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

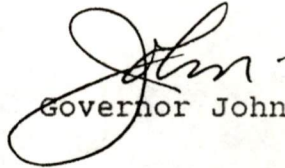
December 13, 1988

Dear Al:

Thanks for sending me an advance copy of Window on the World. You must have had quite an adventure putting this volume together for USA Today.

Best wishes to you and your family this holiday season.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Allen H. Neuharth
Chairman Gannett Co. Inc.
1100 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, Virginia 22209

*Thanks for the chance
to visit with your
folks at the meeting!*

Allen H. Neuharth



Chairman Gannett Co., Inc.
1100 Wilson Blvd., Arlington VA 22209

Chairman/Founder, USA TODAY
P.O. Box 7858, Washington, DC 20044



December 7, 1988

344-0022

THE 33280
The Honorable John Sununu
White House Chief of Staff Designate
1988 Presidential Transition Office
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20270

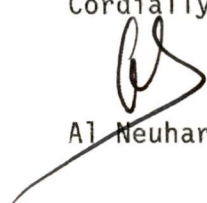
Dear Governor:

You were kind to stop in at our Gannett meeting the other day and our key people around the country were delighted to get a chance to see you and hear you.

I'm enclosing an advance copy of a book we'll have out shortly about world leaders. It's the result of JetCapade this year, which follows last year's BusCapade.

This includes interviews with heads of state and other material which might be helpful to you or your associates in your new role. I have also sent one to Jim Baker. All best wishes.

Cordially,


Al Neuharth

AHN:alr
Enclosure

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

December 8, 1988

Dear Mr. Carp:

Many thanks for your letter of December 5 requesting a meeting between George Bush and Ted Turner. I am sending your request to Hector Irastorza who is developing the President-elect's schedule during the transition. Mr. Irastorza's staff will contact you if they need further information.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Bertram W. Carp
Vice President for
Government Affairs
Turner Broadcasting System, Inc.
Washington Corporate Office
111 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

TURNER BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
WASHINGTON CORPORATE OFFICE
111 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001

BERTRAM W. CARP
Vice President for Government Affairs
(202) 898-7670



*Response -
S. who is in
V.P. schedule
the transition*

*3410143
06 DEC REC'D*

Trastorza

December 5, 1988

Mr. Ed Rogers
Transition Office
Room 1016
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Mr. Rogers:

As you know, Ted Turner is requesting a brief meeting with the President-Elect. Topics might include the Soviet Union and the global environment, as well as the future of television news. Good dates for us include December 13-14, 19-23 and January 3-6, 9-13.

Please let me know if additional information would be useful to you.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Bertram W. Carp

BWC:eca

cc: R.E. Turner

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

December 8, 1988

Dear Mr. de Borchgrave:

Many thanks for your letter of November 22. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

Your proposal about a photographic record of "The First 100 Days" of the presidency sounds appealing. However, the Bush White House staff is still evolving and exactly how such requests will be managed has not been determined. In the next couple of weeks I will bring this up with Marlin Fitzwater and we will be in touch with you then.

Once again, thanks for writing. I hope we can get together soon.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

See you soon, I hope.

Mr. Arnaud de Borchgrave
Editor-in-Chief
The Washington Times
3600 New York Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

28 NOV REC'D

The Washington Times

ARNAUD de BORCHGRAVE
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

3600 NEW YORK AVENUE NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002 / 202-636-3000

344-0018

November 22, 1988

The Hon. John Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Gov. Sununu:

First, let me extend my warmest felicitations upon your well deserved elevation. I look forward to working closely with you.

In 1989, the United States will embark on an exciting journey into the 1990s with President-elect Bush. There will be many new beginnings and tough challenges that will confront the new Administration, and its early decisions will help shape our country into the next decade.

As a politically oriented metropolitan Washington newspaper, we would like to present a unique look at "The First One Hundred Days" of the Presidency, through photographs, from the inside looking out.

We want to accurately depict the historic impact of the new President and his staff as they grasp the reins of leadership in our country. From the Inauguration to the 100th day, we would like to photograph a glimpse of the new Administration as it works, and the direction in which President Bush will lead America.

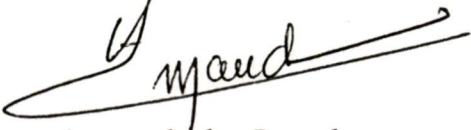
Of course, everything will be off the record until the 100th day. No photographs, quotes, scenes witnessed, or any other information will appear in print until our special "First Hundred Days" section appears in The Times. Our photographer, known as one of the best in the business, can easily work with the White House photography staff to accomplish this goal.

SUNUNU, The Hon. John
Page Two
November 22, 1988

We do not undertake this ambitious project lightly, as it will provide Washingtonians, and all Americans, a unique and historic opportunity to see our government at its finest.

We can all be proud of this project, and I sincerely hope that we can work together. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Arnaud", with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Arnaud de Borchgrave

AB:bp

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

December 8, 1988

Dear Mr. Breindel:

Many thanks for your letter of December 1. I too enjoyed meeting you last week, and hope we can meet again soon after the President-elect's inauguration.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Eric Breindel
Editorial Page Editor
New York Post
210 South Street
New York, NY 10002-7807

*Thanks for the time,
advice and hospitality!
See you soon, I hope.*

210 South Street
New York 10002-7807

*Hope we can
meet soon after
Inaugural.*

6 DEC 1988



NEW YORK POST

FOUNDED IN 1801 BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON

ERIC BREINDEL
EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR
(212) 815-8610-11

344-0020

December 1, 1988

Governor John Sununu
White House Chief of Staff Designate
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Governor:

Just a note to say that I very much enjoyed having the chance to meet you last week -- together with Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kristol. I also wanted to reiterate that you have an open invitation to visit us here at 210 South Street -- which we hope you'll regard as friendly turf.

All good wishes for the Holiday Season.

Yours sincerely,

Eric Breindel

EB/eb

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

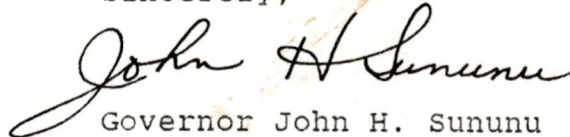
December 6, 1988

Dear Mr. Oldham:

Many thanks for your letter of November 29. We appreciate your kind invitation for the President-elect to write an article for the "American Adventure" issue of Popular Mechanics. The theme is very appealing, and we will keep your request in mind as we make plans for the months ahead.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Joe Oldham
Editor-in-Chief
Popular Mechanics
224 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10019

cc: Dave Demarest

Popular Mechanics

224 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10019

Joe Oldham
Editor-in-Chief

212 649-3098

November 29, 1988

Mr. John Sununu
Governor
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Mr. Sununu:

I realize that this is an extremely busy time for you and the entire transition team, and of course, for President-elect Bush.

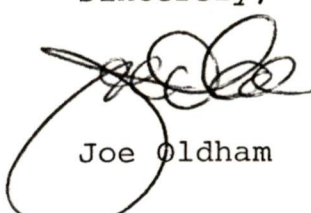
However, I would like to call your attention to the attached letter which I recently sent to Mr. Bush. As you can see, I am asking Mr. Bush to write an open letter to our eight million readers, in essence, urging them to enjoy the wonders that make America great.

I have enclosed the cover of the special section we will publish in May that will, hopefully, contain President Bush's letter.

President Reagan twice graced our pages with his writings during his administration. I hope we can continue our excellent relationship with The White House during President Bush's tenure.

Thank you for your consideration. I would be happy to meet with you personally, at your convenience, to provide further details about "The American Adventure" special section.

Sincerely,


Joe Oldham

Joe Oldham
Editor-in-Chief

212 649-3098

November 14, 1988

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
Office of the Vice President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Bush:

Congratulations on your election day triumph. Obviously your simple themes of continued peace and a more reliable prosperity managed to drown out the usual campaign cacophony. You clearly struck the right chord with a majority of Americans. And for that I'm personally grateful. I was a Bush supporter way back during the early primaries of 1980.

You're no doubt getting a lot of requests for interviews at the moment, but I'd like to propose a forum for you that would result in an important and long-lasting connection with eight million people in the American heartland, a chance to deliver a personal statement that could possibly be a major step in forging the unity that you spoke about on election night. I'd like you to write an article for Popular Mechanics, following the tradition set by President Reagan, who has written for PM on two occasions in the last eight years.

By way of background: In July 1986 Popular Mechanics produced a special issue called The Building of America (enclosed). James Michener wrote about our diverse geographical character. Tom Wolfe covered our spirit of inventiveness. William F. Buckley, Jr., and his son, Christopher, scanned the horizon for new maritime developments. Other authors like John Naisbitt, Richard Reeves, Eric Sevareid, Isaac Asimov and William Hoffer described critical advances in American nationhood.

President Reagan wrote a brief introduction to this editorial spectacular that set the tone for a unique event in the life of Popular Mechanics-- an American institution in itself -- while communicating key themes of Mr. Reagan's agenda. President Reagan's 1500-word essay made a connection with our eight million monthly readers. It was a simple, direct pronouncement that served to do what only President Reagan can do so well: Rally the people.

We're following The Building of America with a special May 1989 issue called The American Adventure. A proof of our section cover is enclosed. John Updike will be writing a piece called Sacred Places, the story of our nation's monuments. Ted Williams will be writing on the subject of American fishing. Michael Crichton will be taking our readers to NASA's spaceports. David Halberstam, Rick Mears, Curt Gowdy and William Hoffer will contribute stories on America's automotive culture, great American roadways, America's bountiful parklands, American craftsmanship.

We would be greatly honored if we could publish a brief keynote address under your by-line that, like the essay furnished by President Reagan in The Building of America, establishes your vision of American greatness. It can be an open letter to the country that gives us your concept of all the fine things America has to offer--things you think Americans should see and appreciate.

We hope you will be able to join us in this endeavor. Popular Mechanics had the pleasure a couple of years back of presenting you with a painting of your World War II TBM on the occasion of its unveiling at the Air and Space Museum. We hope we can build on the relationship established back then to create an important and meaningful message to America.

Our deadline is mid-January, 1989. The piece will arrive at our readers' homes around the middle of April.

All best wishes,

A handwritten signature, possibly "Redd", is written above a large, hand-drawn circle.

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

Dear Mary,

Thanks for your note.

Please come in to visit
when it is convenient for you.

Smile!

Regards,

John (SUNUNU).

Cy Buhl

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
NGTON, D.C. 20270

fficial Business

Ms. Mary McGrory
The Washington Post
1150 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20071

with -
Personal - want
reprieve

Mary McGrory

November 30, 1988

Dear John -

Congratulations, Chief.

349
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01 DEC 1988

I thought you might enjoy seeing one of your Italian press notices. I spotted it while I was in Rome, which is a delicious city populated entirely by people who never heard of Willie Horton.

I hope we can have a talk some
one of these days. It won't be like
that wonderful beach patrol of
some years back, but it will have
to do.

I hope you and all the Summers
will be happy in Washington.

Mary McGarry

Sincerely,
Mary

John Sununu, arabo-americano, il nuovo capo di gabinetto *di Managoo* Un «duro» alla guida della Casa Bianca *Roma - 11/11/88*

dalla nostra redazione

NEW YORK - Ha 49 anni, è un ingegnere di origini libanesi, ed è noto per le sue ferme convinzioni conservatrici e per il carattere duro e deciso. John Sununu, governatore repubblicano dello stato del New Hampshire e dal prossimo gennaio capo di gabinetto del neo-eletto presidente George Bush, è stato durante la campagna elettorale uno dei più implacabili nemici di Michael Dukakis, il candidato democratico governatore del confinante stato del Massachusetts. La sua nomina è stata accolta con aperta

soddisfazione dall'ala più conservatrice del partito repubblicano, ma con qualche dubbio dei moderati e con diffidenza da parte democratica. I «favorevoli» fanno rilevare che Sununu è noto per essere «uomo di grandi capacità» come afferma Bonnie Newman, presidente dell'associazione degli industriali del New England. Il governatore ha inoltre fama di essere un politico efficiente, svelto e sicuro di sé. George Bush deve a lui se la campagna elettorale durante le primarie, che era cominciata con il fiasco dell'Iowa, ha poi ripreso quota con la schiacciante vittoria del New

Hampshire. Il suo credo politico si riassume in quattro punti chiave: riduzione dell'influenza del governo centrale, opposizione a ogni aumento delle tasse, continuo appoggio all'uso dell'energia nucleare, lotta contro il diritto all'aborto. Coloro che gli sono contrari fanno peraltro notare che Sununu ha fama di arrabbiarsi facilmente con chi non è d'accordo con lui: «Il suo problema principale sarà di ricordarsi che il presidente non è lui. Quando ha preso una decisione è difficile fermarlo» dice di lui Paul MacEachern, esponente del partito democratico in New

Hampshire. Ciò preoccupa molto l'establishment politico di Washington: il governatore non conosce i segreti della capitale, e si teme che per il suo carattere intransigente non sarà capace di trovare un rapporto di compromesso con la maggioranza democratica al Congresso. Preoccupazione la esprime anche la comunità ebraica, ricordando che nel 1986 Sununu fu l'unico governatore che si rifiutò di condannare la risoluzione dell'Onu con cui il sionismo veniva definito «una forma di razzismo».

A. Gu.

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

339-0023

December 5, 1988

Mr. Ken Adelman
The Washington Times
3600 New York Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Ken:

I read your article in The Washington Times. I have already read Chief of Staff. You are right, it is a good book.

Hope we get a chance to get together soon.

Regards,



Governor John Sununu

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

December 5, 1988

Jerry W. Friedheim, President
American Newspaper
Publishers Association
The Newspaper Center
11600 Sunrise Valley Drive
Reston, VA 22091

Dear Mr. Friedheim:

Thank you for your kind words of congratulations. I look forward to working with President-Elect Bush as we meet the challenges of the coming years.

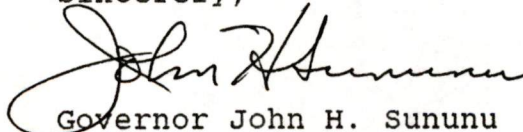
Thank you for sending me the letters, releases, and Sidel Panel report on media access to U.S. military operations.

The issue of media coverage of U.S. military operations, is a delicate one. It is necessary to balance the right of the public to an independent source of information about U.S. military actions with the safety of U.S. forces and the necessities of military security.

The President-Elect is aware of the report by the CJCS Media-Military Relations Panel. If a situation in which it is necessary to implement those guidelines ever arises during his administration, I will keep your communication in mind. I hope that we will be able to seek your guidance in this matter.

Thank you once again for taking the time to write me, and please keep in touch.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

339-0019



American Newspaper Publishers Association

Mailing Address: Box 17407 Dulles Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041
 Offices: The Newspaper Center, 11600 Sunrise Valley Dr., Reston, Va. 22091

(703) 648-1000

November 21, 1988

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Jerry W. Friedheim
 President

John H. Sununu
 White House Chief of Staff Designate
 Bush Transition Office
 1825 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20207

Dear Governor Sununu:

Heartiest congratulations on your appointment as White House Chief of Staff. We wish you every success as you prepare to assume the immense responsibilities and demands of that important office in advising the President in the many complex matters he must address.

I'm sure you are aware of the public policy and press issues that arose in 1983 when the Administration made the mistake of denying press access to the U.S. military operations in Grenada. Although it was a successful operation, the credibility of the Administration was severely damaged.

Immediately after that operation senior leaders of both the government and the press moved to restore relations and to prevent a recurrence of the Grenada breakdown. Jim Baker played a significant role in establishing this dialogue and the ensuing agreements, including participation in a meeting at The White House with senior media executives.

A commission headed by Major General Winant Sidle, USA Retired, was appointed in 1984, and the recommendations of the commission were approved by then Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. The commission agreed with the "Statement of Principle on Press Access to Military Operations" developed by a special committee of representatives of major press organizations, including the American Newspaper Publishers Association. In essence, this Statement of Principle specifies that prompt media access to U.S. military operations can and should be allowed by the government -- and that government officials should assure that historic free press reporting to the American people about future military operations be planned consistent with military security and the safety of U.S. forces.

The enclosures describe the details of this important public policy matter, and the steps promised by the Administration to assure that such denial of the public's right to know about future military operations will not be repeated. We are confident that you will want to encourage President-elect Bush to select a

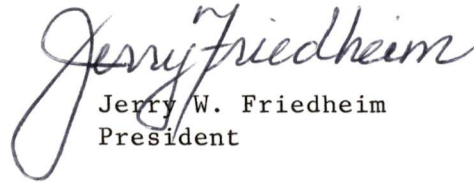
(more)

Secretary of Defense and a press secretary who also understand this policy and who will agree to support it.

I call your personal attention to this matter, as I have done in letters to your predecessors, because you are the person in the best position to see that the President and the country are properly served by not letting the system go wrong again.

Again, we wish you the very best in successfully carrying out the heavy responsibilities you will be facing.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Jerry W. Friedheim". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Jerry" being more prominent and stylized than the last name "Friedheim".

Jerry W. Friedheim
President

JWF/jd
Encls.



NEWS RELEASE

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

PLEASE NOTE DATE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUGUST 23, 1984

NO. 450-84

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

I am today releasing the final report of the CJCS Media-Military Relations Panel (Sidle Panel).

I have directed the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) to take the necessary steps to implement those portions of the final report which meet the Panel's criteria of providing maximum news media coverage of U.S. military operations "consistent with military security and the safety of U.S. forces."

As an added step, I will form a panel of eminent journalists and former war correspondents to advise me on the best ways to meet these objectives. This group will become a permanent Secretary of Defense Media Advisory Committee. By forming such a committee, I wish to ensure that the media's viewpoint can be expressed in our highest councils on a continuing basis.

I firmly believe that relations between members of the armed forces and members of the press will be greatly enhanced by continued, strengthened, and informed dialogue. As part of instilling a better understanding on our part of the problems and responsibilities of the press in connection with our armed forces in times of crisis or conflict, as well as in peacetime, I have already directed a review of the adequacy of instruction on relations between the press and armed services at all levels of our military educational system.

I greatly appreciate the work done by General Sidle and the members of his panel, and by General Vessey. It is a necessary first step toward improved understanding by all parties. I believe our News Media Advisory Committee will help us move further and further along that path.

END

General John W. Vessey, Jr.
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Pentagon, Room 2E872
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear General Vessey:

As you requested, enclosed are the final report and recommendations of the Sidle Panel, together with pertinent enclosures. The panel is unanimous in its strong belief that implementation of the recommendations, both in fact and in spirit, by the appropriate military authorities will set the stage for arriving at workable solutions for media-military relations in future military operations. We also believe that these solutions will be satisfactory to reasonable members of both the media and the military.

The report has three sections: an introduction, a recommendations section, and a comment section. We adopted this format because, while we were unanimous on the recommendations, there were some differences of opinion on some points in the comments. However, we all agreed that the comments were necessary to help explain the recommendations and that even the points on which we were not unanimous were worthy of consideration as suggestions and background for those who will implement the recommendations, should they be implemented. In any case, the entire panel has formally endorsed the recommendations, while I signed the comments. I should add that, where appropriate, I have mentioned the panel's degree of support in the comments.

The panel asked that I put three points in this letter that were not exactly germane to the report but required some comment on our part.

First, the matter of so-called First Amendment rights. This is an extremely gray area and the panel felt that it was a matter for the legal profession and the courts and that we were not qualified to provide a judgment. We felt justified in setting aside the issue, as we unanimously agreed at the outset that the U.S. media should cover U.S. military operations to the maximum degree possible consistent with mission security and the safety of U.S. forces.

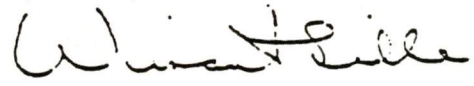
Second, Grenada. We realize that Grenada had shown the need to review media-military relations in connection with military operations, but you did not request our assessment of media handling at Grenada and we will not provide it. However, we do feel that had our recommendations been "in place" and fully considered at the time of Grenada, there might have been no need to create our panel.

Finally, the matter of responsibility of the media. Although this is touched on in the report, and there is no doubt that the news organization representatives who appeared before us fully recognized their responsibilities, we feel we should state emphatically that reporters and editors alike must exercise responsibility in covering military operations. As one of the senior editors who appeared before us said, "The media must cover military operations comprehensively, intelligently, and objectively." The American people deserve news coverage of this quality and nothing less. It goes without saying, of course, that the military also has a concurrent responsibility, that of making it possible for the media to provide such coverage.

The members of the panel have also asked me to express their appreciation for being asked to participate in this important study and their hope that our work will be of value to the military, the media, and to the American people.

Finally, the panel considers this covering letter an integral part of our report.

Sincerely,



Winant Sidle
Major General, USA, Retired
Chairman

Enclosure
Report

INTRODUCTION

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) Media - Military Relations Panel (known as the Sidle Panel) was created at the request of the Chairman, General John W. Vessey, Jr., who asked that I convene a panel of experts to make recommendations to him on, "How do we conduct military operations in a manner that safeguards the lives of our military and protects the security of the operation while keeping the American public informed through the media?"

Major General Winant Sidle, USA, Retired, was selected as chairman of this project and asked to assemble a panel composed of media representatives, public affairs elements of the four Military Services, the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) (OASD(PA)), and operations spokesmen from the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (OJCS).

The initial plan, concurred in by CJCS and ASD(PA), was to invite major umbrella media organizations and the Department of Defense organizations to provide members of this panel. The umbrella organizations, such as the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA), the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), and the Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA), and their individual member news organizations decided that they would cooperate fully with the panel but would not provide members. The general reason given was that it was inappropriate for media members to serve on a government panel.

This decision, unanimous among the major news media organizations, resulted in a revised plan calling for the non-military membership of the panel to be composed of experienced retired media personnel and representatives of schools of journalism who were experts in military-media relations. The Department of Defense organizations involved agreed to provide members from the outset. Final panel membership is at Enclosure 1.

To provide initial input to the panel for use as a basis for discussion when the panel met, a questionnaire was devised with the concurrence of CJCS and ASD(PA) and mailed to all participants. It was also sent to a number of additional organizations and individuals who had expressed interest and to some who had not but were considered to be experts in the matter. As the result of these mailings, the panel had available 24 written inputs to study prior to meeting. Of these, 16 were from major news organizations or umbrella groups. All inputs are at Enclosure 2. The panel regretted that all who indicated interest could not appear before it, but time did not permit.

Although the news organizations involved did not agree to provide panel members, they all agreed to provide qualified personnel to make oral presentations to the panel. The only exception was an individual news organization which felt that its umbrella group should represent it.

The panel met from 6 February through 10 February 1984 at the National Defense University, Fort McNair, Washington, D.C. The meetings included three days for media and military presentations in open session and two days for panel study and deliberation in closed session. The presentations included those by 25 senior media representatives speaking for 19 news organizations, including umbrella organizations. The chiefs/directors of Public Affairs for the Army, Navy, and Air Force also made major presentations during the open sessions with the USMC, OJCS, and ASD(PA) panel members making informal comments during the closed sessions. The open sessions were covered by about 70 reporters representing nearly 30 news organizations. The schedule of presentations is at Enclosure 3.

The attached panel report is composed of two sections.

1. The Recommendations section, concurred and signed by all panel members.
2. The Comment section, explaining the recommendations and including comments, when appropriate, made by all concerned, to include both written and oral inputs to the committee and by the panel itself. This section is signed by the chairman but was approved unless otherwise indicated by the members of the panel. It is made available to explain the recommendations and to assist, via suggestions, in their implementation.

The panel recommends approval and implementation both in fact and in spirit of the recommendations made in Section I of this report.



Winant Sidle
Major General, USA, Retired
Chairman

Enclosure
Report

REPORT

by

CJCS MEDIA-MILITARY RELATIONS PANEL (SIDE PANEL)

SECTION I: Recommendations

Statement of Principle

The American people must be informed about United States military operations and this information can best be provided through both the news media and the Government. Therefore, the panel believes it is essential that the U.S. news media cover U.S. military operations to the maximum degree possible consistent with mission security and the safety of U.S. forces.

This principle extends the major "Principle of Information" promulgated by the Secretary of Defense on 1 December 1983, which said:

"It is the policy of the Department of Defense to make available timely and accurate information so that the public, Congress, and members representing the press, radio and television may assess and understand the facts about national security and defense strategy. Requests for information from organizations and private citizens will be answered responsively and as rapidly as possible. . ." (Copy at Enclosure 4)

It should be noted that the above statement is in consonance with similar policies publicly stated by most former secretaries of defense.

The panel's statement of principle is also generally consistent with the first two paragraphs contained in "A Statement of Principle on Press Access to Military Operations" issued on 10 January 1984 by 10 major news organizations (copy at Enclosure 5). These were:

"First, the highest civilian and military officers of the government should reaffirm the historic principle that American journalists, print and broadcast, with their professional equipment, should be present at U.S. military operations. And the news media should reaffirm their recognition of the importance of U.S. military mission security and troop safety. When essential, both groups can agree on coverage conditions which satisfy safety and security imperatives while, in keeping with the spirit of the First Amendment, permitting independent reporting to the citizens of our free and open society to whom our government is ultimately accountable.

"Second, the highest civilian and military officers of the U.S. government should reaffirm that military plans should include planning for press access, in keeping with past traditions. The expertise of government public affairs officers during the planning of recent Grenada military operations could have met the interests of both the military and the press, to everyone's benefit."

Application of the panel's principle should be adopted both in substance and in spirit. This will make it possible better to meet the needs of both the military and the media during future military operations. The following recommendations by the panel are designed to help make this happen. They are primarily general in nature in view of the almost endless number of variations in military operations that could occur. However, the panel believes that they provide the necessary flexibility and broad guidance to cover almost all situations.

RECOMMENDATION 1:

That public affairs planning for military operations be conducted concurrently with operational planning. This can be assured in the great majority of cases by implementing the following:

- a. Review all joint planning documents to assure that JCS guidance in public affairs matters is adequate.
- b. When sending implementing orders to Commanders in Chief in the field, direct CINC planners to include consideration of public information aspects.
- c. Inform the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) of an impending military operation at the earliest possible time. This information should appropriately come from the Secretary of Defense.
- d. Complete the plan, currently being studied, to include a public affairs planning cell in OJCS to help ensure adequate public affairs review of CINC plans.
- e. Insofar as possible and appropriate, institutionalize these steps in written guidance or policy.

RECOMMENDATION 2:

When it becomes apparent during military operational planning that news media pooling provides the only feasible means of furnishing the media with early access to an operation, planning should provide for the largest possible press pool that is practical and minimize the length of time the pool will be necessary before "full coverage" is feasible.

5

RECOMMENDATION 3:

That, in connection with the use of pools, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend to the Secretary of Defense that he study the matter of whether to use a pre-established and constantly updated accreditation or notification list of correspondents in case of a military operation for which a pool is required or the establishment of a news agency list for use in the same circumstances.

RECOMMENDATION 4:

That a basic tenet governing media access to military operations should be voluntary compliance by the media with security guidelines or ground rules established and issued by the military. These rules should be as few as possible and should be worked out during the planning process for each operation. Violations would mean exclusion of the correspondent(s) concerned from further coverage of the operation.

RECOMMENDATION 5:

Public Affairs planning for military operations should include sufficient equipment and qualified military personnel whose function is to assist correspondents in covering the operation adequately.

RECOMMENDATION 6:

Planners should carefully consider media communications requirements to assure the earliest feasible availability. However, these communications must not interfere with combat and combat support operations. If necessary and feasible, plans should include communications facilities dedicated to the news media.

RECOMMENDATION 7:

Planning factors should include provision for intra- and inter-theatre transportation support of the media.

RECOMMENDATION 8:

To improve media-military understanding and cooperation:

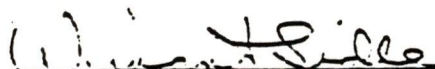
a. CJCS should recommend to the Secretary of Defense that a program be undertaken by ASD(PA) for top military public affairs representatives to meet with news organization leadership, to include meetings with individual news organizations, on a reasonably regular basis to discuss mutual problems, including relationships with the media during military operations and exercises. This program should begin as soon as possible.

b. Enlarge programs already underway to improve military understanding of the media via public affairs instruction in service schools, to include media participation when possible.

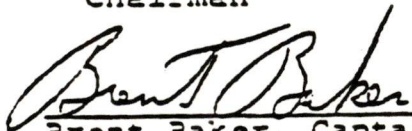
c. Seek improved media understanding of the military through more visits by commanders and line officers to news organizations.

d. CJCS should recommend that the Secretary of Defense host at an early date a working meeting with representatives of the broadcast news media to explore the special problems of ensuring military security when and if there is real-time or near real-time news media audiovisual coverage of a battlefield and, if special problems exist, how they can best be dealt with consistent with the basic principle set forth at the beginning of this section of the report.

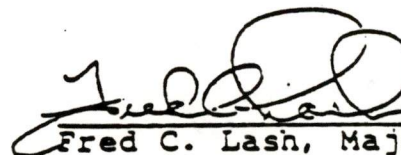
The Panel members fully support the statement of principle and the supporting recommendations listed above and so indicate by their signatures below:



Winant Sidle, Major General, USA, Retired
Chairman



Brent Baker, Captain, USN



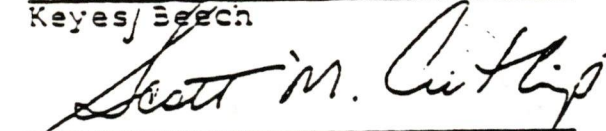
Fred C. Lash, Major, USMC



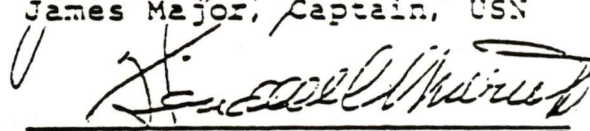
Keyes Beech



James Major, Captain, USN



Scott M. Cutlip



Wendell S. Merick



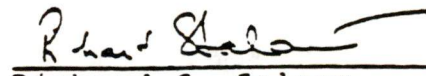
John T. Halbert



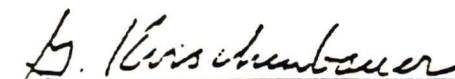
Robert O'Brien, Colonel, USAF
Deputy Assistant Secretary of
Defense (Public Affairs)



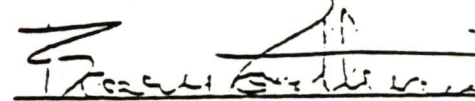
Billy Hunt



Richard S. Salant



George Kirschenbauer, Colonel, USA



Barry Zorzhian



A. P. Langguth

SECTION II:

RECOMMENDATION 1:

That public affairs planning for military operations be conducted concurrently with operational planning. This can be assured in the great majority of cases by implementing the following:

- a. Review all joint planning documents to assure that JCS guidance in public affairs matters is adequate.
- b. When sending implementing orders to Commanders in Chief in the field, direct that the CINC planners include consideration of public information aspects.
- c. Inform the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) of an impending military operation at the earliest possible time. This information should appropriately come from the Secretary of Defense.
- d. Complete the plan, currently being studied, to include a public affairs planning cell in OJCS to help ensure adequate public affairs review of CINC plans.
- e. Insofar as possible and appropriate, institutionalize these steps in written guidance or policy.

Comments

1. Under the current system of planning for military operations, provisions exist to include public affairs planning but it is neither mandatory nor certain that current joint planning documents are adequate from a public affairs standpoint. The basic purpose of this recommendation is to help assure that public affairs aspects are considered as soon as possible in the planning cycle for any appropriate military operation and that the public affairs planning guidance is adequate.

2. The panel was unanimous in feeling that every step should be taken to ensure public affairs participation in planning and/or review at every appropriate level. Recommendations 1a, b, and d are designed to assist in implementing this consideration.

3. Panel discussions indicated that it is difficult to determine in advance in all cases when public affairs planning should be included. The panel felt that the best procedure would be to include such planning if there were even a remote chance it would be needed. For example, a strictly covert operation, such as the Son Tay raid in North Vietnam, still requires addressing public affairs considerations if only to be sure that after action coverage adequately fulfills the obligation to inform the American people. Very small, routine operations might be exceptions.

4. Recommendation 1c is self-explanatory. The ASD(PA), as the principal public affairs advisor to both the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman, JCS, must be brought into the planning process as soon as possible. In view of the DOD organization, the panel felt that this should be the responsibility of the Secretary of Defense.

5. We received indications that some commanders take the position that telling something to his public affairs officer is tantamount to telling it to the media. All members of the panel, including its public affairs officers decried this tendency and pointed out that a public affairs specialist is the least likely to release material prematurely to the media. Although the panel did not consider the matter officially, there is no doubt that public affairs officers are just as dedicated to maintaining military security as are operations officers and must know what is going on in a command if they are to do their job!

RECOMMENDATION 2:

When it becomes apparent during military operational planning that news media pooling provides the only feasible means of furnishing the media with early access to an operation, planning should support the largest possible press pool that is practical and minimize the length of time the pool will be necessary.

Comments

1. Media representatives appearing before the panel were unanimous in being opposed to pools in general. However, they all also agreed that they would cooperate in pooling agreements if that were necessary for them to obtain early access to an operation.

2. The media representatives generally felt that DOD should select the organizations to participate in pools, and the organizations should select the individual reporters. (See Recommendation 3.)

3. The media were unanimous in requesting that pools be terminated as soon as possible and "full coverage" allowed. "Full coverage" appeared to be a relative term, and some agreed that even this might be limited in cases where security, logistics, and the size of the operation created limitations that would not permit any and all bona fide reporters to cover an event. The panel felt that any limitations would have to be decided on a case-by-case basis but agreed that maximum possible coverage should be permitted.

4. The media agreed that prior notification of a pooling organization should be as close to H-Hour as possible to minimize the possibility of a story breaking too soon, especially if speculative stories about the operation should appear in media not in the pool or be initiated by one of their reporters not privy to the pool. This would require a pool media decision as to whether to break the story early, despite the embargo on such a break that is inherent in early notification for pooling purposes. The media representatives were not in agreement on this matter but did agree generally that they should not release aspects of the story that they had been made aware of during DOD early notification and which did not appear in the stories already out or in preparation; nor should this privy information be used to confirm speculation concerning an operation.

5. In this connection, the media generally did not agree with a view voiced by some members of the panel that, absolutely to guarantee security, pool notification would not be made until the first military personnel had hit the beach or airhead even though advance military preparation could speed the poolers to the site in the least time possible. The panel did not take a position on this, but some felt that carefully planned pool transportation could meet the media's objections in many, possibly most, cases. For example, in remote areas the pool could be assembled in a location close to the operation using overseas correspondent who would not have to travel from the United States. This is a subject worthy of detailed discussion in the military-media meetings proposed in Recommendation 8a.

6. In this connection, the panel recognized that in many areas of the world an established press presence would be encountered by U.S. forces irrespective of a decision as to whether or not a pool would be used. This consideration would have to be included in initial public affairs planning.

7. There was no unanimity among the media representatives as to whether correspondents, pooled or otherwise, should be in the "first wave" or any other precise point in the operation. All did agree that media presence should be as soon as possible and feasible. The panel believes that such timing has to be decided on a case-by-case basis.

8. Neither the media nor the panel agreed on use in a pool of full-time media employees who are not U.S. citizens. The media tended to agree that, if the parent organization considered such employees reliable, they should be allowed to be pool members. Based on public affairs experience in Vietnam, there were many cases where such employees proved entirely reliable; however, some did not. The panel suggests that this has to be another case-by-case situation.

9. There was also a divergence of opinion among the media as to what news organizations should make up a pool, although all agreed that the most important criterion was probably which organizations cover the widest American audience. Several media representatives suggested specific media pools, but, unfortunately, they varied widely. The panel was not in full agreement on this subject either, but did agree that the following types of news organizations should have top priority. The panel further agreed that DoD should take the factors discussed in this paragraph into account when designating news organizations to participate in a pool.

a. Wire services. AP and UPI to have priority. A reporter from each and a photographer from either one should be adequate. In a crash situation where inadequate planning time has been available, a reporter from one wire service and a photographer from the other could provide a two-person pool.

b. Television. A two-person TV pool (one correspondent, one film/sound man) can do the job for a brief time although perhaps minimally. All TV representatives agreed that a three-person team is better and can do more. A panel suggestion that a six-person team (one cameraman, one sound man, and one reporter each from ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN) seemed agreeable to the four networks although the load on the two technicians would be difficult to handle. The panel has no suggestion on this except that TV pool representatives must have high priority with two representatives as the minimum and augmentation to depend on space available. This should be a matter of discussion at the meetings suggested in recommendation 8a. The question of radio participation in pools must also be resolved.

c. News Magazines. One reporter and one color photographer.

d. Daily newspapers. At least one reporter. The panel agreed with newspaper representatives that, although newspapers do use wire service copy and photos, at least one newspaper pooler is needed for the special aspects of newspaper coverage not provided by the wire services. Criteria suggested for use when deciding which newspaper(s) to include in a pool included: Circulation, whether the newspaper has a news service, does the newspaper specialize in military and foreign affairs, and does it cover the Pentagon regularly. There was some agreement among the media representatives that there are probably not more than 6-10 newspapers which should be considered for pooling under these criteria.

10. In addition to the type of embargo necessary when a pooling news agency is notified in advance about a military operation (i.e., nothing to be said about it until it begins) there is another type applicable to some military operations. This second type was used with great success in Vietnam and restricts media accompanying the forces from filing or releasing any information about the progress of the operation until the on-scene commander determines that such release will not impair his security by informing the opposing commander about his objectives. Normally, this is not a problem as general objectives quickly become apparent. In the case of a special objective, there might be some delay in authorizing stories until either the objective is attained or it is obvious the enemy commander knows what it is. In any case, this type of embargo is an option to planners that the media would almost certainly accept as opposed to not having correspondents with the forces from the outset or close to it. The panel did not have a consensus on this matter.

11. Media representatives emphasized the readiness of correspondents to accept, as in the past, the physical dangers inherent in military operations and agreed that the personal security of correspondents should not be a factor in planning media participation in military operations.

RECOMMENDATION 3:

In connection with the use of pools, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend to the Secretary of Defense that he study the matter of whether to use a pre-established and constantly updated accreditation or notification list of correspondents in case of a military operation for which a pool is required or just the establishment of a news agency list for use in the same circumstances.

Comments

1. The panel envisions that in either case the agency would select the individual(s) to be its representatives in the pool. In the case of the accreditation/notification list, there would presumably be several names from each news agency/organization to provide the necessary flexibility. The agency would have provided the names in advance to DoD. In the case of the news agency/organization list, DoD would decide which agencies would be in the pool and the agencies would pick the person(s) desired without reference to a list. There was no agreement as to whether DoD should have approval authority of the individuals named to be pool members. The media representatives were unanimously against such approval as were some members of the panel. However, other panel members believed that in the case of an extremely sensitive operation, DoD should have such authority.

2. There was no agreement among either those who appeared before the panel or among the panel itself on this matter. There in both groups seemed to favor simply establishing a news agency list including wire services, television, news magazines and newspapers from which to pick when DOD establishes a pool.

3. This particular problem is one that should be resolved in advance of a military operation and should be a subject of discussion in connection with the military-media meetings suggested in Recommendation 8a.

4. This recommendation does not concern the accreditation that would have to be given each correspondent covering an operation, either at first or later, by the senior on-site commander. Traditionally, this accreditation is limited to establishing that the individual is a bona fide reporter (represents an actual media organization).

RECOMMENDATION 4:

That a basic tenet governing media access to military operations should be voluntary compliance by the media with security guidelines or ground rules established and issued by the military. These rules should be as few as possible and should be worked out during the planning process for each operation. Violations would mean exclusion of the correspondent(s) concerned from further coverage of the operation.

Comments

1. The media were in support of this concept as opposed to formal censorship of any type, and all media representatives agreed that their organizations would abide by these ground rules. This arrangement would place a heavy responsibility on the news media to exercise care so as not to inadvertently jeopardize mission security or troop safety.

2. The guidelines/ground rules are envisioned to be similar to those used in Vietnam (a copy at Enclosure 6). Recognizing that each situation will be different, public affairs planners could use the Vietnam rules as a starting point, as they were worked out empirically during Vietnam by public affairs and security personnel and, for the most part, in cooperation with news media on the scene. All media representatives who addressed the issue agreed that the ground rules worked out satisfactorily in Vietnam.

RECOMMENDATION 5:

Public affairs planning for military operations should include sufficient equipment and qualified military personnel whose function is to assist correspondents in covering the operation adequately.

Comments

1. The military personnel referred to in this recommendation are normally called escorts; however, this term has developed some unfortunate connotations as far as the media are concerned. In any case, the panel's recommendation is designed to provide personnel who, acting as agents of the on-scene commander, will perform such functions as keep the correspondents abreast of the situation; arrange for interviews and briefings; arrange for their transportation to appropriate locations; ensure they are fed and housed, if necessary; and be as helpful as possible consistent with security and troop safety.

2. Almost all of the media representatives agreed that such escorts are desirable, especially at the beginning of an operation, to assist in media coverage. As the operation progresses and the reporters become familiar with what is going on, the media representatives were generally less enthusiastic about this type of assistance.

3. All the media were against escorts if their goal was to try to direct, censor, or slant coverage. However, most agreed that pointing out possible ground rule violations and security problems would be part of the escort's responsibility.

4. The point was made to the panel and the media representatives that escorts were often required in Vietnam, especially after about mid-1968, without many problems arising. One of the major advantages of escorts was making sure the reporters had a full and accurate understanding of the operation being covered.

5. The senior on-scene commander will decide how long escorting should continue after an operation begins.

RECOMMENDATION 6:

Planners should carefully consider media communications requirements to assure the earliest feasible availability. However, these communications must not interfere with combat and combat support operations. If necessary and feasible, plans should include communicative facilities dedicated to the news media.

Comments

1. Media representatives were unanimous in preferring provision for use of their own communications or using local civilian communications when possible. They were also unanimous, however, in the need for access to military communications if nothing else were available, especially in the opening stages of an operation.

2. Permitting media coverage without providing some sort of filing capability does not make sense unless an embargo is in force.

3. Although not discussed in depth during the panel meetings, communications availability is an obvious factor in determining press pool size. Planners should consider the varying deadlines of the different types of media. For example, newsmagazine reporters usually have more time to file thus permitting courier service as a possible satisfactory solution from their standpoint.

4. There was considerable discussion of the possibility of media-provided satellite uplinks being a future threat to security if technology permits real-time or near real-time copy and film/tape processing. The media representatives felt that such a possibility was not imminent; however, the discussions resulted in Recommendation 3d being included in the report. One panel member made the point that such real-time or near real-time capability has long existed for radio news including the Murrow reporting during World War II.

RECOMMENDATION 7:

Planning factors should include provision for intra- and inter-theater transportation support of the media. There was no Panel comment on this matter.

RECOMMENDATION 8:

To improve media-military understanding and cooperation:

a. CJCS should recommend to the Secretary of Defense that a program be undertaken by ASD(PA) for top military public affairs representatives to meet with news organization leadership, to include meetings with individual news organizations, on a reasonably regular basis to discuss mutual problems, including relationships with the media during military operations and exercises. This program should begin as soon as possible.

b. Enlarge programs already underway to improve military understanding of the media via public affairs instruction in service schools and colleges, to include media participation when possible.

c. Seek improved media understanding of the military through more visits by commanders and line officers to news organizations.

d. CJCS should recommend that the Secretary of Defense host at an early date a working meeting with representatives of the broadcast news media to explore the special problems of ensuring military security when and if there is real-time news media audiovisual coverage of a battlefield and, if special problems exist, how they can best be dealt with consistent with the basic principle set forth at the beginning of this section of the report.

Comments

1. The panel became convinced during its meetings with both media and military representatives that any current actual or perceived lack of mutual understanding and cooperation could be largely eliminated through the time-tested vehicle of having reasonable people sit down with reasonable people and discuss their problems. Although some of this has occurred from time to time through the years, there has not been enough, especially in recent years. The panel envisages that these meetings would be between ASD(PA) and/or his representatives and the senior leadership of both media umbrella organizations and individual major news organizations. A number of media representatives appearing before the panel said that they thought the media would be happy to participate in such a program. The program should include use of the Chiefs/Directors of Public Affairs of the Services, some of whom are already doing this.

2. Such meetings would provide an excellent opportunity to discuss problems or potential problems involving future military operations/exercises such as pooling, security and troop safety, accreditation, logistic support, and, most importantly, improving mutual respect, trust, understanding, and cooperation in general.

3. The panel does not exclude any news organizations in this recommendation, but practicality will lead to emphasis on meetings with major organizations. It would be equally useful for commanders in the field and their public affairs officers to conduct similar meetings with local and regional media in their areas, some of which are also underway at this time.

4. Both the panel and the media representatives lauded the efforts underway today to reinsert meaningful public affairs instruction in service schools and colleges. Many officers are sheltered from becoming involved with the news media until they are promoted to certain assignments where they suddenly come face-to-face with the media. If they have not been adequately informed in advance of the mutual

with each other, they sometimes tend to make inadequate decisions concerning media matters. In this connection, several media representatives told the panel they would be, and in some cases have already been, delighted to cooperate in this process by talking to classes and seminars.

5. Several media representatives also were enthusiastic about undertaking an effort to inform their employees about the military, primarily through visits of commanders and other appropriate personnel to their headquarters or elsewhere in their organizations. It was also apparent that some media are concerned with this problem to the point that they are taking an introspective look at their relations not only with the military but other institutions.

General Comments:

1. The panel agreed that public affairs planning for military operations involving allied forces should also consider making plans flexible enough to cover allied media participation, even in pools in some cases.

2. It was pointed out to the panel and should be noted that planners may also have to consider the desires of U.S. Ambassadors and their country teams when operations take place in friendly foreign countries. Some of these problems can, of course, be handled by the commanders and senior public affairs personnel on the scene, but they should be alerted to them in advance.

3. The media representatives all agreed that U.S. media should have first priority in covering U.S. military operations. The panel generally agreed that this must be handled on a case-by-case basis, especially when allied forces are involved.

Final Comment:

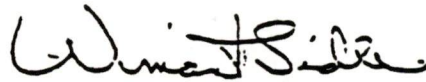
An adversarial -- perhaps politely critical would be a better term -- relationship between the media and the government, including the military, is healthy and helps guarantee that both institutions do a good job. However, this relationship must not become antagonistic -- an "us versus them" relationship. The appropriate media role in relation to the government has been summarized aptly as being neither that of a lap dog nor an attack dog but, rather, a watch dog. Mutual antagonism and distrust are not in the best interests of the media, the military, or the American people.

In the final analysis, no statement of principles, policies, or procedures, no matter how carefully crafted, can guarantee the desired results because they have to be carried out by people -- the people in the military and the people

in the media. So, it is the good will of the people involved, their spirit, their genuine efforts to do the job for the benefit of the United States, on which a civil and fruitful relationship hinges.

The panel believes that, if its recommendations are adopted, and the people involved are infused with the proper spirit, the twin imperatives of genuine mission security/troop safety on the one hand and a free flow of information to the American public on the other will be achieved.

In other words, the optimum solution to ensure proper media coverage of military operations will be to have the military -- represented by competent, professional public affairs personnel and commanders who understand media problems -- working with the media -- represented by competent, professional reporters and editors who understand military problems -- in a nonantagonistic atmosphere. The panel urges both institutions to adopt this philosophy and make it work.



Winant Sidle
Major General, USA, Retired
Chairman

A Statement of Principle on Press Access to Military Operations

This statement was developed by a special committee of senior representatives of these organizations:

*American Newspaper Publishers Association
American Society of Magazine Editors
American Society of Newspaper Editors
Associated Press Managing Editors
National Association of Broadcasters
Radio-Television News Directors Association
Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press
Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi
The Associated Press
United Press International*

Because a free society's press is not—and should not be—monolithic, no statement can ever be said to be “the position” of “the press.” What follows is the carefully considered work of the experienced individuals serving on a special committee from the above organizations, formed after the government denied to the public independent press reports about U.S. military operations in Grenada.

I. We strongly believe that:

First, the highest civilian and military officers of the government should reaffirm the historic principle that American journalists, print and broadcast, with their professional equipment, should be present at U.S. military operations. And the news media should reaffirm their recognition of the importance of U.S. military mission security and troop safety. When essential, both groups can agree on coverage conditions which satisfy safety and security imperatives while, in keeping with the spirit of the First Amendment, permitting independent reporting to the citizens of our free and open society to whom our government ultimately is accountable.

Second, the highest civilian and military officers of the U.S. government should reaffirm that military plans should include planning for press access, in keeping with past traditions. The expertise of government public affairs officers during the planning of the recent Grenada military operations could have met the interests both of the military and the press, to everyone's benefit.

Third, the military study group—appointed by General John Vessey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and headed by retired Major General Winant Sidle—which is to make recommendations to the government about media-military cooperation, should closely consider the above two points. The study group also should consult with military operations experts and make recommendations on how to assure both mission security/troop safety and prompt media access.

Fourth, appropriate committees of the Congress should hold hearings to: develop the historic record of media-military relations more fully, including accumulation of relevant documents; develop the facts of the government's handling of media access in Grenada more fully; and demonstrate how wise leaders can satisfy always the joint imperatives of effective military operations and of a timely flow to a free citizenry by a free press of independently-obtained information.

II. We believe these things because:

Since the Revolutionary War, American journalists traditionally have been allowed to accompany American troops on military operations, even when those actions depended upon the element of surprise.

Such access has furthered the vital interest of the public in having independent accounts of the actions of our uniformed men and women in combat, beyond those reports issued by government officials.

Mission security and troop safety interests have been protected—when essential—by limiting the number of journalists accompanying the troops, by voluntary reporting restraints, by limited censorship of information that might aid the enemy, or by delay in the filing of dispatches; but not by exclusion of all journalists. Exclusion of journalists never has been deemed appropriate except in small, clearly covert, intelligence or commando-type hit-and-run operations.

We recognize the presence of two requirements: the requirement that the government conduct effective military operations, and the requirement that the public, via a free press, be independently informed about the actions of its government. Accommodations, representing good faith cooperation between the government and the media, have wisely avoided a direct clash in the courts or in the Congress between these two imperatives.

Unfortunately, such historic accommodations were neither sought nor achieved by the government during the recent Grenada operations. Rather than allowing a small pool of journalists to accompany American forces during the initial phases of an operation involving several thousand U.S. military personnel, the government excluded the American media from the island for more than two days. Thus, during the crucial, early days of the operation, when public concern and interest was most intense, the public was denied an independent source of information. The government's shifting justifications for this unprecedented exclusion—the need for surprise, the safety of journalists, too many journalists, or danger to the troops—either were unfounded or could have been met by proper planning and execution of traditional news-coverage practices.

III. In conclusion

We believe prompt media access to U.S. military operations can and should be allowed by the government. And, we strongly urge government officials to assure that historic free press reporting to the American public about military activities will be a planned part of future operations under conditions which also assure mission security and troop safety.

Our society remains healthy and free primarily because our public has an independent source of information about its government. Preservation of this principle is essential to the proper functioning of our constitutional democracy and to our national well-being. Without this open flow of information, our system of self-government would not work.

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

November 28, 1988

Mr. William A. Rusher
Publisher, National Review
150 East 35th Street
New York, NY 10016

Dear Mr. Rusher:

Thank you for your letter and kind words. I'm looking forward to working with President-Elect Bush to keep our agenda moving forward.

Thanks also for your offer of help. I hope I'll be talking with you frequently during the next term.

I appreciate your recommendation of Curt Smith. His resume is impressive, and I'm sure that he'd be an asset. We'll try to set up an interview with him very soon. In the meantime I'll get copies of his resume to Chase Untermeyer and Bob Grady.

Thanks again for writing. Be sure to keep in touch.

Sincerely,



Governor John Sununu

WILLIAM A. RUSHER
Publisher

Personal
friendly letter
lets get this guy
an interview if
possible later on.

339-0029

① Ty to Rusher
② Resume Hr to
Curt Smith -
personalized

November 21, 1988

Governor John Sununu
c/o Bush Transition Office
1825 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Governor Sununu:

First, my heartfelt congratulations on your designation as Chief of Staff. This is an event of really tremendous importance to conservatives, and I know they will all be as delighted as I am.

I hope it goes without saying that, if ever I can be of assistance to you, whether in carrying messages to or from the conservatives or otherwise, you have only to whistle.

On another subject, a young man named Curt Smith, whom I have known casually for a couple of years, is eager to become a member of the presidential speech writing contingent. He had that assignment for HUD Secretary Sam Pierce for a number of years, and various things of his that I have seen have certainly impressed me favorably.

Anyway, enclosed is his resume, if you are interested. I understand that the Governors' Association asked him to do a draft of your speech in Alabama, so you may already be familiar with his work.

In closing, I trust I needn't warn you that the media, and probably the Democrats, have already singled you out as their special target. Rest assured that those of us on your side will give you all the help we possibly can.

Cordially,

Bill

William A. Rusher

enc.

CURT SMITH

Office Address:

451 7th Street, S.W., Room 9242
Washington, D.C. 20410
Phone: (202) 755-7120

Home Address:

5-B Auburn Court
Alexandria, Virginia 22305
Phone: (703) 684-9340

GOAL: To continue using abilities developed in top positions within both the corporate and public sectors in speech writing, media relations, public affairs, and editorial writing.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

- **Special Assistant** to President Reagan's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, **Samuel R. Pierce**. Responsible for writing major speeches; assisting press projects; preparing formal and informal remarks, issues memoranda, guest columns, and opinion/editorial articles (1984-Present).
- **Director, Editorial Services/Senior Speech Writer** for President Reagan's Secretary of Health and Human Services, **Richard S. Schweiker**. Managed staff of five. Responsible for overseeing press projects; writing major speeches; preparing formal and informal remarks, official proclamations, and opinion/editorial articles (1982-84).
- **Senior Editor and National Affairs Editor, *The Saturday Evening Post* magazine**. Managed staff of fifteen. Contributed essays, political articles, and feature stories; coordinated interior and cover design. Responsible for the magazine's entire editorial content, with special emphasis on sports, personality profiles, and domestic and foreign affairs (1980-82).
- **Chief Speech Writer, Presidential Campaign of John B. Connally**. Responsible for writing major speeches and formal and informal remarks; assisting press projects; drafting media letters, guest columns, and newspaper/magazine articles (1979-80).
- **Associate Director of Communications/Press Relations, Hamilton College, Clinton, New York**. Responsible for public relations; cooperation with regional and national media; creation and coordination of college sports radio network; writing of media guides and programs, press releases, speeches, and feature stories (1975-79).
- **Reporter for Rochester, New York, *Democrat & Chronicle* newspaper** (flagship paper of Gannett chain). Covered local news, area politics, regional and national sports. Also responsible for design, advance and feature layout, and editorial writing (1973-75).

PUBLICATIONS

- Author of the book, *The Red Sox: A History*. To be published in spring 1990 by Diamond Communications, Inc.

(more)

Curt Smith

- Author of the book, *Voices of The Game*, the first full-scale overview of the events and personalities of baseball broadcasting. Published in July 1987 by Diamond Communications, Inc.
- Author of the book, *Long Time Gone*, about America in the early 1970s, featuring reminiscences by that era's policy-makers on how the Nation has changed in the last decade. Published in 1983 by Icarus Press and distributed by Harper & Row.
- Author of the book, *America's Dizzy Dean*, about Dizzy Dean's social influence on Middle America. Published in 1978 by Bethany Press. Chosen as the August 1978 *Sports Illustrated* major Book of the Month Club selection.
- Have contributed articles to Associated Press, Gannett News Service, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Library Journal*, *The Sporting News*, *Baseball Magazine*, *Baseball Digest*, *PRO!*, and other newspapers and magazines.

HONORS

- Chosen in 1986 among "The Outstanding One Hundred Alumni" of the State University of New York as part of SUNY's celebration of its one-millionth graduate. Elected in 1987 to SUNY at Geneseo Sports Hall of Fame.
- Biography is listed in *Contemporary Authors*. Member of the Authors Guild, the Authors League of America, and the Wesley Board Foundation. Recipient of St. Bonaventure/*The New York Times* Award for "outstanding journalism" for stories about Roberto Clemente, Floyd Patterson, and the 1972 Presidential campaign.
- As Senior Editor and National Affairs Editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*, was recipient of National Magazine Award for designing "best cover" among America's general-interest magazines for March 1981 issue.
- Recipient of four awards from the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE). Recipient of five awards from the College Sports Information Directors of America. The awards were presented for writing, layout, and design.
- Under the Merit Pay System for Managers, my performance in the Reagan Administration has been officially judged "outstanding" for six (1983-88) consecutive years.

EDUCATION

- Allegheny College at Meadville, PA, 6/69 to 6/71. State University College at Geneseo, NY, 8/71 to 5/73; B.A. degree. Major: English. Minor: Journalism. Graduate *cum laude*. Special emphasis in public relations and news information. Alden Scholar at Allegheny College; Dean's List, both schools. College newspaper columnist; radio station broadcaster and news director. Executive member, Geneseo Council of United Ministry. President, Ecumenical Fellowship.

(more)

Curt Smith

REFERENCES

Please feel free to contact the individuals below. Related information, such as newspaper clips, speeches, press guides, and magazines articles which I have written, may be obtained by contacting me at my home address.

Joseph F. Anderson, Jr.
Vice-President for
Communications and Development
Hamilton College
Clinton, New York 13323

Horace W. Busby
Former Chief Speech Writer
for President Johnson
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1280 21st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

George Christian
Former Press Secretary
for President Johnson
George Christian Associates
1810 American Bank Tower
Austin, Texas 78701

John K. Hutchens
Book Review Editor Emeritus
The New York Times
(Now editorial member,
Book of the Month Club Board)
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Rye, New York 10580

Russell Mack
Vice-President/Corporate Communications
United Airlines
P.O. Box 66100
Chicago, Illinois 60666

The Hon. Richard M. Nixon
26 Federal Plaza
Suite 1309
New York, New York 10278

David Parker
Vice-President/Public Affairs
Edison Electric Institute
1111 19th Street, N.W.
Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20036

Samuel R. Pierce
Secretary of Housing &
Urban Development
451 7th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20410

Raymond K. Price
Former Chief Speech Writer
for President Nixon
Syndicated Columnist
The Economic Club of New York
275 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Richard S. Schweiker
President
American Council of Life Insurance
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Hugh Sidey
Columnist
TIME Magazine
888 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Maynard Good Stoddard
Senior Editor
The Saturday Evening Post
1100 Waterway Boulevard
Indianapolis, Indiana 46201

PERSONAL

Age: 37. Health: Excellent. Married to Patricia Kelly Clark. Place of birth: Bath, New York. Hometown: Caledonia, N.Y. Have appeared on many radio and television shows and been interviewed for numerous newspaper and magazine stories; was involved in a ten-city press tour to publicize each of my first three books. My interests include sports, national politics, antiques, and Civil War history.

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

December 20, 1988

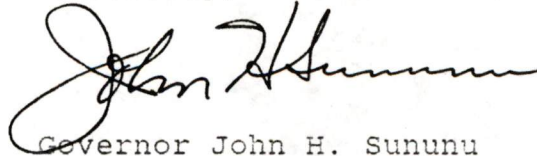
Dear Godfrey,

Thank you for taking the time to send along a copy of your recent column in The Christian Science Monitor concerning the need for the President-elect to reach out to minorities, the poor, and all Americans.

I think that an examination of the President-elect's words and deeds since election day clearly demonstrates that his desire to reach out to all Americans - clearly articulated in his election night call for unity - is sincere. George Bush intends to reach out to all Americans, and I am confident that he will continue to be successful in doing so throughout his presidency.

Thank you again for sending me a copy of the column, and please accept my warmest holiday wishes to you, your family and all the good people at The Christian Science Monitor. I'm looking forward to setting a date for a special breakfast!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Godfrey Sperling Jr.
The Christian Science Monitor
910 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

When there is no peace – only conflict management

By David D. Newsom

AS Christmas approaches, many in the world will look at diminishing conflicts in the third world and talk of the coming of peace. Such a judgment would be premature, echoing the words in Jeremiah, "saying peace, peace; when there is no peace."

For what one sees now in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Iran and Iraq, and southern Africa are steps toward conflict management, not true peace. National exhaustion, internal changes, and outside pressures have created cease-fires and have provided the opportunity for diplomats to seek more permanent arrangements. But the underlying causes of conflict remain, making any settlements fragile.

For clues to more permanent peace, one must turn to Western Europe. As 1988 closes, this region is more united than ever before and looks forward to even closer cooperation in 1992. To the students of history and to those who experienced the last two world wars, this transformation is astonishing. Those who have been enemies for centuries are working together, ardent national feelings are being curbed, and enthusiasm created for a wider entity – at least in economic terms.

Many factors served to bring about this transformation, but three principal ones can be cited:

- Men of vision emerged after the devastation of World War II to chart a new course for Europe. This year, 1988, marked the centenary of the birth of Jean Monnet, who, with Robert Schuman, saw and began the movement toward an eco-



JEFF DANZIGER - STAFF

nomically united Europe. They were joined by other men of vision, such as Konrad Adenauer of West Germany. On this side of the Atlantic, their efforts were supported by Harry Truman, Dean Acheson, George Marshall, and the remarkable group of men who helped to rebuild Europe and commit the United States to its security and economic strength.

- Those who charted a new course for Europe saw that it must include the defeated powers. The Versailles treaty taught that a settlement that crushed and humiliated the enemy laid the seeds for later conflict. Germany and Italy became partners in both the defense and the reconstruction of Europe. Neither NATO nor a European Community could exist if powers were still looked upon as former friends and former enemies.

- The powers came together on the

basis of a common interest, both in defense and in economic cooperation. The organizations that symbolized this cooperation became truly multinational, through the creation of international staffs and councils. National identities remain, but with less capacity to stand in the way of the functioning of truly European entities.

All of this is in contrast with the circumstances that surround each of the third-world conflicts now receiving the attention of the peacemakers. Talks may be progressing and tentative settlements outlined, but the suspicions, the hatreds, the national and ethnic sensitivities, are very much alive.

In Indochina, the commendable efforts of the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations have still to overcome the ancient enmities of the Chinese and the Vietnamese, the Cambodian

fears of Hanoi, and the almost universal apprehensions over the ambitions of the Khmer Rouge, the movement of Pol Pot.

In Afghanistan, the agreement on Soviet withdrawal has not resolved the apprehension of the Soviets, on one side, and the Pakistanis, on the other, about the nature of the future Afghan state, nor has it begun to settle the age-old internal rivalries of the Afghan tribes.

In Iran and Iraq, an ancient quarrel over a river channel still prevents steps to peace beyond the cease-fire. In the Arab-Israeli dispute, few can see even preliminary movements toward peace.

The efforts of the US and the United Nations may bring a form of settlement to the issue of Angola and the Cuban troops but the internal problems of both South Africa and Angola remain unresolved.

The patient work of those who have brought about cease-fires in the troubled areas of the third world and who are seeking some diminution in regional tensions are to be commended. What they're doing is essential if any genuine peace is to be established. But the results until now provide no basis for relaxing international concern and ongoing efforts to change the patterns of thought and emotions that lie at the heart of the conflicts. Until one can see the emergence of more men and women of vision who will look beyond national enmities and encourage their region to work together with a common purpose, the prospects for enduring peace remain elusive.

David D. Newsom is associate dean and director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University.

Memo to Bush: remember the needs of the disadvantaged

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

DEAR Mr. President-elect: Surprise us! You proved during the campaign that you're good at that. A candidate who can change from soft and wishy-washy (in the eyes of the public) to one who possesses firmness and a commanding presence can certainly put together a presidency that will astonish us all.

You talked of a kinder, gentler nation. You will pull off a major surprise if, from the outset, you make it clear that this was not campaign rhetoric but something you intend to do. Make it a top priority in your first speech to the nation – along with the intent to seek more rapprochement with the Soviets and deal with the budget deficit.

You have to be aware that, in the sweetness of your victory, there was a disturbing, sour element: the heavily preponderant number of blacks who by their lack of votes told you they didn't want you as their president. These blacks, along with millions of others who make up the bulk of the poor and disadvantaged in the United States, are displeased with you.

President Reagan's popularity is impressive – about 60 percent – higher than any president who was leaving office after a second term. But Ronald Reagan's negative rating remains high among the minorities, poor, and disadvantaged. This reflects their feeling that they are not being represented by the Republicans who frequent the White House.

What a healing, encouraging message if your first words to America were something like this: "I shall be the President of all the people. There are studies that indicate a deep division among Americans, that the nation is becoming two nations, white and black. My main objective as President is to bring our people together. I will do this by showing my concern for everybody – whatever their color or whatever their place in

life or however they voted. Again, I intend to be the President of all the people."

One speech won't do it, of course. But your first words will be very important. Americans – even those with little hope that your administration will attend to their needs – will be listening. You would surprise them and give them a spark of encouragement. It could be the beginning of a healing process. The rest depends on how you follow through. Your recent, amicable get-together with the Rev. Jesse Jackson was a good first step. The next step is to visit some city slums, talk to the people, and let them know you care. That won't be enough, but it

If you made clear that national unity is your prime objective, much would be accomplished. It would set a tone of gentleness and kindness.

can be a part of the healing process.

You say you want to be known as the "education President." If you bring the blacks and other disadvantaged youngsters into our educational process – and keep them there – you will be remembered as both an education and a healing president.

Your concern for victims of crime and your support of stern treatment of criminals was welcomed by most Americans. The election showed that. But such a speech would reach out to those Americans who feel they are left out of our system. It would show a genuine interest in helping disadvantaged youngsters so that they will not fall into a life of drugs and crime.

You have said that many federal programs for the needy aren't getting the job done. Well, sort them out and throw away those wasteful programs. But keep the ones that are doing good – those that genuinely help to create an environment in which youngsters are trained and

shaped to become useful citizens.

No, I haven't forgotten that you will be a Republican president. Your constituency wants you to hold down spending on domestic programs. Many who voted for you believe that their taxes provide enough for the poor. Many see the federal programs as almost useless.

But these same people will support you if you decide to build bridges with the "have-nots" or "have-littles" in our society. They will trust you to be frugal and careful in your screening process as you seek to help the disadvantaged.

It would be a little like the Republicans' trust of Richard Nixon when he opened up relations with mainland China. They wouldn't have trusted a Democratic president. But they felt Mr. Nixon's history of anticommunism would ensure that he would not give up too much to China. Now these Republicans – knowing your history of staunch Republicanism – would trust you more than they would a "liberal" Democrat to build relationships with those in need.

I really don't know how – or whether – such bridges can be built. But if you made clear from the outset that national unity is your prime objective, much will be accomplished. It will set a tone of gentleness and kindness. It will tell all Americans that you care for every one of them.

Then, after setting this tone, you might find concrete ways to show your commitment. Your day-care program was in the right direction. Your staff could also come up with some other ideas along this line for your State of the Union speech.

Some observers say that if you can negotiate further nuclear arms reductions, you will become a notable president. It is also possible that if you make great strides in bringing peace among our own people – among all Americans – you will become a memorable president.

Godfrey Sperling Jr. is the Monitor's senior Washington columnist.



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

910 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., U.S.A. 20006

Godfrey Sperling, Jr.

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



I think that the PE's words and deeds
speak clearly, more clearly, magnificently demonstrated his
desire to reach out to all ~~and~~ all Americans.

~~in his acceptance speech, when~~
You might recall that his acceptance speech
included a call to unity, where the PE

A Bush Administration will work with the opposite of the
Disenfranchisement, but will try work with the Bush Administration.

I hope so

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

December 22, 1988

Dear Dick,

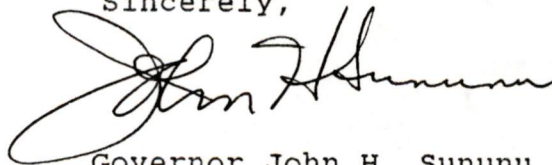
Thank you very much for sending me copies of two of your Miami Herald columns. Drug abuse and drug-related crime were very much on the minds of the American people when they went to the voting booth last month, as evidenced by numerous public opinion polls and commentaries like your column.

Those people overwhelmingly chose George Bush for president, confident that he could help the country effectively wage and win the "war on drugs." I know that the President-elect has made victory in that war one of the goals of his presidency, and you can be sure that he intends to name someone as Drug Czar who can galvanize the kind of nationwide effort that this challenge demands.

I also enjoyed your column on the President-elect, which I thought presented an honest portrayal of the man -- his sensitivity, personality and invaluable experience. I think that he has moved quickly and effectively to achieve the unity about which you wrote.

Again, thank you for sending me those columns, and please accept my best wishes to you and your family throughout the holiday season and new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", with a large, stylized initial "J".

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Dick Capen
Chairman and Publisher
The Miami Herald
One Herald Plaza
Miami, Florida 33132-1693

348-0082

The Miami Herald

A Knight-Ridder Newspaper

②
Richard G. Capen, Jr.
Chairman and Publisher
(305) 376-3525

December 12, 1988

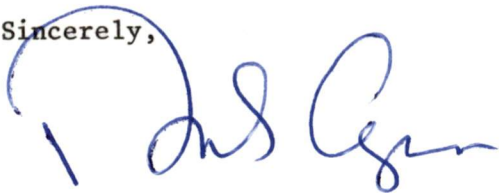
The Honorable John Sununu
Chief of Staff
President-Elect Office
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Governor Sununu:

I am enclosing a copy of my Sunday column which I hope you will find of interest. In my opinion, there are few positions more important than the so-called "Drug Czar" needed to lead our efforts against the war on drugs in our hemisphere.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



RGC/ms

Enclosure



Help for Colombia is help for U.S.

SEVERAL weeks ago, a much-respected South Florida resident was brutally murdered in Colombia when a hand-grenade was tossed into his car shortly after he arrived there on family business. In a country where such violence is routine, the event was neither newsworthy nor considered preventable. Worse yet, it was never investigated — out of fear of vicious reprisals. It's all part of life in a nation where the cancer of cocaine is spreading rapidly, and there's no end in sight.



**DICK
CAPEN**
PUBLISHER

Time is running out for Colombia, a nation held together by a fragile democratic government. Justice there has become a joke. Private armies, funded by a powerful drug cartel, control vast regions of the countryside. Guerrillas slaughter at will, while drug lords intimidate ranchers by demanding monthly extortion payments in exchange for phony "protection." The gangsters cynically call such payoffs *vacunas* (vaccinations).

Medellin cartel all-powerful

Medellin, Colombia, has an average of eight murders every day. There the world's most powerful drug cartel operates with impunity. It controls an estimated 80 percent of the cocaine that enters the United States.

Colombia's current attorney general (whose predecessor was murdered several months ago) describes his country's battle against drug trafficking as "a total failure." The evidence of that is terrifying:

● This year alone, Right-wing death squads have killed 249 people in 20

massacres. In 1987, police reported 489 kidnappings. This year guerrillas have attacked 49 towns and have blown up oil or gas pipelines 56 times, the Associated Press reports.

● During the past four years, drug traffickers have killed 26 judges, a justice minister, an attorney general, two newspaper editors, and scores of other leaders. Several years ago, half the nation's Supreme Court was slain by drug-cartel-financed guerrillas.

● Some 150 members of Colombia's two rival cocaine families have been killed in recent months. The issue: control over cocaine distribution in New York City.

● Drug-cartel guerrillas have murdered 100 Leftists in three mass killings. On Easter Sunday, the drug bandits invited Leftist rebels to a dance in a rural town and promptly machine-gunned the crowd, killing 36. In mid-November, grenade-throwing gunmen attacked a gold-mining town and surrounding ranches in northern Colombia, killing some 42 civilians and injuring 57.

No wonder former Colombian President Misael Pastrana Borrero laments that "our country is in flames." What happens in Colombia has a direct impact on South Florida. After all, Bogota is closer to Miami than Miami is to Denver.

Colombia's cocaine is consuming our own society. Professional football players are suspended for suspected drug ties. Our jails and prisons are overflowing with criminals convicted of serious drug offenses. Yet many prisoners must now be released early in order to make room for the next wave of drug felons.

A recent *Newsweek* magazine cover story dramatically summarized the impact of cocaine here in the United States, drug arrests are up 24 percent. According to *Newsweek*, one in 18 high-school seniors has tried crack in the past year. Among young adults, 6.7 percent have tried crack;

40 percent have used powdered cocaine.

Cocaine overdoses have soared 700 percent since 1983. Cocaine seizures have soared to 71 tons in 1987 from 45 tons in 1986. Even though demand has increased, crack itself has become cheaper. Four years ago, a vial of crack cost \$40 in New York; today it's \$15.

U.S. seeks bold actions

As the situation in Colombia becomes more critical, U.S. officials have demanded bold action. Some have urged that peace-keeping forces be sent to the region under Organization of American States or United Nations sponsorship. The U.S. State Department has proposed attacking drug supplies by providing aircraft and civilian crews to help our South American allies. Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts has advocated using U.S. military forces to rout out cartel members and their cocaine-processing plants. John Lawn, head of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, has recommended spreading herbicides over vast sections of Colombia to destroy coca crops.

Meanwhile, the Colombian drug lords were delivered a crippling blow in South Florida last week, thanks to courageous FBI agents. They spent 18 months tracking alleged drug dealers by using a highly effective, Hialeah-based sting operation. Most of the 93 persons arrested had direct links to the Colombia-based cartel. Hundreds of other dealers have been scared away because of the FBI's crafty sting.

President-elect George Bush has called for a summit of hemispheric leaders, as well as the appointment of a Federal drug czar. Both moves are critical. Meanwhile, Washington must step up interdiction, and it must fund drug-prevention and drug-treatment programs.

We simply cannot stand by idly while

COCAINE: A WAR WE'RE LOSING



DAN CLIFFORD/Miami Herald Staff

Colombia crumbles, and we with it. Colombia's crisis will require decisive leadership by the Bush Administration. The United States has no choice but to help bolster that country's crumbling democracy. It may even require direct U.S. military action if Colombia requests it.

Colombia's cocaine crisis is ours. And with each passing day, the crisis only intensifies.

Dick Capen

George Bush is clearly prepared

IF THE latest polls are on target, George Bush will score a decisive victory on Tuesday. In electoral votes it's likely to be a landslide, coming close to Ronald Reagan's 49-state sweep in 1984.



**DICK
CAPEN**
PUBLISHER

To me, a Bush victory is good news. With almost a quarter-century of public service, Bush is clearly prepared to be President. He served two terms in Congress, was envoy to the People's Republic of China, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and has been Vice President for eight years.

He's had a lifetime reputation as a decent, honest, and caring man, with a deep commitment to family and public service. At a time when our society is riddled by divorce and family disintegration, Bush and his wife, Barbara, stand out as model parents, with five grown children (a sixth died of leukemia at age 3.) All five children were delegates, from five states (Texas, Colorado, Florida, Maine, and Virginia), to the 1988 GOP convention. All five, plus their five spouses and 10 children, have campaigned for Bush.

Eight years in Reagan's shadow

After eight years in Ronald Reagan's shadow, Bush has shrewdly stepped out and demonstrated his strength as a dynamic speaker, forceful leader, and tough campaigner. Already surrounded by capable campaign aides, he will insist on high ethical standards from those who serve in his Administration.

He knows the world of diplomacy, and he would represent continuity in foreign policy at a crucial time of improving U.S.-Soviet relations.

As one who has followed his career since the mid-1960s, I've never seen a more-articulate or forceful Bush. Since the convention, he has carefully charted his own course, and three days from now, I believe that most Americans will like what they see: a sensitive, dedicated public servant, with a generation of experience in Government.

Few have come to the White House with such extensive Government service. Bush knows his way around Washington. In presiding over the Senate for the past eight years, he has earned respect from both sides of the aisle.

The Bush Administration's honeymoon will be very short or nonexistent. Our nation faces major problems



AL DIAZ/Miami Herald Staff

He has the sensitivity, the personality, and the experience

in defense priorities, rising interest rates, massive Federal deficits, and a bankrupt thrift-industry insurance fund. We must stay the course in the emerging new era of U.S.-Soviet relations, and we have an urgent need to forge a bipartisan U.S. policy toward Central America. Such problems will require the new President's immediate attention — and the support of Congress.

Despite what appears destined to be a significant Bush victory on Tuesday, the Democrats will continue to control both houses of Congress. This presents a unique opportunity — and responsibility — for President-elect Bush to reach out early to the congressional

leadership and start forging a bipartisan approach to our nation's most serious challenges.

Is this realistic? Leaders on both sides of the aisle think so.

Congressman Robert Michel, House Minority Leader, said in a recent interview: "George Bush has known some of the Democratic leaders for years, and they have a mutual respect. I see his personal demeanor as a real asset when it comes to working with Congress."

Dade's Rep. Dante Fascell, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, also predicts unique opportunities for Mr. Bush. "He needs to call for an immedi-

ate summit meeting with the congressional leadership to deal with the budget problem. The President is the only one who can bring about such a bipartisan approach. You can't have a bipartisan policy by saying: 'I made a decision. Now follow me.'"

Dade's Rep. Claude Pepper, chairman of the House Rules Committee, recalls how well President Eisenhower and the then-Democratically controlled Congress worked together. "If George Bush is elected, he will work closely and cooperatively with Congress," says Pepper. "We're going to have to do some very meaningful things to reduce the debt, improve our trade balance, and stabilize our shaky economy," Pepper said.

Former Defense Secretary Mel Laird, who served nine terms in the House before moving to the Pentagon, reflected on his days as a key Republican leader working with then-House Minority Leader Gerald Ford during the Johnson Administration. "When it comes to the congressional leaders of those committees responsible for foreign policy and national security, their first concern is the well-being of the country," Laird says. "The Democratic leadership of the committees dealing with national security is outstanding. They will work with the White House."

Fiscal problems will be first challenge

The first challenge between the President-elect and Congress will come in early December when the bipartisan National Economic Commission (NEC) releases its report on how to deal with our nation's fiscal problems. Created by Congress, the group is headed by Robert Strauss, former Democratic Party chairman and former Carter Administration official, and Drew Lewis, a former Reagan Administration Transportation Secretary.

The NEC is focusing on possible cuts in defense and entitlement programs, and is likely to recommend a tax increase. At that point the battle lines will be drawn, but the problems are so severe that the issues demand bipartisanship, even before Inauguration Day on Jan. 20.

Many Americans have been turned off by the Presidential campaign's bitter, often-misleading rhetoric. Starting on Wednesday, there is a critical need to move beyond such divisiveness into a time of healing. George Bush has the sensitivity, the personality, and the experience to set that tone as an early commitment to bipartisanship in dealing with our nation's most pressing problems. He'll need to move quickly in that quest for unity.

Dick Capen