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Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90615
Folder ID Number: 90615-001

Folder Title:
Thursday, August 22, 1991

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Log	White House Telephone Log [Signal Switchboard] [redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	08/22/91	(b)(6)	
01b. Note	Handwritten notes of Presidential Phone Calls with Nick Brady (1 pp.)	08/22/[91]	(b)(1)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, August 22, 1991

Pinksheet Number: dw2236
OA/ID Number: 90615-001
Date Closed: 3/21/2013
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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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]
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- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

August 22, 1991

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	7:27 AM	7:38		Secretary James A. Baker III Residence, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-3103	Tlkd-ok 7:35 AM
INC	PM				
OUT	7:38 AM	7:43		Secretary Nicholas F. Brady (b)(6)	Tlkd-ok 7:40 AM
INC	PM				
OUT	10:26 AM	10:35		Ms. Patty Presock Residence, Fairfax, Virginia White House Signal 7-3804	Tlkd-ok 10:28 AM
INC	PM				
OUT	AM			Mr. Micheal Perry Cape Arundel Golf Club Kennebunkport, Maine Kennebunkport Signal 4-0256	Tlkd-ok 3:51 PM
INC	3:50 PM	3:53			
OUT	AM			Mr. Donald Balberchak Walker's Point Security Room Kennebunkport, Maine Kennebunkport Signal 4-0308	Tlkd-ok 3:52 PM
INC	3:52 PM	3:53			
OUT	AM			Mr. Kenneth Raynor Cape Arundel Golf Club Kennebunkport, Maine Kennebunkport Signal 4-0256	Tlkd-ok 3:58 PM
INC	3:58 PM	4:00			
OUT	AM			Mr. James Trueworthy Walker's Point Security Room Kennebunkport, Maine Kennebunkport Signal 4-0308	Tlkd-ok 4:01 PM
INC	4:00 PM	4:01			
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

AUGUST '22 nd , 19 91

[illegible]

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PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Kennebunkport, Maine

DATE 22 August 1991

[illegible]



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22, 1991
6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

COUP FAILS, GORBACHEV RETURNS -- President Gorbachev returned to the seat of power in Moscow Thursday following the collapse of the three-day coup and the arrest of members of the disbanded junta.
(Washington Post, AP, Reuter)

RUSSIAN PM CHARGES SOVIET PARLIAMENT'S SPEAKER IN COUP -- The prime minister of Russia charged Thursday the Anatoly Lukyanov, speaker of the Soviet parliament and a college friend of President Gorbachev, was the leading force behind the failed coup. (Reuter)

LATVIA DECLARES INDEPENDENCE; TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM BALTICS -- The Baltic republic of Latvia, following similar action in neighboring Estonia Tuesday, Wednesday declared its immediate independence from the Soviet Union.
(Washington Post)

GORBACHEV'S POLITICAL FUTURE STILL LOOKS VERY BLEAK -- President Gorbachev may have been released from house arrest and returned to office after a Kremlin coup collapsed Wednesday, but his political future still looks very bleak.
(Toronto Globe & Mail)

NATIONAL NEWS

GORE DECLINES BID FOR '92 NOMINATION -- Sen. Gore Wednesday became the latest Democrat to rule out a campaign for the 1992 presidential nomination, saying he needed to devote more time to his family.
(Washington Post)

NETWORK NEWS (Wednesday evening)

SOVIET COUP -- Wednesday night, Mikhail Gorbachev is again President of the Soviet Union.

SOVIET COUP/PRESIDENT'S REACTION -- It is clear that Yeltsin now figures into America's calculations more than ever.

SOVIET COUP/WORLD REACTION -- People gathered in the central square in Prague Wednesday to commemorate the day 23 years ago when the Soviets invaded.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-1

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-10

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

COUP FAILS, GORBACHEV RETURNS Plotters Are Arrested; Troops Leave Capital

MOSCOW -- President Gorbachev returned to the seat of power in Moscow Thursday following the collapse of the three-day coup and the arrest of members of the disbanded junta....

"BULLETIN -- GORBACHEV IN FULL CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY," Tass announced Wednesday....

Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh insisted that the country's foreign policy course remained unchanged, "just as charted by the president."...

The Russian parliament passed a resolution insisting that all eight coup leaders be "brought to trial."...

Democratic leaders made clear that they would use the failed coup to launch an all-out offensive against the Communist Party.

(Michael Dobbs, Washington Post, A1)

Gorbachev Returns To Power; Coup Leaders Arrested

MOSCOW -- President Gorbachev reclaimed power and flew home to the Moscow early Thursday.

Russian police jailed KGB chief Kryuchkov after he stepped off the plane that returned him to Moscow with Gorbachev, and Russian lawmaker Anatoly Mostovoy said "reliable sources" reported the seven other members of the junta also had been picked up....

"This is some serious victory of the perestroika process," Gorbachev told Soviet television at the Moscow airport.

Speaking in the third person, he said the coup organizers had tried to isolate him.

"What did they do to the president and his family? For 72 hours, they surrounded him with troops, and they wanted to break his will power, but they lost," Gorbachev said. "And here is my respect to the Soviet people, and specifically to Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, and to all labor collectives, to all people who stood up in the way of reaction."...

There was some early criticism of Gorbachev. Alexander Yakovlev said Wednesday that blame for the coup lay with Gorbachev for choosing "a team of traitors."...

Lithuanian security guards and Soviet troops exchanged gunfire late Wednesday at a checkpoint near the Baltic republic's parliament building, a spokeswoman said. One Lithuanian guard was reported killed.

(Brian Friedman, AP)

Soviet Coup Leader Yanayev Under Arrest, Yeltsin Says

MOSCOW -- Soviet vice president Gennady Yanayev, who led a failed coup against President Gorbachev, has been arrested President Yeltsin told the Russian parliament Thursday.

"Yanayev has been taken under guard," Yeltsin said, adding a military convoy had been dispatched to arrest interior minister Pugo, another coup leader.

Yeltsin said prime minister Pavlov, another leader, was ill but under guard in his bed.

The arrest brings to seven the number of plotters, including KGB chief Kryuchkov and defense minister Yazov under detention. The eight, Vasily Starodubtsev, was unaccounted for. (Reuter)

SOVIET INTERIOR MINISTER, A COUP LEADER, COMMITS SUICIDE

MOSCOW -- One of the leaders of a failed coup against President Gorbachev, Soviet interior minister Pugo, committed suicide Thursday to evade arrest, a Russian deputy told parliament.

"An hour ago, as officials attempted to enter the apartment interior minister Pugo, he committed suicide and his wife was seriously wounded," the deputy said. (Reuter)

Soviet Interior Minister Attempts To Commit Suicide

Interior minister Pugo attempted to commit suicide and is in critical condition. (CNN)

RUSSIAN PM CHARGES SOVIET PARLIAMENT'S SPEAKER IN COUP

MOSCOW -- The prime minister of Russia charged Thursday the Anatoly Lukyanov, speaker of the Soviet parliament and a college friend of President Gorbachev, was the leading force behind the failed coup.

"Since you will be passing some decisions on Comrade Lukyanov, I want to inform you that he was the chief ideologue of the junta," Prime Minister Ivan Silayev told the Russian Federation parliament. (Reuter)

LATVIA DECLARES INDEPENDENCE; TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM BALTICS

MOSCOW -- The Baltic republic of Latvia, following similar action in neighboring Estonia Tuesday, Wednesday declared its immediate independence from the Soviet Union.

The parliamentary declaration by the Latvians came hours before Red Army troops, who seized control of strategic locations in the secessionist Baltic republics during the coup began withdrawing early Wednesday evening....

"We are convinced that Yeltsin is now, at least politically, number one in power in the Soviet Union, and we are allies of Yeltsin and have very good relations," said Stasys Lozoraitis, Lithuania's charge d'affaires in Washington.

(Margaret Shapiro, Barton Gellman & John Lancaster, Washington Post, A27)

Lithuanians, Soviets Swap Gunfire; Lithuanian Guard Killed

VILNIUS -- Lithuanian security guards exchanged gunfire with Soviet troops at a checkpoint near the parliament building late Wednesday, and one guard was killed, a spokesman said. Three people were reported wounded.... The republic of Latvia joined neighbor Estonia in announcing immediate independence from the Soviet Union. A general strike began in Riga to protest the military attacks that claimed two lives in the Latvian capital.

(Matti Huuhtanen, AP)

FOR SOVIETS, A TIME OF RENEWED PROMISE AND PERIL

The failed coup is likely to accelerate the breakup of the Soviet Union, spark new calls for democracy and radical economic reform and boost President Yeltsin over President Gorbachev as the country's most powerful leader, according to many American experts on Soviet affairs.... These academics and former government officials specializing in Soviet affairs agreed that unless Soviet leaders make quick and dramatic progress toward halting the economy's plunge toward disaster, healing ethnic divisions and finding a formula for satisfying the aspirations of the republics for greater autonomy or even independence, pressures to overthrow the government will start building again within a few months.

(John Goshko, Washington Post, A31)

NEW EPOCH IN POLITICS OF RUSSIA

Nothing so important has happened in Russian politics since 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power. Wednesday in Moscow the system the Bolsheviks and Joseph Stalin created finally collapsed. A new historical epoch began.... The people of Russia apparently concluded that the real issue was not Gorbachev himself, but the new political culture of freedom and even democracy that his reforms had created.... The failure of the counterrevolution should accelerate the democratic revolution it tried to choke. That revolution likely will alter the country itself, probably creating a new, decentralized and smaller Soviet Union much more quickly than anyone anticipated.

(Robert Kaiser, Washington Post, A1)

WORLD HAILS FAILURE OF SOVIET COUP AS VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY

LONDON -- World leaders hailed the collapse of the hard-line Soviet coup on Wednesday as a victory for democracy and a demonstration of the will and courage of the Soviet people.

The leaders of the coup against President Gorbachev "underestimated the power of the people, underestimated what a taste of freedom and democracy brings," President Bush said as the revolt disintegrated.... "The three ugly sisters -- the party, the KGB and the Ministry of Defense -- tried to impose by traditional means their will, and it did not work. That is obviously the beginning of a new chapter," said British Foreign Secretary Hurd.... The PLO called the coup "a purely internal affair," according to the PLO news agency WAFA. The agency said leaders who earlier praised the coup were expressing their personal views and didn't "reflect the official position of the PLO in any way."

(Audrey Woods, AP)

**BUSH INDICATES NEW YELTSIN
RELATIONSHIP COULD RIVAL U.S. TIES WITH GORBACHEV**

KENNEBUNKPORT -- President Bush made clear Wednesday that the U.S. has a new relationship with President Yeltsin that could rival the one with reinstated President Gorbachev....

Asked how relations would be affected by the events of this week, he said he had told Gorbachev the U.S. is "ready to talk to the leaders of the republic and certainly we'll be ready to deal with the President of the Soviet Union itself."

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A25)

RELIEVED BUSH PREDICTS COUP WILL STRENGTHEN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

KENNEBUNKPORT -- Relieved at the collapse of the Kremlin coup, President Bush talked Wednesday with an "elated" President Gorbachev and predicted that U.S.-Soviet relations would be better than ever.... Bush said he believed there was a good basis now for Gorbachev to work with the leaders of the republics who stayed loyal to him during the coup.... Bush proclaimed it a "good day" for the U.S.-Soviet relationship and said, "I think that the fears that many people have had..about right-wing takeovers will no longer be as extant."

(Kathy Lewis, Dallas Morning News)

**LEADERS PREDICT STRENGTHENING OF SOVIET REFORMS
West Should Help Pro-Democracy Forces
Avoid Another Coup, Some NATO Ministers Say**

BRUSSELS -- The U.S. and its European allies breathed a collective sigh of relief Wednesday over the collapse of the coup against President Gorbachev, and alliance foreign ministers predicted that the failure of the coup would strengthen the forces of reform in the Soviet Union....

Germany's Genscher said the West must ensure that it does not "overstretch" the fragile democratic institutions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by attaching tough political conditions or insisting on stringent economic reforms that could serve the purposes of anti-reformers....

Secretary Baker Wednesday met here with Russian Federation Foreign Minister Kozyrev, who told reporters, "I would ask the secretary and President Bush and other democratic countries to be on guard. It is not a time for euphoria. We have won probably this battle, but that doesn't mean that the reactionaries will not try to retaliate, even probably this night." The situation in Moscow, he said, is "not very stable." Only some regiments have pledged loyalty to President Yeltsin while others that backed the coup are still on the streets, he said.

(David Hoffman & William Drozdiak, Washington Post, A18)

BAKER HOPES THE CRISIS HASTENS PACE OF REFORM

BRUSSELS -- The U.S. hopes quickly to resume cooperation with the Soviet Union on a broad range of matters, Secretary Baker indicated Wednesday.

He also voiced hope that the failure of the coup against President Gorbachev will give a powerful boost to Soviet reformers....

Baker suggested that the long-term damage to the West's relations with Moscow would be minimal.

But he rejected any notion that the U.S will increase economic aid to the Soviet Union once Gorbachev re-establishes control.

(Warren Strobel, Washington Times, A11)

**KREMLIN TAKEOVER SCARE REKINDLES POSSIBILITY
OF DIRECT WESTERN FINANCIAL AID**

LONDON -- President Gorbachev's narrow escape from overthrow by a reactionary Kremlin faction has encouraged the world's seven major industrialized democracies to re-think their refusal last month to back the Soviet leader's reform policies with an infusion of economic aid, British government officials here said Wednesday night....

A senior Bush Administration official said the Bush Administration still opposes such aid unless Gorbachev moves more quickly to transform the government-controlled Soviet economy into one driven by market forces.

But officials in the government of Prime Minister Major and other European nations intend to reconsider Gorbachev's aid requests in light of the three-day coup.

(Stuart Auerbach, Washington Post, A20)

**Administration Aides Hope That Gorbachev Will Clean House Of
Reactionary Elements**

U.S. policymakers and political leaders greeted the return of President Gorbachev with relief and jubilation Wednesday but cautioned that future American assistance to the Soviet Union depends on whether he now accelerates economic and democratic reforms.

Administration officials expressed the hope that the Soviet leader will clean house of reactionary KGB, military and Communist Party elements who staged the coup and will press ahead with long-postponed economic reforms and his nearly completed new deal with nine Soviet republics....

Sen. Bradley said Wednesday there should be no MFN or other trade agreements with the Soviet Union "until a new constitutional order recognized by the Russian republic is in place."

Sen. Leahy said "we should review everything" and act only "when we know we're going to have a full commitment to reform and when irreversible steps have been taken."...

A senior Administration official in Kennebunkport said the "current prevailing view" is that more economic aid depends on the pace of reforms in the Soviet Union.

(Don Oberdorfer & Guy Gugliotta, Washington Post, A25)

Australia Resumes Credit To Soviet Union After Failed Coup

CANBERRA -- Australia has restored a \$390 million line of credit to the Soviet Union since the coup there collapsed, Prime Minister Hawke said Thursday. "We rejoice at the restoration of President Gorbachev (Wednesday) and at the promise which that victory holds for future reform in the Soviet Union and for further international cooperation," Hawke said. (Reuter)

Prime Minister Kaifu Hails 'Determination And Courage' Of Soviet People

TOKYO -- Prime Minister Kaifu hailed President Gorbachev's dramatic return to Moscow Thursday and the re-establishment of order in the Soviet Union following the failed coup.

He also said Japan planned to release aid frozen after Soviet hard-liners seized power Monday.... Chief Cabinet Secretary Sakamoto confirmed at a news conference that Japan will release the food aid as well as restore technical assistance programs.

Sakamoto said Japan would discuss with the G-7, the possibility of increasing aid to the Soviet Union to help it pursue economic reform. (UPI)

GORBACHEV'S POLITICAL FUTURE STILL LOOKS VERY BLEAK

MOSCOW -- President Gorbachev may have been released from house arrest and returned to office after a Kremlin coup collapsed Wednesday, but his political future still looks very bleak.

His government was saved not by his own efforts, but by those of others, principally President Yeltsin. Gorbachev comes off as a leader whose own judgment is so hopelessly flawed that he almost fell victim to a coup d'etat by cronies from the Communist Party that he had put into high office.... Many Russian politicians said Wednesday night that if there is any future role for Gorbachev in national politics it will be only symbolic. Gorbachev, some said, might be useful as an elder statesman who can help his country by continuing to improve its relations with the West. But the consensus around the Russian parliament building Wednesday was that Gorbachev is a spent force on the domestic scene.

That perception might change if Gorbachev returns to Moscow determined to put distance between himself and the hard-line Communists. (Jeff Sallot, Toronto Globe and Mail)

GORBACHEV, YELTSIN HAVE NO TIME TO LOSE ON FIXING ECONOMY, ANALYSTS SAY

Now that President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin are back in control, they should move quickly to strengthen the Soviet economy, American economists and political scientists said Wednesday. Gorbachev and Yeltsin need "to make a payment to people who were out in the streets, risking their lives," said Richard Rosecrance, professor of political science at University of California, Los Angeles. That reward might include allowing far more imports of consumer goods, he said.... "If Russia has the ability to call the shots totally, you'll see a much faster, more zealous conversion to capitalism," said Judy Shelton, one of the Hoover senior fellows working with Yeltsin.

(James Mitchell, Knight-Ridder)

CONGRESS HEAVES BI-PARTISAN SIGH OF RELIEF OVER GORBACHEV'S RETURN

Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill Wednesday praised the return to power of President Gorbachev, but predicted that he would be badly weakened by the failed coup against him and said President Bush should recognize the enhanced influence of Russian President Yeltsin....

Rep. Hamilton said that the events had "transformed the politics of the Soviet Union." It remains to be seen whether President Gorbachev can reassert his authority and how the republic leaders will react."...

Sen. Dole issued a hard-line message to America, saying that the event should serve as a "wake-up call" to those who believe that the national security of the U.S. can depend on stability in the Soviet Union....

"Who knows who will be in charge tomorrow?" he said. Because of the threat, Dole called for continued spending on the B-2 Bomber, Stealth and SDI....

Sen. Gramm credited President Bush in part for the collapse of the coup, saying, "I think those who perpetrated this coup underestimated the ability of President Bush to solidify world opinion against an illegal government."

(Michael Frisby, Boston Globe)

DEMOCRATS LAUD YELTSIN, PICK ON BUSH

As the Soviet coup crumbled, Democrats on Capitol Hill praised Boris Yeltsin, while Republicans gave President Bush credit for organizing international opposition to the junta.

Rep. McCurdy faulted Bush for not recognizing Yeltsin's importance until he was elected president of the Russian republic, though his popular support was already evident.

Sen. Bradley said the Bush Administration should have denounced President Gorbachev and the military hard-liners for Baltic crackdowns....

"This coup should serve a wakeup call to those in the West who were prepared to sit back and watch the Soviet Union deteriorate," said Sen. Biden.

(Major Garrett, Washington Times, A8)

COUP FAILURE BOOSTS BUSH EVEN HIGHER

Scoring his second foreign policy success of the year, President Bush lifted his strong re-election chances to new heights Wednesday and left Democrats with even fewer potential candidates willing to challenge him.

Even some of his Democratic adversaries -- like Rep. Torricelli -- praised the way Bush handled the latest foreign crisis, which ended with the collapse of a Soviet hard-liner coup.

"I'm giving him high marks on the last few days," said Torricelli....

"There's so much obvious gratitude being expressed from the Soviet Union for the leadership Bush has shown in this crisis that the Democrats would look rather churlish and petty to criticize the President for his foreign policy," GOP political consultant John Buckley said.

(Donald Lambro, Washington Times, A3)

CRIES OF 'FIX' DRAW ANGRY JABS FROM BUSH

...President Bush dismissed as "ridiculous" Wednesday the notion that President Gorbachev staged the botched Kremlin takeover as a "Potemkin coup" for his own devious purposes.

But other Kremlin-watchers aren't so sure.

In fact, Bush's contemptuous comment that Soviet Georgian President Gansakhurdia, who endorsed the Potemkin theory, was "swimming against the tide" provoked an outraged response from Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy.

"If anyone is swimming against the tide, it's George Bush," Gaffney said. The president's comment, he said, "reflected the degree of Bush's own susceptibility to a phenomenon the psychologists call 'cognitive dissonance' -- the inability to see what you don't believe."

Bush "fails or refuses to see that there is a distinct possibility that this coup was meant to fail, and in failing to succeed in refurbishing, rehabilitating and reinvigorating Gorbachev as the last, best hope for the very institutions that ostensibly tried to remove him from power," Gaffney said.

(David Braaten, Washington Times, A1)

KREMLIN COUP LEADERS HOPED TO GET GORBACHEV ON THEIR SIDE

Planning for the hard-line Kremlin takeover that shook the world for two days this week began in early summer, U.S. officials say.

But until the last moment, the coup leaders hoped to persuade President Gorbachev to stop the train of reform on which he had launched the nation, the officials said Wednesday.

Initially, the hard-liners hoped to foil the democratic and economic reforms by creating a crisis atmosphere and provoking a crackdown, the officials said.

Interior minister Pugo is believed to have ordered the killing of six border guards in Lithuania to provoke popular anger as an excuse for a crackdown, officials said....

With the Aug. 20 signing of the treaty looming closer, the plotters decided they couldn't wait any longer. "It was obviously an act of desperation," said one anonymous official.

(Ruth Sinai, AP)

RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAIL COLLAPSE OF SOVIET TAKEOVER

NEW YORK -- U.S. religious leaders on Wednesday hailed the collapse of the attempted Soviet coup and praised President Bush and Soviet church and state officials for helping bring its downfall....

Rabbi Arthur Schneier, president of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation and others had praise for Bush, who supported the restoration of Gorbachev and for Boris Yeltsin.

The Rev. Joan Campbell, general secretary of the National Council, told Bush via letter: "We were heartened by your calm and steadfast commitment to self-determination of the Soviet people and the restraint you counseled as a leader of the world community."

(George Cornell, AP)

EMIGRATION RULES WAIVED FOR ROMANIA

KENNEBUNKPORT -- President Bush waived emigration requirements for Romania Wednesday in a move that opens the way for the Eastern European nation to regain preferred trading status with the U.S....

Bush's action does not give Romania MFN trade status, but removes one impediment to that privilege. It also makes Romania eligible to apply for credit guarantees for commercial imports of U.S. agricultural products. (AP, Washington Post, A24)

U.S. AIMS FOR OCTOBER MIDEAST PEACE TALKS BUT QUESTIONS REMAIN

With the collapse of the coup against President Gorbachev, the U.S. is hoping it can stick to an October target date for a Middle East peace conference but will not know for sure for several weeks, a senior U.S. official said....

Secretary Baker believes the Gorbachev government will "be every bit as committed to moving forward as they were before," the senior official said.

But he said there was an element of uncertainty "because I don't know when we're going to see a final sorting out in Moscow and when we can resume our efforts." (Carol Giacomo, Reuter)

MUBARAK ON SANCTIONS

CAIRO -- President Mubarak said in an interview that he now wants economic sanctions against Iraq lifted for the good of the Iraqi people.

But he told the state-owned magazine Al Mussawar in the interview that the move should come only after world leaders devise checks on Saddam. ("Around The World," Washington Post, A14)

N. KOREAN NUCLEAR BOMB

LONDON -- North Korea has the material and technology to produce a small nuclear bomb, according to a report on the hard-line Communist nation published in Jane's Intelligence Review....

The article was based on extensive interview with U.S. and foreign government officials and numerous published accounts, Jane's said. ("Around The World," Washington Post, A14)

NATIONAL NEWS

GORE DECLINES BID FOR '92 NOMINATION Tennessee Democrat Says He Will Tend To Family's Needs

Sen. Gore Wednesday became the latest Democrat to rule out a campaign for the 1992 presidential nomination, saying he needed to devote more time to his family....

"If I were to make the decision on a political basis, I would be in the race -- indeed would have been in the race already," Gore said in an interview. "I think conventional wisdom about the President's invulnerability is wrong."...

"Bush is vulnerable on the economic issues," Democratic Party activist and Daytona Beach lawyer Bill Crotty said. "...Harkin is the most promising of the candidates because he tells it like it is," Crotty said....

"American families need a President who will focus his or her energies and ideas on the home front with the same conviction needed to address the challenges that face our country abroad," Gore said in a statement issued Wednesday. "American families need a President who recognizes that even two paychecks won't make ends meet.... George Bush has not been that President."

(Eric Pianin, Washington Post, A8)

ABORTION PROTEST LEADERS JAILED, FINED \$10,000 Penalty Levied Against Each For Violating Court Order

WICHITA -- Three abortion protest leaders were jailed, and they and Operation Rescue, each were fined \$10,000 Wednesday for repeatedly violating a federal judge's order to quit blocking access to women's clinics.

(AP, Washington Post, A3)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Soviet Coup's Collapse Rockets Dow Up 88," by Mark Potts, appears in The Washington Post, page C13.

NETWORK NEWS

(Wednesday evening, August 21)

SOVIET COUP

ABC's Peter Jennings: A great day in the middle of history, said President Bush. And given the history of the Soviet Union, who would've believed it 60 hours ago? Tonight, Mikhail Gorbachev is again president of the Soviet Union. The men who tried to bring him down are either under arrest or being hunted -- we're not absolutely sure. Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president once dismissed as a loose cannon on the Soviet political scene, has stared the cannon down and emerged as the man who kept the Soviet Union from being plunged backward. The pace of events today has been difficult to keep up with and there are still some mysteries.

ABC's Jim Laurie reports Yeltsin today went before the Russian parliament to reveal one of the coup leaders, KGB Chief Kryuchkov, had agreed to send a delegation to meet with Gorbachev in the Crimea. Yeltsin also reported key members of what he called the criminal junta were flying to the Crimea, as well. Some reports said they wanted to cut a deal; another said they had gone to apologize. By early afternoon, military convoys were seen heading out of Moscow. The withdrawal came after dissension had developed in the military; at least two crack airborne divisions revealed they had thrown their allegiance to Yeltsin. With the area near the Kremlin empty of troops, people gathered for a victory rally outside KGB headquarters. Late in the afternoon, Gorbachev's allies started to reappear, including Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh, who told reporters he really had been ill.

(Bessmertnykh: "And even now, I have a temperature. My doctor, sitting there, can confirm it. I was not detained at any time.") By early evening, the Soviet media reported the committee of eight had been disbanded, the parliament had formally reinstated Gorbachev as president, and the federal prosecutor had begun criminal proceedings against the coup plotters. Tens of thousands of people outside Yeltsin's headquarters were elated; in their view, he had saved the day. And yet, the barricades around the Yeltsin headquarters remained up tonight -- in fact, reinforced. The coup may be over, but with the state of the coup plotters unclear, a lot of uncertainty and distrust remains. Yeltsin's aides, in fact, warn tonight the barricades should be kept up because there may very well be desperate junta loyalists who may try to cause trouble, faced with their defeat.

Jennings discusses the coup with Laurie:

Jennings: All those people who've been demonstrating today -- one wonders whether they've been demonstrating for Mr. Gorbachev or for Mr. Yeltsin.

Laurie: I was out there earlier today and the emotion was plain -- it was for Mr. Yeltsin. There is still not a great deal of popularity or sympathy for Mr. Gorbachev. Yeltsin is the man that has made all of this possible, at least that's the view of the people. And he has been acting very presidential in the last few days. He still has been issuing decrees. Even tonight, for example, he criticized the state television, saying that the chief of state TV should be replaced because he was indeed a puppet of the criminals, as he put it, who launched this coup attempt.

(ABC-Lead)

Jennings reports the chairman of Yeltsin's defense committee, Gen. Kubez [phonetic] was asked if he was sure the coup had collapsed. I will be sure, he replied, only when I have the firing squad that will execute these scoundrels.

(ABC-2)

NBC's Tom Brokaw: Wednesday, August 21st, 1991 -- a day for bold print in history, remembered and savored as the day when the power of the people in the Soviet Union proved to be greater than the power of the gray and cold-blooded men who thought they could return their country to the darkness of state oppression. Tanks and troops were turned around midday, Moscow time. They either would not or could not fire on resisters, and that means Mikhail Gorbachev is back in power. He is returning to Moscow, where he'll now have to deal with an even more powerful Boris Yeltsin, the hero of the moment. And the hardliners -- where they are tonight, we don't know. But they are not in control, if they ever were.

NBC's Bob Abernethy reports the road is open wide to democratic reform, but it may be Yeltsin who is now the stronger leader.

(Andrei Kortunov, USA-Canada Institute: "I think that we can have something like [inaudible] personality as far as Yeltsin is concerned and I think that he will try to use the momentum of his victory to gain more political and economic power for himself and for all the other republics.")

In spite of all the force at their command, the coup leaders failed in part because they underestimated the commitment of the people.

(Kortunov: "It is not that easy to keep down democracy once it got roots into society.")

What's expected is a new renegotiated treaty between the central government and the individual republics, one that could give the republics vast new power, such as their own national guard to protect them in the future from central-government abuse. It's also likely that the coup leaders, wherever they are, will be found, tried and punished. Perhaps those trials will be public. Criminal investigations were ordered today.

(NBC-Lead)

NBC's Mike Jensen reports Soviet leaders are still confronted with an economy that is a disaster. President Bush said he thought economic pressure helped end the coup.

(President Bush: "When they see the United States and they see the European foreign ministers coming together, all saying they're not going to have business as usual, I think it does make an impact.") Thousands of Soviets took to the streets to make it clear that they did not want a return to the old ways. Now, the challenge for Soviet leaders is to make the new ways even better.

(NBC-6)

CBS's Dan Rather: Gorbachev is flying to Moscow, the Kremlin coup is over, the failed coup-makers in disgrace and apparently on the run. Mikhail Gorbachev is back in charge, back as president, but not yet back in Moscow. His troubles and those of the Soviet Union are far from over. Gorbachev apparently has been in the Crimea. He is reported flying right now. (CBS-Lead)

SOVIET COUP/PRESIDENT'S REACTION

Jennings: There is a sense of real relief in the Bush Administration tonight. The Soviet Union was complicated enough before the coup. But even with Mr. Gorbachev back, it is clear that Mr. Yeltsin now figures into America's calculations more than ever.

ABC's Brit Hume: Early this afternoon, the President was out on his boat off the Maine coast when word came from shore that sent him zooming back in.

(TV coverage: President Bush aboard boat.)

His phone call to Mikhail Gorbachev had finally gone through. Mr. Bush spoke to him from the bedroom of his summer home for about 20 minutes.

(TV coverage: Photo of President Bush speaking with Gorbachev, with Mrs. Bush looking on.)

(President Bush: "He sounded in good physical condition. Indeed, his voice was buoyant. In his view, the constitutional authorities are back in power, and democracy, freedom and reform have prevailed.")

The President was asked what it would mean for relations with the U.S. now that the Soviet reactionaries had been set back.

(President Bush: "They tried and they failed and democracy prevailed and reform prevailed. And that's what this is all about. So I think that -- I expect the relationship to be, if anything, even better.")

Better, perhaps, but as the President had earlier implied, also different, since U.S. policy must now take into account the emergence of Boris Yeltsin.

(President Bush: "It leaves the world looking at him as a very courageous individual, duly elected by the people, standing firmly and courageously for democracy and freedom, with enormous stature as a result of that.")

But what about the flamboyance that had earlier caused U.S. policy makers to view Yeltsin with suspicion?

(President Bush: "I don't detect any less flamboyance. And in this instance, the flamboyance is a very positive quality as you climb up there and encourage your people.")

The President says the central lesson in all of this is that once democracy and freedom have gotten started, they cannot easily be stopped. That is, no doubt, what he really believes. But it is also what he would like Gorbachev and Yeltsin and whoever else ends up in authority in Moscow to believe, as well.

Jennings discusses the coup with **Hume:**

Jennings: The President's been saying Gorbachev-Yeltsin in the same breath all day. Are we hearing realistically the new policy, that you've got to deal equally with the two now?

Hume: Absolutely we are. I think the President has not only in a hard sort of realistic sense gauged Yeltsin as being a major political factor in the Soviet Union, but my sense, as well, is that he has been personally impressed with Yeltsin, particularly with his courage in standing up the way he did when the outcome was by no means clear. (ABC-4)

Brokaw: John Cochran is at Kennebunkport, where it was cloudy and rainy, but as President Bush put it aptly, a good day, a very good day. That was an understated way to describe what is a big moment for this President.

NBC's John Cochran: The coup ends with President Bush apparently having played his cards just about right and coming out of it with the appreciation of both Yeltsin and Gorbachev. After speaking with Yeltsin, Bush, with his wife listening beside him, talked for 20 sometimes emotional minutes with Gorbachev.

(TV coverage: Photo of President Bush speaking with Gorbachev, with Mrs. Bush looking on.)

Later, the President said the coup plotters failed because they bit off more than they could chew.

(President Bush: "You can't put freedom and democracy back into a box and keep it contained. And that's what happened, and as a matter of fact, that's one of the things Gorbachev said, and certainly Yeltsin feels that way.")

Yeltsin also felt Bush's support was a big help.

(President Bush: "He was profuse in his gratitude for that. And no, it's not just the United States. But we are the United States of America, and thus the disproportionately loud voice in matters of this nature.")

Bush even got high marks from past critics of his Soviet policy, like Sen. Bill Bradley.

(Sen. Bradley: "I think it was very important that he state clearly there would be no normal relations with the coup leaders. And other than that, I think his support for the democratic reforms -- particularly Yeltsin -- was positive in the last 24 hours.")

Both Bradley, a Democrat, and Sen. Lugar, a key Republican, believe Yeltsin is the big winner and should be treated accordingly.

(Sen. Lugar: "I'm sure there'll be greater sympathy in Congress for Boris Yeltsin.")

But the President was downplaying any talk of having to choose between Yeltsin and Gorbachev.

(President Bush: "I think that the way Gorbachev -- the way Yeltsin has conducted himself shows you that it is not a Yeltsin vs. Gorbachev battle. I don't think that Boris Yeltsin is sitting around thinking, how do we dump Gorbachev?")

But whether the winner is named Boris or Mikhail, President Bush has no intention of sending a big aid package over to either of them. One White House aide said: We're not going to reward these guys just because they saved their own political skins. Tough talk. (NBC-4)

Rather: Mikhail Gorbachev got a phone call through to President Bush today. Mr. Bush hailed Gorbachev's return as the constitutional leader of the whole Soviet Union. But he also praised Boris Yeltsin's role.

CBS's Susan Spencer: Gorbachev, in fact, had been liberated for only about an hour when he and Mr. Bush talked, a spokesman later calling that conversation very emotional on both sides. The President had just taken his boat when abruptly, Fidelity changed course, responding to a cryptic radio message that a head of state was calling.

(TV coverage: President Bush aboard boat.)

On land, Mr. Bush learned it was finally Gorbachev.

(President Bush: "He was elated and it sounded like for the last hour he was back fulfilling his duties and calling the shots. He stated his sincere appreciation to the people of the United States and others around the world for their support for democracy and reform.")

The President took the 20-minute call in the family bedroom, Mrs. Bush listening nearby.

(TV coverage: Photo of President Bush speaking with Gorbachev, with Mrs. Bush looking on.)

Gorbachev told him his personal guards had stayed loyal, and that contrary to earlier reports, he is in good health. Asked why the coup fell on its face --

(President Bush: "The fact that they underestimated democracy and freedom and that you can't put it back in a box, these totalitarian systems. They tried and they failed and democracy prevailed and reform prevailed. And that's what this is all about.")

Mr. Bush declared it a good day for U.S.-Soviet relations. But it may also be a confused day for U.S. policy. Does the man of the hour, Boris Yeltsin, now deserve equal treatment with Gorbachev?

(President Bush: "We will obviously try to cooperate with the Soviet Union, back in constitutional hands and with the Russian republic, with respect for the way Boris Yeltsin has conducted himself.")

So Mr. Bush's delicate diplomatic balancing act continues. His fondest hope: that Gorbachev and Yeltsin now will join together and plunge wholeheartedly into reform. The last thing this ever-cautious President wants is to have to choose sides between his friend Gorbachev and a true popular hero. (CBS-5)

SOVIET COUP/YELTSIN

CBS's Barry Petersen reports on Yeltsin's actions.

(Allen Lynch, Harriman Institute: "I would say now that Mikhail Gorbachev owes Boris Yeltsin everything, including possibly his life, but certainly his political life.")

Outsiders have often underestimated Yeltsin. In his first trip to Washington just two years ago, he was treated like a country bumpkin. But no more. In June, he was the guest of President Bush, and his new stature as an international hero of democracy is not lost on American politicians.

(TV coverage: President Bush with Yeltsin in Rose Garden.)

(Rep. McCurdy: "This is the end of the Gorbachev era and for lack of a better term, I guess we're ushering in the period of the Yeltsin era.")

In the wake of the coup, the message in Moscow is clear: Yeltsin seems to be the man who saved the day. Gorbachev is back on the political stage, said one prominent Soviet, but from now on Yeltsin is the master of ceremonies. (CBS-6)

SOVIET COUP/ANALYSIS

ABC's Diane Sawyer reports if you want to understand how badly the coup leaders miscalculated, Gorbachev's aides say you have to go back to Monday morning, when the plotters failed to capture Yeltsin. And once, the leaders tried to offer a carrot to the people -- a promise of increased wages. But KGB officers in plain clothes reported back that the crowd had simply laughed. The leaders may also have miscalculated world reaction. The West, led by President Bush, refused to recognize the new government.

(TV coverage: President Bush at news conference.)

Then last night, Yeltsin responded with a dazzling psychological counterattack. He started phoning coup leaders individually, trying to split up the group, warning each that the eyes and cameras of the world would never forgive the man who ordered "open fire." Today, Yeltsin followed up with individual negotiations with coup leaders, which successfully drove in the wedges. Whatever the chronology, Gorbachev's aides say the coup was doomed by the cynicism of its leaders, by men who simply refused to believe how much things and people could change after a little taste of freedom. (ABC-6)

Jennings reports former Foreign Minister Shevardnadze suspects the coup may have been staged by Gorbachev. That was seconded by the president of Georgia, and even in Washington there is scuttlebutt that Gorbachev may have done it to smoke out his real opposition. President Bush said this is a ridiculous idea. Another view from former Gorbachev aide Yakovlev [phonetic] said the blame ultimately rests with Gorbachev for forming a team of traitors. (ABC-7)

ABC's Bob Zelnick reports Pentagon analysts say the Soviet military never crushed its opposition because the coup leaders never gave definitive orders for the military to attack. In fact, those who monitored the coup said there was no instance where Soviet soldiers actually defied orders. In many cases, the orders just never came.

Jennings discusses the coup with Zelnick:

Zelnick: Pentagon officials who have spent time with Moiseyev regard him as a likable but tough guy of no particular creativity or imagination. He's a soldier who's very good at doing one thing and that's following orders. In fact, many here believe he was away on vacation during the final hours when the coup was being planned, and thus missed the opportunity to join it until he had a chance to see which way the wind was blowing. (ABC-8)

NBC's Fred Francis reports Pentagon sources say that even after the coup began, most senior military leaders showed no enthusiasm for it. Novelist Tom Clancy said the plotters were just stupid.

(Clancy: "Frankly, it looks like a second-rate attempt in a country like Paraguay.")

One U.S. official said Shevardnadze's idea is an interesting theory; the President didn't think so.

(President Bush: "To suggest that President Gorbachev would plot to put the people of the Soviet Union through this kind of trauma and the rest of the world through it just makes absolutely no sense at all.") (CBS-3, NBC-2)

SOVIET COUP/WORLD REACTION

Jennings reports people gathered in the central square at the Prague today to commemorate the day 23 years ago when the Soviets invaded, and to celebrate the coup's failure. (ABC-10)

NBC's Arthur Kent reports Yugoslavs in Belgrade rallied in support of Gorbachev. In the West, Prime Minister Major stood shoulder to shoulder with a Yeltsin aide, the message being solidarity.

(Prime Minister Major: "The importance of moral support, the broadcasts that have been made, the clear condemnation of the coup that has been unreserved from the whole of the free world is of immense help to those in the Soviet Union who are fighting for democracy and for freedom at the moment.")

At NATO headquarters, Secretary Baker arrived to discuss the coup. But NATO Secretary General Manfred Warner had spoken by phone with Yeltsin, who had claimed the Soviet army was now under his control.

(Warner: "We firmly support the Russian President Yeltsin.")

If that was encouraging news, so too was the reaction of Israeli President Shamir, speaking in Jerusalem today.

(Prime Minister Shamir: "If the latest news on the Soviet Union means the return of order and stability, we welcome it with all our arms.") (NBC-5)

SOVIET COUP/LITHUANIA

Jennings reports there is word tonight from Lithuania that Soviet troops and Lithuanian security guards have exchanged gunfire near the parliament building in Vilnius. The spokesman for the parliament said the shots were fired when the Soviet troops tried to force their way onto the parliamentary grounds. One person on each side was wounded. (ABC-5)

SOVIET COUP/COMMENTARY

Jennings discusses the coup with Robert Legvold, Harriman Institute, and Condoleezza Rice, Stanford University:

Jennings: Realistically, who's going to run the Soviet Union now?

Legvold: Realistically, a partnership -- a partnership between Yeltsin and his colleagues at the republic level together with Gorbachev, but a partnership that has a junior and a senior partner. And that new senior partner is Yeltsin....

Rice: ...This is a very dark day for the Soviet army, because this is an army that has prided itself on staying out of politics, and now you have them engaged in an effort, through their defense minister, to put down a democratic movement. I think the army is going to have to regroup, it's going to have to be purged, and it's going to have to find a new place in a democratic Soviet Union.

Jennings: ...What do you think is going to happen to the people who tried to pull this off?...

Rice: ...I think if the right-wing is really to be put aside for good, there probably will have to be some major punishment of them. And I would expect that there will be people who will be very vindictive....

Legvold: ...I think they'll be tried, very much the way they would be in the U.S., and they'll be subject to the penalties of the law. I don't think there's going to be any excessive, vindictive justice in this instance.... (ABC-9)

-more-

Brokaw discusses the coup with Zbigniew Brzezinski:

Brzezinski: ...I think [Gorbachev] will remain, at least for the timebeing, the President of the Soviet Union and very much its external representative because his standing internationally is so high....

Brokaw: Should the U.S. weigh in now with massive economic assistance to help out Yeltsin and Gorbachev?

Brzezinski: I think we should be forthcoming if the Soviet government is going to be a reconstituted Soviet government, adopt a wide-ranging program of economic, political reforms....

(NBC-7)

Rather discusses the coup with Stephen Cohen, Princeton University, and CBS's Jonathan Sanders:

Cohen: I think [Gorbachev and Yeltsin] are going to transcend their past differences. The learned lesson of this event -- this coup -- is that they have always been in the same political boat.... They hang together and they hang separately....

(CBS-7)

Gore/1992 CAMPAIGN

Brokaw reports Sen. Gore has decided 1992 is probably President Bush's year. Gore said today he would not be a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

(CBS-10, NBC-9)

--- Thursday --- August 22, 1991 ---

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--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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BUSH: HIS "POLITICAL COUP"

Notables, quotables on Statesman-in-Chief's handling of "coup that couldn't shoot straight." Dem pollster Hickman: "We've had better days." (#2)

Also: CBS/NYT poll finds wide approval of Bush, Gorby, Yeltsin. (#15)

GOVERNORS '91

LA: Treen to make late entry, join fellow govs Edwards and Roemer? (#12)

MS: Pro-life activists target lone major candidate pro-choicer Mabus. (#13)

WICHITA ABORTION SHOWDOWN

While Operation Rescue plans huge Sunday rally, Judge jails its leaders. On the way to jail: "It's worse than what's going on in Russia." (#6)

VIRGINIA: MORE ROBB COVERAGE?

As the Old Dominion braces for a 2nd VA-oriented PLAYBOY (cover girl Tai Collins), Robb operative testifies to grand jury, indicating probe purview beyond Wilder taping? (#11)

SPOTLIGHT

NO GORE IN BLOODLESS COUP

His vote for force in Iraq had led some to think he could pass the foreign policy litmus test for the top job. But amid the drama of yesterday's world events Al Gore took himself out.

HELPED/HURT: Is it "Green light" for Clinton? Harkin to be "clear alternative" to Clinton? Post-Labor Day calls to Bentsen? Or to "800-pound gorilla on the Hudson?" Jerry Brown cites "vacuum" -- while staff change suggests he really is looking at it.

MEANWHILE: The only Dem running has met matching funds requirements. And the only Republican likely to run may bypass New Hampshire of all places.

See Gore (#3), other Dems (#4, 5), Bush (#1).

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"Two things happened today:

Gorbachev and Clinton were liberated."

-- Dem consultant Bob Squier, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT, 8/22

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POLL UPDATE

CBS/N.Y TIMES: Bush, Gorbachev get high marks. (#15)

TV MONITOR (#16)

CORRECTION: The following quote in yesterday's HOTLINE (8/21), "As we get a couple months away from the coup, people may begin to call Bush's competence into question. It's important to be able to manage crises. It's even more important to avoid them," was incorrectly attributed by the SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS to GOP consultant Mike Murphy. The statement was actually made by Dem consultant Mark Mellman. Also, in the piece on VT Gov, Rep. Bernard Sanders (I-VT) was incorrectly referred to as a Dem.

???? OVERLOOKED ????

In the CBS/N.Y. TIMES poll, conducted 8/20, 66% of Democrats have confidence in President Bush's ability to "deal wisely with a difficult international crisis." (See #15)

*1 BUSH: "MAY PASS NH PRIMARY"

"In 1988, George Bush said 'Thank you, New Hampshire.' Next year, he may say 'no thanks' and skip the nation's earliest primary," according to ex-Gov. Hugh Gregg (R-NH). Gregg: "People don't really get excited if there's no one out there to run against him. ... There's no reason for him to spend the time, money, resources and energy when he has no competition." Bush's NH appearances have been limited this spring and summer "to airplane hops through the former Pease [AFB] on the way to his Maine summer home. [VP] Quayle visited in mid-July, spurring talk that he was trying to boost his own sagging popularity, primarily in the only state that has a separate ballot in the primary for a [VP] candidate." Whether registering in an NH VP primary "would help Quayle is irrelevant if Bush doesn't announce his intentions in time to register for the primary, Gregg said." Candidates must register between 12/9-23. Gregg: "Bush has been saying he won't announce until the first of the year in which case there won't be a ballot for either of them." Gregg "said he doesn't know Bush's plans for an announcement." WH CoS John Sununu: "We'll announce when we announce." No one has won a presidential election without winning NH since 1952. "If Bush, with whatever running mate, doesn't decide to announce until January, it doesn't mean he'll run much risk of losing the bellwether primary, Gregg said." Gregg: "There'll be big write-ins for both of them" (AP/Manchester UNION LEADER, 8/22).

*2 BUSH: A "POLITICAL COUP" AT HOME?

BOSTON HERALD headline: "Moscow turnaround may be a political coup for Bush" (8/22). Here's some quotables ...

W.S. JOURNAL'S JOHN HARWOOD: "By underscoring the volatility of international events, the episode further crippled the chances of any Democrats thinking of joining the race" (8/22).

AEI'S WILLIAM SCHNEIDER: "The political fallout of this is that the Democrats look irrelevant" (BOSTON HERALD, 8/22).

DEM STRATEGIST FRANK MANKIEWICZ: "The big winner is George Bush because he gets the endorsement of the most popular politician in the world right now, and that is Boris Yeltsin" (BOSTON HERALD, 8/22).

DEM CONSULTANT MIKE MCCURRY: "This was a real important moment in history and George Bush really had nothing to do with the outcome. What happened in the Soviet Union was the results of democrats in Moscow, not Republicans in Washington" (BOSTON HERALD, 8/22).

GOP CONSULTANT JOHN BUCKLEY: "There's so much obvious gratification being expressed from the Soviet Union for the leadership Bush has shown in this crisis that the Democrats would look rather churlish and petty to criticize the president for his foreign policy" (8/22).

GOP CONSULTANT RICH BOND: "It's hard now to imagine the current crop of Democratic presidential contenders arguing that foreign policy is really not that important" (WASH. TIMES, 8/22).

WASH. POST'S MARY MCGRORY: "He was undisputably in charge. Democrats watched him with deepening despair. The crisis not only enhanced his invincibility, it also shredded their laborious plans to bring him 'back from Mesopotamia,' in Mario Cuomo's phrase" (8/22).

N.Y. TIMES' R.W. APPLE: "He looks more invulnerable than ever" (8/22).

PHILA. INQUIRER'S CHARLES GREEN: "Throughout, Bush appeared in his element: contacting world leaders, orchestrating his administration's response to fast-paced developments and presenting a calm, confident image to the American people -- a contrast to the shrill, frenetic appearance he sometimes gives when dealing with problems at home" (8/22).

BROOKINGS' THOMAS MANN: "With a foreign policy crisis, his language is measured, his pace slows. He exudes professionalism. The contrast is really striking" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 8/22).

DEM POLLSTER GEOFF GARIN: "The Persian Gulf raised the importance of 'commander in chief' in the presidential job description; the Soviet crisis raises the profile of 'international statesman'" (W.S. JOURNAL, 8/22).

DEM CONSULTANT MARK MELLMAN: "The president has proven that he can manage crises, but it's even more important to be able to prevent them" (W.S. JOURNAL, 8/22).

DNC POLITICAL DIRECTOR PAUL TULLY: "We've spent another four days here with the president real focused and real interested in foreign policy. What's much more problematic to a Democratic challenge is if George Bush ever discovered that there are economic and domestic problems that this country is facing and starts to do something about them" (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 8/22).

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE: "Democrats Losing Again: Another Crisis Gives Bush a Boost" (Bob Shogan, 8/21).

GERMOND/WITCOVER HEADLINE: "Lack of foreign policy leader adds to Democrats' despair" (Balto. EVENING SUN, 8/21).

DEM CONSULTANT HARRISON HICKMAN: "We've had better days" (W.S. JOURNAL, 8/22).

*3 GORE: ALBERT ABDICATES

"Saying he still yearns to be president," Gore announced 8/21 "he will not seek the 1992 [Dem] presidential nomination, because his family obligations are more important" (Lachrisha Butler, GANNETT/Nashville TENNESSEAN). His decision "would pose an interesting situation for him" in '96, when his Senate seat is up: "Under state law, he could run both for the presidency and re-election to the Senate the same year ... Gore said it was only coincidental that his decision followed the failed coup in the Soviet Union, which is expected to increase President Bush's popularity." Gore consultant Carter Eskew: "He made the decision before he knew about the Soviet Union. His staff could not reach him on the day of the coup because he was so deep on the lake" (8/22). For Gore, "it means another race, another year, perhaps 1996 or 2000, when he'll still be young but when at least some of his children [ages 8, 12, 14, 18] will be out of adolescence" (James Brosnan, SCRIPPS HOWARD/Memphis COMMERCIAL-APPEAL). Also cited: Albert III's 4/89 accident at Baltimore's Memorial Stadium, which gave Gore a "different viewpoint on how important your children are." But he "believes he may never again have a better opportunity to run for president" (8/22). Samples from Carthage, TN, neighbors: "Anybody would like to see him be president. We can just live and hope, because about anything is better than what we've got now ... I'm glad he's not running because I don't think anyone could beat Bush ... Al's going to be president someday; he's too smart not to. When more people in the northern area know him, he will win" (TENNESSEAN, 8/22). The "timing of Gore's announcement ... raised questions about his actual motives" (Shogan/Brownstein, L.A. TIMES). One

"senior Democratic strategist": "It just makes it look like he got scared off by what happened in Moscow and chickened out" (8/22). Pollster Claibourne Darden said the failed Moscow coup "may have been the straw that broke the camel's back," calling Gore's other reasons "absolute baloney" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 8/22). Media consultant/'88 Gore adviser David Garth: "Dumbest timing I've ever seen. It might as well have been an abject surrender." Analyst Charles Cook: "If anything, he did the party a favor. You hold your bad news and drop it when it hurts the party least" (COPLEY/S.D. UNION, 8/22).

WHO WINS: Gore "joined the parade of [Dem] dropouts ... turning up the steam for a run" by Clinton: "It was widely interpreted as a green light for Mr. Clinton to capture the support of Southern [Dems] and party moderates nationally" (A.L. May, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION). AR Dem chair Betsey Wright: "We're going to see a lot more pressure for him to get into this race." LA Dem chair Jim Brady on Clinton: "We got a candidate. I think this eases him in" (8/22). Dem consultant Bob Squier: "Two things happened today: Gorbachev and Clinton were liberated." Dem consultant David Sawyer: "If you look at the current field, you have to think Bill Clinton is the front-runner" (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT, 8/22). AEI's Norm Ornstein said Gore's decision "will boost Clinton's standing, put more pressure on Cuomo to run, and perhaps give [Nunn] reason to consider running." Clinton has a "clear shot at ... tapping the same financial sources Gore would have used" (TENNESSEAN, 8/22). For Clinton, "it means a chance to claim the moderate and southern wings of the party to himself." Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-AR): "If Bill Clinton is the only Southerner in the race, I think that gives him a real leg up" (COMMERCIAL-APPEAL, 8/22). GOP pollster Paul Holm: "I think it clearly benefits the president again" (ORLANDO SENTINEL, 8/22). Ex-DNC chair John White: "After Labor Day, there will be a tremendous amount of pressure focused on Cuomo and/or Bentsen to run" (N.Y. NEWSDAY, 8/22). Gore's decision "frames the 1992 [Dem] campaign as mainly a prospective struggle between Clinton ... and unabashed liberal" Harkin. Harkin adviser Tim Raftis: "It more clearly defines the race, and helps establish Harkin as the clear alternative to Clinton." W.S. JOURNAL's Al Hunt: "The Gore announcement is likely to focus anew the spotlight on" Cuomo, "who delights in causing press speculation about his intentions." Cuomo "says he has no plans to run, but won't rule out changing his mind" (8/22). Dem \$-raiser/Gore supporter Bill Crotty: "Harkin is the most promising of candidates because he tells it like it is." Eskew on Cuomo: "The 800-pound gorilla on the Hudson is watching and waiting" (W. POST, 8/22).

WHO LOSES: "For [Dems], it leaves another embarrassing hole in the ranks of potential challengers. Of the ['88 Dems], only Jesse Jackson is still considering a race in 1992." MD Dem chair/\$-raiser Nate Landow: "I think if Sen. Gore had chosen to enter the race it would have been his" (COMMERCIAL-APPEAL, 8/22). His decision "leaves [Dems] gloomily looking around for an effective candidate." AEI's Ornstein: "For [Dems] who wanted a field of thoroughbreds, Gore's announcement is a disappointment" (TENNESSEAN, 8/22). Eskew: "Democrats will have something to say about foreign policy, although I agree it's a playing field that is better for Bush" (ORLANDO SENTINEL, 8/22). NRCC chair Spencer Abraham: "If this keeps up, they are going to need a want ad to find a candidate" (W. TIMES, 8/22). CA \$-raiser Duane Garrett: "If this were a football game, the [Dems] would be a couple of touchdowns behind" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 8/22). BOSTON

GLOBE's Michael Frisby: "Some observers had hoped that Gore or Rockefeller could bridge the gap between the party's warring liberal and conservative wings. Some in the party expressed fear that a Harkin-Clinton battle would further divide the party ... Others, however, contend that such a battle could help define the party" (8/22).

*4 WILDER: "I WOULD LIKE TO BE MORE SUBSTANTIALLY PERCEIVED"

"Buffetted by negative news stories this summer," Wilder "invited reporters to a [VA] Cabinet meeting ... to highlight the accomplishments of his 20-month-old administration" (Jean McNair, AP/Fairfax JOURNAL, 8/22). It was "an effort to portray himself as a leader seriously concerned about [VA's] problems" (Donald Baker, WASH. POST). Wilder: "I would like to be more substantially perceived." He "hedged on his promise to decide by Labor Day if he would run for president, saying instead he would announce his plans 'around' that time" (8/22). WASH. TIMES headline: "Wilder opens up to boost his image" (8/22).

TO FACE "FRENZY" TOO? RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH's Robert Holland asks, "Could Patricia Kluge, jet-setting socialite and one-time nude model for British porno magazines, become America's First Lady?" The question "may seem crude and rude ... As for her relationship with [Wilder], two unmarried, divorced persons are involved, so what business it is of anyone's?" But "this could easily turn out to be one of those orgies of media bloodsport" described by UVA's Larry Sabato (see HOTLINE 8/14). The departure of ex-Wilder press sec. Laura Dillard "may give him a chance to find an adviser who can help him avoid frenzies" (8/21).

*5 DEM ROUND-UP

BRADLEY: He said Bush "should have denounced" Gorbachev and the military hard-liners for Baltic crackdowns that killed 15 civilians in January and left seven others dead last month": "I once played basketball and got an elbow from a Soviet and recognized that you gotta give the elbow back sometime. Once they know where to draw the line, they then ... know what they will lose if they take that action. Silence leaves them undecided" (Major Garrett, WASH. TIMES, 8/22).

BROWN: The 8/21 resignation of George Cappannelli from his Senate exploratory cmte. was an "indicator" of Brown's intentions: "Cappannelli had been concerned about the logistical difficulties of launching a national campaign, and his quitting suggested that Brown was leaning increasingly toward running for president." Brown said Gore's decision not to run is more evidence of a "vacuum" in Dem politics: "It's disquieting that the majority party cannot seem to find strong voices of opposition because there has never been a time in recent memory when such opposition is more called for" (Shogan/Brownstein, L.A. TIMES, 8/22). His potential candidacy "brings only smiles from Republican strategists" (Al Hunt, W.S. JOURNAL, 8/22).

BYRD: CHARLESTON DAILY MAIL editorial: If Dems "wind up drafting their candidate next year, they should look for someone

whose personal integrity is beyond question, someone whose leadership has been well demonstrated over the years, someone whose skills as a legislator are the awe of Kennedys." WV "just happens to have a senator who fits that bill nicely -- Robert Byrd" (8/17).

CLINTON: Columnist Sandy Grady writes, "In September, Clinton will be one of the lonely Democrats to chuck his hat into the Presidential ring. I have no idea how Clinton will do," but the minute he jumps in, "he'll provide a tough test for my brethren in the news media. Will we make Bill Clinton the Gary Hart of 1992? ... How long will it take another reporter, after [Clinton] announces his candidacy, to ask the 'Big A' question? I'd guess, oh, 60 seconds. ... No doubt, Clinton's 'no comment' about his sexual past will start a feeding frenzy in Sharkland.

... I'd say that it's fair to ask candidate Clinton the 'Big A' question -- once. But if the guy's answer makes sense -- 'no comment' won't wash -- and the evidence is flimsy, then shut up and lay off the voyeurism. The country needs a Presidential candidate, not a eunuch or St. Teresa (MIAMI HERALD, 8/21).

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT editorial: "Clinton is still using the old Mike Dukakis dodge in giving his stand on abortion. He says he's pro-choice but that pro-choice doesn't mean pro-abortion ... The heck it doesn't! ... If you're a pro-choicer, that means you're pro-abortion whether you personally favor abortion or not ... Clinton then "went on to criticize President Bush for being anti-choice on abortion, declaring Bush is pro-choice in every other area except that one" (8/18).

CUOMO: He discussed the USSR on WUTR-Utica: "I guess like most Americans and most people around the world I was surprised. President Bush was also surprised. What the president is doing and that is being prudent, holding his cards, waiting until the thing develops, is absolutely appropriate" (8/21).

TSONGAS: He announced his campaign "has qualified for matching funds from the federal government," by raising a minimum of \$5,000 in contributions of \$250 or less from individuals in at least 20 states. He said the funds, raised through a \$1 voluntary check-off on income tax returns, "will be important to his campaign because he said he will not accept" PAC money: "Having the field to myself has been a definite advantage. But in the fall the need for contributions will escalate with the number of people who declare ... September is a drop-dead month. If you're not geared up to run by then, your chances are severely diminished." On the USSR, Tsongas "said the lack of aggressive Western economic aid is partially to blame for [Gorbachev's] lack of popularity with his own people" (Jeordan Legon, BOSTON GLOBE, 8/22). Tsongas on qualifying for matching funds: "The breadth of support comes from the strength of my economic message. In every region of the country working men and women feel the economic ground trembling and are looking for someone to offer hope for recovery" (Tsongas release, 8/21). After Gore's announcement: "I will continue to urge other Democrats into the presidential race and expect a full field of candidates to emerge in September so we can begin the process" (Tsongas release, 8/21).

ROCKEFELLER: As Gov. in '78, he "approved a bill that allowed someone to run for the U.S. Senate and the president at the same time. In 1996, that someone could be Sen. Jay Rockefeller. Coincidence or conspiracy? Probably a coincidence." The law was originally drafted to help Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV) and sponsored by a Rockefeller foe.

===== FOCUS =====

*6 ABORTION: CHRONOLOGY OF THE WICHITA CONFRONTATION

Approaching Sunday's (8/25) rally which Operation Rescue has been promoting for a month, the following chronology summarizes events so far:

7/15: Operation Rescue begins pro-life demonstrations at Wichita abortion clinics. Spokesman Pat Mahoney says they plan to focus on Midwestern states, with a national day of protest in November and demonstrations at both 1992 conventions.

7/22: 14 demonstrators arrested for blocking access to clinic. Operation Rescue says the Wichita demonstrations will go on for several weeks.

7/23: Federal District Judge Patrick Kelly bars protesters from blocking clinic entrance -- with a possible fine of \$50,000/day for violations. 213 arrested.

7/24: Terry is served with Kelly's order, throws it on the ground, and is arrested along with 250+ others as protesters hold all-night vigil. Terry (who is jailed): "I've got \$500,000 in outstanding fines already. You can't get blood from a turnip."

7/29: Total arrests at 1000+. For the first time federal officials are used to enforce Kelly's injunction.

7/31: Terry is released from jail when he promises to obey Kelly order not to block the clinic.

8/2: Gov. Joan Finney (D-KS) addresses pro-life rally in support of the protest but adds: "Please work with the law."

8/3: 321 demonstrators (81 clergy) arrested.

8/5: Judge Kelly orders end to blockades at two clinics and says he will use any means (including jailing the Governor) to enforce it.

8/6: US Justice Department joins Operation Rescue's legal effort to block Judge Kelly's order, arguing that the law cited does not protect women seeking abortions. Kelly goes on ABC's "Nightline" for "no other reason than to speak to the Attorney General ... to tell him that he has given imprimatur to what, in my view, is a license for mayhem." Kelly directs Operation Rescue to file \$100,000 bond in a civil suit for damages caused in the demonstrations.

8/7: Pres. Bush: "Everybody has the right to protest and it ought to be done within the law ... This isn't a matter for the president to be concerned about, especially on the first day of his vacation."

8/11: WICHITA EAGLE publishes poll showing 78% opposed tactics of Operation Rescue and 75% supported Kelly position. For the first time, children are used in the Operation Rescue demonstrations.

8/12: Kelly sentences protester to jail, but frees him when attorney promises he will obey order. He orders anyone arrested twice to appear before him on contempt charges.

8/13: Kelly "scolds" Catholic bishop for doing nothing to stop demonstrations. NARAL starts running TV ad in Wichita.

8/15: NY Cardinal O'Connor hails Wichita demonstrators as "heroes and heroines."

8/16: Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R-KS) says he thinks the demonstrations should be ended.

8/17: Police arrest 124 demonstrators. President Bush in Kennebunkport said he breaking the law is "excessive."

8/18: Terry is rebuffed in Kennebunkport effort to get Bush meeting. President says he thinks they should obey the law.

8/20: 130 protesters arrested, including 10 children, in what federal marshals called the most "aggressive" demonstrations yet. Judge Kelly orders the arrest of 6 Operation Rescue leaders for failing to post a \$100,000 bond he had required two weeks earlier, and he authorizes federal magistrates to "ascertain each one's mode of compensation" in order to help him determine what levels of fines to set. Randall Terry "has previously boasted that the group and its leaders hide assets. The organization officially disbanded to avoid fines and judgments in other cases" (Michael Bates, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 8/22). The six ordered arrested if they were in Wichita: Terry, Jim Evans and Wendy Wright of Binghamton NY, Rev. Pat Mahoney of Boca Raton FL, Operation Rescue's Executive Director Keith Tucci of Charleston SC, Joe Slovenec of Cleveland OH.

8/21: Judge Kelly jails Mahoney, Tucci and Slovenec -- fining each of the three \$10,000 plus \$500/day for the next 10 days or until they agree to live up to his conditions. Kelly: "They have no respect for civil authority whether it is this court or the president of the United States. If I do what I believe I must, at least this community will know and the president of the United States will know that their role in Operation Rescue is over." He says the 3 could get out when they promised on TV "not to have anything else to do with the group's activities in Wichita." Kelly permits Wright to leave town on a promise not to come back. US Marshals say they do not plan to use the resources to seek out Terry and Evans; Terry's attorney tells them he will try to get them to surrender. Yesterday's arrests of 71 protesters bring the total to 1520 since 7/15. 20 arrested 8/21 are repeat offenders pushing the Sedgwick County Jail beyond its capacity. Kelly tells the court of an Operation Rescue leader encouraging "hate calls to Wichita" on the radio on 8/20: "that is going to stop as of today" (WICHITA EAGLE, 8/22). Mahoney, being led from the court room shouted: "This is outrageous. I'm being held as a political prisoner. It's worse than what's going on in Russia. It's judicial tyranny" (N.Y. TIMES, 8/22). From WICHITA EAGLE editorial calling on the Mayor to act to restore order: "Operation Rescue's national leaders, knocked from the front pages and network news by events elsewhere and aiming to crown their invasion with a huge rally Sunday, are instructing their followers in guerilla tactics that can result in physical injury" (8/22).

(NOTE: This chronology, drawn largely from the APN database for the ABORTION REPORT, includes material from the WASH. TIMES and WICHITA EAGLE.)

*7 INSLAW: MOUNTAINEER EDITORIALS ON DANNY CASOLARO'S DEATH
CHARLESTON GAZETTE: "We have no way of knowing if assassins killed the reporter. Perhaps the case is simply a suicide, as it appears. Perhaps the book project failed, or ill health drove him to take his life. ... Still, enough questions have been raised to warrant an inquiry. Especially since Sen. Alan Cranston [D-CA] reports that a different journalist working on the BCCI scandal mysteriously was killed July 29 in Guatemala City. Unfortunately, the Reagan-Bush [WH] has engaged in so many covert plots and CIA conspiracies that suspicion naturally surrounds unexplained occurrences. We hope [WV Reps.] support a

thorough, but quiet and unaccusatory, probe of this [WV] death" (8/21).

CHARLESTON DAILY MAIL: "Suicide you would say. Ah, but that's what they want you to believe. Maybe Casolaro knew too much. ... [M]aybe there is a Mr. Big out there who created all this scandal. Maybe in the middle of the 1980 campaign George Bush really did go to Paris to meet with the Ayatollah Khomeini. Or maybe Casolaro, in debt up to his neck and suffering from multiple sclerosis so severe that it blurred his vision at times, decided to end it all. Naw, that's just what they want you to believe" (8/20).

Wheeling INTELLIGENCER: "Considering that bodies are not found everyday in Martinsburg, it seems to us that the authorities could have taken more care to preserve forensic evidence. Things are not always as they seem, especially at crime scenes, and what-at-first glance appeared to be a suicide should have been more carefully investigated. Certainly local authorities need to take a close look at procedures to make sure something like this never happens again" (8/20).

===== HOTSPOTS =====

*8 IDAHO: HANSEN FLAUNTS GOP CONNECTIONS

State Sen. John Hansen (R) released the names of 43 members involved in his exploratory cmte, "in an attempt to counter" Boise Mayor Dirk Kempthorne's "obvious support from party regulars." Ex-Gov. Robert Smylie and Idaho Falls Mayor Tom Campbell were among the "influential" GOPers on the list. Hansen "said he'd make up his mind whether to run within the next two weeks, after consulting with the committee" (AP/IDAHO STATESMAN, 8/21). Meanwhile, the Soviet coup prompted stockbroker Milton Erhart (R) to delay the formal announcement of his Senate candidacy. Erhart, "who said he still plans to run ... had scheduled a press conference for" 8/20 (IDAHO STATESMAN, 8/21).

JONES CRIES FOUL: In an 8/14 letter to Sen. Steve Symms, AG Jim Jones (R) called on Symms to "ask staff members who become active" in the '92 Sen. campaign "to leave their government job" to avoid a possible conflict of interest (Dan Popkey, IDAHO STATESMAN). Jones: "I expect that some of your staff members may wish to keep their jobs. That is fine, but I think it would be a mistake to let them work both for you and for a potential successor." Both aides, who are working in Boise Mayor Dirk Kempthorne's (R) camp, said 8/21 "they have no plans to resign and that campaign work does not interfere with their government jobs" (8/21). Jones, who said he has not yet received a reply from Symms: "That would eliminate the appearance of impropriety or favoritism and help provide a level playing field for the various state Senate contenders" (AP, 8/21).

STALLINGS ABSENCE ENCOURAGES WATKINS: Ex-state Sen./'88 Stallings challenger Dane Watkins (R) "said he is seriously considering a race" for the 2nd CD. "Now that Stallings is running for the Senate, Watkins said he may enter the [GOP] primary." Watkins said "he's been encouraged to run": "Without exception, those who have made contact with me have expressed feelings that we need a true conservative to pick up the seat." He plans to decide on the race by mid-Sept. (STATESMAN, 8/21).

*9 INDIANA: HOGSETT ANNOUNCES ENDORSEMENT, HILL UNSWAYED

Sec/State Joe Hogsett (D) "won an endorsement from Lake County [Dem] powerhouses in his race to defeat" ex-state Rep. Baron Hill (D) for the nomination to run against Sen. Dan Coats (R). Lake Co. is "expected to be a key battleground" in the race (Nancy Winkley, Gary POST-TRIBUNE). The group was led by Lake Co. Dem chair Robert Pastrick and Co. prosecutor Jon DeGuilio. DeGuilio: "Given this endorsement and potential other endorsements throughout the state, any primary opposition to Joe is pointless." While the endorsement is "seen as a signal by the state and county party organizations that Hill should get out of the primary race and avoid a costly primary fight," Hill "supporters said the announcement was hardly surprising and won't hurt Hill's popularity among rank-and-file voters." '90 Hill manager/'92 adviser Tim Phillips: "These same people were for Baron Hill last time. They didn't win it for him. There's no political officeholder up there that could swing an election. It just doesn't make any difference" (8/20). Co. prosecutor Mike Barnes said the endorsement "should not be seen as anti-Hill," it's just that the officials "were impressed by Hogsett's record," his "ability to run a successful statewide campaign," and his ability to defeat a "strong GOP candidate in the general

election" (Howard Dukes, SOUTH BEND TRIBUNE, 8/20).

*10 PENNSYLVANIA: STATE BUDGET COULD BE HERE TODAY, GONE TO MAUI

One of Philadelphia's "most respected lawmakers," state Rep. Richard Hayden (D), "was recorded as voting in favor of [PA's] new state budget [on 8/4] when he was actually nowhere near" Harrisburg (Russell Eshleman, PHILA. INQUIRER). Hayden confirmed 8/22 that he was at the airport preparing to meet his wife and son in Hawaii for a vacation. "Without his vote, the state budget might not have passed that day. And it now might be subject to a court challenge. ... Although the \$3.3 billion tax package passed with one more vote than was necessary, 103-99, the accompanying \$13.9 billion spending plan passed with the minimum number of votes, 102-99, so Hayden's vote was crucial." House GOP chief counsel Joseph Murphy "said he did not believe Hayden's admission would nullify the budget but" could be challenged in court: "There's a possibility that someone could bring a lawsuit. I wouldn't want to venture a guess as to how successful it would be, but I wouldn't put it past some group that didn't get enough money." But House Maj. Leader Wm DeWeese (D) and Min. Leader Matthew Ryan (R) "said they did not believe Hayden's votes would be discounted in court," because Hayden's opinion was well known throughout the process. Hayden "said he had not asked anyone to pull his electronic voting switch, and he did not know who cast the vote for him (8/22).

TAXING FEUD: "The War Between the States -- 1991 version -- has begun. ... Taxes -- as in "your taxes are higher than mine" -- are the ammunition." On 8/19, NJ's Dept. of Commerce and Economic Devel. commiss. George Zoffinger held a press conference "to compare its business taxes with those of" PA's. Zoffinger "boasted that [PA's] corporate income tax was one third higher than" than NJ's and that unlike PA, NJ doesn't impose a sales tax on business services. PA's acting Sec./Commerce Andrew Greenberg shot back with a "hot letter" to Zoffinger 8/21, alleging NJ was "staging a 'steal jobs from [PA] campaign to lure business over the Delaware River'": "When New Jersey raised its taxes by \$2.8 billion last year, my office did not stage raiding parties across the Delaware" (Neill Borowski, PHILA. INQUIRER, 8/22).

*11 VIRGINIA: GRAND JURY CALLS ROBB AIDE

Billy Hutchens, an '88 campaign staffer for Sen. Chuck Robb (D) testified 8/21 before a grand jury in Norfolk: "They asked me what I knew about the controversy, and I was happy to give them any information about it." Hutchens, "who has been accused of trying to harass people who were speaking to reporters about" Robb's alleged social activities "declined to say anything specific about his testimony" (Warren Fiske, Norfolk VIRGINIAN-PILOT, 8/22). WASH. TIMES reports, Hutchens' "testimony would appear to indicate that federal investigators have broadened their probe to include a whole range of political activity surrounding Mr. Robb, according to several sources close to the probe" (8/22).

ENTERTAINMENT FOR MEN (CONT'D): VIRGINIAN-PILOT headline: "Playboy to feature nude photographs of Robb's femme fatale." Ex-Miss VA/USA Tai Collins, who "made national headlines ... by asserting that she had a 10-month affair" with Robb, will not, however, "appear ... as the centerfold," said PLAYBOY comm. dir. Elizabeth Norris. VIRGINIAN-PILOT's Warren Fiske notes, "Playboy has devoted unusual attention to Virginia politics this summer" -- Gov. Doug Wilder (D) was interviewed last month (see

HOTLINE 8/8). The news "was not well received by Robb." Press sec. Chris Bridge: "Playboy magazine has always been in the business of selling fantasy, and there's no reason to believe that has changed" (8/21). RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH's Mike Hardy: "Tai takes it off -- coming soon to a convenience store near you ... The Playboy spread is called 'The Governor and the Beauty.'" Robb is currently "on a 10-day trip to Africa ... Four months of coverage of Robb's personal life may have boosted his name recognition." Bridge, on Collins' story, which she will tell to a PLAYBOY staff writer: "She's had eight years to work on it. The senator has acknowledged a situation that occurred some eight years ago and he absolutely denies any claims that go beyond that acknowledgment. Any questions that have been raised have long since been resolved with his family." Robb's office, "which is working to promote what it calls 'a positive agenda,' said constituents' requests for assistance" are up 12% (8/21).

*12 LOUISIANA GOVERNOR: TREEN MIGHT JOIN RACE

Ex-Gov. David Treen (R), who earlier considered another run, "says he might reluctantly run again this year, or might back another candidate who has not yet announced": "It's not too late for me or someone else to get in the race. It's possible for someone with good ideas and fairly well-financed to get in this race at this point and win it. I've got two people who fit that bill, and I'm going to make that decision before too long" (POTPOURRI, Lafayette ADVERTISER, 8/21). Analyst John Maginnis writes, "Making one of his first real campaign appearances," Gov. Buddy Roemer (R) "shakes hands, poses for pictures and then turns to the sound of an oddly familiar voice. 'How are you doing Governor?'" says ex-Rep. David Duke. "'Welcome to Duke Country.' 'Thanks Dave,'" responds Roemer. 'I thought this was [LA].'" Maginnis continues, "If one corner of [LA] is Duke Country, here it is. The cotton-farming parishes of the Delta and northeast [LA] went solidly for Duke" in '90, and "polls show Duke's greatest residual strength" in this race, "lies here too." Sen. J. Bennett Johnston "somewhat offset Duke's whiter strength here in 1990 by getting nearly all of the area's large black vote. In 1991, the blacks are going with" ex-Gov. Edwin Edwards (D). Roemer's "heart and roots may be in these cotton fields, but he will have to find his votes somewhere else" (ALEXANDRIA TOWN TALK, 8/21). TOWN TALK's Robert Morgan asks, "When will the governor's race begin?" Roemer is "credited by various political pundits with stalling" the race by his "'rose garden' electioneering." And while speculation "now is that Roemer cannot continue the strategy much longer," he "won't have to." The qualifying date is 9/3-5 and the primary is 10/19. "Meanwhile," there is "dissension ... about the success" of the strategy. "Most of the 'money men' are looking at Edwards and Roemer and reportedly are uncertain which man should gain their support" (TOWN TALK, 8/20). Roemer, speaking to the annual convention of the LA Sheriff's Assn. "pledged ... to renew attempts next year to channel a portion of the proceeds from a state lottery to law enforcement" (Marsha Schuler, Baton Rouge MORNING ADVOCATE, 8/17). "Despite the state GOP's endorsement" of Rep. Clyde Holloway (R-08), "National Republican forces continue to help Roemer." VP Quayle will stump for Roemer 9/91 (ADVERTISER, 8/21).

*13 MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR: MABUS TARGETED BY "ANTI-ABORTIONISTS"

"Anti-abortion activists ... are marshalling their forces to erase" Gov. Ray Mabus' (D) "chances of being re-elected. But their thorniest problem may be deciding which" GOP candidate to support (Jay Eubank, Jackson CLARION-LEDGER). MS RTL pres. Sandy Ellard: "You have a large number of (our) people who will vote against Ray Mabus for his pro-abortion stands. ... And we can be an important swing vote." The RTL has a mailing list of 50,000 and with only 25,000 GOP primary voters "expected," the "anti-abortion influence [is] pivotal." All three GOPers, state Auditor Pete Johnson, businessman Bobby Clanton and businessman Kirk Fordice "champion their opposition to abortion": Clanton: "In this primary, it will be that vote that throws it one way or the other." The RTL "will endorse a candidate after the [9/17 primaries]." On the Dem side, "anti-abortion activists are aligned with [ex-Rep] Wayne Dowdy" (8/18).

AD UPDATE; DEMS: In Mabus' new ad, he "socks it to" Dowdy "for his habit of leaning on U.S. taxpayers to shell out more money ... and tells viewers that the [NTU] singled out Dowdy as a 'big spender'" in congress." Message: "The spending habits Dowdy practiced ... could come back to haunt [MS] taxpayers." Dowdy: In his new ad, he "speaks directly" to the viewer "to defend his record" after Mabus "slammed him as a big spender." Since Mabus "has pounded Dowdy for months" on the tax issue, Dowdy "needed to defend himself and tell his side of the story. He partially does it with this ad." Since Dowdy has less \$ than Mabus, he "wisely picked" his vote to increase taxes for Social Security -- a mom and apple pie issue" (Kanengiser, C-L, 8/18).

*14 AZ 02: PAC ACCEPTOR CONNER HITS PASTOR FOR INTEREST TIES

Ex-Yuma Co. Supervisor Pat Conner (R) criticized ex-Maricopa Co. Supervisor Ed Pastor (D) "as 'a career politician whose vote has been paid for'" (Mary Jo Pitzl, ARIZONA REPUBLIC). As proof, Conner cited "a contribution from developer Charles Keating and a gift from three lobbyists ... Conner also criticized Pastor for making contributions" to two legislators "who were indicted earlier this year in Azscam." Pastor was in DC "on a fund-raising trip," but press sec. Jim West "lamented that Conner had started the campaign ... on a negative note." Though Pastor "defended [Keating's] contribution as legal ... the day after winning the ... primary, he returned the money to avoid having his opponent make a political issue of it." Conner press sec. Spencer Kamps when asked "what was wrong with" contributions to the legislators indicted in Azscam": "The public has to decide." Also, Conner "said he will accept contributions" from PACs: "PAC money is not bad. The thing is, why should you take money from an institution, or a PAC, you don't believe in?" (8/22). State Rep. John Kromko (D) "says he's toying with the idea of running as an independent." Kromko, who said neither Pastor nor Conner "understand southern Arizona" issues, "said he would have no problem getting the 1,188 signatures needed to get on the ballot. It's the money that's giving him heartburn." Also, Green Party's Bill Christie "already is circulating petitions." The filing deadline for independent candidates is 8/24. GOP primary loser Elliott Glasser announced he "would run for the seat as an independent. One problem: state law prohibits a candidate who lost in the primary from trying again as an independent in the general election. No problem, Glasser says" he'll run against Sen. John McCain (R): "Maybe I didn't aspire to high enough office (REPUBLIC, 8/17). Dem primary losers Tom Volgy and Virginia Yrun are "already hinting of possible runs for the same seat next year. But don't bet on it. Who wants to incur the wrath of party Hispanics by challenging Ed Pastor ... Of course either could run" against McCain (REPUBLIC, 8/17).

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*15 CBS/N.Y TIMES: BUSH, GORBACHEV GET HIGH MARKS
605 adults surveyed 8/20 (before coup collapse); M/E +/- 4%.
(CBS release, 8/21).

QUESTION: APPROVE/DISAPPROVE?

Bush's handling of job as president?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	6/91
Approve	73%	82%	64%	75%	75%
Disapprove	17	11	27	11	16

Bush's handling of Soviet crisis?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Approve	63%	68%	58%	64%
Disapprove	16	14	18	15

QUESTION: OPINION OF FOLLOWING FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	6/91	2/91
Mikhail Gorbachev						
Fav.	66%	66%	68%	63%	40%	34%
Unfav.	5	6	3	6	10	13
Boris Yeltsin						
Fav.	28%	29%	30%	26%		
Unfav.	10	11	8	11		

QUESTION: HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO THE U.S. THAT GORBACHEV -- AND NOT SOMEONE ELSE -- BE IN POWER IN THE SOVIET UNION?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	6/90
Very important	58%	60%	66%	49%	55%
Somewhat important	28	25	25	34	32
Not at all	6	8	5	6	8

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK PRESIDENT BUSH OFFERED ENOUGH ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT TO THE CHANGES GORBACHEV STARTED IN THE USSR, OR SHOULD BUSH HAVE DONE MORE?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Done enough	62%	69%	62%	56%
Should have done more	27	22	32	28

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK GEORGE BUSH HAS BEEN COUNTING TOO MUCH ON GORBACHEV'S STAYING IN POWER, OR DO YOU THINK HIS POLICIES WERE APPROPRIATE REGARDLESS OF WHO'S IN CHARGE IN THE USSR?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Counting too much	52%	50%	57%	47%
Appropriate	35	39	30	37

QUESTION: HOW LIKELY WE'LL BE IN A NUCLEAR WAR WITHIN TEN YEARS?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	5/90
Very likely	12%	9%	14%	14%	7%
Fairly likely	16	12	18	19	11
Fairly unlikely	31	34	31	29	32
Very unlikely	34	38	33	32	46

QUESTION: DO YOU HAVE CONFIDENCE IN GEORGE BUSH'S ABILITY TO DEAL WISELY WITH A DIFFICULT INTERNATIONAL CRISIS, OR ARE YOU UNEASY ABOUT HIS APPROACH?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Confident	74%	84%	66%	73%

Uneasy

22 13 30 21

ALSO: Given choice of US pushing for Gorbachev return of not pushing and maintaining good relations with USSR, 44% said push for Gorbachev, 38% said keep good relations. 67% thought the coup leaders would lose control before too long. by 76%/18% respondents opposed taking some action to restore Gorbachev to power; only 1% favored military action. In case of a Soviet Army attack on Yeltsin, the respondents felt (by 72%/18%) that the U.S. should still not be involved; in that case 2% supported military action. NOTE: All questions were asked 8/20 prior to the collapse of the coup 8/21.

===== TV MONITOR =====

*16 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" interviewed Dep. Sec/State Lawrence Eagleburger. NBC's "Today" interviewed Soviet Amb. to Portugal Gennadi Gerasimov. "CBS This Morning" interviewed Sen. William Cohen (R-ME) and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY). "FOX Morning News" interviewed ex-Sec/Defense James Schlesinger.

LAST NIGHT: All nets led with the end of the Soviet coup. PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer" hosted ex-KGB officials Victor Sheymov and Stanislav Levchenko, Ogonyok Magazine's Vitaly Korotich and Soviet affairs analyst Dimitri Simes. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Center for National Policy's Madeleine Albright, Conservative Caucus' Howard Phillips and Soviet TV NYC bureau chief Vladimir Zvyagin. CNN's "Larry King Live" hosted Sen. David Boren (D-OK), Lithuanian Charge d'Affaires Stasys Lozoraitis, Moscow News Int'l editor Dimitri Yakushkin and UCLA prof. Steven Spiegel. ABC's "Nightline" interviewed ex-Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shvernadze, Russian State Sec. Gennadi Bergulis and Moscow dep. Mayor Sergei Stankeyevich, on the end of the coup.

HISTORY MAKING: CBS' Dan Rather: "The 60 hour Kremlin coup is over, the failed coup-makers apparently on the run." ABC's Peter Jennings: "An old-fashioned coup fails in a new era. ... Given the history of the Soviet Union, who would have believed it 60 hours ago." NBC's Tom Brokaw: "A day when the people prevailed and the hard-liners lost. ... In the long reach of Russian history, of course, the people have always been ruled from above. With this victory, however, they may have made a historic turn." NBC's Fred Francis: "From the beginning, it never really was the little coup that could. The plotters did everything wrong" (8/21). CNN's Mary Tillotson: "This is a country in which many American politicians are afraid to stand up and vote even their conscience, much less face down tanks" (8/21).

BORIS THE FIGHTER: CBS' Rather on Yeltsin: "He is now a force to be reckoned with. ... Yeltsin, the new red star rising" (8/21). ABC's Jennings: "Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, once dismissed as a loose cannon on the Soviet political scene, has stared the cannons down and emerged as the man who kept the Soviet Union from being plunged backwards" (8/21). CNN's Mary Tillotson: "The hero of the hour, according to administration officials, is Boris Yeltsin. They say he stands ten-feet tall, proof that courage can stop even tanks. ... Yeltsin has clearly impressed a great many people around the world in the last three days. But most of all, those within the Soviet Union" (8/21). CBS' Anthony Mason: "It is kind of ironic that the struggle for power these past few days has centered, not around the Kremlin, but around Boris Yeltsin's White House. The White House can now claim to stand for something that the Kremlin never has -- the struggle for democracy." Rep. David McCurdy (D-OK): "This is the end of the Gorbachev era. And now, for lack of a better term ... we are ushering in the period of the Yeltsin era." CBS' Barry Peterson, quoting one "prominent" Soviet: "Gorbachev is back on the political stage. ... But from now on, Yeltsin is the master of ceremonies" (8/21). NBC's John Cochran reported that both Sens. Bill Bradley (D-NJ) and Richard Lugar (R-IN) thought Yeltsin was "the big winner and should be treated accordingly." Lugar: "I'm sure there will be greater sympathy in Congress for Boris Yeltsin" (8/21). ABC's Jim Laurie on whether the crowd's emotion was for Gorbachev or Yeltsin: "The emotion was plain --

it was for Mr. Yeltsin. There is still not a great deal of popularity or sympathy for Mr. Gorbachev. Yeltsin is the man that has made all of this possible. At least, that is the view of the people. And he has been acting very presidential in the last few days" (8/21). Ex-NSA Zbigniew Brzezinski: "The people cheering and shouting were all shouting Yeltsin's name, and the people who wanted democracy back ... weren't asking for Gorbachev" (NBC, 8/21). Conservative Caucus' Howard Phillips: "Mr. Yeltsin acted in a valorous manner, but he is a lifelong Communist apparatchik. ... I have to ask why did Mr. Yeltsin feel so strongly about preserving the center? Why did he want to bring back Gorbachev rather than see the power shift from the center to the Russian Republics?" ("Crossfire," CNN, 8/21).

THE WORD FROM KENNEBUNKPORT: NBC's Brokaw, noting Bush had called yesterday "a good day, a very good day": "That was an understated way to describe what is a big moment for this president." NBC's John Cochran: "A big moment, Tom. The coup ends with President Bush apparently having played his cards just about right, and coming out of it with the appreciation of both Yeltsin and Gorbachev." Bush: "You can't put democracy back in a box and keep it contained" (8/21). CBS' Susan Spencer: "It may also be a confused day for U.S. policy. Does the man of the hour, Boris Yeltsin, now deserve equal treatment with Gorbachev?

... So Mr. Bush's delicate, diplomatic balancing act continues. His fondest hope: That Mr. Gorbachev and Yeltsin will now join together and plunge wholeheartedly into reform. The last thing this ever-cautious president wants is to have to choose sides between his friend, Gorbachev, and a true popular hero" (8/21). ABC's Jennings: "The President has been saying 'Gorbachev, Yeltsin' in the same breath all day. Are we hearing, realistically, the new policy [is] that you've got to deal equally with the two now?" ABC's Brit Hume: "Absolutely we are.

... My sense as well, ... is that [Bush] has been personally impressed with Yeltsin, particularly with his courage in standing up the way he did when the outcome was by no means clear" (8/21). CNN's Deborah Potter: "Now, despite the personal loyalty President Bush feels to Mr. Gorbachev, one U.S. official said, 'We will have to disengage.' In his words, 'Gorbachev has had his day'" (8/21).

GORE: Only NBC reported his decision to drop out. Brokaw: Gore "has decided that 1992 is probably Pres. Bush's year" (8/21).

LATE NIGHT: Carson: "Historians were saying that it was the worst mishandled coup since the Debra Norville incident on the 'Today Show'" ("Tonight Show," NBC, 8/21).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"The coup plotters apparently were getting tips on how to regain the presidency from the Democrats."

-- Johnny Carson, "Tonight Show," NBC, 8/21.

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~~CLASSIFIED~~

8/22/91

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

DW

3/31/13

August 22, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR LT. GARY A. THERKILDSSEN

FROM: PATRICIA PRESOCK
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT



RE: UPDATED ALARMED ROOM
ACCESS LIST

Access to the Oval Office area, West Wing:

Governor Sununu
Chief of Staff

Andrew H. Card
Deputy Chief of Staff

Patricia Presock
Deputy Assistant to the President

Bridget Montagne
Executive Assistant to the President

William S. Farish
The President's Aide

Michael C. Dannenhauer
Staff Assistant to the President

Neal Burnham
Staff Assistant to the President

Domingo Quicho
President's Personal Steward, West Wing

Don Rhodes
Personal Assistant to the President

Linda Casey
Executive Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff

Nancy Huang
West Wing Receptionist



THE PRESIDENT

8-22-91

Dear Harold & Lorna,

Thanks so very much for
Boats Unlimited. I am a boat lover,
still exclusively in the motor variety.

Great Happiness to you
both — Ag. Bush

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Mr. and Mrs. Harold A. Wilson
RR 3 Cooper's Port Road
Port Carling, Ontario
POB 1J0



THE PRESIDENT

Aug 22nd '91

Dear Tom,

I dropped Harold Wilson
a thank you for Boats Unlimited
He's already got a fellow boat
lover here, but I expect I'll
be more of one after going through
his book. Thanks to you, too
Cap Bar

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Mr. Jon Milligan
24 Cedarbrook East
Scarborough, ME 04074

Port Carling
Ontario, Canada,
July 18, 1991

Dear President Bush-

Just about two years ago -
Sept 28th, 1989 to be exact - you
sent us congratulations on our
50th wedding anniversary. These
were delivered to us at the time
by our mutual friend, Jon Milligan.
Your letter, suitably framed,
occupies a prominent spot in a
display of memorabilia of that
happy event that graces the walls
of our den.

I have asked Jon Milligan to
personally present to you, on our
behalf, this copy of my book,
"Boats Unlimited".

We hope that you will
enjoy this record of the events,
somewhat crazy at times,
that marked our boating careers,
and that you will (again)
accept our thanks for your
kind 50th Wedding Congratulations.

Yours sincerely
Harold Wilson - driver
Lana Wilson - mechanic
of the Miss Canada race boats.



THE PRESIDENT

Maure

8-22-91

Dear Carmella,
we will continue to
remember your husband and
your family. Thanks for
your letter. Love to all the family
Cly Bunt

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Mrs. Carmella Rizzo
8919 Crefeld Street
Philadelphia, PA 19118

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 21, 1991

Mr. President

NOTE FOR LINDA CASEY:

Isn't Carmella Rizzo the
widow rather than the
daughter of Mayor Rizzo?
If I'm wrong, we'll keep
original here to mail; if
this needs to be corrected,
will you handle from there?

Thanks.

John

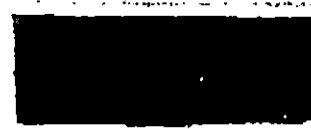
John S. Gardner



Dear Connelly,
 we will continue to
 remember your Daal and his
 family. Thank you for your
 letter. Love to all the family
 Ag. Bond



8-20-91



262007
#4
Frank L. Rizzo
8919 CREFELD STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19118

August 7, 1991

THE PRESIDENT HAS :

July 1991
The President, George H. W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

Speaking in the name of the Rizzo family - my son, Frank, Jr.; my daughter, Joanna; and Frank's brother, Joe, I thank you most sincerely for your kind and thoughtful words and your genuine expressions of sympathy conveyed on Frank's death.

I deeply appreciate the fact that during a vital State trip to Greece, you devoted precious time to sending your letter of condolence. Also, please realize that I was grateful to U.S. Attorney General Thornburgh for personally delivering your letter to me.

Frank lived a full life among us. Both as Police Commissioner and as Mayor, he dedicated himself totally to making Philadelphia a better place for all people. He moved among us with a special dignity, determination and purpose. As a man of integrity, he valued not only the trait of loyalty but also the glory of friendship. I shall always remember him to be a man of compassion who cared for the little people - the ordinary citizens of Philadelphia, the nation and the world. As in life, so in death, may these citizens assist us in building and sustaining a lasting legacy of helping the people of this city which he loved so dearly.

May I thank you and Barbara for remembering the Rizzo family in your prayers during these difficult days. May I express the wish that God will continue to bless you and your family with divine strength, good health, and wisdom as you serve not only the citizens of the United States but also of the World Community.

Sincerely,

Carmella Rizzo

CARMELLA RIZZO

CR:gb

CC: DAILY

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



THE PRESIDENT

8-22-91

Dear Megan.

I loved your note, and I'm
glad you liked your ride
in Fidelity.

Don't be "scared" about
High School. I felt the same way
when I went off to school, and
I loved it. Good luck
Cap Bunk

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Miss Megan Gerstenzang

August 16, 1991

Dear Mr. President,
I would like to thank you for letting
me and my family ride on your
boat. I know it wasn't something
you had to do. Also, my father Jim
Gersenzang, splits the trip with another
reporter so I never get to go to the
cross party you hold, which is why
the boat ride was so special to me.

I also want to thank you and your
family for putting up with my father
and all his ~~other~~ reporter friends. They
certainly must bother you but, it's
all for the better.

My name is Megan, I'm 14 years
old. I will be starting high school
this September. Right now I'm scared
about it but I know it will be o.k.
in the end.

Thank you, again.

Love,
Megan Gersenzang
P.S. Keep up the good work.

Bvsh

rom: Betsy
Gerstenzang

To:
President

F



THE PRESIDENT

Aug 22, 1991

Dear Betsy,

I am so glad you liked
your seal watch on Fidelity.
I love my boat, because I feel
so close to the ocean and
all its magic when I'm out there.
I almost forget my cares.
Good Luck - Cap Ben

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Miss Betsy Gerstenzang

Dear President Bush,

I would like to thank you for letting us ride on your boat. It was a nice and thoughtful thing to do. I enjoyed it very much and can't wait to tell my friends.

You have a beautiful house and I enjoyed seeing it close up. While we were on the boat we saw some seals bobbing up and down. They must've been tourist seals looking at your house.

Anyway, if you're wondering, my name is Betsy, I'm 12. I'm Jim Gerstenzang's daughter. I'm in the 7th grade at Pyle Middle School, in Bethesda. I don't know if you've heard of it. Thanks again.

(please excuse
all
spelling
mistakes)



Sincerely,
Betsy Gerstenzang

CC: DAILY

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Kennebunkport
Aug 22, 1991

Dear Barber,

As you leave the world
Bank you've served so well
I just want to say thanks.
Thanks for that dedicated
important work.

Thanks for your many
years of constructive leadership
in Congress. I'll never forget our
days together on Ways & Means,
a special time in my life. There
we became friends

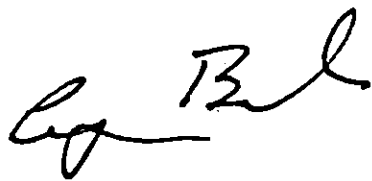
Thanks for being for friend,
my counsellor, my supporter.

The Honorable Barber B. Conable
President
The World Bank
1818 H Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20433

- 2 -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

As you go back to the
place you love, Barbara
& I send our love and
our profound gratitude.

Sincerely,
 *

* Close to you.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ABOUT
"THE DOMESTIC AGENDA"
(8/22/91)

*Darman
presentation
at 1st point
buckner
Andy Daly
8/27/91*

(1) The P.R./Political Problem: Foreign-vs.-Domestic

- Criticism. A Democratic theme is: "The President has no-domestic-agenda"---"He has more interest in Kurdistan [or Kuwait, the Soviet Union, Turkey, the Mid-East, whatever] than he has in America" . . . "To get assistance to Americans, we'll have to give them foreign addresses! . . ."
- Risk. The problem, if not solved, could be politically salient because:
- (a) the criticism is not rebuttable by mere denial -- given available videotape of the President explaining his preference for foreign policy;
 - (b) Americans say they care more about domestic issues than foreign policy;
 - (c) a majority believes we're on the "wrong track" (although this should improve some as the economy improves); and
 - (d) in the absence of a perceived "positive" agenda, the Administration will be seen more on the defensive in areas of political weakness: abortion, deposit insurance costs, fairness, farm income, health costs and access, unemployment, etc.

(2) The Practical Difficulty: Coherent Focus Can Be More Difficult with Domestic Policy

- Bureaucratics. There are 2 (two) Cabinet officers with primary interest in foreign policy vs. 13 (thirteen) for domestic. There is a single White House coordinating mechanism for foreign vs. at least five such mechanisms for domestic. There is a manageably-sized core group of key foreign policy players vs. no [single] such for domestic.
- Tradition. There is a [partially] restraining foreign policy tradition of partisan criticism stopping at the "water's edge" vs. expectation and encouragement of partisan conflict in domestic policy. Further, in foreign policy there is a degree of deference to "experts"; whereas in domestic policy, virtually everyone is an expert.
- Congress. For implementation, domestic policy is far more dependent upon Congressional action.

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

- Framing. In foreign affairs it is easier to frame one's policy in stark, simplified terms of vital moral conflict -- good-vs.-evil/all-vs.-Saddam/all-vs.-anti-democratic coup, etc. In domestic policy, subjects of criticism are typically fellow Americans or American institutions, and moralistic simplification must often be more restrained.

NOTE: As an aside, one might observe that the Administration's foreign policy management was not much appreciated until the rallying and unifying effect of the simple, stark, morally-laden Desert Storm focus (and "Desert Storm" slogan).

(3) Ironies

- Cabinet Agenda. We make the point that the President obviously has an agenda; it is simply not shared by the press and the Congress. Ironically, although the criticism is an alleged absence of agenda, the following are all said to have serious agendas: Sununu, Alexander, Brady, Darman, Kemp, Skinner, Sullivan, and Watkins (inter alia). By and large, the combination of these agendas is internally consistent. The curiosity, then, is not the absence of a domestic agenda but the suggestion that the President is not personally associated with a known, serious, coherent domestic agenda.

NOTE: This is not for lack of domestic activity. The President is seen in a limitless set of domestic drop-bys, report-receipts, bill-signings, initiative announcements, listening sessions, photo-ops, etc. But there is a distinction between this imagery and the perception of coherent substantive engagement with serious problem-solving. The latter is what is perceived with respect to foreign policy -- and, ironically, its very success sets a somewhat higher standard for domestic performance.

- Actual Linkage. It is ironic also that foreign and domestic policies have rarely been more interdependent. U.S. strength and international leadership are clearly dependent upon, and a direct function of, the performance of America's market-oriented domestic economy and pluralistic political system. The exemplary American domestic performance is in dramatic contrast with the world's more troubled, failing, statist systems. This is a contrast that is ever-more-widely evident in a television-connected "global village." The irony, further, is that the world seems to understand America's domestic strength better than many domestic critics do.

NOTE: This is not to suggest that complacency is in order. Rather, it suggests that foreign and domestic policy can be linked by highlighting their common emphasis: building upon market-oriented, pluralistic, American values.

(4) "Domestic Storm" or "The American Solution":
Solving the Domestic Agenda Problem

Several elements are required:

- (a) Slogan. A unifying slogan for a giant domestic package is needed in order to:
- o link the sub-agendas now in the command of various Cabinet officers;
 - o establish Presidential ownership/command of this agenda; and
 - o suggest coherence by providing a common tie/connecting point for all sub-initiatives and activities.

The slogan must be simple, appealing, comprehensive and abstract -- the domestic equivalent of "Operation Desert Storm" and "The New World Order." For example: "The New American Order," "Operation Domestic Breeze," "Operation American Reform," "The American Solution," "Operation 2000-plus". . . . [It should probably include the words "American" or "Operation" (or both).]

NOTE: This could be correctly dismissed as mere sloganeering if it were not linked -- as it can and must be -- with serious, detailed substance. The substance is available, to a considerable degree, in:

- o Education 2000/New American Schools
- o "Growth Package" (a la Gramm-Gingrich)
- o Budget Act Enforcement, etc.
- o R&D Incentives and Investment Initiatives
- o Enterprise Zones/HOPE
- o Health System Reform
- o National Drug Strategy
- o Financial Sector Reform
- o National Highway System
- o National Airspace Plan
- o National Energy Strategy
- o Legal Reform: Crime, Civil Justice, Malpractice
- o Trade Reform: NAFTA, etc.
- o America the Beautiful, etc.
- o Governmental Management Reform
- o A Thousand Points of Light
- o States as Laboratories

- (b) Gap-fillers. Although several areas still require more substance, there is probably only one [?] major substantively important area that is both politically salient and in need of more than minor gap-filling: health.
- (c) Principles. It is desirable to articulate a manageable number of principles (say, 5-7) which are said to guide the domestic agenda. This would help:
- o bridge intellectually from the abstract slogan to the substantive character of the initiatives -- thus reenforcing the appearance of both substance and coherence;
 - o link foreign and domestic strengths (to the extent that market-orientation, pluralism, American values, freedom from excessive Congressional interference, and an emphasis on economic competitiveness are woven into the principles); and
 - o implicitly (later, explicitly) frame the broad difference between the President's policies and the opposition's.
- (d) Launch. To be effective in the manner intended, the "agenda" (and slogan) have to be presented by the President as a single, bold, comprehensive package -- not a series of individual "roll-outs." The optimal time and context for such presentation would seem to be the State of the Union Address before a nationally televised joint session of Congress.

NOTE: To underline the fact that there is an agenda, that it is comprehensive, and that it is important, the President could request the Congressional leadership to create a special cross-cutting legislative committee to expedite review and enactment of the entire package as a package. (This request would probably not be granted. But the request would create a win-win opportunity -- win substantively if the package is enacted, win politically if Congress fails to address "the President's agenda.")

FURTHER NOTE: There would be a small but manageable price to pay for waiting until January to launch. Whenever the launch, it would be far more effective if it could come as a surprise -- without advance notice that "the agenda is coming"(!) and without a leak of the slogan and any new initiatives.

- (e) **Agit-Prop.** In order better to support the press and communications efforts, there is a need to improve "agitation-and-propaganda" materials from several standpoints: political effectiveness, timeliness, tactical integration with broader strategy, consistency, and substantive quality. This can be achieved by strengthening coordination among the key players and making greater use of Darman-Porter resources in the communications enterprise -- on a consistent basis that stretches from big projects to daily press guidance.

(5) **A Footnote: Defensive Issues**

Although "Operation Domestic Super-duper" [?] may be brilliantly conceived, executed, and sustained -- and this will help take the focus off of defensive issues -- there will still be a need to address defensive issues, such as:

- o Abortion
- o "Fairness/Pro-rich-ness/Pro-big-guy-ness"
- o Unemployment
- o Agricultural Assistance
- o [Governmental Mismanagement]
- o [Poverty]
- o [Long-term Care]

(6) **P.S. Re: Democratic Drop-Out Syndrome**

Even if the Democratic ticket turns out to be Tsongas-Wilder [!], there is a need to frame and elevate the big positive agenda/package. There are real domestic problems. They do demand attention. Their favorable resolution is important for both America's domestic and international future. The Democrats control both Houses. And only with a predicate for a "mandate" will appropriate solutions be enacted in a second Bush Presidential term.

*  *



THE PRESIDENT

Manie

8-22-91

Dear Carmella,
we will continue to
remember your husband and
your family. Thanks for
your letter. Love to all the family
Ag Bunt

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Mrs. Carmella Rizzo
8919 Crefeld Street
Philadelphia, PA 19118

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Msgt. Henry L. Brown, USAF
9900 Churchill Drive
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772



WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

August 22, 1991

Dear Henry,

I hope the attached letter is helpful. Good
luck in the future.

All Bushes send their best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. Bush".

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 22, 1991
(Kennebunkport)

PERSONAL AND UNOFFICIAL

To Whom It May Concern:

MSgt Henry Brown has been favorably and personally known to me over the past nine years.

As a flight crew member on Air Force II and Air Force I, I have seen him up close. He has done a first-class job, and I am happy to strongly endorse him as a diligent worker and fine individual.

Sincerely,

Cy Burt



WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

August 22, 1991

Dear B.,

Barbara and I just got word about your Kley. We are thinking of you during this trying and sad time. I know it hurts, but I hope it helps a little to know that we Bushes care.

Heartfelt condolences.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature, likely of Bill Clinton, is written below the word "Sincerely,". The signature is in cursive and appears to be "Bill Clinton".

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Belton K. Johnson
Mr. B. K. Johnson
200 Ridgemont
San Antonio, TX 78209



WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

August 22, 1991

Dear Scotty,

Barbara and I just learned about your recent surgery and are so sorry about what you've been through. We just wanted you to know that we're thinking about you and hope that you are out of the hospital soon cum speedy recovery. Take care of yourself.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature, likely of Barbara, is written below the word "Sincerely,".

WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

Mr. Walter S. Light
300 Argyle
San Antonio, TX 78209

12:00 noon EDT UPDATE

COUP/EAGLEBURGER (Reuter) -- Deputy Secretary Eagleburger said Thursday that President Gorbachev could emerge stronger as a result of the failed putsch.... "I think he's got a freedom of movement, if he's prepared to grasp it and take it, that he didn't have three days ago," Eagleburger said, adding the U.S. would stick to its pre-coup policy of insisting on major economic reform before supporting any major bailout of the Soviet economy.

(Reuter) -- ...Eagleburger denied a report in the L.A. Times that the U.S. was planning a massive increase in humanitarian and food aid.... "There's no massive aid package as far as I know that's been put together," he told Reuters.... He added the U.S. would consider aid if food shortages developed over the winter.

SOVIET/AID (Bonn/Germany) -- Germany urged its Western partners to give solid economic backing to the Soviet Union to prevent a repetition of the coup.... Foreign Minister Genscher said Western countries hesitant about giving aid should review their positions.

(London/UPI) -- Prime Minister Major lifted a freeze on technical aid to the Soviet Union and pledged to "take stock" of earlier decisions to withhold cash assistance, declaring the failed coup had removed "many of the impediments to reform."

(London/Reuter) -- Prime Minister Major may visit Moscow as early as next month and will press leaders of the G-7 to speed up help for Soviet reform, officials said.

(Brussels/Reuter) -- The EC will restore more than \$1 billion in aid to the Soviet Union following the failure of the coup, Dutch Foreign Minister van den Broek said.

SOVIET DEBT (London/Reuter) -- The Russian Federation is prepared to assume at least 55 percent of the Soviet Union's \$60 billion external debt when it is divided among the republics, the head of the republic's central bank said Thursday.

YELTSIN/GORBACHEV (Moscow/AP) -- Boris Yeltsin triumphantly led 100,000 jubilant supporters in a rally marking the end of what he termed "three dark days." A weary Mikhail Gorbachev returned to his capital and swiftly moved to purge and punish those who had briefly deposed him.... "I said I wouldn't make any deals," Gorbachev said. "Otherwise, I would have had to commit suicide."

(Moscow/AP) -- Gorbachev said his captors tried to force him to give up power by threatening his family.

YELTSIN/COMMUNISTS (Moscow/Reuter) -- Boris Yeltsin Thursday ordered the disbanding of Communist Party cells in the Soviet armed forces on Russian territory.... "Party leaders in the armed forces directly supported the coup d'etat and took part in it," a decree he signed said. "Party organs promoted the involvement of the military in the war against its own people."

(Moscow/UPI) -- Boris Yeltsin...told his cheering legislators seven of the conspirators (Boris Pugo committed suicide) had been arrested...and would be brought to justice.

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SUICIDE/PUGO (Moscow/AP) -- Russia's chief prosecutor said hard-line Interior Minister Boris Pugo committed suicide as he faced arrest for his key role in the failed coup.

COUP/APPOINTMENTS (Moscow/Reuter) -- President Gorbachev replaced the heads of the Soviet military and the security forces, Tass said. Gorbachev appointed Chief of Staff Gen. Moiseyev as acting defense minister. He also named a new action interior minister and acting head of the KGB, Tass said.

(Moscow/AP) -- President Gorbachev named a new chairman of the KGB, Leonid Shebarshin, and senior officers of the security service denounced their former leader [Kryuchkov] for "besmirching" their image by helping lead the coup.

TV STUDIO/LITHUANIA (Vilnius/AP) -- Hundreds of Lithuanians cheered as Soviet soldiers withdrew from a TV studio they had seized in January.... However, Interior Ministry troops continued to occupy a suburban broadcast tower seized during pre-dawn attacks Jan. 13. Earlier today, Lithuanian President Landsbergis had warned Defense Minister Moiseyev that people would seize both broadcast facilities if Soviet troops did not relinquish them.... Moiseyev promised Landsbergis he would raise the issue during a meeting scheduled today with President Gorbachev.

HOSTAGES (Beirut/Reuter) -- "A little pressure" on Israel from the U.S. could bring a happy ending for Western hostages and other captives, according to a Lebanese cabinet minister. The kidnappers' aims have been overtaken by events and they now feel that their hostages "have become a burden to be got rid of," Agriculture Minister Dalloul told the Beirut newspaper al-Anwar.

PEACE TALKS/SYRIA (Alexandria, Egypt/Reuter) -- Syria said it believed a Mideast peace conference could go ahead in October following the collapse of the Soviet coup.... A senior U.S. official said Wednesday the U.S. hoped it could stick to an October target date.... But the official, traveling with Secretary Baker, said Washington would not know for sure for several weeks.

CROATIA (Belgrade/Reuter) -- Fresh battles erupted in Croatia despite warnings from Yugoslavia's leaders that ethnic conflicts were assuming catastrophic dimensions.

JOBLESS CLAIMS (AP) -- The number of Americans filing new claims for unemployment benefits jumped by 22,000 in the first full week of August.... Analysts, who had been expecting only a slight increase, said the spurt may be a sign of a sputtering recovery.

SCHOOL CHOICE (AP) -- Americans favor the idea of children attending public schools of their choice, but most oppose using public money for private education, according to a Gallup Poll released today. The annual poll found growing support for most of the education reform measures outlined in the America 2000 program, except for private school vouchers.

(UPI) -- Americans support most of President Bush's education plan, including a national test to measure achievement, and cited drugs, lack of discipline and insufficient funding as schools' biggest problems, the poll said. ###

5:00 p.m. EDT UPDATE

THOMAS/AFT (UPI) -- The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers announced its opposition to Clarence Thomas.... AFT President Shanker said the Executive Council's vote was in accord with earlier opposition expressed by the AFL-CIO, in that Thomas's record "shows he would not support the aspirations of working people, minorities and trade unionists."

BALTICS/PRESIDENT (Kennebunkport/Reuter) -- President Bush ended the freeze on U.S. economic assistance to the Soviet Union and urged rapid negotiation for the independence of the Baltic republics. "I hope we're looking at more rapid negotiation to lead to the independence of the Baltic states," Bush told reporters after meeting with Secretary Baker.

COUP/ADMINISTRATION (Kennebunkport/Rita Beamish, AP) -- A top Bush Administration official questioned Mikhail Gorbachev's choice of a new military chief and said the Soviet leader could well face another challenge to his power. The senior official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, also said Moscow should let the Baltics "determine their own future."

The official questioned one of Gorbachev's first post-coup steps -- the naming of Gen. Moiseyev to replace Dmitri Yazov as defense minister. Moiseyev was at best ambivalent during the coup, and the official said, "I wouldn't want that guy behind me in a dark hall now...." He also said Gorbachev should use this time to defuse the power of the KGB and the military..., saying, "They need to be brought under what one would call constitutional authority."

(Kennebunkport/Steve Holland, Reuter) -- A senior U.S. official said the potential existed for more attempts at armed takeover in the Soviet Union and expressed surprise that President Gorbachev had retained a top general who may have been involved in this week's failed coup. "This is a society in revolution," said the senior official.... "This is the first formal attempt at an overthrow of the system. It may not be the last."

(Barry Schweid, AP) -- The Bush Administration is intent on reform in the Soviet Union. Whether Mikhail Gorbachev is calling the shots is not an essential element of U.S. policy. That surprising flexibility surfaced after the Moscow coup failed and Gorbachev returned to power. "We will support reformers in the Soviet Union wherever we find them -- at the center, at the republic or at the local level," an Administration official said as Secretary Baker flew home from Brussels.

LATVIA/PARTY (Riga/AP) -- The parliament in Latvia debated a measure to outlaw the Communist Party, and the republic's government said it was seeking the arrest of the republic's hard-line party leader, Alfred Rubiks.... The republic's vice president, Dainis Ivans, said lawmakers had approved the measure outlawing the party. But later, parliamentary spokeswoman Anda Anspoka said no vote had been taken after the debate. She said a vote was to be taken Friday.

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GORBACHEV/PARTY (Moscow/Reuter) -- President Gorbachev stood by the Communist Party after the failed coup, saying it had to be purged of reactionaries but could still contribute to reform. "I see it as my duty to fight while it is still in my power to do away with all obstacles to removing all reactionary forces from the Communist Party," he told a news conference. "If one speaks in general about the party as a reactionary force, I must disagree."

(Moscow/AP) -- ... "I am convinced that socialism is correct. I am an adherent of socialism," Gorbachev said.

GORBACHEV/YELTSIN (Moscow/Reuter) -- President Gorbachev said that Boris Yeltsin was justified in assuming extraordinary powers during this week's attempted coup because of the need to "fight against reaction." Gorbachev did not make clear whether he would endorse or overrule decrees adopted by Yeltsin, who assumed control of Russia's armed forces and dismissed local officials.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR (Reuter) -- The Soviet ambassador to the U.S. did not reply directly when asked about his loyalties if the coup had succeeded. "It's a hypothetical question, and I don't want to give you a hypothetical answer," envoy Viktor Komplektov told a news conference at the Soviet embassy.

RUSSIANS/KGB (Moscow/Reuter) -- Thousands of angry Russians protested in front of KGB headquarters, daubed slogans on its walls and tried to demolish a statue of the founder of the KGB.

GORBACHEV/SADDAM (Nicosia/AP) -- President Gorbachev sent a message to Saddam Hussein saying the Soviet Union will stick to its international agreements, the official Iraqi News Agency reported.

MIDEAST PEACE CONFERENCE (Brussels/Reuter) -- Belgium and Switzerland offered to host the Mideast peace conference the superpowers hope will be held in October.

OFFSHORE DRILLING (AP) -- The Bush Administration said it intends to ban oil and gas drilling off about half the Washington Coast, one of the last wilderness coastlines in the continental U.S. Under its new proposal, the Administration would consider lifting the drilling prohibition in the year 2000, but the burden of the repeal would be placed on drilling advocates. "It appears to be as good as we could have expected from an Administration that seems to have an endless thirst for oil," said Rep. Unsoeld. Sen. Adams...said loopholes in the Administration proposal may not adequately protect the state's shores and fisheries.

THE WHITE HOUSE

**Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)**

For Immediate Release

August 22, 1991

FACT SHEET

The Reduction of Bolivia's Debt

Today, President Bush endorsed a major agreement between the Government of Bolivia and the United States Government to reduce Bolivia's official bilateral debt owed to the United States Government on P.L. 480 food assistance loans. Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John Robson signed for the United States and Minister of Planning and Coordination Samuel Doria-Medina signed for Bolivia. This agreement is the second bilateral debt reduction under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI).

The debt reduction element of the Initiative is intended to reduce debt owed by countries in Latin America and the Caribbean which have undertaken broad macroeconomic and structural reforms, liberalized their investment regimes, and reached agreement on their commercial bank debt, where appropriate. Bolivia's sound macroeconomic policies, stable and receptive foreign investment regime, and substantial progress in reducing its commercial bank debt meet the standards set under the Initiative.

Implementation of the agreement is contingent on approval of an investment sector loan by the Inter-American Development Bank Board of Directors, which is expected on September 11. The agreement signed today provides for the reduction of Bolivia's food assistance debt to the United States by 80%, from approximately \$38 billion to \$7.7 billion.

In addition to this reduction in the stock of debt, we expect to enter into an Environmental Framework Agreement with the Government of Bolivia, which would allow all interest payments on the new reduced obligation to be paid in local currency and channeled into an environmental fund established by Bolivia.

The United States and Bolivia also signed an agreement today to eliminate Bolivia's official bilateral debt owed to the United States Government on loans made by the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) A.I.D. Assistant Administrator James Michel signed for the United States and Minister Doria-Medina signed for Bolivia.

The agreement signed today provides for the full forgiveness of Bolivia's A.I.D. debt to the United States, which is approximately \$341 million. Congress provided authority (in Section 572 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 1989) to reduce the A.I.D. debt of relatively least developed countries implementing strong economic reforms. Bolivia is the first country outside of Sub-Saharan Africa to receive such debt reduction.

In addition, Bolivia has made a voluntary commitment to provide a bond which will produce \$20 million in local currency over 10 years to support environmental activities consistent with the EAI.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

August 22, 1991

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

We have entered into agreements with Bolivia to reduce substantially Bolivia's debt to the United States. Reduction of Bolivia's food assistance debt is a major step forward in realizing the goals of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI) -- a program which the United States proposed on June 27, 1990, to promote increased trade, investment and growth throughout the hemisphere.

Bolivia's far-reaching steps to reform its economy, including measures to open its investment regime, qualify Bolivia for debt reduction under the EAI. Bolivia is receiving a very substantial reduction of its bilateral debt owed to the United States. Under legislation enacted by Congress last year, the United States is reducing Bolivia's P.L. 480 debt by 80 percent, from approximately \$38 million to approximately \$7.7 million.

Under separate legal authority to assist the relatively least-developed countries, the United States will eliminate Bolivia's \$341 million debt owed to the U.S. Agency for International Development, the first time such relief has been provided outside of Sub-Saharan Africa.

These understandings will help pave the way for significant additional funds for environmental projects in Bolivia. In particular, the United States welcomes the commitment of Bolivia to provide \$20 million in local currency over 10 years to support environmental activities.

The Administration applauds this important step to reduce Bolivia's debt and provide support for the environment and looks forward to continuing to work with Bolivia and other countries in the region to advance the goals of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

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THE WHITE HOUSE**Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)****For Immediate Release****August 23, 1991****STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY**

This morning the President went golfing at the Cape Arundel Golf Course. He was accompanied by Mrs. Bush and his son, Jeb and daughter, Doro. The President also met with Deputy Chief of Staff Andrew Card and spoke by phone with General Scowcroft and Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates. Mr. Arnold Palmer will arrive at Walker's Point this afternoon as the President's guest for the weekend.

Prime Minister Mulroney will arrive in Kennebunkport at 3:00 p.m. on Sunday, August 25. He will be accompanied by his wife and children and by Ambassador Derek Burney. The Prime Minister will depart on Monday, August 26 at 3:00 p.m.

Prime Minister Major will arrive in Washington on August 27 where he will meet with Secretary Cheney at the Pentagon. The Prime Minister will arrive in Kennebunkport at 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, August 28. He will be accompanied by his wife and children and by the newly designated Ambassador to the U.S. Sir Robin Renwick and Lady Renwick. The Prime Minister will depart Kennebunkport at 8:30 a.m. on Friday, August 30.

We expect that there will be press availabilities during both visits.

President Gorbachev has announced his intention to reorganize his cabinet. This is an internal matter on which we will not comment as the President stated this morning to the travel pool.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

August 22, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER
IN PRESS AVAILABILITY

Walker's Point
Kennebunkport, Maine

2:05 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I just finished -- we're in the middle of our domestic briefing, which will continue. We interrupted that to get briefed by Secretary Baker, who has just returned from the ministerial abroad -- the NATO ministerial -- that went very, very well. He filled me in on his conversations with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union itself and of the Russian Republic; he met with him, I believe. And, of course, we are very pleased that constitutional government has been restored there.

On the domestic side, as I say, we're halfway through it. This is a follow-on to regularized domestic briefings that we hold in the White House with Director Darman and Mr. Roger Porter and our Chief of Staff, Andy Card our Deputy. We have those regularly, but this was an update and we talked about our education program. We're really looking forward to the fall with Congress out now, trying to get some -- figure out how best to get congressional action on some of our programs: energy, transportation, education, the crime bill; many other agenda items that will be coming up in the fall.

So it's a mixed day of both the domestic agenda and the foreign policy agenda which has, of course, been dominated by events in the Soviet Union. And I have not talked to any of the leaders today. I did talk last night, as I think Marlin may have released, to Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan; and, of course, Japan has very special interests in relationship to the Soviet Union. And he shared the emotion that we all felt as to developments over there.

So that's an update for right now.

Q Mr. President, how do you judge Gorbachev's opening moves back in Moscow? He's put Moiseyev, a fairly hard-line person in charge of the military.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, he told me when he was in the Crimea that he had ordered Moiseyev to remove the forces, see that the forces move back, and I gather that has taken place. And it was Moiseyev with whom we finalized -- on the military side, through the Soviet Union, helped finalize the START Agreement. But who's on first over there is up to them. That's not something that the United States can say any more about.

Q Mr. President, to what extent has Gorbachev himself been part of the problem? Not in the coup, necessarily, but after all he did hand-pick these eight leaders. And to what extent do you think Gorbachev himself has been responsible for the drag on reforms?

THE PRESIDENT: I heard President Gorbachev say that he bore responsibility for the people that he put in, and felt betrayed by some of them. And that's a matter -- I think that said it all pretty well, Jim. In terms of reforms, let's keep everything in

MORE

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perspective and let's recognize that not only is Eastern Europe free, Germany reunited, troops moving back and all of that, but that he launched a very ambitious program on perestroika and on glasnost. You never would have seen a press conference today had it not been for the initiatives that he took early on.

Now, with some of the harder-liners on the sidelines, clearly, that perhaps frees up President Gorbachev to work very closely with President Yeltsin to see that these reforms continue. The objectives of the United States, of course, are to see a market-oriented economy in the Soviet Union, and also to see a democratically -- certainly a democratically-held elections and democratic-oriented regime there.

So I view the recent happenings as very positive in that regard to further the economic reforms. I can tell you that I made a decision today to lift the hold that we have had on the various economic programs that I think will clearly benefit the Soviet Union. That's, as of now, taken care of.

Q Well, now that the hard-liners -- some of the hard-liners have been brushed aside, do you look for Gorbachev to quicken the pace of reforms?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't had an opportunity to discuss that with him. I haven't had an opportunity yet to discuss it with any of the presidents in the republics. But I would like to think that all elements in Moscow and in the various parliaments would recognize that the best way to get economic support from the West is to adopt a genuine and far-reaching economic reform program. That has been on hold for some reasons, which include a lack of a union treaty.

So that's up to them. That's up to the republics and the center, but they've got to get on with a treaty so that American entrepreneurs know who they're dealing with. You can't make a deal and then wonder whether you have to make it with two other entities. And that would be eliminated -- that kind of problem would be eliminated if a good, solid union treaty were agreed between the republics and the center.

Q Mr. President, what do you hope Gorbachev does now in terms of independence for the Baltic Republics?

THE PRESIDENT: You know, my position has been -- in the first place, we don't still don't recognize the incorporation and the Baltic flags do fly there in Washington, as you know. But I've long felt that the quicker independence can be granted to the Baltics, the better. And let's hope that out of this now we will see genuine negotiations between the Baltic States and the center to accomplish this end. I've talked to President Gorbachev about this before. I've talked to President Yeltsin about it, as a matter of fact. So perhaps recent events will speed the day when you have an agreed path set out for independence of these states.

In my view, that would do more to enhance goodwill in the United States than almost any other single thing that could be done.

Q Mr. President, do you think that this is a situation where Gorbachev is going to feel more personally inclined to speed up the pace of reform, or maybe just pressured by this new kind of loose alliance that he's going to have to forge with Yeltsin?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I've always felt that Gorbachev was committed to perestroika. And I've always felt that he was committed to openness. So what pace it takes now with the removal of some of the hardest-liners, to whom Gorbachev had to pay some

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attention, I can't say. But I see nothing in here but good news in terms of speeding up the pace.

Q Mr. President, would this be a good time for Mr. Gorbachev to rein in the army and KGB, put them under --

THE PRESIDENT: I think he's already seen that just taken place on a factual basis. Those responsible for moving the forces -- Defense Minister Yazov apparently is definitively out of the picture. Mr. Gorbachev appears to have put some trust in General Moiseyev -- Moiseyev, I guess is the pronunciation -- and he is a man that we've worked with. But that's a matter for Gorbachev to sort out -- the center, as, indeed, Yeltsin pointed out, yesterday, I believe. But we obviously will be looking for a regime that will move forward with these policies of diversification of defense industries.

We have had an opportunity in the past to express our concern about levels of defense spending in the Soviet Union, and clearly, I'd like to see a finalization now of the START agreement, which has some -- only some details left, but that was resisted up until close to the final breakthrough by some of the hardest-liners in Soviet defense.

So in the whole defense area we've got to wait. It's up to them who the head of their defense department is and who will be the next chief of staff. But we will hold back a little on military-to-military contacts until we see this sort out and move briskly forward on the agreements that we've already reached. And as I say, on the economic front we will go forward with the program that we outlined, a program that both Gorbachev and Yeltsin seem to feel would be very beneficial to the Soviet Union.

Q But nothing new on the economic front?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't see anything new right now on that. We're talking -- we'll be talking to our European friends about this. But we agreed in London on a certain path, and if there's something that we could do that might further enhance economic recovery, we'll always be glad to take a look.

Q Sir, where do you go from now on the Middle East issue? Are you in contact with Mr. Bessmertnykh? Is he completely out? What do you expect next?

THE PRESIDENT: The Secretary of State has talked to Mr. Bessmertnykh. And let me just ask him to comment in a little more detail here on how he sees that developing. But I can tell you we will do everything we can to see this peace Conference go forward. It is in the interest of the entire world. And through hard work by our Secretary of State and with cooperation of a lot of other entities, countries and entities, things have moved far beyond where many of the severest cynics thought it would be. And now with this turmoil in the Soviet Union hopefully behind us, and with the Soviet Union being important in all of this, I see nothing but an improved chance.

But, Jim, I'd like you to comment on the next details, if you would.

SECRETARY BAKER: I did have an opportunity to talk by telephone with Minister Bessmertnykh when I was in Brussels, and I believe that the Soviet Union will be every bit as committed toward trying to create jointly with us and others an active and viable peace process in the Middle East as they were before. Some of you may have seen during the course of the coup where certain sources, a very limited number, as the President has pointed out, praised the fact of the coup. Those sources have shown an uncanny ability in the past to back losers, and this is another example of that.

MORE

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We think -- we believe that there's an opportunity here for a possibility for peace. It's an opportunity that may not come by again for a long time. And we would hope that all the countries in the region and the sources and entities would subscribe to that and would join with us in seeking to promote peace in the Middle East.

Q What about the question about whether Bessmertnykh is in or out right now? There seems to be some doubt about what his role was, where he was during the course of the coup attempt --

SECRETARY BAKER: When I spoke to him yesterday on the telephone, he was the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. And picking up on what the President just said, the designation of their cabinet officials is really a matter for them to determine. Having said that, I think it's our view that what has happened might well provide us with the opportunity to pursue an expanded agenda with the Soviet Union, an expanded agenda centered on reform.

Q But, Mr. President, isn't there some concern -- I mean, there is some confusion or some uncertainty about what Bessmertnykh's role was. For example, he disappeared and it was announced that he was going to be sick for two days.

THE PRESIDENT: There's a lot less confusion than there was two days ago, isn't there?

Q But it was announced that he was going to be sick for two days, and then he showed up a day later, once the coup was over.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let them sort that out. Does that come under the direct heading of the United States of America? Here's a man that was constructive in the peace process. Here's a man that worked side by side with the Secretary of State to get something done. Now let them figure out if that's who they want to continue there. But we will deal with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and it's not for us to second-guess what happened in a complex situation. All I'm saying is things are an awful lot better today than when we were standing here -- what was it, 48 hours ago.

Q To clarify, the U.S. doesn't have any indication --

Q Don't you have to approach the Soviet Union, though, for at least a brief period of time with a little more caution? Don't you have to figure out who it is you're dealing with and talking with?

THE PRESIDENT: I said that, I think. Yes, Jim. But I don't think that means that -- what I want to do is give instant support for the change that's taken place. And one way to do it is to lift the economic hold that we've had on a program that I think would benefit the recovery. I'm perfectly prepared, and I think the American people want to go forward. But absolutely -- we don't know exactly how all this is going to sort out and who is going to be on first or who's going to be on second when it comes to staffing the bureaucracy inside the Soviet Union.

But, again, that doesn't exactly come under the heading of our business. I would be a little resentful if somebody told me who I ought to have in my Cabinet from Moscow. And I think they'll sort that out. There's great pressures now between the center and between the republics. And there's also a great accommodation between the center and the republics. And so let's just see how it works out and not try to put this on a personal basis as to who ought to be where. That's their business.

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Q Mr. President, hasn't Gorbachev's personal stature been permanently weakened by this? And can he rule now without the fear of another coup from some direction?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't say that his stature has been weakened by it. Here's a man who stood by his desire for reform and democracy. And he was seized and put under house arrest. And to say that that is a weakening performance, I don't know.

Now, if you ask me has Boris Yeltsin's stature been enhanced, the answer is clearly yes. But this jumping on Gorbachev, who was taken and held under house arrest with his wife and grandchild, I'm simply not going to be a part of that, nor a part of second-guessing all that. They've got procedures there that they've now put into effect in terms of investigating all of this. What business, what possible good could come from the President of the United States trying to sort all that out? Let the system sort it out. All I know is that he was committed to reform, he had the support of Yeltsin, and he had the support of the President of the United States and every other leader around except Iraq, Cuba and Libya. And that's good enough for me. We're on the right side of that one.

Q He'll still have to rule with the threat of a coup over his head, another coup, possibly.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you must know more about this than I do. I just don't see the threat of another coup, but there might be one. I don't know. But I'd love to know what any observer would base that comment on right today.

Q How can you go forward in your relation with the Soviet Union without choosing between Mr. Yeltsin and Gorbachev?

THE PRESIDENT: We've done it pretty well so far, haven't we?

Q Would it be helpful to have another meeting with Gorbachev in the near future to discuss accelerating the pace of reform?

THE PRESIDENT: We'll probably be discussing Soviet Union matters with him. No question about it. But whether -- is your question a head-on-head meeting?

Q Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know. There's no plans for such a meeting. And I think they've got some matters in the wake of this, which we've been fencing around about here, to sort out themselves. But I'm available. Look, this relationship is very, very important. And all I can say is, isn't the world an awful lot better off today than it was 48 hours ago? And the answer to that one is, absolutely, yes.

Now, I can understand you all wanting to get out ahead of the power curve and try to have me committed as to who should be Secretary of Interior or Secretary of Defense over there, Minister of whatever is, and I'm not going to get into that business. What I am going to do is say, both Yeltsin and Gorbachev are committed to reform, to democracy and to openness; and this is very good. And there are some tensions, there are some dynamics between the union and the center, but they'll sort that out.

And I think it will be sorted out without the threat, now, of another right-wing takeover, because -- and the reason I say that -- some suggesting another coup here -- the reason I say that is the message of democracy was so clear. The strength of the people was so clear and visible in this one that I think anybody attempting another coup from the right would have to be out of their minds to

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take on hundreds of thousands of people who clearly, in spite of economic problems, want to see democracy prevail.

That's what it was about. That's what the message was about. That's what the survival of Gorbachev was about. That's what the strength of Yeltsin was about in demanding the return of Gorbachev. And I think the American people understand this probably a lot more clearly than any people around the world.

I'm going to take this last question and then I'm shutting this thing down. I'm up here on a vacation now, and you're going to see me vacating a lot more. You've had me in here too much lately and I apologize for abusing your hospitality.

Q You've often said that the stability of the Soviet Union is in the best national interest of the United States. But as a result of this failed coup attempt, won't some of the republics and the Baltic States be emboldened to perhaps rise up against the central government? Won't that create still further instability?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, again, I don't know that, say, still further. If you mean still further than a coup where you had tanks rolling down toward the Russian Parliament Building, no, I don't think so. But on the other hand, what I see is an opportunity, an opportunity to accelerate the talks that would lead to independence.

The position of the United States is clear on all of this. And there have been some reasons, some of which have now been gotten out of the way, that this process has gone much slower than I want; I think slower than Gorbachev might want, but clearly slower than Yeltsin wants. But I hope we're not looking at some confrontation on this. What I hope we're looking at is more rapid negotiations that lead to the full independence that we would like to see for the Baltic States.

Q So the central government's seen the light, as a result of this?

THE PRESIDENT: I think some of the people that saw the darkness are no longer around. And I think that's -- I would hope that that's the case. But, again, I can't assure you of that. We just don't have enough information on that at this point. But clearly, some of the hardest-line obstructionists are no longer in the picture. And so, I'd say to the degree any of that underbrush has been removed it makes it better and makes it clear that the people's drive for self-determination can't really be stopped. So let's use the -- I hope they will use now the process of accelerated negotiation to get on with this. This is the position of the United States and it's not going to change.

Thank you all very much.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

2:25 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

**Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)**

**BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL**

August 22, 1991

**The Shawmut Inn
Kennebunkport, Maine**

10:35 A.M. EDT

MR. FITZWATER: Let me just go through this briefly. Many of you yesterday asked for a BACKGROUND briefing and guidance on various policy matters and so forth that are growing out of the coup in the Soviet Union.

We have asked General Scowcroft to provide a BACKGROUND briefing, and he'll be down here in just a few minutes.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Good morning. I don't have any introductory statement. Let me just remind you: This is still a very rapidly-moving situation; and if we're uncertain about exactly what's happening, who is on first and so on and so forth, imagine what it's like in Moscow now.

With that, I'll take your questions.

Q Is the administration going to send massive humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We have not made any decision about aid. One of the things you have to remember is that, economically, the situation is not significantly different than it was before the coup started, other than the economic situation has probably unraveled a little more as a result of it. But basically, we confront, still, the same problems and opportunities economically that we did before. So I wouldn't anticipate any dramatic departure, but --

Q I'm talking about humanitarian aid now.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Humanitarian aid, it's not clear that there is any dramatic new need for humanitarian aid.

Q Do you expect that the unraveling of this coup will hasten the likelihood of the sort of economic actions and changes that the U.S. administration has been wanting to see?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: A lot of this now is going to be very speculative, so remember that when I answer questions like this I'm not speaking U.S. government policy, but only how it seems to look to us at the moment.

I think one of the things you have to remember about economic policy now is that it may remove some of the constraints which Gorbachev felt he had on him. Remember, one of the architects of going slow, of continuing a centralized policy, was the Prime Minister Pavlov, who is now in jail. So I think you can anticipate

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that there has been a release from the kind of constraints that the conservatives generally were saying -- hey, go slow, don't move fast to free markets, don't do these things so rapidly. But what the practical impact is, we'll have to see, but I think that clearly is one of the things that's happened.

Q And a follow-up. If you see that the restraints have gone to the extent that they actually start acting, can you give us any sense of when the U.S. might rethink its aid policy?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think we're back to where we were at the time, really, of the economic summit, and that is a program in place that is demonstrably able to absorb and use aid in order to further reform, not simply that it will be swallowed up in an economic morass. So that hasn't changed too significantly.

Q You said to some extent that restraints, or constraints on Gorbachev are removed, but to what extent does Gorbachev want those constraints removed? After all, a lot of these people who conducted this coup were his hand-picked group.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: They were, I think, virtually all of them picked by Gorbachev; but again, were they picked by Gorbachev because they were the people he wanted, or are they a part of the situation in which he found himself? Gorbachev has, by and large, operated in the middle between the more radical reformers and the conservatives. And as you recall, sort of last winter when the reformers were in considerable disarray, the pressure was all from the conservatives.

Then, when he and Yeltsin got together and they started working on the union treaty and so on, he got his maneuvering room back. Now, he's, in a sense, lost it because he can't point to the conservatives and say, hey, we can't do any more than we are.

So I think we may, in a sense, see the true Gorbachev coming out more -- although he's got a new element, and that is he's got a Yeltsin very different from the old Yeltsin in terms of the power bases of the two.

Q So what's the U.S. assessment of the true Gorbachev?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We'll wait and see.

Q Can we talk about the relationship with Yeltsin now and the President? How does he deal with these two men now, instead of -- or, does he deal with two?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes, I think he deals with two. He was dealing with two before. Now, he was dealing with one because there was only one with his head above the peripet in the time of peril; and Yeltsin did a magnificent job. He stuck his neck way out, and he, in essence, said, no, this will not happen.

So that clearly has enhanced his prestige, his power base and everything else. And Gorbachev, whatever his attitudes were, was completely out of it. And so in very practical terms, Yeltsin is a lot more powerful than he was before; and Gorbachev is maybe not commensurately weakened, but he certainly has not improved his position. So I think in terms like the relationship between the center and the republics and so on, you will probably see some shifts there.

But the President will treat the two according to their merits. Yeltsin is the President of the most powerful republic in the Soviet Union. There is clearly a new relationship in their daily conversations that they've had, and there's no reason that shouldn't continue. But at the present time, the constitutional structure of

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the Soviet Union has been restored. It was restored basically through Yeltsin's administrations, but Yeltsin himself called for the return of Gorbachev. So we'll deal with it in that way.

Q Does the President intend to talk to Yeltsin again today, or has he talked to Yeltsin?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, he talked to Yeltsin at 4:00 a.m. in the morning, Yeltsin's time. A little after 9:00 p.m.

Q Last night?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q So do you see that shaking out strictly as an internal matter in the Soviet Union, not spilling over, at least at this point, into U.S. and the way we deal with the Soviet government?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, that's one of the things I said right at the outset. It seems to me there are a lot of uncertainties in the Soviet Union, and that fundamentally is something they have to sort out, of course. Now, they have a plan to do it; the plan may be changed dramatically. They were going to have elections next year and so on and so forth. That may be accelerated or modified and so on. And you've got very different reactions from different republics. You've got, A, this powerful, probably decisive support of the Russian Republic on the one extreme; and the other, the President of Georgia, who says this was all a plot.

Q Well, in the absence of elections or anything, do you see Yeltsin emerging now as the guy who's really driving Gorbachev? Gorbachev is still at the center of power, he's still the guy that the U.S. will deal with as head of state. Is Yeltsin really going to be, to some extent, calling the shots by pushing Gorbachev in the direction of more aggressive reform?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think we honestly have to wait and see. If they fulfill the roles that they've played so far, Gorbachev can be expected to use some of his new prestige in order to push his own programs, and Gorbachev is more likely to move in that direction. But we have to wait and see.

Q I would think we all left Moscow with the question that the U.S. policy-makers had to deal with as well, which was how well the center could hold and for how long? What does the attempt at and failure of this coup and the emergence of Yeltsin tell us about the answer to that question?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think it tells us -- it answers one part of it but not the other part of it. The one part that it answers is: What about the discontent, the malcontents, the conservatives who oppose this whole direction and are waiting in the wings to move? They're no longer waiting in the wings. It's not that there are no more conservatives in the Soviet Union, but that movement, if you will, has been badly wounded. And I think for a time it will not be sort of the gray imminence hovering in the background to which people have to turn. So I think that has now been lifted.

The thing that hasn't changed dramatically -- or we'll have to see how much it's changed -- is sorting out the relationship between the center and the republics. And I think as I indicated, there's probably been a move toward the ability of the republics to get pretty much what they want, because Gorbachev doesn't have the kind of power base -- even the conservatives in the background he could point to and say, hey, you've got to go with me, or you'll get these guys.

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Q But wouldn't, though, Gorbachev, if he were to try to stand athwart the will of the republics on issues such as independence or a degree of independence -- wouldn't he be relying to some extent on the same mechanisms that the coup plotters attempted to use, and hasn't this exposed those mechanisms as being weaker than we ever imagined?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't know -- weaker in the sense that they were not deployed and manipulated very decisively; they still exist. There still is a KGB, badly discredited at the head, and at least the way the head used it, open to some question about tactics. There still is a military. The defense minister has been replaced, but replaced by a very ambivalent figure at best, temporarily, and there is a question about the overall loyalty of various units of the army and whether or not they would respond again to a central authority versus republics.

But I don't anticipate it's going to come to anything like that, and I think that the military organs of power, the three -- that is, the military themselves, the KGB and the internal minister of the interior forces will be very compliant to authority for some time.

Q Just to follow up one more time, if I can. Just one further question. Does not now United States policy have to conflate, what is Gorbachev's leverage of authority? He, after all, is unelected, presumably he ruled to a great extent by force. What authority does he really have against any elected leader in that country?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He was elected by the Supreme Soviet, and Yeltsin has said he is the constitutional head of the Soviet Union, and he is until elections are held. So in that sense, he has the mantle of state authority.

Now, if your question goes directly to the power bases, as I say there's no question that there's been a shift -- if it gets down to a confrontation based on which each one can rely, and Gorbachev's has been definitely weakened.

Q Based on what you said about the weakening of the KGB, the Interior Ministry, et cetera, is it the administration's view now that the independence of the Baltics is basically a sure thing?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't want to get out in front there, the ball takes -- they've all declared their independence. Military units are now being withdrawn. They're being withdrawn, for example, from the Lithuanian television station, which was seized in January and held, and the ideal outcome from our perspective is that the center itself would move to do what we think ought to be done on the Baltics, and we'll see.

Q Do you see, based on what's happened, any change in U.S. policy? Any going beyond saying, well, we never recognized their break -- their incorporation in the first place?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: This is one of the most fluid of the situations in the Soviet Union, and I think what we would like to do is just watch for just a bit and see what happens. As I said, the preferred outcome for everybody is that the center say, okay, now it's time to move, it's time to resolve this question.

Q So the answer is no? Do you foresee now change in U.S. policy?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, no, I didn't say that. I didn't say that. Let's just wait for a bit. We're not going to rush into final decisions on policy in every case in a situation which is as rapidly moving as this. It is not the right

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time to nail oneself to the mast on anything in particular, with some exceptions.

Q Can you just state something very basic? Does the United States believe that Gorbachev should seize the day to diffuse the KGB and the army, and will the administration be disappointed if he does not?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The first part is, I think absolutely yes, and even from his own interest he will do so. I think they need to be brought under what one would call constitutional authority to a degree they obviously were not before. I think that's in the interest of the political leadership, of the center, and of the republics, sure.

Q I assume you've talked to Secretary Baker. What's going to be the gist of his report to the President, after meeting with the NATO ministers?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He's just going to report what happened at the NATO meeting, and we will project that forward. The NATO meeting was not full of surprises, as you can imagine. He's up there, he's going to tell him what happened, what the various attitudes are, points of difference, before he heads back on vacation.

Q But have they detected -- they're most concerned by -- with their proximity to the Soviet Union. Are they concerned that Gorbachev will be able to maintain control, favor Yeltsin sharing power? What sort of message did Baker get? I assume he was listening for that.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes, he was. We haven't talked about that yet; we'll do that over lunch.

Q Before, the question of aid has been: demonstrate market economies, demonstrate the changes. But if I'm hearing correctly, now that the bad guys are gone you seem to be setting up a whole new bunch of hoops: bring the KGB and army under constitutional authority, set up elections maybe sooner rather than later. Are those conditions?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Hey, none of those are hoops. I was just answering a question.

Q All right. Are they going to be conditions? Will these be --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, I don't think so. Those are internal matters. I think the economic questions are pretty much where they were before. Now, the situation for resolving and moving ahead in the Soviet Union may have changed dramatically, but we still need, in our interest and in the Soviets' interest, the kinds of things which we said ought to be done before.

Now, I'm not saying there will not be pressure from different -- say, hey, democracy has triumphed, now let's pour money in. But that wouldn't be necessarily helpful to either side.

Q You mean, to give money, that wouldn't be helpful to make an advance, so to speak?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Not necessarily.

Q How about the convertibility fund? Is that still on the table?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, a convertibility is useful only if you have policies in place which will not result in an immediate run on the ruble. Because if it does -- in essence, take the Polish example. Poland had already had an IMF agreement.

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They had the policies in place which made the reserve fund basically unnecessary. So it was simply an insurance policy, and it hasn't been used at all. And that's really the conditions. The reserve fund is really to give people the confidence in the stability program.

Q Those people are General Motors and Ford and American corporations who are looking for investment from, and they need to be able to take their money back out of the Soviet Union and they can't do it until this happens.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: That's a big problem; you bet. (Laughter.)

Q Can you tell us a little bit more about U.S. efforts to try to determine who is on first? I mean, how you're -- are you just watching CNN, or who are you probing? And can you tell us more of --

Q Say yes. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Mary says we're just watching CNN.

Q How is it working out for you?

Q Can you tell us a little bit more about that? And particularly the President's phone call to Yeltsin last night?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think there hasn't been any change with who's on first; the constitutional regime of the Soviet Union has been restored. Now, are they going to behave differently? Sure. But that's something they have to sort out in a relationship. The union treaty was perhaps the spark that set off the coup; it still hasn't been signed. There are a lot of things that still have to be resolved. Even if it were to be signed as it is, there are a lot of things that have to be resolved in fiscal monetary matters. So they have to work that out. That's not a matter for the United States to determine.

Q So we're just basically waiting and watching to see what they do in terms of trying to determine the power balance between Gorbachev and Yeltsin?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Look, this is not unique. There are lots of countries that have these kinds of things going on internally, and we will just continue to play it straight.

Q Could you tell us more about this Yeltsin phone call last night?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, it was just a phone call basically to announce, to tell the President two things: first, that Gorbachev was now back in Moscow, and secondly, that at that time the principal coup perpetrators had been taken into custody; that's really what it was.

Q You've talked about how there is going to be a time now of sorting out the power balance in the Soviet Union. How is that likely to affect joint ventures such as the plans for a Mideast peace conference, jointly-sponsored Mideast peace conference? Is that likely to delay a peace conference?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, I don't think it'll affect things like that, basically. Joint ventures, it may, because there may be some re-sorting of the relationship between the center and the republics. But that's only a guess on my part.

Q But are the Soviets likely -- aren't they likely to be looking inward rather than outward some period of time?

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SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: They were before, and so it'll be a different kind of looking inward. One of the fears in the Soviet Union which I presume was present not only with Gorbachev, Yeltsin, everybody, was the fear of what, in fact, took place. Now, that fear has been lifted, so I think there will be a lot of jockeying after the sigh of relief is over. But I think the situation there from their own perspective will be greatly improved.

Q How about Bessmertnykh's position? He seemed to be conveniently ill during the early stages of this. Do you think he's in trouble?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: One of the things that is going to happen is that there are an awful lot of people who weren't heard from for a couple of days, and a lot who announced themselves, unfortunately, on the wrong side. I'm just guessing -- I would presume there would be a day of reckoning for more than simply the eight members of the emergency committee. That's true, both domestically and in foreign policy. Saddam Hussein picked the wrong guy again. (Laughter.)

Q What is Bob Strauss doing, and what are his -- (laughter) --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: What do you mean, what's he doing?

Q What is Robert Strauss doing?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Look, we sent him over there to sort of give the embassy some new esprit and so on, and some leadership, to get acquainted; sees firsthand what's going on in the middle of a crisis and so on. Our plan is still to have him come back probably next week sometime and report to the President and the Secretary of State. But, of course, the issue of recognition has gone away.

Q Will he see Gorbachev or Yeltsin or present his credentials?

Q Just going on some of the earlier points you were making, if Gorbachev now is freed from needing to appease hard-liners, can you go over some specific actions you would expect or areas of change you would like to see in the coming weeks or months now?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Some of the effects that one could see from his being freed from the restraint is a more progressive economic reform package, if you will; some change in foreign policy and aid programs.

Q Specifically?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It what?

Q Specifically, give us some examples of areas --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, like Cuba, like attitudes toward Afghanistan and so on; military spending programs, new weapons systems, attitudes toward arms control which while we're making progress, it's been very tough.

Q Any new wishes?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: On our part? Well, they're mostly the old ones.

Q Are those your expectations or what you'd like to see?

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SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, no, no. Those are the kinds of things one might see. At this point, they're not expectations, but we'll have to see.

Q Are there some benchmarks or some important things to expect in the next two weeks --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, we're not now at the point -- look, we're just sorting through this ourselves. Right at the moment, the Deputies Committee is meeting and talking about all these things, and we will move forward as we decide what's best and as we see the situation clarifying. And it's still very, very foggy.

Q I'd like to return to where we started. I sense that you're saying you see no need -- have no desire to throw some sort of a bouquet to make some kind of gesture of reward to say, hey, we're glad that the right guys won and the wrong guys lost, in aid terms at all. Is that -- that's not even something you think is a good idea?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think -- first of all, that's a funny way to look at the whole thing, because, after all, it was a real internal crisis for the Soviet Union and, in a sense, for the world. And I think we gave -- and I'm not speaking as an American, but I'm simply saying what both Yeltsin on -- two or three times in the conversations and Gorbachev has said that U.S. support and our attitude was crucial in the outcome because it gave them strength and it gave the people the sense that we were behind the restoration of constitutional government.

And I think the notion of, well, shouldn't we reward them, is just not the right question to ask. I think that on the contrary, at least from the comments of Yeltsin who, last night, he must have said at least four times, effusively how grateful he was for the American stand, for the phone calls to him and so on, which in his mind made a crucial difference, and I think that's the way that I would like to see it looked at.

Q Can I follow up?

Q You said that -- on the Baltics, you said the ideal outcome would be for the center itself to move to do what we think ought to be done. What is that that we think ought to be done?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We ought to -- we think that the Baltic ought to be able to determine their own future. Now, they've all declared themselves independent; they did that in a reaction to an incipient crackdown, it's true. But I think our position is that they ought to be able to determine their future.

Q You say that it would be in Gorbachev's own interest, and perhaps there may be even an expectation for him to diffuse the KGB and the military, to bring them under constitutional authority. And yet, the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation says the West should be on guard against another coup. Do you not think that one action might very well lead to the other?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think -- I don't want to predict. But remember: -- go back -- this is a society in revolution. This is the first -- maybe the only, but certainly the first -- formal attempt at overthrow of the system. It may not be the last. This is not now, ipso facto, going to be a stable system. You all have alluded to the relationship, again, between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, between the republics and the center, economic reform. All these questions are still before this society in enormous turmoil. All that we have done is, it has weathered the first mortal attempt on it, but there's no reason to think it will be the last or that the aftermath will be definitive.

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Q Can you assess the threat? I mean, would you put substantial credence in the warnings of the Russian Foreign Minister?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think for the moment -- for the moment, I think the threat from the right has been diminished and may not exist for some time. But they are not going to disband the army, they're going to disband -- completely, at least -- the KGB; certainly not the Interior Ministry forces. So anytime you have organized force in a society, the potential exists that it can be used against authority.

Q Do you, then, see Gorbachev with unlimited ability to move against the military institutions and bring them under his control, or is he going to need to keep an ambivalent figure, as you say, at the head of the Defense Ministry?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: That, I think, remains to be seen, and I'm not even saying he's going to keep this ambivalent figure. But that's what he's done at the moment, and if that's foretaste of the way he's going to act, there is not going to be a wholesale purge of everybody, at least not without some thought given; because one of the early ways to react, to demonstrate something different would be not to have put Moiseyev in but to have put the commander of the airborne divisions or somebody else who clearly had supported Gorbachev in. The first steps, if they are indicative at all, the first steps have been cautious.

Q Was it all thank-yous last night from Yeltsin, or did he suggest what he would like to see Bush do next?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No. All thank-yous.

Q And also, in assessing the ups of Yeltsin and the downs of Gorbachev earlier, you talked about whatever Gorbachev's attitudes were to this coup. Do we think he considered throwing in with the plotters at any point?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'll just give you a personal judgment, and my feeling is no. I think the one danger there was at the time when we had competing aircraft trying to go down there and meet with Gorbachev, is that if he were wholly isolated from any news of what was going on that the emergency committee delegation could go down there and say we have everything under control, and everybody's out and so on and so forth and present him with a very different picture in the hopes that he would sign some kind of a deal with them. But there's no indication at all that --

Q Just hoodwink him.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q Has the President spoken to Mr. Major today? If so, what did he say? And what has their relationship been like in the last few days?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, he spoke to Mr. Major yesterday. But we've spoken to Stephen Wald, who is his national security personal person. And the relationship is very close.

Q Thank you.

Q You made a comment earlier about what you hope Gorbachev will do, seizing upon his return to power. Will those hopes be expressed directly to him by U.S. officials, or how will that be conveyed?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm just guessing. As I say, we haven't started to reassess and put together -- or we've started, but we haven't finalized that. I'm not sure that the best thing for us to do is to walk in now with two arm loads of things we want done, and say get going. It seems to me that they have an awful

- 10 -

lot of internal sorting out to be done, both in a policy sense and in a personnel sense. And we ought to let them do that. We ought to let them get their own house back together before we say we would dearly like you to march off in this or that or the other direction.

Q How much time do you think you're talking about?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Depends how fast they move, I think.

Q Are you disappointed at the conservative nature of Gorbachev's moves so far -- Moiseyev and so on? Would you rather have seen him do --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, I -- Moiseyev because that's one of the few specific moves he's made. And I'd -- disappointed may be not the right term. I wouldn't want that guy behind me in a dark hall now. (Laughter.)

Q Do you think it was the wrong move? What is the right term if disappointed is --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, my term -- just slight surprise, because Moiseyev, to put it generously, was ambivalent.

Q Given the magnitude of what happened, is there anything that the West should offer now to the Soviets in the face of them asking for more money other than just to continue to say no?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The magnitude of what happened basically was political. It was not economic. And while there has been probably some resultant economic decay -- we're only talking about three days, and I think fundamentally, the economic situation remains as it was before, and that we ought to proceed along the same lines. It may be possible to accelerate it significantly, but we'll see on that.

Q I wonder if you could talk to us a little bit more about the union treaty now and what you think is going to happen with that in the days to come here -- whether it's going to be represented, are they going to try it again? It precipitated a coup. Is it going to be changed? Does Yeltsin have to go in and say I think it should be changed here, here, here and here? Does the other guy -- any other republican leader --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: My recollection is that Gorbachev has said he wants to meet with the republican leaders maybe tomorrow; I don't remember the time. And I think what they will be doing is reviewing what the situation is. And as I say, the republican leaders run the gamut from strong support to strong opposition and a lot of fishtailing around. So it's not clear what will come out of that, but it's highly unlikely that there will be strong moves towards strengthening the center come out of that.

Q Could you elaborate on what kind of reports you have gotten from Ambassador Strauss so far?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: What we've gotten so far, and that's yesterday, is that primarily the kinds of things which have tended to parallel what we were getting from Yeltsin about the situation in the streets, the general kinds of attitudes, and so forth.

MR. FITZWATER: Thank you all --

Q Is he going to be hearing from Gorbachev again? Is the President going to be hearing from Gorbachev again today? Are they planning to talk?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't know.

Q Anything on hostages? Anything on hostages?

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SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:12 A.M. EDT

Show some hustle

President Bush's decision yesterday to hold a news conference on 40 minutes' notice took even the Secret Service by surprise. Reporters and some White House staffers not normally involved in such mundane functions pitched in and arranged a press center in the ballroom of the Shawmut Hotel in Kennebunkport. The Secret Service showed up and ran reporters off in order to sweep the room with bomb-sniffing dogs.

The president had to make do with an available lectern instead of his usual shielded model. There were no microphones to pick up reporters' questions and no loudspeakers to pick up the president's remarks.

Before stepping up to speak, Mr. Bush asked his spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, how he looked. The ever-loyal Mr. Fitzwater replied: "Great." He didn't really look great; there was room for another 2 or 3 inches of neck in his shirt collar, as though he'd lost 20 or 30 pounds. It was explained later that he'd pulled on a polo-style shirt, one of those three- or four-button jobs, and knotted a tie around the loose collar.

"He's in his 'rec mode,'" a reporter on the scene explained. He didn't explain exactly what that meant, but it sounds like Bush shorthand for a recreational state of mind.

After the news conference, Mr. Bush took a call from Secretary of State James A. Baker III and then headed off to play golf on a course still sporting 6-inch-deep puddles, courtesy of Hurricane Bob. But apparently he opted for a boat ride instead.

In other news from Kennebunkport, there's a whale beached a few blocks from the president's vacation home, but Mr. Bush hasn't gone to see it.

What a comeback

Former President Ronald Reagan says he's "pleased with recent

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

press reports that the legitimate government in the Soviet Union has been restored." In a statement from Rochester, Minn., where he and his wife are getting their annual physical exams at the Mayo Clinic, Mr. Reagan said: "Nancy and I are thankful that Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev were not harmed in the attempted coup. President Gorbachev's return points toward a continuation of political and economic reforms.

"I commend President Yeltsin for his courage in facing down the coup," he continued. "He has inspired the people of the Soviet Union and around the world to persist with vigor in their democratic ideals. There seems little doubt that reform is the course the people of the Soviet Union want to take. This is truly a proud day for all freedom-loving people around the world."

Let's rock 'n' roll

Boris Yeltsin seems to have held his own while Gorbys was on the ropes. How'd he manage? Maybe he chilled out now and then with an Elvis break. According to Dr. Tatiana Uretzkaya, who says she's Mr. Yeltsin's physician, the Russian president is an Elvis fan. "He knows Elvis. He likes him," the doc told an interviewer for *Elvis World* magazine.

Dr. Uretzkaya, or Taty to her friends, bills herself as "Russia's No. 1 Elvis Fan." She says Mr. Yeltsin told her he's partial to the slower Elvis tunes, such as "Are You Lonesome Tonight?"

Taty, by the way, recently realized a long-standing dream to visit Memphis. "The first thing we saw



Elvis Presley numbers, the slower ones, may have helped Boris Yeltsin through the whole ugly mess.

was the Elvis statue not far from the train station," she said. "I fell down on my knees and spent one hour there."

Spellsport

Wouldn't you know it? President Bush has been running all over the place, down to Washington, back up to Kennebunkport, and then he finally gets a chance to get out and boogie around in the ol' speedboat, and what happens? Gorbys calls to say he's OK.

Mr. Bush, who'd been trying to reach the ousted Soviet leader for three days, got word from a mili-

tary aide that the call had come through.

Mr. Bush headed the ol' tub back to the dock at his seaside vacation home, and he and Bar took the call in their bedroom.

The U.S. president was apparently the second person Mr. Gorbachev called when he got his phone privileges reinstated. The first call went to Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian federation.

Keeping score

The Justice Department has released its savings and loan prosecution tally for major cases during the period of Oct. 1, 1988, to July 31 of this year.

There have been 489 indictments with 803 defendants charged, including 99 CEOs, board chairmen and presidents of the institutions involved. Those cases have resulted in 597 convictions, with 345 prison sentences totaling 1,153 years.

Fines levied so far run to more than \$8 million, and restitution of more than \$273 million has been ordered.

Catching up

The Washington Post finally got around to admitting Chuck Conconi has bailed out. Howie Kurtz slipped a mention of the fact into a column yesterday in which he rehashed, without so much as a tip of the hat, two items that appeared in this column last week.

One of the items concerned the fate of Washingtonian gossipist Rudy Maxa. We'd reported Mr. Maxa was fired. Mr. Kurtz reported him sort of not fired. What's the scoop?

"Rudy's been on leave," declared Washingtonian Editor Jack Limpert, tracked down at his vacation hideaway. "A lot of people have jumped to conclusions about the situation. We'll be discussing his relationship with the magazine when I get back to town."

— John Elvin

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22, 1991

August 22, 1991

George Bush Presidential Library Transfer Sheet

COLLECTION:

Bush Presidential Records
Office of the President

ACCESSION NUMBER:

1993.0001



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Deborah Wheeler

Date of Transfer:

3/21/2013

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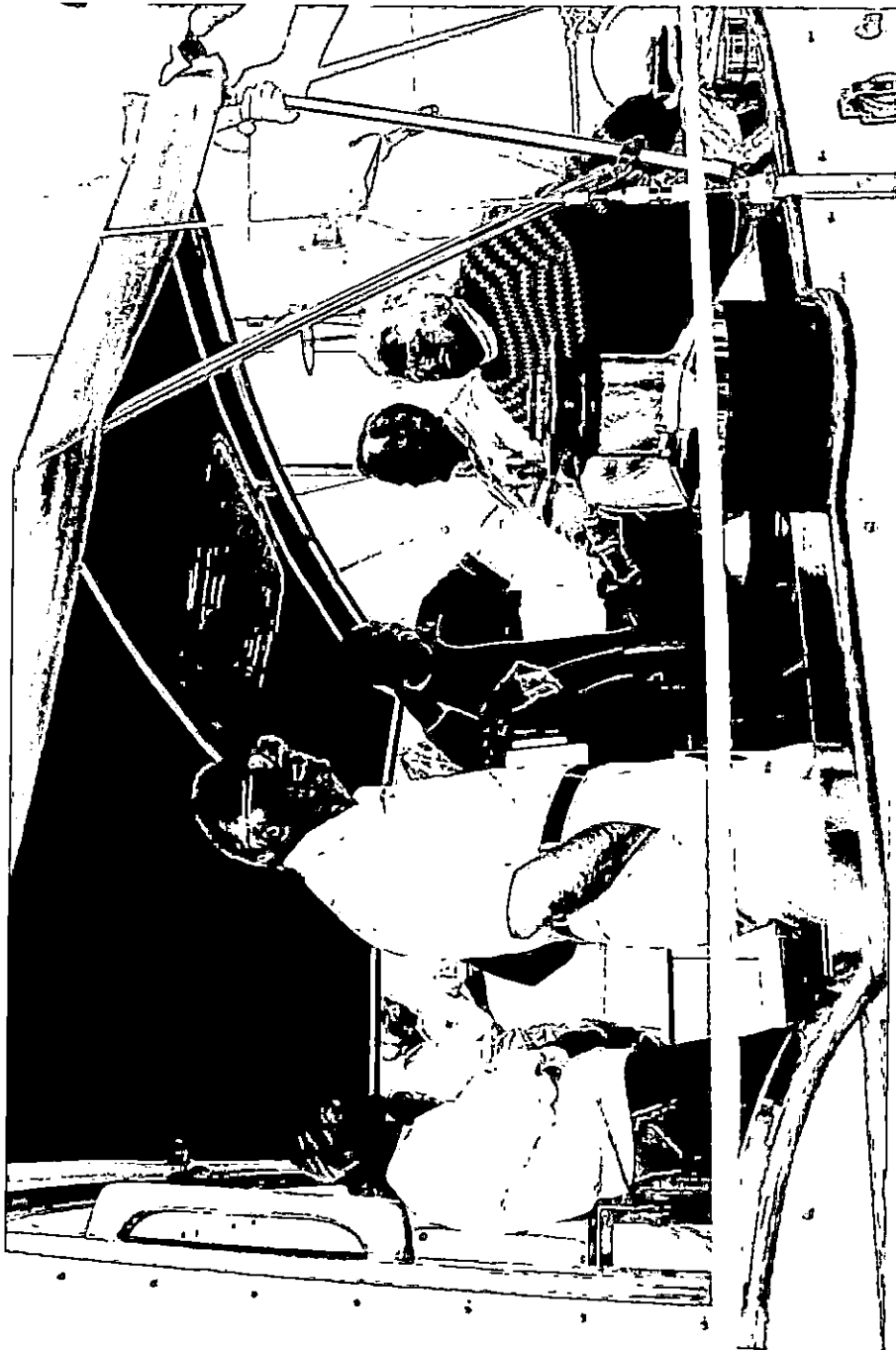
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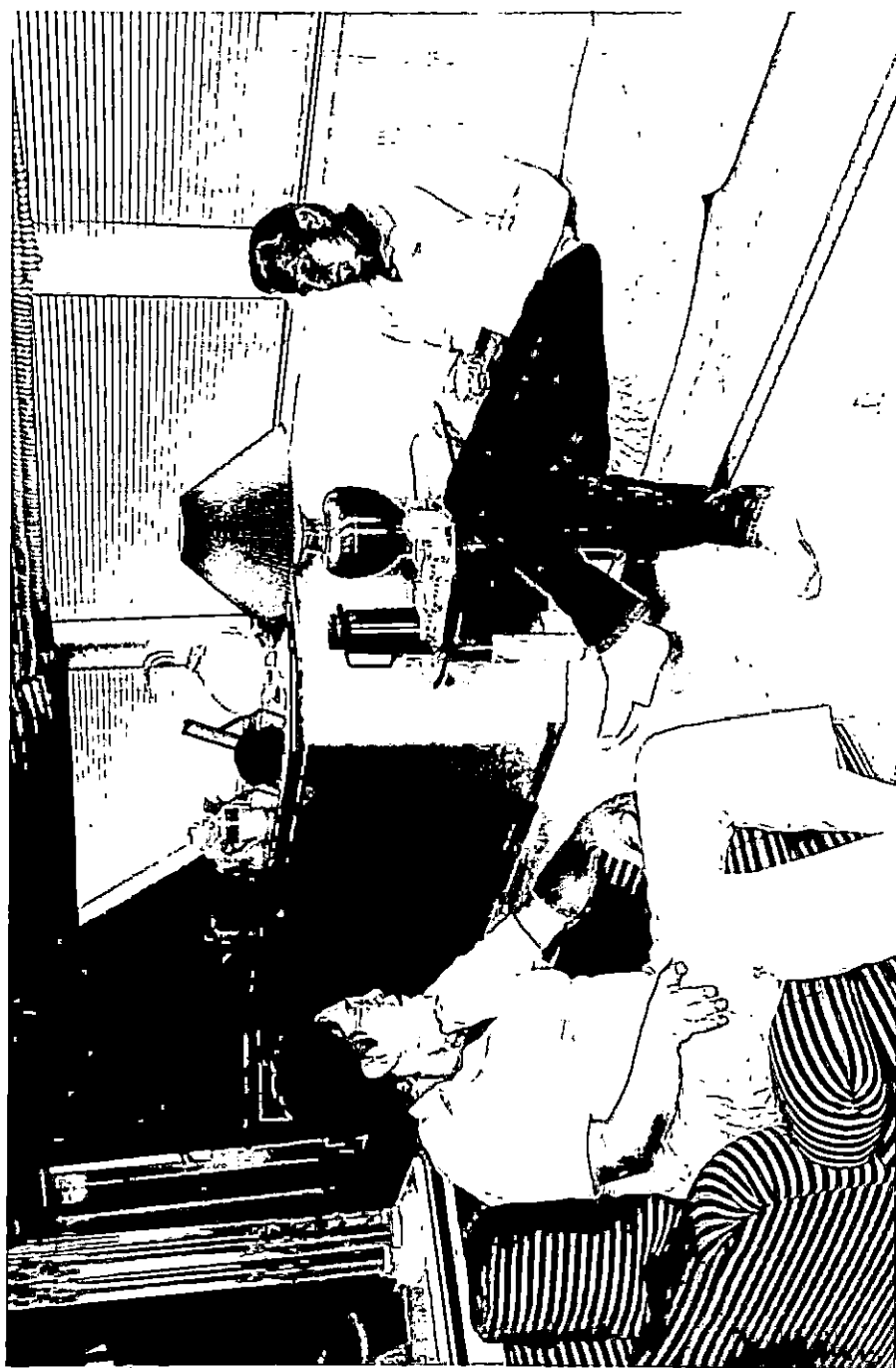
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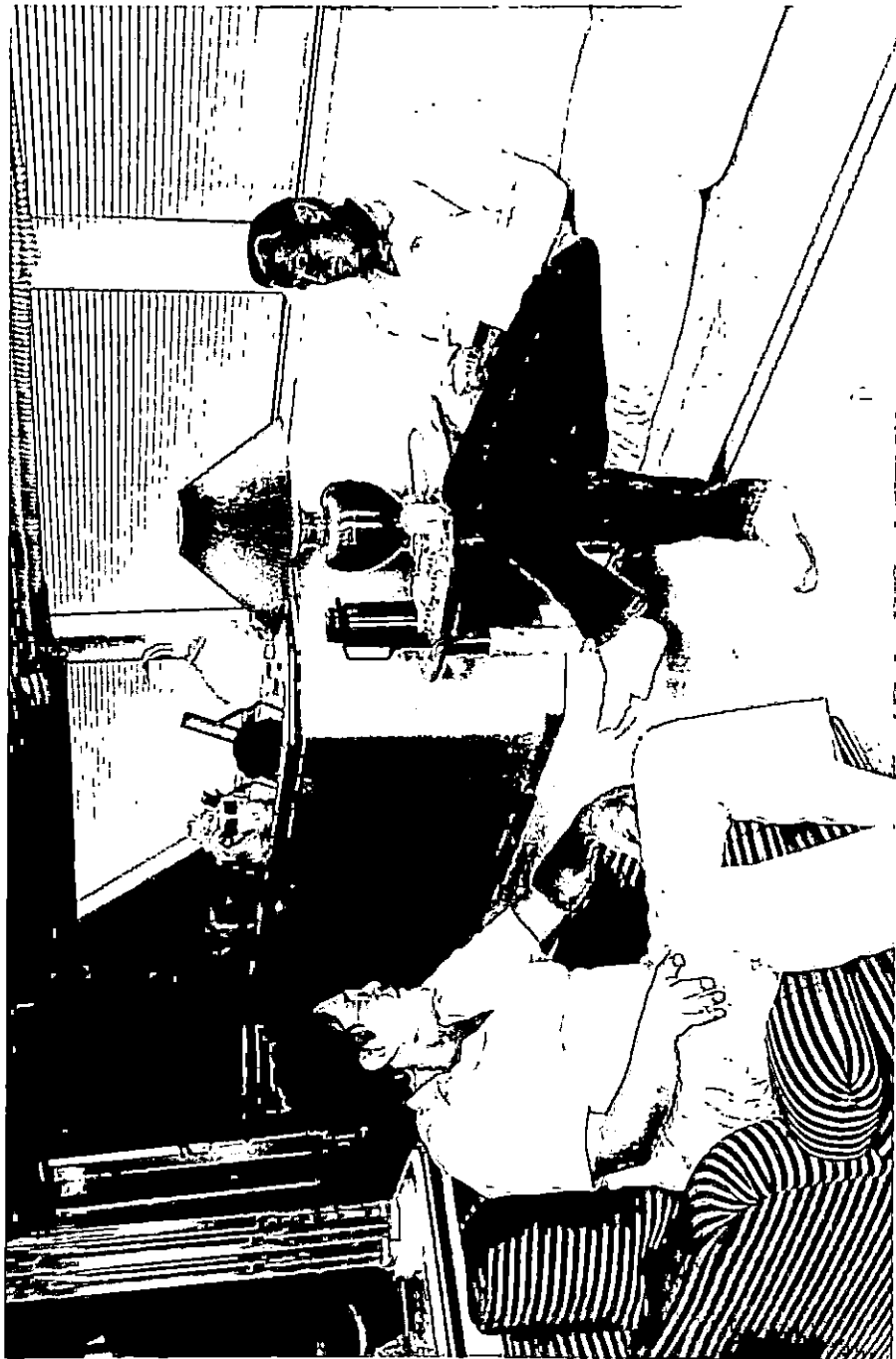


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THE PRESIDENT

8.22.91

Dear Harold & Lorna,

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RR 3 Cooper's Port Road
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8-27-91

Dear Trammell ,
Thanks for sharing
"Native Land" with me.
Some interesting times in
which we live. There
upheavals around the world

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Trammell Crow
Trammell Crow Company
2001 Ross Avenue
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Jan Burmeister

have only further convinced
me that it is our
"Native Land" that must
lead the entire world
and must be strong enough abroad
and well enough at home to
lead in the best possible way.

Love to all


THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Trammell Crow
Trammell Crow Company
2001 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75201