

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

[Iraq]-"Operation Desert Fox" (Battle Damage Assessment)

Staff Office-Individual:

Office of the National Security Advisor-Steinberg, James

Original OA/ID Number:

1473

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
30	5	11	2	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: Operation Desert Fox Battle Damage Assessment (121 pages)	12/19/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Office of the National Security Advisor (Steinberg, James)
OA/Box Number: 1473

FOLDER TITLE:

[Iraq]-Operation Desert Fox (Battle Damage Assessment)

2013-0872-M

rs957

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: Operation Desert Fox Battle Damage Assessment (121 pages)	12/19/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Office of the National Security Advisor (Steinberg, James)
OA/Box Number: 1473

FOLDER TITLE:

[Iraq]-Operation Desert Fox (Battle Damage Assessment)

2013-0872-M
rs957

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 43325				
Document ID: 9808110				
Row: 50	Section: 2	Shelf: 10	Position: 3	Stack: v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Samuel Berger to POTUS re: Update on Iraq: The Next Several Weeks (3 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 2/5/2020</i>	12/04/1998	P1/b(1)
001b. list	re: Timeline (2 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1) <i>KBH 2/5/2020</i>
001c. memo	Berger to POTUS re: Update on Iraq: The Next Several Weeks (5 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 2/5/2020</i>	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)
001d. list	[Duplicate of 001b] (2 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1) <i>KBH 2/5/2020</i>
001e. memo	[Duplicate of 001c] (5 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)
001f. list	[Duplicate of 001b] (2 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1) <i>KBH 2/5/2020</i>
001g. memo	[Duplicate of 001c] (5 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 2/5/2020</i>	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)
001h. memo	[Duplicate of 001c...incomplete copy] (2 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 2/5/2020</i>	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)
001i. memo	[Duplicate of 001c] (5 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808110

2013-0872-M
rs956

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 04 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ

LIMITED ACCESS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON IRAQ -- LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 08 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RIEDEL

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
NSC CHRON
RIEDEL

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-M

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP CLOSED BY: NSVJD DOC 2 OF 2

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER
002 PRESIDENT
002

Z 98120312 FOR INFORMATION
Z 98120410 FOR INFORMATION
X 98120710 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Samuel Berger to POTUS re: Update on Iraq: The Next Several Weeks [partial] (3 pages)	12/04/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808110

2013-0872-M
rs956

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

8110
LIMITED ACCESS

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-4-98

2013-0872-M [1.46]

December 4, 1998

KBH 9/9/2019

'98 DEC 4 AM 9:28

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT: Update on Iraq: The Next Several Weeks

UNSCOM Chairman Butler has decided to conduct a series of no-notice challenge inspections in Iraq beginning on December 9th and concluding on the 13th. He plans to conduct the entire series before making any final conclusions about the degree of Iraqi cooperation, even if he is blocked at one site. We cannot predict with confidence whether Saddam will block inspections, but there are three possible outcomes:

-- None are blocked and Butler then informs the Council that there has been sufficient Iraqi cooperation with UNSCOM to allow the comprehensive review to begin.

-- All or most are blocked, in which case Butler will report UNSCOM cannot do its job

EO 13526 1.4d

-- One or two are blocked and we must deal with a much more ambiguous situation in which the basis for military action will be uncertain.

No Blocked Inspections

In this case Butler is all but certain to inform the Security Council that while Iraq has not satisfied all of his requests (indeed it has turned over only one of the documents he requested so far), there is sufficient cooperation on the ground with monitoring and inspections to certify that the comprehensive review of Iraqi compliance by the Security Council (probably by early January).

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify On: 12/02/08

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff
PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

~~TOP SECRET~~
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Barring a fundamental change in Iraqi behavior, the review will not satisfy Saddam's desire for early lifting of sanctions and we can anticipate a crisis with Iraq early in the new year.

Multiple Blocked Inspections

This is probably the least likely outcome but the one that requires us to be most prepared. If Saddam blocks several inspections, it would be clear to all that UNSCOM cannot do its job and that the commitments Saddam made on November 14-15 were worthless.

EO 13526 1.4d

Other open questions are when and how to inform the Security Council [redacted 1.4(d)] and how to evacuate non-UNSCOM UN personnel (particularly the three American [redacted 1.4(d)])

One or Two Blocked Inspections

This is the trickiest and in my judgement most likely scenario. You would have basically two options:

EO 13526 1.4d

-- Block the comprehensive review, [redacted EO 13526 1.4d]

EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted] will try to develop some excuse for Saddam's behavior to prevent our use of force.

Our argument for action would have to go beyond the blocked inspection and point to the documents and intelligence on their destruction. We would point out the pattern of Iraqi behavior since 1991 and the repeated "yesses" that were unfulfilled. This will be a tough sell and we can expect considerable international resistance [redacted EO 13526 1.4d] Of course, we

would be under considerable domestic pressure in the other direction.

The alternative would be to use the blocked inspection(s), the document episode and the pattern of behavior to stall or block Council commencement of the comprehensive review. [redacted]

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4d [redacted]

[redacted] It will be important to get the IAEA and some other members of the Security Council were also on board. This means a concerted diplomatic push almost immediately after the inspection is blocked.

While we will have to adjust our strategy to deal with the particulars of the actual blocked inspection, we would like to reach some consensus well in advance of which approach we need to take.

Attachment
Tab A Iraq Timeline

IRAQ LOOK AHEAD <> December 1998

~~TOP SECRET~~

POTUS Events

SRB/JS Events

VP/FLOTUS/Cabinet Activities

Congressional Events

Other Events

Sunday

Monday

Tuesday

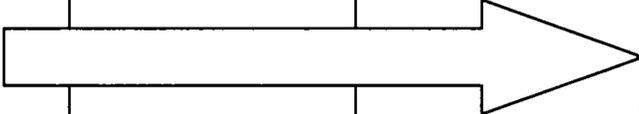
Wednesday

Thursday

Friday

Saturday

<p>6</p> <p>Steinberg: In London for Sherpa Meetings</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>MidEast: Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Summit, Abu Dhabi (Dec 7-9)</p>	<p>8</p> <p>Berger: Speech at Stanford</p> <p>Albright: In Brussels</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>Israel: U.S.-Israel Joint Economic Development Group (JEDG), Israel</p>	<p>9</p> <p>Albright: In Brussels and Lyon</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections begin</p>	<p>10</p> <p>Albright: In Paris</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p>	<p>11</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p>	<p>12</p> <p>POTUS in Israel</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p> <p style="text-align: right;">POTUS RON Jerusalem</p>
<p>13</p> <p>POTUS in Israel</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections end</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">FIRST NIGHT OF HANNUKAH</p>	<p>14</p> <p>POTUS in Gaza/PNC</p> <p>POTUS decision to strike</p> <p>Albright: In Gaza/PNC</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p> <p>UNSCOM team departs Iraq</p> <p>Israel warned</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">POTUS RON Jerusalem</p>	<p>15</p> <p>POTUS in Israel/West Bank</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p> <p>Talbott: In Madrid (Dec 15-16)</p> <p>Rest of UNSCOM/UN team depart Iraq</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">POTUS RON TBD (T)</p>	<p>16</p> <p>Cohen: In Brussels</p> <p>POTUS final call to Blair</p> <p>POTUS call to Annan/Abdullah</p> <p>POTUS calls to Lott, Daschle, Gingrich, Gephardt, Livingston</p> <p>State decision on ordered departure</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NIGHT STRIKE</p>	<p>17</p> <p>Cohen: In Brussels</p>	<p>18</p> <p>U.S.-EU Summit</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p>	<p>19</p>
<p>20</p> <p>Ramadan begins</p>	<p>21</p> <p>Pan Am 103 Anniversary Event at Arlington Cemetery</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>23</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>24</p> <p>Phone Call to Troops</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>25</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">CHRISTMAS</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>26</p> <p style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>



~~TOP SECRET~~

As of 12/03/98

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
 2013-0872-M (1.47)
 KBH 9/9/2019

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001c. memo	Berger to POTUS re: Update on Iraq: The Next Several Weeks [partial] (4 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808110

2013-0872-M

rs956

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 3, 1998

2013-0872-M [1.48]

KBH 9/9/2019

WWD - New Copy for the File

2150

12-3-98

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT: Update on Iraq: The Next Several Weeks

UNSCOM Chairman Butler has decided to conduct a series of no-notice challenge inspections in Iraq beginning on December 9th and concluding on the 13th. The inspection team would depart Iraq on the 14th. He has told us that he plans to conduct the entire series before making any final conclusions about the degree of Iraqi cooperation. He will not abort the series if he is blocked at one site.

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

By definition, however, the decision whether to block an inspection is solely Saddam's and we cannot predict with confidence what he will do.

There are three possible outcomes to these inspections:

-- None are blocked and Butler then informs the Council that there has been sufficient Iraqi cooperation with UNSCOM to allow the comprehensive review to begin.

-- All or most are blocked, in which case Butler will report UNSCOM cannot do its job and the door will be open for use of force.

-- One or two are blocked and we must deal with a much more ambiguous situation in which the basis for military action will be uncertain.

No Blocked Inspections

In this case Butler is all but certain to inform the Security Council by mid-December that while Iraq has not satisfied all of his requests (indeed it has turned over only one of the

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify On: 12/02/08

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

documents he requested so far), there is sufficient cooperation on the ground with monitoring and inspections to certify that the comprehensive review of Iraqi compliance by the Security Council should go forward. We would expect the Council to ask for reports from UNSCOM, the IAEA and other relevant agencies to be prepared and for the review itself to take place in early January.

Barring a fundamental change in Iraqi behavior, the review will not satisfy Saddam's desire for early lifting of sanctions and

EO 13526 1.4d

There is a good chance that Saddam would shut down UNSCOM activities along the same lines he did in his August 5th and October 31st decisions.

EO 13526 1.4d

Multiple Blocked Inspections

This is probably the least likely outcome but the one that requires us to be most prepared. If Saddam blocked several inspections, it would be clear to all that UNSCOM cannot do its job and that the commitments Saddam made on November 14-15 were worthless.

Should this be the case

EO 13526 1.4d

It would be very damaging to our position in the Arab world if it appears you ordered a strike while in Israel.

EO 13526 1.4d

We do not see an advantage in doing advance consultations with most allies in this scenario. It will be obvious to all that Saddam had failed to live up to his commitments. The December 7-9 GCC summit probably will have repeated the Doha formula (Iraq is solely responsible for any crisis if it does not cooperate) and set the necessary stage in the Gulf. Madeleine briefed the GCC Foreign Ministers on this scenario in general terms on Monday.

EO 13526 1.4d

Other allies and Kofi would be informed

EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

We would need to decide when Butler should (a) evacuate the rest of UNSCOM and (b) report to the Council. EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

Butler will almost certainly agree. EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

Last time we also warned other UN personnel in Iraq that they would be at risk and Kofi evacuated most of them. Their evacuation will take longer than 24 hours. There are three Americans EO 13526 1.4d in this UN group. Principals need to recognize there is considerable likelihood these individuals would still be in Iraqi territory EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

We would also need to make a decision on the degree of risk we are willing to take on Kuwait. EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

Finally, we should review briefly our planned 'day after' posture. It would consist of:

- Drawing the three redlines (no reconstitution of WMD, no move against the neighbors and no move on the Kurds),
- Keeping sanctions in place,
- Supporting the opposition.

Since we have already done the pivot calling for Saddam's replacement, there will not be any significant change in our declaratory posture.

One or Two Blocked Inspections

This is the trickiest and in my judgement most likely scenario. For planning purposes the military preparations we would do for scenario two also prepare us for this scenario. You would have basically two options:

EO 13526 1.4d

-- Block the comprehensive review, probably precipitating an Iraqi move to expel UNSCOM and then use of force.

EO 13526 1.4d

Depending on when in Butler's series this happens, the gap will be between four to eight days.

EO 13526 1.4d

They will produce some "yes" from Saddam.

Our argument for action would have to go beyond the blocked inspection. We would point to the documents and reveal the intelligence about the destruction of other documents. We would point out the pattern of Iraqi behavior since 1991 and the repeated "yeses" that were unfulfilled.

You should have no doubt that it would be a tough sell and we can expect considerable international resistance to the use of force. Of course, we would be under considerable domestic pressure in the other direction.

The alternative would be to use the blocked inspection(s), the document episode and the pattern of behavior to stall or block Council commencement of the comprehensive review. Butler would have to agree to give us a legal pretext so consultations with him would be critical. His role is crucial. If he says even one blocked inspection means insufficient cooperation,

EO 13526 1.4d Without him calling a blockage non-cooperation, EO 13526 1.4d

It would be advantageous if the IAEA and some other members of the Security Council were also on board. This means a concerted diplomatic push almost immediately after the inspection is blocked.

While we will have to adjust our strategy to deal with the particulars of the actual blocked inspection, we would like to reach some consensus well in advance of which approach we need to take.

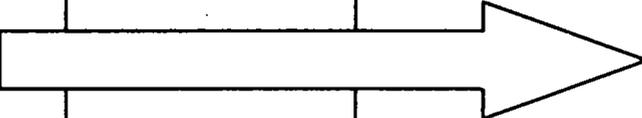
Attachment
Tab A Iraq Timeline

IRAQ LOOK AHEAD <> December 1998

TOP SECRET

POTUS Events SRB/JS Events VP/FLOTUS/Cabinet Activities Congressional Events Other Events

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
<p>6</p> <p>Steinberg: In London for Sherpa Meetings</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>MidEast: Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Summit, Abu Dhabi (Dec 7-9)</p>	<p>8</p> <p>Berger: Speech at Stanford</p> <p>Albright: In Brussels</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>Israel: U.S.-Israel Joint Economic Development Group (JEDG), Israel</p> <p>B</p>	<p>9</p> <p>Albright: In Brussels and Lyon</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections begin</p>	<p>10</p> <p>Albright: In Paris</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p>	<p>11</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p>	<p>12</p> <p>POTUS in Israel</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p> <p style="text-align: right;">POTUS ROV</p>
<p>13</p> <p>POTUS in Israel</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections end</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FIRST NIGHT OF SHABAT</p>	<p>14</p> <p>POTUS in Gaza/PNC</p> <p>POTUS decision to strike</p> <p>Albright: In Gaza/PNC</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p> <p>UNSCOM team departs Iraq</p> <p>Israel warned</p> <p style="text-align: center;">POTUS ROV</p>	<p>15</p> <p>POTUS in Israel/West Bank</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p> <p>Talbot: In Madrid (Dec 15-16)</p> <p>Rest of UNSCOM/UN team depart Iraq</p> <p style="text-align: center;">POTUS ROV</p>	<p>16</p> <p>Cohen: In Brussels</p> <p>POTUS final call to Blair</p> <p>POTUS call to Annan/Abdullah</p> <p>POTUS calls to Lott, Daschle, Gingrich, Gephardt, Livingston</p> <p>State decision on ordered departure</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NIGHT STRIKE</p>	<p>17</p> <p>Cohen: In Brussels</p>	<p>18</p> <p>U.S.-EU Summit</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p>	<p>19</p>
<p>20</p> <p>Ramadan begins</p>	<p>21</p> <p>Pan Am 103 Anniversary Event at Arlington Cemetery</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>23</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>24</p> <p>Phone Call to Troops</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>25</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHRISTMAS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>26</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>



TOP SECRET

As of 12/03/98

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
 2013-0872-M (1.51)
 KBH 9/9/2019

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001e. memo	[Duplicate of 001c] (5 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808110

2013-0872-M
rs956

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

IRAQ LOOK AHEAD <> December 1998

~~TOP SECRET~~

POTUS Events

SRB/JS Events

VP/FLOTUS/Cabinet Activities

Congressional Events

Other Events

Sunday

Monday

Tuesday

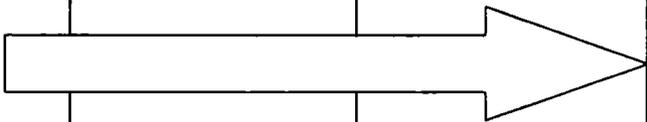
Wednesday

Thursday

Friday

Saturday

<p>6</p> <p>Steinberg: In London for Sherpa Meetings</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>MidEast: Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Summit, Abu Dhabi (Dec 7-9)</p>	<p>8</p> <p>Berger: Speech at Stanford</p> <p>Albright: In Brussels</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>Israel: U.S.-Israel Joint Economic Development Group (JEDG), Israel</p>	<p>9</p> <p>Albright: In Brussels and Lyon</p> <p>Shalala: In Lebanon (T)</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections begin</p>	<p>10</p> <p>Albright: In Paris</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p>	<p>11</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p>	<p>12</p> <p>POTUS in Israel</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections</p> <p style="text-align: right;">POTUS RON Jerusalem</p>
<p>13</p> <p>POTUS in Israel</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Intrusive UNSCOM inspections end</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FIRST NIGHT OF HANNUKAH</p>	<p>14</p> <p>POTUS in Gaza/PNC</p> <p>POTUS decision to strike</p> <p>Albright: In Gaza/PNC</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p> <p>UNSCOM team departs Iraq</p> <p>Israel warned</p> <p style="text-align: center;">POTUS RON Jerusalem</p>	<p>15</p> <p>POTUS in Israel/West Bank</p> <p>Albright: In Israel</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p> <p>Talbott: In Madrid (Dec 15-16)</p> <p>Rest of UNSCOM/UN team depart Iraq</p> <p style="text-align: center;">POTUS RON TRD (S)</p>	<p>16</p> <p>Cohen: In Brussels</p> <p>POTUS final call to Blair</p> <p>POTUS call to Annan/Abdullah</p> <p>POTUS calls to Lott, Daschle, Gingrich, Gephardt, Livingston</p> <p>State decision on ordered departure</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NIGHT STRIKE</p>	<p>17</p> <p>Cohen: In Brussels</p>	<p>18</p> <p>U.S.-EU Summit</p> <p>Cohen: In Germany</p>	<p>19</p>
<p>20</p> <p>Ramadan begins</p>	<p>21</p> <p>Pan Am 103 Anniversary Event at Arlington Cemetery</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>23</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>24</p> <p>Phone Call to Troops</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>25</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHRISTMAS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>	<p>26</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hold for POTUS Vacation</p>



~~TOP SECRET~~

As of 12/03/98

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
 2013-0872-M (1.55)
 KBH 9/9/2019

IRAQ LOOK AHEAD <> December/January 1998-1999

~~TOP SECRET~~

POTUS Events SRB/JS Events VP/FLOTUS/Cabinet Activities Congressional Events Other Events

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
27	28	29	30	31	1 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">New Year's Day</div>	2
Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation
3	4	5	6 House and Senate Convene	7	8 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">POTUS in Texarkana, TX & Little Rock, AR RON Little Rock, AR (T)</div>	9 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">POTUS in Little Rock, AR RON Little Rock, AR (T)</div>
Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation	Hold for POTUS Vacation				
10	11 Argentina: State Visit of Pres Menem (T)	12	13	14	15	<u>LOOKING-AHEAD</u> January 19: State of the Union Address January 26: Greet Pope in St. Louis January 27: CINC's Dinner
POTUS in Little Rock, AR (T) RON DC						

~~TOP SECRET~~

As of 12/03/98

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 04 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ

LIMITED ACCESS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON IRAQ -- LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: ORIGINAL EDITS RETURNED TO NSC/RMO DUE DATE: 08 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RIEDEL

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
NSC CHRON
RIEDEL

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017

By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-17

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

CLOSED BY: NSVJD

DOC 2 OF 2

~~TOP SECRET~~
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9808110

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER
002 PRESIDENT
002
002

Z 98120312 FOR INFORMATION
Z 98120410 FOR INFORMATION
X 98120710 NOTED BY PRESIDENT
X 99012512 ORIGINAL EDITS RETURNED TO NSC/RMO

~~TOP SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001g. memo	[Duplicate of 001c] [partial] (4 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808110

2013-0872-M
rs956

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TOP SECRET

LIMITED ACCESS 8110
REDO

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2013-0872-M [1.56]

December 3, 1998

KBH 9/9/2019

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER *SRB*

SUBJECT: Update on Iraq: The Next Several Weeks

UNSCOM Chairman Butler has decided to conduct a series of no-notice challenge inspections in Iraq beginning on December 9th and concluding on the 13th. The inspection team would depart Iraq on the 14th. He has told us that he plans to conduct the entire series before making any final conclusions about the degree of Iraqi cooperation. He will not abort the series if he is blocked at one site. EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d
By definition, however, the decision whether to block an inspection is solely Saddam's and we cannot predict with confidence what he will do.

There are three possible outcomes to these inspections:

- None are blocked and Butler then informs the Council that there has been sufficient Iraqi cooperation with UNSCOM to allow the comprehensive review to begin.
- All or most are blocked, in which case Butler will report UNSCOM cannot do its job and the door will be open for use of force.
- One or two are blocked and we must deal with a much more ambiguous situation in which the basis for military action will be uncertain.

No Blocked Inspections

In this case Butler is all but certain to inform the Security Council by mid-December that while Iraq has not satisfied all of his requests (indeed it has turned over only one of the

TOP SECRET

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)
Declassify On: 12/02/08

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

documents he requested so far), there is sufficient cooperation on the ground with monitoring and inspections to certify that the comprehensive review of Iraqi compliance by the Security Council should go forward. We would expect the Council to ask for reports from UNSCOM, the IAEA and other relevant agencies to be prepared and for the review itself to take place in early January.

Barring a fundamental change in Iraqi behavior, the review will not satisfy Saddam's desire for early lifting of sanctions and

E.O. 12958 1.4(d)

There is a good chance that Saddam would shut down UNSCOM activities along the same lines he did in his August 5th and October 31st decisions.

EO 13526 1.4d

Multiple Blocked Inspections

This is probably the least likely outcome but the one that requires us to be most prepared. If Saddam blocked several inspections, it would be clear to all that UNSCOM cannot do its job and that the commitments Saddam made on November 14-15 were worthless.

Should this be the case

EO 13526 1.4d

It would be very damaging to our position in the Arab world if it appears you ordered a strike while in Israel.

EO 13526 1.4d

We do not see an advantage in doing advance consultations with most allies in this scenario. It will be obvious to all that Saddam had failed to live up to his commitments. The December 7-9 GCC summit probably will have repeated the Doha formula (Iraq is solely responsible for any crisis if it does not cooperate) and set the necessary stage in the Gulf. Madeleine briefed the GCC Foreign Ministers on this scenario in general terms on Monday.

EO 13526 1.4d

Other allies and Kofi would be informed

EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

We would need to decide when Butler should (a) evacuate the rest of UNSCOM and (b) report to the Council. EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

Butler will almost certainly agree. EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

Last time we also warned other UN personnel in Iraq that they would be at risk and Kofi evacuated most of them. Their evacuation will take longer than 24 hours. There are three Americans EO 13526 1.4d in this UN group. Principals need to recognize there is considerable likelihood these individuals would still be in Iraqi territory EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

We would also need to make a decision on the degree of risk we are willing to take on Kuwait. EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

Finally, we should review briefly our planned 'day after' posture. It would consist of:

- Drawing the three redlines (no reconstitution of WMD, no move against the neighbors and no move on the Kurds),
- Keeping sanctions in place,
- Supporting the opposition.

Since we have already done the pivot calling for Saddam's replacement, there will not be any significant change in our declaratory posture.

One or Two Blocked Inspections

This is the trickiest and in my judgement most likely scenario. For planning purposes the military preparations we would do for scenario two also prepare us for this scenario. You would have basically two options:

EO 13526 1.4d

-- Block the comprehensive review, probably precipitating an Iraqi move to expel UNSCOM and then use of force.

EO 13526 1.4d

Depending on when in Butler's series this happens, the gap will be between four to eight days.

EO 13526 1.4d

They will produce some "yes" from Saddam.

Our argument for action would have to go beyond the blocked inspection. We would point to the documents and reveal the intelligence about the destruction of other documents. We would point out the pattern of Iraqi behavior since 1991 and the repeated "yeses" that were unfulfilled.

You should have no doubt that it would be a tough sell and we can expect considerable international resistance to the use of force. Of course, we would be under considerable domestic pressure in the other direction.

The alternative would be to use the blocked inspection(s), the document episode and the pattern of behavior to stall or block Council commencement of the comprehensive review. Butler would have to agree to give us a legal pretext so consultations with him would be critical. His role is crucial. If he says even one blocked inspection means insufficient cooperation,

EO 13526 1.4d

Without him calling a blockage non-cooperation, EO 13526 1.4d

It would be advantageous if the IAEA and some other members of the Security Council were also on board. This means a concerted diplomatic push almost immediately after the inspection is blocked.

While we will have to adjust our strategy to deal with the particulars of the actual blocked inspection, we would like to reach some consensus well in advance of which approach we need to take.

Attachment

Tab A Iraq Timeline

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001h. memo	[Duplicate of 001c...incomplete copy] [partial] (2 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808110

2013-0872-M
rs956

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

EO 13526 1.4d

We would need to decide when Butler should (a) evacuate the rest of UNSCOM and (b) report to the Council. EO 13526 1.4d

Butler will

almost certainly agree. EO 13526 1.4d

Last time we also warned other UN personnel in Iraq that they would be at risk and Kofi evacuated most of them. Their evacuation will take longer than 24 hours. There are three Americans EO 13526 1.4d in this UN group. ~~Principals~~ *We* need to recognize there is considerable likelihood these individuals would still be in Iraqi territory EO 13526 1.4d

We would also need to ^{*we*} ~~have~~ ~~Principals~~ make a decision on the degree of risk ~~they~~ are willing to take on Kuwait.

EO 13526 1.4d

Finally, we should review briefly our planned 'day after' posture. It would consist of:

- Drawing the three redlines (no reconstitution of WMD, no move against the neighbors and no move on the Kurds),
- Keeping sanctions in place,
- Supporting the opposition.

Since we have already done the pivot ~~to~~ calling for Saddam's replacement, there will not be any significant change in our declaratory posture.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

One or Two Blocked Inspections

This is the trickiest and in my judgement most likely scenario. For planning purposes the military preparations we would do for scenario two also prepare us for this scenario. You would have basically two options:

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

-- Block the comprehensive review, probably precipitating an Iraqi move to expel UNSCOM and then use of force.

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted] Depending on when in Butler's series this happens, the gap will be between four to eight days. [redacted]

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted] They will produce some "yes" from Saddam.

intelligence
Our argument for action would have to go beyond the blocked inspection. We would point to the documents and reveal the [redacted] 1.4(c) about the destruction of other documents. We would point out the pattern of Iraqi behavior since 1991 and the repeated "yesses" that were unfulfilled.

You should have no doubt that it would be a tough sell and we can expect considerable international resistance to the use of force. Of course, we would be under considerable domestic pressure in the other direction.

The alternative would be to use the blocked inspection(s), the document episode and the pattern of behavior to stall or block Council commencement of the comprehensive review. Butler would have to agree to give us a legal pretext so consultations with him would be critical. His role is crucial. If he says even one blocked inspection means insufficient cooperation, [redacted]

[redacted] E.O. 12958 1.4(d) Without him calling a blockage non-cooperation, [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted] It would be advantageous if the IAEA and some other members of the Security Council were also on board. This means a concerted diplomatic push almost immediately after the inspection is blocked.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001i. memo	[Duplicate of 001c] (5 pages)	12/03/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808110

2013-0872-M
rs956

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 0110 LAC
DATE 12-4-90

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON IDAQ
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION:

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION: _____ DATE _____ TIME _____ SIGNATURE _____

ADDRESSEE A MR. FUERTZ
OVP

PRINT LAST NAME: _____
COPY: 1

ADDRESSEE B MR. PODERA
COS

PRINT LAST NAME: _____
COPY: 1

ADDRESSEE C _____

PRINT LAST NAME: _____
COPY: _____

ADDRESSEE D _____

PRINT LAST NAME: _____
COPY: _____

ADDRESSEE E _____

PRINT LAST NAME: _____
COPY: _____

ADDRESSEE F _____

PRINT LAST NAME: _____
COPY: _____

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 379 OEOB
PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: RS Date: 9/20/2019
2013-0872-11

Case Number: 2013-0872-M

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 43325				
Document ID: 9808388				
Row: 50	Section: 2	Shelf: 10	Position: 3	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	From Samuel Berger re: Telephone Calls with Prime Minister Tony Blair and Crown Prince Abdullah (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to Prime Minister Blair (1 page)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001c. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to Crown Prince Abdullah (2 pages)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001d. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Calls to Congressional Leaders (2 pages)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001e. talking points	[Duplicate of 001c] (2 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001f. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001g. talking points	[Duplicate of 001i] (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001h. talking points	[Duplicate of 001d] (2 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001i. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to Prime Minister Netanyahu (1 page)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001j. talking points	[Duplicate of 001c] (2 pages)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001k. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808388

2013-0872-M
rs955

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001l. talking points	[Duplicate of 001c] (2 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001m. talking points	[Duplicate of 001d] (2 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001n. talking points	[Duplicate of 001i] (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001o. talking points	[Duplicate of 001d] (2 pages)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808388

2013-0872-M
rs955

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 16 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
LIMITED ACCESS

TELCALL

PERSONS: BLAIR, TONY

ABDULLAH BIN AHMAD BADAWI

SUBJECT: TELCALLS RE IRAQ -- LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 21 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: MARTY

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MARTY
NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 5/20/2019
2013-0872-M

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK

CLOSED BY: NSVJD

DOC 2 OF 2

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER
002 PRESIDENT
002

Z 98121514 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION
Z 98121608 FOR INFORMATION
X 98122114 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

National Security Council
The White House

12/15
255

LAC

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 03000
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM (PRS) NSC INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG (B) A/O _____

TMS

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	<u>1</u>	<u>1/4c</u> <u>12/15</u>	
Rice			
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>Copy</u> ✓		
Steinberg	<u>2</u>		<u>done</u>
Berger			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk			
Records Mgt.			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS: POTUS Telcalls to Blair et al re Iraq.

98 DEC 15 10 30 AM '05

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council
The White House

12/15
255

LAC

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 03000
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG PR A/O _____

TMS

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	<u>1</u>	<u>LC</u> <u>12/15</u>	
Rice			
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>Copy</u> ✓		
Steinberg	<u>. 2</u>		<u>done</u>
Berger			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk			
Records Mgt.			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS: POTUS Telcalls to Blair et al re Iraq.

1985 DEC 15 AM 8:25

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1998 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-16-98

TELEPHONE CALLS WITH
PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,
CROWN PRINCE ABDULLAH OF SAUDI ARABIA, AND
HILL LEADERSHIP

DATE: December 16, 1998

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 

I. PURPOSE

To inform the two leaders and Hill leadership of your intentions regarding Iraq.

II. BACKGROUND

These calls will be made after you have made your decision regarding use of force against Iraq.

Your call to Tony Blair can be a simple message. To Abdullah, you should lay out some of the basis for your decision, and also ensure that he understands that we will need to use some Saudi-based combat support aircraft as well as Saudi airspace for any follow-on action for a potential attack.

For Hill leadership, your message should also lay the basis for your decision and urge their support.

Attachments

- Tab A Points for Blair Call
- Tab B Points for Abdullah Call
- Tab C Points for Congressional Leaders

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M (1.31)
KBH 9/9/2019

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRIME MINISTER BLAIR OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

- Butler's report is quite clear that Iraq "didn't provide full cooperation" and that UNSCOM "is not able to conduct its work."
- I believe we have to go ahead with the strike.
- We cannot continue the cycle of the past. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- The standard of cooperation was clear.
- The GCC statement last week was strong on Iraq. Think we can count on Gulf support -- at least privately.
- I plan to call Crown Prince Abdullah and notify him of our decision. Will ask him for Saudi Arabia's support and help with the rest of the GCC. Urge you to do the same.
- If we don't act now, no chance until after Ramadan and Eid. No need to prolong this; Saddam's proven he won't cooperate no matter how many chances he's given.
- We will say the objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M(1.32)
KBH 9/9/2019

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
CROWN PRINCE ABDULLAH OF SAUDI ARABIA

- I want you to know that very shortly I will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately. I have discussed this with Prime Minister Blair and the British will be participating fully.
- I know you would prefer a peaceful solution, as would I; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- I believe that the strong statement by the Damascus declaration of states, placing responsibility solely on Iraq, contributed to this result.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM as required by UN Security Council resolutions.
- Since that date, Baghdad has repeatedly violated both that commitment and Security Council resolutions.
 - It has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
 - It blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting other sites.
 - It has harassed inspectors, lied repeatedly and restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence.
- Last February, we thought we had found a way out with the Annan-Aziz Memorandum of Understanding but Iraq reneged on its promise. On November 14, with U.S. and British forces once again poised to strike, Iraq promised again and once again, its promises proved empty.
- Over the past seven years, Saddam Hussein time and again has tried to find a way out of the sanctions without relinquishing his weapons of mass destruction or complying with Security Council resolutions.

- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. The stated objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- And, this strike will play an important role in weakening Saddam's regime and, thus, in furthering our other, long-term goal of changing the leadership in Baghdad.
- We will not need to use any Saudi-based strike assets during the series of strikes I have ordered. However, beginning immediately, we will need to use support aircraft from Saudi territory and use Saudi airspace for reinforcement of the region, consistent with the agreement we reached during your visit here and during Secretary Cohen's visit in November.
- General Zinni and our military will be in touch with yours with a detailed briefing.
- This has been a difficult decision for me. If I believed diplomacy could compel Saddam to comply with UN Security Council resolutions and his own commitments, I would not have ordered this strike. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- The support of Saudi Arabia and the GCC is critical. The statement at the GCC summit once again helpfully made clear that Iraq is responsible for the consequences of Iraqi defiance. I look for you to communicate with your GCC partners your support for our actions.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR CALLS
TO CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

- I wanted to consult with you about the situation with Iraq. Very shortly, I will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I have not made this decision lightly, but it is essential that we take this action now.
- As you know, on November 14, I ordered a military strike on Iraq because of its decision to cease cooperation with UNSCOM.
- I called off that strike when Baghdad sent word that it was willing to provide full cooperation. Had I gone ahead, we would have destroyed the international coalition we had built, and turned the focus from Iraq's misconduct to our own actions.
- We insisted that the Iraqi government rescind its earlier decisions limiting cooperation, and commit to an unconditional guarantee of full and unrestricted cooperation with both UNSCOM and the IAEA. Eventually, Iraq did so.
- On November 15, I set out five very clear criteria against which we would judge Iraq's behavior.
- The standard was "full cooperation." We demanded this full cooperation because only such a clear break with Iraq's past pattern of deception, withholding information, denial of access, and concealment could convince us that Iraq had indeed made the decision to give up its WMD and missiles once and for all.
- UNSCOM Chairman Butler tested Iraq's cooperation during the past month. Iraq failed the test.
- Chairman Butler has reported to the Security Council that in four of UNSCOM's five areas of work, Iraq failed to provide full cooperation and that UNSCOM is not able to conduct its work. Instead, Iraq
 - has blocked inspectors.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-m (1.34)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify On: 12/15/08

- has failed to provide requested WMD-related documents and information.
- has limited UNSCOM's ability to photograph and photocopy evidence.
- These actions violate not only Iraq's November commitment, but also Security Council resolutions.
- We cannot continue this cycle. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- This action is necessary, and it is necessary now. We waited for Butler to complete his test. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan will begin this weekend. Strikes during Ramadan would raise charges of an anti-Islamic bias which could limit support for our actions, as well as having a detrimental effect on the peace process.
- The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for me. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- I expect to have your support in this action to counter this threat to a region of vital interest to our country.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

TIME OF TRANSMISSION:

TIME OF RECEIPT:

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE

CLASSIFICATION:

RELEASER: _____

IMMEDIATE

~~TOP SECRET~~

DATE/TIME: 152306Z DEC 98

MESSAGE #: SR220

FROM:	<u>NINA HACHIGIAN</u>	PHONE: _____	ROOM: _____
SUBJECT:	<u>POINTS FOR CALLS</u>	PAGES: <u>8</u>	

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>ROOM</u>	<u>PHONE</u>
<u>AF-1</u>	<u>MONA SUTPHEN</u>	_____	_____
_____	<u>BRUCE RIEDEL</u>	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
 OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
 Initials: RS Date: 9/20/2019
2013-0872-M

~~TOP SECRET~~

Points for Presidential Call to CP Abdullah
Pre-Strike

- I want you to know that very shortly I will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately. I have discussed this with Prime Minister Blair and the British will be participating fully.
- I know you would prefer a ^{peaceful}~~diplomatic~~ solution, as would I; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM as required by UN Security Council resolutions.
- Since that
- date, Baghdad has repeatedly violated both that commitment and Security Council resolutions.
 - It has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
 - It blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting another site.
 - It restricted UNSCOM's ability to photograph, videotape and photocopy evidence.
- Last February, we thought we had found a way out with the Annan-Aziz Memorandum of Understanding. On November 14, with U.S. and British forces once again poised to strike, Iraq backed down again.
- Over the past seven years, Saddam Hussein time and again has tried to find a way out of the sanctions without relinquishing his weapons of mass destruction or complying with Security Council resolutions.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. The ^{stated} objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.

and Saudi
air space

- need to
- We will not use any land-based assets in the region during the ~~first day of strikes~~. However, ~~on subsequent days~~, we will need to use support aircraft from Saudi territory, consistent with the agreement we reached during your visit here and during Secretary Cohen's visit in November.
 - General Zinni and our military will be in touch with yours with a detailed briefing.
 - This has been a difficult decision for me. If I believed diplomacy could compel Saddam to comply with UN Security Council resolutions and his own commitments, I would not have ordered this strike. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
 - The support of Saudi Arabia and the GCC is critical. I look for you to communicate with your GCC partners your support for our actions.
 - I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

And,

• This strike will play an important role in weakening Saddam's regime and, thus, in furthering our other, long term goal of changing the leadership in Baghdad.

Points for Presidential Calls to PM Blair
Pre-Strike

- Butler's report is quite clear that Iraq "didn't provide full cooperation" and that UNSCOM "is not able to conduct its work."
- I believe we have to go ahead with the strike.
- We cannot continue the cycle of the past. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- The standard of cooperation was clear.
- The GCC statement last week was strong on Iraq. Think we can count on Gulf support -- at least privately.
- I plan to call Crown Prince Abdullah and notify him of our decision. Will ask him for Saudi Arabia's support and help with the rest of the GCC. *Urge you to do same.*
- If we don't act now, no chance until after Ramadan and Eid. No need to prolong this; Saddam's proven he won't cooperate no matter how many chances he's given.
- *We will say*
The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- ~~Our militaries are discussing operational issues.~~

Points for Berger Call to PM Netanyahu
Pre-Strike

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I know you would prefer a diplomatic solution, as would the President; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle, but I am also aware that our actions present particular threats to Israel.
- We will do all we can to provide you with the necessary assistance. *We already have the Patriots on the ground and can get the BIDs to you in 30 hours.*
- The President wants you to know that if Iraq acts against Israel, we will respond powerfully.
- We will also convey this message to Baghdad.
- It is essential at this juncture that the peace process continue to move forward. Chairman Arafat will be in a very difficult position.
- I understand you may have to take extra security precautions, but it will be important to do what you can to minimize the pressure on Arafat. Maintaining good communications with Arafat will be the key.
- The President will be following developments closely and expect we'll be in close touch.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR CALL TO HILL LEADERSHIP - PRE-STRIKE

- I wanted to consult with you about the situation with Iraq. Very shortly, I will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I have not made this decision lightly, but it is essential that we take this action now.
- As you know, on November 14, I ordered a military strike on Iraq because of its decision to cease cooperation with UNSCOM.
- I called off that strike when Baghdad sent word that it was willing to provide full cooperation. Had I gone ahead, we would have destroyed the international coalition we had built, and turned the focus from Iraq's misconduct to our own actions.
- We insisted that the Iraqi government rescind its earlier decisions limiting cooperation, and commit to an unconditional guarantee of full and unrestricted cooperation with both UNSCOM and the IAEA. Eventually, Iraq did so.
- On November 15, I set out five very clear criteria against which we would judge Iraq's behavior.
- The standard was "full cooperation." We demanded this full cooperation because only such a clear break with Iraq's past pattern of deception, withholding information, denial of access, and concealment could convince us that Iraq had indeed made the decision to give up its WMD and missiles once and for all.
- UNSCOM Chairman Butler tested Iraq's cooperation during the past month. Iraq failed the test.
- Chairman Butler has reported to the Security Council that in four of UNSCOM's five areas of work, Iraq failed to provide full cooperation and that UNSCOM is not able to conduct its work. Instead, Iraq
 - has blocked inspectors.
 - has failed to provide requested WMD-related documents and information.

- has limited UNSCOM's ability to photograph and photocopy evidence.
- These actions violate not only Iraq's November commitment, but also Security Council resolutions.
- We cannot continue this cycle. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- This action is necessary, and it is necessary now. We waited for Butler to complete his test. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan will begin this weekend. Strikes during Ramadan would raise charges of an anti-Islamic bias which could limit support for our actions, as well as having a detrimental effect on the peace process.
- The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for me. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- I expect to have your support in this action to counter this threat to a region of vital interest to our country.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

December 15, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: BRUCE RIEDEL *BR*

FROM: JOE MARTY *JM*

SUBJECT: POTUS Calls to PM Blair, CP Abdullah and
Congressional Leaders on Iraq

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for the President on his phone calls to Prime Minister Blair, Crown Prince Abdullah and Congressional leaders regarding Iraq. These calls would be made Wednesday.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum for the President
- Tab A Points for Blair Call
- Tab B Points for Abdullah Call
- Tab C Points for Congressional Leaders

POINTS TO MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU OF ISRAEL

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle, but I am also aware that our actions present particular threats to Israel.
- We will do all we can to provide you with the necessary assistance. ~~We already have the Patriots on the ground and can get the Biological Detection Systems to you in 30 hours.~~
- We will promptly send to Israel the Biological Detection Systems (BIDS) and Guided Enhanced Missiles (GEMs) for patriot batteries. Doc Fogelsong will remain in country for liaison purposes.
- The President wants you to know that if Iraq acts against Israel, we will respond powerfully.
- We will also convey this message to Baghdad.
- It is essential at this juncture that the peace process continue to move forward. Chairman Arafat will be in a very difficult position.
- I understand you may have to take extra security precautions, but it will be important to do what you can to minimize the pressure on Arafat. Maintaining good communications with Arafat will be the key.
- The President will be following developments closely and expect we'll be in close touch.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-m(1.39)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)
Declassify on: 12/15/08

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
CROWN PRINCE ABDULLAH OF SAUDI ARABIA

• I want you to know that very shortly I will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately. I have discussed this with Prime Minister Blair and the British will be participating fully.

• I know you would prefer a diplomatic solution, as would I; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.

*ply request
Solely
a long*

• On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.

• *I believe the strike started by the Damour chert, ^{of states} called to the mill*

• Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM as required by UN Security Council resolutions. *I believe that the strong statement*

• Since that date, Baghdad has repeatedly violated both that commitment and Security Council resolutions.

*by the
Damascus
declaration
of Secretary
of State*

• It has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.

• It blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting another site.

• It restricted UNSCOM's ability to photograph, videotape and photocopy evidence.

*placing
responsibility
solely
on Iraq
contributed*

• Last February, we thought we had found a way out with the Annan-Aziz Memorandum of Understanding. On November 14, with U.S. and British forces once again poised to strike, Iraq backed down again.

*to this
result*

• Over the past seven years, Saddam Hussein time and again has tried to find a way out of the sanctions without relinquishing his weapons of mass destruction or complying with Security Council resolutions.

stay

• I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.

• Our strike will be significant. The objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.

*Revise
per
Demand
Revise
per
Demerit
points*

- We will not need to use any Saudi-based strike assets during the series of strikes I have ordered. However, beginning immediately, we will need to use support aircraft from Saudi territory and use Saudi airspace for reinforcement of the region, consistent with the agreement we reached during your visit here and during Secretary Cohen's visit in November.
- General Zinni and our military will be in touch with yours with a detailed briefing.
- This has been a difficult decision for me. If I believed diplomacy could compel Saddam to comply with UN Security Council resolutions and his own commitments, I would not have ordered this strike. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- The support of Saudi Arabia and the GCC is critical. I look for you to communicate with your GCC partners your support for our actions.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

The Statement at the GCC summit
 once again helpfully and clearly stated Iraq is
 responsible for the consequences of
 Iraq's defiance.

The statement at the GCC
 summit once again
helpfully ~~and~~ made clear
 that Iraq is responsible
 for the consequences of
 Iraq's defiance.

Points for Presidential Calls to PM Blair
Pre-Strike

- Butler's report is quite clear that Iraq "didn't provide full cooperation" and that UNSCOM "is not able to conduct its work."
- I believe we have to go ahead with the strike.
- We cannot continue the cycle of the past. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- The standard of cooperation was clear.
- The GCC statement last week was strong on Iraq. Think we can count on Gulf support -- at least privately.
- I plan to call Crown Prince Abdullah and notify him of our decision. Will ask him for Saudi Arabia's support and help with the rest of the GCC. *Urge you to do same.*
- If we don't act now, no chance until after Ramadan and Eid. No need to prolong this; Saddam's proven he won't cooperate no matter how many chances he's given.
- *we will say*
The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- ~~Our militaries are discussing operational issues.~~

Points for Presidential Call to CP Abdullah
Pre-Strike

- I want you to know that very shortly I will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately. I have discussed this with Prime Minister Blair and the British will be participating fully.
- I know you would prefer a ^{peaceful} diplomatic solution, as would I; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM as required by UN Security Council resolutions.
- Since that
- date, Baghdad has repeatedly violated both that commitment and Security Council resolutions.
 - It has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
 - It blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting another site.
 - It restricted UNSCOM's ability to photograph, videotape and photocopy evidence.
- Last February, we thought we had found a way out with the Annan-Aziz Memorandum of Understanding. On November 14, with U.S. and British forces once again poised to strike, Iraq backed down again.
- Over the past seven years, Saddam Hussein time and again has tried to find a way out of the sanctions without relinquishing his weapons of mass destruction or complying with Security Council resolutions.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. The ^{stated} objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.

and Saudi
air space

- We will not ^{need to} use any land-based assets in the region during the ~~first day~~ of strikes. However, ~~on subsequent days~~, we will need to use support aircraft from Saudi territory, consistent with the agreement we reached during your visit here and during Secretary Cohen's visit in November.
- General Zinni and our military will be in touch with yours with a detailed briefing.
- This has been a difficult decision for me. If I believed diplomacy could compel Saddam to comply with UN Security Council resolutions and his own commitments, I would not have ordered this strike. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- The support of Saudi Arabia and the GCC is critical. I look for you to communicate with your GCC partners your support for our actions.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

And,

- This strike will play an important role in weakening Saddam's regime and, thus, in furthering our other, long term goal of changing the leadership in Baghdad.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR CALL TO HILL LEADERSHIP - PRE-STRIKE

- I wanted to consult with you about the situation with Iraq. Very shortly, I will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I have not made this decision lightly, but it is essential that we take this action now.
- As you know, on November 14, I ordered a military strike on Iraq because of its decision to cease cooperation with UNSCOM.
- I called off that strike when Baghdad sent word that it was willing to provide full cooperation. Had I gone ahead, we would have destroyed the international coalition we had built, and turned the focus from Iraq's misconduct to our own actions.
- We insisted that the Iraqi government rescind its earlier decisions limiting cooperation, and commit to an unconditional guarantee of full and unrestricted cooperation with both UNSCOM and the IAEA. Eventually, Iraq did so.
- On November 15, I set out five very clear criteria against which we would judge Iraq's behavior.
- The standard was "full cooperation." We demanded this full cooperation because only such a clear break with Iraq's past pattern of deception, withholding information, denial of access, and concealment could convince us that Iraq had indeed made the decision to give up its WMD and missiles once and for all.
- UNSCOM Chairman Butler tested Iraq's cooperation during the past month. Iraq failed the test.
- Chairman Butler has reported to the Security Council that in four of UNSCOM's five areas of work, Iraq failed to provide full cooperation and that UNSCOM is not able to conduct its work. Instead, Iraq
 - has blocked inspectors.
 - has failed to provide requested WMD-related documents and information.

- has limited UNSCOM's ability to photograph and photocopy evidence.
- These actions violate not only Iraq's November commitment, but also Security Council resolutions.
- We cannot continue this cycle. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- This action is necessary, and it is necessary now. We waited for Butler to complete his test. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan will begin this weekend. Strikes during Ramadan would raise charges of an anti-Islamic bias which could limit support for our actions, as well as having a detrimental effect on the peace process.
- The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for me. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- I expect to have your support in this action to counter this threat to a region of vital interest to our country.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

Points for Berger Call to PM Netanyahu
Pre-Strike

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I know you would prefer a diplomatic solution, as would the President; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle, but I am also aware that our actions present particular threats to Israel.
- We will do all we can to provide you with the necessary assistance. *We already have the Patriots on the ground and can get the BIDs to you in 30 hours.*
- The President wants you to know that if Iraq acts against Israel, we will respond powerfully.
- We will also convey this message to Baghdad.
- It is essential at this juncture that the peace process continue to move forward. Chairman Arafat will be in a very difficult position.
- I understand you may have to take extra security precautions, but it will be important to do what you can to minimize the pressure on Arafat. Maintaining good communications with Arafat will be the key.
- The President will be following developments closely and expect we'll be in close touch.

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 16 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
LIMITED ACCESS

TELCALL

PERSONS: BLAIR, TONY

ABDULLAH BIN AHMAD BADAWI

SUBJECT: TELCALLS RE IRAQ -- LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: ORIGINALS RETURNED TO NSC/RMO

DUE DATE: 21 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: MARTY

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MARTY

NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-11

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK CLOSED BY: NSVJD DOC 2 OF 2

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER
002 PRESIDENT
002
002

Z 98121514 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION
Z 98121608 FOR INFORMATION
X 98122114 NOTED BY PRESIDENT
X 99082011 ORIGINALS RETURNED TO NSC/RMO

- has failed to provide requested WMD-related documents and information.
- has limited UNSCOM's ability to photograph and photocopy evidence.
- These actions violate not only Iraq's November commitment, but also Security Council resolutions.
- We cannot continue this cycle. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- This action is necessary, and it is necessary now. We waited for Butler to complete his test. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan will begin this weekend. Strikes during Ramadan would raise charges of an anti-Islamic bias which could limit support for our actions, as well as having a detrimental effect on the peace process.
- The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for me. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- I expect to have your support in this action to counter this threat to a region of vital interest to our country.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-8-99

2

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Case Number: 2013-0872-M

MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 43325				
Document ID: 9808389				
Row: 50	Section: 2	Shelf: 10	Position: 3	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to Prime Minister Netanyahu (1 page)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to President Demirel of Turkey (2 pages)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001c. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (2 pages)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001d. talking points	[Duplicate of 001a] (1 page)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001e. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (2 pages)	12/15/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808389

2013-0872-M
rs954

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: BERGER

FROM: MARTY
RIEDEL

DOC DATE: 15 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
LIMITED ACCESS

TELCALL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BERGER TELCALLS RE IRAQ -- LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: NOTED BY BERGER PER DOCLOG

DUE DATE: 21 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: MARTY

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-M

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK CLOSED BY: NSVJD DOC 1 OF 1

~~TOP SECRET~~
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9808389

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 BERGER
001

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 98121512 FOR INFORMATION
X 98121612 NOTED BY BERGER PER DOCLOG

~~TOP SECRET~~

National Security Council
The White House

12/15 2145

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 0309 LAC
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM (PRS) NSC INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG (E) A/O _____

TRMA

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	<u>1</u>	<u>KJC 12/15</u>	<u>done</u>
Rice			
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>copy ✓</u>		
Steinberg	<u>2</u>		<u>edit</u>
Berger	<u>3</u>		<u>done</u>
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk			
Records Mgt.			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS: SRB telcalls re Iraq

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council
The White House

12/15 2145

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 0309 LAC

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM (PRS) NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG (F) A/O _____

TMA

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	<u>1</u>	<u>KJC 12/15</u>	<u>(done) done</u>
Rice	_____	_____	_____
Davies	_____	_____	_____
Kerrick	<u>copy ✓</u>	_____	_____
Steinberg	<u>2</u>	_____	<u>edit</u>
Berger	<u>3</u>	_____	<u>done</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	_____	_____	_____
Records Mgt.	_____	_____	_____

A = Action	I = Information	D = Dispatch	R = Retain	N = No Further Action
------------	-----------------	--------------	------------	-----------------------

cc:

COMMENTS: SRB telcalls re Iraq

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

~~TOP SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL LIMITED ACCESS 8389
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 15, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: BRUCE RIEDEL *BR*

FROM: JOE MARTY *JM*

SUBJECT: Your Phone Calls on Iraq

Attached are points for your use in making phone calls to Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel ~~and President Demirel of Turkey.~~

RECOMMENDATION

That you use the attached points for your phone calls.

Attachments

Tab A Points for Netanyahu Call

Tab B Points for Demirel Call

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By *RS* NARA, Date *9/20/2019*
2013-0872-11

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify On: 12/15/08

POINTS TO MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU OF ISRAEL

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle, but I am also aware that our actions present particular threats to Israel.
- We will do all we can to provide you with the necessary assistance.
- We will promptly send to Israel the Biological Detection Systems (BIDS) and Guided Enhanced Missiles (GEMs) for patriot batteries. Doc Fogelsong will remain in country for liaison purposes.
- The President wants you to know that if Iraq acts against Israel, we will respond powerfully.
- We will also convey this message to Baghdad.
- It is essential at this juncture that the peace process continue to move forward. Chairman Arafat will be in a very difficult position.
- I understand you may have to take extra security precautions, but it will be important to do what you can to minimize the pressure on Arafat. Maintaining good communications with Arafat will be the key.
- The President will be following developments closely and expect we'll be in close touch.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-m (1.26)
KBH 9/9/2019

POINTS TO MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRESIDENT DEMIREL OF TURKEY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M(1.17)
KBM 9/9/2019

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I know you would prefer a peaceful solution, as would the President; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM as required by UN Security Council resolutions.
- Since that date, Baghdad has repeatedly violated both that commitment and Security Council resolutions.
 - It has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
 - It blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting other sites.
 - It has harassed inspectors, lied repeatedly and restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence.
- Last February, we thought we had found a way out with the Annan-Aziz Memorandum of Understanding but Iraq reneged on its promise. On November 14, with U.S. and British forces once again poised to strike, Iraq promised again and once again, its promises proved empty.
- Over the past seven years, Saddam Hussein time and again has tried to find a way out of the sanctions without relinquishing his weapons of mass destruction or complying with Security Council resolutions.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify on: 12/15/08

~~TOP SECRET~~

- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. The stated objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for the President. If he believed diplomacy could compel Saddam to comply with UN Security Council resolutions and his own commitments, the President would not have ordered this strike. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

~~TOP SECRET~~

POINTS TO MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRESIDENT DEMIREL OF TURKEY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M(1.28)
KBH 9/9/2019

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I know you would prefer a *peaceful* ~~diplomatic~~ solution, as would the President; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM as required by UN Security Council resolutions.
- Since that date, Baghdad has repeatedly violated both that commitment and Security Council resolutions.
 - It has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
 - It blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting other sites.
 - It has harassed inspectors, lied repeatedly and restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence.
- Last February, we thought we had found a way out with the Annan-Aziz Memorandum of Understanding but Iraq reneged on its promise. On November 14, with U.S. and British forces once again poised to strike, Iraq promised again and once again, its promises proved empty.
- Over the past seven years, Saddam Hussein time and again has tried to find a way out of the sanctions without relinquishing his weapons of mass destruction or complying with Security Council resolutions.

~~TOP SECRET~~

- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. The ^{started} objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for the President. If he believed diplomacy could compel Saddam to comply with UN Security Council resolutions and his own commitments, the President would not have ordered this strike. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

~~TOP SECRET~~

POINTS TO MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU OF ISRAEL

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**
2013-0872-M (1.29)
KBH 9/9/2019

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I know you would prefer a diplomatic solution, as would the President; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle, but I am also aware that our actions present particular threats to Israel.
- We will do all we can to provide you with the necessary assistance.
- The President wants you to know that if Iraq acts against Israel, we will respond powerfully.
- We will also convey this message to Baghdad.
- It is essential at this juncture that the peace process continue to move forward. Chairman Arafat will be in a very difficult position.
- I understand you may have to take extra security precautions, but it will be important to do what you can to minimize the pressure on Arafat. Maintaining good communications with Arafat will be the key.
- We will promptly send to Israel the Biological Detection Systems (BIDS) and Guided Enhanced Missiles (GEMs) for patriot batteries. Doc Fogelsong will remain in country for liaison purposes.
- The President will be following developments closely and expect we'll be in close touch.

POINTS TO MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRESIDENT DEMIREL OF TURKEY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M (1.30)
KBH 9/9/2019

- I want you to know that very shortly the President will be ordering a military strike against Iraq to commence immediately.
- I know you would prefer a diplomatic solution, as would the President; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- In the last month, Iraq has repeatedly violated its November 14 commitment of full cooperation, as well as Security Council resolutions.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM as required by UN Security Council resolutions.
- Since that date, Baghdad has repeatedly violated both that commitment and Security Council resolutions.

- It has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
- It blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting ~~another~~ site.

- It restricted UNSCOM's ability to ^{obtain} photograph, videotape and photocopy evidence.

- Last February, we thought we had found a way out with the Annan-Aziz Memorandum of Understanding. On November 14, with U.S. and British forces once again poised to strike, Iraq backed down again. ^{and once again, its promises proved empty}

- Over the past seven years, Saddam Hussein time and again has tried to find a way out of the sanctions without relinquishing his weapons of mass destruction or complying with Security Council resolutions.

and once again, its promises proved empty

has hindered inspectors, lied regularly and has harassed inspectors, and lied repeatedly and

obtain
but Iraq reneged on its promise

~~TOP SECRET~~

- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. The objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for ~~me~~. ^{The President} If I ^{he} believed diplomacy could compel Saddam to comply with UN Security Council resolutions and his own commitments, I would not have ordered this strike. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
The President
- I will be following developments closely and I expect our people to stay in close touch with yours.

~~TOP SECRET~~

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 43325				
Document ID: 9808404				
Row: 50	Section: 2	Shelf: 10	Position: 3	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Calls to Bush et al. (2 pages)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001b. talking points	[Duplicate of 001a...incomplete copy] (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808404

2013-0872-M
rs953

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: BERGER

FROM: MARTY
RIEDEL

DOC DATE: 16 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ

LIMITED ACCESS

PERSONS: BUSH, GEORGE
POWEL, COLIN

KISSINGER, HENRY
BREZEEZINSKI, ZBIGNIEW

SUBJECT: BERGER TELCALLS TO VALIDATORS -- LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: NOTED BY BERGER

DUE DATE: 22 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: MARTY

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 5/20/2019
2013-0872-51

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK CLOSED BY: NSVJD DOC 1 OF 1

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER
001

Z 98121617 FOR INFORMATION
X 99012512 NOTED BY BERGER

National Security Council ^{12/16/1010}
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 8404 LAC
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM RBS NSC INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: DOCLOG A/O _____

958

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1/3</u>	<u>(P) 12/16</u>	
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg			
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>(A)</u>	
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk			
Records Mgt.			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS: *Mag - Phone Calls*

DEC 16 15:41

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

~~ED~~
~~DONE~~

*SRB call
Kooinger
Tony
Schnowitz*

National Security Council ^{12/16 1010}
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 8404 LAC
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM RBS NSC INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: DOCLOG A/O _____

SSB

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1/3</u>	<u>(R) 12/16</u>	
Davies			
Kerrick			<u>ED</u>
Steinberg			<u>DONE -</u>
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>(A)</u>	<u>SRB call</u>
Situation Room			<u>Kooinger</u>
West Wing Desk			<u>Tony</u>
Records Mgt.			<u>Scmwegt</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Information

cc:

COMMENTS: Mag - Phone Calls

DEC 16 15:41

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

~~TOP SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL LIMITED ACCESS 8404
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 16, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: BRUCE RIEDEL *BR*

FROM: JOSEPH MARTY *JM*

SUBJECT: Your Phone Calls on Iraq to Validators

Attached are points for your use in making phone calls to key validators just after any potential strike on Iraq: ~~President Bush, Henry Kissinger, Colin Powell, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scowcroft.~~

RECOMMENDATION

That you use the attached points for your phone calls.

Attachments

Tab A Points for Validator Calls

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify On: 12/16/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 5/20/2019
2013-0872-17

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR CALLS
TO BUSH, KISSINGER, POWELL, BRZEZINSKI, SCOWCROFT
AT TIME OF STRIKE

- Want to inform you of the current situation with Iraq.
- The President just announced that the U.S. has initiated a military strike against Iraq. The British will be participating fully.
- The President did not made this decision lightly, but it is essential that we take this action now.
- As you know, on November 14, the President ordered a military strike on Iraq because of its decision to cease cooperation with UNSCOM.
- The President called off that strike when Baghdad sent word that it was willing to provide full cooperation. Had he gone ahead, we would have destroyed the international coalition we had built, and turned the focus from Iraq's misconduct to our own actions.
- We insisted that the Iraqi government rescind its earlier decisions limiting cooperation, and commit to an unconditional guarantee of full and unrestricted cooperation with both UNSCOM and the IAEA. Eventually, Iraq did so.
- On November 15, the President set out five very clear criteria against which we would judge Iraq's behavior.
- The standard was "full cooperation." We demanded this full cooperation because only such a clear break with Iraq's past pattern of deception, withholding information, denial of access, and concealment could convince us that Iraq had indeed made the decision to give up its WMD and missiles once and for all.
- UNSCOM Chairman Butler tested Iraq's cooperation during the past month. Iraq failed the test.
- Chairman Butler has reported to the Security Council that Iraq failed to provide full cooperation and that UNSCOM "is not able to conduct the substantive disarmament work mandated to it by the Security Council." Instead, Iraq:

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)
Declassify On: 12/16/08

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872 M (1.24)
KBH 9/9/2019

- has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
- blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting other sites.
- has harassed inspectors, lied repeatedly, ordered the destruction of WMD-related documents in anticipation of UNSCOM inspections, and restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence.
- These actions violate not only Iraq's November commitment, but also Security Council resolutions.
- We cannot continue this cycle. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- This action is necessary, and it is necessary now. We waited for Butler to complete his test. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan will begin this weekend. Strikes during Ramadan would raise charges of an anti-Islamic bias which could limit support for our actions, as well as having a detrimental effect on the peace process.
- The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for the President. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- You of course know first hand the competing demands on the President in making such a decision.

H8404

- has refused to provide UNSCOM with requested documents and information.
- blocked UNSCOM's access to Ba'ath party headquarters, and barred UNSCOM from inspecting other sites.
- has harassed inspectors, lied repeatedly, ordered the destruction of WMD-related documents. ^Qin anticipation of UNSCOM inspections, and restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence.
- These actions violate not only Iraq's November commitment, but also Security Council resolutions.
- We cannot continue this cycle. Saddam Hussein must know that he cannot defy the international community with impunity.
- This action is necessary, and it is necessary now. We waited for Butler to complete his test. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan will begin this weekend. Strikes during Ramadan would raise charges of an anti-Islamic bias which could limit support for our actions, as well as having a detrimental effect on the peace process.
- The objective of the military action is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
- This has been a difficult decision for the President. Unfortunately, the record has shown that Saddam will not voluntarily give up his weapons of mass destruction.
- You of course know first hand the competing demands on the President in making such a decision.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-m(1.25)
KBH 9/9/2019

Case Number: 2013-0872-M

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 43325				
Document ID: 9808405				
Row: 50	Section: 2	Shelf: 10	Position: 3	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to President Chirac of France (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to President Mubarak of Egypt (2 pages) Partial release - KBH 2/5/2020	12/16/1998	P1/b(1)
001c. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001d. talking points	[Duplicate of 001a] (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001e. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (2 pages) Partial release - KBH 2/5/2020	12/16/1998	P1/b(1)
001f. talking points	[Duplicate of 001c] (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001g. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to President Chirac of France (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808405

2013-0872-M

rs952

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: BERGER

FROM: MARTY
RIEDEL

DOC DATE: 17 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
EGYPT
TELCALL

FRANCE
ISRAEL

PERSONS: CHIRAC, JACQUES
NETANYAHU, BINYAMIN

MUBARAK, HOSNI

SUBJECT: POTUS TELCALLS 17 DEC RE IRAQ - LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 22 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: MARTY

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 5/20/2019
2013-0872-17

COMMENTS: CALLS MADE

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK CLOSED BY: NSVJD DOC 1 OF 1

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER
001

Z 98121712 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR DECISION
X 99012517 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 8405 LAC
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM (PRS) NSC INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	_____	_____	_____
Rice	_____	_____	_____
Davies	_____	_____	_____
Kerrick	_____	_____	_____
Steinberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	_____	_____	_____
Records Mgt.	_____	_____	_____

*Replaced
by
new
pages.*

A = Action I = Information E

cc:

COMMENTS:

*This is
old version.
Calls already
done.*

DEC 17 11:53

Exec Sec Office has diskette *ly*

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 8405 LAC
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	_____	_____	_____
Rice	_____		_____
Davies	_____		_____
Kerrick	_____		_____
Steinberg	_____		_____
Berger	_____		_____
Situation Room	_____		_____
West Wing Desk	_____		_____
Records Mgt.	_____		_____

*Replaced
by
new
prs.*

A = Action I = Information E

cc:

COMMENTS:

*This is
old version.
Calls already
done.*

DEC 17 11:53

Exec Sec Office has diskette *WJ*

December 17, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: BRUCE RIEDEL *BR*

FROM: JOSEPH MARTY *JM*

SUBJECT: POTUS Calls to PM Chirac, President Mubarak and
PM Netanyahu on Iraq

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for the President for his phone calls to Presidents Chirac and Mubarak, and Prime Minister Netanyahu.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum for the President
- Tab A Points for Chirac Call
- Tab B Points for Mubarak Call
- Tab C Points for Netanyahu Call

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-M

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

TELEPHONE CALLS WITH
PRESIDENT CHIRAC OF FRANCE,
PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND
PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU OF ISRAEL

DATE: December 17, 1998

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

To check in with leaders after the first day of the military strike against Iraq, and to share views about the reaction.

II. BACKGROUND

Attachments

Tab A Points for Chirac Call
Tab B Points for Mubarak Call
Tab C Points for Netanyahu Call

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify On: 12/16/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-11

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRESIDENT CHIRAC OF FRANCE

- Wanted to talk to you about the ongoing military action.
- The attack is proceeding today. We have little damage assessment, but all of our pilots have come back so far. The attack will proceed for some number of days afterward.
- I know you would have preferred a peaceful solution, as would I; Iraq's actions made this possible.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution. Iraq committed to provide full cooperation with UNSCOM, but Butler's report makes clear that Iraq didn't meet the test.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. Our objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- The Gulf countries are giving us all the military cooperation we asked for. Crown Prince Abdullah and Prince Sultan are both very supportive of the attack and our approach.
- I want to stress that the issue here is not Butler, or UNSCOM. The issue is Iraq's pattern of non-cooperation.
- Jacques, this issue is of vital national security interest to me and my country. As allies and friends, I hope that I can count on you to support our action publicly and in the Security Council. That is very important to me..

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M(1.17)
KBH 9/9/2019

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Call to President Mubarak of Egypt [partial] (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808405

2013-0872-M
rs952

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRESIDENT MUBARAK OF EGYPT

- Hosni, the attack seems to be going well. We have little damage assessment, but all of our pilots have come back so far.
- I know you would have preferred a peaceful solution, as would I; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM, but Butler's report makes clear that Iraq didn't meet the test.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. Our objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- The Gulf countries are giving us all the military cooperation we asked for. Crown Prince Abdullah and Prince Sultan are both very supportive of the attack and our approach.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

- The attack will continue today and for some number of days afterward.
- The ongoing nature of this attack will pose some challenges in keeping the Security Council going in the right direction.
- While some reaction in the Arab world has been critical, overall it has been relatively muted. That's a sure sign of the distaste it has for Saddam's rule.
- Hope that your voice will speak to the fact that Saddam Hussein is entirely responsible for this chain of events and that Iraq must cease to threaten its neighbors.

[If raises impact of strike on the peace process]

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify on: 12/16/08

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-M [1.18]

KBH 9/9/2019

- I've sent messages to both the Prime Minister and Chairman Arafat urging that this not detract from our efforts on the peace process.
- Our view, as you know, is that both sides need to implement the second phase of the Wye memorandum. There can be no excuse for delay.
- That said, the political situation in Israel is creating great uncertainty in the near term.
- My message to Arafat, which I hope you will reinforce, is that the Palestinians should continue to implement Wye, particularly on the security front.
- Whatever ultimately happens in Israel, that is the best way for the Palestinians to strengthen their position and weaken extremist elements in Israel who are looking for any pretext to scuttle the peace process.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU OF ISRAEL

- Bibi, things seem to be going well. We have little damage assessment, but all of our pilots have come back so far. The attack will continue today and for some number of days afterward.
- As Jim Steinberg told you yesterday, we will do everything in our power to help you.
- Beyond the extra Patriot batteries, we'll be standing by to support you if Saddam starts making threatening statements. If Iraq chooses to strike at you, we will retaliate with overwhelming force.
- Militarily, the Gulf countries are giving us all the cooperation we asked for.
- It is essential that we have an understanding that if Israel is hit we talk before you consider taking action.

[If points to the fact that the Palestinians have denounced the attack and demonstrated in favor of Iraq]

- That was not helpful, of course, but the fact is that Arafat is under a lot of pressure from below. Status of peace process, the prisoners issue and now this is making life difficult for him.
- I think it is important not to let this interfere with implementation of the Wye memorandum.
- I sent a message to Chairman Arafat in which I made this point. I think he understands that it is one thing to let the Palestinians let out some steam on the Iraqi issue, and another to allow this to get out of control.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M (1.19)
KBH 9/9/2019

TELEPHONE CALLS WITH
PRESIDENT CHIRAC OF FRANCE,
PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND
PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU OF ISRAEL

DATE: December 17, 1998

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

To check in with leaders after the first day of the military strike against Iraq, and to share views about the reaction.

II. BACKGROUND

Attachments

Tab A Points for Chirac Call
Tab B Points for Mubarak Call
Tab C Points for Netanyahu Call

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-M

TOP SECRET

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify On: 12/16/08

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRESIDENT CHIRAC OF FRANCE

- Wanted to talk to you about the ongoing military action.
- The attack is proceeding today. We have little damage assessment, but all of our pilots have come back so far. The attack will proceed for some number of days ~~afterward~~.
- I know you would have preferred a peaceful solution, as would I; Iraq's actions made this ~~possible~~.
necessary
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution. Iraq committed to provide full cooperation with UNSCOM, but Butler's report makes clear that Iraq didn't meet the test.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. Our objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- The Gulf countries are giving us all the military cooperation we asked for. Crown Prince Abdullah and Prince Sultan are both very supportive of the attack and our approach.
- I want to stress that the issue here is not Butler, or UNSCOM. The issue is Iraq's pattern of non-cooperation.
- Jacques, this issue is of vital national security interest to me and my country. As allies and friends, I hope that I can count on you to support our action publicly and in the Security Council. ~~That is very important to me.~~ (C)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-11(1.20)
KBH 9/9/2019

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001e. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] [partial] (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808405

2013-0872-M
rs952

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRESIDENT MUBARAK OF EGYPT

- Hosni, the attack seems to be going well. We have little damage assessment, but all of our pilots have come back so far.
- I know you would have preferred a peaceful solution, as would I; however, it is clear now that this is not possible.
- On November 14, I called off a military strike to attempt once more to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis.
- Iraq committed to provide full and unconditional cooperation with UNSCOM, but Butler's report makes clear that Iraq didn't meet the test.
- I am sure you agree that we cannot continue this cycle.
- Our strike will be significant. Our objective is to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to degrade his ability to threaten neighbors.
- The Gulf countries are giving us all the military cooperation we asked for. Crown Prince Abdullah and Prince Sultan are both very supportive of the attack and our approach.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

- The attack will continue today and for some number of days afterward.
- The ongoing nature of this attack will pose some challenges in keeping the Security Council going in the right direction.
- While some reaction in the Arab world has been critical, overall it has been relatively muted. That's a sure sign of the distaste it has for Saddam's rule.
- Hope that your voice will speak to the fact that Saddam Hussein is entirely responsible for this chain of events and that Iraq must cease to threaten its neighbors.

[If raises impact of strike on the peace process]

TOP SECRET

Reason: 1.5(a), (d)

Declassify on: 12/16/08

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2013-0872-M [1.21]

KBH 9/9/2019

- I've sent messages to both the Prime Minister and Chairman Arafat urging that this not detract from our efforts on the peace process.
- Our view, as you know, is that both sides need to implement the second phase of the Wye memorandum. There can be no excuse for delay.
- That said, the political situation in Israel is creating great uncertainty in the near term.
- My message to Arafat, which I hope you will reinforce, is that the Palestinians should continue to implement Wye, particularly on the security front.
- Whatever ultimately happens in Israel, that is the best way for the Palestinians to strengthen their position and weaken extremist elements in Israel who are looking for any pretext to scuttle the peace process.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO
PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU OF ISRAEL

- Bibi, things seem to be going well. We have little damage assessment, but all of our pilots have come back so far. The attack will continue today and for some number of days afterward.
- As Jim Steinberg told you yesterday, we will do everything in our power to help you.
- Beyond the extra Patriot batteries, we'll be standing by to support you if Saddam starts making threatening statements. If Iraq chooses to strike at you, we will retaliate with overwhelming force.
- Militarily, the Gulf countries are giving us all the cooperation we asked for.
- It is essential that we have an understanding that if Israel is hit we talk before you consider taking action.

[If points to the fact that the Palestinians have denounced the attack and demonstrated in favor of Iraq]

- That was not helpful, of course, but the fact is that Arafat is under a lot of pressure from below. Status of peace process, the prisoners issue and now this is making life difficult for him.
- I think it is important not to let this interfere with implementation of the Wye memorandum.
- I sent a message to Chairman Arafat in which I made this point. I think he understands that it is one thing to let the Palestinians let out some steam on the Iraqi issue, and another to allow this to get out of control.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-M (1.22)
KBH 9/9/2019

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO 12-17-98
PRESIDENT CHIRAC OF FRANCE

- Wanted to talk to you about the ongoing military action.
- I know you would have preferred a peaceful solution, as would I; Iraq's actions made this possible.
- I appreciate the fact that the French government made clear that Iraq had failed to provide the cooperation that Iraq promised when they signed the MOU with Kofi Annan.
- I want to stress that the issue here is not Butler, or UNSCOM. The issue is Iraq's pattern of non-cooperation.
- The Gulf countries ^{and Egypt} are giving us all the military cooperation we asked for. King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah are both very supportive of the attack and our approach. Mubarak, too, has been supportive.
- Our military action will continue until we complete the mission. We are sensitive to the beginning of Ramadan. We appreciate the approach your representative took in the Security Council yesterday and hope you will join us in avoiding unhelpful actions in the Council over the next few days.
- Want to work with you to make sure that we continue to deal with the danger caused by Saddam and his WMD

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-M (1.23)
KBH 9/9/2019

V. Glatfelter

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 43325				
Document ID: 9808418				
Row: 50	Section: 2	Shelf: 10	Position: 3	Stack: v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Samuel Berger to POTUS re: Call to French President Chirac (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001b. talking points	re: Points for Call to President Chirac (1 page)	12/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808418

2013-0872-M
rs951

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

~~TOP SECRET~~
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9808418
RECEIVED: 16 DEC 98 12

TO: BERGER

FROM: MARTY

DOC DATE: 16 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS:

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: POTUS TELCALL TO CHIRAC -- LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: SYSTEM ACTION NOT SENT FORWARD DUE DATE: 22 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: MARTY

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RS NARA, Date 9/20/2019
2013-0872-M

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK

CLOSED BY: NSVJD

DOC 1 OF 1

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9808418

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001

X 99012811 SYSTEM ACTION NOT SENT FORWARD

~~TOP SECRET~~

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

National Security Council

DATE: 07 Jan 1999

Memorandum for: MARTY

From: NSC/S

CREATE DATE: 981216

Subject: POTUS TELCALL TO CHIRAC -- LIMITED ACCESS

Log #9808418 has been issued to your office

We need the necessary data/copies in order to maintain the active suspense file or index the item for further reference and tracking purposes.

Your help is needed. Thanks.

Check as may be appropriate:

- Action completed, file attached.
- Action still pending, copy attached.
- Action transferred to _____.
- Action sent forward, copy attached.
- Cannot find, will continue to check.
- System action not sent forward, copy attached.
- Log Number not used.
- Other: _____.

Please return to Secretariat, Room 379 OEOB.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Call to French President Chirac

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-17(1.15)
KBH 9/9/2019**

Purpose

To call Chirac prior to your final decision on military action against Iraq in order to minimize any open U.S.-French split and to enlist his support.

Background

French officials from Chirac down have shown little support for Iraq during this latest crisis, and appear to accept - although not support - the inevitability of U.S. force. French officials are genuinely frustrated with Iraqi refusal to XXXXX XXXX XXX.

RECOMMENDATION

That you use the attached points for a call to President Chirac.

Attachment

Tab A Points to Make

POINTS FOR CALL TO
PRESIDENT CHIRAC
DECEMBER 16, 1998

- Butler's report clearly states the Iraq has not provided the full cooperation the Council was promised on November 14. Butler has said he cannot do his job under these circumstances.
- Iraq had every opportunity to cooperate with UNSCOM over the past month, the past year, the past eight years. It chose not to.
- The issue here is not Butler. The issue is Iraq's pattern of non-cooperation.
- Jacques, this issue is of vital national security interest to me and my country. As allies and friends, I hope that I can count on you to support our action.

If asked whether you have decided to strike:

- I have not made the final decision, but when I do, action will follow very quickly.

MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 43325				
Document ID: 9808659				
Row: 50	Section: 2	Shelf: 10	Position: 3	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. briefing paper	re: Desert Fox Execution Update (9 pages)	12/17/1998	P1/b(1)
001b. list	re: Detailed Timeline (6 pages)	12/11/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001c. chart	re: Iraq Look Ahead (1 page)	12/00/1998	P1/b(1)
001d. list	Principals Whereabouts (1 page)	12/00/1998	P1/b(1)
001e. paper	re: Political Objectives of a Strike Against Iraq (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001f. paper	re: Legal Issues (2 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001g. list	re: Diplomatic Activity (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001h. list	re: Key Telephone Calls (2 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001i. list	re: Domestic Public Diplomacy (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001j. paper	re: Evacuation Activity (1 page) Partial release - KBM 2/5/2020	12/1998	P1/b(1)
001k. paper	re: Counter Terrorism Activity (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020
001l. paper	re: International Public Information (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBM 2/5/2020

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M
rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001m. schedule	re: Schedules of the President for December 12-15, 1998 [partial] (8 pages)	12/1998	b(7)(E)
001n. list	re: Timeline for Steps Involving Israel (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 2/5/2020
001o. paper	re: "What If..." Scenarios and U.S. Countermoves (10 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 ([Iraq and Limited Access])
 OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M

rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: THE RECORD

FROM: THE RECORD

DOC DATE: 17 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ

LIMITED ACCESS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: POL-MIL PLAYBOOK FOR IRAQ DEC 98 & DESERT FOX EXECUTION UPDATE --
LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE DATE: 01 FEB 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: NONE

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RMS NARA, Date 9/18/19
2013-0872-1/1

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSVJD

CLOSED BY: NSVJD

DOC 1 OF 1

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001

X 99012611 FOR RECORD PURPOSES

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. briefing paper	re: Desert Fox Execution Update (9 pages)	12/17/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M
rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **A**

Sections

Timeline

Political Objectives

Critical Activities

Israel Management

What If Scenarios

Press Q & A's

2013-10-11-12 (11:00)
RPM 10/11/2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Detailed Timeline..... Tab A

Political Objectives..... Tab B

Legal Issues..... Tab C

Diplomatic Activity..... Tab D

Congressional Activity..... Tab E

Key Telephone Calls..... Tab F

Domestic Public Diplomacy..... Tab G

International Public Information..... Tab H

Counter Terrorism Activity..... Tab I

Evacuation Activity..... Tab J

Israel/West Bank/Gaza trip..... Tab K

Israel Management..... Tab L

"What If" Scenarios..... Tab M

Press Management (Q's and A's)..... Tab N

As of 12/11/98

Detailed Timeline

Wednesday, December 9th

- Intrusive UNSCOM inspection blocked
- Deputies Meeting

Thursday, December 10th

- Intrusive UNSCOM inspections continue
- Deputies Meeting

Friday, December 11th

*POTUS, VP, all principals in town except MKA in Brussels;
LF in Moscow*

- No intrusive UNSCOM inspections today
- POTUS-Blair call
- Principals meeting; situation assessment; next steps
- State/OSD Hill calls to their committee leaders

Saturday, December 12th

*POTUS, MKA, Berger depart for Israel. VP, LF, Cohen,
Shelton, Tenet in DC*

- UNSCOM inspection of VIP compound
- Deputies meeting/conference call
- POTUS RON Jerusalem

Sunday, December 13th

*POTUS, MKA, Berger in Israel. VP, LF, Cohen, Shelton in DC.
Tenet in London*

- UNSCOM at Baghdad Presidential site; last inspection day
- 1600 EST/2300 Israeli time Principals SVTS/conference call
- **NLT** 1700 EST/Midnight Israeli time SecDef issues DESERT FOX Execute Order
- POTUS RON Jerusalem

Monday, December 14th

POTUS/MKA/SRB in Gaza/PNC. Cohen, Shelton depart for Germany. VP, LF in DC. Tenet in London.

- UNSCOM Inspection team departs Iraq
- Deputies meeting
- British military alerted
- POTUS RON Jerusalem

Tuesday, December 15th

POTUS/MKA/SRB in Israel, West Bank. VP, LF in DC. Cohen in Germany. Shelton in Germany, Bosnia, Czech Republic. Tenet in London.

- Deputies meeting (AM).
- 1100 EST/1800 Israeli time POTUS departs Israel
- 1300 EST/2000 Israeli time Principals conference call, recommendation to POTUS on strike
- **NLT** 1700 EST/Midnight Israeli time POTUS 24-hour strike decision (aboard AF1)
- Remainder of UNSCOM asked to depart Iraq Wednesday
- UN in Iraq warned "at risk"
- 2210 POTUS arrives Andrews AFB; RON Washington

Wednesday, December 16th

POTUS, VP, MKA, SRB, LF in DC. Cohen/Shelton in Brussels. Tenet in London.

- 0700 Principals meeting/SVTS
- 0800 Shelton issues H-9 Go/No Go after consulting POTUS
- POTUS calls Lott, Daschle, Gephardt, Gingrich, Livingston
- POTUS final call to Blair
- State decision on ordered departure
- UNSCOM exits/Butler reports to UNSC
- **1400 EST POTUS Absolute Go/No Go decision**
- 1415 EST POTUS calls CP Abdullah
- Zinni briefs Saudi, UAE, Kuwaiti militaries
- 1430 EST SRB calls Netanyahu
- 1500 EST TLAMs launch
- 1700 EST/2400 Iraq time TLAM Time on Target
- 1710 EST State message to capitals
- SRB calls Demirel, Jabr

- MKA calls Annan, King Hussein
- Cohen calls Bahrain, Qatar, Oman
- Diplomatic messages go out: POTUS messages, SecState messages, ALDAC, Sunshine, Swiss Channel
- POTUS Oval Address
- USUN messages to UNSC members
- SRB/MKA/Cohen/Tenet(Gordon) calls to Big 16, SSCI, HPSCI
- SRB/MKA/Hamre/Ralston Press Briefing
[Issue: Should Cohen/Shelton return; represented at NAC-D by Hamre/Ralston]
- OSD/JCS Ops/Intel Briefings
- 2150 EST Strikes complete

Thursday, December 17th

POTUS, VP, MKA, SRB, Tenet, LF in DC. Cohen/Shelton in Brussels.

Tenet in London.

- 0450 Iraqi time, strikes complete
- War powers reporting.
- Principal-level briefings for Members of Congress.
- Key Validator Calls
 - POTUS calls President Bush
 - SRB calls Kissinger, Brzezinski, Scowcroft, Powell
 - MKA calls Schultz, Baker, Christopher
 - Cohen calls Perry, Cheney, Weinberger, Carlucci,
 - Shelton calls Shalikashvili, Schwartzkopf, Peay
- 1030 EST/1730 Iraq time TLAM Re-strikes begin
- 2135 EST Strikes complete

Friday, December 18th

POTUS, VP, MKA, Tenet, SRB, LF in DC. Cohen/Shelton in Brussels, rtn DC

- 0435 Iraqi time, Strikes complete
- U.S.-E.U. Summit
- 1100 EST/1830 Iraqi time, Tacair strikes begin
- Deploy additional forces
- 2120 EST, Strikes complete

~~TOP SECRET~~

LIMITED ACCESS

Saturday, December 19th

- 0420 Iraqi time, strikes complete
- 1100 EST/1830 Iraqi time, Tacair strikes begin
- 1745 EST final strikes complete
- Additional forces begin arrive in Kuwait
- MKA/Cohen cables to Feb 98 coalition partners

Sunday, December 20th

- 0045 Iraqi time final strike complete
- Main elements of additional forces arrive in Kuwait
- Ramadan begins

Monday, December 21st

- Pan Am 103 ceremony at Arlington Cemetery

~~TOP SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001c. chart	re: Iraq Look Ahead (1 page)	12/00/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M
rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001d. list	Principals Whereabouts (1 page)	12/00/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M
rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **B**

Political Objectives of a Strike Against Iraq

The principal objectives for this strike are to reduce the threat Iraq poses to the region and to the world from the WMD and missiles it has maintained (or could regenerate in the absence of adequate UNSCOM and IAEA inspections) and to weaken the regime's hold on power, which will reduce Iraq's WMD threat. Therefore a strike would be designed to:

- degrade Saddam's WMD and conventional military capability, thereby reducing this threat to his neighbors and;
- weaken his command and control over his military and his people, increasing the chance that those Iraqis who want a different future for Iraq can change their leadership, and lead to an Iraq that complies with UNSCRs.

Objectives with regard to Iraq's future

Through active application of all relevant UNSC resolutions, we continue to pursue our objectives for a democratic and peaceful Iraq. Unfortunately, the evidence is overwhelming that such changes will not happen under the current Iraqi leadership.

- We want Iraq to rejoin the family of nations as a law-abiding member, with its territorial integrity intact.
- We favor an Iraq which offers its people freedom at home, and we categorically reject arguments that this is unattainable due to Iraq's history or its ethnic or sectarian makeup. Iraqis deserve and desire freedom like everyone else.
- We look forward to new leadership in the form of a democratically supported regime that would permit us to enter into a dialogue leading to the reintegration of Iraq into normal international life.
- While we continue to look to UNSC efforts to keep the current regime's behavior in check, we are providing support to opposition groups from all sectors of the Iraqi community that could lead to a popularly supported government.

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2013-0872-M (1.03)
KBH 9/9/2019

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: C

Legal Issues

Goal: Provide appropriate and timely legal review of military and policy options. Articulate domestic and international legal basis for those options for use by communications team.

Legal Requirements for Consultations:

- The WPR provides that "The President in every possible instance shall consult with Congress before introducing United States Armed Forces into hostilities. . ."
- The WPR does not define parties to be consulted. Ordinarily, the executive has consulted the leadership, and the ranking members of the foreign affairs and armed services committees, and sometimes the intelligence committees. However, there is also precedent for consulting the leadership alone, based on security and operational needs.
- Congress has expressed criticism where consultation has occurred in such close proximity to military operations that it is no longer possible, or feasible, for the President to alter course.

Policy recommendations for timeline:

Wednesday, December 16th

- POTUS or SRB calls Lott, Daschle, Gephardt, Gingrich, Livingston prior to DESERT FOX strike.
- Immediately following start of OPERATION DESERT FOX, SRB/MKA/Cohen/Tenet calls to Chairs and Rankings of Senate and House committees.
- Article 51 report to UNSC

Thursday, December 17th, WPR reporting:

P.L. 102-1, the "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution," requires the President to report to Congress "At least once every 60 days" on the status of efforts to obtain compliance by Iraq with applicable UNSCRs. The executive takes the legal view that Iraq 60-day reports supersede the 48-hour reporting requirements of the War Powers Resolution.

-
- However, as a prudential matter, and to avoid debates, counsel would recommend that the President file an Iraq report in a timely manner after commencement of any significant military operation. The next 60-day report is pending with the Clerk's Office and should be signed on or about November 5.

Article 51

- Article 51 of the UN Charter provides that Members shall immediately report to the Security Council measures taken in self-defense.
- An Article 51 report would not be required under international law where a Member is acting pursuant to Security Council authorization, as distinct from self-defense.
- However, policymakers may choose to file such a report as a vehicle in which to communicate U.S. views to the Security Council.
- The U.S. has followed a practice of filing Article 51 reports as soon as possible after military action commences, usually on the same day.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: D

Diplomatic Activity

Monday, December 14th

- British military alerted

Tuesday, December 15th

- Israel warned
- UN in Iraq warned

Wednesday, December 16th

Time on Target minus 3 hours (TOT-3)

- POTUS calls Blair

TOT-2.5

- POTUS calls CP Abdullah
- SRB calls Netanyahu

TOT +10 min

- SRB calls Demirel, Jabr
- STATE ALDAC cable goes out
- POTUS messages go out to UAE, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Egypt (Sunshine)
- POTUS messages go out to Chirac, Yeltsin, Jiang, Demirel, Assad, Arafat, Chretien, Obuchi, Schroeder
- MKA messages go out to Jordan (Hasan), Canada, Australia, NZ, Belgium, Netherlands, Poland, UNSC members, NATO, and NATO SYG.
- MKA calls Annan, King Hussein, Hill leadership
- Cohen calls Bahrain, Qatar, Oman.
- Diplomatic messages, including Swiss Channel.
- POTUS Oval Address.
- USUN messages to UNSC members.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M (1.05)
KBH 9/9/2019

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: E

Congressional Activity

Goal: Allow for appropriate forewarning without compromising operational security and political option.

Wednesday, December 16th

- POTUS calls Lott, Daschle, Gephardt, Gingrich to inform them of DESERT FOX timing.
- Immediately following start of OPERATION DESERT FOX, MKA/SRB/Cohen/Tenet call to Chair and Rankings of Senate and House Armed Services, Foreign Affairs, Key Appropriations and Intelligence Committees and Subcommittees.

Friday, December 18th

- Principal-Level Briefings for Members.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RMS NARA, Date 9/18/2019
2013-0872-M

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: F

Key Telephone Calls

Wednesday, December 16th

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M (1.06)
KBH 9/9/2019

TOT - 3

- POTUS calls Blair, Abdullah
- POTUS calls Lott, Daschle, Gephardt, Gingrich, Livingston

TOT-2.5

- SRB calls Netanyahu
- Zinni talks to Saudi, Kuwaiti, UAE militaries

TOT+10 min

- SRB calls Demirel, Jabr
- MKA calls Annan, King Hussein
- Cohen calls Bahrain, Qatar, Oman
- MKA/SRB/Cohen calls to Chair and Rankings of Senate and House Armed Services, Foreign Affairs, Key Appropriations and Intelligence Committees and Subcommittees.

Thursday, December 17th

- Key Validator Calls
 - POTUS calls President Bush (T)
 - SRB calls Kissinger, Brzezinski, Scowcroft, Powell
 - MKA calls Schultz, Baker, Christopher
 - Cohen calls Perry, Cheney, Weinberger, Carlucci,
 - Shelton calls Shalikhvili, Schwartzkopf, Peay
- Senior officials call key reporters as needed

POTUS Phone Calls

Wednesday, December 16th

- POTUS calls Blair, Abdullah
- POTUS calls Lott, Daschle, Gephardt, Gingrich, Livingston
- Sunshine message to Mubarak.

Thursday, December 17th

- POTUS calls President Bush

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: G

Domestic Public Diplomacy

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-M (1.07)
KBH 9/9/2019

Wednesday, December 16th

- POTUS to reference crisis at top of event of the day, demanding compliance and detailing objectives of use of force.
- 1800 POTUS addresses nation from Oval Office, announcing military action has begun, explaining goals and stakes
- 1900: SRB/MKA/Hamre/Ralston joint briefing reiterating stakes, goal, providing any details of campaign. (WH Briefing Room)
- 2030: JCS and DoD operational briefing

Thursday, December 17th

- Implement domestic and international counter-propaganda effort to push back against Iraqi efforts to manipulate public opinion with footage of "victims."
- POTUS and senior officials call key validators
- Senior officials call key reporters as needed
- Place Senior officials on evening television shows

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: H

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001j. paper	re: Evacuation Activity [partial] (1 page)	12/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M

rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Evacuation Activity

Goal: Provide for the evacuation and/or protection of official and private American and allied citizens without compromising operational security. Late September [1.4(d)] terrorism threat analysis [1.4(c)] states that, "Iraq and its agents are assessed as unlikely to respond with anti-US terrorism in the wake of U.S. military action against the regime." Baghdad would likely consider anti-western terrorism counterproductive to its goal of obtaining relief from UN economic sanctions. Six regional posts with "high" threat levels: Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. [Note: Posts in Pakistan (Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar) still in ordered departure status.] Other posts meriting concern are Oman, Qatar, Turkey and UAE.

Wednesday, December 16th

- UNSCOM leaves Baghdad.
- State issues travel advisory for region; possibly in "response" to an action/statement by Iraq or UN condemnation of non-compliance with inspections regime.
- Updated DOD/State/USC Threat Condition (USC facilities, airports, etc.) issued.
- Immediately following start of OPERATION DESERT FOX, State releases cable to regional posts (and other posts of interest) recommending suspension of normal post activities and convening of post Emergency Action Committees to evaluate current security environment and anticipated needs.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0872-M [1.08]

KBH 9/9/2019

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: I

Counter Terrorism Activity

Goal: Take protective measures against potential Iraqi and other terrorist attacks on U.S. diplomatic and commercial facilities and personnel in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Take protective measures for potential U.S. domestic attacks. Most likely terror tactics include rocket grenade attacks, car bombs, or assassination attacks.

Wednesday, December 16th

- State delegates ordered evacuation to Ambassadors in Israel and Kuwait
- FAA issues a general aviation advisory.
- All USG facilities move to a high security posture until instructed to downgrade.

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M (1.10)
KBH 9/9/2019**

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **J**

International Public Information (IPI)

Goal: Prepare international public opinion for Operation Viper Plus without compromising operational security, and to make all necessary arrangements for robust and coordinated IPI campaign immediately following the operation.

Wednesday, December 16th

- Presidential statement to Arab World, pre-translated into Arabic, released to media outlets in Arab world
- USIA Iraq web page updated
- USIA Iraq listserve disseminates information on rational and target selection
- Statements of support by key allies
- Senior U.S. official at Foreign Press Center
- Release pre-prepared fact sheet to Public Affairs Officers
- Outreach by embassies with key journalists

Thursday, December 17th

- Target analysis briefing
- SRB/MKA/Cohen interviews with foreign media, in addition to Sunday shows

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-m (1.11)
KBH 9/9/2019

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: K

Saturday, December 12, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Saturday, December 12, 1998**

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STRETT

**HOME: 202-332-5651
OFFICE: 202-456-2823
WHCA PAGER: 4824**

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

**HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-2921
WHCA PAGER: 4208**

TRIP COORDINATOR:

CECILY WILLIAMS

**HOME: 202-726-0009
OFFICE: 2-02-456-5039
WHCA PAGER: 4063**

ADVANCE LEAD:

DAN ROSENTHAL

**STAFF OFFICE: 34-220
CELL PHONE: 051-590-452
PAGER: 03-610-666 #40937**

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

JERUSALEM

December 9, 1998 (9:30pm)

Saturday, December 12, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Saturday, December 12, 1998
Draft Schedule**

- 5:50 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart The White House via motorcade en route Reflecting Pool
[drive time: 5 minutes]
- 5:55 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Reflecting Pool
- 6:05 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Reflecting Pool via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base
[flight time: 10 minutes]
- 6:15 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Andrews Air Force Base
- 6:30 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One en route Ben Gurion International Airport, Tel Aviv, Israel
[flight time: 10 hours, 40 minutes] [INTERCHANGE]
[time change: +7 hours]
- 12:10 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Ben Gurion International Airport
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1998

[12/12 5:10pm EST]

Greeters: Ariel Sharon, Foreign Minister
Mrs. Lili Sharon

Note: Israel is 7 hours ahead of Washington, DC.

December 9, 1998 (9:30pm)

Saturday, December 12, 1998

12:25 am-
1:05 am
[5:25-6:00pm EST]

REMARKS AT ARRIVAL CEREMONY

TARMAC

Ben Gurion International Airport

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Office

Remarks: Tom Malinowski

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams

Translation:

OPEN PRESS

Participants
The President
The First Lady
Ambassador Edward S. Walker, Jr.
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Doug Sosnik
Samuel Berger
Maria Echaveste
Bruce Lindsey
Joe Lockhart
Melanne Verveer
Dennis Ross
Martin Indyk
Bruce Riedel

Claine Success

- **The President** and the First Lady proceed down steps of Air Force One and are greeted by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Mrs. Sara Netanyahu, President Ezer Weizman and Mrs. Weizman.
 - **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Mrs. Sara Netanyahu, President Ezer Weizman and Mrs. Weizman stand for the Israeli and American National Anthems.
 - **The President**, accompanied by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and President Weizman, review Israeli troops
 - **The President**, and the First Lady, accompanied by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Mrs. Sara Netanyahu, President Ezer Weizman and Mrs. Weizman proceed along the red carpet to greet Israeli Dignitaries.
 - **The President**, accompanied by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and President Ezer Weizman, proceed to stage.
- Note:** **The First Lady, Mrs. Sara Netanyahu and Mrs. Weizman will proceed to area near stage for remarks.**
- President Ezer Weizman makes brief welcoming remarks and introduces Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

December 9, 1998 (9:30pm)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001m. schedule	re: Schedules of the President for December 12-15, 1998 [partial] (8 pages)	12/1998	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M
rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

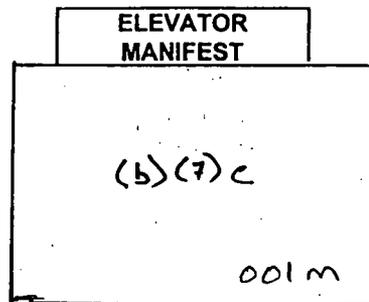
Saturday, December 12, 1998

- Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes brief remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the President and the First Lady proceed to Marine One.

1:15 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Ben Gurion International Airport via Marine One en route Jerusalem Landing Zone [flight time: 15 minutes]

1:30 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Jerusalem Landing Zone
1:40 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Jerusalem Landing Zone TBD via motorcade en route Jerusalem Hilton Hotel [drive time: 10 minutes]

1:50 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Jerusalem Hilton Hotel



DOWN FOR THE EVENING

BC/HRC RON

JERUSALEM HILTON HOTEL
JERUSALEM

December 9, 1998 (9:30pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Sunday, December 13, 1998**

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STRETT

**HOME: 202-332-5651
OFFICE: 202-456-2823
WHCA PAGER: 4824**

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

**HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-2921
WHCA PAGER: 4208**

TRIP COORDINATOR:

CECILY WILLIAMS

**HOME: 202-726-0009
OFFICE: 202-456-5039
WHCA PAGER: 4063**

ADVANCE LEAD:

DAN ROSENTHAL

**STAFF OFFICE: 34-220
CELL PHONE: 051-590-452
PAGER: 03-610-666 #40937**

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JERUSALEM

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Sunday, December 13, 1998
Draft Schedule**

8:30 am-
8:45 am **CHIEF OF STAFF BRIEFING**
ROOM 966
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

8:45 am-
9:15 am **BRIEFING**
ROOM 966
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

9:20 am-
9:35 am **HOLD**
LOCATION TBD

9:40 am **THE PRESIDENT** proceeds to Location TBD

**ELEVATOR
MANIFEST**

(b)(7)e

001 M

a Mrs.

9:45 am-
10:30 am **COFFEE WITH PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU**
LOCATION TBD
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
CLOSED PRESS

United States	Israel
The President The First Lady	Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu Mrs. Sara Netanyahu

10:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Jerusalem Hilton Hotel via motorcade en route
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Office
[drive time: tbd]

10:40 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Office

December 9, 1998 (9:27 pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

Greeters:

10:45 am-
12:15 pm

**BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
BENJAMIN NETANYAHU
THE CABINET ROOM**
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Office
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
POOL SPRAY (AT THE TOP)

United States	Israel
The President Ambassador Edward S. Walker, Jr. Secretary Madeleine Albright Samuel Berger Dennis Ross Rob Malley (Notetaker)	Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

-- Upon conclusion of meeting, **the President** proceeds upstairs to Minister's Conference Room.

12:20 pm-
12:45 pm

**BRIEFING FOR PRESS STATEMENT
MINISTER'S CONFERENCE ROOM (SECOND FLOOR)**
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Office
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

-- Upon conclusion of briefing, **the President** proceeds downstairs and is greeted by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

-- **The President**, accompanied by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, proceeds outside to entrance foyer.

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

12:50 pm-
1:10 pm

BRIEF PRESS STATEMENT
ENTRANCE FOYER
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Office
Remarks:
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
EXPANDED POOL PRESS

- **The President** and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu proceed to separate podiums.
- Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu makes a brief statement.
- **The President** makes a brief statement.
- **The President** and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu each take two questions from the press.
- **The President** departs.

1:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Office via motorcade en route Mt. Herzl
[drive time: tbd]

1:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Mt. Herzl
CLOSED PRESS

Greeter: Mrs. Leah Rabin
(Arrival)

- **The President**, accompanied by Mrs. Leah Rabin, proceeds to designated greeting area.

Note: The First Lady will join the President at this point.

Greeters: Dalia Rabin Pilssof, Mrs. Rabin's Daughter
(Holding Area) Noa Ben-Artzi, Mrs. Rabin's Granddaughter

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

1:35 pm-
2:10 pm
[6:35-7:10am EST]

**VISIT TO GRAVESITE OF PRIME MINISTER YITZAK RABIN
MT. HERZL
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
POOL PRESS**

- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Rabin and family, proceed up stairs to gravesite of Yitzhak Rabin.
- **The President** and the First Lady approach grave.
- **The President** places a stone on top of grave.
- The First Lady places flowers on floor of grave.
- **The President** and the First Lady invite Mrs. Rabin to join them at the grave area to place flowers on floor of grave.
- **The President** and the First Lady pause.
- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Rabin and family, return to greeting area.
- **The President** bids the Rabin family farewell and departs.

Note: The First Lady will depart separately en route Neve Shalom at this point.

2:15 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Mt. Herzl via motorcade en route Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
[drive time: tbd]

2:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Jerusalem Hilton Hotel

2:30 pm-
3:00 pm **SPEECH PREPARATION
JERUSALEM HILTON HOTEL**

3:00 pm-
3:50 pm **DOWN TIME
LOCATION TBD**

4:00 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Jerusalem Hilton Hotel via motorcade en route Beit Hanassi
[drive time: tbd]

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

ELEVATOR MANIFEST

(b)(7)e
ool m

- 7:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Jerusalem Convention Center via motorcade en route Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
[drive time: approximately 10 minutes]
- 7:15 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
- 7:20 pm **DOWN TIME**
8:00 pm **JERUSALEM HILTON HOTEL**
- 8:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** proceeds to Room TBD

**ELEVATOR
MANIFEST**

(b)(7)e
ool m

- 8:10 pm-
8:25 pm **BRIEF PULL-ASIDE MEETING WITH JERUSALEM MAYOR
EHUD OLMERT**
ROOM TBD
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
CLOSED PRESS

United States	Jerusalem
The President Ambassador Edward S. Walker, Jr. Samuel Berger Rob Malley (notetaker)	Mayor Ehud Olmert

- 8:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** proceeds to the Ballroom

Note: The First Lady will meet the President at this time.

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

8:30 pm-
10:30 pm
[1:30-3:30pm EST]

**DINNER HOSTED BY PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU
THE BALLROOM**

Jerusalem Hilton Hotel

Remarks: David Halperin

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams

Translation:

POOL PRESS (TOASTS ONLY)

Note: The dress for this dinner is business attire.

Note: Approximately 350 guests in attendance.

- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Mrs. Sara Netanyahu, are announced into Ballroom by Daniel Paer, Master of Ceremonies.
- Daniel Paer invites **the President** and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to light Chanukah Candles (2).
- **The President** and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu proceed to their seats.
- Dodo Fisher performs a traditional Chanukah song.
- Daniel Paer asks Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to offer a toast.
- Daniel Paer asks **the President** to offer a toast.
- Dinner is served.
- Shuli Natan performs "Jerusalem of Gold."
- Dessert is served.
- Upon conclusion of dessert, **the President** and the First Lady depart.

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Sunday, December 13, 1998

10:35 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady proceed to Presidential Suite

ELEVATOR
MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

001 m

BC/HRC RON

JERUSALEM HILTON HOTEL
JERUSALEM

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Monday, December 14, 1998**

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

**HOME: 202-332-5651
OFFICE: 202-456-2823
WHCA PAGER: 4824**

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

**HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-2921
WHCA PAGER: 4208**

TRIP COORDINATOR:

CECILY WILLIAMS

**HOME: 202-726-0009
OFFICE: 202-456-5039
WHCA PAGER: 4063**

ADVANCE LEAD:

DAN ROSENTHAL

**STAFF OFFICE: 34-220
CELL PHONE: 051-590-452
PAGER: 03-610-666 #40937**

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JERUSALEM

GAZA CITY

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Monday, December 14, 1998
Draft Schedule**

Staff Note: For staff not manifested on helicopters, buses will depart Jerusalem Hilton Hotel en route Gaza International Airport at TBD.

8:30 am- CHIEF OF STAFF BRIEFING
8:45 am ROOM 966
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

8:45 am- BRIEFING
9:10 am ROOM 966
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

ELEVATOR MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

oalm

9:15 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Jerusalem Hilton Hotel via motorcade en route Jerusalem Landing Zone [drive time: 10 minutes]

9:25 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Jerusalem Landing Zone

9:35 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Jerusalem Landing Zone via Marine One en route Gaza International Airport [flight time: 40 minutes]

10:15 am THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Gaza International Airport

Greeters: Chairman Yasser Arafat
Mrs. Arafat

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

10:15 am-
11:15 am
[3:15-4:15am EST]

GAZA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT EVENT
MAIN TERMINAL
Remarks: Tony Blinken
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
Translation:
OPEN PRESS

Participants
The President
The First Lady
Consul General John Herbst
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary William Daley
Secretary Daniel Glickman
Congressional Delegation
Samuel Berger
Maria Echaveste

CoDel Note: The Congressional Delegation will proceed directly to seating area upon arrival.

- **The President** and the First Lady are greeted by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat.
- **The President** and Chairman Yasser Arafat proceed down red carpet to review Honor Guard.

Note: The First Lady and Mrs. Arafat will proceed down red carpet immediately following.

- **The President** and the First Lady greet foreign ministers.
- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat, are led on a brief tour of the VIP Terminal by Person TBD.
- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat, proceed outside to Main Terminal.
- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat, are led on a brief tour of the Main Terminal by Person TBD.
- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat, proceed outside Main Terminal.

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

-- **The President** observes Person TBD cutting a ribbon to signify airport opening.

-- **The President** and the First Lady proceed to Marine One and depart.

11:25 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Gaza International Airport via Marine One en route Gaza City Landing Zone
[flight time: 15 minutes]

Note: The First Lady will depart en route TBD at this time.

CoDel Note: The Congressional Delegation departs en route Gaza Industrial Estate at this time.

11:40 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Gaza City Landing Zone

11:50 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Gaza City Landing Zone via motorcade en route Chairman Yasser Arafat's Office
[drive time: 5 minutes]

11:55 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Chairman Yasser Arafat's Office

Greeter: Chairman Yasser Arafat
Mrs. Arafat

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

12:00 pm-
1:00 pm
[5:00-6:00am EST]

**BILATERAL MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT
CABINET ROOM
Chairman Yasser Arafat's Office
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
Translation: Whisper
POOL SPRAY (AT THE TOP)**

United States	Palestinian Authority
The President Secretary Madeleine Albright Samuel Berger Dennis Ross Martin Indyk Rob Malley (notetaker)	Chairman Yasser Arafat

- **The President**, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat, proceeds to Cabinet Room.
- Meeting begins.
- Upon conclusion of meeting, **the President** departs.

1:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Chairman Yasser Arafat's Office via motorcade en route Zahrat Al Madaen
[drive time: 5 minutes]

1:10 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Zahrat Al Madaen

Note: The First Lady will join the President at this time.

Greeter: Chairman Yasser Arafat

CoDel Note: The Congressional Delegation arrives at Zahrat Al Madaen at TBD.

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

1:15 pm-
2:25 pm

**LUNCHEON HOSTED BY CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT
ZHRAT AL MADAEN ("FLOWER OF THE CITY")
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
Translation: Consecutive
POOL PRESS (REMARKS ONLY)**

Note: There will be approximately TBD guests in attendance.

United States	Palestinian Authority
The President The First Lady Others TBD	Chairman Yasser Arafat

- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat, will participate in a receiving line.
- Off-stage announcement of the **President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat.
- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat, proceed to their seats at the head table.
- Chairman Yasser Arafat delivers a toast.
POOL SPRAY
- Person TBD presents the **President** with a Koran.
- **The President** delivers a toast.
POOL SPRAY
- Lunch is served.
- Upon conclusion of lunch, the **President** and the First Lady depart.

Staff Note: Lunch will be available for traveling staff at this point.

- 2:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Zahrat Al Madaen via motorcade en route The Guest Palace
[drive time: 5 minutes]
- 2:35 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives The Guest Palace

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

2:40 pm-
3:30 pm

BRIEFING/SPEECH PREPARATION
THE GUEST PALACE
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

3:35 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs The Palace via motorcade en route Shawa Center
[drive time: 5 minutes]

3:40 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrive Shawa Center

Greeter: Chairman Yasser Arafat

3:45 pm-
5:00 pm

[8:45-10:00am EST]

ADDRESS TO PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS
MAIN HALL

Shawa Center

Remarks: Tony Blinken

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams

Translation: Simultaneous

OPEN PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 1000 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement (in Arabic) of the **President**, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat and Speaker Salim Al Zannon.
- **The President**, accompanied by Chairman Yasser Arafat, proceeds on stage and takes seat at table.

Note: The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Arafat, will proceed to seat in front row.

- Salim Al Zannon, Speaker, Palestinian National Council makes brief welcoming remarks and introduces Chairman Yasser Arafat.
- Chairman Yasser Arafat makes remarks and calls for a hand vote by the Palestinian National Council.
- Chairman Yasser Arafat introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks.
- **The President** departs.

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

CoDel Note: Upon conclusion of event, the First Lady and the Congressional Delegation will depart en route Jerusalem.

5:05 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Shawa Center via motorcade en route Gaza City Landing Zone
[drive time: 5 minutes]

5:10 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Gaza City Landing Zone

5:25 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Gaza City Landing Zone via Marine One en route Erez Landing Zone
[flight time: tbd]

TBD THE PRESIDENT arrives Erez Landing Zone

TBD THE PRESIDENT departs Erez Landing Zone via motorcade en route Location TBD
[drive time: tbd]

TBD THE PRESIDENT arrives Location TBD

Greeters:

6:15 pm- (T) TRILATERAL MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT AND
7:45 pm PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU
[11:15am-12:45pm EST] LOCATION TBD
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
Interpretation:
PRESS TBD

United States	Israel	Palestinian Authority
The President Secretary Madeleine Albright Samuel Berger Dennis Ross Bruce Riedel (notetaker)	Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu	Chairman Yasser Arafat

7:50 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Site TBD via motorcade en route Erez Landing Zone
[drive time: tbd]

TBD THE PRESIDENT arrives Erez Landing Zone

TBD THE PRESIDENT departs Erez Landing Zone via Marine One en route Jerusalem Landing Zone

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Monday, December 14, 1998

[flight time: 25 minutes]

TBD

THE PRESIDENT arrives Jerusalem Landing Zone

TBD

THE PRESIDENT departs Jerusalem Landing Zone via motorcade en route Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
[drive time: 10 minutes]

TBD

THE PRESIDENT arrives Jerusalem Hilton Hotel

ELEVATOR MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

oolm

EVENING OFF

BC/HRC RON

JERUSALEM HILTON HOTEL
JERUSALEM

December 9, 1998 (9:27pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Tuesday, December 15, 1998**

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STRETT

**HOME: 202-332-5651
OFFICE: 202-456-2823
WHCA PAGER: 4824**

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

**HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-2921
WHCA PAGER: 4208**

TRIP COORDINATOR:

CECILY WILLIAMS

**HOME: 202-726-0009
OFFICE: 2-02-456-5039
WHCA PAGER: 4063**

ADVANCE LEAD:

DAN ROSENTHAL

**STAFF OFFICE: 34-220
CELL PHONE: 051-590-452
PAGER: 03-610-666 #40937**

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JERUSALEM

BETHLEHEM

TEL AVIV

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Tuesday, December 15, 1998
*Draft Schedule***

8:30 am- CHIEF OF STAFF BRIEFING
8:45 am ROOM 966
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

8:45 am- BRIEFING
9:15 am ROOM 966
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

9:15 am THE PRESIDENT proceeds to The Ballroom, Second Floor

ELEVATOR MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

o o l m

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

9:20 am-
10:00 am
[2:20-3:00 EST]

**REMARKS TO THE EMBASSY/CONSULATE GENERAL
COMMUNITY
THE BALLROOM, SECOND FLOOR
Jerusalem Hilton Hotel
Remarks: Matt Gobush
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
CLOSED PRESS**

Note: Approximately 450 guests in attendance.

PARTICIPANTS
The President
The First Lady
Ambassador Edward S. Walker, Jr.
Consul General John Herst
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary Daniel Glickman
Doug Sosnik
Samuel Berger
Maria Echaveste
Dennis Ross
Martin Indyk
Others TBD

- Off-stage announcement of **the President**, the First Lady, Consul General John Herst, Ambassador Ned Walker, and Secretary Madeleine Albright.
- Consul General John Herst makes brief remarks and introduces Ambassador Edward S. Walker, Jr.
- Ambassador Ned Walker makes brief remarks and introduces Secretary Madeleine Albright.
- Secretary of State Madeleine Albright makes brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

10:05 am

THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Aqua Restaurant, Fourth Floor

ELEVATOR MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

o o l m

10:10 am-

10:40 am

[3:10-3:40am EST]

MEETING WITH LABOR LEADER EHUD BARAK

AQUA RESTAURANT, FOURTH FLOOR

Jerusalem Hilton Hotel

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams

STILLS ONLY

United States	Labor Party
The President Ambassador Edward S. Walker, Jr. Samuel Berger Maria Echaveste Bruce Riedel	Ehud Barak

ELEVATOR MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

o o l m

10:45 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Jerusalem Hilton Hotel via motorcade en route Jerusalem Landing Zone
[drive time: 10 minutes]

10:55 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Jerusalem Landing Zone

11:10 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Jerusalem Landing Zone via Marine One en route Bethlehem Landing Zone
[flight time: 15 minutes]

11:25 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Bethlehem Landing Zone

Greeters: Chairman Yasser Arafat (T)

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

Mrs. Arafat (T)
Others TBD

11:40 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Bethlehem Landing Zone via motorcade en route Church of the Nativity
[drive time: 5 minutes]

Note: Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Arafat will accompany in motorcade (T).

11:45 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Church of the Nativity

11:45 am-

12:45 pm

[4:45-5:45pm EST]

TOUR CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
CLOSED PRESS

PARTICIPANTS
The President
The First Lady

- **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Franciscan Patriarchs of the Church and the Church Historian TBD, proceed inside church.
- **The President** and the First Lady are led on a tour by Church Historian TBD.
- Upon conclusion of the tour, **the President** and the First Lady will proceed to courtyard.

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

12:50 pm-
1:15 pm
[5:50-6:15m EST]

BETHLEHEM CHRISTMAS TREE LIGHTING
COURTYARD, CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
POOL PRESS

PARTICIPANTS
The President
The First Lady
John Herbst
Secretary Daniel Glickman
Members of Congress
Samuel Berger
Maria Echaveste
Doug Sosnik
Bruce Riedel

- **The President** and the First Lady enter the Courtyard as choir sings.
- Ornament hanging TBD.
- **The President** lights Christmas Tree.
- Choir performs a final song.
- **The President** and the First Lady depart.

- 1:20 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart Church of the Nativity via motorcade en route Bethlehem Landing Zone
[drive time: 5 minutes]
- 1:25 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive Bethlehem Landing Zone
- 1:35 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart Bethlehem Landing Zone via Marine One en route Dead Sea Landing Zone
[flight time: 20 minutes]
- 1:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive Dead Sea Landing Zone
- 2:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart Dead Sea Landing Zone via motorcade en route Masada Visitor's Center
[drive time: 5 minutes]

Staff Note: ALL staff will proceed directly to cable cars for a separate tour.

- 2:10 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive Masada Visitor's Center

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

Greeters:

2:15 pm-
2:30 pm

HOLD/LUNCH
VISITOR'S CENTER
Masada
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams

2:30 pm-
3:45 pm

TOUR MASADA
LOCATION TBD
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Cecily Williams
PRESS TBD

Note: It is advised that footwear appropriate for rugged terrain be worn.

PARTICIPANTS
The President The First Lady

- **The President and the First Lady proceed to Cable Cars.**

CABLE CAR MANIFEST
The President The First Lady Chelsea Clinton Others TBD

- **The President and the First Lady proceed to the Snake Path Gate.**

- **The President and the First Lady proceed to Residential House.**

POOL PRESS

- **The President and the First Lady proceed to tour Bathhouse, Northern Palace, Water Gate, Synagogue, Tower in the Wall, Ramp, Byzantine Church, Western Palace, and Bathing Pool.**

- **The President and the First Lady proceed to Cable Cars.**

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Tuesday, December 15, 1998

CABLE CAR MANIFEST

The President The First Lady Chelsea Clinton Others TBD
--

-- The President and the First Lady proceed to Visitor's Center.

3:55 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Masada Visitor's Center via motorcade en route Dead Sea Landing Zone
[drive time: 5 minutes]

4:00 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Dead Sea Landing Zone

4:10 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Dead Sea Landing Zone via Marine One en route Ben Gurion Airport, Tel Aviv, Israel
[flight time: 35 minutes]

4:45 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Ben Gurion Airport

Greeters:

5:00 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Ben Gurion Airport via Air Force One en route Andrews Air Force Base
[10:00am EST]
[flight time: 12 hours, 10 minutes]
[time change: -7 hours]

10:10 pm EST THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Andrews Air Force Base

10:25 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Andrews Air Force Base via Marine One en route Reflecting Pool
[flight time: tbd]

10:35 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Reflecting Pool

10:45 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Reflecting Pool via motorcade en route The White House
[drive time: 5 minutes]

10:50 pm THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive The White House

BC/HRC RON THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC

December 9, 1998 (10:23pm)

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: L

TIMELINE FOR STEPS INVOLVING ISRAEL

December 15th

POTUS warns Netanyahu of possible attack

The Israelis already have passed on their wish-list to us (virtually same as last winter). It includes:

- 1-3 Patriot batteries that the GOI wants on a 72-hour alert status so that they could be deployed within 72 hours of the call. These are deploying to Israel as part of an exercise o/a December 11th.
- Biological identification detection systems (BIDS): These have been called up and will be ready to deploy after strike begins.
- 30-50,000 M-40 gas masks and filters. DOD will need 72 hours to get.
- 100,000 charcoal protective garments, pre-positioned in Israel.
- 10 CBW M-21 detection units, pre-positioned.
- Injections and antibiotics.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0872-M (1.12)
KBH 9/9/2019

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: M

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001o. paper	re: "What If..." Scenarios and U.S. Couintermoves (10 pages)	12/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Iraq and Limited Access])
OA/Box Number: 43325

FOLDER TITLE:

9808659

2013-0872-M
rs950

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: N

~~TOP SECRET~~

LIMITED ACCESS

Press Management (Q & A)

TO BE PROVIDED

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RMS NARA, Date 9/18/2019
2013-0872-M

TOP SECRET

See

Case Number: 2009-0983-M; 2013-0872-
M

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title: PC0321 [PC Meeting on Iraq]				
Staff Office-Individual: Records Management				
Original OA/ID Number: 3907				
Row: 43	Section: 6	Shelf: 5	Position: 1	Stack: V

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

21113

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Summary of Conclusions for
NSC Principals Committee Meeting on Iraq

DATE: December 18, 1998
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 2:15 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of Principals Committee Meeting
on Iraq (S)

PARTICIPANTS:

Chair:
Samuel Berger

USUN
Peter Burleigh (via SVTS
from NY)

OVP:
Leon Fuerth
Chris Bolan

Chief of Staff:
John Podesta

State:
Madeleine Albright
Tom Pickering
Martin Indyk
David Welch

CIA
John Gordon

EO 13526 1.4d

DOD:
William Cohen
Walter Slocombe

JCS
Hugh Shelton
Robert Wagner

White House
James Steinberg
Donald Kerrick

NSC
Bruce Riedel

Summary of Conclusions

Principals agreed:

- Operation Desert Fox will continue for a fourth night of operations [EO 13526 1.4d] (Defense) (S)

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies
Reason: 1.5 (a), (b), (d)
Declassify On: 12/19/08

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

~~SECRET~~

2013-0872-M [1.67]

KBH 9/9/2019

- We will support the return of UNSCOM and IAEA inspectors to Iraq only after Iraq affirmatively and credibly confirms its full cooperation with them. We will develop a diplomatic gameplan for securing such assurance with the Security Council. If Iraq will not cooperate, UNSCOM will operate outside Iraq, EO 13526 1.4d and we will oppose any sanctions reviews. (S)

- Our "Day After" posture will be:
 - We will maintain a robust military presence in the area and a readiness to use force again. Saddam should already know that we will use force if Iraq threatens its neighbors, reconstitute its WMD, or moves against the Kurds. (S)

 - We will continue to contain Iraq by enforcing the United Nations sanctions and the two no fly zones. (S)

 - We support the containment of Iraq with the help of a coalition of allies. (S)

 - We will support extension of the oil for food arrangement so that the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people are assured. (S)

 - We will welcome UNSCOM/IAEA's return to Iraq after concrete, affirmative and demonstrated action by Iraq that shows it will provide full cooperation and allow UNSCOM/IAEA to do their job. (S)

 - We will work with the Iraqi opposition to bring about a change of leadership in Iraq because this is the only reliable means to ensure an Iraq that is willing to live at peace with its neighbors and its own people. (S)

 - We will be ready to work with a new leadership in Iraq that abides by the UNSCRs to quickly reintegrate Iraq into the international community and ease the economic burden Saddam has created. (S)