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OA/ID Number: 00834
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Folder Title:
Chief of Staff-Designate Transition Files 11/88-1/89: Correspondence - December [2][1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Ivan Selin, Chairman
American Management Systems, Inc.
1777 North Kent Street
Arlington, VA 22209

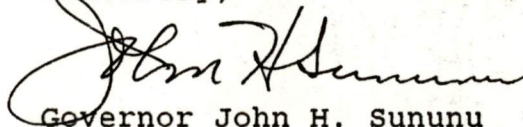
Dear Ivan:

Thank you for your kind words on my recent appointment as Chief-of-Staff. I look forward to working with President-Elect Bush, and am sure the new administration will be highly successful.

But you won't get rid of me so easily. I have been told that American Management Systems got a contract with the transition office. So you'll have another two months or so before you lose me altogether.

Thank you again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

339-0024

American Management Systems, Inc.

NOV 25 1988

Ivan Selin
Chairman

November 21, 1988

Dear Governor Sununu:

If we had to lose the best client we have ever had, I'm delighted that it will be to the most important job in Washington.

Congratulations and good luck in your new position.

Sincerely,



The Honorable
John H. Sununu
Governor of New Hampshire
Office of the Governor
State House
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

cc: Governor Sununu
Presidential Transition Office

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Mr. Ronald S. Lauder
660 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10021

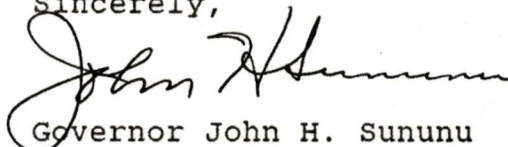
Dear Ron:

Thank you for the kind your kind words on my recent appointment as Chief-of-Staff. I look forward to working with President-Elect Bush. We hope to make the transition process as smooth and effective as possible, and then "hit the ground running" on Inauguration Day.

I'll keep you in mind and I look forward to working with you. Lee Atwater speaks very highly of you and I would love to meet with you the next time you are in Washington.

Thanks again for taking the time to cable me.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu



Telegram

IPMWGW2 WSH1-016320A322 11/17/88

ICS IPMWGWD WSH

01301 11-17 0710P EST

ICS IPMWGW2

4-0352345322 11/17/88

ICS IPMMTZZ CSP

2125726966 FRB TDMT NEW YORK NY 41 11-17 0650P EST

FMS HONORABLE JOHN SUNUNO, DLR, DLR

BUSH-QUALE TRANSITION RPT DLY MGM, DLR ASAP AM, DLR

1825 CONNECTICUT AVE NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON DC 20270

NOV 18 1988

339-0025

DEAR GOVERNOR SUNUNO,
YOUR APPOINTMENT IS A WONDERFUL THING FOR OUR COUNTRY. I KNOW HOW
WELL WE WILL BE SERVED BY YOUR PRESENCE IN THE WHITE HOUSE. PLEASE
ACCEPT MY CONGRATULATIONS AND MY READINESS TO HELP IN ANY WAY I CAN.

RONALD S LAUDER
660 MADISON AVE
NEW YORK NY 10021

301302-A

1849 EST

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Scott:

Thank you for your kind congratulatory letter. The President-Elect and I have much to be thankful for this holiday season, not the least of which is the support we have received from Americans like you.

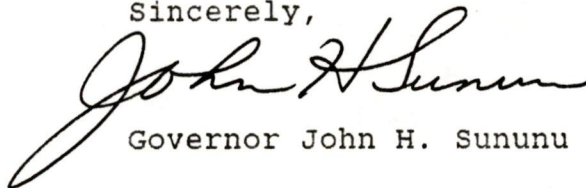
I share your concern about raising taxes, and the President-Elect intends to stand by his pledge.

Meanwhile, I look forward to the many challenges ahead. We hope to make the transition process as smooth and effective as possible, and then "hit the ground running" on Inauguration Day.

Thank you again for taking the time to write, and for your offer of help.

I wish you the best this holiday season.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Scott W. Rasmussen
President
Rasmussen Communications
Management Corporation
428 East Boulevard
Charlotte, NC 28203



Rasmussen
Communications Management
Corporation

NOV 25 1988

November 21, 1988

337-0031

The Honorable John H. Sununu
White House Chief of Staff
725 17th Street, N.W.
Room G-1
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Governor Sununu:

Congratulations on your appointment as the White House Chief of Staff. As someone who strongly believes that raising federal taxes is not the way to solve the country's budgetary woes, I was very pleased when I heard that President-Elect Bush had selected you for this position.

Although you probably don't recall meeting me, we were introduced in George Bush, Jr.'s office and had the opportunity to briefly discuss the campaign in general terms and my involvement in creating ESPN, the cable sports network.

I wish you the best of luck in your new position. If there's anything I can do to help, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Scott W. Rasmussen
President

SWR/cmo

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

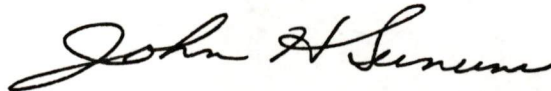
December 5, 1988

Dear Rich:

Many thanks for your kind letter of November 21. It was good to hear from you. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me. Thanks, also, for the offer of help. Let's get together soon.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

Honorable Rich Williamson
Assistant Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

28 NOV 1950

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

0078

To: Hon John Saruman

11/21

Dear John:

Heartiest congratulations!
George Bush will be a terrific
President of the United States
and, I know, you'll make a
major major contribution to ensure
that success.

From the early days of our
friendship when I was Ass't to
the President for Intergov'tal Affairs
and you were a candidate for
governor, I've appreciated your
abilities, candor and loyalty.
I know these very skills will

help ensure a successful
Bush White House.

Needless to say, if I
can ever help please call -

Best
Rich Wilburson

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Mr. Yamaguchi:

Many thanks for the beautiful basket of flowers you sent me today. I appreciate your kind gesture.

I hope we can get together soon.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Handwritten signature of John H. Sununu in cursive script.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Toshio Yamaguchi
Director General
International Bureau
Liberal Democratic Party
Japanese Congress
2500 Virginia Avenue, NW
Suite 708 Watergate East
South Lobby
Washington, D.C. 20037

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

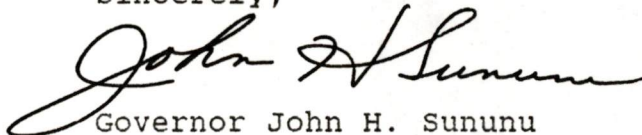
December 5, 1988

Dear Ms. Ascher:

Many thanks for your kind note of November 20. I appreciate your generous words about my role during the campaign. I am proud to have contributed to George Bush's victories in the New Hampshire primary and in the general election. But, ultimately, it was the President-elect's experience, character, and vision that won over the voters. I look forward to serving George Bush in the weeks and months ahead, helping to carry out his mandate from the American people.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Ann Ascher
201 S. Beverly Glen Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90024

ANN ASCHER

342-0051

Nov. 20, 1988

Dear General Sarunau,

Congratulations on becoming chief of staff. I know that you will bring the same competence and efficiency to the White House that you brought to the campaign. When we met on the phone on the way

(2)

to Houston's ^{on} election day. I mentioned that
the hoped for win was in large measure due to
your tremendous efforts in turning the campaign
around after Iowa.

Thanks for all you've done. Good luck
with the challenge ahead.

Warmest wishes,

Ann Ascher

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Mr. Sharma:

Many thanks for your letter of November 21. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

Rest assured that George Bush is well aware of the important role that Asian-Americans play in the political, economic, and cultural life of the nation. He is wholeheartedly committed to helping Asian-Americans fulfill their aspirations as shareholders of the American dream.

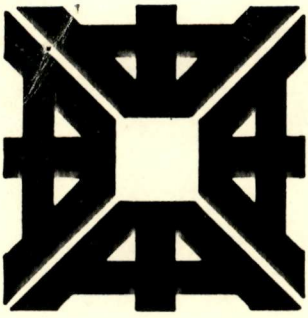
Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Pandit Narine Sharma
President
Asian-American Federation
of Florida, Inc.
4318 W. Broward Blvd.
Suite 4
Plantation, FL 33317



Asian-American Federation of Florida, inc.

4318 W. Broward Blvd., Suite 4, Plantation, Florida 33317
Date: (305) 757-1133 • Broward: (305) 791-3342

29 NOV 1988

President

Pandit Narine Sharma

First Vice President

Flossie Abrigo

Second Vice President

Rev. Peter Yao

Corresponding Secretary

Somsak Pankam

Recording Secretary

M. Asgar Salm

Treasurer

Sohail Khan

November 21, 1988

Mr. John Sununu
White House Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington D.C., U.S.A.

337-0049

Executive Committee

Syed Askari

Wes Barnes

Dr. K.S. Ho

Kazumi Kelly

Andy Kim

Khanya Moolsiri

Past President

William Wong

Dear Mr. Sununu:

Permit us to extend to you our heartfelt felicitations on your recent appointment to the new President's team. Asian Americans watched your steady progress as Governor of the State of New Hampshire and realized long ago that you being of Asian background have all the qualities and traits that will lead you to great heights. We are proud of your appointments and are confident that our Asian American Minority will now get our Civil Rights restored to us; especially our Japanese members and others who are being discriminated against everyday.

Asian Americans fought bitterly to elect our New President to the White House and we are confident that the new Administration will not turn its back on us. We have greater battles to fight as yet. We need to control the Senate or both Houses of Congress; hence we need all the support we can get from every ethnic group of our Nations.

Asian Americans have approached our New President earlier in the Election to commit to the creation of a Cabinet post for Asian Americans but he thought it best to leave it until after the Elections. We will like to urge you to use your good offices to have a Cabinet Post created for the only Minority who is left out. The Blacks, Hispanics and Women have all got theirs only the Asians are without this vital link to the President.

In addition to the Cabinet Post we will like to see Asian Americans in other suitable Policy

**Governing Board Chairman,
Charter President**

Jack Curtiss

Vice Chairman

Ramiro Chong

Member Organizations
AslaFest, Inc.

Asian-American Physicians
Association

All Pakistan-American Association

Association of Indians in

America-Florida Chapter

Bangladesh Club of Florida

Burmese-American Association

Chinese Cultural Association

Chinese Culture Association of
South Florida

Chinese-American Benevolent

Association of Miami

Chinmaya Mission West, Florida
Chapter

Egyptology and Asian

Civilizations Society

Filipino-American Association
of Florida

Filipino Community

Association of Florida

Florida Asian-American Chamber
of Commerce

Florida Hindu Organization

Florida Hindu Parishad

Friends of the Japanese

Garden

Hindu Temple of South Florida

Indian Music Foundation

Indian Religious and Cultural
Center

Japan-America Society of
South Florida

Kerala Samajam

Korean Association of

Greater Miami

The Morikami Inc.

Padmasambava Society

Pakistan Cultural Society

Philippine-American Association
of South Florida

Philippine-American Ecumenical
Fellowship

Sindhi Association

Tamil Association

Thai-American Association of
South Florida

U.S. China-Friendship

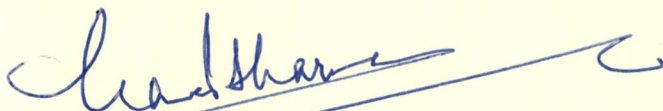
Association of Miami

making Board and Committees. I will be happy to serve in Florida or Washington D.C. on any such Boards and Committees. I am attaching some material about myself.

The Federation is an Umbrella Organization of thirty five independent Organizations throughout the State of Florida. It is also attached to the Asian American Voters Coalition of which I am the National CoChairman for the Southeast Region. Our net working in the United State is strong and we need to be encouraged so that all those half hearted Democrats will join us and give us the majority we need in the Senate. We are confident that we can work together for the betterment of our great Nation.

Sincerely yours,

ASIAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION
Of Florida, Inc.



Pandit Narine Sharma
President

NPS/cs ENC 3-

cc: Violeta dela Pena
Cindy Daub



BROWARD COUNTY VICTORY COMMITTEE

October 3, 1988

James J. Blosser
Chairman

Dear Member:

William E. Bucknam
Co-Chairman

Re: Victory '88 Campaign

Margaret Benedikt
Special Advisor

Permit me to remind you that it is your DUTY to exercise your CONSTITUTIONAL Rights by casting your Vote on November 8th, 1988, and see that all of your friends and relatives do likewise.

Allen Autry
Finance Chairman

Dr. Dorsey Miller
Political Chairman

Richard Lorraine, Jr.
Political Co-Chairman

You will recall I attended the Republican National Convention in New Orleans as your representative. There I presented the Asian American needs and aspirations, and was promised that Asian Americans in the United States of America will be given their Equal Rights. Presently I am serving on the Executive Board of the Bush Campaign, and I am also Chairman of Coalition of Asian American for Vice President George Bush. You installed me as your President on September 24, 1988 because you have faith and confidence in me. At the Asian American Voters Coalition Convention held on September 4, 1988 in Houston, Texas, Asian Americans from all over USA placed the same confidence in me and again elected and installed me Co-Chairman for the South East Region of USA.

Loren Moore
*Chairman
Voter Coalitions*

Linda Medsker
*Chairman
Administrative Support*

Lee Miller
*Chairman
Administrative—GOTV*

Patricia Bell
Committee Secretary

Bill Bretz
Committee Treasurer

Sandra Chanzas
Executive Director

I am supporting Vice President Bush because he is the best choice, and we will continue to prosper under his Administration. It is his joint effort that gave us Dr. Joy Cherian, E.E.O.C.; Mr Sherwin-Chan, Civil Rights Commission; Mrs. Cindy Dobb, Ms. Elaine Chau, Ms. Wendy Gramm and several other Asian Americans, all appointees of the Reagan/Bush Administration. Do make a special effort to Vote with your friends and relatives on November 8th, 1988. Our Vice President Bush and other Republicans need your Vote. Please help.

•
**Republican Party of
Broward County**

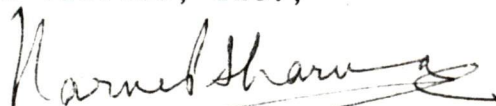
Pat Hucker, Sr.
Chairman

David Eller
State Committeeman

Rita Nielsen Johnson
State Committeewoman

Sincerely yours,

ASIAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION
of Florida, Inc.,



Pandit Narine P. Sharma

President

3495 North Federal Highway, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33308

(305) 565-6445

The Miami Herald

412 PAGES

6

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1987

BRO

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75 CENTS

In unity, Asians hope to find political strength

By RICHARD HART
Herald Staff Writer

Don't mention the phrase "tri-ethnic mix" to Narine Sharma.

He'd be insulted.

"Every time they say 'tri-ethnic' it boils my blood," said Sharma, a real estate agent in Plantation, Hindu pandit (priest), and recently named president of the three-year-old Asian-American Federation of Florida.

"It means that we're not here, we don't exist. It fails to recognize that there is another group of people living in South Florida right now who are not black, Anglo or Hispanic."

That may have been true 15 or 20 years ago, but not today, Sharma said.

He intends to make sure the public knows about the rapidly growing Asian population in Broward and other South Florida communities.

The federation, which serves as an umbrella group representing 35 smaller organizations, will be pushing for Asian representation on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and on the policy-making bodies of the Republican and Democratic Party central caucuses.

The 1980 census put the number of Asians in Dade, Broward and Palm Beach counties at around 21,000. But federation leaders question that figure, and put the total today at more than 50,000.

The smaller national and cultural groups alone might not be able to muster any clout, Sharma said. But standing together, the Chinese, Burmese, Tamil, Indian, Pakistani, Japanese, Philippine, Thai and Korean associations in South Florida feel they will have the political and economic strength to

Please turn to UNITY / 7BR



ANDREW ITKOFF / Miami Herald

Helping bring Asians together are Narine Sharma, left, and Lillie Chang Curtiss.

Arts to Zen, paper covers Asia's universe of voices

By RICHARD HART
Herald Staff Writer

Lillie Chang Curtiss can't read what some of her reporters write.

She is publisher of The Florida Asian-American, a friendly, monthly newspaper that covers the comings, goings and general news of interest among the state's Asian population.

Working out of her Miramar home along with her husband Jack Curtiss, she puts the paper together with the help of volunteers including their family and members of The Asian-

American Federation of Florida.

No one is paid, and the paper breaks even on advertising, she said.

"No other papers cover the news of the Asian community," she said. "But we do."

That translates into notes on festivals sponsored by various nationalities, important immigration information, schedules of Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh church services, and historical notes important to dozens of

Please turn to PAPER / 7BR

In unity, Asian groups seek political strength

UNITY / from IBR

make a difference.

Those groups' total membership is about 5,000 people, and another 300 Asians and non-Asians belong as individual members, leaders said.

"The federation is big enough to offer ideas and get answers," said Somsak Pankam, president of the Thai-American Association of South Florida and owner of the two Chiang Mai Restaurants in Fort Lauderdale and Boca Raton.

"People will listen to it," he said. "The Thais alone are small and people won't listen."

Discrimination against Asians is at the top of Sharma's agenda as president. It is a problem that he fears goes unrecognized partly because people don't identify Asians as a group.

"The continent is far larger and diverse than people realize," he said. "Say Asian to an American, he thinks Chinese. Say it to a Briton, and he thinks Indian or Pakistani. We are not just talking race."

Kewal Saggi is an Indian who has worked around the world as a television engineer. Trained in Britain, he was sent to Zambia to set up the first radio and color television transmitters in the country and stayed for 15 years, he said recently.

An engineering job brought him to South Florida about five years ago. When he wanted to switch jobs, something strange began to happen during interviews.

"It's difficult to describe, exactly," he said. "I am very experienced, and they liked me, and then all of a sudden you didn't get the job. You start thinking it's something else."

It might have been racial. It also might have been religious, said Saggi, a Hindu. He eventually got a job as the chief engineer at Broward Community College campuses.

Federation leaders said religion is an important issue when looking at Asian-Americans. The unifying factor among such a disparate group of nationalities is the similar spirit and teachings of the major Asian religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shinto.

Those teachings also have influenced Christians and Moslems there. But Americans do not understand Eastern religion, they said.

"People think of the Hare Krishnas," said Jack Curtiss, one of the founders of the federation and chairman of its governing board. Curtiss, who is not Asian, is married to Lillie Chang, a Chinese native.

"Asians have a contemplative, meditative attitude," he said. "There is a certain passivity, a certain fatalism, that runs through the two fundamental faiths of Asia, Hinduism and Bud-

"The continent is far larger and diverse than people realize. Say Asian to an American, he thinks Chinese. Say it to a Briton, and he thinks Indian or Pakistani. We are not just talking race."

Narine Sharma,
Asian-American Federation
of Florida president

dism, Confucianism and Taoism have a similar kind of attitude."

Those same attributes that serve Asians well in their world often work against them outside it, spurring the need for a politically active federation, Sharma said.

"We have not been noisy," he said. "We are not like the Haitians who go out and picket every day, because it is not in our nature or upbringing to take our problems to the forefront by demonstrations or acts of violence."

It comes from the cultures' "deep reverence for the family, for parents, of respect for authority, to follow our parents' instructions," Sharma said.

He said he will be pushing for greater involvement in federal programs aimed at minorities, including government contracts earmarked for minority businesses.

"If it is going to be a part of government policy to set aside a certain number of contracts for ethnic and racial minorities, why not extend it to one of your most visible segments of the population?" he asked.

One federal program, the Minority Business Development Agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce, has tried to work with Asians, but found them to be self-sufficient, said the program's district officer, Rudy Suarez in Miami.

"We are trying to attract Vietnamese, because the Japanese and Chinese are well developed, business-wise," he said. The agency offers management and technical assistance to minority businesses.

"What we can provide them with, they feel they can provide better to themselves," he said.

But Sharma said that's not so. Such comments are another sign Asian-Americans don't exist to some people, he said.

"We try and help our own people because they need help," he said. "They don't get help elsewhere because they're not recognized."

Paper forum for Asians

Even editors can't read all of its offerings

PAPER / from IBR

countries. It also offers an exotic top of the front page: announcements of regular columns called "Zen," "Yoga," and "Martial Arts."

But the most striking thing about the paper is the half-dozen or so columns written in the native alphabets and languages of the nations they cover.

Regular Thai, Japanese, Vietnamese, Indian, Korean, Filipino and Chinese columns flow like artwork down the page to those who can't read them — including the paper's editors.

They are written by regular contributors in the community, often hand-printed or typed on imported typewriters.

"We can't read it, so we just ask them what they're telling us about in the column," Curtiss said. It's usually about social notes in the community, or perhaps a piece of poetry.

When they touch on political topics, "we would just ask them not to write too sharply," Curtiss said.

Somsak Pankam, the Thai correspondent, said he might comment on economic or political developments in Thailand, but usually sticks to news about Thais living in South Florida.

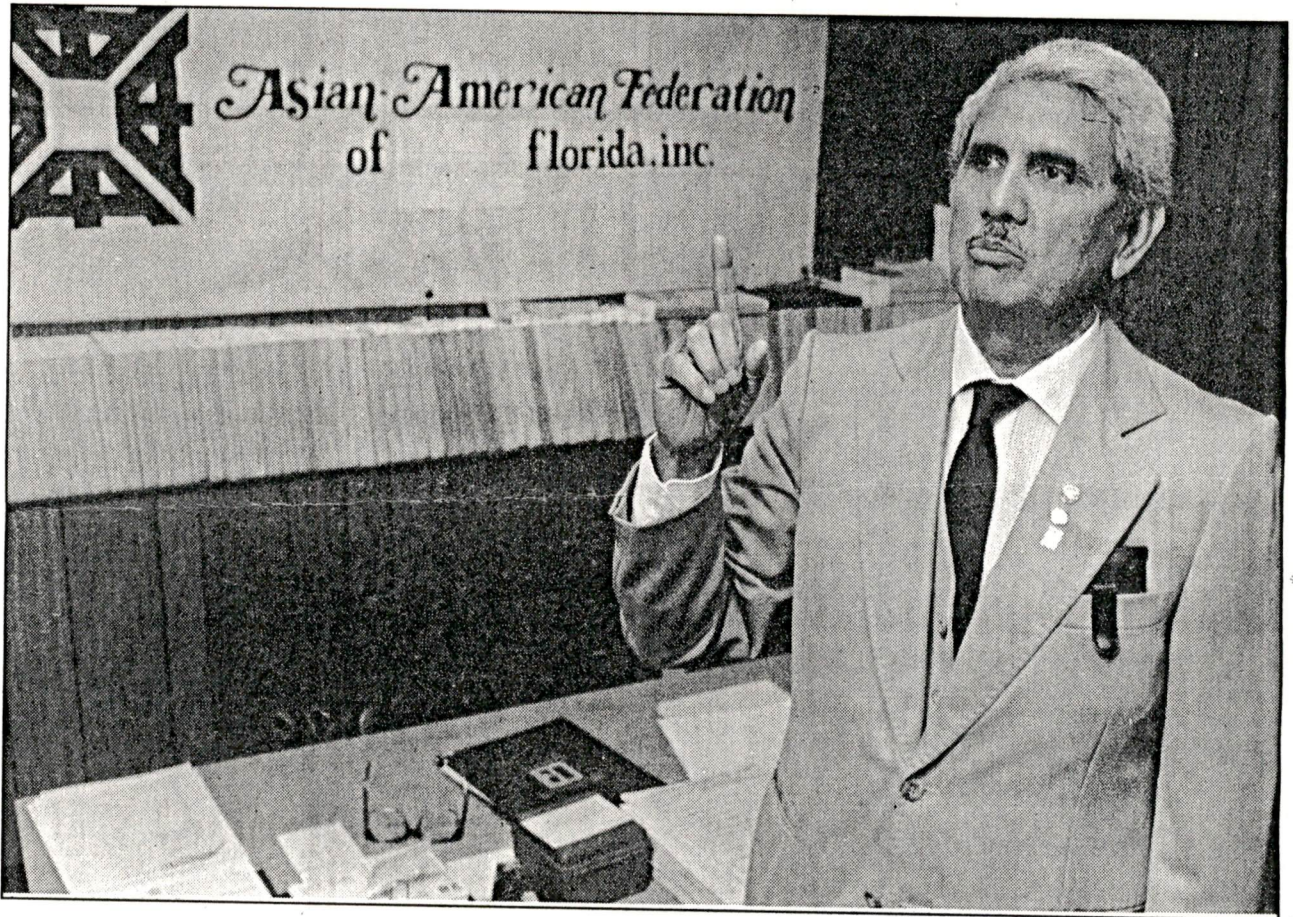
In his August column, for exam-

ple, he touched on the need for unity among the Thai community.

"I just asked that people try to do things together, to help make things better for all of us and for our children," Pankam said.

"When Asians in South Florida want to know where to shop, want to meet people, they can turn to us," Lillie Curtiss said.

PEOPLE



Pandit Narine Sharma, as president of the Asian-American Federation of Florida, is making plans to bring equal recognition to Asian-Americans.

Staff photo/ROBERT AZMITIA

Asian-Americans push for recognition

By LOURDES RODRIGUEZ-FLORIDO
Staff Writer

Pandit Narine Sharma wants Asian-Americans to get equal recognition in the United States and he plans to do something about it.

Speaking bluntly, Sharma admonishes the underrepresentation he sees around the country. "Give us our rightful place," he said.

As the newly elected president of the Asian-American Federation of Florida, he plans to start a grassroots campaign aimed at securing better jobs for Asians in government, schools, news media and the space programs.

He also wants the 1990 census to include a separate Asian category.

"At this time we find there is a lot of confusion in these parts," said Sharma of Plantation. "You speak of blacks, whites and Hispanics but no one gives recognition or is aware of the fact that there is another group, the Asian-Americans."

In order to gain a voice, unity is needed among the various local ethnic groups, which include the Chinese, the Japanese and the people of India, he said.

For the past four years the federation has played that role, uniting more than 30 religious, cultural and business organizations.

Through public forums and annual events such as a beauty pageant and the officers' installation luncheon, the federation strives for Asian recognition.

Sharma pointed out the recent invocations given by the Hindu community at meetings of the Broward County Commission and the Fort Lauderdale/Broward County Chamber of Commerce.

Another accomplishment is the forming of an Asian-American Chamber of Commerce, he said.

PANDIT NARINE SHARMA:

"At this time we find there is a lot of confusion in these parts. You speak of blacks, whites and Hispanics but no one gives recognition or is aware of the fact that there is another group, the Asian-Americans."

"These are good signs."

During January, members honored Col. Allison Onizuka, the *Challenger* crew member, by blessing and dedicating a lantern during a Laying of the Lantern Ceremony.

The federation is making plans to bring an Asia-fest to South Florida in April. Artists, religious leaders and others will represent a number of countries, including Japan, Thailand and India.

"The federation has given us a sense of pride," said Flossie Abrigo of Margate, who is first vice president of the federation. "We can express our ethnic and cultural diversity."

Sharma said the federation is not political, but issues are brought to members' attention.

At the upcoming officers' installation program, former U.S. Sen. S.I. Hayakawa of California is tentatively scheduled to speak about the use of English as the only official language of this country.

Another goal of the federation is to get all Asian-Americans in Florida registered to vote by the next presidential election.

"I thought that we, the Chinese, didn't have a voice," said William Y. Wong of Miami. Wong is past president of the association.

"Individually the Chinese voice isn't strong, so I figured if we united with the Asians, we would be heard," he said. "Politicians do respect a large number of voters. United we're strong."

"All we ask for is equal treatment, not anything special," said Wong, 72.

As president of the federation, Sharma said he believes he'll have the backing to accomplish most of his goals.

Sharma plans to call and write decision makers such as Sen. Lawton Chiles and President Reagan from his Plantation office, where he runs a real estate and mortgage brokerage firm.

"Even go to the White House and raise hell up there," he said.

Running an organization is not new to Sharma. He's currently the president and priest (pandit) of the Florida Hindu Parishad and is involved in numerous political, civic and business organizations, including the legislative committee of the Fort Lauderdale Board of Realtors and the Fort Lauderdale Chamber of Commerce.

"He's a very committed person," Abrigo said. "At first I hesitated to accept the nomination as vice president because I'm also involved in other projects. But because of his persistence I'm here. He's a good person and quite a good leader."

Sharma was born in Guyana, and educated in England. For 30 years, he practiced law in several countries including England, India and Australia. He moved to Broward County with his family nine years ago.

"If I don't finish my goals then I want to ask for another term," he said of his presidency. "If I complete the task then I won't. It's an awakening process and we're trying to cause that awakening."

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

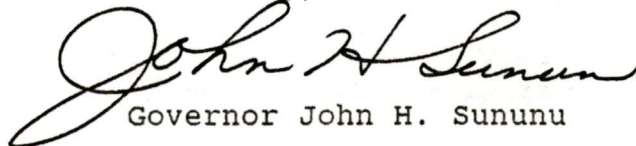
December 5, 1988

Dear Mr. Smith:

Many thanks for your letter of November 28. I appreciate your sending me a copy of your review of William Golden's Science and Technology Advice to the President, Congress, and Judiciary. Thanks, also, for your offer of assistance in planning for the science advisor's role in the Bush administration. We will contact you if such an opportunity arises.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Bruce Smith
The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-2188

The Brookings Institution



1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON D.C. 20036-2188 / TELEPHONE: (202) 797-6000

Center for Public Policy Education

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Nov 28

Governor John H. Sununu
Office of the President-Elect

Dear Governor Sununu:

Enclosed please find a copy of a recent review which you might find of interest in the context of your consideration of the same advisor's role in the new administration.

I would be most happy to be of assistance in planning for the future same advisor, PSAC role, etc.. (I might add that I am a Republican and early Bush supporter - and ^{electd} member of the D.C. Republican Committee).

Sincerely yours,

Bruce Smith

The Sciences

PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

ODD MEN OUT



by BRUCE L. R. SMITH

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ADVICE TO THE
PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, AND JUDICIARY

Edited by William T. Golden

Pergamon Press; 523 pages; \$49.50

While reading the *New York Times* one morning in 1968, Lyndon B. Johnson, then the President, noticed a full-page advertisement protesting the massive buildup of American troops in Vietnam and the expansion of the war there. The petition was signed by dozens of distinguished academics, including a member of the Presidential Science Advisory Committee, which provided counsel to Johnson and his aides. Later that day, during a meeting with a senior National Security Council official, the President was visibly disturbed. "Isn't this guy a member of our advisory team here in the White House?" he asked. When told yes, Johnson queried further, "Isn't his own work generously funded by the government?" It was. The President, warming to the subject, then asked, "Doesn't he eat in my White House mess when the team meets here?" Assured he did, Johnson exclaimed, "Well, if he's feeding at the government trough, what's he doing criticizing my Vietnam policy?"

Johnson was not one to mince words. He expected loyalty from his advisers—all of them. The last impression he wanted to give the public, or Congress, was that the executive branch was a house divided. By the same token, he had little appetite for an open break with the scientific community. So, rather than dissolving the Presidential Science Advisory Committee and banishing the war critic from his official family, as he would have liked to do, he began to exclude his advisers from important policy meetings. And he ordered, incidentally, that they not be allowed to eat in the White House mess. On the surface, the science advisory system seemed unchanged, but its influence had been diminished, and, worse, within the PSAC, opposition to the President's Vietnam policy continued to grow.

That Johnson's science advisory committee was at odds with his administration seems, in retrospect, unsurprising; at that time, the entire scientific community was rent with deep, sometimes bitter divisions. Although the disagreements did not follow any simple fault line, the war played a large part in many of them. In the past, it had been assumed that science could serve equally the needs of national defense, economic growth, and improved standards of living and better health for Americans. Vietnam was quickly eroding this assumption, leading scientists to conclude that the defense budget was an unnecessary drain on the civilian economy.



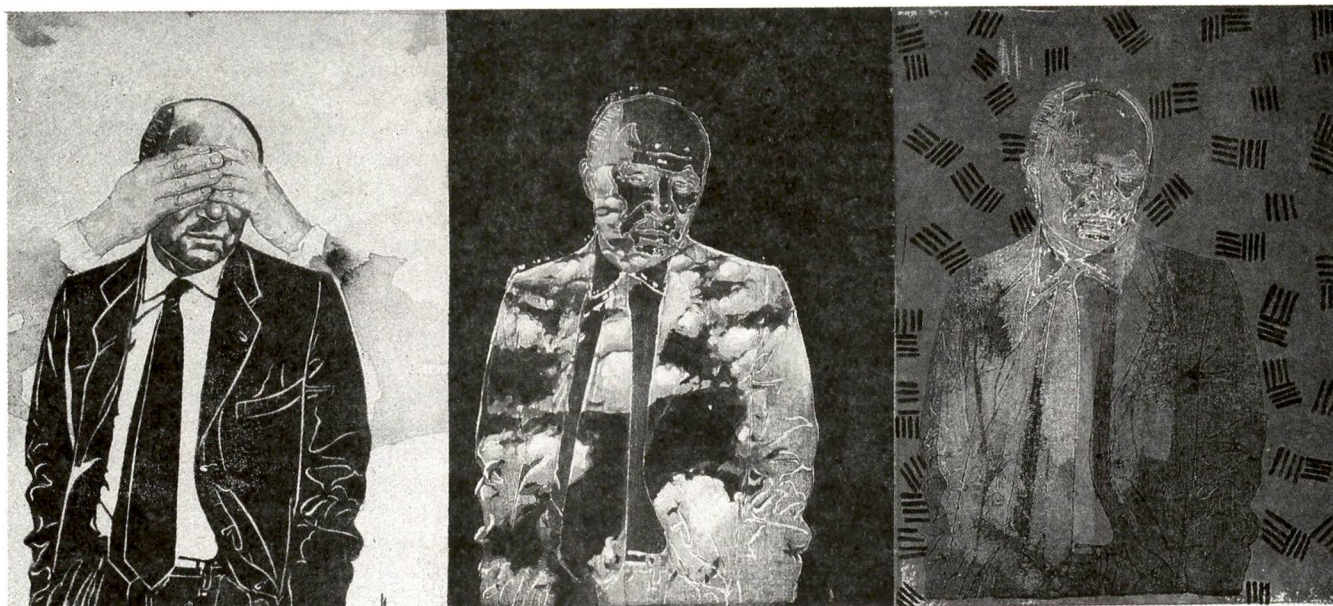
All of this dovetailed with other forms of unrest that appeared in the late sixties and early seventies. Mounting skepticism among consumers about product safety and reliability, the gap between the established culture and the so-called counterculture, and concern about the impact of industrial societies on the environment all affected how the public perceived science, as well as how scientists participated in policy making. Science and technology came to be viewed as the source of many ills, including toxic waste, air pollution, and occupationally induced cancers. The fuel for these suspicions came, for the most part, not from politicians but from faculty and disaffected students and from whistle blowers—critics within the scientific community itself.

The Presidential Science Advisory Committee, which represented a cross section of that community, was no less plagued with controversy. From Johnson's term of office onward, PSAC members had difficulty keeping their dis-

Ronald Reagan is not getting enough good advice, these critics charge. Indeed, if he were, says Jerome B. Wiesner, former science adviser to Presidents Johnson and Kennedy, and a former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the country would be much better off. "A flood of recent events and problems," Wiesner says,

are directly traceable to the absence of a presidential [science] advisory group: the Challenger disaster, the unproven and exaggerated claims about military inferiority and need for excessive amounts of new military technology and hardware, the exaggerated claims of Soviet cheating on arms agreements, the disregard by the responsible agencies of serious environmental and public health problems, and the loss of competitiveness of much of American industry.

This claim appears in *Science and Technology Advice to the President, Congress, and Judiciary*, a compilation of eighty-five essays, written by former science advisers, university and government agency officials, congressmen, and a



Paul Giovanopoulos, *Man 2 (detail)*, 1987

agreements, both among themselves and with the administration, from spilling over into the public arena. Some members felt they were being used less as a source of informed recommendations than as a way of lending support to the government's policies. Believing that their silence would be misconstrued as approval of those policies, they spoke out against practices and programs with which they disagreed. Tensions between the President and his science advisory committee continued until Richard M. Nixon, angered that some members had publicly opposed two of his pet projects—the construction of a supersonic transport and the development of an intercontinental ballistic missile defense system—dismantled the science advisory apparatus.

That was in January of 1973. Since then, the office of science adviser has been revived, but with less power, and there still is no formal advisory committee to the President. Consequently, many scientists believe that the current advisory system is woefully inadequate—that it needs to be strengthened considerably, to play a more visible and influential role in national policy making.

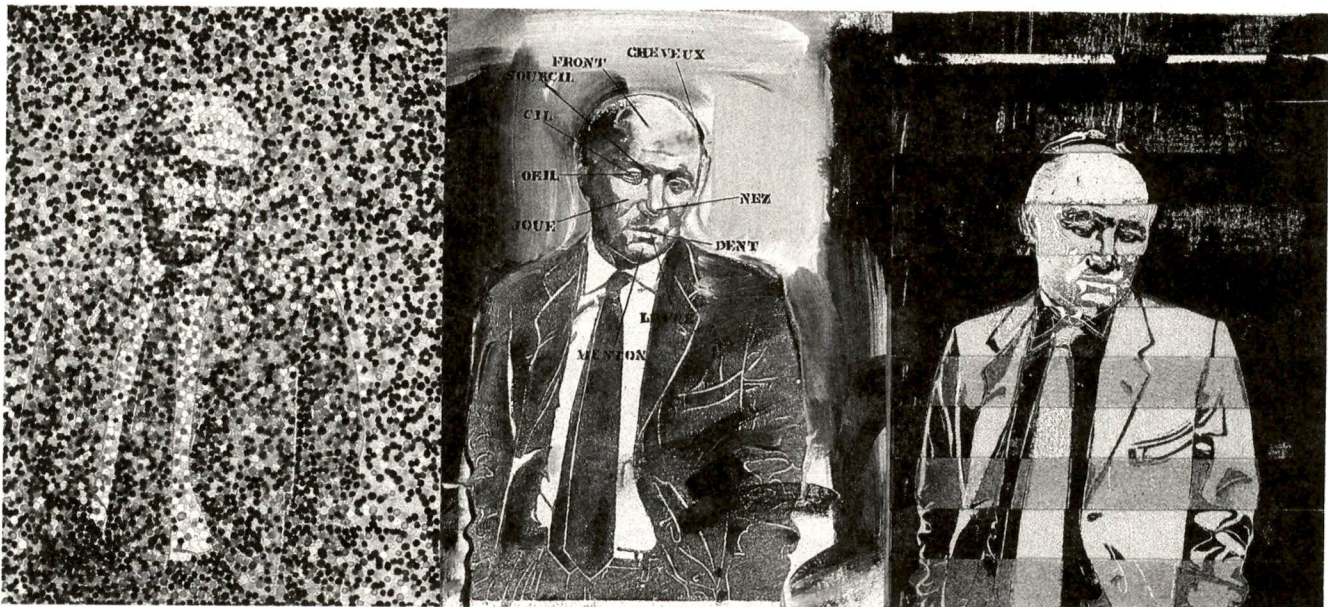
President (Gerald R. Ford). The book was edited by William T. Golden, currently the president of The New York Academy of Sciences, and the man who, in 1950, during Harry Truman's administration, recommended the creation of the first presidential science advisory organization. To Wiesner's list of ills that could have been avoided, had the science advisory system been sufficiently strong, other contributors add such things as rushing the Strategic Defense Initiative to the status of a national goal before research had demonstrated its feasibility; limiting the travel of foreign scientists to scientific meetings and restricting U.S. firms from exporting certain goods, in the interest of blocking the transfer of new technologies; and establishing security restrictions on open scientific conventions. Although there are a few dissenting voices, the message of the book is that politicians, like obedient patients, should take the medicine that science advisers recommend, because the "doctor knows best." And the message is repeated often.

But such repetition scarcely amounts to a convincing argument. For all its cumulative wisdom, and despite a

number of superb short essays, the book might have been more valuable had its authors spent less time on exhortation and more on analysis—especially of the history of science advice and of the relationship between science and society since the Second World War. Does science differ from other kinds of expertise, such as law or economics, insofar as the policy maker is concerned? Is the role of advocate, either in behalf of the scientific community or in behalf of some political viewpoint, compatible with that of adviser? What can reasonably be expected of any science advisory system, given the social, economic, and political nature of most major policy issues? In the light of the upcoming presidential election, addressing these issues takes on new urgency—not only to ensure that the government benefits by the best possible science advisory system but to prevent well-intentioned scientists from becoming victims of their own naïveté about how government works.

tor, in April of 1951. Buckley's conception of the adviser's role was that, when asked, he should give advice on broad policy matters. He believed, further, that the adviser should avoid publicity and that the advisory committee should work through existing agencies, being careful not to get involved in their day-to-day operations or their budgetary and decision-making processes.

Opinions differ on whether the advisory committee was effective during the first year of its operation. It was, however, not very aggressive, perhaps because of Buckley's failing health, which forced him to resign in June of 1952. The committee met shortly afterward and decided, because of the broad range of issues it felt needed to be addressed, to recommend that it be taken out of the Office of Defense Management and attached to the President and the National Security Council. Truman dismissed the proposal, prompting the committee members to consider, and then reject, resigning en masse.



IN THE SUMMER OF 1950, President Harry S. Truman asked William Golden, an investment banker from New York who had served as an adviser to the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to determine whether the government was getting enough assistance on defense mobilization from the scientific community. Along with many leading scientists of the period, Golden had come to the conclusion that the President needed the counsel of disinterested technical experts on problems of national security, atomic energy, and medicine. After extensive consultations with scientists, he submitted his report, in December of 1950, calling for a science adviser to the President and an advisory committee. Truman approved a watered-down version of the proposal and, after considerable bureaucratic infighting, decided that the committee should be administratively accountable to the Office of Defense Mobilization, a planning agency within the executive office.

Oliver E. Buckley, having recently retired as president of Bell Laboratories, was appointed chairman of ODM's science advisory committee and adviser to ODM's direc-

It turned out to be a wise decision, for a new President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, was elected later that year. When the committee met with Eisenhower to ask how it could be of service, he provided a meaty problem to work on: how to defend against surprise attacks, in particular, how to deter and survive atomic attack. Eisenhower subsequently appointed an old friend, I. I. Rabi, a Nobel Prize-winning physicist from Columbia University, chairman of the committee. The committee itself was composed of notable scientists from numerous disciplines, who volunteered their time (some dedicated months of nearly full-time service) and were willing to make Eisenhower's concerns their own.

Armed with a clear mandate and with access to the President, the committee contributed significantly to the nation's early efforts to develop intercontinental ballistic missiles, air-defense systems, strategic bombers, and satellite programs. Indeed, its behind-the-scenes work (the committee continued to be located in the ODM) is one of the most effective examples of useful scientific advice.

Then, in October of 1957, reacting to the Soviet launch

of *Sputnik I*, Eisenhower announced the creation of the Office of Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology and the President's Science Advisory Committee, both of which would report directly to him. On the advice of Rabi, Eisenhower appointed James R. Killian, Jr., then president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the first presidential science adviser. From that time until the assassination of John F. Kennedy, on November 22, 1963, is the period that most scientists consider the golden age of presidential science advising.

AT THE OUTSET, Killian restricted his advice largely to matters of national policy, mainly in the areas of security, atomic energy, and the uses of space. But as time passed, matters relating to the interests of the scientific community itself—the need for research funds, student support, and facilities—gradually were added to the science adviser's agenda. Advisory committee members, as well as scientists in general, politicians, and other national leaders, had come to believe that expansion of the country's educational, research, and development resources was a vital national goal. This shift in emphasis marked a turning point: it meant that the science adviser would pay increasing attention to agency research and development budgets and other issues relating to the health of the scientific community—the things that earlier advisers, not wanting to compromise their position by becoming advocates, had strived to avoid.

For a time, the expansion of the advisory agenda went smoothly. On June 8, 1962, Reorganization Plan No. 2 became law, creating the Office of Science and Technology. The legislation designated the science adviser director of the OST and gave him formal responsibilities for coordinating and overseeing federal research and development policies. This move provided science with a permanent home in the executive office and, equally important, made available additional resources: the science adviser now received his own appropriation (it had been part of the President's discretionary budget). But it also compounded the adviser's already unwieldy managerial duties. Besides being involved in budget issues, the science adviser chaired and convened various federal committees, supervised his own staff, acted as the focal point for the exchange of views among the wider scientific and technical community, and, of course, continued to head the PSAC. Less time was left for anticipating problems and for fulfilling his role of adviser to the President.

Then came the Vietnam War, Lyndon Johnson's displeasure with the advisory committee, and a steady decline in the effectiveness of the science advisory system. Besides clashing over public policies—both those related directly to science and those that were not—subsequent administrations and science advisers disagreed about the PSAC's role as advocate for the scientific community. Richard Nixon's first science adviser, Lee A. DuBridge, who, at the time, was president of the California Institute of Technology, angered administration budget officials by insisting on additional funds in the administration's request for the National Science Foundation. Although DuBridge won a modest increase, he was thenceforth excluded from key budget decisions and ultimately he resigned.

Matters did not change greatly when Nixon's second

adviser, Edward E. David, Jr., a scientist from Bell Laboratories, joined the staff. S. J. Buchsbaum, who was a member of the PSAC then and is now chairman of the Reagan administration's White House Science Council, observes in one of the essays that

the PSAC was still held in high esteem by the scientific/technical community. Unfortunately, neither the power structure within the White House nor, indeed, the various departments and agencies of the government shared this attitude. As a result, the Committee was largely ineffective.

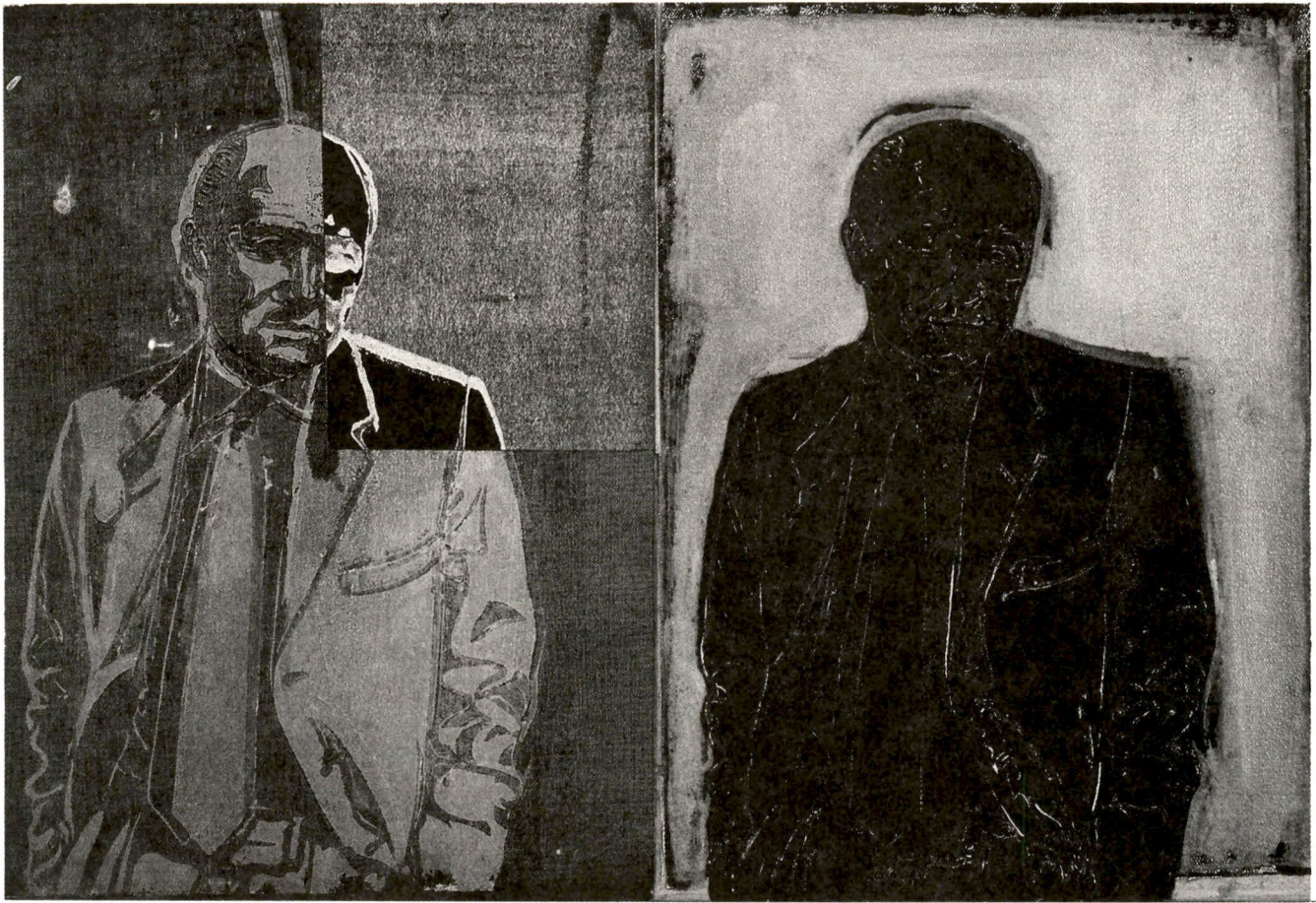
The reason for the failure was, in Buchsbaum's view, quite simple:

Most—if not all—of the work of the Nixon PSAC was self-initiated, so much so that we were meddling in the internal affairs of government departments; our work was not of burning interest to the policy- and decision-makers who then served in the government.

The events that finally caused the demise of the science advisory system, however, were the disputes over the supersonic transport and the antiballistic missile program. The administration, wanting to press ahead with the development of the supersonic transport, was under constant attack from environmental groups on the problem of noise abatement. Several PSAC members eventually gave congressional testimony that conflicted with the administration's position, on both technical and policy grounds; members of Nixon's inner circle felt that the scientists had stirred up the environmentalists unnecessarily.

The ABM issue was the last straw. The administration was engaged in delicate negotiations with the Soviets over proposals to ban the deployment of antiballistic systems (negotiations that led to the 1972 ABM treaty), when a PSAC scientist went before Congress and publicly disparaged the effectiveness of the systems and questioned the administration's cost estimates. The administration felt that it needed the ABM as a bargaining chip and was embarrassed by the testimony. Nixon resolved to rid himself of the entire science advisory apparatus and did so at the conclusion of his first term by accepting the pro forma resignations of all PSAC members and appointing no new ones. Edward David, the science adviser, resigned his post on January 3, 1973, to return to private industry. It was a bleak moment for those inside and outside of government who still believed that the nation needed the advice of scientists.

The science advisory system never regained the prominence and influence it had had in the late fifties and early sixties. In May of 1976, when Congress resurrected the position of science adviser, it chose to create the Office of Science and Technology Policy, a group of full-time staff members, not all of whom were scientists, rather than an advisory committee made up of part-timers and outsiders. Jimmy Carter's science adviser, Frank Press, served effectively without benefit of a formal advisory committee (but with ample access to informal advice from the scientific community at large). On the other hand, Ronald Reagan's two science advisers, George A. Keyworth II and William R. Graham, have been criticized by their colleagues, including some of the contributors to this volume, for their alleged reliance on too narrow a base of scientific advice, for not being sufficiently influential, and, indeed, by



Paul Giovanopoulos, Man 2 (detail), 1987

some, for accepting the position in the first place without insisting on direct access to the President (reporting, instead, to one of his aides). They have served with the benefit of a committee (the White House Science Council), but one that is smaller and reports directly to the science adviser, not the President. In fact, in the scientific community, it is still widely believed that a committee patterned after the PSAC is indispensable to an effective advisory role. To hold this view, however, one has to ignore a good deal of history.

SCIENTISTS, accustomed to the free exchange of ideas in an open environment, tend to view the rigors of the policy process as political interference and bureaucratic heavy-handedness. The last thing they want to hear is that Presidents value loyalty more than competence. Objectivity, professional repute, and other virtues taken for granted in science are important, of course, but, in the President's mind, they usually are not decisive. The adviser who enjoys a close personal or professional relationship with the President, who works on matters about which the President has sought advice (and does so on a timely basis), and who performs advisory duties in confidence is most apt to be influential. No matter how a science advisory system is structured, unwanted or unsolicited advice will always go unheeded. Presidents, like everyone else, tend to seek opinions and information only on issues that concern them and only from people they trust.

The Rabi-chaired advisory committee is a case in point.

That it lacked White House status was irrelevant. The committee's mission had been decided by Eisenhower and it was conducted on his terms. Rabi and his colleagues did not worry about reporting channels or where in the organizational hierarchy the committee fit. Rather, they perceived themselves as public servants in the old-fashioned sense: they displayed the "passion for anonymity" that the 1936 President's Committee on Administrative Management had called for in presidential advisers (try to imagine a publicity-shy aide today). Thus, the committee did not embarrass or frustrate the President or his closest aides; no one postured before the press or Congress and no one attempted independent political maneuvers. Finally, the science adviser and his committee avoided conflicts of interest by focusing solely on science-related public-policy matters, leaving to others the task of articulating science's own needs.

If these qualities sound like those of a successful lawyer, economist, or other policy adviser, it is no coincidence. A science adviser is subject to the same code of behavior that applies to all presidential advisers. Many of the contributors to this book seem to have missed that fundamental point. It is idle to imagine that anyone could last long in the inner councils of power who was not a loyal member of the administration's team, pursuing the President's, not his or her own, agenda.

Even when an adviser is in a position to give, and the President is predisposed to receive, sound scientific advice, its impact on policy is impossible to predict. For one thing, science speaks with many voices; despite their

commitment to objectivity, technical advisers rarely agree. This has been particularly true throughout the postwar period, no matter what the issue: the wisdom of developing the hydrogen bomb, the safety of civilian nuclear reactors, or, more recently, ways of preventing acid rain, the merits of the SDI, and the like. According to Frederick Seitz, a past president of the National Academy of Sciences, when

issues related to science and technology having strong political content . . . came to the fore, it was always relatively easy to find individuals with good professional qualifications to argue, even vehemently, in support of either side. This has in fact been something . . . of an Achilles heel in the process of providing technical advice to the government.

Also influencing how science advice affects policy is the fact that science is not the only factor the President must take into account in his deliberations. The recommendations of advisers must be weighed against a background of conflicting goals, intersecting events, and trade-offs among incommensurable values and tactical objectives. Social, political, and economic factors overshadow the narrowly technical aspects of most science-related problems not, as some of this volume's authors believe, because politicians, special-interest groups, and others meddle in issues about which they lack technical expertise but because, in matters of public policy, there exist no purely—or even mostly—technical issues.

It is this complex social and political context that makes simple prescriptions for action so difficult. Consider the lagging rate of growth in the nation's productivity. Certainly, the country's ability to compete in the world's markets is affected by the quality of American science and technology. But it is influenced as well by investment decisions, labor-management relations, and global geopolitical forces, among numerous other factors. Any action the President initiates to enhance international competitiveness not only must bear on the problem but also must make sense politically. Even if the science adviser knew exactly what the country should do to solve its economic problems, merely saying so would not mean that Presidents, politicians, and citizens would be willing or able to do what is asked.

The same is true of other science-related crises. A stronger White House science advisory system might well have detected and alerted the nation to the deterioration of NASA's technical operations that resulted in the *Challenger* disaster. But no one in the White House or on any advisory committee could review the myriad detailed operational decisions involved in a space launch, any of which could cause a fatal accident. Some discretion must be left to the officials on the scene.

Similarly, what justification is there for believing that a more vigorous advisory system would have prevented the government from exaggerating the extent of Soviet cheating on arms-control agreements? Plenty of people, scientists among them, believe that there is nothing exaggerated about the government's claims. Whose standards should apply? There is no simple answer, principally because the arms issue involves judgments about human intention and the vagaries of international relations. Indeed, if recent events are any indication, whatever ills may be attributed to the absence of a presidential science

advisory group, the failure to make progress on arms control is not one of them. During a time when the advisory system is supposedly at its least effective, the United States has concluded one major agreement (the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty) and is engaged in serious negotiations on another (the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks treaty).

IF PROVIDING ADVICE about science-related matters is complicated because science is inseparable from social, economic, and political considerations, it is also complicated because scientific considerations—be they in regard to AIDS, pollution, air-traffic safety, or genetic engineering—now pervade society to an extent that could not have been imagined forty years ago. The Defense Department, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Department of Energy, and the National Science Foundation, as well as outside groups, continually propose scientific initiatives: in recent years, the SDI, the space station, the superconducting supercollider, and cataloguing the human genome, to name only a few. There are now thousands of individuals in federal agencies and on congressional committees who work on science-related problems or who are in some substantial way associated with them—as proponents, critics, or analysts. Consequently, many more people than ever before are conversant with and sensitive to the scientific aspects of policy.

This gives the President a surfeit of places to turn for information and opinions regarding questions he thinks important. In the words of Leon M. Lederman, director of the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory, and one of the dissenting voices in this book, the President

has available an awesome armada of potential sources of science advice if he feels the need for advice. . . . Any thesis that the President's advisory system is weak cannot be supported.

As Lederman points out, there are, among other groups, the National Science Foundation and the National Academy of Sciences, each with legions of boards and panels that the President can draw on. And, at the drop of a hat, he can assemble scientists from universities or industries throughout the country. Expertise is virtually everywhere.

Many of the contributors to this volume seem to have presumed the reverse and therefore devote a good deal of effort to proposing solutions to the wrong problem. Indeed, stripped to its essentials, their quarrel has less to do with the availability of sound advice than with the substance of presidential policies themselves. It is unrealistic to believe that any administration's priorities will be significantly influenced by different advisers or different advisory structures. As always, the final decisions regarding both the advice the President receives and what he chooses to do with it will be made in the political arena, by those empowered to make such decisions. ●

BRUCE L. R. SMITH, a former professor of public law and government at Columbia University, is now a senior staff member at the Brookings Institution, in Washington, D.C. He is completing a book tentatively entitled AMERICAN SCIENCE POLICY SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR: THE FORMATION AND BREAKDOWN OF THE POSTWAR CONSENSUS.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

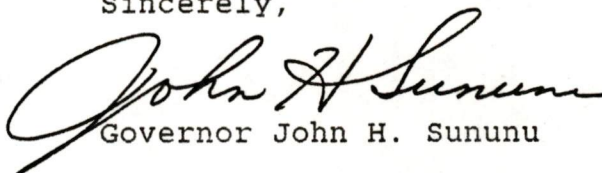
Dear Mr. Farmer:

Many thanks for your letter to the President-elect on behalf of Mr. Willis D. Gradison. Rest assured that Mr. Gradison will receive serious consideration by our staff at the Office of Presidential Personnel.

Thanks, also, for your warm words of congratulations. We would not have gotten this far without the valuable help of people like you out in the field.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Richard T. Farmer
11255 Reed Hartman Highway
Cincinnati, OH 45241

R. T. FARMER
11255 REED HARTMAN HIGHWAY
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45241
(513) 489-4000

NOV 28 1988

November 28, 1988

0092

The Honorable George Bush
President-Elect of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Attn: Gov. John Sununu

Dear George:

Congratulations on your recent victory! It was a pleasure for me to play a small role in your campaign in the Cincinnati area and I certainly enjoyed the opportunity to help you!

It is my understanding that Willis D. Gradison, Jr. is being considered for the post of Cabinet Secretary for the Department of Health and Human Services. I have personally known Bill for many, many years and I feel he would be an excellent member of your cabinet. He has served his Ohio constituents fairly and effectively.

I strongly support Bill Gradison's appointment.

Sincerely yours,



Richard T. Farmer

RTF:cpt

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Mr. Stryker:

Many thanks for your letter of November 22. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to execute the trust the President-elect has conferred upon me with honor and distinction. Thanks, also, for the informative books in your "The World Today Series."

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Philip L. Stryker
President,
Stryker-Post Publications
888 Seventeenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20006



0091

SKYE CORPORATION

STRYKER-POST PUBLICATIONS
Publisher of *The World Today Series*®

Ty for books

November 22, 1988

Dear Governor Sununu:

We felt that you might find of interest the annually revised books in our "The World Today Series," and we send them to you with our compliments and with our congratulations on your recent appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Philip F. Stryker
President

The Honorable John H. Sununu
Presidential Transition Office
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20270

Enclosures.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Jerry:

Many thanks for your kind letter of November 15. It was good to hear from you. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to execute the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me with honor and distinction.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Ed Rogers

Amb. Gerald P. Carmen
Federal Asset Disposition Assn.
801 17th Street, NW
Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20006

*Stamp for
everything - tell
David hello!!!*

GERALD P. CARMEN

November 15, 1988

0084

NOV 15 1988

Mr. Ed Rogers
Deputy to the Campaign Manager
Bush-Quayle '88
733 15th Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005

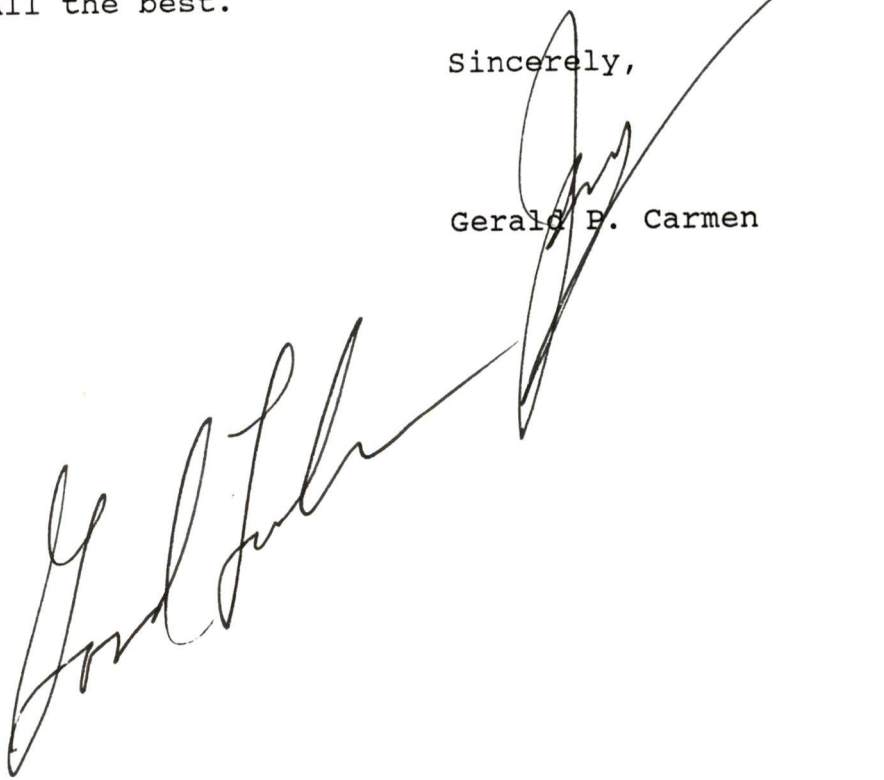
Dear Ed:

I want to express my congratulations and best wishes on a great campaign. Your dedication and selfless commitment to the Vice President was displayed continually in recent months. Now the whole country will benefit from your efforts.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Gerald P. Carmen

A large, handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be "Gerald P. Carmen", is written across the bottom half of the page. The signature is fluid and cursive, extending from the left margin towards the right, overlapping the printed name below it.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Dave:

Many thanks for your note of November 28. It was good to hear from you. I hope that when you receive this letter you will find yourself enjoying good health and in good spirits along with Lynn and your children. Please keep me posted about the outcome of your consultations with the medical experts, and let me know how I can be of help.

Best wishes and God bless.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Hon. Dave Frohnmayer
Attorney General
State of Oregon
Justice Building
Salem, OR 97310



11 DEC REC'D

DAVE FROHNMAYER

Attorney General

State of Oregon

November 28, 1988

Dear Governor Sununu:

Lynn and I were deeply touched by your call concerning the plight of our children and others who need marrow transplants. We deeply appreciate your offer of assistance.

Your offer is of unusually great significance. Because of that, I hope to take a few days to consult carefully

Justice Building, Salem, Oregon 97310

(over)

and discreetly with a few trusted experts with whom we have been working. I will then get back to you with some concrete proposals that I know can make a real difference.

Again, you have our most profound gratitude for your help and concern.

Sincerely,
Dave Frohnmayer

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Ms. Hughes:

Many thanks for your recent letters. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations as well as your offer of support. Your distinguished tenure as President of the National Federation of Republican Women and your valuable contribution to the campaign are evidence of your loyalty and competence.

We also appreciate your desire to continue serving the President-elect. I am sending your materials along to our personnel office, and they will give you a call when they need more information.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Judy Hughes
President
National Federation
of Republican Women
310 First Street, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003

President
Judy Hughes, CO

Immediate Past President
Betty Rendel, IN

First Vice President
Huda Jones, KY

Second Vice President
Charlotte Mousel, CA

Third Vice President
Mary Jo Arndt, IL

National Federation of Republican Women

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Fourth Vice President
Lou Brown, TX

Secretary
Joyce Glass, NC

Treasurer
Dodie Londen, AZ

Executive Committee
Members at Large
Pat Barton, FL
Audrey Carragher, NH
Hope Nelson, AK

November 30, 1988

O IDEC REC'D

The Honorable John Sununu
Office of the President-elect
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Governor Sununu:

I am writing you because it is my sincere desire to be considered for the position of United States Treasurer.

When I first took the oath of President of the National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW), a major goal of mine was to inculcate the spirit of public and political service into our membership. Over the years I have encouraged Republican women to not only volunteer on political campaigns, but to run those campaigns and to seek political office.

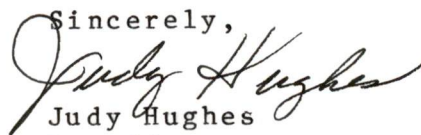
I see the role as United States Treasurer as an extremely important one, not only from an economic perspective but from a social standpoint as well.

While it has become somewhat of a tradition to name a woman as the United States Treasurer, I believe it is much more than a mere symbolic appointment. Our current Treasurer, Katherine Ortega, has done an incredible job of serving as a role model for women. I would do my utmost to carry on that tradition.

One of my most enjoyable roles as President of the 140,000 member NFRW is that of national spokeswoman. I have traveled to all 50 states and U.S. territories on behalf of the GOP, Republican women and the campaign. It is an important role which I would hope to continue and expand upon as Treasurer of the United States.

While I hope I will be given every consideration for the position of United States Treasurer, I would of course, be honored to serve the Bush Administration in any capacity.

Thank you and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Judy Hughes
President

Enclosures *Leading America's Women For Over 50 Years*

310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 547-9341

JUDY LAMORA HUGHES
President
National Federation of Republican Women

Judy Hughes has served as President of the National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW) since January 1, 1986.

Hughes was born in San Antonio and grew up in Wichita Falls, Texas. While she received her formal education at Texas Tech University, Hughes a former journalist, gained her political knowledge in Colorado.

In 1962, at the age of twenty-three, she got her first taste of America's political system and realized the importance of strong grass roots organization as a member of Pikes Peak Republican Women's Roundtable. That same year she worked on her first political campaign. She directed the local publicity for Colorado's own Pete Dominick's race for the United States Senate.

Over the past twenty-six years Hughes has held numerous positions within the Colorado Republican Party and the Colorado Federation of Republican Women (CFRW), including CFRW President from 1974-1976. While President of CFRW, Hughes organized the largest fund raiser in the history of the state federation.

In 1980 Hughes jumped on the George Bush bandwagon as a member of his Colorado steering committee. She helped her fellow Texan by organizing one of the state's major Bush media events. Later that year she served as a surrogate speaker for the Reagan/Bush campaign and joined celebrities, ambassadors, political and Party officials on a speaking tour of the Northeast.

Active again in the 1984 Reagan/Bush re-election campaign, Hughes also served on an advisory committee for the re-election of U.S. Senator Bill Armstrong of Colorado.

In 1988 Hughes was named as a national co-chairman of the Bush/Quayle campaign's Workforce 2000 Coalition and the Family Issues Coalition. She served the campaign as a national surrogate speaker and as a media spokesperson, on national television, radio, and in newspapers and magazines. By utilizing NFRW's membership, Hughes also initiated a major nationwide get-out-the-vote campaign which potentially reached 1.4 million undecided voters in the 1988 election.

Since becoming NFRW President, Hughes has traveled to all 50 states and U.S. territories on behalf of Republican women and the GOP. She has initiated numerous programs and campaigns designed to increase the Federation's visibility and effectiveness. Under her leadership NFRW became the only Party "affiliate" with voting member status on the Republican National Committee Chairman's Executive Council.

Hughes is listed in Who's Who in American Politics, Outstanding Young Women of America, and Who's Who of American Women. She serves on the Advisory Council for the Republican Women's Federal Forum of Washington, D.C., she is a member of the Republican National Committee's Committee on Minority and Ethnic Participation, and an associate member of the American News Woman's Club of Washington, D.C.

JUDY LAMORA HUGHES
President
National Federation of Republican Women
CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

POLITICAL

- * Elected President of the National Federation of Republican Women by the organization's 140,000 members in 1985. She was unanimously re-elected to the position by the membership in 1987. As President of NFRW Hughes has represented Republican women and the Republican Party in all 50 states and U.S. territories.
- * Addressed the Republican National Convention in New Orleans, Louisiana, 1988.
- * Served as one of 14 Republican Party leaders who accompanied Vice President George Bush to the podium as he addressed the Republican National Convention.
- * Directed the Republican Women Information Service during the 1988 GOP Convention; served as a media spokesperson for Vice President George Bush, the Republican Party and Republican women; directed numerous Republican women's activities during the Convention, including the Convention's only event specifically designed to honor Mrs. Barbara Bush.
- * Appointed as a national Co-Chairman of the Bush/Quayle campaign's Workforce 2000 Coalition and the Family Issues Coalition, 1988.
- * Served as a national surrogate speaker and a national media spokesperson for the Bush/Quayle campaign, 1988.
- * 1984, Hughes was active in the Reagan/Bush re-election campaign as a Colorado state steering committee member. That same year she served on U.S. Senator Bill Armstrong's re-election advisory committee.
- * In 1980 Hughes served on the Colorado steering committee for George Bush, organizing one of state's largest media events for Barbara Bush.
- * Hughes joined numerous celebrities, ambassadors, political and Party officials on a Northeast tour as a surrogate speaker for the Reagan/Bush campaign in 1980.
- * While serving as President of the Colorado Federation of Republican Women (CFRW) from 1974-1976, Hughes organized the largest fund raiser in the history of the Colorado Federation. Previous CFRW positions held included public relations chairman, executive committee member-at-large, and second vice-president.

* In 1962, at the age of twenty-three, Hughes joined the Pikes Peak Republican Women's Roundtable. That same year she worked on her first political campaign -- Pete Dominick for U.S. Senate from Colorado.

HONORS AND PUBLIC LEADERSHIP

* Honored as the 1988 Woman for the Year by Tennessee's Shelby County Republican Career Women. Past recipients include Betty Heitman, Elizabeth Dole, and Honey Alexander.

* Serves on the Advisory Council for the Republican Women's Federal Forum of Washington, D.C.

* Member of the Republican National Committee's Committee on Minority and Ethnic Participation.

* Associate Member of the American Newswomen's Club of Washington, D.C.

* Honored in: Who's Who in American Politics; Outstanding Young Women of America; and Who's Who of American Women.

MAJOR INITIATIVES

* In 1988, as NFRW President, Hughes lobbied and secured a voting position for NFRW on the Republican National Committee Chairman's Executive Council, making NFRW the only Party affiliate with voting member status on the Executive Council.

* Under Hughes's leadership NFRW physically moved its national headquarters from within the RNC offices to private offices on Capitol Hill, making NFRW the only self-sustaining Party affiliate.

* Hughes led NFRW in its 50th anniversary celebration in 1988, by establishing the Marion Martin Building Fund to purchase a permanent national headquarters for NFRW in Washington, D.C.

* Under Hughes's direction NFRW fund raising and major donor programs are currently at an all time high. As a result of her initiatives, Hughes oversees NFRW's budget of over \$1.5 million annually.

* Hughes has encouraged greater member participation in NFRW programs. She has expanded the organization's nationally acclaimed Campaign Management and Polling Schools, expanded a legislative awareness program known as the CAP Alert Hotline, and expanded the circulation of NFRW's, The Republican Woman.

* In 1985, Hughes commissioned a primer to be written on America's free enterprise system. The book continues to be widely distributed in schools throughout the United States.

President
Judy Hughes, CO

Immediate Past President
Betty Rendel, IN

First Vice President
Huda Jones, KY

Second Vice President
Charlotte Mousel, CA

Third Vice President
Mary Jo Arndt, IL

National Federation of Republican Women

est. 1938



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Fourth Vice President
Lou Brown, TX

Secretary
Joyce Glass, NC

Treasurer
Dodie Londen, AZ

Executive Committee
Members at Large
Pat Barton, FL
Audrey Carragher, NH
Hope Nelson, AK

November 19, 1988

The Honorable John Sununu
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
10th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Governor Sununu:

On behalf of the National Federation of Republican Women's 140,000 members, please accept my sincere congratulations on your appointment as chief of staff to the Bush/Quayle administration.

You are an exceptional candidate for the position and you exemplified your loyalty to President-elect Bush during the New Hampshire primary.

Again, congratulations on your nomination. I welcome you to Washington, D.C. and I am pleased to offer you the support of NFRW.

Sincerely,

Judy Hughes
President

JH: ab

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 5, 1988

Dear Margaret:

Many thanks for your kind letter of November 23. It was good to hear from you. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations. Thanks, also, for your gracious offer of support. Please call when you're in town. If time permits, I would enjoy meeting with you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Honorable Margaret M. Heckler
U.S. Ambassador to Ireland
American Embassy
42 Elgin Road
Ballsbridge
Dublin 4 Ireland

Hand - Personal

9 NOV 1988

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Dublin, Ireland
November 23, 1988

342-0058

Governor John Sununu
Transition Team
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear John:

Congratulations on your appointment.

And congratulations on the New Hampshire results. I followed the New Hampshire primary last winter with great anxiety which only dissipated when I fortuitously spoke with Barbara Bush on the eve of the primary. This was a critical juncture -- the beginning of a brilliant conquest of the White House.

I have to admit that my previous experience with the New Hampshire primary was not so positive. As you will remember, we had a disappointing night in 1980 and, as I was chairman of the Bush campaign in Massachusetts at the time, it was a disappointment which I have never forgotten. But, the ghost of primaries past has at long last been exorcised - very much as a result of your effective leadership.

I know you will make a great contribution to the Bush Administration. You can count on my support.

Sincerely,

Margaret M. Heckler
Ambassador

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

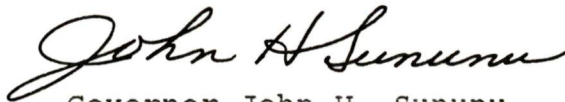
December 6, 1988

Dear Mr. McConnell:

Many thanks for your letter of November 28. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations. I enjoyed meeting you several months ago when May Moussa introduced us. Indeed, she is a talented person. Thanks, also, for your greetings and good wishes to the President-elect.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. J. Knox McConnell
President
First National Bank
of Keystone
P.O. Drawer AA
Keystone, VA 24852



6 DEC 1988

The First National Bank

of Keystone

P. O. Drawer AA - Telephone 304/862-2531

0072

Keystone, West Virginia 24852

J. KNOX McCONNELL
PRESIDENT

November 28, 1988

The Honorable John Sununu
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Chief-of-Staff Designate:

First and foremost, I am proud and pleased that my good friend, George Bush, has selected you as Chief of Staff. To date, his appointments have been great. I feel fortunate that several months ago, our mutual friend, May Moussa, introduced me to you in Washington, D.C.

May has been a longtime friend, and I sincerely hope that she can fit into the Administration in some fine way. As you know, she is very talented and very sincere. She has worked so hard for George Bush, and in the back of my mind, I was hoping that she would be considered in his great Administration.

I held the post of Finance Chairman for the State of West Virginia for George Bush for President, and we did an outstanding job for him. When you see the President-elect convey to him that his friend, Knox McConnell, says hello and wishes him well.

In the meantime, if I can be of service to you, do not hesitate to let me know.

Yours very truly,

J. Knox McConnell
President

ncv

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 6, 1988

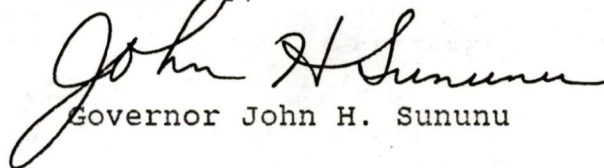
Dear Peter:

Many thanks for your kind letter of November 21. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to be worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

Thanks for your offer of support, and all that you have already done for our party. I look forward to working with you in the months ahead.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Peter E. Rupp
1155 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036-4306

Peter-Emil Rupp

29 NOV 1988

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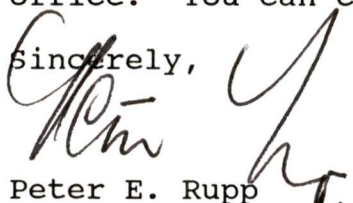
November 21, 1988

The Honorable John Sununu
Chief of Staff Designate
Office of the President-Elect
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Mr. Sununu:

My warmest congratulations on your appointment as Chief of Staff in the Bush Administration. As a Republican Eagle and a member of the Republican Inner Circle, I was delighted with your appointment.

Please accept my very good wishes for success in office. You can count on my support.

Sincerely,


Peter E. Rupp

PER/lis

May your tenure of office be a most successful one!

PETER E. RUPP

1155 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-4306
202/467-8530 · Telecopy 202/785-7310

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
DAIMLER-BENZ OF NORTH AMERICA
HOLDING CO., INC.

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
MERCEDES-BENZ TRUCK CO.

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
FREIGHTLINER CORPORATION

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
FREIGHTLINER OF CANADA LTD.

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF
MERCEDES-BENZ OF NORTH AMERICA, INC.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 6, 1988

Mr. John P. Campbell
35th Floor
101 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10178-0061

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Many thanks for your letter of November 28. I appreciate your thoughtful comments on various issues that will confront the President-elect over the next few years. Rest assured that George Bush will work hard to keep the Republican Party vibrant at the grassroots level.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Governor John H. Sununu

0071

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35TH FLOOR
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10178-0061

November 28, 1988

Confidential - Personal

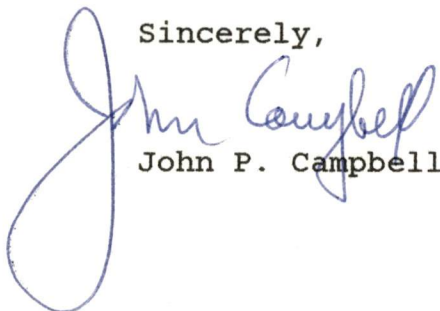
Governor John Sununu
Chief of Staff, Designate
The White House
1700 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

Enclosed is a memorandum, in hopes that somebody will read it, regarding the political situation during the next few years. It is, I believe, an indication of the need that exists to do something about the state legislatures. New Hampshire may be the only state in which particular attention is not needed.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



John P. Campbell

Enclosure

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
PER E.O. , SEC 3.3 (C)

EG 2/7/17

MEMORANDUM

November 28, 1988

CONFIDENTIAL

TO : Mr. Nicholas Brady
Mr. James Baker
Governor John Sununu

RE : The Bush Presidency

I am not cabinet material, do not hope to be a judge, and consequently ask you to consider these points in the public interest. As you may know, I am about the longest serving private first class in the Republican Party. This comment is from the ranks.

1. Party Building

Martin Van Buren, the sage of Kinderhook, has been vindicated. He was the ultimate party builder in New York State. The roots of those county organizations, which go back to him, still remain in the Democratic party.

On the other hand, no Republican president since McKinley has done enough to build the party, in my opinion. I suggest that the incumbency syndrome in the Congress and the legislatures can be overcome, if the President-elect will put emphasis on changing the balance; the concentration should be placed on the state legislatures with the President-elect providing and encouraging aid to state and county committees; that such emphasis will be less offensive to members of the Congress with whom the President-elect must work; that an early start in early 1989 will make a difference in 1990; that no prior administration has sufficiently emphasized this work, and that there should be a White House senior staffer in charge who communicates with the President regularly. The President's attention will make the difference.

2. Reapportionment

The legal case against gerrymandering should be pursued. It would seem to be a winning case.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
PER E.O. , SEC 3.3 (C)

Es 2717

3. Line Item Veto

Section 9, Article VII, says that no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law. It would seem that an appropriation would not be made "by law" until signed by the President or passed over his veto. Consequently, he could veto one appropriation, and not another, as parts of an omnibus appropriation bill.*

If the President will veto omnibus bills, with a message providing for the changes which would be necessary to obtain executive approval, I believe that the President will prevail. Many of us believe that the President will collect Congressional support if he stands up to this battle.

4. Personnel

In past administrations appointments at all policy levels seem to be slow to be put in place. It would be hoped that the Executive Department can be taken over by March 31, 1989. Some posts should be expanded, and some limited. There are some good men, some with remarkable domestic and international qualifications (including several in this law firm) who would be ready to serve, if asked. Here are the names of very good men who have been playing on the team for a long time: Robert Ross, (Princeton, Temple Law, Nat. Guard) a partner at Pepper Hamilton in Philadelphia, now with Dick Thornburg; Charles Wardell (Harvard), a Senior Vice President of Travelers, with a distinguished Vietnam record, a deputy to General Haig in 1973/1974; Joe Fogg (Yale, Harv. Bus. School), a very successful Morgan Stanley officer. Each of these men is of an age of between 40 and 45, is loyal, able and has a great deal of experience.

* There is opinion contra to the effect that constitutionally, the Congress cannot solve its inability to control itself by divesting itself of its assigned power. 96 Yale Law Journal 838 (1987).

5. Taxation

The capital gains tax is a tax on inflation. If the Congress will not adopt the president's plan, an alternative would be to allow a revaluation of cost basis as of January 1, 1989 and a cost of living indexing thereafter, to increase basis. This was the alternative adopted by the Thatcher government to reduce taxes on inflation. It seems to have worked.

6. Defense

The president-elect's stand on defense appears to have been of great help in the election. It is hoped that SDI will be continued, both for defense and for the technical advances. It is also hoped that the short service officer corps will be reinvigorated. One popular way to do this would be to write into University tax exemptions requirements that universities have functional ROTC units (this would be welcomed by many Harvard College men, of which this administration could use a few more). It is hoped that the occupation armies can be reduced as long as it is considered to be clear that they will be re-expanded if détente slows down.

7. Political Fundraising


Joe Fogg of Morgan Stanley, mentioned above, was a finance chairman for Senator Dole. Although some believe that he overemphasizes money problems in challenging incumbents, he can raise money, is able, enthusiastic and has clout. One project might be to work to amend the Federal Communications Act to get television and radio free for the parties. It is believed this can be established as constitutional.

Conclusion

There are said to have been four watershed elections, Jackson 1828, Lincoln 1860, Roosevelt 1932 and Reagan 1980. Although the President-elect faces immense tasks, he and you can handle them. Many of us hope that his election will be the start of the consolidation of the Reagan watershed election, as the Van Buren election began the consolidation of the Jackson revolution.

Some of us have labored in our party's vineyard for as long as 45 years. The Bush victory for many of us represents the collective peak of our modest political careers. We urge that the victory lock up The Reagan revolution. We are not looking for positions. We know a lot about why 1952 and 1968 were not watershed elections. We hope to see a different 8 years 1989-1996.

Respectfully submitted.


John P. Campbell

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 6, 1988

Dear Mr. Dietz:

Many thanks for your letter of November 28. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations. Thanks, also, for the Business Week article by Paul Craig Roberts. It was a thoughtful piece of economic analysis.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John H. Sununu". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Governor John H. Sununu

0 2 DEC 1988

269 Northfield Rd
Watertown, CT 06795

November 28, 1988

Governor John Sununu,
1988 Transitional Office
1825 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Governor Sununu,

Congratulations on your appointment as Chief of Staff. I'm personally very pleased to see someone of your background and toughness in that position.

Enclosed is an article from the recent issue of Business Week Magazine which I found very refreshing and in line with supply side economics. Of particular interest, is the amortization of our national debt following standard accounting practice.

I feel it's proper for a new administration to bring innovation to public matters, and I think that you and our President-elect have the muscle and intelligence to do it.

Good luck to you in your new position and also to Mr. Bush and his whole team.

Sincerely,


George Dietz, Jr.

READ MY LIPS, GEORGE: DON'T RAISE TAXES

BY PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS



Screams that Bush must do something about the deficit emanate from every quarter. But when the appropriate accounting and economic standards are applied, the U.S. shows a \$70 billion budget surplus—not a deficit

If George Bush doesn't watch out, he's going to become a lame duck before he is ever inaugurated. His friends in the business community and his political opponents are working full-time to reverse his pledge of "no new taxes." As soon as a President does a flip-flop of that magnitude, his clout evaporates. He ceases to be a representative of the people and becomes a yes-man for the Washington Establishment.

The fearful weapon being used to abort Bush's Presidency is the budget deficit. This weapon proved ineffective against Ronald Reagan, but its wielders, sensing a more promising target in Bush's pragmatism, are raising the decibel level about the "deficit crisis."

Screams that Bush must do something about the deficit emanate from every quarter. After a few days of echo-chamber treatment, Bush is distancing himself from advisers who believe a tax increase is worse than a deficit. Before Bush caves in and renders himself impotent, he ought to consider the facts.

Far from increasing, the deficit has declined dramatically both as a percentage of gross national product and in absolute size. As a share of GNP, the deficit today is half the size of its 1983 peak. This 50% reduction is a result of a strongly growing economy and a declining deficit. The claims by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan, the National Economic Commission, left-wing pundits, and conservative businessmen that we cannot grow out of the deficit are in obvious contradiction to the fact that we have been doing precisely that.

VIOLATED STANDARDS. Moreover, according to the president of the American Economic Assn., Northwestern University economist Robert Eisner, the notion that the U.S. budget even has a deficit is the product of incorrect measurement, a violation of accounting standards that could land a businessman in jail. Businessmen amortize their long-term investments, but the U.S. government treats its own as current expenses.

Eisner also points out that inflation works for the government in the same way that it works for the homeowner with a mortgage: Every year it reduces the real burden of the debt. Even today's relatively low rate of inflation is reducing the debt by an amount approximately equal to the budget deficit.

There are also state and local budget surpluses that must be brought into the calculation in order to get a true measure of the burden of public debt on financial markets and our grandchildren. When the appropriate accounting and economic standards are applied, Eisner finds that instead of a deficit, the U.S.

has a \$70 billion budget surplus—hardly a crisis.

Contrary to the claims of Greenspan and others that the deficit has "already begun to eat away at the foundations of our economic strength," the U.S. faces no impending national economic crisis that relates in whole or in part to the budget deficit. Statistics provided by the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development and the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) show that throughout the 1980s the U.S. has experienced one of the world's smallest general government budget deficits as a share of GNP and one of the slowest growths in total national debt.

Many of our trading partners have much larger deficits in proportion to their incomes, and they have not experienced financial dissolution or declining living standards. Moreover, despite their large domestic debts, they are running trade surpluses.

MORE INTEREST. BIS statistics show that in comparison with our major trading partners, the growth in the ratio of U.S. federal debt to GNP has been low. From 1973 to 1986—the period of the largest budget deficits in U.S. history—the ratio of debt to income grew 41%, pushing it back up to where it was when John F. Kennedy was President. In contrast, the German ratio grew 121% and the Japanese ratio grew 194%. In mighty Japan, the ratio of national debt to GNP is almost twice as high as our own.

It is true that net interest as a percent of the budget has risen under Reagan from 10.1% to 13.8%, a 37% increase. However, in 1948 net interest was 14.6% of the budget, and between 1968 and 1980 net interest's share of the budget increased 44%. No crisis ensued.

Today foreigners hold a much smaller percentage of our federal debt than they did 10 years ago. Moreover, we owe our status as the world's largest debtor nation to a fraudulent comparison based on undervalued book values of our foreign holdings and gold stock. In 1987, when we were allegedly a net debtor to the tune of \$368 billion, we earned \$21 billion more on our overseas investments than we paid to foreign creditors.

The imbalance in the world today does not stem from the U.S. budget deficit but from the expansion of our domestic economy and concomitantly high levels of employment, while most of our trading partners, content with much higher unemployment rates, were operating export-based growth policies that rely on our market for their employment. This imbalance will persist until our trading partners cut their own taxes, attract their own investment capital, and expand their domestic economies. ■

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS HOLDS THE WILLIAM E. SIMON CHAIR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 6, 1988

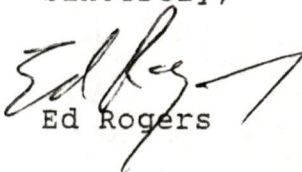
Dear Gary:

Hi GARY!!

Many thanks for your letter of November 21. It was good to hear from you. I am glad that you and the students at Homewood High enjoyed the President-elect's visit during the campaign. He did too. I'll keep your request for the Homewood Band in mind as we make plans for the inaugural.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Ed Rogers

The Honorable Gary White
House of Representatives
Alabama State House
Montgomery, AL 36130



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ALABAMA STATE HOUSE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36130

DEC 10 1988

DISTRICT NO. 55
JEFFERSON COUNTY

GARY WHITE
414 YORKSHIRE DR.
HOMEWOOD, ALABAMA
35209
OFFICE 870-7760
MONTGOMERY 261-7779

COMMITTEES:
CHAIRPERSON, LOCAL LEGISLATION NO. 2
VICE CHAIRPERSON, PUBLIC UTILITIES
AND TRANSPORTATION
WAYS AND MEANS

November 21, 1988

342-0042

Mr. Ed Rogers
733 15th Street N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 30005

Dear Ed,

What a thrill it was for me to introduce George Bush to Homewood High School! I wanted to let you know how special it was for me, as well as the students at Homewood High School, to have a visit with The President of the United States. As you probably know, President Bush won in Homewood with a 3 to 1 margin.

I would like to request that the Homewood Band be invited to the inaugural parade in January. We are all so fond of him and know that he would be proud of our wonderful band.

We are all hoping that we will have another visit during the next four years. Thank you for your consideration on this matter.

Sincerely,

Gary
Gary White

GW/drc

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

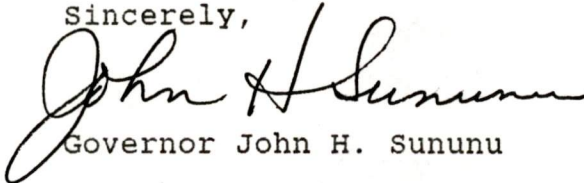
December 6, 1988

Dear Carol:

Many thanks for your letter of November 25. I enjoyed hearing from you, and appreciate your warm words of congratulations. Thanks, also, for your offer of assistance. Our personnel office will contact you when they need more information.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Carol T. Crawford
Associate Director,
Economics & Management
Executive Office of the President
Office of Management & Budget
Washington, D.C. 20503



Handwritten: (circled initials) *Lebanese*

NR

347-0038-1 DEC 1988

Lebanese Information and Research Center

1730 M St., N.W., Suite 807, Washington, D.C. 20036 • Tel. (202) 785-6666 • Telex 64427

December 8, 1988

The Honorable John Sununu
Governor of New Hampshire
1825 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20270

Dear Governor Sununu,

It gives me great pleasure to join my voice to that of Dr. Samir Geagea, the Lebanese Forces Commander-in-Chief, and the millions of Americans of Lebanese origin in congratulating you on your new position as White House Chief of Staff.

With my best wishes for your continued success. I remain.

Sincerely yours

Robert Farah

Robert Farah
Executive Director

RF/sa

enclosure

LEBANESE FORCES



Beirut, 22 November, 1988

The Honorable John Sununu
Governor,
The State of New Hampshire

Congratulations on your appointment as White House Chief-of-Staff.

Without a doubt, this is clear recognition from the future leader of the free world to your integrity, competence and patriotism.

The people of Lebanon, whether living in a free region or under foreign occupation were rejoiced when they heard the news about your new assigned post. Hoping that with your support Lebanon will regain once again its unity and rid itself from foreign armed presence and interventions in its internal affairs.

You have been the subject of admiration to millions of Lebanese at home and abroad. Your continued success gives us all more reasons to be proud of you and of our heritage.

Sincerely,

Samir Geagea
Commander-in-Chief

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 8, 1988

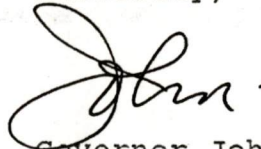
Dear Mr. Wick:

Many thanks for your kind letter of November 25. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

I look forward to working with you during the challenging months ahead. I need your ideas and advice and I hope you will call on me after the new year.

Best wishes to you and your family this holiday season.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Charles Wick
Director
U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547



UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20547

DIRECTOR

November 25, 1988

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Dear Governor Sununu:

My warmest congratulations to you on the President-elect's announcement of your selection as his Chief of Staff. To be chosen for such a demanding position is an impressive vote of confidence, indeed!

As we face the many challenges ahead, it is reassuring to know that we have a seasoned professional like you at the helm. I can think of no man better qualified than you to fill this vital role, and wish you all the very best over the coming years.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Z. Wick

The Honorable
John Sununu
Transition Office
of the President-elect
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270