The original documents are located in Box 37, folder "Personnel - Conflict of Interest: Bush, George" of the Philip Buchen Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

PERSONAL DATA STATEMENT

As part of the clearance procedures relating to your proposed appointment, it is requested that you answer the following questions and supply the following information to us on a confidential basis. Please note that federal law and regulations governing conflicts of interest require the disclosure of the information requested in questions 1-5, inclusive, as it pertains to you, your spouse and any relatives living in your immediate household. In addition, you are requested to supply any information you deem to be relevant with regard to your spouse or such relatives when responding to any of the other questions.

In order that we might complete all necessary reviews as soon as possible, it is requested that you supply this information at your earliest convenience.

If you have any questions or if this office can be of assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me.

1. The names of all corporations, firms, or other business enterprises, partnerships, nonprofit organizations, and educational or other institutions with which you are now connected as an officer, owner, director, trustee, partner, advisor, or consultant. Those organizational affiliations which you wish to continue during the term of your appointment should be noted with an asterisk. (Please note that in the case of an attorney's client listing, it is only necessary to provide the names of major clients and those which might present a potential conflict or appearance of conflict with your proposed appointment.) 2. The names of all corporations, partnerships or other institutions in which you have any financial interests through the ownership of stock, stock options, bonds, or other arrangements, including trusts. Any interests you wish to retain during your period of government service should be noted with an asterisk.

3. The names of any creditors (other than those to whom you may be indebted by reason of a mortgage on property used as a personal residence or to whom you may be indebted for current and ordinary living expenses), setting forth the amount of such debt, and any additional information deemed relevant to explain the transaction.

4. All your interests in real property, other than a personal residence, setting forth the nature of your interest, the type of property, and the address.

5. The names of all corporations, firms, or other business enterprises, partnerships, nonprofit organizations, and educational or other institutions, with which you have any continuing financial interests through present employment or by reason of a pension or retirement plan, stock bonus, profit-sharing, or other arrangement as a result of any current or prior employment or business or professional association. Also, supply such details as are necessary for a thorough understanding of such continuing financial interests. Particular attention should be devoted to any severance agreements which may be contemplated.

6. Any employee fringe benefits you are now receiving and would desire to retain during your government service.

7. The details of any contractual or informal arrangement you may have with any business enterprise in regard to future employment.

8. Have you ever been arrested, charged or held by federal, state, or other law enforcement authorities for violation of any federal, state, county or municipal law, regulation or ordinance? If so, please give full details (do not include traffic violations for which a fine of \$25 or less was imposed). 9. Are you currently under federal, state, or local investigation for a possible violation of a criminal statute? If so, please give full details.

10. Has a tax lien or other collection procedure ever been instituted against you by federal, state or local authorities? If so, please give full details.

11. Have you ever been disciplined or cited for a breach of ethics or unprofessional conduct by, or been the subject of a complaint to, any court, administrative agency, professional association, disciplinary committee, or other professional group? If so, please give full details.

12. Have you ever been involved in civil litigation, or . administrative or legislative proceedings of any kind, either as plaintiff, defendant, respondent, witness or party in interest, which may be sufficiently controversial or so intimately related to the area of work for which you are being considered, that your involvement may be appropriate for consideration by the committee of the Senate to which your nomination will be submitted. If so, please give full details.

13. Have you ever run for political office, served on a political committee, or been identified in a public way with a particular political organization, candidate or issue? If so, please describe.

14. Have you ever been publicly identified, in person or by */ organizational membership, with a particularly controversial */ national or local issue? If so, please describe.

15. Have you ever submitted oral or written views to any government authority (executive or legislative) or the news media, on any particularly controversial $\frac{*}{}$ issue other than in an official governmental capacity? If so, please describe.

16. Have you ever written any particularly controversial $\frac{*}{}$ books or articles? If so, please list them, giving the citations, titles and dates.

* Reference to "particularly controversial" is intended to focus on issues that could be used, even unfairly, against you.

17. Have you ever had any association with any person or group or business venture which could be used, even unfairly, to impune or attack your character and qualification for this position?

18. Do you know anyone who might take any steps, overtly or covertly, to make your confirmation by the Senate more difficult or seek to attack your appointment?

19. Please provide any other information which you regard as pertinent or which could be the possible source of embarrassment to you, or to the President, if publicly known.

CLEARANCE CHECK LIST

Administratively Confidential

Name of Nominee

Position

Received from Personnel

Personal Data Statement Sent

Comments:

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 01454

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL Donor restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL List(s)
CREATOR'S NAME Bush, George
DESCRIPTION Personal financial data statement.
CREATION DATE
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 001900423 COLLECTION TITLE Philip W. Buchen Files BOX NUMBER
DATE WITHDRAWN

Bush, George

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

November 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHILIP W. BUCHEN FROM: DOUGLAS P. BENNETT

The President wishes to announce his intention to nominate George Bush as Director of Central Intelligence. I request that you waive the normal security and conflict clearances for purposes of nomination and announcement.

RUB Approve

Disapprove



THE WHITE FOUSE

WAS- NOTON

November 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN DOUGLAS P. BENNETT

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Waiver of Security

The President wishes to announce his intention to nominate George Bush as Director of Central Intelligence. I request that you waive the normal security and conflict clearances for purposes of nomination and announcement.

12/13 Approve

Disapprove

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON GEORGE BUSH

Mr. Bush has been Chief, United States Liaison Office, the Peoples Republic of China, since September, 1974.

Born in Milton, Massachusetts, June 12, 1924, Mr. Bush was graduated from Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, in 1942, he received his B.A. in Economics from Yale University in 1948.

He was co-founder and served as director of Zapata Petroleum Corporation from 1953-59; he was president of Zapata Offshore Company Houston, Texas, 1956-64, and chairman of the Board from 1964-66. He was a member of the 90th and 91st Congresses, representing the Seventh District of Texas. He was a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

He was U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations from February, 1971 to January, 1973, and was named Chairman of the Republican National Committee also in January, 1973.

He was a pilot in the U.S. Naval Reserve in World War II, winning the Distinguished Flying Cross.

He is married to the former Barbara Pierce and they have five children.

#

November 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN

TROM:

KEN LAZARUS /s/

SUBJECT:

Rumsfeld and Bush

Attached is Don Rumsfeld's conflicts file. There was an FBI full field investigation on Don in December 1972 which was updated when he came onto the White House staff. Therefore, we can clear him at the present.

Ambassador Bush was the subject of a full field investigation in 1970 and pursuant to the request of Bob Linder for clearance, I asked Jane Damenbauer this morning to start an update which will take one week. We have never reviewed Bush for the purpose of potential conflicts. Thus, we will also have to do a conflicts check prior to his appointment. However, I see no reason why you should not approve a waiver for Bush both as to security and conflicts for purposes of announcement and nomination. These matters can be completed prior to his actual appointment.

Attachment

KAL:dlm

Sile Bush

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THE WHITE HOUSE

To Phil Buchen

This arrived this morning.

Doug Bennett

November 4



November 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR Mr. Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President

Pursuant to our conversation, I enclose as illustrative of the forms expected by the Senate Armed Services Committee (1) a biographical sketch for Mr. Richard A. Wiley and (2) his letter to the Chairman of the Committee.

The first page of the letter must be redone because it may not be dated prior to appointment. It must, however, be submitted a day or two prior to the date of the hearing of the appointment.

For Mr. Rumsfeld, somewhere in the middle of the letter, before the listing of the directorships, he might insert a paragraph relating to his contingent remainder interest in the trust of which his mother is the current beneficiary.

Also, the Wiley letter states "I currently hold no stock in any corporation." In the event that the nominee has stocks, they should be listed in total, regardless of the amounts (but without indicating the amounts). This list of stocks is then checked against the statistical list of the Department of Defense, on which are recorded all companies having one or more contracts in the amount of \$10,000, or more. Any stock in a company which appears on the list, other than a regulated public utility, is marked with an asterisk, and after the listing, there is a recitation that the items makked by an asterisk appear on the Department of Defense Statistical List, and if confirmed by the Senate, the appointee will dispose of these within the customary 60 days.

The Committee does not require divestiture of shares in regulated public utilities because officials cannot exercise much influence on demand or price. It is customary to mark these with a double asterisk and an additional recitation is made to the effect that the companies marked with a double asterisk are regulated public utilities, and in accordance with the practice of the Committee, these items will be retained with the approval of the Committee. It might be noted that widely-diversified, broadly-held mutual funds, or regulated investment trusts, also may be held by the appointee because he is insulated from the actual company in which the fund or trust holds the shares.

The financial interest letter should be submitted in an original and courtesy copy. The biographical sketch should be submitted in 50 copies. These may be delivered to Ed Braswell, the Committee Counsel, who will review them in advance to assure their acceptability. You may wish to have these delivered by your White House Liaison or Defense Liaison. You may want to deal with Ed Braswell directly. He is very helpful.

If there is anything further that you need, please give me a ring.

L. Niederlehner Acting General Counsel

Enclosures

1 2) A

DATE 11/04/75

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

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TO WHITE HOUSE

SECRET SENSITIVE/HANDLE VIA VOYAGER CHANNELS PEKING 126 Ø4 NOVEMBER 1975 For : Doug Bennettithe White House From: George Bush

THIS WILL BE YOUR WRITTEN AUTHORITY TO COMMENCE SECURITY INVESTIGATION, CONCERNING MY NOMINATION TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE CIA. YOU ARE TACIFICALLY AUTHORIZED TO RELEASE ANY RELEVANT INFORMATION FROM ANY DEPARTMENT TO THE FBI FOR USE IN ITS INVESTIGATION.

REGARDING CONFLICT OF INTEREST, PLEASE INSTRUCT PETE ROUSSEL TO CALL MARY LOUISE SCHWARZMAN AUTHORIZING HER TO GIVE TO MR. BUCHEN THE MOST RECENT PRINTOUT OF MY PORTFOLIO PLUS ANY INCOME TAX RETURNS OR OTHER PERSONAL FINANCIAL INFORMATION THAT IS REQUIRED. SHE SHOULD ALSO GIVE HIM SAME INFORMATION ON THE TRUST FOR MY THREE CHILDREN, PLEASE TELL MR. BUCHEN THAT I AM NOT OPPOSED TO SELLING ANY OF THE SECURITIES IN MY PORTFOLIO NOR DO I HAVE ANY RESERVATIONS ABOUT A BLIND TRUST IF THAT IS REQUIRED. I WILL REPLY IN DETAIL TO BUCHENTS QUESTIONNAIRE SHORTLY.

MARM REGARDS

GEORGE BUSH

157

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4. MR 92-51,# 11 State Atr. 5/26/93 By KOH NARA, Date 9/2/93



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7 g. DE LONDRES 130 MEXICO, D. F.

MEXICO

New My. Buchen D I you're the tresident's counsel, why don't you connel him That The U.S. electrate is not as shipid as he perceives them . The electorate clearly recognize the Chree most blatant presidential lies of the century : 1. Nixon: I know nothing of the covering. 2. Ford: There was no deal for a parton, 3. Tord : Rochefelle's declination was on his own initiative -These utterences are so patently false that they offend the intelligence of the american people . and now This height of political grossness : The appointment of Seo. Bush as Drienton of CIA !! The former notimed head of a political porty as the Read of CIA? How crass . How vend! We lesans accept george socially, while recognizing his limited intellectual capabilities Tod's draining no out of the party - and out of our minds. Jack West

SECRET

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4 MR 91-22, H3 State Hr. 6/20/94 By 1434 NARA, Date 8/8/94

TO WHITE HOUSE

SECRET SENSITIVE/HANDLE VIA VOYAGER CHANNELS

PEKING 128 04 NOVEMBER 1975 FOR : PHIL BUCHEN FROM: GEORGE BUSH SUBJECT: PERSONAL DATA STATEMENT REF : WASH 130 HERE ARE THE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY PARAGRAPH.

1. NONE FOR BUSINESS, EDUCATION... TRUSTEE OF PHILLIPS ACADEMY ANDOVER, MASS. (LIFE TIME TRUSTEE).

2. THIS WILL BE FURNISHED TO YOU BY MARY LOUISE SCHWARZMAN. MY HOLDINGS ARE MANAGED BY T. ROWE PRICE IN BALTIMORE AND THEY ARE FREE TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS ON ANY HOLDINGS. ALL OF MY HOLDINGS ARE IN PUBLICLY LISTED SECURITIES AND IN NO ENTERPRISE DO I OWN OVER A FRACTION OF ONE PER CENT.

3. A MORTGAGE ON MY RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON DO 5151 PALISADE LANE, NW. 20016. PLEASE CALL MARY LOUISE SCHWARZMAN AT THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN ARCHER FOR NAME OF LENDOR AND AMOUNT OF BALANCE.

4. ONE SUMMER HOUSE, OCEAN AVENUE, KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE, ONE SMALL RESIDENTIAL LOT-NO BUILDINGS ON IT-310 SAGE ROAD, HOUSTON, TEXAS.

5. NO INTERESTS THROUGH PRESENT EMPLOYMENT, STOCK PLAN, OR ANY OTHER PLAN EXCEPT A \$40,000 RETIREMENT BENEFIT FROM ZAPATA CORPORATION, HOUSTON, TEXAS, A FIRM IN WHICH I CURRENTLY HAVE NO STOCK GAMERSHIP. (DETAILS OF THIS PLAN AVAILABLE FROM MRS, SCHWARZMAN).

6. NO EMPLOYEE FRINGE BENEFITS OF ANY KIND EXCEPT FOR GOVERNMENT OND

BUCHEN

PSN:025999

RECALLED PAGE Ø1

TOR: 308/05:26Z DTG: 940415Z NOV 75

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SECRET

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HEALTH CARE.

NONE. 8.

NO. 9.

18. NO.

11. NO.

12. NO.

13' CANDIDATE US SENATE 1964 IN TEXAS, ELECTED HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES 1966, 1968 REPUBLICAN 7TH DISTRICT TEXAS, UNSUCCESSFUL CAND US SENATE 1971. CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMM. 1973-4. OTHER MINOR PARTY JOBS IN TEXAS.

14. NO.

15. PARTY POSITION TO CONGRESS ON ELECTION REFORM WHEN I HEADED GOP NATIONAL COMM. PERHAPS ON OTHER ISSUES-DO NOT RECALL.

16. NC.

17. NO.

18. NC.

19. IN 1970 I RECEIVED FUNDS FOR MY CAMPAIGN FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, NO ONE HAS EVER ALLEDGED THAT THERE WAS ANYTHING ILLEGAL IN THIS, BUT PERHAPS IT COULD BE RESURRECTED TO EMBARRASS THE PRESIDENT OR ME. THERE ARE NO LEGAL PROBLEMS WITH THIS-STATUTES HAVING RUN, AT THE TIME OF MY BEING CONSIDERED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT IN AUGUST 174 THIS MATTER WAS LOOKED INTO BY GENERAL HAIG FOR THE PRESIDENT. HE TOLD ME THE WORD CAME BACK "CLEAN, CLEAN, CLEAN," I CITE IT NOT KNOWING WHETHER THIS KIND OF MATTER IS STILL BEING KICKED AROUND IN DC OR NOT. MY CONSCIENCE IS CLEAR. NOTE: ON ANY OF THESE QUESTIONS REGARDING PERSONAL HOLDINGS

ETC. STMPLY SEND QUESTIONS TO MARY LOUISE SCHWARZMAN C/O REP. ARCHER, LONGNORTH BLDG.

QUERY: DO YOU WANT HE TO FILL THIS OUT, SIGN IT AND SEND IT, OR WILL THIS TELEGRAPHIC RESPONSE SUFFICE?

PLEASE HAVE SOMEONE CALL MARY LOUISE SCHWARZMAN WITH FOLLOWING MESSAGE. "PLEASE FURNISH ANY INFORMATION THEY REQUEST REGARDING MY PERSONAL HOLDINGS, TAX RETURNS, ESTATE ETC. PLEASE DO THE SAME FOR THE CHILDREN'S TRUSTS. THANKS A MILLION SIGNED GEORGE BUSH"

WARM REGARDS.

RECALLED PSN: 205999 PAGE 02

TOR: 328/05:25Z DTG: 040415Z NOV 75

FORD

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November 7, 1975

Dear Mr. Chapman:

1 . Y

In accordance with your request I have obtained from T. Rowe Price Associates, Inc., the attached list of Ambassador and Mrs. Bush's assets which are currently under their supervision. Also attached is a copy of the latest statement from the Southern National Bank, Houston, Texas, which is custodian of these assets, showing the book and market prices thereon. Some additional securities are held by Rauscher Pierce Securities Corporation and their latest statement is attached.

The reference made by Mr. Banerjee, T.Rowe Price, Inc., concerning assets currently in the Bush Children Trusts is due to the fact that arrangements are presently under way to turn over to the two elder children, George W. and John Ellis Bush, their share, One-Fifth each, of the total assets now held by the five Bush children. This distribution should be made in the very near future and at such time, if desired, an updated statement on the remaining assets in the Trust Accounts (Neil, Marvin and Dorothy) will be provided.

As we discussed over the telephone, Ambassador Bush will upon his return to Washington indicate which, if any interests he may wish to retain during his period of government service and discuss with you the possible need for setting up a Blind Trust.

I trust the enclosed information is what you wish. Should you have need for additional information please let me know.

Sincerely, Mary Lou Schwarzmann

Mr. Dudley Chapman Associate Counsel The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

775

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Date [1]19

TO: Phil Buchen FROM: Barry Roth BA FYL re: CIA Director



Opat, Jaroslav (1922)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for East European history; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of the people's democracies. Currently: mason.

Ort, Alexandr (1924)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for International Politics and Economics; party member 1945-70. Specialty: foreign policy of the First Czech republic. Currently: without regular employment.

Otahal, Milan (1928)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1954-70. Specialty: Czechoslovakian history since World War II. Currently: disability pensioner.

Otahalova, Libuse (1925)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences. Specialty: documentations of recent Czechoslovakian history. Currently: disability pensioner.

Palacky, Frantisek (1929)—Formerly: instructor at the Pedagogical Academy in Usti n. L: no party affiliation. Specialty: local history of Northern Bohemia. Currently: teacher at a vocational school.

Pauliny, Akos—Formerly: instructor on the philosophical faculty of the University of Bratislava. Currently: Marburg, Federal Republic of Germany.

Pekarek, Bohumil (1923)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party 1938-45. Currently: laborer.

rently: laborer. Pfafe, Ivan (1928)—Formerly: museum curator; no party affiliation. Specialty: 19th century Czech history; 20th century political history. Currently: museum curator in Rastatt, Federal Republic of Germany.

. Pickova, Vera (1924) — Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; party member until 1970. Specialty: 16th and 17th century military history. Currently: clerk.

Pichlik, Karel (1928)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; party member 1947-70. Specialty: history of World War I. Currently: laborer.

Pokorna, Jirina (1919)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1938-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party in the 1930's. Currently: translator.

Polak, Pavel—Formerly: associate at the Institute for the History of the European Socialist Countries of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences; party member until 1970. Specialty: Russo-Czechoslovakian relations 1917-39; Interhelpo.

Pousta, Zdenek (1940)—Formerly: archivist at the Institute for the History of the Charles University, Prague; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Currently: chauffer.

Precan, Vilem (1933) —Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1951— 70. Specialty: history of the resistance movements during World War II, particularly in Slovakia. Currently: fireman.

Pruzinova, Eva (1930)—Formerly: associate at the Institute for Military History; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovakian army. Currently: postal clerk.

Reiman, Michal (1930)—Formerly: lecturer in the history of the Czechoslovak Communist party at the Academy of Politics of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1946-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party: history of the Russian revolution of 1917. Currently: translator

Reiman, Pavel (1902)—Formerly: until 1968 director of the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1921-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party and the labor movement. Currently: pensioner.

Roskova, Miroslava. Formerly: instructor at the Bratislava Institute of Technology; party member until 1970. Specialty: Communist youth movement and student associations in the 1930's. Seidlerova, Irena (1926)—Formerly: re-

Seidlerova, Irena (1926)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, in Theresienstadt 1943-45; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of physics. Currently: laborer.

Seifter, Pavel (1938)—Formerly: instructor on the philosophical faculty of the Charles University, Prague; party member 1958-70. Specialty: history of the international labor movement. Currently: window washer.

Sladek, Jiri (1913)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Community party; party member from 1930's until 1970. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Currently: pensioner.

rently: pensioner. Smolka, Josef (1929)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1954-70. Specialty: history of science. Currently: clerk:

Svatek, Frantisek (1936)—Formerly: instructor at the Academy of Politics of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member until 1970. Specialty: international labor movement. Currently: clerk in second-hand bookstore.

Svaton, Sava (1923) —Formerly: associate at the Institute for Military History; in concentration camp 1944-45; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of World War I. Currently: laborer.

Sedivy, Jaroslav (1929)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for International Politics and Economics; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Currently: window washer.

Sikl, Zdenek (1933)—Formerly: editor in chief of the journal "History and the Present"; party member 1957-70. Specialty: history of the First Czechoslovak republic. Currently: clerk in public health office.

Snejdarek, Antonin (1914) —Formerly: director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics. Specialty: history of World War II; international politics. Currently: professor at the University of Paris, France.

Solle, Zdenek (1924)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of the labor movement. Currently: clerk in archive of the Academy of Sciences.

Solc, Jiri (1930)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; party member until 1972. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovakian army in World War II. Currently: construction worker.

Svankmajer, Milan (1928)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for East European History; party member until 1970. Specialty: 18th and 19th century Russian history, Currently: librarian.

Styrtecky, Stefan—Formerly: associate at the Institute for the History of the European Socialist Countries of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences; party member until 1970. Specialty: Slovak Communists in Russia after the October revolution.

Teich, Mikulas-Formerly: research associ-

ate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences. Currently: Cambridge, England.

Teichova, Alice—Formerly: lecturer at the Pedagogical Academy, Prague. Currently. Cambridge, England.

Tesar, Jan (1983)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1963-68 (resigned). Specialty: history of World War II. Currently: arrested in 1969, released without trial after 13 months, arrested again in November 1971 and sentenced to six years of imprisonment.

Truc, Miroslav (1929)—Formerly: instructor at the Institute for the History of the Charles University, Prague; party member 1963-70. Specialty: history of the Charles University in the 16th and 17th centuries. Currently: stock clerk.

Tichy, Milos—Formerly: instructor at the University of Bratislava; party member until 1970. Specialty: Slovak regional history.

Ulicny, Frantisek—Formerly: instructor on the philosophical faculty of the University of Presov; party member until 1970. Specialty: settlement in Eastern Slovakia.

Settlement in Eastern Slovakia. Ungermann, Zdenek (1918)—Formerly: lecturer at the Pedgogical Academy, Plzen: party member until 1970. Specialty: local history. Currently: deceased.

Usiak, Jan—Formerly: instructor at the University of Bratislava; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of the Protestant churches in Slovakia.

Vaclavu, Antonin (1922)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1939-70; in concentration camp 1940-45. Specialty: 20th century agricultural history. Currently: disability pensioner.

Vaclavu, Vladka (1923)—Formerly: instructor in Marxism on the Faculty of Law. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party in the 1930's. Currently. librarian.

Valenta, Jaroslav (1930)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for East European History; party member 1948-70. Specialty: Polish-Czechoslovakian relations. Currently: disability pensioner.

Veber, Vaclav (1931)—Formerly: lecturer in political science on the philosophical faculty of the Charles University, Prague; party member 1948-70. Specialty: Leninism and socialist ideologies. Currently: clerk, now unemployed.

Vietor, Martin-Formerly: professor on the Faculty of Law at the University of Bratislava; party member until 1970. Specialty: the Slovak Soviet republic; Southern Slovakia under Hungarian occupation.

Vlasanek, Miroslav (1928)—Formerly: instructor at the Academy of Politics of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1946-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party in the 1930's. Currently: mason.

Vickova, Eva (1924)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1945—70. Specialty: the history of the German Social Democratic exiles in Frague. Currently: disability pensioner.

Zamecnik, Stanislav (1920)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; in concentration camp during World War II; party member 1945—70. Epecialty: history of the Prague uprising of 1945. Currently: laborer.

APPOINTMENT OF GEORGE BUSH. DIRECTOR OF CIA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last week the President announced applor changes in his administration. Among

November 18, 1975

them was the nomination of Mr. George Bush to be Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. This appointment has quickly become a major point of controversy because of the argument of some that building public confidence in our Government means that politicians must be excluded from such sensitive positions as CIA Director.

I do not share this view. It is unsupported by our recent historical experience. It unfairly attacks the integrity of all who seek to serve their country through elective office. And it helps to undermine, rather than restore, the confidence of the American people in their democratic political system.

Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and as a politician, I would like to express my views on the issues raised by the nomination of George Bush to be Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

First, let me explain how I feel about the role of politicians in American public life. To participate in politics is to exercise our freedom. It is one of our most fundamental rights. It must be encouraged, not maligned.

To be a practicing politician is to be sensitized to what is acceptable to the American people. It trains us to respect the governmental institutions for which we are responsible. It demands a measure of proportion and restraint. It imposes the discipline of public accountability. I believe these are the qualities we very much need in our Government and, in particular, in the CIA.

The tragedy of Watergate involved basically one politician, Richard M. Nixon. All politicians in this country will pay for Watergate for some time to come.

But the Nation will pay too high a price, indeed court political bankruptcy, if it forgets that those who conducted the Watergate break-in were not politicians; that those who encouraged and abetted Nixon's subsequent cover-upthe Haldermans, the Ehrlichman's, the Mitchell's—were not politicians; and that many of those who finally brought Mr. Nixon to account, the Sam Ervins, the Peter Rodino's, had been politicians most of their lives.

I believe no post in our Government including the CIA—should be placed off limits to those who may have held elective office. The investigation of the Select Committee into the abuses and the failings of the Central Intelligence Agency and the rest of the intelligence community does little to encourage confidence in the alternatives.

It is my view that if past Directors of our intelligence and investigative agencies had stood for elective office, had gone through the political experience of trying to be responsive to the American people, they might have had the good sense and proportion to say "no" to the many abuses we have uncovered.

In short, Mr. Bush's past political activities should not disqualify him from holding this important post. Assuming he possesses the other qualifications necessary—and I am reserving judgment on that question until the confirmation hearings are over—I would hope his past

political activities might even be an asset to him by affording him the caution, restraint and sense of accountability and proportion that a lifetime in politics usually instills.

But if Mr. Bush's political past presents few concerns regarding his fitness for this office, his possible political future presents a great many. Senator FRANK CHURCH, the chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, has ably articulated these concerns and they are ones which I fully share.

The President has indicated that he regards Mr. Bush as a serious possibility for the Republican Vice Presidential nomination in 1976, and Mr. Bush himself has indicated since his appointment that he maintains a continuing interest in elective public office.

It is precisely this possibility that troubles me deeply, and unless it is clarified satisfactorily I would have serious reservations about supporting Mr. Bush's confirmation.

I have two reasons. The first is a practical one. I do not believe we should confirm as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency someone who may be off campaigning in a few short months. The necessary task of our investigations has subjected the Agency to turmoil enough. Now we are entering the most critical period as we seek to make changes to remedy the problems of the intelligence community. For this the CIA needs a fulltime Director. And the first priority of the new Director must be the Nation's future, not his own future.

My second and greater concern is based on the traditional responsibility of the Senate, when viewing appointments made by the Executive, to assure there is no conflict of interest. This is what I think the chairman of our Select Committee is driving at in the concerns which he has expressed here on the floor. The issue is not the integrity of politicians; it is potential conflict of interest.

The CIA Director must be objective. He must be willing to give a President bad news. He must be willing to say "no" to things which would exceed CIA's authority or even the authority granted the President. He must be prepared to level with the Congress, even when the intelligence information does not square with the policies of the executive branch or the interest of his party.

If, indeed, Mr. Bush is a candidate for the Vice Presidency, or intends to go from service with the CIA to further national office, I believe that he could not fulfill those functions properly. There would be the inevitable suspicion that his actions and advice, however honorably motivated they might in fact be, were premised on or at least tempered by their possible effect on his own political future. Mr. Bush might even be unconscious of the tempering process, but if he maintained political ambition it would surely take place. And even if it did not, many people would never believe it. It would be a classic case of conflict of interest, and as with all such cases, appearance is as important as reality.

For that reason, I call upon Mr. Bush to renounce any candidacy for elective office at the national level for at least 2 years following his tenure as Director of CIA. By "national level" I mean the Presidency, the Vice Presidency, or the Congress.

Mr. Bush has had a distinguished public career. I do not believe having been chairman of the Republican National Committee should by itself disqualify him from holding this office. But given the need for public confidence, I believe 2 years is the minimum time for Mr. Bush to put his political career in trust.

If Mr. Bush is prepared to take that step, then I believe the Senate can consider his nomination on its merits. This does not mean I would not have some serious questions concerning his approach to problems of intelligence, his background, his appreciation of the importance of cooperating with the Congress. But such a step by Mr. Bush would wipe away this cloud of misunderstanding and potential conflict of interest. Indeed, it would be an important step toward restoring confidence in our vital intelligence institutions.

I believe also that Mr. Bush should appear before the select committee so that we may receive his assurances of cooperation with our investigation. Furthermore, the Congress and the country must be assured that he will tolerate no illegalities in the Agency. Both of these assurances are essential if the CIA is to regain the public trust it needs to do its job.

I hope that this debate concerning Mr. Bush will signal a turn of the tide in America's attitude toward those who try to serve the Nation by holding elective office. I have always been very proud to be in politics. I regard the responsibility given to me by the people of Minnesota a sacred trust. I doubt there is a Senator in this Chamber who does not feel the same way. This pride exists at every level of government in the United States.

Yet wounds from Watergate persist. The American people are understandably wary. If we are to put meaning into that increasingly tired phrase, "restore the confidence of the American people," I believe we must first demonstrate confidence in ourselves. We must not, as politicians, turn upon ourselves, attempt to run against our own profession, fall in with those who see politics as evil.

Without politics there is no democracy, and without democracy there is no America.

VIOLENCE IN OUR SCHOOLS

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, recently I had the pleasure of speaking before the First National Conference on Delinquency Prevention in Niagara Falls. This conference was organized by its chief sponsor, the National Federation of State Youth Service Bureau Associations, of which the Maryland Association of Youth Service Bureaus is a charter member. It was also sponsored by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, National Youth Alternatives Project, HEW's Office of Youth Development and the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

,

JACK MARSE ALS

PHIL BUCHEN

Cheney called and they want to go forward with the George Bush hearings as quickly as possible, therefore, I think the report we received from the Senate can be forwarded to the appropriate authorities for further investigation.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1975

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PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

JACK MARSE puls

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GEORGE BUSH

KUANG HUA LU, 17 PEKING, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

December 12, 1975

The Honorable John C. Stennis Chairman Committee on Armed Services United States Senate Washington, D. C.

Dear Chairman Stennis:

In relation to my pending nomination for the position of Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, this letter is to advise you of my employment status, my financial circumstances, and my organizational affiliations.

I am presently Chief, United States Liaison Office, the People's Republic of China and have no other employment relations. Moreover, except for my position as one of the trustees of the "Bush Children Trust" which is discussed below, I do not serve as an officer, director or partner of any corporation, firm or other enterprise operated for profit.

My only interest in a retirement plan, apart from social security or other government program, is a vested, lump-sum retirement benefit in the amount of \$40,000 from Zapata Corporation, Houston, Texas, with which I was associated prior to entering government service.

My securities holdings which have been managed on a fiduciary basis by T. Rowe Price Associates Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, are set forth in the attached schedule. I am advised that nine of these issues would raise a conflict of interest with the duties of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. In order to eliminate this problem and any other potential appearance of conflict, I shall place the entire portfolio into a "blind" trust, if confirmed by the Senate.

I also serve as one of several trustees of the "Bush Children Trust", established for the benefit of my five children. This trust is funded by a diversified portfolio which could raise the

KUANG HUA LU. 17 PEKING, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

same problems of appearance raised by my own holdings discussed above. Accordingly, if confirmed by the Senate, I shall resign my position as a trustee and formally direct the remaining trustees to refrain from directly or indirectly disclosing to me any information about the assets, liabilities, income, expenses, distributions, purchases, sales or any other transaction of the trust so long as I hold the office of Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

My only other assets consist of ownership of a residence in Washington, D. C., a summer house in Maine, a small residential lot in Houston, Texas, personal bank accounts, cash surrender values of personal life insurance policies, household goods and personal effects.

My only organizational affiliations are with Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, which I serve as a trustee, and the Board of the Episcopal Church Foundation, New York City.

I trust this letter provides all the information that you need on these subjects at this time, but I shall be pleased to present any further information as you may request.

Sincerely,

George Bush

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 01456

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL Donor restriction	
TYPE OF MATERIAL Notes	
CREATOR'S NAME Daughtrey, Eva RECEIVER'S NAME Buchen, Philip	
DESCRIPTION Phone call from Senat concerning George M attachments.	tor Percy Bush. With
CREATION DATE	
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 001900423 COLLECTION TITLE Philip W. Buchen File BOX NUMBER	
DATE WITHDRAWN 08/24/1988 WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST LET	

Friday 1/30/76

10:00 Dudley:

 Did we commit ourselves that George Bush should have a blind trust for his holdings?

2. Supposed to get the form to me and prepare a covering letter in which I do advise that he put his securities into blind trust -assuming that was our understanding. Like ----- "attached is the form.

So Mr. Buchen can hand it to George Bush when he goes there.

Dudley is in a meeting (381-5460) and won't be back until 11 or so.

FORD

Buch George

FORD

Friday 1/30/76

10:10 Dawn advises she came in one Sunday and rewrote the letter -- but she also doesn't know if it was signed.

Mr. Lazarus had written a memo to Bush on 12/14 transmitting the letter.

10:20 Brought the file over, and Mr. Buchen talked with Bush.

GEORGE BUSH

KUANG HUA LU, 17 PEKING, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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I trust this letter provides all the information that you need on these subjects at this time, but I shall be pleased to present any further information as you may request.

Sincerely,

George Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

produ. Her. (24m)

January 30, 1976

Dear George:

My file contains the enclosed copy of the letter you sent to Chairman Stennis on December 12, 1975. In the second sentence of the fourth paragraph, you do commit to place your entire portfolio into a "blind" trust.

I also enclose a draft of a <u>Trust Agreement</u> which I used when I came into government and which was approved by the Office of Legal Counsel of the Department of Justice. You may wish to provide your Counsel with this form so that he can adapt it to your purposes.

Again, I wish to express my congratulations on your appointment to the truly important position you are now undertaking. I shall be glad to be of whatever assistance I can.

Singerely,

Philip W. Buchen Counsel to the President

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

Enclosures



GEORGE BUSH

KUANG HUA LU. 17 PEKING, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

December 12, 1975

The Honorable John C. Stennis Chairman Committee on Armed Services United States Senate Washington, D. C.

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Sincerely,

George Bush

Bush George

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 3, 1976

Dea'r George:

As you begin your tenure as DCI, I would like to call to your attention two individuals -- John Clarke and Marshall Miller -- who could be of some assistance to you.

John Clarke retired from the CIA last summer as Associate Deputy to the DCI for the Intelligence Community; he is currently the Assistant Comptroller at Amtrak. At the Agency John was the <u>de facto</u> head of the Intelligence Community Staff. I worked closely with him during the early stages of the Congressional investigations and have consulted with him since then on a variety of intelligence matters. In my dealings with John, he impressed me as a man of exceptional intelligence, judgment, loyalty and common sense. I believe he still has much to give to the CIA and recommend him to you without any reservations whatsoever.

I don't know Marshall Miller personally, but he is highly regarded by Jim Wilderotter of my staff. As you will note from his resume, Mr. Miller was with Bill Ruckelshaus both at EPA and the Department of Justice. He is quite interested in a position on your staff, and Jim feels his legal background and broad government experience would be particularly useful to you in view of the kinds of problems the Agency will be facing in this transitional period.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen Counsel to the President

The Honorable George Bush Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C.

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Enclosure

Biography

Marshall Lee Miller

Marshall Lee Miller is Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, which he joined in June 1975.

Before taking this position, Mr. Miller was in private law practice in Washington, D. C., during 1970-1971 and 1974-1975. Prior to this, Mr. Miller was Associate Deputy Attorney General to William Ruckelshaus at the Department of Justice.

From 1971 until 1973, he was at the Environmental Protection Agency where he was Special Assistant to Mr. Ruckelshaus for air pollution, toxic chemicals, and pesticides. He also served as EPA's Chief Judicial Officer, acting for the Administrator on appeals from decisions of the Administrative Law Judges.

Mr. Miller attended Harvard College, Oxford University, Heidelberg University, and Yale Lew School.

He is the author of the "Environmental Law Handbook" and "Bulgaria in the Second World War." He also conducted a seminar at Yale University on the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Mr. Miller was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1942 and currently resides in Alexandria, Virginia.



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

January 30, 1976

The Honorable Philip W. Buchen Counsel to the President The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Phil,

We did send in that December 12th letter committing me to the blind trust. The confusion arose because there was also the December 14th letter.

In any event, the securities which were deemed by counsel to be a conflict of interest will be sold on schedule and the blind trust will be executed shortly.

Sincerely,

George Bush Director

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

The Honorable Philip W. Buchen Counsel to the President The White House Washington, D. C. 20500