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United States Department of State

The Chief of Protocol
Washington, D.C. 20520

June 24, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. Michael Deaver
The White House

FROM : S/CPR - Selwa Roosevelt *SR*

This brief resume of my reactions to the European trip is offered, not in a spirit of criticism, but with the desire to see how in the future my office and the Chief of Protocol can be better utilized by the White House staff. I urge you to accept these thoughts as evidence of genuine concern and affection. It is not my purpose to blame anyone. You will know better than I where responsibility lies for some of the problems and failures.

I also want to nip in the bud any ill feeling between us and White House Advance. You are the only one with the power and self assurance to put an end to childish back-biting and turf warfare.

As I see it we are working together to achieve the same ends, i.e. the enhancement of America's role as a leader of the free World and to give the President our total support and loyalty in achieving this.

You personally chose me to be Chief of Protocol. Presumably you consider me highly qualified, as do all your associates judging from the letters I have received. This job is not merely a matter of social graces. It carries a large administrative responsibility and the Office of Protocol is one of the oldest institutions in government. Protocol exists because it was found to be a necessity. It is the lubricant which eases international relations so they can be conducted with civility, dignity and grace.

THE ROLE OF PROTOCOL

To get perspective on my role I spoke with every previous Chief of Protocol to learn how they participated in the President's visits abroad. Their answers were almost universally alike, and the Reagan White House is the first to make serious departures from this.

1. If Protocol goes well you never notice it; if Protocol is ignored, errors become the major focus of a mischievous media looking for anything to take attention away from the substantive accomplishments of the Administration.

(Example: in London when the President pushed Mrs. Reagan ahead of him instead of taking his place along side the Queen, this forced everything else that he did out of the news and even such conservative papers as the "Telegraph" devoted most of a front page column to it. See attached xerox).

2. Every previous American President has taken his Chief of Protocol with him when going to a foreign country.

3. The Chief of Protocol has always traveled on Air Force One to be able to brief the President on ceremonial matters especially on arrivals and departures. It is his foreign counterpart who boards the plane to escort the President. True, one could brief the President ahead of time but experience shows this does not work because there are always last minute changes.

4. The Chief of Protocol always has the gift trunks on the same plane as the President and herself. (On this trip the logistics of the trunks were horrendous. See attached description).

5. The Chief of Protocol on a major trip such as this has to have a gifts officer along. There was great objection from White House Advance to my taking Bunny Murdock. She ended up working round the clock and Sittmann has in fact told members of my staff that she did a wonderful job and was a great asset to the trip.

6. The Chief of Protocol is regarded in every world capital with respect and is the person of the President when the President is not present. That presumably is why one always tries to choose a Chief of Protocol with discretion and class. It does no good to confer titles and distinction on that person if he or she is not perceived to be held in an high regard by her own colleagues. It is up to you to insist that members of your staff treat the Chief of Protocol with dignity and respect.

(Example: it came back to me that one of your aides said "Who does she think she is" when I asked for assistance in transporting certain gifts. After encountering some resentment I picked up the phone and called the commercial airlines and asked them if they would transport our gift to the Queen and they were thrilled to do it free of charge. The whole procedure took five minutes. I understand one aide said he spent a day on the matter. Doing what?).

7. If the President is entertaining abroad the Chief of Protocol should be involved because when the President entertains in an American Embassy he is automatically the host. It is regarded as his home--a piece of American soil transplanted. This is international Protocol language; everyone understands it and acts accordingly.

(Examples: On my advance trip to Paris I discovered that the invitations for the dinner the President was giving were about to be issued in the name of the Ambassador, with the President as the guest of honor. I pointed out that this was wrong, especially with Mitterand attending, and it was changed.)

The President's dinner toast was wrong. The President should have opened his remarks by welcoming his guests to a bit of American soil in France, as if he were the host, and to thank Mitterand for coming. It was wrong for him to refer to Ambassador and Mrs. Galbraith as hosts.)

8. The Chief of Protocol can help avoid the pushing and shoving by people who are jockeying for position and recognition. Rules of Protocol were invented so that not everybody rushes to the head of the line and to avoid diplomatic incidents.

(Example: I'm told that on Air Force One from Bonn to Berlin the American Ambassador to Germany and the German Ambassador to the United States were seated in the back of the plane. Sittmann, McManus, etc. were seated in front. Common courtesy, to say nothing of Protocol, dictates that our foreign guests be treated more graciously. A very protocolaire Ambassador could have refused to ride on the plane and that would have been a lovely incident for the newspapers!.)

9. Protocol can help avoid friction between our Embassy abroad and the White House staff. Protocol could be a liaison between the Embassy's staff and the White House advance since our work spans both the Department of State and the White House. We have credibility with both and we understand the needs of both.

(Example: At every Embassy--White House Advance left behind bitter feelings--needlessly. In interests of space I will not detail incidents now--but perhaps you should talk with our Ambassadors.)

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS:

1. Although White House Advance takes the lead in planning and execution of Presidential trips abroad I recommend that a member of the Office of Protocol always be included in the Advance team. We do know the ropes, the pitfalls, and the foreign Chiefs of Protocol which White House advance has to deal with.

(Example: Some of the requests White House advance made in England to which their Protocol people objected. These incidents made their way into the press and gave a picture of us as "country bumpkins" or insensitive and officious. Basically, this came about because the international language of diplomacy was not used.) See attached xerox.

2. Protocol should be regarded as an adjunct of the White House and a friend, not as an adversary. We know our place and we play by the rules.

3. Decisions as to who should be part of the Official Party, etc. on trips are substantive matters, with international diplomatic implication. They should not be decided by advance men, but by consultation between Deaver and high level White House colleagues, and State Department with some input from the embassies and Protocol.

4. These decisions should not be regarded as payoffs.

5. White House advance and members of your staff should be warned not to toss your name around freely as wanting this or that. It builds up great resentments toward you and gives them a very inflated sense of their own importance. This was one of the great problems in the Nixon White House. In the field I was told that when Deaver came out as advance everyone found him reasonable and flexible--but when he delegates his authority, it gets translated into humorless intransigence.

6. The American Ambassador in any country to be visited should have more overall coordinating responsibility than the White House presently accords him. He understands the locals and his position as the President's representative must be reinforced at all times. He has to pick up the pieces after White House Advance has left.

ADDENDA

THE GIFT TRUNKS SNAFU:

From the very beginning it was obvious that White House advance misjudged the dimensions of the logistics problem of gifts--both President and Mrs. Reagan's and Secretary and Mrs. Haig's.

Luckily, I checked with my predecessors and learned there was always at least one steamer trunk for each country to be visited, a contingency trunk, plus trunks for the Secretary of State's gifts. (I was told that President Johnson even traveled with a separate gift plane and had an engraver aboard so he could have the gifts personalized right on the spot. Only Democrats can do that!).

I instructed Bunny to inform the logistics people there would be at least seven or more gift trunks. When Bunny had packed the several hundred gifts, we advised A/EX that the trunks were ready and were told there was no place for them. Bunny was leaving in two hours for Paris. She asked them what to do; they said "We don't know. It's your problem". (As if it were something for our personal use; they seemed not to care that they were for the President and Mrs. Reagan and should have priority over other luggage.)

Bunny was able finally, with help from Bill Sittmann, to get the five Paris trunks on the press plane. She eliminated one trunk entirely by taking less contingency gifts and two trunks were sent ahead, one to Bonn, another to Rome. In Paris, the day before the departure for Rome, Bunny learned that the two trunks had by mistake both gone to Bonn. Gifts were needed the next morning in Rome. (Another illustration why they should always be with the President's plane.) The two trunks were then shipped commercially back to Paris and placed on Air Force One and backup. A nightmare!

This was a new experience for White House Advance as well as for me. In the future I will see that more warning is given so that space can be allowed on Air Force One for the gifts immediately needed for each stop. The other trunks could be on the backup plane. Never should the gift trunks go on the press plane, the car plane, or jump plane.

In a May 28th McManus memo to all those traveling you will note there is an item at the end of page two which says in effect that baggage space on each aircraft is severely limited because of volume of equipment, luggage, official gifts, etc. This shows that McManus and Co. were cognizant of the problem but made no allowances for the trunks when loading the planes.

Also before leaving, Bunny reminded everyone that all gifts received by the Reagans should be turned in to her for cataloguing and acknowledging. None were turned in. Only now are we beginning to sort out the mess and no one knows who to thank for some of the gifts. If Bunny and I had been placed where we should have been this could have been avoided.

FRANCE

GENERAL ACCOMMODATIONS

If I were paranoiac I could assume from the various things that happened in Paris that an attempt was made to keep me as far away from the White House staff as possible as if contact with me might expose them to a contagious disease. From the beginning I indicated that it was important for Bunny and myself to be near Rosebush knowing that most of our work would involve synchronizing with the First Lady's schedule. In response, McManus and Co. put us in a different hotel from the White House using the logic that since we were in the State Department we could be housed with Secretary Haig and staff. It simply did not work out efficiently.

We were not on the White House switchboard in Paris. We were not provided with drops in our rooms, nor beepers; no one could reach us when there were changes in the program, when gifts were needed, or any other emergency. It was a 15-30 minute ride to take a gift to the Crillion. In other words we were as far away and out of communication as possible. How does this serve the President?

At my hotel in Paris I was placed on a different floor, alone, away from the Secretary's party and his security-- in an uncomfortable room. On several counts this shows lack of consideration for a woman alone, with a name like Roosevelt, in a city where American diplomats are being kidnapped and terrorized.

THE MITTERAND LUNCHEON CONTROVERSY

I was at the Embassy at a meeting of about ten people the day the question of the luncheon hour was discussed with the French Chief of Protocol. Some allusion has been made to this in the press, and since I saw it with my own eyes I know that the press account was accurate.

The French Chief of Protocol was asked if the luncheon could be at 2:00 pm. He replied that would be very difficult as Mitterand had scheduled it for 1:00 pm--the normal lunch time in France. White House Advance insisted that it had to be 2:00 pm without giving a reason. They in fact ordered him to do it. The French Chief of Protocol, some what nonplussed, finally said he would try to get it changed to half past one, but that's the best he could do. The American response was "We'll get you for this". What did that mean?

When the President was late for the luncheon, either by accident or design the French press made a big thing out of it. This was seen as a calculated rudeness; I don't think President Reagan is that sort of man. That night Mitterand, using not very subtle, but eloquent diplomatic language, was "forced" to be late for the President's dinner.

THE VERSAILLES GALA

Question: Whether or not I would go after dinner to the Versailles Gala. So that I could make alternate plans I asked the French Chief of Protocol if I were among those going. He did not know; he had turned the tickets over to McManus who apparently would make that decision. This of course struck everyone as odd, including the French Chief of Protocol.

That evening Ambassador Galbraith casually asked if I would like a ride with him to Versailles the next evening. I told him I did not know if I was going and could not get an answer from McManus. He was indignant both for the lack of consideration to me and because he felt an American Ambassador in an Official Delegation should not even have to inquire. I returned to my hotel and the next thing I knew he called to tell me he had asked McManus what the story was and McManus said it was up to Deaver, where upon I believe he called you. I apologize for your being bothered. I did not ask the Ambassador to do this. It could have been avoided if it had been done according to Protocol. It seems that McManus had placed on the list someone who had no business going but for whom McManus wanted to do a favor.

ENGLAND

You asked me before I left what I felt was necessary for my participation. I told you I should be in the Official Party for France. Re - England, you indicated you were having headaches about it. Because I had lived in England and been to Buckingham Palace several times I felt I should not insist on being included in the Windsor portion. I did this to be considerate and not to make waves. I was wrong. My reward for being nice was in England I received the most insulting treatment and I have to think it was deliberate. At no time did the White House staff see fit to indicate to the London Embassy that the Chief of Protocol was coming. McManus personally did not allow me to be seated with the Official Delegation accompanying the President to the House of Lords. This was not only a Protocol error, but it was humiliating. Of the entire American group I was the only one who knew a great portion of the assembled guests. Many came over to greet me. They surely must have wondered why I, alone, was seated with the secretaries instead of taking my proper place as the President's Ambassador and Chief of Protocol. I do not mind private slights but I cannot suffer public ones, especially where I am so well known. Too, I learned that morning that everyone except myself was included in Mrs. Thatcher's luncheon or an alternate one--even the White House photographer! It was so noted in the British press (see attached).

The matter of who goes to a luncheon given by a Prime Minister is a foreign policy decision and should not be made by a White House Advance man who has no knowledge of its implications. As a member of the Administration and a diplomat,

I have far more to offer the assembled British guests than a man whose job it is to arrange Presidential logistics. I knew personally many of the people at that luncheon. My husband served for five years as Chief of Station, CIA, London. I entertained almost every member of Parliament at that time from both Labor and Conservative parties. I could have been a serious and credible exponent of President Reagan's economic and foreign policy. Instead, for reasons that escape me I was not included in the luncheon but others far lower in rank were--McManus, Rosebush, Sittmann, the White House photographer, etc.

Yesterday, in Washington I represented the President to greet Mrs. Thatcher. It would have been so much nicer for her and for me if she regarded me as a person of some stature. McManus' people did all they could to diminish it.

746

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 9, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Michael A. McManus, Jr. *MAC*

SUBJECT: European Trip Debriefing

The purpose of this memorandum is to discuss and record some of the important aspects of the President's first major international trip.

From the President's point of view everyone would agree that the trip was a success except for the fact that the schedule was too tight and the trip was quite tiring. The President was convincing as a world leader and a man of peace, two major speeches were very well received, the personal meetings went well and the media coverage was quite good.

The impression from the press was one of understanding for the need of a rest day where significant time change and travel is involved. I would recommend a day of rest be included in all future foreign trips. Scheduled "down time" also proved to be quite important. On this particular trip down time was used as briefing time for unforeseen international events i.e. Lebanon, Falklands. There is always potential for unpredictable events to intercede and we should always allow time for the unsuspected.

There always seems to be a tendency to over schedule. Many times this comes from the requests for additional Presidential time from host governments, but we must be conscious of not only one specific day's schedule but the effect of several days of a full schedule. I would recommend that the first couple of discussions on schedule contain an attempt to leave more open time than we really need in recognition of the fact that we will be asked to do more later.

Early recognition should always be given to the fact that there are really three trips being organized. The first and foremost is clearly the President's but important consideration should also be given to the two additional elements of the press and staff. The press problems will be discussed later but it is important to note here that on many international trips in the future it appears that host governments will control press coverage and size of the groups more than they ever have in the past. The day of the U.S. press as world feed appears to be over and this means more equality for other countries press. We found in Europe that many members of the press never saw the President for several

days and this needs to be considered. Many prominent members of the press corp may be excluded from certain events and they won't like it. One way to try to head off possible criticism is to release some sort of press schedule which discusses in frank terms the coverage limitation we expect. The staff problems on the other hand stem as much from sheer numbers as it does from the fact that many people have no direct role to play in the events of a particular day. They expect to be taken care of. At several points during this trip the numbers of traveling staff reached 700 including all elements. It is important that the embassy staff recognize this problem and assign several people to specifically deal with it. The Presidential advance staff has neither the time or the assets to effectively address the problem.

Some of the other matters that should be discussed in connection with this trip can be organized into the following categories:

Overall Organization - I believe that there is benefit in continuing to have an overall trip coordinator and a press coordinator. There should not be any reason why the overall coordinator couldn't be the Director of Advance provided that office is organized in a way that allows the domestic advance needs to be supervised by the Assistant Director who coordinates all activities of that office out of Washington. A good network of experienced volunteer advance people is also necessary to make this system work.

I think we learned the importance of having only one senior person make the pre-advance trips in addition to the lead advance person for a given country. Host governments can get confused by seeing too many senior decision makers on the earlier trips and the effectiveness of the lead advance is diluted by too many senior predecessors.

One of the difficulties in the recent trip arose out of the newness of Eric Rosenberger and me. Staff members were not sure of our role and we were not sufficiently acquainted with the particular needs of different staff members. In the future, I would recommend a coordinator who is known to the staff and familiar with their needs. If someone new is being brought in they need to be brought in well before the start of the pre-advance.

It is a good idea to have a senior U.S.S.S. person assigned as a member of this coordinating group. The relationship between the service person and the staff coordinator is important from the beginning and they should continue to meet on a regular basis throughout the trip.

Pre-Advance - The numbers of people traveling on the pre-advance can get completely out of control. Although the additional people contribute to a reduction in cost, I believe they tend to cut down on the effective and efficient use of time which is critical during such a quick trip.

I would suggest the possibility of pooling the media participation but including a representative of the writing press. If this is

not possible, a separate meeting schedule for press is necessary to keep senior staff meetings limited to a small number. Perhaps evening update briefings could be used to keep the larger group current on schedule changes.

It is most important that each Embassy from the Ambassador down understand the chain of command during a Presidential visit. This should be explained in very clear terms at the beginning of the pre-advance visit. Reference should be made to the State Department directive on this subject. It should be stressed that the White House runs all aspects of the trip and that the White House lead advance is the President's personal representative for planning the trip. It should be made clear that the White House advance will create and control all schedules related to the President's visit. Embassy's should not be writing schedules for any purpose or negotiating any aspects of a Presidential visit without White House direction and in most cases staff presence.

Host countries should be discouraged from trying to lock us into a schedule too early. First, this is dangerous from a security point of view, it encourages the host to print something early and it doesn't allow us any flexibility to make late changes based upon updated needs.

In the security area certain agreements particularly regarding motorcade format and press security should be reduced to writing as soon as possible so that it can be disseminated consistently to the lower operating levels.

Washington Office Organization - The Advance Office should be set up in such a way as to have a senior advance person available to work the trip desk people and run the office during an international trip. This person should be the coordination point for all staff input and for requests for information from the trip coordinator. Information should flow from this point to traveling staff so all persons are fully aware of what they should expect. Schedule information, manifest clearance and meeting participant lists should be coordinated from this point. The Wang computer operators in the host countries must keep this office up to date on schedule changes and other necessary information. Coordination between this advance office function and the State Department administrative office is also important.

One of the major holdups for the printing of schedules at an early date is the decision input on manifests and meeting participants. Although I recognize the political problems and personnel problems associated with these decisions, the sooner they can be made the better the job of informing traveling staff of schedule and movement requirements.

The Washington based operation should also include a representative of the press, military office, service and State Department to ensure necessary input and a quick reaction time to any changes or additional requirements.

Advance Teams - The advance teams in Europe worked out extremely well especially considering the fact that many of the participants had never even met before. The trip pointed out the value of having volunteer advance resources who are not only experienced but also known to the staff or press. I recommend we increase the number of volunteer advance people and put on an advance school for approximately fifty (50) people. The more the advance system can be uniform the better, but it is important that all advance types be familiar with the present system. We should make an effort to use volunteers in a specialist role and to develop staff advance and press advance specialists. This system will help to let the staff and press gain the necessary familiarity. The schedule and other information should be sent to volunteers as soon as possible so they will be able to discuss the trip better during the advance briefing.

The advance team briefing prior to departure should include a review of the equipment being used on the trip, radio procedures and telephone usage. Separate meetings should be held with the press coordinator so that all team members will be aware of press pool plans, limitations and coverage. Requirements for staff schedules should also be discussed. The role of the Embassy and the chain of command are also subjects for this briefing.

The list of advance persons both full time and volunteer should be distributed to those offices which need these contact names.

Actual Advance Operations - I believe we learned that two weeks may be too much lead time for most visits. There will be exceptions however for particularly difficult stops such as Paris/Versailles. Advance teams need to be more conscious of team discipline. Advance members should not leave the city they are assigned to before a Presidential visit unless there is some emergency or other unique situation.

The first order of business for an advance team or particularly the lead advance is to meet with the Ambassador. One further run through of the chain of command is usually helpful. Advance team offices should not be in the Embassy no matter what the Ambassador may offer. There are too many aspects of the mission which are better accomplished with some limited amount of independence to say nothing of the value of having an office near sleeping rooms in view of the time change consideration.

The advance team should meet their Embassy counterparts as soon as possible and where a counterpart doesn't seem to be working out they should be replaced as soon as possible. Inefficient personnel can only get worse as the actual visit get nearer.

It is critical to have a staff meeting every day at some convenient time. There are too many people involved in an international trip to take the risk of assuming that proper coordination is taking place. Each individual section should bring the others up to day on problems, changes and meetings. The lack of staff meetings caused several problems during the European trip. Notice of meetings is important to make certain that host governments are not being inconvenienced by the improper scheduling of groups visiting sites at different times

during the day. Where possible site visits should be scheduled in groups so that objectives can be accomplished during one visit without inconveniencing the host government. This was a problem in Europe.

Where problems are uncovered during the advance and it appears that they can't be resolved at the site it is important to get them to the trip coordinator as soon as possible. This frees the advance-man up to concentrate on other matters and gets the problem to a higher decision level quickly.

Lead advance need to be aware of the necessity of having complete draft schedules and manifests to the coordinator at least 24 hours before the printing deadline. These schedules should include complete guest and staff instructions. Schedules were continuously late in Europe and guest and staff instructions were rarely complete. Schedule requirements and guest and staff instruction formats should be part of the advance school program to assure consistency.

Schedule books should be distributed as early as possible. Copies should be reserved for distribution to the advance staff upon arrival at each site.

We learned during this trip that consideration of the staff can be extremely important. Many staff people need transportation information or special assistance. The sheer numbers of those people means that there won't be enough transportation or other services if everyone has the same request at once. Clear memos explaining what is available to the staff and a simple system for meeting transportation and other needs can go a long way toward cutting off potential problems. Priority lists for any particular service need to be carefully drafted to insure that someone of an equal level is not left out. Several Embassy people need to be available with the sole responsibility of staff needs including entertainment.

The lead press and staff advance person should have a short meeting at the end of each day with the coordinators to address any problems and to critique the day. This procedure was most helpful in Europe in dealing with the security problem in France and motorcades in Bonn.

Consideration should be given to putting together groups of certain people and their staff requirements. Assistant's to the President together with their staff traveling with them and other necessary support groups could all be put up in close proximity to allow for the best possible working condition. Special typewriters and other equipment needs should also be considered since these are very difficult to obtain on foreign trips.

The lead advance should be sure to include the State Department advance and security people in all staff meetings to assure coordination of all schedules.

Press - A number of problems with the press were raised upon our return from Europe. I have met with Judy Woodruff and the NBC producers as well as Tom DiFrank on these matters. The problems they raised cover two basic areas: security and the way the rest of the world now treats the U.S. press.

In the security area complaints were caused by the continual magnetomonitoring of the press. It turns out that the problem was caused by a duplication of effort between our Secret Service and host government security. In a number of places we would check the press at the airport or at a hotel and then the host government would check them again at the site. This problem can be resolved in the future by better coordination between security groups and perhaps by some prior written agreement on security coverage.

The other press problem is a more serious one, however, in that it represents a more fundamental and permanent change in press coverage during international trips. In the past host governments have been willing to recognize the U.S. press as a kind of world feed and therefore gave them special treatment. Now host governments have sophisticated media operations comparable to our own. The concept of parity in press operations is now the order of the day. We found during the European trip that host governments would establish pool coverage and size limitations which severely restricted our press. While we were able to negotiate the mix of representation in the pools we were not able to significantly increase their size in most cases. This fact, coupled with the limited number of open press events, meant that many members of the press could spend the whole day or more without seeing the President at all. They were just not used to this kind of treatment.

The emphasis on the network coverage and representation has also bothered other members of the press. Pool makeup is dominated by the nets and the financial backing which the nets have also permit them to gain some advantage over the writing press, for instance. Staff workers for the nets save better seats on the press plane for their people and the nets all have representatives participating in the pre advance. Pre advance participation makes the nets better able to deal with the problems of a foreign trip - other than security.

The press problems are ones we will continue to take a look at to suggest some additional ways of resolving their complaints to date.

Debriefing and Records - After the past trip debriefings were held with the military office, the press, the advance office, the secret service and certain staff members. These proved to be extremely helpful and I would recommend that they be continued.

Records should be kept from the trip on all aspects from the actual schedules, manifests, participants, etc., to the debriefing reports.

The Press

Introduction

The media coverage of the President's trip to Europe was comprehensive and for the most part accurate. It reflected the trip strategy of presenting the President as a strong world leader and a pursuer of world peace. The success of the trip was due not only to the President's own style and positive delivery of two substantive speeches, but also to the briefing schedules for the press and the fact that the trip strategy was maintained throughout the trip.

In order to successfully carry out the trip strategy and to meet the objectives of the President, it was essential not to overexpose the President and therefore dilute the major issues as projected in the President's prepared remarks. Considering the situation in the Falklands and in Lebanon, it became increasingly important to control the exposure of the President to the press and the content of the press briefings. As a result, the press complained that they did not have greater access. This factor, together with the physical fatigue inherent in a fully scheduled trip and a few inconvenient security arrangements, created some discontent with the press corps.

As American Presidents travel overseas more frequently, the requirements of the President and his traveling party, including the press, have become well known to many governments. In the past, governments were unfamiliar with these requirements and eventually gave in to the wishes of persistent White House advance representatives. Under the guise of security or protocol, foreign governments design a Presidential visit to best meet the political needs of their own governments. Press coverage reflects this theme and the number of American media who see the President has decreased.

Media interest in Presidential foreign trips has increased greatly during the past ten years, while the access of the media to Presidential events has decreased. The traditional foreign stop has usually included an airport arrival ceremony with open coverage, a color event or speech with open coverage, a bilateral meeting with expanded pool coverage and a state dinner with expanded pool coverage.

During the recent trip to Europe, there was only one airport arrival ceremony with remarks, and that was in Berlin on the last day of the trip. The only other events open to the entire press corps were the arrival at the Quirinale Palace in Rome on June 7, the speech to the Bundestag in Bonn on June 9 and the speech at Charlottenburg Palace on June 11. All other events were covered very extensively by live local television and could be seen in all press centers by the traveling press corps. Host governments restricted the size of each pool to such an extent that very few members of the press were able to see the President by participating in pool coverage. As the number of open coverage events decreased, so did the size of each pool.

The type of television coverage has also changed during the last few years. In the past, all television coverage was provided by the American networks and host country television. Since the American networks were so superior to host country television, the host country would allow each network to cover every event to make sure that the American networks got the news to the rest of the world. Due to the great technological advances in television during the past five years, the quality of host country television is now excellent and at times superior to that of American networks. Host country television now covers every aspect of a Presidential trip and for a substantial fee make their coverage available to the American networks. Since host countries are no longer dependent on American television, it is very rare for more than one American camera to be allowed in each pool. The result, therefore, is that all four networks are trapped into using the same tape for almost all events.

Since so much of the coverage of Presidential events is dependent on the use of pool tape and because there is so little hard news during most foreign trips and a much higher level of network competition than five years ago, a majority of the coverage of a foreign trip is involved not with the narrow substance of the trip, but with the many peripheral aspects of the trip. This type of coverage allows the networks to lengthen their coverage, make the coverage more entertaining, and hopefully increase their Neilson ratings.

When only Presidential events were being covered, the scheduling of crews was relatively simple. In today's competitive market, with the coverage of the President being only one of six or seven possible stories being prepared each day, the scheduling of crews and therefore the timely availability of the White House press schedule and pool assignments have become more important.

Due to an increase in international terrorism, the possibility that terrorists may infiltrate the press corps and the dependance to a certain degree by the Secret Service on host country security procedures, a decision was made to have the American press pass through magnetometers before they boarded the press plane or entered secure areas. This procedure was often duplicated by host country security and also necessitated very early hotel departures. The press complained that security for the American press was too tight and in many cases the press was correct. The procedures for press security are now being reviewed and more attention will be given to providing a more reasonable system for foreign trips.

A number of new trends have therefore occurred in the coverage of foreign trips. The results are that very few press ever see the President; that the White House Press Office has less impact on the size and composition of press pools; that network television coverage has expanded from straight news to include more comprehensive and entertaining coverage; that briefings are more tightly controlled by the White House; that less hard news occurs; and that most members of the press feel isolated from the senior staff and the President and therefore complain about the lack of access and security inconveniences.

RECOMMENDATIONSPRESS

1. The Press Secretary should always be manifested on Air Force One and Marine One when possible, and should be in staff one in motorcades. He should be a member of the official party and should be housed with other members of the official party.
2. The use of magnetometers and other security procedures for the Press should be reviewed so that the objectives of the USSS are met in relation to the practical logistical movements of the Press.
3. While trip scheduling must give priority to the objectives of the President, consideration should be given to press movements, Press filing deadlines and a reasonable amount of sleep for the press. It is suggested that after major events--particularly during foreign travel--a half-day of "down time" for the press and the traveling party should be allowed.
4. A press advance office should be established with offices in the Advance Office.
5. A permanent contact within the Office of the Press Secretary should be established as a liaison with the Press Advance Office.
6. Prior to each trip, a meeting should be held with ICA in Washington to establish the appropriate support role for ICA during the trip.
7. A meeting should be held with ICA personnel at each Embassy to define the relationship of the Press Advanceman with ICA, to review the specific ICA support role for each event and for the trip in general and to establish a system for the Press Advanceman to receive progress reports on ICA activity.
8. Press schedules, pool sizes and compositions, manifests of Air Force One and Press Helo and briefing schedules should be sent to the trip Press Coordinator as early in the trip as possible.
9. Press Advancemen should communicate with the trip Press Coordinator on a regular basis throughout the trip.
10. Members of the traveling party should discuss press arrangements only with the Press Secretary, the trip Press Coordinator or the Press Advanceman. This becomes especially critical when changes occur and adjustments have to be made.

RECOMMENDATIONSGENERAL

1. The chain of command within the advance team, the system of communication with host country officials and the conduct of the advance team while dealing with Embassy personnel, host country officials and during free time should be defined.
2. The position of the head advancement and the other members of the advance team should be clearly communicated to each Ambassador, D.C.M., Administrative officer, and ICA officer so that it is fully understood that the lead advancement and not the Ambassador is responsible for all aspects of a trip.
3. A system should be established during the advance for all appropriate members of the advance team to regroup with the Trip Coordinator when changes occur during a trip in order to ensure that whatever action is taken reflects the appropriate requirements of all support groups.
4. When possible, a staff meeting should be held each day during a trip to review the next day's activities.
5. The structure of the advance should be designed to ensure the free flow of information to all members of the advance team, and team meetings should be held on a regular basis.
6. The size of the advance team which meets with host country officials and participates in site surveys should be kept to a minimum.
7. The distribution of Presidential "goodies" should be done so that all members of the advance team are able to reward their appropriate counterparts.
8. The lead advancement should make every effort to have the President's photographer as close as possible to the President at all times.
9. The advance should be broken down into four elements: The President and the Senior Staff, the First Lady, the Press, and the traveling support staff.
10. While primarily responsible for providing for the requirements of the President, the advance team should be sensitive to the political, cultural and protocol customs of each host government and be willing to make minor adjustments in the accepted White House procedures if the needs of the President will not be compromised.

11. Special attention should be given to providing bilingual speaking drivers for all American vehicles.
12. The advance team and the traveling staff should minimize radio traffic during all Presidential movements as well as during the trip itself.
13. Preparations for the 1983 Economic Summit in the United States should begin immediately. A full-time team should be established, headed by a White House staff member, which also includes representatives from State, USSS, WHCA and the N.S.C.
14. To soften the no access complaints of the press, consideration should be given to having the President hold an informal discussion at some time during a trip with an appropriate number of White House press. This event should be spontaneous.
15. An effort should be made to have the President do a spontaneous people event during a period of free time. It would be covered by the travel pool. The success of this type of event is dependant on having only a very small number of staff involved.

European Trip Report The Press

THE PRE-ADVANCE

The initial pre-advance trip was led by Mike Deaver on February 12-19 and it was during this trip that the final schedule for the trip was developed.

Subsequent pre-advance trips occurred on April 3-7, when Eric Rosenberger attended a press seminar in Paris to discuss the Versailles Summit; on April 13-17, when Mike Deaver led a pre-advance team which included the press to all the stops; on May 2-7, when Mike McManus led a pre-advance team which included forty members of the press to all the stops; and on May 23-30, when Mike McManus, Eric Rosenberger, Roger Counts and Tom Quinn visited all the stops and held in-depth meetings with all the advance teams. The press were invited to accompany the pre-advance teams on the April 13-17 and the May 2-7 trips and representatives from the television networks and the still photographers accompanied the pre-advance team on both trips. The wires and the White House Correspondents Association declined to send a representative on either trip.

Due to the recent increase competition between the networks and due to the new television technology, the number of network personnel who participated in the May 2-7 pre-advance became unmanageable. Both the White House and the networks are aware that the number of network personnel who accompany the next foreign pre-advance should be greatly reduced.

During the April 13-17 pre-advance trip, the ABC Nightline crew accompanied the advance team.

The network pool producer and the still photography pool coordinator distributed detailed briefing material after The Pre-Advance.

A pre-advance briefing was held for the wires and the writers.

ADVANCE SEMINARS

On May 15th and May 22nd indepth seminars were held for all members of the advance teams going to Europe. In addition to briefings on security, the political situation, the Embassy structure, the press arrangements, and the overall conduct of the advance teams, each press representative was given an indepth press schedule, a press advance manual for international trips, an ICA Presidential advance manual, a check list for international press arrangements and diagrams of all event sites. In addition, a meeting was held with each press advance representative to discuss specific arrangements discussed during the pre-advance trips. Press advance representatives were also given the names, background and responsibilities of all host country press officials and all ICA and embassy personnel. It is recommended that WHCA be included in all future advance seminars.

FRANCE

The Mitterrand government, through Jacques Attali, was very concerned that the White House Press Office, as demonstrated in Ottawa and Cancun, would provide high quality briefings and transcripts and therefore allow the White House press corps and the media in general to project President Reagan as the dominant force at the Versailles Summit. The French government, for domestic political reasons, wanted President Mitterrand to dominate the coverage and their strategy was to alter the press arrangements.

A list of problems created by the French government follows:

1. On June 1st, the French arbitrarily announced that the Versailles Press Center, L'Orangerie, would be closed to the U.S. television networks on June 2 and 3. Arrangements had already been made for the networks to have access to their trailers at L'Orangerie on those dates for equipment tests and for live broadcasts. The French stalled until 4:00 p.m. on June 3rd before they approved access.
2. On June 2nd, at 12 noon, the French announced that coverage of the President's arrival at Orly had been changed from "open coverage," limited to 30 U.S. press.
3. On June 2nd, the French government officials responsible for the press reported that they no longer had any power and that all changes had to be negotiated with French security, since it was French security, and not the French press representatives, who were making the changes.
4. On June 2nd, French security led the press buses on a thirty-minute drive around Orly airport and returned to the original staging area. With fifteen minutes remaining before the press plane was to land, French security led the press buses on another circular drive and finally arrived at the press plane as the plane came to a halt. The French kept the buses at an excessive distance from the plane and forced the new airport arrival pool to jam into one Air France bus designed for twenty people. During this arrival period, the change in the airport coverage was announced on the press plane.
5. On June 3rd, the French would not decide if there would be remarks after the lunch at the Elysee Palace. In addition, they were not prepared to provide sound for the Presidents and WHCA did an outstanding job in providing sound in a very short time.
6. On June 3rd, Jacques Attali inspected the U.S. network stand-up and live position which was assigned by French security and immediately ordered French security to move the networks fifty feet away from their cables and telephone lines, essentially cutting all television cables to the United States. In addition, he locked out all network personnel from the new location unless escorted by French security, and the appropriate French security personnel disappeared. After long negotiations on the part of the White House and the networks, Attali agreed to have the networks purchase

- additional cable and to have the P.T.T. extend the phone lines. It is estimated that this change cost the networks \$100,000. By noon on Saturday, June 5th, the networks were still not fully operational at Versailles.
7. On June 4th, the U.S. radio networks stated that the French were intercepting radio broadcasts to the United States, inserting a garble and therefore making them unacceptable for broadcast in the United States. In short, they were jamming our radio feeds.
 8. On June 4th, French security prevented the motorcade pool from entering the Paris heloport and as a result the press helo departed without the pool. Through the assistance of the HMX advance representative, the press helo returned and when it was once again on the ground, French security finally relented and allowed the pool to board the press helo.
 9. On June 4th, French security rescheduled the group photograph after the arrival ceremony at the Grand Trianon. The new location offered such a poor photograph that a number of French photographers broke away from the press area and the control of the press ended. A general mob scene developed and the President departed. The other heads of state remained and the result was seven spontaneous press conferences. The French realized that they had lost all control and therefore decided to cancel the coverage of the boat ride and the dinner.

After most of the U.S. press had departed L'Orangerie, the French reversed themselves and decided to have coverage of the dinner. Our advance staff brought the pool back from the bus and after a great deal of negotiation, finally convinced the French to let our pool join the other press to cover the dinner. French security was upset because they thought that our press were on their way to Paris when they finally decided to have press coverage of the dinner. It was an obvious attempt to prevent the American pool from covering the dinner.

10. The French went out of their way to make sure that the U.S. briefing room in L'Orangerie had no air conditioning. Our advance staff requested air conditioning and even though there was air conditioning in many other national briefing rooms, the French refused to have air conditioning in the American room.
11. The French shuttle system between the Paris press hotel and Versailles did not operate effectively. The U.S. press was able to move between Paris and Versailles only by means of the White House buses.
12. Similar problems were experienced by the Japanese and Canadian press and the Japanese government became so disturbed that they called the French Ambassador into the Foreign Office in Tokyo and waged a formal protest over the calculated problems at Versailles.

13. On June 6th the French arbitrarily cancelled all coverage of events after the opera. Earlier in the day, the American press was so disgusted with the French that except for the wires, they decided not to cover any events after the dinner. Due to the interest of the wires, we requested coverage of the fireworks and the French compromised and allowed coverage at one of the initial five press positions.
14. Due to the many problems at Versailles, the advance staff decided to have the Air Force One pool go directly to Orly Airport and not ride on the press helo from Versailles. This decision was well founded since the French cancelled all coverage of the President's departure from Versailles, possibly hoping to trap the Air Force One pool at Versailles.

When the President arrived in France, it became clear that French security, as in the past, was in full control and that all the arrangements which were made by the French press officers were overruled by the political objectives of the French government.

These basic political objectives were obvious during the preparations for the trip, but the methods which the French used to achieve their objectives were totally inconsistent with the spirit of cooperation which existed prior to the trip. The many changes to the schedule produced a backlash against the French by all the Press.

ITALY

The trip to Italy included a visit to the Vatican, an arrival ceremony at the Quirinale Palace, a short bilateral with President Pertini, a luncheon, a short bilateral with Prime Minister Spadolini and a meeting with Italian police officers who freed General Dozier -- all in five and one-half hours. The main concern was to stay on schedule and to allocate an equal amount of time between the Vatican and the Italian government.

Press facilities at the Vatican and in Rome were excellent and pool movements occurred smoothly.

The major Press problem in Rome was at the Chigi Palace when it became obvious that the trip was falling behind schedule. Prime Minister Spadolini, in an effort to be helpful and to get back on schedule, revised the sequence of events -- but forgot to tell the Americans. The result was a rather chaotic scene and all members of the American party, including the Air Force One Pool, had to quickly adapt to the new scenario.

Press complaints in Rome concerned the early departure time from Paris - 4:30 am - which was necessitated by the magnetometer process at the airport and the extra time needed to travel from the airport to the Vatican during morning rush hour. There was also press unhappiness over a small number of the press who had made personnel requests to visit the Vatican and were not part of the five-man Vatican pool.

ENGLAND

When the press plane landed at Heathrow Airport at 4:00 pm on June 7th, the press had been awake for fourteen hours after getting only

two to three hours sleep. Obviously, most of them were very tired. The press had survived the 110 degree press room at L'Orangerie in Versailles and the other inconveniences presented by the French. They had just covered a whirlwind stop at the Vatican and in Rome where a majority of the press corps fell asleep at the press center while watching the President and the Pope on television. The press were therefore looking forward to a restful and more civil stay in London.

The trip to London went very well. The press center at the Grosvenor House was excellent and all pool movements ran smoothly.

The two areas, however, which caused some problems were the Immigration and Customs procedure at the airport and the size and composition of press pools. The English initially stated that the press plane would land at Heathrow Airport adjacent to Air Force One. A week before the visit, however, the advance team was informed that the press plane would land at Gatwick Airport and that the press would have to go through the Immigration and Customs procedures at the commercial airport. In addition, the English refused to provide an escort for the press buses. This situation would make it impossible to cover the arrival ceremony at Windsor Castle. After a great deal of negotiations in London and at Versailles through Bernard Ingram, press spokesman to the Prime Minister, the English finally agreed to allow the press plane to land at Heathrow. They also agreed to an Immigration and Customs procedure which would allow the press to fulfill the English requirements without leaving the press buses. As this compromise was proceeding on schedule, a number of White House staff members, who were not aware of the delicate negotiations with the English, decided to ask the English to speed up the procedure. The result of this staff interference was an insult to the English, who reacted by stalling the procedure for an additional forty-five minutes.

In an attempt to provide the best possible press coverage, the English identified a large number of pool positions for each event while also greatly restricting the size and composition of each pool. They also requested the names of all press covering events at Westminster palace and No. 10 Downing Street. Due to the assignment procedures of the networks, names are difficult for the Press Office to provide, and every effort should be made to resist giving names for pool members during the pre-advance.

Pool movements were eventually worked out and even though coverage arrangements were highly restrictive, it was a nice change to be among the pleasant and cheerful British.

GERMANY

Bonn

It was obvious when the trip to Bonn was announced that the press arrangements would not be sufficient to meet the needs of the White House press corps. Not only was there a printer's convention in Cologne, which had booked most of the hotel rooms, but the needs of the other NATO countries made hotel rooms very scarce. The Transportation Office finally was able to provide housing for all the

traveling press in eight different hotels. A control center was established in the lobby of each hotel and was manned 24 hours a day and a shuttle system operated continuously between each hotel and the press center.

The press center at the Tulpenfeld Restaurant included a press working area, a briefing room, and the other support elements. The press center was smaller than normal and the advance team erected a large tent to enlarge the press working area.

Coverage of the events in Bonn went smoothly. At this stage in the trip, the entire traveling party was very tired and minor problems became exaggerated. The press party, hosted by Coca-Cola, was a most welcome change in the fast pace of the trip, and allowed everyone to relax.

GERMANY

Berlin

The visit to Berlin lasted only three and one-half hours, and included remarks to American troops at Templehof Airport, a stop at the Berlin Wall and remarks before 30,000 at Charlottenburg Palace.

Due to the short runway at Templehof Airport which accommodated Air Force One but not the larger press plane, the press arrived in Berlin at Tegel Airport and were bused to Templehof, the Wall or the Charlottenburg Press Center. Press facilities at both Templehof and the Charlottenburg Palace were excellent. Due to security considerations, no press platform was constructed at Check Point Charlie and the photographers were a bit crowded.

The press center at L'Orangerie at Charlottenburg Palace was superb. The West Berlin government did an outstanding job in providing ample amounts of food and refreshments in addition to ample communications facilities.

The Berlin stop was well planned, well executed and resulted in excellent coverage.

A minor problem occurred when an accident took place directly in front of the bus bringing the network personnel back to the press plane from the feed point at Templehof. Since extra travel time had been inserted into the schedule, this delay did not become a problem and the press plane arrived in Bonn on schedule.

ADVANCE TEAMSHost Country ContactsFRANCE

Advancemen: Lead: Hugh O'Neill
 Paris: Ron Fuller
 Paris Press: Joe Wilkinson
 Versailles: Bill Henkel
 Versailles
 Press: Jack LaCovey

Press Hotel: Meridien Hotel, Paris
Press Centers: Meridien Hotel, Paris
 L'Orangerie, Versailles
 Palais des Congress, Versailles

Embassy/ICA: Phil Brown

French Contacts:

Jean-Raphael DuFour, Chief of Protocol Arrangements
for the Summit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

DuFour is a civil servant in the Foreign Ministry who attempted to coordinate the visit in an open and fair manner. He was compromised by the efforts of the Elysee and was as surprised as we were by the changes which occurred on the trip.

Marie Sills, Press Officer, Elysee Palace

Marie was the main liasion between the Elysee and the international press. She is a devoted socialist, part of Mitterrand's inner circle, who faded into the background when security began making all their changes. She was well-intentioned, pleasant and powerless.

Alain Dejainmet, Director of Press and Information,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Alain is a civil servant who has appeared on every Presidential visit to France. As the years pass, he has become more pleasant but his level of competence has remained quite low. As a government bureaucrat, he is faithfully carrying out the orders of the Mitterrand government and was of minimal assistance.

Henri Vignal, Assistant Director of Press,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Henri is a very competent and pleasant civil servant who was most helpful. However, when French security began making changes, he was impossible to find.

Eric Bosc, Press Officer
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Eric is the goffer for Vignal. He was powerless, understood very little and was a very amusing young man.

ITALY

Advancemen: Lead: Jim Kuhn
 Vatican: Butch Cochran
 Vatican Press: Ron Miziker
 Rome Press: Jack Williams

Press Hotel: No overnight

Press Center: Excelsior Hotel

Embassy/ICA: Gil Callaway
 Barry Fulton Contacts:

Vatican: Marjorie Week, Vatican Press Office

Marjorie is from Brooklyn, New York and is very pleasant and professional. She was in complete control and did a wonderful job.

Italy: Ambassador Guidi, Chief of Protocol,
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Guidi was a real gentleman, a bright and sensitive man who did everything possible to make the trip go smoothly.

Pier-Benedetto Francese, Press
Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

Francese is a career diplomat who was most helpful and very positive in his desire to assist the White House.

ENGLANDAdvancemen:

Lead Advance:	Dan Morris
Windsor:	John Gartland
London Press:	Tom Andrews
Windsor Press:	Marilou Shiels

Press Hotel: Grosvenor House
Press Center: Grosvenor House
Embassy/ICA: Phil Arnold
Sig Cohen

English Contacts:

Michael Shea, The Queen's Spokesman, Buckingham Palace

Michael is a very intelligent, pleasant and professional gentleman who was most helpful to the White House press corps. He was understanding, flexible when possible and a delight to work with.

John Haslam, Assistant to Michael Shea

John is a bit of an old lady who operates in Michael's shadow but took the initiative on many occasions to intercede on behalf of the White House press. Like Michael, John is a very pleasant man.

Bernard Ingram, Spokesman to the Prime Minister

Bernard was preoccupied with the Falklands and delegated responsibility for our trip to his assistant, Ian Kydd. When we really needed some assistance with Customs, however, Bernard interceded on our behalf.

Ian Kydd, Deputy Spokesman to the Prime Minister

Like Bernard, Ian was preoccupied by the Falklands. The initial arrangements for covering Number 10 were very restrictive and through Ian's assistance, the coverage was expanded. Ian appears to be terrified of the Prime Minister and did an excellent job in providing for the needs of the White House press.

Black Rod, Sir David House

Black Rod controls Westminster Palace with an iron hand and was not at all interested in a number of our suggestions for the coverage of the President's remarks at Parliament. As the event became closer, he became more reasonable and with the help of the British television producers, we were able to compromise with Black Rod. He is a tough guy!

BONNAdvancemen:

Lead: Lanny Wiles
 Press: Rocky Kuonen
 Tim Elbourne

Press Hotels: *Tulpenfeld *Park
 *Consul *Zum Loewen
 *Insel *Rheingold
 *Zum Adler *Rhine

Press Center: Tulpenfeld Restaurant

Embassy/ICA: Walter Kohl
 Joe Braycich

Bonn Contacts:

Helmut Jochum, Chief of Protocol

Herr Jochum was brought to Bonn expecially for the NATO meetings from the German Embassy in Pretoria. He is a very professional, pleasant and amusing man who was caught in the middle of some very hard negotiating. He was an honest individual who represented his government well.

Ernst Paetzold

Herr Paetzold is a very professional, hard-working and experienced civil servant who was especially assigned to the Bonn NATO meeting. His real job is in German intelligence. He did everything he could to assist the White House press and was a delight to work with.

BERLIN

Advancemen:

Lead: Dewey Clower

Press: Lary Eastland

Press center: L'Orangerie, Charlottenburg Palace

Embassy/ICA: Paul Modic

West Berlin Contacts:

General James Boatner, U.S. Commander, Berlin

General Boatner was very cooperative and the design, planning and execution of the speech to the troops at Templehof is testament to the professionalism of his unit.

Erwin Von Schacky, Chief of Protocol, City of West Berlin

Von Schacky is a real professional who was very cooperative. He was flexible in the design of the speech site at Chorlottenburg Palace and was sensitive to the needs of the White House press.

Karl Henschel, Press Officer, City of West Berlin

Herr Henschel was a very friendly, helpful and cooperative civil servant. He had a very positive attitude and played a large role in the success of the trip.