

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90576
Folder ID Number: 90576-002

Folder Title:
Wednesday, January 2, 1991 [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	0	0	0	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Log	White House Telephone Log [President Bush] [redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	01/02/[91]	(b)(6)	
02. Note	Handwritten notes of Presidential Phone call with JAB [James A. Baker, III] (1 pp.)	01/02/91	(b)(1)	
03. Note	From Patty P[resock] to President Bush Re: Congressman Bill Young (1 pp.)	01/02/91	(b)(6)	
04. Paper	Implications (2 pp.)	01/02/91	(b)(1)	S

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, January 2, 1991 [1]

Pinksheet Number: dw1930
OA/ID Number: 90576-002
Date Closed: 3/23/2011
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Wednesday, January 2, 1991

7:50 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Gregory Mertz</u> (Newman) (TAB A)	Oval Office
8:00 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft/Sununu)	Oval Office
8:15 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft/Sununu)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Governor Sununu</u>	Oval Office
9:15 am (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
10:00 am (90 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:30 am (15 min)	<u>Photo Opportunities</u> (TAB B) 1. Barry McBee (Holiday) 2. Departing Military Staff (Newman)	Oval Office
11:45 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
12:00 pm (60 min)	<u>Lunch with the Vice President</u>	Oval Office
1:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Baker</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
2:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Governor Sununu</u>	Oval Office
3:00 pm (2 hrs)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office

UNP 12/31/90
3:00 pm

0704 POTUS IN OVAL

0745 POTUS IN ROOSEVELT ROOM
(SENIOR STAFF MTG)

0803 POTUS IN OVAL / MERTZ ET AL IN 0805 ALL OUT

0806 RUDY PENA, MARIA PENA IN 0807 ALL OUT

0808 ADD SCOWCROFT, GATES, DCI, PETERS

0810 ADD SUNUNU 0826 DCI, PETERS OUT

0827 ADD VP 0849 ADD FITZWATER, DEMAREST

0900 ADD CARD 0923 SCOWCROFT, GATES OUT

0925 FITZWATER, DEMAREST, CARD OUT

1030 VP OUT 1039 SUNUNU OUT

1128 ADD SEN PHIL GRAHAM, SUNUNU

1146 GRAHAM, SUNUNU OUT

1147 MCBEE ET AL IN 1148 ALL OUT

1149 MIL OFFICE ET AL IN 1158 ALL OUT / ADD
FITZWATER

1200 FITZWATER OUT 1202 ADD VP

1257 VP OUT / ADD SCOWCROFT

1300 ADD SUNUNU 1304 SUNUNU OUT

1332 ADD BAKER 1338 ADD SUNUNU

1445 ALL OUT 1505 SUNUNU OUT

1548 ADD SCOWCROFT 1607 SCOWCROFT OUT

1614 ADD CARD 1619 ADD FITZWATER

1621 CARD OUT 1630 FITZWATER OUT

1720 POTUS TO CABANA

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Log	White House Telephone Log [President Bush] [redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	01/02/[91]	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, January 2, 1991 [1]

Date Closed: 3/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 90576-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (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

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

JANUARY 2nd

90

, 19

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	10:35 AM		11:03	COLONEL FRANK BORMAN DALLAS, TX. 214-351-9106	TLKD-OK 10:59 A.M.
INC	XX AM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	10:53 AM		10:54	MRS. ANNA MARIA PEREZ OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 669	TLKD-OK
INC	XX PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	XX AM			CONGRESSMAN G. V. MONTGOMERY OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-5031	TLKD-OK 3:44 P.M.
INC	12:59 PM		3:48		
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	XX AM			GOVERNOR ELECT PETE WILSON SACRAMENTO, CA. 916-324-1476	TLKD-OK 5:04 P.M.
INC	1:00 PM		5:08		
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	XX AM			SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 420	TLKD-OK 3:34 P.M.
INC	3:22 PM		3:39		
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	XX AM			CONGRESSMAN ROBERT H. MICHEL OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 805	TLKD-OK
INC	3:53 PM		4:00		

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

JANUARY 2nd

90

, 19

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	XXX AM		CONGRESSMAN G. V. MONTGOMERY OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-5031	TLKD-OK
INC	4:00 PM	4:04		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXX AM		MR. CHARLES G. UNTERMEYER OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-456-7060	TLKD-OK
INC	4:42 PM	4:50		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXX AM		GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 653	TLKD-OK
INC	5:53 PM	5:56		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXX AM		WHITE HOUSE PRESS OFFICE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 700	PRESUS CA.
INC	7:36 PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXX AM		VIDEO SERVICES OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-395-4125	SPOKE WITH T/SGT. JIM MYERS TLKD-OK
INC	7:40 PM	7:43		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXX AM		MR. WILLIAM BUSH	TLKD-OK WITH MRS. WILLIAM BUSH
INC	7:43 PM	7:57	(b)(6)	7:56 P.M.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BSUH

JANUARY 2nd

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	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	XXX AM		VIDEO SERVICES	
INC	9:08 PM		OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C.	PRESUS CA.
OUT	AM		202-395-4125	
INC	PM			
OUT	XXX AM		GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT	
XXX	9:12 PM	9:16	RES: BETHESDA, MD.	TLKD-OK
INC	AM		WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 2-3881	
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
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OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

January 2, 1991

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	AM		Governor John H. Sununu Office, Washington, D.C.	Tlkd-ok 6:47 PM
INC	6:45 PM	6:52	White House Signal 2-2287	
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
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INC	PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Washington, D.C.

DATE 2 January 1991

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0703	South Grounds
0704	Oval Office
0745	Roosevelt Room
0802	Oval Office
1720	South Grounds
1828	Governor Sununu's Office
1847	Residence
1950	Doctor's Office
2041	South Grounds
2046	Residence



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1991

6:00 A.M. EST EDITION

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH COMPARES SITUATION IN KUWAIT TO WORLD WAR II IN 'MORAL IMPORTANCE' -- President Bush, maintaining his tough no-concessions, no-compromise stance toward Iraq, said in a television interview to be broadcast Wednesday night that the U.S. has not faced an issue of such importance as the invasion of Kuwait since World War II. (Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, AP, Reuter)

BUSH RETURNS FOR TALKS -- President Bush met unexpectedly with his senior national security advisers last night as the seeming inevitability of war in the Gulf was tempered by talk of potential new diplomatic moves. (New York Times, Washington Times, Reuter)

IRAQ REJECTS MUBARAK APPEAL -- The Iraqi government Tuesday rejected an appeal for peace from President Mubarak, dismissing his warning of a "merciless hell" if war erupts in the Gulf as "hollow words" prompted by Egypt's allies in the U.S. (Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Reuter)

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH ADMITS NATION IN RECESSION 'IN SOME AREAS' -- President Bush used the R-word -- "recession" -- for the first time to describe some areas of the economy, but he said he would veto any big new quick-fix spending plans from Congress to curb it. (UPI)

NETWORK NEWS (Tuesday Evening)

GULF -- There are new signals of flexibility on a possible meeting date with Saddam.

ISRAEL -- Israeli soldiers shot and killed four Arabs in the occupied territories.

MATSUSHITA -- The very idea that part of Yosemite National Park may soon belong to the Japanese has Secretary Lujan in a fury.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-1

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-11

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH COMPARES SITUATION IN KUWAIT TO WORLD WAR II IN 'MORAL IMPORTANCE'

President Bush, maintaining his tough no-concessions, no-compromise stance toward Iraq, said in a television interview to be broadcast Wednesday night that the U.S. has not faced an issue of such importance as the invasion of Kuwait since World War II.

"It's that big, it's that important," Bush said of the U.S. role in forcing Saddam Hussein's retreat. "Nothing like this since World War II. Nothing of this moral importance since World War II." The comments came in an interview with Bush by David Frost that will air tonight on public television....

In the interview, the President harshly denounced Saddam as "the aggressor, the dictator, the rapist of Kuwait," and maintained that the chance for a more peaceful world will be lost "if we give one single inch to placate" Iraq.

Bush said that if the U.S. goes to war after the Jan. 15th U.N. deadline, he hopes "it would be over in a few days, but what happens, realistically, is hard to tell." At the conclusion of any military action, he said, "I want every single (U.S.) foot soldier and airman out as soon as possible" with a multinational peacekeeping force of some sort put in place.

The President also offered a somewhat pessimistic view of the situation in the Soviet Union, and an optimistic reading of the economic situation in the U.S., where he sees a mild recession that will be in effect for "not too many months."

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A22)

No Price Too High To Oust Iraq -- Bush

Demonstrating no sign of stepping back from his demand that all Iraqi troops must be withdrawn from Kuwait by Jan. 15th..., President Bush said in an interview that "no price is too heavy to pay" to repel "the aggression of Saddam Hussein against Kuwait."

Accusing the Iraqi president of committing genocide against the people of Kuwait, Bush said the world has faced "nothing of this moral importance since World War II."

In the interview, the President also left little doubt that, barring poor health, he intends to run for reelection in 1992. "In all likelihood, I probably will, but there is no Rubicon crossed on that one. But I would expect so," he said, although he added: "But who knows? Who knows?"

(James Gerstenzang, Los Angeles Times, A1)

Bush Says Curbing Iraq Greatest Moral Issue Since World War II

President Bush said in a television interview that reversing Iraq's takeover of Kuwait was the greatest moral challenge since World War II. "It's that big, it's that important," he said....

In the interview with David Frost, Bush said "no price is too heavy to pay" to force Saddam's withdrawal. "It is clear that if we don't check this aggression, and if the United Nations fails and all of us therein..., the price tag tomorrow will be far greater than the price tag today."

(Jim Wolf, Reuter)

-more-

Bush Won't Stop 'One Inch Short' Of Success In Gulf

President Bush says he is "absolutely firm" in his no-compromise stance toward Saddam Hussein but has not decided what he'll do if he doesn't withdraw his forces from Kuwait by Jan. 15.

..."We cannot stop one inch short of successful resolution," Bush said in an interview with David Frost.... "I will keep working to achieve a peaceful resolution to this question. However, it cannot be done with compromise to him."

Bush was noncommittal, however, when asked what he would do if Saddam does not comply with the Jan. 15th deadline.... "I haven't made a determination," he said. "And I suppose if I had I wouldn't advertise it, because we've got a lot of lives at stake.... But all options are open." (W. Dale Nelson, AP)

BUSH MEETS TOP AIDES TO REVIEW GULF CRISIS

President Bush reviewed the status of the Gulf crisis with his top national security advisers at a White House meeting Tuesday night as a showdown with Iraq moved toward a potentially climactic phase. No statement was issued following the meeting, which lasted about 80 minutes....

It was a review of "where we are and where we are going" in the Gulf, one U.S. official said. Among those attending the meeting were Secretaries Baker and Cheney, National Security Adviser Scowcroft and his deputy Robert Gates, Chief of Staff Sununu and Gen. Colin Powell. Upon his return to Washington earlier Tuesday, Bush smiled at reporters as he walked from his helicopter to the executive mansion but gave a noncommittal response when asked if Baker would travel to the Middle East soon.

...[Meanwhile], The Washington Post Tuesday quoted an Iraqi official as saying his country wanted to reach a compromise with the U.S. on direct talks.... "The ball is still in their court. They haven't proposed any new dates," a U.S. official said when asked about the report. Asked if Iraq was displaying new flexibility on fixing a date for direct talks, the official replied: "None that I've seen." (Gene Gibbons, Reuter)

Top Bush Advisers Called In To Meet On Iraq Strategy

President Bush met with senior advisers Tuesday night to discuss the military and political strategies for the final push leading to the Jan. 15th deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, Administration officials said.

"We are going to start to talk about what we are going to do," a senior Administration official said. "This is the first time the whole team will be back together since Dec. 18 to compare notes and review the whole range of strategic issues."...

The senior official said the discussions, which are expected to continue Wednesday, would focus on whether it would be useful to dispatch Secretary Baker on another tour of the Gulf and Europe in the next week or two.... The official said the prospects for a Baker tour of the Gulf were "good, but nothing firm has been decided."... The discussions will also involve how to deal with Iraq after the crisis is resolved, including how best to check its nuclear-weapons potential, the official said. And he noted that there is also the possibility of an allied military occupation of the country.

(Clifford Krauss, New York Times, A1)

-more-

Bush Returns For Talks

President Bush met unexpectedly with his senior national security advisers last night as the seeming inevitability of war in the Gulf was tempered by talk of potential new diplomatic moves.

Bush, returning from Camp David, met with his aides at the White House a day earlier than originally planned. One item on the agenda was a possible trip to the Middle East and Europe by Secretary Baker....

A senior Administration official, speaking before the White House meeting, said Bush is "reasonably close" to deciding to dispatch Baker. But he added, "I'm not sure that's the way they're going to decide it," indicating the President still could nix the idea of a trip.... The official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said one stop being discussed for Baker is Moscow....

In the Gulf, Vice President Quayle used tough language to describe the Jan. 15th U.N. deadline for Iraq to leave Kuwait....

The senior official said Washington will compromise in the Gulf only if Iraq makes a move first.... The official said his sense was that there will be "nothing" in the way of U.S.-Iraq talks before Jan. 15th.

[Meanwhile], Rear Adm. Riley Mixson, commander of the carrier battle group stationed in the Red Sea, told reporters on the USS John F. Kennedy that the chances for war are "about 50-50." An Administration aide said Adm. Mixson's odds were "optimistic." The official said, "Anyone listening to Quayle wouldn't think the chances were that good." (Warren Strobel, Washington Times, A1)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Bush Gets New Year's Gulf Update," by Johanna Neuman, appears in USA Today, page 1A.

QUAYLE VISITS AIRCRAFT CARRIER, TELLS CREW TO PREPARE FOR WAR

ABOARD THE USS JOHN F. KENNEDY -- Vice President Quayle told servicemen aboard this aircraft carrier Tuesday to get ready for battle, adding that Americans back home were praying for their success.

Walking among A-6 Intruder bomber pilots based on the Kennedy, Quayle said: "I see everybody is ready. We appreciate what you are doing."

Speaking later to about 1,000 sailors, he added: "Saddam Hussein has miscalculated before. He started a war with Iran that he thought would end quickly. It lasted for eight years. He miscalculated when he invaded Kuwait, and he is miscalculating now if he still believes force isn't a credible option."

Turning to the troops surrounding him, Quayle asked, "Is there any doubt in your mind that we'll win?" The answer was a loud, "No, sir."

(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A8)

Quayle Sees A Bad Year For Saddam

Vice President Quayle told U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia Tuesday to ignore "the naysayers" and predicted "1991 will be the year Saddam Hussein gets out of Kuwait."....

In Taif, Quayle met the deposed emir of Kuwait, who reportedly told Quayle he didn't understand people who were urging patience for Saddam Hussein to eventually withdraw. (USA Today, 4A)

QUAYLE: SADDAM OUT OF KUWAIT IN 1991

TAIF -- Vice President Quayle, wrapping up a New Year's handshaking tour that brought him into close contact with royal leaders and U.S. troops, declared that 1991 would not end with Saddam Hussein's troops still in Kuwait.

Quayle Tuesday also visited Kuwait's exiled emir and expressed the need for increased financial support....

The Vice President started the day with a visit to the aircraft carrier USS John F. Kennedy, telling some 5,000 sailors that there was a good chance they would go to war.

"Saddam Hussein should understand that we will succeed in expelling him," said Quayle.... Striking the same theme in one appearance after another to soldiers, sailors and fighter pilots, Quayle said any military engagement with Iraq would be "quick, massive and decisive." "You will do your jobs and go home to your loved ones," Quayle said, sparking hoots and yells from the troops.

"Last year, 1990, Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. This year, 1991, Saddam Hussein will leave Kuwait and we hope that he'll choose to leave peacefully; but if necessary, he will be made to leave by force," Quayle said.... "Morale is sky high. We are ready, willing and able to do what has to be done."...

After visiting several military units, Quayle...visited the exiled emir of Kuwait, Sheik Jaber al-Sabah, in his mountain retreat at a Sheraton Hotel. The two spoke for 25 minutes and an Administration official later said Quayle thanked the emir for his financial support of Operation Desert Shield and suggested that more money would be needed. The official said that the emir voiced no objections....

Quayle said he was not upset about a new European effort to solve the crisis by meeting separately with Iraq. "A lot of people have met with Saddam Hussein and he has not yet changed his mind," Quayle said. "A lot more people will talk with him between now and Jan. 15th."
(Jonathan Ferziger, UPI)

IRAQIS' FOOD RATIONS ARE REDUCED AS TRADE EMBARGO CUTS SUPPLIES

After four months of total trade embargo, Iraq is encountering increasingly serious shortages in the government food rationing program that has helped Iraq sustain its defiance of the U.N. demand it end its occupation of Kuwait.

Since September, Iraqi families have suffered declines of 25 percent to 50 percent in the amount of basic food items they are able to get in government stores by redeeming the rationing coupons issued to each family, Iraqi residents and foreign diplomats monitoring the program say....

"Sanctions are working, no matter what anybody says," one Asian ambassador said in an interview, noting that basics like eggs and fresh milk have either disappeared or have been priced beyond the reach of most families. "The country has had no income in the last five months, so there has got to be a limit to their endurance."
(Patrick Tyler, New York Times, A1)

U.S. SEEKING TO KEEP IRAQIS ON ALERT

Gen. Schwarzkopf...told a congressional delegation during a recent briefing in Saudi Arabia that he wants to keep Iraqi forces in Kuwait on a constant state of alert, so that they use up spare parts for sophisticated equipment and sap the energy of their front-line troops, congressional sources said.

President Bush's statements that he will be ready to use force shortly after the U.N.'s Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq's withdrawal is part of this tactic, according to congressional and Administration sources. The sources said that this may explain why Bush and his aides repeatedly have threatened that they might use force in January, even when confronted by statements by American military commanders that U.S. troops will not be fully prepared to take the offensive until sometime in February.

According to a source at Schwarzkopf's meeting with the congressional group, the general told them that "if we were going to attack in a few weeks, we don't want them on alert. But if we are not going to attack for months and they stay on alert, their equipment will be run down by then."

(Walter Pincus, Washington Post, A1)

THE NUCLEAR QUESTION: ANSWER LIKELY TO BE NO

The Pentagon's huge Gulf deployment includes about 400 sea-based nuclear weapons, but it's highly unlikely President Bush would ever give the go-ahead to use them, according to military analysts.... Experts say such a decision could "legitimize" the use of nuclear weapons in regional conflicts.... U.S. forces would also risk having the weapons fall into Iraqi hands....

The Pentagon itself is mum on the question, refusing to say whether tactical nuclear weapons...are in Saudi Arabia and on ships in the Gulf region. "We neither confirm nor deny the presence of nuclear weapons in any theater. That's been our longstanding policy," a Defense Department spokesman said.

(Rowan Scarborough & Bill Gertz, Washington Times, A1)

IRAQ IS SEEN SET TO LEVEL KUWAIT

BAGHDAD -- Despite renewed hopes that the U.S. and Iraq may soon agree on a formula for dialogue, Saddam Hussein donned his military fatigues, holstered his pistol and spent New Year's Eve with his troops in occupied Kuwait, where he reiterated his determination to hold on to the captured Persian Gulf sheikdom.

"Let them mass whatever number they can, because God will protect us from evil and save Iraq," the official Iraqi News Agency quoted Saddam as telling his commanders. The defiant Iraqi stand was expressed also by the state-run Baghdad Observer, which said in an editorial: "To Bush's disappointment, the unprecedented buildup has failed to force Iraq to blink.... Iraq is growing more and more resolved not to cede any of its rights."

...If peace talks fail and war breaks out, Iraq appears quite willing to lay waste to Kuwait to deprive the U.S.-led alliance of a swift and relatively cheap victory.... A senior Iraqi official warned Monday that if war breaks out "it will be a long-term war," and as for the possible consequences to Kuwait: "We understand that war is devastating; we expect big damage."

(Tod Robberson, Washington Post, A1)

-more-

Elite Units Complete Iraqi Force

Saddam Hussein said Tuesday that his army has completed its deployment of 250,000 men to Kuwait, bringing total troop strength to 60 divisions just across the Saudi border from U.S.-led forces.

The troop buildup includes five new divisions of the elite Republican Guards, which could be deployed in occupied Kuwait to counter any U.S.-led attack, according to a military analyst in Baghdad.... "Most of them have good combat experience from the war with Iran, and many have served in the Guards corps before," said the analyst, who has long experience in Arab military affairs. He spoke on condition of anonymity. His remarks could not be independently confirmed.

(From combined dispatches, Washington Times, A1)

Saddam To His Generals In Kuwait -- God Is On Our Side

NICOSIA -- Saddam Hussein primed his front-line army commanders for war by promising them God was on their side in the battle to keep Kuwait.... Saddam, adding spices and stirring a stew pot before a New Year's Eve meal he shared with his troops in Kuwait, assured his generals they had far more strength on the ground than the U.S.-dominated multinational force....

...Iraq Tuesday spurned a new call from an Arab former ally to resolve the crisis peacefully and avert a "merciless inferno."... The official Iraqi News Agency denounced Egyptian President Mubarak as a clown, liar and stooge of Washington in rejecting his appeal for a voluntary withdrawal from Kuwait. Saudi Arabia's government believed it was still possible for Saddam to change his mind and end the crisis peacefully by honoring U.N. and Arab resolutions on Kuwait, the Saudi Press Agency reported, quoting a "reliable Saudi source." Saddam told his commanders that Saudi King Fahd would deeply regret it if he approved an attack on Iraqi forces. He invoked an Arabic saying that made clear Baghdad would make sure the Saudi kingdom would be destroyed in any war.

(John Pine, Reuter)

Iraq Rejects Mubarak Appeal

CAIRO -- The Iraqi government Tuesday rejected an appeal for peace from President Mubarak, dismissing his warning of a "merciless hell" if war erupts in the Gulf as "hollow words" prompted by Egypt's allies in the U.S.

"Bush and his aides have chosen for themselves a clown and liar to play the sly role on their behalf, one who speaks the language of the Arabs," INA said.... "We tell lightheaded Hosni that, unlike him and his advisers, we are not ones to be intimidated by navies and hollow words proceeding from sick minds," the agency said....

Mubarak's appeal came amid dreary predictions by Egyptian military officials.... "I cannot be optimistic. I am 100% pessimistic. Day after day, everybody has become convinced, completely convinced, there will be war," a senior Egyptian military official said in an interview this week. The official, discounting some assertions by U.S. officials that forces will not be prepared to fight until the middle of next month, said: "The forces, all of the forces, are ready from now."

(Kim Murphy, Los Angeles Times, A4)

-more-

EGYPT'S LEADER WARNS IRAQ OF 'SEAS OF BLOOD'

NICOSIA -- President Mubarak issued a New Year's warning Tuesday that "seas of blood" will flow if Iraq fails to comply with the U.N.'s Jan. 15th deadline to leave Kuwait.

"Heads will turn white, cities will collapse and the mutilated bodies of victims will be scattered in seas of blood," Mubarak said. He warned Saddam Hussein that "the decision for peace rests in your hands" and that the wrong decision would mean "sacrificing the lives of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children."

The official Iraqi press agency rejected the appeal as "crocodile tears," saying martyrdom was the highest aspiration for the Iraqi and Arab people. (Reuters, New York Times, A9)

GADHAFI QUOTED AS SAYING EGYPT, LIBYA, SYRIA TO HOLD GULF SUMMIT

LONDON -- Libyan leader Gadhafi was quoted as saying Tuesday night that Egypt, Syria, Libya and possibly a fourth nation will hold a summit within days to discuss the Gulf crisis.

The report, by Egypt's Middle East News Agency..., said Gadhafi made the announcement to reporters after meeting a delegation of the Egyptian National Democratic Party led by Egypt's information minister, Muhammad Safwat al-Sharif. MENA reported: "Gadhafi announced that a tripartite summit would be held in the next few days. He did not...say where the summit will be held, though it has been rumored here that the summit will be held in the Libyan capital." MENA said Gadhafi added that a fourth party, not identified, might join the summit. (AP)

**JORDAN'S TROOP SHIFTS RAISE QUESTIONS IN ISRAEL
Each Tries To Deduce Other's Crisis Plans**

JERUSALEM -- Over the last few days, Jordan's army has been implementing its "Al-Quds" mobilization plan, in which most of its 80,000 troops are deployed in the mountains and in other defensive positions facing Israel, according to official sources here and diplomats in Amman.

Prime Minister Shamir and military chief of staff Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron have both issued statements assuring Jordan that it has nothing to fear from Israel, which has pledged to stay out of the Gulf crisis unless attacked by Iraq.

Nevertheless, officials here said, Jordan's deployment under "Al-Quds," the Arabic word for Jerusalem, is continuing into its advanced phases. By the end of the week, the Israelis said, King Hussein's army will be fully positioned according to its plan for meeting an attack from Israel.

"What is the king doing?" a military official here asked, a note of suspicion in his voice.... "We are not going to be a sitting duck," one senior Jordanian official said. "If the Iraqis feel they are going to strike against Israel, we'll stop that. Or if Israel wants to cross our territory, we'll stop that too."

(Jackson Diehl, Washington Post, A17)

IRAN ANNOUNCES MANEUVERS NEAR IRAQI BORDER

NICOSIA -- Iran said Monday Tuesday that its forces will launch month-long maneuvers in western provinces in mid-January, coinciding with the Jan. 15th U.N. force deadline.

The IRNA news agency said the drills are scheduled for mid-January. Tehran Radio said they will begin in the last 10 days of the Persian month of Dey, which ends Jan. 20. IRNA quoted Gholamali Rashid, an army spokesman, as saying the operation will be the largest ever to be held jointly by the air force, army, Revolutionary Guards Corps and Basij volunteers.

(AP, Washington Post, A22)

ANTI-SADDAM RADIO GOES ON THE AIR

NICOSIA -- A radio station calling itself "Voice of Free Iraq" has started broadcasts in Arabic denouncing Saddam Hussein as a crook and a mad bull who should be overthrown. The station, monitored by the BBC, was first heard Tuesday. It said it was broadcasting to Iraq on four frequencies contributed by the radio services of Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Cooperation Council states.... The source of the broadcasts was not known.

(Reuter)

ACLU, 51 GROUPS URGE NO WAR WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL DECLARATION

The ACLU, joined by 51 other national organizations, is calling on Congress to adopt a resolution intended to prevent President Bush from starting a war with Iraq without a congressional okay.

The statement issued Tuesday urged Congress...to "adopt, prior to the initiation of any offensive military action, a resolution asserting that...the President cannot initiate an offensive war against Iraq without the prior authorization of Congress."...

"Defense Secretary Cheney is simply wrong to assert that the President does not require any further authority from Congress before committing U.S. forces to military action in the Gulf," said Morton Halperin, director of the ACLU Washington office.

(David Anderson, UPI)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "In The Midst Of Sand," by Henry Allen, appears in The Washington Post, page B1.

"Europeans To Debate Gulf Initiative, U.S. Solidarity," by Alexander MacLeod, appears in The Christian Science Monitor, page 1.

U.S. PRESIDENT ASKED TO VISIT S. KOREA, RADIO SAYS

SEOUL -- South Korea's government has asked President Bush to visit Seoul to reaffirm ties before inevitable changes in relations between North and South Korea, government radio said Wednesday. The Korea Broadcasting System said Bush was asked to meet President Roh before or after a trip to Tokyo.... KBS said he was expected in Tokyo in March.

(Reuter)

MOSCOW, SEOUL LINK SPURS N. KOREA THREAT

North Korea warned Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze last September that it would begin developing nuclear weapons independently if Moscow and Seoul normalized relations, the Japanese daily Asahi Shimbun reported Tuesday....

Shevardnadze...also told the Japanese government that North Korea had threatened to normalize ties with Japan and recognize Tokyo's claim to four north Pacific islands controlled by the Soviet Union. (From combined dispatches, Washington Times, A7)

**TRADITIONALISTS UPSET AT THE PEACE CORPS
Report Cites 'Confusion And Chaos' Amid Changing Priorities**

Peace Corps Director Coverdell's efforts to make the corps "a vibrant, vital part of U.S. foreign policy" have upset traditionalists who say he is distorting the agency's image as a largely nonpolitical, person-to-person effort to help the Third World.

The controversy grows out of Coverdell's changes in the Peace Corps' priorities as documented in a recent report by the corps' inspector general, Gerard Roy. The report said the agency is cutting back on aid to its former clients in the Third World and diverting those resources chiefly to Eastern Europe. Roy's report says that partly because of this, the corps is showing "evidence of strain, confusion and chaos."...

The traditionalists are particularly troubled by Coverdell's remarks that President Bush is "making (the Peace Corps) very much a part of his Administration" and its foreign policy....

Roy's report to Congress in November noted that some Third World programs have been cut to fund new projects in Eastern Europe.... "Limited resources (for) existing countries" must not be "redirected to support new country entries," Roy warned in his report. (Al Kamen, Washington Post, A1)

DIRECTOR'S DOMESTIC TRIPS FAVOR HIS HOME TOWN

In his first 18 months as Peace Corps director, Paul Coverdell visited his home town of Atlanta 19 times and appeared eight times in five other cities in Georgia during trips paid in full or in part by the government.

In addition, the Peace Corps paid part of Coverdell's travel either to or from Atlanta on five other trips during which he spent the weekend at his house there, according to travel records obtained by The Washington Post under the Freedom of Information Act. In all, 26 of the 45 domestic trips Coverdell made as director in that period took him to Georgia at some point, prompting widespread speculation in the agency that the veteran Georgia politician intends to run for office in Georgia.

In a lengthy interview, Coverdell did not rule out a run for office, saying he could not predict the future, but he insisted that the trips were proper and an essential part of his new policies. "I say you do one job at a time," he said. "You do the job you have; you do it as best you can."

(Al Kamen, Washington Post, A5)

TOP OFFICIALS HEADING FOR AFRICA ON CHILD SURVIVAL MISSION

Two top Bush Administration officials are beginning a 17-day trip to seven African countries in search of ways to alleviate health problems affecting millions of children. Secretary Sullivan and Ronald Roskens, administrator of AID, were leaving today on a mission to Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, Malawi, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Senegal....

In an interview, Roskens said he and Sullivan will concentrate on recommending long-term programs to combat child mortality in Africa.... "The statistics are horrible," Roskens said.

(George Gedda, AP)

ISRAELI ARMY IMPOSES CURFEW ON LARGE PORTIONS OF TERRITORIES

JERUSALEM -- Israeli soldiers shot and killed four Arabs in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip during Palestinian celebrations marking the 26th anniversary of Fatah's first military campaign against Israel, Palestinian and Israeli military sources said. More than one million Palestinians were put under virtual house arrest Tuesday with a 24-hour curfew imposed by the military.

(Robert Kool, UPI)

PHILIPPINE ARMY CHIEF WARNS OF COUP ATTEMPT

MANILA -- The new Philippine army commander warned Wednesday that rebel soldiers might take advantage of a shooting war in the Middle East to mount another attempt to unseat President Aquino.

Brig. Gen. Abadia also told reporters an undetermined number of communist guerrillas had slipped into the capital before Christmas to exploit the situation if mutinous soldiers launched a seventh coup attempt.... But Abadia...said the army was ready to crush any rebellion.

(UPI)

KHMER ROUGE URGES FIGHTERS TO INTENSIFY OPERATIONS

BANGKOK -- The Khmer Rouge urged its fighters in a New Year's message Wednesday to step up their attacks....

Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan accused the Phnom Penh government and its Vietnamese backers of trying to prolong the conflict. "The only alternative is to join hands among the resistance forces and drive the Vietnamese from our country," he said.

(Reuter)

KHMER ROUGE TO CALL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

BANGKOK -- The Khmer Rouge...has begun a campaign promoting human rights, Khmer Rouge radio reported Wednesday.

"All must respect human rights in Cambodia and must respect and implement the democratic rights and freedoms in Cambodia regardless of status in society," the clandestine radio station said.

(UPI)

NATIONAL NEWS

WHITE HOUSE SETS '92 DEFICIT OF \$260 BILLION

The Administration is putting the finishing touches on an austere 1992 budget that will show a record deficit of more than \$260 billion, according to budget officials. The deficit will reach more than \$330 billion if the large Social Security surplus is not taken into account. The rise in the deficit stems, officials said, from the economy's slide into a recession....

Officials said the President's budget blueprint would emphasize "investing in the future," through tax incentives to encourage people to save and through spending on education, particularly in science. To keep the nation abreast technologically, the budget will call for doubling over five years the \$500 million spent annually on high-performance computers. The budget will again promote the idea of urban "enterprise zones."... And additional tax incentives are to be proposed to encourage research in new products and technologies by corporations.

(Stephen Nordlinger, Baltimore Sun, 1A)

BUSH ADMITS NATION IN RECESSION 'IN SOME AREAS'

President Bush used the R-word -- "recession" -- for the first time to describe some areas of the economy, but he said he would veto any big new quick-fix spending plans from Congress to curb it.

Although Bush finally stopped tip-toeing around the bugaboo word in a PBS-NPR interview with David Frost taped for broadcast Wednesday, he predicted that the recession would be "mild" and would not be long-lasting, perhaps six months in duration.

"We're in a slowdown economically in this country, if not recession," Bush said. "In some areas, we're clearly in a recession, and this concerns me because people are hurting."...

Without being specific, Bush made it clear that he favored long-range plans rather than any fast high-cost measures to bolster flagging sections of the economy. "What I'm to do about it is to propose certain broad -- a broad approach to economic matters that will, I think, enhance growth. But I believe that the worst -- the last thing we ought to do about it is have a lot of spending programs aimed to quote, put America back to work, unquote.... And if they send them down from Capitol Hill, a lot of big new spending programs, I will veto them."

(UPI)

SURVEY: RECESSION HERE, BUT TO BE BRIEF

The all-but-official recession hit with a wallop in fourth-quarter 1990 as GNP plunged at a 2.8% annual rate, top economists say in a USA Today/FNN survey.

The decline in GNP from third-quarter 1990 will be followed by another drop this quarter, the economists predict. Their average forecast: A 1.5% drop in first-quarter '91's GNP from fourth-quarter '90's.... "Oh yeah, you bet those are recession numbers," says Robert Dederick, chief economist at Northern Trust Co. in Chicago.... [But] of the 35 economists who say a recession is under way, 34 say it will be over by the second half of '91.

(Mark Memmott, USA Today, 1B)

-more-

'88 BIDDING ON THRIFTS CRITICIZED
Report: Competitors Not Treated Equally

Federal regulators mishandled the disposal of failed savings institutions in 1988 and likely added to the cost of the S&L bailout, a new report says.

The regulators were accused of not giving all bidders for the thrift institutions an equal chance to compete.

The four-volume report was prepared by the Washington law firm Steptoe & Johnson for the Bush Administration and Congress.... The AP reviewed the report, which has not been made public. The report sharply criticized the now-defunct Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the FSLIC.

(Dave Skidmore, AP, Washington Post, D1)

WHITE HOUSE ECONOMIST IS EXPECTED
TO BE NOMINATED TO FILL FED VACANCY

Lawrence Lindsey, a White House economist who is a spirited defender of supply-side economics, is the leading contender for the vacancy on the Federal Reserve Board, Bush Administration officials said....

Lately, Lindsey, a deputy to domestic policy chief Porter, has been working on the Administration's proposal to change federal laws governing banks and deposit insurance. Although Bush Administration economists have been urging the Fed to cut interest rates aggressively to help the ailing economy, Lindsey hasn't said much in writing or in speeches about monetary policy.

(David Wessel, Wall Street Journal, A8)

RHODE ISLAND TELLS 45 BANKS, CREDIT UNIONS TO CLOSE DOORS

Rhode Island's newly inaugurated Gov. Sundlun was forced to close down 45 banks and credit unions Tuesday after the private fund that insures their deposits collapsed before a federal rescue mission could be completed....

Some of the institutions will be granted federal insurance coverage today, but others are not strong enough financially to qualify for federal protecting, leaving their depositors' savings in potential jeopardy, government officials said Tuesday night.

(Jerry Knight, Washington Post, A1)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "U.S. Banking Industry Facing Sweeping Changes In '91," by John Berry, appears in The Washington Post, page D1.

YOSEMITE DEAL 'GOING TOO FAR'

Secretary Lujan says he's considering legal action to oust new Japanese concessionaire owners from Yosemite National Park in California. "This one is just going too far," Lujan says. "These are our shrines. Our companies can't go over there and operate concessions at their shrines."

Lujan expects a ruling "within a couple days" on whether a change in ownership of Yosemite Park Curry Co. -- from MCA Inc. to Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. -- voids its contract to run restaurants and shops there.

(Linda Manamine, USA Today, 3A)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Lujan May Bar Japanese Concession At Yosemite," by Jason DeParle, appears in The New York Times, page A13.

-more-

CONSERVATIVES GIVE BUSH BARELY PASSING MID-TERM GRADES

On the conservative report card, President Bush's mid-term grades are down. There is unrest on the Republican right and recurring talk of a challenge in the 1992 Presidential primary elections.

Sen. Dole says even if the conservatives do run somebody to "make a statement" in the primaries, he doesn't think it would pose a worrisome threat to Bush. "I think he should have satisfied most thinking conservatives," Dole said....

"There almost surely will be a revolt if George Bush and his most senior White House aides continue to repudiate the Reagan legacy as they have done in the past year," wrote Burton Yale Pines, senior vice president of The Heritage Foundation.

(Walter Mears, AP)

WOMAN PRESIDENT/FIRST LADY

First Lady Barbara Bush says it's not unlikely a woman will be elected U.S. President in her lifetime -- but she'd better be a Republican.

In an interview scheduled for broadcast tonight, David Frost asked Mrs. Bush if it might be 25 years before a woman moves into the White House as President....

"I don't know. I plan to be around, so, let's see, I'm 65. I'm going to vote for her if she's a Republican. And it might not be 25 years," she said. "I might not still be voting past that time."
(AP)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "Anna Perez, Flying Nonstop With The First Lady," by Martha Sherrill, appears in The Washington Post, page B1.

"A U.S. Report Spurs Community Action By Revealing Polluters," by Randolph Smith, appears in The Wall Street Journal, page A1.

"Parties Put Money Where Least Needed," by Chuck Alston of the Congressional Quarterly, appears in The Washington Times, page A3.

"Anxious Congress Returning To Face Threat Of War, Recession," by Helen Dewar, appears in The Washington Post, page A4.

"AIDS Community Divided On Testing New Drugs," by Malcolm Gladwell, appears in The Washington Post, page A3.

NETWORK NEWS

(Tuesday evening, Jan. 1)

ABC and NBC news were preempted by football.

GULF

CBS's Connie Chung: President Bush returned to the White House today from his Christmas retreat at Camp David, his presidency facing its most critical hours as the new year begins.

CBS's Randall Pinkston:

[TV COVERAGE of the President and Mrs. Bush stepping off Marine One.]

With two weeks to go before the Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, President Bush summoned his top military and foreign policy advisers to the White House for a New Year's night strategy session on the gulf amid new signals of flexibility on a possible meeting date with Saddam. For weeks Mr. Bush has insisted that Jan. 3 is the latest Secretary Baker would be sent to Baghdad. But today a White House official insisted the Administration never categorically stated that meetings would not be held after the 3rd, and Baker is likely to travel to the gulf in the next several days to consult with allies. Still, there is no let-up in the Administration's hard-line public message to Saddam. Today Vice President Quayle delivered it as he wrapped up a three-day visit with troops in the gulf.

(Vice President Quayle: "This year, 1991, Saddam Hussein will leave Kuwait. We hope he'll choose to leave peacefully. But if necessary he'll be made to leave by force.")

Around the world today fear of war and hope for peace filled New Year's messages. President Mubarak issued a gruesome warning to Saddam. "Seas of blood will flow," said Mubarak, "if Iraq fails to pull out of Kuwait." President Mitterrand said if Saddam pulls out everything is possible, suggesting negotiations over Iraqi grievances may follow. Pope John Paul II told a crowd at St. Peter's Square that he hopes 1991 will be a year of peace in the Mideast. And President Gorbachev, in a New Year's message to the U.S., sounded the same note.

(President Mitterrand: "The international community has been confronted with a grave challenge -- aggression in the Persian Gulf. It must find the strength to cope with it in such a way as to protect the beginnings of a period of peace.")

White House officials insist the strategy meeting here shouldn't be seen as anything urgent. But the fact that Mr. Bush brought his strategy team together tonight does signal that time is running out and points up the fact that if a diplomatic breakthrough is to be found it has to happen soon.

Chung: Iraq today brushed off that plea for peace from President Mubarak. Mubarak sent a chilling New Year's message to Saddam warning that if Iraq chooses war, heads will turn white, cities will collapse and the victims will be scattered in seas of blood.

-more-

Chung continues: The Iraqi News Agency dismissed that as "crocodile tears," calling Mubarak a clown and a liar. But even amid the harsh rhetoric, hopes for peace are still very much alive in Iraq.

CBS's Scott Pelley reports that Saddam made a New Year's visit to his officers in occupied Kuwait, did a little cooking, and told them all Iraqis from ages 8 to 80 are ready to fight. But behind the bluster, diplomacy is picking up speed. Secretary Baker is expected to return to the Middle East soon. And Iraqi officials now tell CBS News they will receive any new proposal on a date for Baker to meet with Saddam. There is flexibility. Also next week the Iraqi president is expected to see an envoy from the EC.

Chung: The 12-nation EC will hold an emergency meeting Friday in Luxembourg in a bid to head off a war.

Chung talks with CBS's Tom Fenton, who is in Britain:

Chung: A lot of hopes are riding on that meeting. Will it make a difference?

Fenton: It could. It could be the catalyst that gets the U.S. and Iraq together. The meeting is being called not just to discuss the gulf crisis, it's expected to authorize a meeting between Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, and the EC. One of the purposes of that meeting would be to pressure the Iraqis to come up with an acceptable date for Mr. Baker's visit to Baghdad. Sometimes a third party can break the ice, especially when the two sides are showing some signs of flexibility as seems to be the case right now.

Chung: Danger of a split occurring in the EC?

Fenton: That's one of the fears. I'm sure the White House is worried about that and the British here are concerned about it. On the surface there is unanimity among the Europeans that they're there only to back up the U.S. and if there are talks they would not in any way contravene what the U.S. is trying to do. The message will be that Iraq has to obey all the U.N. resolutions and get out of town. But there is a concern beneath the surface that the U.S. is not handling the crisis properly. The Germans are particularly worried that diplomacy hasn't been given enough time to act.

Chung: King Hussein is heading to Europe tomorrow. Any idea of what his role might be?

Fenton: King Hussein has been in motion or on the telephone almost ever since the gulf crisis began, because his country is one of those that is suffering the most. I don't think there's much possibility that he'll be able to break the ice. Everybody seems to be getting into the act now. The president of Algeria is also in motion, and in fact the pope has indicated that he, too, might like to mediate.

Chung: If it comes to war with Iraq, support from the weather won't be enough. U.S. fighting forces also need plenty of support troops. Of the hundreds of thousands of U.S. servicemen and women in the gulf, under 15 percent of them are there for actual combat.

CBS's Jim Stewart reports that the Pentagon says that if shooting starts in the gulf, barely 1 in 8 soldiers will actually be engaging the enemy. Indeed, it is America's logistical advantage that allows it to field an army 12,000 miles from home while Iraq struggles to support troops only 200 miles away. But it's an advantage that's also a tempting target. Some reason the quickest way to muzzle the U.S. war machine's bite is to cut off its logistical tail. (CBS-Lead)

ISRAEL

Chung: Israeli soldiers shot and killed four Arabs today in the occupied territories during protests on the anniversary of the PLO's first attack against Israel. Saddam Hussein marked the day with a message to PLO chief Arafat, calling on Palestinians to fight on against the infidels. Israel's police minister marked it with a tough speech saying Arabs who attack Israeli citizens won't come out alive. (CBS-2)

MATSUSHITA/YOSEMITE

Chung: The big buyout of the American entertainment giant MCA by a Japanese firm is causing aftershocks today in, of all places, Yosemite National Park. That's because the MCA deal also puts the Japanese in charge of campgrounds and other concessions at Yosemite. The new owners now find the Yosemite climate downright hostile.

CBS's Deborah Potter says it is one of the country's most majestic natural wonders, and the very idea that part of Yosemite National Park may soon belong to the Japanese has the secretary of the Interior in a fury.

(**Secretary Lujan:** "These are our national parks. They are very sacred to us. And to have foreign ownership of any kind in our national parks just doesn't sit well with the American public.") The Japanese company Matsushita has almost completed its buyout of MCA. MCA had promised to put its concessions in Yosemite into a trust until an American buyer could be found. But that still hasn't happened. Today Lujan accused the company of breaking its word and threatened to cancel the contract.

(**Lujan:** "To treat them in such a cavalier manner that we're going to go ahead with this deal whether you like it or not just kind of rubs you the wrong way.")

Analysts say the park concessions are really small potatoes to Matsushita, which is spending more than \$6 billion to buy MCA's entertainment business. The company says it still hopes to find an American buyer for the concessions, but that may not be good enough for Lujan. Administration officials say privately that the real goal of today's unusual public tongue lashing was to pressure the Japanese into giving the lucrative business to the U.S. government, or at least selling it at a bargain price. (CBS-4)

BANK OF AMERICA/PRIME RATE

Chung: Bank of America says it will lower its prime lending rate tomorrow by half a point to 9.5 percent. The first such cut by one of the nation's 10 largest banks to be announced in recent weeks. (CBS-7)

RHODE ISLAND GOV./BANKS

Chung: Rhode Island's new governor, Bruce Sundlun, took the oath of office today then immediately ordered 45 banks and credit unions in the state to shut down until they get federal deposit insurance. The banks and credit unions involved have \$1.7 billion in deposits. They're currently covered by a private insurance fund that's nearly broke. (CBS-5)

ECONOMY

CBS's Ray Brady says 1991 started on an eerie note. On New Year's Eve, the second full moon in a month -- a happening so rare it's called a blue moon, and that blue moon seemed to reflect the blue mood of America, even as it celebrated the start of a new year.

(**Man:** "Recession's already here. It's just the government doesn't want to admit they've screwed up in the long run.")

The new mood among consumers seems to be one of caution, of holding back. While tax rates are dropping for some, the average American household will pay \$215 more in federal taxes this year. So even as they celebrated the start of 1991, Americans seemed to be looking back on 1990 as the good old days -- the last of the good times. (CBS-6)

FLOODING

CBS's Bob Faw reports that there was so much flooding in Indiana an estimated 1,500 Hoosiers had to be evacuated from their homes, as 26 counties were declared emergency areas. All this was caused by melting snows and heavy rains, and the situation could get worse, because most waterways in southern Indiana haven't crested yet. Indiana's governor said today he was hoping for a "kinder, gentler Mother Nature in 1991." Consider that one New Year's resolution already broken. (CBS-3)

-end of News Summary-

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Note	Handwritten notes of Presidential Phone call with JAB [James A. Baker, III] (1 pp.)	01/02/91	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, January 2, 1991 [1]

Date Closed: 3/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 90576-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (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

1-2-91

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The 'pack' - Tim

Domestic program

Elch on 10/6/91

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

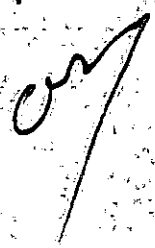
FROM THE PRESIDENT

To:

PATTY

Put on my desk...

funding level for super collider????

OK


Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

1 copy hand carried to Marlin
Fitzwater only per the
President's request.

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1-2-91

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To: Marlin Fitzwater

Re: Time Magazine Cover Story.

Please don't worry about the cover story. I agree that we were misled, but there is little we could have done to change the story. They had it written before those editors appeared. There wasn't ^{an} interest in "outside of it". Duffy, regrettably, has become another beltway insider- nice kid but caught up in the pack syndrome i fear.

I am disappointed in that nice photo dog.. Mr Heisler, whose artistic approach is properly heralded in the front of the mag (p.15)... The guy is a ^{fine} photographer, but to really be great he must not deceive his subjects. It worked this time, I grant you that. He knew all along he was ^{doing} the "Two faced " approach... but when i asked him why so many different shots he dissembled at best, untruthed at worst. Maybe they used him at Time, but needless to say I've had it with the guy.. for I feel he didn't level when asked.

Oh Well, they spelled BUSH right!!! *GB*

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE:

1-2-91

TIME:

3:55

incoming/outgoing

WITH:

Rep. Michel

SUBJECT:

re: Resolution in House

① listen to CNN, Headline News
get skewed view

② Spoke at Rotary - tried
to explain it -

③ people support you
not anxious

FOLLOW UP:

④ Told him Dumas's
resolution is not

Congress - session tomorrow
then adjourn 3 days
then have pro forma sessions
for every 3 days -

Must be together

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could be on 23rd

GEORGE BUSH

check Time Mag

Strong -

Most Precipitous

Drop in polls 77

P. F. H.

gave cc:
Markin

1-2-91

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

match the Allen Dulles reappointment with a personal assistant of his own. He wondered why; I urged that he check my outsider's view with an insider he could trust; he must know one. Assenting, he said he did: "Dick Bissell." For Kennedy it was a real misfortune that his trusted insider already had the duty to develop Eisenhower's option against Castro.

28. This and subsequent characterizations of Bert Lance and his affair rest on press coverage in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *National Journal*, from July to October 1977, supplemented by contemporaneous interviews with four OMB and White House aides. During the period I served intermittently as an OMB consultant on White House reorganization. This provides some firsthand feeling for relations and assumptions, but not in depth to match those of April 1961. My consulting assignments were not comparable. Moreover no definitive accounts by others have yet been published to match those on the Bay of Pigs. What I offer here are personal impressions checked as closely as I can.
29. *Newsweek*, April 23, 1979, p. 88.
30. Clark M. Clifford, a Washington attorney of extraordinary judgment and high standing with the press, had been a close adviser to Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson. See note 58, Chapter 10. By 1977 Clifford had become a sort of symbol of Washington savvy.
31. In thirteen postwar months, Truman's approval rating in the Gallup Poll fell from 82 to 32 percent, followed by unstable recoveries (and slumps) with a first-term high of 60 percent after Greek-Turkish aid in early 1947. Ford, in just five months, slid from 71 to 38 percent; then he too had unstable recoveries with a high of 51 percent in the summer of 1975, then a drop back to the "thirties." Carter, beginning at 70 percent approval, dropped in thirteen months to 40 percent and hovered there until September 1978 when success at the Camp David summit was followed by a rating of 56 percent; the next winter he had slid again into the "forties," tending down. As for the other elected Presidents since these polls began, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, none dropped below 60 percent approval in his first two years except Nixon, and he only to 55 percent.
32. It is suggestive that Gallup approval ratings *rose* five points, with disapproval falling commensurately, for one two-week period immediately after Lance's televised testimony and publicized departure. He may have gained credit for his stance, and the President for letting him go relatively gracefully. But this was a blip in the pattern; Carter lost those five points immediately after and did not regain them. Is this because direct public perceptions were corrected as the word came in from columnists and commentators? It seems likely.
33. For a near-term assessment of public attitudes within a month of Lance's resignation, see Adam Clymer, *New York Times*, November 2, 1977, p. 1, col. 5. Clymer reports the findings of a *Times-CBS* survey in mid-October.

Presidential Phone Calls



DATE:

1 2 91

TIME:

11:15
incoming/outgoing

WITH:

Frank Borman

SUBJECT:

attacked

"He was reported to ask
Congress first"
Peter called Frank - says he totally supports us.

"You're doing what's
right"

"My son going over -
youngest son - copilot pilot"

FOLLOW UP:

Do anything I can to
help -

"If I can do anything
whatsoever -"

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

bcc: Tom C. Korologos

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

VIA FAX: 202-224-7371

THE PRESIDENT'S COPY

December 10, 1990

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

Dear Senator,

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

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

Sincerely yours,


Frank Borman

FB:rjk

Wednesday
January 2, 1991

PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: FORMER AMBASSADOR GERALD CARMEN
Senior Partner
The Carmen Group (Suite 365)
2100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
785-0500

Would like to spend 15 minutes with the President at his convenience. He has not had any communication with the President for the last 3 years.

I told him I would pass this request on to Kathy Super who is in charge of the President's scheduling office.

Patty Presock

CC: John Sununu
~~Kathy Super~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1-2-91

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Marlin Fitzwater.

Re: Time Magazine Cover Story.

Please don't worry about the cover story. I agree ~~th~~a we were mislead, but there is little we could have done to change the story. They had it written before ~~those~~ editors appeared. There wasn't interest in "ou^rside of it". Duffy, regrettably has become another beltway insider- nice kid but caught up in the 'pack' syndrome i fear.

I am disappointed in that nice photo dog.. Mr Heisler, whose artistic approach is properly heralded in the front of the mag (p.15)... The guy is a ~~g~~ photographer, but to really be great he must not ~~dece~~ive his subjects. It worked this time, I grant you that. He knew all along he was ~~d~~oing the "Two faced" approach... but when i asked him why so many different shots he dissembled at best, untruthed at worst. Maybe they used him at Time, but needless to say I've had it with the guy.. for I feel he didn't level when asked.

Oh Well, they spelled BUSH right!!! *GB*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Note	From Patty P[resock] to President Bush Re: Congressman Bill Young (1 pp.)	01/02/91	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, January 2, 1991 [1]

Date Closed:	3/23/2011	OA/ID Number:	90576-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To:

PATTY

Put on my desk...

funding level for super collider????

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 2, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ED ROGERS *ER*
SUBJECT: CONVENTION UPDATE

The final bid process for San Diego, Houston and New Orleans has been completed with Bill Harris.

In a meeting today with Sununu, Kristol, Porter, Darman, Teeter, Black, Harris and me, the consensus was that Houston would be the best city for the convention.

I. San Diego

As the discussion becomes more detailed, it has become clear that San Diego is a risky proposition as a host for the convention. Problems include:

1. San Diego's well-known logistical difficulties, such as a small hall, not to mention the cost and risk of moving to an outdoor stadium;
2. the city's final offer gave us only 10 days in the stadium - including set-up and tear-down;
3. their financial commitment is: a) a couple million dollars less than the other cities', b) San Diego won't guarantee its financial commitment, (New Orleans provides a municipal guarantee and Houston provides a corporate guarantee);
4. San Diego's financial commitment is closed/firm - in other words, should financial needs exceed estimates based on our specifications, the city will not cover any costs incurred beyond the amount submitted in their bid. (FYI: both New Orleans and Houston agree to cover costs over-and-above the submitted estimates based on our specifications.)

II. New Orleans

1. New Orleans remains the best site logistically. Its hall is better-suited to hosting a convention and, obviously, it benefits from experience;

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George Bush Handwriting

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

2. its financial commitment is more attractive, although not substantially, than Houston's, and Houston too has a record - based on its performance at the summit;
3. New Orleans poses a legitimate political problem in David Duke. Although not likely, it's possible that Duke could become Louisiana's Governor in November of 1991. At this point, we can expect a crowded open primary, producing Duke and a Black, or Duke and the most liberal candidate as numbers one and two in a runoff - giving Duke a real shot at the governor's mansion.

Governor or not, Duke could challenge us in a couple of primaries and conventions. New Orleans is his base, and he could come to the convention with a few delegates and large crowds in hopes of attracting attention to himself and his cause.

I think that the above concerns should rule out New Orleans.

III. Final Decision

The site selection vote must take place by January 25, 1991. With this in mind, Harris would love to have your decision as soon as possible - in order to visit the city of your choice, (without the city knowing it's your choice), and request a "final offer". Harris believes that the city's offer will improve if officials know that this is their "absolute last shot". Ideally he would like to provide the city with 10 days to sweeten the deal, so your decision as soon as possible would be tremendously helpful.

If you would like further information, I suggest that you meet with Bill Harris, rather than hold another big meeting - which will no doubt leak instantly to the press. Others who have been involved in the process and may be worth talking to, include Bob Teeter, Craig Fuller and Fred Malek. Of this group, only Teeter is aware of the details of each city's final bid.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS READ

January 2, 1990

GRB

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ED ROGERS *ER*

SUBJECT:

POLITICAL UPDATE

- o State Senator John Seymour is the choice for California's open Senate seat. By way of background, Seymour is a former mayor of Anaheim, and was the pro-choice, moderate candidate who ran against Marian Bergeson for Lieutenant Governor in the 1990 primary. He's in his early 50s and has made a great deal of money in the real estate market.

Jack Flanigan describes Seymour as "a political clone of Pete Wilson".

Initially, conservatives won't be happy.

- o Lee Atwater is not doing well. Although there have been no dramatic developments with the tumor, or any other medical problems, his energy is drained and he's extremely fatigued. He's depressed, inattentive, sad and compulsive.

Dr. Newman says he wouldn't be surprised if Lee died anytime, but he also will not give any new estimate for life-expectancy.

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

DAILY

(NOTE FOR THE FILE: 1 cc given to John Sununu)

P.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1-2-91

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To: Marlin Fitzwater.

Re: Time Magazine Cover Story.

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Wednesday
January 2, 1991

PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FORMER AMBASSADOR GERALD CARMEN
Senior Partner
The Carmen Group (Suite 365)
2100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
785-0500

Would like to spend 15 minutes with the President
at his convenience. He has not had any communication
with the President for the last 3 years.

I told him I would pass this request on to Kathy Super
who is in charge of the President's scheduling office.

Patty Presock

CC: John Sununu
Kathy Super

*told K.S.
per Sununu
no mtg
POTUS agrees!
K.S. has action
J.*

chase file

*from
Mankin*

January 2, 1991

1. What is your view of the EC attempt to hold talks with Iraq?
2. Is the EC acting as an intermediary?
3. Were we caught by surprise by the EC announcement?
4. Is Secretary Baker going to the Middle East?
5. ~~Is January 3 a firm deadline for talks?~~
6. Will you meet with Saddam after January 3 if he proposes a new date?
7. What was discussed in yesterday's meeting at the White House?
8. What is the status of a congressional resolution?
9. Why are you evacuating Americans from the Middle East? Does this mean you are definitely going to war on January 15?
10. Are U.S. forces ready for combat on January 15?

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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04. Paper	Implications (2 pp.)	01/02/91	(b)(1)	S

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CHARLES L. BARTLETT

1529 18TH ST., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Memo to the President
from Charley Bartlett

January 2, 1991

Victor Moussa met with Al-Mashat this morning to learn his thoughts on returning from Baghdad. What he got was an impression that Saddam will get out of Kuwait, accept any post-withdrawal concessions that you propose, and push for an era of close and cooperative relations with the United States if you will give him the fig leaf he needs to cover his retreat.

The Ambassador complained that Bob Dole is the only key official who will talk to him and that this is frustrating his eagerness to play a conciliatory role. The Foreign ministry officials feel humiliated by this U.S. treatment and if there are going to be discussions directed toward settlement, they would, Moussa was told, much rather have them with the United States than with the Europeans who are getting into the act.

The Iraqi cited a poll finding that 95% of the Egyptians favor Saddam over Mubarak. He indicated that they believe in Baghdad that the Moslem world is increasingly united behind Saddam.

I am sure this doesn't add much to what you know but I thought I should pass it along.

C.B.

GEORGE BUSH

B P
SAVE!

Teeter
Susan Granno

Mid East
Data

Amnesty Int'l
Report

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George Bush Handwriting

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE PERSIAN GULF:
VIEWPOINT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
DECEMBER, 1990

- A PILOT STUDY -

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT.

People need and want clear, unambiguous articulation from President Bush on "why we are there" and "why it is worth the great sacrifice" that is the inevitable consequence of our involvement. People seem to be quite informed about the reasons for our interest and involvement, but, in many cases, they have not embraced the cause.

The most critical issue concerning "why we are there" relates to understanding goals and principles rather than learning about and simply agreeing or disagreeing with the administration's reactions to contributing circumstances and precipitating events. People want to understand and embrace the goals and principles. While some do, many feel caught up in and confused by the tactics, maneuvers, and everchanging events. Their heartfelt support depends on "buy in" to the intent, the goals, the principles that guide individual decisions.

In order for most Americans to embrace this cause, it must be viewed as ethical as well as pragmatic. It must be consistent with and serve American principles and traditions:

"We'll do whatever it takes once we understand 'why' it's important and what is at stake."

"I need to feel that, if we go to war, that we're doing it for some reason that really matters. Otherwise, it's just not worth the cost."

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT (cont'd).

o THE MOST PLAUSIBLE REASON FOR OUR INVOLVEMENT -- SADDAM HUSSEIN

There is strong sentiment regarding the practical and moral imperative of free nations to stop Hussein and remove him from a position of power. He is perceived as having little or no respect for human rights, as a despot, and a "madman." His views and actions are perceived as anathema to democratic ideals:

"He's a terrorist and would wage a terrorist war."

"He's a real dictator. He would have gone into Saudi Arabia if nobody had stopped him. He has to be stopped one way or another."

"Saddam Hussein is a madman who is trying to take over the world. Go in there and blow him up."

"We should assassinate him. It's the only way."

He is perceived by almost all Americans as an aggressor against innocent people, an international outlaw, and as a threat to the world's oil supply. Perhaps most alarmingly, he is perceived as someone who could soon control a nuclear capability, and therefore, exceptionally dangerous:

"We have to get him before he is able to try and get us . . . because he'll never stop if we don't stop him."

In a more personal way, Hussein is perceived as insidiously clever, manipulative, and ruthless. People are wary of his ostensibly conciliatory gestures:

"We can't let him fool us."

"He's only trying to buy time for himself and his army."

However, it is harder for many to think of him as a madman when he dresses in a suit and releases hostages.

Furthermore, many Americans feel that it is necessary to "make an example" of Saddam Hussein so that "others like him" do not try this again.

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT (cont'd).

o A RATIONALE WITHOUT CONSENSUS – THE "OIL WAR"

Many people feel that, if there is war, it must not be about oil or economic interests, exclusively. "Oil is not enough of a reason to go to war." While it rationalizes our initial involvement, it does not justify the cost in human terms for most people. It calls attention to our greed, incompetence, and lack of foresight at failing to develop alternative oil/energy resources.

These people already refer to this conflict disparagingly as "the oil war," "the Texaco war" and bemoan this as a sad commentary on the U.S.'s overdependence on Middle East oil and on the frightening thought that a dispute over oil (which is, by definition, largely economic) could cost us human lives. They understand the contributing role of oil in the conflict, but don't want oil to be the reason we lose lives.

There are others who do feel that our national security is indeed threatened when our economic interests are under attack and who consequently feel that, while regrettable, war may be necessary for essentially pragmatic, economic reasons. These people view themselves as "realists" and feel that they are themselves, in many cases, economically affected by what happens on the world oil market.

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT (cont'd).

o OTHER RATIONALES

There are a number of other issues that, by themselves, are not seen as sufficient reasons to go to war:

- Returning Kuwait to its former rulers
- Protecting Israel
- U.S. as "world policeman" (some see this as a positive, necessary task while others say, "Why does it always have to be us?")
- Hostages: The emotional power and disgust at people being held hostage by a madman is evident through all the comments heard. But while "getting them back" was perceived by some to have been an important goal, it was not seen as the primary issue. There is also perception that the release of the hostages was a ploy on Hussein's part to buy time and keep us off guard.

THEME II. THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY.

Many of the people we talked with are terrified at the prospect of engaging in a war with Hussein and "an Islamic enemy." The Iraqi population is perceived as so culturally different from ourselves that they would be capable of fighting with a ferocity and cruelty that most Americans find disturbingly alien:

"They think with their hearts, not with their heads, and they'll just do whatever it takes to kill somebody, and kill them horribly. You're talking about people who still cut off people's hands in public if they steal something, so you could just imagine what they'd do to the enemy. It will be real horrible, bloody . . . it will be a mess."

"They don't put the same value on human life that we do."

"They use suicide missions -- they know they're going to die and they strap themselves to a bomb. They have a different attitude towards human life."

"They have a real hatred of westerners, particularly Americans."

It is important for public confidence to acknowledge this enemy's differences -- our understanding of them -- and to express belief in our ability to "master" them if necessary . . . also, to point out the vulnerabilities of these differences for "the enemy." Many people currently view the Iraqis as a military enemy that may be just as difficult, or even more difficult to fight as the North Vietnamese were in the not-so-distant past.

THEME III. LEARNING FROM HISTORY.

No matter how different the conditions may be in the Middle East, and how different this political situation may be, these people's perceptions of modern warfare seem to have been shaped by their memories and images of Vietnam. War seems "messy," "horrible," and "bloody" and less of a glorious struggle of heroes on a picturesque battlefield, now that most Americans have lived through night after night of news footage from Southeast Asia.

While those people who are old enough to remember World War II or Korea have some associations of victory, morality, and necessity with modern warfare, most of the people we spoke with think of wars as politically, pragmatically, and morally suspect. They are concerned about ambiguous political motives and about whether the government is "telling them the truth or not." Most of all, they fear that this war, "like Vietnam," could be a mistake:

"I think our government, just as with Vietnam, gave us a reason. It wasn't good enough for us, it never was good enough for us . . . No matter what they tell us, I don't think I'm going to believe it, I really don't."

The lasting legacy of Vietnam in America also created considerable concern about support for the troops. No one wants to be in the position of withholding emotional support from "the boys" and many people are concerned that if fighting takes place, that these soldiers must not be ignored or devalued:

"I grew up with the generation of the Vietnam War, and the boys didn't know how to fight there, and we're paying the price for it now, the damage that it did to them. And I don't want to see another generation like that."

People may not unequivocally support the government and/or the President's actions, but there is unanimous support for "the boys."

HOT BUTTON:

"We may not support the policy, but we won't abandon our boys this time."

THEME III. LEARNING FROM HISTORY (cont'd).

The most dramatic and pervasive theme we encountered centered around the necessity of avoiding "another Vietnam." People believe that we have not yet come to terms with this war and are not at all ready to go through "it" again. Importantly, they stress that it is imperative for them to know "what we learned," not so much how this situation is different."

It is illuminating to consider what those concerns revolve around, i.e., questions about:

- Prolonged conflict (the "impact of protracted war")
- Ambiguous motives
- The deleterious role of lack of support "at home"
 - "We abandoned our boys."
 - "The conflict at home fueled the war."
 - "Dissent and protest eroded our leadership."
 - "The enemy used our internal conflict for their advantage."
- Psychological scarring
 - "We still haven't recovered."
- An "unfamiliar" enemy (who plays by different rules)
- A war we had to watch -- night after night.
- Isolation, despair, and fall from international respectability.
- U.S. bears the burden . . . alone.

The Vietnam War is an inescapable factor in these people's perception of the current situation.

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL.

As a result of this legacy of the Vietnam War, there is considerable insecurity and skepticism regarding the U.S.'s ability to master this situation -- to come out a winner. This tenuousness confounds people's sentiment and support. People don't want to lose, to look either "weak" or desperate. When people claim support for the need to use force, most of them really mean:

"Don't weaken."

"Keep the pressure on."

"Don't back down."

"Stay in control."

"Keep the upper hand."

None of these mean the same thing as, "Attack."

People want to see evidence of pressure and progress. Now that we are there, it is important not to back down. In the meantime, we desperately need to "feel good" about what we are doing.

In terms of pressure and progress, the hostage release was received in a positive but guarded manner. People don't know how to think about it: as a victory for U.S. pressure/embargo, sanctions, military presence -- or -- as a manipulative strategy on the part of Saddam Hussein. Whose victory is it? What happens next? People see advantages for Hussein and it scares them.

"He's bought time."

"What's the next move?"

Now that the hostages are freed, the question of why we should remain raises itself for some people, but for most it does not change why we are there. They know "it's not over" until Hussein is not only out of Kuwait, but "contained" or "removed from power."

"He won't stop."

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL (cont'd).

o THE IMAGE OF AMERICAN TROOPS:

Through a combination of a decade of negative stereotypes (movies and television), unattractive current media portrayals, and personal experiences ("It's my neighbor out there . . . what does he know about war?"), many people's view of the military is quite disparaging. This view shakes their confidence in the military's competence. Others empathize with "the boys" and want to do whatever it takes to bring them home in one piece. You hear phrases like:

**"over their heads," "unprepared," "unskilled,"
"lonely and disoriented," "already suffering from the desert"**

Even those with a more positive image see the troops more as human beings with families, lives, and fears than as "the world's best fighting machine." As one "hawkish" woman in Dallas put it:

"They should stop their whining and do their job."

The public is divided on the image of the American soldier. While some feel that our soldiers are weak and unprepared for real war, others are confident that they are strong and more than ready for an armed conflict with Iraq. But all worry about how long they can last if time allows the waiting, the desert, political disunity, and bloody losses to take their toll.

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL (cont'd).

o AMERICA'S VULNERABILITY -- HOW THE WORLD VIEWS US:

The general perception is that America is perceived by many abroad and by many Americans as well as a "faltering leader," beset with domestic and international problems. Is this fragility the best platform for war? People question the "winnability" of this conflict, a sentiment which mitigates against their support and endorsement.

No one wants to look bad -- to themselves or the rest of the world. They need and want to believe that the U.S. can win before they can support more proactive or offensive tactics/action. Furthermore, the people we spoke to do not want our involvement in Kuwait to supersede other national priorities such that our other problems are ignored or relegated to secondary status.

"We can't afford war."

o AMERICA'S POOR SELF-IMAGE -- 'IT'S A BAD TIME FOR WAR'

America is perceived as tired, and possibly "over the hill." It is a very bad time economically and many respondents were concerned that a prolonged war or continued state of military preparedness will demand a heavy cost, both economically and emotionally.

While some saw a quick victory in Kuwait as an opportunity for a "morale boost," most seemed to feel that they couldn't "handle this now" -- "it's a bad time":

"We should exhaust all avenues in trying to make a peaceful solution before we make a commitment to go to combat . . . I was in Vietnam . . . I don't think the country is ready for that again."

Congress is described as "confused and divided" and it was felt that this was a reflection of "the real mood of the American people -- there's a real division."

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL (cont'd).

o AMERICA'S POOR SELF-IMAGE - "IT'S A BAD TIME FOR WAR" (cont'd).

Taking hostages was perceived as **"playing by different rules that make us feel helpless and angry."** And while exasperated with Saddam Hussein, few seem to see any end to that sort of terrorism. As a result they feel impotent and frustrated:

"The Arab world holds us hostage. We've made ourselves victims."

Some people are so pessimistic about our current fortunes that they ascribe Goliath-like characteristics to the once-mighty United States and perceive Saddam Hussein as a small "bully" who is actually **"pushing us around."** From this vantage point, they feel that it is imperative for the United States to **"do whatever it takes"** to **"draw the line"** and **"take a stand on this aggression"** since **"this is just the beginning."** They appear firmly convinced that we must not **"back down"** as that would demonstrate to ourselves and the rest of the world that **"we won't be bullied."**

This precarious "self-image" affects how these people talked about the United States's role in this conflict. They want the U.S. to be a leader -- the leader of the free world. However, they don't want to be left out there alone, abandoned by our allies (which they believe is happening and will probably continue to happen). They don't want to **"be wrong."**

"We can handle a crisis, but not a protracted, economically and humanly draining conflict, that ends up debilitating us even more."

The fact that the United Nations and several allies concurred with the U.S. position is important, and not so much as an endorsement of policy but as a boost to self-esteem:

"We won't be viewed negatively again by the world."

THEME V. WINNABILITY.

Many people do not believe that the kind of war they anticipate in this situation is ultimately winnable. They think of Vietnam, or Afghanistan, and imagine a bloody, horrible conflict that drags on interminably at great cost to America and Iraq.

While most all do believe that the U.S. could conceivably win an all-out, short-term, military battle, and some do imagine that "if we use all our resources" (which in their minds often includes tactical nuclear weapons) the military action may end more quickly, they feel that there would be a very heavy cost:

"I'd feel pretty lousy. That's a horrible thing to happen."

"Still too many lives, too many lives."

"It would be tragic."

For many, short of using nuclear weapons/atomic bomb (a tactic that almost no one is in favor of -- as they see it as too drastic with far too many undesirable ramifications), there is a fear that we will become entangled in a complex, extended war. These people do not believe we will "win" -- easily or quickly. Their fear is influenced by a number of beliefs:

- U.S. citizens have a shaken confidence in our ability to win wars given our perceived outright defeat in Vietnam (our most recent "real war")
- The Arab version of "guerilla warfare" will make it difficult "to win" (a function of their religious "fanaticism": "they will die for their religion")
- The Iranian/Ayatollah situation shows how they can persevere
- **"This part of the world really hates us."**
- Some are afraid that they could win (we as a nation are being held hostage, we feel helpless and victimized, uneasy, uncertain, and fearful)
- **"We could win if we don't hold back. But we will hold back."**

THEME V. WINNABILITY (cont'd).

Some believe that we might be able to win -- over the long haul, but no one wants to drag this out for too long. Too many lives will be lost and those at home will find it difficult to live through. For others, no one ever "wins" in these situations -- when people die, no one wins.

On the other hand, people abstractly love the idea of going in quickly and winning decisively -- the U.S. seems to need this kind of "shot in the arm" right now (in terms of both international respect and the depressing domestic economy) -- but worry about "what is really won?":

- Control of oil fields?
- Command of our economic destiny?
- For how long?
- Won't there just be someone else to replace Hussein?

Few feel comfortable talking about this, but many seem to feel that the best way to "win" seems to be to take Saddam Hussein out of the picture, not to go to war with the Iraqi nation. He is perceived as the problem and this "solution" would seem to minimize the number of lives needlessly lost.

THEME VI. TIME AS A WEAPON

Everyone seems to want this "situation" over fast (assuming success):

"Make it quick."

"Get it over with."

"The faster the better."

"The boys are tired of waiting. Act now or pull out."

The prospect of living through another war is so painful that they want it, if it has to happen, to just happen all at once and "go away" as fast as possible. There is a great deal of fear engendered by any suggestions of a long, drawn-out military engagement or even a prolonged state of military preparedness:

"Keeping troops there kills us economically."

There is little patience for continuing action of any kind and an almost universal desire for some kind of immediate termination to the situation. Even those who are most positive about the advisability of military action see time as a potential problem:

"Time is crucial. Time only allows Hussein to get more weapons."

Besides,

"We'd have to see the body bags come home -- night after night."

People are afraid that if it is not quick, all sort of disastrous complications could result -- Iraq's development of nuclear capabilities, Iraqi attacks against Israel escalating the scope of the conflict to the status of a World War III, a bogged-down American military in the desert, etc.

The irony in this time pressure is the need to balance it with people's desire to "exhaust all options" before undertaking military action. We may want to move fast, but we do not want to "fail" or be "wrong."

THEME VII. LEADERSHIP AND WAR

When it comes to war, Americans have impossibly high standards and dishearteningly low expectations for their leaders. They want their elected representatives (the President and Congress) to:

Represent them	---	yet know more than they do
Consider all sides	---	yet act decisively
Respect life	---	yet have the courage to know when to make sacrifices for a "greater good"

More than anything else, they want leadership to operate with a sense of responsibility. They mostly fear strictly retaliatory or "posturing" aggressiveness. They fear that President Bush may be "posturing" and will react "as a man" instead of "as a leader." They prefer reason and principles to passion and mere expedience.

Some noted that this may be an opportunity for President Bush to finally overcome the "wimp" label and they fear that this motive may obscure the President's objectivity as well as his responsibility to the populace. However, it is not to President Bush's advantage to go overboard about Hussein being a "madman" and "creating paranoia." The President then appears to be less "in control."

In addition, the responsibility of both the President and Congress, as well as the relationship between the President and Congress, was mentioned in every group. It is unconscionable to these people that the President could ever declare war unilaterally. This is not "one man's war." The President should be free to act quickly in a crisis, but not to single-handedly commit us to all-out war.

These people want "honesty" from their leader -- not just earnestness or a patronizing "keep them informed attitude." While they respect the need for confidentiality of tactics, they want "full disclosure" of goals and intentions. They demand full knowledge of intent, objectives, and principles. They also want to be fully informed of the implications of potential action:

"We have a right to know what's at stake."

They want President Bush to set the parameters and articulate the principles. "All the lieutenants" can handle the pragmatics.

Most importantly, they want to feel that President Bush has "done everything possible" before our troops are sent in to a "shooting war." Everyone wants to know that every effort was made to negotiate a peaceful settlement. The greatest loss of confidence in their leadership would result from a perception that they were somehow "dragged into an unnecessary war" for the second time in recent memory.

"TELLING PHRASES"

"He's a madman, a lunatic, a terrorist."

"We must support the boys."

"We won't abandon them . . . again."

"Avoid another Vietnam."

"Keep the pressure on."

"We're not ready for another war."

"We can't go through this again."

"We can't watch boys die -- night after night."

"Just tell us the truth."

"Just get it done -- fast -- do what it takes."

"He must be stopped."

"Tell us why we're there."

"Is it worth the cost, in economic and human terms?"

". . . the Oil War."

PART II. THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION

THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION.

General observations:

While there were striking similarities in terms of the overall public stance on the Persian Gulf issues, there were also ways in which the diversity of public opinion became evident. The dimensions on which their opinions diverged included the following:

- o gender**
- o age**

THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION (cont'd).

GENDER DIFFERENCES:

Women and, in particular, younger women (18-24 years), are less in favor of going to war than are men. They are both vocally and emotionally expressive about the idea of going to war, they are "mad," "angry" and "very sad" that young men will be fighting and dying.

They tend to think about war in terms of the "loss of life." They are more likely than men to question the reason for being there and to ask, "at what cost?"

They are more likely than men to personalize the war. The soldiers are their husbands, fathers of their young children, boyfriends, brothers, or their children. They imagine and deeply feel for "the boys" and the hardships they are experiencing but, more importantly, live in fear of being widowed or having their children experience fatherlessness.

They have been told by their fathers or friends and have seen for themselves that Vietnam inflicted terrible injury and pain on the men and their families. They commented that "even the heroes came back wasted."

THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION (cont'd).

AGE AND WAR AS A POINT OF REFERENCE:

The war that each most closely identifies with seems to shape (to a certain extent) how they feel about the winnability of this war.

Many who are 55 years or older and thus at an impressionable age during World War II and the Korean War seem to have a better understanding for the potential danger of a "Hitler"-type of aggressor and they also seem to be more optimistic of being able to win this war.

Those of an impressionable age during the Vietnam War (35-45 years) seem to reference that war and thus are unsure of our ability to win. As with Vietnam, they are not sure why we are really there and if the government is telling them everything. They imagine this war could also be a painfully protracted with the loss of tens of thousands of lives.

This is also somewhat true of the younger people (18-24 years) whose parents were old enough to experience the Vietnam War. These younger people question why we are there, whether the U.S. can win militarily and anticipate the loss of many lives.

There is, however, a group of young people who are very much in favor of going to war. They support the President and their idealized, almost naive vision of war as represented by movies fills them with hope that we can win this war.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS.

Conclusion I:

There is strong evidence that if President Bush had to initiate a major military offensive, he would not have the overwhelming support of the American people.

This reflects a crisis of confidence and conviction.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Crisis of Confidence:

Considering the U.S.'s recent history (most notably Vietnam), poor regard for the military, prevailing self-consciousness about our "diminished position" in the world, the overwhelming burden of domestic problems, and American's lack of understanding and/or dissatisfaction with the expressed motives for "why we're there" . . . these people have little confidence in the ability of the United States to win (which means achieving worthwhile objectives as opposed to simply prevailing militarily).

The graphic, horrific, appalling visual images of war that have permeated people's mental landscape over the last decade have left strong "repellent" impression of war on most people. People do not feel that they can sit and watch the horror again -- night after night. They are not confident in their own ability to cope with seeing the realities of war . . . that they must watch if the U.S. goes to war again.

The Baby Boom generation has never seen the U.S. "win" a war. This fact coupled with the urgency of unprecedented economic, political, and sociological challenges, shatters people's confidence in American competence.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Crisis of Conviction:

If lives are to be lost, people must feel satisfied that they both understand and agree with the goals, principles and objectives which define U.S. involvement.

Qualified endorsement may be the only support that Americans can muster given the fundamental skepticism that has become endemic in America.

Without having an overriding sense of purpose, the everchanging, conflicting, and often contradictory information, expert opinions, and pronouncements seriously undermine sustained conviction. People need a "beacon" to clear the way.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

To satisfy these people -- the purpose and meaning for U.S. involvement must make a clear link between:

Causes

The facts, defining events, and characteristics of the Gulf situation.

Pragmatics

The real and anticipated consequences of these characteristics.

Principles

The serious implications of these consequences.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Conclusion II:

The precise nature of the THREAT – to well-being, security and values – has not been communicated convincingly, clearly, or consistently.

To warrant a loss of lives, the threat must be perceived as real, close-in, and very serious.

It is especially critical that people feel we have exhausted all viable alternatives before initiating offensive military action.

There must be a logical, credible link made between the nature of the threat and the need for a specific response.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Conclusion III:

People express widespread support "for the troops" in spite of confusion, ambivalence, or even outright rejection of policy.

There is great empathy "for the troops" and a strong underlying sentiment that they must not be abandoned . . . "again." Perceptions of troop morale, conditions, and competence have a profound and disproportionate influence on attitudes and beliefs concerning advisable activities in the Gulf. The more "the boys" are perceived as fragile, vulnerable, unprepared, or victimized, the less likely Americans will be to support either "an offensive action" or a sustained military involvement.

IRAQ: PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

*Tutor, Steyer
Susan Gianino's
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Basic Public Perceptions

Basic public support for a U.S. military deterrence in the Persian Gulf remains high.

Two national surveys done the second weekend of December found the same 63 percent majority supporting the decision to send troops to the Persian Gulf area. (RNC and NBC News/Wall Street Journal surveys)

Only 10 percent think we now should pull out of the Persian Gulf.

There has been some weakening in the public's basic support since the announcement of changing to an offensive capability. Prior to the announcement, basic support for U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf had been 72 percent. However, there has been no increase in those wanting to pull out; they have stayed around 10 percent since early October.

In the RNC national survey, a 64 percent majority approve of the way President Bush is handling the Iraq situation compared to 34 percent who disapprove. (The NBC News/Wall Street Journal found almost the same approval level for the President - 63 percent.) The public's perceptions of the President on Iraq have varied by four time periods:

In August and September, the President averaged 76 percent approval of his handling of the Iraq situation.

From October thru the November elections, the President averaged a lower 63 percent approval on Iraq.

The President's approval dropped to its lowest point during the three weeks following his November 8th announcement of changing to an offensive capability: he averaged 54 percent approval.

Since the November 30th announcement of Secretary of State Baker's possible meeting with Hussein, the President's public approval increased to an average 61 percent.

A 62 percent majority think the President's policies toward Iraq so far have been "about right" rather than too tough or not tough enough.

Projected Support for Military Action

The public is more inclined to support military action than a softening of current policies. However, a majority favors a middle course.

When given three options on what to do now, more voters favor "taking a stronger stand even if it means attacking Iraq" (30 percent) than favor "pulling out of Saudi Arabia" (10 percent). Most voters (53 percent) favor the middle choice: "keep our military forces in Saudi Arabia, but try to avoid a shooting war."

More voters think President Bush has "not been tough enough" on Iraq (21 percent) than think he has "been too tough" (12 percent). Most voters (62 percent) think his policies so far have been "about right."

Some public polls have recorded over 60 percent majorities in favor of using military force against Iraq, but these results can be misleading.

These surprisingly high rates of support for military action occur on poll questions using just "yes-no" alternatives which measure the hard line inclination of the public over following a retreat course, but they do not offer a middle alternative.

These particular poll questions do not mention the cost in casualties for taking the military choice.

The RNC national survey estimates that 43 percent of the public would support the use of military force after the January 15th deadline, and 46 percent would oppose the use of force given their knowledge and perceptions, as of today.

The 43 to 46 percent estimate is based on three survey questions which presented the options of a prolonged embargo and a negotiated settlement as well as the military option and the withdrawal option. The third question in the series raised the issue of American casualties by stating that "some military experts have estimated that it might cost ten thousand American lives to drive Iraq out of Kuwait."

Fifteen percent indicate support for military action but not at the cost of 10,000 lives in which case they would consider a military action "a mistake."

Twenty percent favor the embargo or negotiation and would oppose military force even if "the U.S. concluded the embargo will not work and there was nothing it could agree to in a negotiation with Iraq."

Eleven percent would withdraw our troops after January 15th and "let the Arab nations settle the problem."

With this full scenario, the following groups are most supportive of taking military action after January 15th: current approvers of the President (57 percent), Republicans (56 percent), men (55 percent), and Southerners (51 percent).

The groups least supportive of taking military action after January 15th are: current disapprovers of the President (23 percent), Democrats (31 percent), women (32 percent), senior citizens (31 percent), and blacks (23 percent).

The NBC News/Wall Street Journal survey also found the public evenly divided on what the U.S. should do after January 15th. With a single, less involved question, that did not raise the cost in lives of the military option, they reported that 46 percent supported military action to force Iraq out of Kuwait compared to 44 percent who thought the U.S. should wait for the economic sanctions to achieve the same goal.

Use of Force: Reasons and Justifications

Rather than not having a reason acceptable to the public for the use of military force against Iraq, the Administration actually has an overabundance of acceptable rationales for using force.

Over 70 percent think the following are "good reasons" to use military force: end Iraq's nuclear capability, force Iraq out of Kuwait, and maintain the security and stability of the Persian Gulf region.

Over 60 percent think the following are "good reasons" to use military force: destroy Iraq's chemical weapons and remove Hussein from power.

Over 50 percent think the following are "good reasons" to use military force: restore Kuwait's previous government and avoid a worldwide recession by assuring Middle East oil supplies.

In addition to the above reasons or goals of a military action, there are several situations which the public thinks would justify military action against Iraq if they proved to be true:

"Iraq is moving chemical weapons to the border where our troops are positioned." (62 percent say this would justify using military force.)

"Iraq is planning to invade another Middle Eastern country whenever we withdraw our troops from the Middle East." (59 percent say this would justify using military force.)

"Iraq is within a few months of having nuclear weapons." (59 percent say this would justify using military force.)

Among these rationales and justifications, the one that is particularly strong is the potential nuclear threat of Iraq. Eliminating Iraq's nuclear threat was not only rated by the most people (78 percent) as a good reason to use military force against Iraq, it also was rated as a "very good" reason by significantly more people (46 percent) than for any of the other reasons.

Iraq's chemical weapon threat also is a strong motivator for public support. It ranks second to the nuclear threat as a "very good" reason, and is the focus of the most credible triggering situation as described above.

The public polls have consistently documented the public's very high concern with Iraq's nuclear and chemical warfare capabilities.

Economic rationales or justifications have only moderate credibility with the public.

"To avoid a worldwide recession by making sure Middle East oil flows freely to the world" elicits a fairly close result as a rationale for military force against Iraq: 54 percent "good reason" to 44 percent "poor reason."

"We are on the brink of a worldwide economic depression because of Iraq's threat to the oil supplies in the Middle East," even if true, is not considered by a majority as a justification for using military force against Iraq. Forty-four percent think it would be a justification, but 52 percent think it would not be a justification.

Importance or "Wisdom" of Using Military Force

Senator Nunn has separated the "wisdom" of using force from the justification of force. The survey tested four reasons as to why it may be "wise" as well as justified to use force. Two of the four test very much in the affirmative. One, not surprisingly, focuses on the nuclear threat issue; the other draws a parallel to the appeasement of Adolph Hitler.

By 75 to 21 percent, the public agrees that "if he had nuclear weapons, Saddam Hussein would not hesitate to use them against other countries in the Middle East." Moreover, 55 percent "strongly agree" with this statement.

By 70 to 28 percent, the public agrees that "if we don't stand up to Hussein's aggression in the Middle East, he could grow to be as much a threat to world peace as Adolph Hitler." Forty-seven percent "strongly

agree" with this statement.

Surprisingly, another argument using the nuclear threat does not fair as well. Only a moderate 55 to 34 percent majority agree that "there is a good chance that Iraq will acquire nuclear weapons before the economic blockade convinces Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait." A low 22 percent "strongly agree."

The argument with the lowest credibility of the four is, again, an economic self-interest item. Only a small 49 to 45 percent plurality agree that "a severe recession in the U.S. is likely to result if we do not force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait."

Perceptions of Why U.S. Troops Are In Saudi Arabia

There is little public agreement on why U.S. troops *are* in the Persian Gulf region. Moreover, a disturbingly high proportion of people think U.S. troops are there for economic reasons rather than for one of the reasons they think *ought* to be the basis for their presence.

Read a list of six possible reasons, the most frequent choice the public makes for why U.S. troops are in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf is "to protect the world's oil supply" – 33 percent.

A 54 percent majority choose one of the non-economic purposes, but no single purpose is chosen by more than 20 percent: "force Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait" (18 percent), "overthrow Hussein" (10 percent), "protect Saudi Arabia" (10 percent), "prevent Iraq from developing nuclear weapons" (10 percent), and "free the hostages" (6 percent).

Negotiating With Iraq

A potentially important problem for the Administration's Iraq policy is the significant level of public support for negotiating with Iraq. Forty-nine percent think the U.S. and U.N. should negotiate with Iraq in the true sense of finding what Iraq "would accept in return for withdrawing from Kuwait." Almost as many (48 percent) think the U.S. and U.N. should not negotiate with Iraq.

Surprisingly high proportions of Republicans (43 percent), approvers of the President (43 percent), men (40 percent), and Southerners (44 percent) support negotiating with Iraq.

The NBC News/Wall Street Journal survey also found significant support for negotiating with Iraq. In their survey, 51 percent supported making "some concessions to Iraq on the control of disputed oil fields" if Iraq released all the hostages and withdrew from Kuwait.

Congress

A majority of the public has more confidence in the President than in Congress to handle the Iraq situation, but an even larger majority believes the President needs prior approval of Congress to use military force against Iraq.

Fifty-four percent "trust" President Bush more to handle the Iraq situation; 31 percent trust Congress more.

Sixty-one percent believe the President needs prior approval of Congress to use military force in the Middle East; 35 percent believe the President, "as Commander-in-Chief," has the authority to use military force in the Middle East.

People who have more confidence in President Bush but, nevertheless, say he needs prior approval from Congress offer three reasons to support their position:

It is too big a decision for one man to make either in the sense that it is too much power for one man or too much of a "burden" for one man.

It is written in the Constitution that way; it's "the law."

There will be greater public support for the decision if both make it.

Voters were asked which way they would want their Congressman to vote if the President asked for authority to use military force against Iraq. Sixty percent said they would want their Congressman to vote "for approval"; only 24 percent said they would want him or her to vote "against approval."

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RESEARCH PURPOSE:

In order to gain a greater depth of understanding and insight into how and why Americans think and feel the way they do about the Persian Gulf situation. Specific areas of inquiry included:

- o Definition of the problem.**
 - Why are we there?
 - Should we be there?
 - What should happen?
- o Nature of fears.**
 - What are they afraid of?
 - What consequences are they anticipating?
- o Perceptions of Possible Resolution.**
 - What must be done to resolve this situation in a satisfactory way?
 - What are the costs of any possible resolution?
- o The U.S. Role.**
 - How is America acting?
 - How is America perceived?
- o Evaluation of President Bush's Actions.**
- o Specific Reactions to Current Issues and Events.**

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

- o Eleven group discussions (2 hours in length)**
- o 8 - 10 people in each group**
- o Four areas of the United States:**
 - New York City**
 - San Francisco**
 - Dallas**
 - Kansas City**
- o Broad coverage of respondent types segmented by psychographic type and age in each area:**
 - "Mainstreamers" (25 - 60)**
 - "Succeeders" (25 - 60)**
 - "Reformers" (25 - 60)**
 - College Students (18 - 24)**
 - Young Non-College (18 - 24)**
- o All groups were conducted on December 5th, 6th, 7th, 12th, and 13th, 1990.**

*Groups composed entirely of African-American respondents were scheduled in the original, full proposal. While African-American respondents were included, they were under-represented in this study.

GENERAL OBSERVATION:

A wide range of perceptions, reactions, and opinions were expressed concerning the Persian Gulf situation, reflecting varying levels of information and understanding, and different "value" systems. However, in spite of these differences, we were most impressed by the consistency across the groups of several key fundamental themes which serve as the strong underpinning of public opinion on this national crisis.

PART I. FUNDAMENTAL THEMES

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING

THEME II. THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY

THEME III. LEARNING FROM HISTORY

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL

- **THE IMAGE OF AMERICAN TROOPS**
- **AMERICA'S VULNERABILITY**
- **AMERICA'S POOR SELF-IMAGE**

THEME V. WINNABILITY

THEME VI. TIME AS A WEAPON

THEME VII. LEADERSHIP AND WAR

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

CONCLUSION IV:

At the root of people's ("Baby Boomers") resistance to "war" is a powerful, underlying aversion to and ambivalence about personal sacrifice.

- "Me generation" legacy
- Grown accustomed to immediate gratification, indulgence, and quick fixes
- Not used to major trade-offs and compromises ("want it all")

However, coming into a more mature phase in their lives is causing these "Baby Boomers" to reconsider their values and priorities.

APPENDICES

"Telegrams" to President Bush

At the start of each group, respondents were asked to write a brief "telegram" to George Bush, expressing their personal feelings about the Persian Gulf situation.

SUCCEEDERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Enough of your rhetoric! Please stop trying to convince the general public that our interest in this particular Middle East crisis is idealistic. We all know it is economic. If the U.S. succeeds in defeating Iraq, the U.S. will then control the world's oil supply, thus making it the richest country (by far) in the world.

Dear President Bush,

Go slow. War is costly in many ways. U.N. should lead, not U.S.A. Stress conservation and oil substitutes -- better too late than not at all. No more Vietnams. You have never made clear why we are in the Middle East. Set a clear policy.

Dear President Bush,

End it now with little, or preferably, no more bloodshed!

Dear President Bush,

My family and I are very frightened about the possibility of an impending war in the Middle East and we are hoping and praying that you will be able to negotiate a truce with Saddam Hussein. We cannot afford to have another "Vietnam" where so many young men lost their lives.

Dear President Bush,

I think that it is very important to exhaust all avenues of peaceful intervention before troops are used in a combat role.

Dear President Bush,

Our boys are getting very tired of waiting in the Middle East and Hussein has now been given too much time to think. I feel we should act now or pull out before Hussein does so much damage the world will be in a very serious situation. Thank you for reading my letter.

SUCCEEDERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

The situation in the Middle east concerns me greatly because I believe that geographic region to be the lifeline of America's oil resources. The situation should not be allowed to escalate into full scale war. More strong attempts at achieving peace in the Middle East must be made today! Procrastination can only serve to allow Hussein to manipulate the U.S. further.

SUCCEEDERS -- KANSAS CITY

President Bush:

The issue of Saddam Hussein must be settled sooner or later. He has never met a weapon he doesn't like, -- this he will not be reluctant to use nuclear or advanced genetic warfare against some country some time. Unless we stop him (specifically) and all others so disposed, we can expect the "new world order" to fail. A lesson by example must be issued to all like-minded dictators/governments -- behave yourselves or you will be desposed from power. Now is better than later. This is more important than his control of 30% of world oil.

Dear President Bush:

I support the strong stance that you have taken against Saddam Hussein. Although public opinion may at times be for softening your approach. I urge you to continue to show Mr. Hussein that you will be relentless in your approach until he completely pulls out of Kuwait. If he has not pulled back by the Security Council's approved date of January 15, 1991, I approve of whatever force is necessary in order to enforce this proposal from the U.N. Security Council.

Dear President Bush:

I think we should let the people solve their own problems without involving American lives. They have a different feeling about religion and Americans do not understand their beliefs well enough to become involved.

Dear President Bush:

Defend our freedom and the world's by getting the world involved in depressing the aggression from Hussein now and in the future. I realize the issue is not oil just for us but protecting our future by not allowing it to be governed by one individual like Hussein.

SUCCEEDERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

Don't kill our kids so that big oil can make money. The U.S. is not the world's policeman. We never seem to learn our lesson on this. Send congressmen over 60 to fight. No big loss. Probably nothing will happen if they are in charge. The press has blown this deal out of proportion, just like Vietnam. If there really is danger, tell us and quit playing games. How can Iraq be supported by anyone if there really is danger. We need facts, not silly TV appearances.

Dear President Bush:

I support your efforts in the Middle East as long as they lead to a peaceful settlement without loss of life. It's important to show that Saddam Hussein can't bully his way into another country yet we should diplomatically try to solve the crisis without using military force -- if at all possible. I hope this is resolved as soon as possible and that the crisis doesn't go on too much longer.

Dear President Bush:

If you're going to be there get going and get it over with. While you're doing that, let's get a domestic energy policy so this will not happen again. If you do get Hussein out, there will be some other nut to take his place. Also let's get the Saudis to pay the bill. We're protecting them so that they can make billions on oil profits from the world.

Dear President Bush:

Just a note that I back you fully and admire your leadership in taking this stand against a regime that threatens the stability of the Middle East which in turn could affect our way of life. It's very important to dictate to other nations which try to control other countries that this will not be tolerated.

SUCCEEDERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

I am writing out of deep concern for our soldiers and the possibility of war, death and destruction. I am concerned we could be entering into a situation that could escalate to include many countries in the conflict and result in the use of atomic weapons. You have to know when to hold them and know when to fold them as the song by Kenny Rogers says. Now is the time to sit back and examine the ramifications before proceeding.

Dear President Bush:

I am in complete agreement with you that the aggressors must leave Kuwait. All Americans are pleased that our hostages have been freed. We view this as a positive step toward peaceful negotiations. We are most hopeful these are only the initial moves that will eventually lead to a peaceful settlement. I ask that you seriously consider every possible avenue to end the conflict peacefully without the loss of life and bloodshed.

SUCCEEDERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

If we, as a country, decide to enter into hostilities with Iraq -- I am in favor of using all of our military assets!! Including those that are nuclear!

Dear President Bush,

I'm happy with the way (aggression) you are handling what's going on in the Middle East. Although I don't understand why so many of our people need to be over there. It also seems as though we are taking the responsibilities for a lot of what's happening.

Dear President Bush,

To date, I believe you have done a good job in handling the situation in the Middle East, specifically the release of the hostages. The concern of their nuclear capability, we have to trust you have all the information and your judgment and actions have considered this. Keep a firm position.

Dear President Bush,

If current sanctions prove ineffective, I encourage you to use the U.N. directive to immediately return Kuwait to its proper sovereignty. I hope you will use all military strength to rapidly gain complete control, thereby avoiding a Vietnam-type scenario.

Dear President Bush,

Thank you for not letting a dictator like Hussein remove the sovereignty of a neighboring nation. Your firmness is beginning to show signs of impressing upon Hussein that you mean business. He must realize by now that his position is hopeless.

Dear President Bush,

I feel that what you are doing is good to a certain extent. Coming to aid at Saudi's request. Please don't let this get down to an oil issue. Get done what we went for, diplomatically if possible, militarily only as a last resort, then get our guys home. Don't drag it out. Remember Nam.

SUCCEEDERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

I know that public opinion polls indicate that you are losing popularity and support for your stance on the Middle East, but I, for one, am pleased with your actions thus far. We must stand up against this so-called man named Saddam Hussein, even if no one else will.

Dear President Bush,

Don't do anything hasty as being offensive on January 16th. Let the Congress in on making a final decision with you and therefore you can't take all the blame. We certainly don't want another Vietnam. There is no need for any American lives to be sacrificed. Nuclear force should not be ruled out.

Dear President Bush,

The Middle East crisis is taking too long. If we get all the hostages out why not end it one way or another. Do what you must but do it swiftly. To delay only causes more pain. We need a straightforward leader, not a "wait and see" again like Nixon.

MAINSTREAMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Take a few more weeks time. If nothing happens, there is no other way to deal with a ruthless dictator then take military action. Hussein is a dangerous man and has all the weapons of destruction and is working on the atomic bomb. Any kind of deal is no good. When it comes to war, all-out action is required.

Dear President Bush,

As a Korean war combat veteran I would say that our President should exercise great caution before we're plunged into another war. The cost in lives in the two prior wars in Korea and Vietnam have marked our national psyche and you may wind up without popular support, an all important factor in winning any war.

Dear President Bush,

First of all, please bring home the hostages. Second, bring home all our boys and third of all bring down the oil prices. Now let's have peace out there. We want this done yesterday.

Dear President Bush,

I think there should not be a war to where people have to get hurt. I think we shouldn't be involved in what Kuwait and the other countries are fighting for. I think we should stand by and let Kuwait and Iraq handle it themselves if we are then needed then the U.S. should go to war to help if help is needed, because too many people and families are going to be affected by it.

Dear President Bush,

In my opinion I support the U.S. military actions and economic restrictions placed on Kuwait by the U.S. government. I feel that Hussein is a madman and he will acquire the ways and means to build an atomic bomb to use against the United States and the rest of the Middle East.

MAINSTREAMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Do not enter into a war. Try to stop it, please! Human life is precious. Let's try to end this mess now and get our soldiers home. God be with them all.

Dear President Bush,

This is a very hard time for our country and the world. I have tried to keep up with the news every night. I know everyone is trying to get everyone home safely. But if this is not possible we cannot let bullies run the world. Everyone must respect each other's rights, U.N. and otherwise.

Dear President Bush,

I would hope that you and all the world leaders involved would come together and resolve this situation without any war and loss of life.

MAINSTREAMERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush,

I would first like to say I fully support the position you have taken in the Middle East. There is a difficult decision to make, and Mr. President, you are the one who has to make it. We must protect our interests in the Persian Gulf and I believe you will make the right moves.

Dear President Bush,

I think it's outrageous what you're doing over there. What do you want, another Vietnam? I have a 17-1/2 year old son who is thinking of joining the armed forces and it worries me to death to think I could lose him to something like this. Please bring our troops back home where they belong and don't start another war.

Dear President Bush,

I represent a portion of our society in the mid-West concerning my views involving the Middle East crisis. I am a strong believer in peace and will do whatever I can to work for it. It is part of my soul as well as my religious beliefs. My main concern involving the Middle East crisis is that you, as well as all others involved in "speaking the American voice" relay this. We are working toward peace and prosperity and not war in these times.

Dear President Bush,

I think that the situation in the Middle East should be resolved quickly instead of spending billions of dollars waiting around for something to happen, we should push the issue and take immediate action.

Dear President Bush,

I am for whatever measures are necessary to protect the people of the United States. I only wish that protecting our country will not cause anyone to die for our freedom. As a President, I feel you are well informed and will take whatever steps necessary to protect our country, without the loss of U.S. soldiers and citizens.

MAINSTREAMERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush,

I am concerned. I know the U.S. is a world power and the rest of the world looks at our every move. I am frightened of war -- not only because I have a 21 year old son but for the lives of the "human race." We live in troubled times. It makes me sad to see a world sitting around on a powder keg. We have seen great strides in Eastern Europe -- why can't this situation be resolved?

Dear President Bush,

I think that we should overturn the laws on CIA assassination and then we wouldn't have to worry about Saddam or Colonel Quaddafi or any other right wing radical factions trying to start global warfare. If we, as U.S. citizens, are going to support this "Operation Desert Shield" then we should be kept abreast by you through television appearances and no false or negative television media reporting. Let's go over and kick ass or get out.

Dear President Bush,

I think you're doing a good job and hope that the crisis can be solved soon and peacefully but if it cannot I, for one, will support any decision that you or Congress make. My feelings are that we need to interview and get Iraq out of Kuwait immediately and not let this situation go on like Vietnam did.

Dear President Bush,

I really don't understand why we're trying to defend this country when, to my knowledge, they haven't requested our presence -- don't most countries overseas usually defend themselves? When Russia went to Poland, Afghanistan, etc. we didn't lift a finger to help them -- why now? I do value our soldiers -- please don't waste their lives in a power struggle -- all for oil -- we have enough oil here.

MAINSTREAMERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush,

I am very concerned about the situation in the Middle East as a citizen of the U.S. I realize that I should have complete faith in what my elected representatives are doing but I feel that the United States has almost always been the watch dog of the U.N. and feel that other countries should be equally responsible for what is to come as to participation and input.

MAINSTREAMERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

So far so good. Do not let the situation become bogged down. If combat is engaged, follow through and finish it. Do not waste American soldiers trying to minimize Iraqi casualties.

Dear President Bush,

It is time to get our people out and end this standoff. Our forces need to come home. We have what it takes to beat Hussein, do it and get it over with!

Dear President Bush,

Please explore all avenues in this matter in order to avoid a hasty decision but I will support your final decision if it is for the good of all in the long run.

Dear President Bush,

You've spent a tremendous amount of money to send people and convince Hussein we can conquer him. I think he knew that. Jump off the fence and do it or don't. There are thousands of more productive ways to spend our money and occupy our time and military.

Dear President Bush,

What is the real reason we are over there? How come we have the largest build up of troops and the Saudis don't seem to be giving us the backing of troops? Also how could this have happened (the invasion) with the intelligence we have?

Dear President Bush,

Why are we paying so much of the bill? We need more support from other countries (troops, money, etc.) now that our people (who want to come out) are out do we need to send troops into a country that would rather let everybody else do the fighting.

MAINSTREAMERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

I feel that Operation Desert Shield is too costly for the U.S. to be involved in. Both monetarily as well as in the loss of lives and family units. We need so much to be done right here in the U.S. Let's do whatever it takes to bring this to a swift conclusion and get home.

REFORMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

If we are to negotiate with Hussein we must not only think of now -- but the future. Because he's pulling out, it doesn't mean a thing if he has chemical weapons to threaten us with next year or five years from now. He must be made to disarm all missiles -- there has to be U.N. control over that. He also cannot be allowed to draw Israel into his negotiations regarding the Palestine situation. After all, we put him in power.

Dear President Bush,

The Middle East crisis apparently is much more involved than the public will ever know for right now. However given the deadline of January 15, 1991 in terms of war Every effort possible should be made to negotiate a peaceful solution. The American oil-interest (considering we glut the world market) should take second place to American and world lives. However, if we must go to war make it quick and efficient. The effects of germ warfare are too unknown and far reaching to play with.

Dear President Bush,

I'd like to take a moment to express my sincere feelings on our relationship with (for a lack of better words) with Middle East. First off, perhaps our country is in a dubious position concerning our economy. I do not think that war is the solution. I don't think that our country is ready for war. We are strong but have not planned out a more organized system.

Dear President Bush,

Do not rush into war. Give the sanctions time to work This said, be sure that Iraq conforms to all U.N. resolutions when negotiations are in progress.

REFORMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Hussein cannot get away with what he is doing. American must take a strong stand against him. However, we should do everything possible to avoid an all-out war. We, as Americans, value life too highly to have people killed in another war.

Dear President Bush,

Do anything in your power to keep the Middle East Crisis from becoming another Vietnam. The loss of lives which occurred during the Vietnam War should never happen again. Take whatever steps you feel are necessary to try to maintain world peace. Should peace not be possible an expeditious war must be fought.

Dear President Bush,

I am strongly opposed to U.S. entry into military action in Middle East. Whatever one thinks of Saddam Hussein, it is not worth the potential cost in lives. No reason to fight primarily to keep oil costs down. Nor do I think that fighting would be in defense of democracy, but rather in defense of a theoretically controlled country.

Dear President Bush,

This is to let you know that in regards to the Middle East Crisis I feel it is more important to consider the needs of the world as a whole rather than specifically as an interested American -- both economically and politically a peaceful solution must be negotiated.

Dear President Bush,

I wholeheartedly support your decision to give Mr. Hussein a choice of either all-out war or a peaceful retreat. Please stick to your decision, the world is counting on you.

REFORMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

I feel your reactions to Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait was rather drastic and hypocritical -- the thought of hundreds of thousands of innocent people -- Americans and Arabs who could perish because of the selfishness and greed of oil companies and this maniacal dictator (who we just recently supported during the war with Iran) is just horrifying. It just goes to show how strong the hold on government by the large corporation of this country.

REFORMERS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

I wish I could trust you. Please do not go to war over oil. There are always alternatives. Things will only get worse if you do.

Dear President Bush,

It's important that you not cloud the issue of why we are in the Middle East. We are there to protect our oil supply in order to guarantee a steady, inexpensive flow of oil to the U.S. We are not there to preserve a democracy, Kuwait never was one.

Dear President Bush,

Do not plunge us into war without exhausting every other means of settling this conflict. It's not worth the thousands of lives that would be lost.

Dear President Bush,

My concerns involve the possibility of continued trauma (psychological, physical, emotional) of all involved in the Middle East crisis. I am no expert, however, PTSD traumatic experiences many veterans suffer each day due to the Vietnam war must be considered a tragedy in this country. The possibility of similar dissociative disorders resulting from a war in the Middle East must be taken into consideration. War may cause much more harm than good. Oil is just not worth it.

Dear President Bush,

I have so far been very pleased with your stand in the Middle East. I am glad that this country has been firm and not backed down in confronting Hussein. There are such grave issues at stake: the proliferation of nuclear power, the instigation of further terrorism and use of banner weapons. I feel we should stay but not start conflict on a certain date.

REFORMERS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

Assuring that Americans have cheap oil to waste is not a compelling enough reason to risk 10-20,000 American lives in a war. You have not provided a legitimate reason to initiate an offensive war. Saddam, while an ogre, is not Hitler. Hostages can no longer be a reason. The nuclear/chemical threat is not proven. What is certain is hostility of the Arab world in years to come.

Dear President Bush,

I appreciate the dilemma the world is in because of the crisis in the Middle East. I share with you on the long range concerns regarding what a maniac with chemicals and possibly nuclear power can do if not controlled now. However, please be aware of the value of our blood. Do not frivolously launch into battle. Limit the loss of life, pursue all other options. And, then ensure long range change.

Dear President Bush,

Remember that New World Order you talked about? When were we elected World Police? Don't be so eager to kill our young men. Economic Sanctions do work.

Dear President Bush,

I believe your goals are correct (i.e., Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, restoration of the legitimate government). However, your methods of achieving these goals are not correct. First, I would recommend putting less emphasis on the use of military force. Second, I would recommend giving the sanctions much more opportunity to work. Although military force is needed as a deterrent, the level is not needed.

REFORMERS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

I know it is more "fun" to be running around Europe convincing world leaders to give you the right to launch a first strike against Iraq, but really, who the "bejeezus" do you think you are? Why must the U.S. be the one nation chomping at the bit to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of dollars (which will have to be borrowed) when we have a wonderful international community to act?

Dear President Bush,

Good job so far. Saddam Hussein is a wily character who is not to be trusted. You are always reasserting the issue of his aggressive act and not to mix issues with Palestinians is wise. You should always beware though that the Saudi regime is a very fragile government and should not be tinkered or bothered with American troops too long. Also don't give Assad too much recognition.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

I realize it must be hard for you to make such large decisions about the Middle East crisis. Sometimes I, along with others, wonder why we are there. Is it because we're protecting Americans - Kuwaitis; is it so we can drive our cars or is it something for you to do to get re-elected. I just wanted to say that when things get bad I hope you are smart in your decision making. A lot is at stake a lot of lives, the future of the country and the future of the world. Please choose correctly.

Dear President Bush,

I believe that you are doing a fine job with the crisis in the Middle East. I feel that you are using the perfect amount of strength and restraint to hopefully bring about a peaceful resolution to this situation.

Dear President Bush,

I believe that taking action at this point would be wise. Being that the more time that elapses more nuclear weapons are being made, time is crucial. There is no appeasing Hussein and I believe taking the offensive side is necessary rather than the defensive. Another important point is following through with the threat of war. If the world, especially the Middle East (Iraq), doesn't take your words seriously there will be a consistent flow of attacks throughout the Middle East countries.

Dear President Bush,

We cannot let Saddam get any further. War should be avoided!! Unless there is not other way to stop him. U.S. should continue to play an active part in the crisis i.e. troops. Other tactics should be used as well -- economic sanctions? Thank you.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

I am not fooled. I find your change of reasoning frightening. Consistently, inconsistent. Do you represent the American people. We are misinformed. Will there be a draft? Why couldn't this have been foreseen? I fear your propagandizing as much as I fear Hussein. It is immoral to rationalize economic goals through human lives. When and how will we learn the consistent truth. Will future school children study this mistake the way we studied Vietnam? Let it end.

Dear President Bush,

I feel from what I see and hear on T.V., newspaper and radio that many people are getting hurt from both sides. In the Middle East there are many people dying. People hear and say that there might be war. Hussein.

Dear President Bush,

I hope that Saddam Hussein pulls out of Kuwait before January 15th. However, if he doesn't, please don't be hesitant. Don't listen to some of the Democrats in Congress. I think you should move him out by force, as quickly as possible without many casualties. However, I believe he is scared right now and if you keep up the pressure, he will leave. Also, take a new approach on the war in Palestine. The Arabs there are being persecuted also.

Dear President Bush,

Due to the present crisis in the Persian Gulf and Iraq's refusal to exit Kuwait, it seems certain that you plan to use military force. I am aware of the reasons why we must force Saddam Hussein to exit, however, I believe that you are hiding the real reasons to our intervention. The Persian Gulf crisis is not based on the freedom of Kuwait, but rather the vast amounts of oil present there. I agree Hussein must leave Kuwait, but please stop beating around the bush. Also give the trade embargo some time before wasting American lives.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

Do you realize that each day we maintain troops in the Middle East, you are taxing the American economy? A show of political force will only prove that Americans are willing to be "sitting ducks" out in the desert at this point. Since Hussein is willing to talk and is releasing all hostages, I think it would be a better idea to allow the U.N. to take more responsibility in this affair.

Dear President Bush,

I am in support of your current position concerning the invasions of Kuwait. While I sincerely hope the crisis can be resolved without conflict, I appreciate your strong stand against the illegal aggression by Iraq.

Dear President Bush,

I am gravely concerned about your recent decision to employ massive numbers of U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf. I feel that the initial deployment of 200,000 soldiers was a clear demonstration of U.S. resolve to our allies in the region. What has happened to Kuwait is undeniably regrettable, however, Iraqi actions are not in direct contradiction to U.S. interest in the region and I feel that the U.S. should not be the part to initiate a war.

Dear President Bush,

I would like to urge you to pull the forces out of the Middle East and allow time for sanctions to work to cause Saddam to pull out of Kuwait. There needs to be more negotiations and the U.N. should have more power than it does right now to come to a peaceful solution. Also if any action is to take place, Congress should declare war, not just the President.

Dear President Bush,

As we head down the path to a costly and potentially devastating war, I hope you will consider the consequences of your foreign policy. I believe there are huge problems to be dealt with at home before we blindly enter into a conflict. Let's consider what we can do to decrease our dependence on foreign oil.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

I support you in dealing with the problems in the Middle East even though I find a number of things wrong with your procedures. It appears that the only advantage the U.S. will receive from a war in the Middle East is that we will avoid a recession. Even though I do not believe in war or violence, Iraq must be controlled because we cannot let another "Hitler" take charge.

Dear President Bush,

Regarding the situation in the Middle East. I support your stand against Hussein and I feel it is important to stand up for sovereignty throughout the world. I hope you realize, however, that there are a number of options open to the U.S./the international force which should be looked at -- and exercised before you use significant military force against Iraq.

Dear President Bush,

The current situation in the Persian Gulf is of great concern to me. I feel that the United States has acted too quickly and without careful thought. Our military presence in the Middle East at this time is only contributing to the very frightening prospect of war and this is something I believe we should avoid until we can convincingly judge the impact of worldwide imposed sanctions against Iraq. Furthermore, attempts at negotiation with Iraq must be made, as we begin dialogue with the Arab League and all constituencies involved.

Dear President Bush,

Currently the situation in the Middle East makes me feel terribly unsettled. I think something must be done in one extreme or another. I tend to lean heavily to the extreme that favors going in and invading the country. It is the only way this dilemma can end. I know this is the most extreme solution, but really what else can be done? Sitting stagnant in Saudi Arabia is doing nothing for us, except draining us dry.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

Why are you still sending troops over to the Middle East? Saddam Hussein said he would begin releasing the foreign hostages, wouldn't that be wasting money and time to send soldiers over when there could possibly be a peaceful negotiation coming on? Can't we just let those soldiers stay without bringing more troops in? Or can we send some of those soldiers that have been there for so long and send new ones to take their place?

18-24 NON-COLLEGE -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

I hope if we go to war I think the best thing to do would be take force fast and definite. It is them or taking our young men and fathers. I do not think it should be drawn out. Too many people are killed or left maimed. Just do the best we can.

Dear President Bush:

I have to say that I support your occupation of Saudi Arabia. I feel for the soldiers and civilians involved. I wish there were some instant solution for the situation. But until there is I can only hope that nothing drastic will happen before this solution comes around. Overall, I don't believe that today's world situation will product another Korean conflict.

Dear President Bush:

I have total trust in that you will do the right thing. My strongest feeling is that we do our best to prevent war. But if not, I don't really know how a war could help the people. I guess I'm really just for saving lives of innocent men, women and children. Peace.

Dear President Bush:

I think what the United States is standing for is good. I also feel as though it is being dragged out extremely too long. And as you know, time is money. If we are going to be there -- isn't there something we could do to be a bit more productive instead of having our men over there just practicing. I realize the more you practice the better you become but what have they been doing all these years we have paid them. I feel if you keep your head on straight and continue to think logically that all things will work for the best.

18-24 NON-COLLEGE -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

We, in the United States, would like to see more involvement from Germany in the Middle East. If you're thinking about pulling out, -- stop. If you're thinking of involving Dan Quayle -- STOP! Just kidding. The possibility of war may be inevitable but we've gotta keep thinking that we're representing not only the U.S. but the United Nations and the Arab Nations and Iraq.

Dear President Bush:

I think we are doing the right thing by being present in the Middle East. However, now that ours and other nation's hostages, are being released or are already released, we should put an end to the affair by showing any necessary force that is needed. Simply because we and other nations alike have offered several chances to end this peaceably, to no avail.

Dear President Bush:

I think that the situation in the Middle East is confusing. Some say that there will be no war, but yet they keep sending troops over there. I think there should be peace between countries. Wars kill too many innocent people.

Dear President Bush:

I believe you are doing a fine job with this situation. I believe you are in a very tough situation and can't please everyone. But you must do what you feel is right for our country as well as Kuwait. You to me have showed patience with Hussein and I believe it's beginning to pay off with the release of hostages. Hang in there and keep up the good work. I also believe this is helping bring other world powers together such as the USSR and USA for example. Something I think both countries have longed for but have shied away from in the past.

18-24 NON-COLLEGE -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

I agree with having troops in Kuwait, but I also believe that other countries which supported the UN decision should bear the cost in some way. How? I don't know. I think the U.S. government should support the research to find products to replace oil so the U.S. is not so dependent on it.

Dear President Bush:

I believe that the way in which you have handled the Kuwait situation has been very poor. I believe that U.S. troops should have been sent into Kuwait immediately after being invaded. You have been throwing a lot of threats around, but no action has followed these threats. The U.S. is labeled as a "superpower," yet we are allowing Iraq to damage not only our image and strength, but also our economy. I believe that now is the time to rectify the situation President Bush.

DISCUSSION GUIDE/~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
RS#
PROJECT AK

Determined NOT to be
National Security Classified Marking
By DW (NLGB) on 3/23/11

INTRODUCTION: General introduction

WARM-UP: Name, live, family, occupation

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ABOUT THIS PROJECT:

Today we are going to be talking about the situation which is currently going on in the Middle East. But before we do, there are just a few things I would like to mention. We have been and will be talking to people all across the country. We have found that in every group some people know a lot about this situation and some know very little. This is all ok. What we are really interested in talking to you about are your opinions about this situation. This is not about a command of the facts or recall of the facts, but about your opinions and impressions.

We have selected you to help us understand all of the different ways people in this region think and feel about this situation. Because this is such a small group, it is imperative that we somehow hear from everyone so that we can understand and incorporate all of the different perspectives. Even though it may be difficult to get a word in edgewise, it is very important that I hear from everyone. So with that, let's just get started.

I. PERSIAN GULF SITUATION

To just get you started thinking about this situation, I am going to hand out a blank piece of paper and ask you to just spend the next few (three) minutes writing a telegram to President Bush that represents what you would like to say to him about the situation in the Middle East.

(only allow three minutes and use this as a beginning point for discussion)

- o Let's discuss. What does your telegram say or what is the essence of the message you would like to convey to him?
 - Why that?
 - (Invite those to agree to join in the discussion)

- o (This discussion should indicate how they "see" the Middle East, why we are there and how they feel about the U.S. involvement.) If it does not, then ask:

- Why are we in the Middle East?
 - . What makes the most sense to you for why we are there? Why?
 - . What do you feel is the strongest reason for justifying our being there? Why that?
 - . How would you describe our involvement?

(Those that have been suggested: stop aggression, ensure international law and order, protect access to oil, separate Hussein from nuclear bomb, hostages, jobs)

- How do you feel about our involvement, today?

- o (Quote checklist) Here are a list of things that have been said about this situation. Which two statements (labelled "1" and "2" come closest to the way you feel about this situation?)

- Why those?

- o When, in the whole scheme of things, did this situation really "hit home" or become "personal" for you?

- Please describe the situation (where you were, how you felt and why then)
- (A similar kind of question) Of the "tons of information" that is being provided about this situation, what one piece of information is really relevant or stands out for you? Why?
- or Is there a key quote that really stands out to you? Why that?
- For those that are parents, how do you feel about this situation? Why?

- o In response to what is happening, what kinds of things could you image yourself doing--even the smallest little things?

- Why that?

- o How does the way you feel about this situation compare to the way you feel about Vietnam?

- How is it similar?
- How is it different?

I. PRESIDENT BUSH

- o Please describe what President Bush is currently doing/
or his role?
 - Explain
 - What are your feelings about him now?
 - How do feel about how he has handled the
situation thus far?
 - o What do you think he should be doing? or If you could
talk to him directly, what would you tell him to do?
(This may have already been discussed in the telegram
exercise)
 - Why?
 - o Who are the other people and names that you are hearing
most from/about?
 - What are they doing? What is their role?
 - How do you feel about them?
 - o (If not mentioned, then ask) What is Congress doing
relative to what the President is doing?
 - How do you feel about that?
 - What should they be doing?
- What should the U.S. role be vis-a-vis the U.N.
resolutions that have been passed?
- Why?
 - What should we be doing/have done?
- In relation to what our allies are doing, how do you feel
about the U.S. response in this situation?
- Why?
 - What should we be doing?
 - What would you like them to be doing? Why?
- o Who is in charge? How are all of these
people/organizations involved?
 - Why?
 - How do you feel about that?
- o Have your feelings changed about any of these
people/organizations over the course of the past few
months?
 - Describe the change, now vs. then
 - Why the change?

III. MEDIA

- o What are you reading or who are you listening to the most in terms of this situation?
 - Why that?
 - What do you like about that source?
 - What other "non-traditional" sources of information are you relying on? (e.g., friends, cab drivers, etc.)
- o What things in the media have "influenced" you most?
 - Why those?

IV. WHAT IF SCENARIOS

I would like to pose some possible future scenarios and I am interested in your thoughts and feelings about each. (Ask why for each and try to understand how strongly they feel about each)

- o First, ideally, what would you like to see happen or how would you like to see this be resolved?
 - Why?
 - Realistically, what do you think will happen? Why? How do you feel about that? Is this wise?
- o Do we have to do something on January 15th?
 - Why or why not?

WHAT IF . . .

- o Your thoughts and feelings if we continued to use sanctions,
 - for 12-18 months
- o Your thoughts and feelings if we went to war,
 - a 10 day war vs. a prolonged war?
 - with minimal casualties vs. heavy casualties?
 - should it be selected or extensive?
 - Some have said this is "winnable?" Do you agree or disagree? Why?

- o Your thoughts and feelings if we continued to negotiate,
 - with territorial compromise vs. without
- o Your thoughts and feelings if Hussein and Iraq pull out peacefully
 - Should we stay in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait?

- o How do you feel about the (news of yesterday) about the release of all of the hostages before Christmas?

- Why?

- o How do you feel about President Bush's response:

- "We've got to continue to keep the pressure on. The release of all hostages would be a very good thing, but the problem is the aggression against Kuwait and the man must leave Kuwait without reservation, without condition."

- Why that?

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

- a) "The way you find out if sanctions are going to work is to give them enough time to work."
- b) "Saddam Hussein is the Arab Hitler. We need to make sure that he is never in a position to do these things again."
- c) "How can the American people support a war, especially after our experience in Vietnam?"
- d) "Going to war is one of those things you just have to do sometimes in order to protect freedom."
- e) "This is the biggest blunder George Bush has made. I hope he has the courage to get out of it."
- f) "There are no partial solutions. The only way to make the area stable is to get rid of Iraq's missiles and chemical and nuclear capabilities and to reduce its armed forces."
- g) "There has been a major mobilization without an underlying rationale at a time when people are concerned about education, about the environment, the homeless, and how they are going to pay the bills this month."
- h) "Oil is worth shedding American lives for because oil is the blood that flows through the veins of the American economy. Without economic freedom, our political freedom is in serious trouble."
- i) "I would certainly support the troops, but I question whether they should be there in the first place."
- j) "Why do we have to be the only ones stepping forward? Nobody else really seems to want to fight the Iraqis?"
- k) "I am proud to serve my country. The President thinks we should be there and that's good enough for me."
- l) "If they're fighting for oil, then it's not worth it."
- m) "There are so many different reasons being thrown around. I'm not sure why we are there."

DISCUSSION GUIDE/~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
RS# 5138
PROJECT AK

Determined NOT to be
National Security Classified Marking
By DW (NLGB) on 2/23/11

INTRODUCTION: General Introduction

WARM-UP: Name, live, family, occupation

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ABOUT THIS PROJECT:

Today we are going to be talking about the situation which is currently going on in the Middle East. But before we do, there are just a few things I would like to mention. We have been and will be talking to people all across the country. We have found that in every group some people know a lot about this situation and some know very little. This is all ok. What we are really interested in talking to you about are your opinions about this situation. This is not about a command of the facts or recall of the facts, but about your opinions and impressions.

We have selected you to help us understand all of the different ways people in this region think and feel about this situation. Because this is such a small group, it is imperative that we somehow hear from everyone so that we can understand and incorporate all of the different perspectives. Even though it may be difficult to get a word in edgewise, it is very important that I hear from everyone. So with that, let's just get started.

I. PERSIAN GULF SITUATION

To just get you started thinking about this situation, I am going to hand out a blank piece of paper and ask you to just spend the next few (three) minutes writing a telegram to President Bush that represents what you would like to say to him about the situation in the Middle East.

- (on the back) Write down the best reason for going to war.
 - The best reason not to go to war.
- Let's discuss. What does your telegram say or what is the essence of the message you would like to convey to him?
 - Why?
- (This discussion should indicate how they "see" the Middle East, why we are there and how they feel about the U.S. involvement.) If it does not, then ask:
 - Why are we in the Middle East?
 - How would you describe our involvement?
 - How do you feel about our involvement, today?
 - What is the best reason? Why?
 - Best reason not to be there? Why?
 - Is there a feeling that you don't understand why we are there? Explain.
- (Quote checklist) Here are a list of things that have been said about this situation. Which two statements (labelled "1" and "2" come closest to the way you feel about this situation?)
- What specific events during the past few months have shaped your opinion of what we should be doing? Why?
- What are your fears? Why?
- What are your hopes? Why those?
- Can we win? Why or why not?
 - How would we do this?

- How would you label this war?
 - (Cold War, Economic War) Why?
- How do you feel about this in relation to our current economic domestic situation? Why?
- Some mention a male/female difference in reaction to this situation.
 - What is it?
 - Why?
- If mention Vietnam, how is this situation (real or imaged/fear) like Vietnam? Explain.

II. HOSTAGE RELEASE

- How do you feel about the release of the hostages? Why?
- How did this make you feel about Hussein? Why?
- How did this make you feel about Bush? Why?
- What is next? Why?
- How do you feel about President Bush's response? Why?

"We've got to continue to keep the pressure on. The release of all hostages would be a very good thing, but the problem is the aggression against Kuwait and the man must leave Kuwait without reservation, without condition."

III. HUSSEIN

- Hussein... (jot down)
 - What thoughts, feelings, images, associations do you have with him?
- Show pictures.
 - Any other associations come to mind?
 - How does he make you feel?

IV. PRESIDENT BUSH

- President Bush...
 - What thoughts, images, feelings, associations?
 - Why?
- Show pictures
 - Any other associations? Why?
- How would you describe his role? His approach? What kind of leader has he been?
 - In the beginning? Why?
 - And now? Why?
- What do you think he should be doing? If you could talk to him directly, what would you tell him to do? What do you want him to do?
 - Why?
- Who are the other people and names that you are hearing most from/about?
 - What are they doing? What is their role?
 - How do you feel about them?

- (If not mentioned, then ask) What is Congress doing relative to what the President is doing?
 - How do you feel about that?
 - What should they be doing?
- What should the U.S. role be vis-a-vis the U.N. resolutions that have been passed?
 - Why?
 - What should we be doing/have done?
- In relation to what our allies are doing, how do you feel about the U.S. response in this situation?
 - Why?
 - What should we be doing?
 - What would you like them to be doing? Why?
- What is the image of the U.S. during the past few months? In the beginning? Now? What kind of a world leader have we been?
- Who is in charge?
 - Why?

V. **TROOPS**

- What images, thoughts, feelings, associations do you have with our troops?
 - Why?
 - How do you view them?
 - Our hopes, our fears?

VI. MEDIA

- What are you reading or who are you listening to the most in terms of this situation?
 - Why that?
 - What do you like about that source?
 - What things in the media have influenced you the most?
 - Why those?
- Over time, have your sources changed?
 - Why?

VII. "WHAT IF" SCENARIOS

I would like to pose some possible future scenarios and I am interested in your thoughts and feelings about each.

- What do you hope will happen? Why?
 - What do you fear will happen?
 - Why?
- Do you feel we have to do something on January 16th?
 - Why or why not?

WHAT IF . . .

- On January 16th, what if we went to war and resolved this situation in 10 days?
 - How do you feel about this scenario?
 - How likely?
 - What do you imagine this would be like?
 - What do you fear?
 - How will you feel during it? Why?
 - How will you feel after?
 - Why this scenario?
 - What if we win?
 - What if we lose?
- Imagine a prolonged war/combat situation.
 - How likely?
 - How do you feel about that?
 - What would this be like?
 - What are your greatest fears?
 - How will you feel during and after and why?
- What if the U.S. continued use of sanctions with current troop levels for 12-18 months?
 - How likely?
 - How do you feel about it?
 - What are the advantages/disadvantages?
 - If this is too long, then how long and why?
- What if Iraq pulled out completely?
 - How likely?
 - How would you feel about this?
 - How would this happen?
 - What are the advantages/disadvantages and why?
- Domino concept
 - How do you feel about that?

- a) "The way you find out if sanctions are going to work is to give them enough time to work."
- b) "Saddam Hussein is the Arab Hitler. We need to make sure that he is never in a position to do these things again."
- c) "How can the American people support a war, especially after our experience in Vietnam?"
- d) "Going to war is one of those things you just have to do sometimes in order to protect freedom."
- e) "This is the biggest blunder George Bush has made. I hope he has the courage to get out of it."
- f) "There are no partial solutions. The only way to make the area stable is to get rid of Iraq's missiles and chemical and nuclear capabilities and to reduce its armed forces."
- g) "There has been a major mobilization without an underlying rationale at a time when people are concerned about education, about the environment, the homeless, and how they are going to pay the bills this month."
- h) "Oil is worth shedding American lives for because oil is the blood that flows through the veins of the American economy. Without economic freedom, our political freedom is in serious trouble."
- i) "I would certainly support the troops, but I question whether they should be there in the first place."
- j) "Why do we have to be the only ones stepping forward? Nobody else really seems to want to fight the Iraqis?"
- k) "I am proud to serve my country. The President thinks we should be there and that's good enough for me."
- l) "If they're fighting for oil, then it's not worth it."
- m) "There are so many different reasons being thrown around. I'm not sure why we are there."

VALUE SYSTEMS:

We interviewed three different types of people who represent divergent goals, motivations and values. In general,

o Succeeders

- higher incomes**
- college graduates**
- white collar managerial/professionals**
- achievement, recognition and control oriented**

o Mainstreamers

- middle income**
- high school graduates**
- blue collar professions**
- social acceptability, family and security are main orientations**

o Reformers

- middle to higher incomes**
- college graduates**
- academic, artistic, societally oriented professions**
- social betterment and social consciousness are main orientations**

Screenener

RS# 5138/MRS

Name _____

- 1) Have you ever attended a panel discussion for marketing research purposes?

Yes () Ask #2

No () Skip to #3

- 2) When? _____ What was the topic discussed? _____

- 3) Are you, or is any member of your immediate family, currently employed in;

Advertising	()
Marketing	() Term.
Market Research	() Term.
Journalism	() Term.
Government	() Term.

- 4) Which of the following best describes your age?

Under 25	() Term.
25-29	()
30-34	()
35-39	()
40-60	()
Over 60	() Term.

(ALL GROUPS - 1/2 MEN AND 1/2 WOMEN AGED 25-60; MUST GET A SPREAD)

- 4a) Where do you currently reside? (CITY AND STATE)

(MAINSTREAMER GROUP -- NO MANHATTAN)
(SUCCEEDERS AND REFORMERS - NO REQUIREMENT)

- 5) Which of the following best describes the last level of education you completed?

Some high school () Term.
High school grad ()
Some college ()
College graduate ()
Post graduate ()

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST BE HIGH SCHOOL GRADS OR HAVE SOME COLLEGE ONLY)

(SUCCEEDERS - MUST BE COLLEGE GRADUATES+)

(REFORMERS - MUST BE COLLEGE GRADUATES OR POST GRADUATES ONLY)

- 6) Are you currently:

Married ()
Single () Term. for Mainstreamers
Divorced ()
Widowed ()

(MAINSTREAMERS - ALL MUST BE MARRIED, DIVORCED OR WIDOWED)

(SUCCEEDERS AND REFORMERS - SOME MUST BE MARRIED)

- 7) Do you have any children currently living at home?

Yes () No ()

(ALL GROUPS - SOME MUST HAVE CHILDREN)

- 8) Are you currently employed:

Full time ()
Part time ()
Not at all ()

(MAINSTREAMERS - FEMALES MUST BE PART TIME OR NON-WORKING ONLY. ALL MEN MUST BE PART TIME OR FULL TIME)

(SUCCEEDERS - MUST BE FULL TIME ONLY)

(REFORMERS - MALES MUST BE FULL TIME ONLY. FEMALES MUST BE FULL TIME, PART TIME OR NOT AT ALL ONLY)

9) If working, what is your occupation? _____

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST BE GREY OR BLUE COLLAR ONLY)
(SUCCEEDERS - MUST BE WHITE COLLAR PROFESSIONAL ONLY)
(REFORMERS - MUST BE GREY OR WHITE COLLAR ONLY)

ASK MAINSTREAMERS AND REFORMERS ONLY -- AND THEN SKIP TO Q. #11:

10) Which of the following best describes your household income?

Under \$20,000	() Term.
\$20,000-\$29,999	()
\$30,000-\$39,999	()
\$40,000-\$49,999	()
\$50,000-\$59,999	()
\$60,000-\$69,999	()
\$70,000-\$79,999	()
\$80,000-\$89,999	()
\$90,000-\$99,999	()
\$100,000 & Over	()

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST HAVE A HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF \$30,000-\$69,999)

(REFORMERS - MUST HAVE A HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF \$20,000+)

ASK SUCCEEDERS ONLY:

10a) Which of the following best describes your personal income?

Under \$40,000	() Term.
\$40,000-\$49,999	() Term.
\$50,000-\$74,999	()
\$75,000-\$99,999	()
\$100,000 & Over	()

(SUCCEEDERS - MUST HAVE A PERSONAL INCOME OF \$50,000+)

11) SEE NEXT PAGE

- 11) Now I'd like to read you some mini profiles of people. As I read each description, please tell me how closely it describes you. These are only general descriptions of people so we wouldn't expect any of them to fit you perfectly. But, please tell me how well each profile describes you, in a general sense, using the following scale:

- 1 - Describes me very well
- 2 - Describes me pretty well
- 3 - Describe me a little
- 4 - Doesn't describe me at all

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| a) I consider myself to be a conventional type person. I believe in traditional values that have stood the test of time -- such as family, religion and patriotism. Saving money is important to me in order to secure my future. (Mainstreamer) | () | () | () | () |
| b) I have a strong desire to achieve and to succeed in many areas of my life. I consider myself to be a competitive person and am proud of my ability to manage my life through a combination of ability, hard work and self reliance. As a result, I enjoy a relatively high standard of living. For me there will always be new things to accomplish. (Succeeder) | () | () | () | () |
| c) I really want to make it to the top and I think I'm on my way. I want what successful people have -- money, status and respect. Having a good life doesn't only mean having a lot of money. It also means having a lot of fun. One thing I do is pay attention to what makes people winners. It helps me figure out some of the things I can do to make it. (Aspirer) | () | () | () | () |
| d) I feel we have a responsibility to make the world a better place. We have a responsibility to those who are less well off than we are and to future generations. It is also important to me to understand myself and to grow as an individual, so that my actions grow out of personal conviction rather than what's expected of me by others. (Reformer) | () | () | () | () |
| e) I'm unconventional and experimental. My views may seem different to many people and they may not understand my lifestyle, but that's okay with me. I believe the way to get the most from life is to understand yourself and to continually experience whatever you can. (Transitional) | () | () | () | () |

(IF RESPONDENT RATES "DESIRED" PROFILE HIGHER (I.E. "1") THAN ANY OTHER, CONTINUE; IF RATES LOWER (I.E. "4") THAN ANY OTHER, TERMINATE)

(IF "DESIRED" PROFILE TIES WITH ANOTHER, ASK #11a)

- 11a) You have said that statement _____ and _____ describe you to the same degree. (I'm going to read you both of those statements again. Please tell me which one comes closer to describing you?)

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST SAY "a" MAINSTREAMER)
(SUCCEEDERS - MUST SAY "b" SUCCEEDER)
(REFORMERS - MUST SAY "d" REFORMER)

11b) **ASK REFORMERS ONLY:**

Do you currently volunteer your time to any organizations or causes?

Yes ()

No () Term.

(REFORMERS -- MUST CURRENTLY BE INVOLVED IN A CAUSE OR ORGANIZATION)

11c) If yes, what is/are the name(s) of the organizationS or causes you are currently involved in? _____

12) Which of the following do you do at least once a week?

Read Newspapers	()
Read magazines such as "Time" or "Newsweek"	()
Watch local TV news	()
Watch national TV news	()
Watch CNN	()
Listen to all news radio stations	()

(ALL GROUPS MUST SELECT AT LEAST TWO FROM ABOVE)

13) Including yourself, who in your immediate family, ever served or is planning to serve or is currently serving in: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parent</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
World War II	()	()	()	()	()
Korean War	()	()	()	()	()
Vietnam War	()	()	(*)	(*)	(*)
Middle East	()	(T.)	(*)	(*)	(*)

(ALL GROUPS -- NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SERVED OR HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY THAT HAS SERVED IN VIETNAM AND NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY SERVING OR WILL BE SERVING IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- NO RESPONDENT SHOULD BE PLANNING TO SERVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST)

- 14) Including yourself, who in your immediate family ever volunteered for or is currently volunteering for: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
Red Cross	()	()	()	()	()
Green Peace/ Environmental Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Homeless Causes	()	()	()	()	()
AIDS Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Child Abuse Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Other _____	()	()	()	()	()

(ALL GROUPS -- NO REQUIREMENT)

- 15) If you could go anywhere on vacation, where would you go and why?

(LOOKING FOR CREATIVE, ARTICULATE RESPONSES)

Screener
RS# 5138/STUDENTS

Name _____

- 1) Have you ever attended a panel discussion for marketing research purposes?

Yes () Ask #2

No () Skip to #3

- 2) When? _____ What was the topic discussed? _____
(MUST HAVE BEEN OVER 1 YEAR AGO)

- 3) Are you, or is any member of your immediate family, currently employed in:

Advertising	() Term.
Market Research	() Term.
Marketing	() Term.
Journalism	() Term.
Government	() Term.

(Check Sex:)

Female ()

Male ()

(RECRUIT 1/2 FEMALES AND 1/2 MALES)
(RECRUIT 10 FOR 8 TO SHOW)

- 4a) What is your age? _____

(MUST BE 18-24 YEARS OLD -- GET A SPREAD OF AGES)

- 5) Did you graduate from high school?

Yes ()

No () Term.

(ALL MUST HAVE GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL)

- 6) Are you currently attending a 4 year undergraduate college program?

Yes ()

No () Term.

- 6a) Are you currently attending college: (READ LIST)

Full time ()

Part time () Term.

Not at all () Term.

(COLLEGE STUDENTS -- MUST BE FULL TIME ONLY)

- 6b) What year of college are you currently in?

Freshman ()

Sophomore ()

Junior () Get a mix

Senior ()

Graduate Student () Term.

(COLLEGE STUDENTS -- GET A MIX OF STUDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY FRESHMEN, SOPHOMORES, JUNIORS AND SENIORS)

- 6c) What is the name of the college or university you are currently attending? _____

(GET A GOOD MIX OF COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES, NO COMMUNITY OR JUNIOR COLLEGES)

- 6d) What is your major or intended major? _____

(GET A VARIETY OF MAJORS)

- 7) Are you currently:

Married () Term.

Single ()

Divorced () Term.

Widowed () Term.

(ALL MUST BE SINGLE ONLY)

- 8) Which of the following do you do at least once a week?

Read Newspapers	()
Read magazines such as "Time" or "Newsweek"	()
Watch local TV news	()
Watch national TV news	()
Watch CNN	()
Listen to all news radio stations	()

(MUST SELECT AT LEAST TWO ITEMS FROM ABOVE LIST)

- 9) Including yourself, who in your immediate family, ever served, is planning to serve or is currently serving in: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parent</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
World War II	()	()	()	()	()
Korean War	()	()	()	()	()
Vietnam War	()	()	(*)	(*)	(*)
Middle East	()	(T.)	(*)	(*)	(*)

(ALL GROUPS -- NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SERVED OR HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY THAT HAS SERVED IN VIETNAM AND NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY SERVING OR WILL BE SERVING IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- NO RESPONDENT SHOULD BE PLANNING TO SERVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST)

- 10) Including yourself, who in your immediate family ever volunteered or is currently volunteering for: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
Red Cross	()	()	()	()	()
Green Peace/ Environmental Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Homeless Causes	()	()	()	()	()
AIDS Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Child Abuse Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Other_____	()	()	()	()	()

(ALL GROUPS -- NO REQUIREMENT)

11) If you could go anywhere on vacation, where would you go and why?

(LOOKING FOR CREATIVE, ARTICULATE RESPONSES)