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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 11/8/93

President GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH, former President of the United States of America (PROTECT Information), was interviewed in his office located at 10000 Memorial Drive, Suite 950, Houston, Texas 77024. Also present in the interview were his attorneys, GRIFFIN B. BELL, of King & Spalding, 191 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303-1763, telephone (404) 572-4879, and J. SEDWICK SOLLERS, III, of King & Spalding's Washington office, located at 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, telephone (202) 737-0500.

Prior to the beginning of the interview, BELL & SOLLERS met with Independent Counsel (IC) JOSEPH diGENOVA, Deputy IC MICHAEL ZELDIN, Associate IC ALAN STRASSER, Legal Research Analyst LISA RICH, and FBI Special Agent LAURA LAUGHLIN to turn over transcribed excerpts from President BUSH's personal diary for the dates October 8, November 16-18, November 20, November 25, December 9, December 15, December 17, December 18 and December 22, 1992. Copies of the transcription were provided to the IC's team for review prior to the interview. SOLLERS advised IC DIGENOVA that the diaries were still under review and he would keep Deputy IC ZELDIN apprised of any additional pertinent entries.

After a brief review of the transcribed diary entries, President BUSH joined the interview. Associate IC ALAN STRASSER began questioning with regard to how JANET MULLINS came to the White House. President BUSH advised it was his recollection that MULLINS had been Congressional Liaison at the U.S. Department of State (DOS). JAMES BAKER, who maintained a close relationship with the President built on friendship and respect, had full confidence in MULLINS and requested that she and a handful of others move with him from DOS to the White House. President BUSH advised that he would have left the decision to BAKER. BAKER may not have advised the President as to the identities of the individuals he wanted to bring with him to the White House.

The President asked JAMES BAKER to be his Chief of Staff. BAKER's role would be to advise the President on campaign

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by SA LAURA M. LAUGHLIN Date dictated 11/4/93

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matters and everything that revolved around the President's re-election although the campaign was run by someone else. President BUSH was aware of Core Group meetings although he did not attend them. He seldom found out the result of these meetings unless he was informed by BAKER or BOB TEETER. If BAKER thought something should be forwarded to the President, he would inform him. President BUSH advised that he was the delegator on campaign matters and would relay any feelings of discomfort he had with a campaign matter or a TV spot to BAKER or MARLIN FITZWATER. He added that he did not ask for "permission" from the campaign to emphasize such things as his crime or domestic policies. Nor would he need "permission" to bring up BILL CLINTON's character.

If he wanted the campaign to research a particular issue, the President would go through JAMES BAKER. He recalled very few formal meetings although he discussed the campaign with BAKER on a daily basis. President BUSH advised there were magazine articles in such publications as Newsweek which dealt with CLINTON's character issue and allegations of citizenship. During the campaign, the President discussed CLINTON's going abroad and his demonstrating which he added was "against everything I believe." Although it was possible that he had mentioned CLINTON's demonstrations in London to BAKER, he did not recall suggesting that the campaign hammer away on this particular issue. Although he did not recall tasking BAKER to research any particular matter, he may have asked why the campaign did not know more about CLINTON's demonstrating. President BUSH recalled that BAKER moved to the White House on approximately August 23, 1992. He never discussed searching government files with BAKER. BAKER never asked him about such a search nor did they discuss the topic as to whether someone else could do this.

When questioned with regard to a 9/16/92 Core Group meeting wherein BOB TEETER referred to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests at DOS and/or the Department of Justice (DOJ), President BUSH advised he did not recall BAKER's mentioning this fact although BAKER may have. The President could not recall when he first became aware of the FOIA requests nor could he tie it to a campaign event. He had no knowledge of pending FOIAs. President BUSH reviewed the note from the 9/16/92 Core Group meeting regarding the pending FOIA. He did not recall ever seeing this document nor of learning of the information unless it

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appeared in the Washington Times. President BUSH advised he did not know reporter MICHAEL HEDGES. No one from the Core Group ever showed him this note.

President BUSH remembered a general discussion that people were trying to get some information although he did not think it would campaign people. Although he could provide no details as to who may have mentioned this to him, he suggested it could have been TEETER. The President had no recollection as to whether anyone else may have been present at that time. He had no recollection of any details with regard to three FOIA requests from members of the press. Although he could not recall his reaction, the President advised that if he were to speculate, he probably would have said, "Hooray, somebody's going to finally do something about this." If he had learned that the Washington Times was planning to publish an article, he would have said, "That's good, it's about time. They don't seem to be doing anything about this." President BUSH advised that it was still a matter to him and one he thought mattered to the American people.

President BUSH remembered a rumor that BILL CLINTON had attempted to renounce his citizenship or obtain dual citizenship in Norway or the United Kingdom. Although he could not recall anyone's talking about it, he advised it was possible because it was so "shocking" but there was no proof. He had no knowledge as to when he might have heard the rumor from someone in D.C. or through the newspaper. He added that there were all kinds of rumor mills in the campaign.

The President knew of a letter which CLINTON wrote to ROTC Colonel EUGENE HOLMES. The President advised he was careful not to use such things although he did discuss CLINTON's trip to Moscow in light of the fact that CLINTON was demonstrating while his peers were dying in Vietnam. President BUSH recalled his appearance on the Larry King Live show wherein he referred to CLINTON's demonstrating. The President became concerned over the fact that words were being put in his mouth after his appearance on the show.

Although he could not say such discussions never happened, he had no knowledge nor did he take part in any discussions between JAMES BAKER and C. BOYDEN GRAY. He had no knowledge of any conclusions or opinions that may have been reached during any such conversations. The President had no

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recollections of any discussions with regard to a response to the FOIA requests in time for the election or whether a contact could be made by the White House regarding the pending FOIAs at DOJ and DOS. Based on his "depth of feeling" on this issue, President BUSH responded to a hypothetical question that he would have recommended getting the truth out if it were legal. He felt it should be up to the American people to decide although he added that he failed to connect on this issue.

With regard to a search at the Washington National Records Center (WNRC) and K Street in Washington, D.C. on 9/30/92, President BUSH advised that he had no recollection of BAKER's relaying any information to him with regard to any contacts STEVEN BERRY had had with ELIZABETH TAMPOSI and JANET MULLINS nor of any information passed on by MULLINS to BAKER. The President recalled a White House meeting on an unrelated matter wherein he asked what files they were talking about and what would be in his file. He vaguely remembered a large meeting but could not recall the date. The meeting would not have been on this particular subject.

The President advised that his records would reveal the subject and attendees of this particular meeting including any latecomers and their time of arrival. The President advised that he drew a blank as to what he was told in the meeting nor could he recall being told of the search. President advised he was having difficulty separating what JAMES BAKER may have told him and what he learned through the press. Although he could not say definitively that there were no conversations regarding the search before the press coverage, President BUSH could not recall anything specific.

The President was advised that on 10/1/92, JANET MULLINS told JAMES BAKER about the search at DOS and that BAKER prepared a Memo to the File. The President advised he had no recollection of BAKER's talking to him about this memo or showing the memo to him. Although BAKER may have shown him the memo, President BUSH advised he would have taken BAKER's word whether he had seen a memo or not. The President had no recollection of BAKER's bringing this information to his attention, adding that BAKER usually decided not to bother the President with such things. BAKER did not report to the President his order to JANET MULLINS to have DOS stop doing anything they were doing with regard to the search.

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Although the President remembered something about a particular point involving a tear or staple hole in CLINTON's passport file, he recalled no specific details or anything official involving anyone, including JANET MULLINS. With regard to the Newsweek publication of the FBI's tampering investigation, President BUSH advised that he did not like reporter MARGARET WARNER nor did he have any knowledge as to how reporters got their information. He added that he didn't understand how information was leaked.

President BUSH reviewed the Newsweek article and its accompanying press release. He had no recollection of the FBI's investigation nor was he aware of any tampering of CLINTON's file. Although he could not recall the specific Newsweek article, the President advised that he would have seen it because he lived and died by these press reports. Although he had no specific recollection with whom he would have talked, he advised he may have asked if there were an investigation. The President hypothesized he may have said, "What the hell is going on here? What's happening?" He may have posed this question to BOYDEN GRAY.

With regard to a Sunday Core Group meeting on 10/4/92, President BUSH had no recollection of being informed that the FBI had been called in to investigate nor was he advised that Newsweek would be publishing a related story. A reference could have been made to the press articles published on 10/5/92 during a National Security Council (NSC) meeting on Monday morning. Although JAMES BAKER normally attended these meetings, President BUSH was not sure that BAKER was in attendance. BRENT SCOWCROFT and the CIA attended the NSC meetings after which JAMES BAKER would have met with the President himself. President BUSH advised that he would have put the Newsweek magazine on his desk at the back of his office and would have raised his concerns with BAKER in their private meeting. The President added that he would not have been concerned over the legality of the issue but just the facts and what was in the files. He could not recall more than one discussion wherein he would have asked what was going on and may have made reference to the article to BOYDEN GRAY or a Cabinet member. Although he could not recall the tone of the conversation, President BUSH stated that he would have been hopeful that the truth would come out.

President BUSH advised he did not think it was possible

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for CLINTON to have renounced his citizenship because it would have been so "egregious." He would have considered such an issue to have been "explosive." Hypothetically speaking, President BUSH advised that he would not have directed anyone to investigate the possibility that CLINTON had renounced his citizenship because he would have relied on others to make this decision. He would have said something like, "Let's get it out" or "Hope the truth gets out."

President BUSH advised that if he had made some informal statement, although a staffer may have considered the President to have a one-track mind, JAMES BAKER would not be motivated by such a casual or visceral comment because he would protect the President from rushing off to do something which could cause problems later. Although BAKER would go along with the President's decision on major issues, President BUSH did not think BAKER would be motivated to follow up on something the President was nagging about. He doubted BAKER would have tasked anyone to follow up. President BUSH added that it was hard to explain to anyone not familiar with a political campaign how the "whole concept" of CLINTON's character was a matter of concern inasmuch as BILL CLINTON could become President of the United States.

President BUSH advised he had no recollection of any specifics regarding a sidebar between JAMES BAKER, JANET MULLINS and MARGARET TUTWILER and their discussion of the FOIA process after which MULLINS talked to STEVEN BERRY. The President stated that BAKER would not have been driven by the President to find out about the FOIA requests although BAKER may have said that the President had expressed an interest, suggesting that they get something on it. President BUSH added that he had no information to suggest that such a thing occurred.

President BUSH reviewed the news release produced by the BUSH/QUAYLE campaign entitled Meanwhile, Back In Washington. The President had no recollection of this news release which was put out the same day as the Newsweek story, 10/5/92. In reviewing the article, the President stated that the article made CLINTON look bad which he thought would create tremendous interest. Although he did not recall making any specific references to the story or whether he was questioned about it, the President recalled that others picked up on it. It was a subject of wide discussion although he could not name names.

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President BUSH recalled that his meeting on 10/6/92 at 8:00 AM with Congressman ROBERT DORNAN, along with JAMES BAKER and NICK CALIO, lasted approximately 20 minutes although he remembered "very little" about it. The President did recall that "B-1 BOB" did most of the talking, saying he had found the smoking gun and wanted the President to get more involved. The President characterized DORNAN as "flamboyant" adding that he needed to take some of DORNAN's ideas with a grain of salt or else he could get into trouble. President BUSH reviewed a memo of this meeting which he described as being more detailed than he recalled; however, there was nothing in the memo that he would dispute.

President BUSH did not recall DORNAN's raising the issue of CLINTON's dual citizenship which he thought would be a more explosive issue than CLINTON's travels to Moscow. [The President was informed that DORNAN held a press conference after their meeting wherein DORNAN stated that he had won the President over.] Although President BUSH advised that he "loves" DORNAN, he was not "guided" by DORNAN's suggestions in responding to questions on the Larry King Live show but added that with the lack of a transcript of the show he could not remember if he'd been asked a specific question regarding CLINTON's travels. Although the press did not like President BUSH's responses on the show, the President advised that he had not been guided by DORNAN to respond in any particular way.

With regard to the transcribed diary entries provided to the IC prior to this interview, President BUSH advised that he dictated his own notes into a diary on a periodic basis either at night or in the early morning within a day or so of a particular occurrence. He described this diary as his pertinent remarks, adding that there were big gaps. Referring to his entry on 10/8/92 with regard to CLINTON's demonstrating, his DOS file, rumors of CLINTON's Russian hosts and his failure to produce his draft records, President BUSH advised that he had spoken on this theme earlier and it was how he felt on 10/8/92. He did not recall anyone's discussing these rumors with him.

He suggested the possibility that there was a lot of discussion subsequent to the publication of the Newsweek article. He did not recall asking anyone to make an inquiry into the results of the FBI's tampering investigation, adding that he does not know the results to this day. President BUSH advised that he

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had no recollection of any dictated references he may have made prior to 10/8/92 which would have been pertinent to this investigation.

President BUSH was advised that the results of the FBI's tampering investigation were announced on 10/9/92, and on approximately 10/15 or 10/16/92, an announcement was made with regard to the Inspector General's investigation into the search of CLINTON's passport records. Although he would have been interested in such an announcement, President BUSH advised that no discussion stood out in his mind and that obviously he was not interested enough to dictate a remark. He was not concerned that the investigation would wash back onto him. Although he was sure that they would try to blame him, he was not concerned over doing anything wrong but rather concerned with how it would play in the press. The President had no recollection of making any reference to the campaign with regard to how the story would play in the press. He was removed from the day-to-day tactics of the campaign and did not recall any specific meeting or discussion on how the campaign would handle this topic. The President characterized himself as being indignant over the fact that the campaign did not find out what CLINTON was doing.

By mid-October 1992, the President was almost entirely on the road. Although his recollection would be that this passport matter did not reach them on Air Force One, the President knew the issue was discussed because he was aware of the magazine articles which drove politics through their stories. During this period, JAMES BAKER did not travel. The President advised that the Press Office would have been following the story for MARLIN FITZWATER, who was in constant contact with his office, and the Press Office would have reported to JAMES BAKER on anything important because of BAKER's contact with the President. The President advised that he also probably talked to BRENT SCOWCROFT and that both he and SCOWCROFT had the utmost confidence in LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER. President BUSH added that he probably griped to SCOWCROFT who was close to EAGLEBURGER.

Reference was made to the meeting the President had with SCOWCROFT and ROBERT GATES on 10/9/92. The President had no recollection of SCOWCROFT's telling him that ROBERT GATES had informed SCOWCROFT of a FOIA request at CIA which was being handled strictly by the book. Although he had no recollection of SCOWCROFT's referring to this, he added that SCOWCROFT may have

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said it in passing and the President was not surprised at GATES' statement to keep politics out of the CIA. Likewise, the President had no recollection of EAGLEBURGER's saying that DOS would handle its FOIA requests by the book.

President BUSH had no recollection of any discussion regarding a search at DOS of VIRGINIA KELLEY's files in approximately mid-October. He was sure he was aware of it although AL GORE's comment requesting an apology to MRS. KELLEY did not prompt the President to do anything.

With regard to his reaction to a search of ROSS PEROT's files on 11/10/92, the President advised that although he had a vague memory, he could not recall if he actually believed the story or not. He added that if he did not make a remark in his diary, he did not feel the issue was a big enough deal. He recalled that LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER was concerned in an "unselfish" way because he had let the President down by letting the passport issue get away from him. President BUSH added that he holds EAGLEBURGER in the same regard as JAMES BAKER and BRENT SCOWCROFT. Because of EAGLEBURGER's position as a Foreign Service officer, he was less political than BAKER. He recalled talking to EAGLEBURGER regarding firing ELIZABETH TAMPOSI and telling EAGLEBURGER that he had to do it. The President assumed that EAGLEBURGER was doing him a courtesy and added that EAGLEBURGER's mind was made up and he just needed some encouragement.

President BUSH advised that he never spoke to ELIZABETH TAMPOSI although he thought that BRENT SCOWCROFT had informed him of TAMPOSI's call. He added that SCOWCROFT probably told him that TAMPOSI had called in a "high state of unhappiness." The President assumed that TAMPOSI was calling to request that her situation be reassessed; however, he had no recollection of SCOWCROFT's telling him of any reference by TAMPOSI that she was working at the behest of the White House. The President had no knowledge of a search of ROSS PEROT's passport files before the references in the press. Characterizing ROSS PEROT as "very dangerous," President BUSH advised that he was not interested in looking at PEROT's passport files and that if anyone referred to this, "They're just as wrong as they can be."

Referring to his diary note of 11/16/92, wherein he referred to ELIZABETH TAMPOSI, President BUSH advised that he

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either learned of TAMPOSI's blaming the White House for the passport search from someone or from press accounts or both. He recalled discussing this issue with JAMES BAKER (as referred to in the diary notation) although he could not recall whether they had the discussion the night of 11/16/92. He described BAKER as being "very concerned," adding that he thought BAKER was concerned for the President. [At this time, GRIFFIN BELL advised the President that he had talked to BAKER from Florida.] The President added that a press reference to TAMPOSI may have prompted him to ask BAKER what the article was about. He described BAKER as being very concerned that this could put a "smudge" on him as the President and as his friend. He did not think BAKER felt responsible for setting the matter in motion nor did the President get the feeling that BAKER felt he had triggered it. President BUSH advised that BAKER had great confidence in JANET MULLINS and that if he were concerned over something MULLINS has done, he did not discuss it with the President. BAKER did not indicate to the President that he had misled JANET MULLINS or had caused her to do something to get "her tail in a crack." If BAKER had been concerned, he would have talked to the President.

The President recounted a meeting he had with JAMES BAKER, possibly on 11/20/92, in a little room off the Oval Office. He described BAKER as being "very upset." BAKER may have expressed his acceptance of the problem during this meeting but the President never got the feeling that he had told or caused JANET MULLINS to do anything wrong. The President described BAKER as the straightest arrow and as someone who is worried about perceptions of this. The President did not think BAKER would have said he had released a loose cannon in JANET MULLINS. The President had no knowledge of what JAMES BAKER would have said to JANET MULLINS or MARGARET TUTWILER.

The President explained that BAKER had negotiated treaties throughout the world and had facilitated peace in addition to providing tremendous guidance and leadership during the Gulf War. BAKER would have preferred to have stayed at DOS. Although BAKER had never had any ethical lapse at any time, the President advised that BAKER felt his career was ending with the passport matter. BAKER commented to President BUSH, "Who needs this?" BAKER did not want to tarnish the President and questioned, "What's this coming to?" BAKER then offered his resignation, which the President thought was ridiculous. He

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added that BAKER had not said anything in their conversation which would have led the President to respond affirmatively to BAKER's offer to resign.

President BUSH suggested that BAKER took the matter as seriously as he did because of his relationship with the President. The President related how he had told his wife, BARBARA, how worried BAKER was over the whole passport matter. He thought that BAKER felt responsible although the President did not think BAKER should torture himself over it. BAKER never informed the President that he had told JANET MULLINS to have ELIZABETH TAMPOSI search CLINTON's records. President BUSH advised that BAKER was always worried about the press and thought this would be a blot against him. In addition, he had seen BAKER distraught over matters less important than losing a Presidential election. President BUSH blamed himself for being inarticulate, a fact to which he attributed losing the election.

In the weeks and months following the election, President BUSH characterized himself as being distraught over the fact that he had not finished the job. His distress had nothing to do with JANET MULLINS. He added that BAKER was upset for his friend over the allegations involving MULLINS, TUTWILER and BAKER's own standing. The President advised that the magnitude of defeat affects people and that BAKER's emotion should be viewed against this backdrop. The President added that he knows BAKER's knowledge of the law and his character. President BUSH recorded his concern for his friend in the remarks made in his diary. The President told BAKER to get rid of his resignation letter. President BUSH also told LARRY EAGLEBURGER that his resigning would be crazy.

President BUSH advised that he would have told BAKER that he was reading too much into the Newsweek article which was gossip. He never would have asked BAKER to fill him in on any details. He attributed BAKER's distress to the more serious matters of losing a Presidential election and letting down a friend.

In reviewing his diary note of 11/16/92 and the reference "...he made some illusion of what the role even of you and me in this..." The President advised he had no recollection or information regarding this reference. With regard to a reference to ED DERWINSKI in his diary remarks for 11/17/92,

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President BUSH advised he could offer no insight into this reference other than the fact that DERWINSKI left the Veteran's Administration for the campaign. He did not know why he had mentioned BOB TEETER other than maybe BAKER had told him about TEETER. He had no recollection of BAKER's telling him of ordering TEETER not to bring anything like the FOIA reference into a Core Group meeting again. In the 11/17/92 reference, "TEETER apparently did try to get people to do more about this passport incident and the Moscow trip..." the President indicated that someone would have had to inform him of this and it could have been either BAKER or a press account.

In referring to his remarks of 11/20/92 regarding "The White House's only question may have been expediting, but who knows," the President supposed that revelations, rumors and maybe facts were still coming out on the matter. The President thought that there were news stories at the time which suggested that the White House had attempted to speed up the FOIA response. He did not have a specific recollection of this and says his diary comment was made three weeks after the election.

President BUSH advised that JAMES BAKER read aloud his resignation to the President. The President could not recall anything of substance in the resignation letter regarding the passport issue although it did take BAKER a long time to read the letter. President BUSH advised that he could not repeat what he told BAKER to do with the resignation letter. The President suggested that BAKER may have needed reassurance from his friend or maybe from the President. He did not feel that BAKER should feel guilty over the passport issue to the point of resigning. The President made a point of stating that BAKER did not offer to resign because of something ticking at the back of his mind regarding what he had said to JANET MULLINS or MARGARET TUTWILER. He knew BAKER well enough and knew what motivated BAKER. BAKER felt the matter was a blot on himself, a blot on the President and a blot on the Administration.

President BUSH added that he no longer reads any news magazines and has tried to encourage BAKER to do the same. He added that BAKER still reads the articles and calls the President to see if the President has seen them. Because of the whole passport issue, BAKER was required to fill out forms and to be interviewed.

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President BUSH advised that he did not think the passport issue had an effect on the result of the election overall. He thought the two big issues were "The economy, stupid" and change. He thought the issue of CLINTON's character would have an impact on the election; however, the D.C. press were CLINTON's peers and understood CLINTON's contention that the Vietnam War was morally wrong and, therefore, so was the President. He also thought ROSS PEROT contributed to his loss. He added that although he would love to blame someone other than himself, he didn't think the citizenship issue had an effect although if it had had an effect it would have been negative. He thought the WALSH report on CASPAR WEINBERGER may have influenced the outcome of the election.

President BUSH had no recollection of a search to be conducted by British authorities in the United Kingdom (U.K.) Home Office although he vaguely recalled that the British would help them. He added that he had no knowledge of what the Home Office was. After a brief recitation from Deputy IC ZELDIN with regard to the search of U.K. Home Office records, the President stated neither he nor anyone at the White House or the campaign, to his knowledge, asked U.K. representatives to conduct such a search.

The interview was concluded at this time. All parties agreed that after a more complete review of President BUSH's diary by his counsel for information pertinent to this investigation and production of same to the IC, a second interview would be scheduled.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 1/4/94

President GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH, former President of the United States of America (**Protect all information**), was interviewed for the second time in his office located at Ten Thousand Memorial Drive, Suite 950, Houston, Texas 77024. The first interview was conducted on 10/28/93. Present for the interview were President BUSH's attorneys, J. SEDWICK SOLLERS, III and KERRIE DENT, of King & Spalding, 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, telephone (202) 737-0500 and (202) 626-2957, respectively. President BUSH knew of the identities of Independent Counsel (IC) JOSEPH diGENOVA, Deputy IC MICHAEL ZELDIN, Associate IC ALAN STRASSER, Legal Research Analyst LISA RICH and FBI Special Agent LAURA LAUGHLIN. President BUSH furnished the following information:

The President reviewed a document on Presidential stationery, dated 10/07/92. The President advised that after receiving notes on items of interest to him, he would type memos to himself on a typewriter upstairs in the White House but he did not know how these memos were subsequently filed. He also sometimes worked on a computer but he did not think that this particular memo had been done on the computer.

The reference to the passport file led the President to suggest the memo had been prepared at the height of the campaign. When the President stated that he had no recollection as to how the date of this memo related to the date when the passport matter became public, his attorney, SEDWICK SOLLERS, advised that the memo was dated after the matter had become public. The President advised that he had probably said something to the effect of, "What's this all about?" After reading about the passport matter in the newspapers, he would have needed to find out more about it. He did not recall asking anyone for more information although he might have. BILL CLINTON's travel through Moscow became a campaign issue with regard to who had paid for CLINTON's trip. The matter was also brought up on the LARRY KING Live Show during President BUSH's appearance.

He may have prepared these notes (document dated

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matters and everything that revolved around the President's re-election although the campaign was run by someone else. President BUSH was aware of Core Group meetings although he did not attend them. He seldom found out the result of these meetings unless he was informed by BAKER or BOB TEETER. If BAKER thought something should be forwarded to the President, he would inform him. President BUSH advised that he was the delegator on campaign matters and would relay any feelings of discomfort he had with a campaign matter or a TV spot to BAKER or MARLIN FITZWATER. He added that he did not ask for "permission" from the campaign to emphasize such things as his crime or domestic policies nor would he need "permission" to bring up BILL CLINTON's character.

If he wanted the campaign to research a particular issue, the President would go through JAMES BAKER. He recalled very few formal meetings although he discussed the campaign with BAKER on a daily basis. President BUSH advised there were magazine articles in such publications as Newsweek which dealt with CLINTON's character and the allegations of his citizenship. During the campaign, the President discussed CLINTON's going abroad and demonstrating against his country, which was "against everything I believe." Although it was possible that he had mentioned CLINTON's demonstrations in London to BAKER, he did not recall suggesting that the campaign hammer away on this particular issue. Although he did not recall tasking BAKER to research any particular matter, he may have asked why the campaign did not know more about CLINTON's demonstrating. President BUSH recalled that BAKER moved to the White House on approximately August 23, 1992. He never discussed searching government files with BAKER. BAKER never asked him about such a search nor did they discuss the topic as to whether someone else could do this.

When questioned with regard to a 9/16/92 Core Group meeting wherein BOB TEETER referred to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests at DOS and/or the Department of Justice (DOJ), President BUSH advised he did not recall BAKER's mentioning this fact although BAKER may have. The President could not recall when he first became aware of the FOIA requests nor could he tie it to a campaign event. He had no knowledge of pending FOIAs. President BUSH reviewed the note from the 9/16/92 Core Group meeting regarding the pending FOIA. He did not recall ever seeing this document nor of learning of the information unless it

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appeared in the Washington Times. President BUSH advised he did not know reporter MICHAEL HEDGES. No one from the Core Group ever showed him this note.

President BUSH remembered a general discussion that people were trying to get some information although he did not think it would have been campaign people. Although he could provide no details as to who may have mentioned this to him, he suggested it could have been TEETER. The President had no recollection as to whether anyone else may have been present at that time. He had no recollection of any details with regard to three FOIA requests from members of the press. Although he could not recall his reaction, the President advised that if he were to speculate, he probably would have said, "Hooray, somebody's going to finally do something about this!" If he had learned that the Washington Times was planning to publish an article, he would have said, "That's good, it's about time. They don't seem to be doing anything about this." President BUSH advised that it was still a matter to him and one he thought mattered to the American people.

President BUSH remembered a rumor that BILL CLINTON had attempted to renounce his citizenship or obtain dual citizenship in Norway or the United Kingdom. Although he could not recall anyone's talking about it, he advised it was possible because it was so "shocking" but there was no proof. He had no knowledge as to when he might have heard the rumor from someone in D.C. or through the newspaper. He added that there were all kinds of rumor mills in the campaign.

The President knew of a letter which CLINTON wrote to ROTC Colonel EUGENE HOLMES. The President advised he was careful not to use such things although he did discuss CLINTON's trip to Moscow in light of the fact that CLINTON was demonstrating while his peers were dying in Vietnam. President BUSH recalled his appearance on the Larry King Live show wherein he referred to CLINTON's demonstrating. The President became concerned over the fact that words were being put in his mouth after his appearance on the show.

Although he could not say such discussions never happened, he had no knowledge nor did he take part in any discussions between JAMES BAKER and C. BOYDEN GRAY. He had no knowledge of any conclusions or opinions that may have been

reached during any such conversations. The President had no recollections of any discussions with regard to a response to the FOIA requests in time for the election or whether a contact could be made by the White House regarding the pending FOIAs at DOJ and DOS. Based on his "depth of feeling" on this issue, President BUSH responded to a hypothetical question that he would have recommended getting the truth out if it were legal. He felt it should be up to the American people to decide although he added that he failed to connect on this issue.

With regard to a search at the Washington National Records Center (WNRC) and the K Street offices in Washington, D.C. on 9/30/92, President BUSH advised that he had no recollection of BAKER's relaying any information to him with regard to any contacts STEVEN BERRY had had with ELIZABETH TAMPOSI and JANET MULLINS nor of any information passed on by MULLINS to BAKER. The President recalled a White House meeting on an unrelated matter during which he asked about the files in question; he wanted to know what would be in his file. He vaguely remembered a large meeting but could not recall the date. The meeting would not have been on this particular subject.

The President advised that his records would reveal the subject and attendees of this particular meeting including any latecomers and their time of arrival. The President advised that he drew a blank as to what he was told in the meeting nor could he recall being told of the search. President BUSH advised he was having difficulty separating what JAMES BAKER may have told him and what he learned through the press. Although he could not say definitively that there were no conversations regarding the search before the press coverage, President BUSH could not recall anything specific.

The President was advised that on 10/1/92, JANET MULLINS told JAMES BAKER about the search at DOS and that BAKER prepared a Memo to the File. The President advised he had no recollection of BAKER's talking to him about this memo nor of seeing it. Although BAKER may have shown him the memo, President BUSH advised he would have taken BAKER's word whether he had seen a memo or not. The President had no recollection of BAKER's bringing this information to his attention, adding that BAKER usually decided not to bother the President with such things. BAKER did not report to the President his order to JANET MULLINS to have DOS stop doing anything they were doing with regard to

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the search.

Although the President remembered something about a particular point involving a tear or staple hole in CLINTON's passport file, he recalled no specific details or anything official involving anyone, including JANET MULLINS. With regard to the Newsweek publication of the FBI's tampering investigation, President BUSH advised that he did not like reporter MARGARET WARNER nor did he have any knowledge as to how reporters got their information. He added that he didn't understand how information was leaked.

President BUSH reviewed the Newsweek article and its accompanying press release. He had no recollection of the FBI's investigation nor was he aware of any tampering of CLINTON's file. Although he could not recall the specific Newsweek article, the President advised that he would have seen it because he lived and died by these press reports. Although he had no specific recollection with whom he would have talked, he advised he may have asked if there were an investigation. The President hypothesized he may have said, "What the hell is going on here? What's happening?" He may have posed this question to BOYDEN GRAY.

With regard to a Sunday Core Group meeting on 10/4/92, President BUSH had no recollection of being informed that the FBI had been called in to investigate nor was he advised that Newsweek would be publishing a related story. A reference could have been made to the press articles published on 10/5/92 during a National Security Council (NSC) meeting on Monday morning. Although JAMES BAKER normally attended these meetings, President BUSH was not sure that BAKER was in attendance. BRENT SCOWCROFT and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) attended the NSC meetings after which JAMES BAKER would have met with the President himself. President BUSH advised that he would have put the Newsweek magazine on his desk at the back of his office and would have raised his concerns with BAKER in their private meeting. The President added that he would not have been concerned over the legality of the issue but just the facts and what was in the files. He could not recall more than one discussion wherein he would have asked what was going on and may have made reference to the article to BOYDEN GRAY or a Cabinet member. Although he could not recall the tone of the conversation, President BUSH stated that he would have been

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hopeful that the truth would come out.

President BUSH advised he did not think it was possible for CLINTON to have renounced his citizenship because it would have been so "egregious." He would have considered such an issue to have been "explosive." Hypothetically speaking, President BUSH advised that he would not have directed anyone to investigate the possibility that CLINTON had renounced his citizenship because he would have relied on others to make this decision. He would have said something like, "Let's get it out" or "Hope the truth gets out."

President BUSH advised that if he had made some informal statement, although a staffer may have considered the President to have a one-track mind, JAMES BAKER would not be motivated by such a casual or visceral comment because he would protect the President from rushing off to do something which could cause problems later. Although BAKER would go along with the President's decision on major issues, President BUSH did not think BAKER would be motivated to follow up on something the President was nagging about. He doubted BAKER would have tasked anyone to follow up. President BUSH added that it was hard to explain to anyone not familiar with a political campaign how the "whole concept" of CLINTON's character was a matter of concern inasmuch as BILL CLINTON could become President of the United States.

President BUSH advised he had no recollection of any specifics regarding a sidebar between JAMES BAKER, JANET MULLINS and MARGARET TUTWILER and their discussion of the FOIA process after which MULLINS talked to STEVEN BERRY. The President stated that BAKER would not have been driven by the President to find out about the FOIA requests although BAKER may have said that the President had expressed an interest, suggesting that they get something on it. President BUSH added that he had no information to suggest that such a thing occurred.

President BUSH reviewed the News Release produced by the BUSH/QUAYLE campaign entitled Meanwhile, Back In Washington. The President had no recollection of this News Release which was put out the same day as the Newsweek story, 10/5/92. In reviewing the article, the President stated that the article made CLINTON look bad which he thought would create tremendous interest. Although he did not recall making any specific