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THE
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FOR
SECURITY
POLICY

Date: 1/07/93

To: HON JAMES BAKER

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From: center for security policy

Subject:

of Pages (including this cover sheet): 5

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THE
CENTER
FOR
SECURITY
POLICY

DECISION BRIEF
For Immediate Release

No. 93-D 2
7 January 1993
Contact: Jennifer W. Macdonald
(202) 466-0515

**'IN THE NAME OF GOD, GO' IN: TIME TO END THE WEST'S
'KITTY GENOVESE' SYNDROME ON BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA**

(Washington, D.C.): However inconvenient it may be in light of the political transition underway at the moment, the United States can no longer avoid intervention on behalf of the victims of Serbian genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Further delay in the use of force to punish the aggressors, to liberate territory they have wrongly seized and brutally "ethnically cleansed" and to create a basis for a just peace will have absolutely predictable effects:

- o There *will be* a wider war in the region, probably involving, among others, two U.S. allies -- Greece and Turkey.
- o There *will be* further, wholesale Serbian "crimes against humanity." And,
- o The U.S. and other Western nations *will be* indictably complicit in such atrocities for having knowingly permitted them to happen and for doing nothing effective to halt or suppress them.

The Helsinki Commission Briefing

The latter point was brought home powerfully in a briefing yesterday organized by the congressional Helsinki Commission co-chaired by Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) and Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD). Following opening statements by the sponsors which strongly, and properly, criticized the U.S. and Western policies to date concerning the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, three human rights organizations provided shattering documentation of the magnitude of the human dimension of that crisis -- and underscored the legal, moral and strategic factors impelling a swift and radical change in those policies.

Representatives of Doctors Without Borders, Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch established unmistakably -- on the basis of thorough, first-hand examinations of the victims of Serbian prison camps, rape campaigns and other atrocities -- that a basis now exists for war crimes trials under the Nuremberg precedent and the Geneva Convention. As Françoise Saulnier of Doctors Without Borders put it:

"[Our] new report demonstrates the working out of a systematic [Serbian] plan to exterminate the Bosnian Muslims....The violence committed by Bosnian Serbs does not amount to a long series of war crimes or human rights violations, but rather to a crime against humanity, defined by the Nuremberg tribunal as: "assassination, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts committed against a civilian population."

Simply put, genocide is being perpetrated by Serbia in a manner totally at variance with international law and inconsistent with the governing principles of any nation which considers itself "civilized."

- more -

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**Center for Security Policy
Decision Brief****Page Two
7 January 1993****The Hallmarks of the Kitty Genovese Syndrome**

The Center for Security Policy has believed from the outset of the Yugoslav crisis that the United States could not responsibly, morally or strategically afford to adopt the position of those who witnessed the brutal 1964 knife murder in New York of an innocent young woman named Kitty Genovese. Inaction justified by not wanting to "get involved" as people are being hacked to death — or, for that matter, starved, tortured, raped, frozen¹ or otherwise abused — is as intolerable as it is repugnant.

Neither can freedom-loving countries permit the pursuit of negotiated peace agreements to continue to serve as a political cover for — if not as an instrument of — the aggressors' efforts to consolidate and legitimize their ill-gotten territorial gains. It is, as Sen. DeConcini put it yesterday, absolutely "unbelievable" and enough to "make you want to regurgitate" that the international community could be compelling the elected representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina to negotiate in UN/EC-sponsored "peace talks" with the same people branded by Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger — among others — as *war criminals*.

More to the point, the proposal for effectively dismantling Bosnia into ten "autonomous" provinces drawn along more or less "ethnically pure" lines — a proposal that UN envoy Cyrus Vance and EC delegate David Owens are currently trying to foist on the Bosnian government — is a *formula for appeasing the perpetrator of these war crimes*. The Center commends Sen. DeConcini and Rep. Hoyer for their unequivocal rejection of this proposal as the basis for ending the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Sen. DeConcini's words:

"I'm very disappointed in that plan....I find that repugnant....It's way too late, in my judgment, to force — which I feel is what is happening there — the Bosnian-Herzegovinian side to divide up that country. That's totally contrary to the UN, CSCE, and Helsinki agreements on territories gained through military action."

What Must Now Be Done

In light of these latest findings by independent observers and distinguished congressional leaders, the Center for Security Policy believes the United States has no alternative but to implement forthwith the following changes to existing policy:

- o Immediately enforce the no-fly zone;
- o Lift the arms embargo as it applies to Bosnia;
- o Serve notice that selected air strikes will be conducted against targets in Serbia if logistical support and other assistance to irregular forces in Bosnia are not terminated at once;
- o Intensify Western relief efforts;

- more -

¹ The Center for Security Policy warned early on of the significant contribution to Serbia's campaign of genocide that would be made by the harsh Balkan winter. See, for example, the Center's *Decision Brief* entitled, "Serbia Set to Exploit More Efficient 'Final Solution': Nature's Freezer Cheaper Than Hitler's Crematoria," (No. 92-D 103, 31 August 1992).

**Center for Security Policy
Decision Brief****Page Three
7 January 1993**

- o Offer temporary asylum in the United States to refugees of the Bosnian-Serbian conflict who have been victimized through incarceration in Serbian prison camps, rape centers and other detention centers and their families; and
- o Block any efforts to provide amnesty to Serbian war criminals.

The Bottom Line

The United States can no longer wait upon a multilateral consensus to take such steps. What is more, by demonstrating its willingness to act upon them unilaterally if necessary, the U.S. will almost certainly catalyze a desirable multinational effort along these precise lines.

On the other hand, should it fail to act, it is entirely possible that virtually nothing will be done to prevent the consolidation of Serbia's aggression -- or to dissuade others from following suit. On the latter point, Dr. Angelo Codevilla, a fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, observed what is at stake in a thought-provoking op.ed. article in today's *Wall Street Journal*.

"Russia's communist apparatchiks, who are now recouping their powers in Moscow and have already started border wars in Georgia and Moldova, have reason to believe [on the basis of the international community's lack of effective action in Bosnia to date] that the West would stand by if they tried to reassert control over Ukraine and the Baltics, and that afterward Europe would pay them protection money." (Full text is attached.)

In fact, just yesterday, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev confirmed charges made recently by the Center for Security Policy²: Moscow is actively working to thwart Western intervention against its long-time ally, Serbia. According to today's *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Daily Report*:

"In an interview with Russian TV's 'Utro' program on 6 January, Kozyrev said that Russia had used a 'covert veto' on the question of using an international-sponsored military force to settle the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. He said that Russia had accomplished this by persistently questioning Western proposals for military intervention in Bosnia and by supporting a continuing process of negotiation among the conflicting sides."

In light of this development, the Center finds particularly commendable recent statements made by Sens. DeConcini and Richard Lugar (R-IN) and Rep. Hoyer suggesting that, under present circumstances, the United States might have to contemplate deploying ground forces to Bosnia as part of a multilateral effort. While the Center remains hopeful that such a step will not be necessary, it strongly believes that an express U.S. willingness to do so is becoming increasingly necessary to get the Serbs' attention, to parry the Russian "covert veto" and to shame the Europeans into providing their own sizeable peace-making forces -- before countless thousands more perish needlessly.

² See Center Director Frank J. Gaffney, Jr.'s column in the *Washington Times* entitled "Moscow Veto Mood Rising?", 23 December 1992.

The U.S. Leads Operation Wrong Target

Operation Restore Hope is likely to do more harm than good because it was conceived in part to preclude a "harder" mission to the Balkans, and because escorting relief convoys begs all the essential qualities of policy making. The Bush team that made the policy and the Clinton team that approved it have shed none of the prejudices that made '60s foreign policy such a mess, and have picked up additional incompetence on the way.

Horrid as the Somali civil war is to people caught in it, it has no wider consequences — certainly not for the U.S. By contrast, Serbia's amassing of an evil little empire in the heart of Europe may well hasten the day when the American people

Counterpoint

By Angelo Codevilla

will have to decide whether to go to war to defend Europe.

Serbia's dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, has already shown that starting an ethnic war can help a communist *nomenklatura* salvage their status. Western Europe's 340 million people have accepted Mr. Milosevic's mockery of democratic elections. In the name of peace they are denying arms to Mr. Milosevic's victims, and are happy enough to live with mass murder, rape and starvation camps on their doorstep. When the U.S. organized the expedition to Somalia, it abetted Europe's flight from responsibility for its own backyard.

Hence Russia's communist apparatchiks, who are now recouping their powers in Moscow and have already started border wars in Georgia and Moldova, have reason to believe that the West would stand by if they tried to reassert control over Ukraine and the Baltics, and that afterward Europe would pay them protection money. Would the American people let

Europe reap the consequences of its own impotence? Probably not. At any rate, we may soon face a dreadful choice.

U.S. policy makers considered military options in Bosnia — no-fly zones, escorted relief convoys, or strikes on Serbian artillery. The Journal proposes arming the Bosnians. But the essence of the problem is Mr. Milosevic and his generals in power in Belgrade. Only military power can bring them to trial as war criminals, turn Serbia from ethnic war to dismantling communism, and give incentives to peace to those Russians who need them most. However, just as in the Gulf War U.S. policy makers aimed military power at everyone except Saddam Hussein, they now refuse to aim it at the Milosevic regime.

In Somalia, by contrast, there is no one set of human beings whose death or defeat would do much good. Hence, military power is inherently less meaningful. Hunger itself is only a symptom. The problem, as in much of the rest of Africa, is nothing less than the nonexistence of non-criminal elements in public life. Somalis and other Africans have plenty of land, and the talent to live from it. But they suffer because thieving, murderous claimants to power treat them worse than domesticated animals. What can U.S. military force do about this?

U.S. troops can try to stick to the mission President Bush stated — making the country safe for the delivery of relief supplies. However, the drought is over, Somali farms are producing, and too great an emphasis on relief wrecks the country's agricultural base. Once the Americans leave and the predators revert to type, the people may be worse off than ever. But to the extent that U.S. troops disarm some Somalis rather than others, and deal with one set of killers while bypassing others, they expose the U.S. foreign policy establishment's intellectual inadequacies.

Recall that in the 1950s Somalia and most of what we got used to calling the Third World exported food and were beginning to enjoy the benefits of Western civilization, including safety, property, the rule of law, medicine, missionaries and education. But European liberals came to hate their own civilization. Backed by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, they handed a large percentage of humanity to a set of politicians, whom historian Paul Johnson calls "the Bandung generation," who were supposed to show what great things non-Westerners could do when carrying out the schemes of Western intellectuals financed by Western taxpayers. However, nearly all post-colonial rulers turned out to be monsters, and decolonization was a disaster.

The U.S. government has not begun to rethink the wisdom of anti-colonialism. Even as circumstances were forcing U.S. troops to "dictate political outcomes" (contrary to President Bush's promise), his envoy to Somalia, Ambassador Robert Oakley, was making it clear that the U.S. had learned from the ill effects of following the recipes of political scientists in Vietnam and elsewhere, and that it has no intellectual compass by which to steer Somalia. As for Bill Clinton's liberals, rooted in fashionable multiculturalism, it is easier to imagine them bringing Third World values to America than the other way around. And so the U.S. government will play sorcerer's apprentice.

The Clinton administration is likely to follow its predecessor in involving the



Slobodan Milosevic

United Nations rather than the American people in formulating its foreign policy and in hiding its judgments behind the supposed majesty of the U.N. But the majority of the U.N.'s member governments are morally repugnant fruits of anti-colonialism. The current U.N. secretary-general is a product of Egypt. Should Americans die to impose on Somalia or on anyplace else the standards of Egyptian democracy and impartial administration? Should they, as in Somalia, enforce the agendas of private agencies that have the U.N. bureaucracy's ear? The U.N. has no legitimacy with ordinary people anywhere.

Our only realistic choice in Somalia and in all too many similar places is either to leave them to their misery or to re-establish something very much like colonialism. But, Leninist economics notwithstanding, bearing what used to be called the White Man's Burden entailed a net expenditure of resources. Colonialism is an act of generosity and idealism of which only rising civilizations are capable. Since colonialism is about dictating political outcomes of which we can be proud, it requires the very opposite of cultural agnostics like George Bush and Robert Oakley, never mind Mr. Clinton's multiculturalists.

It is perhaps too much to expect our politicians to be Churchills and Kitcheners. But a little sense of our own self interest and a little more attention to the fundamentals of international affairs would have been enough to conclude that the suffering in the former Yugoslavia is just as humanly compelling as that in Somalia, that the Balkans' problems are more tractable by U.S. military power, and that their alleviation is likelier to save us bigger problems down the road.

Mr. Codevilla is a fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution.

1/8- spoke w/ Preston Moore - regretted
he will contact Sec. Franklin's office

central
files



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Washington, D.C. 20230

January 7, 1993

Honorable James Addison Baker, III
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Jim:

I am pleased to invite you to the official portrait unveiling of our friend and colleague, Bob Mosbacher.

As U.S. Secretary of Commerce from 1989 to 1992, Bob provided wise leadership during a time of great change and opportunity for the United States economy. As Cold War barriers fell, opening up bright new horizons, Bob stood up for American entrepreneurs and exporters. He launched his successful export initiative conferences, brought the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award to full-fledged stardom, pushed the modernization of the Weather Service, and fought hard for free and fair trade.

Please join me at the Secretary's conference room (5869) as we unveil Secretary Mosbacher's portrait at 10:30 a.m., Tuesday, January 12.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Barbara", is written over a horizontal line.

Barbara Hackman Franklin



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

January 7, 1993

Honorable James Addison Baker, III
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

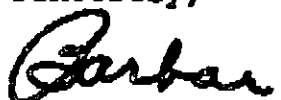
Dear Jim:

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Please join me at the Secretary's conference room (5869) as we unveil Secretary Mosbacher's portrait at 10:30 a.m., Tuesday, January 12.

Sincerely,


Barbara Hackman Franklin

Chief—
The Secretaries Mosbacher and Franklin
really hope you will join us

Sincerely,
O. S. Carlton, Jr.


The Story That Never
Ends



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Chief Financial Officer
Assistant Secretary for Administration
Washington, D.C. 20230

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: 1/7/93

To: Secretary Baker

Fax Number: 456-1121

From: Preston Moore

Fax Number: 202/482-3592

Telephone Number: 202/482-4951

Total number of pages including cover: 2

]

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6025

JAMES H. ENGLISH, STAFF DIRECTOR
J. KEITH KENNEDY, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

January 5, 1993

Mr. James Baker
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

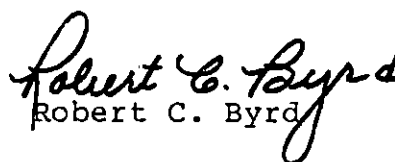
Please find enclosed a copy of the telephone memorandum from Mr. Benton Bennett, Elkview, West Virginia, concerning the use of Air Force One by Presidents Reagan and Bush.

Mr. Bennett's message is respectfully referred for your consideration since it appears to be a matter that falls within your jurisdiction. After an earlier contact of the Department of the Air Force, officials there suggested that the White House be contacted in this matter. I would appreciate your providing me with comments that may serve as the basis for a reply to my correspondent.

Thank you in advance for your attention to this matter.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,


Robert C. Byrd

RCB:dw
Enclosure

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

Wednesday, November 4, 1992

Deb

SENATOR BYRD'S CHARLESTON OFFICE TELEPHONE CALLS

NAME & ADDRESS

PROBLEMS

STAFF

Mr. Benton Bennett
110 Woodland Ave.

Elkview WV 25071
(304)965-5381

Question: How much tax-payer
money was used by the Reagan
& Bush administrations for
Air Force One?
alb

jd

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4801

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Robert C. Byrd
U.S.S.

WASH., D.C. GMF DCM#7 01/05/93 22:03

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93 JAN 6 11:06

WHITE HOUSE MAIL
ROOM 49 OEOB

Mr. James Baker
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500



-1-6-93

Caron -

I would
suggest sending
to Joni Stevens
in the military
office. Great -

With an info cc
to legis.
affairs,
please; thx.



*The Honorable James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff and Senior Counselor
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500*

Embassy of Chile
1732 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

To bestow upon The Ambassador of Mexico, H.E. Gustavo Petricoli,
the Order of Bernardo O'Higgins in the degree of Great Cross

1/8 - mkn regretted
w/ Social Secretary

*The Ambassador of Chile
and Mrs. Patricio Silva
request the pleasure of the company of
The Honorable James A. Baker, III and Mrs. Baker
at a reception
on Tuesday, January twelfth
at six-thirty o'clock*

R. L. V. P.
(202) 785-2370

2305 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Business Attire

WASH., D.C. GME DEC#7 01/06/93 01:57



Honorable James A. Baker 3rd
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

DIOCESE OF ARMENIAN CHURCH
630 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10016



1/8 - registered w/
Karen



His Eminence Archbishop Khajag Barsamian

*Primate of the Diocese of the Armenian Church
of America*

&

President of the Diocesan Fund for Armenia's Recovery

requests the honor of your presence

at a reception of appreciation

*On Wednesday, January 13, 1993
at 5:30 p.m.*

*The Grand Hotel
2350 M Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20037*

RSVP Maral Najarian 212.686.0710

**THE ANNENBERG
WASHINGTON PROGRAM**

COMMUNICATIONS POLICY STUDIES
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
The Willard Office Building, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20004

Telephone 202-393-7100
Telex 4949457 Fax 202-638-2745

January 7, 1993

The Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Secretary Baker:

Newton Minow at The Annenberg Washington Program and Marvin Kalb at Harvard's Joan Shorenstein Barone Center hope that you will be able to join us **February 19, 1993** at The Annenberg Washington Program in the Willard Office Building in Washington, D.C. to discuss the future of presidential debates, electronic town hall meetings and other such citizen-politician efforts.

A tentative agenda of the conference is attached. Invited panelists will include elected officials, members of the Commission on Presidential Debates, media analysts, news executives, leading scholars, and representatives from the '92 campaigns.

We hope you can join us. James McBain at The Annenberg Washington Program (202) 393-7100 is available to answer any questions that you may have.

Sincerely yours,



Clifford M. Sloan
Convener

Attachment: Agenda

1/8 - mkn regretted w/
Anna

Conference on Presidential Debates and National Issues
*Co-Sponsored with the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center of
Harvard University*
February 19, 1992

9:00 a.m. - 9:10 a.m.

Welcoming Remarks and Introduction
Newton N. Minow, Director, The Annenberg
Washington Program

Marvin Kalb, Director, The Joan Shorenstein Barone
Center, Harvard University

The 1992 Presidential Debates were the most popular in history and they provided the most varied formats. Yet they almost didn't happen. How can we institutionalize them more effectively? How can we resolve third-party candidate participation issues? Reflecting on the 1992 infotainment political programming and the "nine Sundays" proposal, what might broadcasters offer beyond debates in the way of candidate-voter programming in 1996? Finally, what might be done to further the political discourse with televised town hall meetings or debates during non-election years?

9:10 a.m. - 9:40 a.m.

Institutionalizing the Debates

What happened in 1992? Can anything further be done to institutionalize the debates? Should the DNC and RNC renew their commitments to the Commission? Should participation in presidential debates be a requirement for federal funds?

9:40 a.m. - 10:10 a.m.

Third Parties

What are the criteria for third party inclusion in the debates? Should Perot have been included? Why not the Libertarians? What was the effect of Perot's inclusion?

Agenda

Page 2

10:10 a.m. - 10:45 a.m.

Role of the Media and Debate Formats

Research on role of media analysis of debates on voter assessments of debates. What role should the press play during debates? What format best serves the public?

10:45 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

Coffee Break

11:00 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.

Beyond the Presidential Debates: During the Election Year

In 1992 other opportunities emerged beyond the debates for voters to see the candidates engaged in live, spontaneous discussions of campaign issues. Televised town hall meetings, call-in "summits" and other electronic commonwealth experiments are gaining popularity. Given this trend, what might broadcasters offer in the way of special candidate-voter programming during the 1996 general election? What are the networks' current feelings about scheduling in 1996 some version of the "nine Sundays" plan?

11:45 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

Beyond the Presidential Debates: In Non-Election Years

Is there a way to take the best of the debates, town hall meetings and other formats and turn them into off-year citizen discussions? What should the role of the Bipartisan Commission be? Who would be included? What incentives would draw television networks to carry these discussions?

THE AMBASSADOR
HONG-CHOO HYUN

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 6, 1993

The Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

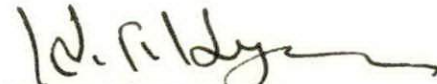
Dear Mr. Baker:

It is with deep regret that I realize we have only a couple of weeks before you leave your office at the White House. Though you will be out of office soon, you and President Bush will long be remembered for your great contributions in guiding the world through these challenging times and building new world order after the end of the Cold War. Thanks to your historical insight and vision as well as your perseverance and dedication, we are now living in a safer and freer world.

Personally, it has been my great pleasure to work with you, and I wish to express my sincere appreciation for your full support of the special relationship between our two countries shown throughout your tenure in the current administration. I am confident that we will continue to benefit from your wisdom and your sage advice for a stronger and more prosperous alliance between our countries.

I wish you continued success in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

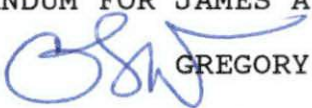

Hong-Choo Hyun

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM:  GREGORY S. WALDEN

SUBJECT: Review of your revised draft termination report

I have reviewed your revised draft termination report, provided me by Terri Lacy, and it requires no revision.

Remember to complete the supplemental statement in full and turn in to me personally on the day or day before you leave. After I review the supplement, I will ask you to sign and date your termination report. The supplemental statement must cover the period from December 28, 1992 through your last day on the White House payroll.

Thank you.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	From: C. Boyden Gray to James Baker Re: Judicial Recess Appointments (1 pp.)	01/08/93	P-2	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff to the President, Office of the
Series: Baker, James A. III
Subseries: Administration Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Baker Memos/Files

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By KMP (NLGB) on 6/7/05

Date Closed:	4/10/2003	OA/ID Number:	93000-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2000-0715-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0328-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
 P-6 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. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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]
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 (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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER, III
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY *cmh*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: Judicial Recess Appointments

As you can see from the attached list, President Carter is the only President to have made any Article III judicial recess appointments in the last twenty-five years, and he only made one, to the district court in Hawaii. I have not been able to check this with the individual who has the institutional memory about these issues at the Department of Justice, because she is out today, but I am advised that our best information as to the reason President Carter made this appointment is that there was no active judge sitting in the entire judicial district.

LIST OF ARTICLE III JUDICIAL RECESS
APPOINTMENTS MADE SINCE 1964

Johnson Administration

No Article III judicial recess appointments after January, 1964.

Nixon Administration

No Article III judicial recess appointments.

Ford Administration

No Article III judicial recess appointments.

Carter Administration

Walter Meheula Heen as US District Judge for the District of Hawaii

Reagan Administration

No Article III judicial recess appointments.

Bush Administration

To date, President Bush has made no Article III judicial recess appointments.

Central
Files

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1993

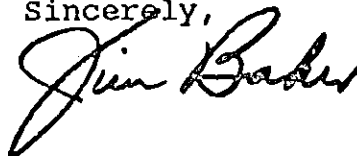
Dear Nancy:

This is just a note of thanks for your special efforts to accommodate Doug Edmonson's visit to the Fondren Library on December 31, 1992. It was very generous of you to rearrange your holiday schedule and assist Terri Lacy in facilitating Mr. Edmonson's request.

Susan and I hope to be able to spend more time in Houston during the coming months -- and look forward to more visits to Rice University as well!

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,



James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff and
Senior Counselor to the President

Nancy L. Boothe
Director
Woodson Research Center
The Fondren Library
Rice University
Post Office Box 1892
Houston, Texas 77251

C. files

JAMES DORAN BOND

8/27/93

Secretary Baker

Wow! It has been a great
working with you has
been an exceptionally rewarding
experience for me. I hope
our paths cross in the future.
Maybe now that you

Are going to be out of government
I can get you to North Dakota
some October to hand snow
gear.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,
Jim

5625 LAMAR ROAD
BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20816

1/9

No response necessary.



Director of Communications
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20515

RECEIVED
1992 DEC 22 AM 8 58



H. Klein, 3518 N. Downer Ave, Shorewood, WI 53211 &

Excerpts From Bush Speech in Texas

COLLEGE STATION, Tex., Dec. 15 (Reuters) — Following are excerpts from President Bush's address at Texas A & M University today, as transcribed by Reuters:

In 36 days I'll hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in war-time skies over the Pacific. And our country won that great contest, but entered an uneasy peace.

You see, the fires of World War II cooled into a longer cold war, one that froze the world into two opposing camps. On the one side, America and its allies, and on the other, the forces of freedom thus against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American.

And today, by the grit of our people and the grace of God, the cold war is over, freedom has carried the day and I leave the White House grateful for what we have achieved together.

History's lesson is clear. When a war-weary America withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world spawned militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations, a community whose strength, perseverance, patience and unity of purpose contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

And as the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth about us and about them. And in the end, Soviet Communism was destroyed by its own internal contradictions.

And the Soviet Union did not simply lose the cold war. The Western democracies won it. And I say this not to gloat but to make a key point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle — faith, strength, unity and, above all, American leadership — are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

In recent years, with the Soviet empire in its death throes, the potential for crisis and conflict was never greater, the demand for American leadership more compelling. And as the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold move for freedom, we urged them along a peaceful path to liberation. They turned to us, they turned to America, and we did not turn away.

And when the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, America did.



President Bush speaking yesterday at Texas A&M University in College Station.

not walk away. I can remember speaking to Boris Yeltsin at that terrible moment of crisis, and at times the static on the telephone made it almost impossible to hear him. But there was no mistaking what he wanted to know. He asked where the United States of America stood. And America answered for all the world to hear: We stand with you.

The free peoples of the world watched and watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place, wondering who might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. And we acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals and gain firm control of those that remained.

The end of a titanic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history took place without a shot being fired. And that should be a source of pride for every single American.

No society, no continent should be

disqualified from sharing the ideals of human liberty. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever, and it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by invigorating our international institutions, America does not have to stand alone.

And yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. We've carried the burden too long, they say, and the disappearance of the Soviet challenge means that America can withdraw from international responsibilities.

But let's be clear. The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less. Not the flourishing of American principles but their isolation in a world actively held hostile to them.

Our choice as a people is simple. We can either shape our times or we can let the times shape us, and shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate — morally, economically and strategically.

Morally, the failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia would scar the soul of our nation.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, set off trade wars, set us on a path of economic decline.

Strategically, abandonment of the worldwide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. The alternative to democracy, I think we would all agree, is authoritarianism, regimes that can be repressive, xenophobic, aggressive and violent.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. And let me be blunt. A retreat from American leadership, from American involvement, would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would pay dearly.

But we can influence the future. We can rededicate ourselves to hard work of freedom, and this doesn't mean running off on reckless expensive crusades. It doesn't mean bearing the world's burdens all alone. But it does mean leadership — economic, political and yes, military — when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference.

History is summoning us once again to lead. Proud of its past, America must once again look forward, and we must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals and in doing so secure our grandchildren's futures.

Bush, in Texas Valedictory, Defends His Foreign Policies

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times
change.

COLLEGE STATION, Tex., Dec. 15 — President Bush flew to the Texas heartland today to begin staking a claim to history, arguing in an occasionally vivid speech that he correctly spent his four-year term asserting America's global leadership in an era of change.

Mr. Bush said the crises of his Presidency, in the former Soviet Union, in the Persian Gulf and now in Somalia and Bosnia, proved that American military and moral force were "indispensable" to the spread of democracy and political stability.

And in passages that seemed aimed at his Democratic successors, who captured the White House last month by dwelling almost exclusively on the nation's domestic problems, he warned that future leaders could shun the United States' unique global role only at the nation's peril. [Excerpts, page C18.]

'Frightening' Price

Dismissing those who "assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy," he asserted that "the alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens, but less; not the flourishing of American principles, but their isolation."

"Destiny, it has been said, is not a matter of chance," Mr. Bush warned. "It's a matter of choice. Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate — morally, economically and strategically."

American leadership is not only an imperative in a world that lacks any other dominant force, Mr. Bush said, but it is also a "hard nosed" calculation of what is in the nation's own interest. Otherwise, he said, the United States risks being overwhelmed one day by the global forces of despotism and anarchy that it now leads the fight to contain.

In effect, Mr. Bush's 34-minute address at Texas A&M University played the political ace — his dominance of foreign affairs — that some advisers had urged him to lay down during his autumn campaign against Bill Clinton. Beyond boilerplate allusions to foreign affairs in his standard campaign speech, Mr. Bush seldom made the case for his importance as a global leader during his campaign, largely because opinion polls suggested that the public was not interested.

Today's forceful endorsement of America's worldwide role came 36 days before the end of Mr. Bush's Presidency, in an athletic coliseum near the flat expanse of horse pasture where Texas A&M plans to erect a library and museum memorializing his four years in office.

The address was a valedictory of sorts, not just for Mr. Bush's role on the world stage, but for an entire generation of World War II youths, beginning with John F. Kennedy, who maintained America's role as the free world's bulwark during the bleakest hours of the cold war.

Mr. Bush made that point several times, with some passion and often with evident pride, as he outlined his argument for a United States anchored firmly at the forefront of worldwide

Images of Cold War

"Steadfast and sure," he said, "generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic alliance held together by the bonds of principle and love of liberty; facing a Warsaw Pact lashed together by occupation troops."

Now, with the world facing new threats from ethnic strife, nationalism and the spread of hugely destructive weapons, Mr. Bush said the nation must summon the same resolve to consolidate the victories it won with the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Early in his term, Mr. Bush often suggested in self-deprecating fashion that he was a pragmatist, who lacked what he called "the vision thing." Today, by contrast, he appeared to say that he indeed has a vision, and that it is of a world led by the United States to global peace and the rule of law. He did not hesitate to list his contributions toward that goal.

"Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream," he said. "I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real." Among them, he said, were the spread of democracy in the East; the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of the Germans; the victory over Iraq in the Persian Gulf War and the start of peace talks between Israel and its Arab enemies.

U.S. as Moral Force

"Each one of those once seemed a dream," he said. "Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power and American — perhaps most of all — American moral force." This was Mr. Bush's first substantive speech since his Nov. 4 election loss to Bill Clinton, but aides said he could deliver one or two more before his term ends, all on major issues facing the nation. The next, if it occurs, is likely to be at a military service academy, probably West Point.

The genesis of the addresses is intriguing, if not entirely clear. Mr. Bush had seemed to shun public appearances after his defeat, and some advisers say the speech was suggested to him in mid-November in an effort to remind Mr. Bush that, defeated or not, he had responsibilities and a place in history worth noting and defending.

By the account of aides, Mr. Bush's chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, and a friend and former aide, James Cicconi, urged Mr. Bush to spend his last months in office as an active President and a defender of his legacy, rather than quickly surrendering the trappings of office to Mr. Clinton. Mr. Baker could not be reached for comment; Mr. Cicconi, who was with Mr. Bush today, did not talk about his role in the speech.

White House aides said the speech was roughly modeled after the famous farewell address delivered by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in January 1961, as Kennedy prepared to assume power. Eisenhower elevated his place in history, coined an enduring phrase and helped set policy for a generation of leaders by warning "against the acquisition of unwarranted influence whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

Foreign Units by Dozen, and All 'Elite'

By ERIC SCHMITT

MOGADISHU, Somalia, Dec. 15 — At least 28,000 American troops will dominate the military operation in Somalia, at least 34 other countries are expected to contribute 15,000 to 20,000 troops to the effort in the next several weeks, American officials say. Some have already arrived. On the lead day to the airport here, Belgian commandos wearing green berets and camouflage fatigues crouch behind machine guns in sandbag bunkers. Sauriflemen in crimson berets patrol the airport. French marines of Foreign Legionnaires monitor checkpoints through the city. As the planes, ships and troops pour a competition is emerging for the oldest seats on the good-will bandwagon. Nothing less than "crack" or "elite" troops seem to be showing up, and generals from countries large and small are racing here in droves to ensure that their forces are not left arding latrines.

"What time did the Belgians arrive?" asked Adel al-Jubeir, a spokesman for an advance party of Saudis who will eventually number about 50, when told that both nations' troops landed here on Sunday. "Every one landed in this competition."

American officials welcome the international outpouring since they hope foreign troops will replace United States forces when the delivery of supplies is secure. In the meantime, though, American commanders are having to juggle a bundle of political hot potatoes as they assign jobs to the country's arriving soldiers. The Italians, for example, are sending 2,400 troops, including the San Marco Tactical Group, Rome's version of marines. Trouble is, many Somalis resent their former colonial rulers and do not welcome their return, even a humanitarian role.

"We've talked to our political leaders,

in charge of coordinating the other foreign military forces. "We're not going to put them in downtown Mogadishu."

Britain, another former colonial power here, has been much more low-key, so far offering only three C-130 transport planes. By coincidence, one of the pilots of the Cobra helicopter gunships that destroyed three armed Somali vehicles on Saturday was Capt. Paul Denning, a British marine on a two-year exchange program with his American counterparts.

American officials said that in addition to the United States and Italy, the other countries that have made firm commitments are France (2,000 troops), Saudi Arabia (1,000), Morocco (1,000), Canada (800), Botswana (600) and Belgium (500). Pakistan has had 500 peacekeeping troops here for several weeks. Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Senegal, Turkey, India, the Netherlands, Australia, Egypt, Tunisia and Germany are among the other countries still negotiating with the American military and the United Nations about which forces they will send.

Working under the auspices of the United Nations, the United States has operational control over all the international forces in Somalia, though as a practical matter no country is going to cooperate unless it considers its troops' specific assignment to be acceptable.

Despite the regional rivalries and competition for certain bragging rights, no one has thrown a tantrum yet.

"No one has said, 'We do this or nothing,'" Colonel Dotto said. "We'll negotiate what each country wants to send and what we need. It's been a pretty cooperative atmosphere so far."

French troops, however, had to insist this week that they accompany American marines in the operation to secure Baidoa, a lawless town 180 miles northwest of here.

Col. Greg Newbold, commander of the 1,800-strong United States Marine

advance force here, said that as troops from other nations arrived, many would replace marines now guarding the Mogadishu airport and seaport. That would free up the marines for other responsibilities, he said.

In the Persian Gulf war, Saudi Arabia offered a vast network of modern roads, ports and airports and plentiful fuel and drinking water, but Somalia's decimated infrastructure is forcing each country to dedicate one-third to one-half its contingent to support operations. Each country is also bringing a larger-than-normal medical team, since there are few medical installations here.

Housed in a Warehouse

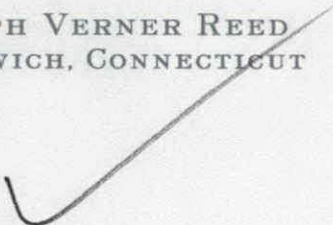
Most countries have so far sent only advance parties to work out exact assignments, set up a communications base and find shelter for their forces. The Belgians, for example, have taken over a cavernous warehouse at the seaport. Green cots are arranged in long, neat rows, each one covered by white gossamer mosquito netting and with a locker at the foot.

Capt. Patrick Pannier, a Belgian liaison officer, said that because of the demand for airport landing time, his troops had one hour to land eight C-130's full of men and equipment on Sunday. But the Belgians said they welcomed the United States command. "It doesn't bother us to be under American control," said Pvt. Pascal Gavart, 22. "We can learn from each other."

The first dozen Saudi soldiers here, a combination of engineers, doctors and riflemen, are the first forces Riyadh has sent outside the desert kingdom on a United Nations mission.

"We felt it was our duty to help Somalia," said Capt. Aljubab Abdul-Wahab, a Saudi Army physician. "They are near us geographically and they are also Muslims."

JOSEPH VERNER REED
GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT



December 21, 1992

Dear Mr. Secretary, Chief, Colleague and Friend,

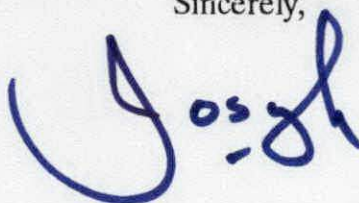
With thirty days left before the torch is passed on, I reflect on our exchange with regard to "honors" which could be extended by the President to those who labored in the vineyard of his Administration.

While to some they might seem unimportant, I am reminded of a remark by Napoleon when he created the Legion of Honor

*"A man will not sell you his life but
will give it to you for a small piece
of ribbon."*

As we go forward I extend my warmest regards and express my renewed appreciation for the privilege of having worked with and for you.

Sincerely,



The Honorable James A. Baker, III
The White House



The Honorable James Baker III & Mrs Baker
The White House
Washington DC 20500



Embassy of Israel

1/11 - Spoke w/
Normi -
regretted

The Ambassador of Israel and Mrs. Shoval
request the pleasure of your company
at a reception
to bid farewell
Wednesday, January twenty-seventh
from six until nine o'clock
2916 Chesapeake Street NW

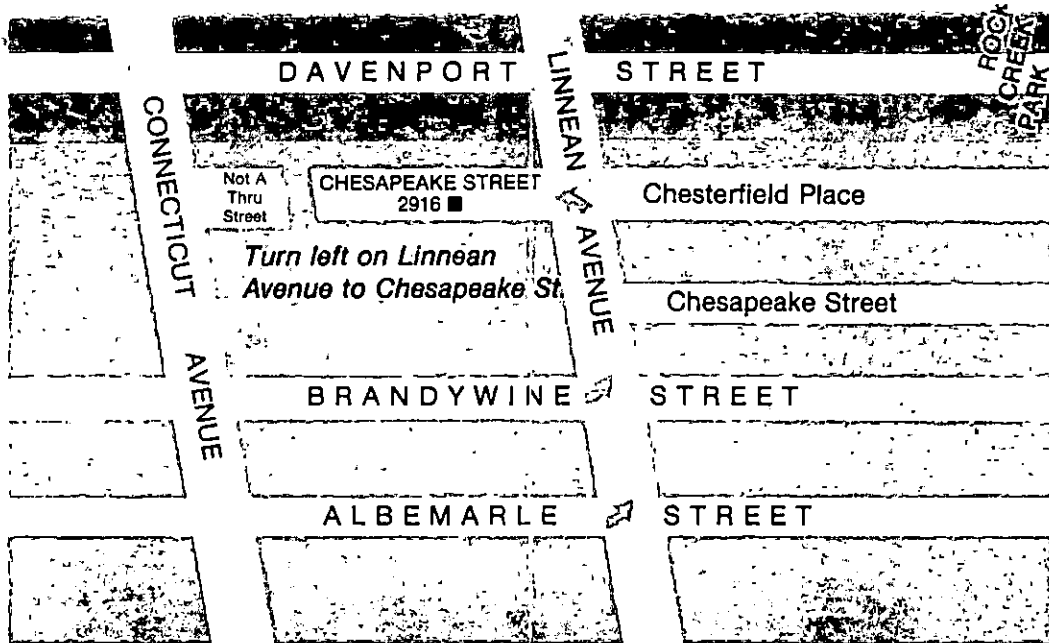
please

R.S.V.P. by Jan 15

(202) 364-5596

5588

5674



Do not enter Chesapeake Street from Connecticut Avenue as it is not a thru street. Going north take a **right** on either Albemarle or Brandywine Streets to Linnean Avenue. Take a **left** on Linnean Avenue and a **left** on Chesapeake Street. Going south on Connecticut Avenue take a **left** on either Albemarle or Brandywine Streets.

VALET PARKING WILL BE AVAILABLE

January 7, 1993

Denis A. Brusco
4200 University
Dallas, TX 75205
214-526-8844

Ms. Margaret Tutwiler
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Tutwiler:

Republicans are losing elections because of the abortion issue. To have it included as a competent position will allow more Republicans a chance to win elections. Remember, if this issue causes Republicans to lose and Democrats to win, the World loses to liberals.

Political obstacles must be of concern. Who could have predicted 1992. Had Bill Clinton been Republican he could not have with-stood Gennifer Flowers or the Draft issue. Had the "House Checks", "House Postoffice" or "BCCI" been handled by other than a liberal media the Democrats probably would not have faired as well. This is a reality that as Republicans we must consider. The liberal media and their unique ties to TV comedy and drama can project negative Republican images through bias presentations.

Abortion will always need professionally managed. Life is a beautiful choice but a womens choice can never be denied. Help and care through education so fewer women will need to make such a personal decision, is our future.

Our concern needs to be electing Republicans who believe there should be responsible management of current spending levels and less tax means less goverment intervention. A unsettled abortion issue is unconstructive. Lets move forward winning at the election poll.

Sincerely,

Denis Brusco

1/11

MDT:

No response necessary.

Thank you.

Heidi Fincken
Office of Margaret Tutwiler



WASH. (D.C.) 200 GNF 11/10/59

FOR RE-MARKING



DENIS A. BRUSCO
4200 UNIVERSITY
DALLAS TX 75205

Personal & Confidential

W. Tamm Willard, Jr.

PO Box 0971

Pittsburgh, Pa 15219-0971

December 19, 1972

Mr. D. T. Tutwiler,
Director of Communications
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Tutwiler,

The purpose of this letter is to draw your attention to the enclosed letter I sent to President George Bush yesterday, a copy of which was sent to Senator Sam Nunn, chairman, Committee on Armed Services, to ensure that the President, personally, receives it.

I also wrote to Mr. Tamm A. Baker, III, White House Chief of Staff.

The importance of the enclosure cannot be over-emphasized since I believe the President and his Chief of Staff may be in violation of various federal laws in failing to respond to my communications, including 18 USC 1001 re fraud, 18 USC 371 re conspiracy, and 18 USC 2 re principals, as would be anyone who interrupts my communications and attempts to cover up the issues addressed or to shield the President from them.

1/9

MDT:

How do you wish to
handle?

Heidi



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Letter	From: H. James Willard, Jr. to Margaret D. Tutweiler Re: Violation of Federal Laws [Redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	12/17/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff to the President, Office of the
Series: Baker, James A. III
Subseries: Administration Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Baker Memos/Files

Date Closed:	4/10/2003	OA/ID Number:	93000-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2000-0715-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0328-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Tatwiler

[REDACTED]

These efforts include interference in all aspects of my personal affairs, surveillance, harassment, and various other means to dissuade me from continuing, or to damage the credibility of my future testimony before a court of law or other tribunal, or to make it appear as if I am "cooperating" with a federal investigative agency, or other entity, in some sort of covert operation.

I am adamantly opposed to all such efforts. I have never worked for or with any agency and do not intend to start any such relationship now.

There should be an extensive file on this matter since I have written ^{to the President} several times, and also to my former Chief of Staff, Mr. John

Tutwiler

of Staff, Mr. John Danvers and Mr. Samuel Skinner, although without a reply, except on an issue concerning the danger associated with bombing nuclear facilities there.

As noted previously, I believe the President has not acted properly in this matter, in violation of his oath of office and various federal laws, and has improperly used federal investigative agencies, including the FBI, CIA and DCS, to cover up my efforts. Accordingly on January 22, 1992, I requested to Speaker of the House, Tom Foley, that impeachment proceedings be initiated against the President and all those in his administration knowingly and willfully acting improperly.

Please realize, too, that I have documentary information to demonstrate that my communications even to the US Congress have been intercepted and that numerous agencies of the our government are involved.

Yours very truly,

Encs: Ltr to Pres. Bush, 12/18/92, 1 p. 1/James Willard, Jr.

cc. Leslie Sam Dunn, Ch., A.S.C.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Letter	From: H. James Willard, Jr. to Margaret D. Tutweiler Re: Cover-up [Redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	12/18/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

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Series: Baker, James A. III
Subseries: Administration Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Baker Memos/Files

Date Closed: 4/10/2003	OA/ID Number: 93000-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2000-0715-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2005-0328-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Personal & Confidential

H James Willard, Jr

PO Box 0971

Pittsburgh, Pa 15219-0971

Hand copy
12/19/92

December 18, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

This is to advise you that I did not receive
a reply to either of my letters of August 14, 1992 to
Mr. Baker, your Chief of Staff, or to you of August 15,
1992, 

copy This lack of response, and your unwillingness
to direct your federal investigative agencies to
discontinue their improper ~~investigation~~ ^{activities}, constitutes
violation of your oath of office, as well as violation
of various federal laws, including 18 USC 1001 re
fraud, 18 USC 371 re conspiracy, and 18 USC 2 re
principals, it seems to me.

Yours very truly,
H James Willard, Jr

cc Sen. Dan Rostenkowski, Chairman
Committee on Crime & Terrorism,
under separate cover.



Margaret D. Tutwiler,
Director of Communications
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Ptc

H James Willard, Jr

PO Box 0971

Pittsburgh, PA 15215-0971

PA

Touching Shoulders

There's a comforting thought at the
close of the day,
When I'm weary and lonely and sad,
That sort of grips hold of my crusty
old heart
And bids it be merry and glad.
It gets in my soul and it drives out
the blues,
And finally thrills through and
through.
It is just a sweet memory that chants
the refrain:
"I'm glad I touch shoulders with you!"

Did you know you were brave, did you
know you were strong?
Did you know there was one leaning
hard?
Did you know that I waited and listened
and prayed,
And was cheered by your simplest word?
Did you know that I longed for that
smile on your face,
For the sound of your voice ringing
true?
Did you know I grew stronger and
better because
I had merely touched shoulders with
you?

I am glad that I live, that I battle
and strive
For the place that I know I must fill;
I am thankful for sorrows, I'll meet
with a grin
What fortune may send, good or ill.
I may not have wealth, I may not be
great,
But I know I shall always be true,
For I have in my life that courage
you gave
When once I rubbed shoulders with
you!

A friend of many years, sent this to me.
I thought you would like a copy. Where, will
you be?
Most sincerely
Eunice Hopper

MDT:

How do you wish to address
those who write and
want to know where you'll
be next so that they can
keep in touch with you?

Heidi

BPW
usa

ELINOR HOPPERT
10923 SW 83RD AVE
OCALA FL 34481-9710



PL/PL

M's Margaret Tutwiler
Spoke Person
U.S. Dept. of State
2201 C. St. N.W.
Wash

0930 120292



11-20-92

Dear Margaret,

When you first started appearing on television, I noticed your talent and ability. I have been a fan of yours ever since. I wrote to you and you sent me an autographed photo, which I have treasured. I truly hope that Bill Clinton will recognize what a great asset you are to the State Department and you will stay. However, if you must be replaced; and that will be a mistake of the new administration, then I would like to make a second request of you.

As you continue your career, would you please send me a note and let me know what has become of you? I would simply like to know where you go on to, and keep track of your successes. (I guess I am your fan club.) Anyway, I want to, again, thank you for the job you have done and wish you the best; you have worked hard and deserve it! Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Ken Liles

KEN LILES ENTERPRISES
7400 SOUTH BROOKLINE
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA. 73159



MLDCR

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MARGARET Tutweiler
State Department
Office of Public Affairs

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