

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 90617
Folder ID Number: 90617-009

Folder Title:
Tuesday, September 10, 1991 [2]

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Talking Points	Points to be Made for Meeting with Near East/South Asia [index cards] (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01b. memo	From Brent Scowcroft to President Bush (2 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(1)	S
02a. List	State Dinner (Senegal) participants [redaction] (1 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(3)	
02b. List	State Dinner (Senegal) table arrangements [redaction] (2 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(3)	
02c. List	State Dinner (Senegal) participants [redaction] (1 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(3)	
02d. Envelope	T. Phelps to President Bush [redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	09/26/91	(b)(6)	
03a. Memo	From Lawrence S. Eagleburger to President Bush (1 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(1)	S
03b. Memo	From Lawrence S. Eagleburger to President Bush (1 pp.)	09/09/91	(b)(1)	S
03c. Summary	Heads of State Correspondence Summary (1 pp.)	08-09/91	(b)(1)	S
03d. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	09/91	(b)(1)	S

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, September 10, 1991 [2]

Pinksheet Number: dw2258

OA/ID Number: 90617-009

Date Closed: 4/26/2013

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, September 10, 1991 [2]

Date Closed: 4/26/2013	OA/ID Number: 90617-009
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

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(George Bush Library)

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01b. memo	From Brent Scowcroft to President Bush (2 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(1)	S

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Isiah Thomas

September 19, 1991

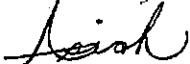
Dear Mr. President:

Many would say that I have been fortunate throughout my life to have been able to incorporate my love of basketball and my job into one in the same. It certainly is true.

What is also true is that, as one of the benefits of this job, I have had the privilege of meeting people such as yourself and Mrs. Bush. This was very evident to me last week when Lynn and I were with you at the White House for the dinner honoring President Diouf.

Thank you very much for allowing us to share your company that evening. We will always remember the tremendous experience that you provided for us.

With warmest regards,


Isiah

Bush Library Photocopy
Miscellaneous Handwriting

Isiah Thomas

P.S. Knowing your commitment to running and fitness, I have sent along some things from the shoe company for which I serve as spokesperson, ASICS TIGER Corporation. I hope you can use them.

Bush Library Photocopy Presentation

President Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

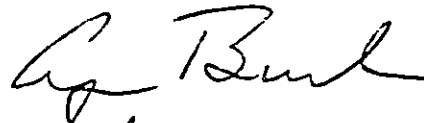
Dear Isiah:

I appreciated your kind note. Barbara and I were delighted that you and Lynn could join us at the State Dinner honoring President Diouf.

Many thanks for the jogging apparel and running shoes. Here's hoping that your "magic touch" will turn me into a superspeedster like you.

Barbara joins in sending best wishes to you and Lynn.

Sincerely,



Warmest Personal Regards.

Mr. Isiah Thomas
Post Office Box 43136
Detroit, Michigan 48243

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 10, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND PRESIDENT ABDOU DIOUF OF SENEGAL
IN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

8:08 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the White House. And to President and Mrs. Diouf, and members of the Senegal delegation, a very special welcome.

Nine years ago, Barbara and I were hosted in Senegal. Never forgotten that trip, and today, we have the opportunity to try in this manner to repay Senegal's marvelous hospitality. And we welcome to America's home, to this White House, a first citizen of the Continent of Africa. This week provides an opportunity for our countries to renew the shared interest which link our two nations and peoples and the values that join us, the values we hold so dear. We both revere liberty and human dignity and respect for the rights of man. And we each believe for individuals, choice; for society, pluralism; and for nations, self-determination.

And together, by lifting minds and horizons, we are helping to shape a new world order. You see, Senegal was the first sub-Saharan African nation to say to Saddam Hussein, your aggression will not stand. And America, sir, applauds your courage in opposing this threat to world security. You lifted up, you buoyed the coalition and you showed that strength of character will always outlast strength of arms.

Mr. President, you know, as recent events have verified, totalitarianism is crumbling because democracy would not -- will not be denied. And now, let us all pledge to help Senegal's democratic system serve as a model for those countries seeking to embrace the principles of self-government, self-determination and freedom of expression.

We seek a world in which the lamp of liberty brightens every corner of the Earth. And in that spirit, I would like to close with words from Leopold Senghor, a poet-politician who was the first President and founder of independent Senegal. Forty-six years ago, near the end of World War II, President Senghor wrote A Prayer For Peace, and he spoke of the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and America and concluded this way: "Grant that their warm hands embrace the Earth in a band of brotherly hands under the rainbow of your peace."

Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, now I would ask that you guests and others join me in a toast, to the health of our friend, President Diouf, to the happiness and prosperity of the Senegalese people and to those brotherly hands which can build a peace for our children and all the children of the world.

God bless you, Mr. President. Welcome to the White House.

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

PRESIDENT DIOUF: Mr. President, allow me to say how happy my wife and I and also the delegation accompanying me are to be

MORE

in this great country and among its friendly people. I come at the invitation of a very close, personal friend and a great respected leader whose dynamism in terms of ideas, clear-sightedness and steadfastness of purpose evoke admiration.

I come to meet a great people who have established themselves as staunch defenders of the ideals of freedom, democracy, peace and respect for human rights. They are the people whom you have referred to as "a beacon of hope shining for the whole world."

The developments that have taken place in recent months have brought to the fore how you view these people's responsibilities and they have demonstrated the correctness of your vision. They have given us Senegalese added reasons to be proud to be counted among your friends and to share with you the same ideals.

By this, I'm not just referring to the crucial part that your country played in solving the Gulf crisis. What I also have in mind, and I should like to emphasize this, is the triumph of the principles which form the basis of the societies we are striving to build and our common wish to see a new order prevail in international relations. I know that I also speak for you when I stress that this new order should be characterized more by the rule of law, a greater solidarity among peoples and nations, as well as a full respect for human rights and basic freedoms.

But I hasten to point out that it should also foster a process of democratization of international relations so that we are able to entrench democracy better within all states and to usher in a world in which the ballot paper will permanently replace the bullet. This would, indeed, be a wonderful posthumous victory for one of your illustrious predecessors who said of the ballot that it is stronger than the bullet.

The United Nations, which has yet again proved its usefulness and effectiveness, appears to me as the prime instrument to achieve that objective. And with the United States at the forefront, the outcome of the struggle is never in doubt. For all these reasons I should like to express, in addition to my compatriots' deep admiration for your excellency, my government's determination to intensify, strengthen and diversify the excellent relations that happily exist between our two countries. Better still, we want to reinforce day by day the age-old links that our two peoples have established and that will be symbolized by the Goree-Almadies Memorial.

The exceptionally warm welcome showered on my wife and me and on my delegation, and your determination to help Senegal succeed in its development efforts are clear indications that you are similarly well-disposed towards us. That is why my visit could not have got off to a better start. That is also why I look forward to seeing our already exemplary bilateral cooperation develop further, and I'm delighted to meet again a very dear friend of mine.

With this fond hope, I invite you, ladies and gentlemen, to raise your glasses and drink to the health and personal happiness of his excellency, Mr. George Bush, and Madam Barbara Bush, to whom I pay my humble respects. To friendship and cooperation between the United States and Senegal; to the sustained prosperity of the friendly American people; to freedom and democracy for all peoples.

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

END

8:17 P.M. EDT

DIOUF TOAST \ STATE DINING ROOM
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1991 \ 7:30 P.M.

PRESIDENT AND MRS. DIOUF, AND MEMBERS OF THE
SENEGAL DELEGATION. NINE YEARS AGO, BARBARA AND I HAD
THE PRIVILEGE OF VISITING YOUR HOME. TODAY, WE ARE
HONORED TO RETURN THAT FAVOR. WE WELCOME TO AMERICA'S
HOME A FIRST CITIZEN OF HIS CONTINENT. //

THIS WEEK PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR COUNTRIES TO RENEW THE SHARED INTERESTS WHICH LINK OUR TWO NATIONS AND PEOPLES -- AND THE VALUES WHICH WE HOLD SO DEAR. / WE BOTH REVERE LIBERTY, HUMAN DIGNITY, AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN. // WE EACH BELIEVE: FOR INDIVIDUALS, CHOICE. FOR SOCIETY, PLURALISM. FOR NATIONS, SELF-DETERMINATION. //

TOGETHER, BY LIFTING MINDS AND HORIZONS, WE ARE HELPING TO SHAPE A NEW WORLD ORDER.

SENEGAL WAS THE FIRST SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN NATION TO SAY
TO SADDAM HUSSEIN: YOUR AGGRESSION WILL NOT STAND. //
AMERICA APPLAUDS YOUR COURAGE IN OPPOSING THIS THREAT
TO WORLD SECURITY. YOU BUOYED THE COALITION. YOU
SHOWED THAT STRENGTH OF CHARACTER WILL ALWAYS OUTLAST
STRENGTH OF ARMS. //

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU KNOW -- AS RECENT EVENTS HAVE
VERIFIED -- THAT TOTALITARISM IS CRUMBLING BECAUSE
DEMOCRACY WOULD NOT -- WILL NOT -- BE DENIED. //

LET US NOW HELP SENEGAL'S DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM SERVE AS A MODEL FOR THOSE COUNTRIES SEEKING TO EMBRACE THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. //

WE SEEK A WORLD IN WHICH THE LAMP OF LIBERTY BRIGHTENS EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH. // IN THAT SPIRIT, I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE WITH WORDS FROM LEOPOLD SENGHOR, A POET-POLITICIAN WHO WAS THE FIRST PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER OF INDEPENDENT SENEGAL.

FORTY-SIX YEARS AGO, NEAR THE END OF WORLD WAR II, PRESIDENT SENGHOR WROTE A PRAYER FOR PEACE. HE SPOKE OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA -- AND CONCLUDED, "GRANT THAT THEIR WARM HANDS EMBRACE THE EARTH IN A BAND OF BROTHERLY HANDS, UNDER THE RAINBOW OF YOUR PEACE." //

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I HOPE YOU WILL JOIN ME IN A TOAST:

-- TO THE HEALTH OF MY GOOD FRIEND, PRESIDENT
DIOUF;

-- TO THE HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY OF THE
SENEGALESE PEOPLE;

-- AND TO THE "BROTHERLY HANDS" WHICH CAN
BUILD A PEACE FOR OUR CHILDREN -- AND ALL THE CHILDREN
OF THE WORLD.

#

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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02a. List	State Dinner (Senegal) participants [redaction] (1 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(3)	

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STATE DINNER (SENEGAL) TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1991 - 7:30 PM
STATE DINING ROOM - EAST ENTRANCE (Black Tie) (Valet Parking) (122)

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

HE THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL & MRS. DIOUF

Mr. Habib Diouf

Son of President Diouf

Mr. Ibrahima Diop

Son-in-Law of President Diouf

HE Abdoulaye Wade

Minister of State

HE Famara Ibrahima Sagna

Minister of Finance

Mrs. Djibo Ka (Coumbra)

Wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs

HE Alassane Dialy Ndiaye

Minister of Industrial Development & Commerce

HE The Ambassador of the Republic of Senegal & Mrs. Ka

HE Pascal Manga

Vice President of the National Assembly

Major General Doudou Diop

Special Advisor to the President

HE (Amb.) Babacar Carlos Mbaye

Diplomatic Advisor to the President

The Secretary of Education & Mrs. Alexander (Honey)

Hon. & Mrs. Reginald Bartholomew (Rose-Anne)

Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science & Technology

Hon. (Rep.) & Mrs. Herbert H. Bateman (Laura)

R/Virginia

Mr. & Mrs. James L. Bayless, Jr. (Elizabeth)

McLean, Virginia

Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. William J. Bennett (Elayne)

Director, Hudson Institute

Hon. (Rep.) & Mrs. Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (Mary Virginia)

R/Virginia

Hon. Charles Bray & Ms. Katie Gingrass

President, The Johnson Foundation & Former Ambassador to Senegal

Katie Gingrass Art Gallery, Milwaukee

Hon. (Sen.) & Mrs. Hank Brown (Nan)

R/Colorado

Mr. & Mrs. James Clark (Alice)

Easton, Maryland

Hon. & Mrs. Herman J. Cohen (Suzanne)

Assistant Secretary for African Affairs

Mr. & Mrs. William Lloyd Davis (Teran)

Santa Monica, CA

Hon. & Mrs. Michael Deland (Jane)

Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality

Mr. Dom De Luise

Actor

Mr. Frank di Clemente
Phillips Academy

Mr. Charles Fishman
Charismic Productions

Mr. John Birks ("Dizzy") Gillespie
Jazz Musician

Hon. & Mrs. George W. Haley (Doris)
Chairman, Postal Rate Commission

Mrs. Kitty Carlisle Hart
New York

Hon. & Mrs. Harry G. Haskell, Jr. (Mary)
President & Chairman of the Board, Abercrombie & Fitch

Dr. Dorothy I. Height & Mr. Robert Hall
President, National Council of Negro Women

Hon. (Ms.) Edith E. ("Ede") Holiday & Mr. Terrence Adamson
Assistant to the President & Secretary of the Cabinet

Mr. & Mrs. C. Bruce Johnson (Madge)
WUSA-TV

Mr. & Mrs. Robert L. Johnson (Sheila)
President, Black Entertainment Television

Hon. (Sen.) Nancy Landon Kassebaum
R/Kansas

Hon. & Mrs. Richard J. Kerr (Janice)
Acting Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Mr. & Mrs. John B. Kilroy, Sr. (Chantal)
Kilroy Industries

Mr. Carl H. Lindner & son, Mr. S. Craig Lindner
Chairman of the Board & CEO, Great American Financial Corporation

Hon. & Mrs. Thomas E. McNamara (Emma)
Special Assistant to the President & Senior Director for African
Affairs, NSC

Dr. & Mrs. W. Tabb Moore (Rosaline)
Washington, DC

*Hon. & Mrs. George Moose
Former Ambassador to Senegal

(b)(3)

Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Mumma II (Susan)
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Mr. & Mrs. Jose F. Nino (Theresa)
President, U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce

Hon. (Sen.) & Mrs. Sam Nunn (Colleen)
D/Georgia

Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence Pezzullo (Josephine)
President, Catholic Relief Services

Mr. & Mrs. Richard F. ("Digger") Phelps (Teresa)
South Bend, Indiana

Hon. & Mrs. Lewis T. Preston (Gladys ("Patsy"))
President, The World Bank

Mr. Wesley Pruden & Ms. Corinna Metcalf
Managing Editor, The Washington Times

Hon. (Amb.) Joseph V. Reed
Chief of Protocol

Hon. & Mrs. Ronald Roskens (Lois)
Administrator, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency

Mr. & Mrs. Edward Salomons (Celia)
San Antonio, TX

Ms. Lori Santos & Mr. Craig Schwed
White House Correspondent, UPI

Justice & Mrs. Scalia (Maureen)
The Supreme Court of the United States

Mr. & Mrs. Stanley S. Scott (Bettye)
New Orleans

Hon. (Gen.) Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Mr. & Mrs. David Shear
President, International & Development Group, Ltd.

Hon. (Amb.) Katherine H. Shirley
U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal

Lt. Gen. Lawrence Skibbie, USA (Ret.) & Mrs. Skibbie (Nancy)
President, American Defense Preparedness Association

Hon. (Ms.) Judy A. Smith & Mr. Ray Valentine
Special Assistant to the President & Deputy Press Secretary

General & Mrs. Gordon R. Sullivan (Gay)
Chief of Staff of the Army

Hon. (Gov.) & Mrs. John H. Sununu (Nancy)
Chief of Staff to the President

Dr. & Mrs. Arthur E. Thomas (Dawn)
President, Central State University

Mr. Franklin A. Thomas & Ms. Kate R. Whitney
President, The Ford Foundation

Mr. & Mrs. Isiah Thomas (Lynn)
All-Star Guard, Detroit Pistons

Dr. Walter J. Turnbull & Ms. Joannie Danielides
Director, The Boys Choir of Harlem, Inc.

Rev. & Mrs. Stan Wachstetter (Helen)
Apostolic Liaison, Global Christian Interaction

The Secretary of Energy & Mrs. Watkins (Sheila)

Mr. & Mrs. Robert Woodson (Ellen)
President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise

*To Hear

Extra

STATE DINNER (SENEGAL) TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1991 - 7:30 PM
STATE DINING ROOM

TABLE 11 *

THE PRESIDENT

Mrs. Diouf
Mr. Charles Bray (President, The Johnson Foundation
& Former Ambassador to Senegal)
Mrs. Kitty Carlisle Hart (New York)
Mr. Robert L. Johnson (President, Black Entertainment Television)
Mrs. "Digger" Phelps (Terry) (South Bend, Indiana)
Senator Sam Nunn (D/Georgia)
Mrs. Lewis T. Preston (Patsy) (Mr: President, The World Bank)
Mr. Carl H. Lindner (CEO, Great American Financial Corporation)
Ambassador Katherine H. Shirley (U.S. Ambassador to Senegal)

TABLE 12 *

MRS. BUSH

HE The President of the Republic of Senegal
Mrs. John B. Kilroy, Sr. (Chantal) (Kilroy Industries)
Mr. Lewis T. Preston (President, The World Bank)
Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R/Kansas)
Mr. Dizzy Gillespie (Jazz Musician)
Mrs. Richard J. Kerr (Janice) (Mr: Acting Director, CIA)
Mr. Frank di Clemente (Phillips Academy)
Mrs. W. Tabb Moore (Rosaline) (Washington, DC)
Mr. Dom De Luise (Actor)

TABLE 1 *

Ms. Edith E. Holiday
Major General Doudou Diop (Special Advisor to the President)
Mrs. George Moose (Mr: Former Ambassador to Senegal)
Mr. Ronald Roskens (Administrator, U.S. International Development
Cooperation Agency)
Mrs. Lawrence Skibbie (Nancy) (Mr: President, American Defense
Preparedness Association)
Mr. Charles Fishman (Charismic Productions)
Mrs. Stan Wachstetter (Helen) (Mr: Apostolic Liaison, Global Christian
Interaction)
Mr. Franklin A. Thomas (President, The Ford Foundation)
Mrs. Thomas E. McNamara (Emma) (Mr: Special Assistant to the President)
Mr. Richard J. Kerr (Acting Director, Central Intelligence Agency)

TABLE 2

The Secretary of Education
HE Famara Ibrahima Sagna (Minister of Finance)
Mrs. William Lloyd Davis (Teran) (Santa Monica)
Mr. George W. Haley (Chairman, Postal Rate Commission)
Dr. Dorothy I. Height (President, National Council of Negro Women)
Rep. Herbert H. Bateman (R/Virginia)
Mr. S. Craig Lindner (Son of Carl H. Lindner)
Mrs. Richard Carlson (Patricia) (Mr: Ambassador to the Seychelles)
General Gordon R. Sullivan (Chief of Staff of the Army)
Mrs. Arthur E. Thomas (Dawn) (Mr: President, Central State University)

TABLE 3

Mrs. Scalia
Mr. Habib Diouf (Son of President Diouf)
Mrs. Isiah Thomas (Lynn) (Mr: Detroit Pistons)
Mr. "Digger" Phelps (South Bend, Indiana)
Dr. Arthur E. Thomas (President, Central State University)
Ms. Lori Santos (White House Correspondent, UPI)
Dr. Walter J. Turnbull (Director, The Boys Choir of Harlem)
Mr. William Lloyd Davis (Santa Monica)
Mrs. James L. Bayless, Jr. (Elizabeth) (McLean, Virginia)
Senator Hank Brown (R/Colorado)

TABLE 4

Mr. Reginald Bartholomew
HE Alassane Dialy Ndiaye (Minister of Industrial Development & Commerce)
Mrs. Ronald Roskens (Lois) (Mr: Administrator, USIDCA)
Mr. Thomas E. McNamara (Special Assistant to the President)
Mrs. David Shear (Mr: President, International & Development Group, Ltd.)
Mr. Robert Hall (Guest of Dorothy Height)
Ms. Corinna Metcalf (Guest of Wesley Pruden)
Mr. James Clark (Easton, Maryland)
Mrs. Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (Mary Virginia) (R/Virginia)

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WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, September 10, 1991 [2]

Date Closed: 4/26/2013	OA/ID Number: 90617-009
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

TABLE 5 *

The Chief of Protocol
Mrs. Djibo Ka (Wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs)
Mr. Herman J. Cohen (Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs)
Ms. Judy A. Smith (Special Assistant to the President)
HE Ambassador Babacar Carlos Mbaya (Diplomatic Advisor to the President)
Mr. C. Bruce Johnson (WUSA-TV)
Ms. Joannie Danielides (Guest of Dr. Turnbull, Harlem Boys Choir)
Mr. Robert Woodson (President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise)
Hon. (Amb.) Richard Carlson (U.S. Ambassador to the Seychelles)
Mrs. Edward Salomons (Celia) (San Antonio, Texas)

TABLE 6

Mrs. Watkins
Mr. Ibrahima Diop (Son-in-law of President Diouf)
Mrs. Hank Brown (Nan) (R/Colorado)
Mr. Lawrence Pezzullo (President, Catholic Relief Services)
(b)(3)
Mr. Craig Schwed (Mrs: Lori Santos, UPI)
Ms. Katie Gingrass (Guest of Charles Bray)
Mr. Ray Valentine (Mrs: Judy Smith, White House)
Mrs. C. Bruce Johnson (Madge) (Mr: WUSA-TV)
Mr. Edward Salomons (San Antonio)

TABLE 7 *

The Secretary of Energy
HE Abdoulaye Wade (Minister of State)
Mrs. Reginald Bartholomew (Rose-Anne) (Mr: Under Secretary of State)
Mr. James L. Bayless, Jr. (McLean, Virginia)
Mrs. William J. Bennett (Elayne) (Mr: Hudson Institute)
Mr. John B. Kilroy, Sr. (Kilroy Industries)
Mrs. James Clark (Alice) (Easton, Maryland)
Rep. Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (R/Virginia)
Mrs. Harry G. Haskell, Jr. (Mary) (Mr: President, Abercrombie & Fitch)

TABLE 8

Justice Scalia
 Mrs. Yacine Diouf Diop
 Mr. Isiah Thomas (Detroit Pistons)
 Mrs. Robert L. Johnson (Sheila) (Mr: President, Black Entertainment Television)
 Lt. Gen. Lawrence Skibbie, USA (Ret.) (President, American Defense Preparedness Association)
 Mrs. Robert Woodson (Ellen) (Mr: President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise)
 Mr. Robert M. Mumma II (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania)
 Mrs. George W. Haley (Doris) (Mr: Chairman, Postal Rate Commission)
 Mr. Stanley Scott (New Orleans)
 Mrs. Sam Nunn (Colleen) (D/Georgia)

TABLE 9

Mrs. Alexander
 HE The Ambassador of the Republic of Senegal
 Mrs. Stanley Scott (Bettye) (New Orleans)
 Mr. Jose F. Nino (President, U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce)
 Ms. Kate R. Whitney (Guest of Franklin Thomas)
 Mr. Harry G. Haskell, Jr. (President, Abercrombie & Fitch)
 Mrs. Robert M. Mumma II (Susan) (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania)
 Mr. Michael Deland (Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality)
 Mrs. John H. Sununu (Nancy)
 Dr. W. Tabb Moore (Washington, DC)

TABLE 10 *

Governor Sununu
 HE Pascal Manga (Vice President of the National Assembly)
 Mrs. Herman J. Cohen (Suzanne) (Mr: Assistant Secretary of State)
 Mr. George Moose (Former Ambassador to Senegal)
 Mrs. Jose F. Nino (Theresa) (Mr: President, U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce)
 (b)(3)
 Mrs. Michael Deland (Jane) (Mr: Chairman, CEQ)
 Dr. Ernest Holloway (President, Langston University)
 Mr. Wesley Pruden (Managing Editor, The Washington Times)
 Mrs. Gordon R. Sullivan (Gay) (Mr: Chief of Staff of the Army)

TABLE 14

General Brent Scowcroft
Mrs. Ka (Wife of the Ambassador of Senegal)
Dr. William J. Bennett (Hudson Institute)
Mr. David Shear (President, International & Development Group, Ltd.)
Mrs. Lawrence Pezzullo (Josephine) (Mr: President, Catholic Relief Services)
Mr. Terrence Adamson (Mrs: Ede Holiday)
Dr. Gloria R. Scott (President, Bennett College)
Rev. Stan Wachstetter (Apostolic Liaison, Global Cristian Interaction)
Mrs. Herbert H. Bateman (Laura) (R/Virginia)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02c. List	State Dinner (Senegal) participants [redaction] (1 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

STATE DINNER (SENEGAL) TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1991 - 7:30 PM
STATE DINING ROOM - EAST ENTRANCE (Black Tie) (Valet Parking) (129)

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

HE THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL & MRS. DIOUF

Mr. Habib Diouf

Son of President Diouf

Mr. & Mrs. Ibrahima Diop (Yacine Diouf)

Son-in-Law & Daughter of President Diouf

HE Abdoulaye Wade

Minister of State

HE Famara Ibrahima Sagna

Minister of Finance

Mrs. Djibo Ka (Coumbra)

Wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs

HE Alassane Dialy Ndiaye

Minister of Industrial Development & Commerce

HE The Ambassador of the Republic of Senegal & Mrs. Ka

HE Pascal Manga

Vice President of the National Assembly

Major General Doudou Diop

Special Advisor to the President

HE (Amb.) Babacar Carlos Mbaye

Diplomatic Advisor to the President

The Secretary of Education & Mrs. Alexander (Honey)

Hon. & Mrs. Reginald Bartholomew (Rose-Anne)

Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science & Technology

Hon. (Rep.) & Mrs. Herbert H. Bateman (Laura)

R/Virginia

Mr. & Mrs. James L. Bayless, Jr. (Elizabeth)

McLean, Virginia

Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. William J. Bennett (Elayne)

Hudson Institute

Hon. (Rep.) & Mrs. Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (Mary Virginia)

R/Virginia

Hon. Charles Bray & Ms. Katie Gingrass

President, The Johnson Foundation & Former Ambassador to Senegal

Katie Gingrass Art Gallery, Milwaukee

Hon. (Sen.) & Mrs. Hank Brown (Nan)

R/Colorado

Hon. (Amb.) & Mrs. Richard Carlson (Patricia)

U.S. Ambassador to The Seychelles

Mr. & Mrs. James Clark (Alice)

Easton, Maryland

Hon. & Mrs. Herman J. Cohen (Suzanne)

Assistant Secretary for African Affairs

Mr. & Mrs. William Lloyd Davis (Teran)

Santa Monica, CA

Hon. & Mrs. Michael Deland (Jane)
Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality

Mr. Dom De Luise
Actor

Mr. Frank di Clemente
Phillips Academy

Mr. Charles Fishman
Charismic Productions

Mr. John Birks ("Dizzy") Gillespie
Jazz Musician

Hon. & Mrs. George W. Haley (Doris)
Chairman, Postal Rate Commission

Mrs. Kitty Carlisle Hart
New York

Hon. & Mrs. Harry G. Haskell, Jr. (Mary)
President & Chairman of the Board, Abercrombie & Fitch

Dr. Dorothy I. Height & Mr. Robert Hall
President, National Council of Negro Women

Hon. (Ms.) Edith E. ("Ede") Holiday & Mr. Terrence Adamson
Assistant to the President & Secretary of the Cabinet

Dr. Ernest Holloway
President, Langston University

Mr. & Mrs. C. Bruce Johnson (Madge)
WUSA-TV

Mr. & Mrs. Robert L. Johnson (Sheila)
President, Black Entertainment Television

Hon. (Sen.) Nancy Landon Kassebaum
R/Kansas

Hon. & Mrs. Richard J. Kerr (Janice)
Acting Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Mr. & Mrs. John B. Kilroy, Sr. (Chantal)
Kilroy Industries

Mr. Carl H. Lindner & son, Mr. S. Craig Lindner
Chairman of the Board & CEO, Great American Financial Corporation

Hon. & Mrs. Thomas E. McNamara (Emma)
Special Assistant to the President & Senior Director for African
Affairs, NSC

Dr. & Mrs. W. Tabb Moore (Rosaline)
Washington, DC

Hon. & Mrs. George Moose (Judy)
Former Ambassador to Senegal

(b)(3)

Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Mumma II (Susan)
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Mr. & Mrs. Jose F. Nino (Theresa)
President, U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce

Hon. (Sen.) & Mrs. Sam Nunn (Colleen)
D/Georgia

Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence Pezzullo (Josephine)
President, Catholic Relief Services

Mr. & Mrs. Richard F. ("Digger") Phelps (Teresa)
South Bend, Indiana

Hon. & Mrs. Lewis T. Preston (Gladys ("Patsy"))
President, The World Bank

Mr. Wesley Pruden & Ms. Corinna Metcalf
Managing Editor, The Washington Times

Hon. (Amb.) Joseph V. Reed
Chief of Protocol

Hon. & Mrs. Ronald Roskens (Lois)
Administrator, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency

Mr. & Mrs. Edward Salomons (Celia)
San Antonio, TX

Ms. Lori Santos & Mr. Craig Schwed
White House Correspondent, UPI

Justice & Mrs. Scalia (Maureen)
The Supreme Court of the United States

Dr. Gloria R. Scott
President, Bennett College

Mr. & Mrs. Stanley S. Scott (Bettye)
New Orleans

Hon. (Gen.) Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Mr. & Mrs. David Shear
President, International & Development Group, Ltd.

Hon. (Amb.) Katherine H. Shirley
U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal

Lt. Gen. Lawrence Skibbie, USA (Ret.) & Mrs. Skibbie (Nancy)
President, American Defense Preparedness Association

Hon. (Ms.) Judy A. Smith & Mr. Ray Valentine
Special Assistant to the President & Deputy Press Secretary

General & Mrs. Gordon R. Sullivan (Gay)
Chief of Staff of the Army

Hon. (Gov.) & Mrs. John H. Sununu (Nancy)
Chief of Staff to the President

Dr. & Mrs. Arthur E. Thomas (Dawn)
President, Central State University

Mr. Franklin A. Thomas & Ms. Kate R. Whitney
President, The Ford Foundation

Mr. & Mrs. Isiah Thomas (Lynn)
All-Star Guard, Detroit Pistons

Dr. Walter J. Turnbull & Ms. Joannie Danielides
Director, The Boys Choir of Harlem, Inc.

Rev. & Mrs. Stan Wachstetter (Helen)
Apostolic Liaison, Global Christian Interaction

The Secretary of Energy & Mrs. Watkins (Sheila)

Mr. & Mrs. Robert Woodson (Ellen)
President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise

ENTERTAINMENT (SENEGAL) TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1991 - 9:30 PM
EAST ENTRANCE (BLACK TIE) (VALET PARKING)

Official Senegalese Delegation

Colonel Lamine Cisse
Mr. Mamadou Lamine Cisse
Mr. Ibrahima Deme
Colonel Abdoulaye Dieng
Mr. Babacar Diouf
Mr. Leopold Faye
Mr. Amadou Gaye
Mr. Mamadou Gning
Mr. Silcarneyni Gueye
Mrs. Diagna Ndiaye
Mr. Blaise Pascal Talla
Mrs. Awa Thiongane
Mr. Mamadou Toure

White House

Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Barth (Carol Anne)
Director, International Economic Affairs, NSC
Mr. Richard A. Davis & Ms. Sara Grosvenor
NSC
Hon. & Mrs. Arnold I. Havens (Debra)
Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs
Ms. Anna Perez & Mr. Theophilus Sims
Hon. & Mrs. Gene C. Schaerr (Martha)
Associate Counsel to the President
Hon. & Mrs. Shawn H. Smeallie (Janice)
Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs

Department of State

Mr. & Mrs. Robert R. Gosende (Mary Beth)
Director, Office of African Affairs
Mr. & Mrs. Julius Coles (Jean)
Ms. Marilyn Jackson & Mr. Robert Dumas
Mr. John Lewis & Ms. Carole Tyson

Other

Miss Mary Alice Wachstetter

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

OFFICIAL DINNER

in honor of His Excellency Abdou Diouf,
President of the Republic of Senegal,
and Mrs. Diouf
Tuesday, September 10, 1991

TIME:

7:15 p.m. - 11:00 p.m.

LOCATION:

State Floor

DRESS:

Black Tie

FROM:

Laurie Firestone



7:15 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH greet His Excellency, President of the Republic of Senegal, and Mrs. Diouf at North Portico. THE PRINCIPALS pose for photo on steps and then proceed to Yellow Oval Room via Grand Staircase.

7:16 p.m.

The following guests arrive and are escorted to Yellow Oval Room by Ambassador Reed:

- Mrs. Djibo Ka,
Wife of the Foreign Minister of Senegal
- His Excellency and Mrs. Ibra Deguene Ka,
The Ambassador of Senegal
- Mr. Habib Diouf,
Son of President and Mrs. Diouf
- Mr. Ibrahima Diop,
Son-in-law of President and Mrs. Diouf
- The Honorable Katharine Shirley,
U.S. Ambassador to Senegal

7:40 p.m.

Yellow Oval Room guests depart Yellow Oval Room.

7:45 p.m.

Color Guard secures the Colors and proceeds down Grand Staircase followed by THE PRINCIPALS enroute East Room for receiving line.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1991

Ambassador Reed (to introduce)
THE PRESIDENT
President Diouf
MRS. BUSH
Mrs. Diouf

8:15 p.m. THE PRINCIPALS proceed to State Dining Room.

Once all guests are seated, THE PRESIDENT and President Diouf will give toasts.

8:30 p.m. Following toasts, dinner is served.

10:00 p.m. Coffee and liqueurs are served in the Color Rooms.

(THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH greet after-dinner guests in Blue Room.)

10:10 p.m. THE PRINCIPALS proceed to designated seating in East Room.

Performance by Boys Choir of Harlem.

10:30 p.m. THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH bid farewell to President and Mrs. Diouf at North Portico.

President and Mrs. Diouf return to Blair House.

THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH return to Grand Foyer and may begin dancing or mix and mingle and then depart enroute Residence.

10:45 p.m. THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH depart State Floor.

All guests depart.

ENTERTAINMENT CARD

O FOR OVER 20 YEARS, THE BOY'S CHOIR OF HARLEM HAS ENCHANTED AUDIENCES ACROSS AMERICA AND THE WORLD WITH TOURS OF EUROPE, JAPAN, CANADA, AND THE CARIBBEAN.

O THE BOY'S CHOIR IS NOT JUST AN ARTISTIC ENDEAVOR -- IT IS AN ACADEMIC ONE. 98 PERCENT OF ITS ALUMNI GO ON TO COLLEGE.

O BARBARA HAS HEARD THEM A NUMBER OF TIMES AND INSISTED WE INVITE THEM TO THE WHITE HOUSE SO THAT ALL OF US COULD HEAR THEM TOO. AS USUAL, SHE WAS RIGHT. WE WISH THEM EVERY SUCCESS IN THE FUTURE.



A BIGGER SPLASH
David Hockney, British, b. 1937
Acrylic on canvas, 1967
Trustees of the Tate Gallery, London
Published by
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Reproduced by permission © David Hockney 1967
© 1988 MMA
11-08835-8



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1. POTUS

2. Mrs. Bush

3. Presock/personal files

76

Mrs. Bush

Jyi

Patty Presock

September 21, 1991

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you so much
for giving us the thrill
of a lifetime - staying
in the White House!
Even more than that, though,
we are privileged to
have experienced yours
and Barbara's warm and
friendship. It means
a great deal to us.

Fondly,

Jerry Phelps

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02d. Envelope	T. Phelps to President Bush [redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	09/26/91	(b)(6)	

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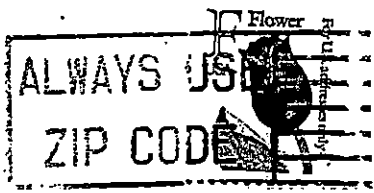
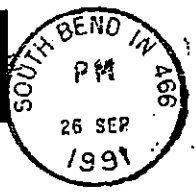
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T. Phelps

(b)(6)



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

01 SEP 30 P 1:35

AH: Walker

91 SEP 30 P1 : 21

BB

September 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH
FROM: Patricia Presock
SUBJECT: OVERNIGHT GUESTS AT THE RESIDENCE

Tuesday, September 10, 1991

Mr. Frank DiClemente

3:15 p.m. - Arrives National Airport
Pan Am Flight 4785

Will be met by WH driver.

Departure - Wednesday approx. 9:30 a.m.

Mr. and Mrs. Digger Phelps (wife: Terry)

3:36 p.m. - Arrive Dulles Airport
Private Plane

Will be met up by WH driver.

Departure - Wednesday approx. 9:00 a.m.

Wednesday, September 11, 1991

Neil Bush

??? p.m. - Arrive the White House
(NOTE: Peggy Swift working out details)

Thursday, September 12, 1991

Laura, Jenna and Barbara Bush

6:30 p.m. - Approximate arrival time.
Details have not been firmed up.

George W. Bush

7:00 p.m. - Approximate arrival time.
Details have not been firmed up.

Departure - Sunday morning.

USSS will take care of their transportation needs.

Friday, September 13, 1991

John and Jody Bush

4:30 p.m. - Approximate arrival time.
Details have not been firmed up.

Departure Monday morning.

9-10-91

Date



Please get claps on
Educ. Press Conts

We need a clear
position on "all-white"
"all female" schools
(WST p. R22)

Ron K - did he settle to
Tom Ellis on
Kalt idea

Greg Ruhl -
Porter, Charles mostly
on compromise →

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

SHAMIR ADDS NEW UNCERTAINTY TO PEACE TALKS

JERUSALEM -- Prime Minister Shamir tossed a new element of uncertainty into prospects for a Middle East peace conference, saying Israel would not attend the landmark talks if its demands of the makeup of a Palestinian delegation are ignored.... Although Shamir agreed to participate in the conference, the prime minister told Israel Radio his answer could change if the Palestinian issues is not resolved.

(Jonathan Ferziger, UPI)

ISRAELI ASSAILS BUSH ON LOAN DELAY

Prime Minister Shamir fueled conflict with the U.S. Monday, denouncing President Bush's call for a delay in loan guarantees to Israel while Middle East peace talks are being set up.

"We don't accept...that you can link humanitarian aid...and certain political steps," Shamir said.... In Tunis Monday, PLO leader Arafat said Bush's call for a delay [in loan guarantees] is "a positive sign" but doesn't go far enough to halt settlements.

"We are talking only about three or four months, which means (Israel) can then reacquire financing to settle immigrants in the occupied territories," Arafat said. Khalil Jahshan, head of the National Association of Arab Americans, said loan guarantees shouldn't be considered at all.... Beyond the loans lies the issue of Israel's clout in Washington, says Robert Neumann, former U.S. ambassador Afghanistan, Morocco and Saudi Arabia: "The Israelis have thought they could twist us around their fingers whenever they wanted; and Bush is not that kind of man."

(Marilyn Greene, USA Today, 4A)

PALESTINIAN PLEASED AT BUSH STANCE

Palestinian negotiator Hanan Ashrawi says she is encouraged by what she sees as President Bush's new toughness toward Israel.

"It indicates a political willingness to be firm, which we did not see before," Ashrawi said by telephone from the West Bank....

"Something we've always wanted is for America to reflect American policy, not Israeli policy," Ashrawi said. This is a beginning. It's an encouraging sign that the U.S. is willing to say, 'This is where you get off,' and that there are some limits beyond which even Israel cannot go."

(Marilyn Greene, USA Today, 4A)

PALESTINIANS PARLEY STRESSES ROLE IN PEACE TALKS

LONDON -- A group of 25 Palestinian officials, intellectuals and others who met here Sunday to review Palestinian strategies have agreed that the most viable option for the PLO is to take part in the expected Middle East peace conference, regardless of objections from PLO militants.... Individual participants said there was a consensus among the 25 that the PLO leadership risks being bypassed altogether in the proposed Middle East talks if it creates obstacles over Palestinian participation.... The gathering was attended by several PLO officials, including Nabil Shaath, a senior adviser to PLO chairman Arafat, and Hanan Ashrawi, who has taken part in talks in Jerusalem with Secretary Baker.

(Youssef Ibrahim, New York Times, A5)

MEXICAN, U.S. CABINETS HOLD JOINT SESSION

MEXICO CITY -- In what Secretary Baker called a sign of more friendly relations, the U.S. and Mexican cabinets Monday staged a broad review of issues confronting them as they head into a free-trade agreement designed to bring their economies more closely together.

Baker described the presence of five U.S. cabinet secretaries and six U.S. agency heads for the ninth Binational Commission meeting as a measure of the importance that the Bush Administration attaches to its improves relations with the Mexican government headed by President Salinas de Gortari.

"There is no other country in the world with which our President's cabinet meets consistently and regularly as a whole to conduct important business," Baker told a closing news conference....

"Under Salinas, reforms have begun in the electoral system, such as voter registration," Baker said in response to a Mexican reporter's question on the fraud allegations. "We hope these reforms will continue, and have every reason to believe they will."

(Edward Cody, Washington Post, A24)

BAKER HEAPS PRAISE ON MEXICO, UNDERLINES SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP

MEXICO CITY -- Secretary Baker heaped praise on Mexico after a meeting of cabinet officials from the two Administrations Monday, saying the talks underlined the special relationship between the neighboring states.

"Let me say that I think the economic revolution in Mexico is quite remarkable," Baker told a news conference after the ninth annual meeting of the U.S.-Mexican Binational Commission.

"We think that Mexico's success offers a lesson for the rest of the world that free market reforms combined with political courage will reap real dividends for ordinary people."

Baker said significant progress had been made on border environmental cooperation, joint efforts to combat drug trafficking, workers' rights, exchange programs, the removal of agricultural trade barriers and consular affairs.

(Paul Iredale, Reuter)

BAKER HINTS OF INTERIM AID PLAN FOR ISRAEL

The White House expressed confidence Monday that, despite an outcry from Jerusalem, the prospects now appear favorable that the U.S. and Israel will resolve a potentially explosive dispute over new housing loans....

The statement of assurance came as Secretary Baker hinted that the Bush Administration might offer Israel modest, short-term assistance in exchange for its acquiescence to a proposed delay in the \$10 billion package of loan guarantees that it's seeking.

Baker said he and Prime Minister Shamir have conducted "substantial discussions" by telephone, attempting to resolve the timing of the loan guarantees "in a manner which will permit us to avoid conflict."

But Baker refused to elaborate on what such a compromise might entail.

(Douglas Jehl, Los Angeles Times, A13)

WILDER CAUSTIC, COY ON '92 RACE

With just days until he is to announce his presidential intentions, Governor Wilder Monday lashed out at his potential Democratic rivals and criticized the Bush Administration's domestic agenda....

He blasted Democrats and Republicans for last year's compromise on the federal deficit because it contained new taxes.

"I think that anyone, whether they were Democrat or Republican, has a great deal to apologize for. It didn't reduce the deficit. It increased taxes, regressive as they were. No programs are being met. (Jim Clardy, Washington Times, A1)

BOSTON'S FLYNN TELLS COHORTS TO BE ACTIVE IN PRESIDENTIAL RACE

Boston Mayor Flynn is urging the nation's mayors to take an aggressive role in the 1992 presidential nomination process and would like candidates to make urban problems part of their agenda....

"At some point in time, the President will have to respond to the concerns of the people of America in moving forward with a domestic agenda," Flynn said. "He can't keep ignoring it."

("Politics," Washington Post, A10)

'BILLY JACK' STAR CONSIDERS 1992 ROLE AS CANDIDATE**Plan For New Film May Turn Into Campaign**

..."The idea of me running for President is ludicrous," says Tom Laughlin, a.k.a. Billy Jack, a 1970s movie character.

But that may not stop him. Laughlin is seriously considering a national crusade for president. He's already been to Iowa once and plans a return engagement this Friday. His platform is seductively simple: national health insurance, now; term limits; and the right to tell the government how to spend 25 percent of your personal income taxes. (Dan Balz, Washington Post, A4)

POPADIUK IS HONORED

Roman Popadiuk, the son of Ukrainian peasants who is President Bush's deputy press secretary for foreign affairs, has been named Ukrainian of the Year by the Ukrainian Institute of America. ("Talking Points," Washington Post, A17)

**BUSH, CITING BOY SCOUTS, BACKS ALL-BOY BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOLS
President Criticizes Federal Ruling In Detroit Case**

President Bush Monday said he found "some merit" in the notion that young urban black males would benefit from attending an all-boys school and questioned a recent court ruling that such separate public schools would be unconstitutional.

Bush said that all-male schools and classrooms represented the kind of innovation that his education plan seeks to promote in local schools. Twice in an interview with education reporters, Bush referred to the Boy Scouts, as being similar to the all-male public academies that have been proposed in Detroit, Milwaukee, New York and other cities....

Bush's remarks clarified his Administration's position on the issue. Secretary Alexander had told reporters last month that he opposed schools for black males because they would violate Brown v. Board of Education. Monday Alexander said that the Supreme Court decision was not germane to proposals to convert existing all-black schools into all-male ones.

(Kenneth Cooper, Washington Post, A2)

BUSH PROMISES MORE ATTENTION TO EDUCATION; ENDORSES MALE SCHOOLS

President Bush took some of the blame Monday for a late start developing an education strategy, but promised to use his "bully pulpit" to try motivating parents and students and changing schools....

Democratic leaders are calling recent appearances by Bush at schools a re-election campaign stunt between foreign trips. DNC chairman Brown accused Bush of attempting to avoid "real responsibility for improving the schools."...

Bush said the "tired old refrain" out of Congress for more money for schools "doesn't make sense." Government and private funding for education has gone from \$160 billion to \$400 over the last decade and "the results have not been good," he said. "What's been missing is the innovation that we're bringing to it."

But Bush said he deserves a "little share" of the blame too because "it's taken us a while to formulate this program."

(James Brosnan, Scripps Howard)

ABORTION 'GAG RULE' FACES AN UP-HILL FIGHT

A member of the Senate Republican leadership predicted Monday President Bush would lose his battle to uphold rules forbidding abortion counseling at federally funded family planning clinics.

"I think the Administration is going to lose on that one," said Sen. Cochran. "I think they should amend the regulations to permit abortion information being given out."...

White House Chief of Staff Sununu said over the weekend that the unemployment rate of 6.8 percent was too low to justify extending more benefits.

"John Sununu has a job, but 2 million people have been put out of work in the last year," said Rep. Bonior. "People are really hurting."

(Major Garrett, Washington Times, A3)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03a. Memo	From Lawrence S. Eagleburger to President Bush (1 pp.)	09/10/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, September 10, 1991 [2]

Date Closed: 4/26/2013	OA/ID Number: 90617-009
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 12/6/24

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

07/1
September 9, 1991

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Acting Secretary

1. Philippine Committee Rejects Base Agreement. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the Philippines recommended against ratification of the base treaty today by a vote of 12 to 11. This spells serious trouble for the treaty, as all 24 of the Senators sit on the Committee and two-thirds of the Senate must approve when it comes to the floor. This could happen at any time over the next six days. President Aquino has now pulled out all stops in an effort to secure ratification. Against the strong advice of her security personnel, she will lead a "people power" demonstration on the streets of Manila tomorrow to mobilize public backing for the agreement. Finance Secretary Estanislao is in town seeking positive statements from Treasury supporting the Philippines' recent agreement with commercial bank creditors on debt management. We will not offer new money.

2. Egyptian-Libyan Relations. President Mubarak is continuing his efforts to rehabilitate Libyan leader Qadhafi. Since early July, there have been reciprocal visits by Qadhafi and Mubarak, visiting delegations led by ministerial-level officials, the signing of a number of economic/technical agreements and the re-opening of Egypt's border with Libya. At the same time, Egyptian military and police officials are unhappy with the new open border policy and are keeping a close eye on Libyan visitors. Mubarak is still urging us to talk to Qadhafi, or at least give him a sign that we recognize his recent "moderate" behavior. We have told him that we cannot consider any talks until Qadhafi makes substantive -- as opposed to cosmetic -- changes in his activities.

3. USSR: Georgian Unrest Grows. Demonstrations in Tbilisi calling for Georgian President Gamsakhurdia's resignation grew in size over the weekend. Both radical and moderate opposition elements claim that he did not actively oppose the coup attempt against Gorbachev. There were no reports of violence. Gamsakhurdia charged Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev with orchestrating the demonstrations from Moscow. Warrants have reportedly been issued for the arrest of several opposition leaders. Former Prime Minister Sigua, who resigned on August 17 and is now in hiding, issued a statement yesterday supporting the demonstrators.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03c. Summary	Heads of State Correspondence Summary (1 pp.)	08-09/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, September 10, 1991 [2]

Date Closed: 4/26/2013	OA/ID Number: 90617-009
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03d. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	09/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, September 10, 1991 [2]

Date Closed: 4/26/2013 **OA/ID Number:** 90617-009

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/9/91

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: BRENT SCOWCROFT

DISCUSS PAGE 12 WITH ME.

Thanks.

GB

Putty- Put this in my personal records
of War.

It is a very weak defense and in my view
very ANTI-USA. Disappointing.

Put ~~first~~ on my desk so I
can discuss it with Brent on 9-9.

*Discussed
with Brent
9-9-91*

*I'll have letter
prepared*

GEORGE BUSH

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting



White Paper

Jordan and the Gulf Crisis
August 1990 - March 1991

*Bent -
disors p. 12 with me*

The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Amman, August 1991

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting



White Paper

Jordan and the Gulf Crisis
August 1990 - March 1991

The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Amman, August 1991

Bush Library Photocopy
Preservation

The object of this White Paper is to describe the policies of the Government of Jordan during the various stages of the Gulf Crisis between the summer of 1990 and early 1991, with related documentation from official and public sources. Over many years and particularly during this period, the Jordanian leadership made great efforts to prevent the deterioration of relations between Iraq and Kuwait and to encourage the amicable resolution of problems between them; it continued these efforts within the context of the new situation created by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in order to contain the crisis, reversing the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and resolving all the causes of the eruption peacefully through Arab mediation. When these efforts failed, Jordan continued to take initiatives to convince the members of the United Nations to pursue diplomatic measures to solve the crisis, and to avoid decisions which would lead to military confrontation. When these initiatives also failed, Jordan strove to avert hostilities before widespread and perhaps irreparable damage could be done to the political, social, human and ecological environment of the region.

At this time when Jordan is exerting efforts to repair the damage done to inter-Arab relationships by the crisis, and to remove misunderstandings and sources of friction which may have temporarily clouded some of her traditional friendships, the intent of this Paper is not to re-open wounds or to cast blame on one party or another for decisions taken in the past, but rather to clarify, once and for all, the realities and the motivation behind Jordan's policies towards the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, and towards the international developments to which that conflict gave rise.

It is the belief of the Jordanian leadership that the restoration of fraternal relations between members of the Arab community, and of Jordan's relations with all members of the international community, depends not on trying to deny or forget that there were opposing points of view and conflicting policies, but rather on an honest and factually-exact record of events and decisions in order that mistakes or misjudgments may be clearly recognized, and hopefully avoided in the future.

Jordan's active involvement in all phases of the Gulf Crisis was the product of three factors: its geographic position and close social, economic and political links with Iraq, Kuwait and the Gulf; a shared sense of belonging to the Arab community, a common cultural identity and a common destiny; and the recent formation of the

Arab Cooperation Council (ACC), linking Jordan, Egypt, Iraq and the Yemen, over which His Majesty King Hussein presided in 1990, the second year of its existence. It was therefore natural that Jordan should play a leading role in seeking to avert a conflict between countries with whom it was closely associated, and to save the people of the region from the consequences of a war which it clearly foresaw.

In all its efforts Jordan maintained a neutral position between the parties to the conflict, and consistently sought to assume the role of mediator essential to any successful attempt to resolve opposing claims and counter-claims. The two main sources of contention between the Governments of Iraq and Kuwait were a dispute about the frontiers between the two states, and another on the rights to the production of oil from the Rumailah oilfield. In addition to that, there was the old Iraqi interest in securing an outlet to the waters of the Gulf which had been denied them because of the way in which the boundaries between the two countries were drawn by the representative of the British government in 1922.

These sources of contention could and should have been easily removed through the mediation of other Arab governments, which were obliged by virtue of their membership of the Arab League to make serious efforts to find an Arab solution, in conformity with the rules of the United Nations Charter relating to the peaceful settlement of regional disputes (Chapters 6 & 8). This had been Jordan's aim from the time it became clear at the Arab Summit meeting, held in Baghdad in May 1990, that a dangerous situation had arisen from the Government of Iraq's inability to obtain satisfaction from the Government of Kuwait on the issues of the level of and rights to production from the Rumailah field, and from the adverse impact of a depressed international market oil price on the Iraqi economy, believed by the Iraqis to be due to Kuwait's and the United Arab Emirates' confirmed production of oil above the quotas set by OPEC.

In the last week of July 1990, His Majesty made serious attempts to mediate between Iraq and Kuwait, and obtained assurances from President Saddam Hussein that Iraq would not resort to force in settling its disputes with Kuwait as long as negotiations were underway. While similar attempts at mediation were meeting with some positive response from both sides, action taken by external forces aggravated and escalated the atmosphere of contention,

notably the naval exercises carried out by the United States Navy in the Gulf and the vote taken by the American Senate on July 27 to cut off all foodstuff supplies and to prohibit the transfer of military equipment and technology to Iraq. His Majesty King Hussein visited Baghdad on July 29 and Kuwait the next day, urging both Governments to exercise flexibility in what turned out to be the last-minute attempt to defuse the situation. Unfortunately the Kuwaiti authorities seemed to have a false sense of security and were reluctant to understand the danger of the situation - and the extreme Iraqi anger with Kuwait at leadership level with troops massed by both sides - probably because they believed that they could rely on immediate foreign support in the event of their territory being invaded.

With Iraq's perception of a threat of external intervention and an intransigent mood in Kuwait, a meeting between the representatives of both sides, held in Jeddah on July 31, was doomed to failure. Even so the Iraqi army's invasion of Kuwait in the early hours of the morning of August 2 took the Government of Jordan by surprise. His Majesty was informed that the invasion had taken place at exactly 5:50 a.m. through a telephone call from His Majesty King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who requested that President Saddam should be urged to limit his invasion to the extent of the disputed boundaries between Iraq and Kuwait until the whole dispute could be resolved peacefully. When asked by King Hussein about where the Iraqi forces were, he was shocked to learn that they were approximately six kms from Kuwait city and still moving in. Iraq's borders and airspace were closed and all attempts to telephone the Iraqi President failed until he returned His Majesty's calls just after midday on August 2. His Majesty was informed that in response to a measured approach from Arab governments - and not to threats, provocation, or condemnation - Iraqi forces (by now essentially in occupation of all of Kuwait) would begin to withdraw from Kuwait within days and complete their withdrawal within weeks.

Shortly after this telephone conversation and on that same day, August 2, His Majesty flew to Alexandria to meet with President Mubarak who urged him to visit Baghdad as soon as possible, a request that was endorsed by His Majesty King Fahd. The Jordanian and Egyptian Heads of State also spoke with U.S. President George Bush who considered the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as totally unacceptable and who voiced concern for the lives and well being of foreigners caught in the middle of this eruption. His Majesty

informed the American President that he believed he needed 48 hours during which he could travel to Iraq to get specific commitments from President Saddam for an Iraqi withdrawal under the terms of an Arab solution, within the context of the original telephone conversation His Majesty had made with him.

It was agreed between His Majesty and President Mubarak that the Arab League should defer issuing a condemnation of Iraq pending the success or failure of His Majesty's mission to Baghdad to find out the Iraqi position on two proposals: namely, a commitment by the Iraqi government to withdraw from Kuwait as soon as possible, and an agreement from Iraq to attend a mini-Arab summit in Jeddah to discuss and settle all facets of the Iraq-Kuwait dispute.

These proposals were enthusiastically endorsed by President Mubarak, who had the Jordanian Foreign Minister flown to Cairo in his Presidential G4 Jet to cooperate with the Egyptian Foreign Minister during the meeting of Arab foreign ministers, already in session in Cairo, with the aim of restraining the impatience of the foreign ministers of the Gulf States to condemn Iraq.

On the following morning of August 3, King Hussein flew to Baghdad, having broken his journey for only a few hours in Amman, and secured President Saddam's agreement to a solution of the crisis within the Arab context: Iraq would attend a mini-summit to be held in Jeddah on August 5, initially to include Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and was in agreement with the outline of a solution which His Majesty had already discussed with President Mubarak and His Majesty King Fahd, under the terms of which Iraq would begin its earliest withdrawal at a date and time to be specified, within hours, and that His Majesty would be informed of the details before his return landing in Amman. The Iraqi President was adamant that he would only respond positively to these proposals if the Arab League abstained from condemning Iraq and thus paving the way for outside intervention. The Iraqi Government did, within that same day, declare its intention to begin withdrawing its forces from Kuwait at 7 p.m. on August 5.

At the same time that His Majesty was discussing the proposals jointly agreed upon between himself and President Mubarak, the Egyptian government issued a statement condemning the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Upon his return to Amman, His Majesty called President Mubarak to inform him of the agreement he had reached

with President Saddam Hussein, and to express his regret at the Egyptian statement. President Mubarak's explanation to His Majesty was that he was under great pressure; and that he had spoken with His Majesty King Fahd who was very angry at the situation. President Mubarak was now unwilling to accept the agreement reached by His Majesty with President Saddam Hussein, and insisted on Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait and the immediate restoration of the Kuwaiti ruling family.

The Egyptian President's new position was in conformity with the Arab Foreign Ministers' Arab League Meeting adoption of a resolution condemning Iraq for the invasion of Kuwait and calling for an immediate withdrawal (Document I).

The Jordanian representative to the Arab League meeting, Foreign Minister, Marwan Al Qassim, had warned of the dangers of adopting the resolution at a time when efforts were being made by His Majesty and other Arab leaders to pave the way for a mini-summit and to contain the crisis. None the less, late on the night of August 3, the resolution was adopted by a majority of 14 members. The Jordanian representative abstained from voting on this resolution and made an explanation of vote (Document II).

The passage of this resolution effectively frustrated Jordanian efforts to arrange for a mini-summit, hardened the attitude of the Iraqi government, paved the way for the Arab League to abandon any attempts to keep the crisis within the boundaries of the Arab fold, and opened the way for international demands for an unconditional and non-negotiable Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

The speed with which the resolution was adopted by the Foreign Ministers, and the change in President Mubarak's previous endorsement of the Jordanian initiative, appeared to indicate to the Jordanian government that strong pressures had been brought to bear on the Egyptian Government, and that the Saudi Arabian Government - which had, up to then, participated in and, in fact, encouraged the Jordanian efforts and had showed every sign of genuinely seeking a diplomatic resolution to the crisis - had also been subjected to strong pressure - together with other Arab states.

Jordanian anxiety about the course of events was further intensified by the arrival of Foreign Minister, Marwan Al Qassim, on that same day as His Majesty was meeting with his aides. Mr. Qassim bore the

text of the draft resolution prepared by the Arab Foreign ministers at the meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Cairo which condemned Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait. His Majesty's immediate reaction was that the resolution was a prelude to the internationalization of the crisis, opening the way for foreign intervention, rather than allowing the solution of the crisis within the Arab context: a prognosis which turned out to be accurate.

From this point onward, the aggravation and escalation of the conflict gathered momentum. Every Jordanian attempt to break the impetus towards war was frustrated. The final abandonment by the Arab League of its role as a security structure came at the emergency Arab Summit meeting called by President Mubarak on August 8. The meeting took place on August 10 and His Majesty attended it. Attempts to revive Arab mediation efforts were brushed aside, and the text of a resolution already prepared and probably drafted outside the meeting, was pushed through quickly. The resolution repeated the previous condemnation of Iraq, and responded affirmatively to the request of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States for Arab forces to help "defend their territories and regional security against any outside aggression" (Document III).

Article 6 of the Charter of the Arab League stipulates that in the case of aggression by one state against another, resolutions must be adopted by unanimous vote. In Jordan's view, both the resolution adopted at the ministerial level on August 3, and the resolution adopted on August 10, did not conform to Article 6. Jordan and some other Arab countries saw the latter resolution as a cover for foreign intervention before an Arab resolution of the conflict could be found. Jordan therefore did not participate in the vote.

The dispatch of the international coalition's massive land, sea and air forces to Saudi Arabia was widely perceived in the region as a major step towards the implementation of a plan to destroy Iraq's military and industrial capacity. These suspicions had already been aroused by what, contextually, appeared to have been a systematic campaign by the Western media, extending over a period of at least two years prior to the crisis, to create the belief that the Iraqi government was planning to become the dominant power in the Middle East, and to attack Israel in particular.

As a reaction against what it saw as the sinister unfolding of an international conspiracy, the Iraqi government retaliated by

retaining the citizens of various countries on its territory, thereby adding to the dimensions of the crisis, committing another breach of international law, and creating a climate of fear and uncertainty among the large foreign population in Iraq and the Gulf. Hundreds of thousands of refugees sought sanctuary in Jordan, thus adding to the country's already grave problems. The imposition of sanctions against Iraq by Security Council Resolution 661 on August 6, followed by the further imposition of a total maritime, land and air blockade under the terms of Resolution 665 on August 25, had a disastrous impact on the economic and financial situation of Jordan. The port of Aqaba, Jordan's only outlet to the sea, was effectively and arbitrarily blockaded by the coalition's naval forces, although ports in other countries with access to Iraq were not similarly treated. Trade with Iraq, Jordan's main market and source of petroleum products (which, incidentally during these times, had been in repayment of debt to Jordan) was reduced to a standstill. Jordan thus received a severe economic punishment for actions to which it was not a party, and this situation, along with the presence of hundreds of thousands of new refugees flooding across its borders, created an atmosphere of tension that might well have exploded had the Government not adopted a position of neutrality and resistance to outside pressures from the beginning of the crisis.

The Armed Forces of Jordan were instructed, having been fully mobilised, to challenge all violations of Jordan's air and land space from any quarter and all parties were appraised of this stance. His Majesty later described the period as one highly dangerous to the country which was subjected to great pressures and threats. The Jordanian people however survived the crisis with its morale high and its character intact.

From the beginning of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the Jordanian Government made it very clear that it did not accept the acquisition of territory by war (Document IV). Throughout the crisis Jordan strove to maintain a delicate balance between respect for Security Council Resolutions and the need for a diplomatic solution. Resolution 660 provided the basis for a peaceful settlement in Paragraph 3 which called "upon Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediately intensive negotiations for the resolutions of their differences and supports all efforts in this regard and especially those of the League of Arab States". The Jordanian interpretation of the resolution was that "unconditionality in the language of diplomacy does not exclude prior understandings about subsequent

arrangements" (Document V). Unfortunately Paragraph 3 was consistently disregarded by the members of the Security Council who participated in the international coalition.

Although the adoption, by the Emergency Summit Meeting of the Arab League, of the decision to send Arab forces to join the international coalition against Iraq on August 10 was seen by the Government of Jordan as regrettable, it continued its efforts to seek an Arab solution, along with members of the Arab League which shared its point of view. These efforts were exercised in two directions: in the first contacts with the principal members of the international coalition were made with a view to persuading them of the importance of dialogue rather than confrontation with Iraq; in the second direction contacts with Arab governments which shared the Jordanian point of view and with the Government of Iraq were multiplied to try to find a compromise which might enable that Government to remove any reason for the massive presence of foreign forces in the area by withdrawing from Kuwait.

After the Arab Summit on August 10, His Majesty went to Baghdad on August 13, and then almost immediately to the United States, where he met President Bush on August 16. During that visit His Majesty gained the impression that the American military presence in Saudi Arabia, and the region, had as its role the defence of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and was, together with other forces, assuming a purely defensive posture. The American stance on the absolute need for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait was clear, a position with which Jordan had concurred. His Majesty as a result felt that since there was no evidence whatsoever that Iraq had harboured any hostile intentions towards Saudi Arabia, there was an opportunity which should be utilised to redouble efforts for a peaceful resolution of the entire problem, and that this objective became tantamount to a sacred duty in the interests of peace and all concerned. On the same day, Crown Prince Hassan met a delegation from the Council of Europe and put the Jordanian position to them very clearly (Document VI).

Between August 23 and 29, King Hussein visited Yemen, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco. Between August 30 and September 5, His Majesty also visited Spain, Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy. In each of the European countries, His Majesty met with government leaders and explained the point of view of the Jordanian Government on the origins and causes of the

crisis, on the current situation, and on the means to find a peaceful and just solution. In all these countries, except Great Britain, His Majesty was encouraged to continue his mission of mediation.

Further encouraged by indications from President Saddam to the effect that Iraq was still prepared to seek an honourable compromise and to accept a negotiated, but not imposed, settlement, and by European support for additional attempts at Arab mediation, His Majesty undertook a new initiative in collaboration with the President of Algeria and the King of Morocco. Following a meeting hosted by King Hassan, in Morocco on September 19, and attended by Algerian President Chadli Benjedid and King Hussein, His Majesty addressed a letter to President Saddam on September 22 (Document VII).

Among all the Jordanian efforts to achieve an Arab resolution to the Gulf Crisis, His Majesty's letter to President Saddam was the most significant. It articulated the fears felt by the author in common with the whole Arab community, that beneath the immediate problem between Iraq and Kuwait lay designs on the resources and lands of the Arabs, and that the crisis was a trap set for Iraq into which it was in danger of falling. The dangers of a military confrontation, not only to Iraq but to the entire Arab nation, were cited. It was made clear to President Saddam that Jordan and other Arab governments could not accept the acquisition of territory by war, not only as a matter of principle, but also because failure to maintain this principle could constitute a dangerous precedent of which Israel would take advantage. Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait could not be tolerated but its reversal would not be a defeat for Iraq, but on the contrary, a source of gain for Iraq and the Arab world as a whole. The real achievements of the Iraqi nation over two decades would be preserved, attention would be drawn to the need to address the problem of the growing gap between the rich and the poor Arab states (something which could remain a legitimate and conscious national objective). Furthermore it might hope to attain legitimately the objectives which were now the source of conflict in Kuwait; bring the international community to face its responsibilities towards the Palestine problem, and remove from the enemies of the Arabs the opportunity of exploiting their differences.

These gains could be made if a peaceful resolution of the crisis within an Arab framework were achieved; such a resolution would respect the Kuwaiti right to self determination; confirm Iraq's constant

assertion that no Arab force should be used against fellow Arabs; show that Iraq's occupation was an act of self-defence against an inflexible position and not just expansionism or a wish for hegemony; it would rectify the wrong, contain the crisis, and pave the way for its resolution.

The letter asked for President Saddam's answer to a number of questions which would enable the three Heads of State to attempt mediation between the parties to the conflict: what were the specific and feasible demands of Iraq from Kuwait in relation to the joint borders, Iraq's need for access to the Gulf, and compensation for oil taken from the Rumailah field, besides other claims?

The letter ended with a plea to President Saddam to respond positively to the efforts of the three Heads of State to mediate between Iraq and Kuwait and to restore relations with other states in the Gulf, already sufficiently alarmed by what had taken place to fall, alongside Iraq, into the coils of a vast and overwhelming foreign military presence.

President Saddam's reply to His Majesty's letter was carried to Amman by the Iraqi Foreign Minister on September 29. Although it agreed with the Jordanian analysis of the background to the crisis it expressed surprise at some of the views advanced. It did not agree with the presentation of the choices before Iraq; the questions His Majesty put to President Saddam should have been directed at the other party - what did they want from Iraq? If the alternative to not replying to the Jordanian questions was war, then Iraq took up the challenge, but it would not be the disaster of which His Majesty warned: it would be a disaster for the United States and its allies. President Saddam was prepared to accept one of two possible solutions to the crisis: an Arab solution in which the two parties would sit down together and thus settle their differences as His Majesty had proposed during his August 3 visit to Baghdad. President Saddam then had agreed to attend a mini-summit which in his view had been aborted by some of those who were to have attended; but he was still willing to meet to find an Arab solution. The alternative solution was an international one, as he had proposed on August 12: an international conference should be convened at which not only the question of Kuwait but also the problems of Palestine and Lebanon should be discussed, and all solved on the same basis of respect for international legitimacy. That proposal had

been immediately rejected by both the United States and Great Britain.

President Saddam agreed with the argument presented by His Majesty, that the rejection of the acquisition of territory by war should be respected as a matter of principle, but that it should then apply to all cases and not be confined to the case of Kuwait. In invading Kuwait President Saddam's intention had been to put the international community face to face with its obligations with respect to the Palestine question; he had succeeded in this and revealed the true intentions of the U.S. and its ally, Israel. In his view, these two had designs on the Arab countries which they were promoting before the invasion of Kuwait, and would have gone on promoting even if there had been no invasion. The Iraqi President insisted that Kuwait was the symptom and not the cause of the crisis. The linkage between the invasion of Kuwait and the Palestine problem had not been produced by Iraq to rally support among the Palestinians and others for the Iraqi stand, or to confuse the issue: it was the issue and this had been the central theme of President Saddam's public and private statements at Arab meetings for a long time.

The Jordanian-Algerian-Moroccan effort at mediation had not succeeded, but the Jordanian government perceived the danger of escalating the crisis and now concentrated on its attempt to avert the resort to military force by the international coalition.

In September His Majesty addressed a message, clearly defining the Jordanian position, to the American people (Document VIII). Jordan stood by the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and continued to recognize the State and Government of Kuwait. It recognized the sovereign right of Saudi Arabia to seek assistance from friendly states and the right of the American administration to respond to that request - but it called for an end to the presence of American and allied forces on Saudi soil within the shortest possible time. The crisis was not born in a vacuum, but had its origins in a complexity of causes with three inter-related dimensions: the border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait was an old one, but the present Iraqi regime was the first to have sought a negotiated settlement which would have secured an independent access to the Gulf and a final delineation of frontiers.

The second dimension was regional. The lack of progress in solving the Arab-Israeli conflict, the failure to implement Security Council

Resolution 242 based, like Resolution 660, on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force, embittered Arab public opinion and caused it to question the motives behind the American zeal to implement Security Council Resolution 660 and subsequent resolutions. The United States had always advised the Arabs to accept a negotiated settlement and to accept compromise and the Arabs had responded positively; now they perceived the United States as unwilling even to consider a negotiated settlement between Iraq and Kuwait and equally unwilling to accept any solution short of an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal.

The third dimension of the crisis was the nature of relations between the Middle East and the rest of the world. In the new world order emergent after the end of the Cold War, the region should not be marginalized. A substantial Arab input into a diplomatic solution to the crisis was necessary because otherwise it would be regarded as a solution imposed from outside the area, and its legitimacy questioned.

Although His Majesty was clearly an apologist for peace and not for Iraq, his advice was not well received. An orchestrated campaign to misrepresent Jordan as the ally and supporter of Iraq, and to urge the American administration to substitute military action for the sanctions imposed on Iraq by the Security Council, succeeded in souring relations between the United States and Jordan and in helping to effect a radical change in the direction of American policy towards Jordan. American forces, which had originally been sent to Saudi Arabia with the explicit mission of defending that territory from attack by Iraq, were now reinforced by a massive offensive capability to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. The dispatch of these land, sea and air forces by President Bush in early November 1990 was followed by an intensive campaign to pressure the members of the international coalition and of the Security Council to accept a new resolution (678) authorizing the use of all necessary means to uphold and implement all previous relevant resolutions on or before January 15, 1991.

This radical shift in the position of the international coalition led by the United States was perceived by the Jordanian Government as an inevitable prelude to a military confrontation, the consequences of which would be disastrous for Iraq, Kuwait and the whole region. Jordan's efforts, following its failure to organize an Arab solution,

were now further extended to seek the help of the European members of the coalition and the Soviets to avert this confrontation.

These efforts were exerted in two directions. In the first, the Jordanian leadership continued to use all its influence with Iraq to plead for and secure the release of foreign nationals held in Iraq since the middle of August 1990, some of whom had also been arrested in Kuwait. Following on the visit by King Hussein on December 4, ~~the Iraqi Government announced the release of all~~ foreign nationals.

The second direction taken by Jordan was to encourage certain European governments within the coalition and the Soviet Government to undertake initiatives to persuade the Iraqi Government to take the necessary measures to avoid the resort to force sanctioned - according to interpretation - by Security Council Resolution 678. This Jordanian initiative was favourably received by the French and Soviet Governments. At a meeting with President Mitterrand and His Majesty in Paris on November 5, the former had already indicated his preference for a diplomatic resolution of the crisis, and he expressed his hope that President Saddam would make it possible for France and the Soviet Government to sponsor a peace initiative. This initiative could only be undertaken if the Iraqi President announced his intention to withdraw from Kuwait; France had no hostile intentions towards Iraq but would not withdraw from decisions it had taken with its allies.

As the January 15 deadline approached, the Jordanian authorities increased their efforts to persuade the European members of the international coalition to avert a military confrontation with Iraq and to warn of the political, human and ecological consequences of war. In an address to the Second World Climate Conference held in Geneva, His Majesty outlined the potential impact of the environmental threat from the oilfields of the Gulf on the climate of the Middle East and beyond with dangerous and wide-ranging repercussions on human and animal health and food production: warnings which later events were to prove accurate (Document IX). In a subsequent address to graduates of the Military Staff College in Amman on December 9, His Majesty warned:

"...our Arab region is on the verge of a very destructive war. This war, God forbid that it should happen, will result in a very serious tragedy which will affect not only the

present, but also the future...it will cause a severe international economic crisis, an environmental catastrophe, deep wounds that will take a long time to heal and long-lasting global instability".

In the course of the same address His Majesty formulated Jordan's proposals for the settlement of regional problems on a permanent and stable basis (Document X).

Between the end of December and January 15, the Jordanian Government multiplied its contacts with the leaders and representatives of all the major powers and many other members of the international coalition. The efforts of members of the European Community to meet with the Iraqi Foreign Minister were encouraged, although in the event that meeting did not take place. The announcement by President Bush, immediately after the adoption of Resolution 678 by the Security Council Resolution on November 29, that he was sending his Secretary of State to Baghdad had been welcomed by the Jordanian Government and great hopes were placed on the meeting which finally took place between Mr. Baker and the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Mr. Tariq Aziz, in Geneva on January 9.

However, after five months during which no dialogue between the U.S. and Iraq took place and given the strait-jacket imposed on negotiators by the terms of the Security Council resolutions, it was perhaps only to be expected that the meeting would be a failure, as both sides entered into negotiations with different objectives.

Between January 2-10, His Majesty had visited London, Bonn, Luxembourg and Rome, meeting with the British Prime Minister, the President, Chancellor and Foreign Minister of Germany, the Grand Duke, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, and the President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Italy. In all these meetings, the Jordanian monarch warned of the consequences of war, and urged a final effort to avert it by offering Iraq a way to extricate itself from the corner in which it had been hemmed in by the rigidity of the international coalition's stance, and by its own misperception of the reality of the dangers it was facing.

This message was also delivered to the United Nations Secretary-General during his passage through Amman en route for Baghdad on January 11 in an attempt to persuade the Iraqi authorities to accept an unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait as a way to avert the

resort to force by the coalition after the passage of the January 15 deadline. This endeavour also failed, as did the French Government's move of January 14, to get the President of the Security Council to make a statement which could have averted the imminent war. The proposal was met with the opposition of both the American and British Governments, by now determined to make full use of Resolution 678 which, as they claimed, authorized them to resort to force independently of any United Nations command structure.

Realizing that all Jordan's efforts to avert the outbreak of war had failed, His Majesty addressed the Jordanian people on January 15. This address (Document XI) warned that the region was on the brink of an abyss: "the doors of reason have been shut and the avenues for an honest dialogue blocked." His Majesty had done everything within his power to achieve a political settlement of the crisis and his conscience was clear. He warned of the dangers facing Jordan, but was certain that the Jordanian Armed Forces - The Arab Army - would protect the land and the skies of the country and "prevent anyone whomsoever from crossing it in any direction".

The failure of all attempts to persuade the Iraqi government to take steps to avert the implementation of Resolution 678 on the one hand, and of all attempts to induce the coalition leaders into a more flexible stand on the other, inevitably led to the opening of hostilities against Iraq by devastatingly massive air raids on civilian as well as military targets over the entire country. As the scale of destruction mounted, the impact on the people of Jordan became increasingly violent. Scenes of ruin in the cities, towns and villages of Iraq and of the frightful suffering inflicted on the Iraqi people by merciless aerial bombardments, increased the Jordanians' sympathy for the Iraqis and their anger at the countries and governments that had gone far beyond the mandate to liberate Kuwait and were destroying Iraq. The bombing of vehicles carrying vital oil supplies to Jordan from Iraq and the loss of Jordanian lives under bombardment from the coalition's planes added to this tide of anger and frustration. These feelings were brought home to the world in His Majesty's address to the nation on February 6 (Document XII) in which he reiterated his belief that Jordanian and other Arab efforts to end the crisis peacefully had been deliberately blocked because "the real purpose behind this destructive war, as proven by its scope...is to destroy Iraq, and re-arrange the area in a manner far more dangerous to our nation's present and future than the Sykes-Picot agreement".

Having failed to avert the outbreak of war, Jordan's efforts were now directed at bringing it to a rapid end and above all to prevent the ground offensive. Once again, an intense series of contacts between the Jordanian authorities and world leaders were conducted with a view to persuade the Iraqi regime to withdraw from Kuwait, and thus comply with Security Council resolutions and avert a final land battle. His Majesty welcomed the Iraqi proposal made on February 15 to withdraw from Kuwait as part of a general settlement of the crisis, but these proposals were immediately dismissed by the American President and British Prime Minister as a "cruel hoax". Proposals for an end to hostilities and a peace settlement made by the Soviet Government met with the same fate, and were dismissed by the American President as being inadequate in meeting the United States' requirements. On February 22 His Majesty made a desperate attempt to stop the final ground offensive and sent a letter to French President Mitterrand in which he urged him to "lend France's moral weight and important support to the Soviet initiative" (Document XIII). But by now it was too late to stop the machinery of the coalition's design to evict Iraq from Kuwait. The invasion not only of Kuwait but also of Southern Iraq ended the war at terrible cost to Iraq's forces and to the civilian populations of both Iraq and Kuwait as well as to the region's environment. But the end of the war did not bring the beginning of peace.

A final message of hope and reconciliation was addressed to the Jordanian people by His Majesty on March 1, 1991. This address summed up the growth of the crisis from its beginning to the end of the war - and the position of the Jordanian Government. "Our vision was clear from the outset of the disaster. We realized what the outcome would be if Iraq continued its occupation of Kuwait and if we failed to resolve the problem peacefully within the Arab framework. We tried our utmost to address and contain the problem in its early days and at all subsequent stages before the outbreak of war... Most regretfully we were not successful." After Iraq and Kuwait, Jordan had suffered most from the crisis but "did not bear a grudge towards any, nor did we place the blame on any. We knew we would pay dearly for standing on principle and for insisting on maintaining our freedom of action within the national context and as due to our geographical location."

Looking towards the future, His Majesty expressed his belief that "the Arab people have a greater sense of solidarity and harmony than the recent crisis suggests. They are capable of overcoming the

causes of division and fragmentation which we have always cautioned against. Popular participation in the framework of democratic institutions is the guarantor of upholding that solidarity among people, just as responsible freedom and respect for human rights and human dignity are the guarantors that prevent decision-makers from following the path of adventurism. For it is through the widespread adoption of democracy in the Arab countries that we can best save our nation from the pitfalls of unwarranted conflict" (Document XIV).

While the Gulf crisis was on, Jordan was subjected to severe strains on its economic and financial stability, but its political and social stability was not disrupted at any point. The identification between the concerns of the population and the policies of the Government enabled the country to emerge safely from the dangers which it had faced. A further step in the process of establishing national consensus was taken by the promulgation in June 1991 of the National Charter drawn up by a Royal Commission on which all sections of the population were represented. In an address to the National Congress which endorsed the charter on 9 June 1991, His Majesty drew the lessons of the Gulf Crisis, of which the principal was that "democracy is the pillar of national security". The three basic components of democracy he defined as the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers, free elections, and political pluralism. And the framework of Jordan's national life was Freedom, "the basis of dialogue, of truth, and of democracy" (Document XV).

Background Documents:

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| Document | I | Arab League Resolution No. 3036, August 3, 1990. |
| Document | II | Jordanian Foreign Minister's Statement to the Arab League Meeting of August 2-3, 1990. |
| Document | III | Arab League Resolution No. 195, August 10, 1990. Cairo. |
| Document | IV | Statement by Jordan's Foreign Minister to the United Nations 45th Session of the General Assembly, October 1, 1990. |
| Document | V | Address by HRH Crown Prince Hassan, Oxford, November 22, 1991. |
| Document | VI | Meeting between HRH Crown Prince Hassan and Ministers of the Council of Europe, August 16, 1990. |
| Document | VII | Letter from His Majesty King Hussein to President Saddam Hussein, September 22, 1990. Excerpts. |
| Document | VIII | Message from His Majesty to the American Public, September 1990. |
| Document | IX | His Majesty's address to the Second World Climate Conference, November 6, 1990. |
| Document | X | His Majesty's address to the Military Staff College, December 9, 1990. |
| Document | XI | His Majesty's address to the Nation, January 15, 1991 |
| Document | XII | His Majesty's address to the Nation, February, 6, 1991 |
| Document | XIII | His Majesty's letter to President Mitterrand, February 22, 1991. |
| Document | XIV | His Majesty's address to the Nation, March 1, 1991. |
| Document | XV | His Majesty's address to the Jordanian National Congress, June 9, 1991. |

DOCUMENT I***Resolution 3036 adopted at the Extraordinary Session
of the Council of the League of Arab States
Cairo, August 3, 1990**

The Council of the League of Arab States, at its Extraordinary Session held at Cairo on 11 Muharram A.H. 1411, corresponding to 2 August A.D. 1990,

In response to the request submitted by the State of Kuwait that an extraordinary session of the Council of the League should be held to consider the Iraqi aggression against it,

And in accordance with articles 5 and 6 of the Pact of the League of Arab States,

Article 2 of the Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Treaty between the States of the Arab League,

And article 2 of the Arab Solidarity Pact adopted by the Third Arab Summit Conference, held at Casablanca,

Decides

- 1- To condemn the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait, to reject any effects it might entail and to withhold recognition of its consequences.
- 2- To condemn the bloodshed and destruction of property.
- 3- To call upon Iraq to withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally to their positions prior to 10 Muharram A.H. 1411, corresponding to 1 August A.D. 1990.

* Original text in Arabic.

4- To refer the matter to Their Majesties, Their Highnesses and Their Excellencies the Arab Heads of State for consideration of the convening of an emergency summit meeting to discuss the aggression and examine ways of reaching a durable negotiated solution that is acceptable to the two parties concerned, that is inspired by the heritage of the Arab nation and by a spirit of brotherliness and solidarity and that is guided by the existing Arab legal system.

5- To emphasize its strong commitment to the maintenance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member States and to reaffirm its adhesion to those principles enshrined in the Pact of the League of Arab States relating to the non-use of force in the resolution of nay conflicts that may arise among member States and to respect for their internal systems and the avoidance of any act aimed at altering them.

6- To reject strenuously any foreign intervention or attempt at intervention in Arab Affairs.

7- To request the Secretary-General to follow-up the implementation of this resolution and to keep the Council informed of developments.

8- To regard its extraordinary session as unadjourned.

DOCUMENT II*

Statement by the Foreign Minister of Jordan to the Arab League Meeting of Foreign Ministers August 2-3, 1990

Mr. President,
Dear Brethren,

At the outset I wish to say that I would not have missed our meeting yesterday had it not been not necessary for me to accompany His Majesty King Hussein as he contacted his brothers, the Arab leaders, with a view to containing the situation which we began confronting since yesterday morning. I accompanied His Majesty his meeting with his brother President Muhammad Hosni Mubarak.

I do not find it necessary to explain the nature of our relations with our brethren in Iraq and Kuwait. We believed, and still do, in our Arabism and our common Arab destiny. It is natural for our nation to stand by us when we face difficult circumstances, as it is equally natural for us to stand by our nation or any of its sons under all circumstances. And we have done so every time it was our duty. Since the first moment that we heard of the developments His Majesty immediately initiated contacts with his brothers in order to find a way to contain the crisis within an Arab context because we realise the extent to which our security as a nation may be affected by any further development of the crisis.

We recognise that we as a nation have enemies, and Iraq specifically. Our concern for Kuwait and Iraq, and for the area means concern for ourselves. We are very anxious about how things could develop. And what concerns us is not so much what may be done by our brethren, as indications we perceive of dangerous developments that could affect us all. WE may not be able to confront those developments if they should go beyond their Arab context.

I wish to say with extreme caution and clarity that we do not accept that matters between Arab should deteriorate to this extent. And

* Original text in Arabic.

we say this regardless of the nature of the difference, their reasons and results. I witnessed what transpired in the meeting yesterday and I felt the desire of all for our nation to contain this crisis, and I agree with you on this. What ought to concern us presently is how we can facilitate the work of our leaders, and how we may help them in their difficult task. As I said, developments do not remain at some lien which we define. There are many parties which may see it opportune to create new realities or to settle old scores, and it is our duty to warn of this. We grieve for every drop of Arab blood shed in the wrong place, and we feel deep anxiety that matters have reached this stage. We shall expend every possible effort to contain and resolve the situation.

His Majesty King Hussein has just returned from Baghdad and I wish to inform you of an agreement to hold a summit meeting in the presence of the concerned Heads of states in order to contain the crisis and find the appropriate solution. I agree with what Abul Lutuf (Farouk Kaddoumi) and others said in yesterday's meeting, that the matter requires the involvement of the Heads of states. Now as there has been agreement on the time of the meeting, it is hoped that nothing will happen that may increase the difficulty and complexity of the situation rendering their task more difficult if not impossible. If the resolution proposed (condemning Iraq) is adopted then there will not be a summit, and this will encourage foreign and hostile forces and will pave the way for foreign involvement. Through our commitment before God, our nation and history we warn of the results of such an action which would ruin sincere efforts which have reached a sensitive juncture.

DOCUMENT III*

**Resolution 195 adopted at the
Extraordinary Arab Summit
August 10, 1990, Cairo**

In the light of the Arab Council Declaration on 2 and 3 August 1990.

In the light of the Islamic Countries Foreign Ministers 19th Conference Declaration issued on 4 August.

According to the Statute of the Arab League Charter and Joint Defense and Economic Pact between Arab League States.

According to the UN Charter, in particular Paragraph 4 of Article 25 and 51.

Conscious of the great historic responsibility dictated by the present situation arising from the annexation of Kuwait and its consequences for the Arab Nation.

DECIDES:

1- To reaffirm the decision of the Arab League Council taken on 3rd August and the Declaration of the Islamic Conference Organisation issued on 4 August.

2- To reaffirm the obligation to the decision of the UN Security Council resolutions No. 660 of 2 August 1990 and No. 662 of 9 August 1990 as an expression of International Law.

3- To condemn Iraqi aggression against the brotherly state of Kuwait and not to recognise the Iraqi decision to annex Kuwait or any consequences arising from the invasion of Iraqi troops of Kuwait territory.

* Original text in Arabic.

4- To call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the return to the state it was in before 1 August.

5- To reaffirm Kuwait sovereignty, its independence and regional security, being a member state in the Arab League and the UN. It stands by the restoration of the lawful government of Kuwait which was present before the invasion. It supports the measures taken to free its land and fulfil its sovereignty.

6- To respond to Saudi Arabia's and other Gulf States' request to transfer Arab forces to support their armed forces to defend their territories and regional security against any outside invasion.

7- The emergency summit has commissioned the Arab League Secretary General to follow up the implementation of the decision and to report back to the Council within 15 days.

Abstention: Jordan, Algiers, Yemen
Reservation: Sudan, PLO, Mauritania
Absent: Tunisia

DOCUMENT IV

Statement of the Representative of Jordan to the UN 45th Session of the General Assembly October 1, 1990

Nowadays, our region and the entire world live in a state of extreme tension as a result of the crisis in the Gulf. Jordan has called for and worked towards the settlement of this crisis in a way that conforms to the principles of the League of Arab States and halts the continuing drift towards a military explosion which threatens the security of the region, puts it face to face with certain catastrophe and endangers international peace and security in the process.

Out of his sense of the danger besetting the region and its peoples, His Majesty King Hussein - from the very outset of the crisis - has made a continues to make, together with other Arab leaders, sincere and strenuous efforts in search of a peaceful solution to this crisis.

Jordan, as a civilized country that respects its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, does not and cannot approve of the resort to force as a way of solving differences between States, nor does it accept the occupation of the territory of others, nor does it support or recognise any demographic or political changes resulting from war in our area or anywhere else in the world. Therefore, Jordan did not recognise the decision to annex Kuwait. Jordan has called and continues to call for the restoration of legitimacy in this Arab country through withdrawal therefrom and followed by finding a permanent solution to the differences between Iraq and Kuwait within an Arab context.

It is regrettable that the efforts made to solve the crisis at its beginning, within its regional context, have not been given sufficient opportunity and support. Some have even tried to thwart those efforts, which led to a quick worsening of the situation in a way that brought about a mutual escalation. That escalation, in turn, increased the rigidity of positions and put the whole region face to face with very bleak prospects. Now, several weeks after the breakout of the crisis, we are all the more convinced that a solution will come only through sincere and serious efforts by the Arab States - efforts which should be given international support and backing in order to avoid a tragedy whose effects will not be confined to one party alone.

This does not mean that we see a contradiction between what we and other Arab States and others are calling for - namely, that the settlement should be found within a Pan-Arab context - and the efforts that may be made by the international community - of which we are a part - in a United Nations context and in accordance with its Charter. We believe that those two efforts should complement and facilitate one another.

The fact that we live in the Middle East region makes us more sensitive to the dangers inherent in an explosion of the situation there in view of the weapons of mass destruction that exist in the region, whether in the hands of regional parties or those that were brought in with the huge foreign military build-up which has continued since the start of the crisis. This constitutes an additional incentive not to spare any effort in trying to save the peoples of the region and their future generations from the dangers of an armed conflict, which, if it were to take place, would acquire unpredictable and unimaginable dimensions.

DOCUMENT V

Address by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan
to the Oxford University Jordanian Society
November 22, 1990

It may be useful to recall in order to clarify some misperceptions that Jordan, its close relations to Iraq in the conflagration of inter Arab politics notwithstanding was unhesitant in upholding the principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible. The essence of justice is that one should judge friend and foe alike when they break the law and in this respect Jordan's record whether with regard to the invasion of Afghanistan or the Falklands - not to speak of conflicts nearer home, has been singularly consistent. It is worth recalling also that the Jordanian Government has declared, even before the adoption of Security Council resolution 661 on 6 August 1990, that it continues to recognise the Government of the Emir of Kuwait. Indeed throughout this crisis the Jordanian Government took the view that this is not a conflict between a friend and foe but a regrettable conflict between two brotherly states with both of whom Jordan has always been bound by the closest of relations at all levels. This premise determined, in a sense, our subsequent moves after the Iraqi invasion on August 2nd. Rather than make capital of the crisis by joining the concert of war or capitulating to the simplistic urge of revanchism, Jordan sought to contain the crisis; find a peaceful solution to it that would in no way sacrifice the principle that the use of force contrary to the United Nations Charter should not result in benefits to the party that resorts to it and ultimately work for a regional arrangement that would establish a more just Arab order based on the Rule of Law, respect for human rights and democracy for all.

This has been and continues to be our stand.

The question arises, if a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis is pursued exclusively, what should the contents of that solution be, given the fact that the swift adoption of mandatory resolutions by the Security Council leaves little, if any, room for compromise? Let me confess in trying to give a tentative and general answer to this question, that creativity and ingenuity are both called for, if the series of resolutions adopted by the Security Council, noble as they are in upholding the rule of law, are not to become a "straight jacket" and

thus hinder the search of an acceptable solution. Luckily the basis, upon which much can be built, is found in paragraph 3 of Resolution 660 which, while demanding an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal, also calls for negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait to resolve their outstanding differences and envisages a role for the Arab League in that respect. This of course is in perfect harmony with Chapter VIII of the UN Charter which encourages regional settlement of disputes. Unconditionality in the language of diplomacy does not exclude prior understandings about subsequent arrangements. In other words the justifiable concern that aggressors should not reap the benefits of their aggression should not obscure the need to address outstanding issues nor to implement existing obligations if these obligations stand on their own. The dispute between Iraq and Kuwait is not beyond negotiations nor judicial settlement and I see no reason why there cannot be prior understanding that once withdrawal is unconditionally completed then the means of resolving the dispute peacefully in accordance with the UN Charter can be pursued.

Similarly the call for linking the Gulf dispute to other outstanding problems in the Middle East, notably the Arab-Israeli dispute, has not received the attention it deserves for fear it may be construed as "Victory for Iraq". Yet here again it should not be too difficult to find formulae that would ensure harmony between international law and international justice by showing that all cases of territorial aggrandisement are treated equally by the international community and at the same time avoiding any appearance of wavering of will as far as the Gulf crisis is concerned. Prior understanding regarding the sequential addressing of the two problems remains the best way to deal with this problem.

DOCUMENT VI

Statement by
H. R. H. Crown Prince Hassan
at a Meeting with the Council of Europe Ministers,
Amman, August 16, 1990.

I am happy to have this opportunity to continue our private discussions. We appreciate your coming to Amman at this time. We hope that His Majesty and Mr. Bush will be able to apply some creative thinking to a diplomatic approach to the crisis.

Jordan's position on the crisis is twofold:

- The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, on which the Jordanian Government's position is very clear: we do not accept the acquisition of territory by force; we respect the national integrity of Kuwait, and we continue to recognise the Emiri Government.
- We accept the sanctions. However, regarding our position on the sanctions - we are paying the price, not for justifying the invasion - we have not sought to justify it, but for continuing our efforts to be moderate and to mediate.

We were sorry that on the second day of the crisis, when the Jeddah Summit was arranged and the Iraqis agreed to begin their withdrawal that evening, His Majesty came back to Amman to find that an Arab League resolution had been passed condemning the invasion, and a resolution condemning the Iraqi position. Then we moved to an embargo and a blockade and the pressure mounted.

President Bush said the other day that the Iraqis lied a second time, but they had announced the withdrawal that night on the basis of no condemnation. Their refusal to withdraw was a reaction. This led to the escalation that led to the unacceptable act of annexation.

On the other hand, I feel that I must give you the Arab and Islamic position which is one of concern. The crisis moved from embargo to blockade to interdiction, and the feeling is that things moved far too quickly.

I must remind you that we cannot choose our neighbours, but we find the situation very dangerous. We are receiving threats from all sides, and some from very close friends.

I have handed you a chronology of the crisis, which includes Jordan's position on sanctions and the Jordanian agenda for the security and cooperation discussions. This was prepared before the crisis but it may become relevant in the future.

We all condemn the invasion, but we have to make clear the rising tide of Arab and Muslim criticism of the presence of foreign forces in the area. The Saudis would like to dispel this notion and maintain that foreign troops are not in the Holy places, but the feeling is there.

In years gone by, such as 1961, the intervention was with a mandate from the United Nations, and the foreign forces were replaced by an Arab peace-keeping force. Under those terms Jordan sent troops to take part in those forces. In the present situation, if a fight breaks out, and if Arab fights Arab, it will be difficult to keep the lid on people's feelings.

While on concepts, there is a feeling that this area is being brushed aside from the international agenda. When I visited the United Nations there seemed to be no interest in the Middle East and it was reflected in the marginalisation of the region. Today, this marginalisation is the reason for the dramatic way in which the crisis developed.

All I say is that feelings have been building up for some time. This is not to be taken as justification of the invasion, it is not intended as such. But the use of the oil weapon against Iraq was seen by Iraq as an act of aggression.

I also have to say that if a conflict takes place, no matter how it happens, extremism will be the inheritor of the area.

Economic development is the only way out of such a situation, and if we can look at the region and understand the regional dynamic then we can achieve results. This is something which we want the Community to contribute to. We would like to develop the Mediterranean into a bridge that will connect the countries in its basin.

The lack of such a regional approach aggravated the situation and led to a state of conflict. Who cares who fires the first shot! I am not interested in who hit John, and I hope that His Majesty will not be dragged into wasting time on who hit John. The main question is, is the military commitment in the Gulf solely regarding the crisis between Iraq and Kuwait?

We must also ask who stands to gain from this situation? If the production of Kuwait and Iraq is shared between other producers then their revenue will be \$16 million per annum. If oil is sold at \$15 per barrel, not \$25, then the OECD stands to gain \$80 million per annum.

We feel that the approach to addressing the regional problem must be on two planes:

The first is regional, to which we are all committed and which is integral, since the question of the 'haves' and 'have nots' will not get back in the box.

The second point is the internationalisation of the oil. We hope that the second item will not only be taken as a facile OECD against Arab or Islamic countries' argument, but there is a need for intra-regional dialogue. We have always seen the desire to look for villains in this region, and we wonder if the cold warriors are not looking for replacements so they can turn the clock back. Many in the Third World are worried that they too will be affected by this development.

So, we are seeking new concepts for interaction, and if these are found then the methodology will be easy.

If, on the other hand, the criterion is that we must not align ourselves one way or another, I must remind you that we do not choose our neighbours. If we close our borders tomorrow, then what? We are amazed by the escalatory statements, like the warning against attacking Turkey. Nobody in his right mind would attack Turkey. Who said anything about wanting to? I know also that we are being dismissed by the Israelis as ineffective but what are our options?

DOCUMENT VII*

Letter From His Majesty King Hussein
to H.E. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq
- Excerpts -

Your Excellency, our brother, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, may God protect you.

I have just returned from the Rabat meeting to which His Majesty King Hassan II invited me, as he also invited His Excellency President Chadli BenJedid. The subject of the meeting was the Gulf Crisis which has become the crisis of the Arab nation since its beginning on August 2 when Iraq's troops occupied Kuwait. With this event started a dangerous slide towards the unknown, increasing in intensity with every day and hour as we see that what our nation accomplished through its struggle since the beginning of this century is threatened with extinction or destruction. This is happening after the end of the cold war period and at a time when the world is witnessing the birth of a new era and when the international game is being governed by laws and rules different from those we have been familiar with so far.

With the beginnings of a period of hope and promise came the Gulf Crisis which revolves around oil, which all nations need and which constitutes, more than at any previous time, the most important base of a new era in which nations aspire to live in a world where peace and cooperation prevail.

Our Arab area has become of the utmost importance for this world, not only because of its location and size and the volume of its market, but also for its vast oil reserves which are estimated to represent two thirds of the world's oil reserves or more.

The large industrial powers saw in the Gulf Crisis a golden opportunity to reorganize the area according to designs in harmony with their ambitions and interests, at the expense of the aspirations and interests of the Arab peoples, and to put in place a new international order.

* Original text in Arabic.

The dangers that these developments present do not elude you. Whatever our reservations about the way the Arab order functioned until 2 August 1990 they do not justify sacrificing the achievements of our nation. In particular they do not justify sacrificing the great achievements of Iraq under your leadership which have become the source of Arab pride.

This is not only my opinion but that of His Majesty King Hassan II and President Chadli BenJedid and certainly the view of the Arab masses. This is why we feel genuine anxiety for Iraq and its leadership, and feel the necessity for protecting and preserving them. It is our right to express our opinion of what is going on because a disaster - if it should befall Iraq, God forbid - will affect us all.

Based on this understanding and assessment, which I share with His Majesty King Hassan II and His Excellency President Chadli BenJedid, and our true concern for the preservation of Iraq and what it represents - I have been asked by President BenJedid and His Majesty King Hassan to pose the following question to Your Excellency as a start of a sincere, collective Arab effort in the hope of a quick response. What are the specific, reasonable and acceptable demands of Iraq from Kuwait as far as its borders with Kuwait, and its need for access to the deep waters of the Gulf are concerned; or with respect to the debts and financial compensation for the Rumeileh oil or other demands if they should exist? In other words: what are the Iraqi demands in their final, reasonable and realistic form from the State of Kuwait which may gain the acceptance of the Arab leaders with whom I met before my last visit to you, so that, along with His Majesty King Hassan II and President BenJedid, we will try to persuade the concerned party and other Arab leaders, and arrive at an Arab solution of the problem before it is too late and before the opportunity (and this is my worst fear) is lost, and the situation deteriorates into a destructive military confrontation which will bring disaster not only to Iraq, but also to the entire Arab nation.

Certainly Your Excellency knows that we are committed to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, not only because this is an internationally accepted principle, but also because of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories. Failure to apply this principle - especially in our area - will constitute a

dangerous precedent of which Israel will take advantage, with all that that implies in terms of threats to the security and existence of Jordan and to our national security in general. As you know there is an Arab consensus on adherence to this principle making the acquisition of territory by force unacceptable, especially if it should lead to the elimination of a state which is a member of the Arab League and the United Nations. It surely cannot elude Your Excellency that this situation (the occupation of Kuwait) is the first of its kind in the context of the new circumstances prevailing in the world. This is impossible for anyone to accept, and to be silent about it would be a precedent that might encourage others in other regions of the world to follow. This, in turn, will lead to the eruption of conflicts and instability in many regions, at a time when the world is moving towards resolving not exploding conflicts. This explains the wide agreement and support of the international community for the stand of the United States which we know had hidden objectives, other than its stated goal of achieving the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait and the return of the legitimate government.

It is important that Your Excellency should know that the majority of the Arab peoples rightfully fear for Iraq with its scientific, human, military and material capabilities. This fear for Iraq has reached a point where many believe that a trap has been set for Iraq, a trap in which it fell, creating the opportunity awaited by the enemies of the nation to strike and destroy Iraq under the guise of helping Kuwait, and in the name of international legitimacy. In fact they are trying to eliminate Iraq, and destroy the hopes of our Arab nation for what it represents, and destroy our nation's confidence in itself.

I personally realised this from the beginning, and based on this knowledge I made strenuous efforts within my capacity to reach an Arab solution in order to thwart the designs against Iraq and the Arab nation. Obstacles were put and are still being put in my way. Matters have deteriorated at a rapid pace and the area has reached the threshold of explosion. In reality, I do not see that there is much time ahead of us to avoid disaster.

The war, if it should start, will be won in the end by one party or another, but the real losers will be us, the Arabs ... we who believe in the right of our nation to life whether we are in Iraq or in any other part of our wide Arab homeland.

If, however, with the help of God, the war is successfully avoided, and we are able to reach an Arab solution, then Iraq will have achieved much despite the pain and the losses which have accompanied the crisis. Iraq will have succeeded in preserving the achievements of its people and nation; it will have solved its problem with Iran; it will have successfully drawn attention to the gap between the wealthy Arabs and the poor ones, and established this issue as a national one in the consciousness of the Arab peoples, and gained support and understanding for this even in the international area; it will have attained its legitimate demands which were a source of contention with Kuwait; it will have succeeded in embarrassing the world which has neglected the Palestine issue, and forcing it to fulfill its responsibility to implement international resolutions as it did in Kuwait; and Iraq will have destroyed for our enemies the opportunity of exploiting divisions within the Arab nations.

We are now on the threshold of a new Arab era in which things will never be as they were before if we reach a peaceful solution within an Arab framework. Will you help us all in protecting these achievements? I believe it is within our capacity to protect them, and to build on them if we should achieve this peaceful resolution, acceptable to all concerned Arab parties; a resolution in which is respected the will of the Kuwaitis so that they freely decide what they want; a resolution which confirms our and Iraq's consistency in confirming the principle of the inadmissibility of using Arab force against Arabs, and that every Arab state, however small in size, is equal to even the largest Arab state in its rights; a resolution which shows that the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was only an act of self-defense, not an expansionist action, or an intention to impose hegemony; a resolution which rectifies what happened, contains the crisis, paves the way for its resolution, and restores confidence between the brotherly Arab regimes.

This crisis has revealed many things, the bitterest of which was that my country and I became the victims of cheap intrigues carried out by our brothers. The heroes of these intrigues were some of our Arab brethren in whom and for whom we had confidence and respect, and with whom some from outside the area collaborated, which explains to us much of the hostility towards us. Those people spread rumours that the Jordanian, Iraqi and Yemeni leaderships were conspiring against other Arab countries, their leadership and resources.

The people of Jordan, along with your brethren in Yemen, have suffered harm, no less in magnitude and intensity than what has befallen beloved Iraq. Will you not respond positively and do what is in your interest and for your good as it is in the interest and for the benefit of Iraq and its people whom you have united and led and who have readily made great sacrifices and offered their pure blood? This is what I hope from the bottom of my heart. I told you as we parted the last time I visited you: Please call me if you need me. I left Baghdad for Jordan anxious and saddened. I was hoping to continue my activities to prevent the deterioration which has been going on ever since. Will you not respond to my call, and the call of every sincere Arab, before it is too late? Can we not work together to regain the friends whom we have lost since the eruption of the crisis, and gain new friends? You have brothers who suffer more than your immediate suffering, through their fear for you, and their realisation of the perils that lie in wait for Iraq. Will you give us the opportunity to move and rectify the situation, to open channels of dialogue between you and your brothers in the Gulf who were shocked and alarmed by what happened, and so they fell, like Iraq, into the trap of a large and growing foreign military presence?

I address these questions to Your Excellency in written form, and I do not believe it eludes my brother the extent of the historic responsibility which your response entails. If you wish to give positive responses I will meet with you to take them directly. On the other hand if you wish to convey your response through an envoy I hope that this will be as soon as possible. If you see otherwise then there is "no power except by God". In that case I would see no need to come to you and to be forced, upon my return, to say that there is no hope in an Arab solution, which is what I have been persistently asked to say. This I have refused, as have my brothers whom I previously visited; I will not permit that such a statement should be a green light and a justification for the great offensive which is being carefully prepared; we will not be a cause for what I fear will be an extremely bitter end.

May God give you success and help, and may He inspire us all with wise decisions and actions and help us in our effort to attain His pleasure. Accept my sincere friendship and may God protect you.

The peace, mercy and blessing of God be upon you.

DOCUMENT VIII

Message to the American Public from His Majesty King Hussein, September 1990

The United States has a far greater responsibility on the moral plane now than at anytime in its history, to uphold the standards, principles and lofty ideals in its equal treatment of people the world over, and to provide leadership and set an example in its treatment of similar issues with one standard in all parts of our universe.

This is what old friends of the United States, such as I, expect as we seek to maintain and strengthen our relations in partnership, and to build a better tomorrow, based always on the solid foundations of trust and mutual respect with the government and people of the United States, as well as with Governments and people the world over.

In this spirit, I address this message to you at this time of serious and ominous crisis in this region, where my Government and I have been and still are exerting every effort to address it and contribute to resolving it peacefully, honourably and fairly. We must avert an explosion in this highly inflammable area, straddling the world's richest oil reserves, that would cause untold death, destruction and misery, with disastrous repercussions far beyond this vital region, and this period of human life.

We believe that the position of Jordan could not be clearer to any one who seeks the truth. It is based on the principles of international law which Jordan has respected and always called on all nations to respect.

Despite its close relations with Iraq, Jordan had no prior knowledge nor any form of involvement in the Iraqi plan to act militarily against Kuwait. Neither I nor my Government and people were ever involved in such ventures anywhere. Nor was I every privy to the Iraqi leadership's thought process leading to its decision to invade Kuwait, nor its timing of the operation nor its scope.

Jordan stands by the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. This is the basis of our stand on all

related issues, including the Falklands crisis, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, where we were involved in the formulation of Security Council Resolution 242 twenty-three years ago, and which must be the basis and foundation of the diligently sought honourable, just and lasting Palestinian and Arab/Israeli peace.

In upholding this principle, Jordan could not contradict itself by accepting, endorsing or recognising any demographic or political changes that result from war in this region or anywhere else in the world. Hence, we have continued to recognise the State and Government of Kuwait and will continue to do so unless and until the people of Kuwait, under conditions of total freedom, choose to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination and elect otherwise.

While Jordan recognises the sovereign right of Saudi Arabia to seek assistance from friendly states, and the sovereign right of the United States of America to respond to its request, we strongly feel that the presence of United States and allied forces on the land of the State which is the custodian of the two holiest shrines of Islam, must be terminated within the shortest possible period of time lest it results in incalculable grave consequences involving Arabs and Muslims the world over for generations to come. (This is the first time that Islamic history has seen the arrival of non Arab and non Muslim forces on the soil of the custodian and, moreover, at a time when the United States strategic ally, Israel, occupied the third most holy Islamic shrine in illegally annexed Arab Jerusalem, as well as Christendom's holiest sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, an occurrence that now inflames the deepest sensitivities of all Arabs and Muslims alike).

The crisis must be resolved peacefully and urgently to avert disaster. Jordan has been and is still seeking to contribute to that end to the best of its abilities sparing no effort in pursuing this worthy cause.

Jordan respects all Security Council Resolutions and is committed to complying with them in good faith. The Jordanian Government has, well within the required time frame, implemented the Security Council embargo on Iraq despite devastating results to our national economy which threaten, with immediate clear evidence, the present and future of Jordan in every sphere of life. Jordan's problems are compounded by a humanitarian problem of great magnitude afflicting Jordanians, and Jordanian expatriates in Kuwait, the Gulf

and elsewhere who have lost or are losing everything and are returning home in growing numbers. Jordan is further attempting to shoulder its humanitarian responsibilities towards the hundreds of thousands of other nationals who are continually passing through our border with Iraq, and are in need of every means of help and support before travelling on to their respective countries. All this while Jordan is considered to be in a war zone and is practically facing a state of siege.

Since the outset Jordan believed in the need for a major Arab political effort to help address and resolve the crisis according to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. Jordan is continuing to spare no effort to achieve this end.

At the same time, Jordan has always realised that the crisis was not born in a vacuum as many believe. It had its origins in a complexity of causes which must be recognised in order to avert further and future crises. Essentially, these causes have three interrelated dimensions:

1. Bilateral relations. The border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait is not unique in the Arab world. Jordan has for long advocated the resolution of this and other border problems still awaiting to be finally defined. However, contemporary Kuwait and part of Iraq belonged to the same province under the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim states that predated it. The political border between these countries was drawn not in answer to indigenous political needs, but to facilitate their administration by the British mandatory authorities of that time and to secure British interests. Consequently, even before independence, Iraq sought to reincorporate Kuwait into its territory on the grounds that it had been a district of Basra. The present Iraqi Government was the first that did not actively pursue this claim. It sought an agreement with Kuwait that would secure it an independent access to the sea which it considers of vital national interest, and define the Iraqi/Kuwaiti border once and for all by mutual agreement. We believe that this crisis cannot be finally resolved unless a mutually acceptable solution is surgently reached.

Another aspect of the problem was Iraq's perception that Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates were waging an economic war against it by exceeding their oil production levels agreed upon within the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC. This resulted

in Iraq sustaining substantial material losses resulting in its inability to meet the basic needs of its people, let alone service and pay its national debt. This was clearly spelled out by Iraq at the Arab Summit meeting in Baghdad on 27-30 May, 1990, followed later by an Iraqi memorandum to the League of Arab States implying a clear warning of dangerous consequences unless the situation was urgently and satisfactorily resolved. We in Jordan regarded those developments with grave concern.

2- The second dimension of the problem is regional. We take note of the feeling that linking this crisis to other problems may exacerbate rather than facilitate the solution of any one of them. Yet it must be recognised that the extreme frustration which resulted from the lack of progress in solving the Arab-Israeli problem has had a bearing on this crisis. The absence of enthusiasm for implementing Security Council Resolution 242 which, like Resolution 660, is based on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, has embittered Arab public opinion and caused it to question the motives behind the United States' zeal to implement Resolution 660. The United States had always advised Arabs to accept a negotiated settlement and to be willing to accept the principle of reciprocal compromise to achieve a final Arab/Israeli settlement. Arabs accepted the advice on both counts. Yet now they perceive the United States as unwilling to even consider a negotiated settlement between Iraq and Kuwait, and unwilling to accept a compromise short of an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Under the circumstances, priority must be given to defusing the explosive situation in the Gulf, but credible assurances must be given to ensure that other problems of a similar nature would definitely and urgently be addressed thereafter, ideally within the context of a long sought after international Peace Conference.

Another serious danger in this region is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A United Nations Forum must soon be set up to oversee the removal of all forms of weapons of mass destruction from all parts of the region, including nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. The experience of the two Superpowers in this field would be invaluable, especially as far as verification procedures are concerned.

The third aspect of the regional dimension concerns the socio-political order in the region. In the Arab world national identity has

not obliterated Arab feelings of belonging to the greater Arab Nation. Considerable tension has arisen from the vast disparity in the standards of living between the oil-rich, sparsely populated Arab countries on the one hand, and the manpower-rich, debt-ridden countries on the other. To redress this problem, it has been suggested that an Arab Investment Fund and an adequate comprehensive plan be created to support meaningful development in the region in a manner beneficial to all and to the cause of harmony, progress, cohesion, complementarity and stability within the entire Arab region.

3- The final dimension of the problem is the nature of relations between this region and the rest of the world. When the Cold War came to an end and the world moved from confrontation to cooperation, and a new world order began to emerge, we sought to cooperate to be a part of this order. We cautioned against the marginalisation of our region as the world concentrated on developments in Europe. The Middle East must receive its share of the world's attention and assistance to resolve its problems, or the region will become a hotbed of extremism born of despair.

A most important aspect which affects our relations is public perceptions, and I would offer Jordan as an example since public opinion can be easily monitored in this country, where democracy ensures every citizen's freedom of expression. In the period leading to the Gulf crisis, the public was constantly wounded by the lack of understanding and demonization of Arabs, their culture, and their causes which manifested itself in the world. It has always been believed that friendship has to be reciprocated; it cannot be one sided, nor can it flourish if one side constantly holds the other in public scorn and denies the Arabs their right to equally achieve their fullest potential in all areas of knowledge and development as with any other people in the world. When the crisis broke out the public was unanimous in asking for Iraq's withdrawal. However, this feeling was eclipsed once foreign forces landed in Saudi Arabia. Political forces of secular nationalism and religious conservatism were united for the first time in their opposition to this presence. In the former group, it invoked memories of colonial domination, while the latter saw it as a desecration of the holy places.

These facts highlight the dangerous consequences of an armed explosion, which would persist and spread far beyond the immediate scope of the battles in the field. They also highlight the necessity for

a substantial Arab input in the diplomatic solution because, irrespective of the justice of the solution, there must not be room to misrepresent it as a resolution imposed from outside the area. Many would seek to create this misconception in order to detract from the legitimacy of the solution. An objective, neutral, Arab involvement must be an integral part of a United Nations solution to the problem.

As regards all countries and peoples in the region, every encouragement must be given to their Governments to ensure their orderly and rapid transformation into democracies recognised as such by any acceptable yardstick in this world, where citizens enjoy equal rights, and where human rights are recognised, enjoyed and respected.

Finally, we believe that this crisis has highlighted the need for a new approach to relations with this region. It underscores the need for inter-regional and intra-regional dialogue through which all countries of the region can pool their resources and combine their efforts in facing the challenges of progress and building a brighter, stable future.

These are the dimensions of the crisis in this region, and the obvious essentials for their solution from our perspective. In the short run, it might indeed have been more beneficial to Jordan and to myself if we had been of the kind that sought immediate benefits rather than taking the high road of facing up to the challenge that requires us to struggle for real solutions to a real crisis. We chose as always not to forsake our national and regional duties, ethics, honour and principles, which I am sure all will ultimately realise that we have always upheld.

Jordan is paying a terrible price for its commitment to honour, principles, justice and peace. Jordan stands tall and its record speaks for itself. We do not waver in our belief that truth will finally reach one and all and break through darkness as does a new dawn.

We hope to cooperate with our friends in securing a peaceful resolution of all issues in this region, so that all its countries and peoples can live free from the threat of war, and combine their efforts in building a better future which is their right.

DOCUMENT IX

His Majesty's Address to the Second
World Climate Conference
Geneva, November 6, 1990.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like first of all to extend my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, for your election to preside over this Second World Climate Conference, and to assure you of my full personal support and that of the government and people of Jordan in the important task which you have accepted.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation for the efforts of the several respected bodies which have worked together to organise this meeting - the World Meteorological Organisation; the United Nations Environment Programme; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation; and the International Council of Scientific Unions.

Your cooperation reflects the reality that many regional and even domestic problems derive from trans-national causes and dynamics, which in turn can only be properly resolved through a multi-national approach. This is very clear in fields such as environmental degradation and climatic changes, human rights, economic adjustment and growth, social equity, emigration and refugees, or political stability.

Technical as it might be perceived by some, the climate issue provides an opportune occasion to appreciate the full, broader global and human context in which we are called upon to face up to present challenges, learn from past experience, and anticipate future consequences and likelihoods.

The world first seriously appreciated the threat of environmental degradation in the 1960 and 1970s, was followed in the 1980s by a realisation of the potentially momentous changes that were taking place in the earth's climate. This concern moved in a politically linear manner. It started with expressions of environmental concern by small special interest groups in the industrialised democracies of

the North, which subsequently spawned organised pressure groups, Green-oriented political parties, official government bodies, and international organisations. It reached a first milestone in the Hague Declaration in March 1989, which brought together heads of state and heads of government from many countries around the world.

We are still in the early stages of identifying the scope and consequences of environmental damage and long-term climatic changes. Given the rising political popularity of Green politics in some parts of the world, we should beware of the danger of allowing our participation in efforts such as this to be driven by short-term political or electoral gain.

Rather, we must be motivated solely by our genuine fears of what could happen if we did not gather, did not care, and did not act collectively. We were in the Hague, and we are here today, because of our awesome responsibility for the interests and perhaps even the very survival of future generations.

In all honesty, I had to think hard about whether the circumstances in the Middle East allowed me to make this trip here to join you in this important meeting. But I came here in the end because I realised that this is an appropriate occasion to share with you some of my lessons and thoughts about what I referred to earlier as the broader human context of the global challenge we face. I also came here because throughout my life I have always sought to use every opportunity of dialogue among friends to discuss issues of common concern in a constructive spirit of honesty and hope.

Inviting as it may be, we cannot take the easy road of isolating technical issues such as the natural climate from the broader human environment and political climate in which we live. You who are from the industrialised democracies of the North have already experienced this fact in the emergence of politically successful Green parties in your countries.

The physical quality of the earth which we pass on to future generations will be a major determinant of their chances for productive, balanced and dignified lives. Equally important will be the moral legacy and the socio-political criteria which our children and their children inherit from us.

While I do not wish to address political problems in the narrow sense. I feel that we live in a time and a place in which we can no longer draw a clear line between political concerns, our environmental life base, and the prospects for future generations around the world. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Middle East. And at no other time in recent memory - indeed, in my lifetime and yours - has the Middle East held the seeds of a potentially global catastrophe as it does today.

Let us review the picture in our region today: Nearly a million soldiers from Iraq, the United States, Great Britain, France, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria and a score of other countries confront each other in the Gulf - bristling with sophisticated armaments, supported by thousands of advanced tanks and aircraft, and driven by a deadly combination of human fear and political ferocity. Our region is also rich in weapons of mass destruction, in the hands of emotionally charged Arab, Israeli and international parties who in a war situation may not hesitate to use them. The military build-up and the political tension both continue to escalate, day-by-day, hour by hour.

This confrontation is taking place literally on top of the single richest natural petroleum reservoir in the world, which accounts for over half the world's mineral energy resources. A war in the Gulf would not only result in devastating human death and injury, tremendous economic loss, and prolonged political confrontation between Orient and Occident, it could also lead to an environmental catastrophe the likes of which the world has not experienced since the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, which sent waves around the world, and awoke us all to the true meaning of global threats and challenges. A war in the Gulf could result in the use of chemical and biological weapons, and widespread destruction to oil fields and oil storage depots.

The preliminary calculations of our scientists indicate that if half Kuwait's oil reserves (or about 50 billion barrels) were to go up in flames during a war, the environmental impact would be swift, severe and devastating. Emission of carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide and sulfur dioxide would surpass internationally accepted safety standards by factors of hundreds, and, without factoring in wind effects, would blacken the skies over a radius of at least 750 kilometres from Kuwait - that is, all of Kuwait, Iraq, Bahrain, Qatar, the Emirates and the water of the Gulf, and most of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria and Iran.

Other than poisonous emissions of carbon monoxide and sulfur dioxide, the emission of carbon dioxide will increase by at least a factor of 100 over the current total global emission of 5.5 billion tons per year. Linger in the atmosphere for around 100 years, this massive CO2 emissions would promote the green house effect, and contribute to global warming, climatic changes, lower global food production, and human and animal health deterioration.

The environmental and human toll of such a scenario would be beyond our wildest fears. If only production facilities suffered long-term damage, which is likely in the event of war, the catastrophe, we warn of, would be compounded by the devastating impact of the loss of oil imports for economies and peoples around the world.

Yet, these consequences do not have to materialise. The catastrophe scenario can be averted. We owe it to ourselves, and to the future generations whose life prospects may be determined by the policies we pursue today, to give vitality and vision to our quest for a better world. We owe it to those who place their trust in us to address and deal with the root causes of the conflicts and the potential catastrophes which confront us today.

As we meet here today, consider, if you would, the following snapshot of our region:

- In Sudan, millions of Arabs face yet another round of deathly famine and starvation.
- In Yemen, over half a million nationals are returning to live in temporary camps, as refugees in their own country.
- In Jordan, we have seen one million people pass through our country in the past three months, fleeing the crisis in Kuwait and Iraq.
- Nearly half a million Kuwaiti nationals find themselves refugees outside their occupied country.
- In the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza, about one thousand Palestinians have been killed in the Intifada during the past three years, 100,000 have been injured. 10,000 have been held

in administrative detention, and over 90,000 olive and fruit trees have been destroyed by the Israeli occupation forces.

- Throughout the region, living standards, as measured by per capita gross domestic product have declined steadily throughout the past decade. We grow less and less of the food we need, our water balance grows more precarious every day.

- Millions of Palestinians remain disenfranchised, and denied their legitimate national expression and the protection of their own sovereign government.

- Portions of Lebanon and Syria remain under Israeli occupation, while millions of Lebanese are denied the right of a normal, and secure life.

This is the human, political and social climate in which we find ourselves. In such a context, the primary concern of most people is sheer survival. Environmental and climatic concerns, no matter how valid, are not only difficult to address rationally, but also suffer gravely from the negative underlying factors which I have just mentioned. In the scramble to stay alive today and to make it to tomorrow, natural environments are further degraded. Long-term concerns are buried beneath the desperate rush for water, food, arable land, forage and fuel. We are thrown back into the debilitating cycle of environmental degradation, economic regression, human frustration and anger, and ultimately, political extremism. With the Middle East once again threatening the security of the entire world, we must all continue exerting all possible efforts to resolve the Gulf Crisis through peaceful negotiations. Then we must quickly move on to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, which, if allowed to fester, will continue to be a source of regional and global instability. In the longer term, having secured the essential dictates of justice, we need to address the idea of a Middle East zone of peace, free of nuclear, biological, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. In such a context with justice providing the foundation for peace which in turn assures stability and security, the people of the region could allocate their substantial human and material resources to the quest for a better future.

We in Jordan are not a military or an economic power in the region, neither a democratic nor an ideological force. Yet, we feel a deep responsibility today to our own people to the rest of the world, and

to future generations - a responsibility which impels us to do everything within our power to try to avert a disaster in the Gulf. We cannot compromise on our right and our duty to speak our minds honestly, to stand up for principled policies, to demand a single international measure of morality and justice, and to toil for the rights of our children and their children, the cardinal right we hope to pass on them is the right to live in a world that has a chance to survive and to sustain itself, both physically and morally.

Some of you may feel that I have strayed far from the concerns of climate. I do not think so. If I could distill into a single observation the lessons of my many years of public life and responsibility in a turbulent region, spanning parts of five decades from the 1950s to the 1990s, it would be this: the genuine security and stability of nations and regions emanates not from military power or economic assets; rather, it stems from the conviction of indigenous people that their essential basic needs are met, that they enjoy dignity and respect, that they have recourse to justice and that their children will survive and perhaps even have an opportunity for a better life.

Mr. President,

When we signed the Hague Declaration in March 1989. I noted that our actions then reflected not only our duty, but also the right of future generations to inherit a viable planet and to anticipate a reasonable quality of life. Our gathering here today takes place within a more alarming global context of confrontation, militarism and a potential global ecological and economic catastrophe.

This vividly highlights the full spectrum of dangers facing our future generations - dangers which emanate from a combination of political, economic, social, moral and physical degradation. How far can we really separate the climate of the earth, the political environment, and the ecosystem of the human kind and heart?

All our commitment and activism on behalf of our earth will remain inadequate if hundreds of millions of people on earth feel that we pay more attention to the degradation of their physical environment than we do to the desecration of their human spirit. In the long run, the faster and most efficient route to safe-guarding our planet through truly global action would be to assure the spread of democratic principles, human rights and social equity throughout the

world - to offer all people the vision of justice, and the promise of dignity.

Why it is that during the past three decades, organised concern for the environment emanated first and foremost from societies in North America and Western Europe? Is it perhaps because those people enjoy basic standards of genuine national sovereignty, material welfare, social justice, human rights, and political accountability?

And why is it that urban and rural environmental degradation moves apace most quickly throughout the Third World? Is it partly because throughout the Third World the political and social climate remains erratic? Isn't the linkage, direct, obvious and compelling? I believe it is.

In view of the imbalances in global political, stability and socio-economic justice, and the enormous threats to the environment from crises such as that in the Gulf today, if our global quest to safeguard our earth is to be credible and effective, it must reflect an appreciation for the broader human, political and psychological climate of our earth and its people.

Allow me to emphasise once again my personal commitment, and that of my government and people of Jordan, to the goals of this meeting. We recognise our modest but real role within the global order as working both to preserve the physical aspects of God's world as well as its moral, spiritual and ethical attributes. We shall always do all that is within our means to promote these noble goals, and I am certain that our collective efforts shall triumph in the end.

Thank you again, and may God give you strength in all your endeavours.

DOCUMENT X*

Address by His Majesty King Hussein I
to the
Graduation of the Thirty-First Class of the
Military Staff College
Amman, December 9, 1990.

Brother Officers, Distinguished Guests,

This time last year, shortly after the Bush-Gorbachev Summit in Malta, and in this same place, I addressed the thirtieth graduating class. In that address I touched on several current issues of the time, in particular the promises and dangers of detente, and expressed my hope that the Arab countries would formulate a pan-Arab vision towards the emerging new international order so that we would not be taken by surprise and discover, belatedly, that new international relationships were being formed at our expense.

I remember that on that occasion I spoke with hope more than with fear. There were, on the one hand, inter-Arab problems and differences, whether open or hidden. On the other, the world beyond was moving at a pace far exceeding our countries' capacities to monitor, follow and eventually equip themselves to deal with the new situation, whose ramifications pointed clearly to a world embracing democracy, and espousing cooperation instead of confrontation.

Nonetheless, we were hopeful that these deep-rooted changes in international relations, with all the challenges they represented, would propel our nation to mobilise, reorganise itself and seek, with a deep sense of history, to project itself effectively on the world scene as a civilised, economic and political group, capable of dealing with others with confidence and mutual respect. Our hope, then, was that the Arab states would have been able to draw the proper conclusions from the changes that took place in numerous countries and move to apply democratic principles and safeguard human rights including freedom of expression.

* Original text in Arabic.

Hoping to revive the Arab nation, we continued to communicate with our Arab brethren. We did so motivated by a firm conviction in the inevitable coming together of our nation on sound and rational foundations, based on the belief in God and our common destiny, goals and interests.

Of those cracks in the Arab system, the Iraq-Kuwait dispute was, in our view, the one that should have received the greatest attention and care to resolve it, because it had reached a very critical and explosive phase in an area whose regional and international importance cannot escape anyone. With goodwill and the best of intentions, we used our good offices with both sides - Iraq and Kuwait - in order to narrow their differences and help bring about an amicable solution. Unfortunately, neither our efforts nor those of the others brought the desired results. Hence our worst fears were realised and the Gulf crisis erupted throwing our region into a new phase of its modern history. The Arab order found itself facing a severe test, the like of which it had never experienced since the creation of the League of Arab States. Disagreement between two sister countries turned into a wider Chasm in the Arab system which foreign powers, in pursuit of their interests, hastened to penetrate and to interfere directly in our own Arab affairs.

This is why we were keen to seek a peaceful resolution to this conflict within an Arab framework, based on our adherence to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and to ensure the rights and interests of the two sisterly countries.

Regrettably events took the course which we had feared. A process of escalation started which complicated the crisis. The one problem became multi-faceted and the parties to the conflict increased to include others beyond the original two antagonists. The Arab nation suddenly found itself facing a situation reminiscent of the dangerous one in which it found itself in 1918. Then, it discovered that its course had been set for it through the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Balfour Declaration and, at a later stage, by the League of Nations.

I do not intend to review the events since August 2, with which you are familiar. But I will say that our Arab region is on the verge of a very destructive war. This war, God forbid that it should happen, will result in a grave tragedy which will affect not only the present, but also the future. In addition, it will cause a severe international economic crisis, an environmental catastrophe, deep wounds that will

take a long time to heal, and long-standing world instability. What are we to do? Will we allow ourselves to slide into this abyss? Or will we recognise this bitter reality and its ramifications? Will we transform the 2nd of August, 1990 into a scar that will be concealed by the restoration of Arab solidarity, or will we allow it to become a festering wound depleting our strength for a long time?

Our historic duty towards ourselves and our future generations compels us to wake up and to deflect the dangers awaiting us. I believe a rescue operation is still possible and that the responsibility for it falls upon us, the Arabs, without any exceptions. If we are resolute in correcting our course and are ready for a peaceful settlement, then there are some principles which we must recall and abide by.

Foremost amongst these principles that must be activated is the one that gives the Arab mediator the opportunity to act by engaging both parties to the conflict in a dialogue which will prepare the road for them to sit down together to negotiate a resolution to the problems which gave rise to this conflict.

One of the most salient features of the Gulf crisis is what I described before as the embargo on dialogue which resulted from the prevention of its emergence, although the crisis is on the verge of a destructive military confrontation. This runs against the norms of international behaviour which are supported by the experience that the resolution of international conflicts requires the presence of a mediator, particularly at the early stages of a conflict, to help resolve it peacefully.

The second principle which needs to be adopted in the Iraqi-Kuwait conflict is the principle of compromise. This principle leads ultimately to a balanced and final resolution since it allows for a process of give and take which results in an outcome acceptable to both parties.

The third important principle is the need to discuss the Gulf crisis within a comprehensive outlook which takes into account other problems of the region, which equally threaten world peace and the world's economy. Besides the Gulf crisis, our region, which contains the largest oil reserves alongside a burgeoning arsenal of weapons of mass destruction, still suffers from the serious repercussions of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the failure to resolve the Palestinian

problem. It is clear that peace and security will not prevail in the Middle East if only the Gulf crisis is resolved. Weapons of mass destruction cannot be eliminated from the region if the Arab-Israeli conflict is not settled. Likewise the world will not be reassured of its economic stability if the entire region does not achieve security based on a just and honourable peace.

The Middle East problems are by definition interrelated and this is not subject to the decisions of one country or another, nor the decisions and moods of their leaders. What is required is the adherence to the implementation of international legitimacy in resolving conflicts on which resolutions were adopted by the same body, the Security Council. Otherwise, how can the principle of international legitimacy, which is invoked by the super powers, be respected and be made relevant to the new world order? How can we put our faith in international legitimacy if we do not reap its advantages equally as members of the United Nations? The resolutions of the Security Council pertaining to the Arab-Israeli conflict, of which the Palestinian problem is the root cause, must be implemented with the same vigor with which the implementation of the resolutions on the Gulf crisis is being pursued. This will ensure respect for international legitimacy and reassure small countries of their future in the new world order.

Twenty three years have passed since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 242 which has been accepted by all parties including the PLO. It has yet to be implemented. The Palestinian problem continues to fester and cause great suffering to the Palestinian people which is known to the whole world.

It is high time for all to defend international legitimacy by upholding it, and for the Security Council to show that it applies one and not two yardsticks.

Hence, we call for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East at the time when the implementation of Security Council resolutions regarding Kuwait begins. the task of this Conference should be the implementation, without delay, of Security Council resolutions pertaining to the Arab-Israeli conflict with a clear determination and commitment by all. This Conference should be attended by the five permanent members of the Security Council, and all parties to the conflict including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The convening of this Conference should not be viewed as a favour from anyone nor a reward to anyone. It would be a wise decision by the international body towards resolving all the problems of the Middle East and in affirmation of the credibility of international legitimacy, and towards putting an end to conflicts in our region, and paving the way for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction in it, and strengthen peace and security.

The Gulf crisis, the world economy in its oil dimension, the Palestinian problem and weapons of mass destruction are all interrelated Middle Eastern problems. In our view any position or approach or international effort to resolve only one of these problems in isolation from others, would fail to produce security, stability and peace in the region. At best, it would freeze the crises temporarily and only delay the moment of explosion, rather than remove their root causes. This would come at a time when the whole world has turned from confrontation to cooperation, and to progress and prosperity instead of death and destruction.

Brother Officers, Distinguished Guests,

Our optimism and our eagerness to achieve a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region, and to spread stability in it for the benefit of its peoples as well as the world economy, prompt us to view the positive development and a correction of the course that had been pursued hitherto in dealing with the Gulf crisis, which is interrelated with other problems in the region.

This initiative conforms with the rules pertaining to the resolution of international disputes, and with what Iraq, one of the principle parties of the conflict, has called for. It also opens the door for direct dialogue between Iraq and the United States. I emphasise here a dialogue between the two parties, in all that is implied by this word, in all the languages spoken on the face of the earth. This is what we called for and expected from the beginning of the crisis, since the United States became a party to the dispute, by virtue of its prominent role in the adoption of Security Council resolutions on the Gulf crisis, its participation with the biggest proportion of the allied forces that were deployed in the region, and its command of these forces.

The initiative of President Bush to hold direct contacts with the Iraqi leadership comes after the latest Security Council resolution authorising the United Nations to use all means, including military force, to implement the Security Council resolutions on the Gulf. Nevertheless, we see in it a source of hope to avoid the misery of a destructive war. Therefore we welcome it and hope that all parties will have the patience and true determination to ensure its success, so that this initiative can be the starting point in a serious move to solve the Gulf crisis according to a comprehensive outlook that seeks to solve all the problems of the region, especially the Palestinian problem. Iraq's decision to allow all foreigners to leave constitutes a demonstration of good will, in addition to its noble human dimension that elevates the value of human life above all else. Therefore it deserves appreciation and respect, and it should only be interpreted in this context.

Brothers,

The forthcoming Iraqi-American dialogue does not mean that the Arab states should satisfy themselves with the role of spectators awaiting results. We in Jordan call for the start of an Arab-Arab dialogue parallel to the Iraqi-American dialogue to deal with the Gulf crisis, because it is an Arab issue which concerns the Arab primarily, as applies to the Palestinian problem. This dialogue must spring from our concern for our nation's future, independence, fortitude cohesiveness, the good of its future generations, and the rights and interests of the antagonists. We should be guided in this by the fear of God, our faithfulness to the struggle of our forefathers and the sacrifice of the Arab martyrs, and our compliance with the tenets of our faith and the teachings of our Arab prophet. This, at a time when the heroic Palestinian people respond with stones to bullets, when the third holiest shrine (Al-Haram Al-Sharif) faces a conspiracy to Judaize it, while the waves to Soviet immigrants continue to pour into Palestine in fulfillment of the Zionist dream, and Israel continues to develop its arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction, which are intended for use against us Arabs. The opportunity for reconciliation and accord between Arabs will always be there. More importantly, the opportunity for solving the Gulf crisis and the Palestinian problem, on the basis of international legitimacy, has never been better than it is today. Let us seize this opportunity or we will be cursed by God and by history. Let us bury our grievances and put an end to sedition, doubts and suspicions. Let us end the fabrication of

conspiracy theories and tales of Arab plots against other Arabs, so we can thwart the intrigues of the covetous who always fish in troubled waters. Let us close our ranks and solve our problems to retrieve our Jerusalem by the grace of God and with His help.

DOCUMENT XI*

Address to the Nation by His Majesty King Hussein
Amman, January 15, 1991.

Fellow Jordanians,
Members of the one Jordanian family,

I salute you with a sense of pride and endearment as we stand together at this very critical moment in the history of our country, our people and our nation. Our minds and hearts unite in the great hope that both our region and the world as a whole would safely surmount the grave dangers that lay ahead. This is because all the doors of reason have been shut and the avenues for an honest dialogue have been blocked thus leaving the ghost of war hovering over the Arab individual, and, indeed, over the whole of humanity.

War is the worst option that any party to a conflict can resort to. The ugly aspect of such a war becomes even more acute, not only when we compare it to the opposite - peace and stability - but when we contemplate the fact that it may break out in a region rich in oil, the nerve of life and progress. Considering the quantity and types of weapons that will be deployed, this war will not only kill people and give rise to hatred instead of friendship and understanding, but the dangers to the environment are of such a magnitude that they will haunt us and affect our future for generations to come. This is a war against the earth and against everybody and everything on it.

Fellow Jordanians,

For many long decades, our Arab homeland has been deprived of what other nations have gained in terms of security and peace. Likewise our country has always kept aspiring to and working for what others have in the form of a free, dignified life characterized by genuine security and comprehensive peace.

Our region is now on the verge of an abyss as the Gulf Crisis evolves into an imminent catastrophe. Despite the horrors of the situation and the pain that is wrenching our hearts at the tragic turn which these events are taking, we stand with a clear conscience since I have done all I can possibly do to achieve a political settlement to

* Original text in Arabic.

the Gulf Crisis. From the very first hours of the Crisis, I acted in accordance with our convictions deprived from our Arab identity and based on loyalty to our nation. We have never wavered from the path we have followed all along, making every effort to build friendship and harmony among the Arab peoples. I have never left a stone unturned in order to enable the single Arab family to stand united on the Gulf Crisis in trying to resolve it within the Arab context. We have remained on this path without despairing or isolating ourselves, because the alternative to such an Arab solution was to complicate the crisis by internationalizing it or war. We are now hearing the drums of war which are threatening us all with the most dangerous consequences.

I have been anxious to speak to you today, cognizant of the fact that Jordan's location and its stand have kept both our country and our people in the midst of consecutive crises. Such crises have only strengthened our belief in our position and cemented our steadfastness in where we stand against every enemy and conspirator. We preserved our solid unity in the face of all threats and have remained, with the help of God and our people's awareness, a dignified and proud country, a country of glory and sacrifice, unflinching in defending its domain with our hearts and blood.

Together with you I look forward to the triumph of reason over madness, love over hate, and the desire for security, peace and justice over the rush to war and injustice.

I pray to God that these critical moments will be the last moments of suffering and pain in our history and in the history of the whole world, hoping that the doors of evil will close and the doors of goodwill will open so that the hopes of all mothers, fathers, and children, will prevail over the terror that threatens humanity, the environment, and understanding between peoples. It is the people who will be the fodder of a destructive war that is on the verge of starting, leaving no victors in its wake. Real victories are those that protect human life, not those that result from its destruction or emerge from its ashes.

Our country and our region have never been through a more difficult, nor a more critical period than the present one, in which our people live, and with which they interact, under the umbrella of a true and fledgling democracy. Despite the difficulties, the crisis, and the charged emotions, our whole society has behaved with

responsibility and awareness that make every member of our Jordanian family proud of this experiment. It is inconceivable that democracy in any country should pass a more rigorous test. If our democracy passes this test safe and sound, then we can truly say that we are a people that has proven its maturity and ability to shoulder responsibility. We have the right to ask everybody, and to expect everybody, to safeguard the purity of this experiment under all conditions, so it can remain a model for our whole Arab region.

I speak to you today, as we stand proud of our achievements, which are the fruits of diligence, endeavour, and shared suffering. These circumstances present our people with one more opportunity to reaffirm, within a context of democracy, unity, and cohesion, their nobility of spirit, magnanimity, and high moral standing. Some of our guests have chosen to stay among us, to share with us our hope in peace and our condemnation of war; they chose to live with us and share our trials. These cherished guests, who decided to remain here at this critical time, see in our country a safe home that deserves their faithfulness. They have always received, and always will receive our affection, care and attention. Through them our circle of friends will grow, and that of our enemies will precede. Let our guests be welcomed in our hearts in affection and hospitality, as we look with hope to a world of tomorrow that is more secure, more compassionate, and more harmonious.

Fellow Jordanians,

The most glorious hope and sense of optimism are born of a moment of despair. We shall maintain our hope and our optimism. To avoid war would not be a miracle. It is the norm for any people to apply their minds not their guns. Nevertheless, I stress that we, in this Arab country, will always be true in our faith and resolve. We shall always be ready to make sacrifices. Hard times are sent to test people, and we, in this part of the great Arab nation, have always lived a continuous test, because we live in perpetually difficult times. We shall bow our heads to none but God. No heart in our bosoms, nor limb in our bodies will tremble with fear. We shall face our destiny as we have always known ourselves to be, and as our nation has always known us to be, one impenetrable family, tenacious in confrontation. If forced to fight, we will fight fiercely. Our banner will remain high. Our country will remain secure. Our land and our honour will not be touched while we live.

We are now in the highest state of preparedness to face any situation. Your army, the Arab army, stands in the front line, proud of its achievements and of the cause for which it has devoted itself, confident that behind it stands the people, solid and alert as another army, as well as the security forces that safeguard our national unity in every sphere. It is an achievement of pride that his country should be deeply united in one trench, that is the front line of the great nation, as it looks forward to emancipation, unity and progress.

With the deepest pride I salute the men of our armed forces in the field of honour and sacrifice. There they stand full of faith, to safeguard our country and its sovereignty, and to protect our land and honour. They have pledged before God, in all sincerity, to remain pure in their loyalty, to protect the land and skies of our country, and to prevent anyone whosoever from crossing it in any direction whatsoever. This is our beloved country that is cherished by our army and our people. We owe it to our country to give our lives that it may live in glory.

"Ye who believe, be steadfast and strive to excel in steadfastness, and be on your guard and be mindful of your duty to God that you may prosper".

May God's peace and blessings be upon you.

DOCUMENT XII*

Address to the Nation by His Majesty King Hussein
Amman, February 6, 1991.

Brother citizens, Brother Arabs, Brother Muslims, you who uphold your faith and refuse to see your nation humiliated; you who are truly sincere within yourselves and in your hearts and minds, and in your objectives, ideas and attitudes; you who are concerned for the present as well as the future generations of our nation, I greet every one of you with all affection.

I choose to address you at this very difficult moment, motivated by Arab honour and religious duty. Iraq, fellow Arabs and Muslims, now pays the price in pure and noble blood of belonging to its nation. Iraq had always hastened, without hesitation, to make sacrifices in all the battles which the Arabs land in Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Jordan. Arab blood was always dear to Iraq and shouldn't the blood of Iraqi men, women and children be dear to us?

The world has known cruel wars, but never one like this that is waged against Iraq and the likes of which may never happen again. The armies of the biggest and most powerful nations have gathered and unleashed their modern and dangerous weapons on the land, in the sea, and in the sky. These weapons had originally been arrayed by the present international military alliance against an opposing alliance led by another super power. They are all now arrayed against the Baghdad of Haroun Al Rashid, the Basra of Islamic studies and poetry, the Kufa of Ali, May God's peace be upon him, the Holy Najaf, Karbala, Al Diwaniyah, Mosul, Kerkouk, and every Iraqi city and village. Fire rains down upon Iraq from airplanes, from battleships, from submarines and rockets, destroying mosques, churches, schools, museums, hospitals, powdered milk factories, residential areas, bedouin tents, electricity generating stations, and water networks. This bombing started from the first hours and took the form of a war that aims to destroy all the achievements of Iraq and return it to primitive life, by using the latest technology of destruction. The first victims of this war were justice, righteousness

* Original text in Arabic.

and peace. Its first casualties were the aspirations of all humanity since the end of the Second World War, hoping that that war would be the last human tragedy, and that man would no longer be killer or victim. All the hopes of our nation and the world community were thwarted the day the land of Iraq was turned into the arena of the Third World War.

Brother Citizens, Brother Arabs, Brother Muslims,

The irony of this war is that it is waged under the cloak of international legitimacy, and in the name of the United Nations, which was created to preserve peace, security and justice, and to resolve disputes through dialogue, negotiations and diplomacy. If this is an example of the future role of the United Nations in the New World Order, what an ominous future lies before all nations! What international legitimacy will there be to protect the less powerful against the more powerful who seek to subjugate them, humiliate them, kill them, and usurp all their rights that were granted by God and protected by the Charter of the United Nations? We now realise fully the real reason why we, the Arabs, were deprived of our right to solve our problems.

By contrast the Arab-Israeli conflict remained far from any honest and real attempt to resolve it justly. The Arab Palestinian people and the Arab nation still await the implementation of a single United Nations resolution, which rejects Israeli occupation and calls for an end to it. Twenty four years have passed since the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, and nine years have passed since the occupation of South Lebanon, but none of our hopes were fulfilled. Nevertheless, we did not despair of the United Nations. The major powers persisted in assuring us that a peaceful solution was possible. Because the real purpose behind this destructive war, as proven by its scope, and as attested to by the declarations of the parties, is to destroy Iraq, and rearrange the area in a manner far more dangerous to our nation's present and future than the Sykes-picot agreement. This arrangement would put the nation, its aspirations and its resources under direct foreign hegemony and would shred all ties between its parts, thus further weakening and fragmenting it.

The talk about a new world order, whose early feature is the destruction of Iraq, and the persistence of this talk as the war

continues, lead us to wonder about the identity of this order and instill in us doubts regarding its nature.

The New World Order to which we aspire holds all people equal in their right to freedom, progress and prosperity. It deals with their causes with the same standards and under the same principles, regardless of any consideration or influence. The required new order would not mete out injustice to any one nation. It would not discriminate between nations but draw them together within the framework of mutual respect and fruitful cooperation for the benefit of our planet and all people on it. It must be an order that believes in public freedom and protects private freedoms, respects human rights and strengthens the principles of democracy. It should not deny the Arab people their right to all this.

The nature of the military alliance against Iraq betrays its near and long-term objectives. For when Israel supports this alliance; when two countries, one Arab the other Islamic, both of which have normal political relations with Israel, whose leaders compete for prominence in this alliance and reiterate their desire and enthusiasm for the destruction of Iraq. When Arab and Islamic lands are offered as bases for the allied armies from which to launch attacks to destroy Arab Muslim Iraq, when Arab money is financing this war with unprecedented generosity unknown to us and our Palestinian brothers, while we shoulder our national responsibilities; when this takes place, I say that any Arab or Muslim can realise the magnitude of this crime committed against his religion and his nation.

Brother Citizens,

From the very beginning we have shouldered our responsibilities to the Arab nation and Islam, as well as towards international peace and security. We have made every effort to fulfill these responsibilities. We are not hurt because our rewards have been successive punishments to our country and people. It has become clear to the World that these punishments are the price which we must pay because we tried to avert the disaster which was planned and premeditated in the dark. As a new form of punishment there are now attempts to deprive us of our basic needs, even oil, as a new form of punishment, and one of the most severe, for no other reason than our principled stand. We would not forsake this right because it is equal in importance to our human right to breathe air that is not yet rationed. Nevertheless, Jordan's leadership and people will

remain firm in their position and belief that the opportunity for peace still exists. Recourse to peace remains less costly and would reflect more truly the commitment to principles and values than the continuation of this devastating war.

The voices of millions can be heard in every country, including those of the alliance. They all call for peace and an end to the killing of children, the destruction of homes, and the withholding of medicine from the sick. I know just as you do that against these voices stand political and military leaders, alas with Arabs in their forefront, calling for the continuation of this war. Which voices will win in the end? The voices of reason, peace and justice, or the voices of war, hatred and insanity?

We and other brothers have made a loud call to stop military action and open the way for diplomatic political action to resolve the problem, but the call fell on deaf ears. Many a time before the war had started we warned against its effects, the deep wounds which it would open, and its repercussions which would grow and include human, economic and ecological tragedies. We warned that war is a measure of last resort, launched only after all efforts to avert it have been exhausted. Our calls and warnings were in vain.

Justice will be victorious, God willing, Brothers, and our nation will prevail because, through its victory humanity will prevail against its enemies. Life will prevail over death. Love among nations will prevail over hatred. It will become clear to all those who gambled that our nation would be divided, like its leaders, that it is a dead nation, they will be proven wrong. Our nation will remain, God willing, a strong, proud and vibrant nation. "These your people are one people and I am your God, so worship Me alone" (Surat-Al Anbiya' No. 92). Let us have fear of God and remember that. If this situation continues it will only benefit those who covet our lands and resources, with Israel at their forefront. There are already signs that the spoils are being divided. We hear and read every day of plans to control our resources, limit our freedom of decision, strangle our aspirations and usurp our rights. There is talk of proposed military alliances and foreign troops that will stay on Arab soil; of conditions that will handicap our progress; of a solution for the Palestinian problem which has been prepared or which will be prepared by others according to what they see, and according to the will of the powerful that is imposed on the weak. We cannot imagine that this

solution would fulfill the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people on their national soil.

Let us join our efforts to stop this catastrophe and save the people of Iraq from the fate that is planned for them. Let us save our nation from the plans that are designed for it. Let us bring this war to an end.

The starting point in all this is immediate and serious work to make the alliance accept a cease-fire, in preparation for a responsible dialogue between the antagonists: an Iraqi-American dialogue and an Arab-Arab dialogue that resort to reason and balance interests against international legitimacy, the legitimacy of security, peace, justice and equality.

So where is the United Nations now? The alternative to a cease-fire is the destruction of Arabs and Muslims, their humiliation, their exploitation, the trampling on their honour, pride and legitimate hopes, and hatred and strife between nations. We in Jordan will stay the Arabs of all Arabs, the noblest of the noble, the men of all men. We shall always stay united, army and people, alert to defend our country. If the fight is forced upon us we shall be up to it and gain one of God's two favours (victory or martyrdom). Our hearts are full of faith, and we thank God for everything.

From Amman of the Arabs I send to our people in Palestine our great pride in them, in their steadfastness, in their resilience against their suffering where a whole nation is under house arrest, without work, without a source of earning, without medicine. But it is a nation that believes in God and stands fast by the Aqsa mosque and the Church of the Holy sepulchre.

We send a special salute to His Holiness Pope John Paul II for his prayers and continuous calls for peace in the Middle East, and to all people and international figures everywhere who decry war and call for peace. A salute of pride to all our Arab and Muslim brothers in the five continents who came out from the first moments of war to make a stand for life and peace against death, destruction and aggression.

I pay a special debt of thanks to all those who search for truth and who work to spread it because they respect and care for truth. To all

the newsmen, academics, and politicians who live along us and do their duty in honesty and professionalism.

"Most of their conferrings together are devoid of good, except such as enjoin charity, or the promotion of public welfare or of public peace; and on him who strives after these, seeking the gratification of God, shall we soon bestow a great reward" (Surat Al-Nisa' No. 114).

May God's peace and blessings be upon you.

DOCUMENT XIII

Letter from His Majesty King Hussein
to His Excellency President Francois Mitterand
February 22, 1991.

Your Excellency,

At no point in the current Gulf Crisis has the choice been clearer between destructiveness, bloodshed and hatred on the one hand, and a peaceful solution based on international legality on the other.

The coming few hours are momentous in every sense of the word. The moral and historical responsibility emanating from accepting or rejecting the statesman-like Soviet Initiative will be both grave and long-lasting.

As a consistent advocate of peace based on justice, and a firm believer that France and the Arab World are fated to have a special relationship, I feel duty-bound to urge Your Excellency to lend France's moral weight and important support to the Soviet Initiative. The logic of War, though insane, is not irreversible and few are in a better position to reverse it than you.

With my highest esteem I am Sir,

Your sincere friend

H.E. President Francois Mitterand
President of the French Republic
The Elysee Palace

DOCUMENT XIV*

Address to the Nation by His Majesty King Hussein
Amman, March 1, 1991

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Brother citizens, dear sons and daughters,

Brother Arabs in every part of the greater Arab homeland and
Brother Muslims in the four corners of the globe,

My greetings reach you from a pure Arab heart and a clear
conscience which believes in God and the supremacy of His will. I
shall pause with you at this historic moment and at two important
landmarks one effecting Jordan and the other the greater Arab
nation.

The first is the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Arabisation of the
command of our Arab Army which has always been a source of
security and pride for Jordan and the Arabs.

The second is the close of the Gulf crisis which we strove from the
outset to reverse from the dark tunnel it entered, specifically since
the second of August, 1990 and until now. This chapter has ended at
last, in one of the most cruel national disasters which our greater
Arab nation has ever endured.

Now I address every one of you men and women, young and old,
Muslims and Christians, servicemen and civilians. I address every
Arab and Muslim who lived through the unfolding saga within his
heart, soul and mind, as well as those who felt helpless in the face of
unfolding events over which we neither had a choice nor a role in
influencing them.

I address you, my Jordanian brothers and say to you that all of us
have every cause to hold our heads high. Never have we bowed
them other than to Almighty God, nor will we ever do so.

We tried our utmost to address and contain the problem in its early
days and at all subsequent stages before the outbreak of war. We
sought to solve it and avert disaster because of our deep concern for
the greater national interest and our unwavering commitment to
noble and lofty principles. Most regrettably we were not successful.
I find no reason to go into the details of the sad drama because you
know all its details. You have lived through it all.

I would like to hope that the curtain has dropped on the final act to
herald a new dawn which beckons on the horizon. I realize that
many of us in Jordan and in the Arab and Muslim world will carry
with them, as they move forward into the new dawn, many painful
memories which can be transformed into hatreds and rancour if they
are allowed to grow and fester. But great sons belong to those who
can overcome their pain and grievances and benefit from their
experiences, as they strive for their brighter future, their attainment
of their hopes, and their aspirations.

Dynamic nations do not allow sad memories to paralyse their ability
to think and act. They are able to emerge from the ashes and shake
off the dust having drawn strength, confidence, and determination
from their bitter ordeal, to resume normal life and to construct a
brighter future.

We found ourselves placed unwillingly in a war zone so that our
tourism ceased and our airspace was closed. We had to shoulder the
added responsibility of receiving Jordanian returnees who had been
a part of Kuwait. This produced an additional burden to our financial
and economic plight. Our standard of living dropped, in the case of
hundreds of thousands of our people, to below the poverty level.
Unemployment soared to an unprecedented plane. Our land tankers
were attacked and destroyed as they returned from Iraq loaded with
oil. Without oil not only would the wheels of the economy grind to a
halt but so would our ability to provide drinking water, which
requires energy to pump it from its various sources.

Nevertheless, we did what we could to stay prepared to defend our
country at all levels: we mobilised the Armed Forces, called up our
Reserves, equipped the People's Army, and secured our basic food
supplies. We did not, however, bear a grudge towards any, nor did
we place the blame on any. We knew that we would pay dearly for
standing on principle and insisting on maintaining our freedom of

action within the national context, and because of our geographical location.

Gloating and apportioning blame are not Arab traits, nor are they compatible with our spiritual values because they lead to enmity, hatred, and alienation. On the other hand, forgiveness and burying the past lead to healing the wounds and closing the ranks of the nation once again.

Let us place our trust in God and turn over a new leaf. Let everyone make an honest resolution to strive for reconciliation and harmony and to shun doubts, mistrust and all causes of strife. Let us establish an inter-Arab relationship based on the fear of God, mutual trust, and faithfulness to the aspirations of our nation and its future generations to live in freedom, peace, security, and stability, in harmony with our national character and Islamic values.

Let us turn over a new page, thanking God that the Gulf war has ended, that the bleeding has stopped, and that the people of Kuwait enjoy their freedom and independence once again. Let us pray to God that this be the last strife between Arabs, and that He may guide them to the true path, the path of righteousness, justice, fraternity, solidarity and affection.

As I say this a stream of images crowd my mind. Today our Kuwaiti brothers celebrate their return to their homes and the restoration of their independence. We share with them their happiness.

By contrast, our Iraqi brothers nurse their wounds and pain. We sympathize with them all, the people and the Army, Arabs and Kurds, Sunnis and Shi'ites, in every city, village, and bedouin encampment. We all carry a debt towards Iraq, its heritage and history.

We now see the beginning of a new Arab era, a new phase between Iraq and Kuwait, one of reconciliation and the reconstruction of both countries.

This is the time when pain and sorrow should turn into hope and determination. Today is a time for reflection and self-appraisal, to heal the wounds, restore Arab unity, and lay solid foundations for a brighter future. After all, the nation did not start with us that it should end with us.

This is the time when we should consider how to revive and develop the Arab regional order, to make it more capable of addressing our problems and facing the challenges that face our nation.

It is a time of determination for us to build our national strength, to restore confidence in ourselves and to safeguard our values and beliefs.

It is a time when all should turn to solve problems, the border issue being at the top of the priorities, so that the nation will never again find itself in a situation of conflict that could lead to its ruin. It is the time when serious thinking ought to commence on how our abilities should complement construction and development in a context of cooperation, to safeguard our human and natural resources and to realize the potential of our nation's youth.

It is the time when we ought to bear witness to the interrelation of interests amongst the nations of the world, the interdependence amongst its peoples, the need to live in harmony with each other, to enjoy our resources in a framework of equality and by the grace of God to fulfill the trust of future generations. At this time we should also not be impervious to the anguish of the Palestinian Arab people who look to the day of salvation when they too can rejoice, as do the Kuwaiti people today. The Palestinian people look at a world that has upheld international legitimacy over the issue of occupation and annexation of Kuwait, and expect and await the same firmness and decisiveness in applying international legitimacy to their humanitarian and national demands.

It has been said that Palestinians demonstrated happiness when missiles struck Israel. If that has happened should the world not analyze the cause for this unusual behaviour? I suggest to the Israeli leadership and people that they scrutinize this alleged phenomenon closely for the Palestinians, like all living souls, are also human, and it is humanity that constitutes their love for life, peace and security for themselves and all others. One cannot draw a line between this reaction to the attacks and the continued neglect by the international community of Palestinian suffering, a fact which can only have had a brutalizing effect. Such "happiness" is no more than a reflection of deep seated and profound sorrow, coupled with despair at not attaining international justice and of having awaited for too long their salvation, freedom, and their right to a life with dignity.

At this time we urge the world again to address the question of Palestine by the same criteria that it has applied over the question of Kuwait. We should also like to renew our pledge before the world of our total commitment to the attainment of a just and durable peace, which secures the national rights of the Palestinian people on their national soil. Foremost among these rights is their right to self-determination and to their own representation in a peace process aimed at resolving the Arab/Israeli conflict. These rights constitute the basis for the achievement of lasting peace and enduring stability in the region, a goal by the noblest of values and by a commitment to the application of all international principles with equal enthusiasm and dedication.

At this time we must also focus attention on the growing disparity between the rich and the poor nations in this region which predicates continuing social and political unrest if it is not addressed institutionally through planning in order to deal with the challenges to stability in this region and to world peace, and not just, as an expression of charity. In our opinion, this means addressing the Arab world as an integrated region by the international community rather than doing so in the context of bilateral relations with some states within a fragmented region.

On this occasion I should also like to thank all those who helped us during this crisis and who understood and appreciated our principled stand, our propensity for peace and our dedication to conflict resolution through peaceful means. We would like to assure the whole world that Jordan throws its arms wide open to all who wish to establish friendly relations with us based on mutual respect and a desire for fruitful cooperation. Jordan extends a hand to all those who reciprocate with warmth and honour that we may work together in the knowledge that rhetoric will yield to meaningful deeds. Jordan will always belong to its nation, will always strive for international cooperation in achieving prosperity for all. This is Jordan's long-standing commitment, which, God willing, it will never abandon.

Here in Jordan we are proud of our democratic experience which in this crisis has been a solid foundation of the edifice of our national unity. It has revealed the awareness of our people, their concerns for the nation's welfare and their deep concern over regional

developments in a context of responsible national and patriotic participation.

I congratulate you all in progressing on the path of democracy which we shall always strive to consolidate and enhance. At the outset of this new phase, as we prepare ourselves to resume the process of reconstruction, we shall propose the national charter for national endorsement that we may, in the light of the charter, organize and, God willing, guide our participatory process with greater cooperation and vision in the service of our country and our Arab nation equally. Our historical national responsibilities lie in providing the elements of success for our experience which may well provide a model for our Arab brethren, in their turn, to expand their participatory process in the service of their countries.

"It may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you and it may also be that you prefer a thing and it may be the worst for you. God knows all and you know not". (Sourat Al Baqara 216)

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

DOCUMENT XV*

Address by His Majesty King Hussein
to the Jordanian National Congress
Amman, June 9, 1991

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Members of the Jordanian National Congress,
My Dear Brothers and Sisters,

We thank God for guiding us to do what satisfies Him, for uniting us in seeking the good of our country and people, and for uniting us in a pledge of cooperation, and mutual support. I thank you sincerely for blessing the National Charter and endorsing it. I am confident that every Jordanian shares with me, in this historic moment, feelings of happiness, appreciation, and gratitude for your national decision. The decision which you have made today signifies many great things, primarily that our democratic process is consolidating and taking root, and that our democratic institutions are on their way to completion.

You have demonstrated the deep level of awareness and national commitment which I always trusted you to possess. From this day the National Charter becomes a pledge that binds us, and a trust which we shall keep and protect, with the assistance and guidance of God.

Your endorsement of the National Charter signifies that the path of political pluralism is now clear, free from pitfalls and deviations. Since the constitution is the foundation of the state the fence that safeguards it, so the National Charter is its conceptual reference in the process of nation building and the quest for progress. The next natural step will be to complete the establishment of political pluralism, which will be done in two stages:

- 1- To amend the law on the formation of political parties in accordance with the rules of the constitution, and under the guidance of the principles of the National Charter.
- 2- To permit the formation of political parties in accordance with the anticipated legislation on political parties. I hope that our

national political arena will not see a profusion of political parties, because overcrowding impedes progress.

Brothers and Sisters,

Today, as we cross a new threshold in the progress of Jordan and its political development, we must be consciencious of the fear of God and the interest of the nation. We must focus our attention on the serious challenges facing us, and the dangerous problems accompanying them. We have a great deal of work to do, demanding reflection, respect of the rational process, confluence of opinions, and the closing of the ranks. The persistent financial problem and the economic crisis with its resultant social problems, remain the top priorities of our national political agenda. Naturally, you are aware of the reasons why these problems have escalated. Some of these reasons are structural, related to the imbalance between our population and resources, mainly water. Others are exogenous, such as the effects of the Gulf crisis.

the manifestations of these problems are numerous and well known to you. The most obvious and painful, perhaps, is the rise in the number of people living below the poverty line which has reached a third of the Kingdom's population. Another is the rise in unemployment to a terrifying level, amounting to 20%, after Jordan had received the third wave of mass immigrants in less than forty years. The imbalance in the pyramid of the working force and type of employment needed has also become more acute as a result of outdated social and cultural inhibitions which are no longer compatible with the requirements of our time.

It would not be sufficient to talk about these problems: Each needs a tremendous effort to cope with it. What is required is reasoning, legislation, action, guidance, and patience. Foremost, what is needed is a comprehensive and realistic perception of the reality of our situation and of the challenges that face us every day, regardless of our size and location. We shall not be saved, nor shall we gain anything by closing our eyes to what is happening around us, and how it affects us. We live in an age of science and technology, and in a world of mutual interests. We live in the age of the quest for a better life, where human dignity and human rights are respected.

Therefore, we must work diligently to benefit from our experience and that of others. We must remember that despotism, isolationism,

and social disharmony will only bring about more backwardness, more irrationality, and more dilapidation.

Democracy must not be mistaken for irresponsible freedom. It is not a license for libel and defamation. It is not a license to cross the demarcation lines separating authorities. It is not a silk cloak under which to conceal poisoned daggers. It is not an invitation for each of the authorities to set traps for the other at the expense of the public good, instead of cooperating to promote it. It is not an umbrella for terrorising the minds of others. It is not the means for the despotism of a majority against a minority. That would lead to anarchy which would kill democracy and bring about the ruination of the land and people.

A democratic society is one that respects the law, because it is the lawmaker. A democratic society is one of free but responsible dialogue. A democratic society is one that allows for a multiplicity of opinions, on conditions of everyone respecting the opinions of others and being committed to the public good. A democratic society is free from intimidation which expunges creativity and excellence from society. A democratic society is free from despotism which paralyses it. A democratic society is one of competition free from violence, fanaticism, vindictiveness, hatreds and vendettas.

In order to protect democracy and political pluralism, and to avoid all the pitfalls which I have mentioned, we have succeeded, with God's help, in drafting the National Charter. Nevertheless, we must not delude ourselves into thinking that democracy will be safe and sound as long as its forms are in place. The constitution and the National Charter, and the laws and legislations that emanate from them, are all important building blocks of the state of law and democratic society. No less important, however, are the citizens, in every place and institution, since they embody democracy in every word and deed.

I have watched closely the progress of the democratic process since the elections of 1989, and it has been, in general, satisfactory. This, in my opinion, has been due to the newness of the experiment. From now on, we are all duty-bound to correct any deviations until the experiment settles to its natural path and becomes an integral part of our lives. Monitoring the process of democratisation and rectifying it is a collective responsibility which includes the executive and legislative branches, and particularly a free press.

History teaches us that democracy, when rife with vindictiveness, rage, and anarchy, almost destroyed even its first birthplace, which was the state of Athens at the peak of its greatness under Pericles. Democracy was then practiced with vindictiveness and as a guest to settle feuds rather than in pursuit of the public good. I mention this only to stress that the threat to democracy can come primarily from people who shield themselves behind it, and who abuse democracy in the very name of democracy, whether they do so deliberately or inadvertently. ~~Democracy does not consist merely of institutions.~~ It is a tradition and a way of life that distinguishes society.

I make this clear reference to emphasise that the nation comes first and foremost. Every political party that comes to life in democracy and under its protection, must necessarily be a national party in its basic tenets, objectives, methods, funding, and affiliation. Any departure from this fact would not only be a violation of democracy, but an act against the nation. This, of course would not prevent a party from having a Pan Arab or pan human dimension; but true nationalism must always be the real criterion for political action on the national, Pan Arab, or human levels.

We must remember that it is only natural for a nation to have its own priorities according to its resources, size, demography, and responsibilities. Just as others do not allow us to define their priorities for them, we allow none to define ours. The possibility of a confluence of priorities and objectives between Arab states, or some of them opens the door for the confluence of thought between various parties, without sacrificing one's national interest. What is not permissible is the development of a state of party subservience to outsiders. Should this happen, this the party would then lose its national character and violate the principles of the National Charter.

Perhaps the best remarks with which to conclude my address to you on this historic national occasion, as we stand on the threshold of practising political pluralism, are those of the founder of the Kingdom, my grandfather, the late King Abdullah may he rest in peace. This is part of his address to the members of the first elected Jordanian House of Deputies, on 20 October 1947:

"There is no doubt that all people are born free, and that no one may usurp or contravene any of their rights, because God has protected everyone's rights from others. Similarly, we

must not misinterpret freedom and commit the mistake of others, where everyone acts of his own volition and proceeds to contravene the rights and integrity of other people, seeking to justify such acts in the name of freedom. Freedom protects people from other people. There should not be lies, slander, and aggression, but brotherhood, equality, and compassion. Nations become free when they enrich their freedom with the nobility of their ideals and harmonious fraternity, seeking to protect their rights through law and order, compassionately and in peace, each within his rights, which must be protected without hesitation or delay. Everybody is free as long as he respects the freedom of others. He becomes an aggressor the moment he contravenes against the rights of others".

I repeat my thanks to you and I pray to God to grant me and you guidance and wisdom.

May God's peace and blessings be with you.

*Obtainable from the:
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
or the
Ministry of Information
Amman, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

September 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH *DS*

SUBJECT: NPR

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

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

Cokie Roberts, Congressional Correspondent
Daughter of Hale and Lindy Boggs

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

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

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

Douglas Bennet, President
Former Director of AID during Carter Administration

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

FINANCING:

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

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

DUN AND BRADSTREET REPORT ON NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

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IN DATE

Statement Date: SEP 30 1990

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

DATE PRINTED
SEP 06 1991

SUMMARY
RATING ER3

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

MEMBERSHIP
ORGAINIZATION, NON
PROFIT
SIC NO.
86 21

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

CHIEF EXECUTIVE: DOUGLAS J BENNET, PRES

PAYMENTS (Amounts may be rounded to nearest figure in prescribed ranges)

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

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

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

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

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

STATEMENT UPDATE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FINANCE

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

11/20/90

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

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

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

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

--0--

& REVENUE/RECORDER OF
DEEDS, DC

& REVENUE/RECORDER OF
DEEDS, DC

DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INC

DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INC

DEBTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INC

DESTOR: NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

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

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

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

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

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

HISTORY
07/22/91

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

BUSINESS TYPE: Corporation -
Non-profit

DATE INCORPORATED: 02/26/1970
STATE OF INCORP: District Of
Columbia

Non-stock corporation.

Business started 1970 by radio stations throughout the United
States.

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

OPERATION
07/22/91

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

not own any radio stations.

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

Nonseasonal.

EMPLOYEES: 442 including officers. 421 employed here.

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

LOCATION: Central business section on well traveled street.

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

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FULL DISPLAY COMPLETE

DAILY TALLY SHEET Phil-29

NAME <i>Daily Summary</i>		STATION #	DAY - M <u>T</u> W T F	DATE - 9/10/91	1044
SECTION 1 - INDIVIDUAL					TOTALS
Expression of Feeling Toward the President	+	SEP 11 P3:58			24
Expression of Feeling Toward the First Lady	+				14
Greeting Requests	-				0
Referrals (Gov't/WH Offices)	-				87
Personal and Nonsubstantive					23
Questions					71
Miscellaneous Issues					28
					114
SECTION 2 - ISSUES			POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	TOTALS
1 PRESIDENT'S PRESS BRIEFING OF SPEECH OF			—	—	—
2 AID TO ISRAEL \$10 BILLION LOAN GUARANTEE TO HOUSE SOVIET JEWS			74	227	303
3 SUPPORT FOR JUDGE THOMAS			134	37	171
4 GUN LEGISLATION CRIME BILL			9	134	143
5 PRO LIFE (POSITIVE COLUMN) PRO CHOICE (NEGATIVE COLUMN)			96	20	116
6 POTUS MUST FOCUS ON SOLVING DOMESTIC PROBLEMS/ECONOMY/ UNEMPLOYMENT/HEALTH CARE			59	—	59
7 POTUS MUST DECLARE STATE OF EMERGENCY FUNDING FOR THE UNEMPLOYMENT EXTENSION BILL			43	3	46

(OVER)

WE RECEIVED A CALL FROM A VERY DISTRAUGHT CONSTRUCTION WORKER IN NORTH CAROLINA - THE MAN WAS VERY DEPRESSED - HE HAS BEEN JOB HUNTING FOR MONTHS - THERE AREN'T ANY JOBS AVAILABLE AND HE IS AT THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE EACH WEEK - HE HAS A CHILD - IS ABOUT TO LOSE EVERYTHING. THE CALLER SAID HE IS READY TO BLOW HIS BRAINS OUT - HE HAS CALLED HIS CONGRESSMAN WHO SAID THEY WANT TO EXTEND THE BENEFITS BUT THE PRESIDENT REFUSES. THE CALLER SAID HE VOTED FOR PRESIDENT BUSH AND DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT EXTEND THE BENEFITS. IS IT BECAUSE HE HAS A JOB AND MONEY AND FOOD ON THE TABLE? POTUS DOESN'T HAVE TO GO ASKING FOR FOOD HANDOUTS. THE CALLER SAID HE HAS GOTTEN SOME EXTRA FOOD FROM MISSIONS BUT WOULD RATHER BE WORKING. HE SAID HE COULD BECOME JUST ANOTHER STATISTIC BY SHOOTING HIMSELF. HE WAS TRANSFERRED TO AGENCY LIAISON WHO WOULD TRY TO GIVE HIM SOME GUIDANCE TO OBTAIN HELP. TEL AIDES SAY CALLERS ON UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS EXPRESS A GREAT DEAL OF FRUSTRATION AND ANGER AND DESPAIR.

A MR. MIKE SANTINI OF ROCHESTER, NEW YORK CALLED TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT THAT THE CITY WAS APPROACHING BANKRUPTCY. PROFIT LOSSES OF LOCAL BUSINESSES ARE DOWN THE PAST 18 MONTHS BY 20 TO 40% AND UP TO 50% OF SMALL BUSINESSES ARE GOING UNDER. ATTENTION TO THIS MATTER IS BEING MADE TO CONGRESS BY THE COGNIZANT CONGRESSMAN AND SENATORS.

ASK THE POTUS HOW HE EXPECT THE LITTLE PEOPLE OF THE U.S. TO GET ALONG. "I MUST HAVE DENTURES AND I CANNOT AFFORD THEM."

RE: THOMAS HEARING

CALLER QUESTIONS SENATOR KENNEDY'S STATEMENT "TAKING CARE OF THE HELPLESS" - SHE THOUGHT THE SUPREME COURT JUSTICES FUNCTIONS WERE TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION - CALLER FEELS THIS STATEMENT COULD BE USED AGAINST KENNEDY AND THE PROCESS OF CONFIRMING THE JUSTICE.

THE QUESTIONING OF JUDGE THOMAS WAS PREJUDICIAL AND NOT CONSISTENT WITH PROFESSIONAL BEHAVIOR - MOSTLY SENATOR BIDEN.

JUDGE THOMAS MADE A GOOD SHOWING AT THE HEARING - HE IS NOT A CONSERVATIVE - HE IS A MODERATE.

STOP SITUATION ETHICS BEING TAUGHT IN U.S. SCHOOLS AND ALSO VALUES CLARIFICATION TECHNIQUES.

PLEASE ENCOURAGE GOVERNOR PETE WILSON TO VETO ASSEMBLY BILL 101 - HOMOSEXUAL GAY RIGHTS BILL.

PLEASE SUPPORT LEGISLATION FOR BREAST CANCER RESEARCH.

PLEASE FREE THE SILVER SPRING MONKEYS.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 10, 1991

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS HERMAN J. COHEN

The Briefing Room

11:40 A.M. EDT

MR. DAVIDSON: Good morning. Welcome to the readout of the meeting between President Bush and President Diouf of Senegal. This briefing will be ON THE RECORD but not for sound or camera. And our briefer today is the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: Good morning. President Abdou Diouf of Senegal is in the United States for a state visit. Today is the first day of a three-day visit, and the first event was a meeting with President Bush.

During the meeting, President Bush expressed his appreciation for Senegal's cooperation in the Gulf during the war. He characterized the Senegalese participation in Desert Shield and Desert Storm as a deep and serious commitment to peace, freedom and liberty in the world.

President Bush also wanted to highlight, during this visit, Senegal's commitment to democracy as one of the few multiparty democracies in Africa today. And President Bush also said that in Africa there is a special relationship between the United States and Senegal, and we are generally on the same wavelength on most issues.

President Diouf congratulated President Bush for the vigor and intelligence with which he led the world during the crisis in the Gulf. He agreed with President Bush's characterization of the relationship as being excellent. In the context of the bilateral relationship, President Bush announced that we are forgiving \$42 million worth of debt which Senegal incurred in the purchase of agricultural commodities under Public Law 480 in previous years. And President Diouf expressed great appreciation for that announcement.

In connection with that, he said that Senegal will continue its commitment to a free market system and to structural economic reform.

There was a lengthy discussion on the crisis in Liberia. President Bush asked President Diouf for his analysis. President Diouf said it is a heartbreaking situation. As President of the Economic Community of West African States -- ECOWAS -- President Diouf said this crisis has gone on much too long; that action must be taken to bring it to a closure as soon as possible; and that solution in Liberia can only be a democratic one. And the first step is the silencing of the weapons.

And he said that there will be a meeting in Cote d'Ivoire on September 16th to work out a solution. And he assured President Bush that they would not close that meeting until they've reached an agreement leading to the disarmament of the parties and the holding of a democratic election within six months in Liberia.

MORE

And President Diouf said if it would be useful, Senegal would be willing to send troops to join the ECOWAS forces already there. If that would give a sense of confidence to the various parties, they would be glad to make a troop commitment.

That's the end of the readout. The visit goes on, and President Diouf will be meeting with various Cabinet ministers and international organizations while he's here. Thank you.

Q Two questions, one on the forgiveness. What does that represent as part of a total debt? Is there any other additional debt to the U.S.?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: They do have some Ex-Im Bank debt, which I can get you the figures, but that is not counted in the forgiveness. So in terms of old AID debt and commodity purchases, they now have no more debt to the United States.

Q And the second question, did the President ask for anything specific from the U.S. in terms of the Liberia question?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: He said that if they sent troops to Liberia, they would need financial assistance. The President replied that we would be able to help but we would not be able to provide all of the assistance. There would have to be other countries which would need to contribute as well.

Q Any figure on that?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: No figure.

Q No figure cited on the financial help that would be needed?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: No, because they don't know yet how long the commitment would have to be.

Q What's the U.S. position on whether they send troops to Liberia? Do we encourage them? Think it's a good idea or whatever?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: Charles Taylor said that he is unwilling now to disarm because he feels that the forces currently there under ECOWAS are prejudiced against him. He would be willing to disarm to more neutral forces, and Senegalese could be characterized as being neutral and unbiased. And therefore, we are encouraging Senegal to react positively to this.

Q Was there any discussion of a possible role for the United Nations in obtaining cease-fire agreements?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: Both Presidents mentioned this possibility and they both feel that this is essentially an African problem, and as long as the Africans have a possibility of resolving it themselves, they should not call on the U.N.

Q Was there discussion of how many Senegalese troops would be sent to Liberia or could you provide us a sense of how large that force might be?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: This is yet to be decided.

Q It sounds like we asked them to send them?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: No, we did not. We did not.

Q Sir, what is the justification for the debt forgiveness?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: There is legislation which was put on the books by the Congress this year -- I'm sorry -- last year, which says that any country which has a structural adjustment program that is working with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and which has certain income levels and which has food deficit, is eligible for debt forgiveness for PL-480 loans in the past. And Senegal is one of the countries that is eligible. There are others who will be announced, but this was announced today by President Bush.

Q Was this the first loan under that provision?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: I don't know. I don't know.

Q It was not, in part, a reward for their participation in Desert Shield and Storm?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: No, it was not. They are eligible under U.S. law to have that debt forgiveness.

Q Who are the others who are?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: There are other countries, but I don't have the list right now.

Q Do you recall how big a contribution Senegal made to Desert Storm?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: It was 500 men. And they, as the President said during the arrival ceremonies, they suffered the most -- the heaviest losses on a per capita basis because of the 93 men who were lost in the plane crash.

Q And you expect the United States to support the integration in Africa, which is the main goal of the ECOWAS?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: We are fully in support of economic integration. In fact, we are rather disappointed that the OAU countries declared that they would have integration in 30 years. We think this is much too long, and I believe they can do it much more quickly, especially since the trade between African countries is very, very small. Most of African trade is with Europe, the United States and Japan. And to encourage their own trade I think they should abolish tariff barriers very quickly. And they could do that without disruption.

Q There is no U.N. presence in Liberia at the moment?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: There's no U.N. presence.

Q And when is this meeting of the -- what is it?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: September 16th there will be African leaders under the chairmanship of Houphouet Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire.

Q Where will it be?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: In Yamoussoukro in Cote d'Ivoire.

Q Can you spell that?

Q Is that a meeting with -- just a general meeting of African leaders or what is it anyway?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: It's a meeting of the Group of Five, which is a core group within ECOWAS under the chairmanship of President Houphouet Boigny, that has been brought together to find a solution to this problem. And it will be a summit meeting.

Q Could you elaborate further on the reasons the United States regards it as useful for Senegal to send troops and how confident you are that that would bring about a lasting solution?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: Charles Taylor has said that he does not trust the current makeup of the ECOWAS forces, which is mainly Nigerian, because he feels that they are biased against him. And he feels that if an election is held with these forces keeping the peace, then the chances are the election would be rigged against him. He's saying he wants more neutral forces, either the U.N. or African forces that have not been involved to date. And the Senegalese have not been involved. They have a very good reputation for peace-keeping. And we feel that this will be his ultimate test to see if he's really willing to disarm and engage in the democratic process.

Q Does he have a point on the Nigerian question?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN: We don't agree with him on that. But if he feels uncomfortable with Nigerians, it should be easy to get him other troops. And the Nigerians would agree with that also.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:52 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 10, 1991

GENERAL PULASKI MEMORIAL DAY, 1991

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

When our ancestors boldly declared America's Independence, the hopes of countless people around the world went with them. Among those who understood the significance of America's struggle for liberty and self-government was the daring Polish patriot, Casimir Pulaski.

Before he journeyed to the United States and volunteered to join the Continental Army, Casimir Pulaski had fought to free his native Poland from tyranny and foreign domination. His devotion to the cause of liberty cost him dearly -- forced into exile, the young Count had to leave behind both his personal fortune and his beloved homeland. Yet Count Pulaski never relinquished his belief in the universal cause of freedom. He reportedly wrote to General George Washington: "I came here, where Freedom is being defended, to serve it, and to live or die for it." With those words, Casimir Pulaski expressed his determination to stand in solidarity with the American colonists.

An experienced and highly skilled tactician, Count Pulaski was named a General in the Continental Army and was eventually given command of his own cavalry unit. From the time he volunteered for service until his last day in command of the Pulaski Legion, this lifelong freedom fighter participated in a number of important campaigns -- including Brandywine, Germantown, and Trenton. Leading a bold charge during the siege of Savannah on October 9, 1779, he was mortally wounded. He died two days later and was buried at sea.

Were he alive today, Pulaski would find his dreams fulfilled, the cause of freedom won. The ideals of liberty and representative government that were planted on these shores more than 200 years ago have taken root around the world. Under a new, democratic government, the Polish people have begun working to break the cycle of impoverishment and decline imposed by nearly half a century of totalitarian rule. The United States wholeheartedly supports their courageous and determined efforts to establish a market-oriented economy and stable democratic rule.

On this occasion, as we remember General Pulaski's extraordinary contributions to our country, we also pay tribute to our friends in Poland and to the many Americans of Polish descent who have labored and sacrificed to uphold the cause of freedom. Their faithfulness and resolve, like that of General Pulaski, offers a worthy example to us all.

more

(OVER)

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim October 11, 1991, as General Pulaski Memorial Day. I direct the appropriate government officials to display the flag of the United States on all government buildings on that day, and I encourage the people of the United States to commemorate this occasion as appropriate throughout the land.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and sixteenth.

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 10, 1991

The President has named the following individuals to represent him at the inaugural ceremonies for President-elect Ronald Venetiaan to take place in Suriname from September 15-17, 1991:

HEAD OF DELEGATION:

GOVERNOR JAMES MARTIN, of North Carolina and his wife Dorothy.

DELEGATES:

OSBORNE DAY, of the District of Columbia. Since 1973, Mr. Day has served as a Consultant for non-profit organizations in Washington, D.C.

BILL FRENZEL, of Minnesota. From 1971-1991, Mr. Frenzel served as a United States Representative from the Third District of Minnesota. Currently, he serves as a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington. D.C.

JIM OBERWETTER, of Texas. Currently, Mr. Oberwetter serves as Vice President for Government and Public Affairs for Hunt Consolidated, Incorporated in Dallas, Texas.

AMBASSADOR JOHN PETER LEONARD, of Virginia. Currently, Ambassador Leonard serves as United States Ambassador to Suriname.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 10, 1991

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE CHAIRMEN
OF THE SENATE COMMITTEES ON APPROPRIATIONS
AND FOREIGN RELATIONS
AND THE HOUSE COMMITTEES ON APPROPRIATIONS
AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

September 10, 1991

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Enclosed is a classified report with an unclassified summary on the international export to Iraq of nuclear, biological, chemical, and ballistic missile technology as required by section 586J(a) of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 101-513).

Also enclosed is an unclassified report on sanctions taken by other nations against Iraq as required by section 586J(c) of the Act.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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11:00 A.M. EDT UPDATE

TRADE SURPLUS (AP) -- The U.S. recorded a surplus in foreign trade from April through June, the first time it has posted back-to-back quarterly surpluses in nine years, the Commerce Department said, putting the second-quarter surplus at \$3 billion following a \$10.5 billion surplus in the first three months of the year.

SOVIET AID (Moscow/Reuter) -- President Gorbachev, declaring that his country had reformed itself, asked the West for more aid.... "We need assistance, cooperation, solidarity," he told members of the CSCE. "We are counting on it."

(Reuter) -- Sen. Mitchell said the West should make clear it would not let widespread starvation occur in the Soviet Union this winter. He said the U.S. should act with other Western industrialized countries, or alone if necessary, to provide food and other aid to the Soviet Union and people of the Baltics. He said the Soviet economy was predicted to decline by 17 percent this year and the harvest anticipated to be 25 percent smaller than last year.

SOVIET GRAIN (London/Reuter) -- Soviet grain imports will increase in the next few months and if distribution is properly organized the prospect of a famine this winter will evaporate, the top Soviet grain buyer said. "We need extra imports, but with properly arranged distribution, I'm optimistic there will be no hunger this winter," said Oleg Klimov, chairman of the grain buying agency Exportkhleb. But he added that imports depended on sufficient financial aid.

GERM WARFARE (Geneva/Reuter) -- The U.S. said today it believed the Soviet Union and other states had active germ warfare programs in violation of an international treaty banning biological weapons. Nonetheless, the U.S. made clear it would oppose any early attempt to introduce verification measures into the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, which would seek to monitor compliance. "The convention is not effectively verifiable and we do not know any way to make it so," Ronald Lehman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told a U.N. conference called to review the treaty. Diplomats said that despite efforts in public speeches to paper over differences, the U.S. was plainly at odds with some of its Western partners and others who joined the treaty.

BALTICS/CSCE (Moscow/Reuter) -- The three newly independent Baltic states were accepted today into the CSCE.

GORBACHEV/CSCE (Moscow/AP) -- President Gorbachev, opening an international human rights CSCE conference today, promised an end to "persecution of dissidents" and declared that the nation's reform depends on protecting individual liberties.... Gorbachev said the new Soviet Union will respect the human rights declarations reached at a previous CSCE convention.

GEORGIA/ARMY (Moscow/AP) -- Georgia's nationalist President Gamsakhurdia has ordered formation of an army in the ethnically torn republic, while neighboring Russia condemned his government for human rights violations, Tass reported.

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PHILIPPINES BASES (Manila/AP) -- President Aquino today led thousands of marchers to the Senate to try to save a new U.S. lease on Subic Bay that lawmakers have all but rejected. A bomb outside the Senate injured five people. Aquino...marched through a thunderstorm after declaring at a rally that the people support the U.S. presence. "Let us shout 'Yes!' to the treaty," she said.... Police estimated the rally crowd at about 100,000, far less than the half million to one million the government had expected.

(Manila/Reuter) -- Philippine Vice President Laurel warned today that rejection of a new military bases agreement with the U.S. by the Filipino Senate could spark unrest in the country's coup-prone armed forces. A presidential spokesman said President Aquino planned to call a national referendum on the bases issue in an apparent bid to override any rejection of the accord.

CHINA/KISSINGER (Beijing/Reuter) -- China's Communist Party chief called for improved ties with Washington during a meeting with Henry Kissinger.... "We have every reason to normalize our relations," Party General Jiang was quoted by national television as telling Kissinger.

HOSTAGES/IRAN (Tehran/Reuter) -- Iran said it was up to Israel to resolve the problem of Western hostages in Lebanon.... The Tehran Times...said U.N. and Western pressure on Israel to free Arab prisoners would help speed up a hostage deal.

IRAQ FIGHTING (Baghdad/Reuter) -- An Iraqi spokesman accused a senior U.N. official of exaggerating reports of fighting between government troops and Kurdish guerrillas.... A Kurdish spokesman in London accused Iraq of attacking towns and villages but U.S. officers in Turkey said the fighting was not started by the Iraqis.

KOHL/PRESIDENT (Bonn/Reuter) -- Chancellor Kohl will meet President Bush at the end of a five-day visit to the U.S., a government spokeswoman said today.

2:15 P.M. EDT UPDATE

THOMAS HEARINGS (Reuter) -- The Senate opened confirmation hearings on Clarence Thomas and made clear it would question him sharply on civil rights issues and legal philosophy.... One Judiciary Committee Democrat after another made clear they will question him in detail on civil rights, abortion and judicial philosophy.... "You might not even be able to recognize yourself when (critics) are finished portraying you," said Sen. Simpson.

(UPI) -- ...Sen. Kennedy said the nominee's background should not obscure questions about his conservative philosophy and concerns about his performance as head of the EEOC. Sen. Biden said he would press Thomas on his support of "natural law.".... "Natural law is an elastic concept which can be used to defend or to deny basic rights," added Sen. Leahy, who said he was troubled by Thomas's writings and record.

SENEGAL/PRESIDENT (Rita Beamish, AP) -- President Bush today welcomed President Diouf of Senegal to the White House, calling him "one of our closest friends in Africa" and mourning that country's loss of Desert Storm soldiers in a plane crash. Bush said Senegal paid "proportionately the highest price of any coalition partner in freeing Kuwait from naked aggression," because 93 soldiers died in a crash in Saudi Arabia when they were returning to their base from a pilgrimage to Mecca in March.... Bush said Senegal has a free press, independent judiciary, and "enviable record in the field of human rights." However, Amnesty International said earlier this year that Senegal's security forces were increasingly committing abuses in a struggle against secessionist rebels, including torture and killing of unarmed civilians.

(Helen Thomas, UPI) -- President Bush welcomed Senegalese President Diouf on a state visit, praising his support in the Gulf War and forgiving Senegal's \$42 million debt for the past purchases of farm products.... Bush said Diouf was committed "to our values and will fight for freedom."... A senior Administration official said the two leaders dealt at length with the current strife in Liberia and Senegal declared its willingness to send troops to Liberia to help keep the peace as a neutral force.

(Laurence McQuillan, Reuter) -- President Bush forgave Senegal's \$42 million debt when he welcomed President Diouf to the White House, and vowed that Africa would not be neglected as rapid changes swept other parts of the world.

NIGER (Niamey/Reuter) -- Niger's national conference dissolved the government and then dismissed the head of the army, whose senior officers are accused of a massacre of nomads last year.

SOVIET AID (Paris/Reuter) -- The odds are improving on an international rescue package for the Soviet Union despite opposition by the U.S. and Japan to a massive financial bailout, diplomats said. They said Moscow had told the G-7 about its cash needs and the G-7 had asked for more information so it could come to a decision. "They haven't asked for anything and we haven't offered anything, but we're looking at what they might need," one diplomat said. "We're in a mating dance at the moment."

-more-

(UPI) -- Sen. Mitchell said the U.S. should not provide any direct financial aid until the Soviet Union drastically cuts military spending -- specifically for its huge nuclear arsenal. "The United States, facing its own internal economic problems, cannot subsidize Soviet military expenditures," Mitchell said. "Both America and the Soviet Union should be reducing their defense spending."... Mitchell also said the U.S. should review its own national priorities, "especially the entire defense force structure in light of the events of recent months."... Mitchell did not say whether he favors rewriting the budget agreement that forbids transfer of money from defense to domestic or foreign aid accounts.

Rep. Gephardt, in a separate proposal, said the budget agreement should be amended to allow the U.S. to provide \$3 billion a year in aid for the Soviet Union and East European countries in cooperation with other Western nations..., adding, "[The Administration is] more comfortable defending an outdated \$300 billion defense establishment than in helping the Soviets move decisively toward economic reform."...

Sen. Pell proposed a White House-Congress summit "to develop a coordinated, bipartisan strategy on economic assistance for the Soviet Union."

SOVIET TROOPS (Moscow/Reuter) -- The new Soviet interior minister said his troops would remain in ethnic flashpoints around the country and that he was weighing proposals for special rapid-deployment units and a merger with the KGB. Viktor Barannikov also said that a shift to a market economy had led to "an explosion in crime" and that his ministry needed 50,000 more recruits.

BALTICS/U.N. (U.N./UPI) -- The U.N. Security Council moved to speed the U.N. membership process for the Baltic republics by asking a committee to immediately review the applications by Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.... Council President Merimee said the council will meet Thursday to take a final decision on the applications.

KUWAIT/IRAN (Kuwait City/Reuter) -- Kuwait, trying to allay Iranian suspicions of its military agreement with the U.S., has said it wants to cooperate with Tehran on Gulf security.

KUWAIT/HUMAN RIGHTS (For 6:30 p.m. EDT release, Reuter) -- Kuwait should be held responsible for the murder, torture, detention and deportation of thousands of Palestinians and non-Kuwaitis in the six months since Iraqi forces were expelled, the human rights group Middle East Watch said Wednesday.

GLOBAL RECOVERY (New York/UPI) -- The latest data for the business cycle indexes of 11 major industrialized countries show a global recovery is underway, the Conference Board said.

BANK EARNINGS (AP) -- The nation's 12,150 commercial banks earned \$4.6 billion during the April-June period, a 12 percent drop from a year ago and the lowest second-quarter level in four years, the government said.

BUS POLLUTION (UPI) -- The government, citing complaints about "black billows of smoke from buses," proposed steep cuts in diesel particulate emissions from urban buses..., EPA Administrator Reilly said.

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5:30 P.M. EDT UPDATE

THOMAS HEARINGS (AP) -- Clarence Thomas went before the Senate Judiciary Committee today and said he recognizes a constitutional right to privacy. But he refused to say whether abortion is a constitutional right based on individual privacy. "There is a right to privacy," he said in responding to questions by Sen. Biden. "The issue of marital privacy is protected." But when asked whether the privacy right extends to women choosing to end their pregnancies, Thomas noted that the issue is likely to return to the Supreme Court and added, "I do not think I could maintain my impartiality and comment on that."

ALL-BLACK SCHOOL (AP) -- President Bush's endorsement of the idea of all-male public academies for black high school students placed him squarely in the middle of a firestorm of controversy. Leaders of the ACLU, NOW and the Council of the Great City Schools bristled at the President's remark that single-sex schools and classrooms represented the kind of innovation he hopes to promote with his education reform plan.

HISTORICALLY BLACK SCHOOLS (Atlanta/AP) -- The Interior Department unveiled a two-year plan aimed at preserving historic buildings decaying on the campuses of 11 historically black colleges and universities.

CIVIL RIGHTS COVENANT (Reuter) -- President Bush is urging the Senate to ratify a U.N. covenant on civil and political rights that was passed to it for ratification in 1978 but never approved. A statement issued by the State Department said Bush wrote to leading members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from both parties last month saying ratification now would highlight Washington's commitment to a new world order. "United States ratification of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights at this moment in history would underscore our natural commitment to fostering democratic values through international law," Bush wrote.

TRADE/GEFHARDT (UPI) -- Rep. Gephardt proposed new legislation to force U.S. trading partners to open their markets, and said an unfair trade complaint should be filed against Japan.... The bill, to be formally introduced later this month, is co-sponsored by Rep. Sander Levin.... Gephardt said the bill would go beyond the so-called Gephardt Amendment he proposed six years ago.

SOVIETS/BAKER (Moscow/AP) -- Secretary Baker said the U.S. expects to influence developments in the Soviet Union even while asserting that nation's future is in the hands of its people.... Talking to reporters [on] his plane, Baker emphasized that political and economic changes remained a condition for extensive U.S. aid to the central government and the restive republics.... "They don't have to take the steps first, but commit to take the steps," he said.

(Moscow/UPI) -- ...Secretary Baker is expected to deliver a modest amount of cash to help the Baltic republics put food on the table in the coming winter months. A similar gesture may also be forthcoming to Moscow, officials said.... "It will be modest aid," said one Administration official. "But there's definitely not going to be some kind of loan or grant."

-more-

SOVIET FUEL (Moscow/Reuter) -- The Soviet Union could run out of fuel this winter and the West might have to help the world's biggest oil producer meet the gap, Frans Andriessen, the EC's external relations commissioner, said.... He called on the U.S. and Japan to join Western Europe in offering assistance.

MISSILE DEFENSE/HOUSE (AP) -- Speeding up development of a defense against long-range ballistic missiles, as proposed by the Senate and favored by the Bush Administration, would add billions to its cost, according to a House Armed Services Committee report.

SUBIC BAY (AP) -- U.S. forces at Subic Bay Naval Base should begin withdrawing immediately if the Philippine Senate rejects a proposed 10-year extension of the base leasing agreement, a House Armed Services Committee delegation said...., adding the Bush Administration should not agree to reopen negotiations.

(Reuter) -- The Navy could take up to a year to withdraw from its base at Subic Bay if the Philippine Senate rejects a plan to extend American military presence in that country for 10 years, Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said.

ISRAEL/LOAN (UPI) -- The Administration, hoping to avert a political battle with Israel and its allies in Congress, offered a plan that would guarantee a vote in four months on \$10 billion in loan guarantees to provide housing for Soviet refugees.... The plan, circulated on Capitol Hill, also assured Congress that the White House will not seek a further delay on the housing loan guarantees, no matter the state of Mideast peace negotiations.

PALESTINIANS/BAKER (Tunis/Reuter) -- PLO Chief Arafat said Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories who met Secretary Baker have received threats from Israel and urged Washington to protect them.... He said the PLO had reacted positively to President Bush's peace initiative but Washington had "retracted on fundamental issues to please Israel."... Arafat's remarks appeared to indicate that the U.S. has so far ignored PLO requests for written guarantees regarding the planned Mideast peace conference.

IRAQ/WEAPONS (Reuter) -- The U.S. accused Iraq of violating a U.N. resolution by refusing to allow investigators to fly helicopters over suspected Iraqi arms factories to search for weapons of mass destruction. State Department spokesman Boucher said Iraq had informed the U.N. special commission in charge of finding and eliminating the weapons that it would not allow helicopter overflights of its territory.

U.N. ENFORCEMENT (U.N./Reuter) -- Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar proposed a review of the use of enforcement measures under the U.N. Charter and indicated some reservations about the way they were applied in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

HOSTAGES/U.N. (Tehran/Reuter) -- Perez de Cuellar called for patience in resolving the problem of Western hostages in Lebanon and said Iran did not hold the key to settling it.... "The Iranians are only helping me.... The key of the problem is in another place, as I know," he said without elaborating.

Bridget Montagne
West Wing

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Sec

PRESS BRIEFING
BY MARLIN FITZWATER

The Briefing Room

September 10, 1991

11:56 A.M. EDT

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12:13 P.M. EDT
#388-09/10

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

PRESS BRIEFING
BY MARLIN FITZWATER

The Briefing Room

September 10, 1991

11:56 A.M. EDT

MR. FITZWATER: Chancellor Kohl will meet with the President on Monday at 11:45 a.m., followed by a luncheon and an expanded meeting at 1:30 p.m. We'll probably have a joint press availability sometime after that, so I would plan on around 2:30 p.m., something in that neighborhood.

The Chancellor is here for a private visit. He will be in California where he will deliver a lecture at the University of California at Berkeley. He will also meet with former President Reagan. He and President Bush will be discussing, primarily, the current situation in the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe.

The President meets with Polish Prime Minister Bielecki tomorrow at 2:00 p.m. The Prime Minister will be in Washington consulting with various administration and Hill members, as well as U.S. business leaders. They will discuss the continuing growth in democracy in Poland and the progress of Poland's economic reform. That's at 2:00 p.m. and we'll probably have some kind of photo op associated with that.

Also tomorrow the President will meet at 1:30 p.m. in the Oval Office with three heads of the Baltic diplomatic missions here in Washington. These three gentlemen have represented their countries here for many years. This will be the President's first meeting with representatives of the independent Baltic States. The United States supports integrating the Baltic States quickly into the international community.

We have supported their successful application for membership in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and will sponsor their membership in the United Nations. I think our resolution sponsoring membership is being given today and we could have a vote to admit them as early as tomorrow.

The President will also address leaders of the Baltic American community following his meeting with Baltic diplomats, so we probably will have a photo in the Oval Office with the three diplomats, and then there's a ceremony in the Roosevelt Room which will be covered where he'll have formal remarks.

Q You say it's the first time he's met with these people. Were they not included in the individual meetings with the Baltic representatives at the time they had unofficial status?

MR. FITZWATER: No. First time he's met with them since -- as independent Baltic States.

Q But these three individuals have met with the President?

MR. FITZWATER: I think they've been here before. I don't know. The President has met with the leaders of the Baltic States. The Presidents -- these are charges -- level. Whether they were an accompanying party before or not, I don't know.

The key there was not whether he'd met with these gentlemen before, but that -- a first meeting as independent states. Also, along the same lines, Curtis Kamman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State -- you will recall the President sent him to the Baltics as soon as we recognized them to work out diplomatic relations and other logistical aspects of that process. He has returned to the United States. He is having meetings today with various officials. The State Department has dispatched small teams back to each Baltic capital to open American embassies. So they'll be involved in the process of securing buildings and making the physical arrangements for our ambassador and embassy staff.

Q Marlin, can I follow on Frank's question just to be clear? Are these now in fact the accredited representatives of the free Baltic governments? Do they hold full diplomatic status, just as any other ambassador or charge?

MR. FITZWATER: Their status is the same as it's been. In fact, these gentlemen have been in Washington for some time.

Q I realize that, but what is their precise diplomatic status now?

MR. POPADIUK: They're representing the diplomatic --

MR. FITZWATER: What did you say, Roman?

MR. POPADIUK: They're representing the diplomatic -- those three.

MR. FITZWATER: That's what I said, isn't it?

Q But they represented them in a quasi status before. Now are they the accredited representatives of the three Baltic nations?

Q They have handed in their credentials as --

MR. FITZWATER: No, wait a minute. These aren't ambassadors.

MR. POPADIUK: These guys were head of the legations. They are now officially representing the Baltic --

MR. FITZWATER: But their title is the same. They're serving in the same capacity with regard to their delegation. But the difference is only in the fact that they now represent independent countries.

Q Are those legations now embassies, or what?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know whether that has happened or not. I guess that's an action they would have to take. For example, they still carry the title of Mr. Jackson as Consul General of Estonia; Dr. Dinbergs as Charge of Latvia; and Mr. Lozaraitis is Charge of Lithuania.

Q So they're not ambassadors.

MR. FITZWATER: No, they're not.

Q Marlin, what is this ceremony to recognize, then?

MR. FITZWATER: The ceremony is the Baltic American leaders, and simply the President will pay tribute to the three countries, recognizing their independence, and we'll have comments for that community on the changes in the Soviet Union and on the independence of the three countries.

Q Marlin, do you have the full names and the spellings handy there?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes I do. I'll go ahead and read those into the record. Mr. Ernst Jackson, who is Consul General of Estonia; Dr. Anatol Dinbergs, Charge of Latvia; and the Charge of Lithuania is Stasys Lozaraitis.

Q Marlin, is there any anticipation of an aid announcement at the same time?

MR. FITZWATER: An aid announcement? I don't expect one, no.

I guess there's really nothing else to add on that subject.

Q How this will happen -- is this going to be driving up Diplomatic Entrance or walking in through the Northwest and being ushered in the Oval Office, or what? How ceremonial?

MR. FITZWATER: It'll be a standard arrival through the West Lobby, West Entrance, that sort of thing. It's not a ceremonial occasion in the sense of head of state visit or anything like that.

Q Is there any way to predict how quickly U.S. embassies may be opened in all three countries? Is it -- been weeks, or --

MR. FITZWATER: No, it's very difficult, but as you can see we're moving very rapidly with this, and just as soon as it can all physically be done, it will be done.

Q Don't you have any announcement concerning the coming summit meeting between President Bush and President Roh of South Korea? Possible 24th of this month?

MR. FITZWATER: Not today, no.

Q Do we have buildings in the three Baltic capitals that used to be our embassies? Do we actually own property or think we own property there?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't believe we do. We were having to get property and lease it and so forth. We don't have existing facilities there. I'm not sure that's true in all three countries. I'll have to give you a country-by-country breakdown later. But generally I don't believe we have embassies in any of the three countries.

Q How fast will President Bush name U.S. ambassadors?

MR. FITZWATER: We'd like to do it as quickly as possible, but --

Q Tomorrow?

MR. FITZWATER: -- no, not tomorrow. I don't think -- that's not the plan, is it, Roman?

MR. POPADIUK: No. I don't know where we're going to do it.

Q The last ones to put in -- (laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: -- man of the year -- you know?

Q Have any other countries asked for recognition -- I'm sorry, republics -- newly declared independent republics?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't believe so.

Q Is Secretary Kamman likely to be among those first three ambassadors?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know. I think he just got a new post a few weeks ago, did he not?

Q No.

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know. I don't know.

Q Roman Popadiuk?

Q Djerejian is available.

MR. FITZWATER: The hearings, as you know, started this morning. The President has not had a chance to watch it yet because of the visit of President Diouf, but he will undoubtedly will this afternoon. We don't know exactly when Judge Thomas will speak, but estimates are between 3:00 p.m. and 4:00 p.m. But that's highly fluid. So far, the hearings are going very well. (Laughter.)

Q He hasn't said anything yet.

MR. FITZWATER: Must have been pithy and right to the point.

Q Has the White House reviewed his opening statement?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know. I'm sure that our staff has gone over it with him, sure. I don't know that directly, but I just assume that's happened.

Q Did the President phone him this morning or give any last-minute advice?

MR. FITZWATER: Not today, no. He's talked to Judge Thomas many times in the last few days, but I don't believe he has today.

Q -- watching --

MR. FITZWATER: So let's go watch the hearings. Can't do it, Karen's here.

Q Aw, party pooper. There's always one. I just wonder if there's anything new on the Israeli aid discussions.

MR. FITZWATER: No. You saw, of course, Secretary Baker's comments. He's on his way to the region, will be meeting with Israeli officials, but there's nothing new preparatory to that.

Q Marlin, the special prosecutor indicted Clair George, the former CIA official, last week, and I wonder if the President agrees with Mr. George's comments that this is political. Does he think the special prosecutor should be put out of business,

and does he -- the third question is, does he think it will have any affect on the Gates nomination hearings?

MR. FITZWATER: We wouldn't comment on any aspects of the case or any issues to come before the special prosecutor.

Q What about the Gates nomination?

MR. FITZWATER: We won't have any comment on it.

Q What's been the nature of the President's conversations with Clarence Thomas over the past few days?

MR. FITZWATER: Just to encourage him, wish him well, tell him that we are very supportive of the nomination. And, of course, there's been continuous work with Judge Thomas on a daily basis for the last several weeks. But they've all been in an informal, friendly, supportive nature.

Q Can you be more precise about how many times he's spoken with him, and how long? Was he in the office with these phone conversations? What was this?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't have that kind of specifics, but any number of times.

Q Does the President make no distinction between the propriety of a private school declaring itself all male or all female, as opposed to the Detroit plan to use tax dollars for a single-sex school?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, the President's words speak for themselves and quite clearly. What he said was that first of all, the law will be obeyed; secondly, we need to look at innovative and creative ways of improving education, particularly in poverty areas, and ghetto areas and where they have problems with drugs and crime and this was an innovative approach and --

Q Why fewer girls? Why no girls? Would that help the situation? Does he really think that?

MR. FITZWATER: That's not what he said. What he said was simply we needed to be looking at creative approaches to education.

Q Well, does he think that's creative? Isn't that retrogressive?

MR. FITZWATER: He said we need to look at all creative approaches and not fall back on the old thinking that puts us in these kinds of molds where we're unable to view the possibility of new problems. But the President feels quite strongly in obeying the laws of discrimination and civil rights and equal opportunity and all others. (Laughter.)

Q That's innovative thinking.

Q How about --

MR. FITZWATER: Make sure that records my words and not all of this chatter out here will you? (Laughter.)

Q What did you say? Did you say something?
(Laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, and it was brilliant, too, I'll tell you.

Q Speaking of creative thinking. (Laughter.) There are a lot of people, and several in Congress anyway, who are urging reopening the budget agreement on the grounds that it hamstring U.S. policy and specifically potential aid to the Soviet Union or readjusting our defense priorities et cetera, that it has us locked into 1993 when the set of circumstances drastically change. Are there any circumstances under which the President would consider taking a new look at that budget agreement so there could be more flexibility in view of all that's happened in the last few weeks?

MR. FITZWATER: We have no intention of opening up the budget agreement. And the basic circumstance that has not changed and is paramount above all is that the United States has a serious deficit problem and a spending problem that it has to get under control. And our most important goal is to create jobs and to keep the economy going and, in doing so, create resources that we can use to support the many other objectives of this nation. And we think the budget agreement is a key factor and key asset in that fight.

Q What about changing the caps under the overall ceiling so there's a different proportion of expenditures in terms of defense, domestic and foreign aid, if the ceiling stayed the same?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know whether that can be done without breaking the agreement or not. But we are certainly not interested in breaking the agreement in any way. And too often those who want to break the agreement are the same tax-and-spend liberals who want to create new programs and new methods of spending. And we think this budget agreement is incredibly creative and, in fact, has forced a discipline on the United States unknown and -- historic terms.

Q Helen, get the veil.

Q Governor Sununu said on Sunday that Bush hasn't decided whether to send the START Treaty to the Senate in view of the changes in the Soviet Union. What's the time frame for that decision?

MR. FITZWATER: I better go back to General Scowcroft. I don't know the exact status. Is there anything new on that, Roman? I'll have to check that with the General.

Q Marlin, back to the President's commitment to equal rights. Is he prepared to weigh in on the controversy -- the latest controversy -- at the Skull and Bones Club?

MR. FITZWATER: No, he will not be involved.

Q Marlin, up in Kennebunkport we were told by a senior official that there was still a couple of loose ends that needed to be tied up in meetings on the START Treaty. Can you tell us if that's still the case now that things have --

MR. FITZWATER: I said I'd better check that. I have not talked to the General about what the latest status of that is on the START Treaty. I'm sure it's a technical matter. I'll give you a call this afternoon, Frank.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

12:13 P.M. EDT

The Nominee's Soul Mate

Clarence Thomas's Wife Shares His Ideas. She's No Stranger to Controversy. And She's Adding to His.

By Laura Blumenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

Who's afraid of Virginia Thomas? She's a soft-spoken, hard-working daughter of the heartland. A brainy Omaha lawyer who has scaled the sheetrock of professional Washington. A churchgoer who invites homeless people out to lunch. A good friend. A good family. Why the fuss over Mrs. Supreme Court Nominee?

Her critics see her as more than just the supportive spouse who'll accompany her husband, Clarence, today as he begins Senate confirmation hearings. They see a woman with strong opinions on issues that are bound to come before the court. They find in her further grounds for opposing him.

Some women's rights activists are upset by her lobbying against such issues as comparable-worth legislation and the Family Leave Act. Some religious rights groups are troubled by her anti-cult activities in light of her involvement with Lifespring, a controversial motivational group.

Even the color of her skin is being used to determine the content of Clarence Thomas's character. The fact that she is white has drawn criticism from some blacks who see the marriage as evidence that Clarence Thomas has rejected his roots.

"My real question is, Why me?" said Virginia Thomas, when asked for an interview. She has declined to talk with reporters until after the hearings. She's not the story, she said. Yet she is a compelling and persuasive figure.

"The one person [Clarence Thomas] really listens to is Virginia," said longtime friend Evan Kemp, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. "He depends on her for advice."

Even the way the two of them came together seems surprising—at first. Clarence spent his childhood with segregation and bigotry, in a dirt-poor town with no sewers or

paved roads. His father abandoned him when he was 2 years old. Virginia grew up in lily-white suburbia; her parents wintered in Florida. Her father, a successful engineer, doted on his children.

But look deeper and you'll find the perfect couple. They both keep five pictures of each other on their desks. Married more than four years, they act "like they're on their

honeymoon," one close friend said. "Intellectual soul mates," said another. Ideologically, they are so in sync that they both took stands against comparable worth well before they met.

In their respective careers, the Thomases have embraced the view that women and minorities are hindered, rather than helped, by affirmative action and government programs. True equality is achieved by holding everyone to the same standard, they believe.

"I don't think it's fair to say she's anti-women's rights," said Ricky Silberman, vice chairwoman of the EEOC and a friend of the Thomases. She said Virginia Thomas opposed legislation on comparable worth because it would have involved the government in determining wages,

which is "not good for the economy, not good for workers, not good for women."

Virginia Thomas has represented the conservative viewpoint in her jobs as a staffer for a Republican congressman, as spokeswoman at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and as deputy assistant secretary at the Department of Labor.

"Virginia Thomas is not supporting the interests of working women in America by the positions she's taken," said Pat Taylor, president of Business and Professional Women. "She can have only a negative influence on her husband, which is unfortunate because you'd like to believe that women who achieve a position of responsibility and influence would use that position to help women."

"If he is influenced by his wife, a white conservative who lobbied against comparable pay for women, he will be anti-women's issues," wrote USA Today columnist Barbara Reynolds in a July 5 piece. Reynolds, who is black, also is concerned by Thomas's choice of a white wife.

"It may sound bigoted; well, this is a bigoted world and why can't black people be allowed a little Archie Bunker mentality?" Reynolds said later. "Here's a man who's going to decide crucial issues for the country and he has already said no to blacks; he has already said if he can't paint himself white he'll think white and marry a white woman."

Clarence Thomas advocates a colorblind society, and his marriage may well be an example of that philosophy. But others see a different symbolism.

"His marrying a white woman is a sign of his rejection of the black community," said Russell Adams, chairman of Howard University's department of Afro-American studies. "Great justices have had community roots that served as a basis for understanding the Constitution. Clarence's lack of a sense of community makes his nomination troubling."

Some religious leaders are troubled as well. Dean Kelley, the National Council of Churches' counselor on religious liberty, wrote a critique of Clarence Thomas that was used as grounds for his organization's opposition to the Supreme Court nominee. The author did not mention Virginia Thomas in his text, but said in an interview that he was concerned about her involvement in the Cult Awareness Network (CAN), a Chicago-based organization that says it educates the public about "de-

structive" cults. That involvement, he said, might affect her husband's handling of religious liberty cases if he shares her views on the subject.

Clarence Thomas is not a member of CAN, although he has attended at least one CAN event with his wife, who is a member, according to Cynthia Kisser, the group's executive director.

"The mere fact that she is involved in CAN is chilling in terms of free exercise of religion," said Earl Trent, counsel for the American Baptist Churches. Kelley, among others, says members of the anti-cult organization support forcible deprogramming of religious adherents. CAN denies the charges.

Trent said freedom of religion has come under attack in recent Supreme Court decisions and "a Supreme Court justice's wife who is involved in activities which threaten that freedom makes us uneasy."

Prairie Republican

Uneasy? Chilling? Negative influence?

She is a tall woman, with friendly brown curls, clever blue eyes and a smile that makes you smile. How did this amiable 34-year-old wind up churning so many a gut?

Ginni Thomas grew up in Omaha, the youngest of four children. Her parents, Donald and Marjorie Lamp, were upper-middle-class Republican Party insiders who stressed family and religion at home.

Ginni loved visiting her uncle's farm in Iowa, where she could drive the family tractor. But she was no corn husker. In high school she showed her proclivity for politics, wowing teachers and her classmates

in student government, the debate club and the teenage Republican club.

("She was a good student and that's all," her father said before affirming his wariness toward the press and hanging up.)

"Mom was the big politician and Ginni wanted to be like her," said her brother Russell Lamp, 16 years her senior. Marjorie Lamp ran unsuccessfully for the state legislature, served on county and state Republican central committees and was a delegate to national conventions, he said.

Ginni went on to the Jesuit-run Creighton University in Omaha and earned a BA in business communications and political science. She attended Creighton's law school in the early 1980s and, as always, excelled.

"She was hungrier to learn than most students I've had in 12 years," said Richard Shagrue, a law school professor. Thomas studied constantly, but managed to find time to help organize several campaigns for local Republicans, among them Hal Daub, a friend of the Lamps. Freshman congressman Daub arrived in Washington in January 1981 with his star volunteer in tow.

Thomas thrived in Daub's office, said her then-office manager, Jack Horner. On Ginni's first day, Horner checked in early, at 8 a.m., to show her that he and his staff were a hard-working crew. But when he arrived at the office, he found Thomas busy at her desk. "She had been there since the crack of dawn," he said.

Thomas worked her way up to legislative director. She had a great rapport with Daub and was "in sync" with the congressman's opinions, including his antiabortion stance, Horner said.

"She was exuberant, enthusiastic and very excited," said Mark Mackee, a fellow staffer. "It was the early Reagan years and she was in the middle of it."

The Lifespring Experience

She also was in the middle of a mess.

During the early '80s, Thomas enrolled in Lifespring, a self-help course that challenges students to take responsibility for their lives. Most of the program's 300,000 graduates have found it be a favorable experience. There are, however, a small percentage of clients who are deeply disturbed by Lifespring's methods, which involve intense emotional self-examination.

Thomas told a Washington Post reporter in 1987 that she was confused and troubled by some of Lifespring's exercises. In one session, trainees listened to "The Stripper" while disrobing to skimpy bikinis and bathing suits. The group stood in a U-shaped line, made fun of fat people's bodies and riddled one another with sexual questions.

"At first Ginni was feeling pretty good and enthusiastic about Lifespring," recalls her minister, the

Rev. Rodney Wilmoth of Omaha's St. Paul United Methodist Church, who corresponded with Thomas at the time. "But later she was concerned about its influence and began to sense the organization had a cult-like mentality."

Terry Nelson, vice president of Lifespring, said the group is not a cult and that Virginia Thomas's account of the training exercises has been taken out of context. "Are our people enthusiastic, intense and emotional? Yes," Nelson said.

Bronson Levin, a clinical psychologist in Bailey's Crossroads and a Lifespring graduate who specializes in treating what he calls "casualties," said people who are not prepared for the intense emotional experience of Lifespring or who have hidden traumas tend to become overwhelmed as childhood memories come thundering back to them during training.

"I remember Ginni felt manipulated by the group," Wilmoth said. "She was losing her own freedom of who she was."

It took Thomas months to break fully from Lifespring's "high-pressure tactics," she told The Post in 1987. "I had intellectually and emotionally gotten myself so wrapped up with this group that I was moving away from my family and friends and the people I work with. My best friend came to visit me and I was preaching at her using that rough attitude they teach you."

Finally, Daub, Thomas's boss, confronted her. "We talked about it and ultimately she thought it through and took action to extricate herself," Daub said.

Thomas contacted Kevin Garvey, a Connecticut stockbroker turned counselor, who gets a steady stream of referrals from psychologists and physicians.

"I got a phone call from her asking for help," Garvey recalled. He met with her from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. at Hamburger Hamlet in Georgetown on a Sunday afternoon in 1984, he said, and left feeling satisfied that the young woman would be all right. "The picture of her as a totally destroyed individual is not true," he said.

Thomas felt guilty about breaking her Lifespring "commitment," she said in the 1987 interview. She hid out in another part of the country to avoid constant phone calls from fellow trainees who felt it was their responsibility to make Thomas keep her commitment to Lifespring.

Her friends describe her as level-headed, thoughtful, smart. Her involvement with Lifespring baffles them. But at least one close friend had an inkling.

"There's a kind of naivete about her, a kind of innocence you have to be careful with," said Wilmoth, her minister. "Ginni is a very, very trusting person—she once invited a homeless man out to lunch with her in a fancy Washington restaurant—

I'm sure that's one of the reasons she was very susceptible to this group. She was looking for spiritual growth and trusted those people would do the right thing."

Cult Awareness

Since 1985 Ginni Thomas has been a public advocate against cult activities. She has attended Cult Awareness Network conventions, including the 1990 convention in Chicago, according to Patricia Ryan, who is the organization's president and the daughter of Leo Ryan, the congressman killed at Jonestown, Guyana. Thomas has spoken on panels and organized anti-cult workshops for congressional staffers in 1986 and 1988.

"Ginni feels she has been personally victimized and feels a responsibility to educate others," Ryan said.

CAN, however, has had its own share of trouble. Religious liberty

advocates accuse it of supporting de-programmers who kidnap members of religious groups and coerce them to undergo treatment. CAN's adversaries have included fundamentalist Christian splinter groups, the Church of Scientology and the Unification Church.

CAN officials maintain that cults tried to stifle Thomas's activities while she worked at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as a labor relations attorney during the mid-'80s. Fred Krebs, Thomas's supervisor, confirmed receiving letters objecting to her involvement in anti-cult work. He declined to name the group that sent the letters but said, "Ginni was very careful not to identify herself with the Chamber while pursuing her anti-cult activities."

CAN officials said cult groups are trying to use Virginia Thomas's involvement with the network to torpedo her husband's nomination.

"If Ginni is the wife of a Supreme Court justice, it's probably a little scary for the cults," Ryan said.

The year Ginni Lamp married Clarence Thomas, now 43, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission began taking an interest in the role of new age groups in the workplace. The EEOC, then headed by Clarence Thomas, started work on a policy statement governing "new age training programs which conflict with employees' religious beliefs," according to Cathleen Courtney, the EEOC staff attorney who drafted the memo in May 1987.

It was the same month the couple were married.

Virginia Thomas was very concerned about such training programs, according to Peter Georgiades, a Pittsburgh lawyer who has filed cases against Lifespring and who met Thomas through their anti-cult activities.

"Ginni was interested in the problem of employers effectively compelling employees to participate in training which was inimical to their

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religious beliefs," Georgiades said. "She would ask me about it, to think about the problem and possible solutions."

Clarence Thomas signed an EEOC "policy guidance" explaining the legal rights of employees who object to such training in September 1988. Virginia Thomas was thrilled, Georgiades recalls. No one, from top EEOC officials on down, could state with certainty where the initiative for the policy had come from, although Courtney suggested it may have been prompted by press reports or field complaints. Asked about the policy guidance, Ginni Thomas said she was familiar with it, but declined to comment on its genesis.

"Virginia is very smart and a very good lobbyist," said Evan Kemp, current chairman of the EEOC. "She might have discussed it with him, but even though [her husband] is madly in love with her, he is very independent."

Kemp said he did not think Clarence Thomas signed off on the policy because of his wife's anti-cult stance: "He wouldn't even do that for his grandfather."

Comparable Views

Ginni Thomas had plenty of other issues to fight for during those years, from 1985 to 1989, when she served as a labor relations attorney at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. She represented the interests of the business community at congressional hearings on such issues as comparable worth, affirmative action and federal child care legislation.

Acting on behalf of the Chamber, Thomas led the opposition to the Family and Medical Leave Act, which would have required companies with 50 employees or more to provide 12 weeks of unpaid leave and continued medical benefits to employees at the time of childbirth or a medical emergency. While Thomas's friends call her a firm believer in women's rights, her public activities have antagonized many women's groups.

In June of 1985, at least a year before she met Clarence Thomas, Ginni Lamp found herself allied with the EEOC chairman in his rejection of comparable worth. The fact that women don't receive equal pay for different jobs that require equal training and responsibility doesn't mean they suffer from discrimination, Clarence Thomas said. "We found that sole reliance on a comparison of the intrinsic value of dissimilar jobs—which command different wages in the market—does not prove a violation of Title VII" of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Clarence Thomas told a news conference.

Lamp, speaking for the Chamber, praised the EEOC decision.

"Rather than using our civil rights laws to identify and address discrimination as it exists in the workplace,"

she said, "comparable-worth advocates want to label a social phenomenon—the fact that women on average make less than men on average—as 'discrimination' and then use our civil rights laws for purposes for which they were never intended."

A perfect match. All they needed now was a boardroom table across which to set eyes on each other.

Love-Struck

That table materialized at an Anti-Defamation League meeting in New York.

During the spring of 1986, they both turned up at an ADL civil rights colloquium.

"Anybody who followed EEOC policy at the time would have read about Ginni in the papers and thought she was a middle-aged woman in a power suit and Oxfords," said Ricky Silberman, vice chairwoman of the EEOC. "And there she sat—I was thunderstruck—this very beautiful young woman."

At the end of the session, Thomas and Lamp slipped away and traveled back to Washington together. Three months later, Thomas took Silberman out to lunch at Clyde's in Georgetown and told her, "I want you to know that I'm in love," Silberman recalled. They were engaged soon after and married by the following summer.

"She's made him a much happier man," Silberman said.

She calms him down. She lights him up. He makes her feel like the most important person on the planet. He jokes. She laughs. The Thomases' friends agree: They are thrilled to have found each other.

In a 1986 Good Housekeeping article that named Virginia Lamp as one of "28 Young Women of Promise," Lamp said that her ultimate goal was to run for Congress. Her biggest obstacle, however, was "finding a husband who'll be supportive of a woman in public life."

"She'd always been plain too busy for romance," said her best friend from law school, Jody Agers. "Clarence was one of her first serious relationships."

Clarence Thomas also seemed plain too busy for romance after he divorced his first wife, Kate Ambush, in 1984. ("It was an amiable divorce," said Ambush's father, Nelson, "no knock-down, drag-out fight.")

"You need to find a wife," Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) teased Thomas, Jet magazine reported in 1987, after Thurmond finished Thomas's confirmation hearings for the EEOC. Jet named Clarence Thomas one of Washington's most eligible bachelors.

When Clarence Thomas found the perfect bachelorette, and the couple announced their engagement, they raised eyebrows and blood pressure.

This was, however, primarily among those who hadn't met the love-struck pair.

"I can guarantee you I was surprised when I found out she was going with a black man," Ginni Thomas's uncle Ralph Knop said from his farm in Iowa. "It was unusual for us."

"But he was so nice, we forgot he was black," her aunt Opal added, "and he treated her so well, all of his other qualities made up for his being black."

At the wedding, which was held in a largely white Methodist church in Omaha, "there was some buzz in the congregation because people didn't realize he was black and there was a sort of a 'Huh? Oh,'" recalled the Rev. Wilmoth.

But friends and neighbors said the interracial nature of their marriage is irrelevant. They said Ginni Thomas's family welcomed Clarence Thomas from the beginning.

"If you have any feelings about black color, you forget about it as soon as you start talking to him," her father, Donald Lamp, was quoted as saying in the Omaha World-Herald.

Ginni Thomas's color is an issue to some blacks, however. "There's a lot of controversy about an emergent group of black male conservatives who have exhibited a tendency toward interracial marriage," said Ronald Walters, chairman of the Howard University political science department. He cited author Shelby Steele and economist Thomas Sowell as other examples. "White conservatives are [Clarence Thomas's] ideological bedfellows, and his white conservative wife is literally his bedfellow."

Home, Church and Family

Does that matter? The question of the degree that spouses influence each other's public positions is a long-debated subject in Washington.

"I'm married to a federal judge and he influences me and I influence him," said Silberman, a close friend of the Thomases and the wife of D.C. Court of Appeals Judge Laurence Silberman. "That's part of being close to someone—we certainly have discussions about cases."

Silberman said the Thomases are "great intellectual soul mates who talk a lot about ideas and social policy."

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The couple live in a gray, three-bedroom house in Alexandria, in a new Everyburb development, with Clarence Thomas's 19-year-old son, Jamal, from his first marriage. "Jamal said at first when they got married he wasn't sure it would work out," said Gabe Bicoy, the Thomases' 17-year-old neighbor. "But now he thinks Ginni's cool and she takes him shopping."

Jamal, a high school football star as his father was, left recently for Fork Union Military Academy, a military prep school in Fork Union, Va., affiliated with the Baptist General Association of Virginia.

Although Clarence Thomas was raised a Roman Catholic, the couple regularly attend the Truro Episcopal Church, a charismatic congregation in Fairfax. A majority of the congregants oppose abortion, according to Gordon Klooster, the church administrator. A home was established on church grounds for pregnant women who decide against abortion. And the preacher occasionally delivers a antiabortion sermon, Klooster said. On Friday nights, the church holds a "prayer-and-praise service," a casual program that includes community singing, speaking in tongues and prophesying in the spirit of Christ. The Thomases are not Friday night regulars but they have attended within the past two months, Klooster said.

On weekends lately, she has been tending to the garden and mowing the lawn while he has been sitting in the garage wearing a T-shirt and shorts, hunched over a stack of legal books, cramming for the hearings. They prefer to garden together, neighbors say.

They like to drive to work together. She calls him Batman because of his new black Corvette. He sends her flowers when her job at the Labor Department gets stressful. She hauled a four-foot card across the street to the federal courthouse for their anniversary. He pops over to Labor during the day just to say hi.

They go on morning runs. They take after-dinner walks. Neighbors say you can see them in the evening talking, walking up the hill. Hand in hand.

Nation

Bush supports concept of all-male city schools

Says he would back efforts to make such programs legal

By Paul Richter
LOS ANGELES TIMES

WASHINGTON — President Bush declared his support yesterday for the concept of all-male educational programs for urban black youth and said he would support efforts to help make such curricula legal if federal courts have problems with them.

Thrusting himself into the center of one of education's hottest controversies, the president said he was impressed by a Detroit public school plan to place black youths in special all-male academies. The program tries to help them deal with the inner-city problems that often lead to drug abuse, crime and poverty.

"I'm for as much innovation as possible," said Bush, who spoke at a White House meeting with education writers to discuss his education program. Educators in Detroit "were treating kids who had backgrounds that were plagued by violence," he said.

Critics have attacked such programs as discriminatory and educationally unproven. Three weeks ago, a federal judge in Detroit ordered that city's school system to admit girls to its three public academies for males. Although the academies were designed to exclude students only on the basis of sex, they are in predominantly black areas.

Bush acknowledged that the legality of such programs remains uncertain, and said "We've got to abide by the law of the land."

But he added that "if our experience shows us we need to get modifications to accommodate academies of that nature, we ought to do it, because I do believe that something of that nature has some merit."

Bush compared his attitude about the academies to his view that the Boy Scouts of America ought to be able to exclude girls, a question that is now being litigated in Florida courts. "I think...it's perfectly OK to have only boys in it," Bush said. "Maybe I'm old-fashioned, but that's the way I look at it."

Bush said his view on the schools was in agreement with that of Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. But Bush seemed



President Bush signs the Annual Performance Report on Executive Actions to Assist Black Colleges and Universities yesterday at the White House. Looking on are Carol Fleming of Texas Southern University and James Cheek of Howard University.

more hopeful than Alexander that such programs could be made legally acceptable.

Alexander said last month that he sympathized with the motives of the advocates of such curricula, but was skeptical that the courts would permit them.

"Brown vs. Board of Education is very simple and to the point," Alexander said, referring to the 1954 Supreme Court decision that ended school segregation. "It says segregated schools are inherently unequal."

The Detroit schools are appealing a ruling by US District Judge George E. Woods against the all-male program. But there are signs that the fight will continue, no matter

what happens in Michigan.

The New York Civil Rights Coalition last month filed a complaint with the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights challenging the legality of classes held for third-grade boys at P.S. 137 in Brooklyn's predominantly black Brownsville section.

Michael Meyers, executive director of the group, said in a letter to the education department that with the budding of "academies" in Detroit, Milwaukee, Baltimore and elsewhere, "the deliberate return to 'separate but equal' in public education and the functional repeal of Brown vs. Board of Education... are at hand."