House intern against Clinton, Steinberg affirms the support of the international community for Clinton. According to Steinberg, many foreign leaders have expressed "strong desire for sustained American leadership and their conviction that the President can provide that leadership." (*St Louis Post-Dispatch*, 09/03/1998)

**October**


*The Washington Post* reports that member nations may not support NATO threats to carry out air strikes on Yugoslavia in response to President Slobodan Milosevic's actions in Kosovo. Steinberg affirms the Administration's belief that "the threat of force is real." (*The Washington Post*, 10/27/1998)
December

The U.S. carries out air strikes against Iraq in response to its continued defiance of UN weapons inspectors. Steinberg plans the logistics of the attack with other national security officials in the week prior to the strikes. (The Washington Post, 12/17/1998)

1999

January

Serbian forces under the control of Milosevic massacre 45 ethnic Albanian civilians in the village of Racak. NATO condemns the act as a "flagrant violation of international humanitarian law" and holds Milosevic "personally responsible." Steinberg says the Administration is pleased with NATO's reactions: "We got everything we wanted." (The New York Times, 01/18/1999)

March

The Administration tries to salvage the Kosovo peace proposal through meetings with Milosevic and a contingent of ethnic Albanians. Steinberg meets with the National Albanian American Council in an attempt to secure its cooperation and influence in talks with ethnic Albanians. (The New York Times, 03/05/1999)

Clinton meets with leaders in Northern Ireland in an attempt to "reenergize" the peace accord which has recently stalled. Steinberg underscores the President's position that the parties "need to take account of what they have achieved, and not put that at risk by failing to sustain the momentum." (The Washington Post, 03/18/1999)

The large-scale Serbian movement of troops in Kosovo prompts Steinberg to warn President Milosevic that "if he continues to use massive repression against the people there, that NATO has the authority to act." (The Scotsman, 03/18/1999)

The Senate votes to approve plans for a long-range missile defense system for the United States. The Administration, at one time vehemently opposed to the system, lacks enough support in Congress to issue a veto. Steinberg defends what Senator John McCain (R-AZ) calls "one of the President's more propitious policy reversals" when he states that the Senate took an approach "consistent with the one the Administration has advocated." (The New York Times, 03/18/1999)

NATO launches a U.S.-backed offensive against Yugoslavia aimed at forcing Serbian forces out of Kosovo. (The Washington Post, 04/18/1999)

April

Clinton meets with Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji to discuss a wide range of issues including a trade deal that would lead to greater access to Chinese markets. Steinberg advises the President on his discussions of human rights and Kosovo policy with the Chinese Premier. (USA Today, 04/08/1999)

NATO announces that it is "prepared to suspend air strikes" once President Milosevic begins the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo. In response to accusations that NATO has softened its stance toward Milosevic, Steinberg defends the move, saying that the new language "toughened the NATO
June

The Yugoslav government agrees to a NATO-demanded settlement in Kosovo. (The Washington Post, 06/04/1999)

India ends all talks with Pakistan until Islamic rebels withdraw from the disputed region of Kashmir. Concerned with the nuclear capabilities of both India and Pakistan, Steinberg urges "all sides to exercise maximum restraint" and "to intensify their diplomatic contacts." (The Guardian, 06/16/1999)

In response to mounting tensions about Russian President Boris Yeltsin’s arrival to the G-8 conference in Cologne, Germany, Steinberg issues a statement highlighting the need for working relations with Russia: "There are many global challenges that can't effectively be addressed without Russia's participation." (Houston Chronicle, 06/20/1999)

July

Steinberg hosts a Serbian-American delegation to discuss their wishes for American support of democratic movements in Serbia seeking a regime change in Belgrade. (Plain Dealer, 07/10/1999)

October

Steinberg meets with two senior officials from India's Ministry of External Affairs to discuss the recent commitment from New Delhi to aid the U.S. in its efforts to capture terrorist leader Osama bin Laden. (Insight on the News, 10/04/1999)

2000

February

Steinberg visits Beijing and Tokyo as a part of a four-member U.S. delegation to discuss security affairs with high ranking Chinese and Japanese officials. In Beijing, the delegation highlights the importance of Chinese restraint towards Taiwan. In Japan, officials discuss concern over Japan's decision to cut the allotted funds for U.S. military forces stationed in Japan. (The Daily Yomiuri, 02/17/2000; The New York Times, 02/27/2000)

March

Steinberg, the Administration's "point man" on Northern Ireland, travels to the region to "lay the groundwork" for the annual White House St. Patrick's Day celebration and to discuss the recent suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly. Steinberg meets with members of Sinn Fein, the Social Democrat and Labor Party, the Ulster Unionist Party, and Northern Ireland Secretary Peter Mandelson. (Financial Times, 02/24/2000, 03/03/2000; The Irish Times, 03/08/2000)

April

The Clinton Administration reneges on its once strong support for Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe due to his Administration's recent increases in violence, limits on freedom, and pushes for confrontation. Steinberg meets with Morgan - Tsvangirai, Chairman of the Movement for Democratic Change, to
advocate the U.S.’s hope for a "peaceful de-escalation" in Zimbabwe. (*The New York Times*, 04/19/2000)

**May**
Steinberg and the Deputies Committee approve U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia Robert Gelbard and regional Commander-in-Chief Dennis Blair's plan for military reengagement in Indonesia. Steinberg comments that the plan will "give them an inducement to reform." (*The Washington Post*, 09/30/2000)

**July**
Steinberg chairs a meeting of the Deputies Committee to discuss the creation of the presidential envoy for AIDS, which will work to coordinate the U.S. effort against AIDS across government agencies. (*The Washington Post*, 07/19/2000)

Steinberg highlights Clinton's agenda for the G-8 conference to be held in Japan, focusing especially on Clinton's meeting with British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Russian President Vladimir Putin about the proposed U.S. missile defense system and its implications for "overall security." (*The New York Times*, 07/20/2000)

**August**
Steinberg leaves the Clinton Administration for the Markle Foundation. The Markle Foundation studies how the "wired world and emerging technologies" have an effect on national security and foreign policy. Lt. Gen. Donald Kerrick takes over Steinberg’s position at the White House. (*The Washington Post*, 06/09/2000)

**2001**

**January**
Steinberg travels to Northern Ireland as an adviser to President Clinton in a final attempt to "bolster the flagging peace process" before Clinton leaves office. Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams describes the negotiations as "constructive, intense, frank discussions." (*The Independent*, 01/17/2001; *The Irish Times*, 01/18/2001; *The Boston Herald*, 01/18/2001)
**JAMES B. STEINBERG SUGGESTED TOPICS**

*Prepared by Maude Carr*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/10/2007*

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**Joining the Administration**

- How did you first come into the Clinton orbit? Describe your first meeting with Bill Clinton. What were your early impressions of him?
- How did you come to leave RAND and join the Clinton Administration? Continent on your appointment to the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research.
- Describe your initial position within the State Department. How did it lead to your appointment as Director of Policy Planning?

**Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff**

- Discuss your role and responsibilities within the State Department. How was the State Department organized under Warren Christopher? Describe your relationship with Christopher.
- Describe your role as director of policy planning. What issues most occupied your time? How did you organize and operate within the policy planning department?
- Explain the policy planning department's role in the analysis, creation and implementation of policy. With whom did you work most closely? Comment on the department's relationship with the White House.
- Elaborate on the role the policy planning department played in foreign policy (i.e. in Haiti, - Russia, Bosnia, Ireland, Iraq) during Clinton's first term. Discuss the importance of economic affairs in the Clinton foreign policy (i.e. engagement with China, promotion of global free trade, Mexican bailout, etc.). Discuss the Administration's efforts in confronting issues of global security such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation and drug trafficking.
- To what extent were you involved in the 1996 campaign and election?
- Describe your appointment and time as State Department Chief of Staff.

**Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs**

- Discuss your appointment as deputy national security advisor. Comment on your transition from the State Department to the White House,
- Describe your role as deputy national security advisor. What issues most occupied your time? Discuss your meetings with the Deputies Committee and the Interagency Working Groups. Comment on your work for Clinton on the G-8 summits and Northern Ireland.
- How was the National Security Council organized under Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Sandy Berger? Describe any differences there were in the National Security Council's organization from Clinton's first to second term. Discuss how the presence of the National Economic Council affected your work.

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• Discuss the National Security Council's interaction with major White House offices (Legislative Affairs, Communications, Political Affairs, Management and Budget, etc.) and executive departments (State, Defense, Justice, CIA, etc.).
• With whom did you work most closely on the Clinton foreign policy team during the second term? Describe your relationship with Berger and assess his strengths and weaknesses as national security advisor. Evaluate your relationship with other senior officials on the foreign policy team and with key members of the White House staff (i.e. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Secretary of Defense William Cohen etc.).
• Discuss your interactions with Congress. What issues and events proved most contentious? With whom did you work most closely on the Hill? Which members proved to be most difficult for you to work with?
• Which foreign policy issues engaged President Clinton the most? Did Clinton's attention to foreign policy change as his presidency progressed? Comment on Clinton's negotiating skills, particularly in dealing with China, Russia, Northern Ireland, and the Middle East. Describe his decision-making style in deciding on military action in Iraq and Kosovo.
• Discuss your decision to leave the Administration. Describe your interactions with the White House for the remainder of the Clinton Presidency.

The Clinton Presidency in Retrospect
• What do you consider your greatest accomplishments during the Clinton Administration first as chief of policy planning and then as deputy national security advisor?
• What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Clinton Administration in the realm of foreign affairs? How would you rate the president as a strategic thinker?
• What features of the Clinton Administration were missed or misunderstood by the press?
• Comment on President Clinton as a foreign policy leader, a popular leader and a legislative leader.
• How should the Clinton Administration be viewed by future historians? What is the legacy of President Clinton's foreign policy?
• Evaluate President Clinton as a world leader. How did foreign diplomats and heads of state view Clinton? Were there any common misconceptions?
TIMELINES

• James B. Steinberg News Timeline, prepared by Mamie Carr, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/20/2007.

• Timeline of the Clinton Presidency, prepared by Robbie Robinson, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/30/2002.

• James B. Steinberg, "Policy and Principles: The Clinton Administration's Approach," 01/24/1996, New York City, in United States Department of State Dispatch, v.7, no.6, 02/05/1996.


• James B. Steinberg, "Remarks at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs," 11/01/1997, Harvard University.

• James B. Steinberg, "Remarks before European Institute," 01/15/1998, Washington, DC.

• James B. Steinberg, "A Perfect Polemic; Blind to Reality on Kosovo," Foreign Affairs, November-December 1999.

DIRECTOR OF POLICY PLANNING OFFICE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Policy Planning Office at the State Department


Director of Policy Planning Office at the State Department

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

**Organization of the Clinton Administration NSC**

- "Organization of the National Security Council," PDD 2, 01/20/1993.


**Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs**


KEY NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES DURING THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

**Haiti**

**Bosnia**

**Iraq**

**Russia and NATO Expansion**

**Kosovo**

**Ireland**

**Pakistan and India**