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1998-0004-F[2]

FOIA Number:
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FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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Record Group/Collection:	George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin:	Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series:	Sununu, John, Files
Subseries:	Daily Agenda Files

OA/ID Number:	29195
Folder ID Number:	29195-003

Folder Title:
Chief of Staff Discussion Items 9/2/90-12/31/90 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	25	7	5

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	11/28/90	P2 , P5 , (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed: 1/7/2005	OA/ID Number: 29195-003
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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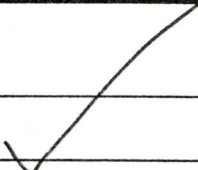
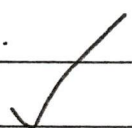
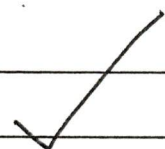
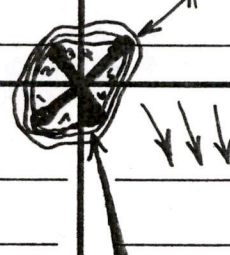
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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, November 28, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Wednesday and Thursday Schedules TAB A (b)(6)		
[REDACTED]		
3. <u>Nunn hearings</u> Jones Crowe Kiesinger		
4. JHS travel next week		
5.		
6.		

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, November 28 -- P.M.

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. POTUS meet with Nila Mouawad, wife of assassinated PM of Lebanon?	Photo Brent call	
2. 1991 Reception for Diplomatic Corps TAB A	sh	
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

NSC# 9187
United States Department of State
The Chief of Protocol
Washington, D.C. 20520-2317

November 15, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: Governor John H. Sununu
General Brent Scowcroft

Mrs. Laurie Firestone

FROM: ~~Joseph~~ Verner Reed

The Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Ambassador Jose Luis Fernandes Lopes of Cape Verde, has advised me that the Corps (all Regional Chairmen represented) would welcome a "White Tie" evening event at the White House for the 1991 Reception. ! !
0 0

cc: Mr. Joseph W. Hagin via Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, November 29, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Thursday and Friday Schedules TAB A		<i>Bumley / Riley</i>
2. Bennett announcement 2:00 PM on Fri.		<i>SPEECH</i>
3. POTUS comments re a special session Dole comments		
4. POTUS meet in holding room for 5 mins. today w/ Loeffler and John Reed - Citizens		
5. Xirssinger see POTUS TODAY		
6.		<i>P.M.</i> <i>Martinez</i> <i>Bill where</i>

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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02. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff, p.m. (1 pp.)	11/29/90	P2 , P5	

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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, November 29 -- P.M.

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Status of John Keller?		WASH. OFFICE OLYMPIC COMM. ASST. SEC. FOR TO DISM.
2. Meeting with the President of Lithuania		
TAB A		
3. Nomination of Bob Clarke	P. → BRADY	
TAB B		
4.		
5.		
6.		

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: FRIDAY, November 30, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Friday, Saturday Sunday schedules TAB A	 	
2. Martinez & Bennett review for 2:00 PM	 	
3. JHS meeting w/ Ed Ney	 	
4. Daily communications meeting re Gulf	 	
5. Dorman meeting w/ Vin Webber & Nemt today.	 	
6. POTUS call Stan Parris	 	

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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03. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (2 pp.)	12/10/90	P 2 , P 5	

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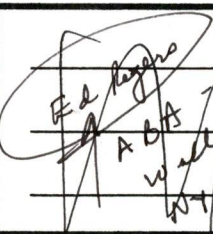
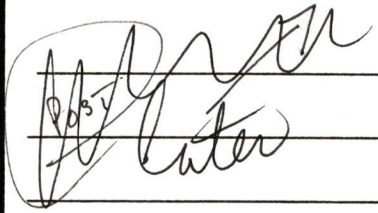
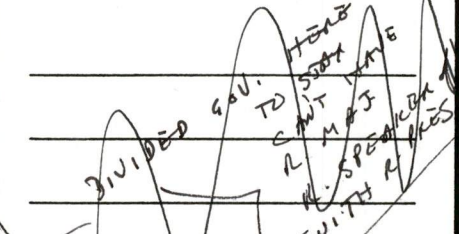
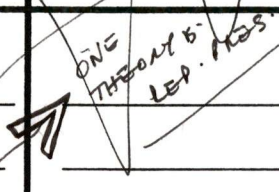
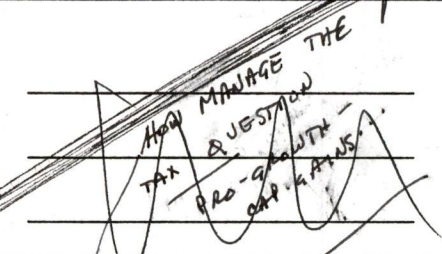
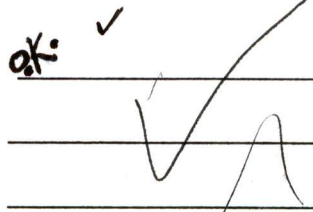
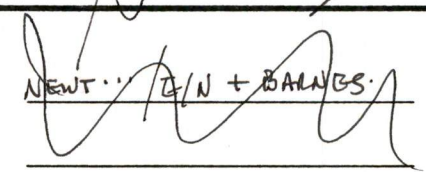
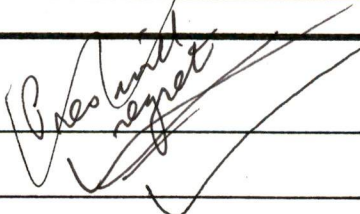
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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

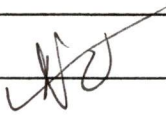
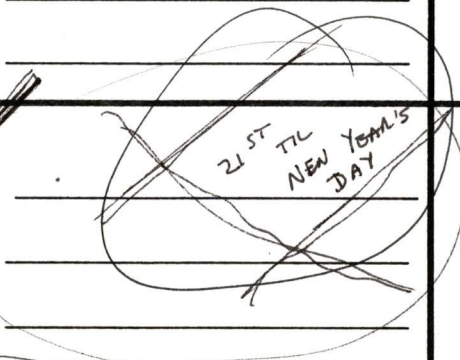
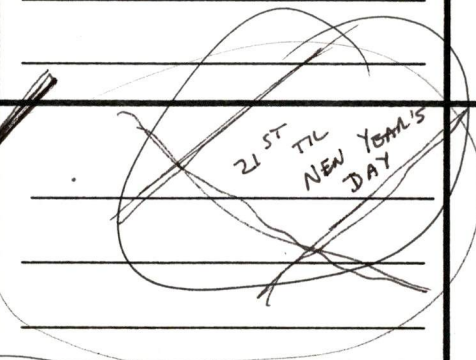
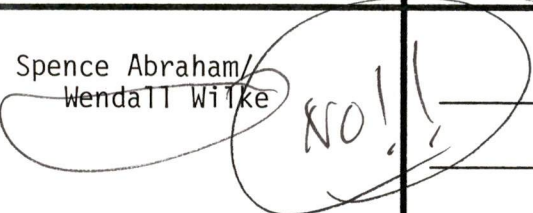
DATE: MONDAY, December 10, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday TAB A	XXXX 	
2. Talk to the President about Steve Kennedy		
3. EPC Meeting today Uruguay Round @ 10:00 am TAB B	NO - ! 	
4. Personnel Decisions: - Rocky Schnabel - Bob Clarke INSIDE COVER		
5. Speech/Taxes	OK. ✓ 	
6. POTUS invite to Mosbacher dinner TAB C		JOE.

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: PAGE TWO - Monday, December 10, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. GATT meeting?		
2. Ambassadorships TAB D	PRES. HAS. ✓ 	
3. Christmas Schedule?		
4. Spence Abraham/ Wendall Wilke		
5. Education	Not with interested in pub's edge	
6. Connie Harrison ...	hugan ok	

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Monday Dec 10, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. JHS will not attend 2:00PM meeting w/ Landisbergis	✓	
2. POTUS meeting w/ Bill Draper this AM	✓	
3. Other attendees at 5:00PM Watkins meeting Dermott? Beshin? Brody?	WJ	
4. V. P. to Saudi Ar.	aff	
5.		
6.		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Memo	From Ede Holiday to Joseph W. Hagin II Re: Schedule Proposal - Economic Policy Council Meeting on Uruguay Round (3 pp.)	12/04/90	P5	

Collection:

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Series: Sununu, John, Files
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

December 4, 1990

TO: JOSEPH W. HAGIN, II
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: EDE HOLIDAY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
SECRETARY OF THE CABINET

REQUEST: Economic Policy Council Meeting on the
Uruguay Round

BACKGROUND: This week trade ministers are meeting in
Brussels with the hope of concluding the
4-year Uruguay Round negotiations. The
negotiations, however, have reached a
stalemate on agriculture. This stalemate
is threatening the success of the overall
Round. If there is an unexpected
breakthrough in the negotiations, the EPC
will want to look ahead to the strategy
for congressional approval. However, if
the negotiations do not produce a final
agreement and the talks collapse, then
the EPC will need to discuss strategy for
reviving the talks or the longer-term
implications of the failure of the
Uruguay Round.

DATE AND
TIME: Week of December 9, 1990.

LOCATION: Cabinet Room

PARTICIPANTS: The President, the Vice President, and
members of the Economic Policy Council.

OUTLINE
OF EVENT: One hour of discussion.

REMARKS: To be provided.

MEDIA COVERAGE: None.

PROJECT
OFFICER: Olin Wethington, extension 7968.

Jackie.

12-7-90

Ade thinks the attached is a fairly significant event that should be on POTUS's schedule next week. If you speak with the Governor will you run it by him? ✓

SCHED

1990

TO:

FROM:

EDE HOLIDAY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
SECRETARY OF THE CABINET

REQUEST:

Economic Policy Council Meeting on the
Uruguay Round

BACKGROUND:

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DATE AND

TIME:

Week of December 9, 1990.

LOCATION:

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PARTICIPANTS:

The President, the Vice President, and
members of the Economic Policy Council.

OUTLINE

OF EVENT:

One hour of discussion.

REMARKS:

To be provided. **Photo Copy Preservation**

MEDIA COVERAGE:

None.

PROJECT

OFFICER:

Olin Wethington, extension 7968.

Jackie.

12-7-90

Ade thinks the attached is a fairly significant event that should be on POTUS's schedule next week. If you speak with the Governor will you run it by him? ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1990

Governor:

Ede indicated that this should be the smaller group comprised of those that attend last week.

Brady/Mosbacher/Baker/Hills/Scowcroft
Darman/Porter/DeArment/Boskin/Holiday

jackie

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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05a. Memo	From Chase Untermeyer to POTUS Re: Ambassadorships [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	10/30/90	P-2 , P-8 , (b)(6)	

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

30 October 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Chase Untermeyer *CGJ*
30 OCT

Via: LGen Scowcroft

Subj: Ambassadorships

Governor Sununu and I endorse the enclosed recommendations from SecState Baker, all of Foreign Service Officers, for various ambassadorships. There are multiple names for USSR and Israel.

By this package Zimbabwe "goes career" after the resignation of Steve Rhodes, giving you another plus-up (about one-half percent,) in FSO ambassadors. State is willing to let the Seychelles "go political" in exchange, inasmuch as the candidate whom they originally proposed failed of clearance.

(b)(6) Another note: [REDACTED] would like to go to Algeria, for which State has here presented a recommendation. If you concur with State's choice, then there's the possibility for [REDACTED] of a deputy assistant secretaryship for North Africa, as well as the ambassadorship to Morocco when Mike Ussery's three years are up at the end of 1991.

Please indicate your decisions in the spaces provided.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05c. Memo	From James A. Baker III to POTUS Re: Ambassadorial Recommendations [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (13 pp.)	11/19/90	P-2, P-5 (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By JP (NLGB) on 4/21/08

Date Closed:	1/7/2005	OA/ID Number:	29195-003
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-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]
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 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) 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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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1990

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: James A. Baker, III *JAB*
SUBJECT: Ambassadorial Recommendations

Below are recommendations for Ambassadors to the stated countries:

SOVIET UNION

As requested, I am submitting for your consideration more than one candidate for the Soviet Union. They are listed in alphabetical order.

Our multifaceted relationship with the Soviet Union has expanded dramatically in recent years. In addition to the basic components of our bilateral relations and multifaceted dialogue--arms control, human rights, trade and economic issues--we are seeing a massive expansion in non-governmental initiatives. Expert knowledge of the country and language is essential. In addition to mastery of the complexities of our expanding relationship, the Ambassador must also cope with a demanding set of administrative and management problems. Direct contact with Soviet leaders and prominent citizens is an increasingly valuable and essential part of the Ambassador's responsibilities. Living in the USSR and dealing with the Soviet Government remain difficult tasks. As morale has always been important in an isolated, high intelligence-threat post such as Moscow, the Ambassador must be able to motivate the staff to cope with a crushing workload and difficult working and living conditions.

RECOMMENDATION (in alphabetical order) either;

Robert L. Barry, FE-CM, as Ambassador to the Soviet Union

Robert Barry's career has been devoted almost exclusively to Soviet affairs. As a Soviet expert, Barry has consistently received the highest marks. After earlier service in Moscow

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-2-

and Leningrad as Political Officer, Barry became Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. He subsequently served as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of European Affairs (charged with Soviet and East European relations) and for three years as Ambassador to Bulgaria. Barry's intellectual and professional range and versatility are exceptional. Unassuming in manner, he is an outstanding manager who is able to bring out the best from his staff. He is fluent in Russian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian.



Warren Zimmermann, FA-CM, as Ambassador to the Soviet Union

Warren Zimmermann, currently Ambassador to Yugoslavia, is a Soviet Bloc specialist who has demonstrated outstanding leadership, negotiating and policy formulation ability. Zimmermann has had several tours in Moscow, including service as Deputy Chief of Mission from 1981 to 1984. Other senior assignments included U.S. Representative to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and U.S. Negotiator at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Direct, unshakeably calm and polite, Zimmermann has proven himself a highly skilled

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-3-

negotiator. He is fluent in Russian and Serbo-Croatian plus several other world languages.

Robert L. Barry Approve _____ Disapprove _____

(b)(6) [REDACTED] Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Warren Zimmermann Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Date _____

ISRAEL

As requested, I am submitting for your consideration more than one candidate for Israel. They are listed in alphabetical order.

The U.S.-Israel bilateral relationship is one of particular sensitivity and importance for the United States. The Ambassador plays a pivotal role in maintaining and strengthening that relationship. Our intense and continuing involvement in the Arab-Israeli peace process adds significantly to the Ambassador's role in Israel. The incumbent must quickly and effectively present our positions to the Government of Israel, report Israeli policies and activities and make policy recommendations. The Ambassador is tasked also with encouraging continued economic reform and with maintaining our close defense cooperation with the Israelis. Intellectual skills of the highest order are needed to navigate effectively in an environment in which officials, press, and population are highly educated and politicized.

RECOMMENDATION (in alphabetical order) either;

Edward P. Djerejian, FA-MC, as Ambassador to Israel

Edward P. Djerejian is currently serving as Chief of Mission in Syria. A veteran Mid-East specialist, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Department's Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs prior to his current assignment. Known as strong in representation, reporting and analysis, he is a skilled negotiator who conveys an air of

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-4-

command. He has been cited frequently for skill in exercising leadership, managerial effectiveness, substantive mastery and interpersonal skills.

William C. Harrop, FA-CM, as Ambassador to Israel

William C. Harrop, our Ambassador to Zaire since December 1987, previously served as Chief of Mission in Kenya and Guinea. He is an intensely active, hard-driving officer who has made his mark in the Service by sustained professional performance. Harrop's ability is complemented by an easy, outgoing personality, vigorous manner, incisive mind and natural flair for leadership. He is committed and an activist, and his public speaking and drafting skills are of the highest order.

Edward P. Djerejian Approve _____ Disapprove _____

William C. Harrop Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Date _____

ALGERIA

RECOMMENDATION:

Mary Ann Casey, FE-OC, as Ambassador to Algeria

With the exception of Algeria's petroleum and natural gas sales to the United States, our interests in Algeria are modest. Algeria is, however, of increasing interest to the United States because of its turn toward the West, the opening of its political and economic system, and Algeria's contact with radical Arab groups and its willingness to serve as an intermediary in the resolution of complex Middle Eastern disputes. Since Algiers is a relatively small Embassy operating in a difficult working environment, the Ambassador must take a hands-on approach to policy, management and morale. Fluency in French is essential.

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-5-

Mary Ann Casey has been a Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research since June 1989. Assigned previously to Rabat and Tunis, Ms. Casey is a Mid-East expert and exceptional linguist, fluent in three Arabic dialects as well as French. Highly regarded as an outstanding manager and quick study, she has received several awards for outstanding performance.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

IRAQ

RECOMMENDATION:

(b)(6) A. [REDACTED], FE-MC, as Ambassador to Iraq

Whatever the outcome of the Middle East crisis unleashed by Iraq's military annexation of Kuwait, this strategically placed oil-rich country will probably be a significant factor in the Arab world. It emerged from the Gulf War with a large per capita foreign debt and far-reaching ambitions that put it at odds with U.S. interests and most of its neighbors. Its treatment of its Kurdish minority raised the most serious human rights issues. Our future relationship with Iraq will depend on the extent to which a post-crisis regime might moderate its behavior. The new Ambassador must have a strong background in the Middle East.

(b)(6) [REDACTED]

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-6-

SYRIA

RECOMMENDATION:

Christopher W.S. Ross, FA-MC, as Ambassador to Syria

The Ambassador to Syria has a full portfolio including some of the most important issues in U.S. foreign policy: terrorism, the U.S. hostages in Lebanon, the Arab-Israeli peace process, drug production and trafficking, and a peaceful settlement in Lebanon. Simply maintaining a dialogue with the Syrian Government on such sensitive topics requires an Ambassador with a deep understanding of U.S. policy, and the intellectual and rhetorical skills to explain and defend it to a difficult regime. As the Embassy is under a staffing ceiling, the Ambassador must cope with an ever-increasing workload with static resources, while maintaining good morale among the staff.

Christopher W.S. Ross is currently serving as Chief of Mission in Algeria. He began his career with USIA in 1968, and has served in various Department of State assignments since 1979. He was Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from 1985-88. He also directed the Regional Affairs Office in the Bureau of Near East and South Asian Affairs. Ross is a skillful negotiator with extensive Mid-East experience. He was awarded the Presidential Meritorious Service Award in 1983 and 1985. He is bilingual in Arabic.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

TUNISIA

RECOMMENDATION:

John T. McCarthy, FE-MC, as Ambassador to Tunisia

The United States enjoys good relations with Tunisia, which is more open and Westernized than most Arab societies. The Ambassador's job, however, is demanding since Tunis is

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also the site of the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Arab League. The PLO/Arab affairs content of the job demands a top-flight individual with a deep and subtle understanding of Middle Eastern matters in general and the peace process in particular. Strong management ability and fluent French is necessary to manage this multi-agency mission.

John T. McCarthy served recently as Chief of Mission in Lebanon. He is a seasoned officer with service in four geographical bureaus plus key senior assignments in the Department. A versatile officer, his performance record abounds with recognition of his strong leadership and exceptional managerial prowess. During his Beirut assignment he displayed exceptional sensitivity and presence combined with toughness and courage. He is fluent in French.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

YEMEN

RECOMMENDATION:

Arthur H. Hughes, FE-MC, as Ambassador to Yemen

Our relationship with Yemen is a key element in the promotion of stability and security on the Arabian peninsula. The recent merger of North and South Yemen presents an opportunity to encourage the growth of private enterprise and a more democratic form of government. Against the background of the complex and growing relationship between the United States and Yemen, previous experience in the Middle East is particularly useful for an American Ambassador. In addition, the Ambassador needs the intelligence, tact and sensitivity to operate successfully in a country that is going through significant political, economic and social changes.

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-8-

Arthur Hughes is presently serving as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. His responsibilities cover policy development and operations oversight at DOD for United States security relations with the 27 countries of the region. Mr. Hughes entered the Foreign Service in 1965. He has served as Deputy Chief of Mission in Copenhagen, The Hague and Tel Aviv. Hughes, a skilled communicator, has a record of effectively furthering U.S. positions when in contact with foreign representatives.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

BOLIVIA

RECOMMENDATION:

Charles Richard Bowers, FE-MC, as Ambassador to Bolivia

Relations between the United States and Bolivia are good. The key bilateral concern is how to wage an effective effort to stem cocaine production and trafficking. Of concern, also, is the need to support Bolivia's courageous efforts to stabilize and revive its economy in the face of very difficult circumstances. Bolivia, the poorest country in South America, needs United States and international donor economic support. The Ambassador to Bolivia should possess strong management and leadership skills. Fluency in Spanish is essential.

Charles Richard Bowers has served since May 1989 as the Executive Assistant to the Department's Under Secretary for Management. He is acknowledged as one of the Department's premier managers by virtue of superior performances as Executive Director of the Bureau of European Affairs and Embassy Bonn Administrative Chief. In early political and consular assignments he received outstanding ratings and displayed exceptional versatility and breadth. A 1988 Presidential Meritorious Service Award recipient, Bowers is the kind of person who makes good things happen. He is fluent in Spanish.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

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CHILE

RECOMMENDATION:

Curtis W. Kamman, FE-MC, as Ambassador to Chile

The key issue in United States/Chile relations will be the normalization of relations with the democratically-elected government of Patricio Aylwin. Chile's sizeable and disciplined Communist Party poses a threat to long-term stability. United States policy seeks to encourage the consolidation of a democratic government which is friendly to basic U.S. interests. The Chilean economy has been a regional leader in its dedication to free market economic policies and has been responsible in meeting its international debt obligations. The Chief of Mission must be fluent in Spanish, since few Chileans speak English and the U.S. Ambassador's words and actions are subject to close scrutiny. The incumbent should also have a grasp of U.S. policy concerns in the region.

Curtis W. Kamman is currently serving as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Department's Bureau of European Affairs. He had earlier assignments as Principal Officer in Havana and Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Known for his creativity, bureaucratic acumen and policy sense, he has earned repeated superb performance and potential ratings in a wide variety of high level positions. Kamman has a liberal style of management which encourages the professional growth of his officers but which requires their best effort. He served as acting Deputy Chief of Mission in Moscow for long periods of time and demonstrated excellent on-the-spot judgment. He is fluent in Spanish.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

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COLOMBIA

RECOMMENDATION:

Morris D. Busby, FE-MC, as Ambassador to Colombia

Our relations with Colombia are excellent, and the Colombian Government shares our desire to wipe out narcotics trafficking and abuse. Strict security measures are required for all U.S. personnel at the Embassy in the face of the many threats which have been made against them by both narcotics traffickers and insurgents. In general, U.S. culture is admired and widely emulated, and strong U.S. leadership in world affairs is welcomed. The U.S. envoy to Colombia must have the ability to communicate well in Spanish and must demonstrate sensitivity to Latin American culture. The Ambassador will have to supervise an Embassy dealing with difficult issues such as narcotics, guerrilla insurgency and debt. Thus, experience in managing complex problems in a foreign environment is essential.

Morris D. Busby is currently assigned as the Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism in the Office of the Secretary of State. Busby, a former Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, is an outstanding manager. He knows the drug issue well from previous service as Deputy Chief of Mission in Mexico City. Strong in interpersonal skills, Busby has a special ability to generate enthusiasm and high morale among his staff. He is fluent in Spanish.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

EL SALVADOR

RECOMMENDATION:

Michael G. Kozak, SES-05, as Ambassador to El Salvador

The United States enjoys excellent relations with El Salvador. The country has the largest U.S. economic and military assistance programs in the hemisphere and relies

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-11-

heavily on that aid to support an ailing and disrupted economy. The overall U.S. policy in El Salvador is to consolidate a stable, friendly, and democratic government. Given the size of the U.S. Mission, the range of its activities, and the amount of economic and military assistance, the Ambassador must be a tireless and dynamic individual with wide experience in managing complex programs. He must possess acute political and cultural sensitivity and also have highly developed skills for diplomacy and persuasion. Fluency in Spanish is essential.

Michael G. Kozak has been serving since April 1988 as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Department's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. Kozak, a former Principal Deputy Legal Adviser of the Department of State, joined State in 1971. He has served as Assistant U.S. Negotiator for Panama Canal Treaties, and has participated in Middle East peace negotiations. In 1984 he led the U.S. delegation that successfully negotiated an agreement with the Government of Cuba which established normal migration procedures between the two countries. He participated also in multilateral mediation efforts during the Nicaraguan civil war of 1978-79 and negotiated with the new Government of Nicaragua the ongoing effort to establish comprehensive arrangements for peace in Central America.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

MAURITANIA

RECOMMENDATION:

Gordon S. Brown, FE-MC, as Ambassador to Mauritania

United States interests in Mauritania are essentially humanitarian, with the additional concern of preventing regional disputes from becoming broader military conflicts. Mauritania is a desperately poor, largely desert country of less than two million people which has been visited in recent years with a series of political, military and natural disasters. The American Ambassador must have experience

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working in developing countries. Strong French or Arabic is a must, as English is rarely spoken. Given the rather harsh climate and isolation, the Ambassador must also take a strong interest in maintaining post morale.

Gordon S. Brown is currently serving as Political Advisor/CENTCOM. A superior economist, Brown excels in interpersonal and management skills. During a three-year tour as Deputy Chief of Mission in Tunis from 1986-89, he demonstrated energy, strong leadership in managing the Embassy, and keen analysis in his reporting. He has had extensive political and economic/commercial experience in the Arab world. Brown is fluent in French and Arabic.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

ZIMBABWE

RECOMMENDATION:

E. Gibson Lanpher, FE-MC, as Ambassador to Zimbabwe

Bilateral relations between the United States and Zimbabwe have improved recently as the Government of Zimbabwe moves to enhance its image abroad. Zimbabwe is a functioning multiracial society with a multiparty system. The Chief of Mission should possess a solid background in Southern African affairs. In addition, the ability to deal with the Zimbabwean Government's Marxist-oriented rhetoric requires patience, tact, flexibility and a keen intellect.

E. Gibson Lanpher, one of the Department's leading experts on Africa, has won praise throughout his career for being quick, perceptive, astute, cool, and extremely personable. Currently Deputy Chief of Mission in Canberra, Lanpher was Country Director for Southern African Affairs from 1986 - 1989. His prior assignment was Deputy Chief of Mission in Harare from 1982 - 1986. During this tour, where he served as Charge d'Affaires for extensive periods, he demonstrated

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-13-

energetic, self-confident management of the mission. Mr. Lanpher was a 1988 recipient of the Department's Distinguished Honor Award for his splendid work on the mediating team which brokered an end to Cuban intervention in Southwest Africa.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date _____

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Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Mosbacher Sr.

request the pleasure of your company

for dinner

on Friday the 14th December
at 7:30 o'clock

2425 Irving Place, N.Y.
Black Tie

R.S.V.P.
301/649-3910

2425 Irving Place, N.Y.
Black Tie, Dec 20008



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President and Mrs. George Bush
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Washington, D.C. 20500

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Memo	From Samuel K. Skinner to POTUS Re: Continental Airlines Bankruptcy (2 pp.)	12/04/90	P5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By SP (NLGB) on 10/27/05

Date Closed: 1/7/2005	OA/ID Number: 29195-003
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:
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AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

December 4, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President

THROUGH: The Chief of Staff

FROM: Samuel K. Skinner

SUBJECT: Continental Airlines Bankruptcy

I am writing to provide you with information regarding the December 3 decision of Continental Airlines Holdings, Inc. to file for protection under Chapter 11 of the Federal Bankruptcy Code.

As you may recall, last month I reported to you that increased jet fuel prices were having a severe impact on the U.S. airline industry. On December 3, largely due to additional costs imposed by the price of jet fuel, Continental Airlines Holdings, Inc. and its subsidiaries filed for protection under Chapter 11 in the U.S. Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware. Continental's representatives have informed the Department that the company expects to pay \$1.1 billion for fuel this year, some \$231 million more than it would have paid had the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait not increased jet fuel prices by as much as 125 percent. Fuel now accounts for approximately a quarter of the airline's operating expenses.

Under Chapter 11 the bankrupt's management may, as a general matter, continue to conduct the day-to-day business of the company. The bankrupt is, however, required to file with the bankruptcy court a reorganization plan, which must then be approved by various classes of creditors. Filing a petition for Chapter 11 status renders the company's pre-petition liabilities temporarily unenforceable. However, Continental sought, and the bankruptcy court granted, permission to continue to pay employees, medical claims, travel agents' commissions, and certain other pre-petition liabilities.

Continental currently operates approximately 1,400 departures carrying about 100,000 passengers daily. Its operations account for approximately eight percent of the market for air travel in this country. Continental serves 88 U.S. and 55 foreign destinations, and maintains significant connecting hubs at Houston Intercontinental (where it operates approximately 80 percent of all departures), Denver, Newark, and Cleveland. It employs approximately 37,000 people, including 4,000 pilots, 6,500 flight attendants, 5,700 mechanics and related maintenance employees, and 10,100 reservations and airport agents. Its largest concentration of employees is at Houston, where it has a work force of 14,000.

According to documents Continental has filed with the bankruptcy court, the airline currently plans to maintain its current service level and retain all of its employees at current salary and benefit levels. The airline has also announced that its tickets remain fully refundable to the extent that they were refundable prior to the Chapter 11 filing. As of today, Continental's service does not appear to have been disrupted by the filing. So far as we can tell, none of Continental's 1,400 departures yesterday was canceled as a result of the bankruptcy.

Continental also announced today that it has reached agreement to sell its Seattle-Tokyo route to American Airlines for \$150 million sometime in the course of the next year. (Continental will continue to operate the route until it consummates the sale.) American has agreed to provide Continental with \$140 million of this amount as a loan prior to consummation of the sale as soon as Continental receives the necessary approvals from the bankruptcy court and the Departments of Transportation and Justice. The Department of Transportation has already begun consultations with Continental so as to process Continental's application expeditiously. Continental's representatives have informed this Department that it is exploring the sale of its catering subsidiary, but that it does not intend to sell any other major assets in order to emerge from bankruptcy protection.

You should be aware that the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC) will likely file a major claim against Continental in the bankruptcy court. In September, Continental and the PBGC entered into a settlement agreement under which Continental would have assumed Eastern Air Lines' unfunded pension liability; the settlement was made contingent on Continental and the PBGC also reaching agreement on an acceptable collateral package. The parties did not reach agreement prior to Continental's filing for bankruptcy. Although we anticipate that the PBGC will file a claim in bankruptcy court for approximately \$690 million, PBGC has advised my Department that it will continue to work with Continental to reach agreement.

As I reported to you last month, I have met with the chief executive officers of the Nation's major airlines and other representatives of the industry on several occasions since the beginning of the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Because I believe that other airlines may soon consider filing for bankruptcy, the Department currently is evaluating a number of options for governmental action suggested by the industry. I must tell you, however, that, at least in the short term, there appears to be little we can do to ameliorate the effects of higher fuel costs. Of course, the Department is also monitoring the situation closely to ensure that Continental's Chapter 11 filing has no adverse impact on the traveling public.

I will keep you informed of any additional developments on this subject.

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Monday, December 10 -- P.M.

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Memo from Skinner re: Continental TAB A		
2. Bob Clarke statement INSIDE COVER		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	12/12/90	P-2, P-5 , (b)(6)	

Collection:

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Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

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 (Document Follows)
 By JF (NLGB) on 10/23/05

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, December 12, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Wednesday and Thursday schedules TAB A		
2. Reaction from JHS speech		
3. Caravos reaction from yesterday's meeting		
4. Cabinet meeting today Problem w/ Bennett		
5. 		
6. JHS seeing Jerry Weintraub today		

ANTI-NOVAK

Duke/19th

(b)(6)

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Tuesday, December 11, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Tuesday and Wednesday Schedules TAB A		
2. Bob Clarke Statement TAB B	RELEASE TODAY	
3. Cabinet meeting on Weds.		Call Rando Rept
4. JHS speech today 1:00 PM	S.A. Grant trip Buenos Aires	FRONZEL Red VLS CHN Red
5. POTUS feel OK today? Schedule changes		
6. GET BUDGET DEAL SUMMARY PACKAGE FOR PRES	SWITCHER Bill GRANT	

I appreciate the President's expression of confidence in his decision to reappoint me Comptroller of the Currency.

This is an extremely difficult time for lenders, borrowers and bank regulators. However, we can work through the current problems if lenders assume their responsibility to make loans and take reasonable risks, and regulators follow a responsive, balanced approach that takes into account regulatory responsibilities, current economic conditions, and the very significant national interest not to unnecessarily depress credit availability.

A strong financial system depends on both appropriate regulation and a strong economy. And a strong economy depends on a constructive, effective relationship between lenders and those who seek capital for the operation of their businesses, or for growth and expansion.

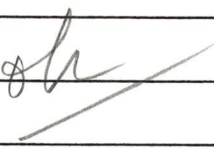
In short, I agree that now is a time for the application of common sense, a time when neither lenders nor regulators should overreact or be unresponsive.

This has been, and will continue to be, the message from this office. A balanced approach by lenders and regulators can maintain and nurture activity by our financial institutions that is sound from the standpoint of both effective a regulation and a healthy, growing economy.

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Tuesday, December 11 -- P.M.

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Request for POTUS attendance at NSTAC December 13 TAB A		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.)	12/12/90	P2, P5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed: 1/7/2005	OA/ID Number: 29195-003
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-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]
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 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) 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

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, December 12, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Transfer of Powers memo INSIDE COVER		<i>Josh Pap</i>
2. Jerry Weintraub for Kennedy Center Board?		<i>Herb Kline for Nifon</i>
3. <i>STEVE BEU</i>	<i>Gelb In to See -</i> <i>Lyoni Martin</i> <i>Pat Sahai * *</i>	<i>Rudy Shuttle</i> <i>Bill Grant / tomorrow?</i>
4. <i>Consultation</i> <i>Call Elizabeth</i> <i>advise</i> <i>on Consultation</i>	<i>Tom Kean - ✓</i>	
5. <i>BONNIE-PRICE</i> <i>USE</i>		
6.		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.)	12/13/90	P/5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By SP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed: 1/7/2005	OA/ID Number: 29195-003
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Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-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:

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

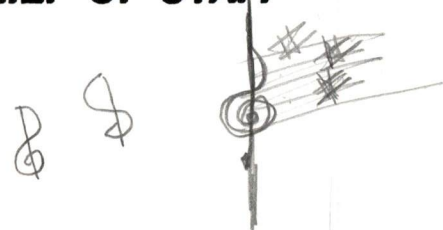
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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, December 13, 1990



SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Thursday and Friday/Weekend Schedules TAB A		
2. POTUS to Sign Photos INSIDE FRONT COVER		
3. Tom Loeffler is excited/available		Roger Giles Wants to talk re Bennett
4. Education Dept ruling on minority scholarships		
5. GELB @ 9:15		
6.		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	12/14/90	P-2 , P-3 , (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

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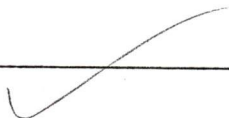
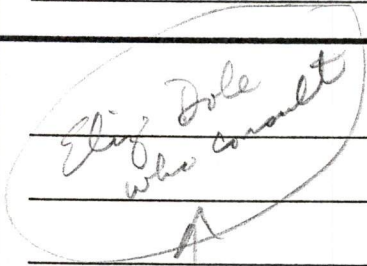
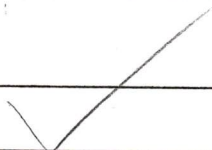
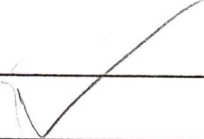
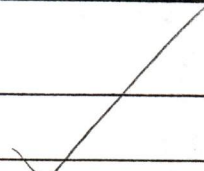
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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Friday, December 14, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Friday, Weekend and Monday Schedules TAB A		
2. Bill Bennett letter of resignation TAB B		
3. Governor Clements letter re: oil prices TAB C		
4. (b)(6) nomination papers INSIDE COVER		
5. Invitation from Mrs. Coretta Scott King TAB D		
6. Electromagnetic rucking		

Hudson Institute

Washington Office

December 13, 1990

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am honored by your willingness to nominate me to become Chairman of the Republican National Committee. As you know, prior to that announcement I had determined that -- after nine years of Executive Branch service -- I should return to private life so as to satisfy important personal and family obligations.

I have now determined, with the deepest reluctance, that I cannot serve as both Chairman of the Republican National Committee and fulfill these personal and other professional responsibilities. Among these is a longstanding contractual commitment to Simon and Schuster to write two books. They have recently advised, understandably, that they cannot extend my commitment to them for yet another two years.

In addition, I am now advised by legal counsel that Federal ethics law could be interpreted to limit substantially my involvement in private sector activities while serving as Chairman of the Republican National Committee during the first year following my departure from the Executive Branch. I would not want this to create an appearance of impropriety. As you know, I share your commitment to the highest ethical standards in public service and I would not want to do anything to jeopardize our shared commitment to those standards.

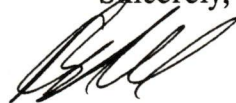
Herman Kahn Center
P.O. Box 26-919, Indianapolis, Indiana 46226
317-545-1000 • FAX 317-545-9639

December 13, 1990
The President
Page 2

While I would be happy to be of assistance to you in years to come and most particularly in your re-election campaign, I am compelled at this time to withdraw my name from consideration for Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Finally, Mr. President, let me say that I am also advised that nothing in Federal ethics law prevents me from continuing to speak out on behalf of you and the policies of your Administration. I intend to do so vigorously.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Bill', with a stylized flourish at the end.

William J. Bennett



STATE OF TEXAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78701

WILLIAM P. CLEMENTS, JR.
GOVERNOR

December 11, 1990

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C., 20500

SUBJECT: Floor/Ceiling to Stabilize Oil Prices

Dear Mr. President:

Crude oil price swings of the magnitude experienced in the last five years are needlessly damaging our economy. My purpose in writing is to urge action to reduce this volatility through a balanced approach -- one which will benefit both producer and consumer.

During the past five years investment in oil and gas exploration and development has been constrained by fear that oil prices will crash as they did in 1986. Drilling has been insufficient to maintain production and imports have increased to cover this shortfall. Imports are now approaching fifty percent -- a level which clearly threatens our national security.

U. S. producers have the capability of stabilizing domestic production and with stable prices and proper incentives increasing reserves. U. S. liquid production (crude and natural gas liquids) has decreased from 10.6 million barrels per day in 1985 to 8.7 million bpd. I believe with moderate wellhead prices that are stable, the U. S. can maintain sufficiency in natural gas production and stabilize oil production. Production at these levels would keep imports within reasonable limits.

Oil price volatility damages not only our domestic petroleum industry but other energy sectors as well. Crude oil is the benchmark energy source -- the price of all alternatives are tied to oil and stability for oil would help all energy sources.

Mr. President, any price stabilization proposal has to be balanced. I believe a system which features both a floor and a ceiling will be

equitable to all parties. Uncertainty would be eliminated for investors and the man in the street would have assurance that the gasoline for his car would be reasonably priced.

My proposal is simple: a floor at \$20 per barrel (1990 dollars) and a ceiling of \$30 per barrel to the year 2000. A \$20 floor and \$30 ceiling price provides symmetrical limits around a mean of \$25 -- a fair range for producer and consumer alike.

I urge that you put a stabilization program in place pursuant to your authority to act when imports threaten national security under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. Section 232(b), as amended by 19 U.S.C. Section 1862(b) 1980)). This course of action allows you to seize the initiative.

Alternatively, you should urge Congress to adopt legislation specifying that oil prices shall not be less than the \$20 per barrel nor exceed \$30. In my judgment, a carefully crafted package, featuring a floor and ceiling simultaneously, would be accepted by the nation.

I believe it is imperative that the volatility problem be addressed and there will never be a better time than now. Both a floor and a ceiling are needed. This is a National Security issue and the problem with proper solution should be addressed in that context. The current Mid-East situation provides you with a perfect circumstance.

Respectfully,


William P. Clements, Jr.
Governor

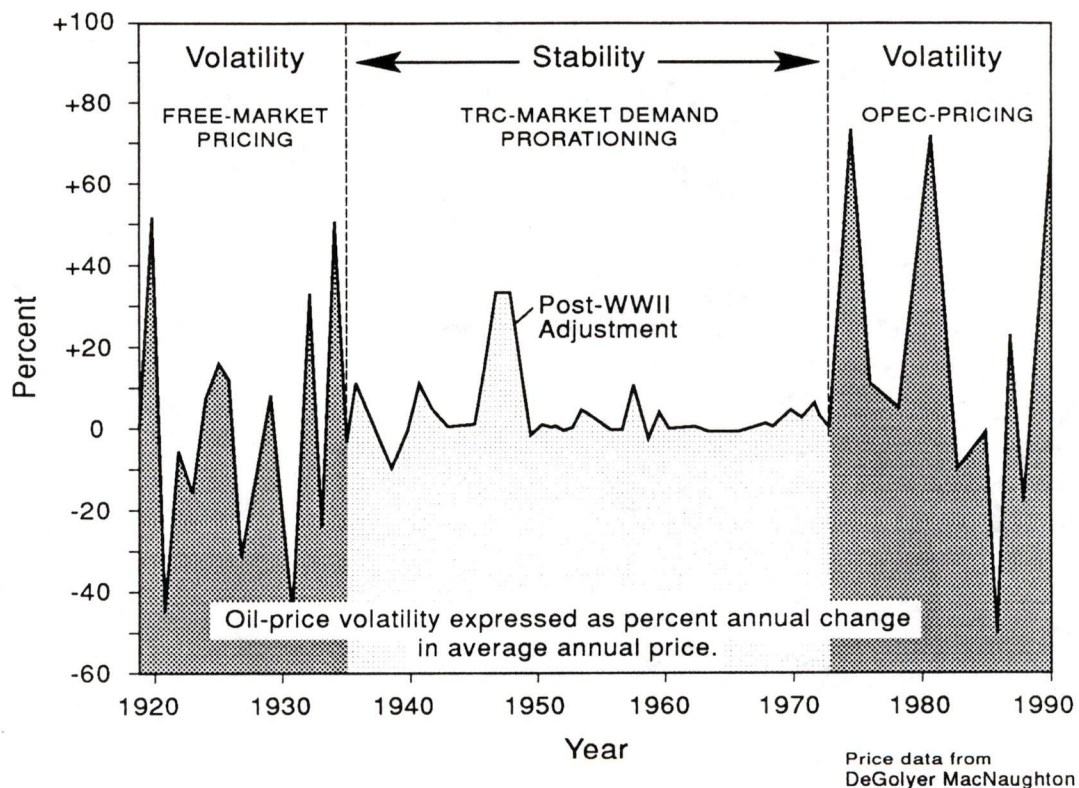
WPC,Jr.:jhh

Attachment - "Salient Issues In U. S. Oil"

Salient Issues in U.S. Oil

The U.S. has suffered a significant decline in domestic oil production capacity in recent years. The reasons lie not in the resource base, which can still yield substantial reserves over the long term, but rather in the level of drilling activity. Level of drilling, the essential determinant of volume of reserves added and, hence, production, is related substantially to wellhead prices and more specifically to expectation of price. Oil price volatility amplifies these expectations, leading to inefficiencies when drilling increases rapidly and inordinately low drilling when prices fall.

Oil Price Volatility



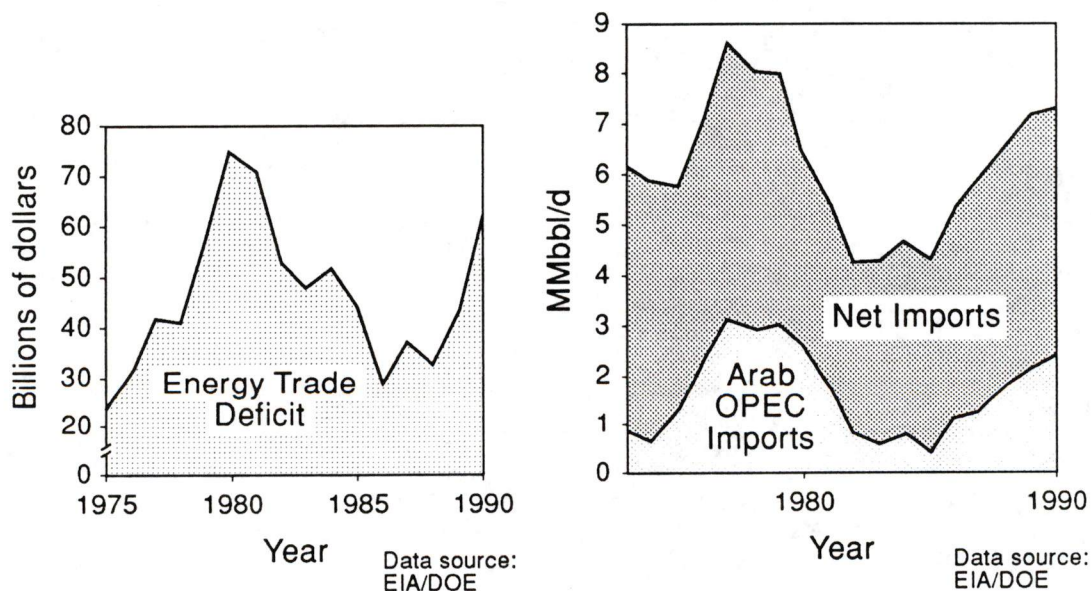
Over this century, oil prices have followed three patterns: from the teens through the early 1930's, a period of high price volatility, followed by a nearly 40-year period of price stability, and over the past two decades, another period of exceptionally high price volatility. The early volatility had severe impact on producers. In fact, the corporate concentration attempted by the Standard Oil Company was an effort to stabilize prices and production, although it conflicted with antitrust statutes; the impact of early volatility on consumers was lessened by the fact that U.S. consumption of oil and oil products was below 2.5 MMbbl/d. Variations in average annual prices averaged about 23 percent.

The period of price stability from the middle 1930's through the early 1970's, effected by market-demand prorationing policies of the Railroad Commission of Texas and other State regulatory agencies, existed during a time in which demand increased from about 2.5 to nearly 17 MMbbl/d. The effects of stability during this period of rapid growth in consumption were substantial to both producers and consumers. Except for a 3-year price-adjustment period immediately after World War II, annual variation in average annual prices was only 3 percent.

The most acute period of price volatility has existed since 1972, with the U.S. as the world's largest consumer acquiescing in pricing policy to the OPEC. Average annual variation, in average annual oil prices, has exceeded 25 percent over a period when U.S. consumption has averaged about 17 MMbbl/d. Three major price shocks over the period have contributed significantly to consumer inflation and economic recession. Major collapses in prices have similarly impacted domestic production and created economic chaos in the oil-producing states of the Nation.

From this history, two central conclusions emerge: (1) *high price volatility is detrimental to both consumers and producers*, and (2) *price stability has been achieved only when actively and effectively administered by government*.

Net Imports and Energy Trade Deficits



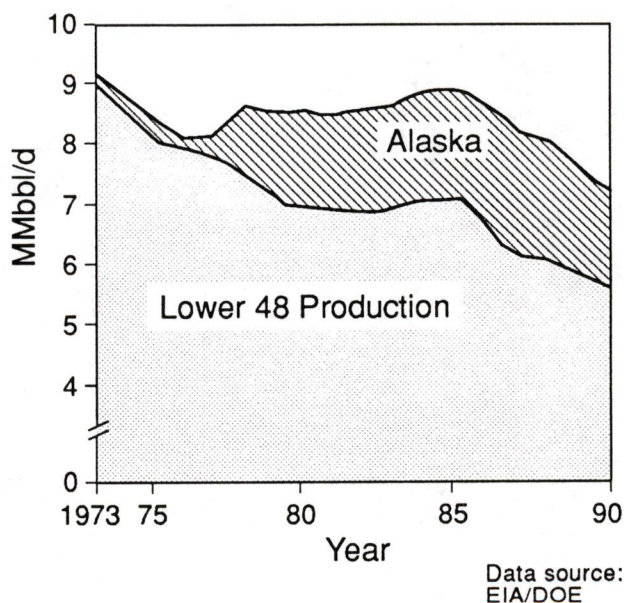
Net imports of crude oil and products exceeded 8 MMbbl/d in the late 1970's. With stabilization of domestic production and tempering of demand by high prices, net imports were cut to about one-half in the 1980's. With the collapse of oil prices in early 1986, domestic oil drilling and production fell, consumption increased, and imports of oil soared, approaching record highs of the late 1970's.

Paralleling the trend in overall imports is dependence on Arab OPEC imports. These sources, which provided more than 15 percent of total U.S. consumption in the late 1970's, contributed as little as 3 percent in 1985. Over the past 5 years, substantial reliance on Arab OPEC sources has resumed as imports from these sources have increased fivefold.

Following trends in net imports are trends in energy trade deficits. In 1979 and 1980, with both high import volumes and high unit prices, overall energy trade deficits exceeded \$70 billion. With lower imports and lower prices in the middle 1980's, this deficit was cut to less than half the earlier level but surged during the late 1980's and is expected to reach \$60 billion in 1990.

The compromise of national security and the national economy arising from increased reliance on foreign imports of oil follows directly from decreased domestic production and increased consumption occasioned by relatively low and unstable prices.

Domestic Crude Oil Production Trends

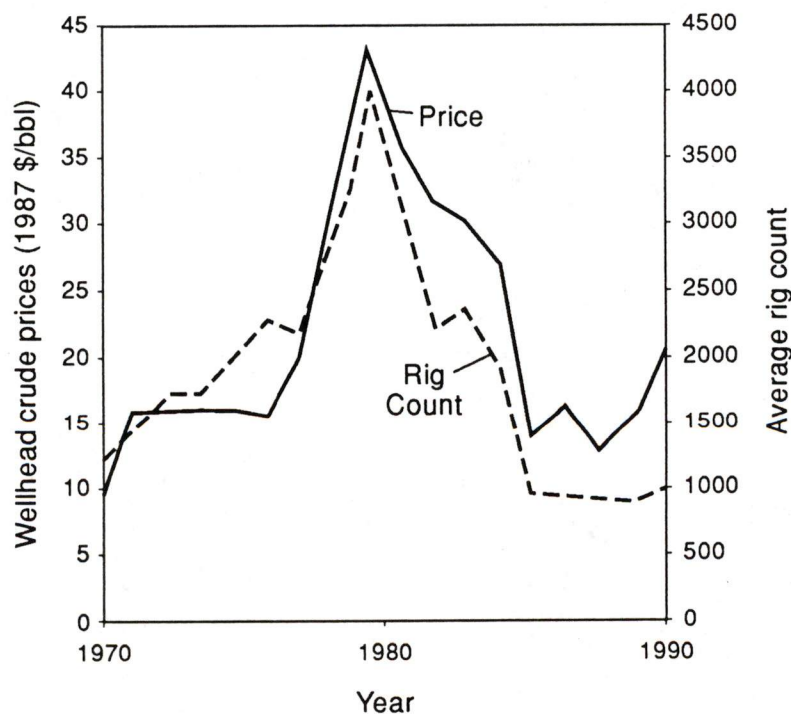


Domestic production of crude oil in the U.S. peaked in 1970 at about 9.6 million barrels per day (MMbbl/d) and began to decline through the decade. As North Slope Alaskan oil came on line in 1976, the decline was reversed, and by 1985 production was back to nearly 9.0 MMbbl/d. Lower 48 production declined through the 1970's by almost 2 MMbbl/d, a decline of 25 percent. Through the middle 1980's, lower 48 production stabilized and increased slightly with increased drilling activity. With the collapse of prices and drilling levels beginning in 1986, lower 48 production fell by 1 MMbbl/d in 2 years. Since 1987, decline has continued, but at a lesser rate. Anticipated decline in Alaskan production began in 1989 and will proceed at an annual rate of 10 to 15 percent

if economies do not allow development of already discovered North Slope fields and if national policies preclude exploration and development of parts of the Alaska Wildlife Reserve.

Future production decline of domestic oil will persist if rig counts remain low because of anticipated instability in oil prices. However, at prices perceived to be stable in the \$20- to \$30-per-barrel (real term) range, coupled with advanced development and application of exploration and recovery research and technology, a national policy of access, and targeted tax incentives (several already enacted by the Congress), the U.S. could achieve long-term stable production of about 7 MMbbl/d in the lower 48 and 1.0 MMbbl/d in Alaska. With natural gas liquids, a domestic level of supply on the order of 9.0 MMbbl/d is reachable. Prices to effect such production levels would also keep U.S. consumption at or below the 17-MMbbl/d level, constraining future long-term import levels to no more than those at present. *With increased production of other domestic energy sources, likewise achievable with stable, moderate oil prices and with future energy conservation, the long-term import level would be reduced to 5 MMbbl/d or less. Such is a future radically different from one with a foreign import requirement of 10 to 15 MMbbl/d.*

Rig Count and Wellhead Prices



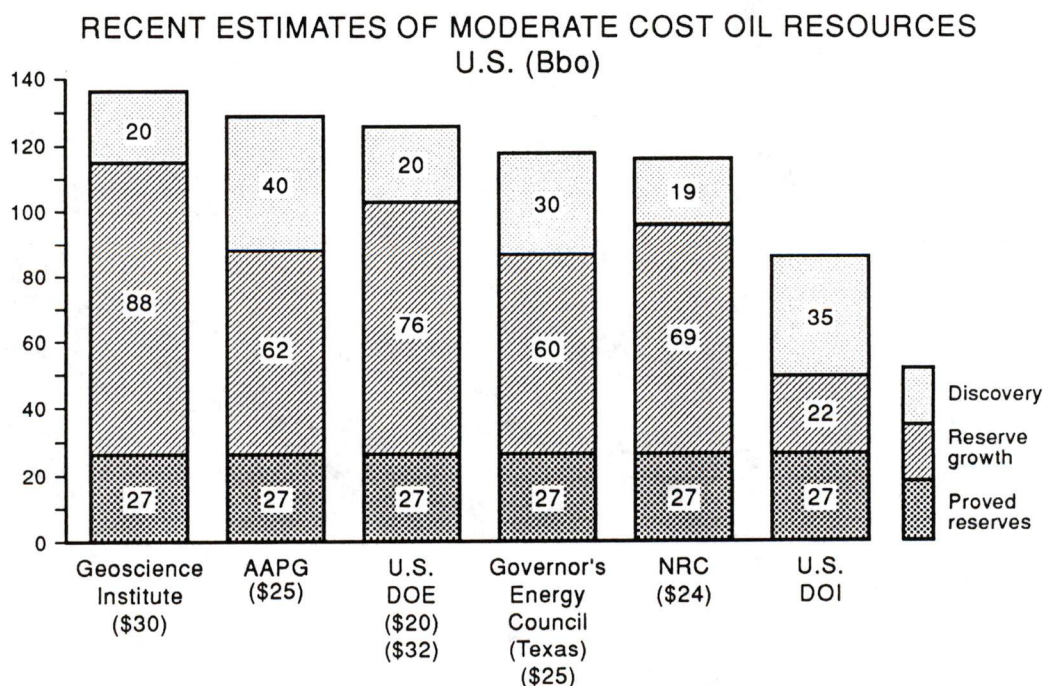
The average number of rotary rigs operating in the U.S. increased from about 1,500 in the early 1970's to nearly 4,000 in 1981. The count fell steadily through 1986 and has stabilized at just under 1,000 for the past four years. The

amount of drilling activity correlates rather closely with wellhead prices, or more specifically, with expectation of price. For instance, from 1974 through 1978, the number of active rigs increased by more than 50 percent while real oil prices fell slightly; expectations were that domestic price controls would be lifted.

When oil prices increased in the early 1980's, so did drilling; not only were prices rising, but the expectation of higher prices was even greater. However, as prices softened in the 1980's, rig activity fell at an even faster rate. When it appeared that prices might hold in 1983-84, the rig count held shortly. Through the middle 1980's rig count followed price expectation. Over the past 5 years, the rig count has held at low levels despite increases in prices over the past 2 years. In fact, the rig count is about one-third lower than prices over the past 5 years would warrant, owing to real and perceived instability in oil prices. Even the recent doubling of oil prices in the latter half of 1990 has led to little increase in longer-term drilling activity because expectations are that prices will fall; principal response has been restricted to short-term activities like well workovers.

The U.S. does not need a rig count of 4,000 or certainly does not need to move to such level rapidly; the inefficiencies, as they were in the early 1980's, would be inordinate. Similarly, the U.S. cannot sustain production with a rig count of 1,000. However, *an efficient rig count of 1,500 to 2,000, quite achievable with moderate wellhead prices that are stable and are perceived to be stable, would provide the U.S. self-sufficiency in natural gas production and would permit stabilization in oil production.*

The Domestic Resource Base



Despite the fact that the oil provinces of the U.S. have been extensively drilled and despite the common perception that U.S. conventional oil resources are nearly depleted, a wide range of resource analysts in recent years have concluded that the U.S. still has a substantial remaining oil resource.

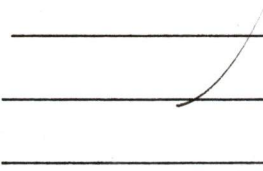
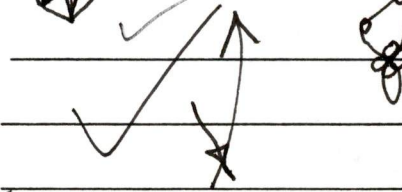
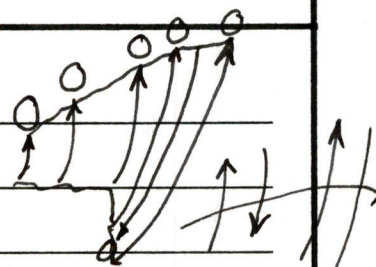
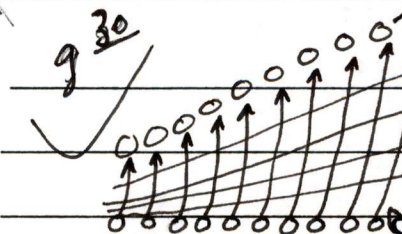
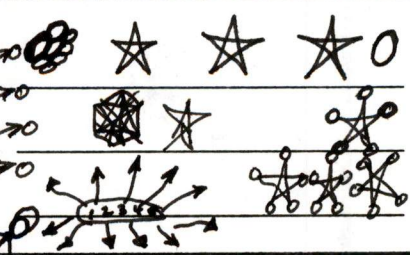
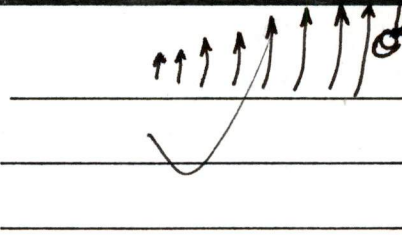
The Governor's Energy Council (Texas) in reports chaired by John Bookout, former chief executive officer of Shell, and Edwin Cox, past chairman of the National Petroleum Council, estimated 117 billion barrels of oil (Bbo) accessible at \$25 per barrel, with 60 Bbo coming from improved recovery, 30 Bbo from new discovery, and 27 Bbo from proven reserves. This volume is the equivalent of domestic production of 6.5 MMbbl/d for 50 years. Other estimates recently made are comparable. The National Research Council in a report on liquid fuels availability estimated an accessible volume of 115 Bbo at \$24 barrel. The American Association of Petroleum Geologists estimates a recoverable resource base of 129 Bbo at an assumed price of \$25 per barrel. The U.S. Department of Energy estimated 123 Bbo accessible at prices of \$25 to \$32 per barrel. The only anomaly among recent estimates is that of the U.S. Department of Interior. The DOI estimates a mean, economically discoverable volume of 35 Bbo, comparable to other estimates of discovery potential. However, their statistically rigorous but outdated calculations of future improved recovery are only 22 Bbo, about one-quarter of the average of the other estimates.

Although the volumes of remaining oil resources at moderate costs are widely judged to be substantial—*sufficient to yield stable production for 50 years*—two critical conditions must be met: (1) *the price of oil must be stable and perceived to be so over an extended period*, and (2) *advanced research and technology, especially in the improved recovery of oil, must be pursued and applied aggressively*. Unless action is taken to meet these conditions, only about half of the moderate-cost potential resource will be realized, U.S. production will steadily decline, and foreign imports will continue to increase.

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Monday, December 17, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Monday and Tuesday Schedules TAB A		SEND AMONGST INTL
2. Results from Univision Interview with POTUS TAB B		
3. Polling Data from Teeter re: Persian Gulf and Economy TAB C		10:00
4. JHS meeting this AM re minority scholarships		
5. Jamar Alexander this AM		
6. RNC chair. A. [unclear] W. [unclear] H. Moore TANKE		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11. Agenda	From Ed Rogers Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.)	12/17/90	P -5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed:	1/7/2005	OA/ID Number:	29195-003
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-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]
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 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)]

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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: December 17, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Talk to the President about Dr. Schuller's appointment scheduled for Wednesday 2:30	<i>Too complicated</i>	
2. Let the President know that you'll be back in the office by 11:10am tomorrow	✓	
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

December 13, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bob Teeter

You may have seen the coverage from NBC News and the Wall Street Journal concerning people's attitudes toward the Persian Gulf situation. The attached tables detail the results from the current NBC/WSJ national survey.

cc: Governor Sununu, Secretary Baker, Secretary Cheney, and
General Skowcroft

NBC/WSJ National Survey

December 8-11, 1990

N=1002

PERSIAN GULF

Do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the conflict in the Middle East?

	1990				
	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sep 15-18</u>	<u>Sep 4-5</u>	<u>Aug</u>
Approve	63%	69%	78%	75%	72%
Disapprove	31	26	15	18	16
Don't know	6	5	7	7	12

Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the United States' sending military forces to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>
Approve	63%	76%	70%
Disapprove	33	20	21
Don't know	4	5	9

I'm going to read you six reasons some people think U.S. troops are in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. Please tell me which one you think is the single most important reason U.S. troops are there. (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)

To protect the world's oil supply	33%
To force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait	18
To overthrow Saddam Hussein	10
To free the hostages	6
To protect Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf nations	10
To prevent Iraq from developing nuclear weapons	10
All equally (VOL)	9
None of these (VOL)	2
Don't know	2

12/10/90 10:17 44 004

The cost of maintaining the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf is about 2 billion dollars per month. Do you feel it is or is not worth the cost?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90*</u>
Worth the cost	53%	59%
Not worth the cost	40	32
Don't know	7	9

*In October 1990, the cost in the question was given as 1 billion dollars per month.

Do you feel that the United States can or cannot achieve its objectives solely through economic sanctions and the blockade?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>
Can achieve its objectives	36%	38%	45%	43%
Cannot achieve its objectives	48	45	40	37
Depends (VOL)	7	6	4	7
Don't know	9	11	10	13

Do you feel that the economic sanctions against Iraq have or have not made a difference?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>
Have made a difference	65%	67%
Have not made a difference	29	26
Don't know	6	7

How long should the U.S. be prepared to wait for sanctions against Iraq to work? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Until January 15, 1991	27%
After the middle of January/through June 1991 (six months or less)	23
July 1991/through the end of 1991 (six months to a year)	11
Anytime in 1992 (one to two years)	5
Beyond 1992 (more than two years)	5
We have waited too long already (VOL)	13
Don't know	16

Suppose it takes up to two years for the economic sanctions against Iraq to work. Would you favor or oppose keeping 200,000 troops in Saudi Arabia while we were waiting for the sanctions to work?

Favor	24%
Oppose	72
Don't know	4

Which of the following do you think will be the ultimate result of our actions in the Middle East: (READ CHOICES)?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>
America will have to withdraw without achieving its objectives	7%	9%	8%	8%
America will achieve its objectives without a shooting war	34	34	52	40
America will end up in a war with Iraq	50	48	36	42
Don't know	9	9	4	10

Do you think the United States will or will not go to war against Iraq?

Will	55%
Will not	28
Don't know	17

Do you think President Bush should or should not be required to receive approval from Congress before taking offensive military action against Iraq?

Should	71%
Should not	24
Don't know	5

I'm going to mention some things that may or may not happen in the Middle East and for each one, please tell me whether the U.S. should or should not take military action in connection with it.

	<u>Should</u>	<u>Should Not</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
If Iraq invades Saudi Arabia	69%	26	5
September 1990	84%	11	5
August 1990	74%	18	8
If Iraq imprisons or mistreats Americans left in Kuwait	55%	37	8
September 1990	73%	22	5
August 1990	70%	18	12
If terrorists loyal to Iraq kill Americans anywhere	48%	44	8
September 1990	68%	26	6
August 1990	67%	21	12
If the U.S. develops a major shortage of oil that threatens an economic recession and closes some of our factories	27%	68	5
September 1990	37%	57	6
August 1990	39%	50	11
If the U.S. develops a major shortage of oil that increases the price of gasoline to over \$2 per gallon	19%	77	4
September 1990	24%	71	5
August 1990	27%	64	9
If other nations refuse to commit a significant military forces	34%	58	8
To stop Iraq from developing nuclear weapons	52%	42	6
If military experts estimate that 10,000 American troops could be killed	46%	41	13

12/10/80 10:10 4000

Which statement do you agree with more:

A)

The U.S. should accept an agreement with Iraq in which Iraq releases all of the hostages and withdraws from Kuwait, with some concessions being made to Iraq on the control of disputed oil fields.

OR

B)

The U.S. should not accept an agreement with concessions, and that after the U.N. deadline of January 15th, the U.S. should use military force to get Iraq to release the hostages and to withdraw from Kuwait.

The U.S. should accept an agreement	51%
The U.S. should <u>not</u> accept an agreement	39
Both equally (VOL)	2
Neither (VOL)	3
Don't know	5

You may also know that Saddam Hussein recently announced that Iraq will release all of its foreign hostages. Do you think this is a real and sincere effort to find a peaceful solution to the situation in the Persian Gulf, or do you think it is just a public relations gesture to put pressure on the United States not to attack Iraq?

Real and sincere effort	15%
Public relations gesture	78
Don't know	7

As you may know, Secretary of State James Baker is going to travel to Iraq soon to meet with Saddam Hussein. Do you think their meeting will or will not make a real difference in resolving the current situation peacefully?

Will make a real difference	46%
Will not make a real difference	43
Don't know	11

Over the years the United States has had serious diplomatic differences with Cuba, Syria, and China. Do you think the U.S. is or is not justified in putting aside these differences to get these countries to go along with our policies in the Persian Gulf?

Justified	62%
Not justified	26
Don't know	12

How much longer do you expect the U.S. troops to be in Saudi Arabia?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>9/90*</u>
3 months or less	14	7
3 to 6 months	15	12
6 months to a year	23	25
1 to 3 years	21	29
More than 3 years	8	10
Don't know	19	16

*In September 1990, this question read "How long do you expect the U.S. troops to be in Saudia Arabia?".

Do you think the U.S. should or should not keep a military force in the Persian Gulf after the current crisis has been resolved?

Should	55%
Should not	41
Don't know	4

December 13, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bob Teeter

Current voter attitudes toward the economy will be on NBC News tonight and in the Wall Street Journal tomorrow as a part of their on-going national polling project. A clear majority (73%) of voters think we currently are in a recession. However, they are split as to the severity (45% say mild/39% say severe) and length (45% less than 1 year/42% more than 1 year) of the recession.

This perception of an economic recession also is modifying consumer behavior. More than half (57%) say they have been cutting down on purchases, while one-third say there has been little change in their spending.

cc: Governor Sununu, Secretary Brady, Michael Boskin, and Richard Darman

NBC/WSJ National Survey
December 8-11, 1990
N=1002

ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESIDENT BUSH

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing
as President?

	1990								1989	
	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Oct 30-31</u>	<u>Oct 19-21</u>	<u>Sep</u>	<u>Jul</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>Sep</u>
Approve	57%	56%	59%	75%	67%	72%	75%	69%	71%	67% 67%
Disapprove	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22 17
Don't know	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11 16

handling the economy?

	1990							1989	
	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sep</u>	<u>Jul</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>Sep</u>
Approve	37%	35%	52%	48%	51%	59%	53%	54%	52% 61%
Disapprove	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33 24
Don't know	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15 15

handling foreign affairs?

	1990							1989	
	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sep</u>	<u>Jul</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>Sep</u>
Approve	56%	63%	75%	67%	67%	70%	67%	69%	59% 58%
Disapprove	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27 26
Don't know	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14 16

handling the conflict in the Middle East?

	1990				
	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sep 15-18</u>	<u>Sep 4-5</u>	<u>Aug</u>
Approve	63%	69%	78%	75%	72%
Disapprove	31	26	15	18	16
Don't know	6	5	7	7	12

NBC/WSJ National Survey
December 8-11, 1990
N=1002

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Over the past year, to you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>
Better	3%	3%	6%	11%	11%	12%	13%	12%	15%	18%
Worse	73	72	57	37	36	30	37	29	34	23
About the same	23	24	35	51	52	56	48	57	49	57
Don't know	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2

During the next year, to you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>
Get better	21%	13%	16%	20%	22%	24%	21%	22%	21%	25%
Get worse	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23
About the same	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43
Don't know	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9

I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the (most/second most) important issue facing the country?

First/Second Choice

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
Federal budget deficit	52%	58%	49%	54%	51%	48%	49%	51%
Unemployment	45	32	39	36	35	38	39	38
Inflation	30	31	30	24	26	30	28	26
U.S. trade deficit	29	30	35	34	39	34	38	37
Federal taxes	20	26	15	25	23	19	18	21
Interest rates	8	8	11	12	12	12	11	11

Here are some things people have done because of their concern about an economic recession. For each one, please tell me whether you have or have not done this.

	<u>Have Done</u>	<u>Have Not Done</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Found ways to economize in the things you buy	84%	16	--
September 1990	76%	23	1
Changed vacation plans	43%	56	1
September 1990	35%	64	1
Tried to put extra money aside	64%	36	--
September 1990*	54%	45	1
Avoided changing jobs	47%	49	4
September 1990	38%	57	5
Transferred funds into safer investments	30%	69	1
Cut back on luxury items	70%	29	1
September 1990	56%	43	1

*In September 1990, this statement read "Tried to save more money than usual".

Do you think there will or will not be an economic recession during the next twelve months?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>
Will be a recession	73%	66%	55%	57%	25%	30%	23%	30%	31%
Will not be a recession	19	24	33	26	49	57	64	56	56
Don't know	8	10	13	17	26	13	13	14	13

Do you think the U.S. is or is not currently in an economic recession?

Is in a recession	65%
Is <u>not</u> in a recession	27
Don't know	8

Which do you think is a better approach for the federal government to take if the U.S. is in a recession?

The government should spend additional funds on things that stimulate economic growth	24%
The government should hold the line on spending so that the deficit will not increase	66
Both equally (VOL)	4
Don't know/Neither	6

Do you think there will or will not be an economic recession during the next twelve months?

	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>
Will be a recession	73%	66%	55%	57%	25%	30%	23%	30%	31%
Will not be a recession	19	24	33	26	49	57	64	56	56
Don't know	8	10	13	17	26	13	13	14	13

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The government should hold the line on spending so that the deficit will not increase	66
Both equally (VOL)	4
Don't know/Neither	6

Office of Current Production and Analytic Support

CIA Operations Center

THE WASHINGTON POST

16 December 1990

Item#2

News Bulletin

CLARIFICATION

An article yesterday inaccurately paraphrased CIA Director William H. Webster as saying that if war with Iraq breaks out, it would likely be a bloody, drawn-out conflict.

Webster did not use those words. In response to a question during an interview with Washington Post editors and reporters, Webster said: "I don't believe that the military assessments contemplate a quick buckle. You can't discount a quick buckle because it has happened in the past and could happen again. But militarily, he [Iraqi President Saddam Hussein] is postured for a very tough defensive land position, so that much would depend on the effectiveness of an air assault capability on our part.... They [the Iraqi forces] are dug in, pretty well dug in and shielded.... There is, of course, the possibility that they will buckle under an experience they never had before."

DCI
DDCI
EA/DCI
SC/DCI
EA/DDCI
EX/SEC
DDA
DD&T
DDI
ADDI
C/NIC
VC/NIC
NIO/W
GENCO
EXEC/REG
D/CPAS
DD/CPAS
C/OPS
DC/OPS
C/PDS
C/NID
C/FF
S
SDO
FILE
BOARD
WA'S
REGIONS/TOPICS

CBS -- FACE THE NATION

Moderator: Lesley Stahl. **Guests:** Secretary Kemp; Madeleine Albright, President of Center for National Policy; David Gergen, U.S. News & World Reports.

Guest: Secretary Kemp.

Stahl: ...Where do you stand specifically on this issue of banning scholarships for minorities who want to go to college?

Secretary Kemp: Well, first of all, the President's going to make the right decision.... We can't have a country in which we split black from white, or have two parties, one is black, one is white. ...And as far as I'm concerned, like most Americans, I don't believe in race-based or religious-based quotas. I do believe in affirmative efforts by colleges to open up opportunity to minorities and low-income people. So in my view, clearly it would be a mistake for the federal government to shut off federal aid to a college, to an institution of higher education because it's trying to promote opportunities for minorities based on need and minority status to get an opportunity to go to college.

Stahl: Wow. You know, that was very circuitous.

Kemp: It wasn't circuitous.

Stahl: I'm not exactly sure what you're saying. You said you're against -- well, it was hard to understand.

Kemp: We should not shut off federal assistance to colleges who are trying to promote a more equal opportunity for minorities based on need as well as minority status to get to college. Now, that's very clear.

Stahl: Well, are you agreeing with what the Education Department just said, or are you disagreeing with that they just said?

Kemp: Well, I didn't pick a fight with the Education Department.

Stahl: See, it wasn't so clear....

Kemp: I'll be honest. I don't know that the Education Department did anything other than offer an opinion about a Supreme Court decision.... I believe we should give financial assistance affirmative efforts, if you will, to broaden opportunity for higher education based both on minority as well as income need....

Stahl: ...Why do you think President Bush has to go away and think about this. This is a President, by the way, who gives a lot of money every year to the United Negro College Fund. Mrs. Bush sits on the board of Morehouse College, which is an all-black institution. Why is he having to think this through? Why can't he just say, this is wrong, and put an end to it?

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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 9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

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 By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

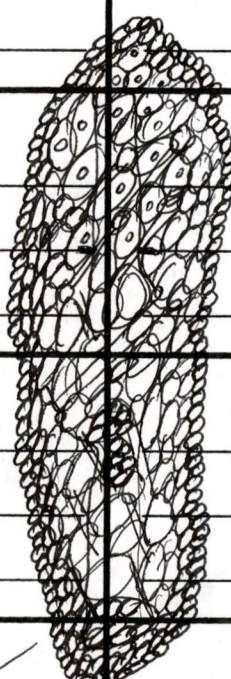
DATE: Tuesday, December 18 -- P.M.

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Wednesday's Schedule TAB A	<i>GEORGE</i> <i>JHS</i>	
2. U.S. News and World Report Interview Request TAB B	<i>MAGAZINES -</i>	
3. <i>BANDAG/ALMS (JEWISH)</i>		<i>condemnation deputations -</i> <i>around Jerusalem</i> <i>Balance in condemnation</i> <i>stallings</i>
4.	<i>HENSON /</i> <i>CARAWHERE/TALKE</i> <i>ALL COURT PRESS</i> <i>LOS -</i>	<i>BOND / EVANGELICALS -</i> <i>PRESS -</i> <i>BUSH / SUNUNU /</i> <i>LIBERAL</i>
5.		
6.		

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, December 19, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Wednesday and Thursday Schedules TAB A	<i>Mary Matalin</i> <i>Pod who want as</i> <i>type</i> <i>Chavira</i> <i>of RNC</i>	
2. 1992 call for the World Expo TAB B	✓	
3. U.S. News and World Report Interview Request TAB C		
4. RNC National Survey from Teeter - <i>(meeting on Thursday)</i> BACK COVER	✓	
5. <i>Discussion w/ Ed R.</i>	✓	
6. <i>Bozden / Political</i>	✓	

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

90 DEC 14 PM 5:57

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

December 10, 1990

TO: Joseph Hagin
Director of Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: Marlin Fitzwater *Mail*

REQUEST: Interview with U.S. News & World Report Magazine.

PURPOSE: U.S. News & World Report is preparing a cover story for their January 1 issue on President Bush as "Commander-in-Chief".

BACKGROUND: Ken Walsh is writing the story and would conduct the interview.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None.

DATE AND TIME: Before December 28.

TIME: TBD
Duration: 20 minutes

LOCATION: The Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Governor Sununu
Marlin Fitzwater
Ken Walsh

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Guest enters Oval Office, exchanges brief greetings and begins interview.

REMARKS REQUIRED: None

MEDIA COVERAGE: None

RECOMMENDED BY: Marlin Fitzwater

OPPOSED BY:

Prior to 12/28/90

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

A R H S / /

LRSM

A R H S / /

GOVERNOR

A R H S / /

POTUS

A R H S / /

DATE ____ TIME ____ DURATION ____

LOCATION ____ REMARKS Y N TP

MEDIA C O P W BPB Y N I EW

COMMENTS:

**U.S. National Survey
December 7-12, 1990
N=1200 Adults**

PERCEPTIONS OF PRESIDENT BUSH AND CONGRESS

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President? (IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 26-31 1990	Oct. 17-18 1990	Oct. 13-14 1990	Oct. 4-7 1990	June 29 1990	June 14 1990
Strongly approve	22%	20%	22%	19%	31%	23%	23%
Somewhat approve	37	33	36	41	36	40	49
Somewhat disapprove	17	20	21	19	15	15	13
Strongly disapprove	17	21	17	13	11	13	8
DK/Refused	7	7	4	7	6	9	8

Collapsed

Approve	59%	52%	58%	60%	68%	63%	71%
Disapprove	34	41	38	33	26	28	21

	May 1990	Mar. 1990	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989
Strongly approve	23%	33%	29%	27%
Somewhat approve	46	44	45	43
Somewhat disapprove	12	11	10	11
Strongly disapprove	10	6	8	8
DK/Refused	9	6	8	12

Collapsed

Approve	69%	77%	75%	70%
Disapprove	22	17	18	19

bulbake

For each of the following, please tell me if you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the way President Bush is handling it?

	Str. App.	Smwt App.	Smwt Dis.	Str. Dis.	DK/ Ref.	Tot. Appr.	Tot. Dis.
Relations with the Soviet Union							
December 7-12, 1990	43%	47	5	2	2	90%	7

Foreign affairs

December 7-12, 1990	29%	47	14	8	2	76%	22
October 26-31, 1990	28%	39	16	12	5	67%	28
October 17-18, 1990	29%	41	15	11	5	70%	26
October 13-14, 1990	32%	40	10	11	7	72%	21
October 4-7, 1990	36%	40	11	9	3	77%	20
June 14, 1990	a	a	a	a	11	65%	24

The situation involving Iraq

December 7-12, 1990	34%	30	17	17	2	64%	34
October 26-31, 1990	35%	26	15	20	4	61%	35
October 17-18, 1990	35%	30	13	20	3	65%	32
October 13-14, 1990	37%	28	11	17	7	65%	28
October 4-7, 1990	42%	29	10	15	3	71%	26

The environment

December 7-12, 1990	11%	42	24	16	7	53%	40
October 13-14, 1990	12%	37	20	17	13	50%	37
October 4-7, 1990	11%	39	22	18	11	50%	40

The drug problem

December 7-12, 1990	15%	38	22	20	4	53%	43
October 17-18, 1990	18%	30	20	27	5	48%	47
October 13-14, 1990	18%	34	18	22	7	53%	40
October 4-7, 1990	18%	34	18	23	5	52%	42

Education

December 7-12, 1990	12%	39	26	17	7	51%	43
October 26-31, 1990	15%	35	17	22	12	50%	39
October 13-14, 1990	17%	37	20	16	10	54%	36
October 4-7, 1990	12%	41	21	17	8	53%	39

*- look over
Co. Kappa
graphs.*

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PERCEPTIONS OF PRESIDENT BUSH AND CONGRESS
RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

2

	Str. App.	Smwt App.	Smwt Dis.	Str. Dis.	DK/ Ref.	Tot. Appr.	Tot. Dis.
The economy							
December 7-12, 1990	7%	42	30	19	3	49%	49
October 26-31, 1990	7%	35	25	30	3	42%	55
October 17-18, 1990	8%	35	26	28	3	43%	54
October 13-14, 1990	6%	37	26	25	6	43%	51
October 4-7, 1990	8%	41	25	22	4	49%	46
June 29, 1990	a	a	a	a	17	48%	35
June 14, 1990	a	a	a	a	11	35%	43

The federal budget deficit

December 7-12, 1990	6%	32	29	28	5	37%	58
October 26-31, 1990	9	21	21	44	5	31%	64
October 17-18, 1990	7%	24	22	40	6	31%	63
October 13-14, 1990	7%	29	22	35	8	36%	57
October 4-7, 1990	10%	30	24	30	7	40%	53

a = Not asked

Did President Bush's support of a tax increase to reduce the budget deficit last October make your opinion of him more favorable, less favorable, or did it not make a difference in your opinion of him?

More favorable	10%
Less favorable	36
Not make a difference	52
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:)
Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 26-31 1990	Oct. 17-18 1990	Oct. 13-14 1990	Oct. 4-7, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990	Mar. 1990	Oct. 1989	April 1989
Strongly approve	8%	6%	6%	7%	6%	6%	5%	8%	9%	7%
Somewhat approve	23	21	22	27	29	36	36	40	42	43
Somewhat disapprove	22	21	23	20	23	23	24	22	17	20
Strongly disapprove	31	44	44	35	23	21	26	18	17	18
Don't know	15	8	5	9	18	12	9	11	14	10
Refused	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1

Collapsed

Total Approve	31%	27%	27%	35%	35%	42%	41%	48%	51%	50%
Total Disapprove	53	65	67	56	46	44	50	40	31	38

VOTERS ISSUE CONCERNS AND PRIORITIES

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	Right Direction	Wrong Track	DK/ Ref.
December 7-12, 1990	31%	59	9
October 26-31, 1990	20%	74	6
October 17-18, 1990	27%	66	7
October 13-14, 1990	26%	65	9
October 4-7, 1990	25%	64	10
June 29, 1990	38%	54	8
June 14, 1990	41%	49	9
May, 1990	39%	54	7
March, 1990	39%	54	7
October, 1989	40%	51	9
April, 1989	46%	41	13
January, 1989	53%	37	10

Here are some possible goals for the federal government in Washington. For each one, please tell me how important you think it is. We'll use a zero to ten scale with ten meaning EXTREMELY IMPORTANT and zero meaning NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT. You can use any number from zero to ten, the higher the number, the more important you think that goal is for the federal government. Use a nine or ten ONLY for those you think should have the highest priority.

The first one is (READ ITEM). How important a goal for the federal government should this be, using a zero to ten scale?

	9-10 Extremely	6-8 Very	5 Neutral	0-4 Not Very	Average
Reducing waste in federal spending					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	70%	25	3	1	9.0
Resolving the crisis with Iraq and the Persian Gulf area					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	69%	21	5	4	8.7

	9-10 Extremely	6-8 Very	5 Neutral	0-4 Not Very	Average
Improving public education					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	58%	33	6	3	8.4
March, 1990	67%	27	3	2	8.9
October, 1989	69%	25	4	2	8.9
April, 1989	63%	29	6	2	8.6
Combatting the drug problem					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	58%	30	7	5	8.4
March, 1990	79%	16	3	2	9.1
October, 1989	75%	21	3	3	9.0
April, 1989	74%	20	3	2	8.9
Protecting the environment					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	53%	36	8	3	8.3
March, 1990	66%	28	4	2	8.7
October, 1989	64%	29	4	2	8.7
April, 1989	62%	30	5	3	8.6
Reducing the federal budget deficit					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	55%	32	8	4	8.3
March, 1990	58%	30	8	3	8.4
October, 1989	48%	36	8	5	8.1
April, 1989	58%	29	8	4	8.3
Solving the current problems with the national economy					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	51%	39	7	2	8.3
Reducing the tax burden on the middle class					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	54%	32	8	6	8.2

	9-10 Extremely	6-8 Very	5 Neutral	0-4 Not Very	Average
Making sure all Americans have basic health insurance coverage					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	44%	36	11	9	7.8
March, 1990	60%	28	7	5	8.4
Reaching nuclear arms control agreements					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	46%	34	11	7	7.8
March, 1990	57%	31	8	4	8.3
Maintaining a strong national defense					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	39%	40	11	8	7.6
March, 1990	45%	36	10	9	7.7
Continuing to improve relations with the Soviet Union					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	35%	46	11	7	7.5
Providing housing for the homeless					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	38%	39	13	10	7.4
March, 1990	51%	32	9	7	8.0
Making child care services more available and affordable					
Dec. 7-12, 1990	27%	41	17	15	6.8
April, 1989	37%	36	15	12	7.3

MIDDLE EAST

Middle East Situation: Basic Perceptions

Do you think we did the right thing in sending troops to Saudi Arabia (SAW-DEE AH-RAY-BEE-AH) or should we have stayed out of the situation?

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 26-31 1990	Oct. 13-14 1990	Oct. 4-7 1990	ATS #14 Sept. 20-26 1990
Did the right thing	63%	72%	68%	72%	75%
Should have stayed out of the situation	29	22	27	22	20
Don't know	7	6	4	5	3
Refused/NA	*	1	1	1	1

Which one of these three positions do you think we should do NOW in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf area?

(READ IN ORDER)

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 26-31 1990	Oct. 4-7, 1990
Pull out of Saudi Arabia entirely	10%	11%	10%
Keep our military forces in Saudi Arabia, but try to avoid a shooting war.	53	50	58
Take a stronger stand even if it means attacking Iraq	30	35	29
Don't know	3	4	2
Refused/NA	1	1	*

Do you think President Bush has been too tough, not tough enough, or about right in his policies toward Iraq so far?

Too tough	12%
Not tough enough	21
About right	62
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	1

MIDDLE EAST

NC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

What is your general impression of Iraqi leader, Saddam (SA-DOM) Hussein (WHO SANE), very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Very favorable	*%
Somewhat favorable	3
Somewhat unfavorable	12
Very unfavorable	81
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Collapsed

Favorable	4%
Unfavorable	94

Middle East Situation: Rationale for Use of Force/War

From what you know about the situation, do you think there is or is not a good reason for the U.S. (to go to war against Iraq/to use military force)?

		<u>Half Sample</u>	
	Total	Go to war	Use Military Force
There is a good reason	48%	44%	53%
There is not a good reason	44	48	39
Don't know	7	7	8
Refused/NA	1	1	1

MIDDLE EAST

NC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

Here are some possible reasons that the U.S. might (go to war with/use military force against) Iraq. For each one, please tell me how good a reason you think it is for the U.S. to (go to war with/use military force against) Iraq - a very good reason, a good reason, a poor reason, or a very poor reason. First...

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor	DK/ Ref.	Good	Poor
To stop Iraq from building nuclear weapons							
Total	46%	32	15	4	2	78%	20
Half Sample: Go to war	42%	33	18	6	2	74%	24
Half Sample: Use military force	50%	32	13	3	1	82%	16
To make Iraq withdraw from Kuwait							
Total	29%	43	20	5	3	72%	25
Half Sample: Go to war	26%	42	22	6	4	68%	28
Half Sample: Use military force	31%	45	17	5	3	75%	22
To maintain the security and stability of the Persian Gulf region.							
Total	26%	46	19	5	3	72%	25
Half Sample: Go to war	23%	51	18	5	3	74%	23
Half Sample: Use military force	28%	42	20	5	4	71%	26
To destroy Iraq's chemical weapons.							
Total	32%	36	25	4	2	68%	30
Half Sample: Go to war	27%	37	28	5	2	64%	34
Half Sample: Use military force	36%	36	22	3	3	71%	26
To remove Saddam Hussein from power.							
Total	36%	28	26	7	2	65%	33
Half Sample: Go to war	34%	30	27	7	2	64%	34
Half Sample: Use military force	39%	27	25	7	2	66%	32
To restore Kuwait's previous government.							
Total	16%	40	30	6	7	56%	36
Half Sample: Go to war	15%	37	33	7	8	52%	40
Half Sample: Use military force	17%	43	27	5	7	60%	33

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

To avoid a worldwide recession by making sure Middle East oil flows freely to the world.

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor	DK/Ref.	Good	Poor
Total	21%	33	30	13	3	54%	44
Half Sample: Go to war	18%	36	30	14	2	54%	44
Half Sample: Use military force	23%	31	30	13	3	54%	44

To punish Iraq for taking American hostages so other governments are less likely to use Americans as hostages again.

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor	DK/Ref.	Good	Poor
Total	21%	28	36	13	2	49%	48
Half Sample: Go to war	19%	27	36	14	3	47%	50
Half Sample: Use military force	22%	30	35	11	2	52%	46

Here are some things that you might learn about the situation with Iraq. For each one, please tell me if it would or would not justify the U.S. *(going to war/using military force)* against Iraq? Keep in mind that some experts have estimated that a war with Iraq might cost ten thousand American lives.

	Justify	Not Justify	DK/Ref.
Iraq is moving chemical weapons to the border where our troops are positioned.			

Total	62%	33	4
Half Sample: Go to war	60%	35	6
Half Sample: Use military force	64%	32	4

Iraq is planning to invade another Middle Eastern country whenever we withdraw our troops from the Middle East.

Total	59%	36	6
Half Sample: Go to war	57%	36	6
Half Sample: Use military force	61%	35	4

Iraq is within a few months of having nuclear weapons.

Total	59%	35	6
Half Sample: Go to war	57%	37	7
Half Sample: Use military force	62%	34	3

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

	Justify	Not Justify	DK/ Ref.
Iraq is torturing many of the citizens of Kuwait who oppose Iraq's occupation of their country.			

Total	50%	45	6
Half Sample: Go to war	50%	45	5
Half Sample: Use military force	50%	44	5

We are on the brink of a worldwide economic depression because of Iraq's threat to the oil supplies in the Middle East.

Total	44%	52	5
Half Sample: Go to war	41%	54	4
Half Sample: Use military force	46%	50	4

Iraq is denying adequate food and medicine to the people staffing the U.S. embassy in Kuwait.

Total	40%	54	6
Half Sample: Go to war	38%	35	7
Half Sample: Use military force	42%	53	5

Middle East Situation: Negotiating/Meeting with Saddam Hussein

The Iraqi government sometimes has indicated they might withdraw from Kuwait if they kept control of some Kuwaiti oil fields or if Israel gave up some of the territory Israel gained in past Middle East wars. The United Nations, on the other hand, has said that Iraq should be NOT be given any concessions for invading Kuwait, and, therefore, there is nothing to be negotiated. Do you think the U.S. and the United Nations SHOULD or SHOULD NOT negotiate with Iraq to see what they would accept in return for withdrawing from Kuwait?

Should	49%
Should not	48
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

Do you approve or disapprove of President Bush's decision to send Secretary of State Jim Baker to Iraq to meet with Saddam Hussein?

Approve	85%
Disapprove	11
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

Do you think Secretary of State Baker's meeting with Saddam Hussein WILL or WILL NOT help resolve the situation with Iraq peacefully?

Will	43%
Will not	40
Don't know	17
Refused/NA	*

**Middle East Situation: The United Nations' January 15th Deadline
and U.N./U.S.A. Basic Options**

Have you read or heard anything about the United Nations giving Iraq until January 15th to withdraw from Kuwait, after which the United Nations has authorized using military force against Iraq?

Yes	85%
No	15
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	--

Have you read or heard about an economic embargo that cuts Iraq off from most trade with the rest of the world with the purpose of forcing Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait?

Yes	82%
No	17
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	*

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

(If Q50 = Yes, ASK:) How likely do you think it is that the economic embargo eventually will force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait - very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

Very likely	20%
Somewhat likely	43
Not very likely	35
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

If Iraq does NOT withdraw from Kuwait by the January 15th deadline set by the United Nations, and the situation remains a stalemate, which ONE of these four choices do you favor?

		Half Sample	
	Total	Go to war	Use Military Force
(Go to war/use military force) against Iraq, which has the approval of the United Nations and our allies.	35%	33%	38
Continue the embargo and international pressure to get Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.	28	30	27
Negotiate with Iraq to see what they would accept in return for withdrawing from Kuwait.	23	25	20
Withdraw our troops from the Persian Gulf, and let the Arab nations settle the problem.	11	10	11
Don't know	3	2	3
Refused/NA	*	*	1

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

(IF Q52 = continue the embargo..., ASK:) How much time do you think we should give the embargo, after the January 15th deadline, to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait – three months, six months, one year, or more than one year?

Less than three months (VOLUNTEERED)	2%
Three months	10
Six months	6
One year	3
More than one year	4
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*
	28%

(IF Q52 = continue the embargo... or negotiate with Iraq..., ASK:) Suppose the U.S. concluded the embargo will not work and there was nothing it could agree to in a negotiation with Iraq and decided to *(go to war/use military force)* against Iraq, would you approve or disapprove of that decision?

		<u>Half Sample</u>	
	Total	Go to war	Use Military Force
Approve	27%	29%	25%
Disapprove	20	22	19
Don't know	3	4	3
Refused/NA	1	1	*
	51%	56%	47%

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 – 12, 1990

(IF Q52 = go to war/use military force or Q54 = approve or don't know, ASK:) Some military experts have estimated that it might cost ten thousand American lives to drive the Iraqi army out of Kuwait. If that was the loss of American lives in a war against Iraq, do you think *(going to war/using military force)* would have been a mistake or still the right thing to do given everything else we discussed?

	<u>Half Sample</u>		
	Total	Go to war	Use Military Force
A mistake	15%	15%	16%
The right thing to do	43	43	42
Don't know	7	7	7
Refused/NA	1	1	1
	<u>66%</u>	<u>66%</u>	<u>66%</u>

Middle East Situation: The President and Congress

HALF SAMPLE A

Overall, who do you trust the most to handle the Iraq situation (ROTATE: President Bush or Congress)?

President Bush	54%
Congress	31
Both equally (VOLUNTEERED)	7
Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	5
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

HALF SAMPLE B

Overall, who do you trust the most to handle the Iraq situation (ROTATE: President Bush and the Republicans or the Democratic leaders of Congress)?

President Bush and the Republicans	55%
The Democratic leaders of Congress	22
Both equally (VOLUNTEERED)	6
Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	9
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	1

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

Do you think the President, in his constitutional role as Commander-in-Chief, has the authority to use military force in the Middle East, or does the President need prior approval of Congress?

President has the authority	35%
President needs approval of Congress	61
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

If President Bush asked Congress for its approval to use military force against Iraq, would you want your congressman to vote FOR approval of military force or AGAINST approval of military force?

For	60%
Against	24
Depends (VOLUNTEERED)	13
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	*

Middle East Situation: Importance or "Wisdom" of Confronting Iraq

Here are some statements about the Iraq situation. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

	Str. Agr	Smwt Agr	Smwt Dis	Str. Dis	DK/ Ref.	Tot. Agr	Tot. Dis
If he had nuclear weapons, Saddam Hussein would not hesitate to use them against other countries in the Middle East.	55%	20	13	8	4	75%	21
If we don't stand up to Hussein's aggression in the Middle East, he could grow to be as much a threat to world peace as Adolph Hitler.	47%	23	15	12	2	70%	28
There is a good chance that Iraq will acquire nuclear weapons before the economic blockade convinces Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.	22%	32	22	12	12	55%	34
A severe recession in the U.S. is likely to result if we do not force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.	22%	27	28	18	5	49%	45

MIDDLE EAST

RNC National Survey December 7 - 12, 1990

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Thinking about A YEAR FROM NOW, do you expect the national economy will be better, worse, or about the same as now?

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 4-7, 1990	June 14, 1990	Mar. 1990	Jan. 1990	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989	Jan. 1989
Will be better	22%	14%	16%	23%	24%	22%	23%	24%
Worse	32	45	28	31	23	28	31	23
Staying about the same	43	37	53	43	44	47	43	44
Don't know	4	4	3	3	8	3	3	8
Refused/NA	*	--	*	*	*	--	*	*

Which ONE of the following three economic problems do you expect to be our biggest problem over the next few months?

(RANDOMIZE CODES 1 - 3)

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 4-7 1990
Rising unemployment	49%	35%
Rising prices	34	50
Rising interest rates	9	14
All (VOLUNTEERED)	6	--
Don't know	1	2
Refused/NA	*	*

Right now, do you think the country is in an economic recession or not in an economic recession?

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 26-31 1990	Oct. 13-14 1990	Oct. 4-7 1990
Is in an economic recession	72%	74%	67%	60%
Is not in an economic recession	25	21	26	34
My state/region is in a recession (VOL)	1	1	1	1
Don't know	3	4	6	5
Refused/NA	*	*	*	*

NATIONAL ECONOMY

RNC National Economy December 7 - 12, 1990

Some people think that the national economy does better with less involvement by the federal government. Others believe that the federal government has a strong role to play in helping the national economy. Which of those two opinions do you most agree with?

Less involvement of the federal government	37%
Federal government has a strong role	55
Both/depends (VOLUNTEERED)	2
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	*

Minority Hiring

Do you think there should or should not be special consideration given to blacks in obtaining jobs because of past discrimination against them?

	Total	White	Black
Should	20%	17%	48%
Should not	76	80	44
Don't know	4	4	4
Refused/NA	1	*	2

NATIONAL ECONOMY

RNC National Economy December 7 - 12, 1990

Str. App.	Smwt App.	Smwt Dis.	Str. Dis.	DK/ Ref.	Tot. Appr.	Tot. Dis.
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The economy

December 7-12, 1990	7%	42	30	19	3	49%	49
October 26-31, 1990	7%	35	25	30	3	42%	55
October 17-18, 1990	8%	35	26	28	3	43%	54
October 13-14, 1990	6%	37	26	25	6	43%	51
October 4-7, 1990	8%	41	25	22	4	49%	46
June 29, 1990	a	a	a	a	17	48%	35
June 14, 1990	a	a	a	a	11	35%	43

The federal budget deficit

December 7-12, 1990	6%	32	29	28	5	37%	58
October 26-31, 1990	9	21	21	44	5	31%	64
October 17-18, 1990	7%	24	22	40	6	31%	63
October 13-14, 1990	7%	29	22	35	8	36%	57
October 4-7, 1990	10%	30	24	30	7	40%	53

a = Not asked

Did President Bush's support of a tax increase to reduce the budget deficit last October make your opinion of him more favorable, less favorable, or did it not make a difference in your opinion of him?

More favorable	10%
Less favorable	36
Not make a difference	52
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK: Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	Dec. 7-12 1990	Oct. 26-31 1990	Oct. 17-18 1990	Oct. 13-14 1990	Oct. 4-7, 14, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990	Mar. 1990	Oct. 1989	April 1989
Strongly approve	8%	6%	6%	7%	6%	6%	5%	8%	9%	7%
Somewhat approve	23	21	22	27	29	36	36	40	42	43
Somewhat disapprove	22	21	23	20	23	23	24	22	17	20
Strongly disapprove	31	44	44	35	23	21	26	18	17	18
Don't know	15	8	5	9	18	12	9	11	14	10
Refused	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1

Collapsed

Total Approve	31%	27%	27%	35%	35%	42%	41%	48%	51%	50%
Total Disapprove	53	65	67	56	46	44	50	40	31	38

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, December 19 -- P.M.

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Peter Tanous letter re: delegation to Lebanon TAB A		
2. Land letter re: Frohnmayr TAB B		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		



American Task Force for Lebanon

2550 M Street, N.W. Suite 305 • Washington, D.C. 20037 • 202-223-9333 • Fax: 202-223-4309

Peter J. Tanous, Chairman

Tanya Rahall, Executive Director

December 11, 1990

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The Honorable John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear John:

May I suggest that now would be a good time to reactivate the idea of sending a Presidential delegation of prominent Lebanese-Americans to Lebanon as we originally discussed and which the President agreed to in principle. Such a delegation would be a shot in the arm to the entire Arab-American community and would reflect well on the Administration. My concern for the timing is that I believe some members of Congress are planning such a trip which would steal our thunder. The Administration should get credit for this initiative and any goodwill in its aftermath.

Kind regards,

Peter J. Tanous

* Executive Committee

THE
CHRISTIAN LIFE
COMMISSION

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Richard D. Land, D.Phil.
Executive DirectorJames A. Smith, Director of
Government RelationsMichael K. Whitehead
General CounselTom Strode, Director of Media
and News Information

December 17, 1990

Governor John Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Governor Sununu:

On October 30, 1990, I, along with other Evangelical leaders, asked President Bush to dismiss National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer because of his lack of sensitivity to the concerns of millions of Evangelicals who have been outraged by certain NEA grants. Events since the meeting have further convinced me that Mr. Frohnmayer's dismissal is in the President's interest, as well as ours.

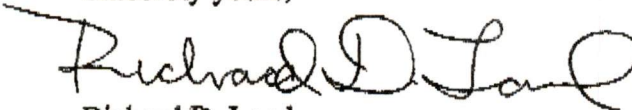
It is clear from the enclosed articles that Mr. Frohnmayer has little regard for our concerns and that the NEA's hostility toward Evangelical Christians has not diminished. The fact that the general counsel for the NEA would single-out leaders in the Evangelical community as "enemies" is deplorable. Additionally, Ms. Davis' use of her position to help the defense in the Cincinnati Mapplethorpe trial is outrageous.

Furthermore, it's clear that Mr. Frohnmayer has no regard for the law. He states, "There will not be a case where I will impose my own judgement [on a grant based on decency concerns]. I am not going to be the decency czar here." Apparently, Mr. Frohnmayer believes even the minimalist "decency" approach of Congress in dealing with the abuses of the NEA is unreasonable. Therefore, he has no intention of upholding the law.

Governor Sununu, the National Endowment for the Arts is out of control. I believe that we have been more than patient and reasonable in this NEA debate. However, our patience is at its end. As I continue to inform Southern Baptists of the abuses of the NEA and its chairman, it will only further alienate a constituency which should be considered a natural ally of the President.

Mr. Frohnmayer must resign in order to save the President of further problems. Furthermore, I would like the President to consider the request of the Evangelical leaders at the October 30, 1990 meeting and appoint individuals to the National Council on the Arts who are sympathetic to our concerns.

Sincerely yours,



Richard D. Land

RDL:mm
Enclosures

Frohnmayer's 'Decency' Decision

NEA, From B1

ching legislation passed hastily in the final hours of the 1990 congressional session. Some of the changes, Frohnmayer commented, had never been explored in hearings. "It was all of a sudden, bang, a done deal," he said. "... It's almost impossible at this point to quantify at this really means."

The decency language is the most controversial part of the legislation, and several grant-review panels already have asked for clarification in the endowment. Yesterday, the NEA Foundation—which refused a 1990 grant in protest of obscenity restrictions—said it will not apply grants in 1991 to protest the decency provision.

NEA General Counsel Julie Davis told the council yesterday that she analyzed that language and

found it to be "a very slippery, very broad and very vague standard." The term "decency" has meaning only "when taken into context with artistic excellence" and constitutional protections, she added.

The NEA gave the council the option of voting to include decency language in a "mission statement" attached to the endowment's guidelines. But the 12 council members present unanimously concluded that grant-review panels would apply "general standards of decency" as a matter of course because of their diverse makeup.

Council member Wendy Luers questioned whether the Hill would react negatively if the NEA did not alert grant applicants and panel members to the decency language. The endowment's congressional liaison, Rose DiNapoli, said only "a very small number" of NEA critics would

want the decency provision translated into a written requirement.

In fact, a key congressional aide said Frohnmayer appears to be delegating his responsibilities to apply the decency standard. Frohnmayer insisted the peer panels are the best way to insure compliance. "There will not be a case when I will impose my own judgment," he said.

Arts activists were skeptical. If Frohnmayer intends to defer to review panels on the decency question, he should defer on matters of artistic excellence as well, said Susan Wyatt of Artists Space in New York.

An arts lobbyist observed after the council discussion that Frohnmayer has rejected controversial grant applications because he said they did not build public understanding of the arts. "We trust he won't use other phrases, like 'public appreciation of the arts,' to set himself up

as a decency czar," the lobbyist said.

The most recent grant veto came last month when Frohnmayer turned down Chin's application to create "Revival Field," a conceptual work using plants "to remediate an area contaminated with heavy metals." The grant was the first that Frohnmayer rejected despite a positive recommendation from the advisory council.

During yesterday's meeting, council member Luers said the decision "outraged" artists in Chin's field and asked whether Frohnmayer had succumbed to "political pressure."

Frohnmayer said he faced "absolutely no political pressure" and acted strictly because he thought the proposal lacked artistic merit. "One of the obligations of an applicant is to tell us how this project is going to relate to the public," he said. The council's discussion of the application before approving it had been "cursory and mixed," he said.

Frohnmayer urged the council to try to calm those who object when a

grant is vetoed. "I think this council has an obligation to make sure that the field doesn't go crazy on this kind of situation," he said. "... Just because an artist is denied does not mean that an artist is somehow rejected in terms of aesthetic abilities."

"We can't deal with the field if we don't have information," Luers retorted. After most council members learned of the decision through news reports, she continued, "you did send us a memorandum which had about nine lines in it."

Frohnmayer said he would try to discuss grant rejections with council members in advance, but added, "It might still put us in a situation where some of you are going to be unhappy. That's my job, folks." The NEA chairman is still considering the fate of grant applications from

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1990 \$1

controversial performance artists Holly Hughes and Karen Finley. Both were approved by the council.

Frohnmayer urged council members to speak frankly about grant applications even though their review sessions recently became public. "If you can't do that, your advice to me isn't worth a nickel," he said.

In other action, the council expressed dismay over a congressionally mandated increase in NEA funds that must be allocated to state arts agencies. In fiscal 1991, staff said the measure will shift \$12 million from NEA-administered programs. The council also expressed its agreement with a letter from painter Helen Frankenthaler urging the inclusion of more artists on the advisory board.

Auto Cuij

Refuses to
Be 'Decency
Czar'

Hill Staff Critical
Of Reaction to New Law

By Kim Masters
Washington Post Staff Writer

National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer said yesterday that he will not reject any grants on the grounds that they violate a decency provision in the endowment's authorizing legislation.

"I am not going to be the decency czar," Frohnmayer declared at a special meeting of the NEA's advisory council.

Frohnmayer's pledge immediately drew a critical reaction from Hill staffers, who observed that the legislation states that "the chairman shall ensure" that grants are made taking into consideration "general standards of decency." One aide to a moderate representative complained the endowment had not consulted with legislators before interpreting the decency provision.

In response to a testy discussion of Frohnmayer's recent decision to reject a grant for New York artist Mei Chin, Frohnmayer told the council that he would make a greater effort to notify council members when he intends to override their recommendations. Most council members said they learned from news reports that Frohnmayer was rejecting the Chin grant. But Frohnmayer did not offer to reconsider the application, which he said he rejected on aesthetic rather than political grounds.

The council met to interpret the far-
See NEA, B1, Col. 1

Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES TIMES

No 'Decency' Oath, NEA Chief Says

■ **Arts:** Chairman John Frohnmayer says the NEA will draft 'benign' wording for guidelines implementing new endowment legislation.

By ALLAN PARACHINI
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Artists and arts organizations receiving National Endowment for the Arts grants in coming year will not have to sign oaths pledging they will adhere to standards of "decency."

The decision not to require such a certification was disclosed by NEA Chairman John E. Frohnmayer in an interview here. During the 1990 grant year, a controversial requirement against obscenity led to more than 30 grant rejections and three lawsuits. Many artists, arts organizations and constitutional lawyers called the pledge the equivalent of an anti-obscenity loyalty oath.

Pressed to say whether new regulations governing 1991 NEA grant awards would omit anything that might be seen as a "decency oath," Frohnmayer said, "The answer is unequivocally yes."

The matter had been under review for several days, according to senior endowment officials.

Frohnmayer also said that NEA officials will draft "benign" wording for guidelines implementing new endowment legislation that require the NEA to limit its support to art that respects "general standards of decency" and diverse American values and beliefs.

Frohnmayer's declaration that the NEA does not intend to renew the anti-obscenity certification appeared to acknowledge that

Please see OATH, F4

BACKGROUND

■ A new bill governing the National Endowment for the Arts includes this provision: "No payment may be made under this section except upon application therefore which is submitted to the National Endowment for the Arts in accordance with regulations issued and procedures established by the Chairperson. In establishing such regulations and procedures, the Chairperson shall ensure that artistic excellence and artistic merit are the criteria by which applications are judged, taking into consideration general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public."

OATH

Continued from F1
the requirement had damaged the NEA's standing in the arts community.

Frohnmayer's remarks appeared to signal a change in attitude by the NEA to address the concerns of artists. For most of 1990, the NEA had seemed to stress making peace with congressional critics at the expense of the endowment's relationships with the creative community.

Frohnmayer's remarks were made in an interview Saturday but embargoed for publication until after Election Day. The federal agency's funding last year of sev-

eral controversial artworks and artists had drawn criticism from several right-wing politicians, who had tried to reinstate content controls under new NEA enabling and funding legislation but were outvoted.

"I think it's important that we remember the lessons of the last year and the divisiveness of any kind of restriction that smacks of content-control," Frohnmayer said, choosing his words carefully. "So I think we will try our best to maintain the spirit of the legislation and still draft guidelines that make [the potentially controversial new wording] benign."

Asked to interpret the new law's wording regarding decency and cultural diversity, he said, "we

haven't analyzed the legislation sufficiently to answer the question." But, he said, "one thing is clear. It does say that the basis on which grants are given is artistic merit and artistic excellence."

"How we treat that sort of dependent phrase that talks about decency and sensitivity to the diversity of American culture, I don't know. But [we will try to] make it possible for artists to not feel that they are somehow threatened by content limitations."

The controversial obscenity oath applied only to grants awarded during the 1990 fiscal year, which recently ended. The new decency wording is included in legislation that extends the life of the NEA through 1993 and will apply to all grants for the three-year period.

The decency wording, he said, could be interpreted as "precluding nothing" and being little more than a vague statement that artists should "pay attention to all our values," a standard, he noted, that would rule out nothing that artists might want to say.

Over the weekend, top NEA officials conferred with artists and arts organization representatives to reassure them that the federal agency would not limit the subject matter that artists can treat.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES 11/7/90

NEA lawyer sued for remarks on Christian groups

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The chief lawyer of the National Endowment for the Arts recently attacked religious organizations critical of her agency as "our enemies" and is being sued for her comments.

NEA General Counsel Julianne Ross Davis' use of her government position to attack the groups also prompted renewed calls by Christian leaders yesterday for the firing of endowment Chairman John E. Frohnmayer.

Mrs. Davis told a University of Pennsylvania law school audience Oct. 24 that the American Family Association "advocates that astrologers, adulterers, blasphemers, homosexuals and incorrigible children be executed, preferably by stoning," according to a transcript of her comments.

Mrs. Davis also claimed that the Tupelo, Miss.-based organization had a 24-point political agenda through the year 2000, "and it's not a pretty agenda. I saw a report a few days ago, and it includes the elimination of democracy and the elimination of public schools."

The AFA and its executive director, the Rev. Donald Wildmon, responded Monday by filing a federal slander lawsuit against Mrs. Davis in Philadelphia, where her speech was made.

"That's one of our enemies," Mrs. Davis said of the AFA in a transcript of her tape-recorded speech filed Monday with the U.S. District Court in Philadelphia.

"The other enemy, of course, has been [Christian Broadcasting Network head] Pat Robertson," she said.

"And his 700 Club has directly taken on the NEA in a smear tactic, constantly barraging on the television program, which is the fifth-largest television network in the world."

The AFA, Mr. Robertson and other Christian activists have strongly criticized NEA funding of artworks they call pornographic and blasphemous. They include traveling exhibitions of homoerotic photographs by the late Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano's "Piss Christ."

"The other enemy, of course, has been [Christian Broadcasting Network head] Pat Robertson," she said.

which depicts a crucifix immersed in a jar of the artist's urine.

The AFA lawsuit terms Mrs. Davis' remarks an "utter fabrication" and "malicious slander" and asked U.S. District Judge Robert Gawthrop to order her to make a public retraction and pay the plaintiffs \$200,000 in damages.

Mrs. Davis declined to respond to repeated inquiries about her comments. NEA spokeswoman Virginia Falk said Mr. Frohnmayer would not comment on Mrs. Davis' actions or the AFA lawsuit.

Marlene Burke, an official in the NEA general counsel's office, confirmed Mrs. Davis' Oct. 24 comments. The source, she said, was an article in the November-December

left-wing magazine.

The Mother Jones article does not attribute the views on stoning and the 24-point political agenda to the AFA or Mr. Wildmon, as did Mrs. Davis. Instead, the magazine claimed these were the beliefs of the Rev. R.J. Rushdoony and a Christian faction called "reconstructionists."

"She [Mrs. Davis] may have misquoted that article," said Miss Burke, "but that's what she was referring to."

Mr. Frohnmayer and Mrs. Davis were law partners in Portland, Ore., before he was appointed NEA head by President Bush. She is his chief adviser at the NEA.

"This is another example of an outrageous abuse of taxpayer dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts and further demonstrates our belief that John Frohnmayer needs to go," Jim Smith, government relations director of the Southern Baptist Convention's Christian Life Commission, said of Mrs. Davis' remarks.

"In a meeting two weeks ago with the president, evangelical leaders asked for the resignation of John Frohnmayer, and as far as I'm concerned this [Mrs. Davis' actions] demonstrates even more why this needs to happen," Mr. Smith said.

"These bureaucrats supported at taxpayer expense should not be able to abuse their official positions by discrediting their critics and manipulating public opinion," said James C. Dobson, a religious broadcaster who heads the California-based "Focus on the Family" radio and education ministry.

In her October speech, Mrs. Davis also said she worked behind the scenes with defense lawyers of Cincinnati's Contemporary Arts Center when the state of Ohio prosecuted the museum director for obscenity over an exhibit of Mr. Mapplethorpe's homoerotic photographs. The director was acquitted.

NEA supported the traveling Mapplethorpe exhibit with a \$30,000 grant to the University of Pennsylvania's Institute of Contemporary Art.

NEA chief riles right, won't be decency czar

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Some lawmakers and leaders of pro-family groups expressed outrage yesterday at National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer's announcement that he will not deny grants on the basis of Congress' new "decency standard" for the NEA.

"I'm not going to be the decency czar here," Mr. Frohnmayer said Friday at a special meeting of the NEA's advisory council, the National Council on the Arts.

The council met to discuss the implications of a provision in the endowment's authorizing legislation that requires the NEA chairman to take "general standards of decency" into account when awarding grants.

Mr. Frohnmayer emphasized at Friday's meeting that he would not overturn any funding recommended by grant review panels or the presidentially appointed advisory council because of concerns the art did not meet the decency standard.

"I am very much disappointed that he [Mr. Frohnmayer] has made an arbitrary decision not to pay attention to the law passed by Congress," said Rep. Ralph Regula, an Ohio Republican who pushed for inclusion of restrictive language in the fiscal 1991 funding bill for the endowment.

"By abandoning the standards of decency, he [Mr. Frohnmayer] is inviting ... a reduction in [NEA] funding or a change in language he may find even less desirable: severe content restrictions."

Phyllis Schlafly, president and founder of the Eagle Forum, a pro-family organization, was even blunter: "Frohnmayer's an embarrassment, and he ought to resign. This shows he's learned nothing from what has gone on for the past six months."

At Friday's council meeting, two grant-review panels — one that recommends awards for opera and musical theater and another that judges playwright applicants — expressed their opposition to the decency provisions.

NEA General Counsel Julianne Ross Davis told council members that decency was "a very slippery, very broad and very vague standard" that almost defies definition.

The 12 council members present voted unanimously to comply with the decency clause by ensuring that NEA grant-making panels reflect the widest possible diversity of American cultural values. By taking this approach, council members effectively rejected a stronger alternative: establishing guidelines on decency for the panels of outside experts who review grant applications.

The recommendations will be referred to the full council for action at its next quarterly meeting in February.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the Rev. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, said yesterday: "It is painfully obvious that the NEA is incapable of policing itself."

But Rep. Tom Coleman, Missouri Republican and architect of the compromise NEA reauthorization measure, said he can sympathize with Mr. Frohnmayer's reluctance to base any grant decisions on the decency provision. The new law lets the courts, not the NEA, decide if art funded by the endowment is obscene.

"I'd be surprised if the courts uphold the standard, and I don't see how he [Mr. Frohnmayer] could apply the standard at this time," Mr. Coleman said.

Mr. Regula acknowledged that Mr. Frohnmayer might have a "bit of a problem defining" the standard, but added, "As chairman, when proposals come to him, he should be able to look at them and make a decision on whether it complies with the intent and spirit of the law."

Rick Dykema, aide to Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, a California Republican who tried unsuccessfully to get tougher restrictions in the NEA reauthorization measure, said he and his boss knew all along the legislation passed wouldn't prevent funding of objectionable art.

Mr. Dykema agreed with Mr. Reed that the NEA issue is "going to stay alive."

DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, December 20, 1990 PM

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. NEA/Frohnmeier memo from Metzger TAB A		
2. Peter Secchia information TAB B		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
13. Memo	From Leigh Ann Metzger to js Re: NEA/Frohnmeier (1 pp.)	12/18/90	P5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Daily Agenda Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Chief of Staff Discussion Items
9/2/90 - 12/31/90 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed:	1/7/2005	OA/ID Number:	29195-003
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-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]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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(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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 18, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: LEIGH ANN METZGER *lam*

RE: NEA / Frohnmeyer

We can't seem to keep this issue down. As you are aware, there was an article in Saturday's Post and also in the Monday Washington Times citing Frohnmeyer's comments on the decency language in the NEA reauthorization.

The reauthorization was tough enough to explain to the social issue conservatives, but Frohnmeyer's recent comments only give rise to the critics demand that he should resign. The announcement that he would not deny grants on the basis of Congress' new "decency standard" for the NEA has caused an outrage among several Members of Congress as well as conservative activists. (Washington Times cites Cong. Regula)

The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptists Convention and the National Association of Evangelicals have sent letters on the matter. During the October 30 meeting with evangelical leaders, Bob Dugan ask the President to get Frohnmeyer to resign and this has been voiced by other leaders too.

I know that this issue has been a very tough one for the Administration, but the Chairman's comments do not help much at this critical time. I just wanted to bring this to your attention particularly in light of discussions of a new RNC Chairman. Pro-family folks are looking for a positive signal.

ister the law. He should
resign if he can't live w/ the
law. Only further ice
on the cake re. Bush ram.
Why is POTUS not acting
on Frohnmayr?

He will fax us something -
has UPI radio commentary
NAE did this morning, plus
copy of letter to POTUS &
Gov. Sumner -

Greg

To Leigh Ann
Date 12/17 Time 11:45
WHILE YOU WERE OUT
By Rich Cizik
of NAE
Phone Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒ PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐ WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐ URGENT	

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL
Message wanted to leave msg.
re. Frohnmayr - he said
this Frohnmayr business
is getting out of hand -
his willingness to flout
the law is an outrage -
he is not willing to admin-



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CARBONLESS

OVER →

CIVIL RIGHTS PRIORITIES

Michael L. Williams, assistant education secretary for civil rights, said his office will try to eliminate:

1. Less-than-equal educational opportunities for students with limited English proficiency.
2. Ability grouping that results in segregation on the basis of race or national origin.
3. Racial harassment on school campuses.
4. Denial of equal educational opportunities for pregnant students.
5. Discrimination on the basis of sex in athletic programs.
6. Discrimination on the basis of race in the admission of students to undergraduate and graduate schools.
7. Misidentification of "crack babies" and homeless children with handicaps.

The Washington Times

changed from a "race-exclusive program to a program in which race is considered a positive factor among similarly qualified individuals, or to a program that utilizes race-neutral criteria," she said.

"Michael was worried because a desegregation study on [the state of] Kentucky is working its way up through the system," she added. "And he wanted to keep all issues on an even keel. His offer of technical assistance took on a life of its own."

"Race can be one of many factors considered, but not the sole factor," Ms. Fielek said about federally backed scholarship programs. "When talking about scholarships administered by schools, it's a whole different set of issues than scholarships from private trusts or foundations."

During his interview yesterday, the housing secretary described the outcry over the ruling as a "zero-sum approach to politics," a game in which one wins only when another loses.

"We can't have a country in which we split black from white or have two parties — one is black and one is white," Mr. Kemp said. "What we want is a country in which we're not having a zero-sum economy or opportunity society. We want opportunity for both white and black."

The House Education and Labor Committee is scheduled to open hearings Wednesday on the controversial decision, the committee's ranking Republican said yesterday.

"He's not holding hearings to determine if the policy is good or bad," said Rep. William F. Goodling of Pennsylvania. "The chairman is

NEA chief riles right, won't be decency czar

By Joyce Price
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The recommendations will be referred to the full council for action at its next quarterly meeting in February.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the Rev. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, said yesterday: "It is painfully obvious that the NEA is incapable of policing itself."

But Rep. Tom Coleman, Missouri Republican and architect of the compromise NEA reauthorization measure, said he can sympathize with Mr. Frohnmayer's reluctance to base any grant decisions on the decency provision. The new law lets the courts, not the NEA, decide if art funded by the endowment is obscene.

"I'd be surprised if the courts uphold the standard, and I don't see how he [Mr. Frohnmayer] could apply the standard at this time," Mr. Coleman said.

Mr. Regula acknowledged that Mr. Frohnmayer might have a "bit of a problem defining" the standard, but added, "As chairman, when proposals come to him, he should be able to look at them and make a decision on whether it complies with the intent and spirit of the law."

Rick Dykema, aide to Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, a California Republican who tried unsuccessfully to get tougher restrictions in the NEA reauthorization measure, said he and his boss knew all along the legislation passed wouldn't prevent funding of objectionable art.

Mr. Dykema agreed with Mr. Reed that the NEA issue is "going to stay alive."

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DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: FRIDAY, December 21, 1990

SUBJECT	JHS	STAFF
1. Review Friday and Weekend Schedule TAB A		
2.	STATISTIC PACKAGE NON-RACIST ARMY TO BLACK PUBLISHERS AND TO PERS.	
3.		
4.	SAN DIEGO SUPPORT FOR CONVENTION	
5.		
6.		