

A Note on Sources

Most of the sources used for this study were those collected and organized for the Dayton History Project's archive. In June 1996, the Dayton History Project gained full access to Department of State files, including, for example, all cables from the central records management system (RMD), all EUR files (including e-mail and computer databases), INR memoranda, Operations Center Watch Reports and Telephone Logs, "out-of-system" documents, and personal notes and memoranda of numerous senior officials, including those of Secretary Christopher, Strobe Talbott, Tom Donilon, and Richard Holbrooke. Although the Dayton History Project staff did not attain full access to NSC, DOD or CIA materials, the archive does include any such materials that were sent to the State Department originally (the NSC's "Summary of Conclusions" from Deputies or Principals Committee Meetings, for example) or provided by individuals specifically for this project (such as Jim Pardew's memoranda to Secretary Perry). A more detailed description of the materials used here can be found in the Dayton History Project archive's "finding aid."

In addition to this substantial documentary collection -- which fills more than ten file-drawers -- this study is based on nearly sixty hours of interviews with over forty officials involved in the negotiations. Such interviews enabled me to bring the documents to life, identifying ones of particular importance and placing them in the context with which they were used or read. A complete list of these interviews, along with transcripts and original tapes, can be found in the Dayton History Project archive. Notable among these is a day-long, video-taped seminar held at the Foreign Service Institute on June 26, 1996, in which Holbrooke, Hill, Clark, Kerrick, Owen, Pardew and Rosemarie Pauli-Gikas joined several other State Department officials to discuss the events leading to Dayton. Along with these official interviews, I spent many hours discussing these events and issues with several officials, particularly Richard Holbrooke and Chris Hill. Important or interesting details from such discussions, while not part of the official archive, are noted in the footnotes.

To supplement the classified official record and interviews, I turned to numerous "secondary" sources -- including newspapers reports, journal articles and books -- to help fill in gaps or provide contextual detail not found elsewhere. Further, I was able to use material from several works in progress. In particular, I benefited from drafts of the U.S. Air Force's survey of "Operation Deliberate Force" provided by Major Mark McLoughlin of Maxwell Air Force Base's Air Power School, as well as Dr. Henry Narducci's official history of Wright-Patterson Air Force Base's efforts to support the peace talks. Most important, however, Richard Holbrooke graciously permitted me to quote from several draft chapters of his memoirs, scheduled to be published in January 1998.

Although I had more resource material than most historians dream of, one of the more discouraging aspects of this project was learning about documents or records that I could not attain. As is inevitable in any attempt to recreate the past, this product is limited by the resources of the present. In terms of documents, the obvious areas for further research are NSC and DOD files. Within these respective agencies, researchers should pay particular attention to Alexander Vershbow's remarkable personal notes (which offer a near-verbatim account of critical DC and PC's) and General Wesley Clark's daily reports to General John Shalikashvili. I used some of these records -- during the Vershbow interviews, he read from his notebooks; and a few of Clark's reports were found in State Department files -- but not all. Unfortunate omissions also appear in the oral history archive. Anthony Lake, Sandy Berger, General Shalikashvili, Admiral Leighton Smith, General George Joulwan, Tom Donilon and, of course, President Clinton and Vice President Gore were unavailable to be interviewed. In addition, numerous other officials -- including Strobe Talbott, Jim Steinberg, and Walter Slocombe -- were interviewed but future research would undoubtedly benefit from further discussions with them. My hope is that by identifying these resources left to be mined, future researchers will be better able to build upon this story, hopefully mending the numerous gaps my work has revealed.