

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
1998-0004-F[2]

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

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

OA/ID Number:	29182
Folder ID Number:	29182-007

Folder Title:
The President (1991)

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	25	5	6

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	From POTUS to John Sununu Re: California Trip [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	9/11/91	PRM	
02. Memo	From POTUS to John Sununu Re: Morning meeting 9/17/91 (1 pp.)	9/17/91	P-5	
03. Memo	From POTUS to John Sununu Re: Report from Cathi Villalpondo [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	9/8/91	PRM	
04. Memo	From POTUS to Jim Baker Re: Nomination for Chief of Protocol [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	7/5/91	PRM	
05. Memo	From POTUS to John Sununu Re: Spanos and Courtelis to Greece (1 pp.)	6/18/91	P-5	
06. Memo	From POTUS to Brent Scowcroft Re: Meeting of European Community ministers (1 pp.)	6/25/91	(b)(1)	
07. Memo	From POTUS to Roger Porter Re: Article in Fly Rod & Reel [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	2/10/91	P-5 , (b)(6)	

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Sununu, John, Files
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: The President (1991)

Pinksheet Number: KO0817
OA/ID Number: 29182-007
Date Closed: 12/28/2004
FOIA/Sys Case #: 1998-0004-F[2]
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
08a. Memo	From POTUS to Brent Scowcroft Re: Meeting w/Baltic Americans (1 pp.)	1/19/91	P-5	
08b. Memo	From Sichan Siv to POTUS Re: Meetings w/Baltic American Representatives (1 pp.)	1/14/91	P-5	

Page 2 of 2

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:



September 11, 1991

John S:

cc: Kathy Super, Ron K.

Re: California Trip.

Recalling that I got hit a little for not meeting Team 100 people, I think I should spend some time with at least Bren and Kilroy.

Kilroy was here last night and said he and Bren are working the "Credit" problem very hard, have some suggestions etc. Perhaps we could get by with just meeting these two.

I suggest we set aside 30 minutes, call Bren, get him to get Kilroy etc.

Kilroy was very friendly, appreciative, and supportive.

Let's do it!!!

gb

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FROM THE PRESIDENT

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By JP (NLGB) on 4/21/03

Date Closed:	12/28/2004	OA/ID Number:	29182-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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 CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Brent:

AM meeting September 17, 1991

Phillipine Bases.. :Embassy backs away from stated policy".. Need to clearly state policy.

NYT ed strong for us Israel Guarantees- Abe strikes back on op-ed.

Letter from klein and Fisher??

J>S:

Glauber testimony on financial reform bill. (W>P> Busienss section)he says 'might drop the fight if congress keeps adding on. I hate to indicate we might just stoip.I talked to the 3 MC's Brady asked me to talk to. Encouraged them, thanked 'em.

status of Extended Benefits.???

FROM THE PRESIDENT

AC has the report 9-9-91

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

9-8-91

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

John S

I have now read the attached report from Cathi Villalpondo.

Please share it with Domestic Policy types, and Ron K.

She raises some specifics:

1. We have NOT implemented My Executive Order on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. Please have someone look into this right

2. She alleges that Democrats are 'getting credit' for obtaining the release of Cuban Political Prisoners from Jail. I have not heard of this, but if it is true we should be sure credit goes to Administration-where it belongs.

She has some Hispanic-American oriented campaign suggestions in here, too.

She sent all this in response to our meeting at Camp David.

gb

07/

THE WHITE HOUSE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: July 12, 1991

TO: ANDY CARD

FROM: GOVERNOR SUNUNU

PHONE: (202) 456-6797

COMMENTS: Andy - The President asked JHS for Carter
comments. Attached please find two stories

NUMBER OF PAGES, EXCLUDING COVER SHEET 2

**RUSH
DELIVERY!**

<ORIG> REUTER
<TOR> 910709164021

<TEXT>3

UU AAF

092042 A :BC-SAFRICA-SANCTIONS-CARTER

JIMMY CARTER CALLS FOR LIFTING OF SOUTH AFRICAN SANCTIONS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JULY 9, REUTER - IT IS TIME TO BEGIN LIFTING
ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA, FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT
JIMMY CARTER SAID ON TUESDAY.

"THE SANCTIONS COULD BE REMOVED ON A VERY CAREFUL BASIS,
THE FORMER PRESIDENT SAID AT A NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE CARTER
PRESIDENTIAL CENTRE.

"IT TAKES A LITTLE WHILE, ANYWAY, TO REMOVE SANCTIONS. YOU
HAVE TO HAVE LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS AND DEBATES. BUT I THINK THAT
WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER PRESIDENT DE KLERK
LATELY HAS BEEN A TRUE AND GENUINE AND, PERHAPS, IRREVERSIBLE
MOVE TOWARDS THE ULTIMATE ENDING OF APARTHEID."

CARTER NOTED THAT THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ISSUED A
SOMEWHAT AMBIGUOUS STATEMENT ON SANCTIONS ON SUNDAY DURING THE
ORGANISATION'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

"EVEN THE ANC, I NOTICE, IS NOW EQUIVOCAL ON THE SUBJECT.
AND I AM GUIDED TO A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE BY WHAT THE BLACK
LEADERS IN AFRICA, IN SOUTH AFRICA, ACTUALLY SAY OUGHT TO BE
DONE.

"SINCE THEY NOW BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME EASING
OF THE SANCTIONS -- AND THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I'VE EVER SAID
THAT -- I THINK NOW IS THE TIME TO START REMOVING THOSE
SANCTIONS."

REUTER JS BEH BN

NNNN

LEVEL 1 - 6 OF 16 STORIES

The Associated Press

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July 9, 1991, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 222 words

HEADLINE: Former President Says It's Time to Lift South Africa Sanctions

DATELINE: ATLANTA

KEYWORD: Carter-South Africa

BODY:

Former President Jimmy Carter said Tuesday he believes the time has come to lift economic sanctions against South Africa.

"I think so. The sanctions could be removed on a very careful basis," Carter told reporters at his Carter Presidential Center, where he announced a new council for resolving global conflicts.

When questioned about South Africa, Carter called the recent reforms of racial separation laws there a "true and genuine and perhaps irreversible" move toward ending apartheid.

"This is the first time I would have said this," he added.

Carter announced the appointment of 10 global leaders who will join him on the newly created International Negotiation Network Council. The council will help mediate crises around the world and supervise free elections where its help is requested.

Carter said the council will help set up and conduct free elections in West African nation of Liberia, where tens of thousands of people have been killed in the last 18 months in fighting between government loyalists and rebel forces. Those elections could take place in January.

Council members include former Costa Rica President Oscar Arias Sanchez and South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, both Nobel Peace Prize winners. Other council members include former Carter administration officials Andrew Young and Cyrus Vance.

LEVEL 1 - 10 OF 16 STORIES

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The Reuter Library Report

July 9, 1991, Tuesday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 180 words

HEADLINE: JIMMY CARTER CALLS FOR LIFTING OF SOUTH AFRICAN SANCTIONS

DATELINE: ATLANTA, Georgia, July 9

KEYWORD:
SAFRICA-SANCTIONS-CAR

BODY:

It is time to begin lifting economic sanctions on South Africa, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter said on Tuesday.

"The sanctions could be removed on a very careful basis, the former president said at a news conference at the Carter Presidential Centre.

"It takes a little while, anyway, to remove sanctions. You have to have legislative actions and debates. But I think that what has been done in South Africa under President De Klerk lately has been a true and genuine and, perhaps, irreversible move towards the ultimate ending of apartheid."

Carter noted that the African National Congress issued a somewhat ambiguous statement on sanctions on Sunday during the organisation's national conference.

"Even the ANC, I notice, is now equivocal on the subject. And I am guided to a substantial degree by what the black leaders in Africa, in South Africa, actually say ought to be done.

"Since they now believe that there should be some easing of the sanctions -- and this is the first time I've ever said that -- I think now is the time to start removing those sanctions."

REVEREND - 10-12-61
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The Thomas Library
July 9, 1991, Tuesday, 10:10

REVEREND - 10-12-61

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Washington, DC 20500

Support for Pretoria Sanctions Weak

6/30/179

By KEITH BRADSHER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 9 — Congress will probably not try hard to stop President Bush from lifting a wide range of trade and investment sanctions against South Africa, Administration and Congressional officials said today.

Several Democratic lawmakers were strongly critical of the President's move, which is expected to be formally announced on Wednesday, but the critics were skeptical that anything could be done to block it.

"They will be removed, and it will be tragic," said Representative William H. Gray 3d, the Pennsylvania Democrat who is the majority whip. "If you lift them too soon, you lock in apartheid."

The South African Government has been dismantling its legal system of racial separation, but discrimination, including denial of voting rights to the black majority, persists.

Conditions for Lifting Sanctions

The State Department has concluded that South Africa has met all five conditions specified in legislation for the removal of many sanctions, an Administration official said Monday

evening. These sanctions include a ban on many imports from South Africa; a ban on the sale of oil, computers, munitions and nuclear technology; and a provision that taxes paid by American companies in South Africa cannot be claimed as a deduction on taxes paid to the United States.

Federal sanctions that cannot be lifted without Congressional action, such as a 1983 law that bars United States support for loans by the International Monetary Fund to South Africa, would not be affected. Nor would there be any direct effect on state and local laws limiting government deals with companies and banks doing business in South Africa.

Representative Howard Wolpe, the Michigan Democrat who stepped down in January after 10 years as chairman of the House subcommittee on Africa, said it was premature to lift the sanctions while obstacles remained to the establishment of a multiracial democracy in South Africa. But he added, "As long as there is continued, demonstrable progress in South Africa toward the removal of the obstacles, I think Congress will adopt a wait-and-see attitude."

Mr. Wolpe said he had spoken to sev-

eral colleagues by telephone this morning and knew of no broad-based effort to organize a Congressional resolution or bill to extend the sanctions if President Bush takes action.

Many Republicans and some Democrats today supported the Administration's impending move. "I think now is the time to start removing those sanctions," former President Jimmy Carter said today at a news conference in Atlanta.

New American investment in South Africa has been banned since 1986, and a lifting of this ban is unlikely to prompt a sudden surge of American money. Many American cities and states now have their own restrictions on doing business with companies that operate in South Africa, and these restrictions would continue to temper corporate enthusiasm even after sanctions are lifted.

"The companies that used to be in South Africa, they're not considering going back in," said Alison L. Cooper, the senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center, a non-profit group in Washington. "The headaches they've had in recent years being there are still with them."

Resumption of Imports

But trade in gold coins, steel and minerals, which was banned by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, is more likely to resume, said Timothy H. Smith, the executive director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a non-profit, New York-based group of Christian churches.

Because many anti-apartheid campaigners disagree with the Administration on how much progress has been made in South Africa, any company that does invest in South Africa now "will clearly become a target of the U.S. anti-apartheid movement," said Richard V. Knight, a spokesman for the American Committee on Africa, a New York-based group.

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Room 308 OEOB
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Bush can lift sanctions, Hill concedes

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Congress appears unable to stop President Bush from lifting economic sanctions against South Africa and may be ready to assume a diminished role in charting U.S. policy in the post-apartheid era.

Key pro-sanctions lawmakers said yesterday they are powerless to block Mr. Bush, who is expected to lift the sanctions soon, possibly as early as today.

"I think the train has probably left the station," said Rep. Mervyn Dymally, California Democrat and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa. "We might be too late."

Sen. Paul Simon, Illinois Democrat, an advocate of sanctions, was equally gloomy. He said pro-sanctions lawmakers have been unable to come up with a strategy to challenge the White House.

"It's a much, much more difficult situation," he said.

Congress imposed economic sanctions in 1986 over President Reagan's veto, putting it in the position of establishing U.S. policy toward South Africa. But the law gave the president authority to lift sanctions once South Africa met five conditions designed to abolish apartheid's legal framework.

The conditions are: lifting the state of emergency, freeing African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; legalizing democratic political parties; repealing the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act, considered the legal pillars of apartheid; and starting unconditional and serious negotiations with "truly representative" black leaders.

"When these five categories have been taken care of, there's no choice for the president," Mr. Bush said at Andrews Air Force Base before departing for Toronto. "And if the categories are achieved, why, the sanctions will be lifted. No dispute, no debate, nothing."

Asked about South Africa's reforms, Mr. Bush said, "They've made great progress there."

In Canada, Mr. Bush found strenuous objections to lifting sanctions from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who charged that South Africa has not met requirements to end apartheid.

The Washington Times reported yesterday that the State Department now believes South Africa has met all the conditions.

The sanctions severed virtually all business and governmental dealings between the United States and South Africa. They also barred imports of minerals and agriculture products, U.S. loans to South Africa businesses, and U.S. exports of oil and munitions.

"The conditions that are set forth in the law are fairly clear-cut," said White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater. "And it says they shall be terminated if the five conditions are met. There isn't a lot of controversy over whether or not they have been met or not."

Until recently, the Bush administration has said the government of President Frederik de Klerk had met four of the five conditions. The sticking point was the number of political prisoners being held.

A State Department report given to Mr. Bush on Monday said all political prisoners have been released. The administration and the de Klerk government only count prisoners held for non-criminal acts of political protest — not those imprisoned for criminal acts carried out as an act of political protest.

The ANC has estimated 972 political prisoners remain jailed, and many congressional critics believe the issue is far from being resolved.

Pro-sanctions lawmakers and interest groups have argued that some of Mr. de Klerk's reforms — such as repealing the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act — are largely cosmetic.

The Population Registration Act required all South Africans to register their race at birth, thus determining their rights under the apartheid system. The Group Areas Act and related Lands Acts determined where blacks were allowed to live and relegated them to only 13 percent of the nation's land.

The pro-sanctions lawmakers contend underlying statutes passed after the repeals help keep some aspects of apartheid in place.

"Any conscientious reading of the conditions indicates that only two of the conditions have been met, and those only in the strictest technical sense," said Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, the nation's most influential pro-sanctions lobby.

"Mr. Bush's decision . . . is a demonstration of his blatant disregard for the black majority in South Africa," Mr. Robinson said.

But these arguments turn on complex legal interpretations of South African law and, so far, have had little influence.

"To continue sanctions would be totally counterproductive," said Rep. Dan Burton, Indiana Republican and ranking GOP member of the Africa subcommittee. "The de Klerk government has gone the extra mile to end the last vestiges of apartheid."

Mr. Simon, who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on African affairs, said lifting the sanctions could damage delicate negotiations over South Africa's future political structure.

"I think it's premature," Mr. Simon said. "We should at least hold off until substantial negotiations are underway."

Mr. Simon said he would support lifting sanctions after meetings begin in the fall between the ANC and the de Klerk government on creating a one-man, one-vote political system.

If sanctions are lifted completely, the only options left to Congress are drafting a new sanctions law or challenging the president in court. Only Sen. Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, has threatened court action, though he appears to be in the minority.

If the White House were to suspend or modify sanctions, Congress would have 30 days to overturn his decision, which would draw a veto. Two-thirds majorities in both chambers would be necessary to override the president.

Mr. Fitzwater said yesterday the administration is not contemplating a suspension or modification of sanctions.

Mr. Dymally said he opposed drafting a new sanctions law, which would assuredly draw a veto.

"I don't think that's a realistic possibility," he said. "Some people are battle-fatigued."

The administration received an unexpected boost yesterday from former President Jimmy Carter, who endorsed lifting sanctions.

"The sanctions could be removed on a very careful basis," Mr. Carter said at his Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta. Mr. Carter described the reforms as "true and genuine and perhaps irreversible."

"This is the first time I would have said this," Mr. Carter said.

S. Africa's isolation ending

Sports ban over; sanctions next

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

TORONTO — President Bush, citing progress toward the dismantling of apartheid, said he may soon lift economic sanctions against South Africa.

Bush said he would end the sanctions "very cheerfully" despite pleas from members of Congress and others to hold off.

"It's not a question of exercising a lot of judgment," said Bush. By law, he said, he must lift the sanctions when specific conditions are met.

Bush need only notify Congress he's ending the ban. To thwart him, Congress would have to pass new sanctions.

South Africa got another lift Tuesday when it was readmitted to the Olympics after a 21-year ban for its apartheid policies. South African athletes could compete in 1992.

The sanctions, designed to pressure South Africa to discontinue apartheid, were imposed by Congress in 1986 over the veto of President Reagan.

Reforms led by South African President F.W. de Klerk in the past two years have overturned many of the legal pillars supporting apartheid — the forced separation of the races.

But critics are unconvinced:

► NAACP leader Benjamin Hooks called lifting sanctions "criminally irresponsible."

► Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., said "the administration risks undermining the progress being made in South Africa."

► Anne Griffin of the anti-apartheid group TransAfrica called the move "overwhelmingly insensitive."

But former president Jimmy Carter said he believes the reform process is irreversible and sanctions can be removed "on a very careful basis."

Harry Schwarz, South Africa's ambassador to Washing-

ton, played down the impact of sanctions on ending apartheid. The major force behind the reforms, he said "has been the actions of the oppressed."

Although Bush indicated South Africa could get an economic lift, U.S. companies that abandoned investments there aren't anxious to go back, said Allison Cooper at the Investor Responsibility Research Center, which tracks corporate involvement in South Africa.

"These companies still have vivid memories of the headaches," said Cooper.

White House spokesman Marilyn Fitzwater said sanctions will remain on the sale of military equipment, strategic technology and nuclear material to South Africa.

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Room 608 OLGB
Washington, DC 20500



July 5, 1991

Personal to Secretary

To: Jim Baker

cc: Brent/ John

Re: Protocol

I talked to Weinmann today, asking him to serve, telling him "no foreign travel" and that I wanted him to continue JVR's policy of working with Ambassadors here etc.

He agreed to all that and I instructed him to wait for further word from State.

Action: Jim Please have someone follow up and let's announce this when we can.

cc: Chase

CRJ

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THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

June 18, 1991

To: John S, cc: Sig

Re: Spanos and Courtelis to Greece.

I'm rethinking. Spanos called and Sig was to call him back. How about having both of them climb on plane in London, fly to Greece with us. There except for attending big events they will be on their own unless Embassy would like to have them meet some Greek business men or something like that.

Both have been very supportive. They are good friends and they would appreciate it.

Please discuss with each other and let me know.

GB

GB /

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen



copy
I gave
orig to Brent

June 25, 1991

Brent:

I talked to Nick Brady this A>M>

I got update for him on EC Ministers meet. He's still worried about their making a deal we won't like on USSR.

I also went over my talk with Conable. Bottom line, he says: "We'll get it squared away!"

Please discuss "new force" to shield KURDS WT Murray story.

U>S>Curbs on China Firm delayed (Boston Globe) Please discuss. Do we need executive order. This might affect MFN fight.

gb

9

CC: John Sununu

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/11/91

NOTE FOR: Roger Porter

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is
forwarded to you for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc: Governor Sununu ✓

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(George Bush Library)

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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 (b)(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: 2 10 91

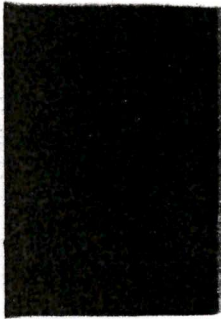
FROM THE PRESIDENT

To: Roger Porter
p

The attached attack on
Sununu is a nice way for this
guy to attack me.

I think we should egt a rebuttal, though
this mag has modest circulation at best
andf I know nothing of the writer.

GB



(b)(6)

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A Letter to the White House Chief of Staff

'Use it up, tear it out, let our children do without'

DEAR Mr. Sununu:

A sign on Harry Truman's desk put into writing a long-standing Presidential policy: "The buck stops here." But President Bush has decided to make a major change. In all issues that relate to the environment the buck now stops on your desk. Because this mid-term report on the First Fisherman's environmental performance will eventually find its way to you anyway, I thought I'd streamline the process. Next time you're dictating environmental policy to the President of the United States kindly pass along my thoughts. I still have hope for Mr. Bush. But not much.

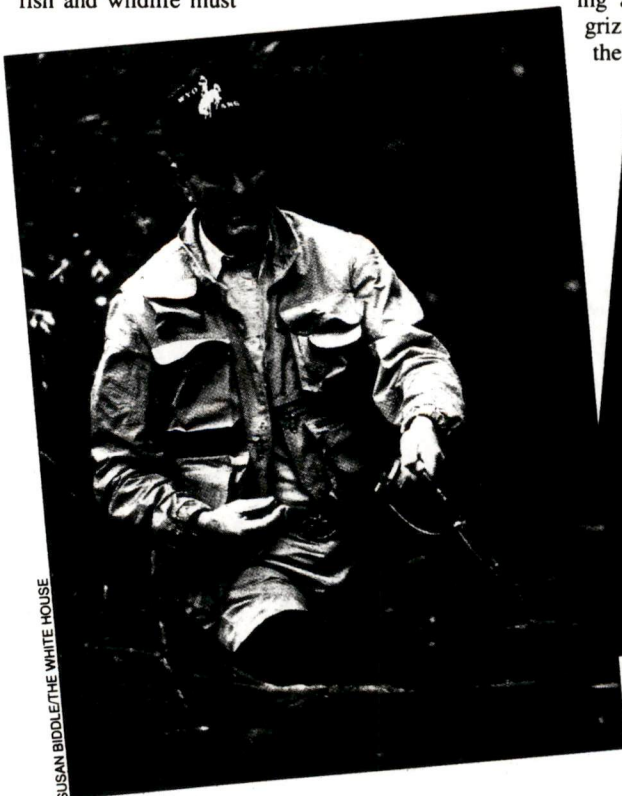
His unforgivable failing, Mr. Sununu, is you. A year ago we faulted him for appointing an anti-environmentalist to head his White House staff. But old appointments—good or bad—are no longer relevant. After two years it is inconceivable that you or any of the other despoilers in his Administration are working against his will. Americans who care about fish and wildlife must

not allow people like you to deflect criticism from the President or to act as his foil. It would be like trying to argue that Reagan would have been a decent commander-in-chief without Watt, Hodel, Gorsuch, Burford, Stockman, Dunkle, etc.

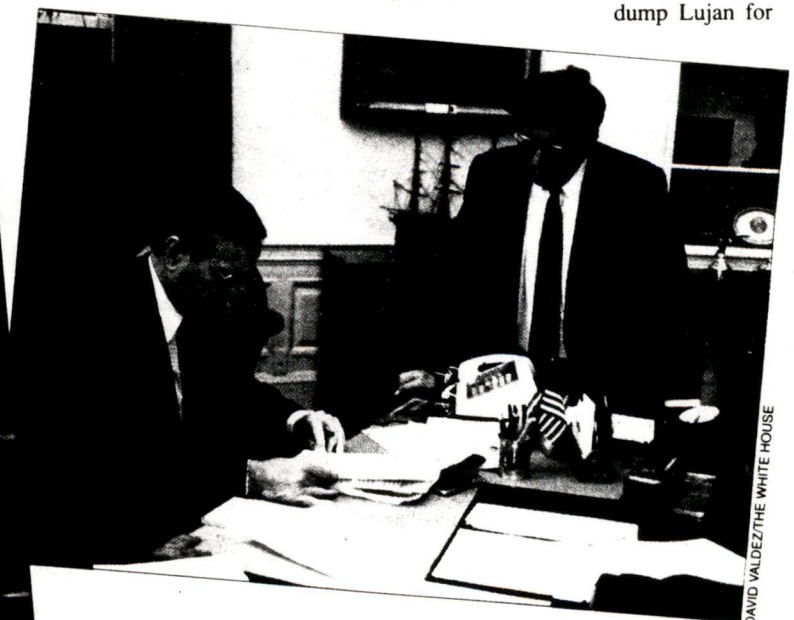
Equally specious is the argument that I hear—even from some of my colleagues in the fishing, hunting and conservation community—that Mr. Bush has a good environmental record when one compares it with that of his predecessor. That's like trying to justify a 49 on the biology final because it was higher than the goose egg received by pal Ronnie, who slept through the exam. During the campaign the Bush people went to call on a friend of mine, one of America's most respected environmentalists. They came for an endorsement, and when one wasn't forthcoming they asked what advice he'd give the candidate if he could have a minute alone with him. My friend said: "I'd tell him to go fishing a lot, because it makes a great picture." With that, candidate Bush went chasing after fish like an undenned grizzly on Pelican Creek—with the propitious results that you

saw everywhere, including the cover of our April '89 issue. The second piece of advice was: "Appoint an environmentalist at EPA." Mr. Bush went shopping at the World Wildlife Fund and emerged with its top man. This, as you quickly discovered, played very well with the greenies. Since then you have quietly bullied, belittled and undercut Bill Reilly at every opportunity. Despite your best efforts, last November our smart, tough EPA administrator was able to follow through on his pledge to veto the Two Forks Dam on the South Platte River, a boondoggle that would have watered Denver lawns at the expense of six towns and much of Cheesman Canyon, a wilderness area cherished by trout, hikers, campers and boaters.

My friend's final piece of advice was: "Find a conservationist to run Interior." For this environmental post—the most important in the land—your boss gave us Manuel Lujan. Frankly, I am so tired of writing about his incompetence and dereliction of duty that I'll just point out that, through him, the President is continuing the Reagan legacy of "Use it up, tear it out, let our children do without." As I write, the rumor on the Hill is that you and the President are planning to dump Lujan for



SUSAN BIDDLE/THE WHITE HOUSE



DAVID VALDEZ/THE WHITE HOUSE

A good man (left) who gets bad advice (right).

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a slicker anti-environmentalist who isn't a daily embarrassment. But when I checked with one of my contacts in the Administration I was told that this is unlikely. The reply, as telling as it was astonishing: "I don't think he can afford to do that. He's already fired his other Hispanic."

The President's promise of "no net loss of wetlands" sounded fine and dandy in the hook-and-bullet press. Hunters and fishermen are trusting souls, easily gulled. Most of them backed Mr. Bush enthusiastically, allowing him to give them a few colored beads (fishing poses and anti-gun-control mouthings, for example) with one hand and snatch their estate with the other. "I believe this should be our national goal: no net loss of wetlands. We can't afford to lose the half of America's wetlands that still remains," Mr. Bush told *Sports Afield* Magazine. Addressing Ducks Unlimited, he declared: "It's time to stand the history of wetlands destruction on its head: From this year forward, anyone who tries to drain the swamp is going to be up to his ears in alligators."

The only outdoor publication that voiced suspicion was *FR&R*. We scented "compromise." "That's impossible with no net loss," we wrote. "Either we hold fast to our few remaining wetlands or we don't . . . By the time this appears in print we'll know whether or not [he] kept [his] word."

Well, he didn't, Mr. Sununu. Since committing himself to no net loss—an utterance I'm told he now regrets as much as "no new taxes," the President has had you and Lujan working feverishly to hedge, backtrack and equivocate.

No sooner was Mr. Bush's no-net-loss promise out of his mouth than developers in Alaska—the one state that still retains most of its original wetlands—started squalling like barn cats. Senator Ted Stevens called the policy "the death knell for the future of Alaska." It could, said he, actually curtail oil and gas development in such areas as the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. "But in Alaska, wetlands are not endangered," pronounced an utterly serious Carl Portman, PR director for the Resource Development Council. That's really how they think up there. "More than 99.95 percent of all Alaska's wetlands are intact," argued *The Anchorage Times* in an editorial advocating precisely the sort of slap-dash, gouge-and-fill development that reduced intact wetlands in California's Central Valley by 95 percent.

Immediately, you amended the President's wetlands policy. Replication requirements, no great hardship even in Alaska, were to be waived in areas "where there is a high proportion of land which is wetlands." In other words, where we haven't already squandered fish and wildlife habitat, it's OK to squander it. And apparently there will be exemptions to wetlands restoration when there are "insignificant environmental losses." Who decides what's "insignificant?" John Sununu, perhaps? To you there's no other kind of environmental loss.

THE Administration's approach to energy use is indistinguishable from its approach to wetlands conservation—i.e., diet except when hungry. When you read this, Mr. Sununu, we may already be at war with a nation that threatens to disrupt the market at which we buy our oil. While this war may well be justified, there is no use pretending that it is other than an oil war. I find it appalling that we are willing to commit the lives of our young men to this sort of conflict and not commit ourselves even to a debate about reforming our profligate, polluting energy habits.

The President deserves credit for canceling offshore oil leases in California and Florida (although he did so at request of Republican gubernatorial candidates in those states—to make their party seem more appealing). But then, instead of exploring our countless options for energy conservation, he seized on the Gulf crisis as an excuse for opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to oil and gas development. Even if the wells come in, we'll swill down all production in a matter of weeks. You can't seriously think that this is an answer. And, in fact, you don't; you're being cynical and dishonest.

"Bush knows he should have blocked offshore drilling entirely," says one of his Republican friends. "It's what he started out wanting to do. Then all of his oil buddies from Texas start calling, and then Sununu weighs in, and by the time it comes out the other end, it doesn't please anybody." An environmental President can't blow in the wind, Mr. Sununu, he has to be the wind.

ANWR is far smaller and more sensitive than the oil fields at Prudhoe Bay. It is not possible to develop oil and gas here in "ways that will be compatible with fish and wildlife needs," as your people love to say. There just isn't room. Yet the White House wants to take the 400-square-mile footprint of the Prudhoe Bay complex (roads, pads, pipelines, gas-collecting facilities, oil-collecting facilities, support industries, oilfield-service industries, hotel complexes) and stomp on ANWR with it. Such creatures as polar bears, snow geese, caribou, resident and anadromous fish will not "adjust," as your people also love to say. They will cease to exist.

It's curious that fishermen aren't complaining more about your plans for ANWR. They should be. The oil companies want to run 400-foot-wide, six-mile-long, gravel-filled causeways out to their production sites in the Beaufort Sea. Already, they're doing this at Prudhoe Bay. The whole marine ecosystem on the North Slope is wind-driven. Resident and anadromous fish depend on the wind-generated currents to get them to feeding and spawning areas. But the causeways disrupt these currents, and they alter salinity and temperature by preventing mixing of currents. The National Wildlife Federation has collected data which establish that such causeways devastate fish habitat. But this is news that you, the President and Big Oil don't want to hear.

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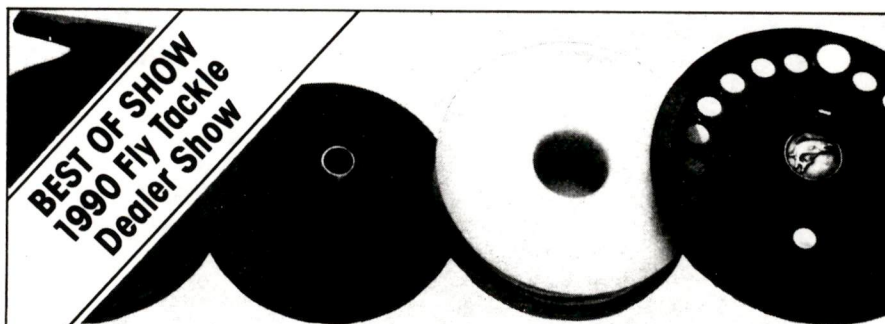
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The bitterest pill for American fishermen is (or at least ought to be) the Administration's push to turn over Bristol Bay to Big Oil. Mr. Sununu, I have been fortunate enough to have fished in the Bristol Bay watershed on four separate occasions, and I can testify that as a producer of wild trout, charr, grayling and salmon the place is unsurpassed on the planet. Forget aesthetics; from just a cold, economic perspective it's insane to risk this magnificent, renewable resource so that we can keep wasting energy for another month or season. During his campaign Mr. Bush promised to avoid oil exploration "in those environmentally sensitive areas where the risk of damage is too great." If ANWR and Bristol Bay don't qualify, what does?

President Bush deserves credit for introducing clean-air legislation and for signing a stronger bill than he introduced. Although the Administration fought environmentalists at each step of the way as we tried to strengthen provisions and although the legislation will not, as the President promised, guarantee clean air for every American, it's a big victory.

But your boss blew his chance to be a global leader on global warming. He refused to allow the United States to participate seriously in a world conference on the phenomenon, and he lobbied against the fuel-economy bill (which would have increased mileage requirements for motor vehicles, the number-one guzzler of petroleum and a major source of greenhouse gases). Pushing such legislation would have been the single most important thing he could have done to fight global warming and conserve energy. But Detroit got to him. "People who say we can't deal with the Greenhouse Effect have forgotten about the White House Effect," Mr. Bush stated a while back. Now, as they say on the Hill, he's giving us the "Whitewash Effect."

STILL, some good things have been happening. An oil-spill liability bill was enacted even though the Administration had to be dragged kicking and screaming through the entire process. And the Tongass (National Forest) Timber Reform Act, only three weeks old as I write, is finally a reality after a decade of debate. The measure was necessary because for years the Forest Service had mismanaged this old-growth temperate rain forest, ignoring fish, wildlife and subsistence users and liquidating all resources just to keep two giant pulp mills, one Japanese, in the chips (which in this case were ground from ancient trees that at least should have been used for saw timber). Deer, bear, eagle and salmonid habitat was sacrificed so that public timber could literally be given away (taxpayers lost about 75 cents on the dollar in Tongass timber sales).

The Tongass bill excludes loggers from 722,482 acres and establishes four new wilderness areas totaling 296,080 acres. Further, it repeals the automatic \$40-million annual appropriation to facilitate timber extraction, replaces the automatic allocation to industry

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of 4.5 billion board feet of timber per decade with a provision to "seek to meet" market demand consistent with multiple use and sustained yield, and sets up 100-foot buffer strips along salmon streams and their direct tributaries. While fishermen should be grateful to Mr. Bush for signing the bill, they should also remember that he had you and the rest of his people fight it to the last bellow of Paul Bunyan's gored ox.

I said old appointments weren't relevant, not new ones. The President's recent choice of John Beuter to preside over the Forest Service as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Natural Resources and Environment is abominable. How could a fisherman get talked into such a thing? Beuter is the professional clearcutting apologist who in the 1970s authored the infamous *Beuter Report*, which urged the timber industry—too greedy to practice sustained-yield harvest on its own land—to abandon sustained-yield harvest on public land. Anyone who used to fish for wild trout and salmon in the Pacific Northwest knows how much this advice appealed to the industry and to its wholly-owned subsidiary, the US Forest Service.

After the spotted-owl controversy—which, more than anything else, turned the American public against cut-out-and-get-out timber mining—the Forest Service appeared committed to undertaking serious owl management. But you, Mr. Sununu, stepped in and stopped the whole process.

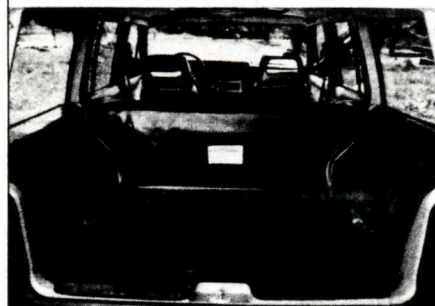
And because the owl now is listed as threatened, the Fish and Wildlife Service is legally bound to write a recovery plan. Such plans have always been written by professional staff biologists. But not in this case. Manuel Lujan has turned the job over to a committee of economists and policy analysts in his office, all of whom are political appointees. The Fish and Wildlife Service is outraged. And—since the plan will be make-believe—environmentalists, wildlife biologists and, we hope, trout and salmon fishermen will be outraged when they read it.

Mr. Sununu, when your boss said he was going to be an environmental President we gave him the benefit of the doubt. And there was plenty of doubt. You and Mr. Bush would have us believe that, as he stepped out on the campaign trail, he metamorphosed in the span of literally minutes from promoter of strip-mining, pesticide deregulation and exploitation of endangered species to champion of wise use and biological diversity.

One doesn't just "become" an environmentalist like one becomes a Thursday-night-league bowler. The condition of being an environmentalist is a philosophy, a way of life—something you ease into over a long period. Rachel Carson, for instance, didn't wake up one morning, gaze at the sea and say, "By golly, that's wondrous. No more biocidal cluster bombing for me." Perhaps Mr. Bush will indeed become an environmental President. I pray that he may. But for those of us who value fish and wildlife, waiting is getting mighty expensive. □

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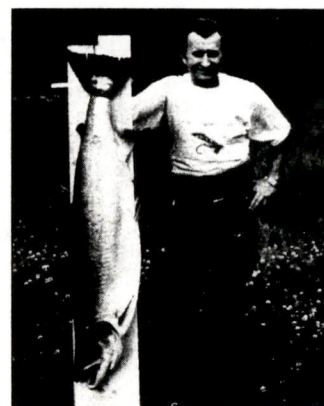
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08a. Memo	From POTUS to Brent Scowcroft Re: Meeting w/Baltic Americans (1 pp.)	1/19/91	D5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff to the President, Office of the
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: White House Offices File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: The President (1991)

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

Date Closed:	12/28/2004	OA/ID Number:	29182-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE.
WASHINGTON

DATE:

1-19-91

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Brent/ J.S.
cc Kathy Super

AT some time we may want to have
the Baltic Americans back in for
a briefing, then short meet with me.
Please discuss between yourselves and
let me know.

ALso let's think about having Arab-
Americans back in. I hate to feel many
will be discriminated against here
in USA just because they are Arab
Americans.

GB

GB/

see attached memo
on Jan 14th meeting
of Balt's here at W. H.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08b. Memo	From Sichan Siv to POTUS Re: Meetings w/Baltic American Representatives (1 pp.)	1/14/91	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff to the President, Office of the
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: White House Offices File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: The President (1991)

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(Document Follows)
By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

91 JAN 15 AM 9:51

January 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *AD*
FROM: SICHAN SIV *Sichan*
SUBJECT: MEETINGS WITH BALTIC AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES

In two separate meetings this afternoon, 13 representatives of the Baltic American community raised their concerns about the lack of immediate and concrete action taken by the Administration in response to Soviet military crackdowns in Lithuania which caused 13 civilian deaths over the weekend. They said that U.S. policy is tagged more to President Gorbachev than the Soviet Union itself and expressed dismay that the Administration still hesitates to publicly recognize the independence of Lithuania. They think that the Administration should go beyond its initial position, although they welcomed your statement yesterday. //

In addition to their earlier recommendations that the February summit be postponed and the U.S. economic aid/food credit be suspended, they suggested that you consider taking the following steps:

1. You telephone President Landsbergis to express condolences regarding the Soviet military action and related deaths of 13 Lithuanians.
2. The State Department to selectively cancel U.S. visas for Soviet government delegations.
3. The U.S. to provide immediate and direct medical and food related aid to Lithuania.

The representatives feel that these actions would provide a strong and clear message to the entire world that the U.S. condemns the recent events in Lithuania.

Angela Nelsas, one of the Baltic American leaders who met with you on April 11, 1990 said you should call in Soviet Amb. Bessmertnykh to give him a strong message as mentioned in the attached latter.

Attachment



BALTIC AMERICAN FREEDOM LEAGUE, INC.

P.O. Box 29657 • Los Angeles, California 90029

Telephone (213) 666-1820

14 January 1991

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

Dear Mr. President:

Baltic American Freedom League urges you to strenuously object to the USSR's decision to the Baltic states. At this time, when the world's attention is riveted on the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, are we to again see a repeat of Hungary in 1956?

During our April 11, 1990 meeting you stated that your heart is with the aspirations of the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania but that you did not want to impede the democratization process within the USSR. Surely at this time, democracy, not only for the Soviet Union but for the Baltic states, can be at best supported by an unequivocal statement that military provocation of peaceful people and 18th century press gang tactics are unacceptable, no matter where they are carried out.

This is a statement that needs to be made, not by Ambassador Matlock or Secretary Baker, but by you presenting a written statement to that effect to Ambassador Bessmertnykh for delivery to President Gorbachev followed by your personal communication with President Gorbachev to that effect.

To give meaning to the statement, the Administration must be prepared to end US aid to the Soviet Union, including food credits and should publically so state.

Mr. President, after a 73 year hiatus, the Russian Revolution has an opportunity to finally to reach the democratic culmination that the people of Russia and the Russian empire sought. The United States should not repeat the mistakes of 1917-1921 by supporting the forces of imperialism, whether they wrap themselves in the mantle of the Tsar or perestroika. The substance of the matter is democracy and the attendant right of the people of the Baltic states to determine how and by whom they shall be governed.

Very truly yours,

Angela Nelsas, President
BALTIC AMERICAN FREEDOM LEAGUE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



DATE: 9-4-90

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To: John S/ Brent

Re: George W. Bush and his trip on the
QE 2 as YPO Faculty Member

Attached is the darndest smorgasborg
you have ever seen. The faculty of htis
YPO University will be at war before
the QE 2 leaves port.



FYI.

GB



YOUNG PRESIDENTS' ORGANIZATION
QE2 International University for Presidents
 Partial List of Confirmed Faculty Members

In addition to Mr. George W. Bush, the QEI University Faculty includes:

Geopolitical:

President and Mrs. F.W. de Klerk, King Simeon and the Queen of Bulgaria, Daniel Ortega, Shimon Peres, Harvard professor and PLO expert Walid Khalidi, CIA Director William Webster, Jesse Jackson, recent U.S. Ambassador to Hungary Mark Palmer, U.S. Arms Control Director Ronald Lehman, Pakistani Ambassador to the EEC Munir Akram, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Carl Trost, Vice Chairman of the USSR Council of Cooperatives Artem Tarazov and Time foreign affairs correspondent David Aikman.

Communications:

Ted Koppel, The Economist Publisher Rupert Pennant-Rae, Norman Ornstein (American Enterprise Institute), Soviet Journalist Vladimir Pozaner, Klaus Krone (Berlin communications equipment), Los Angeles psychologist and talk show host Barbara DeAngelis and British communications consultant Clemency Bridle. We also expect an acceptance from Roone Arledge of ABC.

Business:

Maurice "Hank" Greenberg (Chairman of American International Group), Daniel Goeudevert (CEO of Volkswagen), Reuben Mark (Chairman of Colgate-Palmolive), Peter Ueberroth, Richard Fisher (former U.S. Under Secretary of the Treasury), Professor Derek Abell (Dean of IMEDE), David Feldman (partner of Habsburg, Feldman), medium-sized company expert Donald Clifford, quality experts Stew Leonard and Stew Leonard, Jr., family business consultant John Ward, business theorist Ichak Adizes and futurist Klaus Kernig. We also expect a positive response from Sir James Goldsmith, Nigel Lawson and Minoru "Ben" Makiyara (CEO of Mitsubishi International).

Environment:

Ludger Volmer (Green Party member of German Parliament), Norman Myers, Suzanne Massie (author of Land of the Firebird), Faye Wattleton (President of Planned Parenthood), Dr. Mary Guinan (Center for Disease Control and former Astronaut), Anil Agarwal (head of the Center for Science and the Environment in India) and Prof. Jagdish Sheth of USC.

Personal Development, Health and On-Shore Background:

Peter Burwash, Tony Buzan, Deepak Chopra, Ken Cooper, Conni Gordon, George Saint-Laurent and Angel Tordesillas.

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Patti Person