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OA/ID Number:	25885
Folder ID Number:	25885-012

Folder Title:
Personal Correspondence: M [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	6	22	3	2

January 7, 1977

Dear Henrietta,

As a follow-on to my letter to you the other day (lest you think I am beginning to become a pen pal), I have a favor to ask. When you ship back your personal effects, would you have room to throw in a few things for Barbara and me. I have in mind a few boxes of sandalwood soap and a few more of those (relatively cheap) silk hangings--you know, the small ones.

If this is possible, shoot me a letter to: 5161 Palisade Lane, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016, and I will send you a check and a list of the kind of things we are talking about--not anything big and heavy, but just a few little things. Maybe even a few more of those green and yellow cups with lids. They look so common in China, but over here they look spectacular.

Please don't feel under any obligation.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,



George Bush

January 24, 1977

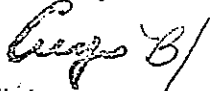
Dear Henrietta,

I am missing one diary tape. You sent me the tapes dated September 21st through October 19th, and October 19th through November 24th, but there should be one from November 24th through my last days at USLO. Perhaps you transcribed the tape. Could you look around there and see if you could find it for me.

It is my personal diary and I would like to have it should you be able to run it down.

Many thanks, for everything.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George B.", followed by a diagonal slash.

George Bush

March 6, 1976

Dear Henrietta,

Thanks for your letter of February 17th. The tapes have been found--dumb of me.

Bar and I were homesick for USLO when we got your letter. I'm a little jealous--Mr. Guo driving for Thayer, Mr. Wong sitting there waiting for someone new when we consider him a part of our family, and Mrs. Tang as well.

My life is hectic and full, but when things get really rushed or when I get really tired, I get enormous restful pleasure from thinking of our happy days in Peking.

I have been disturbed over the furor of the Nixon visit, mainly because I don't think the Chinese intended anything bad by it. It played so badly over here in the papers that I'm afraid they will think we don't value our relationship with them.

I think I wrote you about Tom Gates coming there. In any event, I told him he was darn lucky to have you waiting. I don't know him too well, but I have known him over the years and I have always liked and respected him.

Bar shed a tear over your description of the ministers. We miss them too. I don't know how you could convey that to them, but please do it.

C.Fred has stopped fighting; at least he no longer gets into losing situations by challenging every big dog in sight. All in all, he is a happy guy. He's forgetting his Chinese pretty fast and taken up Spanish again, so he can get along well with Paula. He's still a bit of a "sellout" whenever a brother or sister returns home. He deserts his place at the bottom of our bed and promptly moves in with whomever descends upon our house. It's not your basic infidelity, but it does show a lack of concern for his mother who gets highly upset over this.

Now, Henrietta, when you come to Washington, remember a big steak awaits you at the Bushes along with a cozy evening so that we can hear all about China--firsthand. Indeed, if you need a sack, there are plenty at our house.

Jennifer is doing fine. She is working long, long hours but seems not to mind. I will tell her to write, but she keeps telling me she is the world's worst letter writer.

Thanks for sending me the money, the accounting, etc.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'GB' with a stylized flourish.

George Bush

Feb 17, 1976

Dear GB,

When I got back from R&R Sunday I found your letter awaiting me and the note about your personal diary tapes. I sent them on to you in the box that had all the classified material in it, which went with the rest of your files to you at EOB. I'm sorry if I misunderstood, but thought you wanted them forwarded for Mary Louise to do like the rest. They were in a brown manila envelope in the classified material.

I'm enclosing the blank check you left in case we needed extra money, which we don't. And also enclosed is a check for the remainder of your petty cash. Before I went on R&R I sent off a listing of expenditures together with bills, etc., to JF and you.

When Evelyn Keller returned from her leave in the States, I decided to go on R&R since no new boss had been named. So I flew off to HK, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and Manila for a glorious month in the sun. Mavis Edmonds (Canadian) and Aurora Aranaz (Spanish) went with me as far as Singapore, and we were joined by Billie Burke (former Australian Amb's secretary in Peking, now in KL) - it was great fun, and I developed a craze for Singapore. The Holdridges had us all out for cocktails, and I must say they not only look super but are marvelously relaxed, happy people living in a veritable mansion complete with swimming pool and acres of garden.

While I was in Manila I heard the great news about your confirmation - CONGRATULATIONS! Of course I knew it would come, but those darn congressmen took their time about it. You're too good for them!

I miss you all more than I can say. USLO is one big dullsville since the Bushs left. Mr. Guo is still with us, now driving Thayer; and Mr. Wong is being kept on at the house - but I wonder how long they'll leave him. Even the rumors of a new Chief have stopped over here. Do you think we're going to get one before the elections? We're really low on the Chinese list without one.

Just got back from class, where I passed on your "I miss you" message to Tang Fuhren. She was pleased!

During the month of December the church had a vacant pew where you all used to sit. Christmas services were at least dolled up with a Christmas tree and a decorated blackboard message of "Merry Christmas"; and the Anglican minister (dark haired older man) who led the service, cried during the communion service, as did the organist. Needless to say, HM did, too. Bless their hearts - we really have no conception of what they go through in the practice of their faith.

Barbara Edward was away in Australia for a couple of months, only back in Peking 10 days ago, so the tennis news is not.

I had my first houseguest over Christmas - a State Department gal enroute to posting in Sri Lanka - and we had a great time indulging in frozen picnics at the Ming Tombs and freezing the inside of our noses in jaunts around town. The day after Christmas it snowed gently, which turned Peking into a fairyland, and we got permission to visit the Museum opposite the Great Hall - so all of USLO went and spent 3 hours absorbing all those antiquities.

It apparently snowed last week, too, but today is grey, grey, grey.

I think everybody misses C.Fred - but we're glad to know he is still fluent in Chinese and doing well in fights.

Yours and JF's household effects finally got shipped, so you ought to be seeing them in a couple of months. The packers did a superb job at the Residence; there was only one thing broken - and that was broken when we checked your effects: a small rectangular china cigarette box whose lid was cracked in two. The packers pointed it out to me, but as I had found it that way before they came, I told them to go ahead and pack it as it was. Hope everything arrives in good shape.

Much love to you and Mrs. Bush and C.Fred, and all the kids. But everyone in the diplomatic community misses you here - me most of all!

Love,
Henrietta

Hi to JF!

March 1, 1976

Dear Henrietta,

Just a quick note to inquire about the tapes that I left out there. There is no rush on them at all, but I just want to set my mind at ease to be sure which ones are there. Could you take a look in the file and send me the dates on the tapes. Maybe Chris could do this by cable.

I am dictating this letter on the way to New York at about 35,000 feet. Jennifer, sitting next to me, heard the dictation and says, "Please add a P.S. Tell them I'm planning to write soon."

All goes well. The job is full and fascinating but there are many times when nostalgia sets in and I miss Peking enormously.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

George B/

George Bush
Director

Ms. Henrietta Morris
Department of State
Peking
Washington, D.C. 20520

*Tom Stater is a good
man - I told him
you were "great" -
JB*

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE 22 October 1976
TO: Ben Evans, ES DCI		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	
REMARKS: Please return original to me. <i>CY furnished</i> <i>C/AF/DDO (POTTS)</i> <i>Bluss.</i>		
FROM: Director		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION

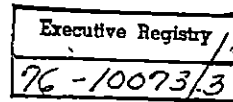
FORM NO. 241
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REPLACES FORM 35-8
WHICH MAY BE USED.

(47)



THE ADMINISTRATOR
UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME



*Best -
return original
please! D*

18 October 1976

Dear George,

Many thanks for your letter of 5 October 1976 which I received this past weekend on my return to New York after two weeks of official meetings and visits in Asia and Europe.

I fully share your high regard for Grace Ibingira and I am doing my best to help him out. The one serious obstacle that I face is the requirement to reduce substantially the level of UNDP staff by the end of 1977, but I am nevertheless hopeful that something can be worked out for Grace.

I am enjoying my new responsibilities immensely, George, and since UNDP is now located in the new hotel and office building just next door to the U.S. Mission, I hope you'll stop by when you are next in New York.

With warmest personal regards and my love to Barbara, I am

Yours sincerely,

Bradford Morse

The Honorable George Bush
5161 Palisade Lane, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

October 5, 1976

PERSONAL

Mr. Bradford Morse
Administrator
United Nations Development Program
1 United Nations Plaza
16th Floor
New York, New York 10017

Dear Brad,

Yesterday I had a visit from Grace Ibingira, who in 1971 was the Ugandan Ambassador to the UN. As you know, he has been working on a book at the Smithsonian.

His work at the Smithsonian will be running out soon. He is very anxious to work at the UNDP. I am sure you are aware of all this, but I told him I would write you to, "second the motion." I recall Ibingira as a very agreeable fellow and certainly one who is favorably disposed toward the UN.

I hope you are liking the work at UNDP. Needless to say, if you are ever down this way and felt you could spare a few minutes to come out to see me, I would enjoy that very much. I am reluctant in my present job to come to the United Nations building itself, although I have been at the U.S. Mission a time or two.

Barbara sends her warmest regards.

Sincerely,

GB/
George Bush

August 30, 1976

Dear Mr. Morton,

It was most thoughtful of you to send me that book, "Sheltering a Heritage." I was thrilled to see a picture of my grandfather's house in the book, and also a picture of the house belonging to Butler Sheldon, another relative.

I am sending the booklet along to my father's two sisters, knowing that they will enjoy it immensely.

Thank you, Sir, for your thoughtfulness.

Yours very truly,

/s/ ~~George Bush~~
George Bush

Mr. Searles Morton
Eight East Long Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215

cc: Mrs. Stuart Clement

DCI/GB/dlg

Orig - Adse

1 - Mrs. Clement

1 - DCI

George Bush

August 30, 1976

Dear Aunt Marge,

The attached correspondence is self explanatory.
I thought you and Aunt Mary might enjoy this booklet.
After you get through looking at it would you return it
to me because I would like to show it to Mother.

Warmest regards,

Much love.
Sincerely,

GB

Mrs. Stuart H. Clement
426 Prospect Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

LAW OFFICES OF
E. S. MORTON

EIGHT EAST LONG STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215

August 24, 1976

Mr. George W. Bush
Director, Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bush:

You were too young when I knew you to have the faintest recollection of me, but your father, your aunts and uncle and I were friends when we were in kindergarten and the early grades; and I knew them well until they moved away from Columbus.

For those reasons I thought you might be interested in the enclosed book published by the Grandview Heights-Marble Cliff Historical Society which contains a short history of the area and pictures of some of the older homes, including the one built by your grandfather and grandmother in 1908. See page 15.

I hope it is of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,



ESM: g

enc- 1

November 26, 1976

Dear Rob,

I, of course, would be delighted to see you when you return from your trip. Regarding "The Republican Alternative" that you sent me, I know there is a good deal of planning going on right now for the future, so your idea is a timely one.

We don't know what the future holds, but I would like to save some time for politics after I leave here on January 20th.

Yours very truly,



George Bush

Mr. Robert Mosbacher, Jr.
12247 Montego Plaza
Dallas, Texas 75230

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

Robert Mosbacher, Jr.

12247 Montego Plaza

Dallas, Texas 75230

November 16, 1976

Ambassador George Bush
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

You and I have corresponded on occasion regarding the need for the Republican Party to offer constructive and positive policy alternatives rather than continuing to respond negatively to Democratic initiatives. In light of the outcome of the election, I believe more than ever that the salvation of the Republican Party rests in taking advantage of the philosophical support we now enjoy from a majority of Americans and turning it into a positive, substantive force.

Polls show us that most people are fed up with big spending and Government red tape, but Republicans are powerless to translate that feeling into votes because the only alternative we normally offer is inaction.

For that reason, I propose the creation of a Republican "think-tank" of sorts which would be devoted to developing imaginative and constructive policy alternatives to the Federal "solutions" proposed by the Democrats. This organization would ultimately seek to alter the approach to problem-solving by shifting the emphasis from the public to the private sector.

A fairly crude copy of my proposal is enclosed. I would be very grateful if you would review it and provide me with your thoughts. Although Linda and I are on our way to Africa for a couple of weeks, I look forward to visiting with you, if you have the time, upon our return.

Please say hello to everyone in your family.

Best regards,

Rob

THE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE (A Draft Proposal)

The Concept

It is proposed that the Republican Alternative be a partisan, non-profit organization devoted to the formulation, discussion, and dissemination of constructive private-sector oriented solutions to various major domestic problems. The organization would seek to end the normal lack of positive and innovative alternatives to the Federal "solutions" traditionally proffered by the Democrats. It would also attempt to take permanent advantage of the philosophical support now enjoyed by Republicans from a majority of Americans by providing Republicans in Congress and across the country, particularly candidates, a constructive means of countering the majority party. This is not to say that the GOP would forsake attacks upon costly and irresponsible Democratic proposals, but rather that those attacks would be coupled with specific alternatives. It would be the task of this organization to assemble the talent necessary to provide some of those alternatives.

Why It Is Needed

According to national opinion polls, public skepticism of costly Federal programs has never been greater. And yet, Republicans who were the first to recognize the inflationary impact of these programs and the resultant bureaucracy, are a shrinking minority. Although several factors contribute including individual candidates, the economy, and Watergate, a more basic problem, in my judgment, is the public perception of the party.

Despite the fact that we often have no choice, we are perceived by most as a party of negativists whose primary concern is protecting the status quo against fiscal irresponsibility and social change by the Democrats. Our ability to delay or kill certain initiatives is appreciated by those familiar with the potential ramifications. However, I suspect that most other people view such tactics as evidence of a lack of imagination, or, more importantly, a frequent willingness to ignore problems or do nothing about them. Moreover, the longer the problems exist and no reasonable alternatives are found by the Republicans, the more certain it is that the vacuum will be filled by a new Federal program.

One lesson of the 1976 presidential election was that many voters were more willing to gamble on the potential inflationary impact of Carter's bold promises than they were to tolerate further inaction. The tragedy of it is that the choice need not be between new Federal programs or inaction.

While a Republican was in the White House, we had the resources and the forum in which to propose imaginative private sector solutions to various economic and social problems. But now that forum is gone and the burden shifts to Republicans in Congress and in the state houses. Though it is not clear to what extent the GOP governors can lead the offensive against the forthcoming Democratic White House and Congress, it is clear that Republican Senators and Congressmen lack the resources on their own. The numerical superiority of the Democrats in Congress is such that we do not have the committee staff capacity to effectively generate alternative proposals. Moreover, what resources we

have are usually consumed by efforts to offer responsible opposition. It is for these reasons that an organization devoted to developing substantive alternatives is so necessary.

It has been said that with the White House and the Congress now controlled by the same party, the Democrats have been given just enough rope to hang themselves. If that is true and the 1978 elections hold the potential for gains that 1966 did, then a golden opportunity may lie ahead. The question is whether we seek temporary gain by running solely against Democratic misfortunes, or take a slightly higher plane and offer the kind of positive alternatives that could translate into more permanent support for the party.

In my view, the only real chance we have of returning this party to majority status is by overcoming our preoccupation with budget deficits and Government intervention and finally turning the tide with constructive private sector solutions. As stated previously, public weariness with such deficits and intervention has never been greater, but that should not be interpreted as a willingness to ignore problems and hope they will solve themselves. On the contrary, it should be viewed as an opportunity to alter the approach taken for the past forty years and to turn the Republican Party into a positive force.

How Would It Work

Creating such an organization would not be easy and there may be a tendency by some to reject the concept for that reason. However, I am convinced that with the right people involved and sufficient private funding, it can work.

The first step would consist of circulating a basic plan to various people in an effort to sell them the concept. Once people agree that the need exists, the next step is searching for a minimum of two people. One of those people must have solid contacts and credibility with the business, academic, and political communities around the country. They must also have some experience as a public servant. This person would serve as the initial Chairman of a Board of Contributors (not money, but thoughts). His task would be to help formulate a list of potential contributors who would also serve on the Board. That list might include names like Irving Kristol, Elliot Richardson, and former Senator Buckley. The emphasis would be on finding people with sufficient original thought and practical experience to give the organization credibility and the likelihood of generating specific proposals. The Chairman must be capable of contacting those people and selling them the concept.

The second person that must be found is someone to run the day-to-day operation. He might be called the President of the organization or the Executive Director. Regardless, he should have the intelligence, the initiative, the experience and the administrative background to help refine the plan, sell

the concept and eventually run a staff. His first job would be to help develop the plan and work up a budget. He also should help form the list of potential contributors.

Once these two people were found and an initial budget was agreed upon, attention would shift to formulating a list of potential financial contributors or underwriters. The Chairman and the Executive Director would then be required to enlist the financial support necessary to get it started and to sustain it for at least a year and perhaps two years. One of the organization's financial goals eventually might be to broaden the base of the underwriters by selling individual memberships such as Common Cause has done. The organization might also be funded by selling subscriptions to a bi-annual or quarterly publication of the organization's proposals and their rationale.

If sufficient financial backing could be found to get it started and to sustain it, then the potential members of the Board of Contributors would be approached. Assuming that an impressive group could be assembled, the next order of business would be hiring a staff. The bulk of the staff would serve as analysts, researchers and writers for the Board of Contributors. There would also be a need for a fund-raising and business management operation. And finally, it would be important to have a good public relations or press capability so that the organization's ideas would get the maximum visibility in all forms of media.

Once the outfit was established, it would focus its attention on, at the most, two major domestic problems. By limiting its consideration to one or two major issues, it could be sure of not spreading its efforts too thin and shortchanging the development of the first major proposal. The hope would be that once these proposals emerged, Republicans in the Congress and throughout the country would decide to run with them.

The Republican Alternative would attempt to complement the work of the Republican National Committee by providing a substantive platform for the political candidates and organization fielded by the Republican National Committee. It would also attempt to work closely with the Republican Policy and Steering Committees in the House and Senate so as to maximize output and avoid duplication.

March 16, 1976

Dear Bob,

So sorry that we won't be able to get to Houston for the big birthday. Would you please give Sandy the attached note on the big occasion?

Rousell tells me you are doing great and I keep getting that in the paper. See you soon.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,



George Bush

Mr. Robert Mosbacher
1828 L Street, N. W.
Suite 250
Washington, D. C. 20036

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Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

May 12, 1976

ND

Dear Devil,

Great getting your letter of April 29th. I am very happy in my new job. It's tough and challenging, but I really believe in the importance of our work, and the Agency is staffed by really magnificent human beings. Someday I hope you'll come out here and let me show you around.

Give our love to Jean. If you're ever in Washington, remember we have plenty of room at the Bush house. It would be great to see you again. Thanks so much for writing.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,



George Bush

Mr. Thomas W. Moseley
1310 Investment Plaza
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

DCI/GB/dlg

Orig - Adse

~~1~~ DCI (w/basic)

THOMAS W. MOSELEY
1310 INVESTMENT PLAZA
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114

April 29, 1976

Dear B. b. s.!

I've been meaning
to write to tell both
you and Ben how happy
I am to know you are
back in the good old USA!
Your China life must
have been fascinating and
I envy your many experiences.
Now that you've had it
the CIA god knows
what that must mean.
In any case, I do
hope it means we'll be

getting together for a little
 Dandruff Dancing, and I'm
 hoping you'll have a
 chance to get better
 acquainted with Jean whom
 you met at the house
 when I had that reception
 for you. back in February

of 73 —

Dearest Love to

Bar !!

Brly e

Devil

no reply

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Chairman of the Board

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Gen Bush

C.I.A.

Should have been

what now?

Rest in 77

And stay

Two Roads To Continuity

By Tom Wicker

When John Kennedy was narrowly elected President in 1960, the first Catholic and one of the youngest men ever to serve in the office, virtually his first official act was the reappointment of J. Edgar Hoover as director of the F.B.I. and of Allen Dulles as director of the C.I.A.

Mr. Kennedy's motives were clear. As in his later appointments of Republicans to the Treasury and Defense Departments, he wanted to reassure the nation that he was not a radical or a novice, but a leader who would put sound, responsible men—as they were widely seen in 1960—in sensitive positions. Even so, and despite later revelations about Mr. Hoover's and Mr. Dulles's leadership, their reappointments served the second purpose of keeping their important offices out of partisan politics.

Sixteen years later, another narrowly elected "outsider," as President-elect, obviously feels the same need to reassure the nation. Just as important, the principle needs to be re-established that the directorships of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. are not political plums to be handed out every time a different party takes power in Washington.

In the case of the C.I.A., not only have there been three directors in the last four years, but the current director, George Casper, is a former chairman

agency shaken hard by recent disclosures of its abuses and ineptitudes. And a year or two from now, while Mr. Bush could leave with the principle of continuity intact, Mr. Carter would have had that much more time to consider the kind of man he should put into the C.I.A. directorship, presumably to serve into the Administration that would follow his.

Should such a long-term appointee be an intelligence professional, a knowledgeable outsider, a trusted associate of the President? Or, if Mr. Carter's Government reorganization plans should drastically change the shape and nature of the C.I.A., might some altogether different need be felt in a year or so? Extending Mr. Bush's tenure for a while would provide time for these and other questions to be pursued, and his own expertise might be helpful in answering them.

On the other hand, reassuring the nation requires Mr. Carter to replace Clarence Kelley as director of the F.B.I. With all due respect to Mr. Kelley, who brought some good qualities to the job, he has been tarnished by allegations of minor personal improprieties, and even more so by the disclosure that some illicit bureau activities continued without his knowledge and despite his public assurances that an end had been put to such outrages.

Nor has Mr. Kelley shown the kind of leadership either to cast off the remaining influences on the bureau of J. Edgar Hoover's half century at its head or to mend its morale and reputation after the shattering disclosures of recent years. For Mr. Carter, however, the resulting need to replace Mr. Kelley poses a problem. Richard Nixon made a political appointment—that of L. Patrick Gray—to follow J. Edgar Hoover, and the unfortunate consequences should be warning enough to the President-elect.

He needs to make, that is, a clearly unpartisan choice to head the F.B.I., a nominee unchallengeable on professional grounds and acceptable both to liberals fearful of the bureau's past carelessness about the legal and constitutional rights of individuals and to those rightfully concerned that the F.B.I. should be a tough and effective investigative force. This is not an easy prescription, but what is needed is the kind of director who would be wanted to continue in office by a Republican President, should one be elected in 1980 or 1984.

One man reported to be under consideration who might meet such requirements is Patrick Murphy, formerly the Police Commissioner of Washington, D.C., Detroit and New York City, now the head of the Police Foundation. Although Mr. Murphy served briefly in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration at the end of the Johnson Administration, he is fundamentally a police professional, without partisan identification, who has earned the respect of liberals and minority groups as well as that of other policemen.

Whether his appointee is Mr. Murphy or someone with equal qualifications, Mr. Carter ought also to couple his nomination with legislation to establish a set term of office for the F.B.I. director. Five, seven or nine years—it would not matter too much—as long as the possibility of another Hooverian reign were foreclosed.

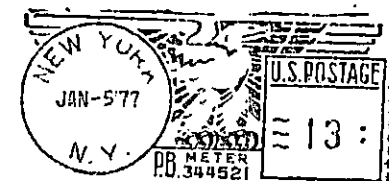
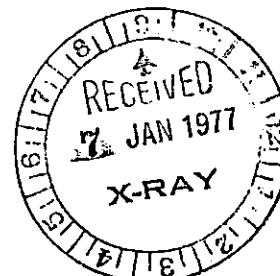
IN THE NATION

of the Republican National Committee. As Ambassador to the United Nations and the American representative in Peking, however, Mr. Bush had useful experience for the C.I.A. post and by all reports has performed capably in it. President-elect Carter spoke well of him after Mr. Bush had briefed him on the world situation.

Mr. Bush has announced that he plans to leave the C.I.A. on Jan. 20, which gives Mr. Carter ample freedom of action. Whether he would consider reappointing Mr. Bush is not known, but there are several reasons why he might. It would re-establish the principle that the job does not necessarily change hands when the Administration does. Another new director so soon would not necessarily be good for an

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733 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017



Mr. George Bush
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

June 9, 1976

Dear Red,

Thanks for the nice note. It's gratifying to hear good things once in awhile.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,



George Bush

Mr. Arthur H. Motley
Chairman of the Board
Parade Publications, Inc.
733 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10017

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ARTHUR H. MOTLEY
Chairman of the Board

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Go Bush

C.I.A.

K
Thank him!
ap

Good for you

Good for U.S.A.

Hang in there

Respect

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

CIA chief won't rule out using journalists for data

WASHINGTON (UPI) — CIA Director George Bush said in a letter made public Wednesday he cannot agree to stop all agency use of journalists as agents or sources of information.

"In a perfect world we might be able to run the intelligence business in response to the criticisms of each and every point of view," Bush wrote, "but I'm afraid that perfect world is not here."

He was responding to a written request from chairman Milton Viorst of the Fund for Investigative Journalism, Inc., that the CIA "announce now the termination . . . of all use of journalists, including free-lancers, stringers and part-time reporters and editors, whether or not accredited, for intelligence operations."

Viorst, in a letter dated May 14, said acknowledged CIA use of some journalists overseas destroyed "the fundamental premises of a free press" and corroded "the First Amendment" protecting free speech.

He said the practice taints all reporters by implication and increases "the people's distrust of all reporting."

In his response, dated May 21, Bush noted the agency has "considerably changed our practices with respect to the press," but said that is as far as it can go.

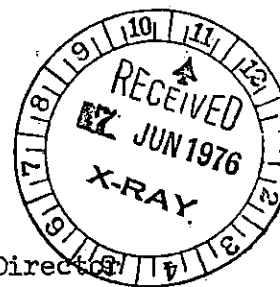
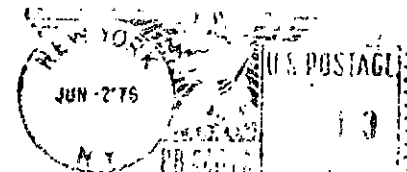
Bush, in a statement issued Feb. 11, announced the CIA would not begin any new "paid or contractual relationship with any full-time or part-time news correspondent" accredited by any U.S. news organization, and would end existing arrangements of that type "as soon as feasible."

That policy, however, did not cover the large field of free-lance writers, reporters and editors, or "stringers" who work part time overseas for a variety of U.S. media without formal accreditation. The agency has acknowledged it has links with a number of persons in these categories.

PARADE Publications, Inc.

733 Third Avenue

New York, N. Y. 10017



George Bush, Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C.

January 20, 1977

The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

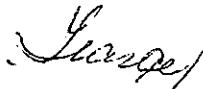
Dear Pat,

Just a quick note to thank you
for sending your note and the text
of your remarks at the recent hearing.

This will be my last official
letter as Director, as it is now
11:30 a.m., but I wanted you to know
that I did indeed view your appearance
on television and appreciate your
taking the time to send the text
along.

I hope that our paths will
cross in the future.

Sincerely,



George Bush

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 17, 1977

The Honorable George Bush
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C. 20505

Dear George:

I had the honor to introduce
Ted Sorensen this morning at his con-
firmation hearing. I thought you would
like to have the text of my remarks. — *and Bush!*

Respectfully,



Daniel Patrick Moynihan

January 17, 1977

SENATOR DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN INTRODUCES THEODORE C. SORENSSEN
TO THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

TEXT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee --

I have the honor to introduce to the Committee
Mr. Theodore C. Sorensen of New York who is the designee
of the President-elect for the post of Director of
Central Intelligence.

I introduce him, of course, only in formal
sense of presentation. There will not have been a single
member of this Committee who upon learning of the President-
elect's intended nomination did not instantly recognize
the name, and immediately associate the man with a still
shining moment in American history, the Presidency of
John F. Kennedy.

I for my part will always remember him standing
in the hallway of the West Wing of the White House on
that afternoon of November 22, 1963 when silently, somehow,
the knowledge passed among us that the President was dead.
And with that, for me, and I expect for many there,
the further realization came that of all who would be
stricken, none apart from the President's own family would
feel the hurt more deeply or bear the pain longer than

Ted Sorensen. When, minutes later, Hubert Humphrey arrived to be with us, we young men of the Kennedy moment in what was in so many ways our last time together, he embraced Ralph Dungan and exclaimed in anguish:

"What have they done to us?" One thought of Ted Sorensen.

Well, they didn't break us. No more than they did Hubert Humphrey. But just as surely, much ended that day, not least the sense of ordained security, of innate invincibility which permeated the consciousness of even those among us most sensible of the dangers which America and American ideas faced in an increasingly hostile world. Somehow we had thought it would all come out right in the end. We really had thought that notwithstanding what we said or how we acted.

Well it didn't of course. Not for us. And the lesson of danger, of concealed threat, of ambush, of tragedy mark us, even now, I dare to say, as a kind of generation.

None learned this lesson more profoundly than Theodore C. Sorensen. It was surely this, combined with his formidable and undiminished powers of analysis and exposition which prompted Governor Carter to offer him the post of Director of the Central Intelligence Agency,

just as we may also feel certain it was Mr. Sorensen's sense of the present and prospective dangers faced by the American republic that prompted his agreement to return to the public service, a return which President Johnson in a parting letter thirteen years ago predicted would one day come. For government would necessarily turn once more to this extraordinary man before too many years had passed.

Unhappily, in the interval since that time, the atmosphere of public service in the nation's capital has not improved. I have been pained to hear questions raised concerning Mr. Sorensen's qualifications owing to personal convictions which he has, or had, concerning the takinging

of life. Surely we are not about to impose religious qualifications - for public office at this late date, when persons of conviction have become so few as to make the issue increasingly moot.

I would then respectfully urge the committee to direct its concerns, as I know it will, to the issues of competence and of integrity, vigilance and of loyalty, which are of large and proper concern to you all. Here it seems to me the thing speaks for itself. Res ipsa loquitur. Intelligence will produce intelligence. Theodore Sorenson will carry on in the tradition too brief but already productive stewardship of George Bush. - The Agency and the Presidency and the Nation will be well served.

I feel certain that the members of this committee will share with me the conviction that in making this appointment the President must also be concerned that the interests and sensibilities of the intelligence community -- of the men and women who make up this community are also taken into consideration. I have had the honor to serve in the subcabinet or cabinet of four Presidents. In the course of that service I have come to hold the men and women of the Central Intelligence Agency in the highest possible regard. As professional analysts, as government servants, and yes, if you will not mind, as patriots, they have no equal as a corps. Theodore C. Sorenson is a man who will understand them; and they will know that they have not merely a channel for their work into the innermost policy circles of the American government, but that they also have an advocate of their worth.

Mr. Chairman, on Friday 14 members of the New York State delegation in the House of Representatives sent to Governor Carter a letter commending him for nominating Mr. Sorenson to this post. With your kind permission I would ask that this letter be made a part of the record of this hearing.

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

15
Mrs. Frances E. Munroe
211 Lake Shore Road
Lake Ronkonkoma, New York
11779

no reply
Sunday
Jan-2nd

Hallo George Bush! -
Remember me? I'm the woman that
sent you those two pretty pins & I
haven't seen you wear them, & now I
wish I had them back. I also talked
you about playing tennis with
Agnew, & what a crack he &
Nixon turned out to be. That Nixon
disgrace helped defeat Ford, especially
when he pardoned Nixon, & to me, that
was tragic, he had no business
doing that, & I lost interest in him &
also the party, & became an Independent
& so did my son in California.
Ford wasn't as sophisticated as
Carter, & he acted to me, like he
couldn't make a decision, unless
Kissinger was there to advise him.
I also was disgusted that he
threw the smartest & best man
out, Schlesinger. That was a
bad move, but what killed Ford

was when he made that big blunder
about the countries ruled by Russia,
as Russia had troops in all those
countries for several years. I like
Ford as a man, I think he's a very
bit as honest as Carter, but I feel
Carter has better judgment than
Ford, & Carter has picked a fine
bunch of intelligent men, to help
him run the country. I feel, the people
wanted a change, they were sick of
the Watergate mess. I tried to
stick by Nixon, until he started his
in fact I lost faith in him, long
time before you did. I think Nixon
was smarter than (Ford or Carter)
but Nixon had a weak character.
He wanted money, & he didn't care
how he got it. I feel the Republican
party is a very sick, confused party
& it will be a long time, in my

Mrs. Frances E. Munroe
211 Lake Shore Road
Lake Ronkonkoma, New York
14779

(2-

estimation, whether they will ever
function again, or at least, very
soon. Carter will be in two
terms. I think Ford made a
mistake picking Dale. I like
Dale myself, but he could have
picked a better man. The
Democrats called him "the hateful
man" & seemed to ridicule him.
I don't care for Carter's personality,
but being so rednecks, I doubt
if he will lie, to the public.
That "Playboy" conversation was
dumb & stupid, but it didn't
seem to hurt him. I think Carter
wanted to show the public, he
was a real he man) & admired
other women too. It was
disgraceful, the dirt he

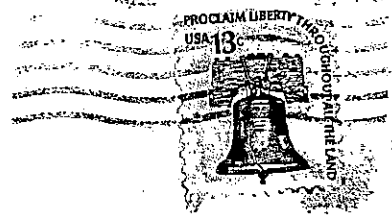
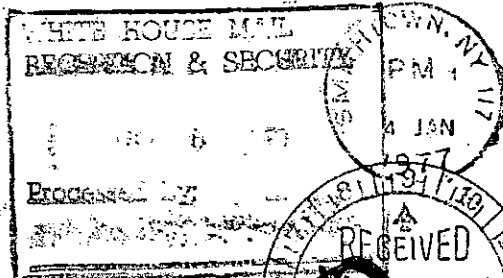
them at Ford, maybe
 if Ford had talked to
 George before Ford, he might
 not have made that costly bliz-
 zard just in his judgment
 after that. Reagan would have
 made a fine President, and also
 you would have been justified.
 I suppose being in charge, you
 would not want to experience, but
 you a lot of experience, but
 that's one place, I might see
 to live, the dead a life could
 to answer. I wanted Reagan
 to win, as I mentioned quite
 well, living in California 18 yrs
 + I believe he could have
 helped Carter. Reagan was right
 I wouldn't accept a job under
 Ford, after being Governor of
 the lowest state in

Mrs. Frances E. Munroe
211 Lake Shore Road
Lake Ronkonkoma, New York
11779

(3)

the Union, especially since Ford
never was elected by the people.
I've talked with quite a few
Democrats, & they feel Ford
made a deal with Nixon. Nixon
saying "I'll make you President
if you will pardon me."
nobody will ever know why Ford
did it, but I, myself, think
maybe he made a deal.
Carter was very smart, picking a
Liberal, as Vice President. That
way he could win both Conservative
& Liberal votes, & also moderates.
I feel Ford might have won,
had he played his cards
differently. Had he helped

newyork out, he might
have carried newyork State
+ with California, he could
have won. after all, we
lend Russia money + cancel
off all their debts to us,
why couldn't ~~the~~ help newyork
city. I listened until midnight
+ when Carter took all the South
I felt Ford couldn't make it.
I admired Ford + his wife more
than that. I am again Baptist
but Carter is a wonderful
politician, or he couldn't have
gotten where he is. I thought you
might like my views.
Cordially your old friend
Frances Monroe -



George Bush
4c "White House"
Washington - D.C. C/A Stop 64

Mrs. Frances E. Munroe
211 Lake Shore Road
Lake Ronkonkoma, New York
11779

~~Heard~~ you over Tu Sunday



THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

Saturday Afternoon- Dec 11 '76
self-typed with apologies

Dear Dan,

When I left the White House this morning, it suddenly occurred to me that I had really never tried to adequately thank you for the job you have done in making the CFI process work.

You have had to deal with three prima donnas (at times I hope it hasn't seemed like more than 2-1/2); but you did it all with monumental patience and with a sense of fair play that came through loud and clear. It was real leadership.

It is easy in life to say "this is my principle- I won't budge from it". It is harder to compromise and still retain one's principles intact. The nature of your work required compromise- demanded compromise. You battled hard for the CFI decisions and you won so many more battles than you lost. That counts. But what counts more in my book is that you did all this while retaining the respect of those with whom you were dealing. You tackled a tough and thankless job and you succeeded.

The staff support was great. Please thank John McMahon, Bill Kevtkis, Jim Boginnis, and all the rest. Please thank them for me.



THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

This is no "farewell"- it's simply to say THANKS at the end of a grueling process. Because of you, a new idea worked. Maybe it didn't work perfectly, but it damn sure worked- and given the hurdles you faced it worked far better than any of us had the right to expect.

Thanks, my friend.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "W. J. Casey", written in dark ink.

DCF

Executive Registry
76-579314

December 7, 1976
PERSONAL

Mr. George Murphy
Associate Editorial Writer
San Francisco Chronicle
San Francisco, California 94119

Dear George,

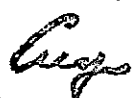
That neat Chronicle editorial had floated across my desk just the day before your note of November 30th arrived. Wow, did I appreciate it!

I just can't tell you how much the generous words in that column meant to me. Since coming to CIA I have tried to stay totally out of politics and I have tried to run and lead this agency in a proper fashion. It has been the greatest experience of my lifetime. The CIA in reality is so very different from the public's perception.

I will be going back to Texas with a certain sense of "mission unfinished," but nevertheless it is the proper time to go. The head of this agency must have not only full access to the President but his total confidence. Whoever comes here will be given immediate and total support.

I hope all is well with you. One of these days I will stick my head in that maze where you work and say hi. In the meantime, thanks, my friend.

Sincerely,



George Bush

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Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

Mr. George Murphy
Assistant Secretary
State Department
Washington, D.C.

The next morning I had a long drive home. I had
just the day before your note of November 30th arrived. How
did I appreciate it!

I just can't tell you how much the generous words in that
column meant to me. Since coming to CIA I have tried to stay
totally out of politics and I have tried to run and lead this
agency in a proper fashion. It has been the greatest experience
of my life. The CIA reality is so very different from
the ideal of a free press.

I will be coming back to Texas with a certain sense of
mission. I understand, but nevertheless it is the crucial time
in the life of this country must have not only a strong
President, but his total confidence. Whoever comes here
will be given immediate and total support.

I hope all is well with you. I will try to
be in that maze where you work and say hi. In the meantime
thanks, my friend.

Sincerely,



George H. Bush
DEC 8 1 58 PM '76

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101-1017377 Dec. 1976
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San Francisco Chronicle

Dictated

November 30

Executive Registry
76-5793

Dear George;

On the remote possibility that your
minions have not apprised you of it, I
enclose an editorial I wrote which appeared
in today's Chronicle.

I trust you'll note the tact and discretion
I employed in not mentioning your trip
in a submarine in the Pacific in the 40s.

Best,

George

George Murphy
Associate Editorial Writer
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94119 (415) 421-1111

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

August 10, 1976

Dear John,

Thanks so much for your letter of August 3rd, sending me your statement on, "Neglect of the Oceans." I found it most interesting and can certainly appreciate your concern.

Thank you again for taking the time to send it along.

Sincerely,



George Bush

Mr. J. N. Moore
WWICS
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, D.C. 20560

CENTER FOR
OCEANS LAW AND POLICY
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

JOHN NORTON MOORE
DIRECTOR

SCHOOL OF LAW
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22903
804-924-9997

FREDERICK S. TIPSON
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

August 3, 1978

The Honorable
George Bush
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Langley, Virginia

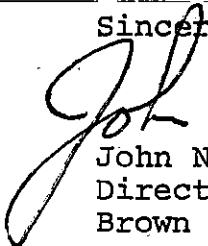
Dear George:

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a statement on "Neglect of the Oceans" to be delivered before the World Affairs Council of Northern California on August 18.

I continue to feel that President Ford should personally look into the leadership vacuum in the law of the sea delegation. We cannot afford the kind of present drift in this extremely important negotiation.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,


John Norton Moore
Director, and Walter L.
Brown Professor of Law

Enclosure:
"Neglect of the Oceans"

HOLD FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 2:00 P.M. EDT
THURSDAY, JULY 29, 1976

NEGLECT OF THE OCEANS

An

ADDRESS

BY

JOHN NORTON MOORE *

TO

THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA AND
THE BAR ASSOCIATION OF SAN FRANCISCO

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

AUGUST 18, 1976

*Director of the Center for Oceans Law and Policy and Walter
L. Brown Professor of Law, the University of Virginia, and
Fellow, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

The views expressed are my own and are not a position of the
Center for Oceans Law and Policy, the University of Virginia,
or the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

(202) 381-6320
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Smithsonian Institution
1000 Jefferson Drive
Washington, D.C. 20560

Recently, as a result of fundamental differences on oceans policy, I resigned as Chairman of the National Security Council Interagency Task Force on the Law of the Sea and Deputy Special Representative of the President for the Law of the Sea Conference, positions I held for more than three years. I believe that recent actions of the Ford Administration, coupled with continuing high level neglect of the oceans, are seriously harming United States oceans interests.

Our Nation must have a principled oceans policy. Such a policy would recognize the importance of our oceans stake, formulate clear national goals, and provide appropriate programs and organizational structures to meet those goals. Such a policy would also be firm both in protecting United States oceans interests and in providing leadership toward cooperative solutions to oceans problems in the interest of all nations. Thoughtless actions which violate our oceans treaty obligations or which permit a continued leadership vacuum in the most important multilateral negotiation in our history are not worthy of our Nation.

The oceans cover more than 70% of the Earth. The United States has the largest and most varied stake in the oceans of any nation. Unimpeded transit of our strategic submarine fleet and commercial vessels carrying billions of dollars of oil (this year alone 35% of US oil consumption worth over \$31 billion) are vital to national security. Access to the oil and gas of the continental margins (which may contain as much as 40% of the world's reserves) and to the nickel, copper, manganese and cobalt of the deep ocean floor is of obvious importance in a world of growing shortages. Protection of coastal fish and salmon stocks, already heavily depleted, is long overdue. International agreement on procedures for conservation and access to dwindling tuna stocks is essential if our industry and the tuna are to survive. The oceans environment, as a critical link in man's life support system, must be fully protected and preserved. We need not accept as inevitable garbage on Long Island beaches or kepone in Chesapeake Bay Bluefish. Marine scientific research offers new knowledge about the very origins and structure of the Earth and new hope for development and environmental protection in the interest of all mankind. Physically, the oceans environment is more hostile than outer space and provides a technological challenge close

to home with promise of great benefit for all. Senator Hollings has estimated that for the United States alone the \$27 billion yearly value of ocean resources could, with an appropriate oceans program, rise to \$110 billion by the end of the century. Perhaps most importantly, the oceans offer an unprecedented opportunity for cooperation between East and West and developed and developing nations to solve common problems and to institutionalize a global system of settlement of disputes. Such cooperation could mark a milestone in what must be increased cooperation for solution of common problems in an interdependent world.

To meet these challenges and opportunities the United States and over 140 nations have been meeting in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in a sustained effort to conclude a comprehensive oceans treaty. The Conference, which will reconvene in New York on August 2, is the largest and most complex plenipotentiary Conference in history. Many say that it is also the most important. After more than three years of preparatory work within the United Nations "Seabed Committee" and four formal sessions of the Conference, an agreement may still be a year or more away. Progress is being made, however, and with patience and leadership there is no reason why we cannot reach

agreement on a treaty that will serve the interest of the United States and all nations.

As the largest user of the world's oceans a pattern of chauvinistic national claims and oceans treaty violations will through time severely impair our oceans interests, despite our political and military might. It will also not serve to provide solutions to common problems of the oceans, such as the need for protection of endangered marine mammals or fish stocks or to further our moral obligation to promote a just legal order in the oceans in the interest of all nations, both developed and developing.

Even with its many frustrations, the law of the sea negotiation is the cardinal feature of contemporary oceans policy. We must act to establish a national oceans program in every area. But such ~~action must not be inconsistent with the perhaps fleet-~~ing opportunity which we now have for comprehensive oceans agreement.

Despite the impact of oceans issues on all Americans our Nation has never had a national oceans policy. The last ten years, however, has seen progress toward such a goal. The Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966 created a National Council to provide centralized White House direction on oceans issues. Though focussed largely on marine science and

engineering and phased out only four years later, the Council, under the leadership of Vice President Humphrey, had a significant impact during its short life.

The 1966 Act also created the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources (the Stratton Commission) which was charged with formulating a national program for marine affairs and recommending a plan of government organization to support it. The Commission issued its report -- still a classic -- in 1969.

Pursuant to a key recommendation of the Commission, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) was created in 1970 to pull together oceans programs from a host of different agencies. The creation of NOAA as an independent "wet NASA" had been recommended by the Stratton Commission. The actual implementation of that recommendation, however, pulled

only some oceans programs into a substantially weaker NOAA under the Commerce Department and was far short of the Stratton Commission conception. It was as though the modern ark had pulled up the gangplank only half full and then gotten mired on a sandbar. In 1971 Congress established the National Advisory Council on Oceans and Atmosphere (NACOA). Though the reports of NACOA have been useful it is solely an advisory body and

has no power to implement its recommendations. Most recently, in 1974 the Senate authorized a National Ocean Policy Study that is still underway. The authorizing Senate resolution recognized that the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966 had not done the job in achieving a national oceans policy.

On the international side, in 1970 President Nixon made a major statement on oceans policy calling for a law of the sea treaty implementing the principle that the resources of the deep seabed should be developed as the common heritage of mankind. This statement built on a theme by Ambassador Arvid Pardo of Malta in an earlier address to the United Nations General Assembly. In 1973 the National Security Council Interagency Task Force on the Law of the Sea was established as a separate coordinating and action office within the Department of State to upgrade and centralize direction in the law of the sea negotiation. Most recently, in 1974 a new Bureau of Oceans, Environment, and Science was created within the Department of State following a long campaign by Senator Pell to establish an oceans bureau.

Within the last few months Senator Humphrey has proposed a White House Marine Affairs Council and Senator

Hollings has proposed a new Cabinet level Department of Environment and Oceans.

Though there is still a long road ahead, these actions have narrowed the distance to a national oceans policy. All recent administrations, Democratic and Republican, as well as all concerned committees of Congress, have strongly supported the effort to conclude a comprehensive law of the sea treaty as a cornerstone of that policy.

Recent actions of the Ford Administration, however, have, I believe, seriously harmed United States oceans interests and have set us back in this overall progress. These are:

First, despite earlier Administration opposition, President Ford recently signed a bill to unilaterally extend US fishing jurisdiction to 200 miles onto the high seas. This bill is in violation of the treaty obligations of the United States, could trigger a "cod war" with the Soviet Union or Japan, or otherwise severely increase tensions, and is, in my view, potentially the most serious oceans mistake in our history.

Second, since the resignation more than a year ago of Ambassador John R. Stevenson, who ably led the United States delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference,

the Administration has permitted a leadership vacuum in the United States effort. Resulting confusion has been harmful to that effort and continuation could seriously erode the opportunity for an acceptable law of the sea treaty.

Let me elaborate on each of these points.

On April 13 of this year President Ford signed into law a bill to unilaterally extend United States fisheries jurisdiction to 200 miles -- even thousands of miles with respect to salmon -- onto the high seas effective March 1, 1977 despite an earlier decision by him to oppose the bill. A veto of this bill as sought by the Departments of State, Defense, Justice, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff could have been sustained as is evidenced by the 37 votes in the Senate for an alternative approach and the over 100 votes in the House against the bill despite only tepid White House opposition.

There are, of course, strong reasons to take effective action to protect threatened fish stocks. Over the last ten years, such stocks off our coasts have been seriously overfished by foreign fleets. In passing the bill Congress was reacting to the real environmental and economic concerns caused by this overfishing and a

widespread and deeply felt outcry from our coastal fishermen. Unquestionably action to protect the stocks was needed. But that action could have been provided by a genuine conservation bill based on existing customary and treaty law which gives the United States rights to protect the fish stocks off our coast provided certain reasonable criteria are met, such as scientific evidence that the particular stocks regulated are threatened, adoption of non-discriminatory measures for their protection, and willingness to submit disputed action to impartial arbitration. Indeed, such a bill was prepared in the Fall of 1974 by an interagency working group of the Law of the Sea Task Force, and the State Department Law of the Sea Office strongly recommended early Administration support in an effort to meet genuine conservation needs and to avoid enactment of the seriously harmful 200-mile bill. Instead, the Administration postponed action on an alternative bill and the inevitable result was Congressional passage of the 200-mile bill.

Even though there were reasons in support of the 200-mile bill, failure to veto was to place the United States in violation of its oceans treaty obligations and in the long run to seriously undercut our national

oceans interests. Specifically, failure to veto is likely to have the following costs to United States interests unless an agreed package of amendments to the bill can be enacted prior to March 1, 1977, when enforcement is scheduled to begin:

-- a unilateral extension of fisheries jurisdiction from the present internationally recognized 12-mile fishery contiguous zone to 200 miles -- and even beyond with respect to salmon -- is in violation of the 1958 Geneva Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas and other oceans treaties binding on the United States. The Secretary of State and other high Administration officials are on record as to this illegality. Even President Ford in his signing statement acknowledges that "absent affirmative action, the subject bill could raise serious impediments for the United States in meeting its obligations under existing treaty and agreement obligations;"

-- in the absence of prior agreements, as of March 1, 1977, the United States Coast Guard may begin arresting Soviet, Japanese, and other vessels fishing on the high seas beyond the 12-mile fishery contiguous zone. We do not know how the Soviets and others will react to the arrest of their vessels in an area they recognize as high seas but in the absence of a prior agreement with them, which we do not yet have, the prospect is not reassuring. Both the Soviet Union and Japan have protested the bill. Indeed the Japanese depend heavily on fisheries for their protein and the passage of the 200-mile bill is a sufficiently serious irritant in US-Japanese relations that Prime Minister Miki recently protested directly to President Ford. In June the Soviet Union and Japan held joint talks in Moscow on the fishery problem. Paradoxically, both have also indicated they could accept a 200-mile economic zone as part of a satisfactory comprehensive law of the sea treaty;

- to lead the World to unilateral action during the course of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is to abdicate United States leadership in seeking cooperative solutions to oceans problems. It is also to risk erosion of the fragile negotiating will necessary for a new oceans agreement in the interest of the United States and all nations. That the last session of the Conference survived passage of the bill does not diminish its long-term harmful effect on the negotiations;
- unilateral oceans action by the United States in violation of our treaty obligations is in the long run seriously harmful to overall oceans interests, particularly our security, navigational, environmental, and scientific research interests. If we can make unilateral oceans claims over others' oceans interests, other nations can make such claims over ours. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have repeatedly testified to the long-run harm to United

States oceans security interests arising from any such unilateral extension on our part. Such a pattern of unilateral claims is not an imaginary horrible. Already Mexico, Canada, Guatemala, France, Spain, Japan and Senegal have announced or are planning unilateral oceans claims as a result of the United States weakness. The Senegal claim on April 1 of this year to a 150-mile territorial sea has been specifically justified by reference to the United States action. A number of other African nations are now considering similar unilateral claims; and, -- enactment of the 200-mile fish bill undercut the most promising tuna negotiation in the more than 200 year history of the dispute with our Latin neighbors. These negotiations have come to a halt casting in doubt the future of tuna and the industry.

I would like to make clear that I support an extension of fisheries jurisdiction to 200 miles for our coastal and sport fishermen. Such an extension

is long overdue as a matter of international fisheries management to solve "the common pool problem" in coastal species. Such an extension, however, can and should be achieved lawfully through a new comprehensive law of the sea treaty. In the meantime full protection can be achieved through an emergency interim bill based on existing and so far unused legal rights to protect threatened stocks in broad areas adjacent to the territorial sea and applicable against all nations fishing in the area. Such a bill, coupled with reasonable and largely unused interpretations of existing legal rights to protect continental shelf fishery resources, can still protect threatened stocks at least as rapidly as the 200-mile bill with a March 1, 1977 delayed effective date.

Let me turn now to the second point. The Law of the Sea negotiation is the largest and most important multilateral Conference in the history of our Nation. At stake is an agreed Charter for almost three quarters of the surface of the Earth. The Conference is also one of the most technical and complex, easily outstripping even the SALT negotiation in its political, legal, and technical ramifications. And it is approaching the most difficult and critical final stages.

Following the resignation of Ambassador John R. Stevenson, the Administration has permitted a leadership vacuum in the law of the sea effort. This leadership vacuum is characterized by absence of high level attention to the negotiation, appointment of an inexperienced head of delegation, and severe deterioration in management of the US effort.

Despite repeated urging from the Congress that he get involved, Secretary Kissinger has given only minimal attention to the law of the sea negotiation. During the more than three years I was associated with the effort his principal involvement was to deliver two speeches on the subject. Requests to the Secretary were discouraged. Repeated requests that he personally weigh in in opposition to the 200-mile bill were met with silence. A detailed briefing on the law of the sea for the Secretary was canceled by him and to my knowledge never rescheduled. Indeed, he himself publicly acknowledged while delivering his second speech that questions on the law of the sea would need to be addressed to others.

The recent appointment of a replacement for Ambassador Stevenson was no more reassuring. After

months of inaction at a time of critical interim negotiations on the "Single Text," the Under Secretary for Security Assistance was named on a caretaker basis. Subsequently, in the absence of consultations with the Chairman of the Public Advisory Committee on the Law of the Sea, the Chairman of the National Security Council Interagency Task Force on the Law of the Sea, or indeed anyone in the State Department Law of the Sea Office, President Ford appointed a retired business executive to head the law of the sea delegation. The appointee had a distinguished career in business. Unfortunately he had no experience or background in foreign affairs or international negotiation. He had no experience in dealing with national security issues. He had no government experience. He had no experience in oceans policy. He had no experience in United Nations Affairs, much less the extremely difficult and specialized multilateral UN negotiations. And though the negotiation is heavily an international legal negotiation, he was neither an international legal authority nor a lawyer. Not all appointments necessarily require extensive background or experience. Able and talented leadership should not be prevented from service solely because of such lack of experience. But the Administration failed to recognize that our most complex and important negotiations such as SALT

or the Law of the Sea are not the place for on the job training.

The fruits of this leadership vacuum have been severe deterioration in management of the law of the sea effort including:

- the resignation of experienced officers resulting in the virtual dissolution of the Law of the Sea Office within the Department of State and a downgrading of the US team at the most critical time in the negotiation;
- a game of musical chairs within the US delegation as inexperienced officers are shuffled from one assignment to another;
- loss of initiative by the US, particularly on the important resource and national security issues;
- lost ground in the negotiation on marine scientific research;
- an increasing risk of a break with Congress, particularly on deep seabed mining, which could endanger Senate advice and consent to a law of the sea treaty (the draft articles on deep seabed mining negotiated

at the last session of the Conference are clearly unacceptable to the Senate);

- deterioration of relations with oceans allies (partly as a result of excessive secrecy and byzantine tactics in our approach to the deep seabed mining negotiation); and
- privately, experienced members of the US Delegation are appalled by the lack of leadership (for example some regularly advise against needed coordination with the Congress because it is felt that efforts at coordination by the present leadership would be counterproductive.)

I do not believe that the country would tolerate similar confusion in the SALT talks. Secretary Kissinger's New York pledge that he will personally head the delegation to the August session of the Conference is welcome if he will indeed do more than give a speech. If on the other hand he really plans to spend only a few days in New York late in the session and to continue to be involved only cosmetically, then President Ford should act at once to resolve the leadership problem. We must not permit the continued drift in this important negotiation!

The United States has traditionally been a leader in the oceans. We can resume that leadership if we have the will but firm action is required. Specifically, I believe that we should take the following steps toward a national oceans policy:

(1) The siren song of unilateral action to which we have recently succumbed is in the long run a dirge for sacrificed oceans interests. Such unilateral action is also unnecessary and if we have the national will we can yet stay off the rocks. Working closely with the principal Congressional proponents of the 200-mile bill, the Administration should propose a package of amendments which will carry out the Congressional intention to fully protect threatened coastal and salmon stocks but which will comply with our oceans treaty obligations. This should be done prior to March 1, 1977 when, absent new agreements, the United States will be in violation of its treaty obligations and the Coast Guard will begin arresting Soviet, Japanese and other vessels on the high seas;

(2) The Administration should resume United States leadership in the law of the sea negotiation by appointing representatives of stature and experience to head the US delegation and by providing them with

direct access to the President. There are many such experienced leaders both in the private sector and the career Foreign Service. The negotiations must receive high level Administration attention and support befitting one of the most important negotiations in our history;

(3) The Administration should work closely with the Congressional leadership to ensure that a law of the sea treaty will receive the advice and consent of the Senate and that we will not repeat Woodrow Wilson's unhappy experience when the Senate rejected US membership in the League of Nations. It is particularly important in this respect that the parameters of an agreement fully protecting guaranteed access to deep seabed minerals be understood and accepted by both Congressional and Executive branch leadership prior to acceptance by the US delegation;

(4) We should firmly support a vigorous work program for the Law of the Sea Conference. We should not, however, seek to pressure instant agreement if such agreement would sacrifice important oceans goals or risk Senate advice and consent and we should be prepared for a sustained negotiation if necessary. That means we must have stable leadership in the law of the

sea negotiation and a realistic interim policy to meet immediate oceans needs without destroying the negotiation;

(5) We should return to the vision of the Stratton Commission by centralizing domestic oceans programs under an independent National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and by upgrading the priority given to "NOAA". Among other changes we should transfer the Coast Guard (now in the Department of Transportation), the outer continental shelf and deep seabed mining programs of the Interior Department, and the marine and coastal zone activities of the Army Corps of Engineers to a reorganized and independent NOAA;

(6) We should restructure the existing bureau of Oceans, Environment and Science within the State Department as a genuine bureau for the oceans and environment. To be most effective the bureau must make a transition from its fisheries and science background to a broad-based office concerned with the full range of oceans issues. Despite the able leadership of Ambassador Irving, the present amalgam of pre-existing bureaus serves neither the oceans, the environment nor science;

(7) We should create a new cabinet level Marine Affairs Council within the Executive Office of the President chaired by the Vice President and with a Presidentially appointed Director and adequate staff. The new Council would be charged with development and oversight of national oceans goals and programs for achieving them. In setting such goals and programs the Council should establish specific goals and priorities in at least the following areas:

- a comprehensive program of research and monitoring with respect to pollution of the marine environment. (As a recent report prepared for the National Ocean Policy Study shows, even present miniscule environmental efforts, such as monitoring of ocean dump sites, may not be implemented as mandated by Congress);
- technological goals relating to oceans protection and development, including environmental information, man in the sea, marine construction, and mariculture;
- a revitalized United States merchant marine, including programs to enhance

- US flag ship construction and operation;
- access to continental margin oil, including developmental, environmental and political aspects;
- a comprehensive program for coastal zone management, including environmental and recreational aspects;
- offshore structures, including deep water ports and power plants;
- revitalization of the domestic fisheries industry (including the tuna and salmon industries) to reverse the billion dollar a year balance of payments drain for importation of fish products and to protect the fast vanishing individual fishermen who is so much a part of our national heritage;
- a realistic interim policy for deep seabed mining to encourage development of this innovative new industry without undue risk to the law of the sea negotiation; and
- basic marine scientific research in the interest of broadening mankind's knowledge of the oceans.

As these suggestions illustrate, the opportunities for constructive national action in the oceans are many. It is time to rise above past mistakes, to move beyond "The Decade of Ocean Rhetoric", and to get on with the task of building a national oceans policy. If we do we can yet achieve a renaissance of the oceans for the benefit of all mankind.

January 4, 1977

Dear Prep,

Thanks for your great note of December 29th. No wonder Lander charged so much for his house; I didn't realize at the time that you and Betty Kyle live right there at 5823 Indian Trail. The value of our place has already gone up in my estimation -- Bar's too.

Bar and I really appreciate your word of welcome to the neighborhood. We will be closing the housing deal on the 15th of January, and will be moving in somewhere around the 15th of February. I will miss this exciting job I am in now. The CIA is a fantastic organization; this has been the greatest challenge (and at the same time reward) of my life. But now it is time to come home and we're getting darned excited about that. We look forward to seeing you when we get back.

Warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,



George Bush

Mr. Preston Moore, Jr.
P. O. Box 53090
Houston, Texas 77052

DCI/GB/dlg
Orig - Adse
1 - DCI

PRESTON MOORE, JR.

December 29, 1976

George Bush
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C. 20505

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The former Undersecretary of Commerce, who more recently was Chairman of President Ford's Campaign, told me that you have purchased Jack Lander's home at 5838 Indian Trail. Since Betty Kyle and I live at 5823 Indian Trail, we could not be more pleased that Barbara and you will be our neighbors. Like the neighborhood around your former home at 5525 Briar Drive, in my opinion Indian Trail is a great area in which to live with many nice families. We seem to get along very well without seeing each other every day.

You can walk approximately one hundred yards north of your home to find Jim Grizzard's tennis court. Although it is not like the one Wallace told me that Jimmy and you played on at the White House, it usually is not crowded and certainly is very convenient.

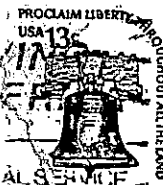
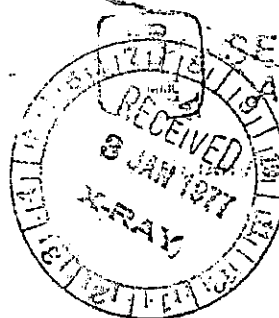
George Bush
December 29, 1976
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Having moved several times, I am an expert in that field. However, having a weak back, I only can promise to furnish cold beer and warm food at the move-in. Betty Kyle and I look forward to seeing you in February.

Sincerely yours,



Preston Moore, Jr.
PM/lw



George Bush
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C. 20505

P. O. BOX 53090
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77052

Morris

January 3, 1977

Dear Henrietta,

How thoughtful! You remembered my interest in Chinese stamps and sent me that lovely stamp-calendar. I am having a little trouble telling what month it is and the day of the week, but the stamps are nice.

I have thought of you often and just know that you have kept up your terrific work over there. Certainly you have been there at a most exciting time. I have gotten reports from various people coming back saying you are doing just fine. John and Jean Small spent a couple of days with us just before Christmas.

Our plans are beginning to firm up. We will be going back to Texas in mid-February where we have bought a house in Houston. We are going to sell our house in Washington if possible. I don't know what I'm going to do, but I do plan to stay active in politics and foreign affairs--to a degree at least.

Let me know your plans. I want to keep up with your career, and if I can do anything for you at any time, it would be a real treat.

Give my best to all at USLO and in the diplomatic community there. The Chinese Ambassador in Washington is giving a dinner for us on January 13th. That should be fun--it came as kind of a surprise.

Warm regards and best wishes for a great '77.

Sincerely,


George Bush