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Folder Title:
Meeting with the President (Unclassified), George Bush Personal Notes, 1976-1977

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Original - The President

January 3, 1976 1 copy - Marsh

1 copy - Duval

2 copies - Bush

1 SCOWCROFT

MEMORANDUM

FOR: The President
FROM: George Bush *GB*
SUBJECT: Suggestions for Presidential Directive to the
new Director-CIA

Since our last conversation I have had many intelligence briefings and I have read the various reform proposals that have been submitted to you, along with some that weren't submitted.

I have not felt free to attend official coordinating meetings, not wanting to put any pressure on Bill Colby who has been extraordinarily thoughtful to me. I do want, however, to give you some of my personal views, before any final decisions are made -- decisions that clearly affect the conduct of my new job.

I have prepared twelve recommendations that you might want to include in a "letter of instruction" to the new Director of Intelligence. These recommendations do not require legislation. The list is not intended to be all-inclusive.

I have gone over these with Mike Duval and have talked to Bill Colby on many of them. I have not shown this to Jack Marsh who is out of town today, but he has encouraged me to send my views directly to you.

A personal note: I am told that the Senate is going to act on my nomination soon after it comes back. Barbara and I plan to go to the Bahamas for one week commencing January 7th. Before that and after I will be in my EOB office. I hope you and I will have a chance to visit in person before any final decisions are made. Hopefully, this could be done immediately upon my confirmation.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

A. I hope whatever is done will not be too defensive. In my view the general theme should be:

Intelligence is vital to our country. We are making proposals to strengthen it and improve it. The President will see that abuses are eliminated and he will guarantee that we will maintain and strengthen our vital foreign intelligence capability.

B. I think you should move immediately to take certain steps that do not require legislation. This can best be done by a letter to the new Director along the lines of your previous letter to Bill Colby. It can be done at the same time as you propose legislative changes, but in any event it should be done shortly after I take office.

C. My specific twelve points follow.

Point 1.

The DCI will have access to all intelligence information. None shall be withheld from him, and when he asks for any information from any department it will be granted to him. The Director will take the appropriate steps to guarantee that information provided him is kept secret.

Comment:

This instruction is essential as a guarantee that no Department withholds vital information from the Director. I recognize the sensitivity of high level policy discussions with foreign leaders, for example, but unless the Director has access to all intelligence the estimates presented to the President are not as good as they might be. Procedures can be initiated to guard against leaks; but, in the final analysis, if I am to do this job well, I must have your confidence and that confidence must be expressed through instructions to all concerned to make available to me any information that I request. I feel the same way about so called "series checks" which are indeed intelligence. I recognize that some information is so sensitive that I will have to hold it in my own personal office, but the principle must be established that the Director has access to all information.

Point 2.

The Director will have direct access to the President. The President instructs the Director to give him objective and independent intelligence without regard to any foreign policy considerations. The President expects the Director to work closely with the NSC, but the President wants it understood that the Director will have direct access to the President when he feels such access is necessary.

Comment:

You and I have discussed this. Having it stated publicly will make my job much easier in the Intelligence Community and will allay fears on the Hill and elsewhere about the information being too filtered when it reaches the President. I believe our agreement on regularly-scheduled meetings should be made public.

Point 3.

The Director will be given Cabinet rank, but he will not attend Cabinet meetings unless they relate to foreign affairs.

Comment:

Cabinet rank bestowed by the President will demonstrate the importance the President feels about intelligence; but I should not attend Cabinet meetings unless the agenda is foreign affairs. You would get enormous political flak if I did. The Cabinet rank, however, would help in dealing with the Deputy Secretaries and the Secretaries at State and Defense particularly. It is more form than substance but Colby made the original recommendation and I support it.

Point 4.

The President reiterates his support for the Director as his top intelligence officer and instructs him to meet from time to time with the Secretaries of State and Defense as well as the head of the NSC in order to insure the President of maximum cooperation between the producers and the users of intelligence.

Comment:

Maximum cooperation between the Secretaries of State and Defense with the DCI is essential to an efficient intelligence system.

Point 5.

The President plans to appoint an additional Deputy for CIA. He instructs the Director to have one Deputy concern himself with managing the agency under the direction of the Director. The other Deputy would concern himself primarily with coordination of the Intelligence Community for the Director.

Comment:

This was a recommendation of the Rockefeller Commission that has wide spread support in the Community and on the Hill. I am told it can be initiated without Hill action but legislation will be required eventually because of the "advise and consent" provision. The concept makes sound management sense to me.

Point 6.

The President instructs the Director to renew his efforts in the resource field for the entire community. The President will look to the Director for maximum effort to eliminate waste and unnecessary duplication regarding resources of both money and manpower. The Department of Defense is instructed to provide the Director with maximum cooperation in this regard.

Comment:

Various proposals have been presented to you for strengthening the Director's role in resource control. I have avoided here the many specific recommendations on reorganization affecting control of resources. I am convinced that the Director needs more than this supportive language if he is going to really be a constructive influence in controlling resources. Language such as this Point 6 will help, however. It is my intention, of course, to be in close touch with Jim Lynn on resource control after confirmation.

Point 7.

The Director will not have as priority the tactical intelligence field. Tactical intelligence has been and should continue to be the priority concern of defense intelligence. The Director shall be alert to eliminate wasteful duplication in the entire Intelligence Community, however.

Comment:

Tactical intelligence really belongs to the military. By down playing the DCI's role in tactical intelligence you help eliminate a long standing irritant between DOD and CIA. The Director can keep his eye on the "big picture" but language such as suggested in Point 7 will be well received by Defense yet needn't result in escalated overall intelligence costs. It simply gives the Director guidance on priorities.

Point 8.

The Director should give immediate attention to housing his Intelligence Community Staff in a location separate from CIA Headquarters at Langley.

Comment:

This move will be well received by non-CIA elements in the Intelligence Community, many of whom over the years have questioned the Director's objectivity. There is a CIA building on E Street that could probably be used. This move has Bill Colby's support. Mike Duval and I have discussed locating the Director and some of his Community Staff (when the DCI is not in his Langley office) in the EOB. I oppose this, feeling that you will be accused of making the Intelligence Community political or getting it too close to "policy." My own political past argues for location other than in EOB.

There have been suggestions that in order to increase the Director's appearance of objectivity, the DCI should have no operational control over CIA. I strongly oppose these suggestions. I strongly oppose removing the Director from his Langley office and separating him from his only power base -- the CIA itself. I do support having the Community Staff in a separate location from the CIA itself.

Point 9.

The Director is instructed to give maximum attention to cooperating with Congress. Where there undoubtedly will be some matters of difference between the Executive and the Legislative Branches and the Director is expected to follow Presidential directives to the letter when disputes arise, the Director is instructed to work closely with the appropriate authorities in Congress on matters relating to national intelligence.

Comment:

Some language is necessary to reassure Congress. If such language is omitted, that in my view would make the news.

Point 10.

The Director is instructed to make a thorough review of all CIA instructions that have been issued over the years regarding guidelines for proper conduct of intelligence matters. He should take any additional reform steps that he deems necessary. Many reforms have already been implemented by Director Colby, but the President wants direct assurance from the new Director that he has done everything in his power to guard against the abuses that have damaged the Intelligence Community.

Comment:

Though I don't want to see your letter or your non-legislative instructions dwell on sins of the past you would be attacked unless some "correction of abuse" language is involved. This paragraph should not be read as an appeal for no executive order restricting intelligence community activities. Indeed from your standpoint, I can see the essentiality of some type executive order. I do feel that many of the necessary corrective steps at CIA have already been taken.

Point 11.

The Director working closely with the NSC, is instructed to take the initiative in finding more satisfactory "cover" arrangements for CIA personnel operating abroad. Appropriate departments of government are instructed to give full cooperation to the Director.

Comment:

I put this in here because of the recent Welch killing and because there is an increasing problem in providing decent cover for CIA agents abroad. There has been a long standing feud between State's bureaucracy and CIA on this point, but Welch's death makes this inclusion timely.

Point 12.

Covert Action. The President instructs the Director that no covert action be initiated without signed formal approval of the 40 Committee and direct Presidential instruction.

Comment:

I include this paragraph on covert simply because it is on the minds of so many people. I have proposed nothing new here -- simply a reiteration of the status quo. My own gut instinct is to minimize our use of covert action, saving it for clearly important operations. If you agree a sentence on this would be well received by the critics. This approach is far better than requesting legislation which would lock you and future Presidents into a process which might in the future prove inadequate.

~~TOP SECRET~~

11 January 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
11 January 1977, 9:15 a.m.,
Oval Office

PRESENT: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush
Leslie Dirks (Mr. Dirks left after briefing on first item)

6 February 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Briefing of President Ford
Friday, 6 February 1976

The meeting took place in the Oval Office at the White House, with the President, Brent Scowcroft and the DCI present. This was the first of what is supposed to be regularly scheduled, once-a-week meetings with the DCI. The President read the briefs. He asked what the flap was on our delivery of the NID to the Hill. I told him that the State Department felt we had given too much information and that Colby, before he left, sent a letter saying we would not deliver this any more. Scowcroft seemed willing to compromise. We showed him the Congressional Checklist, and the President thought that was pretty good. I told him we were reviewing the matter, and we might have to knuckle under. The President didn't seem too concerned about that.

After the meeting, I mentioned to Scowcroft the Shadren matter, and he said that he had talked to the woman and he thought the matter was very fuzzy and very weird. I told him that Mrs. Howe had told General Walters that she wouldn't go public and that she had appreciated Scowcroft's call and apparently appreciated my call through General Walters as well.

① For GIB Personal file
② Walters will report on this at 3-13 - next meeting

March 11, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
Thursday, 11 March 1976,
8:15 to 8:50 a.m.

Each of the items on the attached sheet were covered.

I talked to him about my European trip and told him that I would like to report to him when I get back on the state of play with our foreign intelligence services. I was somewhat worried about cooperation, not by the services, but by people abroad generally, and by the effect that the hearings may have had on our relationships, and though, officially, things were in good shape, there were some indications that some of those who have cooperated with us have been genuinely concerned. I told him we might see Schmidt and Harold Wilson and that I would notify Brent if these visits materialized so that the State Department could be informed.

✓ Pike Flap: I assured him we wanted to low-key it--get it out of the papers and simply get the documents back. I made it very clear to him that Rogovin would never have said a statement like he was accused of, trying to "get Pike in his District." I told him that, in my view, Pike had changed very much, or at least was under great pressure over the leaked report, etc., so that he had changed now from the guy that he and I had worked with in the House. I assured him we were interested only in getting the documents back and that I would work with the Speaker and would not try to get this matter hyped in any way.

a. I told him these meetings were very, very important to the entire Intelligence Community. The President is relaxed and is always most gracious with his time, and interested.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President
March 17, 7:45 a.m., Oval Office

PRESENT: President Ford
Brent Scowcroft
George Bush

We did not discuss the current intelligence items in the President's brief. The President raised two issues with me:

2., He raised the question of the leaks coming out of the CIA at the meeting of the aeronautical AIAA group. I told him we had fouled it up, and I accepted the responsibility; and that it was bad because of a certain sensitivity in terms of the Israelis; and that that information was factually correct. He asked about the "Soviet space program being in a shambles." I told him that was not true, but that they had had some problems. I counseled him that if he were asked about this to simply say that he had called me in, told me he was displeased about it, that I had accepted the responsibility, and that we would try to take steps to see that nothing happened again on this. I further advised him that I immediately had gotten a report from the Inspector General.

4. In closing, I asked him if he was going to be there Saturday, because I'd like to get John Newcombe to come down and hit at the White House; he indicated that he would not be there.

George Bush

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

29 March 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

General Scowcroft and I rode back with the President from the Pentagon to the White House in his limousine. We talked about the following matters:

(a) I reported to him on Admiral Dan Murphy coming on board. The President expressed reservations against giving Murphy a fourth star right now, but when I mentioned that we were preparing legislation to have the post Senate-approved, he was supportive of that. I told him that Ellsworth and Rumsfeld and I all felt there should be four stars. The President indicated that he thought it could happen in the future, but that it ought not to happen right away. (When I got back to the office later that evening, I called Ellsworth and he will try to get something going on it.) I also told the President that it was my understanding that Jim Holloway, Chief of Naval Operations, had approved.

16 April 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
7:40 a.m.

PRESENT: General Scowcroft
George Bush

1. I told the President the two Deputies situation was moving--that the Knoche matter was being handled in the personnel office by Doug Bennett in accord with our last meeting. I told him I'd like to bring Murphy and Knoche down to see him. He said to bring them at the next meeting.

7. He asked about the Sinatra incident and I told him the full story--there was a big laugh and nothing else to it.

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

21 May 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
Oval Office, 8:00 a.m.,
21 May 1976

Items Covered:

9 June 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
9:00 a.m., 9 June 1976,
Oval Office

ATTENDING: Brent Scowcroft
George Bush

Briefed the President on the following subjects:

25 June 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President
25 June 1976, 7:40 a.m.

1. Briefings of Democratic Nominee: Bush recommendation - someone in OCI brief the nominee, preferably not his designee, but that the designee would be all right under properly cleared procedures. No Presidential decision taken; the President was agreeable to the principle of briefing. I filled the President in on Averell Harriman's offer to help the CIA, should the Democratic nominee make statements that were detrimental to intelligence.

12 July 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with The President, Oval Office,
8:00 a.m., 12 July 1976

PRESENT: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

3. I reported to the President on the Jimmy Carter briefings. The President mentioned that I should be present at the briefings personally; "at least at the outset."

Personal Note: The President seemed relaxed. He is always very considerate; asked about Barbara; doesn't get agitated; a thoroughly decent man, considerate of others.

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

31 August 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President
7:40 a.m., Oval Office, 31 August 1976

PRESENT: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

*No distribution
Personal file*

07

... with emphasis on Kissinger's

10 September 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President, 8:00 a.m.,
10 September 1976

ATTENDING: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

*OK
GB
Personal File*

The following subjects were discussed:

17 September 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President, 8:45 a.m.,
17 September 1976

ATTENDING: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush 9

September 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President, Oval Office,
8:30 a.m., 29 September 1976

ATTENDING: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

The following subjects were discussed:

12 October 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Meeting with the President, Oval Office,
8:30 a.m., 12 October 1976

ATTENDING: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

8. The President asked me if the Eastern European flap was causing any problem with my associates. I said yes there was some concern about it, many people didn't understand it, but I also told him that Peter Jankowitsch of Austria had called me and relayed to me that he, Piero Vinci of Italy, and other European ambassadors to the UN understood perfectly what the President intended. I told him I found the Jankowitsch call most unusual. The President seemed elated by the New York Times Letter to the Editor which seemed to understand the position.

SENSITIVE

22 November 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
November 19th, 8:30 to 9:00 a.m.,
Oval Office

PRESENT: President Ford
General Scowcroft
George Bush

The following briefing items were covered:

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

19 October 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Meeting with the President, Oval Office,
8:30 a.m., 19 October 1976

ATTENDING: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

The following items were discussed:

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

2 August 1976

*File
Personal
no distribution*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President
7:40 a.m., Oval Office, Monday, 2 August

PRESENT: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

5. I discussed the Carter briefing, reviewed with him the kinds of subjects Carter was interested in, and told him of Carter's offer for Carter and Mondale to meet with the President in order to be briefed by the President to get bi-partisan support for any major policy decision that had to be made between now and the election. I told him in my view that Carter made the offer in good faith, not thinking of political advantage. I told the President about Carter's comment that it might be worthwhile seeing Kissinger at some time. I told him Jimmy Carter was particularly interested in SALT, appearing to be well briefed. He had a lot of questions on submarines, of which, of course, he had some knowledge. Six hours of briefing. Generally, Carter was very serious. I talked to Carter about keeping the CIA out of the crossfire about no "sourcing" the CIA. I told him it was an agreement we wouldn't even discuss the subjects, although the next day I had seen some detail on these subjects in the paper.

6. The President wants me to continue to go to the Carter briefings. I clued the President in on the next subjects to be covered, namely China, Soviet conventional forces, and current intelligence.

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

MATTERS TO DISCUSS WITH PRESIDENT

K
GB Personal
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5. Agreed press policy--no comment on content of briefings. I mentioned my concern about keeping CIA out of political crossfire and Carter agreed there would be no mention of CIA as a source in speeches or comments.
6. General agreement that we would not get into areas of extraordinary sensitivity.

24 November 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
Oval Office, 24 November 1976,
8:30 to 9:00 a.m.

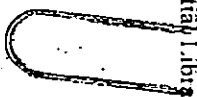
PRESENT: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

CB

The following subjects were discussed:

1. I read the President the statement that I had reviewed with Governor Carter last night. I had previously informed the President of what I thought was best. I told him of my conversation in Plains with Governor Carter and told him that at last night's phone call Governor Carter agreed that as far as he was concerned, it would be all right to put out such an announcement relating to my leaving as DCI.

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2 December 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
Oval Office, 1 December 1976,
9:00 to 9:30 a.m.

PRESENT: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

9 December 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President,
Oval Office, 9 December 1976,
8:30 to 8:50 a.m.

PRESENT: The President
General Scowcroft
George Bush

The following briefing items were covered:

16 December 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President, 16 December 1976,
Oval Office, 8:30 to 8:50 a.m.

The following subjects were discussed: