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CASE MARKER

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Rogers, Ed, Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 04015
Folder ID Number: 04015-013

Folder Title:
[Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Form	Request and Authorization for TDY Travel of DOD Personnel (4 pp.)	12/18/89	(b)(6), (b)(7)(c)	
02. Form	Flight Authorization [redaction] (1 pp.)	9/5/90	(b)(6), (b)(7)(c)	
03. Resume	Anatoly A. Sobchak [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
04. Vita	Anatoly A. Sobchak [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
05. Fact sheet	Media Fact Sheet Re: Nancy Sununu [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
06. Biography	Andrew H. Card, Jr. [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
07. Fact sheet	Media Fact Sheet Re: Nancy Sununu [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
08. Biography	Andrew H. Card, Jr. [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the

Series: Rogers, Edward, Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: [Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

Pinksheet Number: LT5173

OA/ID Number: 04015-013

Date Closed: 8/2/2023

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2023-1267-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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09. Fact sheet	Media Fact Sheet Re: Nancy Sununu [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
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Page 2 of 2

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Date Closed: 8/2/2023

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2023-1267-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

BRUCE ZANCA'S NOTEBOOK
FOR TRIP TO MOSCOW, LENINGRAD AND LONDON
AUGUST 27, 1990 - SEPTEMBER 1, 1990

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Form	Request and Authorization for TDY Travel of DOD Personnel (4 pp.)	12/18/89	(b)(6), (b)(7)(c)	

Collection:

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File Location: [Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

Date Closed: 8/2/2023	OA/ID Number: 04015-013
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2023-1267-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:

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]



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HEADER

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CONTROLS

UNCLAS 3A

SERIAL: WA1308184690

PASS:

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COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 3--IZVESTIYA PREVIEWS SUNUNU KREMLIN VISIT

MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 4 AUG 90 MORNING EDITION P 6

TEXT:

//((IZVESTIYA CORRESPONDENT V. SHALNEV DISPATCH: "BUREAUCRATS

FROM THE PRESIDENT'S TEAM; WHAT THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF DOES"))

DATES WILL BE AT THE END OF AUGUST, THE START OF SEPTEMBER. THE

RETURNING HOME BY LABOR DAY, WHICH IN THE UNITED STATES MARKS THE

END OF THE SUMMER VACATION AND THE RESUMPTION AT FULL TILT OF THE

WORK OF WASHINGTON'S ENTIRE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND

BUREAUCRATS.

JOHN SUNUNU IS A BUREAUCRAT AT THE TOP LEVEL IN THE STRUCTURE OF

RANK. HE IS CHIEF OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF, THE PERSON TO WHOM THE

THOUSANDS OF STAFFERS SUPPORTING THE FULL AND PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY OF

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARE SUBORDINATE.

JOHN SUNUNU WILL BE VISITING US NOT AS A TOURIST, ALTHOUGH THE

VISIT WILL TAKE PLACE DURING HIS VACATION. HE IS COMING TO WORK; HE

IS COMING, AS THE WHITE HOUSE HAS SAID, "TO ADVISE THE KREMLIN" ON

THE QUESTION OF HOW TO ORGANIZE THE EFFICIENT OPERATION OF THE

PRESIDENCY. THE SOVIET PRESIDENCY.

IT IS SAID THAT IT WAS ENTIRELY OUR IDEA TO INVITE SUNUNU AS A

CONSULTANT. BUT THIS IS WHAT IS SAID IN WASHINGTON, IN THE WHITE

HOUSE. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS A DIFFERENT VIEWPOINT: IT WAS NOT WE,

MOSCOW SAYS, WHO WERE THE SPONSORS.

WE WILL NOT INVESTIGATE WHO HAD THIS IDEA FIRST; IT IS NOT THAT

IMPORTANT. THE SENTIMENTS OF THE PARTIES ARE, HOWEVER,

UNDERSTANDABLE: IT IS ONE THING WHEN A REQUEST IS MADE OF US, AND

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WE, HAVING PONDERED THE MATTER, CONSENT; BUT WHEN WE HAVE TO MAKE THE REQUEST OURSELVES, IT IS QUITE ANOTHER.

YET THE QUESTION OF "PRIMACY" IS SECONDARY. INCOMPARABLY MORE IMPORTANT IS THE FACT THAT IT WOULD BY NO MEANS BE A SIN FOR THE WHITE HOUSE TO HAVE SOMETHING TO TEACH THE KREMLIN.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF POLITICAL MATTERS, NOT OF THE SUBTLETIES OF GLOBAL STRATEGY AND LOCAL TACTICS--ON A STATE OR COUNTY SCALE, SAY. IT IS A QUESTION OF WHAT TO MANY OF OUR BUREAUCRATS MIGHT SEEM TRIFLING MATTERS NOT WORTHY OF ATTENTION.

BUT WHAT TRIFLING MATTERS CAN THERE BE, THEY SAY IN THE WHITE HOUSE, IF IT IS A QUESTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENCY? EACH TRIFLING MATTER HAS OFFICIAL STATUS HERE.

THE WHITE HOUSE HAS ASTONISHING EXPERTS IN THE SCIENCE OF TRIFLING MATTERS.

THEY SAY--I MYSELF DID NOT WITNESS THIS--THAT WHEN GEORGE BUSH RECEIVED MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AT CAMP DAVID, WHERE THE TWO LEADERS, HAVING THROWN OFF THEIR COATS, REMOVED THEIR TIES, AND ROLLED UP THEIR SHIRTSLEEVES, CONDUCTED LONG, COMFORTABLE DISCUSSIONS--IN TERMS OF STYLE, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY IN CONTENT--THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT SHOWED THE SOVIET PRESIDENT HIS CUSTOMARY DAILY PROGRAM. TWO OR THREE SHEETS OF PAPER ON WHICH THE WHITE HOUSE LEADER'S WORKING DAY WAS SCHEDULED BY THE MINUTE. BY THE MINUTE, LITERALLY. I CAN VOUCH FOR THIS: I ONCE HAPPENED TO GLIMPSE THESE SHEETS MYSELF.

A DAILY PROGRAM ON WHICH FIGURED THE TIME OF THE START OF ANY ACTIVITY--BE IT A TELEPHONE CALL TO THE LEADER OF ANOTHER COUNTRY PLANNED IN ADVANCE OR A MEETING WITH HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL PLAYERS--AND THE TIME THAT IT WOULD END, AND NOT AN APPROXIMATE TIME, WHAT IS MORE, BUT A PRECISE TIME--5:43 TO 5:59, SAY--TO ALL APPEARANCES THIS MADE AN IMPRESSION ON MIKHAIL GORBACHEV INASMUCH AS HE ASKED THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, AS THE NEW YORK TIMES SUBSEQUENTLY WROTE: "COULD I NOT FAMILIARIZE MYSELF WITH AND STUDY THIS DOCUMENT?" "TAKE IT," PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH REPLIED, IF WE BELIEVE THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SO FROM THERE, CAMP DAVID, THE OUT-OF-TOWN RESIDENCE OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS, STRETCHED THE CHAIN OF EVENTS WHICH ULTIMATELY LED TO THE JOINT DECISION THAT JOHN SUNUNU WOULD GO TO MOSCOW ON OFFICIAL ASSIGNMENT FOR CONSULTATIONS.

FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF PROTOCOL HIS VISIT MAY BE CONSIDERED A RETURN VISIT: A SMALL DELEGATION OF OURS HEADED BY MIKHAIL SHKABARDNYA, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, VISITED WASHINGTON IN JUNE TO TAKE A CLOSER LOOK AT THE WORK OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND ITS STAFF. OUR DELEGATION WAS SHOWN PRACTICALLY EVERYTHING IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND TAKEN AROUND JUST ABOUT EVERY NOOK AND CRANNY; AND THERE IS AN ENORMOUS NUMBER OF THEM IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE TWO HUGE NEIGHBORING BUILDINGS WHICH HOUSE THE PRESIDENTIAL STAFF NOT ACCOMMODATED IN THE WHITE HOUSE ITSELF. THERE WAS JUST ONE LOCATION IT WAS NOT SHOWN--THE BASEMENT AREA, THE AREA CALLED THE SITUATION ROOM WHERE THE MOST IMPORTANT MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ARE HELD AND WHERE SOMETHING AKIN TO A PRESIDENTIAL COMMAND POST IS SET UP AT THE HEIGHT OF MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY CRISES.

AND I REALLY DO NOT KNOW THAT THERE IS ANYTHING SO

EXTRAORDINARILY SECRET THERE IN THE SITUATION ROOM THAT CANNOT BE SHOWN TO VISITORS FROM THE SOVIET UNION BUT MAY NONETHELESS BE SHOWN IN PHOTOGRAPHS WHICH ARE OFTEN TAKEN IN THIS ROOM AND FREQUENTLY PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN PRESS.... WELL, THAT'S ALRIGHT. THERE IS MOST LIKELY SOMETHING WE ALSO WOULD NOT WANT TO SHOW SUNUNU WHEN HE COMES TO THE KREMLIN.

THIS TRIP HAS, I WOULD SAY, A PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS. IT WAS THUS EXPRESSED BY AMERICAN COMMENTATOR MAX LERNER, WITH WHOM I AM PREPARED TO AGREE 100 PERCENT IN THIS SITUATION: "THE MAIN REASON FOR THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IS THAT THEY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO FUNCTION IN THEIR ARCHAIC ADMINISTRATIVE BUREAUCRACY, AS EQUALLY IN THEIR ECONOMY, BY EMPLOYING CENTRALIZED POWER.... BUT, AFTER ALL, THE ESSENCE OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OUR AGE, WHICH THE SOVIETS ARE ONLY NOW DESPERATELY ENDEAVORING TO ENTER, IS THE REPLACEMENT OF CRUDE POWER BY INFORMATION AND FLUENCY WHICH IS COMING TO REPLACE THE COMMAND APPROACH."

AS FAR AS SUNUNU HIMSELF IS CONCERNED, HE WAS MORE STRAIGHTFORWARD IN HIS ASSESSMENTS OF THE IMPENDING TRIP. JUST A YEAR AGO HE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE WALL STREET JOURNAL: I COULD NOT IN MY WILDEST DREAMS HAVE IMAGINED THE DEGREE OF OPENNESS WHICH IS DEVELOPING IN RELATIONS BETWEEN US.

ADMIN
(MORE)

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HEADER

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SERIAL: WA1308184790

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COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: TAKE 2 OF 3--IZVESTIYA PREVIEWS SUNUNU KREMLIN VISIT

REF: WA1308184690 MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 4 AUG 90 MORNING

EDITION P 6-///RELATIONS BETWEEN US.

SOURCE: MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 4 AUG 90 MORNING EDITION P 6

TEXT:

IT IS NOT ONLY HE WHO IS AMAZED; IT IS EVERYONE WHO IS WELL ACQUAINTED WITH SUNUNU, WHO IS CONSIDERED A HIGHLY CONSERVATIVE FIGURE AND WHO, AS THE NEW YORK POST WROTE, UNTIL MOST RECENTLY WAS EXTREMELY SKEPTICAL REGARDING THE AUTHENTICITY AND REALITY OF GLASNOST. INCIDENTALLY PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO TALK IN WASHINGTON, IN ALL SERIOUSNESS, ABOUT THE RUSSIANS' ATTEMPTS TO "CO-OPT SUNUNU."

POLITICAL ACUMEN AND IDEOLOGICAL ATTUNEMENT ARE NOT, HOWEVER, THE MAIN ATTRIBUTE OF THE WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF AND A MAN WHO, AFTER SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, IS CONSIDERED THE CLOSEST ADVISER, ASSISTANT, AND PARTNER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. SUNUNU, LIKE MANY OTHERS IN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION, IS A PRAGMATIST, WHICH, IT CANNOT BE RULED OUT, MANIFESTS HIS ENGINEERING EDUCATION. HE IS A MAN OF BUSINESS, A MAN OF ENTIRELY SPECIFIC GOALS. AND HIS HIGHEST GOAL IS SECURING GEORGE BUSH'S ELECTION FOR A SECOND TERM IN 1992.

WHEN PRESIDENTS ARE ELECTED, NOT APPOINTED, ONE WILL NOT BE VICTORIOUS, WHATEVER ONE DOES, IN A COUNTRY WHICH IS UNEASY WITH, CONCERNED ABOUT, AND DISAPPOINTED WITH ONE'S ACTIONS AND EVEN WORDS. AND FOR THIS REASON THE CONCERN FOR THE PRESIDENT WHICH JOHN SUNUNU AND HIS STAFF BEAR IS CONCERN, REFLECTED OR DIRECT, ABOUT ENSURING THAT THE COUNTRY IS IN A MOOD WHICH PERMITS IT TO VOTE FOR BUSH WITHOUT ANY PARTICULAR MORAL EFFORT. IN OTHER WORDS, BUSH AS PRESIDENT AND AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WILL BE ASSESSED IN TWO

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YEARS' TIME NOT BY THE SPEED AT WHICH PIECES OF PAPER ARE SET IN MOTION IN HIS WHITE HOUSE, BUT BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS SPEED IS CONVERTED INTO ACTIONS WHICH HELP THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE SAY ABOUT BUSH: "NOW THAT IS A PRESIDENT!"

THE CONCLUSION IS, IN FACT, OBVIOUS: THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE--THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MORAL STATE--DEPENDS--AND MOST LIKELY TO AN EXTENT FAR GREATER THAN WE COULD IMAGINE AT HOME--ON HOW PRECISELY AND ADEPTLY THE ACTIVITY OF THE PRESIDENCY IS ORGANIZED.

I READ SOMEWHERE THAT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV FAMILIARIZES HIMSELF DAILY WITH A COLOSSAL AMOUNT OF INFORMATION IN TERMS OF VOLUME--SEVERAL HUNDRED PAGES--WHICH COMES TO HIM FROM THE MOST DIVERSE SOURCES AND VIA THE MOST VARIED CHANNELS. THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT WOULD NOT DO THIS. AND I AM BY NO MEANS REFERRING TO PRESIDENTS OF THE TYPE OF REAGAN, WHO WAS KNOWN FOR HIS EXCEPTIONAL LAZINESS AND FOR NOT BEING PREPARED TO ASSIMILATE AT ONE SITTING MATERIAL AMOUNTING TO MORE THAN THREE OR FOUR PAGES.

THAT DAILY PROGRAM WHICH BUSH GAVE GORBACHEV AT CAMP DAVID "AS A KEEPSAKE," SO TO SPEAK, MOST LIKELY CONTAINED MENTION OF TWO ACTIVITIES WITH WHICH THE MORNING'S WORK OF THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES UNFAILINGLY BEGINS AT 0800 AND 0815. THESE ARE BRIEFINGS ON KEY EVENTS IN AMERICA ITSELF AND OVERSEAS, BRIEFINGS LASTING HALF AN HOUR ALTOGETHER, CONDUCTED VERBALLY AND PROVIDING BUSH WITH A SUFFICIENTLY COMPLETE PICTURE OF THE WORLD SITUATION. INFORMATION OBTAINED BY WAY OF INTELLIGENCE--WITH THE AID OF ELECTRONIC, SATELLITE, OR "HUMAN" ESPIONAGE--IS A KEY COMPONENT OF THESE BRIEFINGS.

THERE IS NO NEED FOR THE U.S. PRESIDENT TO READ IN THEIR ENTIRETY THE NEWSPAPERS WHICH ANY ORDINARY POLITICIAN HAS TO READ: THE PERTINENT SUBDIVISION OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF HAS SINCE THE EARLY HOURS BEEN PREPARING FOR HIM A ROUNDUP OF THE MAIN NEWSPAPERS, INCLUDING IN THIS ROUNDUP THE MOST INTERESTING EXTRACTS FROM THE MOST INTERESTING AND SIGNIFICANT ARTICLES. IN THE SAME SUMMARY ARE EXTRACTS FROM TELEVISION NEWS COMMENT.

I AM NOT TRYING TO MAINTAIN THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S "PAPER WORK" IS COMPLETED BY THE READING OF ALL THESE SUMMARIES--THE VERBAL BRIEFINGS ON EVENTS IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD ARE SUPPLEMENTED BY SEVERAL PAGES OF WRITTEN TEXT. OF COURSE NOT. MANY VARIED PAPERS CONTINUE TO PASS THROUGH HIS HANDS IN THE COURSE OF THE DAY. BUT WE CAN SAY THIS: THE NUMBER OF THEM WILL NOT AMOUNT TO SEVERAL HUNDRED. A PRESIDENT'S FUNCTION IS NOT TO BE INUNDATED WITH PAPERS BUT, HAVING OBTAINED THE INFORMATION, HAVING OBTAINED A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION THEREOF, AND HAVING OBTAINED THEM FROM ADVISERS AND AIDES IN WHOM THE PRESIDENT HAS THE FULLEST CONFIDENCE AS "SIFTERS OF THE REPORTS," TO THINK AND ADOPT DECISIONS ON WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN PONDERED AND CONSIDERED.

ALL THE REST IS THE BUSINESS OF THE STAFF.

CRUCIAL BUSINESS, UNDOUBTEDLY. THE STAFF DECIDES TO WHOM TO GRANT AN AUDIENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND TO WHOM, NOT; THE STAFF DECIDES WHICH REPORTS WILL MAKE IT TO THE PRESIDENT'S DESK, AND WHICH WILL BE "WRAPPED" OR DISPATCHED TO LOWER DEPARTMENTS AND LEVELS; THE STAFF DETERMINES THE SET OF ALTERNATIVES AMONG WHICH THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO OPT FOR THE SOLE CORRECT VERSION OF A SOLUTION OF MOST

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. THE PRESIDENT'S TIME IS TOO VALUABLE FOR IT TO BE TAKEN UP WITH QUESTIONS AND BUSINESS WHICH CAN EASILY BE TACKLED AT LOWER LEVELS.

ONE OF BUSH'S PREDECESSORS, JIMMY CARTER, DISREGARDED THIS RULE, BECOMING INVOLVED IN EVERYTHING THAT CAME TO HAND. HE HAD THE ENERGY EVEN FOR COMPILING LISTS HIMSELF OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF ALLOWED TO USE THE WHITE HOUSE TENNIS COURTS. BUT THE FURTHER CARTER DELVED INTO THE JUNGLE OF PAPER, THE MORE HE LOST SIGHT OF. WHO CAN TELL, MANY OF THE PROBLEMS FOR WHICH HE FAILED TO FIND A SOLUTION AND WHICH ULTIMATELY RESULTED IN HIS DEFEAT IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS WOULD PERHAPS HAVE BEEN SETTLED AND TAKEN OFF THE AGENDA HAD CARTER'S STAFF ENABLED HIM TO INVOLVE HIMSELF IN WHAT A PRESIDENT SHOULD IN FACT INVOLVE HIMSELF--THAT WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT.

ADMIN

(MORE)

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HEADER

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ZNR UUUUU ZYN

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CONTROLS

UNCLAS 3A

SERIAL: WA1308184890

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PASS: ATTN BBC PRESS

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COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: TAKE 3 OF 3--IZVESTIYA PREVIEWS SUNUNU KREMLIN VISIT

REF: WA1308184690 MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 4 AUG 90 MORNING

EDITION P 6-///IS MOST IMPORTANT.

SOURCE: MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 4 AUG 90 MORNING EDITION P 6

TEXT:

REAGAN WAS A PRESIDENT WITH A TEMPERAMENT THE DIRECT OPPOSITE OF CARTER'S: HE WOULD HAVE BEEN PERFECTLY CONTENT NOT TO BE DISTRACTED AT ALL. HE DID NOT LET ANYTHING DISTRACT HIM FROM THAT FOR WHICH HE HAD A PARTICULAR AFFINITY--FROM PLAYING AT PRESIDENT, FROM THE PERFORMANCE IN REAL LIFE OF SCREEN AND MOTION PICTURE FUNCTIONS, FROM PARTICIPATION IN CEREMONIAL RECEPTIONS AND BANQUETS, FROM MEETINGS WITH CELEBRITIES, AND FROM TRIPS TO FASCINATING FOREIGN COUNTRIES. REAGAN WAS FORTUNATE: UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP A TEAM OF TRULY UNIQUE EXPERTS IN THEIR TRADE HAD BEEN PUT TOGETHER IN THE WHITE HOUSE WHO DID--AND SUCCESSFULLY, GENERALLY--WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE, BUT WHAT WAS NOT DONE, BY THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF. ONLY CLOSER TO THE END OF THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY DID THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF, HAVING UNDERGONE A SERIES OF RESHUFFLES, BEGIN TO MISFIRE, WHICH LED TO THE IMMENSE "IRANGATE" SCANDAL.

BUSH, IT SEEMS TO ME, HAS FOUND THE GOLDEN MEAN BETWEEN THESE TWO EXTREMES OF CARTER AND REAGAN. EVEN THE MOST ACERBIC CRITIC WILL NOT CATCH OUT THE CURRENT PRESIDENT IN IGNORANCE OF WHAT THE HEAD OF THE WHITE HOUSE SHOULD KNOW; BUT EVEN THE MOST ASSERTIVE WELL-WISHER WILL NOT FIND REASON TO SYMPATHIZE: "YOU ARE OVERDOING IT, MR PRESIDENT." AND THIS DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE BUSH TIMETABLE IS UNUSUALLY HEAVY, THAT A VISIT TO SEVERAL FOREIGN COUNTRIES WITHIN THREE OR FOUR DAYS IS SQUEEZED INTO IT AT TIMES, AND THAT THE SEVERITY OF THE WORKLOAD FORCES BUSH TO RISE DAILY AT 0530, AND THE

REPORTERS ACCREDITED TO THE WHITE HOUSE, TO COLLAPSE TOWARD THE END OF THE DAY FROM FATIGUE.

BUT THERE IS NO POINTLESSNESS IN ALL THE ACTIONS IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT ENGAGES, THERE IS NO SPONTANEITY IN WHAT APPEARS SPONTANEOUS, AND THERE IS NO LACK OF SUBSTANTIATION IN A SINGLE ONE OF THE 15 ACTIVITIES WHICH, AS A RULE, CONSTITUTE THE ROUTINE OF THE PRESIDENT'S DAY. AND ONE WOULD TRULY NOT, OF COURSE, HEAR PHRASES OF THIS TYPE FROM BUSH: "THERE'S NOT EVEN ENOUGH TIME TO TAKE A BREAK; I WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO GET AWAY AND GET A GOOD NIGHT'S SLEEP."

YOU THINK THERE ARE NO PROBLEMS IN AMERICA? THERE ARE MANY. BUT THAT IS WHY THERE IS A STAFF IN THE WHITE HOUSE AS WELL-TUNED AND EFFICIENT AS A WATCH MECHANISM TO ENSURE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ATTENTION IS FOCUSED ON WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT AND THAT DAYS OFF AND HOLIDAYS ARE, IN FACT, DAYS OFF FOR HIM. THERE OPERATES IN THE WHITE HOUSE, ACCORDING TO MY OBSERVATIONS, A RULE WHICH IS CONSIDERED A LAW IN MANY AMERICAN CORPORATIONS AND WHICH MAY BE FORMULATED THUS: "IF YOU ARE DOING WHAT SHOULD BE DONE BY YOUR SUBORDINATES, YOU HAVE NOT YET GRASPED THE MEANING OF DIRECTIVE WORK."

I WOULD LIKE HERE TO EXPRESS AN IDEA WHICH COULD SEEM SEDITIONOUS UNDER OUR CONDITIONS OF ALL-OUT STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRATS. THE IDEA IS SIMPLE: BUREAUCRATS ARE NECESSARY. THOUGHTFUL, SKILLFUL BUREAUCRATS WHO KNOW THEIR BUSINESS, WHO CAN BE RELIED ON, AND WHO TAKE ON ALL PRELIMINARY WORK, ENABLING THEIR BOSSES TO CONCENTRATE ON WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT--DECISIONS, THOUGHTS, IDEAS.

AND A SECOND SEMI-SEDITIONOUS IDEA: WE SHOULD HAVE SOMEWHAT MORE OF THESE BUREAUCRATS IN OUR KEY DEPARTMENTS. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE SOMEWHAT MORE BUREAUCRATS AROUND THE PRESIDENT. IF OUR EXPERTS, RETURNING FROM AMERICA WHERE THEY ARE FAMILIARIZING THEMSELVES WITH HOW CONGRESS OPERATES, SAY THAT IT WOULD BE NO BAD THING WERE OUR DEPUTIES TO HAVE--IF ONLY IN THE VERY DISTANT, "MONEYED" FUTURE--THE SAME NUMBERS OF STAFF AS THE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS THERE (SEVERAL DOZEN EACH), WE SHOULD MOST LIKELY TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE EXPERIENCE OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS ALSO.

FEDERAL MONEY IN AMERICA, AS WITH US, IS SOMEWHAT TIGHT. ECONOMIES IN GOVERNMENT RESOURCES--THANKS TO A REDUCTION IN INORDINATELY INFLATED STAFFS INCLUDED--ARE DEMANDED IN AMERICA, AS WITH US. BUT ONE DOES NOT HEAR DEMANDS THAT THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF BE "AXED", A STAFF ON WHOSE UPKEEP IMMENSE RESOURCES ARE EXPENDED.

I HAVE BEEN IN THE WHITE HOUSE QUITE OFTEN AND I HAVE FREQUENTLY COME ACROSS WHITE HOUSE STAFFERS "AT THE EXITS," FOR EXAMPLE, OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES CONDUCTED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRESIDENT. AND NOT ONCE HAVE I SEEN ANY STAFFER WHO WAS NOT BUSY WITH SOMETHING OR OTHER OR SOMEONE LOUNGING AROUND FROM OFFICE TO OFFICE OR CHATTING IDLY WITH HIS COLLEAGUES. PEOPLE AT WORK, NOT WORK FOR THE SAKE OF WORK ON ACCOUNT OF WHICH, IF IT IS NOT DONE, NO ONE IS PUT OUT, BUT REAL, NECESSARY BUSINESS. IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO BE FIRED FROM THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF--ONE MAY BE DISMISSED WITHOUT ANY TWO WEEKS' NOTICE AND NO TRADE UNION WILL INTERCEDE. IT IS EXPECTED OF ONE THAT HE HOLD NOTHING BACK, FORGETTING ABOUT DAYS OFF AND HOLIDAYS, FORGETTING ABOUT FAMILY AND RELATIVES. WORK UNTIL YOU DROP. THERE ARE ALSO SOME PRIVILEGES, MAINLY MORAL: PROXIMITY, FOR

ALL THAT, TO THE PRESIDENT, TO THE COUNTRY'S HIGHEST LEADER, FOSTERS SELF-ESTEEM. IN ADDITION, IF THERE IS SUBSEQUENTLY A CHANGE OF POWER IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND ONE HAS TO LEAVE, THERE WILL BE NO SHORTAGE OF TEMPTING OFFERS FROM PRIVATE CORPORATIONS: EXCEPTIONAL VALUE IS PLACED ON BUSINESS CONNECTIONS STRUCK UP DURING ONE'S WORK IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

BUT THIS IS SUBSEQUENTLY. MEANWHILE ONE IS IN THE MAELSTROM OF AFFAIRS SUBORDINATED TO THE SUPER TASK OF ENSURING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND CONSEQUENTLY THE EFFICIENCY OF THE COUNTRY.

I WILL NOT VENTURE TO JUDGE OR EVEN GUESS WHAT OF HIS EXPERIENCE THE TOP WHITE HOUSE BUREAUCRAT WILL ENDOW OUR KREMLIN BUREAUCRATS WITH IN THE FOUR DAYS HE WILL SPEND IN MOSCOW. I ASSUME IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO DO ALL THAT MUCH THAT IS SPECIFIC. BUT EVEN IF HE SIMPLY HELPS US LOOK AT OURSELVES FROM OUTSIDE AND SEE WHAT WE OURSELVES HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO, BUT WHICH TO OTHERS SEEMS AN ODDITY, THIS IN ITSELF WILL BE OF BENEFIT.

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ADMIN

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Moscow IZVESTIA in Russian
IZVESTIA Correspondent, V. Shalnev
August 4, 1990, Morning Edition

John Sununu will be visiting us.

This will be at the end of August, the start of September. The dates were determined, in all likelihood, with a view to Sununu's returning home by Labor Day, which in the United States marks the end of the summer vacation and the resumption at full tilt of the work of Washington's entire machinery of government officials and bureaucrats.

John Sununu is a bureaucrat at the top level in the structure of rank. He is Chief of the White House staff, the person to whom the thousands of staffers supporting the full and productive activity of the President of the United States are subordinate.

John Sununu will be visiting us not as a tourist, although the visit will take place during his vacation. He is coming to work; he is coming, as the White House has said, "to advise the Kremlin" on the question of how to organize the efficient operation of the Presidency: the Soviet Presidency.

It is said that it was entirely our idea to invite Sununu as a consultant. But this is what is said in Washington, in the White House. The Soviet side has a different viewpoint: it was not we, Moscow says, who were the sponsors.

We will not investigate who had this idea first; it is not that important. The sentiments of the parties are, however, understandable: it is one thing when a request is made of us, and we, having pondered the matter, consent; but when we have to make the request ourselves, it is quite another.

Yet the question on "primacy" is secondary. Incomparably more important is the fact that it would by no means be a sin for the White House to have something to teach the Kremlin.

It is not a question of political matters, not of the subtleties of global strategy and local tactics - on a state or county scale, say. It is a question of what to many of our bureaucrats might seem trifling matters not worthy of attention.

But what trifling matters can there be, they say in the White House, if it is a question of the President and the Presidency? Each trifling matter has official status here.

The White House has astonishing experts in the science of trifling matters.

They say - I myself did not witness this - that when George Bush received Mikhail Gorbachev at Camp David, where the two leaders, having thrown off their coats, removed their ties, and rolled up their shirtsleeves, conducted long, comfortable discussions - in terms of style, although not necessarily in content - the American President showed the Soviet President his customary daily program. Two or three sheets of paper on which the White House leader's working day was scheduled by the minute. By the minute, literally. I can vouch for this: I once happened to glimpse these sheets myself.

A daily program on which figured the time of the start of any activity - be it a telephone call to the leader of another country planned in advance or a meeting with a high school basketball players - and the time that it would end, and not an approximate time, what is more, but a precise time - 5:43 to 5:49, say - to all appearances this made an impression on Mikhail Gorbachev inasmuch as he asked the American President, as the New York Times subsequently wrote, "Could I not familiarize myself with and study this document?" "Take it," President Bush replied, if we believe the New York Times.

So from there, Camp David, the out-of-town residence of American Presidents, stretched the chain of events which ultimately led to the joint decision that John Sununu would go to Moscow on official assignment for consultations.

From the viewpoint of protocol his visit may be considered a return visit: a small delegation of ours headed by Mikhail Shkabardnya, Administrator of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited Washington in June to take a closed look at the work of the White House and its staff. Our delegation was shown practically everything in the White House and taken around just about every nook and cranny; and there is an enormous number of them in the White House and the two huge neighboring buildings which house the Presidential staff not accommodated in the White House itself. There was just one location it was not shown - the basement area, the area called the Situation Room where the most important meetings of the National Security Council are held and where something akin to a Presidential Command Post is set up at the height of major foreign policy crises.

And I really do not know that there is anything so extraordinarily secret there in the Situation Room that cannot be shown to visitors from the Soviet Union but may nonetheless be shown in photographs which are often taken in this room and frequently published by the American press.... Well, that's alright. There is most likely something we also would not want to show Sununu when he comes to the Kremlin.

This trip has, I would say, a philosophical basis. It was thus expressed by American commentator Max Lerner, with whom I am prepared to agree 100 percent in this situation: "The main reason for the backwardness of the Soviet system of government is

that they have attempted to function in their archaic administrative bureaucracy, as equally in their economy, by employing centralized power.... But, after all, the essence of what is happening in our age, which the Soviets are only now desperately endeavoring to enter, is the replacement of crude power by information and fluency which is coming to replace the command approach."

As far as Sununu himself is concerned, he was more straightforward in his assessments of the impending trip. Just a year ago he said in an interview with the Wall Street Journal: I could not in my wildest dreams have imagined the degree of openness which is developing in relations between us.

It is not only he who is amazed; it is everyone who is well acquainted with Sununu, who is considered a highly conservative figure, and who, as the New York Post wrote, until most recently was extremely skeptical regarding the authenticity and reality of glasnost. Incidentally, people are beginning to talk in Washington, in all seriousness, about the Russians' attempt to "co-opt Sununu".

Political acumen and ideological attunement are not, however, the main attributes of the White House Chief of Staff and a man who, after Secretary of State James Baker, is considered the closest advisor, assistant, and partner of the President of the United States. Sununu, like many others in the present Administration, is a pragmatist, which, it cannot be ruled out, manifests his engineering education. He is a man of business, a man of entirely specific goals. And his highest goal is securing George Bush's election for a second term in 1992.

When Presidents are elected, not appointed, one will not be victorious, whatever one does, in a country which is uneasy with, concerned about, and disappointed with one's actions and even words. And for this reason the concern for the President which John Sununu and his staff bear is concern, reflected or direct, about ensuring that the country is in a mood which permits it to vote for Bush without any particular moral effort. In other words, Bush as President and as Presidential candidate will be assessed in two years time not by the speed at which pieces of paper are set in motion in his White House, but by the extent to which this speed is converted into actions which help the American electorate say about Bush: "Now that is a President!"

The conclusion is, in fact, obvious: the state of the country as a whole - the political, economic, and moral state - depends - and most likely to an extent far greater than we could imagine at home - on how precisely and adeptly the activity of the President is organized.

I read somewhere that President Gorbachev familiarizes himself daily with a colossal amount of information in terms of volume - several hundred pages - which comes to him from the most diverse

sources and via the most varied channels. The American President would not do this. And I am by no means referring to Presidents of the type of Reagan, who was known for his exceptional laziness and for not being prepared to assimilate at on sitting material amounting to more than three or four pages.

The daily program which Bush gave Gorbachev at Camp David "as a keepsake" so to speak, most likely contained mention of two activities with which the morning's work of the current President of the United States unfailingly begins at 0800 and 0815. These are briefings on the key events in America itself and overseas, briefings lasting half an hour altogether, conducted verbally and providing Bush with a sufficiently complete picture of the world situation. Information obtained by way of intelligence - with the aid of electronic, satellite, or "human" espionage - is a key component of these briefings.

There is no need for the U.S. President to read in their entirety the newspapers which any ordinary politician has to read. The pertinent subdivision of the White House staff has since the early hours been preparing for him a roundup of the main newspapers including in this roundup most interesting extracts from the most interesting and significant articles. In the same summary are extracts from television news comment.

I am not trying to maintain that the U.S. President's "paper work" is completed by reading all these summaries - the verbal briefings on events in the country and the world are supplemented by several pages of written text. Of course not. Many varied papers continue to pass through his hands in the course of the day. But we can say this: the number of them will not amount to several hundred. A president's function is not to be inundated with papers but, having obtained the information, having obtained a preliminary analysis and evaluation thereof, and having obtained them from advisors and aides in whom the President has the fullest confidence as "sifters of the reports", to think and adopt decisions on what has already been pondered and considered.

All the rest is the business of the staff, crucial business undoubtedly. The staff decides to whom to grant an audience with the President, and to whom, not; the staff decides which reports will be "wrapped" or dispatched to lower departments and levels; the staff determines the set of alternatives among which the President will have to opt for the sole correct version of a solution of most important questions. The President's time is too valuable for it to be taken up with questions and business which can easily be tackled at lower levels.

one of Bush's predecessors, Jimmy Carter, disregarded this rule, becoming involved in everything that came to hand. He had the energy even for compiling lists himself of the White House staff allowed to use the White House tennis courts. But the further Carter delved into the jungle of paper, the more he lost sight of. Who can tell, many of the problems for which he failed to

find a solution and which ultimately resulted in his defeat in the 1980 elections would perhaps have been settled and taken off the agenda had Carter's staff enabled him to involve himself in what a president should in fact involve himself - that which is most important.

Reagan was a president with a temperament the direct opposite of Carter's; he would have been perfectly content not to be distracted at all. He did not let anything distract him from that for which he had a particular affinity - from playing at President, from the performance in real life of screen and motion picture functions, from participation in ceremonial receptions and banquets, from meetings with celebrities, and from trips to fascinating foreign countries. Reagan was fortunate; under his leadership a team of truly unique experts in their trade had been put together in the White House who did - and successfully, generally - what should have been done, but what was not done, by the President himself. Only closer to the end of the Reagan Presidency did the White House staff, having undergone a series of reshuffles, begin to misfire, which led to the immense "Irangate" scandal.

Bush, it seems to me, has found the golden mean between these two extremes of Carter and Reagan. Even the acerbic critic will not catch out the current President in ignorance of what the head of the White House should know, but even the most assertive well-wisher will not find reason to sympathize: "You are overdoing it, Mr. President." And this despite the fact that the Bush timetable is unusually heavy, that a visit to several foreign countries within three or four days is squeezed into it at times, and that the severity of the workload forces Bush to rise daily at 0530, and the reporters accredited to the White House, to collapse toward the end of the day from fatigue.

But there is no pointlessness in all the actions in which the President engages, there is no spontaneity in what appears spontaneous, and there is no lack of substantiation in a single one of 15 activities which, as a rule, constitute the routine of the President's day. And one would truly not, of course, hear phrases of this type from Bush: "There's not even enough time to take a break; I would like to be able to get away and get a good night's sleep."

You think there are no problems in America? There are many. But that is why there is a staff in the White House as well-tuned and efficient as a watch mechanism to ensure that the President's attention is focused on what is most important and that days off and holidays are, in fact, days off for him. There operates in the White House, according to my observations, a rule which is considered a law in many American corporations and which may be formulated thus: if you are doing what should be done by your subordinates, you have not yet grasped the meaning of directive work.

I would like here to express an idea which could seem seditious under our conditions of all-out struggle against bureaucrats. The idea is simple: bureaucrats are necessary. Thoughtful skillful bureaucrats who know their business, who can be relied on, and who take on all preliminary work, enabling their bosses to concentrate on what is most important - decisions, thoughts, ideas. And a second semi-seditious idea: we should have somewhat more of these bureaucrats in our key departments. I would like to see somewhat more bureaucrats around the President. If our experts, returning from America where they are familiarizing themselves with how Congress operates, say that it would be no bad thing were our deputies to have - if only in the very distant, "moneyed" future - the same numbers of staff as the Congressmen and Senators there (several dozen each), we should most likely take account of the experience of American Presidents also.

Federal money in America, as with us, is somewhat tight. Economies in government resources - thanks to a reduction in inordinately inflated staffs included - are demanded in America, as with us. But one does not hear demands that the White House staff be "axed", a staff on whose upkeep immense resources are expended.

I have been in the White House quite often and I have frequently come across White House staffers "at the exits", for example, of international conferences conducted with the participation of the President. And not once have I seen any staffer who was not busy with something or other or someone lounging around from office to office or chatting idly with his colleagues. People at work, not work for the sake of work on account of which, if it is not done, no one is put out, but real, necessary business. It is not difficult to be fired from the White House staff - one may be dismissed without any two weeks notice and no trade union will intercede. It is expected of one that he hold nothing back, forgetting about days off and holidays, forgetting about family and relatives. Work until you drop. There are also some privileges, mainly moral: proximity, for all that, to the President, to the country's highest leader, fosters self-esteem. In addition, if there is subsequently a change of power in the White House and one has to leave, there will be no shortage of tempting offers from private corporations: exceptional value is placed on business connections struck up during one's work in the White House.

But this is subsequently. Meanwhile, one is in the maelstrom of affairs subordinated to the super task of ensuring the efficiency of the Presidency and consequently the efficiency of the country.

I will not venture to judge or even guess what of his experience the top White House bureaucrat will endow our Kremlin bureaucrats within the four days he will spend in Moscow. I assume it will not be possible to do all that much that is specific. But even if he helps us look at ourselves from outside and see what we

ourselves have become accustomed to, but which to others seems an oddity, this in itself will be of benefit.

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SUBJECT: Beware President's apparatchiki???

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CONTROLS

UNCLAS 3A/FAX

SERIAL: PM1403110190

BODY

PASS: COPY TO UD

COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: WHITE HOUSE 'APPARATCHIKS'' ROLE VIEWED

TEXT:

((EDITORIAL REPORT)) MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 13 MARCH 1990 MORNING EDITION CARRIES ON PAGE FIVE UNDER THE HEADLINE "AMERICAN APPARATCHIKS. THEY HAVE SERIOUS POWER" A 2,200-WORD NEW YORK REPORT BY OWN CORRESPONDENT A. SHALNEV. THE REPORT BEGINS BY DESCRIBING THE POWER WIELDED BY THE "WHITE HOUSE APPARATCHIKS," THE MOST INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF, OF WHOM HE CONSIDERS THERE ARE 150-200. "BUT THAT IS QUITE A LOT WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE POWER THEY HAVE BUT WHICH IS NOT ENVISAGED AT ALL EITHER BY LAWS OR BY THE CONSTITUTION." SHALNEV THEN OUTLINES THE ROLE PLAYED BY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISERS AND OTHER AIDES IN THE NIXON AND REAGAN ADMINISTRATIONS WHO OFTEN BYPASSED THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND OTHER CABINET MEMBERS, CITING THE "IRAN-CONTRAS" OPERATION AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE POWER OF THE APPARATUS AND APPARATCHIKS IN AMERICA AND GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE INFLUENCE OF DONALD REGAN ON PRESIDENT REAGAN AND NANCY REAGAN'S PART IN HIS DISMISSAL. THE REPORT CONTINUES:

"GEORGE BUSH'S WHITE HOUSE IS DIFFERENT. IN PART BECAUSE THE CHARACTERS OF THE PEOPLE ARE DIFFERENT AND RELATIONS IN VARIOUS TRIANGLES AND POLYGONS ARE NOT TAKING SHAPE AS THEY DID UNDER REAGAN AND, OF COURSE, BECAUSE BUSH IS NOT REAGAN.

"LET ME EXPLAIN. IT DOES NOT OCCUR TO ANY OF THE APPARATCHIKS, EVEN THE MOST DARING, TO DO SOMETHING BEHIND THE BACK OF SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER WHO HAS PERHAPS BECOME THE FIRST STATE DEPARTMENT LEADER IN SEVERAL ADMINISTRATIONS TO CONCENTRATE IN HIS

Clear message here:
US Presidency -- a model
for the USSR one, really --
carries with it the evils
generated by a powerful
staff.

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HANDS THE FOREIGN POLICY 'DOINGS,' MOVING OTHERS BACK INTO SECONDARY ROLES. IT IS NOT ONLY THAT BAKER IS A GIFTED POLITICIAN WHO HAS A BRILLIANT KNOWLEDGE OF ALL THE INS AND OUTS IN WASHINGTON. THE POINT IS ALSO THAT HE IS A VERY OLD AND VERY CLOSE FRIEND OF THE PRESIDENT.

"BRENT SCOWCROFT, THE NATIONAL SECURITY AIDE, IS ALSO UNLIKE MANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS: HE LACKS THE PASSIONATE DESIRE TO BE ONLY IN THE LEAD, TO BE ONLY IN THE LEADING ROLES, A DESIRE WHICH PATHOLOGICALLY DISTINGUISHED KISSINGER AND BRZEZINSKI. HE KNOWS HIS LIMITS. HE KNOWS HIS FUNCTIONS -- THE FUNCTIONS OF A COORDINATOR BUT NOT A JUDGE, AN ADVISER BUT NOT A DOER.

"JOHN SUNUNU, HEAD OF THE APPARATUS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFFERS. HE IS AMBITIOUS. BUT HIS LOYALTY TO THE PRESIDENT IS STRONGER THAN HIS AMBITIONS.

"AND FINALLY GEORGE BUSH. IN CONTRAST TO THE INCOMPETENT REAGAN WHO, AS HIS RECENT EVIDENT IN THE 'IRAN-CONTRAS' CASE CONFIRMED, PERHAPS REALLY DID NOT HAVE ANY IDEA OF WHAT WAS BEING DONE NOT ONLY IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY BUT EVEN UNDER HIS NOSE, IN THE WHITE HOUSE, BUSH KNOWS EVERYTHING, OR NEARLY EVERYTHING. IN CONTRAST TO REAGAN AIDES FOR HIM ARE JUST AIDES. BUT NEVER GUIDES. THE DECISIONS BUSH TAKES ARE HIS OWN DECISIONS AND NO ONE ELSE'S.

"THE POWER OF THE APPARATUS IN THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY IS THUS NOT WHAT IT WAS A FEW YEARS AGO. BUT THERE IS POWER, AND VERY SERIOUS POWER. I HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN THAT THE DECISION TO INVADE PANAMA WAS TAKEN WITHIN AN EXTREMELY NARROW CIRCLE -- OF SIX OR SEVEN PEOPLE AMONG WHOM IT SEEMS ONLY THREE WERE 'FROM THE SIDE' -- THE DEFENSE SECRETARY, THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF. ALL THE REST WERE APPARATCHIKS.

"AND NO ONE FROM CONGRESS, ALTHOUGH CONGRESS ALONG CONSTITUTIONALLY HAS THE RIGHT TO DECLARE WAR.

"IN PANAMA, IT IS TRUE, WAR WAS NOT DECLARED. BUT AN ACTION WAS PERPETRATED THERE ENVISAGED BY THE LAW ON THE POWER OF ENTERING INTO WAR. SECTION 2 (A) OF THIS LAW ADOPTED IN 1973 STRESSES THE PRESSING NEED FOR THE 'COLLECTIVITY OF JUDGMENT' OF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES OF POWER IN SITUATIONS WHERE MATTERS REACH THE POINT OF USING U.S. FORCES IN MILITARY OPERATIONS. WAS THIS LAW OBSERVED? NO: THE LEGISLATORS LEARNED OF THE AGGRESSION THREE HOURS BEFORE U.S. TROOPS LANDED IN PANAMA. WHAT COLLECTIVENESS OF JUDGMENT WAS THERE THERE...

"SHOULD WE INTERPRET THIS AS MEANING THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT AND HIS APPARATCHIKS, HAVING SECRETLY TAKEN A DECISION AND IMPLEMENTED IT, HAD VIOLATED THE LAW -- IF NOT ITS LETTER THEN ITS SPIRIT? CONGRESS AND THE COURT, CALLED ON TO MONITOR THE CONSTITUTIONALITY AND LEGALITY OF THE ACTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER, KEPT SILENT. IT IS TRUE THAT I DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT LAW SUITS MAY BE BROUGHT AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION BY MEMBERS OF SOME PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, ACCUSING THE ADMINISTRATION OF ACTING ILLEGALLY IN THE PANAMA ACTION. BUT WHEN WILL THAT BE? AND THE DEED HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE. A DEED IN WHICH A VERY POWERFUL ROLE WAS PLAYED BY THE APPARATCHIKS, THE PEOPLE ABOUT WHOM THERE IS NOT A SINGLE WORD IN THE CONSTITUTION.

"IN CONCLUSION I SHALL NOTE THAT MANY THOUSANDS OF U.S. APPARATCHIKS FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT, DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, AND MANY OTHER DEPARTMENTS, FROM CONGRESS, FROM LEGAL BODIES, PEOPLE

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WHO ARE JUST AS EFFECTIVE AND ACTIVE IN THEIR SPHERES AS THE WHITE
HOUSE APPARATCHIKS, HAVE REMAINED OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THIS
ARTICLE. THEY ARE A SEPARATE SUBJECT."

ADMIN

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ATTN: Marcus Machal

SUBJ: IZVESTIYA Preview Sununu Kremlin Visit

SOURCE: Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 6
TEXT:

//((IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Shalnev dispatch: "Bureaucrats From the President's Team; What the White House Staff Does"))

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As far as Sununu himself is concerned, he was more straightforward in his assessments of the impending trip. Just a year ago he said in an interview with THE WALL STREET JOURNAL: I could not in my wildest dreams have imagined the degree of openness which is developing in relations between us.

It is not only he who is amazed; it is everyone who is well acquainted with Sununu, who is considered a highly conservative figure and who, as THE NEW YORK POST wrote, until most recently was extremely skeptical regarding the authenticity and reality of glasnost. Incidentally people are beginning to talk in Washington, in all seriousness, about the Russians' attempts to "co-opt Sununu."

Political acumen and ideological attunement are not, however, the main attributes of the White House chief of staff and a man who, after Secretary of State James Baker, is considered the closest adviser, assistant, and partner of the President of the United States. Sununu, like many others in the present administration, is a pragmatist, which, it cannot be ruled out, manifests his engineering education. He is a man of business, a man of entirely specific goals. And his highest goal is securing George Bush's election for a second term in 1992.

When presidents are elected, not appointed, one will not be victorious, whatever one does, in a country which is uneasy with, concerned about, and disappointed with one's actions and even words. For this reason the concern for the President which John Sununu and his staff bear is concern, reflected or direct, about ensuring that the country is in a mood which permits it to vote for Bush without any particular moral effort. In other words, Bush as President and as presidential candidate will be assessed in two years' time not by the speed at which pieces of paper are set in motion in his White House, but by the extent to which this speed is converted into actions which help the American electorate say about Bush: "Now that is a president!"

The conclusion is, in fact, obvious: The state of the country as a whole--the political, economic, and moral state--depends--and most likely to an extent far greater than we could imagine at home--on how precisely and adeptly the activity of the presidency is organized.

I read somewhere that President Gorbachev familiarizes himself daily with a colossal amount of information in terms of volume--several hundred pages--which comes to him from the most diverse sources and via the most varied channels. The American President would not do this. And I am by no means referring to presidents of the type of Reagan, who was known for his exceptional laziness and for not being prepared to assimilate at one sitting material amounting to more than three or four pages.

"...a program which Bush gave Gorbachev at Camp David 'as a keepsake,' so to speak, most likely contained mention of two activities with which the morning's work of the current President of the United States unfailingly begins at 0800 and 0815. These are

That daily program which Bush gave Gorbachev at Camp David "as a keepsake," so to speak, most likely contained mention of two activities with which the morning's work of the current President of the United States unfailingly begins at 0800 and 0815. These are briefings on key events in America itself and overseas, briefings lasting half an hour altogether, conducted verbally and providing Bush with a sufficiently complete picture of the world situation. Information obtained by way of intelligence--with the aid of electronics, satellite, or "human" espionage--is a key component of these briefings.

There is no need for the U.S. President to read in their entirety the newspapers which any ordinary politician has to read. The pertinent subdivision of the White House staff has since the early hours been preparing for him a roundup of the main newspapers, including in this roundup the most interesting extracts from the most interesting and significant articles. In the same summary are extracts from television news comment.

I am not trying to maintain that the U.S. President's "paper work" is completed by the reading of all these summaries--the verbal briefings on events in the country and the world are supplemented by several pages of written text. Of course not. Many varied papers continue to pass through his hands in the course of the day. But we can say this: The number of them will not amount to several hundred. A president's function is not to be inundated with papers but, having obtained the information, having obtained a preliminary analysis and evaluation thereof, and having obtained them from advisers and aides in whom the president has the fullest confidence sifters of the reports, "to think and adopt decisions on what already been pondered and considered.

All the rest is the business of the staff.

crucial business, undoubtedly. The staff decides to whom to grant an audience with the President, and to whom, not; the staff decides which reports will make it to the President's desk, and which will be "wrapped" or dispatched to lower departments and levels; the staff determines the set of alternatives among which the President will have to opt for the sole correct version of a solution of most important questions. The President's time is too valuable for it to be taken up with questions and business which can easily be tackled at lower levels.

One of Bush's predecessors, Jimmy Carter, disregarded this rule, becoming involved in everything that came to hand. He had the energy even for compiling lists himself of the White House staff allowed to use the White House tennis courts. But the further Carter delved into the jungle of paper, the more he lost sight of, who can tell, many of the problems for which he failed to find a solution and which ultimately resulted in his defeat in the 1980 elections would perhaps have been settled and taken off the agenda had Carter's staff enabled him to involve himself in what a president should in fact involve himself--that which is most

important.

Reagan was a president with a temperament the direct opposite of Carter's: He would have been perfectly content not to be distracted at all. He did not let anything distract him from that for which he had a particular affinity--from playing at president, from the performance in real life of screen and motion picture functions, from participation in ceremonial receptions and banquets, from meetings with celebrities, and from trips to fascinating foreign countries. Reagan was fortunate: Under his leadership a team of truly unique experts in their trade had been put together in the White House who did--and successfully, generally--what should have been done, but what was not done, by the president himself. Only closer to the end of the Reagan presidency did the White House staff, having undergone a series of reshuffles, begin to misfire, which led to the immense "Irangate" scandal.

Bush, it seems to me, has found the golden mean between these two extremes of Carter and Reagan. Even the most acerbic critic will not catch out the current President in ignorance of what the head of the White House should know; but even the most assertive well-wisher will not find reason to sympathize: "You are overdoing it, Mr. President." And this despite the fact that the Bush timetable is unusually heavy, that a visit to several foreign countries within three or four days is squeezed into it at times, and that the severity of the workload forces Bush to rise daily at 0530, and the reporters accredited to the White House, to collapse toward the end of the day from fatigue.

But there is no pointlessness in all the actions in which the president engages, there is no spontaneity in what appears spontaneous, and there is no lack of substantiation in a single one of the 15 activities which, as a rule, constitute the routine of the President's day. And one would truly not, of course, hear phrases of this type from Bush: "There's not even enough time to take a break; I would like to be able to get away and get a good night's sleep."

You think there are no problems in America? There are many. But that is why there is a staff in the White House as well-tuned and efficient as a watch mechanism to ensure that the president's attention is focused on what is most important and that days off and holidays are, in fact, days off for him. There operates in the White House, according to my observations, a rule which is considered a law in many American corporations and which may be formulated thus: "If you are doing what should be done by your subordinates, you have not yet grasped the meaning of directive work."

I would like here to express an idea which could seem audacious under our conditions of all-out struggle against bureaucrats. The idea is simple: Bureaucrats are necessary. Thoughtful, skillful bureaucrats who know their business, who can be relied on, and who take on all preliminary work, enabling their bosses to concentrate

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Form	Flight Authorization [redaction] (1 pp.)	9/5/90	(b)(6), (b)(7)(c)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

Date Closed: 8/2/2023	OA/ID Number: 04015-013
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2023-1267-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

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
 C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
 C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
 PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

1. CREW MEMBERS LISTED BELOW WILL PROCEED IN STRICTLY INDICATED AND UPON COMPLETION OF MISSION WILL RETURN TO ORIGIN STATION. QUALIFIED AIRCRAFT MEMBERS ARE AUTHORIZED TO PERFORM ROLES AT ENROUTE STATIONS WHERE HELICOPTER PERSONNEL ARE NOT AVAILABLE. ALL CREW MEMBERS ARE CLEARED FOR BACKSEAT EXCEPT AS INDICATED. VARIATIONS IN ITINERARY ARE AUTHORIZED. AIRCRAFT COMMANDER MAY AUTHORIZE SOCIAL CONVEYANCE WHEN NECESSARY FOR MISSION ACCOMPLISHMENT, AND WHEN IT IS MORE APPROPRIATE TO THE GOVERNMENT. JUSTIFICATION FOR SOCIAL GROUND CONVEYANCE WILL BE MAINTAINED IN 1 MAY/DOR. SPECIAL DUTYING REQUIREMENTS ARE MISSION ESSENTIAL. AIRCRAFT PERSONNEL SHOULD BE HOUSED SEPARATELY IN STUDY ROOMS TO THE SAME FACILITY. CLASS, A, OR EQUIVALENT RELATIONS FOR THE AIRCRAFT COMMANDER IS REQUESTED. CREW MEMBERS ARE DIRECTED TO UTILIZE GOVERNMENT OUTLET/MESS, WHEN AVAILABLE, PROVIDED UTILIZATION OF THESE FACILITIES WILL NOT HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ASSIGNED MISSION. 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PREPARED: 26 AUG 90
MISSION: 5917
PELO: A

DESIGNATION	MSN TYPE	SCHED NET D/TM	SCHED NET D/TM	QREF UNIT	MEMO VERB
EUROPE	5-1/ALFT	26 AUG 90/2100L	01 SEP 90/1300L	151 MAB	1-1300

NAME	RNA	GRPS	CHIEF	FOUN	DUTY	TONN	RNA	UNIT	COMP	CLER
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REMARKS: #1 IN COMMAND. BENEFICIENT
 CREATING IN NEXT HIGHLY CREW GROUP FOR EVALUATION PURPOSES
 2-PHASE 2 TRAINING
 3-RECEIVING RECURRING EVAL.
 4-RECEIVING
 5-PROCESS TO NATO CONFIDENTIAL
 6-1 IN ADDITIONAL W/ATR 66-1

12. ACCOUNTING CLASSIFICATION	13. DATE OF ACQUISITION	14. DISTRIBUTION	15. FILE AND AB REG.	16. ABUS YR	17. ABUS NUMBER	18. ABUS	19. ABUS	20. ABUS	21. ABUS	22. ABUS	23. ABUS	24. ABUS	25. ABUS	26. ABUS	27. ABUS	28. ABUS	29. ABUS	30. ABUS	31. ABUS	32. ABUS	33. ABUS	34. ABUS	35. ABUS	36. ABUS	37. ABUS	38. ABUS	39. ABUS	40. ABUS	41. ABUS	42. ABUS	43. ABUS	44. ABUS	45. ABUS	46. ABUS	47. ABUS	48. ABUS	49. ABUS	50. ABUS	51. ABUS	52. ABUS	53. ABUS	54. ABUS	55. ABUS	56. ABUS	57. ABUS	58. ABUS	59. ABUS	60. ABUS	61. ABUS	62. ABUS	63. ABUS	64. ABUS	65. ABUS	66. ABUS	67. ABUS	68. ABUS	69. ABUS	70. ABUS	71. ABUS	72. ABUS	73. ABUS	74. ABUS	75. ABUS	76. ABUS	77. ABUS	78. ABUS	79. ABUS	80. ABUS	81. ABUS	82. ABUS	83. ABUS	84. ABUS	85. ABUS	86. ABUS	87. ABUS	88. ABUS	89. ABUS	90. ABUS	91. ABUS	92. ABUS	93. ABUS	94. ABUS	95. ABUS	96. ABUS	97. ABUS	98. ABUS	99. ABUS	100. ABUS
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17. AUTHORIZING ACTIVITIES

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
1ST MILITARY AIRLIFT SQUADRON (M1A5)
ANDREWS AFB MD 28331
GLENN R. MOORE, LTC, USAF
SOC DUTY OFFICER

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Resume	Anatoly A. Sobchak [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

Date Closed: 8/2/2023	OA/ID Number: 04015-013
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2023-1267-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

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

(b)(1) National security classified information
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

ANATOLY A. SOBCHAK
Chair of the Leningrad City Council
Member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Professor of Law, Leningrad State University

Education

- 1954-1957 Law School, Central Asian University, Tashkent, Uzbekistan
- 1957-1959 Law Faculty, Leningrad State University, Graduated 1959.
- 1963-1964 Leningrad State University, Graduate law study: Dissertation topic: "Civil law liability for causation of injury from high risk operations."
- 1981 Leningrad State University, Post-doctoral dissertation topic: "Civil law problems in the refinement of economic mechanisms in the USSR."

Professional Experience

- 1959-1963 Law practice in Stavropol in the southern region of the Russian Republic.
- 1965-1973 Instructor at the Leningrad Special Militia School and Assistant Professor, at the Leningrad Technological Institute of the Cellulose Paper Industry.
- 1973-1985 Assistant Professor, then Full Professor, Faculty of Civil Law, Leningrad State University.
- Since 1985 Chair of the Faculty of Economic Law, Leningrad State University.
- 1989 Elected People's Deputy of the USSR, Vasilievsky Ostrov District, Leningrad. Member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Chair of the Subcommittee on Economic Legislation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.
- 1990 Elected Chair (Mayor) of the Leningrad City Council.

Publications: Author of over 140 scholarly publications and 13 books, including:

Legal Problems of Economic Accountability (LSU Press: Leningrad 1980.)
Legal Regulation of Economic Activity (LSU Press: Leningrad 1981.)
General Principles of Business Liabilities (LSU Press: Leningrad 1983.)
A Formula for "Self-Financing" Economic Accountability (Lenizdat: Len. 1988)

Personal:

Born (b) (6) in Chita, Lake Baikal Region of the Russian Republic (RSFSR). Father was an engineer. Spent childhood and attended high school in Kokand, Uzbekistan. Married to Liudmila B. Narusova, Ph.D., History, Assistant Professor, Leningrad Institute of Culture. Two daughters, Maria and Ksenia.

Joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in June 1988. Resigned July 1990.

Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D) conferred by Northwestern School of Law, Lewis & Clark College, Portland, Oregon May 27, 1990.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Vita	Anatoly A. Sobchak [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

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FOIA/SYS Case #: 2023-1267-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

ANATOLY A. SOBCHAK
Chair of the Leningrad City Council
Member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Professor of Law, Leningrad State University
Leningrad, USSR

Anatoly Alexandrovich Sobchak was born (b) (6) in the city of Chita, located in the Far Eastern Siberian Lake Baikal Region of the Russian Republic (RSFSR). His father was an engineer. He spent his childhood and attended high school in the city of Kokand in Uzbekistan. Upon graduation from high school he entered the Law School of the Central Asian University in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, where he studied three years 1954-1957. He then completed his education at the Law Faculty of Leningrad State University, graduating in 1959.

After graduation he practiced law in the Stavropol region of southern Russia from 1959 to 1963, whereupon he undertook graduate study at Leningrad State University. In 1964 he defended his dissertation on the subject: "Civil law liability for causation of injury from high risk operations," (e.g. atomic power stations).

From 1965 to 1973 he was an Instructor of Law at the Leningrad Special Militia School and Assistant Professor at the Leningrad Technological Institute of Cellulose Paper Industry. In January 1973 he became Assistant Professor and was subsequently promoted to Full Professor in the Faculty of Civil Law of Leningrad State University. In 1981 he defended his post-doctoral dissertation on the subject: "Civil law problems in the refinement of economic mechanisms in the USSR" at Leningrad State University. Since 1985 he has been Chair of the Faculty of Economic Law at Leningrad State University.

Professor Sobchak is the author of over 140 scholarly publications and 13 books, including:

Legal Problems of Economic Accountability (LSU Press: Leningrad 1980.)
Legal Regulation of Economic Activity (LSU Press: Leningrad 1981.)
General Principles of Business Liabilities (LSU Press: Leningrad 1983.)
A Formula for "Self-Financing" Economic Accountability (Lenizdat: Leningrad 1988)

In 1989 he was elected People's Deputy of the USSR from the Vasilievsky Ostrov District of the city of Leningrad. He is a Member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Chair of the Subcommittee on Economic Legislation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In May 1990 he was elected Chair (Mayor) of the Leningrad City Council. He joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in June 1988 but resigned his membership in July 1990.

Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D) conferred by Northwestern School of Law, Lewis & Clark College, Portland, Oregon May 27, 1990. Presented commencement speech, "On the Role of Lawyers in the Building of a State Committed to the Rule of Law in the USSR and in the Modern World."

"Toward a Democratic Society: Political and Economic Transformation in the Soviet Union" article in press, Portland Life and Business: Portland, Oregon August 1990.

Married to Liudmila B. Narusova, Ph.D. in history, Assistant Professor at the Leningrad Institute of Culture. Two daughters, Maria, born 1965 and Ksenia, born 1981.

**Liudmila B. Narusova, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History
Leningrad Institute of Culture
Leningrad, USSR**

Liudmila Borisovna Narusova was born in the city of Bryansk in 1951, where her father was the director of a special school for the hearing impaired. Upon graduation from high school, she entered Leningrad State University, graduating with honors in history in 1973. She then undertook graduate study in the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In 1981 she defended her dissertation on the subject of the evolution of political views of the Decembrists after the amnesty of the 1860's and received the degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences (Ph.D. equivalent).

She worked as an editor at the Leningrad State University Press. In 1979 she became Instructor and subsequently Assistant Professor of Russian History at the Leningrad Institute of Culture named after Krupskaya. She has published a series of articles on the problems of prerevolutionary Russian history and Russian historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She is a specialist on the Russian emancipation movement of the nineteenth century.

Married to Anatoly A. Sobchak, Chair of the Leningrad City Council, Member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Professor of Law, Chair of the Faculty of Economic Law, Leningrad State University.

Introduction of Speaker
Dean Kanter

It is an unusual privilege to be able to introduce our commencement speaker today. Before I do so, however, I would like to acknowledge a very important person who has traveled with him across the world to be with us - someone that in just the space of two days, we have come to know, and become friends with, and admire. And that is Doctor Sobchak's wife, Liudmila Narusova. Liudmila is a professor of history in Leningrad where they live, and the mother of two children, and a very important partner with Anatoly Sobchak. We had the pleasure of having them in our home last evening and I can tell you that they have a wonderful relationship, a wonderful sense of humor and a most sophisticated and wise view of the world. It really is an honor to have them here in our city and to share this commencement exercise with us.

It is my distinct privilege to introduce our commencement speaker for today. Anatoly Sobchak grew up during World War II. He lived in the far reaches of the Soviet Union in Uzbekistan, where he was educated. I think he learned a great deal from that. That is one of the places that is far from Moscow, where the people are quite diverse, where there is a spirit of free thinking and independence, and I know that these events have helped to shape what is an extraordinary character.

Upon completing his high school and his first law training, he studied further at Leningrad State University, one of the finest law faculties in the Soviet Union, and then he proceeded

to practice law for a period of time before joining the ranks of my colleagues and I and becoming a law professor.

I think that one of the most touching comments he has made since he's been here occurred in Doug Newell's office. We were showing him around the law school and took him into Doug's office, and Anatoly noticed that Doug had photographs of each of his classes, and Anatoly said that he too kept photographs and notes about each of his students so that he could remember them, because each of those students meant so much to him. He is, in the truest sense, a teacher of the law.

Events of the last several years, however, have thrust upon him a number of responsibilities beyond the academy, and he has accepted those challenges willingly, with a great deal of vigor, and energy, and wisdom, but also, with some regret, to not have the time for his students and for his scholarship that he used so well in the previous years. As I think all of you know, Anatoly Sobchak has been one of the major leaders of the reform movement in the Soviet Union, that has given the world so much hope that perhaps, at last, we will all find a way to come together.

He is an elected member of the Supreme Soviet, the chair of the committee that drafts the new economic legislation, perhaps the most important fulcrom of reform and change in this great country. Anatoly and his wife, Liudmila were due to arrive late Thursday evening. On Thursday morning when I woke up, I read the Oregonian, and I discovered that on the day previous, he had been elected also as the mayor of Leningrad. This was the source of

great pride, but also, frankly, a bit of concern. I wondered how someone just being elected might find their way onto an airplane, and leaving their home town for a long journey and for a week away from the duties that will be his. He did arrive late that evening, and I was delighted to see the plane touch down, and his face, and Liudmila's face come off the airplane. But later as we got to know the two of them, we asked how it was that someone could leave so quickly after election. I thought his answer was really quite telling. He said that it was a problem, but that he told the people of Leningrad that he had made the commitment to come here before he knew that he was to be a candidate for election. He felt that it was most important in his relationship with the people of Leningrad to keep his word and to be able to have them trust him and believe in the commitments that he made. He thought it would be a very poor way to start that relationship of trust if he broke his word with all of our graduates and with us. For that, for his character, for the generosity of the people of Leningrad, we are all most grateful.

But Liudmila and Anatoly went even further than that. On their flight from the Soviet Union here, they had an unscheduled stop in Cincinnati. They had never heard of Cincinnati. When they got on the plane in Frankfurt, Liudmila, in her quite passable English, kept saying, "We don't want Cincinnati. We want Portland." Well, fortunately, when they got to Cincinnati, they found an accommodating immigration official, who whisked them through in less than fifteen minutes and allowed them to make an unscheduled connection so that they arrived here five

on what is most important--decisions, thoughts, ideas.

And a second semi-seditious idea: We should have somewhat more of these bureaucrats in our key departments. I would like to see somewhat more bureaucrats around the president. If our experts, returning from America where they are familiarizing themselves with how Congress operates, say that it would be no bad thing were our deputies to have--if only in the very distant, "moneyed" future--the same numbers of staff as the congressmen and senators there (several dozen each), we should most likely take account of the experience of American presidents also.

Federal money in America, as with us, is somewhat tight. Economies in government resources--thanks to a reduction in inordinately inflated staffs included--are demanded in America, as with us. But one does not hear demands that the White House staff be "axed", a staff on whose upkeep immense resources are expended.

I have been in the White House quite often and I have frequently come across White House staffers "at the exits," for example, of international conferences conducted with the participation of the President. And not once have I seen any staffer who was not busy with something or other or someone lounging around from office to office or chatting idly with his colleagues. People at work, not work for the sake of work on account of which, if it is not done, no one is put out, but real, necessary business. It is not difficult to be fired from the White House staff--one may be dismissed without any two weeks' notice and no trade union will intercede. It is expected of one that he hold nothing back, forgetting about days off and holidays, forgetting about family and relatives. Work until you drop. There are also some privileges, mainly moral: Proximity, for that, to the President, to the country's highest leader, fosters self-esteem. In addition, if there is subsequently a change of power in the White House and one has to leave, there will be no shortage of tempting offers from private corporations: Exceptional value is placed on business connections struck up during one's work in the White House.

But this is subsequently. Meanwhile one is in the maelstrom of affairs subordinated to the super task of ensuring the efficiency of the presidency and consequently the efficiency of the country.

I will not venture to judge or even guess what of his experience the top White House bureaucrat will endow our Kremlin bureaucrats with in the four days he will spend in Moscow. I assume it will not be possible to do all that much that is specific. But even if he simply helps us look at ourselves from outside and see what we ourselves have become accustomed to, but which to others seems an oddity, this in itself will be of benefit.

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К нам едет Джон Сунуну.

Будет это в конце августа — начале сентября. Даты определены, по всей видимости, с таким расчетом, чтобы Сунуну успел вернуться на родину как раз к Дню труда, который в Соединенных Штатах обозначен концом летних отпусков и возобновление в полную силу работы всего чиновничье-бюрократического аппарата Вашингтона.

Джон Сунуну — бюрократ. Навышеского разряда в табели о рангах. Он — начальник канцелярии Белого дома, человек, в прямом подчинении которого — тысячи сотрудников, обеспечивающих полнокровную и продуктивную деятельность президента Соединенных Штатов.

Джон Сунуну едет к нам не туристом, хотя визит и придется на его отпуск. Он едет работать, он едет, как сказали в Белом доме, «консультировать Кремль» по вопросу о том, как наладить эффективную работу президента. Советского правительства.

Говорят, это была целиком наша идея пригласить Сунуну в качестве консультанта. Но говорят так в Вашингтоне, в Белом доме. У советской стороны точка зрения иная: не мы, говорят в Москве, были инициаторами.

Не будем разбираться, кому первому пришла эта идея, — не столь уж это и важно. Настроения сторон, впрочем, понятны: одно дело, когда нас просят, и мы, подумав, соглашаемся, совсем другое — когда самому приходится просить.

И все-таки вопрос о «пероростстве» вторичен. Несравненно важнее другое: у Белого дома есть то, чему поучиться Кремлю вовсе не было бы грехом.

Не о политических вещах идет речь, не о тонкостях глобальной стратегии в локальной — в масштабах штата или, скажем, округа — тактики. Речь о том, что многим нашим бюрократам может показаться мелочами, не заслуживающими внимания.

Но какие, скажут в Белом доме, могут быть мелочи, если дело касается президента и президентства? Тут у каждой мелочи — статус государственной.

В Белом доме — изумительные мастера науки мелочей.

Говорят — самому я этому свидетелем не был — Джордж Буш, принимая Михаила Горбачева в Кэмп-Дэвиде, где оба лидера, сбросив с себя пиджаки, сняв галстуки и закатав рукава рубашек, вели долгие, уютные — по стилю, хотя не обязательно по содержанию — беседы. Президент американский показал президенту советскому обычный свой распорядок дня. Два или три листочка бумаги, в которых рабочий день руководителя Белого дома расписан по минутам. В буквальном смысле по минутам. Это я могу удостоверить: довелось однажды увидеть такие же листочки самому. На Михаила Горбачева распо-

и закуткам — а их в Белом доме и в двух огромных соседних зданиях, где размещены президентские сотрудники, не уместятся в самом Белом доме, — президентов множество. Не помню только одного помещения — подвального, того, которое именуют Ситуационной комнатой, где проходят важнейшие заседания Совета национальной безопасности и где в разгар крупных внешнеполитических кризисов устраивается нечто вроде президентского командного пункта.

Уж, право, и не знаю, что там, в Ситуационной комнате, такого чрезвычайно секретного, что нельзя показывать гостям из Советского Союза, но можно тем не менее продемонстрировать на фотографиях, которые в этой комнате часто делаются и часто американской печатью публикуются. Ну да ладно. Мы, наверное, тоже не захотим чего-нибудь показать Сунуну, когда придет он в Кремль.

Таким настроением, какое позволило бы ей без особого нравственного напряжения отдать свой голос Бушу. Иными словами, Буша как президента и как кандидата в президенты будут оценивать через два года не по тому, с какой быстротой дадут ход бумагам, а в его Белом доме, а по тому, насколько эта быстрота преобразуется в те дела, которые помогут американским избирателям сказать про Буша: «Вот это президент».

Вывод, собственно говоря, очевиден: от того, насколько точно и умело налажена деятельность президента, зависит и в степени, наверное, куда большей, чем мы у себя дома можем предположить, — состояние страны в целом, состояние политической, экономической, моральной.

Где-то я прочитал, что Президент Горбачев ежедневно знакомится с колоссальной по объему — несколько сот страниц —

му — нет; аппарат решает, какая из бумаг попадет на президентский стол, а какая будет «завернута», либо же отправлена в негласные ведомства и инстанции; аппарат, определяющий тот набор вариантов, среди которых президент должен будет выбрать единственно верный, вариант решений важнейших вопросов. Президентское время слишком ценно, чтобы можно было заниматься его теми вопросами и теми делами, которые легко решаются на уровнях более низких.

Один из бушевских предшественников — Джимми Картер — этим правилом пренебрегал, занимаясь всем, что подвернется под руку. У него хватало энергии даже на то, чтобы самостоятельно составлять списки тех сотрудников Белого дома, которым разрешалось пользоваться телефонным кортом на территории Белого дома. Но чем дальше углублялся Картер в бумажные джунгли, тем большее упу-

скало он из виду. Как знать, может, многие из тех проблем, решение которых он так и не нашел и которые в конечном итоге обернулись его поражением на выборах 1980 года, были бы улажены и сняты с повестки дня, если бы Картеру его аппарат позволил заниматься тем, чем, собственно, и должен заниматься президент, — главным.

Рейган был президентом склада прямо противоположного характера: он вполне был бы доволен, если бы его не отвлекали вообще. Ничем — не отвлекал от того, к чему он был особенно расположен, — от игры в президента, от исполнения в реальной жизни функций знаменитых, кинематографических, от участия в торжественных приемах, в знаменитых ужинах, от встреч со знаменитостями, от поездок в заграничные и увлекательные страны. Рейгану повелось: под его лидерством в Белом доме собралась команда блестящих, умных, талантливых, своего дела, которые делали — в общем-то успешно — то, что должен был делать тот, кто не делал сам президент. Лишь ближе и

когда, забравшись бы в глушь, отоспаться». Вы полагаете, что проблем в Америке нет? Немало. Но на то и есть в Белом доме аппарат, отлаженный и спорный, как часовой механизм, чтобы внимание на важнейшее, чтобы выходные дни и дни праздничные были и в самом деле для него выходными. В Белом доме, по моим наблюдениям, действует правило, которое считается законом во многих американских корпорациях и которое сформулировано может быть так: «Если ты делаешь то, что должны делать твои подчиненные, ты еще не постиг смысла руководящей работы».

Хотел бы высказать здесь мысль, которая может показаться крамольной в наших условиях тотальной борьбы с бюрократами. Мысль проста: бюрократы нужны. Вдумчивые, умные, знающие свое дело бюрократы, на которых можно положиться, которые возьмут на себя всю предварительную работу, позволяя своим боссам сосредоточиться на главном — на решениях, мыслях, идеях.

И вторая полукрамольная мысль: побольше бы их, бюрократов, в ключевых наших ведомствах. Побольше бы бюрократов вокруг президента. Если наши эксперты, возвращаясь из Америки, где они знакомятся с тем, как работает конгресс, ратуют за то, что неплохо бы нашим депутатам иметь — хотя бы в очень дальней, «денежной» перспективе — такие же штаты сотрудников, как и у тамошних конгрессменов и сенаторов (по нескольким десяткам), то надо бы, наверное, и опыту американских президентов прина-

Из поч междуна отдело

Может, взять и разрешить?

Ваша весна аргументированная публикация «В плену стереотипа» («Известия» № 41) странным образом соседствует с выступлениями тех, кто не против частной собственности, но только если исключена эксплуатация. А в принципе, возможен ли коллективный труд вообще без всякой эксплуатации? Капиталист, по многочисленным данным, присваивает 20 процентов, а 80 процентов остается трудящемуся. У нас 80 процентов присваивает командно-административная система, и лишь 20 процентов остается трудящемуся.

Не следует ли просто, без оговорок, разрешить частную собственность в СССР? При этом сотни миллиардов рублей из «текущей экономики» перейдут в открытую экономику, трудящиеся будут получать 80 процентов своего труда, отпадет необходимость в денежной реформе, резко возрастет количество самой разнообразной продукции на рынке и т. д. Каково ваше мнение?

С. ПОПОВ,
пенсционер.

ЛЕНИНГРАД.

На Кубе нет никаких советских баз

Уважаемая Елена Арсеньевна! Прочитав Вашу статью в газете «Известия» в № 206 «Милосердие или все же идеология?»

По общим вопросам внешнеэкономических отношений Вы, как понимаю, являетесь специалистом. С должным уважением прочитав Вашу статью. Во многом в части, касающейся принципов внешнеэкономической деятельности нашей страны, с Вами согласен.

Но не согласен с тем, что Вы написали о кубинском здравоохранении. Оно создано народом Кубы на свои средства. Теперь о главном: о советско-кубинском военном сотрудничестве. Вы пишете: «В США широко обсуждаются перспективы нашей помощи Кубе, но судят не по пропорциям цен сахара и нефти, а по информации о наших военных базах и о колоссальной станции

БЮРОКРАТЫ из команды ПРЕЗИДЕНТА

Чем занимается аппарат Белого дома

У этой поэтики есть, я бы сказал, философское обоснование. Оно выражено так американским обозревателем Максом Лернером, с которым в данной ситуации я готов стопроцентно согласиться: «Главная причина отсталости правительственной системы Советов состоит в том, что в своей архаичной административной бюрократии, равно как и в своей экономике, они пытались функционировать, используя централизованную власть... Но ведь суть того, что происходит в наш век, в который Совету только сейчас отчаянно стремятся вступить, — в смене грубой власти информацией, в приходе плановости на смену командности».

Что касается самого Сунуну, то он был попорчен в своих оценках предстоящей поэтики. Еще бы год назад, сказал он в интервью «Уолл-стрит Джорнэл», я бы в самых бурных своих мечтах не мог представить той степени открытости, которая развивается в отношениях между нами.

Удивляется не только он сам, удивляются все, кто хорошо знает Сунуну, который счита-

информацией, поступающей к нему из самых разных источников, по самым разным каналам. Президент американский этого делать не станет. И я вовсе не имею в виду президентов типа Рейгана, который был известен необычайной своей ленью и неготовностью усваивать за один присест материал размером больше чем в три-четыре страницы.

В том распорядке дня, который Буш предоставляет Горбачеву в Кэмп-Дэвиде, так сказать, «из памяти», наверняка есть упоминание о двух мероприятиях, каковыми обязательно начинается рабочий утор нынешнего президента Соединенных Штатов, — в восемь и в восемь пятнадцать. Это брифинг по ключевым событиям в самой Америке и за ее пределами, брифинг, длящийся в общей сложности полчаса, проводимые устно и дающие Бушу достаточно полную картину ситуации в мире. Информация, добываемая разведывательными путями — с помощью шпионажа электронного, слутинкового или же «человече-

ского» из виду. Как знать, может, многие из тех проблем, решение которых он так и не нашел и которые в конечном итоге обернулись его поражением на выборах 1980 года, были бы улажены и сняты с повестки дня, если бы Картеру его аппарат позволил заниматься тем, чем, собственно, и должен заниматься президент, — главным.

Рейган был президентом склада прямо противоположного характера: он вполне был бы доволен, если бы его не отвлекали вообще. Ничем — не отвлекал от того, к чему он был особенно расположен, — от игры в президента, от исполнения в реальной жизни функций знаменитых, кинематографических, от участия в торжественных приемах, в знаменитых ужинах, от встреч со знаменитостями, от поездок в заграничные и увлекательные страны. Рейгану повелось: под его лидерством в Белом доме собралась команда блестящих, умных, талантливых, своего дела, которые делали — в общем-то успешно — то, что должен был делать тот, кто не делал сам президент. Лишь ближе и

в США, расположен-

DRAFT

ITINERARY FOR SCHKABARDNIA GROUP

Delegation

Schkabardina, M.S. - Chief of Staff, Council of Ministers

Schkabardnia, G.J. - Wife

✓ Martinov, E.N. - Deputy Chief of Staff, Council of Ministers

✓ Smirnov, E.B. - Chief of Department, Council of Ministers

Pranshishvil, I.V. - Director of Scientific Institute

Solomatin, V.V. - Director of Scientific Institute

Scherbina, Y.D. - President of SFEC

our
delegation
bios

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN H. SUNUNU

John Henry Sununu, 51, of Salem, New Hampshire, was commissioned Chief of Staff to the President of the United States on January 21, 1989. As Chief of Staff, Governor Sununu oversees the daily operations of the White House and its staff.

After playing an influential role in President Bush's New Hampshire primary victory, Governor Sununu served as National Co-Chairman of the Bush/Quayle campaign. During the general election, the Governor became one of the most active surrogate speakers on the campaign trail and travelled extensively across the country.

Governor Sununu became New Hampshire's 93rd Governor on January 6, 1983, and served three consecutive terms prior to joining the White House staff.

Governor Sununu assumed office with a background of nearly 20 years experience as an educator, engineer, small businessman and community leader.

The Governor gained both regional and national recognition through his chairmanship of the Coalition of Northeastern Governors, the chairmanship of the Republican Governors' Association, and his election in 1987, to the chairmanship of the National Governors' Association.

Within the National Governors' Association, Governor Sununu served as chairman of several committees. He was particularly active as chairman of the New Technology Education Task Force, which, two years ago, issued "Time for Results; The Governors' 1991 report on Education". Also through his efforts, the NGA, and later the New Hampshire Legislature, endorsed innovative acid rain legislation.

Governor Sununu is a member of the National Academy of Engineers' Committee on Public Engineering Policy and has served as a member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality Advisory Committee, the New England Regional Energy Advisory Council, the board of trustees of the Northeast Solar Energy Center, and as chairman of the board of directors of Consumer Alert.

July 1990

The Governor attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at both the graduate and undergraduate levels, and earned his Ph.D there in 1966 in mechanical engineering. From 1968 to 1973, he was associate dean of the College of Engineering at Tufts University where he had been an associate professor of mechanical engineering since 1966. He was invited to join the Advisory Board of the Technology and Policy Program at MIT in August, 1984.

From 1965 until his election as Governor, he served as President of JHS Engineering Company and Thermal Research Inc.; in addition, he helped found, and served, as chief engineer for Astro Dynamics Inc. from 1960 to 1965.

The Governor married the former Nancy Hayes in 1958. They have eight children.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Fact sheet	Media Fact Sheet Re: Nancy Sununu [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

Date Closed: 8/2/2023	OA/ID Number: 04015-013
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2023-1267-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

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

MEDIA FACT SHEET

Nancy Sununu

(b) (6)

Married: John H. Sununu

Age: 49

Children: 8, ages 9-29

College: Boston University, 1961

High School: Brockton High School, 1957

COMMUNITY VOLUNTEER WORK

Cub Scouts Den Mother, 1972 - 1974

Library Aid Volunteer, 1972 - 1975

Parent -Teacher Group, North Salem Elementary School

Secretary, 1972 - 1974

President, 1974 - 1976

Softball Coach, 1972 - 1973

School Board Committee Appointments

Year Round School Study Committee, 1973

Building Needs Committee, 1974

Staff Development Committee, 1973 - 1978

American Cancer Society

Town Crusade Chairman, 1972 - 1975

Unit Crusade Chairman, 1976

Unit Board of Directors Member, 1973 - 1980

Board President, 1975 - 1978

Salem Christmas Fund, 1973 - 1984

Salem Chapter Dollars for Scholars, 1972 - 1976

Saint Matthew's Women's Guild

Republican Women's Club of Salem

Vice President, 1974 - 1976

President, 1976 - 1980

Salem Republican Town Committee

Vice Chairman, 1976 - 1980

New Hampshire Federated Republican Women

Corresponding Secretary, 1975 - 1977

Treasurer, 1977 - 1983

Vice President: 3rd, 1983 - 1985

Vice President: 1st, 1985 - 1987

Vice President: 2nd, 1987 - present

ELECTED POSITIONS

School Board Member, 1977 - 1982

Vice Chairman, 1977 and 1980

Chairman, 1981 - 1982

New Hampshire Republican State Committee Chairman, 1979 - 1980

HONORARY AND BIOGRAPHICAL

New Hampshire Kidney Foundation

New Hampshire Task Force on Child Abuse

Events and Fund Raisers: drug programs; educational funds; local charities; political events and candidates.

Who's Who in American Women

Who's Who in American Politics

Who's Who in Government

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Biography	Andrew H. Card, Jr. [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ANDREW H. CARD, JR.

Andrew H. Card, Jr. of Holbrook, Massachusetts, currently serves at the White House as Assistant to the President and Deputy to the Chief of Staff.

Prior to this appointment, Mr. Card was a member of the Presidential Transition team and served as a Senior Advisor to the Bush/Quayle '88 Campaign. He was campaign manager for the New Hampshire primary, a regional political director and liaison to the Republican Governors.

From April to August 1988, Mr. Card served in the Reagan White House as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Intergovernmental Affairs office, where he was the President's liaison to governors, statewide elected officials, state legislators, mayors, and other local elected officials.

In September 1983, Mr. Card was appointed Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs and worked primarily with the nation's governors. Before that, he was Vice President of CMIS Corporation, a computer software company based in Vienna, Virginia.

Mr. Card has held a number of elected and appointed municipal offices in Holbrook. From 1974 until 1983, he was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives where he served in the Republican Leadership for six years. In 1982, Mr. Card was named Legislator of the Year by the National Republican Legislators' Association and was presented the Distinguished Legislator Award by the Massachusetts Municipal Association. Mr. Card was a Republican candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1982.

Andrew H. Card, Jr. was born (b) (6), in Brockton, Massachusetts. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Engineering from the University of South Carolina and attended the United States Merchant Marine Academy and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. In 1989, he received an Honorary Degree in Public Administration from Curry College in Massachusetts and an Honorary Doctor of Laws from Assumption College in Massachusetts.

Mr. Card is married to the former Kathleene Bryan, and they have three children.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

JAMES W. CICCONI

James W. Cicconi serves currently in the White House as Assistant to the President and Deputy to the Chief of Staff. In that capacity, he oversees the flow of information to and from the President and helps coordinate the decision-making process within the White House.

During the 1987-88 period, Mr. Cicconi assisted Vice President George Bush's presidential campaign on various policy matters, and helped coordinate preparation for the primary debates. He also worked with Governor John Sununu in handling policy questions related to drafting of the 1988 Republican Party platform. During the general election, Mr. Cicconi served as Issues Director for the vice presidential nominee, Senator Dan Quayle.

Prior to his current government service, Mr. Cicconi was a partner in the Washington office of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, a Texas-based law firm. Immediately prior to joining the firm, Mr. Cicconi served in the White House from 1981-85 as Special Assistant to the President and Special Assistant to the Chief of Staff. In that capacity he assisted Chief of Staff James A. Baker III on policy and administrative matters generally.

Before joining the White House staff in 1981, Mr. Cicconi worked as Issues Director for James Baker's campaign for Texas Attorney General, 1977-78; Administrative Assistant to the Governor of Texas, 1979-80; and General Counsel to the Texas Secretary of State, 1980-81.

Mr. Cicconi served as a member of the U.S. Reform Observation Panel for UNESCO, 1985-88, and as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna Follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He was also an unpaid consultant to the U.S. State Department on international organization matters, and served on the board of directors of the American Council on Germany, a non-profit organization.

Mr. Cicconi graduated from the University of Texas at Austin in 1974, and received a J.D. from the University of Texas School of Law in 1977. He is a member of the State Bar of Texas and the District of Columbia Bar.

Mr. Cicconi resides in Alexandria, Virginia with his wife, Patricia, and their children Jill, Sara, and Rachel.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF FREDERICK D. MCCLURE

Frederick D. McClure, a native of San Augustine, Texas, is Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs. Prior to his appointment by President Bush in January 1989, he served as Government Affairs Staff Vice President of Texas Air Corporation. Mr. McClure joined Texas Air in November 1986 after serving as Special Assistant to President Reagan for Legislative Affairs. He has also served as Associate Deputy Attorney General of the United States and as Legislative Director to former Texas Senator John Tower. Before joining Senator Tower's staff he was a trial lawyer with the Houston firm of Reynolds, Allen and Cook.

Mr. McClure received his Bachelor of Science degree in agricultural economics from Texas A&M University in 1976, graduating summa cum laude. While at Texas A&M he served as Student Body President, was elected to Phi Kappa Phi, was a member of the Singing Cadets, and received the Brown-Rudder Outstanding Student Award. After graduating Mr. McClure served as a member of the Target 2000 Committee and as Vice President of the Texas A&M University Association of Former Students. He is President-Elect of the National Capital A&M Club in Washington, D.C.

He received his Juris Doctor degree in 1981 from the Baylor University School of Law, where he was elected President of the Student Bar Association and was a member of the National Order of Barristers. Mr. McClure is also a director of the Texas Lyceum and the National Fraternity of Alpha Zeta. Prior to entering law school, Mr. McClure served as Agricultural Assistant and State Office Director for Senator Tower. In 1976, former President Gerald R. Ford appointed Mr. McClure as a White House intern.

A former National Secretary and Texas State President of the Future Farmers of America, he was appointed by former Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe to the State Advisory Council for Technical-Vocational Education and has served as a member of the Real Estate Research Advisory Committee for the State of Texas since his appointment by Texas Governor William P. Clements in 1979. Mr. McClure is a member of the American Council on Germany and the Aero Club of Washington, D.C.

He lives in Falls Church, Virginia, with his wife, the former Harriet Jackson of Pleasanton, Texas, and their two children, Lauren and Frederick, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ROGER B. PORTER

Roger B. Porter is Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy.

Mr. Porter was IBM Professor of Government and Business at Harvard University and Faculty Chairman of the Program for Senior Managers in Government. His teaching and research focused on the relationship between business and government, the management of Federal policy development, the Presidency, and the formulation of domestic and international economic policy.

Mr. Porter served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Office of Policy Development. He also served as Executive Secretary of the Economic Policy Council and as Counselor to the Secretary of the Treasury. He was Executive Secretary of the Cabinet Council on Economic Affairs from 1981-1985.

Mr. Porter received his B.A. degree from Brigham Young University and was selected as a Rhodes Scholar and Woodrow Wilson Fellow, receiving his B.Phil. degree from Oxford University. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University.

Mr. Porter was Assistant Dean and Tutor in Politics at the Queens College, Oxford, from 1971 to 1972. He served as Associate Director of the Utah Local Government Modernization Study in 1972 and has been actively involved in state constitutional revision efforts. He has taught government and economics at Harvard University and Oxford University.

Mr. Porter was a White House Fellow from 1974 to 1975, joining the White House staff in August 1974. He was appointed Special Assistant to the President and served as the Executive Secretary of the President's Economic Policy Board from 1974 to 1977. He also served as secretary to the presidential transition team in August 1974.

Mr. Porter has been on the faculty of the School of Government and Graduate School of Business at Harvard since 1977. He was appointed a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships by Gerald R. Ford in 1976, and reappointed by Ronald Reagan in 1982. He is a member of Phi Kappa Phi, Pi Sigma Alpha, Phi Eta Sigma, and Phi Alpha Theta. He is the author of two books, Presidential Decision Making and The U.S. - U.S.S.R. Grain Agreement, and numerous articles.

He was selected as one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men in America for 1981 by the United States Jaycees. He and his wife Ann and their four children live in McLean, Virginia.

August 1990

JOSEPH VERNER REED
THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Joseph Verner Reed was sworn in as Chief of Protocol of the United States of America on March 21, 1989. Mr. Reed has the rank of Ambassador while serving in this position. Prior to this appointment, Mr. Reed served as Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs at the United Nations, the highest ranking American in the Secretariat.

From 1981 to 1985, Mr. Reed was Ambassador of the United States to Morocco. Among the structures he helped put in place in order to strengthen a bilateral relationship between the two countries were the Joint Economic Committee, the Joint Military Committee and the Moroccan-American Foundation, as well as other agreements on economic and media cooperation. King Hassan awarded Ambassador Reed with the Order of the Throne.

From 1985 to 1987, Mr. Reed served as the United States representative to the Economic and Social Council at the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador. In this function, which he assumed in July 1985, he was involved in negotiating the resolution on the review of the administrative and financial functioning of the Organization. As the official responsible for African issues, Mr. Reed helped negotiate the agreement between African nations and the rest of the international community that emanated from the May 1986 Special Session of the General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa. For his service Mr. Reed received the Department's Superior Honor Award. Mr. Reed also served as United States representative in the Committee on Relations with the Host Country.

For his diplomatic work at the United Nations, Mr. Reed received decorations from the Government of the Republic of Argentina, "The Order of May". From the Government of Chile, "The Order of Bernardo O'Higgins in the Degree of Gran Cruz". From the Government of Ecuador, "The Order of Merit". And from the Government of the Republic of Korea, "The Order of Diplomatic Service Merit, Heung-In Medal. From the Government of the Republic of Togo, "Grande Chancellerie de L'Ordre Du Mono".

Mr. Reed graduated from Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts and in 1961, received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale University. From 1961 to 1963, he was an Assistant to the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). In 1963, he joined the Chase Manhattan Bank and from 1969 to 1981, served as a Vice President and Assistant to the Chairman, David Rockefeller.

Mr. Reed is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a former trustee and treasurer of International House. He is a member of the Governing Board of the Yale University Art Gallery; a member of The Society of Mayflower Descendants; a member of the Society of Colonial Wars; and a member of The Pilgrims.

Mr. Reed is a member of the River Club, the Links in New York and the F Street and Metropolitan Clubs in Washington. Mrs. Reed is a member of the Colony Club and serves on the Board of Governors of the River Club in New York.

Mr. Reed is married to Marie Byers. They have two daughters and reside in Connecticut and Washington.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ED ROGERS

Ed Rogers, 31, an attorney from Birmingham, Alabama, is Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to White House Chief of Staff John Sununu. In this role, Rogers is responsible for much of the information flow and communication between Governor Sununu and the White House staff. He also serves as the Chief of Staff's point of contact for the media. Additionally, as of June, 1990, Rogers assumed the role of White House Political Director.

Prior to this position, Rogers was Deputy to Bush-Quayle Campaign Manager Lee Atwater. Rogers held that post from February 1987 through the general election in 1988.

In 1985, Rogers was appointed Special Assistant to President Reagan and Deputy Director of the Office of Political Affairs. Shortly before joining the Bush-Quayle campaign in 1987, he became Director of that office.

During the 1984 Reagan-Bush campaign, Rogers served as the Southeastern Regional Political Director. In this role he was responsible for the day-to-day campaign staff operations in 11 southeastern states. Rogers also served as the Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms during the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas.

Prior to the 1984 campaign, Rogers served as a advance representative for both former President Reagan and former Vice President Bush. In this role, Rogers travelled to 48 states and 26 foreign countries preparing for Presidential and Vice Presidential visits.

Rogers is a member of the Alabama Bar Association and the Washington, D.C. Bar Association. He has been a guest lecturer at the Washington Journalism Center, Harvard University, the Presidential Scholars program and the International Democratic Union.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DR. CONDOLEEZZA RICE

Condoleezza Rice is a Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Prior to that she was Senior Director for Soviet Affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. She is on leave from her post as Associate Professor of Political Science at Stanford University where she was a member of the Center for International Security and Arms Control.

Dr. Rice was the recipient of a one-year fellowship acting, in 1986-1987 as Special Assistant to the Director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff assigned to Strategic Nuclear Policy. She is the author of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Army, and with Alexander Dallin, The Gorbachev Era, as well as numerous articles on Soviet and East European military policy.

In 1984, Dr. Rice was awarded the Walter J. Gores Award for excellence in teaching at Stanford. She has been a Hoover Institution National Fellow and A Council on Foreign Relations Fellow. Dr. Rice has also served as a consultant to the ABC news on Soviet Affairs.

Dr. Rice received her B. A. from the University of Denver, Phi Beta Kappa and Cum Laude.

Her M.A. was received from the University of Notre Dame; Ph.D. from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University.

Dr. Rice is a specialist on Soviet and East European Politics and Foreign and Defense Policy and International Security Policy.

August 1990

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF JACQUELINE A. KENNEDY

Jacqueline Kennedy, of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, came to Washington D.C. in 1989 with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President of the United States. Jackie is Assistant to the Chief of Staff and oversees the governor's daily schedule and appointments and coordinates his activities with that of the President's.

Prior to working at the White House, Jackie was Administrative Assistant to then Governor Sununu and worked for him during all three of his terms as governor from 1983 through 1989 in Concord, New Hampshire.

From 1978 through 1983 Jackie set up and worked for the Appellate Division of the Department of Employment Security in New Hampshire, coordinating the daily operation of this sensitive division.

Jackie has found time to become one of the first volunteer woman firefighters in her hometown of Dunbarton as well as an Emergency Medical Technician. She served as an elected school board member from 1977 - 1983 and has for many years been involved in the Republican Womans Club. Jackie is married to Stephen M. Kennedy and has three children.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN H. SUNUNU

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Governor Sununu is a member of the National Academy of Engineers' Committee on Public Engineering Policy and has served as a member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality Advisory Committee, the New England Regional Energy Advisory Council, the board of trustees of the Northeast Solar Energy Center, and as chairman of the board of directors of Consumer Alert.

July 1990

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The Governor married the former Nancy Hayes in 1958. They have eight children.

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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MEDIA FACT SHEET

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(b) (6)

Married: John H. Sununu

Age: 49

Children: 8, ages 9-29

College: Boston University, 1961

High School: Brockton High School, 1957

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Parent -Teacher Group, North Salem Elementary School
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Softball Coach, 1972 - 1973
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
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Collection:

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FOIA/SYS Case #: 2023-1267-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Mr. Card is married to the former Kathleene Bryan, and they have three children.

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Mr. Cicconi graduated from the University of Texas at Austin in 1974, and received a J.D. from the University of Texas School of Law in 1977. He is a member of the State Bar of Texas and the District of Columbia Bar.

Mr. Cicconi resides in Alexandria, Virginia with his wife, Patricia, and their children Jill, Sara, and Rachel.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF FREDERICK D. MCCLURE

Frederick D. McClure, a native of San Augustine, Texas, is Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs. Prior to his appointment by President Bush in January 1989, he served as Government Affairs Staff Vice President of Texas Air Corporation. Mr. McClure joined Texas Air in November 1986 after serving as Special Assistant to President Reagan for Legislative Affairs. He has also served as Associate Deputy Attorney General of the United States and as Legislative Director to former Texas Senator John Tower. Before joining Senator Tower's staff he was a trial lawyer with the Houston firm of Reynolds, Allen and Cook.

Mr. McClure received his Bachelor of Science degree in agricultural economics from Texas A&M University in 1976, graduating summa cum laude. While at Texas A&M he served as Student Body President, was elected to Phi Kappa Phi, was a member of the Singing Cadets, and received the Brown-Rudder Outstanding Student Award. After graduating Mr. McClure served as a member of the Target 2000 Committee and as Vice President of the Texas A&M University Association of Former Students. He is President-Elect of the National Capital A&M Club in Washington, D.C.

He received his Juris Doctor degree in 1981 from the Baylor University School of Law, where he was elected President of the Student Bar Association and was a member of the National Order of Barristers. Mr. McClure is also a director of the Texas Lyceum and the National Fraternity of Alpha Zeta. Prior to entering law school, Mr. McClure served as Agricultural Assistant and State Office Director for Senator Tower. In 1976, former President Gerald R. Ford appointed Mr. McClure as a White House intern.

A former National Secretary and Texas State President of the Future Farmers of America, he was appointed by former Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe to the State Advisory Council for Technical-Vocational Education and has served as a member of the Real Estate Research Advisory Committee for the State of Texas since his appointment by Texas Governor William P. Clements in 1979. Mr. McClure is a member of the American Council on Germany and the Aero Club of Washington, D.C.

He lives in Falls Church, Virginia, with his wife, the former Harriet Jackson of Pleasanton, Texas, and their two children, Lauren and Frederick, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ROGER B. PORTER

Roger B. Porter is Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy.

Mr. Porter was IBM Professor of Government and Business at Harvard University and Faculty Chairman of the Program for Senior Managers in Government. His teaching and research focused on the relationship between business and government, the management of Federal policy development, the Presidency, and the formulation of domestic and international economic policy.

Mr. Porter served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Office of Policy Development. He also served as Executive Secretary of the Economic Policy Council and as Counselor to the Secretary of the Treasury. He was Executive Secretary of the Cabinet Council on Economic Affairs from 1981-1985.

Mr. Porter received his B.A. degree from Brigham Young University and was selected as a Rhodes Scholar and Woodrow Wilson Fellow, receiving his B.Phil. degree from Oxford University. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University.

Mr. Porter was Assistant Dean and Tutor in Politics at the Queens College, Oxford, from 1971 to 1972. He served as Associate Director of the Utah Local Government Modernization Study in 1972 and has been actively involved in state constitutional revision efforts. He has taught government and economics at Harvard University and Oxford University.

Mr. Porter was a White House Fellow from 1974 to 1975, joining the White House staff in August 1974. He was appointed Special Assistant to the President and served as the Executive Secretary of the President's Economic Policy Board from 1974 to 1977. He also served as secretary to the presidential transition team in August 1974.

Mr. Porter has been on the faculty of the School of Government and Graduate School of Business at Harvard since 1977. He was appointed a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships by Gerald R. Ford in 1976, and reappointed by Ronald Reagan in 1982. He is a member of Phi Kappa Phi, Pi Sigma Alpha, Phi Eta Sigma, and Phi Alpha Theta. He is the author of two books, Presidential Decision Making and The U.S. - U.S.S.R. Grain Agreement, and numerous articles.

He was selected as one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men in America for 1981 by the United States Jaycees. He and his wife Ann and their four children live in McLean, Virginia.

August 1990

JOSEPH VERNER REED
THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Joseph Verner Reed was sworn in as Chief of Protocol of the United States of America on March 21, 1989. Mr. Reed has the rank of Ambassador while serving in this position. Prior to this appointment, Mr. Reed served as Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs at the United Nations, the highest ranking American in the Secretariat.

From 1981 to 1985, Mr. Reed was Ambassador of the United States to Morocco. Among the structures he helped put in place in order to strengthen a bilateral relationship between the two countries were the Joint Economic Committee, the Joint Military Committee and the Moroccan-American Foundation, as well as other agreements on economic and media cooperation. King Hassan awarded Ambassador Reed with the Order of the Throne.

From 1985 to 1987, Mr. Reed served as the United States representative to the Economic and Social Council at the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador. In this function, which he assumed in July 1985, he was involved in negotiating the resolution on the review of the administrative and financial functioning of the Organization. As the official responsible for African issues, Mr. Reed helped negotiate the agreement between African nations and the rest of the international community that emanated from the May 1986 Special Session of the General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa. For his service Mr. Reed received the Department's Superior Honor Award. Mr. Reed also served as United States representative in the Committee on Relations with the Host Country.

For his diplomatic work at the United Nations, Mr. Reed received decorations from the Government of the Republic of Argentina, "The Order of May". From the Government of Chile, "The Order of Bernardo O'Higgins in the Degree of Gran Cruz". From the Government of Ecuador, "The Order of Merit". And from the Government of the Republic of Korea, "The Order of Diplomatic Service Merit, Heung-In Medal. From the Government of the Republic of Togo, "Grande Chancellerie de L'Ordre Du Mono".

Mr. Reed graduated from Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts and in 1961, received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale University. From 1961 to 1963, he was an Assistant to the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). In 1963, he joined the Chase Manhattan Bank and from 1969 to 1981, served as a Vice President and Assistant to the Chairman, David Rockefeller.

Mr. Reed is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a former trustee and treasurer of International House. He is a member of the Governing Board of the Yale University Art Gallery; a member of The Society of Mayflower Descendants; a member of the Society of Colonial Wars; and a member of The Pilgrims.

Mr. Reed is a member of the River Club, the Links in New York and the F Street and Metropolitan Clubs in Washington. Mrs. Reed is a member of the Colony Club and serves on the Board of Governors of the River Club in New York.

Mr. Reed is married to Marie Byers. They have two daughters and reside in Connecticut and Washington.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ED ROGERS

Ed Rogers, 31, an attorney from Birmingham, Alabama, is Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to White House Chief of Staff John Sununu. In this role, Rogers is responsible for much of the information flow and communication between Governor Sununu and the White House staff. He also serves as the Chief of Staff's point of contact for the media. Additionally, as of June, 1990, Rogers assumed the role of White House Political Director.

Prior to this position, Rogers was Deputy to Bush-Quayle Campaign Manager Lee Atwater. Rogers held that post from February 1987 through the general election in 1988.

In 1985, Rogers was appointed Special Assistant to President Reagan and Deputy Director of the Office of Political Affairs. Shortly before joining the Bush-Quayle campaign in 1987, he became Director of that office.

During the 1984 Reagan-Bush campaign, Rogers served as the Southeastern Regional Political Director. In this role he was responsible for the day-to-day campaign staff operations in 11 southeastern states. Rogers also served as the Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms during the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas.

Prior to the 1984 campaign, Rogers served as a advance representative for both former President Reagan and former Vice President Bush. In this role, Rogers travelled to 48 states and 26 foreign countries preparing for Presidential and Vice Presidential visits.

Rogers is a member of the Alabama Bar Association and the Washington, D.C. Bar Association. He has been a guest lecturer at the Washington Journalism Center, Harvard University, the Presidential Scholars program and the International Democratic Union.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DR. CONDOLEEZZA RICE

Condoleezza Rice is a Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Prior to that she was Senior Director for Soviet Affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. She is on leave from her post as Associate Professor of Political Science at Stanford University where she was a member of the Center for International Security and Arms Control.

Dr. Rice was the recipient of a one-year fellowship acting, in 1986-1987 as Special Assistant to the Director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff assigned to Strategic Nuclear Policy. She is the author of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Army, and with Alexander Dallin, The Gorbachev Era, as well as numerous articles on Soviet and East European military policy.

In 1984, Dr. Rice was awarded the Walter J. Gores Award for excellence in teaching at Stanford. She has been a Hoover Institution National Fellow and A Council on Foreign Relations Fellow. Dr. Rice has also served as a consultant to the ABC news on Soviet Affairs.

Dr. Rice received her B. A. from the University of Denver, Phi Beta Kappa and Cum Laude.

Her M.A. was received from the University of Notre Dame; Ph.D. from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University.

Dr. Rice is a specialist on Soviet and East European Politics and Foreign and Defense Policy and International Security Policy.

August 1990

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF JACQUELINE A. KENNEDY

Jacqueline Kennedy, of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, came to Washington D.C. in 1989 with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President of the United States. Jackie is Assistant to the Chief of Staff and oversees the governor's daily schedule and appointments and coordinates his activities with that of the President's.

Prior to working at the White House, Jackie was Administrative Assistant to then Governor Sununu and worked for him during all three of his terms as governor from 1983 through 1989 in Concord, New Hampshire.

From 1978 through 1983 Jackie set up and worked for the Appellate Division of the Department of Employment Security in New Hampshire, coordinating the daily operation of this sensitive division.

Jackie has found time to become one of the first volunteer woman firefighters in her hometown of Dunbarton as well as an Emergency Medical Technician. She served as an elected school board member from 1977 - 1983 and has for many years been involved in the Republican Womans Club. Jackie is married to Stephen M. Kennedy and has three children.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN H. SUNUNU

John Henry Sununu, 51, of Salem, New Hampshire, was commissioned Chief of Staff to the President of the United States on January 21, 1989. As Chief of Staff, Governor Sununu oversees the daily operations of the White House and its staff.

After playing an influential role in President Bush's New Hampshire primary victory, Governor Sununu served as National Co-Chairman of the Bush/Quayle campaign. During the general election, the Governor became one of the most active surrogate speakers on the campaign trail and travelled extensively across the country.

Governor Sununu became New Hampshire's 93rd Governor on January 6, 1983, and served three consecutive terms prior to joining the White House staff.

Governor Sununu assumed office with a background of nearly 20 years experience as an educator, engineer, small businessman and community leader.

The Governor gained both regional and national recognition through his chairmanship of the Coalition of Northeastern Governors, the chairmanship of the Republican Governors' Association, and his election in 1987, to the chairmanship of the National Governors' Association.

Within the National Governors' Association, Governor Sununu served as chairman of several committees. He was particularly active as chairman of the New Technology Education Task Force, which, two years ago, issued "Time for Results; The Governors' 1991 report on Education". Also through his efforts, the NGA, and later the New Hampshire Legislature, endorsed innovative acid rain legislation.

Governor Sununu is a member of the National Academy of Engineers' Committee on Public Engineering Policy and has served as a member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality Advisory Committee, the New England Regional Energy Advisory Council, the board of trustees of the Northeast Solar Energy Center, and as chairman of the board of directors of Consumer Alert.

July 1990

The Governor attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at both the graduate and undergraduate levels, and earned his Ph.D there in 1966 in mechanical engineering. From 1968 to 1973, he was associate dean of the College of Engineering at Tufts University where he had been an associate professor of mechanical engineering since 1966. He was invited to join the Advisory Board of the Technology and Policy Program at MIT in August, 1984.

From 1965 until his election as Governor, he served as President of JHS Engineering Company and Thermal Research Inc.; in addition, he helped found, and served, as chief engineer for Astro Dynamics Inc. from 1960 to 1965.

The Governor married the former Nancy Hayes in 1958. They have eight children.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. Fact sheet	Media Fact Sheet Re: Nancy Sununu [redaction] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Notebook for Trip to Moscow] [1]

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BIOGRAPHY OF FREDERICK D. MCCLURE

Frederick D. McClure, a native of San Augustine, Texas, is Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs. Prior to his appointment by President Bush in January 1989, he served as Government Affairs Staff Vice President of Texas Air Corporation. Mr. McClure joined Texas Air in November 1986 after serving as Special Assistant to President Reagan for Legislative Affairs. He has also served as Associate Deputy Attorney General of the United States and as Legislative Director to former Texas Senator John Tower. Before joining Senator Tower's staff he was a trial lawyer with the Houston firm of Reynolds, Allen and Cook.

Mr. McClure received his Bachelor of Science degree in agricultural economics from Texas A&M University in 1976, graduating summa cum laude. While at Texas A&M he served as Student Body President, was elected to Phi Kappa Phi, was a member of the Singing Cadets, and received the Brown-Rudder Outstanding Student Award. After graduating Mr. McClure served as a member of the Target 2000 Committee and as Vice President of the Texas A&M University Association of Former Students. He is President-Elect of the National Capital A&M Club in Washington, D.C.

He received his Juris Doctor degree in 1981 from the Baylor University School of Law, where he was elected President of the Student Bar Association and was a member of the National Order of Barristers. Mr. McClure is also a director of the Texas Lyceum and the National Fraternity of Alpha Zeta. Prior to entering law school, Mr. McClure served as Agricultural Assistant and State Office Director for Senator Tower. In 1976, former President Gerald R. Ford appointed Mr. McClure as a White House intern.

A former National Secretary and Texas State President of the Future Farmers of America, he was appointed by former Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe to the State Advisory Council for Technical-Vocational Education and has served as a member of the Real Estate Research Advisory Committee for the State of Texas since his appointment by Texas Governor William P. Clements in 1979. Mr. McClure is a member of the American Council on Germany and the Aero Club of Washington, D.C.

He lives in Falls Church, Virginia, with his wife, the former Harriet Jackson of Pleasanton, Texas, and their two children, Lauren and Frederick, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ROGER B. PORTER

Roger B. Porter is Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy.

Mr. Porter was IBM Professor of Government and Business at Harvard University and Faculty Chairman of the Program for Senior Managers in Government. His teaching and research focused on the relationship between business and government, the management of Federal policy development, the Presidency, and the formulation of domestic and international economic policy.

Mr. Porter served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Office of Policy Development. He also served as Executive Secretary of the Economic Policy Council and as Counselor to the Secretary of the Treasury. He was Executive Secretary of the Cabinet Council on Economic Affairs from 1981-1985.

Mr. Porter received his B.A. degree from Brigham Young University and was selected as a Rhodes Scholar and Woodrow Wilson Fellow, receiving his B.Phil. degree from Oxford University. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University.

Mr. Porter was Assistant Dean and Tutor in Politics at the Queens College, Oxford, from 1971 to 1972. He served as Associate Director of the Utah Local Government Modernization Study in 1972 and has been actively involved in state constitutional revision efforts. He has taught government and economics at Harvard University and Oxford University.

Mr. Porter was a White House Fellow from 1974 to 1975, joining the White House staff in August 1974. He was appointed Special Assistant to the President and served as the Executive Secretary of the President's Economic Policy Board from 1974 to 1977. He also served as secretary to the presidential transition team in August 1974.

Mr. Porter has been on the faculty of the School of Government and Graduate School of Business at Harvard since 1977. He was appointed a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships by Gerald R. Ford in 1976, and reappointed by Ronald Reagan in 1982. He is a member of Phi Kappa Phi, Pi Sigma Alpha, Phi Eta Sigma, and Phi Alpha Theta. He is the author of two books, Presidential Decision Making and The U.S. - U.S.S.R. Grain Agreement, and numerous articles.

He was selected as one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men in America for 1981 by the United States Jaycees. He and his wife Ann and their four children live in McLean, Virginia.

August 1990

JOSEPH VERNER REED
THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Joseph Verner Reed was sworn in as Chief of Protocol of the United States of America on March 21, 1989. Mr. Reed has the rank of Ambassador while serving in this position. Prior to this appointment, Mr. Reed served as Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs at the United Nations, the highest ranking American in the Secretariat.

From 1981 to 1985, Mr. Reed was Ambassador of the United States to Morocco. Among the structures he helped put in place in order to strengthen a bilateral relationship between the two countries were the Joint Economic Committee, the Joint Military Committee and the Moroccan-American Foundation, as well as other agreements on economic and media cooperation. King Hassan awarded Ambassador Reed with the Order of the Throne.

From 1985 to 1987, Mr. Reed served as the United States representative to the Economic and Social Council at the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador. In this function, which he assumed in July 1985, he was involved in negotiating the resolution on the review of the administrative and financial functioning of the Organization. As the official responsible for African issues, Mr. Reed helped negotiate the agreement between African nations and the rest of the international community that emanated from the May 1986 Special Session of the General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa. For his service Mr. Reed received the Department's Superior Honor Award. Mr. Reed also served as United States representative in the Committee on Relations with the Host Country.

For his diplomatic work at the United Nations, Mr. Reed received decorations from the Government of the Republic of Argentina, "The Order of May". From the Government of Chile, "The Order of Bernardo O'Higgins in the Degree of Gran Cruz". From the Government of Ecuador, "The Order of Merit". And from the Government of the Republic of Korea, "The Order of Diplomatic Service Merit, Heung-In Medal. From the Government of the Republic of Togo, "Grande Chancellerie de L'Ordre Du Mono".

Mr. Reed graduated from Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts and in 1961, received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale University. From 1961 to 1963, he was an Assistant to the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). In 1963, he joined the Chase Manhattan Bank and from 1969 to 1981, served as a Vice President and Assistant to the Chairman, David Rockefeller.

Mr. Reed is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a former trustee and treasurer of International House. He is a member of the Governing Board of the Yale University Art Gallery; a member of The Society of Mayflower Descendants; a member of the Society of Colonial Wars; and a member of The Pilgrims.

Mr. Reed is a member of the River Club, the Links in New York and the F Street and Metropolitan Clubs in Washington. Mrs. Reed is a member of the Colony Club and serves on the Board of Governors of the River Club in New York.

Mr. Reed is married to Marie Byers. They have two daughters and reside in Connecticut and Washington.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ED ROGERS

Ed Rogers, 31, an attorney from Birmingham, Alabama, is Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to White House Chief of Staff John Sununu. In this role, Rogers is responsible for much of the information flow and communication between Governor Sununu and the White House staff. He also serves as the Chief of Staff's point of contact for the media. Additionally, as of June, 1990, Rogers assumed the role of White House Political Director.

Prior to this position, Rogers was Deputy to Bush-Quayle Campaign Manager Lee Atwater. Rogers held that post from February 1987 through the general election in 1988.

In 1985, Rogers was appointed Special Assistant to President Reagan and Deputy Director of the Office of Political Affairs. Shortly before joining the Bush-Quayle campaign in 1987, he became Director of that office.

During the 1984 Reagan-Bush campaign, Rogers served as the Southeastern Regional Political Director. In this role he was responsible for the day-to-day campaign staff operations in 11 southeastern states. Rogers also served as the Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms during the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas.

Prior to the 1984 campaign, Rogers served as a advance representative for both former President Reagan and former Vice President Bush. In this role, Rogers travelled to 48 states and 26 foreign countries preparing for Presidential and Vice Presidential visits.

Rogers is a member of the Alabama Bar Association and the Washington, D.C. Bar Association. He has been a guest lecturer at the Washington Journalism Center, Harvard University, the Presidential Scholars program and the International Democratic Union.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DR. CONDOLEEZZA RICE

Condoleezza Rice is a Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Prior to that she was Senior Director for Soviet Affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. She is on leave from her post as Associate Professor of Political Science at Stanford University where she was a member of the Center for International Security and Arms Control.

Dr. Rice was the recipient of a one-year fellowship acting, in 1986-1987 as Special Assistant to the Director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff assigned to Strategic Nuclear Policy. She is the author of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Army, and with Alexander Dallin, The Gorbachev Era, as well as numerous articles on Soviet and East European military policy.

In 1984, Dr. Rice was awarded the Walter J. Gores Award for excellence in teaching at Stanford. She has been a Hoover Institution National Fellow and A Council on Foreign Relations Fellow. Dr. Rice has also served as a consultant to the ABC news on Soviet Affairs.

Dr. Rice received her B. A. from the University of Denver, Phi Beta Kappa and Cum Laude.

Her M.A. was received from the University of Notre Dame; Ph.D. from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University.

Dr. Rice is a specialist on Soviet and East European Politics and Foreign and Defense Policy and International Security Policy.

August 1990

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF JACQUELINE A. KENNEDY

Jacqueline Kennedy, of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, came to Washington D.C. in 1989 with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President of the United States. Jackie is Assistant to the Chief of Staff and oversees the governor's daily schedule and appointments and coordinates his activities with that of the President's.

Prior to working at the White House, Jackie was Administrative Assistant to then Governor Sununu and worked for him during all three of his terms as governor from 1983 through 1989 in Concord, New Hampshire.

From 1978 through 1983 Jackie set up and worked for the Appellate Division of the Department of Employment Security in New Hampshire, coordinating the daily operation of this sensitive division.

Jackie has found time to become one of the first volunteer woman firefighters in her hometown of Dunbarton as well as an Emergency Medical Technician. She served as an elected school board member from 1977 - 1983 and has for many years been involved in the Republican Womans Club. Jackie is married to Stephen M. Kennedy and has three children.