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**Series:** Sununu, John, Files  
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	From POTUS to John Sununu Re: Candidate for Communications Job (1 pp.)	1/3/90	<del>P2, P5</del>	

**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  
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(D. Smith) (1991)

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

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### RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE:

1-3-90

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

John Sununu

Re: Communiocations Job.

Please discuss with me  
Dorrance Smith, producer  
of Koppel Show and former  
producer of Brinkley show.

He is long time Republican,  
worked in Ford White house, Has done  
very well AT ABC, has headed  
press advance...  
is very good.

He would do it, I believe.

gb .

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
November 13, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT: Pearl Harbor

Here is a rundown of the network coverage of the President's trip to Pearl Harbor.

cc: Sig Rogich  
Barry Tron

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E N T

07-Nov-1991 02:29pm

TO:            Andrew H. Card Jr.  
TO:            Katherine L. Super

FROM:          J. Dorrance Smith  
                Office of Media Affairs

SUBJECT:      PEARL HARBOR

ANDY AND KATHY,

I HAVE TOLD CBS AND ABC THAT WE ARE A GO FOR THE INTERVIEWS ON DECEMBER 7TH.

THEY WILL TAKE PLACE ON THE USS MISSOURI FOLLOWING HIS REMARKS TO THE WORLD WAR II VETERANS.

THE INTERVIEW WITH CBS WILL BE FOR THEIR PRIME TIME DOCUMENTARY AND WILL FOCUS ON THE PRESIDENT'S FEELINGS THEN--1941 AND NOW. THE PRESIDENT WILL BE INTERVIEWED BY CHARLES KURALT AND GENERAL NORMAN SWARTZKOPF FOR APPROXIMATELY 15 MINUTES. THEY WILL BE IN A STUDIO IN NEW YORK.

THE INTERVIEW WITH ABC WILL BE LIVE DURING THE HALFTIME OF THE ARMY-NAVY GAME IN PHILADELPHIA. THAT SHOULD OCCUR AT APPROXIMATELY 9:45 LOCAL OR 2:45 EASTERN TIME. IN ADDITION TO AIRING ON THE FULL NETWORK THE INTERVIEW WILL BE ON THE BIG SCREEN IN VETERANS STADIUM. THE INTERVIEW SHOULD RUN NO LONGER THAN 5 MINUTES. THE INTERVIEWER WILL PROBABLY BE KEITH JACKSON.

ADDITIONALLY THE THREE NETWORKS PLAN TO CARRY **LIVE** THE EVENTS THAT TAKE PLACE ON THE ARIZONA MEMORIAL. I THINK WE SHOULD MAKE SURE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ARE FIT FOR THIS LIVE NATIONAL COVERAGE. THE NETWORKS WILL PROBABLY **NOT** COVER THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO THE WWII VETERANS DUE TO CONFLICTS WITH SPORTING EVENTS.

I NEED SOME GUIDANCE AS TO HOW I SHOULD PROCEED FROM HERE??

**The Reagan  
Administration:**

**PROMISES  
MADE  
PROMISES  
KEPT**



**1981  
1989**

**The  
White House  
Office of  
Public Affairs  
December,  
1988**

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## Introduction

To a few here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion, and yet in the history of our nation it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place, as it has for almost two centuries, and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every-four-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

[T]his Administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans, with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning," and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America, at peace with itself and the world.

-- Inaugural address  
January 20, 1981

January 20, 1981 was an unusually warm day in Washington. In fact, the crowd that thronged to the west front of the United States Capitol was blessed with balmy temperatures and clear skies as they watched Ronald Wilson Reagan take the oath of office as the 40th President of the United States of America.

Would the fair weather at the very start of the Reagan Administration turn out to be a harbinger of good things to come? Or was it merely the lull before the storm?

That answer was impossible to know in the first weeks of 1981. Indeed, the new President spoke of a "crisis" in America and "an economic affliction of great proportions."

Of course, only history will judge the legacy of the Reagan years. At the ground-breaking ceremony for the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in the final months of his Administration, President Reagan noted that only time and study "will allow scholars of the future to cast their own judgment on these years, and I would not presume to predict the result of their

researches. But I have to believe that scholars of good will, upon examining the historical record that will be contained herein, will judge our efforts well. But as for us, at present we can only say this: We have done our best, and we pray it has been enough."

What is the record that history will judge? What was the best work of his Administration?

This document, written in the final weeks of the Reagan Administration, provides part of the answer. It touches upon each of the Reagan Administration's major areas of endeavor -- the economy, domestic issues, Government management and foreign policy. In this format, of course, it is by no means exhaustive. The public papers of Ronald Reagan's first year in office run 1,321 pages. Rather, this is an effort to provide an overview of the Reagan Administration's achievements over its eight years.

Ronald Reagan has been credited with starting a revolution, a "Reagan Revolution." By whatever name, it is clear that the Reagan Administration had a sweeping effect on the United States.

This is exactly what Ronald Reagan promised in 1981 when he raised his right hand, took the oath of office and delivered his first Inaugural address. Throughout this narrative, each section of the Reagan record is introduced with a passage from his first speech to the nation as President. Promises were made in that speech, and those promises were kept.

The impact of the President's promises and policies are explored in the following pages, but another impact of the Reagan Administration is worth noting at the very outset. The Reagan years fundamentally altered the terms of debate on public policy in the United States.

Respect for private enterprise, belief in traditional values and confidence in America's special role in the world were seen as passe by many of the nation's leaders before the Reagan years. "Conservative" was considered a negative word by many, sometimes treated more as a matter of pathology than as a matter of philosophy. Across eight years, these things changed.

By the end of the 1988 campaign, in both politics and policy, liberalism -- the "L word" as the President called it -- was no longer unchallenged. By that time, the philosophy of the Reagan Revolution was firmly established. And the ideas and policies of the Reagan Administration promised to lead the way in the next steps forward.

The Reagan Administration started on a warm day in the dead of winter. It began with hope and the great promise of a "new beginning" to restore and enhance America. It ended with a clear record of keeping that promise.

Fair weather at the start was followed by progress through the storms and challenges of the ensuing eight years. And during his last campaign swing as President, aides traveling with Ronald Reagan noticed an interesting phenomenon.

Foul autumn weather hit several of the locations of President Reagan's final campaign appearances. Yet, time and again, when Air Force One arrived, the clouds dried and the sky cleared just long enough for Ronald Reagan's visit. His aides began calling it "Reagan weather."

Neither his greatest admirers nor his harshest detractors claimed Ronald Reagan controlled the weather during his Administration. But perhaps the "Reagan weather" at the start and close of his Administration is an effective symbol of his Administration's record and accomplishments.

## The Economy

These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, human misery and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

-- Inaugural address  
January 20, 1981

After reciting the economic maladies that plagued the United States on the day he took the oath of office, President Reagan's optimistic prediction that those ills could be cured offered hope to millions throughout America. President Reagan's confidence in the American people's ability to make the nation's economy perform, compete and grow was a welcome change.

Before President Reagan entered the White House, some predicted that the economy had disintegrated into a permanent mire of stagnation and inflation -- "stagflation" as it was termed. Others simply predicted that America would just have to make do with less while adjusting to an inevitable decline.

Ronald Reagan did not share that gloomy assessment of the future. Yet the situation in 1980 was grave. President Reagan inherited an economy twisted in the turmoil of high taxes, high unemployment, high inflation, high interest rates and low prospects for improvement. To put this nation's economic house in order, the President pursued an economic policy designed to unleash the talents of the American people from Government hindrance.

Specifically, the goal of President Reagan's economic policy was to strengthen the free market while providing a supportive climate for private initiative and individual enterprise, free from excessive Government tax and regulatory burdens.

To some, the President's plan was so distinctive they came up with a new name for it: "Reaganomics." In reality, the President's plan for the nation's renewal was simple: Get the Government off the backs of the people, out of their pockets and out of their way. To do this, President Reagan cut taxes, reduced the rate of growth in Government spending, eliminated unnecessary regulation and tamed inflation.

The hallmark of Reaganomics was the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. Fulfilling his campaign pledge to reduce the burden on American taxpayers, President Reagan won Congressional approval of an across-the-board cut in marginal tax rates. All income groups benefited from the same percentage reductions. In addition, this landmark legislation provided for indexing tax brackets to the rate of inflation, thus eliminating "bracket creep," which allowed an increase in income, such as a cost-of-living increase in wages, to push a taxpayer into a higher tax bracket.

Through 1987, the President's tax cuts of 1981 saved the median-income two-earner American family of four about \$9,000 in taxes from what it would have paid under the 1980 tax laws, given the actual rates of inflation.

Although President Reagan's initial assault on taxes was successful as early as the first year of his first term, his campaign to destroy the old "tax-and-spend" mentality in Congress continued throughout his eight years in office.

The Tax Reform Act of 1986 gave the United States the lowest Federal individual and corporate income tax rates of any major industrialized nation in the world and one of the world's fairest, most economically favorable tax systems. Thanks to tax reform, an estimated four million lower-income households were relieved of their Federal income tax burden entirely.

The top personal tax rate dropped from 70 percent in 1981 to between 28 and 33 percent in 1988, the lowest rate since 1931. By the close of the Reagan Administration about 80 percent of all Americans paid either a flat 15 percent rate or owed no Federal income tax at all. The top corporate tax rate was down to 34 percent in 1988, the lowest since 1941.

While the President's tax policies stoked an unprecedented economic recovery, some critics of the Reagan Administration insisted that those tax policies were responsible for the much increased Federal deficit. In fact, a closer view of the Reagan years paints a very different picture. Those who believe that the cuts in tax rates were responsible for the deficit should look at the record of Federal receipts and expenditures.

In 1987, tax receipts consumed a higher proportion of GNP than they did 20 years before, but spending increased at a far

faster rate, piling up the deficit. As President Reagan long declared, deficit growth is caused by too much spending, not too little taxing.

Since 1981, total annual revenue paid to the Federal Government increased by \$375 billion. But total annual expenditures increased by \$450 billion. That increase in revenue was more than adequate to pay for necessary increases in defense spending -- \$140 billion -- but Congress refused to reform domestic spending. It is true that Congress cut back the President's defense budget, but not to spare the deficit. In fact, for every dollar cut from the Administration's defense requests, Congress added more than two dollars to nondefense spending.

President Reagan fought to reduce this increased domestic spending. During the four years of the previous Administration, Federal spending grew out of control. Between 1977 and 1981, Federal outlays, in current dollars, grew at an average annual rate of 13.5 percent, and growth was accelerating. By 1981, outlays were up 15 percent from the year before. During the Reagan Administration, growth in spending was brought down significantly, from 10 percent in 1982 to just over 1 percent in 1987. After adjusting for inflation, Federal spending actually fell in 1987, for the first time since 1973.

The President pushed ahead with deficit reduction by working with Congress within the requirements of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act deficit reduction plan.

President Reagan insisted that the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law be followed and its deficit targets met. In fiscal year 1987, the deficit fell by \$71 billion. And, in November 1987, the President and bipartisan Congressional leaders agreed on a deficit reduction plan for fiscal years 1988 and 1989. The agreement met the revised Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets, provided for necessary services for the American people and maintained our national security -- in a way that did not overburden the taxpayer or damage the economy.

As the President noted in his first Inaugural address, the heavy hand of Government can be felt in more ways than taxation. Excessive Government control and unnecessary regulation can also stifle private initiative and progress. Just as he moved against overly burdensome taxation, President Reagan fought against unnecessary Government regulation.

The increasing burden of Federal regulation in the 1970's added about \$1,800 a year to the cost of goods and services bought by the typical American family. Conversely, the President's success in accelerating deregulation will result in dollar savings exceeding \$150 billion by the end of the decade, or over \$2,300 for every family in the country.

In fact, under the Reagan Administration, paperwork imposed by the Federal Government on individuals, businesses and other levels of Government was cut by 600 million staff hours a year. That is the equivalent of working every man, woman and child in a city the size of Galveston, Texas, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year.

As Reaganomics helped the economy, the economy helped itself. The Reagan years saw American competitiveness rise sharply. There was significant improvement in manufacturing productivity, up at an average annual rate of more than 4.2 percent from 1982 to 1987, more than one and one-half times the average of the post-war period.

Not surprisingly, economic progress led to concrete results for American workers. In September 1988, American merchandise exports hit a record \$28.2 billion. From the third quarter of 1986, when the real trade deficit for goods and services peaked, to the third quarter of 1988, the deficit fell by 37 percent, or nearly \$57 billion. Real exports of goods and services were at a record high of \$510.7 billion in the third quarter of 1988.

Some of the success stemmed from the Administration's demand for free but fair trade, along with its vigorous efforts to strengthen international economic policy coordination as a means of reducing trade imbalances and stabilizing currency exchange rates.

Because economic opportunities follow from trade expansion, President Reagan sought to eliminate trade barriers wherever possible. In 1985, the United States entered into an agreement with Israel, establishing the first free trade area between the United States and another country.

In 1986, the Administration played a leading role in launching the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations which promise new opportunities for United States exporters, particularly in agriculture, services, intellectual property, investment and market access. Trade relations with Mexico were also substantially improved with a 1987 framework accord. And in 1988, the United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement was signed, providing for the world's largest open market. Annual U.S. exports to Canada should increase by \$2.4 billion. American households will save between \$1 billion and \$3.5 billion per year in lower prices and greater choice for consumers.

The Reagan Administration was the first to investigate unfair trade cases on its own initiative. Most cases were successfully resolved without the need for retaliation. The President retaliated when necessary, however, to make it clear that unfair restrictions on U.S. imports would be dealt with forcefully. Active Presidential exercise of laws against unfair

trade led to a record number of market-opening settlements, moving the world closer to free and fair trade.

With his successful economic policies, President Reagan kept his Inaugural address promise to promote a "healthy, vigorous, growing economy." But what did that fulfilled promise mean for Americans? Quite simply, it meant one of the most remarkable economic expansions the world has ever known -- a "Reagan Recovery" that shattered records and touched people coast-to-coast, across the entire economic spectrum.

Although the policies that fired the Reagan Recovery started from day one of his Administration with his immediate, temporary freeze on Federal Government hiring, it took longer to enjoy the results. Like a great ship that has veered seriously off course, it took the economy some time to respond to Ronald Reagan's direction at the helm. But as the economy prospered, poverty declined. There had been a troubling growth in poverty after 1979, and in 1980 alone, the poverty rate grew by 1.3 percentage points, the largest recorded one-year increase. Between 1983 and 1987, however, economic growth made it possible for nearly three million people to climb out of poverty.

By November 1982, there was evidence that the Reagan economic policies had taken hold, and by November 1988, when the American people picked George Bush to succeed Ronald Reagan, the nation was enjoying the longest peacetime economic expansion in history -- six full years and still going strong. The real gross national product (the value, after inflation, of all goods and services produced in the United States) had risen 27 percent during this period of expansion.

In January 1981, when Ronald Reagan took the oath of office, the prime rate was a record 21.5 percent. By the time he approached the end of his term it was less than half of that -- 10.5 percent.

The crippling, double-digit inflation rates of 1979 and 1980 were slashed as well. The 1.9 percent increase in consumer prices in 1986 was the smallest annual increase in more than 20 years. The average annual increase in consumer prices from 1982 through 1987 was a moderate 3.3 percent.

From the beginning of the Reagan expansion in November 1982, approximately 19 million new jobs were created. The percentage of working-age Americans employed reached a record level. The civilian unemployment rate declined more than 5 percentage points after November 1982 and reached the lowest level in 14 years.

All demographic groups shared the benefits of the "Great American Job Machine." By November 1988, employment of blacks rose 29 percent from November 1982, nearly twice the job gain

rate of whites. The unemployment rate of black youth declined dramatically. In addition, the share of black families in the highest income bracket (\$50,000 and over) increased by nearly 86 percent during the expansion.

Over half of the new jobs created went to women. A higher share of the Hispanic population found employment than at any time since such record keeping began in 1973.

More than 90 percent of the jobs created during the Reagan expansion were full-time jobs. Over 85 percent of the increase in full-time employment was in occupations with annual salaries of \$20,000 or more in 1987 dollars. In addition, the percentage of high-paying jobs in the economy increased.

The median income of families increased in real terms in each of the five years through 1987. The 1987 level of \$30,853 represented real growth of 11.8 percent since 1982. And in 1987 per capita income after inflation (\$12,287) was up 16.2 percent over 1982.

Americans were also better able to realize the great American dream of owning a home. By the middle of the Reagan Administration's last year, the National Association of Realtors "Housing Affordability Index" showed that a family earning the median income had 111 percent of the income necessary to buy the median-priced American home. In December 1980, the median-income family had only 76 percent of the income needed to buy a home.

These were the results of the economic promise President Reagan made to the nation. By any objective standard, America was better off at the close of the Reagan Administration than it was eight years before.

Many may remember a campaign device of the recent past: the "Misery Index." The sum of the unemployment rate and the inflation rate, it came to 13.4 in 1976. During that campaign year, some charged that no one had a right to seek reelection with a Misery Index that high. Those critics did not talk much about the Misery Index in 1980 when Ronald Reagan was elected, because that index had jumped to almost 21 percent under their leadership. And during the 1988 campaign to succeed President Reagan, again little was heard of the index because under his leadership it had dropped to less than 10 percent.

A historic expansion put a record number of Americans to work. Inflation was cut to one-third of what it was in 1980. Real family and per capita income rose for five years running to set an all-time high. The promises were kept. The policies worked. The progress was real.

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS

"The ultimate objective in everything that we're trying to do is to give this economy back to the American people, where it belongs, because they are the most valuable resource of our nation."

-- May 20, 1981, remarks to the Advertising Council

"From now on, more of what people earn belongs to them."

-- April 26, 1982, remarks to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

"Why is it inflationary if the people keep their own money and spend it the way they want to and it's not inflationary if the Government takes it and spends it the way it wants to?"

-- June 11, 1981, remarks to business and Government leaders

"[T]his is a tax code designed to take us into a future of technological invention and economic achievement, one that will keep America competitive and growing into the 21st century."

-- October 22, 1986, remarks at the signing ceremony for the Tax Reform Act

"Deficit reduction is no longer simply our hope and our goal -- deficit reduction is now the law."

-- December 12, 1985, statement on signing of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill

"[W]ith the right tools and incentives to do the job, American workers can and will be every bit as skilled, dedicated and productive as are our German and Japanese counterparts."

-- April 26, 1982, remarks to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

"[T]oday trade is at the core of the alliance[s] that secure the peace and guarantee our freedom; it is the source of our prosperity and the path to an even brighter future for America."

-- November 26, 1988, weekly radio address

"America's challenge for the eighties is to. . . make workers and products more competitive in the world market, to unleash our pioneer spirit of innovation and get this nation back on the cutting edge of growth."

-- December 9, 1982, remarks at the Senate majority dinner

"If we can control spending and shave a few points off the inflation rate, we can do more good for the poor [and] the elderly. . . than any package of Federal programs ever could."

-- March 9, 1981, remarks at the signing ceremony for FY 1982 budget revisions

"Let me make our goal in this program very clear: jobs, jobs, jobs and more jobs."

-- September 4, 1981, Labor Day message

"[S]ustained, noninflationary growth is the Government's single best tool for fighting poverty and building a better life for our nation's families. Low-income whites, blacks and Hispanics, both children and adults, all have shared in these gains."

-- July 30, 1987, statement by the President on poverty and income levels for 1986

## The Domestic Agenda

It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We're not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope.

Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes and the goals of this Administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen; and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they're sick and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

-- Inaugural address  
January 20, 1981

Today, it may be difficult for many to remember the days when Americans were told that their nation's greatest days were in the past, not the future. Leaders then spoke of a "crisis of confidence" and some spoke of a malaise in the land.

A large part of the "new beginning" promised by candidate Ronald Reagan in his 1980 campaign was an explicit rejection of this philosophy of despair and decline. And much of the change that President Ronald Reagan initiated in 1981 was generated by his personal belief in the great aspirations of the American people.

Nowhere was President Reagan's confidence in the American people clearer than in his domestic policy agenda. On issues ranging from providing aid to the poor to protecting the unborn to producing a cleaner environment, the Reagan Administration was guided by faith in America's traditional values, commitment to the Constitution and care for future generations.

The Reagan Administration preserved and strengthened the programs that assisted the truly needy. The Administration's effort to aid the poor stressed "help" in the best sense of the word. That meant help not just to subsist on public assistance, but help to break free from the cycle of poverty.

Programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Women, Infants and Children (WIC); Medicaid; food stamps; and Child Nutrition and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) were supported with refinements tailored to create incentives for individuals and families to become self-supporting and to deliver benefits to the most needy.

Extensive administrative reforms improved efficiency and ensured that Federal assistance was targeted to those who really needed help. And in July 1987, President Reagan created the Interagency Low-Income Opportunity Advisory Board, which helped states to undertake far-reaching welfare reforms that otherwise would not have been practicable. This measure made it possible for more than 25 percent of all AFDC recipients to be involved in special projects to promote self-sufficiency.

The Family Support Act, signed by the President in October 1988, included some of the most significant changes to the AFDC program since its creation in 1935. The legislation was a major step toward the President's goal of strengthening the American family. Through participation in work, education and training programs and increased emphasis on child support enforcement, the Act gave poor Americans the opportunity to escape the trap of dependency and become self-reliant contributors to American society.

Clearly the Reagan Administration was committed to helping the poor escape poverty. Despite all the talk of "cuts," Federal spending for basic low-income assistance programs rose by more than \$23 billion from the 1981 to the 1987 budget, a 40 percent increase. Projected spending for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 adds over \$12 billion, for an increase of more than 60 percent during the Reagan years.

The same was true with housing. By emphasizing the use of vouchers which those needing assistance could use to pay for the housing best suited for them, and by improving public housing, the Reagan Administration increased the number of low-income households receiving help by more than 1.5 million, to 5.5 million.

The Interagency Council on the Homeless was created to coordinate Federal programs that help the homeless and to provide technical assistance to state and local government in their efforts to address the problem of homelessness. Federal funding for the homeless was budgeted to be \$591 million in 1989.

In the years just before the Reagan Administration policies were put in place, the percentage of Americans living in poverty grew alarmingly. In 1979, 11.7 percent were poor. By 1981, 14 percent were living in poverty. Since 1983, 2.8 million Americans escaped poverty. The poverty rate for Americans over 65 in 1987 dropped to an all-time low of 12.2 percent.

The Reagan Administration recognized that if public assistance should help the poor today, education should help prevent poverty tomorrow. Education in America has always been the primary concern of state and local government, and without undermining that, the Reagan Administration acted to promote quality in the nation's schools.

In 1983, President Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education found the United States was "A Nation at Risk" from declining educational quality. Since that time, the President made education a high national priority and advanced far-reaching educational reforms. Included were calls for higher standards, accountability, merit pay for teachers and principals, parental choice and schools that instill moral standards.

Magnet schools, for example, were strongly encouraged by the Reagan Administration and provide a proven success story. During the Reagan years, 12 states established merit pay or career ladder programs, with 14 other states considering similar programs.

The results of these reform efforts were encouraging: Test scores and the high school graduation rate rose, and more minority students went to college than ever before. Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, for example, climbed 14 points after 1981, compared to a 90-point drop from 1963 to 1980.

America has the best health care delivery system in the world, but spiraling costs threaten its availability for many. The Reagan Administration introduced the prospective payment system for Medicare payments to hospitals. This system, for the first time, gave hospitals the incentives to keep costs down.

This and other reforms helped to reduce significantly the rate of health care inflation in the hospital industry, which was running in double digits in the early 1980's. Similarly, the Administration proposed reforms to reduce the rate of inflation in physician expenditures.

Far from cutting benefits, the Reagan Administration took the lead in achieving a major expansion of coverage in the Medicare program -- the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act. First proposed by President Reagan in his 1986 State of the Union address, this legislation protected older Americans and their families from the devastating financial losses associated with catastrophic illness or injury requiring costly acute medical care.

The Reagan Administration took strong, unprecedented measures to counter the public health threat posed by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). The Reagan Administration committed more than \$5.4 billion since the 1982 budget year to biomedical research,

drug trials, treatment and other measures against HIV and AIDS. The Administration also moved to tear down regulatory barriers impeding the expeditious movement of HIV and AIDS drugs, such as AZT, from laboratory to patient.

In 1987, a Presidential Commission on HIV and AIDS was established. The President received its report in June 1988. After a thorough evaluation of the Commission's recommendations and those of Government agencies and private groups, the Reagan Administration announced a 10-point plan to advance the battle against HIV and AIDS. The plan called for actions to ensure compassion toward those infected with HIV and AIDS, to allow for their care with dignity and to educate citizens to prevent further spread of the disease.

Protection from crime is one of the most basic services that citizens can expect from their Government. The Reagan Administration worked to improve this vital function.

In 1984, after three years of delay, Congress passed the President's Comprehensive Crime Control Act, a major reform in our criminal justice system. Included in the Act were provisions allowing judges to deny bail to dangerous suspects, restricting the insanity defense and initiating a comprehensive review of Federal sentencing. The Act also provided for the seizure of unlawful assets amassed by drug dealers, mobsters and racketeers.

In addition, the President focused national attention on the plight of crime victims and made the victim's needs a higher priority than those of the criminal.

In 1984, the President signed legislation isolating child pornography as a separate criminal offense. The Administration created the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit within the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice as the centerpiece of a seven-point assault on producers, distributors and retailers of obscene materials, and on individuals who traffic in child pornography.

The aggressive anti-crime policies of the Reagan Administration helped to foster a safer America. The Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Survey reported that nearly two million fewer households were hit by crime in 1987 than in 1980. In 1987, for example, 4.6 percent of United States households had a member victimized by violent crime, compared with 5.5 percent in 1980.

Firmer laws were just part of the Reagan Administration's approach to crime. The courts must function properly for the criminal justice system to operate. In elevating Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist to Chief Justice, and appointing Sandra Day O'Connor, Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy to the nation's highest court, President Reagan selected jurists who shared his

deep commitment to the principle of judicial restraint. Adherence to this principle guided the President in his appointments to all levels of the Federal judiciary. With Reagan-appointed judges making up just over half of the Federal bench by the close of his Administration, President Reagan ensured a judicial legacy of faithfulness to the rule of law reaching far beyond his term in office.

From the first days of his Administration, President Reagan pursued the goal of eliminating illegal drug use. He developed a comprehensive national strategy for attacking the demand and supply side of the problem of illegal drugs and launched the National Crusade for a Drug-Free America. Together, President and Mrs. Reagan set out to change attitudes in the country and make illegal drug use unacceptable social behavior.

Mrs. Reagan's dedication and leadership in working toward a drug-free generation resulted in many thousands of young people following her advice to "just say no." The overall number of drug users in America declined and the nation even turned the corner on the use of cocaine. Because of President and Mrs. Reagan's leadership, there were substantive, positive changes in Americans' knowledge, attitude and behavior regarding illegal drug use.

Drug offenses account for the largest single segment of America's Federal criminal problem. President Reagan led the way in providing the tools necessary for Federal, state and local law enforcement agencies and individuals to counter this threat. The number of Federal drug investigators more than doubled and the number of Federal prosecutors increased fourfold between 1980 and 1988. With increased enforcement efforts and tougher Federal judges, convictions doubled and drug seizures rose sharply.

New asset forfeiture laws permitted the seized profits of drug trafficking to be shared with state and local authorities who help in Federal law enforcement activities. New money laundering laws attacked the financial underpinning of drug trafficking. The number of foreign nations engaged in crop eradication programs grew from two in 1981 to 23 in 1988. All 50 states also conducted eradication efforts.

The Reagan Administration was the first to declare illegal drugs a threat to national security, the first to implement a change in the law allowing the Department of Defense to support other Federal enforcement efforts and the first to bring the FBI fully into the fight against drugs. The Administration instituted drug testing for Government and private sector employees in safety- and security-related positions throughout the transportation industry. Federal outlays for drug programs increased over fivefold while President Reagan was in office.

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act, signed by the President in November 1988, moved the nation even closer to the goal of a drug-free America. The law established measures to hold the drug user accountable for his or her behavior. It strengthened the attack on suppliers by authorizing the death penalty for the most grave drug crimes. It also established methods to reduce demand by providing strong civil penalties for illegal drug use, and it provided resources to state and local government to reduce waiting lists for drug abuse treatment.

Just as President Reagan fought to protect citizens from crime, he also worked to protect the unborn from abortion. The President was consistently firm in his opposition to abortion. He successfully pressed Congress to stop the use of Federal funds to pay for abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered.

Under the Reagan Administration, the United States moved to cut off Federal funding of international organizations that use abortion as a means of family planning. In 1985, the President issued regulations protecting handicapped newborns against discrimination in receiving medical treatment.

In 1987, the President established the Permanent Interagency Task Force on Adoption which submitted recommendations to encourage and support adoption, in particular infant adoptions, as an alternative to abortion, as well as the adoption of "special needs" children. In the 1990 fiscal year, adoption assistance benefits will be provided for approximately 43,600 children who would otherwise remain in foster care.

President Reagan also recognized that the protection and promotion of the family was the best solution to many of the domestic problems faced by America. In 1986, President Reagan appointed a White House Working Group on the Family to make policy recommendations for preserving and improving the quality of family life in America. In response to the Group's report, the President signed an Executive Order in 1987 directing that the autonomy and rights of the family be considered in the formulation and implementation of policies by Executive departments and agencies.

Children were a primary concern of the Reagan Administration. By 1988, the Federal Government was providing almost \$7 billion a year for child care assistance and Head Start.

Working parents use a wide variety of child care arrangements, most of them informal. The Reagan Administration consistently supported child care policies that allowed parents to choose among diverse child care options, including informal home-based care and church-operated programs.

The Reagan Administration was also active in the civil rights field. Under President Reagan's leadership, the Federal Government asserted its proper role of ensuring that no person is denied opportunities because of race, sex, religion, national origin, handicap or other factors irrelevant to character and ability. In keeping with a consistent application of equal opportunity principles, the Administration opposed quotas as merely a new form of discrimination.

The Reagan Administration was vigilant in enforcing civil rights laws. In fact, President Reagan's Administration equaled or surpassed the number of civil rights cases filed by any prior Administration in virtually every enforcement category. Funding levels for the principal civil rights enforcement agencies were increased by about 18 percent during the Reagan years.

The Administration played a key role in developing far-reaching civil rights legislation to strengthen the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The Fair Housing Amendments Act, signed by the President in September 1988, for the first time provided strong Federal enforcement measures against discrimination in housing. The Act gave the Department of Housing and Urban Development authority to initiate enforcement actions and to penalize those who discriminate in the sale, rental or financing of housing. In addition, the Act added persons with handicaps and families with children to those protected by Title VIII, the housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

The President pursued, and in 1986 obtained, Senate approval of the International Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. In 1988, implementing legislation was passed to punish as a Federal crime violence against individuals because they are part of a group defined by race or religion.

The rights of women received attention during the Reagan Administration as well. The President appointed a Task Force on Legal Equity to identify Federal laws and regulations that contained gender-discriminatory language. More than 120 changes in these laws and regulations were made as a result.

Child support was another area where the President's efforts benefited women. A 1984 Administration-proposed law established more stringent measures for collecting child support payments. Child support enforcement agencies collected nearly \$4 billion in overdue payments in 1987, more than twice the amount collected in 1980.

The Administration-sponsored Retirement Equity Act of 1984 enhanced and protected the pension benefits of women who take time out from the labor force to raise families or who work primarily as homemakers. Among other measures, the Act lowered the minimum age for participation in pension plans and required provisions to protect surviving spouses.

Reagan Administration tax code changes of particular benefit to women included virtually eliminating the estate tax levied on a surviving spouse, permitting unlimited property transfers between spouses and allowing spouses with lower earnings and homemakers with no earned income to make larger Individual Retirement Account (IRA) contributions.

In protecting the environment, the Reagan Administration achieved much of significance. Federal research led to a better understanding of the serious effects of lead on human health and the Administration took aggressive action to eliminate it from our air and water.

Superfund, the law which addresses abandoned hazardous waste sites, was reauthorized under legislation signed by President Reagan in 1986. Under Superfund, the Federal Government was committed to spending up to \$8.5 billion to clean up these sites. The reauthorized law strengthened the Government's ability to compel those parties responsible for contamination at waste sites to pay for the cleanup. The Superfund program has already achieved significant results. More than 1,200 emergency cleanup actions have been undertaken. Work has also begun at more than 800 long-term sites.

The Reagan Administration was the first to establish a special unit to prosecute criminal polluters. The Environmental Crimes Section of the Justice Department's Lands and Natural Resources Division was created in 1983 and achieved unprecedented success. It brought more than 400 indictments and obtained more than 300 convictions or guilty pleas, resulting in \$12.5 million in penalties and more than 60 years of actual jail time. The last three years of the Reagan Administration set all-time records for environmental cases referred to the Department of Justice.

Stratospheric ozone depletion was another major concern. The United States played a leadership role in negotiating the Montreal Protocol to the Vienna Convention on the protection of the ozone layer, which will reduce by as much as 50 percent the production and use of chemicals known to harm the earth's stratospheric ozone layer.

The Reagan Administration invested nearly \$500 million on research to improve understanding of the complex issue of acid rain. The Administration also instituted a \$5 billion, five-year cost sharing program with industry to demonstrate ways to burn the nation's vast coal resources in an environmentally acceptable manner. From 1981 to 1987, sulphur dioxide pollution, a significant part of the acid rain problem, was reduced by 10 percent.

Combating smog, the Administration took strong enforcement action against cities that failed to comply with air quality

standards. In fact, all air pollutants decreased in the years following 1981.

The Reagan Administration also improved America's parks and public lands. The Administration focused Federal resources on restoring and maintaining the National Parks in its \$1 billion Park Restoration and Improvement Program. The protection of wilderness lands, including the habitat of America's fish and wildlife, was advanced by the Administration as well.

Fundamental reforms in Federal water resources policy were achieved with enactment of the Water Resources Development Act of 1986. This landmark legislation required beneficiaries outside the Federal Government who enjoy benefits from Army Corps of Engineers' water projects to help pay the costs.

One of the first subjects to be addressed by the new Administration was the nation's energy supply. Within a few days of taking office, the President ordered immediate decontrol of prices for crude oil and refined products. This was the first step in a new market-based energy policy which relied on the American people, not the Government. This policy worked well. The American consumer spent 20 percent less by the end of the Reagan Administration on gasoline, in current dollars, than in 1980 and almost 50 percent less in after-inflation dollars. Decontrol permitted American consumers to benefit from falling oil and gasoline prices in a freer market and to save more than \$45 billion since 1981.

The Reagan Administration also took steps to protect the energy independence of the United States. In addition to reinforcing the nation's use of a variety of energy sources, including nuclear and alternative energy sources, the Reagan Administration increased the size of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve fivefold, from 112 million barrels to over 550 million barrels. By the end of the Reagan Administration, the Reserve was sufficiently stocked to provide nearly three months of protection against the total loss of net petroleum imports. The Administration led the way in reducing barriers to energy trade, allowing the United States access to diverse and secure energy supplies, and encouraging its allies to increase their oil stockpiles.

Transportation was another important item on the President's domestic agenda. In 1982, the Reagan Administration proposed, and Congress enacted, an ambitious and successful program to finance needed highway construction and repair. At the President's urging, Congress passed legislation restoring to states the option to raise the speed limit to 65 m.p.h. on rural interstate highways.

In 1986, the Administration dramatically restructured the Federal Government's role in transportation by selling Conrail,

the Government-owned freight railroad, to the public; by selling the Alaska Railroad to the state of Alaska; and by turning over the operation of the Washington, D.C. area's National and Dulles Airports to local government authorities.

The Administration worked vigorously to accelerate transportation deregulation as permitted by prior legislation. This resulted in greater availability, better service and significantly lower costs for consumers.

In addition, one of the earliest challenges for the Reagan Administration came in the area of transportation. In August 1981, some 10,000 Federal employees belonging to the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization staged a strike in violation of Federal law in an attempt to paralyze the nation's air traffic system. President Reagan stood firm in enforcing the law that forbids strikes by Federal employees. He gave striking controllers 48 hours to return to work and then began dismissal proceedings against those who refused. Even with a greatly reduced workforce, the remaining controllers kept the system going and the airplanes flying safely.

The Administration also made substantial progress on a \$16 billion program to modernize the nation's air traffic control system by the year 2000, with more than 90 percent of the work under contract by the end of the Administration.

The earliest stories of American history are tales of immigrants. And throughout the nation's life, people have looked up to America from abroad. Recognizing this fact, President Reagan strongly and successfully urged Congress to pass the Immigration Reform Act of 1986. The bill provided the most sweeping changes in our immigration laws in 34 years. It provided the means to control illegal immigration and legalized the status of millions of persons who contribute to the United States economy and society.

President Reagan also focused attention on maintaining the position of the United States as the world's most fertile soil for basic science and technology research, as well as innovative products and processes. The Administration directed fundamental changes in the management of Federal research and development to ensure increased commercialization, and ensured that American bilateral science and technology agreements provide balanced and equal treatment for American firms, scientists and engineers. Government and industry spending on research and development rose 72 percent during the Reagan years.

Under the leadership of the Reagan Administration, more than 25 university-based interdisciplinary research centers were established in engineering, science and technology. These centers cooperate with industry to promote the long-range competitiveness of the United States economy.

The President approved construction of the world's largest and most advanced particle accelerator, the Superconducting Super Collider, which holds the potential for a new revolution in science, education, technology and commerce. A site in Texas was selected in November 1988.

Like all Americans, the President grieved at the loss of the space shuttle Challenger and its brave crew. But by the close of the Reagan Administration, America's space program was again moving steadily ahead. The space shuttle program resumed with two successful missions to date. Outer planet exploration continued with the missions of spacecraft such as Pioneer, Venus and Voyager. And progress continued in the development of a permanently manned space station.

In addition, the President approved a 15-point commercial space initiative in February 1988 with three goals: promoting a strong commercial presence for the United States in space, ensuring future access to space and building a solid base in talent and technology.

From the safety net to the space program, remarkable consistency of policy and principle emerges from a review of President Reagan's domestic achievements. Faith in the American people and America's future was always evident.

Although America still faces challenges, few believe they are insurmountable. Gone is the talk of "malaise." Replacing it is the sense of confidence gained during the Reagan years.

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS

"Many schools [are] placing a new emphasis on quality and discipline, more homework, more attention to basic skills, more attention to what works, that is to results. This [is] truly revolutionary after two decades in which money had been the only measure of progress in education. . ."

-- April 26, 1988, remarks upon receiving the publication American Education: Making it Work.

"The Family Support Act says to welfare parents, 'We expect of you what we expect of ourselves and our own loved ones: that you will do your share in taking responsibility for your life and for the lives of the children you bring into this world.'"

-- October 13, 1988, remarks at the signing ceremony for the Family Support Act of 1988

"There are those who will always require help from the rest of us on a permanent basis, and we'll provide that help. To those with temporary need, we should have programs that are aimed at making them self-sufficient as soon as possible."

-- February 26, 1982, remarks at the Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

"Teachers should be paid and promoted on the basis of their merit and competence. Hard-earned tax dollars should encourage the best. They have no business rewarding incompetence and mediocrity."

-- May 21, 1983, remarks at Seton Hall University

"I believe it's high time we restore a proper balance and start doing more to protect our law-abiding citizens. "Lenient judges are only lenient on crooks; they're very hard on society."

-- March 5, 1984, remarks to the National League of Cities

"In this crusade, let us not forget who we are. Drug abuse is a repudiation of everything America is. The destructiveness and human wreckage mock our heritage."

-- September 14, 1986, address to the nation

"God's greatest gift is human life. . . we have a sacred duty to protect the innocent human life of an unborn child."

-- September 9, 1982, remarks at the Alfred M. Landon lecture series on public issues

"It is a terrible irony that while some turn to abortion, so many others who cannot become parents cry out for children to adopt. We have room for these children; we can fill the cradles of those who want a child to love."

-- February 6, 1985, State of the Union address

"The family is the moral core of our society, the repository of our values and the preserver of our traditions. . . the safe haven where we've taught charity, generosity and love."

-- May 29, 1985, remarks at a rally of citizens' groups

"Let us reject prejudice, turn our backs on bigotry and stand shoulder to shoulder for equal rights."

-- March 13, 1984, remarks at the Young Leadership Conference of the United Jewish Appeal

"The American ideal is to allow equal opportunity for all, not to enforce equality of results or outcomes."

-- January 27, 1987, message to Congress

"Preservation of our environment is not a liberal or conservative challenge, it's common sense."

-- January 25, 1984, State of the Union address

"We're advancing on a broad front to ensure that our energy needs and those of the next generation of Americans are met. We started with oil control, but we're also taking the necessary steps to ensure a steady flow of energy from. . . other sources."

-- September 3, 1981, remarks to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

"The space shuttle opened a new era to pursue the many scientific, educational, industrial and commercial opportunities of space, and as long as we challenge our imagination and aim high, there's no end to the potential of space."

-- July 20, 1984, remarks on 15th anniversary of the Apollo landing

## A Government That Works

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the states or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the states; the states created the Federal Government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it's not my intention to do away with Government. It is rather to make it work -- work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

-- Inaugural address  
January 20, 1981

Government is the servant of the people, not their master. Stated so much more eloquently by President Reagan in his first address as President, this fundamental proposition was the foundation for much of what commentators call the Reagan Revolution.

In his campaign and at his Inauguration, Ronald Reagan promised a leaner, more efficient Government in Washington. His Administration delivered on that promise, not by demolishing the Federal Government, but by restoring the roles of private individuals and state and local authorities. President Reagan also demanded that where the Federal Government did have a proper role, it conduct its affairs efficiently.

Two basic principles guided President Reagan in his job as Chief Executive of the Federal Government. First, President Reagan worked to instill political, fiscal and administrative accountability. The President's second guiding principle was Federalism, or the restoration of the division of governmental responsibilities between the Federal Government and the states as intended by the framers of the Constitution.

One critical element in Government accountability is managing the budget. If Congress does not properly consider and enact a Federal budget, the Government defaults to a series of continuing resolutions that lack fiscal discipline and can hide pork barrel spending. Government managers who need to plan for the future lack the tools they need when the budget is held hostage and spending plans change from day to day.

This budgetary neglect by Congress had become commonplace. In fact, during the first seven years of the Reagan

Administration, only nine of the 91 appropriations bills that fund the budget reached the President's desk before the beginning of the fiscal year, and only 37 appropriations bills reached him at all. Before this year, the President had not been presented a regular appropriations bill for his signature since December 1985.

In his 1988 State of the Union address, President Reagan set the stage for an on-time budget. He warned Congress it should not send him another continuing resolution like the ponderous edition he received in 1987. And he declared that he would never again approve such a continuing resolution.

Throughout his Administration, President Reagan demonstrated his willingness to see nonessential Government services shut down when appropriations were not provided on time. In 1984, and again in 1986, the President acted to shut down the Government, as the law required, when Congress could not complete its budgetary duties.

In a spirit of cooperation, President Reagan urged Congress to complete its work on the 1989 budget on time and worked diligently with Congress toward that goal. As a result, for the first time in a dozen years, a President received all appropriations bills on time, within budget and reflecting his priorities. Only time will tell whether discipline will be maintained in the future, but the Reagan Administration led the way to a return of accountability and responsibility in the budget process.

For many Americans, and particularly the elderly, accountability and trust in the Federal Government are determined by its ability to honor its Social Security commitment. In 1982, Social Security faced bankruptcy despite the huge payroll tax increases enacted in 1977.

President Reagan's bipartisan commission recommended a solution. As a result, Social Security's Old Age and Survivors and Disability programs had a healthy reserve of \$58.3 billion at the end of 1987 and were estimated to grow to \$95 billion by the end of 1988, remaining solvent well into the next century.

Rescuing Social Security was only one of the problems that plagued the Federal Government before the start of the Reagan Administration.

President Reagan inherited a Government that was losing billions of dollars to outdated management practices, including a hodgepodge of almost 400 accounting systems and 150 different personnel and payroll systems. There was uncontrolled growth of the Federal credit portfolio, no effective system for managing a \$2 trillion cash flow and Government productivity was not living up to its potential in service delivery or cost reduction.

In response to these problems, Reform 88 was conceived in 1981. The President directed an all-out fight against fraud, waste and abuse; called for building a Government-wide Federal credit management process; ordered the installation of a comprehensive financial management system; and introduced "productivity improvement" as a goal for all Federal agencies.

To assist in the implementation of Reform 88, Ronald Reagan established the President's Council on Management Improvement in 1984, bringing together senior management executives of 23 of the largest Federal departments and agencies to help carry out Government-wide management reform.

The successful completion of Reform 88 resulted in concrete changes that reduced costs, increased productivity and ensured quality services for the public. A new cash management system, for example, reduced funding costs to taxpayers by \$4.3 billion from 1983 to 1988. Federal managers began to take control of more than a trillion dollars worth of Federal credit programs, including outstanding loans, guaranteed commitments and loans from Government enterprises, subjecting them to renewed scrutiny and improvement.

For the average taxpayer, one of the most frustrating aspects of dealing with the Government can be the feeling of inaction and unresponsiveness. In providing basic, everyday services, the Reagan Administration worked to make the Government more responsive to its true employers -- the taxpayers.

In 1980, it took seven weeks to get a Social Security card and 43 days to get a passport. For both services, the Reagan Administration cut the wait down to 10 days. In 1980, it took 75 days to get an export license. Under the Reagan Administration's management, the waiting period dropped to 17 days and for some countries to only five days. In 1980, it took more than 100 days to process a claim for a Department of Housing and Urban Development Title I loan. By the close of the Reagan Administration, it took only 22 days. And in New York there was a 40 percent decrease in flight delays after the Federal Aviation Administration inaugurated a plan to improve the use of air space.

Poor Government management can lead to more than wasted time and effort. It can promote fraud and deceit. In the first months of 1981, President Reagan created the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency. The Inspectors General of the major Federal departments and agencies, who made up the Council, concluded almost 23,000 successful prosecutions of individuals engaged in criminal activity against the Government. The Council's aggressive attack on waste and fraud, along with management reforms, made it possible to net \$105 billion in total savings by the end of 1987. This included recoveries and restitutions plus avoidance of unnecessary expenditures.

Combating fraud was an ongoing challenge. Pentagon procurement problems highlighted the need for vigilance in Government contracting. In 1988, through the vigorous anti-fraud efforts of the Reagan Administration, a two-year nationwide investigation brought to light potentially serious new problems in military procurement which the Administration quickly moved to address.

Over 950 audit reports were issued by the Department of Defense's Inspector General between 1982 and 1987, leading to nearly \$10 billion being put to better use. The President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management -- the Packard Commission -- also recommended management improvements at the Pentagon, most of which have since been implemented.

While President Reagan had a major impact on the practice of Government, it is equally clear that he had a great influence on the philosophy of Government. Rejecting the notion of an all-powerful national Government, the Reagan Administration was committed to the principles of Federalism and to fostering the proper role of state and local government, as the framers of the Constitution intended. President Reagan understood that these levels of government are more accessible to the people and better able to respond to local concerns.

In keeping with his desire to return more power and authority to state and local government, President Reagan proposed legislation that would require Federalism impact statements for all legislative and regulatory proposals. Those statements would outline the probable effects of such proposals on state and local government. Additionally, the President issued an Executive Order requiring agencies to consider the principles of Federalism in formulating all Federal policy, including administration of existing programs, promulgation of new regulations and the submission of legislative proposals. For proposed policies with significant Federalism implications, the departments and agencies now prepare formal Federalism Assessments.

Some 60 Federal categorical grant programs were consolidated into 10 block grants to the states. This resulted in increased flexibility for the states, enabling them to better meet the needs of intended beneficiaries.

An administration is not just programs and policies, it is also the people who implement them. President Reagan paid special attention to the political appointment process, with impressive results.

A political appointee's average length of service had declined in each preceding administration since Eisenhower's, dropping to less than 24 months. The average length of service in the Reagan Administration increased dramatically -- by over 50

percent -- to 36 months. Additionally, Ronald Reagan appointed more women than any President in history, and in 70 instances, appointed women to high-level positions in which a woman had never before had the opportunity to serve.

The Reagan Administration also valued the role of the private sector, both in providing services and promoting commerce. One major example of the Reagan Administration's use of public/private sector cooperation was the Administration's major job training program. The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), enacted in 1982, represented a complete overhaul of Federal job training activities formerly administered under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). JTPA provided training and job finding services using a decentralized approach. It gave state and local government the responsibility and discretion to work with the private sector to train economically disadvantaged and dislocated workers to meet local labor market needs.

JTPA basic programs devoted at least 70 percent of their funds to training, compared to less than 20 percent under CETA. Where CETA was criticized as a nonproductive "make-work" project, JTPA's job placement rate was almost double that of CETA.

In addition, President Reagan long believed that private individuals and organizations can help address public needs, particularly at the local level. In October 1981, the President issued an Executive Order creating the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives. He also established the White House Office of Private Sector Initiatives to work with the Task Force to develop and carry out creative private solutions to public needs. During this effort, the number of partnerships between schools and local businesses increased from 42,000 in 1982 to over 140,000 in 1988. The President's Task Force also established a data network, now managed by United Way, which catalogs over 3,000 examples of private sector initiatives programs for duplication by other communities.

The President emphasized his commitment to community involvement with the establishment of two annual awards programs to recognize exemplary service: The President's Volunteer Action Award and the President's Citation Award for Private Sector Initiative. In gratitude for his leadership in this area, volunteers created the Ronald Reagan Award for Volunteer Excellence which will be given annually to the most outstanding winner of the President's Volunteer Action Award.

The success of his Private Sector Initiatives program at home attracted the interest of the international community. Through the support of American corporate and philanthropic communities, three foreign conferences were held -- an international conference in Paris, an Italian-American conference and a British-American conference.

But perhaps the most telling result of the success of the President's Private Sector Initiatives program is reflected in the increase in charitable giving. During his Administration, overall charitable giving increased by over 90 percent to a total of \$93.7 billion.

The Reagan Administration also promoted activities that the private sector can do better than Government. Through divestiture, including the sale of the Government's share of Conrail for almost \$1.9 billion, contracting out, vouchers, loan asset sales and other methods, the Reagan Administration worked to restore the Federal Government to its proper role by returning certain functions to the private sector. Such "contracting out" saved the taxpayers \$2.8 billion from 1981 to 1987. The President's November 1987 Executive Order on contracting holds the promise of significantly larger savings in the future.

Public opinion polls in 1980 showed that the American people expected President Reagan to make changes in the operation of the Federal Government. The record of the Administration proved their expectation to be correct.

Both in the philosophy and practice of Government, President Reagan initiated many changes and fulfilled his promises. His Administration worked to cast the Government in its proper role while directing it with efficiency and competence.

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS

". . . feeding more dollars to Government is like feeding a stray pup. It just follows you home and sits on your doorstep asking for more."

-- March 18, 1982, remarks to the National Association of Manufacturers

"We promised that we would protect the financial integrity of social security. We have. We promised that we would protect beneficiaries against any loss in current benefits. We have. And we promised to attend to the needs of those still working, not only those Americans nearing retirement but young people just entering the labor force. And we've done that, too."

-- April 20, 1983, remarks at the signing ceremony for the Social Security Amendment of 1983

"Keeping the machinery of Government well-oiled and up-to-date is a difficult and often frustrating task, but it is absolutely essential if the American people are to have the quality of Federal services they deserve. . ."

-- February 18, 1988, message on the management of Government

"Some will also say our states and local communities are not up to the challenge of a new and creative partnership. . . . This Administration has faith in state and local governments and the constitutional balance envisioned by the Founding Fathers."

-- January 26, 1982, State of the Union address

"I've long believed that state and local governments have a better chance to be efficient and responsive than does the Federal bureaucracy."

-- February 9, 1981, remarks to state legislators and county executives

"Partnerships produce jobs. The Job Training Partnership Act gives local government new flexibility, and by using private industry councils, it matches local needs with sensible training."

-- March 5, 1984, remarks to the National League of Cities

"Together, we can bring back the recognition [that] voluntary action, private initiative, once enjoyed. We will remind the American people of how good and how great they really are. And in so doing, we will ensure our inner strength for generations to come."

-- December 8, 1982, remarks to the  
President's Task Force on Private  
Sector Initiatives

## Peace and Freedom

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations.

As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it, now or ever.

Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

-- Inaugural address  
January 20, 1981

Within minutes of assuming the Presidency, Ronald Reagan made a direct and straightforward commitment to peace through strength. And consistently throughout his Administration, that basic principle guided the national defense and foreign policy of the United States.

After eight years that saw the growth of freedom across the globe, the virtue of President Reagan's commitment to a strong America was clear. The Ronald Reagan who strolled Red Square in 1988 with the leader of the Soviet Union was the same Ronald Reagan who took the oath of office in 1981. Neither the man, nor his philosophy, had changed. What had changed was Soviet conduct and respect for America's strength and resolve.

The United States under Ronald Reagan, its might restored, was able to negotiate from strength. That fundamental pillar of American policy made possible major achievements in foreign policy and national defense during the Reagan years.

The President understood and acted upon the simple truth that before a nation can pursue peace through strength, a nation must be strong. To make America strong, he restocked the nation's arsenal by rebuilding and modernizing its strategic and conventional forces.

Working to redress the dangerous imbalance created by the unprecedented Soviet buildup of the 1970's, in 1981 the President began a comprehensive strategic modernization program. This included modernization of intercontinental and submarine-launched ballistic missile forces and strategic bomber forces, and

improvement in strategic command, control and communications systems. In 1983, the President directed an accelerated investigation of the feasibility of effective strategic defenses -- the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The Reagan Administration's conventional force modernization program produced a fundamental improvement in the national defense posture of the United States. Capabilities were substantially improved by purchasing modern weapons and equipment, enhancing maintenance and spare parts support, and increasing force levels. Whether measured by tactical air crew flying hours, warship steaming days or combat battalion training rotations, readiness was significantly increased -- in some areas by as much as 30 percent.

The President's care for the American military was not limited to nuts and bolts, equipment and material. He did not forget the men and women who serve the nation in the Armed Forces.

In 1980, the conventional wisdom seemed to be that the all-volunteer military was not working. Troop morale was sagging. President Reagan helped turn that around. By the end of his Administration, for example, military pay levels were about 50 percent higher than in 1980.

The President's commitment to America's defenders, plus a renewed sense of patriotism throughout the country, attracted substantially more recruits to the Armed Forces. Improvements in military pay and benefits under the Reagan Administration, along with efforts to improve the public's perception of military service, greatly boosted morale. In total, these efforts provided the nation, once again, with a high-quality fighting force.

Between 1980 and 1987, the percentage of those enlisting in the Armed Forces who were high school graduates jumped from 68 percent to 93 percent, and retention of experienced personnel increased from 55 percent to 65 percent. And all this happened in the context of a growing economy that was at the same time producing a record number of jobs in the private sector.

Even as President Reagan did much to rebuild America's conventional and strategic forces, he also began an historic effort to protect this nation from the threat of nuclear missile attack. The President's Strategic Defense Initiative is a continuing research and technology program to demonstrate, by the early 1990's, the feasibility of effective defenses against ballistic missiles for the United States and its allies. The deployment of a strategic defense offers the best hope for a safer world, a world where America's security and that of its allies would no longer rest on deterrence based exclusively on the threat of retaliation with nuclear weapons, but on defenses

which threaten no one. There has been significant technological progress in the strategic defense program, holding out even greater promise for success than originally expected. As the President has said, "We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it."

President Reagan also devoted special attention to rebuilding our alliances with our key partners, the other great industrial democracies, the Atlantic Community and Japan. By the close of the Reagan Administration, the United States had excellent relations with all of its allies. The doubts of the 1970's were replaced by unprecedented strength and unity.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) reached fundamental consensus on its approach to East-West relations on issues ranging from arms control to human rights, and moved toward greater cooperation in addressing problems such as state-sponsored terrorism and regional conflicts beyond the NATO area.

President Reagan's resolve in holding fast to his national security strategy created a firmer basis for relations with the Soviet Union. This strategy of strength helped bring the Soviets back to the bargaining table and provided the foundation for successful negotiations. Significant progress in achieving arms reduction, resolving regional conflicts and promoting human rights followed from these efforts. The Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty and the Soviet commitment to withdraw from Afghanistan are two of the outstanding achievements.

But the path to these achievements was sometimes difficult. In November 1981, the President addressed the nation and the world via satellite to propose that the United States and the Soviet Union agree to the elimination of intermediate-range, land-based missiles. At the time, critics of the President's "zero-zero" proposal called it unrealistic and claimed it was a smoke screen to mask opposition to "nuclear freeze" movements under way in the United States and other Western countries. Yet the President pressed forward.

As the United States sought to restore credibility to its foreign policy, President Reagan took a firm stand. The President held his ground even when Soviet negotiators walked out of arms talks in Geneva in 1983 over the deployment by the United States and its allies of INF missiles.

The rapidly changing leadership of the Soviet Union posed additional problems in the early 1980's. Only after General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev took over, at the beginning of President Reagan's second term, did a significant dialogue begin. President Reagan held five meetings with Mr. Gorbachev beginning with the historic meeting in Geneva in November 1985. Their final meeting took place at Governor's Island, New York, in December 1988. At each meeting, the President pressed for

progress on the whole of the nation's four-part agenda which included respect for human rights, resolution of regional conflicts, expansion of bilateral exchanges and arms reduction.

One of the most important accomplishments was the INF Treaty, signed at the Washington Summit in December 1987, to eliminate an entire class of U.S and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The INF Treaty was the first arms control agreement in history actually to reduce nuclear arsenals, rather than limit their growth.

Under the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union is required to destroy almost four times as many weapons systems as the United States. This agreement provided the most stringent verification regime in the history of arms control, including on-site inspection. The actual destruction of the INF missiles began in September 1988 with completion scheduled by June 1991.

President Reagan made significant progress toward an equitable and effectively verifiable agreement with the Soviet Union in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). The START accord would reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 percent. Included in this category are the most dangerous and destabilizing of all nuclear weapons -- large, intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads.

The Reagan Administration also proposed initiatives in the areas of nuclear weapons testing and confidence-building measures in Europe, and a comprehensive, effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons. Progress was made in each of these areas.

Improvement in America's relationship with the Soviet Union was a signal achievement, but it represented only one of the challenges the Reagan Administration faced.

President Reagan recognized that the price of freedom is great. Few challenges presented more difficulties than international terrorism. The Reagan Administration faced its share of tests by this uniquely cruel form of aggression, a phenomenon dating back decades. Under President Reagan's leadership, the United States took decisive action against terrorists and their sponsors.

In October 1985, the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro was seized by terrorists in the Mediterranean. An American passenger, wheelchair-bound Leon Klinghoffer, was murdered. The terrorists subsequently surrendered to authorities. Upon learning that the terrorists would be flown to freedom, President Reagan ordered the nation's military forces to intercept the aircraft in international airspace. The aircraft was diverted to Italy and the terrorists delivered to Italian custody.

In April 1986, in response to clear evidence of Libyan involvement in terrorist activity, the United States attacked and destroyed several terrorist support facilities in Libya.

In 1987, in an important step in allied cooperation, the United States joined with its European allies in imposing political and economic sanctions against Syria. Again, these measures were taken in response to evidence of Syrian involvement in the failed attempt to destroy an Israeli El Al airliner at London's Heathrow Airport.

While taking strong action against terrorism, the United States suffered terrorist attacks as well. One of the most tragic strikes against the United States was the bombing of the United States Marine Corps barracks during American participation in the multinational peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations in Lebanon. The national sense of mourning over this tragedy sharpened American resolve to eliminate the scourge of terrorism worldwide.

President Reagan also displayed leadership in dealing with what came to be known as the Iran-Contra affair. When it was revealed by the United States Attorney General that officials of the National Security Council (NSC) had taken unauthorized actions, the President moved swiftly to get the facts and share them with the American people. He requested the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate the matter and ordered full cooperation with Congressional inquiries.

In addition, the President appointed a Special Review Board headed by former Senator John Tower to study the NSC operations and make recommendations for changes to ensure such action could not occur again. The NSC was then restored to a position of respect and effectiveness.

President Reagan was firm in his commitment to assist those fighting for freedom and independence in their homelands. The United States supported freedom fighters in regional conflicts around the globe. And the President's support for freedom paid off.

In October 1983, at the request of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, combined forces led by the United States liberated the island nation of Grenada from a brutal Marxist dictatorship. The troops quickly withdrew after accomplishing their mission. Free elections followed, which selected a new, democratic government.

In regional conflicts there were improvements as well. The Soviets withdrew half their troops from Afghanistan by August 15, 1988 and committed themselves to removing the remainder by February 15, 1989. In December 1988, the governments of Angola, Cuba and South Africa reached an accord that promised to remove

the Soviet/Cuban expeditionary force from Angola, in conjunction with independence for Namibia.

Similarly, Vietnam committed to remove 50,000 troops from Cambodia by the end of 1988 and conditionally proposed to remove the remainder by the end of 1989. This was diplomatic progress that the President welcomed as a step toward his goal of a free and independent Cambodia.

President Reagan consistently supported and encouraged the turn to democracy throughout the world. During the Reagan Administration, governments were elected in free, democratic elections for the first time in years in such countries as El Salvador, Honduras, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia and Guatemala.

At the end of President Reagan's time in office, 90 percent of the Latin American population was living under freely elected governments, compared with 30 percent only a decade before.

A notable exception to the spread of freedom was Nicaragua under its Marxist Sandinista government, a primary source of instability in Central America virtually from the time it came to power in 1979. The Reagan Administration's policy toward the Sandinistas was clear: diplomatic support for the peace process along with the leverage to back up this support -- including aid for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance.

The Reagan Administration sought an end to Sandinista support for regional insurgency; an end to Nicaraguan military ties to Cuba and the Soviet bloc; a reduction in Nicaraguan military strength to levels consistent with a regional balance of power; and fulfillment of Sandinista promises of democracy, respect for human rights and a mixed economy. Unfortunately, the Sandinistas' conduct made it clear that they would not take steps in these areas without effective pressure.

The United States cooperated with friendly nations and committed United States Naval forces in the effort to defend freedom of navigation and free world interests in the Persian Gulf. This effort proved successful. In addition, the United States spearheaded United Nations Security Council Resolution 598 of July 1987, which called for a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War. The cease-fire announced in August 1988 offered the first real hope for an end to that tragic war.

On September 1, 1982, President Reagan announced a framework for negotiation of a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors -- a framework which remains the basis of American policy. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty was finalized and the dispute over Taba, a piece of territory between Egypt and Israel, was moved to arbitration for resolution.

The Administration stood firm on principle in the Middle East, insisting that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) accept Israel's right to exist, endorse United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and renounce terrorism. That firmness paid off in December 1988 when the PLO finally met these terms.

Under the Reagan Administration, the United States was in the forefront of efforts by Western nations to help Africa alleviate food shortages due to drought, war and poor economic policies. The Reagan Administration promoted economic reforms that brought the benefits of investment incentives and free markets to a number of countries that began their independence from Marxist or other forms of centralized economies. By the close of the Reagan years, 14 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa were registering growth rates averaging four percent.

When President Reagan came to office in 1981, his words of strength and candor in American defense and foreign policy held great promise for the United States and the world. And over the last eight years, the United States has achieved progress on a scale few thought possible.

The Reagan White House's first official state visitor was British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Seven years later, Mrs. Thatcher was President Reagan's last official guest to be received at the White House. Perhaps her assessment is a fitting summary of President Reagan's defense and foreign policy record.

Mrs. Thatcher recalled that at their first meeting President Reagan forecast that the 1980's "would be less dangerous if the West maintained the strength required for peace." Judging the record of the Reagan Administration by that measure, Mrs. Thatcher told the President "thanks to your courage and your leadership, the fire of individual freedom burns more brightly, not just in America, not just in the West, but right across the world."

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS

"Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, but let it be clear we maintain this strength in the hope that it will never be used."

-- June 8, 1982, address before the British Parliament

"Today, once again, Americans honor those who wear the uniforms of the United States of America."

-- September 6, 1988, remarks to the American Legion

"Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope. It is that we embark on a program to counter the awesome Soviet missile threat with measures that are defensive."

-- March 23, 1983, address to the nation

"Achievements like [the INF Treaty] are not the result of wishful thinking, nor are they made more likely by loud proclamations of a desire for peace. Lasting progress derives from hardnosed realism, strenuous effort and firmness of principle."

-- November 4, 1987, United States Information Agency address to Western Europe

"Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious, that every one of us put on this world has been put there for a reason and has something to offer."

-- May 31, 1988, remarks at Moscow State University

"Reasonable strength in and of itself is not bad; it is honorable when used to maintain peace or defend deeply held beliefs."

-- June 9, 1982, address before the West German Parliament

"The security of our country, of course, depends on more than weapons. We must have the will to meet the challenges of an adversary who is constantly testing our resolve to defend our vital national interests."

-- June 20, 1983, remarks at a dinner honoring Rep. Trent Lott

"Throughout the postwar period, this has always been America's agenda; that the blessings of peace and freedom we know so well in this country will someday belong to every nation, to every people."

-- December 10, 1988, weekly radio address

"I intend to make an all-out diplomatic effort to achieve a negotiated settlement leading to democracy in Central America. But success at the negotiating table depends on continued support for the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters."

-- January 27, 1988, remarks to the Reserve Officers Association

## Conclusion

We hear much of special interest groups. Well, our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes and heal us when we're sick -- professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies and truck drivers. They are, in short, "We The People," this breed called Americans.

-- Inaugural address  
January 20, 1981

[B]eing only human, there's a part of me that would like to take credit for what we've achieved. But tonight, before we do anything else, let us remember that tribute really belongs to the 245 million citizens who make up the greatest and the first three words in our Constitution: "We The People." It is the American people who endured the great challenge of lifting us from the depths of national calamity, renewing our mighty economic strength and leading the way to restoring our respect in the world. They are an extraordinary breed we call Americans.

-- Remarks to the 1988  
Republican National Convention  
August 15, 1988

In many ways, there was a remarkable symmetry in the beginning and in the end of the Reagan Presidency. Perhaps that properly reflects the consistency of the Reagan Administration. As President of the United States, Ronald Reagan delivered on the commitments he made to the American people.

The record of the Reagan Administration reflects promises made and promises kept. Reinvigorating the economy, rebuilding national defense, restoring America's place in the world, returning traditional values and compassion to domestic policy -- these are the accomplishments of the Reagan Administration.

Even with these achievements, Ronald Reagan recognized that his Administration was just the start. Indeed, the "new beginning" was underway by the close of the Reagan Administration, but as the President acknowledged, much was left to be done.

Part of the work ahead consisted of particular proposals from the Reagan agenda still awaiting fulfillment. Every single year President Reagan held office, he supported a balanced budget

amendment to the Constitution. Just as consistently, Congress refused to pass this legislation. President Reagan promised to continue his efforts for this important measure of fiscal responsibility once he left the White House to become a private citizen again.

In addition, President Reagan learned first-hand of the President's desperate need for a line-item veto to cut fat from the Federal budget. Again Congress denied the President this important tool, the same tool 43 governors use to control the budgets of their states. And again, even out of office, the President promised to maintain his drive for this vital reform.

Finally, President Reagan pledged to campaign once out of the White House for the repeal of the 22nd Amendment, the provision of the Constitution that limits a President to two terms in office. This effort was not in any way self-serving. Rather, it reflected the President's strong belief that the American people should be given the most freedom possible in selecting their national leader.

But perhaps just as important as the specific policy objectives that remained at the close of the Reagan Administration was the challenge to keep the progress of the Reagan years alive and growing.

President Reagan summed up his view of his Administration in his remarks to the 1988 Republican National Convention: "We are the change. We rolled up our sleeves and went to work in January of 1981. We focused on hope, not despair. We challenged the failed policies of the past because we believed that a society is great not because of promises made by its Government but only because of progress made by its people. And that was our change."

For all these accomplishments, President Reagan also understood that to continue the progress, the "prairie fire" of change lit by this Administration must last long beyond his years in the White House. As the President told the Convention, "we can never let the fire go out or quit the fight because the battle is never over. Our freedom must be defended over and over again -- and then again."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 23, 1991 01 OCT 23 All: 34

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Dorrance Smith *DS*

RE:

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

In answer to your question, the Board members for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting do not have a say in the program content but do have a say in programming priorities. The following are the Board's top three programming priorities: 1) children's programming 2) news and public affairs and 3) the need for history on Public TV (Civil War series). These three are the Board's priorities because of the difficulty in attaining either corporate or private funding in these areas.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 9, 1991

31 OCT 9 5:37

*Dorrance  
Smith*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT:

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Attached is a fact sheet on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and their board of directors which you appoint.

cc: Governor Sununu  
Marlin Fitzwater

*Dorrance =*

*Does the Board  
have any 'say'*

*on program content ??*

*CB*

*10-14*



# FACT SHEET

Corporation for  
Public Broadcasting

## NAME

Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB)

## STATUS

Private, nonprofit corporation, authorized by the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, enacted November 7, 1967, and incorporated on March 27, 1968, in the District of Columbia.

## FUNCTION

CPB is the primary national organization charged with the growth and development of public radio and television in the United States. CPB's mission is to provide high-quality, educational, informational, and cultural programming for all Americans.

To fulfill this mission, CPB funds top-quality, diverse, and innovative radio and television programs for national audiences and distributes direct grants for operations and programming to 313 CPB-supported public radio stations and to 192 public television grantees operating 340 stations in the U.S. and its territories.

Additionally, CPB provides leadership to the public broadcasting system through training, technical and regulatory assistance, system research, and planning.

## HISTORY

By the mid-1960's, "educational" radio and television stations had sprouted up across the country. Often operated as an adjunct of colleges and universities, educational broadcasting was under-financed and starved for programming. In 1966, the Carnegie Corporation of New York financed the 15-member Carnegie Commission to assess educational television, identify its potential, and develop a blueprint for national growth.

After a year of study, the Commission recommended the establishment of an institution "to receive and disburse governmental and private funds in order to extend and improve public television programming." President Lyndon B. Johnson endorsed the idea and presented it to the Congress in February 1967. CPB was authorized November 7, 1967, by the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which encouraged the growth and development of public radio as well as public television.

To accomplish the nationwide distribution of programming, CPB established the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in 1969 and National Public Radio (NPR) in 1970. Both PBS and NPR are station-owned and -operated membership organizations that provide a variety of technical and programming services to member stations.

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CPB is governed by a 10-member Board of Directors that sets policy and establishes programming priorities. Board members—appointed by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate—come from diverse geographical areas and are eminent in such fields as education, cultural and civic affairs, the arts, business, journalism, and broadcasting. Two of the 10 members represent public radio and television.

- o Chairman: Marshall C. Turner, Jr.

## CORPORATE OFFICERS

Corporate officers are elected by the Board of Directors. Current officers are:

- o President and CEO: Donald E. Ludwig
- o Sr. Vice President, Station Relations, and Treasurer: Frederick L. DeMarco
- o Sr. Vice President, Programming: Eugene Katt
- o Sr. Vice President, General Counsel and Secretary: Paul E. Symczak
- o Vice President-Government Relations: Gerald F. Hogan
- o Vice President-Corporate Communications: Rozanne Weissman

## FUNDING SOURCES

o **Congressional Appropriations.** Funds for CPB are authorized by the Congress in three-year, advance cycles and are appropriated two years ahead of the fiscal year in which they are to be spent. This advance-year funding is critical to the overall stability of public broadcasting, especially for program planning and production.

o **Other Grants.** Additionally, foundations and other sources provide grants to CPB for specific projects which have allowed CPB to provide leadership in special nationwide efforts, such as combating adult illiteracy.

## DISTRIBUTION OF CPB FUNDS

CPB distributes 95.4 percent of its income in direct support of public broadcasting.

o **Grants to Stations.** CPB-supported stations receive the largest share (some 66 percent of these monies) as Community Service Grants (CSGs), direct, unrestricted grants for operations and program production and acquisition. To qualify for a CSG, public broadcasting stations must hold a noncommercial broadcasting license from the FCC (political organizations are not

eligible); employ a minimum of five (radio) or 10 (television) full-time professional staff; have studio and production facilities for regular production and broadcast of locally originated programming; generate minimum nonfederal income (\$150,000 for radio, \$450,000 for television); maintain a broadcast schedule of a prescribed minimum number of hours; and broadcast programs that meet community needs of an educational, informational, and cultural nature, but do not promote a religious philosophy.

o **Program Production and Distribution.** Another 23 percent of CPB's funds support radio and television program production and distribution. CPB supports public radio's and television's major national series, among them, *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition* for radio; and *WonderWorks*, *Frontline*, *American Playhouse*, *Great Performances*, *The American Experience*, and *The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour* for television. CPB taps the creativity and diversity of producers nationwide by soliciting program proposals from public broadcasting stations, independent producers, and other production companies to present the finest in children's, news and public affairs, and arts and cultural programming. CPB also serves the specialized needs of all Americans through the funding of radio reading services for the print handicapped and closed captioning of television programs for the hearing impaired.

o **Additional System Support.** CPB ensures quality and diversity of the system's programming and personnel by supporting a variety of education and training activities. CPB also provides technical assistance to public broadcasting through a management consulting service, publications, and international activities.

o **Planning and Research.** CPB coordinates systemwide planning and conducts research to help the public broadcasting system keep up with changing technology and fluctuating financial conditions. Areas of investigation have included alternative program delivery systems, audience research, and educational uses of technology. High on CPB's agenda is working with public radio and television in planning for the extension or replacement in 1992 of public broadcasting's satellite-based program distribution system, a role similar to CPB's leadership in planning the original system in the mid- and late-1970s.

#### FOR MORE INFORMATION

CPB Office of Corporate Communications: (202) 879-9695  
April 1991

- WETA does not  
automatically have  
a spot

- Board meets six times per year -

### SELECTED HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS

Date/Year	Event
November 7, 1967	Public Broadcasting Act authorizes creation of CPB
March 27, 1968	CPB incorporates
December 3, 1968	First CPB program grant (\$150,000) to <i>Black Journal</i>
November 3, 1969	PBS incorporates, established by CPB and public TV licenses
February 6, 1970	NPR incorporates, established by CPB and public radio licenses
May 3, 1971	<i>All Things Considered</i> , CPB funded, debuts on NPR
December 31, 1975	Public Broadcasting Financing Act of 1975 enacts forward funding principle
March 1, 1978	Public TV satellite service begins
October 1, 1979	Public radio satellite service begins
January 1980	CPB Program Fund established for TV
March 1981	Annenberg/CPB Project established
September 9, 1983	<i>MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour</i> , CPB funded, debuts on PBS
May 1986	CPB and public TV stations establish Program Challenge Fund
October 1986	CPB Radio Program Fund established
September 1989	Independent Television Service incorporates, with CPB funding
January 1990	CPB implements public radio expansion plan
October 1990	CPB funds replacement satellites for public radio and television

President & CEO - Donald Ludwig

**CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING**  
**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

**CHAIRMAN**

Mr. Marshall C. Turner, Jr. (1992)\*  
General Partner  
Taylor & Turner  
220 Montgomery Street  
Penthouse 10  
San Francisco, CA 94104  
(415) 398-6821

**VICE CHAIRMAN**

Ms. Sheila Tate (1996)\*  
President  
Powell Tate  
655 15th Street, N.W.  
Suite 1100  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 347-6633

**DIRECTORS**

Ms. Carolyn R. Bacon (1996)\*  
Executive Director  
O'Donnell Foundation  
1401 Elm Street, Suite 3388  
Dallas, TX 75202  
(214) 698-9915

Mr. Lloyd Kaiser (1994)\*  
President  
QED Communications  
4802 Fifth Avenue  
Pittsburgh, PA 15213  
(412) 622-1310

Ms. Martha Buchanan (1996)\*  
c/o CPB  
901 E Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20004-2006  
(202) 879-9702

Ms. Sharon Percy Rockefeller (1992)\*  
President and CEO  
WETA  
P.O. Box 2626  
Washington, D.C. 20013  
(703) 998-2600

Mr. Henry J. Cauthen (1994)\*  
President  
South Carolina Educational  
Television Commission  
P.O. Drawer L  
Columbia, SC 29250  
(803) 737-3240

Revised July 1991  
PA-33

\*Term Expires

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT:

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

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cc: Governor Sununu  
Marlin Fitzwater



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## FUNDING SOURCES

o Congressional Appropriations. Funds for CPB are authorized by the Congress in three-year, advance cycles and are appropriated two years ahead of the fiscal year in which they are to be spent. This advance-year funding is critical to the overall stability of public broadcasting, especially for program planning and production.

o Other Grants. Additionally, foundations and other sources provide grants to CPB for specific projects which have allowed CPB to provide leadership in special nationwide efforts, such as combating adult illiteracy.

## DISTRIBUTION OF CPB FUNDS

CPB distributes 95.4 percent of its income in direct support of public broadcasting.

o Grants to Stations. CPB-supported stations receive the largest share (some 66 percent of these monies) as Community Service Grants (CSGs), direct, unrestricted grants for operations and program production and acquisition. To qualify for a CSG, public broadcasting stations must hold a noncommercial broadcasting license from the FCC (political organizations are not

eligible); employ a minimum of five (radio) or 10 (television) full-time professional staff; have studio and production facilities for regular production and broadcast of locally originated programming; generate minimum nonfederal income (\$150,000 for radio, \$450,000 for television); maintain a broadcast schedule of a prescribed minimum number of hours; and broadcast programs that meet community needs of an educational, informational, and cultural nature, but do not promote a religious philosophy.

o **Program Production and Distribution.** Another 23 percent of CPB's funds support radio and television program production and distribution. CPB supports public radio's and television's major national series, among them, *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition* for radio; and *WonderWorks*, *Frontline*, *American Playhouse*, *Great Performances*, *The American Experience*, and *The MacNeill/Lehrer NewsHour* for television. CPB taps the creativity and diversity of producers nationwide by soliciting program proposals from public broadcasting stations, independent producers, and other production companies to present the finest in children's, news and public affairs, and arts and cultural programming. CPB also serves the specialized needs of all Americans through the funding of radio reading services for the print handicapped and closed captioning of television programs for the hearing impaired.

o **Additional System Support.** CPB ensures quality and diversity of the system's programming and personnel by supporting a variety of education and training activities. CPB also provides technical assistance to public broadcasting through a management consulting service, publications, and international activities.

o **Planning and Research.** CPB coordinates systemwide planning and conducts research to help the public broadcasting system keep up with changing technology and fluctuating financial conditions. Areas of investigation have included alternative program delivery systems, audience research, and educational uses of technology. High on CPB's agenda is working with public radio and television in planning for the extension or replacement in 1992 of public broadcasting's satellite-based program distribution system, a role similar to CPB's leadership in planning the original system in the mid- and late-1970s.

**FOR MORE INFORMATION**

CPB Office of Corporate Communications: (202) 879-9695  
April 1991

- WETA does not automatically have a spot

- Board meets six times per year -

**SELECTED HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS**

Date/Year	Event
November 7, 1967	Public Broadcasting Act authorizes creation of CPB
March 27, 1968	CPB incorporates
December 3, 1968	First CPB program grant ( \$150,000 ) to <i>Black Journal</i>
November 3, 1969	PBS incorporates, established by CPB and public TV licensees
February 6, 1970	NPR incorporates, established by CPB and public radio licensees
May 3, 1971	<i>All Things Considered</i> , CPB funded, debuts on NPR
December 31, 1975	Public Broadcasting Financing Act of 1975 enacts forward funding principle
March 1, 1978	Public TV satellite service begins
October 1, 1979	Public radio satellite service begins
January 1980	CPB Program Fund established for TV
March 1981	Annenberg/CPB Project established
September 9, 1983	<i>MacNeill/Lehrer NewsHour</i> , CPB funded, debuts on PBS
May 1986	CPB and public TV stations establish Program Challenge Fund
October 1986	CPB Radio Program Fund established
September 1989	Independent Television Service incorporates, with CPB funding
January 1990	CPB implements public radio expansion plan
October 1990	CPB funds replacement satellites for public radio and television

*President/CEO - Donald Ludwig*

**CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING**  
**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

**CHAIRMAN**

Mr. Marshall C. Turner, Jr. (1992)\*  
General Partner  
Taylor & Turner  
220 Montgomery Street  
Penthouse 10  
San Francisco, CA 94104  
(415) 398-6821

**VICE CHAIRMAN**

Ms. Sheila Tate (1996)\*  
President  
Powell Tate  
655 15th Street, N.W.  
Suite 1100  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 347-6633

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Executive Director  
O'Donnell Foundation  
1401 Elm Street, Suite 3388  
Dallas, TX 75202  
(214) 698-9915

Mr. Lloyd Kaiser (1994)\*  
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QED Communications  
4802 Fifth Avenue  
Pittsburgh, PA 15213  
(412) 622-1310

Ms. Martha Buchanan (1996)\*  
c/o CPB  
901 E Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20004-2006  
(202) 879-9702

Ms. Sharon Percy Rockefeller (1992)\*  
President and CEO  
WETA  
P.O. Box 2626  
Washington, D.C. 20013  
(703) 998-2600

Mr. Henry J. Cauthen (1994)\*  
President  
South Carolina Educational  
Television Commission  
P.O. Drawer L  
Columbia, SC 29250  
(803) 737-3240

Revised July 1991  
PA-33

\*Term Expires

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 10, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT: **Radio Actualities of Presidential Remarks**

The following is a list of your remarks that are made available to radio stations. The station calls into a telephone line and records your remarks. We count the number of calls per address and have listed them below. What we cannot quantify is how much or how often your remarks are used for broadcast.

<u>Date Up-Down</u>	<u>Actuality</u>	<u>Number of Calls</u>
7/1-7/2	Thomas Nomination	701
7/3-7/5	500th Point of Light/ Fourth of July Message	863
7/8-7/9	New American Schools Development Corp/Judge Thomas	471
7/9-7/10	Defense Bill/Gulf Aftermath	636
7/10-7/16	Lift South African Sanctions	706
7/17-7/18	START Agreement/Moscow Summit	325
7/18-7/19	Greece/Cyprus Problem	556
7/24-7/25	Energy Strategy	524
7/25-7/26	Antioch Speech/Mideast	637
7/26-7/29	ADA Anniversary	1019
7/30-7/31	Summit/Inst. For International Relations	446
7/31-8/1	START Signing	514
8/1-8/2	Ukrainian Legislature	657
8/5-8/6	Domestic Agenda	847
8/6-8/8	DEA/Thomas Nomination	1467
8/13-8/14	Hostages/Support for Perez de Cuellar	562
8/14-8/16	Pittsburgh/Hostages, Thomas Crime Bill	918
8/19-8/20	Gorbachev Removal/News Conference	1023
8/20-8/21	Strauss/News Conference	1418

SUBJECT: Radio Actualities of Presidential Remarks  
PAGE TWO

<u>Date Up-Down</u>	<u>Actuality</u>	<u>Number of Calls</u>
8/21-8/21	Soviet Coup/News Conference	72
8/21-8/22	Soviet Coup/Talk with Gorbachev	1112
8/22-8/26	Post Coup/Lift Economic Assistance	2052
8/29-8/30	News Conference with Prime Minister Major	1266
9/3-9/4	Education/Lewiston	622
9/6-9/6	Townships Speech	204
9/6-9/11	Thomas	4470
9/11-9/12	Baltic Leaders	570
9/12-9/13	Statement at News Conference	410
9/13-9/16	Thomas/Gates Plug	1850
9/18-9/19	Environment/Grand Canyon	534
9/23-9/24	U.N. Address	500
9/27-9/28	Defense Policy	315
9/28-9/30	Community of Light	620
9/30-10/1	Points of Light/Orlando	718
10/1-10/2	Education Address	793
10/2-10/3	Crime Stoppers	806

We will continue to monitor the number of calls received per radio address.

cc: Governor Sununu  
Marlin Fitzwater

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM:

DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT:

"Heroes of Desert Storm"

Attached is the legal "qualified OK" for the Heroes of Desert Storm  
taping -- plus the President's copy.

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen *and approved*

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Memo	From Gregory Walden to Dorrance Smith Re: President's Participation in "Heroes of the Storm" [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	9/24/91	<del>P/5</del> , (b)(6)	

**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:** Public Affairs  
(D. Smith) (1991)

**Document Partially Declassified  
(Copy of Document Follows)  
By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05**

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/28/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29182-011
<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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- 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]
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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

September 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR DORRANCE SMITH

FROM:  GREGORY S. WALDEN

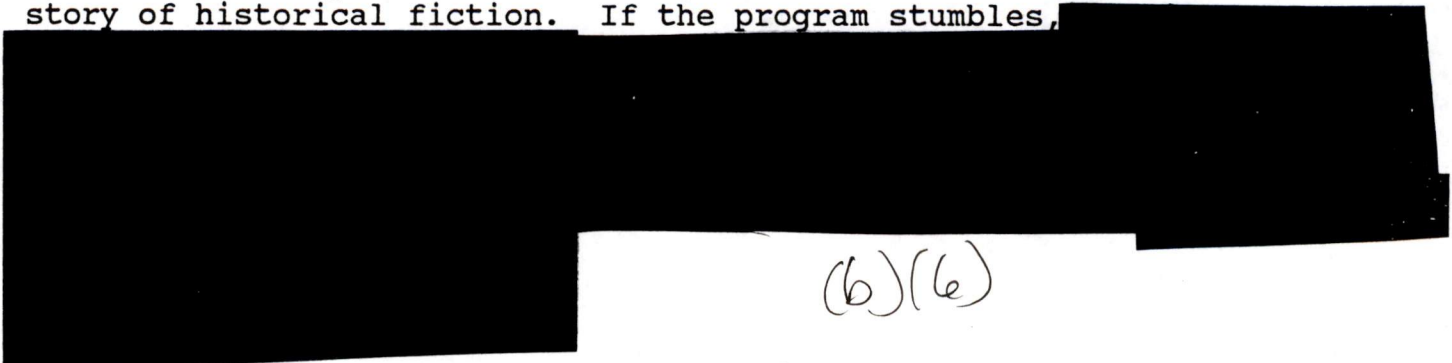
SUBJECT: President's participation in "Heroes of the Storm"

Under longstanding policy, the White House does not permit the use of the President's image or name in connection with a commercial enterprise. This policy is intended to maintain the integrity and reputation of the Presidency but also to avoid the President's association with one private entity to the exclusion of others.

On the other hand, we are not concerned with the President's appearance on news programs, even though they are produced by profit-making companies and the President's appearance may increase ratings and bring in additional ad revenue, because the President's involvement is not reasonably seen as an endorsement of the news program or the station or network.


This case presents a gray area, as you have acknowledged. The subject of the docu-drama is the heroism of ordinary Americans during Desert Storm, a subject that is obviously newsworthy and a subject previously and often addressed by the President officially. The proposed statement is entirely consistent with his public and official pronouncements, and reads to me as if it were adapted from an official speech. Thus, there is no risk that the President will be seen endorsing a product or a network in the short time he appears.

On the other hand, you should assume that the President will be linked to the rest of the docu-drama, especially if the President is seen as introducing the program. I am not the best judge of whether the rest of the docu-drama in any way could impair the integrity of the Presidency, because of its content or the quality of the dramatization. I am not familiar with any previous participation of a sitting President in a television story of historical fiction. If the program stumbles,



(b)(6)

(b)(6)



Finally, the proposal to syndicate this program, perhaps to overseas networks, gives me some additional concern.

We should obtain an understanding from the producer that the President will not be featured in promotional materials for the show or used in any way to market the program in syndication. The President's involvement (beyond his mere appearance) should not be used commercially, plain and simple. If the producer wishes simply to list the President's involvement in a television listing, I believe we ought to review such a listing in advance.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/24/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: "HEROES OF DESERT STORM" VIDEOTAPING SCRIPT  
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1991

SUBJECT: 2:00PM

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

01 SEP 23 P5:44

September 23, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*  
Assistant to the President for Media Affairs

SUBJECT: "Heroes of Desert Storm" Videotaping Script

Attached is the proposed video script for the taping of your introductory remarks for the primetime television film, "Heroes of Desert Storm" at 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday, September 25th, 1991 in the Map Room. The script, which you will read from a teleprompter, is approximately 45 seconds in length.

This primetime tribute is scheduled to air on Sunday, October 6th, 1991. "Heroes of Desert Storm" is a tribute to the men and women of the Armed Forces who performed valiantly during the war.

(Media Affairs)  
September 23, 1991  
Draft Three

PRESIDENTIAL VIDEO SCRIPT: DESERT STORM  
SEPTEMBER 25, 1991

Americans have always looked to the family as the building block of our nation. Not just our inner circle, but all our fellow citizens. And while we pray this family will always be at peace, tragically there are times we're forced to war. For over two hundred years Americans have stepped forward to defend the principles we hold dear -- principles like freedom, democracy and justice. The names of the great battles resonate through our history: New Orleans. Bastogne. Inchon. Normandy. We remember, too, those who led us in time of war: Washington and Andrew Jackson, U.S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, Eisenhower and MacArthur. But the heroes of war are not just great leaders recorded by historians. Greatness is also in the hearts of every man or woman who is prepared to give "that last full measure of devotion" in the cause of principle. It could be a brother or a sister, a parent, a son or daughter...our neighbors....

These are the American heroes...of our time.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Memo	From Dorrance Smith to John Sununu Re: National Sports Awards (1 pp.)	7/29/91	<del>P/S</del>	

**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:** Public Affairs  
(D. Smith) (1991)

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

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/28/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29182-011
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 1998-0004-F[2]	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
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<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]
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- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

This proposal is in its embryonic stages. It's a bit of the old chicken and egg. With the President on board they'll fly. Without him, it's doubtful.

I'd support doing this. The Kennedy Center Honors has always been a class act. Sports is a natural fit for the President. The timing is perfect. I trust George Stevens, Jr. who is highly regarded.

*9/13  
handled by phone  
with Dorrance  
-- "agree in theory  
but don't commit"*

**GEORGE STEVENS PRODUCTIONS**

**July 29, 1991**

**M E M O R A N D U M**

**TO: Dorrance Smith**  
**FROM: George Stevens, Jr.**  
**RE: National Sports Awards**

Since we spoke the Smithsonian Institution has responded enthusiastically to the idea of an annual exhibition for the public at the Museum of American History centered on the National Sports Awards.

**GS:tmf**

GEORGE STEVENS PRODUCTIONS

July 24, 1991

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Dorrance Smith  
FROM: George Stevens, Jr.   
RE: National Sports Awards

I am enclosing a memorandum outlining The National Sports Awards.

The program will be similar to the Kennedy Center Honors in terms of taste, quality and a sense of national purpose, but it will be distinct and exciting because of America's achievements in sports being at the center of it.

Naturally, the participation of the President would invest the Awards with a great sense of national significance.

I would be happy to work with you on various elements of the project to be sensitive to any concerns of the White House. If it seems desirable and appropriate we would submit a selection of charities to benefit from the project and let the final choice be designated by the President.

I foresee the timing of the first National Sports Awards being in May or June of 1992. You can be sure that if the President chooses to participate we will make certain that the event is one of great distinction that will justify his involvement.

Please call if you have any questions.

## THE NATIONAL SPORTS AWARDS

A national honors program to pay tribute to American athletes whose prowess and achievements during a career in sports have contributed to the life of their country. Special consideration in selection will be given to those who have used their talents to contribute to the community.

- Each year up to five individuals will be selected by the National Sports Awards Executive Committee based on the stated criteria and on recommendations from sports writers and historians.
- An honors ceremony will be held each year in Washington presided over by the President of the United States at which leaders from the sports world, government and business will gather to celebrate the careers and activities of the honored athletes.
- The program will be telecast so that the American public can be party to the ceremonies and share the spirit of the high achievement of the honored athletes.
- Funds will be raised for private initiative programs to create opportunities for young athletes, to provide assistance to retired athletes and to foster the ideals embodied in the National Sports Awards. The President will be invited to designate the specific charity or charities.
- A special exhibition honoring America's greatest athletes will be mounted each year for viewing by the American public at the Smithsonian or another museum to celebrate the careers of the honored athletes.

**GEORGE STEVENS, JR.**

The National Sports Awards will be produced by George Stevens, Jr. who has been honored with six Emmys and two Peabody Awards for Outstanding Program Achievement for such productions as "The Kennedy Center Honors," "The American Film Institute Life Achievement Awards" and "The Murder of Mary Phagan." Mr. Stevens is the Founder of the American Film Institute, a writer, producer and director of films and television programs.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Memo	From Dorrance Smith to John Sununu Re: NPR (1 pp.)	9/6/91	<del>P/S</del>	

**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:** Public Affairs  
(D. Smith) (1991)

**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>
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<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

<p><b>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</b></p> <p>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]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> <p>PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.</p>	<p><b>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</b></p> <p>(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</p>
--	--

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT; NPR

**BACKGROUND:** In the 1970's, NPR grew out of a rag tag group of college radio stations and municipally owned stations. They modeled themselves after the BBC.

**LIBERAL BENT:** The modern left of center stamp was molded by Robert Kennedy's media man, Frank Mankiewicz. He hired a Who's Who of liberals who constitute the "voices" of the radio. They include:

Cokie Roberts, Congressional Correspondent  
Daughter of Hale and Lindy Boggs

Linda Wertheimer, "All Things Considered"  
Married to Common Cause Head Fred Wertheimer

Nina Totenberg, Legal Affairs Correspondent  
Married to former Senator Floyd Haskell (D-Colorado)

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., NPR Vice President  
Son of the Harlem Congressman

Douglas Bennet, President  
Former Director of AID during Carter Administration

The net effect and general attitude of NPR is anti-Administration. I'd call them contrarian by nature. This manifests itself mostly in the analytical parts of their popular "Morning Edition" and "All Things Considered." Their general news event coverage is pretty straight forward.

**FINANCING:**

- \* Annual Budget \$14 Million
- \* 1/3 Private, Foundation and Corporate Donations
- \* 2/3 Fees collected from Local Affiliates, only 15% of that station money consists of passed along Federal funds
- \* NPR receives no money from advertising -- is a non-profit organization
- \* NPR receives grants from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. These monies are earmarked for National Programming.

DUN AND BRADSTREET REPORT ON NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

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\*IN DATE\*

Statement Date: SEP 30 1990

DUNS: 05-338-7221  
NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO (INC)

DATE PRINTED  
SEP 06 1991

SUMMARY  
RATING ER3

2025 M ST NW  
AND BRANCH(ES) OR DIVISION(S)  
WASHINGTON DC 20036  
TEL: 202 822-2000

MEMBERSHIP  
ORGAINZATION, NON  
PROFIT  
SIC NO.  
86 21

STARTED 1970  
PAYMENTS SEE BELOW  
SALES F \$23,672,785  
WORTH F \$10,794,276  
EMPLOYS 442(421 HERE)  
HISTORY CLEAR  
FINANCIAL  
CONDITION FAIR

CHIEF EXECUTIVE: DOUGLAS J BENNET, PRES

PAYMENTS (Amounts may be rounded to nearest figure in prescribed ranges)						
REPORTED	PAYING RECORD	HIGH CREDIT	NOW OWES	PAST DUE	SELLING TERMS	LAST SALE WITHIN
08/91	Ppt	1000	50	-0-	N30	1 Mo
	Ppt	1000	1000	-0-	N15	1 Mo
	Ppt	250	-0-	-0-		2-3 Mos
	Ppt	100	100	-0-		1 Mo
	Ppt	100	-0-	-0-		2-3 Mos
	Ppt	50	50	-0-		2-3 Mos
	Ppt	50	50	50	N30	2-3 Mos
	Ppt-Slow 30	5000	2500	-0-		1 Mo
07/91	Ppt	15000	500			1 Mo
	Ppt	10000	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	2500	2500	500		1 Mo
	Ppt	2500	2500			1 Mo
	Ppt	1000	500	-0-	N15	1 Mo
	Ppt	1000	250	-0-	N15	1 Mo
	Ppt	750	250	-0-		1 Mo
	Ppt	750	500	-0-	N15	1 Mo
	Ppt	750	750	-0-	N15	1 Mo
	Ppt	250	-0-	-0-	N30	1 Mo
	Ppt	250	-0-	-0-	N15	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	100	-0-			6-12 Mos
	Ppt	100	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	50	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	50	-0-	-0-		2-3 Mos
	Ppt	50	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	50	50	-0-		1 Mo
	Ppt-Slow 30	30000	10000	50	N30	1 Mo
	Ppt-Slow 30	5000	100	100		2-3 Mos
	Slow 90	50	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	(029)	2500	2500			
	(030)	750	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos

	(031)	50	50			
06/91	Ppt	35000	15000	2500	N30	1 Mo
	Ppt	30000	-0-	-0-		1 Mo
	Ppt	500	500	-0-	N30	1 Mo
	Ppt	500	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	50	-0-	-0-		2-3 Mos
	(037)	7500	-0-	-0-		1 Mo
	(038)	1000	-0-	-0-		1 Mo
	(039)	500	-0-	-0-		6-12 Mos
05/91	Ppt	100	-0-	-0-	N30	4-5 Mos
	Slow 25	1000	500	-0-	N10	1 Mo
04/91	Ppt				N30	2-3 Mos
03/91	Ppt	7500	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
12/90	Ppt	1000	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	250	250	-0-	N30	1 Mo
	Ppt	100	-0-	-0-		6-12 Mos
	Slow 30	2500	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
11/90	Slow 30	250	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Slow 90	1000	-0-	-0-		6-12 Mos
	(050)	100	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	(051)	50	50	50		1 Mo
10/90	Ppt	250	-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
	Ppt	50	-0-	-0-		6-12 Mos
09/90	Ppt		-0-	-0-	N30	6-12 Mos
08/90	Ppt	100	-0-	-0-	1 10 N30	6-12 Mos

\* Payment experiences reflect how bills are met in relation to the terms granted. In some instances payment beyond terms can be the result of disputes over merchandise, skipped invoices etc.

\* Each experience shown represents a separate account reported by a supplier. Updated trade experiences replace those previously reported.

UPDATE

07/22/91 On Jul 10 1991, Hafeez Kazim, controller, submitted the following statement dated Sep 30 1990.

STATEMENT UPDATE

07/22/91 Fiscal statement dated SEP 30 1990:

Cash	\$	13,587,609	Accts Pay	\$	803,562
Accts Rec		2,518,948	Notes Pay		3,000,000
Inventory		321,389	Deferred Revenues		8,666,242
Due From C P B		4,440,277	Accruals		2,466,142
Prepaid		485,772			
<hr/>					
Curr Assets		21,353,995	Curr Liabs		14,935,946
Fixt & Equip		4,376,227	Note Payable		10,600,000
Due From C P B		10,600,000	FUND BALANCES		10,794,276
<hr/>					
Total Assets		36,330,222	Total		36,330,222

From OCT 01 1989 to SEP 30 1990 sales \$23,672,785; program expenses \$46,160,931. Gross profit (22,488,146); operating expenses \$6,449,937. Operating income (28,938,083); other income \$29,937,165; net income before taxes \$999,082; net income \$999,082.

Submitted JUL 10 1991 by Hafeez Kazim, controller. Prepared from statement(s) by Accountant: Deloitte & Touche.

ACCOUNTANTS OPINION: "A review of the accountant's opinion indicates the financial statements meet generally accepted accounting principles and that the audit contains no qualifications".

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Amounts due from CPB (Corporation for Public Broadcasting) are for satellite system replacement, and represent certain equipment costs and other initial costs and expenses related to the replacement of the satellite system. In connection with the system replacement, NPR executed a promissory note in the amount of \$13,600,000 with First American Bank, payable in two installments of \$3,000,000 and \$10,600,000 respectively.

Other income is from membership dues, distribution interconnect fees, distribution services and interest.

Change in fund balances due to excess of revenues over expenses retained.

FINANCE

A CONSULTING SERVICE IS AVAILABLE TO ASSIST YOU IN REVIEWING THIS ACCOUNT FURTHER. PLEASE CALL (800) 223 - 0141 TO SPEAK WITH A DUNS ACCOUNT CONSULTANT.

11/20/90

	Fiscal	Fiscal	Fiscal
	Sep 30 1986	Sep 30 1988	Sep 30 1989
Curr Assets	6,461,080	14,607,470	17,224,310
Curr Liabs	4,518,752	10,641,058	11,557,790
Current Ratio	1.42	1.37	1.49
Working Capital	1,942,328	3,966,412	5,666,520
Other Assets	2,635,552	3,491,121	4,128,674
Worth	3,596,440	6,803,240	9,795,194
Sales	25,840,054	32,107,770	35,331,458
Net Profit (Loss)	2,569,983	1,762,866	1,990,986
Fiscal statement dated SEP 30 1989:			
Cash	\$ 14,132,635	Accts Pay	\$ 958,880
Accts Rec	2,378,687	Accruals	1,446,125
Inventory	300,253	Deferred Revenues	8,825,638
Prepaid	412,735	Deferred Excess	
		Sales Proceeds	327,147
Curr Assets	17,224,310	Curr Liabs	11,557,790
Fixt & Equip	4,128,674	FUND BALANCE	9,795,194
Total Assets	21,352,984	Total	21,352,984

From OCT 01 1988 to SEP 30 1989 sales \$35,331,458; cost of goods sold \$33,340,472. Gross profit \$1,990,986. Operating income \$1,990,986; net income before taxes \$1,990,986. Net income \$1,990,986. Monthly rent \$90,000. Lease expires 1993.

Prepared from statement(s) by Accountant: Deloitte, Haskins & Sells.

ACCOUNTANTS OPINION: "A review of the accountant's opinion indicates the financial statements meet generally accepted accounting principles and that the audit contains no qualifications".

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COLLATERAL: Leased Communications equipment and proceeds - Leased Business machinery/equipment and proceeds  
FILING NO: 09144 DATE FILED: 04/08/1991  
TYPE: Original RECEIVED BY D&B: 06/07/1991  
SEC. PARTY: XEROX CORP, WASHINGTON, DC FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE & REVENUE/RECORDER OF DEEDS, DC  
DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

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COLLATERAL: Leased Communications equipment and proceeds - Leased Business machinery/equipment and proceeds  
FILING NO: 09143 DATE FILED: 04/08/1991  
TYPE: Original RECEIVED BY D&B: 06/07/1991  
SEC. PARTY: XEROX CORP, WASHINGTON, DC FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE & REVENUE/RECORDER OF DEEDS, DC  
DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

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COLLATERAL: Leased Business machinery/equipment and proceeds - Leased Equipment and proceeds  
FILING NO: 18547 DATE FILED: 11/07/1990  
TYPE: Original RECEIVED BY D&B: 12/17/1990  
SEC. PARTY: CHASE THIRD CENTURY LEASING CO, MOBERLY, MO FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE & REVENUE/RECORDER OF DEEDS, DC  
DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

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COLLATERAL: Specified Equipment  
FILING NO: 11687 DATE FILED: 08/09/1990  
TYPE: Original RECEIVED BY D&B: 09/11/1990  
SEC. PARTY: SIGNET LEASING & FINANCIAL, BETHESDA, MD FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE & REVENUE/RECORDER OF DEEDS, DC  
DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INC

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COLLATERAL: Leased Communications equipment - Leased Fixtures - Leased Business machinery/equipment  
FILING NO: 21388 DATE FILED: 12/20/1990  
TYPE: Original RECEIVED BY D&B: 12/20/1990  
SEC. PARTY: CHESAPEAKE INDUST LEASING CO INC, BALTIMORE, MD FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE & REVENUE/RECORDER OF DEEDS, DC  
DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INC

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COLLATERAL: Leased Equipment  
FILING NO: 17569 DATE FILED: 10/22/1990  
TYPE: Original RECEIVED BY D&B: 12/03/1990  
SEC. PARTY: SIGNET LEASING & FINANCIAL CORP BETHESDA, MD FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE & REVENUE/RECORDER OF DEEDS, DC  
DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INC

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COLLATERAL: Leased Equipment - Leased Business machinery/equipment  
FILING NO: 17192 DATE FILED: 10/17/1990  
TYPE: Original RECEIVED BY D&B: 11/29/1990  
SEC. PARTY: CHASE THIRD CENTURY LSG CO, MOBERLY, MO FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE & REVENUE/RECORDER OF DEEDS, DC  
DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

COLLATERAL: Business machinery/equipment  
 FILING NO: 5012  
 TYPE: Original  
 SEC. PARTY: FIRST UN LSG CORP, NORTHBROOK,  
 IL  
 DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO (INC)

DATE FILED: 06/17/1986  
 RECEIVED BY D&B: 11/20/1990  
 FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE  
 & REVENUE/RECORDER OF  
 DEEDS, DC

FILING NO: 12779  
 TYPE: Termination  
 SEC. PARTY: FARMERS BANK AND TRUST, HANOVER  
 PA  
 DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INC

DATE FILED: 05/17/1991  
 RECEIVED BY D&B: 08/08/1991  
 ORIG. UCC FILED: 12/20/1990  
 ORIG. FILING NO: 900021388  
 FILED WITH: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE  
 & REVENUE/RECORDER OF  
 DEEDS, DC

The public record items reported above under "PUBLIC FILINGS"  
 and "UCC FILINGS" may have been paid, terminated, vacated  
 or released prior to the date this report was printed.

HISTORY  
 07/22/91

DOUGLAS J BENNET, PRES  
 DIRECTOR(S): THE OFFICER(S) and other officers are chosen from  
 membership to serve one or two year terms and are generally not active  
 on a daily basis.

BUSINESS TYPE: Corporation -  
 Non-profit  
 DATE INCORPORATED: 02/26/1970  
 STATE OF INCORP: District Of  
 Columbia

Non-stock corporation.

Business started 1970 by radio stations throughout the United  
 States.

DOUGLAS J BENNET born 1938. BA degree from Wesleyan University  
 and MA degree from University of California, Berkeley, CA and a PhD  
 from Harvard University. 1964-66 employed in the office of ambassador  
 Chester Bowles, New Delhi. 1966-69 assistant to vice president Hubert  
 Humphrey. 1969-75 administrative assistant to senator Abraham  
 Ribicoff; all positions were on Capitol Hill. 1975-79 worked with the  
 U S Department of State, Office of Congressional Relations. 1979-81  
 administrator of the U S Agency for International Development.  
 1981-83 president and chief executive officer of The Roosevelt Center  
 for American Policy Studies. 1983 began as president of National  
 Public Radio (Inc).

OPERATION  
 07/22/91

Membership organization operating as a non-profit, non-commercial  
 radio network serving more than 380 member stations. Emphasis is on  
 news, cultural affairs and public affairs. Member stations pay annual  
 membership fees based on total local budgets. Captioned business does

not own any radio stations.

Terms: **Derived from government and commercial grants and dues billed monthly to members.** Sells to general public. Territory : United States.

Nonseasonal.

EMPLOYEES: 442 including officers. 421 employed here.

FACILITIES: Rents 90,000 sq. ft. on tenth floor of ten story brick building in normal condition.

LOCATION: Central business section on well traveled street.

BRANCHES: Branches located in Chicago, IL; Los Angeles, CA; London, England; New York, NY; Utah; Texas and Wisconsin. Operations same as headquarters.

09-06(795 /795)

46101

061 061 H

FULL DISPLAY COMPLETE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**DATE:** September 6, 1991

**TO:** DORRANCE SMITH

**FROM:** GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

Bi-monthly sounds good to me. Let's try for the first one September 13th -- unless, of course, you've got a problem with Friday the 13th!

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Memo	From Dorrance Smith to John Sununu Re: Television Address (1 pp.)	9/6/91	<del>B5</del>	

**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:** Public Affairs  
(D. Smith) (1991)

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

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/28/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29182-011
<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

September 6, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH 

SUBJECT: TELEVISION ADDRESS

I would like to propose a weekly or bi-monthly television address from the OEOB Studio. We would schedule this live for Fridays and give broadcasters the satellite coordinates. The President would speak on the issues of the past week or the one upcoming. For instance, if we begin this next Friday, he could comment on the Thomas nomination and put a strong plug in for the upcoming hearings on Gates.

In addition to national and local play, we'd also get Saturday papers. The uniqueness of the concept would generate additional press.

I'd love to discuss this further.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO: Governor Sununu

FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*

Attached is a copy of last night's "Nightline" with Senator Mitchell and Ambassador James Lilley.

# # #

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen

*This transcript has not yet been proofread against videotape and cannot, for that reason, be guaranteed as to accuracy of speakers and spelling. (JPM)*

ABC NEWS NIGHTLINE Show #2613  
Air Date: May 29, 1991

## China's Democracy Movement Heard From Again

**Pres. GEORGE BUSH:** [May 27, 1991] Some argue that a nation as moral and just as ours should not taint itself by dealing with nations less moral.

You do not reform a world by ignoring it. And so, when we find opportunities to cooperate with China, we will explore them.

**TED KOPPEL:** [voice-over] For two years, China's democracy movement lay dormant. Now, as we approach the second anniversary of Tiananmen, that movement is heard from again. It couldn't happen at a worse time for the Bush administration.

**ANNOUNCER:** This is ABC News Nightline. Reporting from Washington, Ted Koppel.

**KOPPEL:** By and large, we Americans prefer our foreign policy to develop along the lines of an old western movie. Perhaps you remember the Gene Autry-Hopalong Cassidy-Roy Rogers variety. Even a nine-year-old could distinguish the good guys from the bad, and justice always triumphed over evil.

So why, a lot of people are asking, does George Bush — who ought to be wearing the biggest white hat in the land — why does the President want to continue helping the Chinese government sell its products here in the United States? That's what most favored nation trading status means. It means that the Chinese, who have done little or nothing toward democratizing their country, will enjoy the same low trading tariffs that apply, for example, to England or Holland or France.

China clearly needs that most favored nation status. This year it's expected that China will enjoy a \$15 billion trade advantage with the United States. The only country with which we would then have a greater trade deficit is Japan.

So why doesn't the United States use some of that most favored nation clout to get China to liberalize things a little back home? That's the focus of this broadcast tonight. We begin with this report from Nightline correspondent Jackie Judd.

**JACKIE JUDD, ABC News:** Two years ago to the day, the symbol of hope for China's young revolutionaries stood in Tiananmen Square. Within days, the Goddess of Democracy was crushed, as was the student reform movement. Only now are voices silent for two years being heard again.

The timing couldn't be worse for President Bush, because this is also the time of year the President must decide whether to extend China's trading privileges and give it most favored nation trading

status.

**Pres. BUSH:** [Monday] MFN is a means to bring the influence of the outside world to bear on China.

**JUDD:** [voice-over] Mr. Bush concedes it will be a hard sell in Congress, in part because of the images frozen in the minds of so many Americans.

**CHINESE STUDENT:** We believe the words from the American Declaration of Independence very much, "We hold this truth to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

**JUDD:** [voice-over] The government's campaign of intimidation that followed frightened people into silence, but there are now reports that dissent has sprung up again at several colleges, including Beijing University, where the '89 movement began.

Yesterday a banner proclaiming "We will never forget June 4th" flew briefly from a dorm window and pro-democracy pamphlets were tossed out of the windows. They said, "The sickness of the Communist Party has worsened."

If China's leadership had any interest in placating American politicians, they certainly aren't showing it. Western reporters were called in and warned not to send any pictures of dissent out to the West. Correspondent Todd Carrel says this is all dangerous stuff for the students.

**TODD CARREL, ABC News:** This was a very bold movement in the current climate, because we know that there are security policemen all around the campuses. The government will not tolerate any more protests, and that's been clear ever since last June 4th. Now, anybody who did this would risk, I believe, immediate arrest.

**JUDD:** [voice-over] Even bolder is Ho Sha Tien [sp?]. Her activist husband is serving 13 years in prison. She sent a signed letter to western journalists and to the United Nations calling sentences such as his political persecution. She described the prisoners' dire conditions, writing that they have been stripped of all personal freedoms.

The aging party leadership in China shows no sign of easing up. In fact, it may be getting worse in China. There are said to have been more trials of political dissidents in the past six months than at any time since Tiananmen Square.

[on camera] It's against this backdrop that President Bush must persuade Congress not to overturn his trade decision, but many Democrats feel that putting the economic squeeze on China's leaders is the only way they're going to institute reform.

**Rep. DAVID SKAGGS, (D) Colorado:** They may want to play us for patsies on trade, but do we have to be accomplices to our own manipulation and shame? Surely not.

**Rep. EDWARD MARKEY, (D) Massachusetts:** If the Chinese are going to take a hard line on human rights and nuclear weapons, then the United States should take a hard line on China.

**JUDD:** *[voice-over]* China's most famous dissident joined the debate today, testifying on Capitol Hill. Fang Lizhi took shelter in the U.S. embassy in Beijing for a year before being permitted to leave China. Today he says he feels abandoned by the U.S.

**FANG LIZHI, Chinese Dissident:** If you— if your administration employs a double standard or multiple standard, we feel very sad and very disappointed. You know, this is your values, your principle. Then you will lose your reputation.

**JUDD:** *[voice-over]* The list of trade grievances against the Chinese regime is longer than just Tiananmen Square. Some members of Congress claim that prisoners, including political dissidents, are forced to make products that are later sold in the U.S.

**Sen. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, (D), Foreign Relations Committee:** *[May 16, 1991]* Here, Mr. President, if I can show the Senate, is a set of socks, socks you might buy in a K-Mart. Prison labor is routinely used and extensively used to produce goods for export to the United States under the most favored nations clause.

**JUDD:** *[voice-over]* Various American industries claim that China steals their patents and technology, costing them hundreds of millions of dollars a year.

And China is suspected of selling missile technology to Pakistan and to other countries. Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi says it adds up to a hypocritical foreign policy.

**Rep. NANCY PELOSI, (D) California:** I do not believe that we can anymore ignore the proliferation of the transfer of nuclear technology that China has engaged in while we say we need to go to war to fight Saddam Hussein because he may have nuclear capability down the road.

**JUDD:** *[voice-over]* Supporters of the President, though, say there is no value in isolating China, but that there are very practical reasons to keep the Chinese happy.

**ROGER SULLIVAN, U.S.-China Business Council:** If your only objective is to express your outrage, this is a very, very expensive way to do it, and an awful lot of people, a lot of innocent people get hurt by the removal of MFN treatment for China.

**JUDD:** *[voice-over]* There is also China's political importance to the U.S. For example, it abstained rather than vote against the U.S. when the U.N. Security Council authorized force against Iraq.

**HARRY HARDING, The Brookings Institution:** My fear is that if we adopt — by withdrawing MFN — what the Chinese will certainly interpret as a hostile stance towards them, that they are much less likely to be cooperative and instead of tracing an upward spiral toward somewhat better behavior, I think the Chinese behavior is likely to become even more responsible— ah, irresponsible.

**JUDD:** *[voice-over]* Irresponsible comes close to what President Bush is accusing the Democratic leadership

of in opposing him. An easy cop-out, he called it. And given the power these images still carry, it's probably in the President's interest to cast the debate as old-fashioned partisan politics instead of a debate about human rights and morality in foreign policy. This is Jackie Judd for Nightline.

**KOPPEL:** When we come back, we'll talk with Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell about whether this is just, as the President charges, partisan politics. And later we'll be joined by the outgoing United States ambassador to Beijing, who supports the President, and by a leader in the human rights movements here in the United States who is against the trade extension for China.

*[Commercial break]*

**KOPPEL:** George Bush was vacationing in Kennebunkport, Maine, when the growing congressional fight over China caught up with him.

**Pres. BUSH:** I understand it, I'm strongly for it and I know what I'm suggesting is in the best interest of the United States, not just China, in the best interest of our country. So I've got to— I've got to get out and make that as clear as I possibly can.

**REPORTER:** Senator Mitchell sounded like he was going to give you a pretty good fight.

**Pres. BUSH:** Well, he's already indicated that, but I'd like to talk with George and I'd like to reason with him.

**KOPPEL:** *[voice-over]* Joining us now from Denver is Senator George Mitchell, the Senate Majority Leader.

Most favored nation as a phrase is, as you know, Senator, something of a misnomer. It suggests that it's only extended to a few countries around the world. In point of fact, it's extended to almost all countries around the world, we only isolate a very few. Does it make any sense to isolate that country with the largest population in the world?

**Sen. GEORGE MITCHELL, (D) Majority Leader:** It does under these circumstances, in which the Chinese have routinely ignored the— what I would regard as normal trade requirements. Their trade practices, as the news interviews at the outset of this show indicated, are really the kind that, if any other country practiced them, we would reciprocate, not to mention the human rights violations and, of course, the nuclear materials and ballistic missile proliferation in which they have continued to make such sales, notwithstanding their promises to the contrary.

So I think here common sense, American ideals and American national interest require that the extension be with conditions. I don't think we should terminate it, I think we should condition it in a way that hopefully will encourage them to change their policies.

**KOPPEL:** The President says he's going to try and reason with you and certainly among the things that he will try to suggest to you is that you get a lot more or you get a lot further with the Chinese by dealing gently with them or dealing rationally with them rather than by

dealing harshly and emotionally with them.

**Sen. MITCHELL:** Well, of course I will obviously be very pleased to meet with and talk to the President. We have a very good, cordial personal relationship and our disagreement is on the issue, not in any personal sense, and I will of course respectfully listen to any argument the President makes. But I would point out that the argument he's making now is almost word-for-word the argument he made last year.

**KOPPEL:** And?

**Sen. MITCHELL:** And in the intervening 12 months things haven't improved, as your own report indicated. They've gotten worse.

**KOPPEL:** So why are you even suggesting giving them another six months?

**Sen. MITCHELL:** Well, because I think during that time the President could make clear with the action that we've taken to the Chinese leadership that if they don't make changes, then, by operation of law this trade status would be discontinued, and it's very important to the Chinese. As your report indicated, they have a very large trade surplus with us and because of their unfair trade practices, it's going in exactly the wrong direction for us. Chinese exports to the United States increased by more than 20 percent last year; American exports to China decreased by more than 20 percent. We're moving in precisely the wrong direction in terms of American economic interest.

**KOPPEL:** But what makes you think, Senator, that if you were to— well, I mean, first of all, let me put it to you on purely practical political terms, domestic political terms. You know full well that even if you succeed in turning MFN back, the President's going to veto it and then you're going to have to have a two-thirds majority and the experts are saying you're not going to get it.

**Sen. MITCHELL:** Well, I'm not sure about that. There are a lot of Republicans who are very uneasy about this policy. I ask you to imagine, Ted, what the reaction would be from many conservative Republicans if this were a Democratic president proposing this kind of lenient policy to Communist tyrants who have engaged in such repression, not just of their own people, but of the people of Tibet and many others, monstrous actions. I think the full dimensions of this haven't been made clear.

Just a few weeks ago the President received in the White House the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of the people of Tibet. We received him in the Congress. He told us in a public gathering that the Chinese have massacred, according to him, 1,200,000 of his people, 20 percent of the population and engaged at this moment in widespread repression. I have no way of knowing whether those figures are accurate, but if they even approximate the truth, if they are— if the truth is half that, it's a truly horrendous record on human rights, especially the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square in the last— two years ago.

And so I think we have to look at this in a broader view. Do we believe in the principles which we espouse? I

thought it was very moving in the early part of the segment when you showed a young Chinese man quoting the Declaration of Independence. It's obvious that those Chinese who risked their lives, and some of whom lost their lives because they wanted democracy believed it. The question is, do we? I think we should stand up in this case for our ideals and I think that will be the way to move the Chinese leadership.

Clearly, the way that the President proposes hasn't worked. We've tried it. It's failed. The results are worse than they were, than when the MFN status was extended last year.

**KOPPEL:** Senator Mitchell, it's very good of you to join us. Thank you very much, sir.

**Sen. MITCHELL:** Thank you, Ted.

**KOPPEL:** When we come back, we'll be joined by the outgoing U.S. ambassador to China, who came to Beijing just one month before Tiananmen Square, Ambassador James Lilley. And by the first assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, Patt Derian.

[Commercial break]

*"People of Beijing University, obey your conscience."  
—student pamphlet, May 1991*

**KOPPEL:** Joining us now from our bureau here in Washington are Ambassador James Lilley, who has served as the U.S. representative to China from the spring of 1989 until this past month, and Patt Derian, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs during the Carter administration.

Ambassador Lilley, as was mentioned earlier in this broadcast, the Chinese are going to enjoy this year a trade advantage of \$15 billion. One would think that that would give the United States a little bit of clout. Why not use it?

**JAMES LILLEY, U.S. Ambassador to China:** Well, I think we should use our clout, but I think that you have to have the punishment fit the crime, and it seems to me that in terms of the intellectual property rights violations, we have put them on the designated list. This is a devastating move which could cause China considerable concern. That is the move to take there. I think in terms of proliferation, we've already taken action against them, serious action against them. We are going to try to bring them into the world regimen on proliferation of weapons. I think this is very crucial.

And most important, on human rights. I think in this area we can cite instances where American intervention has brought a much better deal to certain Chinese.

**KOPPEL:** And yet when you listen to Senator Mitchell talk about the Dalai Lama's suggestion that over a million Tibetans have been killed by the Chinese, and you talk about the punishment fitting the crime, it seems to me that the punishment is not even up to the crime.

**Amb. LILLEY:** I was in Tibet for several days in April, just about six weeks ago. I visited prisons, I visited monasteries, I visited the Xho Kang [sp?] temple. I saw a great deal in Tibet. I reported exactly what I saw. Much

of what I saw I didn't like. I did not see any evidence of killing of Chinese [sic] although I reported instances of tortures of prisoners.

**KOPPEL:** And, to use your own phrase — and forgive me, because we don't have a whole lot of time to cover an awful lot of ground — when you say the punishment not fitting the crime, what kind of crimes are you looking for to make the punishment fit it?

**Amb. LILLEY:** I was at Tiananmen. I was not watching it as a couch potato. I was there. I was also in Tibet. And I saw the horror, and it's very real to me. It seems to me that the United States has taken moves to move this process forward. The number of Chinese leaving since since '88 to '90 has gone up 84 percent. The amnesty has been given to Chinese at our insistence. The Chinese are making accountings to us for people who were hurt at Tiananmen. Secretary Shifter was there for 16 hours. Mr. Fang Lizhi was got out, not by a double standard but by my very strong interventions with the Chinese to get him out. He's now in Princeton and he's speaking his mind. We got out a number of other Chinese, Han Deng Fong [sp?], we got out Nu Shou Bak [sp?], we got out Yan Wei [sp?], we got out Chun Xiaoping [sp?]. A number of Chinese have been gotten out, they've gotten a better life because of our interventions. I think this is very real, concrete progress.

**KOPPEL:** Ms. Derian, it's not always the easiest argument to make, the one that the ambassador is making.

**PATT DERIAN, former State Department Official:** No, I certainly hope not.

**KOPPEL:** No, but—

**Ms. DERIAN:** It seems to be easy.

**KOPPEL:** —but in fairness, it's easy to sort of take the side of justice and goodness, but in reality foreign policy doesn't work that way. There are all kinds of countries around the world with which we deal, even though they have abysmal human rights policies.

**Ms. DERIAN:** Who's talking about not dealing with them? We're talking about special privileges, that's what most favored nation is. And what's shocking to me, over and over again, is that we come to a point like this, we're talking about most favored nation in a brilliantly symbolic period, almost to the day, of Tiananmen Square. No one seems to be particularly concerned about that except Nightline and the human rights organizations and the Chinese. The President in his comments over the weekend about why we weren't going to do this really pulled the rug out from under the Chinese.

**KOPPEL:** What else could he have done at this point? What else should he have done?

**Ms. DERIAN:** What he could have done is said, in spite of the fact that we sent a secret mission there to apparently reassure you right after you committed the acts at Tiananmen Square — remember Scowcroft's secret mission, secret for some reason — what we could have said, is, "I'm sorry, you don't qualify for most favored nation. We're not going to help you repress your

people."

I don't see it as punishment. I see it as an extra, a goodie. This is something we're going to give them. We seem unable to detach ourselves from the idea that there's something in China that transcends our best, best principles of ourselves and of the idea of people.

**KOPPEL:** I'd like to hear— we're going to take a quick break, and when we come back, I'd like to hear from Ambassador Lilly what he thinks the reaction of the Chinese government would be if indeed most favored nation treatment were not extended to them. We'll continue after this.

[Commercial break]

**KOPPEL:** Ambassador Lilley, Ms. Derian makes a point. In a sense, it's not a punishment, we're offering them a goodie. What would they do if we didn't?

**Amb. LILLEY:** Let's go back in history. This goodie was first offered to the Chinese in 1979 when Vice President Mondale was in China. Do you recall in 1979 what was going on in China, the democracy wall movement? Do you recall—

**KOPPEL:** Indeed. Indeed I do.

**Amb. LILLEY:** —a man called Wei Jing Shun [sp?] who was put in jail for 15 years? He's still in jail. The man who got in trouble in our time, Fang Lizhi, is at Princeton and free. Wei Jing Shun [sp?] is still in jail for what he did in 1979 when we gave China most favored nation.

**KOPPEL:** We did tend to sort of brush over those one million-plus people that the Dalai Lama claims were killed by the Chinese in Tibet. Now, granted, you said you didn't see them, but I'm not sure how you would have or why you expected to.

**Amb. LILLEY:** I would— yeah, I would say that the killings during the Cultural Revolution were at the highest point, and that was done by factions fighting each other in Tibet. It was a brutal bloody business, and Tibet is under occupation by China. But I think also it's very important to realize how strongly Chinese inside China want MFN. They want it to be kept because they want the link to the United States, and if we take that away, they say we abandon them. Chinese come up to me and pull me by the sleeve and they say, "Don't walk away from us. If you do, that's the way the government will react." I think this is a very strong argument. Even Chinese in the States. Only 12 out of 420 polled wanted to stop MFN. So I think the Chinese themselves are telling you something.

**KOPPEL:** Ms. Derian, we have only a few seconds left, and what would you say to those Chinese?

**Ms. DERIAN:** I would like to see those Chinese lined up. The fact is that I expect the most favored nation is a somewhat obscure fact to them. What I'd like to say is that the effort to make this a partisan political issue, saying "our time, their time," is a foolish thing, as is the idea that there's something wrong with having high principles that every one of our presidents use in their rhetoric. This is a careless president we have in this

regard, and there's nothing wrong with a moral human rights policy—

**KOPPEL:** I hate to—

**Ms. DERIAN:** —and a moral foreign policy.

**KOPPEL:** —I hate to cut you short, but we are—

**Ms. DERIAN:** It's okay.

**KOPPEL:** —totally out of time. Ambassador Lilley, Ms. Derian, thank you both. That's it, that's all the time we have. I'm Ted Koppel. Good night.

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Memo	From Dorrance Smith to John Sununu Re: Olympics (1 pp.)	7/24/91	<del>P5</del>	

**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:** Public Affairs  
(D. Smith) (1991)

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

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/28/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29182-011
<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

July 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM:

DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT:

OLYMPICS

I'm very interested in taking over the Olympics file when Ed Rogers departs. I'm aware that this is a plum that others also covet. Here's my resume. I've attended Olympics in Munich ('72), Lake Placid ('80), Sarajevo ('84), Los Angeles ('84) and Calgary ('88). In addition to dealing with the Local Organizing Committees, I've had extensive dealing with the IOC and the USOC. Additionally, the new lobbyist for the USOC, Steve Bull, is an old friend. Lastly, the producers for CBS and NBC who will be handling the upcoming games are all former colleagues who I've dealt with extensively throughout the years.

THE CHIEF of STAFF  
has seen *and*  
*approved*

**THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON**

**DATE:** July 9, 1991

**TO:** DORRANCE SMITH

**FROM:** **GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU**

**SUBJECT:** Teleconferencing

I just went over your two memos again.

I think your perspective on the changing television landscape is right on target.

I found the costs, especially the variability of the costs, particularly interesting.

Keep up the good work!

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Memo	From Dorrance Smith to POTUS Re: Changing Television Landscape (4 pp.)	6/21/91	<del>P5</del>	

**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:** Public Affairs  
(D. Smith) (1991)

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

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/28/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29182-011
<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

<p><b>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</b></p> <p>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]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> <p>PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.</p>	<p><b>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</b></p> <p>(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</p>
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*  
Assistant to the President for Media Affairs

SUBJECT: Changing Television Landscape

The television landscape is rapidly changing. In 1978-1979, the three networks combined accounted for 91% of the total audience during primetime (8-11 pm); in 1983-1984, they accounted for 78%; in 1987-1988, 70% and today, the three network share is down to 63%. The following chart reveals the drastic incremental reduction in network shares over the past 13 years:

1978-79 = 91%	1987-88 = 70%
1979-80 = 90%	1988-89 = 67%
1980-81 = 85%	1989-90 = 65%
1981-82 = 83%	1990-91 = 63%
1982-83 = 81%	
1983-84 = 78%	
1984-85 = 77%	
1985-86 = 76%	
1986-87 = 75%	

Moreover, the total three network share of the evening news programs is expected to drop to 50% this summer. Last week, the total primetime share was 52% and the total evening share was 55%. All the networks are drastically downsizing their news coverage operations by closing bureaus and cutting back staff. Today ABC announced the cancellation of their late night weekend news programs.

Fox TV, which was created five years ago, has become close to a 4th network. Fox is not legally considered a network by the FCC but is a viable force with which the three networks are starting to have to contend. At inception in 1987-1988, Fox had a total share of 6% and it now holds a share of 11%. Within the next year, Fox network affiliates will reach 96% of the country. Last week, Fox's total primetime share was 10 %.

Since networks can no longer claim such a huge monopoly on the news delivery system and are bound to lose audience share in a greatly fragmented world, our opportunity relies on developing methods to reach the Non Networks.

-more-

This "Non Network" can be broken down into 4 categories:

- 1) Independent Television Stations
- 2) Basic Cable Network
- 3) Pay Cable Network
- 4) Public Television Stations

Currently, Independent TV stations hold approximately 21%; Basic Cable network 18%; pay TV 6% and Public TV stations 4% (Due to rounding off of numbers and multiset use, totals are over 100%).

CNN, though not generating a mass audience, holds a primetime average rating of 2.8 and a 4.4 share. CNN has an average household audience of 1,590,000. It is hard to underestimate the public diplomacy aspect of CNN. Every foreign head of state and most foreign hotels have CNN. When I walked into the Iraqi Foreign Minister's office last August they were all watching you on CNN from their office in Baghdad. Without a doubt CNN is extremely influential in the foreign arena. For instance, during the war CNN's ratings increased dramatically illustrating its importance during intensive news periods. The following chart reveals this increase:

Primetime	January 1991	2,816,000
	February	2,508,000
	March	1,567,000
	April	591,000
	May	467,000

As the following shows, the other Turner Broadcasting networks - TBS, TNT and Headline News - have increased ratings as well:

Headline News holds a 0.9% share with a 0.6 rating and reaches an average household audience of 262,000; the TBS Superstation has 3.6 share with a 2.2 rating and reaches an average household audience of 1,243,000; and TNT has 1.8 rating with a 2.9 share and reaches an average household audience of 951,000.

Basic cable programming has been the dominant factor in chipping away at the network share. This month Home Box Office for the first time outperformed the Saturday evening lineups of the three major broadcast networks in HBO subscribing homes. HBO drew 11% of the 17.6 million homes with HBO; and NBC, CBS, and ABC drew 10.9%, 7.2% and 7% respectively. More and more cable is being evaluated as part of the national television mix rather than a special, separate medium. C-span currently has a potential of reaching 53 million households but actual viewership is not rated because of its non-profit affiliation.

As a result of this transformation in the TV market, we have been adjusting our media strategy to reflect the changing marketplace. Fast Track provided a good test case. We were successful in delivering our message through strategic use of surrogates in targeted media markets. The White House press corps hardly touched the fast track issue. On the day of Congressional passage only 1 of the 3 network newscasts even mentioned the Fast Track victory.

Due to changes in networks many regional affiliates have been spawned. Groups like Conus, Bonneville, and Potomac News Service represent a covey of affiliates. Their appetite for access to us and to what we offer is great.

In addition, each network has their own feed service to their affiliates and to their owned stations. Each network has about 200 plus affiliates. As the network programs have declined, this service has become increasingly more aggressive in providing material (surrogates) to their affiliates and bypassing their own network program. It is fair to say that news like politics is more and more trending local.

The process used with Fast Track ought to serve as a prototype of our future strategy. We targeted our surrogates to the areas where the issue was ripe, and put together regional networks through these affiliate operations. There is more choice for consumers and specialization in the market/audience today; and the term "narrow"casting is more fitting than "broad"casting. Our teleconferencing strategy is exemplary of this strategy. With our teleconferencing capability and as channel capacity increases, there is more opportunity to localize and regionalize. The potential for delivering our message across the nation to targeted audiences is enormous.

That brings us to Los Angeles. Your interview was widely telecast. It played on the "CBS Saturday Evening News" and on "This Week With David Brinkley." Here's the play we received from the three local stations (combined audience 5.5 million) from your interview last Saturday:

KABC

Saturday:        5:00 pm  
                  11:00 pm  
Monday:         4:00 pm  
                  5:00 pm  
                  6:00 pm

In addition, KABC ran promotional ads all day Monday highlighting Paul Moyer's "exclusive conversation" with the President.

KCBS

Saturday: 5:00 pm  
6:00 pm  
Sunday: 5:00 pm  
Monday: 6:00 am  
noon  
5:00 pm  
6:00 pm

KCBS also ran promotional ads.

KNBC

Saturday: 5:00 pm  
11:00 pm  
Sunday: 4:00 pm  
5:00 pm

The major transformations in the media marketplace have occurred. Our strategy of tailoring our message to the new marketplace is still being developed. Only through a comprehensive multi dimensional approach - local, regional, targeted teleconferencing, radio, as well as network - will we be successful in delivering our message.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AC/ER

June 18, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO: Governor Sununu  
 FROM: Dorrance Smith *DS*  
 SUBJECT: Teleconferencing Costs

Attached are estimated costs for various satellite teleconferences. As you can see, there is a wide range of costs depending on such variables as the satellite dish, projection system and the time of day. Costs will vary depending on the time of the day and the availability of a Ku band satellite truck. Generally, the use of a satellite dish is most expensive in the afternoon hours.

The following are estimated costs for a satellite teleconference from Kennebunkport, Maine to Seattle, Washington:

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON	
Projection System -	\$3,500
Ku band downlink/uplink truck -	\$4,000
Technical support (i.e. camera crews)	\$1,000
<b>Total Seattle costs</b>	<b>\$8,500</b>
KENNEBUNKPORT, ME	
Ku band uplink/downlink truck/ technical support	\$9,000
Satellite time	\$3,600 (three hours)
*includes transmission time from Seattle	
<b>Total Maine costs</b>	<b>\$12,600</b>
<b>TOTAL TELECONFERENCE</b>	<b>\$21,100</b>

- continued -

The following are estimated costs for the PBS and AAF satellite teleconferences conducted June 11, 1991 and the Edison Electric Institute satellite teleconference conducted June 4, 1991:

PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE

Studio crew and uplink equipment	\$2,000
Fiber optic interconnects	\$1,045
Switch hook-ups and charges	\$ 875
Interface coordination	\$ 450
Phone Lines (3)	\$ 75

PBS Total \$4,445

\*Please note that PBS provided satellite time and we do not have the projection system and camera costs at this time.

AMERICAN ADVERTISING FEDERATION

Studio crew and uplink equipment	\$2,000
Fiber optic interconnects	\$1,045
Switch hook-up and charges	\$ 875
Uplink/downlink/satellite time	\$1,931.25
Interface coordination	\$ 450

AAF Total \$6,301.25

\*Note this figure does not include the projection system and camera costs.

EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE

Studio crew and uplink equipment	\$2,000
Fiber optic interconnects	\$1,045
Switch hook-up and charges	\$ 875
Uplink and downlink	\$6,518.75 *
Satellite time (three hours)	\$2,687.50
Interface coordination	\$ 900
Projection system/camera (estimated)	\$3,000 **
Uplink test the preceding day	\$ 50

EEI Total \$17,076.25

\* Note that EEI contracted this satellite vehicle for two days.

\*\* The final invoice has not been received. However, this figure is the anticipated amount for the projection system and camera.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**DATE:** May 9, 1991

**TO:** DORRANCE SMITH

**FROM:** GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

Your May 6 memo looks great.

Go to it!

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08. Memo	From Dorrance Smith to John Sununu Re: Use of Network Affiliates Services Division [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	5/6/91	<del>P-5</del> , (b)(6)	

**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:** Public Affairs  
(D. Smith) (1991)

**Document Partially Declassified**  
**(Copy of Document Follows)**  
By JF (NLGB) on 10/28/05

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/28/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 29182-011
<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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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1991

AC HAS SEEN

Gov. S -  
Good staff -  
Andy

MEMORANDUM FOR GOV. SUNUNU

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

CC: Andy Card, Dave Demarest, Marlin Fitzwater,  
Sig Rogich

The television landscape is rapidly changing. Ten years ago the networks accounted for 90% of the total audience. Today, due to Cable and Fox, the three-network share is down to an average of 60%. During the summer the total three-network share of the evening news programs drops to below 50%

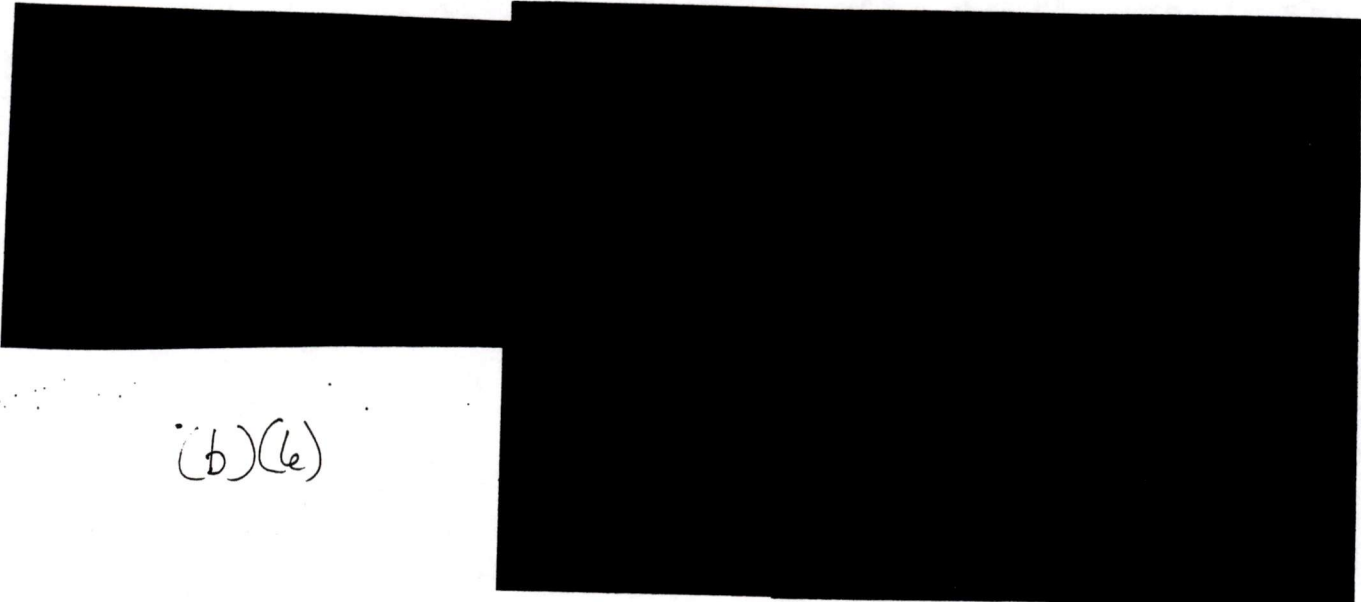
What is a problem for the network news divisions--all now experiencing their own cutbacks to face the new reality--is an opportunity for us. No longer can the networks claim such a huge monopoly on the news delivery system. Our opportunity relies on our developing methods to reach the "other 40%." The technology is there. The appetite for the material is there. It is simply a matter of adjusting our communications strategy to fit the changing landscape.

Last week I met with the vice presidents of the three network affiliates services divisions. They are a network service operation for their respective local affiliates. In essence, the people that I met with represent a network within the network. Each network has around 200-plus affiliates. Their job is to gather news material and then feed it out periodically to the affiliates during the day and night. Each network has their own regional feeds. The affiliates then record the material and decide whether it plays in their local news. Never have they had any contact with anyone at the White House. Inside their own companies they are not very high on the totem pole. Yet, I think they represent a major untapped resource.

Take Fast track. Not a word on any evening news program to date. We plan to target our surrogates to the areas where the issues is ripe, and put together regional networks through these affiliate operations. We will suggest California, Texas, and Florida on the Fast Track question. We say to these affiliate services divisions that we are making our surrogate available for an interview for the Texas, California, and Florida media for one hour on a given day. They telex their affiliates in those areas and get back to us with the markets that are interested. Then we either tape or hook up live our surrogate through these affiliate services division and get a hit in the local markets that we have

targeted. When I walked through this scenario with the vice presidents, their collective read was that the appetite would be so large we would have a tough time meeting it.

This is similar to the work we have done and will continue to do, with the local satellite vendors such as Newslink, Conus, and Potomac, but in a more strategic and direct manner.



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