

Nelson Rockefeller

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ROCKEFELLER DOUBTS ROLE As Contender in '76 or '80

Candidate file

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21—

Vice President Rockefeller, in a... described himself as no longer a contending factor on the Republican Presidential scene.

He said that President Ford was "bound to be the candidate" in 1976. Mr. Rockefeller also said that as Vice President he was determined to maintain what he called "a low profile" and work closely with Mr. Ford.

As for 1980, he said, "The Vice President is 66, going on 67, and therefore is not in a competitive situation with the rising stars on a long-term basis."

The scenario sketched by Mr. Rockefeller, who was still wearing his tuxedo and savoring a friendly reception that he had received after a speech a few hours earlier in Detroit, appeared once again to foreclose his seeking the Presidency—a goal he has sought three times since 1960 despite occasional



The New York Times
Vice President Rockefeller

disclaimers of Presidential ambitions.

But then, when a television reporter thrust a microphone at him and the portable lights went on to record him and his words, Mr. Rockefeller turned to a denunciation of political speculation in general.

"The people could care less about politics," he said, adding that the public wanted politi-

Continued on Page 41, Column 1

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1975

ROCKEFELLER DOUBTS AN ELECTION ROLE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

cal leaders to solve the nation's problems.

Mr. Rockefeller said that he did not think anyone cared about 1980 and added that he was "fed up" with political speculation. "This is the time for people to work together," he continued, and "not put politics behind us."

He denounced political speculation as "out of character," as in "poor taste," and "offensive to the American people in terms of human suffering."

Mr. Rockefeller, who had

sought to avoid any public statement that would displease the President and the White House staff, has been given a key role in shaping the President's Domestic Council.

Two of Mr. Rockefeller's aides, James Cannon and Richard L. Dunham, have been named by Mr. Ford as the two top staff directors of the Domestic Council, and Mr. Rockefeller disclosed before the discussion turned to politics that two more of his own staff members—Richard D. Parsons and Arthur F. Quern—would be moving soon to the Domestic Council.

Reminded that he had suggested some years ago that a Vice President could not be delegated a major share of power by a President, Mr. Rock-

efeller said that his situation reflected "the personality" of President Ford, the Vice President's age and the fact that he was not in a "competitive situation."

"The President is there," Mr. Rockefeller said, and added that no Republicans were talking about running against him in 1976, "unless they've got a role in their head."

"So you've got to be talking about '80," he added.

"You've got to look at the realities," he went on. "I'm not a competitive factor in 1980."

He described himself as "a staff assistant" to the President, who "can move me out at any time."

As vice chairman of the Domestic Council, Mr. Rockefeller said, he explained to the President that he would not

cause Mr. Ford "any trouble" by trying to come between the President and his Cabinet or the President and his staff. "I want to help him," Mr. Rockefeller said.

When a reporter said that others have not counted him out of the Presidential race in 1980, Mr. Rockefeller replied, "They've got to be crazy."

He noted that he said the first day after taking office last December that Mr. Ford was bound to be the Republican candidate in 1976. Repeating that he was "not a competitive factor," Mr. Rockefeller said that, therefore "I see no real problem about doing things for the President."

It might be different, he added, "If I were in my 40's or 50's."

Then, when the lights were

turned on, and a cameraman sought to record some of the Vice President's remarks, Mr. Rockefeller turned the discussion into a long denunciation of political speculation that appeared to be aimed at the reporters crowded around his seat.

He appeared to be concerned that some of his remarks about 1980 might be taken out of context and used as a brief television film excerpt or to make, as he said at one point, "a headline."

His VC-137B, the Air Force version of a Boeing 707, touched down at Andrews Air Force Base and taxied to the passenger terminal, but Mr. Rockefeller remained in his seat and continued to talk for several minutes.

"I deal with I don't know how

many candidates a day in the Senate," he said. "I just think this country deserves the best from everybody, and the person who puts the nation first is going to be the person who comes out best."

As he moved up the aisle to the front exit, Mr. Rockefeller added, "This town is filled with this sort of speculation."

His concern, he reiterated, is in trying to solve the nation's problems, and he added, "I want to make sure we're still here by 1980."

The Washington Post. June 29, 1974 1-15-3

Rockefeller as Candidate: The Money Problem

One of the guests at former New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's dinner party for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger last week indulged in a mild sarcasm.

His eyes surveyed the scene. There was the great chateau built in 1908 and looking out upon the Hudson River to the fields and hills beyond; on each side were fountains gardens and statuary; a tent had been erected with tables to serve 350 guests; the waiters were waiting. "Politics," said the guest, comparing the scene before him to his host's career, "is a great leveler."

He spoke better than he knew. If Nelson Rockefeller decides to have another try at the Republican nomination for President, his money will be useless; it will, in fact, be a positive handicap.

The point is important because the more Vice President Gerald Ford talks about not being a candidate for any of-

fice in 1976, the more possible another Rockefeller race seems.

Ford has not made a Sherman statement, but Mrs. Ford is thought to have extracted a promise that her husband will come home to the family when he finishes his current term, and Mrs. Ford's wishes are not to be taken lightly.

If Ford doesn't run, to whom will Republicans turn? To Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois? To Gov. Ronald Reagan of California? To Rockefeller? Four terms as governor of New York give Rockefeller a leg-up, and it is an astonishing fact that the only thing which might give him pause is money. For the first time in his life, Nelson Rockefeller may be asking himself a question deeply familiar to other men: "Where do I get the money?"

The 1972 money-in-politics law is tough on a Rockefeller. Fifty thousand dollars in the aggregate is all that he

can raise from himself and his immediate family, and this for primary campaigns in perhaps as many as a dozen states.

The new law doesn't bar contributions of more than the \$50,000 limit from nephews or nieces or uncles and aunts, but to a Rockefeller such side-stepping would be unthinkable. In 1972, a millionaire sat down and wrote 333 checks to Richard Nixon's campaign, each check for \$3,000. In 1968, Rockefeller's stepmother gave \$1.4 million to his campaign and then wrote a check to the United States of America for about a half a million in gift tax. Rockefeller not only obey the law; they do not evade it.

So how will Rockefeller get the money? Can we imagine people saying, "I have to send a dollar to Rockefeller"? Or a thousand dollars?

Can he explain to the American electorate that the new campaign laws give him no more advantage than if

his name were Smith, Jones or McGovern? And how much will it cost to do that?

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) raised about \$20 million in 1972 in contributions of a thousand dollars or less. It cost him almost half that much to get in touch with the contributors. It's difficult to think of a Rockefeller doing as well.

Moreover, by the time the primaries come around, Congress will almost certainly have passed legislation making it illegal for any person to contribute more than, say, \$5,000 to a campaign. So Rockefeller family friends will not be able to carry the burden.

It's hard to imagine one of the country's richest men out begging for dollars from his fellow citizens, but that's what Rockefeller will have to do. I wonder whether it ever occurs to him that it's the only thing he got from the administration of Richard Nixon.

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Clayton Fritchey

Rockefeller: The Old Pro

Outside, four cops huddled against the cold March wind as it cut up Commonwealth Avenue and chilled the 15 people who were marching in front of the Harvard Club with signs in their hands. The signs read, "Rocky Does Not Respect Life," and the group of antiabortionists were chanting, "Rocky for President . . . No Way! . . . No Way!"

At exactly noon, a big black Cadillac limousine with Massachusetts plate 221-221, pulled to the curb and a large piece of America got out of the back seat.

Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, 15 years a governor, now a private citizen and head of his National Commission on Critical Choices, pulled his coat in

The writer is on the staff of the Boston Globe from which this article is reprinted.

against himself and started to walk through the small crowd.

"Hey! How are ya," he said with a smile born out of a lifetime of politics. "Good to see ya. Thanks for coming," he said.

He shook hands with two of the cops by the doorway and walked into the Harvard Club on his way to address a luncheon meeting of the Key Club of the Massachusetts State Republican Finance Committee.

He walked across the thick red carpeting, stopped, handed his coat to an aide and then asked, "Is there a place to wash up around here?"

Someone pointed to his left and Rockefeller disappeared into a small room off the main lobby, trailed by three men.

"That reminds me of the time you were on that show with Abzug," one of the men was saying. "Do you remember that show when she kept grabbing the microphone away from you. That was great the way you handled her, Nelson."

Rocky stood there, glancing back and forth at the two men, and said, "Boy, I couldn't get a word in edgewise with her."

"How did the pickets know you were here anyway?" the man asked.

"It must be the low fluoridation around here," Rocky said. "It brings out all the kooks."

They laughed as the former New York governor led the way back to the lobby and the steady flow of luncheon guests.

"When are you going to announce?" one of the men asked.

"Well Morris, I'll tell ya," Rocky said. "I've got some critical choices I've got to make before then." All of the men laughed again as the three-time presidential candidate continued talking.



those behind me before I do the other thing."

"Looks like one of your problems might be a President Ford, Nelson," the man said.

The words hung in the air, mixing with the sound of voices in the other room and a confident laugh born out of the Rockefeller millions.

"Well, I don't know. I don't know," Rocky said, his voice smiling at the inference, husky with the challenge. "We'll see what we can do."

He walked up the stairwell, by the mahogany paneled walls to the second floor foyer outside the "Massachusetts Room." On his way, he passed two tapestries; an oil portrait of John Adams and another of Nicholas Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory at Harvard College.

About 30 people mingled around Rockefeller who was drinking Dubonnet on the rocks, the voices were all out of the same "club," filling the room with the accents of wealth and privilege. The Sargents and Spauldings and Saltonstalls and Sears met and clasped hands and exchanged the untroubled pleasantries of the comfortable directly underneath an oil portrait of another son of Harvard, John F. Kennedy.

Then the group adjourned to an off the record luncheon of lamb chops and hash brown potatoes and the slow, steady verbal diet of a political party, starving for leadership.

After the luncheon, Rockefeller moved upstairs to a press conference where he stood in the glare of yet another set of TV lights and answered questions like a man who has heard them all before.

"I am not a candidate for President. I'll make a decision on that in the fall of 1975," he said. "Not before."

He was wearing a blue chalk stripe suit and the kind of eternal smile that

comes from spending too much time out in the small back rooms of the Republic, chasing delegates, pursuing the dream. But the marathon has taken its toll and, now, the once strong jaw is enclosed by a splotched, fleshy, jeweled look, carried from the years of disappointment and increasing age.

When it was over, he moved easily out of the room, nodding and shaking hands. He got into an elevator and headed down to the first floor and the lobby.

An aide held the heavy black topcoat while Rocky talked with a few people on the elevator. He laughed as one man said, "Boy, how about that guy with the question about feeding the whole world. What was he a Marxist or something? A radical? You handled him well though Nelson."

Nelson Rockefeller stood there in the lobby of the Harvard Club, looking like a man trying to build a future for himself at age 66. He stared out at the street and the limousine that stood ready to take him back to the airport and more days built around meetings and statements. He shook the man's hand as he answered, "Yeah, Well Morris. I've been doing this a long time."

Eyes On Rockefeller

ABROAD AT HOME

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, Feb. 16—Nelson Rockefeller shows no signs, so far, of suffering the usual Vice-Presidential miseries. He has an apparently easy relationship with a President not susceptible to jealousy. One of his long-time aides is to direct the Domestic Council, giving him something of an operational base. And with the exception of one clumsy venture on Vietnam, he has avoided the potholes of public controversy.

Before long, however, Mr. Rockefeller will face an unavoidably uncomfortable decision. The issue is the Senate's rules. That does not sound exciting, but the decision will in fact have a significant impact on the role of Congress. It will also tell a good deal about the kind of man and politician Mr. Rockefeller is going to be in his new job.

The rules issue has been simmering since Congress convened six weeks ago. The Senate has before it a proposal that would make it somewhat easier to close debate—to stop a filibuster. The two-thirds vote required by Rule 22 since 1917 would be reduced to three-fifths.

Instead of 67 votes in the full Senate, then, it would take 60 to close debate. Would that make a difference? Probably so. There have been 100 attempts at closure since 1917, only 21 successful. Congressional Quarterly reckons that another 24 would have succeeded under the three-fifths rule.

The principal sponsors of the change, Republican Senator James Pearson of Kansas and Democrat Walter Mondale of Minnesota, are confident that a majority supports it. But the opponents are naturally filibustering to prevent a vote. Thus the key question is whether the old Rule 22 carries over from one Congress to the next, requiring two-thirds to force a vote on a rules change, or whether the Senate can reach a vote on its rules by the ordinary parliamentary majority.

At some point soon, the proponents of the change are expected to put this question to the Senate's presiding officer: the Vice President. His ruling is likely to be decisive.

The very mention of Rule 22 is enough to make most people's eyes glaze over. The filibuster issue has been debated for years. But the grounds of the debate, and its significance, have now fundamentally changed.

When the issue was first drawn in the post-war years, those who opposed change could argue with some conviction that they were defending the whole tradition of leisurely debate in the Senate. Liberals at that time really wanted to let a simple majority close debate, and any change could be seen as a step in that direction.

But liberals have effectively conceded that position. They have learned the value of prolonged debate in our political system, and there is no longer any serious talk of majority closure. Senator Mondale has said, "There are times when our most important function is to slow down and ventilate."

Another significant change is in the character of legislation affected by filibusters. In the post-war period it was almost always civil rights legislation. Southern Senators could maintain, then, that endless debate was a form of protection for smaller states and regional interests. It prevented a section of the country from being overwhelmed, on a deeply-felt matter, by the national majority.

But civil rights legislation is not an issue now. Filibusters are most often used not to protect some regional tradition but to acquire leverage in the shaping of economic or social legislation. The leading current practitioner, Senator James B. Allen of Alabama, has used the filibuster against such things as a consumer protection bill—"just things Jim Allen is against," as one Senate hand put it.

The significance of the filibuster goes well beyond Senator Allen now, however. With a Congressional majority against him on large issues of energy and economics, President Ford may want the threat of endless debate used to shape legislation his way—without the political embarrassment of a veto. The plausibility of Congress as a source of political leadership could thus be greatly affected by the Senate rules fight.

The White House is officially neutral but privately has almost certainly indicated that it wants the Vice President to rule against the reformers. That result is also devoutly desired by the Republican right.

Mr. Rockefeller would doubtless like once more to reassure the Goldwater wing of the party, which remains so suspicious of him. On the other hand, it might be awkward for him to come down against the modern Republicanism of James Pearson and Hugh Scott, the Senate minority leader, who also favors the rules change. There would be the added embarrassment of appearing to the right of Richard Nixon—who as Vice President three times declared for the reform view.

Will Mr. Rockefeller give the Senate a chance to change its rules? That is the question. It may well be the only large question that the Constitution allows the Vice President of the United States to decide on his own. The answer he gives will be a peculiarly interesting clue to the principles and present ambitions of Nelson Rockefeller.

Witnessing the Failure of Another Of Rocky's 'Ideas'

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

The size of the vigilante committee waiting back in his home state to hang Nelson Rockefeller seems to grow with every day that he's lionized down here as, variously, a statesman, an administrator or a bold and fearless innovator. The Rock's reputation for even minimal competency as a public official had several more large chunks cracked off it with the announcement that his huge, billion-dollar-plus Urban Development Corporation would not only have to default on its notes but had no immediately visible way of meeting much of its bond obligations.

The corporation, one of those heinous public bodies with a nonelected board and the power to condemn anything in sight, was meant to be an instrument that would plan, finance, build and operate a large variety of real estate ventures anywhere across New York state. The manner of this monster's creation is described in a recent Barron's editorial (March 3): "With the help of convicted cover-up artist John N. Mitchell, the then-governor devised this tricky way around the will of the electorate, which, via referendum, had twice turned down blueprints for ambitious state-aided programs of public housing and urban renewal."

Rocky had sought to get around his state's constitutional limitations on debt before, but this time, as Barron's charges, the method of funding his grandiose agency was conspicuously reckless. The corporation issued its bonds not on the basis of any specific piece of property, no specially designated revenues, but on a vague "moral" commitment. Don't weep too many tears. The banks that stand to lose upwards of hundreds of millions—nobody really can say—didn't have to buy these "moral obligation bonds." As has happened so often in the last few years, their greed decimated their business judgment, and they were swept up in a giant public-private real estate speculation, which, if you don't like Vice President Rockefeller, you might call a state swindle or an officially sponsored Ponzi game.

Conventional Rockefeller haters regard the operation as a plot by the ex-governor's banker and union boss friends to make themselves rich. Brother David and the Chase Manhattan Bank's names are usually invoked. I confess I once looked at Rocky's monumental building programs in that light, but the information developed during his vice-presidential confirmation hearings argues

The two brothers aren't especially good businessmen. In banking circles David rates a mediocre passing grade for his governance of Chase Manhattan, so that if the corporation was thought up as a high-class scam, the ripoff was botched. People who inherit pots of money often have reputations for brains only because they were smart enough to get themselves born rich.

When you add that to the money spent paying teachers and dancing school masters to polish the children of inherited wealth up to a bright shine, it's natural to assume a couple of boys like the Rockefeller kids know what they were doing. A more plausible explanation for the wreck that is the Urban Development Corporation is an unimaginative adherence to forms and procedures long after really bright people saw the megagency was a deadend for housing and community development.

The corporation was begun in 1968, well after the news had come in from all over the country that urban renewal and publicly assisted housing had failed in its objectives and lost most of its popular support. That

See COMMENTARY, B2, Col. 3

COMMENTARY, From B1

Rockefeller would go for the creation of a "super agency" at the point, when it was occurring to everybody else that public bodies of this kind are inoperable per se, is evidence of how out of touch, how much of a retrograde, old-line, social-engineering-type liberal he is.

His vast make-everybody-happy, house-everybody-well corporation was a sure shot for bankruptcy before it had sold one of its now famously discounted bonds. To make certain success eluded him, the man he brought in to head the project, had practically been run out of his last job in Boston, not only for piling up public debt, but for infuriating and frightening the populace with his bulldozers.

A brilliant governor, a governor who could lead, or at least recognize the need for new ideas, even if he couldn't think them up himself, would have realized it was time for a wholly different way of grappling with the interrelated problems of housing, race, low income and community development. There are enough new ideas around, there were six years ago, but they're not to be found where Rockefeller customarily looks for his talent, among stylish media con men, foundation pussy cats and juiced out university professors who wrote the last generation's influential books.

Nothing of the very little Rockefeller has said on this subject suggests he's capable of learning from experience. As his power and influence on President Ford strengthens, to that degree, we can expect to see him push for new failures of his old ideas on a national scale.

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MEETING ROCKEFELLER LINED BY NIXON

Beame and Caso King Federal Funds Retain 35c Fare

MARTIN TOLCHIN
to The New York Times

INGTON, Nov. 29—
Nixon declined today
tomorrow with Gov-
Rockefeller, Mayor-elect
D. Beame and Nassau
Executive Ralph G.

are coming here to
eral funds to save New
y's 35-cent fare.
meeting had been re-
by the Governor, and
N's refusal was inter-
a rebuff to Mr. Rocke-

governor, in a final ma-
brought a White House
merely to introduce Mr.
the President, without
an of mass transit, but
was turned down.

ing Opposition

less, White House
id yesterday that the
ministration, long op-
Federal transit subsi-
New York and other
ld probably not ob-
tained subsidies on a
basis as part of
rogram to deal with
ortages.

ernment officials em-
at even if subsidy leg-
ceptable to the Ad-
n were passed, it
unlikely to be suffi-
reserve the 35-cent
York City.

Rockefeller learned of
ant's refusal in a tel-
this afternoon from
under M. Haig Jr., the
chief of staff, ac-
Washington sources.
He reportedly told
not that since the
had nothing to offer
orkers, any meeting
outless.

Up on Energy

Haig is said to have
Governor that the
d too much respect
hold the meeting.
t never wanted to
asive to the Gover-

nor. General Haig said, and
since he could not be respon-
sible, there would be no meet-
ing.

A White House press spokes-
man said late this afternoon
that the President could not
meet with the Governor be-
cause "the President's pretty
well tied up on energy." Asked
whether the President intended
to rebuke the Governor—who
has been a staunch defender of
Mr. Nixon's policies—the press
spokesman said "absolutely
not."

Last night a spokesman for
the Governor declined to com-
ment on the affair.

Governor Rockefeller said last
month that President Nixon had
been "just tremendous" for
New York State. He praised the
President's new housing pro-

NEW YORK TIMES
Fri. Nov. 30,
'73

posals, which had been as-
sailed by Mayor Lindsay—and
defended the President's im-
poundment of Federal funds.

The Governor also has coun-
seled patience on the Water-
gate scandal and has urged that
citizens withhold their judg-
ments until all the facts are in.

The three New Yorkers will
meet with Claude S. Brinegar,
Transportation Secretary, after
a breakfast meeting with lead-
ers of the state's Congressional
delegation, and before a lunch-
eon meeting with the entire
delegation. Dr. William J. Ro-
nan, chairman of the Metropolitan
Transportation Authority, also
will attend the meetings.

Position Is Unchanged

Frank C. Herringer, admini-
strator of the Urban Mass
Transportation Administration,
will be away from Washington
tomorrow, but has offered to
travel to New York City for
meetings next week.

"Our position is unchanged,"
Mr. Herringer said with refer-
ence to the Nixon Administra-
tion's adamant opposition to
Federal subsidies to operate
mass-transit systems.

Federal officials feel that the
factors that went into operat-
ing deficits—the fares, labor
costs, routes and schedules—
were 1. m kpy7jstyimimqdat
sidies will encourage local gov-
ernments to make politically
advantageous decisions with
regard to these factors—and
mandate low fares and high
salaries—if the Federal Gov-
ernment picked up the tab.

Proponents of Federal oper-
ating subsidies note that the
Federal Government subsidizes
airlines, railroads, farmers, and
ranchers, among other indus-
tries. They contend that Fed-
eral funds are crucial to the
economy of the cities and that
without such funds, higher
fares would discourage riders,
who would then look else-
where for employment, shop-
ping, recreation, and the con-
centration of resources tradi-
tionally provided by the cities.

City and state officials ar-
gue, moreover, that the energy
crisis has underscored the need
for Federal funds for mass tran-
sit, because a fare increase
would encourage automobile
travel, wasting gasoline that
could be put to better use.

Federal Subsidy Weighed

By ROBERT LINDSEY

The Nixon Administration,
which has long opposed Federal
transit subsidies for New York
and other cities, would prob-
ably not object to limited sub-
sidies on a "short-term" basis
as part of a larger program to
deal with energy shortages.

White House sources said yes-
terday.

A White House official said
the Administration continued to
oppose strongly the concept of
specific Federal transit oper-
ating subsidies, and particularly
legislation passed in both
houses of Congress that provide
\$800-million in transit subsidies
over a two-year period.

President Nixon still expects
to veto this legislation when it
emerges from a joint House-
Senate Conference Committee,
as he indicated previously, the
official said.

However, he added that it
appeared doubtful that the
President would veto an omni-
bus energy legislation bill pro-
viding limited, short-term tran-
sit subsidies of "a year or so"
if certain safeguards were pro-
vided.

Such a provision for Federal
operating aid—to subsidize
transit lines' additional oper-
ating costs due to increased
ridership as a result of the
energy crisis—is contained in
legislation drawn up by Senator
Henry Jackson, Democrat of
Washington, and passed by last
week the Senate.

"It's just a fact of life," the
White House official said. "It's
not likely that the President
would approach a small part of
an otherwise acceptable energy
bill in the same way [with a
veto] that he would a separate
categorical grant program," he
said.

Veto Is Possibility

He said the Administration
would fight inclusion of the
subsidy provision in companion
energy legislation now advanc-
ing in the House. And, if it
failed, he added, a veto was
still a possibility unless certain
objectionable provisions of the
Jackson bill were not removed.

Among other aspects, he
said, the Administration feels
the language of this legislation,
which would provide unspeci-
fied amounts of Federal aid in
cases where transit systems
lowered their fares, during the
energy shortage, was too
vague.

"We still feel as strongly as
we can say, that transit oper-
ating costs are a local
responsibility," the official said.
"Particularly in New York you
can see the problem posed by
Federal subsidies: The voters
there weren't willing to pass a
bond issue to save the fare, so
why should the people in Des
Moines help subsidize it?"

Government officials stressed
that whatever subsidies did re-
sult from the energy legislation,
it was unlikely that the amount
would be very much, certainly
not enough to retain the 35-
cent fare here. The New York
City Transit Authority projects
a \$500-million deficit next year.

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Don

~~15-35~~
Don

GOVERNOR OFFERS CONSUMER BILLS

Measures Include Revisions
on Prescription Drugs

By M. A. FARBER

Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Jan. 27—Governor Rockefeller has sent to the Legislature nine consumer-protection bills, including a measure to require every pharmacy to post a state list of the 150 most frequently ordered prescription drugs and the pharmacy's current retail prices.

"A consumer, by comparing posted prices, will be able to shop for the lowest price available," the Governor said in a memorandum. "In addition, posting prices will ensure that everyone, regardless of ethnic or racial background, will be charged the same price in a given pharmacy for the same prescription."

Mr. Rockefeller said a survey last year of 100 stores in the New York City area showed that the retail price of 15 capsules of a common antibiotic ranged from \$1.45 to \$5.95, a difference of more than 400 per cent. The capsules wholesaled for 78 to 93 cents.

The survey also demonstrated that members of different races and ethnic groups "were charged different prices for the same prescription in the same pharmacy," the Governor said. "All in all, the differences between wholesale and retail prices varied by nearly as much as 750 per cent."

Posting Required

Mr. Rockefeller said the city survey had confirmed the results of a similar survey in Boston in 1969 that led to enactment of a posting regulation there.

Under the proposed bill, the State Board of Pharmacy would draw up the list and distribute it to all pharmacies in the state for "conspicuous" posting. Each pharmacy would be required to fill in its prices according to dosages specified on the list; any price changes would have to be noted on the list as they were made.

The Governor proposed three other measures related to prescription drugs, as well as bills affecting installment buying, default judgments and salary garnishment.

One prescription bill would permit pharmacists to substitute a less-expensive generic or other brand-name equivalent drug for the brand-name drug prescribed. Mr. Rockefeller said: "This bill would enable patients on maintenance prescriptions, for example, to receive high-quality medication at lower costs than they are paying."

The bill would not authorize the substitution of a drug different from the one prescribed, or would it require a pharmacist to make substitutions. A doctor could prevent substitutions by stating such opposition on the prescription.

1969 Study Cited

Mr. Rockefeller took note of a controversy over the question of whether identical chemical compositions are also identical in clinical performance. But he cited the findings of a Federal task force on prescription drugs in 1969 that "on the basis of available evidence, lack of clinical equivalency among chemical equivalents meeting all official standards has been grossly exaggerated as a major hazard to public health."

Another bill would require that drug labels disclose the specific or brand name of the drug and the quantity and strength dispensed. At present, labels need show the name and place of business of the pharmacist, the serial number and date of prescription, directions for use as stated on the prescription form, name and address of the patient and name of the prescriber.

The Governor said the added information on the label "would be invaluable in aiding the physician in his treatment, especially of a transient or emergency patient. Recognizing that there may be instances when it would be in the best interests of the patient himself not to know the nature of the medi-

cation he is taking," Mr. Rockefeller said, "the bill would enable the physician to have such identifying information omitted from the label."

Another prescription bill would permit pharmacists to advertise "definite fixed prices" for drugs, subject to any advertising standards the Board of Regents might set.

The installment-buying measures would strengthen the financial remedies available to consumers for violations of the state Retail Installment Sales Acts and would eliminate the so-called "holder-in-due-course" feature of home-improvement contracts. This feature, the Governor said, "presently makes it virtually impossible for the consumer to get satisfaction for faulty work once his promissory note has been sold by the contractor to a third party, such as a bank or finance company."

One bill to protect debtors from default judgments would limit the places where a creditor may bring suit arising from a consumer-credit transaction to the county where the buyer lives or the purchase was made.

Revision of Standard

A second measure would combat fraudulent process serving—"sewer service"—by requiring process servers to maintain records and by expanding the information required to prove service of legal papers.

The final bill in the package announced by the Governor today would increase from \$30 a week to \$85 the salary that must be earned by a worker before he is subject to wage garnishments. The industrial commissioner would be empowered to help any employe unlawfully discharged because of a garnishee of his wages.

Two other consumer-protection measures proposed by Mr. Rockefeller in his State of the State address on Jan. 3 will be sent to the Legislature late in this session. They call for registration of automobile and television repairmen, to help thwart "incompetent work or gross overcharges," and repeal of the state Feld-Crawford ("fair trade") Act, "which enables manufacturers to dictate certain retail prices."

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'dump Rockefeller' move seen in 'Reagan South'

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
poll soundings in "Reagan coun-
try South — indicate a "dump
move is not likely to happen.

In these states think the "open
policy" concept, proposed by Presi-
dent is nothing more than a sop to the
base, and that the President at the
convention will keep Nelson Rockefeller on

said one key leader, "if Ford
remains in position at the convention and
keeps Rocky — and I think he will —
on the ticket. All this talk of fighting Rocky
is just a distraction. The delegates aren't
going to dump their President."

"I'm with Reagan; prag-
matically I'm with Ford."

A Southern leader who still — openly
doubts about the President and a
Republican, said:

"I'm not sure about it. There's a great
divergence among Southern leaders toward Ford
and Reagan. I'm saying I'm for Ford yet —
I'm leaning in that direction. I want to
put my bets on him. I think I'm doing
all right — listening — and that's good

that while Southern GOP
support the Reagan effort for the
presidency — most if not all really
support Reagan in the vice-presiden-

with Rocky," one Southerner
echoed in various ways, "is
a wild spender when he was
in New York."

soundings found that what
leaders hoped for — and what
was anticipated — were two

independent Curtis J. Sitomer
in Los Angeles:

election-campaign manager,
Callaway, told reporters break-
ing news here that only 20 percent of
the voters are registered of Republicans. He
said President Ford will need to win

Another conservative who says he would
prefer Reagan to Rockefeller says: "The
President won't replace Rocky. There's too
many in this party from big, influential states
in the North that will insist on keeping Rocky.
This will support the President's own desires.
And, in the end, the President will keep
Rocky."

The new Monitor probes into "Reagan land"
— the South — also show that movement
among conservative GOP leaders away from
Mr. Reagan toward President Ford is picking
up steam. (This development was first re-
ported in a nationwide Monitor poll early last
month.)

Whereas in June many of these Southerners
still were holding open the possibility they
would support Mr. Reagan — "depending on
events" as one put it — they now say, in the

the support of Democrats and independents to
be elected.

Mr. Callaway — in responding to reporters'
questions — indicated that "Rockefeller is the
main issue" among conservative Republicans
particularly in the South and in California.
They would like him off the ticket.

However, the Ford campaign chief also
suggested that the conservative Mr. Reagan
(as the GOP vice-presidential candidate)
might alienate a broad base of voters in the
general election.

Mr. Callaway refused to speculate on pos-
sible alternatives for the second spot. But
again responding to a question, he said he was

words of one of them, "It's probably all over
for Reagan. He's missed his chance."

Said one leader from the Deep South:
"Reagan lost his chance for the presidency by
not announcing earlier, by last February or
March. I'm in touch with other Southern state
chairmen and I know their views.

"I feel — and they feel — that even since
Ford met with us [the state chairmen from the
South] last February, he has been responding
to us."

Said another Southern leader: "Most of
them now feel that Ford basically is a
conservative like us. And we feel he can win.
We really doubt whether Reagan could win."

A top leader whom Mr. Reagan has
particularly been counting on told this re-
porter:

*Please turn to Page 1

"high" on U.S. Sen. Howard H. Baker of
Tennessee.

The President's campaign manager has
spent several days in California, conferring
with Republicans to build support for Presi-
dent Ford. He said he had not talked directly
with the ex-California governor. But he left
open the possibility of future "discussions"
between Ford and Reagan.

Mr. Callaway also said:

- The President will run scared in the
primaries if Mr. Reagan is a candidate as well
as in the general election regardless of his
opposition.

- A Reagan challenge in the early primaries
could weaken — but not destroy — the Ford
candidacy. "We wouldn't like the whole nation
to turn on what happens in New Hampshire,"
he said.

- Vice-President Rockefeller will be more
of a handicap in a Ford-Reagan GOP contest
than in the general election.

- Ex-President Richard M. Nixon will play
no part in Mr. Ford's election campaign. Mr.
Ford treats Mr. Nixon cordially on a personal
basis. But he will politically keep his distance
from him.

Rockefeller Joins Effort to Ease Relations With G.O.P. Senators

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 20—Vice President Rockefeller will seek to ease his strained relations with Senate Republicans at a series of private dinner meetings this spring.

The Vice President did not initiate the peace overture, but he readily agreed to meet with his fellow Republicans in an effort to heal wounds inflicted by his liberal rulings in the recent fight over filibuster reform.

The dinner hosts will be Senators Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, Charles H. Percy of Illinois and Roman Hruska of Nebraska.

In general, the guest lists have been carefully drawn to reflect the varying political philosophies of the 38 Republican Senators. Most of the conservatives will attend the Hruska dinner, most liberals will go to the Percy dinner, and the moderates will be divided between the Griffin and Baker dinners.

Not All May Go

While all Republican Senators have been invited, it is not certain that all will accept. Aides to some of the Vice President's most severe critics—such as Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina—said today they were unaware of the dinner plans.

The idea of seeking to improve the Vice President's relations with disgruntled Senators originated with Senator Baker, who decided to hold a small dinner party sometime this spring.

Upon learning of the Baker plan, former Senator Marlow W. Cook of Kentucky suggested a series of dinners with the Vice President, to include all Senate Republicans.

Senator Cook broached the idea to the Vice President, who quickly accepted.

Senator Baker's dinner will be held April 7 at his home in Northwest Washington. His

guests, in addition to Mr. Rockefeller, will be Senators William V. Roth Jr. of Delaware, J. Glenn Beall Jr. of Maryland, Robert Taft Jr. of Ohio, Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, Robert Packwood of Oregon, William E. Brock 3d of Tennessee, Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, and Robert T. Stafford of Vermont.

Incomplete Lists

The Vice President's office said that Senator Hruska's dinner would be April 14, Senator Griffin's on April 22 and Senator Percy's on a date not yet set. The guest lists for those three dinner parties have not been completed.

While conceding that the Vice President may have upset some Senators with his rulings that led to the new regulation making it easier to stop filibusters, aides to Mr. Rockefeller said today that his ready acceptance of the dinner party plans should not be construed as only an effort to "mend fences."

"This is a long delayed thing he wanted to do earlier, but until now he just hasn't had the time," said John Milliken, a press aide to the Vice President.

Mr. Milliken noted that Vice President Rockefeller has been "extremely busy" in recent weeks, meeting with various Cabinet officers and agency heads in his new role as head of the Domestic Council.

While known in his own party, Mr. Rockefeller had been close to only a few Senators before taking office as Vice President. In contrast, his predecessor, Gerald R. Ford, had spent 25 years in the House and was a good friend of many Senators.

Besides trying to improve relations with Senate Republicans, Mr. Rockefeller is also expected to use the dinner parties as a forum to support President Ford's economic and energy plans.

Rockefeller's staff also includes assistant press secretary John H. Mulliken Jr., \$30,000; personal assistant for correspondence Susan J. Herter, \$30,000, she is the daughter-in-law of the former secretary of state and Richard D. Parsons, \$32,000 the deputy legal counsel.

Overall the vice presidential staff has a budget of \$1,493,615, including \$1.2 million for 66 salaried positions and the remainder for supplies and printing costs. This does not include an additional eight persons in the military office of the Vice President, whose salaries are paid by their respective services.

Rockefeller's recruiting in Washington has been under the direction of another aide from his Albany days, former New York banking superintendent Harry W. Albright Jr. Albright receives a \$138-a-day per diem and plans to return to New York

to practice law within the next three months.

Rockefeller makes no secret of his fondness for Washington. To the surprise of some of his intimates, he seems to really enjoy presiding over the Senate—which, as he always reminds interviewers, is his only constitutional duty.

In his public appearances, apart from the New Jersey speech, Rockefeller generally has adhered to his self-imposed rule of avoiding wave-making. Aides generally attribute this to a determination—one aide calls it an obsession—not to get too far out in front of President Ford.

Rockefeller has always, by training and political style, preferred circumlocution in his formal speeches, and this has been strengthened by the delicacy of the vice presidential role.

He talks so much in generalities in most of his

speeches and interviews that reporters are reminded that he once created for them the abbreviation, "Bomfog."

The word stood for "brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God," and Rockefeller at one time used it in nearly every political speech. Today he prefers to say things like, "There's no

problem facing America which Americans can't solve," a slogan he considers attuned to the needs of the Ford administration and the nation.

In private conversations Rockefeller seems relaxed and even jovial.

At 66 he also seems uncaring of past political scars, remarking at a reception last week that "they've given me up for dead so many times I've become used to it."

Only on the issue of the CIA commission or his own personal relationship with Kissinger does he seem especially sensitive. Last week on "Face the Nation," when a reporter asked him about his and Kissinger's relationship to the CIA, Rockefeller said she was questioning his integrity.

In a subsequent interview this week Rockefeller was asked whether the public would accept the conclusions of the CIA commission and he accused "the media" of "prejudging the facts before seeing the product, which I don't think is fair."

Except for his touchiness on the CIA-Kissinger issue and his uncertainty about the Domestic Council, Rockefeller seems content, even pleased, with the progress he has made in Washington.

He also seems to have few regrets about the impact of his New Jersey speech, other than a concern that outsiders should consider it a product of a luncheon he had with Kissinger the same day.

"Somebody has to speak out and increase the public understanding on this issue," Rockefeller told a reporter on the wind-buffed plane ride back to Andrews Air Force Base. He left no doubt about who he thinks that somebody should be.

Monday, Feb. 2, 1975

Rockefeller

Is Aiming for A Major Role

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

Nelson A. Rockefeller is trying to play a major role in the Ford administration without, in his words, "pushing anybody around or making any waves." After little more than a month as Vice President, he is quickly learning the difficulty of reconciling these conflicting aims.

The largest wave-making of Rockefeller's brief vice presidency occurred last Wednesday in Millburn, N.J., where Rockefeller, at a Republican fund-raising dinner, issued a flaming defense of President Ford's request for Southeast Asian military aid.

Entering the \$250-a-plate dinner to the strains of "Anything Goes" and "The Best Things in Life Are Free," Rockefeller immediately generated the kind of political excitement that had been lacking on most of President Ford's appearances last week. He surprised reporters and several of his own aides by discarding the routine political comments that were intended to be the staple of his speech and instead launched into a vigorous criticism of the Democratic opposition to Vietnam aid.

Rockefeller said that the United States has "a moral commitment" to approve Mr. Ford's requests because of past authorizations of military aid to South Vietnam. He complained that Congress was handicapping Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's ability to negotiate with foreign countries.

Afterward, in rhetoric that has rarely been heard from a high government official since Spiro Agnew's heyday, Rockefeller said Congress would be responsible "if the Communists take over and there's a million people liquidated."

From the White House point of view, the Rockefeller speech did indeed "make waves," and they were too high.

The next day White House press secretary Ron Nessen said cautiously that the administration wasn't trying to point an accusing finger at Congress or provide itself

ROCKEFELLER, From A

with an alibi if South Vietnam was militarily defeated. The President's only intention, Nessen said, was to avert this defeat.

Whatever the intention of Rockefeller, the New Jersey speech immediately cast him into the role of partisan advocate that vice presidents have frequently played in the past. When one of Rockefeller's top aides was asked if this signified "a me-too approach," he replied: "Maybe that's another way to define the Vice President's job. If the Vice President isn't supporting the President, he shouldn't be there."

In every interview and public appearance, Rockefeller goes out of his way to stress this supportiveness. But there has been nothing traditional about the role he has begun to play during his month on the job. Already there are signs that Rockefeller will have far more to do in the No. 2 post than any of his predecessors.

The bedrock of Rockefeller's growing influence within the administration is a personal relationship with Mr. Ford that intimates of both men claim is unique in the modern presidency.

The two men meet regularly and privately, and Rockefeller also adds his voice to Cabinet and staff discussions on domestic and foreign policy. Rockefeller's top aides attend the daily White House staff meetings.

In his chairmanship of the commission investigating alleged domestic misbehavior by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Vice President has been charged with responding to one of the most sensitive issues confronting the administration.

Rockefeller's formal responsibilities are not limited to the CIA commission.

He is vice chairman of the National Security Council. He retains the chairmanship of the National Commission on Water Quality, which he held before his confirmation. He has been chosen by Mr. Ford to serve on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, where Rockefeller's special liaison is Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, the former supreme allied commander in Europe. He has been asked by the President to plan for a new science advisory apparatus in the executive branch.

These responsibilities alone would rank Rockefeller among the busiest of vice presidents. But it is clear from conversations with Rockefeller, his aides and White House officials that he wants to do much more.

What Rockefeller wants most — and what is likely to determine whether his influence continues to grow and deepen within the administration — is the operational direction of the Domestic Council.

The council was one of the most powerful instruments of the executive branch in the days when it was headed by John D. Ehrlichman. It is now a small coordinating body nestled within the White House staff under the direction of the departing Kenneth R. Cole Jr.

In an interview last week Rockefeller said he envisioned this important body in its "original concept as a Cabinet council, not as staff in the White House."

Rockefeller pointed out that most domestic problems cut across Cabinet lines and said that the council was intended to be a coordinating body that could help the President carry out a coherent domestic policy.

Rockefeller believes that he could direct this council without "imposing" himself between the President and his staff.

If this view prevails, Mr. Ford is considered likely to name one of the Vice President's top aides, probably James Cannon, as the director of the Domestic Council. In this organizational setup the deputy director's job could go to another Rockefeller aide, former New

Yorker and they hold all but one of the top positions on his staff.

"I've got to use people that I know and trust," Rockefeller said in the interview. "Otherwise you can't move fast."

Many of these aides are paid considerably less than they made in New York, where some of them also received personal gifts from Rockefeller. It is a staff that is regarded as loyal, hard working, competent and somewhat in-crowd.

Frequently, after a 10-hour day at the office, the staff adjourns to the Rockefeller residence on 60th Street, where staff dinners are held.

the night. One of Rockefeller's senior staffers says that the Vice President "loves staff meetings" and in his early days as New York governor would hold them regularly on Sunday evenings.

At the pinnacle of this staff, both in influence and responsibility, is Ann C. Whitman, one of the comparatively few Rockefeller staffers with any extended experience in Washington. She was here before as President Eisenhower's personal secretary.

Mrs. Whitman makes the top staff salary if \$42,500 a year and is believed to be the first woman to serve as Vice President's chief of staff.

Either Mrs. Whitman or Cannon, a former magazine reporter and editor, attend the 8 a.m. White House staff meetings each day. Frequently, both of them attend and neither hesitates

to make a contribution.

Rockefeller's other top aides include his press secretary Hugh Morrow, \$41,000, who has been recuperating from an operation in New York; Roger J. Hooker, \$37,000, former New York State lobbyist in Washington; legal counsel Peter J. Wallison, \$38,000, who came from the Commission on Critical Choices, and Joseph E. Persico, \$40,000, the Rockefeller speechwriter.

Rockefeller's one non-New York holdover in jobs paying more than \$30,000 is Frank R. Pagnotta, the \$37,000-a-year assistant for administration. Pagnotta is a retired Army officer who previously worked for Mr. Ford when he was Vice President.

Another prominent holdover who works for Rockefeller in the Senate is H. Clifford Canfield, who makes \$29,000.

George F. Will ✓

The Appetites of Government

When Nelson Rockefeller presides as president of the Senate he is poised and alert, ready to pounce like a cat on each opportunity for a novel parliamentary ruling. But when he is relaxing from these and similar vice presidential rigors, his thoughts must drift back to those days, still green in memory, when he was Maximus Ruler of the State of New York.

Ah, those were the days, when he could leap over small people with tall buildings. New York State's motto—"Excelsior" (literally, "higher")—expressed the lift of his driving dream: he would be a liberal pharaoh, with his benevolent impulses congealed forever in architecture.

If you seek a monument to his benevolent pharaohism, consider the Urban Development Corporation.

Rockefeller became governor in 1959. He shouted "Excelsior!" and began building things—highways, bridges, buildings of every shape and size and function—all the manifestations of the solicitous state. For a while New Yorkers must have felt the way the Israelites felt when the manna started descending.

The New York electorate's mind does not invariably work at express speed, but soon it felt nagging doubts about the cost of Rockefeller's enthusiasms. By the mid-1960s the electorate was getting uppity, even obnoxious: it was voting down the bond issues that finance pharaohism.

The political philosophy of benevolent pharaohism could not accommodate this sudden sourness in the pub-

lic mood. A benevolent pharaoh who knocks himself out dreaming up blessings for the people has a right to expect that the people will reciprocate by doing their small duties, which are to be grateful and pay the bills.

Rockefeller pleaded and cajoled, explaining that an electorate that eats lots of bond issues will grow up straight and tall. He said to the electorate: "It's broccoli, dear." And the electorate replied: "I say it's spinach, and I say the hell with it."

Even a benevolent pharaoh has limited reserves of geniality; he can be pushed too far. In 1968 Rockefeller, like a short-tempered nanny attending a stubborn infant, resolved to force-feed the electorate its blessings.

The urban unrest of 1968 was a crackerjack excuse for a gargantuan public construction program to mollify a restive minority—the building trades unions. But Rockefeller knew better than to risk the referendum necessary for issuing bonds backed by the state's "full faith and credit."

He knew the taxpayers would issue a resounding "no." So he and the legislature launched UDC, authorized to raise up to \$2 billion by selling "moral obligation" bonds.

A "moral obligation" bond is a dodge devised, in the early 1960s, by the lively imagination of John Mitchell, who was then a Big Enchilada among bond lawyers, and who already was a prodigy at dreaming up governmental hijinks. The purpose of a "moral obligation" bond is to enable a state (30 states now issue them) to sell bonds for projects that its citizens,

if given a chance in a referendum, would reject.

So the government of New York, in an end run around its citizens, authorizing UDC to issue such bonds, New York implied that, although the electorate had not legally placed its state's "full faith and credit" behind the bonds, the state accepted an obligation to back the bonds if they began to sink.

Today UDC is sinking. It has taken 189 projects, completed 76, only four are profitable. It recently faulted on \$134.5 million of loans, the holders of UDC's \$1.1 billion bonds are getting queasy.

But New York's new pharaoh, Hugh Carey, will not let UDC smash. Carey has invented a agency that will serve as a condiment of subsidies—according to one estimate \$20 million to \$80 million a year for 40 years—that the state will pump into UDC.

So New York's taxpayers will get out UDC, which was invented to circumvent the taxpayers' sensible willingness to support UDC. Government acting in loco parentis gets its way.

Perry Duryea, the Republican main man in the State Assembly, voted for the first \$90 million subsidy, which will just keep constructing for two months. He said the taxpayers have to pay this, because the state of New York is at stake.

That is the voice of modern government, concocting moral imperatives to rationalize its appetites. Excelsior.

Clayton Fritchey

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, April 23, 1975

The Rockefeller-Goldwater Switch

Politics may make strange bedfellows, but funerals seem to make even stranger ones, as witness the sudden and surprising rapprochement of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) at the last rites for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Actually they are more plane fellows than bedfellows, for they flew together to Taiwan as members of the official U.S. delegation chosen by President Ford to represent him at the services for the Asian military dictator who lost mainland China to the Communists.

Sen. Goldwater has made a career of attacking Nelson Rockefeller. He not only thwarted the New Yorker's presidential ambition but also voted against his confirmation as Vice President. From time to time he has virtually read the former governor out of the Republican Party. But all has changed overnight.

To American reporters accompanying Goldwater and Rockefeller to the funeral, the senator said that, while he and the Vice President still had some domestic differences, they now see eye to eye on foreign policy and national defense issues.

What caused this remarkable switch? Two recent Rockefeller actions provide a clue. First, the Vice President agreed to head the delegation to

"Goldwater has made a career of attacking Nelson Rockefeller. From time to time he has virtually read the former governor out of the Republican Party. But all has changed overnight."

Taiwan and pay fulsome tribute to Goldwater's hero, the late Generalissimo. Second, and perhaps more important, the Vice President publicly blasted the congressional doves who wanted to deny further funds for the Indochina wars that Goldwater has so faithfully supported for so long.

Speaking at a Republican fund-raising dinner in New Jersey, Rockefeller said that if the money was not voted "and the Communists take over and there are a million people liquidated, we know where the responsibility will lie." Right on the Democratic-controlled Congress. This is the kind of blunt, partisan language Goldwater understands and relishes. The senator is a refreshingly plain-spoken man himself.

On the way to Taiwan, the Vice President also foresaw that the "rapid advance of the Communist takeover" in Southeast Asia "has the makings of a political issue" in 1976. Apparently,

President Ford heartily agrees with him.

After calling for a bipartisan approach to foreign policy, and repeatedly saying he would not blame Congress for the "loss" of Cambodia and Vietnam, the President flatly told a gathering of the nation's editors that failure to appropriate sufficient aid money was responsible for "this present tragic situation."

So Rockefeller was not talking idly when he forecast that this could be an issue in next year's presidential election. All signs suggest that the administration intends to keep it alive, as Mr. Ford's party once kept alive the so-called "loss" of China.

But times have changed. Even some of the President's own advisers fear he is making a mistake in trying to exploit politically the debacle in Asia. For the time being, however, there is little they can do, for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger still has so

much influence with Mr. Ford that the latter will not listen to those who question Dr. Kissinger's hard line.

Barry Goldwater himself discovered the political limitations of hard-line hawkishness when, as a Republican candidate for President in 1964, he was overwhelmingly defeated by Lyndon Johnson, who campaigned against the senator, claiming Goldwater was a trigger-happy warmonger.

Considering that it was Johnson who first sent U.S. troops to Vietnam in 1965, it is hard now to remember that he accused Goldwater of being the kind of candidate who, if elected, would bomb North Vietnam and risk war with China and Russia.

Whatever his future intentions may have been, Johnson in 1964 carefully presented himself as against U.S. military intervention, and it paid off tremendously at the polls. In 1968, the Democratic presidential candidate, Hubert Humphrey, also probably would have won if he had broken with Johnson and supported a peace plank.

Although he started 15 points (a landslide) behind Richard Nixon in 1968, Humphrey, after making a peace speech on Vietnam in the last weeks of the campaign, came within less than 1 per cent of defeating the Republican nominee. Most pros are convinced that Humphrey would have won handily had the election been a week or two later. Such is the political appeal of peace in the United States today.

★ Rockefeller seeks fifth term — and presidency?

1-15-3
Sen

By Guy Halverson
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York
New York Republican Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller is not only gearing up for a bid for an unprecedented fifth term next year, but many analysts believe he also is looking toward another try for the presidency.

Should Mr. Rockefeller win the governorship next year as now is expected, he would as the nation's longest-running big state governor be a contender along with Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew, California Gov. Ronald Reagan, and new Republican convert John B. Connally for the 1976 presidential nomination.

Once considered a representative of the liberal wing of the Republican Party (and backed by then Maryland Governor Agnew in 1968), Mr. Rockefeller during the last several years has moved toward the party's center and right.

State chieftains wooed

At the recent Republican Governor's Conference here, Mr. Rockefeller went out of his way to woo the nation's state GOP chieftains. During a news conference with reporters, Mr. Rockefeller said he would keep his "options open" — referring to the 1976 election. Mr. Rockefeller will be 67 four years from now.

It is expected that the governor's staff will be considerably expanded during the upcoming months not just for the governorship race but, some think, looking towards 1976 as well.

Indeed, it is believed that the governorship campaign has in a sense been under way for most of this year since many political analysts here believe that the Governor's recent positions on a number of major social and political issues, such as drugs and the environment, have in part been dictated by longer-range political considerations.

State GOP thrives

Mr. Rockefeller, who first went to the State House back in the closing years of the Eisenhower administration in 1958, has helped to hammer together one of the nation's thriving state Republican organizations.

The New York GOP, one of but four major parties now in New York State, controls both houses of the state Legislature plus both U.S. Senate seats. Republican Sen. Jacob K. Javits, elected in 1956, is up for reelection in 1974 and should help to ensure a big GOP voter turnout that year.

Mr. Rockefeller has had increasing problems within the New York Republican organization the past several years, plus a rising disenchantment from Liberal voters since the Attica Prison riot.

Moreover, Mr. Rockefeller's recent effort at backing former mayor and Democrat Robert F. Wagner for the New York City mayoral post only has added to the feelings of many voters that Mr. Rockefeller is prepared to take almost any step to maintain his power base in New York State.

Whatever, the Governor clearly has taken the political initiative during the past several months and has scored some major coups in the process. His tough new drug law signed this month as an especially sweet victory and should strengthen his support from more conservative elements in the Republican Party here as well as the increasingly important Conservative Party.

Mr. Rockefeller managed to get the legislation enacted in spite of heavy opposition from jurists, police officials, and social workers.

The legislation — the nation's "toughest anti-drug program," Mr. Rockefeller called it — also is expected to eventually necessitate appointment of a number of new judges, perhaps as many as 100.

Such a possibility would hardly be disturbing to Mr. Rockefeller, particularly prior to an election.

In signing a law recently that imposes a one-year moratorium on the state's 2.5 percent income-tax surcharge, Mr. Rockefeller — along with GOP legislators — can claim tax relief for financially hard-pressed voters — even if it is quickly overlooked that the bill originally was criticized by the Governor.

million or more — to use for new programs.

Mr. Rockefeller also has recently managed to come out ahead in one of the most crucial environmental decisions faced here in many years.

At issue was future development of the massive, 6-million-acre Adirondack Park in upstate New York. Mr. Rockefeller and a number of conservationist groups had wanted to insure stiff state control and restrict development, even though state legislators

State surplus expected

Many Democrats, in fact, grumble that the Governor will have a hefty amount of extra state money next year — perhaps as high as \$700

from the park area sought a loosening of regulations.

Under terms of the legislation finally worked out, the park agency has control while development of secondary homes is precluded.

Potential Democratic candidates at this point are Howard J. Samuels, chairman of the Off-Track Betting Corporation; retiring New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay; and Congressmen Samuel S. Stratton and Ogden R. Reid.

1-15-3
Sen

Most Aides to Rockefeller Urge Drive for Presidency

By FRANK LYNN

A majority of Governor Rockefeller's closest advisers are recommending that he not seek a fifth term and instead concentrate all his efforts on a bid for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1976.

The Governor is playing his cards close to the vest. Not one of 10 close advisers would say flatly whether he would run next year, and a reporter who spent an hour in a background discussion with the Governor could not detect even a tentative decision on a fifth term.

Publicly, Mr. Rockefeller has said repeatedly that he is keeping his options open on both the governorship and Presidency, and his aides say that is also his private position.

But his advisers are equally convinced that he is already running for President and that a bid for another term in Albany would merely be a means to that end.

Mr. Rockefeller leaves little doubt about his national aspirations. "I'm interested in serving in whatever way I can,"

the Governor responded to the now standard question on his Presidential ambitions in Los Angeles a week ago. The fairly candid response was tantamount to a declaration of candidacy at this point, three years before the Presidential election.

The Governor's aides say that he would "grab at" a Vice Presidential appointment now—again as a route to the White House—even though he has in the past dismissed the Vice Presidency as "stand-by equipment."

Mr. Rockefeller, who has carefully cultivated his ties with President Nixon after years of strained relations, has been widely mentioned as a possible Nixon appointee to succeed Vice President Agnew if he is forced to resign.

However, Rockefeller aides believe that John B. Connally, the former Texas Governor and Secretary of the Treasury who recently switched to the Republican party, has the edge on any Vice Presidential appointment because he is believed to be very close to the President.

The division in the ranks of Rockefeller counselors over whether he should seek a fifth term follows a pattern, although there are some exceptions to the rule.

Generally, his staff—those whose primary loyalty is to the Governor—urge that he not seek re-election, while those whose allegiance is to the Republican party want him to run again if for no other reason than to prevent a wild primary fight between Lieutenant Governor Malcolm Wilson and Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea, which could split the party.

'He Should Run for It'

The argument of those who oppose a re-election bid was summed up by one Rockefeller adviser who said: "If he wants to be President, he should run for it instead of hanging

around here and bartering with Stanley Steingut." Mr. Steingut is the Democratic minority leader in the Assembly.

Those who counsel this course argue that the Governor should not be diverted from his national ambition by state concerns, that he should not risk defeat next year, that at 65 he should conserve his energy and, finally, that a Rockefeller does not need Albany to remain politically visible.

In any event, these aides argue, Mr. Rockefeller has insured his own visibility by his chairmanship of the National Commission on Water Quality, which was created by Congress and began operating last May, and the National Commission on Critical Choices for America.

The latter is a strictly Rockefeller production that the Governor is now putting together.

It will be issuing reports on crucial national and international issues for the next two years—timed to the nation's 200th anniversary in 1976, not the Presidential election, the Governor insists.

The fifth-term advocates—whose principal proponents are R. Burdell Bixby, the Governor's state campaign manager and Richard M. Rosenbaum, the party's state chairman—argue that Mr. Rockefeller has to remain in state office to control the state delegation to the 1976 national convention and that the Republicans, who have controlled this state for 28 of the last 32 years, could collapse in dissension if the Governor left the state scene.

Others involved in the debate in the Rockefeller inner circle are Lieutenant Governor Wilson; Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz; Dr. William J. Roman, chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and former secretary to the Governor; George Hinman, the state's Republican national committeeman, and four top members of the Rockefeller staff, James Cannon, Ronald Maiorana, Hugh Morrow and Ann Whitman.

Not all of their positions are clear-cut at present. But enough have taken stances to point to a

However, the advisers have agreed that the Governor will make the ultimate decision. "Mr. Lincoln is about to cast 13 votes," said a Rockefeller counselor, referring to Abraham Lincoln's willingness to ignore a unanimous vote of his Cabinet.

There was agreement on both sides of the debate that there had been no formal meetings on the subject of the Rockefeller future, but that the Governor had sounded out his advisers on an individual basis.

Mr. Rockefeller could wait until next March to make a final decision on a re-election attempt, several of his advisers noted. The delay would give him time to gauge his own popularity in the polls he uses constantly and also keep Mr. Duryea off balance.

If a successor is needed, Mr. Rockefeller's preference, his aides say, would be Lieutenant Governor Wilson, who squired him about the state 15 years ago when Mr. Rockefeller, then a political neophyte, began his first bid for the Republican

JOVIAL GOVERNOR WOOS ARIZONANS

Rockefeller Warmly Greeted
on Fund-Raising Tour

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

TUCSON, Ariz., Oct. 26 —

Governor Rockefeller drew repeated applause and peals of laughter from an audience of Goldwater Republicans last night as he told of his efforts to tighten New York's welfare rolls in the face of Government bureaucrats and "welfare culture" idlers.

The Governor was warmly received as he spoke with a recanting tone of his decision to employ some stringent measures that his conservative audience obviously was pleased to see adopted by an Eastern "liberal" governor.

"You may say where was I before?" the Governor said to the 1,300 party loyalists at the Phoenix Trunk 'n' Tusk dinner. They responded with laughter and applause and a few cheers. One later joked of "a new Nelson," and many saw Presidential hopes burning again in the Governor's eyes as he offered his crinkled grin.

Cites Tougher Approach

The Governor, who spoke here and in Phoenix at two fund-raising dinners and two college campuses, drew the loudest applause in Phoenix with a call that echoed the local political hero, Senator Barry Goldwater.

"We are going to have to be a tougher people," said Mr. Rockefeller, who has styled himself over the years as a government problem solver. "And we are going to have to stop looking to Washington and the Federal Government for all our answers."

The scene at the Town House ballroom was striking to anyone who had the contrasting memory of the Governor being booed by a comparable audience at the 1964 G.O.P. convention.

At first, as the Governor dwelled in general terms on his faith in the Republican party, the audience seemed somewhat listless. But when he came to his toughened stance on welfare and narcotics, this seemed to be received as a pleasing revelation, and the group lis-

Reasons for Absence

He drew "oohs" and "aahs" from the Arizonans, who have a much more limited welfare program than New York, when he told of the size of his state's welfare budget—\$4-billion. "I hate to admit it," he said. And there was applause and laughter when he said that requiring people to pick up welfare checks at the employment offices has knocked 23 per cent from the roll.

"They didn't show because they either had a job or they had an account or they lived in Puerto Rico or some other country or some other state," he said, smiling along with his audience.

Part of the problem, he said, was that some people had the philosophical view that welfare was "an opportunity to develop a new method of redistributing wealth."

45-23
Gen

Rockefeller decision soon on '76 campaign

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller just might be ready to make his big move.

To most New Yorkers the question has long been not "if" but "when" and "how" their Governor for the past 15 years would bow out of state politics and make his first step toward seeking the Republican presidential nomination in 1976.

From all indications, the time and the decision have come. That is not to say the Governor is doing anything a great deal differently than he has in the past.

Would he seek a fifth term as governor? Well, he really had not made up his mind yet, he said.

Would he try for the presidency? Wait and see, he would tell reporters with a wink and a smile.

Decision rumored

Rumors are rife now that the Governor has finally made up his mind: He will resign his office before Christmas — and very likely by Dec. 18, when the state Legislature convenes for a short session — to give him more time for focusing on national problems and for reminding people outside New York that he is still very much available.

At a meeting of southern Republicans in Atlanta over the weekend he was still dodging the big question — but now adding that he would make an announcement by Jan. 9. Aides say privately, however, he is very much on his way.

Benefits weighed

A decision to step out of office and not seek a fifth term as Governor next year would settle a lot of arguments. His supporters have vigorously debated whether Mr. Rockefeller would lead the governorship as a springboard for a try at the presidency.

The benefits of being in office had to be weighed against the harm that would result should the Governor be defeated in a bid for re-election. And

it is generally agreed that the Governor would not be a shoo-in for re-election.

There is another factor the Governor had to consider, say supporters. His two most likely opponents at the moment for the Republican presidential nomination will also not be office holders — former Texas Gov. John B. Connally and California Gov. Ronald Reagan, who has indicated he will not seek re-election either.

Criticism avoided

Governor Rockefeller — the senior governor in the nation in years of service — has been talking and acting like a candidate for national office for a long time. He rarely passes up an opportunity to speak up on national issues (though negotiating with the state Legislature has increasingly taken up more and more of his time in recent months). He has also made obvious efforts to be identified less with the left, and more with the moderate or conservative elements of the party.

On Watergate, in particular, he stops short of criticizing the Nixon administration. When pressed, he tells reporters he hopes the President will clear up the lingering questions as soon as possible.

Sounding very much like a would-be Republican standard-bearer, he calls Watergate a "tragedy of individuals, and not of the party." And he is quick to praise the Nixon administration for its achievements in foreign affairs, fighting inflation, and lowering unemployment.

Mr. Rockefeller obviously hopes to use his newly formed National Commission of Critical Choices as a vehicle for staying in the public eye. The commission, which will have some \$20 million for studying problems facing the country, held its first meeting last week, and Vice-President Gerald Ford was on hand to give the Governor a helpful slap on the back as a man whom he would like to see seek national office.

Exposure for Wilson

On the state front, a decision by the Governor to resign before Christmas would turn the reins of government

over to Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson, a long-time Rockefeller loyalist who has served in the No. 2 spot for 15 years. By resigning, the Governor would allow Mr. Wilson to gain wide exposure for a year and have the advantage of seeking the governorship in 1974 as an incumbent.

Ironically, the Governor's resignation could also serve as an enticement to a long-time foe of his, outgoing New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay, to seek the governorship. Mr. Lindsay has indicated he would not be a candidate next year, but there has been speculation he might change his mind if Governor Rockefeller does not run again.

Fishing firm is oldest

The oldest company in the world is the Faversham Oyster Fishing Company of England. It is known to date from before 1189.

1-15-73
Den

Rocky Is Welcomed By Southern GOP

~~7-15-25~~
Sen

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, Dec. 7 — New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's prospective 1976 presidential candidacy was welcomed today by Southern Republican leaders who have historically regarded him as politically unacceptable.

Gov. Winfield Dunn of Tennessee, chairman of the Republican Governors Association, described Rockefeller as "alive, healthy, vigorous and potential," and said he considered him "an active candidate."

In response to a question about whether Rockefeller actually is a candidate, Dunn said: "If he's not a candidate, he ought to be."

Clarke Reed, the Mississippi state chairman and an avowed booster of California Gov. Ronald Reagan, said Rockefeller is now acceptable to Southern Republicans and could carry the region in a presidential election. He attributed this to Rockefeller's growing conservatism since 1964, when Barry Goldwater was the overwhelming choice of Southern Republicans.

"Who's changed?" Reed asked rhetorically. "Do you think Goldwater's changed? The question answers itself."

Rockefeller was the featured speaker here tonight on the opening day of a Southern Republican conference that Reed hopes will rekindle enthusiasm in a Republican Party weary from a year's disclosures in the Watergate scandal. Reagan and John B. Connally are among the Saturday speakers.

The New York governor came here a day after aides said he intends to resign the governorship and turn it over to Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson so that Rockefeller can devote full time to national issues and his prospective presidential race.

Rockefeller proved more than willing to accept his newfound Southern support.

"A Republican is going to be

lected the next President of the United States and he's sure going to have to have the support of the South to do it," Rockefeller said.

Rockefeller is chairman of the newly formed National Commission on Critical Choices, which many of his supporters see as an ideal vehicle for a presidential candidacy.

Reed and other GOP officials said there is no question that Reagan is presently the first choice among Republicans in the South and that Connally probably ranks second. But several Republicans said the long-standing antipathy toward Rockefeller no longer exists in the South.

Meanwhile, Harry Dent of South Carolina, Republican National Committee counsel and a former top White House political assistant, said that the most formidable 1976 Republican presidential candidate may not include any of the Republicans here. Dent said the most likely candidate may well be vice president Gerald R. Ford.

However, none of the party officials here was willing to say that Ford would replace President Nixon before his term expires. On the contrary, many of them contended that it would be a mistake for the President to resign.

"If the President were to step down the people would consider it a big cop-out," said Georgia state GOP chairman Robert Shaw.

Like the other party officials here, Shaw also discounted the likelihood of impeachment.

While support for President Nixon has declined in all regions of the country, the Gallup Poll shows that he still has far more backing in the South than anywhere else.

The 1,200 Republicans attending the conference, many former delegates to national GOP conventions, rose and cheered when Janet Johnston, the Republican National Committee vice chairman, urged them to "stand up for the President."

The apparent decision of the 65-year-old Rockefeller to give

up the governorship a year before the end of his fourth term and seek the presidency was viewed by Republican officials as a sign of party health. One Republican official said that the GOP can show that it has not been destroyed by Watergate only through a vigorous contest between candidates of "undisputed integrity." He mentioned Reagan and Rockefeller as examples.

"The South is the future battleground," Reed said. "We're confident somebody will be nominated we can live with."

Reed was then asked whether Rockefeller was such a person, and he unhesitatingly responded, "Yes."

Citizens' Organization Formed for Rockefeller

NEW YORK, Dec. 7 (UPI) — Formation of Rockefeller Volunteers, a citizens group favoring the nomination of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller for the Republican presidential nomination race in 1976, was announced today.

Chairman Richard D. Connington said the organization will set up units in all states, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. Connington said, "I have written Governor Rockefeller informing him of our intentions but soliciting no present comment from him."

The apparent decision of the 65-year-old Rockefeller to give

Inland Evans and Robert Novak

Rocky Woos

GOP Regulars

On Road to '76

15-35
SEM

NEW YORK—The strategy envisaged by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller on the eve of his fourth, last and longest campaign for the Republican presidential nomination was clarified in a conversation with a long-time supporter who has extensive political credentials.

The Rockefeller backer, a liberal Republican, criticized the governor for his bland statements about Watergate and urged him to call for the moral reformation of the Republican Party. Rockefeller shrugged in his characteristic way, then replied in words to this effect: "No I ran against the Republican delegates in 1968 and I'm not going to do it this time."

Some old friends, this reflects the spirit of cynicism Rockefeller had developed during 15 years of electoral defeat. But it also represents his firm conviction that he will have no chance of winning for the nomination if he runs on the hairshirt of the Republican Party, as he was in his disastrous previous attempts.

Nelson Rockefeller's course through 1976 seems predictable. His closest associates are all but certain he will soon announce that he will seek a fifth term as governor in

1974. Chances are even that he will resign as governor next month to improve Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson's chances for election, a course urged by key Rockefeller insiders.

Freed of duties in Albany, Rockefeller will generate national publicity as chairman of his new, bipartisan Commission on Critical Choices for America. At the same time, he will be traveling the Republican banquet circuit to woo conservative, small-town Republican regulars who have so long frustrated his desires for ultimate power.

There is no false optimism in Rockefeller's inner circle. Gov. Ronald Reagan of California is recognized as the clear early frontrunner. The handicap of Rockefeller's age (he will be 68 in 1976) is appreciated. Most important, it is understood that many heartland Republican regulars have never forgiven Rockefeller for his past role as censor of the party—attacking President Eisenhower's policies in 1960, accusing Barry Goldwater of extremism in 1964, claiming that Richard M. Nixon was a loser in 1968.

Accordingly, Rockefeller's political advisers urge an ingratiating attitude toward the regulars. Richard Rosenbaum, New York's first-year Republican state chairman, stresses to Rockefeller this rule: a candidate must be nominated before he can be elected.

Rockefeller is heeding the advice in recent political appearances in Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, Arizona and New Jersey, he consistently won applause by declaring: "The Watergate tragedy is a tragedy of individuals, not the Republican Party."

Accepting his advisers' view that Mr. Nixon's support among the party workers remains substantial, Rockefeller treads carefully in talking about the President. He has been getting applause by declaring that the nation owes Mr. Nixon "a great debt of gratitude" for his handling of the Middle East crisis. His reaction at a press conference in Minot, N.D., last week to the shocking news of the erased White

House tape recording was noncommittal: "Some things are a little hard yet to understand, but certainly he's on the right course (in trying to restore presidential credibility)."

Morover, Rockefeller's move to the right during four terms in Albany makes common sense with heartland Republicans easier. His hard line against welfare cheaters and drug pushers fills much of his partisan speeches around the country.

While telling the Republicans what they want to hear, Rockefeller is raising funds for hard-pressed local party organizations (for example, in Minot last week) and picking up important political IOUs.

This process of catering to the regulars would be greatly enhanced if some nationally known non-New York Republicans were added to a Rockefeller political high command which has grown old with the governor. Some Rockefeller insiders talk of Melvin R. Laird, nearing resignation as Mr. Nixon's domestic counselor, joining the Rockefeller campaign in a year or so, perhaps as campaign manager.

Rockefeller's current tactics have outraged the New York liberal establishment (bringing down jeremiads on him from columnist James Wechsler of the New York Post and the New York Times editorial board). But never has Rockefeller cared less about what New York liberals think of him. It may be too late, but after 15 years, he finally is trying to come to terms with the people who go to Republican conventions to pick the presidential nominee.

Rocky May Quit, Eyes 1976

Plans to Tell His Decision By January 9

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Nov. 21—Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller said today he may not stay in office more than two months longer.

Rockefeller, who is anxious to make his fourth bid for the Republican nomination for the presidency, acknowledged in Albany this morning that he is considering resigning.

When asked at a dedication ceremony whether resignation was in his thinking, the governor said, "Well, I have got to be frank. I've considered everything. Where I come out is the problem.

"I've got a whole series of options which I have discussed with great frankness with the media. . . . It is not easy to decide."

Rockefeller said that whatever decision he reached, he would like to do so before Jan. 9, when the New York Legislature comes into session.

Some of Rockefeller's associates have told him that, in view of Watergate ramifications, he might have a better chance of winning the presidential nomination in 1976 if he is not an officeholder.

His fourth four-year term as governor ends next year.

Rockefeller has reservations about seeking a fifth term as governor because a loss would dash any hopes for the presidency.

His likely opponents now would be either Howard Samuels, chairman of the New York City Off-Track Betting Corp., or Rep. Ogden Reid, both of whom are well known and tough campaigners. Each has the personal wealth to give Rockefeller a race.

Polls taken for Samuels and released to the press last week show that, as of now, Samuels would beat Rockefeller. (Polls taken at a similar point four years ago also showed that Arthur J. Goldberg would beat

Rockefeller. By election day, the situation had changed enough for Rockefeller to beat Goldberg by a record plurality.)

Pollster Tully Plesser said that about 61 per cent of the potential voters contacted recently indicated they felt that Rockefeller "has been governor long enough and it's time for a change."

Some of Rockefeller's aides have strongly advised him not to run for the presidency as governor again, believing the duties of the governorship were in effect an albatross for him in his last three presidential attempts.

While the option of forgoing re-election has assets, his aides advise him, he must insure that he retains control over New York's delegation to the 1976 Republican convention.

One way of insuring that is putting in his own man as head of the state party apparatus—Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson—and giving him some of the tools to govern, such as being governor while the legislature is in session. Thus the Jan. 9 deadline Rockefeller mentioned this morning.

Rockefeller's presidential hopes received a boost in Washington today as well when 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry M. Goldwater said that Rockefeller was one of his three choices for the 1976 nomination, along with Gov. Ronald Reagan of California and John B. Connally, former Texas governor and Treasury Secretary.

In an interview with the Associated Press, Goldwater gave Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois only a 10 per cent chance of winning the nomination. "I don't even think he can get the delegation from his own state," said Goldwater.

"He's too inconsistent," Goldwater added. "He wanders all over hell's half acre." Percy has started raising money for a presidential campaign.

Sen
1-15-3-5

Nelson Rockefeller

Sen

Rockefeller as Candidate: The Money Problem

One of the guests at former New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's dinner party for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger last week indulged in a mild sarcasm.

His eyes surveyed the scene. There was the great chateau built in 1908 and looking out upon the Hudson River to the fields and hills beyond; on each side were fountains, gardens and statuary; a tent had been erected with tables to serve 350 guests; the waiters were waiting. "Politics," said the guest, comparing the scene before him to his host's career, "is a great leveler."

He spoke better than he knew. If Nelson Rockefeller decides to have another try at the Republican nomination for President, his money will be useless; it will, in fact, be a positive handicap.

The point is important because the more Vice President Gerald Ford talks about not being a candidate for any of-

ice in 1976, the more possible another Rockefeller race seems.

Ford has not made a Sherman statement, but Mrs. Ford is thought to have extracted a promise that her husband will come home to the family when he finishes his current term, and Mrs. Ford's wishes are not to be taken lightly.

If Ford doesn't run, to whom will Republicans turn? To Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois? To Gov. Ronald Reagan of California? To Rockefeller? Four terms as governor of New York give Rockefeller a leg-up, and it is an astonishing fact that the only thing which might give him pause is money. For the first time in his life, Nelson Rockefeller may be asking himself a question deeply familiar to other men: "Where do I get the money?"

The 1972 money-in-politics law is tough on a Rockefeller. Fifty thousand dollars in the aggregate is all that he

can raise from himself and his immediate family, and this for primary campaigns in perhaps as many as a dozen states.

The new law doesn't bar contributions of more than the \$50,000 limit from nephews or nieces or uncles and aunts, but to a Rockefeller such side-stepping would be unthinkable. In 1972, a millionaire sat down and wrote 333 checks to Richard Nixon's campaign, each check for \$3,000. In 1968, Rockefeller's stepmother gave \$1.4 million to his campaign and then wrote a check to the United States of America for about a half a million in gift tax. Rockefeller's not only obey the law; they do not evade it.

So how will Rockefeller get the money? Can we imagine people saying, "I have to send a dollar to Rockefeller"? Or a thousand dollars?

Can he explain to the American electorate that the new campaign laws give him no more advantage than if

his name were Smith, Jones or McGovern? And how much will it cost to do that?

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) raised about \$20 million in 1972 in contributions of a thousand dollars or less. It cost him almost half that much to get in touch with the contributors. It's difficult to think of a Rockefeller doing as well.

Moreover, by the time the primaries come around, Congress will almost certainly have passed legislation making it illegal for any person to contribute more than, say, \$5,000 to a campaign. So Rockefeller family friends will not be able to carry the burden.

It's hard to imagine one of the country's richest men out begging for dollars from his fellow citizens, but that's what Rockefeller will have to do. I wonder whether it ever occurs to him that it's the only thing he got from the administration of Richard Nixon.

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Clayton Fritchey

It's Time to Confirm Mr. Rockefeller

AT LONG LAST, the House Judiciary Committee has concluded its hearings into the fitness of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be Vice President. The indications are that a majority of its members will recommend that the House of Representatives confirm the nomination and, if all goes well, the country will have a Vice President by Christmas. It should have had one long before now. The office has been vacant for four months and Congress has already had more time in which to consider Mr. Rockefeller's qualifications than the voters usually get to consider the qualifications of those who run for President.

It is self-evident that no other candidate for Vice President—or President for that matter—has been subjected to as rigorous an examination as has Mr. Rockefeller. His finances have been turned inside out and the finances of all his relatives have been explored. He has been required to defend under close cross examination many of his decisions as governor of New York. And his views on many diverse aspects of national and international matters have been scrutinized. As far as we are concerned he has come out of all this pretty well. Some chinks in his armor have been exposed and some errors of judgment have been laid bare. But, overall, the hearings have not disclosed anything which seems to us to disqualify him for the job to which he has been nominated.

It is too bad that so many members of Congress have gotten so hung up on the question of Rockefeller wealth and so fascinated with the idea that a person can be too rich or too economically powerful to be fit to be President or Vice President. This resulted in slowing down the nomination process substantially, invading the privacy of other members of the Rockefeller family, and focusing public attention too much on one narrow issue. We suggested a couple of months ago that Congress needed to make sure that Mr. Rockefeller understood the way the rest of the country looks at his family fortune and the economic power it carries with it. Once that was accomplished—and we think Mr. Rockefeller understands that much better now than he did last summer—the remaining question on this issue was whether Mr. Rockefeller had used or is likely to use political office to enrich himself or his family; in other words, whether he is fundamentally honest. The answer to that question, it seems to us, is that while he may be over-bearing and somewhat self-righteous, he is a man of integrity.

Even some members of Congress who do not seriously question Mr. Rockefeller's integrity remain concerned

about his great wealth and the difficulty of disentangling him from it. Although we suspect that this concern has been used in some instances to camouflage other objections to the nominee, we do not doubt that many are sincere in their belief that Mr. Rockefeller may have too many financial conflicts to be President; an argument that this may be so is set forth elsewhere on this page today by Rep. Edward Mezvinsky (D-Iowa). While respecting the argument, however, we think history, constitutional principle and reality are all against it. George Washington was one of the richest men, if not the richest man, in America when he became President. The idea of proclaiming that certain citizens are unfit to be President because they are born rich repudiates too much of the American principle of equality. It would have been as logical to have disqualified Lyndon Johnson for being a Texan, John F. Kennedy for being a Catholic, or Dwight Eisenhower for being a career soldier; in each case, in fact, questions of regional, religious or professional conflict of interest were raised and wisely ignored by a majority of the voters. Why should a background of great wealth and complex economic entanglements be any more disabling? The reality of our modern industrial society, moreover, is that real economic power rests far less with the hereditary than with the managers of great corporations and those who control the vast sums of money held by insurance companies, mutual funds, pension funds, and trust departments of banks.

The fundamental problem with the Rockefeller nomination, of course, is that Congress has not yet determined precisely what its responsibilities ought to be under the 25th Amendment. Those responsibilities are quite different from those of a voter in a presidential election. A voter is entitled to make his decision on prejudice, qualifications, philosophy, partisanship or anything else that crosses his mind. Under the 25th Amendment, it seems to us, Congress ought not to vote to reject a nominee unless it can be demonstrated that his judgment is consistently bad, his political views are outside the mainstream of American politics, his knowledge and experience are so limited as to make him unable to grasp the problems a President must face, or his integrity and personal honesty are highly suspect. Mr. Rockefeller, we think, passes these tests—despite the loans and gifts, the Goldberg book, Attica, and some high-handedness as governor of New York. He ought to be confirmed as Vice President forthwith.

Dec. 9, 1974

Washington Post

DM
1-15-3-5

Callaway sings new V-P tune

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Howard (Bo) Callaway, President Ford's campaign chairman, now says there is mutual "admiration" between himself and Vice-President Rockefeller. He adds that, after a recent get-together, Mr. Rockefeller said to him, "Bo, you are great."

In a breakfast with reporters in which Mr. Callaway tried to avoid questions on the "dump-Rockefeller" issue that he himself had brought out in the open in recent weeks, the chairman made it very clear that he had "made up" with Mr. Rockefeller.

By implication, Mr. Callaway also made it clear that he had "gotten the word" from the President, either directly or indirectly, that he was no longer to give the slightest indication that he (and hence the man he represents, Mr. Ford) is seeking to displace Mr. Rockefeller on the ticket.

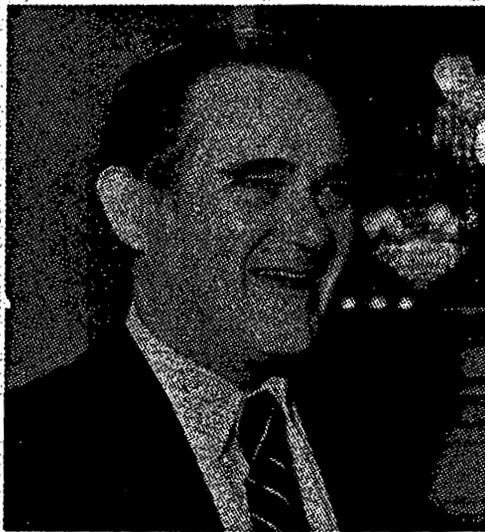
Earlier, in rambling discussions with reporters, Mr. Callaway had either said (or left the distinct impression) that he would welcome a shift in the No. 2 spot on the ticket next year — and that it would be good to have a younger man in that slot.

Now Mr. Callaway is saying that these are suggestions coming from some conservatives and from the South — and not from himself.

He insists he has not been "muzzled." But he suddenly has become exceedingly and obviously discreet on the subject of Mr. Rockefeller — giving the impression that someone up above him has told him to cease and desist.

Further, he went out of his way to give what sounded like an all-out endorsement of Mr. Rockefeller:

"The Vice-President is an asset. He has a great many attributes to bring to any ticket being governor of a large state for all that long and handling those big problems.



AP photo

Callaway — a boost for Rockefeller

"I've never recommended at any time to take the Vice-President off the ticket."

What will the conservative, Reagan backers think of Mr. Callaway's new posture?

Already, this paper has found in its surveys that these leaders were always skeptical of this opening of the vice-presidency to all comers.

Again and again they have been saying privately that this is simply a presidential ploy to make the conservatives feel they have an even break for the vice-presidency. In the end — they have been saying — the President will choose Mr. Rockefeller at the convention, and the delegates will have to comply. Thus, the Callaway words will simply confirm their suspicions.

From a number of sources, within the White House and in Congress, it is known that the President has felt that Mr. Callaway had gone too far in "opening up" the vice-presidential spot on the ticket. Mr. Ford wants to be in a position to back Rockefeller at the convention. And he had come to believe that Mr. Callaway's words were putting him in a position where he might not be able to have Rockefeller as a running mate if he wants him — and he wants him, as of now.

Thus, one way or another, the President has let Mr. Callaway know that he is talking too much. And Mr. Callaway is listening.

Rockefeller
file

Rockefeller

7/30

Mary McGrory

Rocky's rocky road to '76



WASHINGTON — Torturing vice presidents is a legal sport; altho considered unworthy of Presidents, who know they should not engage in it, but almost always do.

Dwight Eisenhower, for instance, said he needed a week to think of some important decision Richard Nixon had participated in. John Kennedy forgot for days on end the existence of Lyndon Johnson. Johnson kept Hubert Humphrey home from Winston Churchill's funeral just because he felt like it. In 1972, Nixon murdered within earshot of Spiro Agnew what a wonderful running mate John Connally would make.

Gerald Ford, who is running for reelection on a decency platform, has added a new twist to the grisly sport. He appears to be using a surrogate.

HIS CAMPAIGN manager, Howard [Bo] Callaway, is using the rack and thumbscrews on Nelson Rockefeller. He is going about his work so brutally that ad hoc Republican humane societies are springing up on Capitol Hill.

Republican senators and congressmen have noticed what so far has escaped Ford's attention: That the public is beginning to think either that Ford cannot manage his campaign manager or that he agrees with him that Rocky is a drag.

Rep. Barber Conable [R., N.Y.] had a word with the President on the subject last Friday. He complained that Callaway was undermining Ford's most marketable quality, his "straightforwardness."

"This could make the President look devious," Conable said afterward, "and Gerald Ford is not devious."

The suspicion that Ford might be secretly telling Callaway to beat up on Rockefeller in order to appease the Reaganites sent many minds racing back to the fall of 1969, when Agnew opened his attack on the peace leaders and Nixon couldn't de-



Bo Callaway: On the attack.

cide immediately whether he had told him to or not.

Rep. William S. Cohen [R., Me.] took the House floor and bade Ford to come right out and tell people if he really admires Rockefeller or considers him too old for the 1976 ticket, which is what Callaway, in his second attack on Rockefeller, heavily hinted at a meeting with reporters last week.

The first time Callaway dumped on Rockefeller on June 16, calling him a "liability" especially in the South, nobody minded too much, especially Rockefeller, who picked himself up off the ground and said he felt wonderful, that this was strategy, not cruelty.

The President, thru his press secretary, did not chide Callaway, but only voiced his "great admiration" for Rockefeller.

The kinky scenario that requires the Vice President to embrace his tormentor seems to go something like this: The right wing, reassured that

Rockefeller is doomed, dozes off. Ford, running on his own, goes to the 1976 convention, is nominated by acclaim and announces he has a wonderful surprise as his running mate. Rockefeller springs from behind a curtain, and the delegates, too tired or shocked to rally, sullenly go along.

That left the problem of what to do with Rockefeller in the meantime. He could not build himself a bomb shelter, go underground, or wear a disguise until it was safe to present him as a "great American" at Ford's side. This was solved by a White House decision to send him around the country to exhibit his wounds and theoretically lock up the masochist vote.

Callaway, however, could not leave bad enough alone and struck again. This time he drew blood. Ford will want a younger running mate, he said.

The President contented himself with repeating his June 16 answer to the first assault.

REPUBLICANS on Capitol Hill began telling Ford that he would in the end be the victim of Callaway's savagery, not Rockefeller. Ford was reported to be "upset"—altho not upset enough to tell Callaway to cease and desist.

The Rockefeller people are really upset. Some of them say a "message has been conveyed to Callaway" instructing him to organize a campaign instead of spending so much time telling people that Rockefeller has one foot in the grave.

Ford aides are a trifle defensive because they know it looks as tho Ford, like his predecessor, is trying to have both ways—deep-sixing Rockefeller without personally pushing him off the bridge. But they say there's nothing sinister about it, because nobody could imagine for a moment that Ford would do anything sinister.

George F. Will

The Rockefeller Rigmarole

H. R. Haldeman said every President needs an in-house louse (Haldeman put it more pungently) to do icky but "necessary" chores. Mr. Ford's resident meany is his campaign manager, Howard Callaway.

Callaway's duty in the Republic's life is to see that the sun never sets on a day during which he fails to suggest that Vice President Rockefeller may be a drug on the political market next year.

For example, Callaway recently announced that Rockefeller, 67, is Mr. Ford's "No. 1 problem" in getting nominated and may not be as young as a Vice President should be. Press Secretary Ron Nessen promptly announced that Mr. Ford is greatly pleased with both Rockefeller and Callaway, who the day before said: "If Rockefeller took himself out, it would help the nomination."

Skeptics suspect Mr. Ford is becoming well tricky. They suspect Callaway is making Rockefeller seem unloved in order to immobilize anti-Rockefeller conservatives.

These conservatives, anxious to don chain mail and go crusading with Ronald Regan, need an excuse to regard Mr. Ford as a menace to conservatism. Their excuse may be Rockefeller, that tentacle of international liberalism.

So Mr. Ford's meany, Callaway, sallies forth to fertilize conservative hopes with hints that Rockefeller is

to do anything but throw a tantrum—to threaten to go out in the backyard and eat worms.

Mr. Ford's sentiments are lofty: the 1976 GOP convention will be "open." Of course he does not mean open in the way the 1956 Democratic convention was, when presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson expressed no preference for a running mate and Estes Kefauver, defeated John F. Kennedy for the vice presidential nomination.

Mr. Ford means only that he will stipulate to the "open" convention his choice for a running mate and the convention will be free to openly repudiate him. There never has been such a repudiation, but in a recent interview Mr. Ford pretended to see risks:

"We have had open conventions where a President indicated his support. When was it—I think 1960 or 1968 where there were Republican candidates put forth for Vice President even though the presidential candidate had indicated the preference otherwise."

For the record, the 1960 convention ratified Richard Nixon's choice, Henry Cabot Lodge, 1,331-0. In 1968 Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Agnew provoked what counts as Republican unruliness: Agnew had to settle for 1,119 votes, while George Romney, the only other nominee, got 186.

an opportunity if they want to come up with their own candidate or several candidates. They have a lot more freedom than if I said right now, 'This is it.'"

But moments earlier Mr. Ford had indicated that he expects this "freedom" to be risk-free for him, and only a controlled, harmless exercise for frisky conservatives. When he reiterated his intention to stipulate a running mate he wants, he was asked, "Isn't that enough to assure that Rockefeller will stay on the ticket?" He replied laconically: "Traditionally, that has been the result."

Sen. Charles Mathias (R-Md) is angry about Callaway's behavior: "I don't know who's behind it." The sense of *deja-vu* is oppressive; any day now, someone will say the President is too busy with "the people's business" to know what mischief his election committee is committing.

Mr. Ford has indicated that his campaign will be constantly scrubbed with pumice to keep it a sparkling contrast with what's-his-name's CREEP (Committee for the Re-election of the President). But thus far the campaign's only distinguishing feature is the clumsy deviousness of attempts to sow confusion about Rockefeller's status.

Mr. Ford may or may not have decided what he thinks about Rockefeller. But the unseemly dialogue Mr. Ford is having with himself through Callaway (who is Mortimer

Patrick Buchanan

Requiem for Rockefeller?



WASHINGTON—For a proud man like the Vice President of the United States, the year between now and the summer of '76 holds promise to be a long, painful, and humiliating experience.

The odds shorten, week by week, that the name of Nelson Rockefeller will not grace the Republican Party's ticket. It seems at last, like the great Ruffian, the old war horse of the Republican liberals is headed for the infield.

The vital signs are unstable. At the baptism of the Presidential campaign of Gerald Ford, all the chatter of press and politicians was of the precarious political health of Rockefeller. Howard [Bo] Callaway, the President's campaign manager, was the surgeon in residence.

"THE ROCKEFELLER and Ford campaigns are not one and the same," Callaway declared for all to hear. While, surely, it was not his intention to "build disloyalty to the Vice President," it was true, yes, that Rockefeller would be what you call a liability to the President's effort to unite Republicans behind his candidacy.

What were Bo's marching orders from the Oval Office? "I'm not authorized to say we are going to dump Rockefeller. I'm not authorized to say we are going to keep Rockefeller."

With that voice of confidence ringing in his ears, the Vice President read further this little fillip, "I don't even know what Rockefeller wants to do. He might want to be something else in government, or out of government."

If that is the warmth and graciousness Rockefeller can expect on Day 1 of the Ford campaign, imagine the enthusiasm the Ford people will summon up for the Vice President when—as is likely—he becomes a divisive issue in the Presidential primaries of 1976.



Rockefeller: Long road to '76.

The hard facts are as Callaway candidly puts them. President Ford is popular and strong with the Republican Party. Rockefeller is weak.

The operatives of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, setting up shop in the capital, will exploit that weakness. They will criss-cross the country telling receptive delegates and party conclaves that the "Ford-Rockefeller administration" does not represent the basic conservative philosophy of the Republican Party. They will be trailed into every state by the President's operatives who will, louder and louder, first privately and then publicly, deny that Ford has any commitment whatsoever to Nelson A.

Rockefeller at the 1976 convention. Word will filter back to the White House that in some crucial primary state, "The Reagan people are killing us with the Rockefeller thing." Both the President and Vice President will be dogged by the press for a precise statement of where Rockefeller stands with the Oval Office. And should the conservatives begin to close the lead the President today enjoys, the pressures within his party for Ford to recommend "something else in government" for Nelson Rockefeller will become enormous. Already, Sen. Barry Goldwater [R., Ariz.] has spoken of what a splendid secretary of state his old antagonist would make.

Reflecting upon it, what base of support does Rockefeller have left in the G.O.P.? The conservatives who dominate the party and convention were never his. The younger liberals and moderates see Rockefeller as a man from another, earlier era.

AS FOR THE rising stars of the party's center and left—Charles Percy, Howard Baker, Elliot Richardson, and Edward Brooke—who might be expected to side with Rockefeller, they see themselves, not illogically, as potential heirs should Rockefeller be tipped from his throne.

All Rockefeller will have going for him in the party this primary year will be the old eastern wing, led by Sen. Hugh Scott [R., Pa.] and others, and those political mercenaries who know from years past that even a losing Rockefeller campaign can be a rewarding experience.

This "scenario" as they say, is all predicated upon a Reagan candidacy, which grows more likely each day. Even an unsuccessful challenge from the conservatives would require concessions to build party unity for 1976. And the first of the nonnegotiable demands would be for the head of Nelson A. Rockefeller.

New York Times Special Features

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Rockefeller

Saturday, July 19, 1975
THE WASHINGTON POST

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The 'Rockefeller Problem'

A backstage effort among conservative Republican politicians to solve President Ford's most nagging party problem by an early designation of Vice President Rockefeller to become Secretary of State following the 1976 election has run into an immovable barrier: the opposition of Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller.

Rockefeller tells intimates he has only one ambition at age 67: to help President Ford help the country. The vice presidency, he feels, is the only vehicle for doing that. Since Rockefeller's enthusiastic collaboration is essential to the success of any plan to move him into Dr. Henry Kissinger's seventh floor suite in the State Department in January 1977, the plan is aborted.

That condemns Rockefeller to months of political limbo. With Ronald Reagan increasingly committed to challenge Mr. Ford, the temptation to dump Rockefeller to entice conservatives becomes partially balanced by outrage from the Republican left. Rejecting the Secretary of State escape route, Rockefeller now enters an uneasy period of non-acceptance and non-rejection as the Ford-Reagan confrontation looms.

That became clear when Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, Mr. Ford's campaign manager, slipped into the Vice President's office for a private chat Tuesday with some reassurances that scarcely seemed reassuring. He informed Rockefeller that the Vice Presidential nomination was farthest from his mind and from his assignment: to get Gerald R. Ford nominated for President with the least possible hassle from Ronald Reagan or anyone else.

He regretted headlines following his press conference July 9 calling Rockefeller a "liability" to Mr. Ford's

nomination. He had intended to make a simple point: second place on the Ford ticket was far beyond his jurisdiction or personal feelings.

There was, of course, not the remotest hint of Rockefeller becoming Secretary of State. However, just such an option was suggested to Callaway by a key Republican seeking a solution to the "Rockefeller problem." Callaway, like some other party leaders, was interested.

Quiet talk along those lines started with conservative, pro-Ford Republicans looking for some way to strengthen his pre-convention hand by giving him total flexibility in picking a running-mate, hoping for these results:

First, taking the wind out of Reagan's Presidential sail. "Half the Reaganites would probably instantly move to Ford if Rockefeller wasn't in the picture," one uncommitted conservative Republican told us.

Second, putting the vice presidential gleam in countless eyes of ambitious Republicans who, to enhance their own prospects, would embrace Mr. Ford.

These Republican conservatives theorize Rockefeller would genuinely have to want some other job, and the only other job that would offer full sway to his energy and talents would be Secretary of State. But with Rockefeller opposed, Callaway's campaign to woo conservative Republicans who might join Reagan only because of the "Rockefeller problem" becomes a semantical juggle.

That's because the President ordered Press Secretary Ron Nessen to announce June 16 that "the President will be for Nelson Rockefeller for the nomination," adding the sop that "the delegates will make the decision."

Thus, Mr. Ford is stuck with a personal commitment to Rockefeller. No

matter how many times Callaway and other Presidential operatives claim Mr. Ford's neutrality and declare an open convention for the second spot, Reagan backers can point to that Presidential commitment.

Meanwhile, Callaway's frenzy to widen the gap between the President and Rockefeller threatens an explosion not from Rockefeller but from Republican liberals and moderates—as witness the attitude of Rep. Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, a longtime Rockefeller backer.

Standing beside Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, chairman of the House Republican campaign committee, in the crowded Senate office building caucus room during Alexander Solzhenitsyn's reception last Tuesday, Mrs. Heckler burst out: "You'd better be careful on Rocky. Don't do anything to him or you will inflame a large percentage of the Republican party."

So far, Rockefeller has kept himself well above the battle. He is now filling out the calendar for a killing campaign-speaking schedule this fall, all for Mr. Ford. He will continue to say that he is not a candidate next year, that no one "runs" for Vice President, and that Jerry Ford will do the choosing at the convention.

On the surface, then, he is relaxed and confident with the President's personal endorsement in his pocket. In fact, he is in limbo, in the eye of a political storm beyond his control. If Reagan wins an early primary or two, conservative pressure on the President to denounce Rockefeller might become irresistible. More than all the President's liabilities put together, it is Rockefeller whom the dominant conservative wing of the party insensibly regard as their hated enemy.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Rockefeller Calls on Rumsfeld

An understandable desire to protect President Ford's authority, described by some critics as "excessive" desire, has strained relations between protector Donald Rumsfeld, Mr. Ford's White House staff chief, and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller.

That strain has now reached a point unimaginable even during the Rockefeller-Rumsfeld infighting early this year over Rockefeller's demand to name his own men to top staff jobs in the Domestic Council, finally acceded to by the President.

Indeed, it has reached such a point that Rockefeller on Wednesday of last week (June 18) paid an unscheduled visit to Rumsfeld's office that lasted almost one hour. In language carefully hedged with civility and typical Rockefeller joviality, the Vice President made this point: He had been badly used by the White House staff in the chaotic mishandling of how and when the Rockefeller Commission's report on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) would or would not be released to the public.

What angered Rockefeller were anti-Rockefeller news stories, such as The Washington Post's highly authoritative story on June 8, which said that "sources on the Presidential staff blamed Rockefeller for producing confusion and suspicion" over release of the report on the CIA investigation. Vice Presidential aides believe that only one White House source—Rumsfeld—has enough authority to risk undermining the Vice President.

Rockefeller intimates say smugly that Rockefeller's real concern over such torpedo attacks is not their impact on him, but that they make

President Ford look bad. Indeed Rockefeller himself bluntly warned Presidential Press Secretary Ron Nessen last week that sub rosa attacks on Rockefeller emanating from White House staffers are damaging to the President. Nessen fully agreed.

But Nessen, who took withering crossfire from White House reporters when he announced on June 6 that Mr. Ford might not, after all, make the CIA report public, was simply an agent, not a principal in the horrendous mishandling of the report's release.

Neither Nessen nor Mr. Ford's legal advisers, Philip Buchen and Rodney Hills, had objected to Rockefeller's announced plan to hand the report to the press on June 6, at the same time it went to the President, for publication the following Sunday. That plan, outlined in written detail to Nessen by a commission aide on May 22, contained only one condition: It would take effect only "if the President decides to release the report."

Mr. Ford, Rumsfeld and Nessen left for Brussels on May 28. Five days later, Rockefeller Commission aides, assuming the release schedule of May 22 would be followed, alerted the press that the report would be in their hands on June 6. With the President away, Buchen and Hills were specifically notified about the timetable, and they did not order the report held up. Even after Mr. Ford returned to Washington late on the night of June 3, Nessen was informally advising reporters that the original schedule would hold.

But when Rumsfeld learned that Rockefeller had arranged to give the

report to the press before President Ford had studied it, his protective instinct was hyperactivated. He ordered Nessen not only to switch signals of the carefully worked out plan but to emphasize that the President had even decided whether to release the report at all.

Rumsfeld correctly states that both Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Mr. Ford's National Security Deputy, Gen. Brent Scowcroft, wanted the report held up until they—and the President—could study it. Rumsfeld intimates also deny that Rumsfeld had anything to do with the torrent of anti-Rockefeller innuendo.

It is unthinkable, however, that Rockefeller, who knows the traps and snares of the bureaucratic labyrinth better than anyone in the White House, would take trouble and time to spend an unscheduled hour with Rumsfeld to redress a wrong that never happened.

One White House aide told us that the anonymous White House staff gouging of Rockefeller "is just the opposite of Ford's style." Another told us that the chaotic circumstances surrounding release of the CIA report was at least as much the direct fault of the White House staff as it was of Rockefeller.

Indeed, vice presidential operatives claim Rumsfeld's protective instinct got out of hand and insensibly merged with a desire "to put us in our place." With Rockefeller's future on a 1976 Ford presidential ticket somewhat uncertain, Rockefeller's suspicions are the more understandable.

Rumsfeld mentioned to replace Rocky on Ford ticket

By Harry Kelly and Aldo Beckman

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—President Ford's campaign manager says White House chief of staff Donald Rumsfeld, a former Illinois congressman, is being discussed as a potential replacement for Vice President Rockefeller in 1976.

Howard Callaway said altho Ford is "very high" on Rockefeller, it ultimately "may be his best judgement" that he needs "a younger man" to balance the ticket and be in line for succession. Rockefeller is 67 and Ford 62.

In addition, Callaway said Rockefeller is Ford's "No. 1 problem" in the South if there is a fight with Ronald Reagan for the nomination.

Callaway's remarks to a group of reporters Wednesday night caused a flap

at the morning White House press briefing. Ford had his spokesman, Ron Nessen, repeat a statement from a week ago in which Ford had said he was "for" Rockefeller as the Vice Presidential nominee.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES suggested Callaway's remarks didn't just slip out. Before the dinner meeting with the reporters, a group whose sessions are usually off the record, Callaway announced he didn't mind being quoted.

The affair suggested a further weakening in Rockefeller's position in that it was the first time any major Ford associate had targeted the Vice President's age.

Callaway, a Georgian from the southern wing of the G.O.P., said a number of members of Congress had been suggested around the country as possible

Rockefeller replacements.

Sen. William Brock of Tennessee "is on most people's lists," he said, and Sen. Howard Baker Jr., also of Tennessee, is "on everybody's lists." Rep., Jack Kem of New York is "on Reagan people's lists," and Sen. Charles H. Percy "is on some Illinois lists."

Asked if Rumsfeld, 43, Ford's chief of staff, was on any lists, the campaign manager said that altho his name did not come up in conversations around the country, Rumsfeld was frequently mentioned by the professionals dealing with the issue.

CALLAWAY SAID that from his conversations with Rockefeller critics around the country, "people keep bringing up the fact" the Vice President would be 72 in 1980 and thus not a logical successor for Ford, if he is elected

next year.

"We're hearing that a lot," he said.

If Reagan becomes a candidate for the G.O.P. nomination, said Callaway, he would be ahead of Ford in California, Florida and "any Southern state" because of disenchantment with Rockefeller.

Callaway insisted he is not spearheading a dump-Rockefeller movement and has encouraged the Vice President to tour the country in order to strengthen his position.

"I think he makes a good presentation and I think anyone who listens to him will find out he doesn't have horns," he added.

But at the same time Callaway pressed doubt there is anything Rockefeller could do to win over his conservative critics.

HE RECALLED that in his home state of Georgia, Republican leaders admitted being impressed by a recent Rockefeller appearance in Atlanta but then they added: "Get him off the ticket."

In reaction to Callaway's comments, Nessen told newsmen Ford directed him to reread his statement of June 16 which said:

"The President would like it known that he has great admiration for Nelson Rockefeller. The President wanted a good partner. Nelson Rockefeller has exceeded his expectations. The President will be for Nelson Rockefeller as the nominee for Vice President."

But Callaway told reporters, "The President has told me very clearly he is leaving a very open mind on who he might recommend."

The sun shone brightly and the mid-day humidity was oppressive as Wayfarer 2 glided down a runway at a Miami airport. Rockefeller was arriving to speak before the meeting of the Inter-American Press Association. He was accompanied by his closest aides. His chief of staff and personal secretary is Ann Whitman, former secretary to President Eisenhower. Other advisers include George Hinman, national Republican committeeman from New York; former newsmen Hugh Morrow and James Cannon; Joseph Persico, a speech writer; and Joe Canzeri, who runs the Rockefeller Pocantico Hills estate and is his chief advance man.

These people undoubtedly would run the White House if Rockefeller were to achieve his lifelong dream.

"Mr. Rockefeller, he's now okay," says a Peoria Republican leader attending the recent Midwest Republican Leadership Conference. "But Governor Reagan, oh he's a man after my own heart."

Rockefeller admits that although he may now be acceptable to the conservative wing of the Republican Party, their hearts belong to California's Gov. Ronald Reagan.

As soon as he says that, he quickly denies he's running for the GOP Presidential nomination.

Then why the political trips, why a speech one Saturday in Chicago and the next in Lincoln, Neb.?

"All I want to do, as I feel every American should do, is to be an active participant in the party of my choice," Rockefeller told me during a flight after a satisfying appearance before the largest Founder's Day luncheon crowd in Lincoln since 1966. "That's why I have been making these fund-raising talks. I think it is particularly important for all who are concerned about the future of America to strengthen the party of their choice."

"I think the people want to see their political leaders face the facts realistically and not to duck them, and that they respond to straight, honest talk."

Rockefeller's critics say that the trips, often deep in conservative Republican territory, are designed to assure party leaders from those areas that he is no longer the Rockefeller they came to despise in 1964 when they jeered him in San Francisco and nominated Barry Goldwater.

Rockefeller's speeches have certain similarities. In each, the governor defends President Nixon against those "who would drive him out of office," praises the President's record, asks for a "fair hearing, even for the President of the United States." Last week Rockefeller had an unannounced, hour-and-a-half meeting with Nixon at the White House.

He is especially effective in de-

scribing how he saved New York taxpayers \$400 million by cutting welfare rolls and how he started a drive to "get the drug pushers off the streets and into jail and the people back on the streets."

He says he was wrong in espousing some liberal causes. In the past Rockefeller was accused of being too soft on welfare recipients and wasting more than \$1 billion to eradicate addiction through cure.

In Chicago, Rockefeller brought the 1,000 Midwest Republican leaders to their feet when he said Nixon is entitled to "due process of law" and urged Congress to conclude its impeachment proceedings "swiftly and fairly."

There was a similar reaction at the Lincoln event. As he was walking out, he was approached by a man who praised his speech and said: "You sound different, almost like one of us."

Rockefeller replied: "We're getting closer together."

Observer Correspondent Vic Ostrowitzki is political editor of the Albany Times-Union, and he also reports from Washington, D.C., for the Hearst newspapers. He covered Nelson Rockefeller's 1968 campaign for the GOP Presidential nomination.

IN THE OBSERVER
ALBANY, N.Y.

Is He Helping GOP Conserva

Rockefeller: The A

By Vic Ostrowidzki
FROM ALBANY, N.Y.

After Nelson Rockefeller resigned last December as governor of New York, I wrote in the Albany Times-Union that I thought he was running out on the state and its problems at the time when he was probably needed the most.

I also said that Rockefeller would use the Commission on Critical Choices

News Analysis

es for Americans, which he serves as chairman, as a vehicle to seek the Republican Presidential nomination.

Since then I have at least partly changed my mind about my first assumption, but I have become unshakably convinced that I was right about the second.

Flight From Boredom?

For I now think that Rockefeller, a flamboyant man used to having his way with the New York Legislature, the state's politicians, and the taxpayers' funds, would have been bored stiff during the final two years remaining in his term, unable to lay his hands on new money for more grandiose plans and tied down to Albany and the drudgery of routine.

Having been with Rockefeller for eight days recently as he traveled around the country, I gained new insight into this complex man during several relaxed private conversations and interviews. I am now firmly convinced that if he sees even the smallest hope of becoming President, the former governor will use every means at his command, including the commission, to seek the GOP nomination.

What follows are some of my notes and observations about Rockefeller today—the man and the candidate:

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At 65, Nelson Rockefeller hasn't changed much. He has a few more wrinkles, but he's still as intense, hard-working, and tireless as he was when he came upon the New York political scene 16 years ago and was elected gov-



—Paul Conklin

"All I want to do is to be an active participant in the party of my choice."

error on his first try for public office. He is—surprisingly, perhaps, for a man of his immense wealth—a person of simple wants and needs. And now, after having given up the governorship, he is more relaxed and quite fatalistic about his political future.

He seems to have mellowed, and the ruthlessness he once could show doesn't seem to be there.

Game for Any Office?

A Phi Beta Kappa from Dartmouth, Rockefeller speaks fluent French and good Spanish. He relaxes by playing golf with his sons and his wife, Happy, by swimming, riding, playing tennis and cards ("I'll play any game," he says, including poker for matchsticks), by collecting art, and by working, which he says "is a necessity for survival in the kind of life I have led. You cannot be effective and be as active as I have and be tense at the same time."

Rockefeller is now deeply involved in chairing the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans, a 43-member bipartisan group of prominent politicians, scientists, academicians, and businessmen. He says he hopes the panel will identify the critical choices confronting the nation as it embarks on its third century and will determine "realistic and desirable goals" that the country can achieve by 1985.

He also runs the National Commission on Water Quality, created by Congress to study the impact of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act on the economy and the environment.

And he's quietly running for the 1976 Republican Presidential nomination, although he denies he's doing so now, contending he won't decide whether to seek it actively until late 1975.

Rockefeller says that "events are moving so rapidly that a turn of a wheel can throw one [candidate] up and another down" but adds that Vice President Ford "... when he says he wants it ... would have very little trouble getting it."

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The huge auditorium at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, on the University of Texas' Austin campus, was jumping with flamenco dancers, the voices of the Long Horn Singers, country music, and corn-pone humor. The guest of honor, Nelson Rockefeller, was thanking Bill Hobby, Texas' lieutenant governor, for making him an honorary Texan. Rockefeller spoke of deep gratitude to Lady Bird Johnson, the late President's wife, for an earlier dinner and for making the critical-choices commission's three-day stay possible.

Rockefeller did little talking during the two days of the commission's hearings. He mostly sat and listened to some of this nation's brightest minds discuss such wide-ranging subjects as the prospects of world-wide food shortages, the "state of the state" of health and related services, world population, man's nature and his institutions, energy, ecology, economics, and world stability.

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Rockefeller describes himself as a professional problem solver. He says he quit the governorship because he felt he couldn't do much more for New Yorkers than he had done during his two years as governor. "I was never frustrated because of any particular problem (or the problems) I wanted to be thinking [about] and tackling national and international problems." The critical-choices commission's work, he says, is "more important" in terms of trying to prevent crises than any decisions "I would have made in a year or so in Albany."

The critical-choices commission, which is privately financed, is conducting a two-year study that is to be completed late next year at a cost of about \$5 million. Undoubtedly it will carry