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# FOIA MARKER

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| <b>Record Group/Collection:</b>     | George H.W. Bush Presidential Records |
| <b>Collection/Office of Origin:</b> | Chief of Staff, White House Office of |
| <b>Series:</b>                      | Sununu, John, Files                   |
| <b>Subseries:</b>                   | Daily Agenda Files                    |

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|--------------------------|-----------|
| <b>OA/ID Number:</b>     | 29195     |
| <b>Folder ID Number:</b> | 29195-004 |

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**Folder Title:**  
Daily Agenda 1/1/91-3/31/91 [1]

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| <b>Stack:</b> | <b>Row:</b> | <b>Section:</b> | <b>Shelf:</b> | <b>Position:</b> |
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## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type | Subject/Title                                                                                                             | Date     | Restriction    | Classification |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|
| 01. Memo        | From Bobbie Kilberg to POTUS<br>Re: Attached Letter from the National Jewish Coalition (1 pp.)                            | 1/3/90   | P-5            |                |
| 02. Agenda      | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.)                                                         | 1/4/90   | P-5            |                |
| 03. Memo        | From Kathy Super to John Sununu<br>Re: Scheduling Request for Wilbur Mills (1 pp.)                                        | 1/3/90   | P-5            |                |
| 04. Memo        | From Neil Newhouse to Ed Rogers<br>Re: Bush Approval/Re-Elect Scores<br>[Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (2 pp.) | 12/31/90 | <del>PRM</del> |                |
| 05. Agenda      | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.)                                                         | 1/7/91   | P-5            |                |
| 06. Paper       | Options for Meetings in January and February (4 pp.)                                                                      | 1/91     | P-5            |                |
| 07. Agenda      | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff, Page 2 (1 pp.)                                                 | 1/8/91   | P-5            |                |
| 08. Letter      | From Rudy Boschwitz to POTUS<br>Re: Secretary of Agriculture Position (8 pp.)                                             | 1/7/91   | P-2, P-5       |                |

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**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:** Daily Agenda  
1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

**Pinksheet Number:** KO0966  
**OA/ID Number:** 29195-004  
**Date Closed:** 1/7/2005  
**FOIA/Sys Case #:** 1998-0004-F[2]  
**Re-review Case #:** 2005-0426-S  
**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type | Subject/Title                                                                            | Date    | Restriction          | Classification |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------------------|----------------|
| 09. Agenda      | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.)                        | 1/9/91  | P-2, P-5             |                |
| 10. Agenda      | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (2 pp.)                        | 1/10/91 | P-5                  |                |
| 11. Agenda      | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff, p.m. (1 pp.)                  | 1/10/91 | P-5                  |                |
| 12. Note        | From John Simpson to John Sununu<br>Re: White House Windows Upgrade (2 pp.)              | 1/10/91 | (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f) |                |
| 13. Note        | From Katie Winklejohn to John Sununu<br>Re: Proposed Pro-Life Event (1 pp.)              | 1/91    | P-5                  |                |
| 14. Memo        | From Leigh Ann Metzger to John Sununu<br>Re: Sanctity of Human Life Proclamation (1 pp.) | 1/9/91  | P-5                  |                |
| 15. Agenda      | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.)                        | 1/16/91 | P-5                  |                |
| 16. Memo        | From Roger Ailes to POTUS<br>Re: Anti-War Protesters (1 pp.)                             | 1/16/91 | P-5                  |                |

Page 2 of 2

**Collection:**

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**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, January 2, 1990

SURVEY  
FOR CAUCUS

SUPPLY  
SIDE  
ECONOMISTS 2W  
GREENS PANO  
SUDY  
DWM

| SUBJECT                                                                                 | JHS                                            | STAFF                                          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Review Wednesday and Thursday Schedules<br><br>TAB A                                 | STATE of UNION -<br>GET ABUSE<br>HOUSE<br>BUSH | 2 CODES -<br>GOING OUT                         |
| 2. Scheduling request for Gridiron and White House Correspondent's Dinners<br><br>TAB B |                                                | ALPHEA                                         |
| 3. Letter to Domenici from Frank Borman<br><br>TAB C                                    | POTUS called                                   | TALKING POINTS<br>FOR JOLTS<br>MICHAEL<br>etc  |
| 4. V.P. lunch - open photo                                                              | VALDEZ                                         | CONGRESS -<br>VISITS NEXT<br>WEEK<br>KRISTOL - |
| 5. Demerest & marlin comming at 9:00AM                                                  | CABINET LUNCHES                                | CRAIG FONG.....                                |
| 6. DHS talk w/ gentler<br>CABINET                                                       | FRIDAY<br>TUES/WED                             | YNNAL - MON!!<br>Call Jim Lake re Rollins      |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

KATHY L. SUPER *Kathy Super*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

SUBJECT:

SCHEDULING REQUEST

Attached please find two scheduling requests: The Gridiron Club Annual Dinner, March 23, 1991 and the White House Correspondents Association's Annual Dinner, April 27, 1991.

I have tentatively blocked out time on the schedule for these events. If there are any changes from the past format or in the actual participation by the President, please let me know.  
Thank you.

*approved  
per JHS*



**The Gridiron Club  
Washington, D.C.**



THE GRIDIRON CLUB  
The Christian Science Monitor  
910 16th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

GODFREY SPERLING, JR., PRESIDENT

December 11, 1990

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

Dear Mr. President:

Now that the Gridiron Club has decided to elevate this old-timer to its presidency, it is my pleasure to invite you to attend and address the 106th annual dinner of the Club. It will be held on Saturday, March 23, at the Capital Hilton Hotel. Cocktails are at 6 o'clock and dinner will begin promptly at 7. I sincerely hope that Mrs. Bush will also be able to attend and enjoy the evening.

The Gridiron Club will present its traditional fare of song, dance, and good humor. Ambassador Robert Strauss will respond to the Democratic skit, and I have invited Secretary of State James Baker to answer for the Republicans. Sounds like an all-Texas evening!

Our final event of the dinner is the Gridiron Club's only toast, which I am privileged to offer, to the President of the United States. We would then welcome a brief response from you.

Your presence has added luster and good fun to our dinners in recent years and has meant a great deal to all of us. And I, personally, would be particularly pleased and honored if you could be at my side on the podium on such a big night in my life.

We will be in touch on the details as time gets closer, but we are looking forward very much to having you and the First Lady with us for what I hope and trust will be another enjoyable evening.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Godfrey (Budge)*

Godfrey Sperling, Jr.  
President

GS:jm

WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION  
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20045

December 11, 1990

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

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the members of the White House Correspondents' Association, it is my honor to invite you and the first lady to be the guests of honor at our annual dinner.

The dinner will be held Saturday April 27, 1991 at 7:30 PM in the Washington Hilton.

Your participation in past years has always been the high point of the dinners. We who cover you take great pleasure in these opportunities to salute you and Mrs. Bush.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

*Bob Ellison*

Bob Ellison  
President

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** December 26, 1990

**FOR:** GOVERNOR SUNUNU

**FROM:** **ED ROGERS**

☐ Action

☐ Your Comment

☐ Let's Talk

☒ FYI

**CC:** Andy Card  
Ron Kaufman  
David Carney



bcc: Tom C. Korologos

FRANK BORMAN  
250 Cororro Court • Suite A  
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88005  
(505) 524-4050

VIA FAX: 202-224-7371

December 10, 1990

DEC 14 1990

Pete Domenici  
United States Senator  
P. O. Box 2206  
Albuquerque, NM 87103

Dear Senator,

A group of your very strong supporters and admirers, including myself, recently had lunch in Albuquerque. I was elected to contact you and tell you that we are dismayed by your position on the Persian Gulf.

What we do not need now is five hundred plus Senators and Congressman each with their own position on foreign affairs. What we need is support for the President. The lessons of history are clear and those who would attempt to ignore them risk great peril for this country of ours.

Sincerely yours,

  
Frank Borman

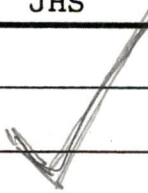
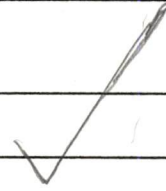
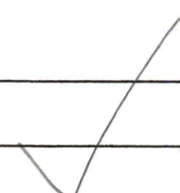
FB:rjk

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, January 2 -- P.M.

*Boyle*

| SUBJECT                                               | JHS                                                                                | STAFF                                                                               |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Times Mirror piece on wetlands<br><br>INSIDE COVER |   |  |
| 2. Richard Land letter re: Frohnmayr<br><br>TAB A     |   |                                                                                     |
| 3. Scowcroft Recusal<br><br>TAB B                     |  |                                                                                     |
| 4.                                                    |                                                                                    |                                                                                     |
| 5.                                                    |                                                                                    |                                                                                     |
| 6.                                                    |                                                                                    |                                                                                     |



THE  
CHRISTIAN LIFE  
COMMISSION

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

James A. Smith, *Director of  
Government Relations*

Michael K. Whitehead  
*General Counsel*

Richard D. Land, *D.Phil.  
Executive Director*

Tom 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 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



# Arts Chief 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 Mel 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, B7, Col. 1

# Frohnmayer's 'Decency' Decision

NEA, From B1

reaching 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 just all of a sudden, bang, a done deal," he said. "... It's almost impossible at this point to quantify what this really means."

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

NEA General Counsel Julie Davis told the council yesterday that she had 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

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.



# 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."



# NEA lawyer sued for remarks on Christian groups

By George Aronbaid  
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,"

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*"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

issue of Mother Jones, a bimonthly 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.



# 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

**W**ASHINGTON—Artists and arts organizations receiving National Endowment for the Arts grants in coming year will not have to sign oaths saying 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



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 24, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

SUBJECT: Recusal

As you may know, I have taken steps to ensure that my financial interests do not conflict with my ability to perform my official duties. For the record, this memorandum describes my recusal policy following my divestiture and following the conflict determination recently issued by the Counsel to the President.

I am recusing myself from any particular matter in which any of the following entities is a party:

American Equity Investors partnership  
Arvida/JMB Partners  
First Security Corp.  
Hanson PLC Sponsored ADR  
Hawkins Oil & Gas  
JMB 245 Park Ave. Ltd.  
Kissinger Associates  
National Bank of Washington  
USA Co.  
Washington BanCorporation

Although I am recusing myself from matters in which Kissinger Associates is a party, this recusal is not intended to prevent me from seeking advice from, or otherwise consulting with, Mr. Kissinger in situations in which Mr. Kissinger is not acting to further the interests of Kissinger Associates or in matters that will not have a direct and predictable effect on Kissinger Associates.

Any matters covered by this recusal should be handled without participation on my part.

cc: C. Boyden Gray  
Robert M. Gates

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, January 3, 1991

| SUBJECT                                                                                         | JHS | STAFF |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1. Review Thursday and Friday Schedules<br><br>TAB A                                            |     |       |
| 2. State of the Union input<br><br>BACK COVER                                                   |     |       |
| 3. <i>Today's Lunch</i><br>A. Alexander<br>B. Thornb.<br>C. Derwinski<br>D. Hille               |     |       |
| 4. <i>Houston-Convention</i>                                                                    |     |       |
| 5. <i>FYI - I never got to talk to Bernoy re RNC - don't left word on her answering machine</i> |     |       |
| 6.                                                                                              |     |       |



# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, January 3 -- P.M.

| SUBJECT                                                         | JHS | STAFF |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| <del>1. State of the Union<br/>input</del><br><br>BACK COVER    |     |       |
| 2. Demarest note re:<br>radio address<br><br>TAB A              |     |       |
| 3. George Weigel articles<br>from Henry Hyde<br><br>TAB B       |     |       |
| 4. Letter from the<br>National Jewish<br>Coalition<br><br>TAB C |     |       |
| 5. Call Packwood<br>Call Mosbacher                              |     |       |
| 6. Domenici letter to<br>Mitchell<br><br>TAB D                  |     |       |

SEE PAGE TWO

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: PAGE TWO

| SUBJECT                                                           | JHS               | STAFF             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wirthlin Group Survey<br><br>TAB E                             | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 2. Guidance for Ede on<br>Empowerment Memo<br><br>BACK COVER      | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 3. Scheduling Request for<br>POTUS from Wilbur Mills<br><br>TAB F | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 4.                                                                | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 5.                                                                | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 6.                                                                | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |



**THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON**

MESSAGE FROM DEMAREST:

Per your conversation of yesterday, a draft of the radio address has been written. Staff Secretary will solicit comments on a close hold basis this afternoon. They should be ready for the President to see early this evening.

Dave has blocked out time at 10:00 tomorrow morning for the taping. The remarks run approximately 6 minutes.

All the crew are in-house which gives you the flexibility to use or not use the tape as appropriate. No outside radio crews need to be used.

Katie

AC/ER

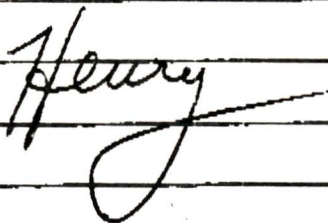
THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seenFROM THE OFFICE OF  
THE HONORABLE HENRY J. HYDE  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

(202) 225-4561

TELECOPIER COVER LETTER

DATE: 12/26/90 PAGES: 5  
TO: The Honorable John Sununu  
FROM: Henry J. Hyde

MESSAGE: Dear Governor: PLEASE read the enclosures. They are  
from George Weigel and are excellent responses to the Churchmen  
who want "no action" in the Gulf. Some good stuff for the  
State of the Union.







# NATIONAL CATHOLIC Register

Vol. LXVI No. 48

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December 9, 1990

EDITORIAL: Pg. 4  
MIDDLE EAST: Matthew, pg. 4  
ANSWERS: Frank, pg. 4  
MOVIES: LeRoy, pg. 5  
CHARITIES: Pitzer, pg. 5  
BIBLE: Strydom, pg. 5  
LITURGY: Strydom, pg. 5

# GOD AND THE GULF

*America's Church leaders warn against U.S. intervention. Their reasoning may be flawed.*

BY GEORGE WEIGEL  
*A Register News Commentary*

**THE FACTS:** America's bishops have applied just-war reasoning to the Gulf crisis in a highly controversial way.

**THE IMPACT:** Despite their good intentions, neither justice nor peace have ultimately been served.

WASHINGTON—At the close of the U.S. bishops' annual meeting here in November, Archbishop Daniel Filarszyk of Cincinnati, conference president, addressed a letter to President Bush in the name of the body of bishops.

In it, he raised questions about the morality of possible American military intervention in the Persian Gulf.

Filarszyk's letter amplified an earlier letter sent to Secretary of State James Baker by Archbishop Roger Mahony, chairman of the bishops' international policy committee.

One of the most striking characteristics of the debate over U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf is the way in which it has been couched in the language of the just-war tradition. Mahony and Filarszyk have every reason to enter that debate, bringing the full resources of the long Catholic heritage of thought on these matters to bear in a situation fraught with both peril and opportunity.

One might have wished that the national Church leadership had entered the argument several months earlier. The two letters may raise, in some minds, the question of whether America's bishops believed that the moral dimension of the argument had been ignored until their intervention—a dubious assumption, given the vigor with which commentators and politicians have been arguing precisely on moral grounds about the ends and means of U.S. action in the Gulf.

In any event, the issue now is not whether the bishops have the right to enter the debate—they surely do—but whether their intervention has deepened the argument in the way the bishops intended.

I would respectfully suggest that the two letters have not done the needed job.

The just-war tradition, which the bishops rightly argue is the normative Catholic framework for thinking about issues of war and peace, is a tradition under pressure at the end of the 20th century.

It's under particular pressure in the case of an adversary like Saddam Hussein. Saddam's actions in the Iran-Iraq war, in the suppression of the Kurds (through, among other things, the indiscriminate use of poison gas, a tool even Hitler eschewed), and in the rape of Kuwait since Aug. 2 (which has included the execution of children in front of their parents) suggest that he does not share, in even the vaguest way, our universe of moral reasoning.

That Saddam acts like a barbarian is, of course, no excuse for our abandoning our own standards. But it does complicate the situation in a grave way, and the bishops could have acknowledged this in their letters.

In fact, it's not clear that the bishops correctly identified the full measure of the threat posed by Saddam. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was the symptom of a deeper disease: the disease of a terrorist state, ruled by coercion, possessing weapons of mass destruction and the ability to use them far beyond its borders, and threatening to control the greater part of a resource essential to the orderly functioning of international economic life. (If Saddam controlled the Saudi oil fields, his first economic victims would not be middle-class American driv-



PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 9

Illustration by Kevin Lee



December 9, 1990

NATIONAL CATHOLIC REGISTER

Page 9

## The bishops and the Gulf: missing the point

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

era, but the poor of the Third World.]

Because this is the threat, the policy goal in the Gulf must be (a) the elimination of Saddam's arsenal and his chemical and nascent nuclear weapons capability; and (b) the collapse of his regime. Our goal, in other words, should be an Iraq shorn of weapons of mass destruction, radically diminished in its capacity to conduct offensive conventional war and capable of living in a measure of order, if not the fullness of peace, with its neighbors.

If this can be done through a combination of diplomacy, political and economic pressure, and an internal coup, so much the better. But we ought not think that it must be done if we're to avoid a tragedy of unspeakable proportions at some point in the 1990s. The bishops' letters do not adequately address this larger dimension of the Gulf crisis.

The bishops are also more impressed by United Nations and Arab support for U.S. policy than perhaps they should be. The fact of an international coalition against Saddam is a plus, at the moment, from the American point of view. But we shouldn't fool ourselves about the motives of some of our Arab allies in this affair. Nor should we be sanguine about future prospects of the U.N. Security Council as the "proper authority" (in just-war terms) for legitimating the resort to military force.

Some of the Arab states involved in the coalition have acted from the conviction that Saddam's defeat could open the path to a more rational politics in the Middle East. Egypt is prominent among them.

Others, notably Syria, have acted from sheer expedience. Indeed, Syria's cynical use of the Gulf crisis as the occasion for completing its demolition of Lebanon (and, be it noted, its Christian community) goes singularly unremarked in the bishops' letters.

Does a coalition that includes the odious Hafez Assad of Syria more fully satisfy the just-war criterion of "proper authority?"

As for the United Nations, it is, as ever, a stage on which a script written elsewhere is being played out. That the U.N., has, to date, fallen into line behind the leadership of the United States is no indication of a fundamental change in that usually disappointing institution. Rather, it illustrates the fact that the post-Cold War world is a unipolar world, in which the United States is the sole great power capable of laying down the ground rules of international behavior.

The United States ought to exert that leadership at the head of a coalition of states and with the agreement of the U.N., whenever possible. But the key to a more effective U.N. is more assertive U.S. leadership in that organization. Nor should we suppose that a U.N. Security Council whose members include Yemen (the December chair of the council) is a more



A soldier in Saudi Arabia grabs a handful of coconuts baked for U.S. servicemen by Americans living in Saudi Arabia.

plausible "proper authority" than a democratically elected president and Congress of the United States.

The bishops' letters urge that economic sanctions against Iraq be pressed, a position with considerable support among American (and European) political leaders. But this policy is not without its own moral difficulties. The last people

to feel the "bite" of sanctions will be those whom we are most concerned to defeat: the military and political infrastructure of Iraq. The people who will suffer, first, are the non-combatant people of Iraq, who President Bush has rightly insisted are not our enemies.

There are no easy answers to this moral and political dilemma.

But the bishops would have deepened the argument had they not seemed to suggest that the sanctions strategy was self-evidently more satisfactory, from a moral point of view, than the proportionate and discriminate use of armed force.

Then there's the question of "last resort," another classic just-war criterion. The Mahdny and Pilecyzk letters put great stress on this point, as indeed they should. But "last resort" is not an arithmetic concept. One can always imagine one more other-than-military tactic that could be tried.

No, what "last resort" means is that all reasonable efforts at a non-military solution to a problem have been exhausted. This is especially important to keep in mind in the case of a dictator like Saddam Hussein, who has shown a cunning ability to manipulate our moral concerns (and our democratic process) to his own ends.

Moreover, does the criterion of "last resort" automatically exclude, in any and all circumstances, the pre-emptive use of proportionate and discriminate armed force? Unlikely. Had Israel not used such force against Iraq's Osirak nuclear reactor in 1981, today's Gulf crisis would have taken on truly apocalyptic overtones.

The just-war tradition is a theory of statecraft as well as a calculus for relating the use of military force to the pursuit of peace, freedom, justice and security. Thinking within the just-war tradition is far more like a conductor interpret-

ing a symphonic score than like an engineer factoring an equation.

The tradition also contains within itself a concept of peace—not the peace of a world without conflict, nor the peace of the Kingdom come in its fullness, but the peace of a minimum of legal and political order in international public life.

That, in brief, is what's at stake in the first crisis of the post-Cold War world: Will international public life be conducted according to civilized ground rules, or will we be in Hobbes' state of nature, where all are at war with all?

The Bush administration's failure to articulate this issue notwithstanding, there is no escape from American responsibility here. We have to do what we can—with whatever allies we can muster and according to our own best standards—to assure that order, rather than anarchy, characterizes the future of world politics.

Were Saddam to succeed—and any face-saving compromise that allows him to maintain his regime and his arsenal while coughing up the remains of poor Kuwait will be accurately interpreted as a defeat for the forces of world order—anarchy would almost certainly prevail.

And that, morally and strategically, could be the worst outcome of all.

George Weigel, a frequent Register contributor, is president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington.



For the National Catholic Register

The Gulf Crisis: No-Fault Insurance is Unavailable

by George Weigel

Readers' responses to my December 9 Register column, "God and the Gulf," vindicated my claim that the debate over a possible U.S. military intervention in the Gulf crisis has been, from the outset, a debate about the moral imperatives shaping U.S. foreign policy in a post-Cold War world.

That debate will be deepened if all those involved in it remember that the just-war tradition is an attempt to relate the proportionate and discriminate use of armed force to the pursuit of peace, justice, freedom, security, and order.

The key words, in assessing military strategy and tactics, are "proportionate" and "discriminate."

I have no hesitation in saying now, as I said last September in the Washington Post and on CNN's "Larry King Live," that proposals for carpet-bombing Baghdad are morally odious, as well as strategically and politically foolish. But that is not the real issue. The real issue is whether Saddam Hussein's current aggression can be repelled, and his future aggression deterred, by proportionate and discriminate military action whose primary targets are the Iraqi dictator's armed forces, his arsenal, and his military-industrial complex.

Nor is the debate deepened by engaging in various conservative and liberal forms of ritual America-bashing. I am particularly troubled by the argument that Roe v. Wade is, somehow, an excuse



for isolationism. On this logic, the United States should have forsworn resisting fascist aggression in the 1940s because Jim Crow laws were on the books in many states and the armed forces were officially segregated. My public record in opposition to the abortion license in the United States is quite clear, and I see no contradiction between that position and my conviction that American power -- diplomatic, economic, political, and military -- is capable of serving good ends in the world.

On the left, some readers may, like a group of British theologians, believe that "there would be no international force in the Gulf if Kuwait produced carrots and Saudi Arabia were one vast onion field." I would ask those inclined to this view to consider the rejoinder of the London Spectator:

"This is certainly so. Nor would Saddam Hussein have invaded Kuwait for its vegetables. But if onions and carrots were all there was in the world to eat, and the Gulf was the major producer of these, tanks, ships and planes would still be massing in Saudi Arabia. The supply of oil is as necessary to the West and the Third World as the supply of food...Control of the major oilfields ...would enable Saddam Hussein, a man cruel enough to use chemical warfare on his own civilian Kurds, to blackmail the world."

The recent Amnesty International report on Iraqi atrocities in Kuwait, including the bayoneting of pregnant women and the abandonment to their deaths of infants torn from their hospital incubators, should leave us in no doubt that the lethal combination of Saddam Hussein's ambitions and his arsenal is one that the

civilized world cannot tolerate if we are to avoid a human catastrophe of staggering proportions.

There is no escape from moral responsibility here. Those who urge a proportionate and discriminate use of armed force against Saddam Hussein take on the moral responsibility for their actions: which will, tragically but certainly, include the deaths of innocents. But those who reject the use of military force in the Gulf have not been absolved from moral responsibility for what follows: which will, without a doubt, include the killing of innocents, and in large numbers.

The choices before the President, the Congress, and the American people are indeed awesome. My hope is that American Catholicism, the chief institutional bearer of the Western world's most lucid tradition of moral reflection on ethics, war, and peace, helps our country make its inescapable choices wisely, in full recognition of the fact that there are few certitudes in this affair. My fear is that the Church's official voice will be reduced to that of a partisan political activist. Just now, in late December, my hopes and my fears are in tenuous balance.

George Weigel, a frequent Register contributor, is the president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington.



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                                      | Date   | Restriction    | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|
| 01. Memo                 | From Bobbie Kilberg to POTUS<br>Re: Attached Letter from the National Jewish Coalition (1 pp.) | 1/3/90 | <del>P</del> 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:** Daily Agenda  
1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                                        |                                |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 1/7/2005           | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2005-0426-S   | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>          | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                      | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>                 | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>            | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### 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)(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

January 3, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG <sup>BK</sup>  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

KATHY JEAVONS <sup>KJ</sup>  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: Attached Letter from the National Jewish Coalition

Max Fisher, George Klein and Dick Fox asked that we pass on to you the attached letter from them. This letter criticizes the Administration's support of the most recent United Nations Resolution, UN Resolution 681.

In the next to last paragraph, Max, George and Dick request a meeting with you to discuss the U.S. vote and their concerns about it. It is our opinion that a meeting would not be productive at this time.

Attachment

cc: Dave Demarest





NATIONAL  
JEWISH  
COALITION

Honorary Chairman  
Max M. Fisher

National Chairmen  
Richard J. Fox  
George Klein

Vice Chairmen  
Stuart Bernstein  
Sam Fox  
Cheryl Halpern  
Sam Kane  
Jay Kislak  
Gordon Zacks

Executive Committee  
Gary Abramson  
Stanford Adelstein  
Ted Arison  
Rabbi Milton Balkany  
Zalman C. Bernstein  
Lily Blankstein  
Paul Borman  
The Hon. Marshall Breger  
Elizabeth Dubin  
Michael David Epstein  
Melvyn Estrin  
Norman Freidkin  
Arthur H. Friedman, Esq.  
Leonard Greenberg  
Hart Hasten  
Philip E. Hixon  
Norma G. Kline  
Amb. Ronald Lauder  
Jeffrey A. Lichtenberg  
Herbert M. Linsenberg  
Bernard Marden  
Robert R. Mazer  
Dr. Ruth R. Miller  
Herman Sarkowsky  
Diane Sembler  
Joy Silverman  
Albert H. Small  
Robert N. Snyder  
Cliff Sobel  
Arnold Thaler  
Randolph L. White

Executive Director  
Matthew Brooks

December 28, 1990

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the leadership and membership of the National Jewish Coalition, we are writing to express our deep concern and profound disappointment in the Administration's support for UN Resolution 681.

We are in full support of your strong and decisive policy in the Persian Gulf crisis. We commend your steadfast resolve and leadership in standing up to the naked aggression of Iraq. The lessons of the 1930's have taught us that aggression must be stopped at its inception.

However, we feel that the United States' alliance with Arab states against Saddam Hussein is being furthered at the expense of our long standing moral and strategic commitment to Israel.

The pattern of American votes against Israel in the United Nations has increased Israel's isolation in the world and will only exacerbate the problem of finding a solution to the Israel-Palestinian problems. Our actions are sending the wrong signal to Israel's friends and enemies. We fear that this trend of U.S. votes in the UN will cast doubts upon your commitment to a secure Israel.

Mr. President, we are writing to you as friends and supporters. You know that we stand strongly behind you in your efforts to resolve the Gulf crisis. As leaders in the Jewish community who are strongly committed to the success of your Presidency, we urge you to consider the full implications that our votes in the UN have here at home. We strongly believe that these actions may erode a critical component of the domestic coalition which supports your Gulf policies at this critical time.

We would like to discuss this situation and its implications with you in greater detail, if you deem it important.

Our best wishes to you and your whole family for a happy and healthy New Year

Sincerely,

Richard Fox  
Co-Chairman

George Klein  
Co-Chairman

Max Fisher  
Honorary Chairman

(202) 547-7701  
Fax: 544-2434  
100 SECOND STREET, N.E.  
SUITE 100  
WASHINGTON, DC 20002

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## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                         | Date   | Restriction   | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| 02. Agenda               | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.) | 1/4/90 | <del>P5</del> |        |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Chief of Staff, White House Office of  
**Series:** Sununu, John, Files  
**Subseries:** Daily Agenda Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
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| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</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: Friday, January 4, 1990

| SUBJECT                                                                                          | JHS                                 | STAFF                                                                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. Review Friday, Weekend and Monday Schedules (JHS will be in CA on Monday)</p> <p>TAB A</p> |                                     | <p>Waters</p>                                                                                           |
| <p>2. POTUS note re: Dorrance Smith</p> <p>TAB B</p>                                             | ✓                                   |                                                                                                         |
| <p>3. Letter from Susan Engeleiter</p> <p>TAB C</p>                                              | ✓                                   |                                                                                                         |
| <p>4. Wirthlin Group Survey</p> <p>TAB D</p>                                                     | ✓                                   |                                                                                                         |
| <p>5. Guidance for Ede on Empowerment Memo</p> <p>BACK COVER</p>                                 | ✓                                   |                                                                                                         |
| <p>6. Scheduling Request for POTUS from Wilbur Mills</p> <p>TAB E</p>                            | <p>Porter/then Hello with Pres.</p> | <p>2nd. request to JHS to just take weekend or budget review Potus. Put out contract instead on 6-1</p> |

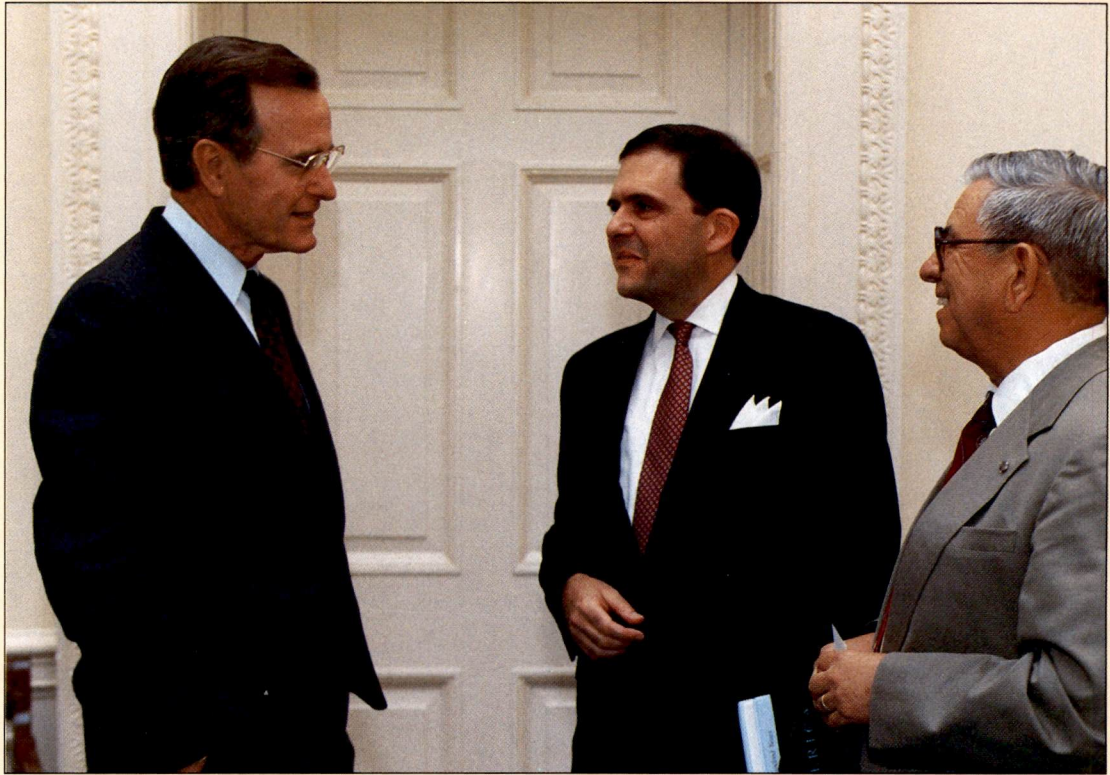
# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: 1-4-91

| SUBJECT                                                        | JHS | STAFF |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1. <sup>LEE ✓</sup><br><sup>ROLLINS ✓</sup><br>quieter today?? | ✓   |       |
| 2. Sunday T.V. talk shows.                                     | ✓   |       |
| 3. Appropriations / Bob Byrd                                   | ✓   |       |
| 4. Dorance Smith - media relations under Marlin.               | ✓   |       |
| 5.                                                             |     |       |
| 6.                                                             |     |       |





*President Bush, Times Mirror Magazines President Francis P. Pandolfi and Interior Secretary Lujan discuss wetlands.*

# No Net Loss Of Wetlands

I am pleased to have this opportunity to address the readers of Times Mirror's magazines on a subject important to all of us—the environment. America enjoys the blessings of many natural riches—fertile soils, abundant water, productive fisheries, abundant wildlife, rich mineral resources, great forests and vast prairies.

As we work to preserve our precious environment, we must remember that this is one of the most important legacies we can leave for our children and grandchildren. They deserve nothing less than a healthy, safe and productive planet. My Administration is dedicated to an America—and a world—that is environmentally sound.

One area of continuing concern is our wetlands. I

stand by my pledge to protect these critical areas of biological and ecological diversity by working toward a goal of no net loss of wetlands. We must strive to end the needless filling and draining of wetlands, and work toward the creation of new wetlands. A Wetlands Task Force, established through the Domestic Policy Council, is addressing this important issue.

I applaud programs such as those being pursued by the Times Mirror Magazines Conservation Council which seek to improve communication with the American people on conservation and environmental issues—including that of wetlands.

Individual citizens have a responsibility to do their part for our environment. Whether it's recycling paper, planting trees or protecting wetlands, everyone can make a difference. I hope the readers of Times Mirror's magazines will join in the effort to preserve for future generations the precious natural resources of our nation and our world.

**President George Bush**



# Wetlands: Critical Links in Natural Ecosystems

President Bush has pledged that his administration will perpetuate the many values we receive from wetlands. From a mountain bog feeding a sparkling stream to a tidal mangrove marsh, wetlands are an essential part of water-based ecosystems. Golf, skiing, fishing, boating, hunting and virtually all of the activities covered by Times Mirror's magazines generally rely on wetlands as a part of the supporting ecosystem.

Until recently, wetlands were not recognized as having a tangible value. Now we know that wetlands are homes and nursery grounds for fish and wildlife. They also store water, serve as buffers for erosion during flooding and act as natural filters of pollutants. They are critical links in the natural ecosystems that affect almost every facet of our lives.

However, in the recent past, agricultural and other subsidy programs existed to destroy wetlands; and they were quite successful, reducing 215 million acres of wetlands to 95 million acres. Recent data indicate an annual loss of 300,000 to 550,000 acres, resulting in changes in local weather patterns, severe declines in some duck and marine fish populations, and a lessening in the buffering capacity of natural systems to the effects of flooding, drought and pollution.

Over one-third of the almost 600 species of plants and animals that are threatened or endangered require wetlands for survival. When a species becomes extinct, a bit of diversity in our ecosystem is lost. With it goes part of an ecological safety net similar to the economic diversity that supports a healthy economy.

In 1985, Congress first woke up to the fact that agriculture is responsible for approximately 80% of wetlands destruction. So the 1985 Farm Bill included a provision called Swampbuster intended to encourage farmers to protect wetlands by eliminating the subsidies they receive if they produce crops on filled or drained wetlands. But the 1985 legislation was weak. Now, in the 1990 Farm Bill, improvements are being considered. First is a strengthening of Swampbuster to include better enforcement and the loss of eligibility for federal subsidies upon conversion of a wetland, rather than after a commodity crop is planted on it.

The proposed 1990 Farm Bill also includes a Wetlands Reserve Program, where farmers would be paid to permanently protect the wetlands they put in this Re-

serve. Congressional proposals for the total acreage under this program range from one to five million acres.

Backers of these improvements in the Farm Bill believe the public, which is expected to pay farmers \$50 to \$75 billion in subsidies over the next five years, should receive a benefit in the form of the conservation of natural resources. Opponents to Swampbuster want farmers to receive public cash with as few strings attached as possible. Although no subsidies might be best, wetlands protection often costs the public less than crop subsidies. Much of the draining and filling of wetlands on farms has been to produce crops that are eligible for subsidies.

In September 1990, the House and Senate should be in conference working out differences in the bills from each body. So there still exists opportunity for you to influence the protection of wetlands in the 1990 Farm Bill.

Additional legislation to protect wetlands exists in the 101st Congress such as the Fish Resource Conservation Bill to establish The National Fishery Resource Conservation System for protecting, managing and acquiring priority fisheries habitat. Also, the Coastal Zone Improvement Act will encourage states to protect coastal wetlands. However, legislation is not the only way to protect wetlands. Both the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management have new strategies to protect and restore the wetlands they manage.

In every conservation issue, a balance must be found between outright preservation of all that is natural, and the needs of our citizens. Responsible development and multiple use of natural resources must involve a long-term outlook of maintaining natural resources rather than taking the short-term payoff of drain and fill.

## ACTION YOU CAN TAKE

Congressmen and Senators want to hear most from the voters back home, the people they are paid to represent, the ones who put them in office. Here's how you can make a difference:

To express your support for a strong conservation section in the Farm Bill and the other legislation to protect wetlands, write your elected officials: The Honorable (Name), United States Senate (or) House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., and the Senate's 20510 zip code or 20515 for the House.

To learn about or support the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) wetlands programs write: BLM Director Cy Jamison and/or USFWS Director John Turner. Both are at the Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. 20240. You should also write to the President's Wetlands Task Force in room 5138 at the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Times Mirror Magazines, publisher of this magazine, has launched an aggressive conservation program. Comments from our readers help guide our program. Write: Dr. David Rockland, TMM Conservation Council, 1705 DeSales St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.



**FIELD &  
STREAM**

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**Outdoor  
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**Popular  
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**Salt Water  
SPORTSMAN**

**SKI  
MAGAZINE**

**SKIING**

**Yachting**



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                          | Date   | Restriction    | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|
| 03. Memo                 | From Kathy Super to John Sununu<br>Re: Scheduling Request for Wilbur Mills (1 pp.) | 1/3/90 | <del>P</del> 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:** Daily Agenda  
1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                                        |                                |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 1/7/2005           | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2005-0426-S   | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>          | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                      | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>                 | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>            | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### 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]
- 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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- (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

Date: January 3, 1990

TO: Governor Sununu

FROM: **KATHY SUPER** *KS*  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Appointments and Scheduling

Wilbur Mills is involved in educational programs, and the President in the past has agreed to meet with him. Mr. Mills is again asking to see the President about these same issues. Roger Porter has met with Mr. Mills in the past and suggests that he meet with him and his colleagues again -- that a meeting with the President is unnecessary.

Because of the President's fondness for Wilbur Mills I thought that this request might be one that you would want to discuss with the President.

ACCEPT                     

DECLINE                     

Comment:



15  
11/  
*Scheduling*  
October 29, 1990

BY FACSIMILE

The Honorable George Bush  
The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to visit with you again following the elections regarding our national educational initiatives via direct broadcast satellite (DBS). In addition, there was pending legislation allowing access to programming (S. 1880 and H.R. 5367) which we would like to discuss.

I will be bringing Dan Garner again with me whenever it is convenient.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

*Wilbur*

Wilbur D. Mills

ADVANCED COMMUNICATIONS CORPORATION

1111 19th St., N.W., SUITE 1000

WASHINGTON, DC 20036

(202) 463-2946

FAX (202) 775-8741

**Advanced Communications Corporation -- Facsimile Header**

**202 463 2946 (voice)**

**1111 19th St NW, Suite 1000, Washington DC 20036**

**Advanced Communications Corporation**

**TO:** President George Bush Fax No.: 456-6208  
c/o Joseph Hagin  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Appointments and Scheduling

**FROM: Dan Garner, 202-463-2946 voice; 202-775-8741 fax**  
**ACC**  
**Washington, DC USA**

**DATE:** 10/29/90

**MESSAGE:** Page 1 of 2

Dear Mr. Hagin:

Mr. Mills asked that I schedule an appointment with the President for the two of us when it is convenient.

Please call at your convenience - If I am not in Washington, I may be reached at (501) 377-1493.

Sincerely,

Dan Garner

**From: Dan Garner, 202-463-2946 (voice) 202-775-8741 (fax)**



MEMORANDUM

TO: ED RODGERS  
FROM: NEIL NEWHOUSE -- THE WIRTHLIN GROUP  
SUBJECT: BUSH APPROVAL/RE-ELECT SCORES  
DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1990

=====

As I mentioned the other day, we had just completed a national survey on which we added a couple of questions for our own general interest regarding the President and his current standing.

I have enclosed the crosstabs from the key questions, and wanted to draw your attention to a few "highlights":

- o The mood of the country continues to be very pessimistic, with 64% saying "wrong track." Of great significance is the slowly increasing pessimism of 18-24 year olds, a traditionally GOP-oriented and optimistic group. In this survey (and confirmed independently in our Kuwait tracking), they are overwhelmingly negative -- 26% right direction, 69% wrong track.

(One may hypothesize that the pessimism among these Americans is being driven by the Persian Gulf crisis and concern for their friends/themselves.)

- o Although Americans are clearly focused on the Persian Gulf, more than one-quarter cite pocketbook issues as most important to them personally. Specifically, the economy is mentioned by 14% of respondents, surpassed only by those who cite the Middle East (24%).

Interestingly, concern over the federal deficit, which surged just prior to the election, has now subsided (4%), as has the drugs issue, now mentioned by just 5% of Americans.

- o The President has an overall approval rating of 63%-30%, with 27% strongly approving of the job he's doing. Generally, the strong approval score is the single best indicator of hard-core committed support for an incumbent, with most striving to be above 30% on this measure.

There is a tremendous gender gap in Bush's approval scores, most pronounced between younger men (80%-15%) and younger women (58%-30%), and between Independent men (74%-21%) and Independent women (49%-32%).

Regionally, Bush is weakest in the Northeast (58%-33%), and strongest in the South (69%-26%). A plurality of Democrats in both the Northeast and West disapprove of the job he's doing.



Rodgers Memorandum  
December 31, 1990  
Page two

- o Just 38% of voters say that Bush deserves re-election, while 46% believe it is time for a new person to be elected. Obviously, these are not strong scores, and they reflect a lack of public commitment to Bush's Presidency. Although the President would certainly do much better when pitted against a potential named opponent, these figures reflect the lack of broad-based support.

Similar to his approval ratings, there is a significant gender gap on this question -- men favor his re-election (45%-38%), while women want a change (32%-52%). It is also of concern that just 57% of Republicans believe that Bush should be re-elected (27% say "new person"), with younger GOPers and those living in the Midwest showing the softest levels of support.

The importance of the "strong approval" score is reinforced by these results: among those who strongly approve of the job Bush is doing, 79% believe he should be re-elected, while just 38% of those who somewhat approve share the same sentiment.

- o Cuomo leads the list of potential Democratic contenders with 16% of Americans picking him as the strongest Democratic Presidential candidate to run against Bush. He is followed by Bentsen (11%), Jackson (10%), Gephardt (8%), and Nunn (7%).

Among Democrats, Cuomo extends his lead to 20%, with Jackson receiving 10%, and Bentsen and Gephardt each at 8%.

- o Despite Bush's soft approval scores, he is still significantly more popular than Congress, which receives a poor 35%-58% approval rating from respondents.
- o By a surprisingly close 49%-44% margin, Americans favor minority scholarships, with men, older Americans, Republicans, and those in the South and Midwest most likely to oppose such set-asides.

In fact, 31% of Americans are so strong in opposition to scholarships for minority students that they believe that colleges should be prohibited from setting up such scholarships.

- o More than half of Americans believe the country is already in a recession, while another one-third believe we are about to enter one.

Ed, all in all, while the Persian Gulf will dramatically effect our future polling and the President's popularity/re-election support, these figures indicate that his overall approval is more reflective of the international crisis than it is the current domestic economic situation. For the short-term, that's actually good news because an increased focus on domestic problems would probably further soften our support.

If you have any questions on this, please give me a call at 703-556-0001.



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                         | Date   | Restriction   | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| 05. Agenda               | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.) | 1/7/91 | <del>P5</del> |        |

### 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:** Daily Agenda  
 1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                               |                |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/7/2005       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |                | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |                | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

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# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Monday, January 7, 1991

| SUBJECT                                                                       | JHS                                                                                                                                                                  | STAFF                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Review Monday and Tuesday Schedules<br>TAB A                               | ✓                                                                                                                                                                    |                        |
| 2. Ede need guidance on how to proceed with Employment document<br>BACK COVER | ✓ option memo to come<br>make sure consistent w/ budget                                                                                                              |                        |
| 3. Four scheduling items                                                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ right to life - phone call</li> <li>✓ black leaders here -</li> <li>✓ Davis Cup - okay</li> <li>✓ 960 cuts okay.</li> </ul> | No Lincoln Memorial    |
| 4. Yvette today!                                                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Bonnie Newman letter of resignation - POTUS called</li> </ul>                                                               |                        |
| 5. Darman mktg today on budget                                                | <p>press shot at top.</p> <p>highman/Shuler</p>                                                                                                                      |                        |
| 6. Billy Graham wants to help                                                 | <p>Congressional consultation mktg to day?</p>                                                                                                                       | <p>or phone calls?</p> |



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                            | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 06. Paper                | Options for Meetings in January and February (4 pp.) | 1/91 | 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:** Daily Agenda  
 1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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 By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

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Meeting # 38

DISCUSS WITH THE GOVERNOR

January 10-11, 1991

- 1.....Host a White House Signing Ceremony designating January 20th, 1991 as the National Sanctity of Life Day

A White House Signing Ceremony for this proclamation would demonstrate the President's support of a pro-life agenda. The President has been invited to participate in various activities for 1991 and a signing ceremony for the National Sanctity of Life Day would manifest his commitment to this issue.

Last year the President did not attend any of the pro-life activities, although he did place a phone call to an event on the mall. This year it is suggested that the President directly participate in a Washington event, so as not to be perceived negatively by right to life groups.

Dave Demarest has proposed a signing ceremony in the Roosevelt Room followed by brief remarks. The theme of the event could revolve around adoption. It is suggested that perhaps the Vice President could address the March for Life on January 22nd, which would manifest White House support for the issue early on. Future 1991 events could later be declined.

ACCEPT \_\_\_\_\_ REGRET \_\_\_\_\_ HOLD \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

*phone call*  
*JP*



Early February 1991

2.....Commemoration of Black History Month

February is Black History Month, and Dave Demarest's office has proposed a Presidential commemoration for this at the Lincoln Memorial. Such an event would demonstrate his commitment to minority outreach, civil rights, as well as pay tribute to the black individuals involved in the Persian Gulf Crisis. The President might also publicly acknowledge the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Memorial which was authorized by the U.S. Congress. The Vice President is the Honorary Chairman of their Foundation and in the spring of 1989, Colin Powell received the group's "The One Nation Award."

President Bush annually makes a proclamation acknowledging 2Black History Month, yet these are without the benefit of a ceremony. In January of 1990 he participated in a taping session to honor the month, yet in the past two years he has not been involved in an event singularly emphasizing Black History Month. Senior Staff recommends a White House event, although not necessarily at the Lincoln Memorial.

ACCEPT \_\_\_\_\_ REGRET \_\_\_\_\_ HOLD \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

January 2-9, 1991 or February 4-18, 1991

3.....Meet with the members of the Davis Cup Team

In December 1990, the United States Davis Cup Team defeated the Australians. Their victory places the U.S. members at the pinnacle in the tennis world.

Senior Staff recommends that the President meet with the Davis Cup members (10-12 individuals) in the residence for cocktails or coffee rather than the usual Oval Office visit.

ACCEPT \_\_\_\_\_ REGRET \_\_\_\_\_ HOLD \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



February 5-6, 1991

4.....Address the Economic Club of New York

The President has been asked to address the Economic Club of New York this February. This economic club has earned the reputation as one of the leading public policy forums in the nation.

The Economic Club of New York holds four or five dinners annually. Each dinner features a guest speaker, after the address, there is a question-answer session. Questions are not taken from the floor, rather two club members are selected to ask questions.

Former speakers from the Administration have been Governor Sununu, General Scowcroft, Secretary Brady, Attorney General Thornburgh, Secretary Kemp, and Secretary Cheney. The President has not previously addressed this group.

The February dinner closely follows the State of the Union Address. At this week's long range scheduling meeting, Senior Staff recommends the President address this meeting. Roger Porter mentions that although the Economic Club of New York is a strong forum to articulate Administration policy, the request might want to be postponed until later so as to outline new policies rather than giving a second boost to the State of the Union speech.

ACCEPT \_\_\_\_\_ REGRET \_\_\_\_\_ HOLD \_\_\_\_\_

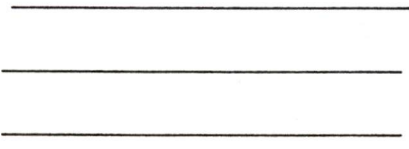
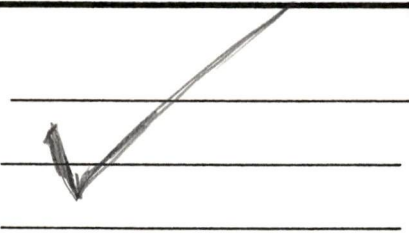
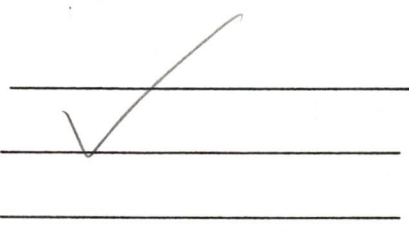
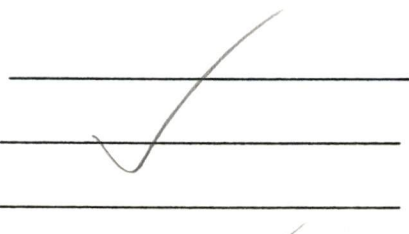
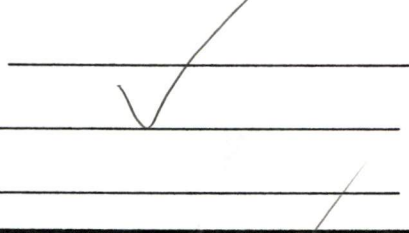
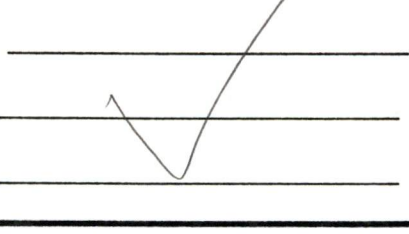
COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Tuesday, January 8, 1991

| SUBJECT                                                                                               | JHS                                                                                  | STAFF |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Review Tuesday and Wednesday Schedules<br><br>TAB A                                                |    |       |
| 2. POTUS meet with Pat Robertson (Wednesday at 11:00)??<br><br>TAB B                                  |    |       |
| 3. Paul Weyrich letter re: Persian Gulf<br><br>TAB C                                                  |   |       |
| 4. Rudy Boschwitz letter<br><br>TAB C                                                                 |  |       |
| 5. PERSONNEL:<br>-Ambassadorial Recommendations<br>-Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism<br>INSIDE COVER |  |       |
| 6. Cardinal Law's Pilot Column<br><br>TAB D                                                           |  |       |





# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                 | Date   | Restriction    | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|
| 07. Agenda               | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff, Page 2 (1 pp.) | 1/8/91 | <del>P-5</del> |        |

**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:** Daily Agenda  
1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                                        |                                |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 1/7/2005           | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2005-0426-S   | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>          | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                      | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>                 | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>            | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### 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]

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

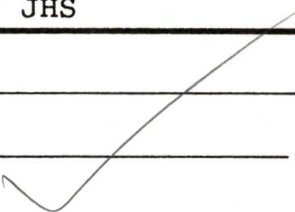
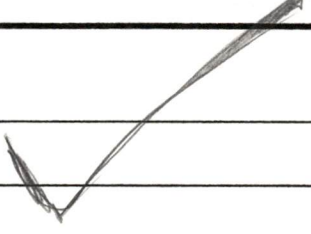
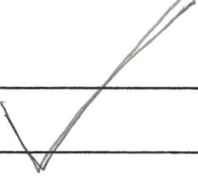
**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: \*\*PAGE TWO\*\*

| SUBJECT                     | JHS                                                                                | STAFF |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. NEA article<br><br>TAB E |  |       |
| 2. <i>Self problems</i>     |  |       |
| 3. <i>Lujan testimony</i>   |  |       |
| 4.                          |                                                                                    |       |
| 5.                          |                                                                                    |       |
| 6.                          |                                                                                    |       |





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January 4, 1991

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you very much for your recent letter.

While I appreciate your thoughtful responses to my concerns, I confess I remain uneasy over the situation in the Gulf. As you know from personal experience, war is the province of the unexpected.

Along the line of looking at what could happen, I have enclosed a paper that studies the situation from the Iraqi perspective. It is not an attempt to predict what will happen -- its author used no intelligence sources beyond the newspapers -- but rather, again, what could happen. I cannot pass any judgement on its merit, other than to say I found it thought-provoking.

I would be interested in your reaction to it.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Weyrich

enclosure

November 13, 1990

MEMORANDUM

To: Our Brother Saddam Hussein  
From: Chief of Staff, Iraqi Armed Forces  
Re: Net Assessment

You requested an assessment of the military situation in light of the recent American decision to increase their forces by approximately 200,000 men. We are happy to comply.

To see the full situation clearly, we must examine it on three levels: strategic, operational and tactical. Looking first at the strategic level, it is our conclusion that the additional American deployments may hurt their situation more than help it. Of course, it adds at least three new divisions to their strength. But strategy is not simply a matter of calculating force ratios. If we look beyond "bean counting," we see the following:

First, the additional 200,000 American troops compound the American error of attempting to combine a maritime and a Continental strategy. The maritime strategy is represented by the American-sponsored trade embargo and supporting naval blockade. It is a very serious danger to us, but it requires time to become effective. The Continental strategy is represented by the American land forces now in theatre,



and not only by their number, but also by the fact that they comprise by far the largest contingent in the total force arrayed against us. This makes any prospective land war largely an American affair.

Unfortunately for the Americans, while their blockade takes time to work, their massive commitment of land forces does not allow them to wait. In other words, their Continental strategy nullifies their maritime strategy. Already, their troops are beginning to suffer morale problems and to lose their fighting edge. The American press, in reporting on this, is intensifying the home front's discomfort with the whole business. Both tendencies will be accentuated by the arrival of 200,000 more troops. The effect will be that the Bush administration will be unable to wait long enough for the blockade and embargo to weaken us fatally before they must commence action with their land forces. In strategic terms, the embargo is no longer a serious threat; we can stand the siege longer than the besieger can.

Second, the increased American deployment makes less likely a strategic threat we have feared: the replacement of American ground forces with Arab forces and the withdrawal of the Americans. Had the Americans moved to replace the bulk of their ground forces with Islamic forces -- most of which would have to come from Egypt -- while keeping their sea and air forces in theatre, they would have been able to wait until the

embargo wore us down. The American public will accept prolonged deployment of sea and air forces, and since Egypt would be well paid by the Saudis and the Kuwaitis for any forces they sent, the longer they were there, the better for Egypt. Time would have been against us; we would have faced an indefinite siege with no hope of relief, which can have only one ending. Now, having announced they are sending 200,000 more American troops, it would be too great a policy reversal for the Americans to move to replace their ground forces with Egyptians. They are in too deep to pull out.

Third, the new deployments confirm the Americans have misidentified our strategic center of gravity. As you know, it is not in Kuwait, but to the north and west. As long as we face a threat only from our south, we believe we can defeat it. Our fear was that the Americans would realize this and move to face us with a multi-front war, the Turks or Soviets or both moving down from the north while Syria attacked from the west. In our view, the latest American action shows conclusively that they have not seen this possibility and will continue to focus their effort on our southern border. That is very good news for us.

Finally, the increased American deployment will increase the friction within the coalition that faces us. The fact that we face a coalition is probably our single greatest strategic asset. It is not for nothing that



Napoleon, when asked which of all the nations he had fought he would prefer as an opponent, answered, "A coalition." No matter how many forces the American send to Saudi Arabia, they cannot act alone. And the more forces they send, the greater will be the disquiet of many of their coalition partners, starting with the Saudis themselves. Arab governments and peoples alike will be rubbed raw by this vast hoard of alien people, unused to Arab ways and a constant reminder of the worst days of imperialism. We can and will add to this friction every way we can, but the Americans are already doing our work for us simply by making their presence so massive that it will overwhelm everyone else. Again, this puts time on our side.

At the strategic level, then, our net assessment is this: the military advantage the Americans gain from their additional deployments is at the operational, not the strategic level. Strategically, 200,000 more Americans in Saudi Arabia work to our advantage. They remove the Americans' ability to wait for the embargo to become effective; they lessen the chance that we will face a war on more than one front; and they increase the probability that the enemy coalition will disintegrate before it can attack. The Americans have lost control of one of the key dimensions of strategy: time.

At the operational level, the American addition of at least three new mechanized and armored divisions increases the enemy's strength significantly. It clearly allows them to take the offensive, as it was intended to do. A victorious American offensive could defeat us strategically as well as operationally. However, the key here is the word "victorious." For the reasons set out below, we believe we have a reasonable chance of defeating any American offensive. Further, such an offensive may give us a better chance to inflict a strategically decisive defeat on the Americans than if they remained on the defensive themselves.

As was recently explained by the Israeli-American analyst Edward Luttwak in an article in the Washington Post, the Americans have two basic choices in launching an operational offensive on the ground. The first is to focus their main effort directly on Kuwait, attacking straight north along the coast. This is probably the best scenario from our standpoint. Our troops in Kuwait, while not our best units, will probably fight a frontal attack effectively from their prepared positions. Operationally, they would not be our focus of effort in any case. Their job would simply be to absorb the Americans attention and suck them in -- to "grab them by the nose," as the American General Patton used to say. Then, our operational reserve, the Republican guard, would launch an encircling counterattack that



would penetrate into Saudi Arabia to the west of the Americans, probably through an Arab sector, then swing east to the coast to cut the Americans off. The entire American force would be "in the bag" and defeated, with the survivors on their way to Iraqi POW camps. It would be a decisive victory not only operationally but strategically; the Americans would not be able to mount a second massive effort so far from home, and with a decisive American defeat, the enemy coalition would certainly disintegrate.

The second American option is to focus their effort west of Kuwait, probably west of the neutral zone, in an attack designed to encircle our forces by cutting east to the Iranian border either south or (probably, in our estimation) north of Basra. Luttwak calls this "the seemingly dominant plan." It is more dangerous to us, and would be decisive if it cut our operational reserve as well as the forces in Kuwait off from Baghdad. The addition of three new American divisions provides sufficient forces to attempt such an attack.

While this is a greater threat to us than a frontal attack up the coast, we believe we can defeat it. To do so, we must take two actions: we must make Kuwait defensible from the north as well as from the south, and we must not let the Americans get between the Republican Guard and Baghdad. We must move the Guard, our operational reserve, well north of Basra, either now or as soon as an American attack from the

west begins. In our view, the latter is preferable, because if the Americans' main effort is north along the coast, then the Guard is better positioned to counterattack if it is south of Basra. On the other hand, the former action -- moving now -- is safer, because American aircraft may slow our operational movement once fighting starts. We await your brotherly guidance in this matter.

Once Kuwait is fortified from attack from the north as well as the south and the operational reserve is positioned north of an American thrust toward our border with Iran, we are prepared to defeat this second type of American attack. Kuwait will serve as the anvil and the Republican Guard as the hammer, and we will crush the Americans between the two. Again, our intent will be to gain a decisive victory, to encircle and destroy the entire American force. It will be more difficult in this second case, because we will have to fight a major encounter battle with the main American force before we can encircle its defeated remains. Such a battle of maneuver has its risks. However, we assess the net situation as favorable, for the following reasons:

First, the Americans have not undertaken an operational maneuver with a multi-corps force since 1950, when they advanced to the Yalu in Korea. Armies trying it for the first time usually underestimate the difficulties and end up creating a mammoth traffic jam. Those who have not



attempted such a maneuver can hardly imagine the friction it creates.

Nor are the Americans well practiced at the operational art or at battles and wars of maneuver generally. Both are new to their doctrine, and while they can talk the language of maneuver warfare, actually doing it is something else again. The U.S. Army attempted to adopt maneuver warfare as doctrine beginning in 1982, but the attempt did not take; it was never translated from doctrinal manuals into actual training and evaluation of units and commanders. The U.S. Marine Corps has only adopted maneuver doctrine in the last two years, and while it has made progress, actual practice as opposed to rhetoric is unknown in most units. We do not rate their ability at this kind of fighting as higher than our own, as we demonstrated it in Tawakalna ala Allah.

Ironically, in this case an American strategic error feeds an operational weakness. Of all the forces in the coalition arrayed against us, the Egyptians are probably most capable at the operational level, as they demonstrated in 1973. However, the Americans insistence on using their own troops instead of those of Egypt to make up the bulk of the land force in Saudi Arabia forecloses the option of letting the Egyptians undertake the operational attack.

Second, the fact that our opponent is a coalition can be exploited at the operational as well as the strategic level. Both the natural passivity of a number

of the armies in the coalition and possible work with their governments and propaganda to their troops allows us to believe that they may remain inactive if we focus our counterattack on the Americans. We may in that way be able to defeat the coalition army in detail, smashing the Americans and then turning on the Arabs. The Americans may be counting on help, such as flank protection, from some of the Arab forces; absence of that support could be disastrous in that case. Our brother Saddam knows best what chance we may have of turning some of the coalition partners into active allies of Iraq, so that they join in an attack on the Americans, or inducing neutrals such as Yemen or Jordan to enter actively as Iraqi allies. We will only note that, operationally, such a surprise could have decisive results. Further, we are confident in success even if the Arab forces only remain passive, letting the Americans take the offensive essentially alone and generally avoiding combat. We think that is fairly probable, except for the small Kuwaiti force and the Egyptians.

Third, the Americans will rely heavily on their air power if they attack -- too heavily, in our view. When air power does not deliver what it promises, they will be more vulnerable to our counterattack than they expect. We believe we can operate effectively on the ground despite American air power for these reasons:

- o We have more than 4000 anti-aircraft guns. If



the American aircraft are to attack our ground forces effectively, they must come in low to attack. If they fly low, they will be in range of our guns. They have technical counters against our SAMS, but not against guns, and guns rather than missiles have been the main killers of aircraft in every modern conflict. Our guns can give us effective air defense against the kinds of attacks that really are dangerous.

o Despite their claims, the American cannot effectively attack ground forces at night -- especially after we counterattack and their units and ours are intermixed. They cannot tell who they are attacking in that case.

o The Americans have one ground attack aircraft that is very dangerous to our ground forces: the A-10. It is the only aircraft they have that is effective against tanks. Inexplicably, while they have about 750 of these aircraft, they have only sent about 100 to Saudi Arabia. This is a major stroke of luck for us.

o Finally, despite these considerations, the American aircraft will delay our operational moves to some extent. However, that delay is only meaningful if the Americans know how to use the time its buys them to their advantage. We do not think they do know this. Their large headquarters and staffs make any quick decisions and movements unlikely, which means unexpected time advantages will probably go unused. We can survive

the attrition we suffer from American air attacks, so long as we do not suffer seriously from the delay.

Together, these considerations leave us relatively confident that we can decisively defeat an American offensive operationally. As always, war is also a matter of fortune, and fortune can go against us. So far, in our view, we have been lucky.

Two more operational possibilities need brief consideration. The first is the possibility of an American air offensive coupled with a defensive on the ground. Of course, we could not simply remain idle while America pounded us from the air, even though such bombardment is not likely to be as effective as our enemy anticipates. If the Americans take that course, we should respond with an all-out attack on the ground. The plan would resemble that for a counterattack if the Americans attack directly north into Kuwait; the main effort would be a move to encircle the Americans from the west against the Saudi coast. We should also make a limited attack south from Kuwait, just sufficient to engage the Americans, then withdraw promptly to our prepared positions and await their counterattack there.

In regard to the air battle itself, in this or other cases, our goal should be for our air force to keep the enemy air force busy for a few days, just enough to complete the decisive maneuvers on the ground. We

believe this is possible, unless we are caught by surprise by a preemptive attack and destroyed on the ground. Our current dispersion and warning systems should be adequate to prevent this. A diversionary attack by a few aircraft against the U.S. Navy's aircraft carriers will keep most Navy aircraft away from Iraq, defending the ships. Missile attacks on major airfields in Saudi Arabia will slow the enemy's operating tempo. In our view, this is the only mission for which use of chemical munitions should be considered; elsewhere, their effect would be to slow the ground action down, which is not in our interest.

Consideration of the air war leads to the fourth operational possibility, a preemptive attack by us. Our sources with the Arab units in Saudi Arabia will give us a minimum of 48 hours warning of an American offensive. We could preempt within that time. While this would have advantages for us in the air war, on balance we are opposed to it. We have a greater chance of utterly destroying the Americans if we can lure them into Kuwait or Iraq, because the distances we must move are shorter and the Arab forces in the coalition are less likely to fight. Considerations relating to the ground war should take priority over those related to the air war, since the decision will be attained on the ground, not in the air.

One consideration hangs over all operational possibilities: logistics. You are aware of our own logistical problems. Historically, American forces are very well supported



logistically. We have therefore been surprised to find that in this situation, American logistics appear weak. Many Army units now in Saudi Arabia are suffering serious logistical problems, including shortages of such basics as food and water. Ammunition and spare parts seem to be generally short. We are puzzled about the reasons for these difficulties, but the addition of three more American divisions will probably accentuate them, as will any attempt by the Americans to take the offensive. Because logistical weakness is new to Americans, they may have both physical and mental difficulties adjusting to it. In this regard, Iraqi soldiers have the advantage.

Our net assessment of the operational situation, then, is that it is favorable. It certainly has its risks, most prominently that of having our operational reserve caught south of an American attack. Of course, not having fought the Americans, we do not know how well we will do against them tactically. Should we prove overmatched tactically, that in turn would have negative operational consequences. That leads us to the third part of our net assessment: the tactical level.

You are well familiar with the tactical characteristics of the Iraqi armed forces, both strengths and weaknesses. We will not repeat them here, save to note what we consider the most important tactical difference between ourselves and the Americans: many of our troops are

veterans. The difference between green and veteran troops is difficult to overstate, and it is most important in the first days of combat, before experience "bloods" the green troops. This, in turn, may be of operational significance, because we look for a decisive operational action early in any campaign against the Americans -- in the first few days, in fact. In other words, we will be seeking an operational decision exactly when our tactical advantage will be greatest.

Regarding the Americans, we have already noted that while they have a doctrine of maneuver warfare, their ability to do what their doctrine calls for is questionable. In practice, their tactics appear old fashioned: linear, focused inward on process and procedure rather than outward on the situation, and slow. Overall, American units fight rather like the French Army of 1940, with its doctrine of "methodical battle." However, some units will be exceptions; a few have learned to wage maneuver warfare. This is largely a factor of who is in command.

One tactical weakness of the Americans is especially important and may have operational significance. This is their lack of anti-tank weapons. Anti-tank weapons are in short supply even with front-line units, and -- more importantly -- they are completely absent in the rear. As you know, the objective in armored warfare is to get tank formations into the enemy's soft rear area, where

they can overrun his artillery, logistics and command posts and spread "tank terror" throughout his force. The absence of anti-tank weapons in the American rear greatly facilitates this. Further, the anti-tank weapons with the forward units are of uncertain (TOW, AT-4) or poor (Dragon, LAW) effectiveness. A major breakthrough of our tanks into the American rear is thus both possible and potentially devastating. It could bring about a total collapse of the force, i.e., an operational decision.

The quality of American units varies greatly, as is the case with us. Some, including the 82nd Airborne, have performed poorly in recent combat in Grenada and Panama. In general, most will fight hard on the defensive at the small unit level. On the attack, they will tend to stop and call for fire whenever they run into resistance, which makes American attacks slow. Their greatest tactical deficiencies occur at higher levels, above battalion, where they have complex command relationships, large staffs and slow decision-making. The quality of staffs tends to be low, and both key staff personnel and often commanders as well are chosen for their membership in a certain clique. As you know, we suffered severely from the same thing in the early part of our war with Iran.

Overall, America's only tactical advantage is in equipment. In our view, human factors are more important, and they favor us.



Our net assessment, then, is on the whole quite positive about our chances for success. The Americans have put themselves in a strategic box by trying to combine two incompatible strategies and have misidentified the strategic center of gravity; their operational reach is likely to exceed their grasp; and they have some central tactical weaknesses we can exploit. We believe that if it comes to war, we can win. However, we must again warn that war is full of the unexpected and that fortune plays a major role. Our home front could prove weaker than we anticipate. The war-weariness of much of our infantry could cause our defense in Kuwait proper to collapse before it can play its operational role. Enemy air power could make movement of our operational reserve more difficult than we expect, and the Americans could show themselves able to take advantage of the delay. No war has a fully predictable outcome.

We must therefore ask our brother Saddam to consider carefully Iraq's three basic policy options. The first is a policy of making what concessions we must to avoid war. As you know, a compromise in which we leave Kuwait but retain the islands that control access to our port at Umm Qasr might be acceptable to many brotherly Arab states. Alternatively, we could continue to declare that Kuwait is a province of Iraq but that, out of our generosity to the Arab cause, we are turning it over to the PLO to serve as an interim Palestinian state until Palestine itself is recovered. This would make further Arab action to restore

the Sabahs impossible. The question is whether our brother Arafat would accept it, or, if not, if we could find other Palestinian leaders who would.

The second option is to fight only a local action for Kuwait itself, not seeking an operational defeat of the Americans and not committing our Republican Guard to battle. In our view, this would almost certainly result in the loss of Kuwait, but Iraq could present itself in the Arab world as another victim of American aggression while possibly inflicting serious casualties on the Americans. The retention of the Republican Guard intact would help insure the continuation of the present government.

The third option is that discussed in this memorandum: seeking a decisive victory over the Americans. The payoff of such a victory could be great; it would mark the turning point in the long line of Islamic defeats by the West that began with the defeat of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. The leader who gave us a great victory to end that string of defeats would have great power with the Islamic masses. He would be the new Saladin, perhaps the new Cyrus. The fall of the Saudi regime, which would be certain, would only be the beginning; regimes hostile to Iraq would change or fall all the way to the Straits of Gibraltar. Our brother Saddam would have the potential of uniting the whole world of Islam under his leadership.

As always, the decision on which policy to pursue is yours and yours alone.

---

The above communications intercept provided to Royal Prussian Military Advisory Group/North America by Oberst i.G. Lind, Nachrichtendienst, 6th Army.



FROM THE FAX OF SENATOR RUDY BOSCHWITZ

TO: Gov. Sununu

FAX# 202/456-2397

This transmission is 10 pages including this cover sheet.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                     | Date   | Restriction       | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| 08. Letter               | From Rudy Boschwitz to POTUS<br>Re: Secretary of Agriculture Position (8 pp.) | 1/7/91 | <del>P2, P5</del> |        |

### 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:** Daily Agenda  
1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

Open on Expiration of PRA  
(Document Follows)

By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

|                               |                |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/7/2005       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
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Senator Rudy Boschwitz  
330 Inland Lane  
Plymouth, Minnesota 55447

January 7, 1991

The Honorable George Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Summary

John Sununu has asked me to express my views and my experience in agriculture so that you may consider me for the post of Secretary of Agriculture.

During my 12 years on the Senate Agriculture Committee I was a very active participant in reviewing and formulating agricultural policy. There are 120,000 employees at USDA. It is a large service and regulatory agency and it is important to focus on a few goals or you will quickly be subsumed by managing ongoing activities and problems. While the substantive duties cannot be neglected, the primary goals of the Secretary of Agriculture in the coming two years should be:

1. The Secretary of Agriculture is a political appointee and there are substantial and important political elements to the job.
2. Get the GATT agreement ratified on the fast track. Over the years I have gone to the offices of well over half the Senators, one on one, to speak to them solely about agriculture, in an effort to promote market-oriented policies of which I was the Senate's principal proponent. If Secretary, I would renew those visits. Success in GATT is vital to agriculture. It will be opposed by powerful groups.



3. Sell product. The U.S. produces more than it can consume domestically. The years 1991 and 1992 are likely to be periods of agricultural surpluses. If they are not sold they will be expensive to store and will hang over the marketplace and depress prices.
4. Continue the movement of agricultural policy towards market orientation, a trend begun with the 1985 Farm Bill, and continued in the 1990 bill.
5. Keep the 1990 Farm Bill and Budget Summit intact. The 1990 Farm Bill does not offer farmers all the dollars they may want and yet more than many in Congress want to give. There will be many strains and stresses on it and the Budget Summit. My 12 years on the Budget Committee will be invaluable to say the least.
6. Over half of the USDA's budget goes to Nutrition programs. There too efforts will be made to avoid the constraints of the Budget Agreement and an understanding of the process and programs is essential. I have been ranking Republican on the Nutrition Subcommittee and deeply involved. My priorities for extra dollars - if any - would be WIC, School Breakfast in the inner city and a broad national emphasis on teaching and creating better dietary habits among program recipients.

#### General Philosophy

My basic agricultural approach is market-oriented. I have been one of the Congress' leading proponents of allowing market forces to work. There are government programs in wheat, feed grains (corn), cotton, rice, and dairy. No government programs exist for cattle, hogs, turkeys, chickens, eggs, fruits, vegetables, and other specialty crops. This latter group constitutes the bulk of agriculture and is doing far better than the "program crops." Markets work here as elsewhere in economics and I have expressed this at hundreds of farm meetings throughout Minnesota and other states. Additionally, I have appeared on all of the major agricultural state university campuses articulating these policies. Agricultural policies that dictate production and prices have failed everywhere they have been tried worldwide.

There is a constructive role for government, but it is not to tell farmers what to grow or how much to grow (as present farm programs tend to do). The government's role should include (among others):

1. Income stabilization through income supports not tied to production, such as decoupled or flexible supports as were initiated in the 1990 Farm Bill;
2. Actuarially sound crop insurance;
3. Grain and other food inspection services (including disease control);
4. Land grant college and USDA-based research;
5. Crop and market reporting functions so farmers can make informed production and marketing decisions; and
6. Incentives for resource conservation and environmental enhancement. Present programs that link payments to the amount produced have lead to the intensive use of chemicals and have brought fragile land into production.

Some in agriculture would establish high price guarantees and take all the risk out of agriculture. Quite aside from complicating GATT, clearly this would attract more capital into the free economy and create structural surpluses. Over 50 years of experience consistently shows that government payments are quickly capitalized into higher land values that make per acre costs of production higher and American agriculture less competitive.

We farm nearly 400 million acres in the United States. Argentina and Brazil together presently farm half that amount but have at least 500 million additional acres that could be farmed. If our policies guarantee a price high enough to attract this land into production, agricultural problems will be even more complicated and intractable and farm programs will be more expensive in the years ahead. Experience has shown that once land is brought into production, it is seldom retired.

#### 1990 Farm Bill

With all this in mind, my emphasis in the 1990 farm bill commodity sections were:



- Competitive Loan Rates: U.S. price supports establish a floor for the world market. Set them high enough and production increases everywhere! Farm income supports must be found elsewhere - not in high loan rates that perpetuate surpluses. The 1990 farm bill was quite positive in this regard.
- Reduce Reliance on Acreage Reduction Programs (ARPs): Reducing acres is supposed to reduce total output, thereby raising prices (assuming demand remains constant). But farmers are a resourceful lot and if made to idle 20% of their acres, they simply increase their production on the remaining 80% through better technology, improved seeds and more intensive use of chemicals (not very sound environmentally). No other major agricultural producing country idles acres. For every one we have to keep out of production, a new acre has been planted somewhere else in the world. Nevertheless, my position on ARPs was not popular and did not prevail.
- Increase Farmers' Planting Flexibility: This a concept that originally championed in 1985 when David Boren and I introduced the Boschwitz-Boren Farm Bill -- the only bipartisan farm bill. It relied on market concepts, and while not adopted in full, it steered the debate and the 1985 Farm Bill away from government control. The Boschwitz-Boren bill "decoupled" farmers' planting decisions from government requirements and made payments independent of what was planted. In 1990, the term was changed to "flexibility" and adopted in part which was an excellent step forward.
- Dairy: Another major area of debate in the 1990 Farm Bill was the dairy title. When I joined the Agriculture Committee, dairy constituted the principal cost of all programs. In the 1985 Farm Bill, my farmer financed dairy promotion program was included. Total dairy product sales have increased each year since then (a change from preceding years). Dairy farmers have prospered. In fact, dairy prices reached their highest level ever! However, consumption of fluid milk has sagged. The 1990 Farm Bill included a processor financed fluid milk promotion program that I authored which should enhance dairy prosperity.



BST, a naturally occurring hormone that would increase a cow's production by perhaps 20%, is highly controversial. I have said that I would support the use of BST if it were found safe by the FDA. Progress should not be hindered. Animal breedings and better feed rations have resulted in twice as much milk being produced by half as many cows today as 50 years ago! Mechanical milkings replaced hands and reduced the number of dairy farmers by 85%! It is impossible to go backward.

#### Uruguay Round of the GATT

Another critically important issue facing U.S. agriculture is the outcome of the Uruguay Round of the GATT. In fact, this is as significant as any issue currently facing U.S. agriculture. We produce more than we can consume domestically. Our trade in agriculture produced a \$17.5 billion trade surplus in fiscal year 1990 (exports of \$40 billion and imports of \$22 billion). The "decoupling" approach that I introduced was included in President Reagan's original GATT proposal as well as your recent proposal this fall.

The Europeans are the villains--but we also are to a lesser degree--as well as the Japanese. The shame of it all is that by restraining trade or dumping food below the cost of production we inhibit the development of poor countries and bankrupt their farmers who can not compete with treasuries of the developed world. Interestingly, in poor countries where farmers are in the majority, they are politically unprotected. In developed countries where farmers are small minorities, they are protected because of their political strength.

American agriculture -- including farmers and infrastructure -- is the world's most efficient. We would compete well on a level playing field if no trade distorting subsidies existed. This must be our goal, though it will be difficult to achieve.

A Secretary of Agriculture must have among his top priorities selling U.S. farm products. There is nothing more debilitating - or expensive - than storing surplus production that hangs over the market and depresses prices. Every creative avenue must be pursued so that the U.S. is not out-manuevered.

When Clayton was U.S. Trade Representative, I accompanied him to Geneva and also at the Ditchley Conference in England. I have also been an active Congressional advisor in the GATT process.



### The Agricultural Infrastructure

The roads, trucks, trains, river systems, ports, storage facilities, machinery dealers and manufacturers, and fertilizer and chemical dealers in the U.S. are vital links in the world's most efficient infrastructure. Furthermore, there are far more people employed in the infrastructure than on the farm. The infrastructure relies more on the volume produced than on the per bushel price. Efforts to control and limit production would devastate rural America where most of the infrastructure is found.

While I was often a lonely voice speaking for the infrastructure, the farm would be destroyed without it. In short, USDA's role goes beyond the farmer and includes the infrastructure as well.

The lack of an efficient infrastructure and the resulting inability to store and move crops is devastating today in the Soviet Union.

### Farm Credit System

In 1987, when control of the Senate passed to the Democrats (a dark day), Senator Boren asked me to be ranking on the Agriculture Credit Subcommittee he chaired. Together we fashioned a Farm Credit System (FCS) "bailout," at little or no taxpayer cost. By giving the FCS flexibility and mandating other action plus securing its capital, this \$67 billion dollar institution has been restored to profitability after being a clear candidate for S&L type results. I believe our action was creative and decisive.

### Nutrition

Child nutrition and feeding programs now constitute over half the budget of the USDA, though certainly far less than half of the emphasis of Congress. I have served on the Nutrition Subcommittee for many years, and in 1985 Congressman Panetta and I authored the nutrition package included in that year's five-year farm bill. We acted together again on the 1986 Child Nutrition Reauthorization. Most recently I have been Ranking Republican on the Nutrition Subcommittee and because Senator Dole (for whom this has always been a high priority) has been often preoccupied, it has fallen on me to try to make the programs work better and temporize those seeking massive increases in spending. This is not to suggest

that I do not seek to expand some of them. The first claim for dollars should be the Women, Infant and Children (WIC) program (with its extraordinarily quick cost/benefit ratios) and secondly, school breakfasts in the inner cities, though I fully understand and agree with the need to find offsetting savings under the new budget agreement. Opportunities for WIC program reform should include efforts to improve WIC recipients' knowledge of food products that are nutritious and a good value.

Recent studies show that for every dollar spent on a WIC recipient who receives assistance for five months prior to delivery, \$1.77 to \$3.13 is saved in the first 60 days of the infant's life!

I have long believed that some coordination of the many poverty programs could be achieved and though enormously difficult, it would be worth the effort (WIC and Medicaid and most programs require separate and ongoing applications at different locations). The Medicaid savings, at the federal and state level might allow some WIC expansion.

Making USDA's nutrition and feeding programs more effective, resisting those who would simply throw more money at these problems (though that approach is now restrained by the budget agreement) and improving the dietary habits of needy Americans (a great opportunity through these programs) are a set of formidable challenges.

#### New Opportunities and Ideas

Though considerable progress has been made over the last two farm bills in reforming U.S. farm policy, I believe we should move aggressively on several fronts:

1. A Farmer to Farmer Peace Corps. Sending American farmers to Eastern Europe, the USSR and elsewhere to improve productivity. This is an immensely popular idea. This certainly could be done on a privately funded basis and enormous numbers of people (through clubs, communities and rural counties) easily could be involved. American farm exports have always increased to those countries that improve their diets.
2. The Forest Service (a branch of USDA) could accomplish your goal of planting a billion trees to combat the Greenhouse Effect. Through schools, clubs, communities, the USDA's Soil and Conservation



Service and the Extension Service together with the various state departments of agriculture and natural resources, this could become a nationwide environmental project of planting saplings with a very positive impact. The USDA, through its various agencies, is located in virtually every county.

3. A marvelous, difficult but - among farmers - a very popular project would be to seek to simplify the forms and processes of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS), which is the farmer's contact point for government programs.
4. A broader and higher profile should be given to the effort to spur low (chemical) input farming. Alternative crops are in growing demand and at the prices that are high and advantageous to the farmer. While not without dissenters, this is a widely accepted new direction.
5. A thorough review of agricultural export opportunities worldwide needs to be made so that no effort is left undone, not only in bulk commodities (wheat, corn, soybeans) but in specialty crops (from fruits to nuts) and value-added products as well. This must go far beyond granting export credits and requires a hard look at the Targeted Export Assistance (TEA) program as well as the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) that is located in most embassies around the globe. Exporting is at the base of the success of American agriculture.

#### SUMMARY

Thank you, Mr. President, for considering me for the post of Secretary of Agriculture. I believe I would be easily and quickly confirmed. Both Senators Leahy and Lugar have expressed enthusiastic support. Additionally, over the years I have spoken with well over half of the Senate in their offices, one at a time, solely about agricultural issues. I particularly sought out those without an extensive agricultural base in their states as they, too, voted and were likely to be receptive to a market-oriented approach. As I said, such visits may have to be repeated in the GATT ratification process.

## Pilot Column

January 3, 1991

The joy and peace of Christmas is hardly upon us when the Church remembers its first martyr, St. Stephen. There quickly follows the feast of the Holy Innocents, with Jeremiah's ancient words ringing out yet once again down the centuries:

"A cry was heard at Ramah,  
sobbing and loud lamentation:  
Rachel bewailing her children;  
no comfort for her, since they  
are no more."

The octave of Christmas is not yet over, and the Church remembers another martyr, Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Then on the Feast of the Holy Family, Simeon's foreboding blessing of Mary casts the cross's shadow upon our Christmas celebration: "This child is destined to be the downfall and the rise of many in Israel, a sign that will be opposed - and you yourself shall be pierced with a sword - so that the thoughts of many hearts will be laid bare."

We cannot contemplate the Infant in the crib without seeing our Saviour on the cross. He is our peace through the redemption won for us by His death. The struggle with sin and death was to demand the sacrifice of this child of Mary, who is

-2-

at once the Word of God made flesh. The way from Bethlehem to the glory of the resurrection is the way of the cross.

It is in the light of this saving truth that we deal with sin and death in our personal lives and in society. As the world prepares to mark a new year's beginning, the Solemnity of Mary, Mother of God calls us to a day of prayer for peace. With what special urgency does that prayer fill our hearts this January first.

The world's attention is focused on the Persian Gulf. One nation, Iraq, has continued a cycle of violence that spans a seven years' war with Iran, internal violence against the Kurds, and, more recently, the invasion and plundering of Kuwait. It is not a matter of praying that a war not begin; the violence of war has already <sup>wreaked</sup> ~~reeked~~ havoc on that area of the world for over seven years. Our prayer must be that the violence be ended.

Iraq has it within her power to end this mad spiral of violence. Our prayer is that the leadership of Iraq might have a change of heart. Our prayer is that persons of goodwill in Iraq might exercise a responsible voice as citizens to end a course of action abhorrent to the nations.

The United Nations, including our own nation in a commendable leadership role, spoken and acted with an unaccustomed unanimity before this wanton exercise of naked force on the part of Iraq. The positioning of troops in the Saudi desert may well have saved the world from a disastrous,



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wider war had Iraq's ambitions not been checked. The imposition of economic sanctions against Iraq has added appropriate force to the moral argument of world condemnation. An international organization such as the United Nations or the Red Cross might well monitor sanctions to insure that essential medicines and food not be withheld from the innocent. With all our hearts we pray that the present course of moral and economic sanctions may be sufficient to ensure a peaceful end to the violence which Iraq has already wrought.

There are other problems in the Middle East. Without making the immediate resolution of Kuwait's unlawful occupation hostage through linkage to other pressing problems, it is not only appropriate but imperative that these other problems also be faced. The just aspirations of the Palestinian people for a homeland and the just concerns of Israel for safe and secure borders demand the attention of the international community. The integrity of Lebanon as a nation free of occupation by both Syria and Israel must be assured. The denial of fundamental human rights in the countries of the region, including Saudi Arabia, must be faced forthrightly by the world. To pray for peace in the Middle East is a mockery if our prayer is not yoked with an effort to ensure justice. Without justice, there can be no peace.

With all my heart I pray that Iraq's violence will not spawn violence in return. The loud lamentation of Rachel has

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been heard too often. Any mother's cry pierces every human heart. Our prayer must be for that change of heart which turns humankind from thoughts of war to thoughts of justice. It is shortsighted to assume that the decision for peace lies solely with the United Nations. Certainly the world community must be a part of any peaceful resolution of the conflict. It is essential that the common resolve of the world community be maintained. Full scope must be allowed for the non-violent measures now in place to achieve their end. Other non-violent measures might yet be undertaken. Any real hope for peace in the region, however, depends now on an initiative on the part of Iraq.

The Middle East is not the only area of the world in need of our prayer. We are ever mindful of Ireland, Central America, South Africa and so many other areas that know strife. Our own cities and towns have claim on our prayers. No one would dispute, however, that at this time it is the Persian Gulf and the whole Middle East which present the greatest threat to world peace.

Friday is a traditional day of penance in the Church. Friday brings the Church to her knees in contemplating the price Jesus paid on the cross to free us from sin and death. Friday is a special day of prayer in the Moslem world. It seems appropriate, therefore, to invite the Archdiocese to observe the Fridays of 1991 as special days of prayer and penance for

-5-

peace. I invite individuals to consider forms of private prayer and penance for these days. It would be most appropriate if parishes, schools and religious communities could encourage the observance of Fridays as special days of prayer and penance for peace.

The words of the Psalmist give heart to our prayer:

"Though nations are in turmoil, kingdoms totter,  
his voice resounds, the earth melts away.

The Lord of hosts is with us;

our stronghold is the God of Jacob.

Come! behold the deeds of the Lord,

the astounding things he has wrought on earth.

He has stopped wars to the ends of the earth.

Here in the Archdiocese the World Day of Prayer for Peace will be observed on Epiphany, January 6, 1991, with a Mass at Holy Cross Cathedral at three o'clock in the afternoon. I hope many of the faithful of the Archdiocese will come and join together in this prayer for peace among all the nations of the world.

May Mary, Mother of God, intercede for us before Jesus, Her Son, that the area of the world hallowed by the presence of the Holy Family may live in justice and in peace. This and all things we ask in the name of Jesus, the Prince of Peace. Amen.



in Jerusalem. See page A6.

meeting two weeks ago that if no U.S.-Iraqi talks had emerged by the new year, Europeans planned to try their hand at diplomacy.

But the Bush administration has reacted somewhat cautiously to the EC initiative. It is eager to ensure that Mr. Hussein gets a unified message: Withdraw from Kuwait by Jan. 15 or you will be attacked.

Some officials and outside experts, like former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, have warned that any talks will be mistaken by Mr. Hussein for a sign of weakness and will turn into negotiations that dilute

see TALK, page A6

Lt. Cmdr. David Thompson, said the ship's crew have been "tested" by the ability to respond.

The Bunker Hill is one of the Navy's most sophisticated vessels, with Aegis radars used to detect and monitor enemy air activity.

Crew members said that in the past week, French-built Iraqi Mirage and Soviet-made MiG-29 fighters have penetrated deeper into the Gulf than at any other time since this ship arrived here in October.

According to Cmdr. Thompson, see TESTS, page A6

## Sexual performers tucked into list for new NEA grants

By George Archibald  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Karen Finley and Holly Hughes, the two performance artists whose chocolate, bean-sprout and "lesbian-desire" nudity routines helped set off the uproar over government funding for "obscene" art, are back.

New federal grants, worth \$25,000 to Miss Finley and \$15,000 to Miss Hughes, are among 1,000 or more new grants the National Endowment for the Arts is expected to make soon, perhaps this week.

An NEA official said John E. Frohnmayer, the chairman of the endowment, will announce a record number of new grants in hopes that the grants to Miss Finley and Miss Hughes will not attract enough attention to set off another uproar.

Miss Finley, who lives in Nyack, N.Y., stirred controversy with a performance, underwritten by federal

funds, in which she coated her otherwise nude body with chocolate sauce and decorated it with bean sprouts, which she said represented sperm. She was nominated for a new grant through the Kitchen, a theater in New York City, by a peer-review panel that included, among others, her partner-composer, Jerry Hunt.

Miss Hughes, who lives in New York City, writes and performs works about what she calls "lesbian desire" and was nominated for a \$15,000 grant through the city's Downtown Art Center, by a panel that included, among others, her partner, writer-performer Ellen Sebastian.

Mr. Frohnmayer deferred a final decision on the two grants in August, when Congress was in session, after peer review panels and the National

see ARTISTS, page A5

## Food is plentiful in Soviet Union, but it's too dear for Ivan Six-pack

William Boston spent the past week with a Red Cross truck conveying German food relief to the Soviet Union. This is the second of two articles about that journey.

William Boston  
TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

MOLENSK, U.S.S.R. — The state of starvation in the Soviet

Union would seem far-fetched to anyone standing amid the bins of oranges, pickles and pork chops in the cooperative market in Smolensk.

But the relatively well-stocked shelves in this market 225 miles west of Moscow are deceiving. High prices for the goods severely strain the pocketbook of the average worker, who earns about 250 rubles

a month.

For the elderly, living on low pensions, the heaps of citrus produce and meager offering of potatoes remain totally out of reach.

"It's not possible for me to buy anything here," said an old woman.

"My pension is 70 rubles a month,"

see FOOD, page A6



...ing summer. The News...  
to 6-8 the next fall, but in 1971, club

years, to rigorous practices and  
nights spent at the office.

# ARTISTS

From page A1

Council on the Arts recommended them.

The deferral was condemned by the artists and artist support groups, who accused him of "bowing before the bullying tactics of a small [anti-NEA] clique in Congress." The artists threatened to sue him unless he awarded them the federal grants.

At the time, congressional action was pending on a three-year budget reauthorization, as well as legislative restrictions against federal support for artworks deemed to be obscene or blasphemous.

Yesterday, NEA spokesman Josh Dare confirmed that the agency is preparing to announce a slate of around 1,000 awards totaling \$30 million or more sometime after the New Year — perhaps as early as this week.

"We have never announced anything of this magnitude before," he said. "We don't know when we can work out the logistics. ... Waiting to get the computer printouts [of the awards] has led to the delay."

Mr. Dare said he was "not in a position to say" whether the slate included awards to Miss Finley and Miss Hughes. Their grants were confirmed by other sources at the NEA and the White House.

Last May, a smaller solo-performance theater grant for Miss Finley was rejected by the National Council on the Arts after the sexually explicit nature of her performances became publicly known.

Earlier in the year, however, the NEA had awarded the actress two other grants totaling \$25,000 for her

nude chocolate-and-bean-sprout act at the Kitchen and a theater at Franklin Furnace Archive in New York City. Her nude performances last summer at Lincoln Center also were funded by the NEA.

Miss Finley acknowledged in a 1987 interview in the Drama Review that her shows were so sexually provocative that threats of vice-squad action forced closure in several cities.

"When they book me, they think they're going to get some kinky chick from New York going out there shoving my [breasts] in their face," she said. "When they find out I'm more than that — well, in London I was canceled out this summer. I was banned by the Westminster Council and Scotland Yard."

Last fall, Congress scrapped anti-obscenity restrictions governing NEA grants and instead required grant recipients to return federal funds if taxpayer-supported artworks or performances were ruled obscene by the courts.

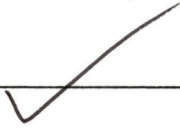
But in June, when the tougher anti-obscenity restrictions were still in force, the congressional General Accounting Office reported to Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican and NEA critic, that the arts agency "has made a judgment that ... it does not consider Ms. Finley's performance to violate [the] restrictions and it would have no objection to using grant funds to support her performance."

But in upholding the arts council's earlier rejection of grants to Miss Finley and Miss Hughes and two other sexually explicit performance artists, Ms. Frohnmayer concurred that their acts "were not appropriate for federal support."

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Tuesday, January 8 -- P.M.

| SUBJECT                                  | JHS                                                                               | STAFF |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. House Rules Change<br><br>TAB A       |  |       |
| 2. Gephardt memo from Calio<br><br>TAB B |  |       |
| 3.                                       |                                                                                   |       |
| 4.                                       |                                                                                   |       |
| 5.                                       |                                                                                   |       |
| 6.                                       |                                                                                   |       |



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                         | Date   | Restriction       | Class. |
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| 09. Agenda               | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.) | 1/9/91 | <del>P2, P5</del> |        |

### 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:** Daily Agenda  
 1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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 By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

|                               |                |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/7/2005       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |                | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |                | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

### 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]

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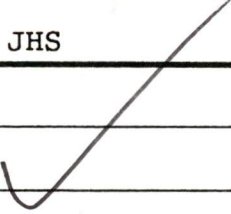
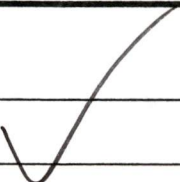
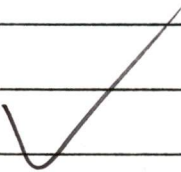
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, January 9, 1991

| SUBJECT                                             | JHS                                                                                 | STAFF |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Review Wednesday and Thursday schedules<br>TAB A |   |       |
| 2. Personnel action -- Healey<br>TAB B              |    |       |
| 3. Cabinet meeting today                            |   |       |
| 4. Aspin statement                                  |  |       |
| 5.                                                  |                                                                                     |       |
| 6.                                                  |                                                                                     |       |

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**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Chief of Staff, White House Office of  
**Series:** Sununu, John, Files  
**Subseries:** Daily Agenda Files  
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| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2005-0426-S   | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>          | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                      | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>                 | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>            | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, January 10, 1991

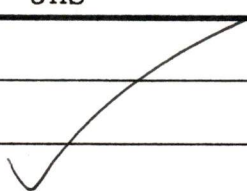
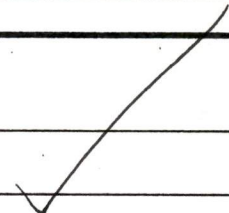
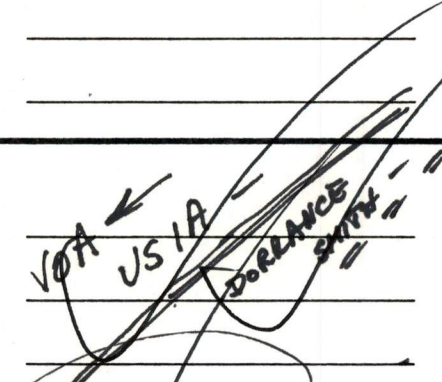
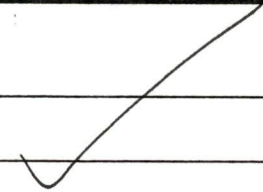
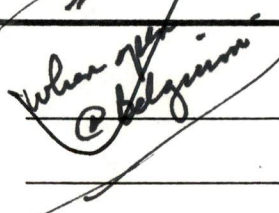
| SUBJECT                                                       | JHS | STAFF                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Review Thursday, Friday and Weekend Schedules<br><br>TAB A |     | <del>BRAS</del> / SIT DOWN -<br><br>MAX / CALL AIPAC -                                   |
| 2. Sanctity of Human Life Proclamation<br><br>TAB B           |     | <del>COEN</del> - TARGETING -<br>go OVER WITH -<br><br><del>COEN</del> -<br>LEE HAMILTON |
| 3. Letter from Slade Gorton<br><br>TAB C                      | ✓   | <del>CALL</del> STEVENS -                                                                |
| 4. Gary Kiedaisch Letter<br><br>TAB D                         | ✓   | <del>YOUNG</del> - <del>NEED</del> NON -                                                 |
| 5. Humana Corporation Letter re: Gulf<br><br>TAB E            | ✓   |                                                                                          |
| 6. Clayton Yeutter's suggestions for Secy of Ag<br><br>TAB F  | ✓   |                                                                                          |



# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: PAGE TWO -- Thursday, January 10

| SUBJECT                                                                                | JHS                                                                                 | STAFF                                                                                |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. -Veterans endorsement of Gulf<br>-Phone tallies following press conference<br>TAB G |   |                                                                                      |
| 2. Roger Ailes memo<br><br>TAB H                                                       |    |   |
| 3. VOA Advisory Committee                                                              |   |  |
| 4. POTUS call Labor leaders??                                                          |  |                                                                                      |
| 5. Veterans COLA Bill - <del>Pay as you go</del>                                       |  |                                                                                      |
| 6.                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                      |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 9, 1991

NOTE FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF:

I thought you might be  
intereste to see the  
attached -- initial reaction  
to the President's press  
conference.

Thank you.



John S. Gardner



# DAILY TALLY SHEET

John -  
748  
sg

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |   |                                |                               |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|
| NAME<br><i>Summary</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |   | STATION #<br>91 JAN -9 PM 5:46 | DAY - M T W T F<br>DATE - / / |        |
| SECTION 1 - INDIVIDUAL                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |   |                                |                               | TOTALS |
| Expression of Feeling<br>Toward the President                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | + |                                |                               |        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | - |                                |                               |        |
| Expression of Feeling<br>Toward the First Lady                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | + |                                |                               |        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | - |                                |                               |        |
| Greeting Requests                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |   |                                |                               |        |
| Referrals (Gov't/WH Offices)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |   |                                |                               |        |
| Personal and Nonsubstantive                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |   |                                |                               |        |
| Questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |   |                                |                               |        |
| Miscellaneous Issues                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |   |                                |                               |        |
| SECTION 2 - ISSUES                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |   | POSITIVE                       | NEGATIVE                      | TOTALS |
| 1 PRESIDENT'S PRESS BRIEFING OF<br>TV _____ SPEECH OF 01/09/91                                                                                                                                                                                                              |   | 110                            | 76                            | 186    |
| 2 SUPPORT OPERATION DESERT SHIELD<br>AND PRESIDENT'S POLICY                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |   |                                |                               |        |
| 3 DO NOT GO TO WAR - SUPPORT<br>PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND UN<br>SETTLEMENT - LET THE SANCTIONS<br>WORK                                                                                                                                                                      |   |                                |                               |        |
| 4 SUPPORT BAKER/AZIZ MEETING OF<br>JANUARY 9th IN GENEVA                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |   |                                |                               |        |
| 5 CONGRESS, ONLY, CAN DECLARE<br>WAR. SUPPORT CONGRESSIONAL/<br>SENATE HEARINGS                                                                                                                                                                                             |   |                                |                               |        |
| U.S. POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL (CALL-IN)<br>MESSAGE IS: REJECT LINKAGE BETWEEN<br>IRAQ/ISRAEL, JERUSALEM UNIFIED<br>CAPITAL FOR STATE OF ISRAEL. ISRAEL<br>MUST HAVE SAFE & SECURE BORDER.<br>U.S. MUST NOT SUPPORT ANTI-ISRAELI<br>RESOLUTIONS IN THE U.N. SECURITY<br>COUNCIL. |   |                                |                               |        |

(OVER)

COMMENTS OF JANUARY 9, 1991

CALLS AFTER PRESS CONFERENCE

NO ROOM FOR POTUS TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR MILLIONS OF BOYS BEING KILLED

HE IS PRES. BUSH AND NOT KING GEORGE - NO WAR.

ALWAYS SUPPORTED HIM BUT LIKED THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

POTUS MADE HER SICK - HER SON IS IN DESERT AND POTUS IS SAYING THAT WE ARE PREPARING FOR WAR.

AGREE WITH AZIZ AND U.S. FAVORING OF ISRAEL.

PRAYERS AND SUPPORT FOR OUR PRESIDENT.

POTUS HAS USED SO MUCH RESTRAINT. HOW CAN IT BE SO WITH AN UNREASONABLE MAN LIKE HUSSIEEN?

OK FOR JEWS TO FIX PLO - POLICY NOT FAIR IN MIDDLE EAST.

WONDERFUL ALL THE WAY BUT DON'T SELL OUT ISRAEL.

CALLER FROM CANADA WANTS POTUS TO MEET WITH HUSSEIN.

HOLD FIRM - DON'T GIVE IN.

SYMPATHETIC WITH THE DECISION POTUS HAS TO MAKE BUT PLEASE NO WAR.

MY SON IS ON THE FRONT LINE - BUT I AM BEHIND MY PRESIDENT 100%.

A TREATY WITH SAUDI SHOULD BE MADE - THEN PROCEED.

AZIZ'S SPEECH WAS EXCELLENT - COUNTRY HAS BEEN UNEVEN IN TREATMENT OF PALESTINIANS/ISRAEL.

PRESIDENT HAS SO MUCH PATIENCE - SUPPORT HIM 100%.

BETTER A HUNDRED NOW THAN A THOUSAND LATER EQUATED TO IRAQ. RIGHT ON. ACTION NOW.

SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT - GET IN THERE - GET IT OVER QUICK.

PRESIDENT WAS VERY STRONG AND AGREED WITH HIM.

WHY AREN'T KUWAITI'S INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS OR OTHER COUNTRIES IN U.N. ONLY U.S. SEEM TO BE TALKING WITH IRAQ.

CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN SUFFERING, NOT WORTH THE LOSS OF LIFE.

KILL SADDAM, NOT AMERICAN SOLDIERS.



KEEP FOLLOWING UN RESOLUTIONS.

GET ISRAEL OUT OF PALESTINE.

FEAR ASSAD MORE THAN SADDAM.

TOTALLY OPPOSES POTUS POSITION - THE PRESIDENT IS CRAZY.

PARALLEL OF HITLER AND SADDAM SHOULD BE STRESSED.

THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE HIS OWN PERSONAL BATTLE. HE HAS BECOME A FANATIC.

ONE MACHO PERSON OUT DOING ANOTHER MACHO PERSON.

PRAYERS ARE WITH THE PRESIDENT.

MR. ROBERTS OF ARKANSAS SUPPORTS POTUS 100%.

CALLER FROM MINNESOTA TOTALLY AGAINST GOING TO WAR.

BUSH SHOULD BACK DOWN. SHOULD BE LINKAGE.

ISRAEL CALLED EXPANSIONIST - NO - SINAI WAS RETURNED TO EGYPT.

SOUNDS LIKE DECEMBER 7TH - PERARL HARBOR - HOPE EVERYONE IS SMART ENOUGH FOR HUSSEIN NOT TO PULL ONE.

PRESIDENT IS DERANGED - PLAYING CHICKEN WITH HUSSEIN IS LUDICROUS.

POTUS IS NOT EXPLAINING VERY MUCH. PEOPLE SHOULD MAKE DECISION.

POTUS HAS BENT OVER BACKWARDS - TIME TO BREAK OFF ALL COMMUNICATIONS.

SHOULD BE LINKAGE - POTUS IS THE MANIAC NOT SADDAM.

PRESIDENT IS DELUDED IF TH THINKS THERE SHOULD BE NO LINKAGE.

OKLAHOMA SUPPORTS POTUS.

BREAK OFF TALKS NOW.

THE DE GERONIMO FAMILY SUPPORTS POTUS 100%.

MAN FROM CALIFORNIA SUPPORTS POTUS 1000%.

PRESIDENT HAS MISHANDLED THE WHOLE THING. HE HAS NOT ACTED AS A PEACEMAKER. HE IS STUBBORN AND INFLEXIBLE. ISRAEL SHOULD INTERCEDE BY OFFERING TO PUT THE PALESTIAN ISSUE ON THE TABLE.



Gary Kiedaisch  
President / General Manager

**December 31, 1990**

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

**Dear John:**

**Please tell the President that Senator Leahy  
does not represent the attitudes of Vermonters  
as I hear it.**

**President Bush has tremendous support for a  
short, effective assault.**

**Sincerely,**



**Gary Kiedaisch**

**GK:anh  
Enclosure**

Mount  
Mansfield  
Resort

Stowe,  
Vermont  
05672

802-253-7311

202958



## Senator Slade Gorton

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

January 4, 1991

The Honorable John Sununu  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear John:

As I dictate this letter, the Senate has just begun a debate or discussion on the crisis in the Middle East. It seems likely that it will do so for the balance of the day, and then return on January 14 or late next week at the call of the Majority Leader to debate a specific resolution which he will propose.

At this point, the Democrats have the high ground, and will discuss primarily the Constitutional question as to the President's authority to commit us to armed conflict in Kuwait without Congressional authorization. I believe that each side to that debate has a fair argument on Constitutional grounds, but that it is a debate which the President cannot win on policy grounds in either the Congress or the country.

On the other hand, I believe unreservedly that the President's handling of this crisis from August 2nd on has been impeccable. I am convinced that there is no chance that we can succeed in our goals by sanctions alone, and that there is an reasonably good chance that we can succeed without conflict if we can persuade Saddam Hussein that his only alternative to withdrawal is a military defeat with his removal as a likely consequence.

Finally, if we cannot so persuade him by a credible threat, then an armed conflict is the only alternative to a disastrous defeat.

Congressional support for the President is the proposition we should be debating; that is the proposition on which the President holds the high ground with the country.

The Honorable John Sununu  
January 4, 1991  
Page 2

In spite of the advice you have received from the Majority Leader and from the Speaker, I am persuaded that, should the President submit a resolution authorizing action in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, and should he ask Congress for a prompt debate and for a vote on such a resolution unamended, the Congress will grant him the debate, will give him the vote and that the vote will be favorable in both Houses.

Democrats, at this point, want to debate the Constitutional issue almost exclusively, and want to be able to speak without responsibility. Any rejection of a Presidential proposal will cast on them the exclusive responsibility for any adverse result. They will not be willing to assume that responsibility.

Finally, if I am wrong in this analysis, if opposition to the use of force is so overwhelming in Congress so as to cause the rejection of a Presidential request, you are better off learning that now and not after the fact at which time a lack of support will be disastrous.

Send a clear and unequivocal message to the Congress and make the gutless bastards vote. That is the clearest path to an American victory.

Sincerely,

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

SLADE GORTON  
United States Senator

SG:v



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                               | Date    | Restriction   | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|--------|
| 11. Agenda               | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff, p.m. (1 pp.) | 1/10/91 | <del>P5</del> |        |

### 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:** Daily Agenda  
1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                                        |                                |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 1/7/2005           | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2005-0426-S   | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>          | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                      | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>                 | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>            | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### 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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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, January 10 -- P.M.

| SUBJECT                                                                                           | JHS                                                | STAFF |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. John Simpson's request<br>that the White House<br>"windows" issue be<br>revisited<br><br>TAB A | At LEAST AS GOOD<br>AS SMALL OFFICE<br>(to Bonnie) |       |
| 2. Federal Reserve<br>nominations<br><br>TAB B                                                    | ✓                                                  |       |
| 3. Sanctity of Human<br>Life proclamation<br><br>TAB C                                            | ✓                                                  |       |
| 4. Jewish community<br>reactions to linkage<br><br>TAB D                                          | ✓                                                  |       |
| 5.                                                                                                |                                                    |       |
| 6.                                                                                                |                                                    |       |

535-  
5700



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                   | Date    | Restriction          | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| 12. Note                 | From John Simpson to John Sununu<br>Re: White House Windows Upgrade (2 pp.) | 1/10/91 | (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f) |        |

**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:** Daily Agenda  
1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

|                               |                |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/7/2005       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |                | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |                | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                   | Date | Restriction   | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|---------------|--------|
| 13. Note                 | From Katie Winklejohn to John Sununu<br>Re: Proposed Pro-Life Event (1 pp.) | 1/91 | <del>P5</del> |        |

**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:** Daily Agenda  
 1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                               |                |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/7/2005       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |                | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |                | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FROM LEIGH ANN METZGER:

- (1) Following your inquiry into CAC, Leigh Ann has made calls to other pro-life organizations and now feels that a signing event would erupt into a controversy over the invite list.

Rather than allowing that, Leigh Ann suggests that the President sign the proclamation in the Oval Office with ~~a pool of wire~~ reporters and issue it with a press release and picture.

APPROVE: \_\_\_\_\_

- (2) Will the President sign off on the Vice President attend the Right to Life rally in the President's stead on January 22nd?

APPROVE: \_\_\_\_\_

- (3) Will you (Governor) meet with a group of pro-lifers in the Roosevelt Room on the 22nd as you did last year?

APPROVE: \_\_\_\_\_

k

PRESIDENT

DECLARATION

**Declaration signing event**  
of Human Life Day which  
unfolds around the country

proclamation privately  
issued the day before  
meeting of evangelical  
discussion of the  
the President for a more  
issued a presidential video  
early at the White House  
and communicated

he could accommodate their  
at the details.

signing ceremony with the  
ill present. This would  
agreement for an event  
past.

APPROVE SIGNING CEREMONY \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                                | Date   | Restriction   | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| 14. Memo                 | From Leigh Ann Metzger to John Sununu<br>Re: Sanctity of Human Life Proclamation (1 pp.) | 1/9/91 | <del>P5</del> |        |

### 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:** Daily Agenda  
 1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                               |                |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/7/2005       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |                | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |                | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

### 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]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON  
January 9, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: LEIGH ANN METZGER  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: SANCTITY OF HUMAN LIFE PROCLAMATION

As you know, we have requested a proclamation signing event on Monday, January 14, for the Sanctity of Human Life Day which will be officially recognized in churches around the country on Sunday, January 20.

Last year the President signed the proclamation privately and it was faxed to the sponsoring organization the day before the event. During the October 30, 1990 meeting of evangelical leaders with the President there was a discussion of the proclamation and the request was made to the President for a more public signing. Options mentioned included a presidential video for distribution to churches or an event early at the White House that could be published in newsletters and communicated throughout the conservative network.

\* The President said that he thought he could accomodate their request and asked that our office work out the details.

We have requested an Oval office signing ceremony with the leadership of the Christian Action Council present. This would be open to the press and should meet the agreement for an event early and more public than those of the past.

APPROVE SIGNING CEREMONY \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG <sup>BK</sup>  
KATHY JEAVONS <sup>KJ</sup>

SUBJECT: Commendations from the Jewish Community on your  
rejection of linkage

Attached are press releases from B'nai B'rith International and the Anti-Defamation League commending you and Secretary Baker for again refusing to accept any linkage between a resolution of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the Arab-Israeli peace process.

cc: David Demarest

BARBARA WALDEN  
Director, Communications Division

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, January 10...The Anti-Defamation League today commended President Bush and Secretary of State Baker for their "continued strong stand against Saddam Hussein and for sending a clear, unequivocal message that there can be no linkage between Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the Arab-Israeli conflict."

In telegrams to Bush and Baker, ADL National Chairman Melvin Salberg and National Director Abraham H. Foxman said:

"Iraq continues to use the Palestinian issue to defend its wanton attack against Kuwait. We agree that such linkage would be read by the world as a reward for aggression and we welcome your continued rejection of this attempt to divert attention from the crisis in the Gulf."

#

Founded in 1913 "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people . . . to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike."





B'nai B'rith

# NEWS

From the World's Largest Jewish Organization

1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 857-6536  
Press Office: 7th Floor • Fax (202) 296-1092

Date: January 9, 1991

No. 91-04

Release: Immediate

Contact: Buzzy Gordon

## B'NAI B'RITH PRAISES U.S. ADMINISTRATION FOR GULF STAND

WASHINGTON, DC -- B'nai B'rith International today expressed its appreciation and support for the strong stand of the U.S. administration in rejecting Iraqi attempts to link the Palestinian question to the invasion and occupation of Kuwait.

B'nai B'rith International President Kent E. Schiner welcomed the remarks of President George Bush and Secretary of State Baker following the talks in Geneva. "The cynical attempt by Saddam Hussein to link the Arab-Israeli conflict with the crisis he has ignited in Kuwait is a transparent ruse to sow discord among the Arab and other members of the international coalition arrayed against the aggressors. If Iraq indeed wants to make a contribution to peace and stability in the region, it can negotiate and conclude separate peace treaties with each of its sovereign neighbors: Iran, Kuwait and Israel."

###

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: January 11, 1991

| SUBJECT                                             | JHS               | STAFF             |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Review Friday and Weekend schedules<br><br>TAB A | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 2. Kentucky Governor's Race<br><br>TAB B            | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 3. Two Nevada calls (Sig)                           | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 4. Radio tape for this weekend?                     | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 5. POTUS take questions today?                      | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 6.                                                  | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |

\*24 KENTUCKY GOVERNOR: ADD FORGY TO THE GOP RACE

Lexington's WKYT-TV reported a "political bombshell" yesterday that ex-1987 Gov. candidate/atty. Larry Forgy (R) will announce his candidacy in the Governor's race tomorrow (WKYT-TV release, 1/9). Forgy had said he would not run this year but said yesterday, "I'm so extremely concerned about how much money is being raised in this campaign and the violation of public trust that I see involved in that. I'm giving serious thought to running without these major campaign contributions, to keep my independence without these special interests, and I'll have something to say on that Friday" (Al Cross, Louisville COURIER-JOURNAL). WKYT reports ex-Highway Commis. Eugene Goss will be Forgy's running mate and according to "a source" the "Forgy/Goss ticket may also limit campaign contributions to \$100 a person." Forgy backed out of running for Gov. in '87 after a "17-month campaign ... which had raised more than \$700,000" because he said that "he found fund-raising distasteful and would have to raise more money to win and could not win without telling a lie -- that the governor elected in 1987 wouldn't have to raise taxes" (Cross, C-J). Forgy also cancelled his twice-weekly radio commentary after the network's news director raised questions about Forgy's political plans. U.S. Rep. Larry Hopkins (R) "issued a statement saying that he is in the race to stay no matter who else runs." Hopkins has said he will formally enter the race 1/22. Hopkins "booster" and possible LG candidate/state Sen. David Williams said, "I know at least two people who" Forgy has told "directly" that he will limit campaign contributions to \$300. Hopkins supporters contend their candidate will "emerge from a fully contested primary as a stronger candidate," but they acknowledge Hopkins "might be hurt by having to spend money he could otherwise save for the general election." Hopkins announced last week his campaign has raised almost \$1.1M (see HOTLINE 1/9 #17). According to a poll done for Goss 11/90 that surveyed 500 "regular Republican primary voters," Hopkins was shown "beating Forgy 37 to 31 percent and beating Goss 51 to 15 percent"; margin of error +/- 4.5%. (Cross, 1/10).



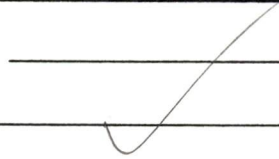
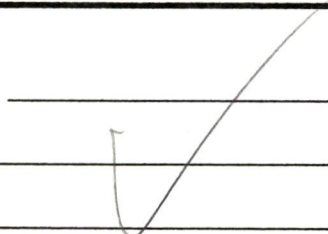
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## DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

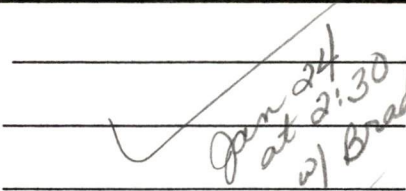
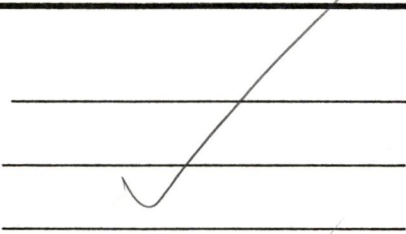
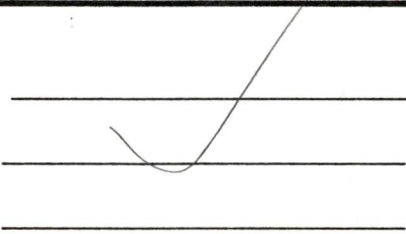
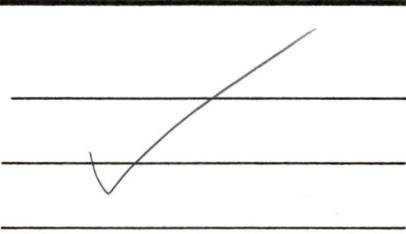
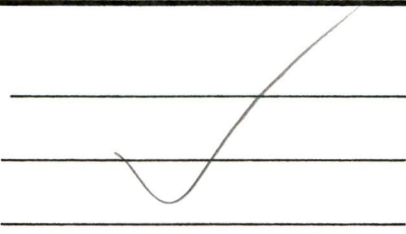
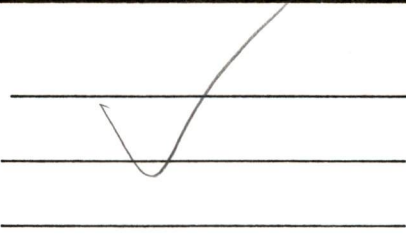
DATE: Monday, January 14, 1991

| SUBJECT                                             | JHS                                                                               | STAFF |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Review Monday and Tuesday Schedules<br><br>TAB A |  |       |
| 2. Lee Atwater goes into surgery today.             |  |       |
| 3.                                                  |                                                                                   |       |
| 4.                                                  |                                                                                   |       |
| 5.                                                  |                                                                                   |       |
| 6.                                                  |                                                                                   |       |

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Monday, January 14 -- P.M.

| SUBJECT                                              | JHS                                                                                  | STAFF |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Stuart Bernstein<br>meeting request<br><br>TAB A  |    |       |
| 2. "An Open Letter to<br>the President"<br><br>TAB B |    |       |
| 3. Cardinal O'Connor's<br>column<br><br>TAB C        |   |       |
| 4. Breakdown of 1992<br>Senate seats<br><br>TAB D    |  |       |
| 5. Tyrell editorial<br><br>TAB E                     |  |       |
| 6. Note from Schuller<br><br>TAB F                   |  |       |



STUART A. BERNSTEIN  
WASHINGTON SQUARE SUITE 360  
1050 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

(202) 955-1400

January 8, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen

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

Dear Mr. President:

After recent conversations with fellow Team 100 members, I wanted to share with you a common concern.

Although we are in a recession, the real estate industry is in a depression due to the credit crisis. Not only will the banks not lend to real estate developers, they are demanding repayment of those loans that are still outstanding. The regulators have given the banks ultimatums and no flexibility to deal with borrowers.

Larry Bathgate, Alec Courtelis and I went to see Mike Boskin. He says he is aware of the problem and has so advised you. A small group of Team 100 members who are loyal Republicans and believe in George Bush would be happy to meet with anyone you designate to show how this problems could easily be resolved.

Stay in good health, we are with you all the way.

Warmest personal regards,



Done —  
Jan 24 @ 2<sup>30</sup> with Brady —

# AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

President George Bush, The White House Washington, DC 20500. Dear Mr. President: We, the undersigned, pledge support for your courageous action in the Persian Gulf. We believe it is vitally important for all Americans to unite behind your pursuit of justice and your plan to halt aggression in Kuwait. Your work in creating an historic international coalition against Iraqi aggression is an important first step in creating a new, post-Cold War structure for peace. We argue that letting aggression go unchecked merely encourages more aggression. Saddam Hussein's reprehensible efforts at international economic blackmail are a threat to the international community and to America's national security. Iraq's illegal invasion also

damages the world economy, particularly those developing nations around the globe.

Saddam Hussein's campaign of terror, including murder, torture, imprisonment and looting, has been condemned by the world community. We believe the various United Nations Resolutions must be fully carried out. The Iraqi regime should understand that Americans are united behind your leadership and are prepared to use the necessary means to expel their troops from Kuwait and to establish stability in the Gulf.

We urge you to continue your efforts toward peace and stability in the Gulf and we pledge our support to you.

(Affiliations listed for identification purposes only.)

Paul C. Abenante  
American Baker Association  
Jack Albertine  
Albertine Enterprises, Inc.  
E.T. "BUP" Altman  
Hardwood Plywood Manufacturers Association  
Wendy Baer  
International Hardwood Products Association  
A. William Bailey  
Independent Instruments Agents of America  
Joe M. Baker  
Association of Wall & Ceiling Industries  
William Ball  
National Soft Drink Association  
Robert C. Bartlett  
National Stone Association  
John Bauer  
Basic Industries Coalition  
James C. Bazz  
National Milk Producers Federation  
J. Carter Beers, Jr.  
Ayer Brown & Sons, Inc.  
Judy Black  
International Council of Shopping Centers  
Steven H. Blackwell  
Management Consulting Services  
John R. Block  
National American Wholesale Grocers' Association  
Jack E. Bobo  
National Association of Life Underwriters  
Walter G. Bohrer  
Amusement & Music Operators Association  
Lawrence W. Bory  
American Consulting Engineers Council  
G. Stewart Boswell  
American Apparel Manufacturers Association  
Joseph W. Bow  
Footwear and Packaging Institute  
J. Patrick Boyle  
American Meat Institute  
Gleenn E. Braswell  
Flexible Packaging Association  
James H. Burnley IV  
Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge  
James N. Burnoughs  
National Propane Gas Association  
Nicholas J. Bush  
National Gas Supply Association  
James M. Carrington  
Secor, Inc.  
Brian E. Cartier  
National Sherbrand Reporters Association  
Henry C. Cashen  
Debitals, Shapers & Molds  
Red Cavaney  
Athletic Paper Institute  
Robert Cave  
American Public Gas Association  
Anna C. Chennault  
TAC International  
Phillip R. Chisholm  
Furniture Manufacturers Association of America  
W. Dewey Glover  
National Association of Truck Stop Operators  
Kent W. Colton  
National Association of Home Builders

James D. Cope  
Prescription Drug Manufacturers Association  
Derrick Crandall  
American Recreation Coalition  
John P. Cregan  
U.S. Business and Industrial Council  
Richard C. Creighton  
American Cement Alliance  
E.J. Ciesnol, Jr.  
American Society for Industrial Security  
James B. Currie  
Clifford Barker Real Estate Group  
John M. Damgard  
Business Industry Association  
Kings Delmontagne  
National Printing Equipment & Supply Association  
Clay W. Donnelly  
National Lumber & Building Material Dealers Association  
John A. Doyle  
National Association of Rehabilitation Facilities  
Stephen Driscoll  
National Association of Realtors  
R. Hartley Edes  
Insurance Commissioners Association of America  
Bernard H. Falk  
National Chemical Manufacturers Association  
William Farrell  
American Hardware Manufacturers Association  
Don Fugua  
Aerospace Industries Association  
Walter E. Gandy, Jr.  
National Association of Brick Distributors  
John Paul Galles  
Specialty Small Business United  
Kristine Garland  
Composite Gas & Tube Institute  
Joseph G. Gerard  
American Furniture Manufacturers Association  
Brian W. Gill  
Master Printers of America  
James D. Gormley  
General Aviation Manufacturers Association  
John M. Grau  
National Electrical Contractors Association, Inc.  
Malvern J. Gross, Jr.  
National Amusement Association  
Paul T. Haluzik  
Motor & Equipment Manufacturers Association  
Clifford J. Harrison  
National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc.  
Charles E. Hawkins  
Associated Builders and Contractors  
John T. Healy  
National Wooden Pallet & Container Association  
Steven B. Hellem  
United States Advanced Ceramics Association  
Fred H. Holt  
National Health Institute  
Hal W. Howes  
Aurora  
Walter C. Hunt  
Institute of Certified Business Collectors  
Charles C. Irions  
American Movers Conference  
Phillip J. James  
National Glass Association

Jerry Jasnowski  
National Association of Manufacturers  
Frank L. Jensen, Jr.  
Nidropack Association International  
Carl T. Johnson  
Compressed Gas Association  
Jonathan L. Kempner  
National High Housing Council  
John A. Knebel  
American Mining Congress  
Tom Kuhn  
Sigma Beta Kappa Institute  
Richard L. Lawson  
National Coal Association  
Richard L. Lesher  
U.S. Chamber of Commerce  
Jim Mack  
National Machine Tool Builders Association  
John M. Martin  
Dry & Heat Insulative Supply Association  
Wm. H. McCredie  
National Parachute Association  
M. Richard Melland  
Medical Associates  
Albert W. Moore  
NMTA—The Association for Manufacturing Technology  
Allen Moore  
National Solid Waste Management Association  
Robert M. Moore  
International Staircase Association, Inc.  
William C. Morrison  
Most Improved Council of America, Inc.  
Russell N. Mosher  
American Boiler Manufacturers Association  
L. Manning Mounting  
Dash Mounting & Co., Inc.  
Roy W. Muth  
International Snowmobile Industry Association  
Phillip Nowers  
Association of Reproduction Materials Manufacturers, Inc.  
Paul T. O'Day  
American Filter Manufacturers Association  
Tom O'Day  
Alliance of American Insurers  
Karl Ottosen  
U.S. Federation of Small Business, Inc.  
Dave Parker  
The Association of American  
Robert D. Pavey  
National Venture Capital Association  
Gas Ped  
Oquirrh, VA  
James C. Pennington  
National Association for Unemployed Services  
J. Wm. Peterson  
Construction Industry Manufacturers Association  
Gilbert G. Pollock  
American Automobile Machine Association  
Thomas W. Power  
Refrigerator and Lighting Institute  
Curlye C. Ring, Jr.  
Atlanta Research Corp.  
Vince Roblagn  
Association Development Corp.  
Robert A. Roland  
Chemical Manufacturers Association

Robert M. Reeves  
Teacher of Shorthand & Bible Class  
Richard Richards  
Washington, DC  
Ray Roper  
Printing Industries of America  
Samuel R. Sacco  
National Association of Temporary Services  
Ronald A. Sarasin  
National Beer Wholesalers Association  
Robert C. Schwartz  
National Food System Association  
John Thomas Sheehan  
Shelton Associates, Inc.  
Hal Shoup  
American Association of Advertising Agencies  
David Stahl  
Urban Land Institute  
E. P. Stansbury  
Composite Gas & Tube Institute  
Bud Stiles  
Independent Sales Association  
Chris Steinert  
American Subcontractors Association  
John J. Stocker  
Shipbuilders Council of America  
Robert Strawn  
Revenue Vehicle Dealers Association  
R. William Taylor  
American Society of Association Executives  
Larry Thomas  
Society of the Photo Industry  
C. Richard Titus  
Kleen Kitchen Manufacturers Association  
Kenneth R. Tobin  
National Aggregate Association  
George Troutman  
Bell Helicopter Textron, Inc.  
Wayne H. Valls  
Vall's Assoc.  
Dirk Van Dongen  
National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors  
Joseph Velpe, Jr.  
The Finance Corporation  
Herbert C. Wamsley  
Specialty Property Owners  
Richard S. Ward  
ITT Corporation  
George D. Webster  
Winters Chamberlain & Bean  
Steven A. Wechsler  
National Bakery Committee  
John C. Whitaker  
Urban Group Corporation  
Frank E. Wichter, Jr.  
Industrial Safety Equipment Association  
Laurence D. Wiseman  
American Petrol Council  
Bob Woodson  
National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise  
Hugh Young  
Carroll Allen

This ad was paid for by Vince Robison, Association Development Corp. (Oklahoma City, OK)  
Jack Albertine, Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (Washington, DC)  
and Dirk Van Dongen, National Association of Wholesalers-Distributors (Washington, DC)



**ALBERTINE ENTERPRISES, Inc.**

1250 - 24th St. N.W., Suite 600

Washington, DC 20037

Telephone: (202) 466-0561

Fax: (202) 466-3079

**FACSIMILE COVER LETTER****TRANSMITTED TO:**NAME: Jackie KennedyFIRM: White HouseCITY: Washington, D.C.FROM: Jack AlbertineTOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER LETTER): 2DATE TRANSMITTED: Jan 12, 1991

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL THE PAGES IN GOOD CONDITION, PLEASE  
CALL (202) 466-0561.

Dear Jackie:

This ad was placed in the RollCall newspaper for  
distribution to all Members of Congress by 8:00 a.m. on Saturday  
Jan. 12, 1991. This ad was placed in the newspaper by our firm  
Albertine Enterprises, Inc. I wanted to share this with you and with  
Gov. Sununu. Thanks.

Jack Albertine



JAN 09 91 19:15

Catholic New York

Jan 10, 1990



## From My Viewpoint

# Believing That 'Peace Is Possib

By CARDINAL JOHN J. O'CONNOR

**Y**ou have heard that it was said, 'Love your friends, hate your enemies.' But now I tell you: love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you..." Anyone who goes looking can find those words of Jesus in the fifth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the 44th verse. How they differ from the proverb we have been hearing so frequently in recent months: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

One of the most troublesome aspects of the war-talk that fills the air today is the implication that war is inevitable. "It's bound to come, if not on the 15th of January of 1991, then on some fixed or unfixed date in March of '93, or yet within a year or two after that. The situation in the Middle East is absolutely intolerable, the situation in Iraq even more so. Iraq's potential for both nuclear and chemical weapons must be destroyed. If not now, when? We have to face it soon or late, why not get it over with?"

It has long been Church teaching that governments have the obligation to defend their people against unjust aggression. I do not question that obligation, nor do I pretend to have either the military or political expertise to determine how that obligation can best be carried out militarily or politically in this incredibly complex world. I know something of the Middle East. I have to believe, however, that the President of the United States and at least selected members of the Congress and various other governing authorities in the world know far more than I do about the current situation there. They are privy to all sorts of information that I don't have. Moreover, I have to believe that they want to do what's right, that they are profoundly aware of the horrors of war and that they truly want peace. All of which is as it should be, but none of which is enough.

It is imperative that we believe that "peace is possible," as Pope John Paul II puts it. He is speaking, of course, of peace with justice for all. Without justice, "peace" is meaningless. But neither true peace nor true justice has ever been found in the barrel of a gun. In a fallen world, certain weapons systems may be legitimate instruments to deter aggression. To believe that either their possession or their use assures either peace or justice is sheer folly. And the trouble is that when we come to believe that war is inevitable and peace impossible, folly is perceived as

common sense, the only way to go and the morally right thing to do.

However anyone might argue about the Church's traditional teaching on war, there can be no question but that the very existence of the teaching makes clear that we can never take the morality of *any* war for granted. One must ask many questions about the moral validity of *going* to war in the first place, and in conjunction with these, the moral validity of the *means* that will be used to wage war, should one enter into war. No government can be excused from pondering such questions. I have enough faith in our own government to believe that it is pondering such questions in its own way. It is unlikely that our government or any other ponders the questions with the kind of exactitude that those trained to think through all the moral implications of war would apply and that the dangers of war merit. Unfortunately, that is not the way of governments. But certainly the major moral issues are not *ignored*. I believe they are taken very seriously, and that many factors are being weighed. Whether or not I might approve of our government's strategies, I have no doubt but that they are intended to prevent war, rather than to provoke war, and that is the government's responsibility.

**T**he responsibility for preventing war when possible, however, can not be attributed exclusively to governments. We can not abdicate our individual responsibilities for trying to think through, talk through and pray through the basic questions of right and wrong raised by the specter of war. We may not have all the information available to governments, but we are neither idiots nor robots, nor yet again mere pawns. We have an obligation to respect the good will of our government, I believe, and to recognize how awesome is government's responsibility. But we are blessed with a form of political life in which we can freely express our personal convictions to one another, to our elected representatives in the Congress, to the President of the United States. The only right we do not have is the right not to care.

I would urge thoughtful and charitable discussions in every parish and institution in the Archdiocese of New York on the moral dimensions of the situation in the Middle East. Such discussions, in



JAN 05 91 15:17

P.3

my view, can be constructive only if conducted humbly and prayerfully, and with an honest recognition that people of good will can differ about military and political strategies and tactics without being evil. No one of us has all the answers to the critical questions involved.

Every one of us does have, however, one inestimably powerful answer that many of us never dream of using. We can pray—hard! That sounds so naive; doesn't it, so childish, or pious or unsophisticated. Which shows how far we have wandered from a *practical* belief that this is God's world, that God is all powerful, that in the will of God is our peace. I don't believe that Jesus was unsophisticated or naive, yet He said, "Love your enemies, pray for them." Obviously, He did not intend to exclude our praying for our friends, as well as for our enemies. Surely He would want us to be praying for our own government very fervently, that its decisions will accord with His will, as well as for our "enemies," that they will cease and desist from aggression, but move toward dismantling nuclear and chemical forces of destruction.

Surely, even those who might disagree strongly with my personal assessment of the current situation or of our government's intentions, could not disagree that every man and woman in uniform, every member of their families and every one of their loved ones merits and critically needs our prayers, as well as do governments. There is perhaps no loneliness worse than the loneliness of those separated from all that they love by the displacement that takes them thousands of miles from home and plunges them into the unknown. Sharing that loneliness and all of its attendant hardships are those left behind to shift for themselves. Every war is inhuman, however "just." All war is cruel, and the threat of war shares in that cruelty. It is not out of charity that we have an obligation to pray for all who are caught up in this crisis, but out of justice.

As I would urge discussions in every parish and institution, then, I would urge formal public prayer at every Mass and in special prayer services held to meet the current crisis, and fervent individual prayer on the lips and in the heart of every one who truly wants peace with justice. War is not inevitable. Peace is possible. Unless we don't care.

SENATE SEATS UP IN 1992 - 15 REPUBLICANS - 19 DEMOCRATS

ALABAMA: SEN. RICHARD SHELBY (D)  
1986 RESULTS: 50.1% - 49.9% ✓

ALASKA: SEN. FRANK MURKOWSKI (R)  
1986 RESULTS: 54% - 44%

ARIZONA: SEN. JOHN MCCAIN (R) ?  
1986 RESULTS: 60% - 40% 0

ARKANSAS: SEN. DALE BUMPERS (D)  
1986 RESULTS: 62% - 38%

CALIFORNIA: SEN. ALAN CRANSTON (D) ✓  
1986 RESULTS: 50% - 47%  
YET TO BE APPOINTED (R)

COLORADO: SEN. TIMOTHY WIRTH (D) ✓  
1986 RESULTS: 50% - 48%

CONNECTICUT: SEN. CHRISTOPHER DODD (D)  
1986 RESULTS: 65% - 35%

FLORIDA: SEN. BOB GRAHAM (D)  
1986 RESULTS: 55% - 45%

GEORGIA: SEN. WYCHE FOWLER (D) ✓ *Isaacson*  
1986 RESULTS: 51% - 49%

HAWAII: SEN. DANIEL INOUE (D)  
1986 RESULTS: 74% - 26%

IDAHO: SEN. STEVEN SYMS (R) ?  
1986 RESULTS: 52% - 48% 0

ILLINOIS: SEN. ALAN DIXON (D)  
1986 RESULTS: 65% - 34%

INDIANA: SEN. DANIEL COATS (R)  
1990 RESULTS: 54% - 46%

IOWA: SEN. CHARLES GRASSLEY (R)  
1986 RESULTS: 66% - 34%

KANSAS: SEN. BOB DOLE (R) 2  
1986 RESULTS: 70% - 30% 0

KENTUCKY: SEN. WENDELL FORD (D)  
1986 RESULTS: 75% - 25%



SENATE SEATS CONTINUED...

|                        |                                                      |             |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| <u>LOUISIANA:</u>      | SEN. JOHN BREAUX (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 53% - 47%      | 2           |
| <u>MARYLAND:</u>       | SEN. BARBARA MIKULSKI (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 61% - 39% |             |
| <u>MISSOURI:</u>       | SEN. KIT BOND (R)<br>1986 RESULTS: 53% - 47%         |             |
| <u>NEVADA:</u>         | SEN. HARRY REID (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 50% - 45%       |             |
| <u>NEW HAMPSHIRE:</u>  | SEN. WARREN RUDMAN (R)<br>1986 RESULTS: 63% - 32%    | ✓           |
| <u>NEW YORK:</u>       | SEN. ALPHONSE D'AMATO (R)<br>1986 RESULTS: 57% - 41% | Housing - ? |
| <u>NORTH CAROLINA:</u> | SEN. TERRY SANFORD (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 52% - 48%    | ✓ Short     |
| <u>NORTH DAKOTA:</u>   | SEN. KENT CONRAD (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 50% - 49%      | ✓           |
| <u>OHIO:</u>           | SEN. JOHN GLENN (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 62% - 38%       |             |
| <u>OKLAHOMA:</u>       | SEN. DON NICKLES (R)<br>1986 RESULTS: 55% - 45%      |             |
| <u>OREGON:</u>         | SEN. BOB PACKWOOD (R)<br>1986 RESULTS: 63% - 36%     | ✓ 9         |
| <u>PENNSYLVANIA:</u>   | SEN. ARLEN SPECTOR (R)<br>1986 RESULTS: 56% - 43%    |             |
| <u>SOUTH CAROLINA:</u> | SEN. ERNEST HOLLINGS (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 63% - 36%  |             |
| <u>SOUTH DAKOTA:</u>   | SEN. THOMAS DASCHLE (D)<br>1986 RESULTS: 52% - 48%   | ✓ Johnson   |
| <u>UTAH:</u>           | SEN. JAKE GARN (R)<br>1986 RESULTS: 72% - 27%        |             |

**SENATE SEATS CONTINUED...**

**VERMONT:**

**SEN. PATRICK LEAHY (D)**  
**1986 RESULTS: 63% - 35%** ✓

**WASHINGTON:**

**SEN. BROCK ADAMS (D)**  
**1986 RESULTS: 51% - 49%** ✓

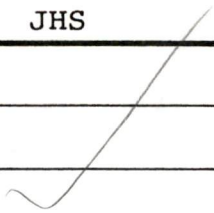
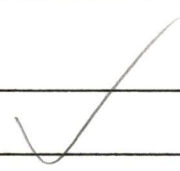
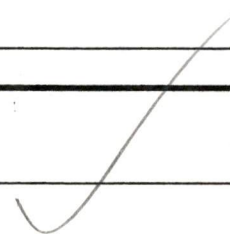
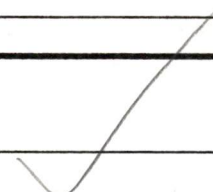
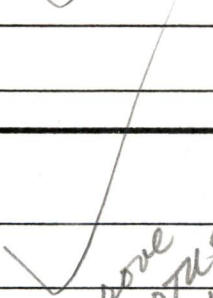
**WISCONSIN:**

**SEN. ROBERT KASTEN (R)**  
**1986 RESULTS: 51% - 47%**

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Tuesday, January 15 -- P.M.

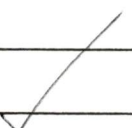
| SUBJECT                                         | JHS                                                                                                                  | STAFF |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Remarks from Gulf Debate<br><br>TAB A        |                                     |       |
| 2. American Public Opinion 1936-41<br><br>TAB B |                                     |       |
| 3. GATT<br><br>TAB C                            |                                    |       |
| 4. Political Hotline<br><br>TAB D               |                                   |       |
| 5. "A Line in the Sand" sculpture<br><br>TAB E  | <br><i>approve POTUS photo-op</i> |       |
| 6.                                              |                                                                                                                      |       |



# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Tuesday, January 15, 1991

| SUBJECT                                                                                                  | JHS                                                                                | STAFF |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Review Tuesday and Wednesday Schedules<br><br>TAB A                                                   |   |       |
| 2. Letter from Bruce Gelb<br><br>TAB B                                                                   |   |       |
| 3. Status of White House correspondence and phone comments<br><i>not propaganda</i><br>TAB C <i>mail</i> |  |       |
| 4.                    | <u>Greenspan et al.</u>                                                            |       |
| 5.                                                                                                       |                                                                                    |       |
| 6.                                                                                                       |                                                                                    |       |

January 14, 1991

91 JAN 14 PM 12:59

MEMORANDUM FOR PHIL BRADY

FROM: Shirley M. Green *mg*

SUBJECT: Status of White House Correspondence and Phone Comments

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE

- o Usual volume\* 40,000-50,000 pieces a week
- o Current volume\* 165,000 pieces a week
  - \* Does not include 15,000 pieces of Student Correspondence or 12,000 pieces of Greetings Cards requests per week
  - \* Also does not include Propaganda mail which, while not answered, still has to be processed. During period of 11/7 to 12/12, 262,000 pieces of Propaganda mail were received from Iraq.
- o Mail Room backlog 66,000 pieces
- o Mail Analysis backlog 29,000 pieces
- o First Lady backlog 3,000 pieces

PHONE COMMENTS LINES

- o Number of lines 20
- o Answered by volunteers trained as Telephone Aides
- o Hours of operation 9:00-5:00 EST M-F
- o Highest volume answered in one day 3,800
- o C&P Telephone reported that 1/10 at 8:00 until 1/11 at 4:00 p.m. 188,294 calls were unable to get through to our lines.
- o Counter on our phones recorded over 10,000 calls were placed over the weekend when recording was on.
- o If war begins, phones will be manned by volunteers and interns until 8:30 p.m.
- o Last week the two snow days reduced the number of volunteers and reduced our ability to take calls.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                         | Date    | Restriction    | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------------|--------|
| 15. Agenda               | From Ed Rogers<br>Discussion Items for the Chief of Staff (1 pp.) | 1/16/91 | <del>P-5</del> |        |

**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:** Daily Agenda  
 1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                               |                |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/7/2005       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 29195-004 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |                | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |                | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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.

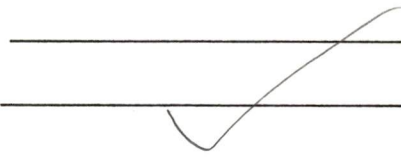
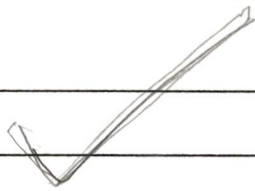
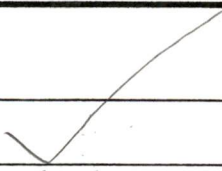
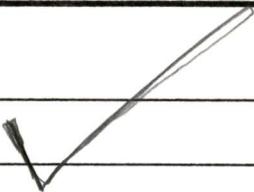
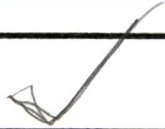
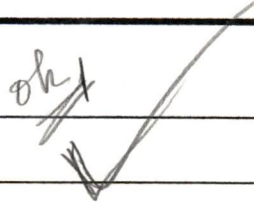
(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement 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



# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

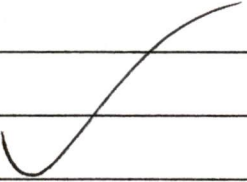
DATE: Wednesday, January 16, 1991

| SUBJECT                                                   | JHS                                                                                                                                                                        | STAFF |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Review Wednesday and Thursday schedules<br><br>TAB A   |                                                                                          |       |
| 2. Greenspan Comments                                     |                                                                                          |       |
| 3. CBO/OMB<br>Forecast two negative quarters              |                                                                                          |       |
| 4. Byrd re Hill attitude on allied payments - Jap. & Ger. |                                                                                         |       |
| 5. SAM/ELAINE<br><br>SUSAN ENG. / PAT<br>SAIKI            | <br> |       |
| 6. ED POLICY - 2:00 to 2:20                               |                                                                                        |       |

# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Wednesday, January 16 -- P.M.

| SUBJECT                                           | JHS                                                                                | STAFF |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Support from the Jewish Community<br><br>TAB A |  |       |
| 2.                                                |                                                                                    |       |
| 3.                                                |                                                                                    |       |
| 4.                                                |                                                                                    |       |
| 5.                                                |                                                                                    |       |
| 6.                                                |                                                                                    |       |

## DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: Thursday, January 17, 1991

| SUBJECT                                                                                              | JHS               | STAFF             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Review Thursday,<br>Friday and Weekend<br>Schedules<br><br>TAB A                                  | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 2. Roger Ailes Memo<br><br>TAB B                                                                     | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 3. Letter from Jim<br>Kennan<br><br>TAB C                                                            | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 4. Support from the<br>Jewish Community<br><br>TAB D                                                 | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 5. Congressional<br>Meetings? (POTUS will<br>be attending private<br>church services<br>10:45-11:45) | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |
| 6. Mobil Announcement<br><br>TAB E                                                                   | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> | <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> |



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                    | Date    | Restriction     | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-----------------|--------|
| 16. Memo                 | From Roger Ailes to POTUS<br>Re: Anti-War Protesters (1 pp.) | 1/16/91 | <del>P</del> /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:** Daily Agenda  
 1/1/91 - 3/31/91 [1]

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

|                               |                |                             |           |
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| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 1998-0004-F[2] | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      | 2005-0426-S    | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |                | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |                | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |                | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |                | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

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

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

January 16, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER AILES

SUBJECT: ANTI-WAR PROTESTORS

**Question:** How do you feel about the anti-war protestors?

**Answer:** I understand that some people, the anti-war demonstrators and protestors, differ with me and the majority in Congress who believe that the use of force must now be called upon.

Demonstrators and protestors are one reason force must be used.

You see, in America, many have fought and died for your right to protest.

There are no protestors in Iraq - they would be executed.

To the demonstrators I would say, I respect your opinion, and as you march and call me names, and attack your government, just give a moment of thought to the men and women who came before you and gave their life for your right to demonstrate against our government.

Msg : @11M/MOB561  
912023311176

Line: 2A Hdr: 1

MCI

MOBILFFX HA  
YR ID ?  
PLS SELECT SERVICE 7SD

RCA TELEXTRA  
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GA MSGS ?  
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FR PC  
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1400 PENN AVE  
WASHINGTON D.C. (USA)  
BT

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON D.C.:

AS A SHOW OF SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN POLICY, AND A DEMONSTRATION OF OUR DETERMINATION TO DO OUR PART IN THE NATIONAL EFFORT DURING THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN AMERICAN HISTORY, PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT MOBIL IS TAKING THESE STEPS, EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY:

- WE ARE FREEZING THE PRICES WE CHARGE FOR PETROLEUM PRODUCTS IN THE U.S. AT PRE-HOSTILITY LEVELS UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.

- WE WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MAINTAIN CUSTOMERS' PURCHASES AT NO HIGHER THAN 100 PERCENT OF PRE-HOSTILITY LEVELS. THIS WILL REQUIRE OUR CUSTOMERS' COOPERATION, BUT SHOULD HELP TEMPER SPECULATIVE INCREASES IN BOTH CRUDE OIL DEMAND AND CRUDE OIL PRICES. IN EFFECT, WE ARE CALLING ON CUSTOMERS TO JOIN US IN A PLEDGE NOT TO PROFIT FROM UNCERTAINTIES THAT NOW EXIST IN WORLDWIDE OIL MARKETS.

BEYOND THE STEPS WE ARE TAKING AS A COMPANY, WE RESPECTFULLY URGE THE U.S. AND THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS TO COORDINATE THE SALE OF OIL FROM THEIR STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVES IN THE EVENT PRODUCTION IS AFFECTED. SUCH A JOINT EFFORT WOULD CURTAIL PANIC BUYING AND SPECULATION, AND HELP MAINTAIN A SUPPLY ADEQUATE TO MEET DEMAND.

WE PLEDGED TO SHOW RESTRAINT AT THE TIME IRAQ INVADED KUWAIT AND WE CAN DO NO LESS NOW.

ALLEN E. MURRAY, CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

\*\*\*\*\*  
RCVD 083779

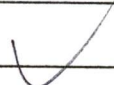
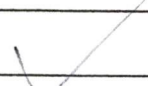
THANK YOU FOR USING MCI



# DISCUSSION ITEMS FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS

DATE: FRIDAY, January 18, 1991

| SUBJECT                                                                                 | JHS                                                                                | STAFF |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Review Friday, Weedend<br>Monday and Tuesday<br>Schedules<br><br>TAB A               |   |       |
| 2. Letter to the Pres.<br>from Cardinal Hickey<br><br>TAB B                             |   |       |
| 3. Memo from Boskin<br>re: Merchandise Trade<br>in November: Oil<br>Prices<br><br>TAB C |  |       |
| 4.                                                                                      |                                                                                    |       |
| 5.                                                                                      |                                                                                    |       |
| 6.                                                                                      |                                                                                    |       |

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701 BRICKELL AVENUE  
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131  
(305) 577-3100  
TELECOPIER: (305) 374-7159

January 17, 1991

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

Dear Governor Sununu:

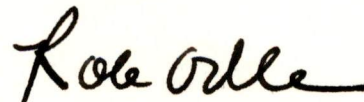
Cardinal Hickey asked me to get this over to you.

I think you will find the Cardinal far more supportive of what the President is doing in the Gulf than many of the American bishops and clergy, and I know that he is available to you if you need him for anything.

I am personally so very proud of President Bush and the United States in these opening days of a period that historians will eventually record as the beginning of a new world order.

Take good care of yourself.

Sincerely,



Robert C. Odle, Jr.

Enclosure