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FORD-ROCKEFELLER

Q. Explain the difference between the statements by the President and Bo Callaway on Vice President Rockefeller.

Q. I see no basic difference. What Callaway said and what the President said in a statement I read here June 16 are essentially the same -- although, of course, different words are used. The wire services (AP 240 7/9 301p.m.) reported Callaway says "he stands behind Ford's position, which is that the President would recommend Rockefeller to the GOP convention, but that Ford expects the delegates to decide who they want as their Vice Presidential candidate." I believe that is a fair summary of the Callaway comments.

Q. But Callaway said it will be a separate campaign?

A. I said here on June __, the day the President Ford Committee filed with the Federal Election Commission, that the Committee would be a separate committee on behalf of the nomination of the President.

Q. Is there a plan to dump Rockefeller?

A. The President said on June 16 that he will be in favor of Rockefeller for Vice President, but the choice will be ~~xxx~~ the delegates' decision. The Vice President said yesterday that he and the President see "eye to eye"... "the nomination is for the President. When he is nominated, he decides whom he wants to be his Vice President." That is essentially what the President and Bo Callaway said.

Q. But Callaway says ~~lx~~ there will be separate campaigns. The Vice President says he will not be making a campaign. Explain.

A. What Bo was saying is that the President Ford Committee will run President Ford's campaign. If there was to be any campaign by anyone else for the nomination, it would not be a part of his operation. The Vice President did say he would campaign -- for President Ford.

Q. Callaway said: I am not prepared to say the President has made up his mind to push Rockefeller for the Vice President~~x~~ at the convention. Explain.

A. I ~~w~~ent try to explain every statement Bo made. I presume here the key is timing. I unde~~a~~rstand from Bo what he meant was prior to the Presidential nomination, he wasn't certain that the President would push Rockefeller.

Q. Callaway said Rockefeller and Ford at not the same team. Explain.

A. That's another way of saying until the nomination, it will be a "Ford for the nomination" movement. After he gets the nomination, then it is time for the team.

Q. Does the President regard the Reagan candida~~ay~~ a "quite serious?"

A. I haven't heard the President express an ~~opinion~~x opinion.

June 10, 1975

Dear Dick:

You have told me that the Republican State Committee would like to pass a resolution, at its meeting on Thursday, endorsing the President and me for nomination as the Party's candidates for President and Vice President in 1976.

In endorsing the President for the Presidential nomination, the Committee would be acting in the highest public interest. We have a great President in the White House. As those who are close to him know, and the public is becoming increasingly aware, he stands out above all others on the national scene in the qualities of strength, courage, integrity, perception, balance and leadership that are needed to take us safely through our present troubles.

But the office of the Vice Presidency is something else again. As has been often said, one doesn't run for Vice President. True, the National Convention nominates the Vice President, as it does the President. But, following the nomination of the President, his recommendation to the Convention as to his preference for Vice President has traditionally been decisive.

Whatever others may do, there will be no effort on my part to put the slightest restraint on his complete freedom to make that choice, after he is nominated, in the light of the national interest as he sees it at that time.



This being my position, I must ask you to refrain from your proposed action, that might be construed as putting pressure on the President in my behalf.

With deepest appreciation for your interest and even more for your understanding, I am,

Sincerely,

/s/ NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

The Honorable Richard Rosenbaum
Chairman
New York Republican State Committee
315 State Street
Albany, New York 12210

STATEMENT OF MARY LOUISE SMITH ON JUNE 16, 1975

The President acted in the forthright and open manner to which we have become accustomed in declaring that he wants to keep Vice President Rockefeller on the ticket. At the same time, the President is not depriving the Republican Party of the right to choose its nominees by leaving the ultimate choice up to the National Convention delegates.

As Chairman of the Republican National Committee, I must myself remain neutral in the matter of nominations before the Convention. However, I do agree with the President that Mr. Rockefeller is an especially able man with a lifetime of dedicated service to his country.



Statement of Pres, read by RN on June 16, 1975

" My great admiration for Nelson Rockefeller is very well known. I selected him for Vice President because I respected his judgment, experience and ability. I wanted a "good partner" for a Vice President and he exceeded my expectations. He has done a fine job in every way.

Both of us in these coming months will be submitting ourselves to the will of the delegates to the Republican National Convention in 1976. I am confident both of us can convince the delegates that individually and as a team we should be nominated. " - - -

given
 "Maybe a ~~FN~~ response to questions:
 Q = ~~Mr. President~~ You haven't answered the question
 as to whether ~~you're~~ *The President is* dumping Rockefeller."
 A. = *The Pres*
~~The President~~ " I have answered the question. ~~I~~
 will be for the Vice President for ~~the~~ nomination.
 The delegates will make the decision. "

Ready please



The President said in his last news conference that he hoped that the remaining issues in the European security treaty could be resolved in a way that would permit a summit in the near future. He said that at his last news conference, and that is precisely the position today.

As for the meeting with General Secretary Brezhnev, we have said again and again no date has been set, but again, the President said in his news conference, "I would hope if negotiations" -- meaning the SALT negotiations -- "go the way they, sometime in 1975."

So, none of that has been changed.

Q Ron, do you have anything to say about the implication by Rockefeller on Meet the Press that John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy knew something about assassinations?

MR. NESSEN: I think probably the best thing to do would be to address your questions on that subject to the Vice President's office.

Q Ron, do you expect the President to formally announce his candidacy this week, and has he settled upon a name for someone to run the campaign?

MR. NESSEN: I just don't have anything to give you either on the timing or on the composition of his campaign committee. He said it is getting closer, though.

Q What does that mean?

MR. NESSEN: It means it is getting closer.

Q How do you expect the announcement to be handled? I ask that because of occurring reports that it is going to be handled in a fairly low-key way, and it might just consist of you coming out here and making the announcement at one of your regular briefings, or do you anticipate the President making the announcement?

MR. NESSEN: It just hasn't been decided yet, either the date or the method.

Q It will not be this week?

MR. NESSEN: I don't have an indication now that it will be.

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Q On the Rockefeller television broadcast, the President said that matters relating to assassination should be handled with utmost prudence. Does the President regard the Vice President's remarks as being in line with that advice?

MR. NESSEN: I think what I would like to say, Mort, is that for specific questions on what the Vice President said, you ought to address them to the Vice President's office. The President made his views known at his news conference.

Q That isn't what Mort asked. He didn't ask about the Vice President. He asked what the President's view is.

MR. NESSEN: As I say, the President made his views known at his last news conference.

Q Since that time, we have had a new development, which had not occurred at the time of the news conference, which is that the Vice President dropped a rather broad hint. So, Mort is asking you, in light of this development, what the President's reaction to it is.

MR. NESSEN: The President's views are still the same as those expressed at his news conference.

Q Ron, has the President talked at all to the Vice President about what he should or should not say on that subject?

MR. NESSEN: I am not aware that they have had such a conversation.

Q Does the President have any guidelines in mind for himself and others in the Administration since he made a rather decisive decision on not releasing it?

MR. NESSEN: He does, and he gave them at his news conference, Steve.

Q Do you accept the suggestion that the President decided not to release the assassination material?

MR. NESSEN: I think I accepted that last week, and I think the President accepted that. The decision that it was not possible to finish in time was made by the Rockefeller Commission. The decision not to release the incomplete and unclear material they had was the President's decision.



Q Ron, where do we stand on that material? You remember last week we were asking whether it was physically moved over. You said you had to get the safes. Have you got the safes now?

MR. NESSEN: The position on that, Jim, is that the assassination material has been moved over here. The other 11 or 12 file cabinets, they are still at Jackson Place, and the material is being duplicated with one copy for the Church Committee and one copy for the Justice Department.

Q Nothing for the House committee? (Laughter)

MR. NESSEN: I guess if they get organized, there would be another copy made for them. They had originally one duplicating machine up there, and they have now moved two other duplicating machines in, so they have three duplicating machines.

Q That doesn't sound like the Government we have come to know and love that they have only one duplicating machine. (Laughter)

MR. NESSEN: They have gotten all the people who need to do the duplicating, you know they had to get together a crew of people who had the proper clearances and so forth. Anyhow, there are three duplicating machines in place and running now at the Jackson Place office.

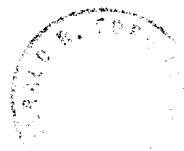
Q You said you were unaware of any meetings between the President and Vice President. Are any instructions --

MR. NESSEN: No, I said I wasn't aware of a meeting at which that was discussed.

Q Are any instructions being given to the Vice President or the staff of the Commission on what they should and should not talk about in view of the President's orders?

MR. NESSEN: Not that I am aware of. The President's views are on the record.

Q The President's statement, as I recall, included a specific line, kind of warning Members of Congress who were going to get this material that they should be very careful, circumspect, and that sort of thing, and now we have the Vice President on national television seeming to go beyond anything we had before in giving out this material.



I am interested, and I think all of us are, in how the President's admonitions to Congress apply to the Vice President and members of his staff. The obvious political implications are going to be with us for a while.

He is the Vice President's boss. The Vice President makes that very clear all the time. My question stands. Does what he said in reference to Congress apply to the Vice President and, if so, does the Vice President's comments of Sunday fall into that line?

MR. NESSEN: The President's views were made known at his news conference, and we talked about utmost prudence. While that was directed specifically at Congress in that particular answer, he feels that everyone should handle these materials with utmost prudence.

The fact of the matter is that insofar as we know, this aspect of the investigation remains incomplete and unclear. The information that is available is still being read and examined.

Q Ron, has the President received the answers to the questions he had about the MAYAGUEZ incident?

MR. NESSEN: They are coming in, and they are being put together now. I would think that they will be in his hands shortly, probably in a matter of days.

Q Ron, while we are on the Vice President, does the President share Senator Goldwater's view that Rockefeller would make a good Secretary of State? (Laughter)

MR. NESSEN: The President would like it known that he has great admiration for Nelson Rockefeller.

Q As Secretary of State?

MR. NESSEN: No, just as Nelson Rockefeller, that he selected the Vice President because the President respected his judgment, experience and ability. The President wanted a good partner for Vice President and Nelson Rockefeller has exceeded his expectations in that line. He believes that Nelson Rockefeller has done a fine job in every way.

Q Therefore, he intends to make Rockefeller his Vice Presidential candidate in 1976? Is that what you are saying? (Laughter)

MR. NESSEN: In the coming months, both the President and Vice President will be submitting themselves to the will of the delegates to the Republican Convention of 1976.

Q As a ticket?

MR. NESSEN: The President is confident that both of them can convince the delegates that individually and as a team they should be renominated.

Q Is the President leaving the job up to Rockefeller to do his own convincing or is he going to request?

MR. NESSEN: The President will be for Nelson Rockefeller for nomination as Vice President and the delegates will make the decision.

Q Will he be for Rockefeller the way Roosevelt was for Henry Wallace in 1944?

MR. NESSEN: I don't recall that incident.

Q You said the delegates will make the decision. That doesn't sound very good for Nelson Rockefeller. If the President doesn't choose his own running mate, in this case if the delegates are going to choose it, if I were Rockefeller's people, I would be kind of worried.

MR. NESSEN: I don't know, Walt. I suppose you could pick out a phrase here and there.

The President says he will be for the Vice President for nomination. He says, "I am confident both of us can convince the delegates that individually and as a team we should be nominated."

Q That doesn't sound very ironclad to me.

MORE

Q Along that line, do you know of any convention that rejected the President's choice of Vice President?

MR. NESSEN: My political experience does not go back as far as yours, Peter.

Q Mine only goes back to Rutherford B. Hayes. (Laughter.)

MR. NESSEN: How did that one go? Who was his Vice President?

Q I don't know. I never paid much attention to Vice Presidents in those days. (Laughter.)

Q Ron, every week there are these stories about Rockefeller and his role in '76.

MR. NESSEN: And I expect we will have them for every week from now until November, too.

Q Does the President feel this is unfair criticism of the Vice President by Senator Goldwater and others?

MR. NESSEN: Oh, no, I haven't heard anything about unfair criticism. I think the President agrees with your first part, though, that we will have these stories every week from now until November of 1976.

Q Does he know why?

MR. NESSEN: Because it is just the way Washington works and always has worked.

Q Ron, when the President makes his announcement of his candidacy, will it be an individual announcement or an announcement the same team will be running?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know. That all has not been worked out yet.

Q Does he favor an open convention so far as the choice of Vice President is concerned? I think that is what we are getting at.

MR. NESSEN: I think the President feels every convention is open until one candidate has the delegates he needs to win the nomination, whether for Vice President or President. So it is open until both the President and Vice President get enough delegates and then the matter is decided. That is the way all conventions work.

Q Ron, are you seriously suggesting that Mr. Ford thought that the 1972 scripted coronation was an open convention? Are you seriously suggesting this, when the British Broadcasting Company discovered the script?

MR. NESSEN: The cameramen, photographers and reporters who want to go to the Rose Garden should now assemble at the side door here. They will not be feeding this into the press room, incidentally. So if you want to hear it, you ought to go.

Q Ron, when did the President make these comments that you have just given us?

MR. NESSEN: We have talked about it, I guess, back as far as early or middle of last week.

Q Would you mind reading that Presidential statement again?

MR. NESSEN: All right.

Q Ron, so there is no misunderstanding, you said there would be an open convention until the President and Vice President had enough delegates.

MR. NESSEN: That is the way all conventions work, Steve.

Q As I recall, in the convention proceeding the President is in or out first, and in the past it has not always been a tradition of an open convention once the President was in in that he made known his choice and that was not so open to dispute.

If Ford is selected by the delegates, will he then tell the convention he wants Rockefeller or will he say this is an open convention, I personally prefer him but you all choose who you want?

MR. NESSEN: He says, "I will be for the Vice President for nomination. The delegates will make the decision."

Q That is what I am trying to get. There is a certain irreconcilable position between the two points. Given the tradition of conventions, is he going to leave it an open convention for the Vice Presidential selection, or is he going to ---

MR. NESSEN: He says I will be for the Vice President for nomination.

Q That is not open if he goes to a convention ---

MR. NESSEN: "The delegates will make the decision," is the second sentence.

Q Would you read the whole thing again?

MR. NESSEN: Why don't we get it run off?

Q Why don't you read it?

Q Some of us have to go file.

MR. NESSEN: "My great admiration for Nelson Rockefeller" -- I am going to put this in the first person and you can use it that way, if you wish -- "My great admiration for Nelson Rockefeller is very well known. I selected him for Vice President because I respected his judgment, experience and ability. I wanted a good partner for a Vice President and he exceeded my expectations. He has done a fine job in every way.

"Both of us in these coming months will be submitting ourselves to the will of the delegates to the Republican National Convention in 1976. I am confident both of us can convince the delegates that individually and as a team we should be nominated."

And then, I think, somebody asked me a question and I said, "The President will be for Nelson Rockefeller for nomination. The delegates will make the decision."

Q That was not the President's statement?

MR. NESSEN: No, this was my answer.

Q Has the President given any thought to the possibility that maybe a revolutionary trend might take place where the delegates remembering Mr. Rockefeller's failure to endorse the 1964 candidate, might decide to elect another Vice President? Has the President given any thought to that at all, Ron?

MR. NESSEN: I think this is about as far as we can go now, and, as Phil suggested, I think this will come back again and again and again, but it is in the nature of the White House for that to happen, but this is the way the President feels.

Q As long as you say the delegates will decide, then you are saying he will not ---

MR. NESSEN: The President will be for Nelson Rockefeller for nomination.

Q --- he will not impose his own selection. If the delegates decide, you are saying Rockefeller will not be a shoo-in even though Ford is for him for Vice President.

MR. NESSEN: I will let you analyze, Steve.

Q Do you consider this a strong endorsement and a total commitment through the convention?

MR. NESSEN: This is what the President wants to say.

Q Ron, the President's position, this statement you just read, is not a declaration of candidacy?

MR. NESSEN: For himself?

Q Yes.

MR. NESSEN: In the legal sense? No, he does not consider it such, no. John, no more so than his repeated public statements at news conferences and otherwise, that he intends to run.

Q Ron, could you explain to us why you were prepared with this statement today?

MR. NESSEN: I was prepared with this statement last Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, something like that, early, middle to early last week.

Q You were waiting for a question about Rockefeller in order to use it; is that right?

MR. NESSEN: Right.

Q Would you characterize the President's reaction to this Goldwater statement? Does he find it humorous? Is he upset by it? What is his reaction?

MR. NESSEN: I didn't get any reaction along those lines, Phil.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

(AT 12:47 P.M. EDT)
#247

AUGUST 9, 1976

Office of the Vice President
(Kansas City, Missouri)

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION SPECIAL
COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (PLATFORM) FULL
COMMITTEE HEARINGS
MUSIC HALL
MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

(AT 10:35 A.M. CDT)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Chairman Bob Ray, I want to thank you very much indeed for those very generous remarks and say to the chairman and members of the subcommittee and the members of the Platform Committee that Bob is a very good friend of mine. So we understand his generosity. But I appreciate it.

I am honored to have been asked to appear before this distinguished gathering to speak on the subjects of foreign policy and national defense.

When Gerald R. Ford took office as President, he faced a situation unprecedented in the annals of American leadership: disillusionment, cynicism, and even fears about our own government at home; worldwide inflation, recession and growing unemployment; uncertainty about the will of the American people and the reliability of a politically-divided U.S. Government to fulfill its commitments in the world.

The problems of the new President, of the American people, of the world, were compounded in quick succession by the oil embargo, the quadrupling of oil prices, and crop failures in the Soviet Union and the developing world.

Many predicted that the industrial democracies would not be able to cope with the disruptions produced by these new forces.

Many gloomily foresaw the development of the divisions and rivalries among these industrial democracies that could only end in ruinous and uncontrolled economic warfare for raw materials and markets -- which would mark the beginning of the end of the economic, social and political structures of free peoples. These dire predictions, made just two-and-a-half years ago, proved to be totally wrong.

Under the wise, courageous and stable leadership of President Ford, we have dealt with these problems at home. And through the President's translation of basic domestic policies into brilliant international initiatives by Secretary Kissinger, we have led the way to a united effort by the industrial democracies in the fields of energy and finance and we have played a leading role in the development of common objectives and action in stimulating food production and distribution.

The result of President Ford's leadership has been that, in the short period of two years, the whole world scene has changed:

MORE



1. Confidence was restored at home;
2. Inflation was brought under control;
3. Productivity and employment are being restored throughout the industrial world;
4. And there is renewed international cooperation and mutual respect.

Most important of all to the free people and the free world, there is a renewed confidence that the government and the people of the United States have the will and the determination to stand firm, to regain their moral and economic leadership.

This Republican Administration has convinced the leaders of the world that it intends to rebuild and sustain the strength of America. It has shown the world that our purpose is not only to serve the needs of Americans, not only to defend the freedom and security of our country, but to foster throughout the world the fundamental concepts of freedom, human dignity and equality of opportunity for all.

For we have an Administration which recognizes that we cannot enjoy the fruits of our precious and hard-fought-for heritage of freedom and opportunity unless we work with others in a common effort to support and preserve freedom and opportunity for the peoples of other lands.

Most Americans have considered foreign affairs to be remote from their daily lives, and except when war intruded, not to involve their particular living nor to impact upon their future well-being. One can ascribe reasons for this attitude -- the vast distances of the United States from most of the rest of the world, the enormous domestic market for goods right here at home, to mention but two.

However, the fact is that our foreign policy cannot be something apart from our domestic policy. Each has significant impact upon the other. A perfect example is the interlocking influence on each other of our domestic agriculture, food export, petroleum import and Middle Eastern diplomatic policies.

For the American people, the essential task is to determine what serves their own enlightened self-interest in foreign policy. And this, since foreign policy has to be an extension of the domestic policy, must have its roots right here at home. Mere rhetoric, no matter how lofty, is no substitute for practical knowledgeable action designed to meet specific needs or attain definite objectives of the American people.

This does not mean that Americans are not motivated or should not be motivated by broad humanitarian concerns, by moral and spiritual precepts. Our Nation was founded on moral principles and we will endure only if we live by them. But Americans must see events in their true light and not permit emotionalism to substitute for moral judgment.

In this election year, let us air the major issues of foreign policy. Let us look at the record, examine the facts and argue the alternatives. The Ford Republican Administration has dealt with foreign policy with a deep understanding of the facts and a sensitive perception of the exceedingly complex interrelationships involved.

And as we look to the future, I believe a global approach to American foreign policy should be firmly based on the following essential elements:

First, fostering economic growth at home;

Second, encouraging economic growth abroad;

Third, assuring access to raw materials and capital; science and technology; management and markets;

Fourth, safeguarding freedom of the seas;

Fifth, maintaining a sufficiency of American military power and intelligence capabilities;

Sixth, developing a closer partnership of the independent nations;

Seven, identifying with the progress and self-realization of all peoples;

Eight, promoting a more open world;

Nine, building communications and more constructive relations with potential adversaries;

Ten, reinforcing Presidential leadership in the conduct of foreign affairs; and

Eleven, sustaining the American will to lead.

If a democracy is to survive, its people must be aware of the hard realities of the world in which we live. Today the United States faces a world situation -- unique in its history and more directly critical than heretofore. America's geographic isolation has disappeared with the advance of science and technology -- there are no buffers today compared to the British and French naval and military forces of yesteryear. The United States, instead, finds itself on the front lines throughout the world.

The steady growth of Soviet military power -- its wide-ranging nuclear capacity, its massive armies, its increasingly versatile air force, its vast missile capability and its worldwide navy -- constitute a formidable and growing challenge. And to this is now being added a new dimension of sophisticated satellites and sensors, with a diverse range of missions.

The Soviet military effort is backed by a major military-industrial complex with priority call on manpower and resources. It can draw not only material resources from the Soviet bloc but in addition, as Angola has shown, it can draw on colonial troops now as well.

The Russian thrust for expansion -- indeed, for a world hegemony -- is no secret. The Soviets are supporting this thrust on a worldwide basis, through bribery, blackmail and bugging, through infiltration, subversion and political activity, through espionage and guerilla activities, and through supporting so-called "wars of liberation", economic pressures, intimidation and outright military intervention as evidenced by the cases of Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Soviet defense programs have exceeded ours in dollar costs for every year in the 1970's. They were 40 percent higher than ours overall in 1975; in research and development, by 66 percent; exceeding ours in investment of military equipment and facilities by 85 percent; in operating costs by 25 percent.

Assuming the continuation of these current Soviet trends in military expenditures; and if there is not an appropriate response on our part; then, through a combination of the resulting qualitative improvement in their weapons technology and their quantitative superiority, the Soviet Union could achieve worldwide military dominance in the 1980's.

Fortunately, the long decline of our defense spending has finally been checked by President Ford after Democratic Congresses have cut a total of \$40 billion from Republican Administration requests during the past eight years.

For the United States, we need a national defense effort based on expanded military research and development, continued willingness to innovate in the development and adaptation of new strategic concepts, adequate production of the necessary military equipment to support the required forces and a strong worldwide intelligence and counter-intelligence capability.

Sufficient strength must be at hand and in the process of being developed, to preserve the freedom of the sea lanes, to ensure that neither directly by military action nor indirectly through infiltration, subversion or blackmail can the independent nations be picked off one by one, dominated or overwhelmed.

This requires that the United States and other independent nations maintain a military capacity and presence that can counterbalance that of the Soviet Union and its satellites. It means also working with our NATO allies and with other nations in other areas of the world to add to this strength. It means encouraging continued economic growth and development throughout the world to help other peoples meet their needs and aspirations, and it means having the industrial capacity and strength to support the necessary military and strategic elements.

In conclusion, there is one imperative for our nation's security and well-being that must be mentioned. No nation is stronger in foreign affairs than it is at home. And no nation can be strong at home without confidence in its purposes, and the energy and the will to pursue those purposes with steadfastness and vigor.

For this, our people must understand the issues and be united in their basic goals: for a nation and world growing in its capacity to meet the needs and aspirations of its people; for a nation secure and effective in its relations with the rest of the world. It is time to take a proper pride in the very real values and to renew our faith in the strengths of our nation and our basic institutions.

The Republican platform should proclaim that we as a people, in our values and freedom, and in our respect for individual dignity, are the most successful society in every way that the world has ever known.

That we have every reason to be proud of our country, to have faith and belief in ourselves, and to have confidence in the future. This can be the most exciting moment in history. We need to continue the Republican leadership that has the vision, the wisdom and the courage to grasp this moment.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. I will be glad to answer any questions.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, we might have a question or two, if you are willing.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: A lady has her hand up, Governor, in the back.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Vice President. I am Louise Leonard from West Virginia.

I certainly favor any remarks, all of the remarks supporting a strong defense for this country. I notice, however, you did not touch upon the strategic arms limitation talks and this has been a problem in my mind.

I understand the present agreement expires next year and that the discussions, the plans for the definite discussions have not been made.

I certainly favor a strong defense and I am concerned with the strategic arms limitations, but it seems to me that the arms being limited are the United States arms and that we have had to give up far more under those agreements than we have acquired and that it is the Russians who now have not only reach parity in many of our strategic weapons, but are even going beyond us in their production.

This concerns me very much. I would like to have your comments about the SALT talks and when we may look for their continuance.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: A very important subject and you outlined the problems very clearly.

The first SALT agreement, May '72, froze the existing ICBMs and those are the intercontinental ballistic missiles and the missiles from submarines and the number of submarines as they were. At that time the Soviets had more

intercontinental missiles and more missiles from submarines and more submarines than we did, but we had more sophisticated weapons, greater accuracy and we had at that time MIRV warheads. So that to stop increased production was to our advantage and certainly saved then additional money. This did not include bombers nor MIRV warheads and that is where we were ahead.

The ABM was also included, antiballistic missiles, was also included and it limited the number of sites but did not limit research and development on new systems. That was the first one five years ago.

Then the Vladivostok agreement which took place in November of '74, this included launchers, bombers, missiles and MIRVs. In other words, it now limited the numbers of those which was a second step, but that was not a treaty. It was an agreement that was to be translated into SALT 2 agreement and the SALT 2 talks started. Those ran into difficulties over two subjects:

One, from the Soviet point of view was their backfire bomber which is a new bomber that they have which they claim is not an intercontinental bomber and which they say could be used by refueling as an intercontinental bomber. That was their problem on their side.

On our side has been the question of the cruise missile which is a, really, the one bomb with a guidance system which is extremely sophisticated, computerized system, which has tremendous potential.

So that those talks have been going on. There was one other agreement signed May 28th, 1975. This related to on-site inspection of underground testing, limiting the testing to 150 kilotons for underground nuclear explosions. That has not gone into effect yet because it has not been ratified by the Senate.

So we find ourselves in a situation where the agreements arrived at at Vladivostok need to be translated into a SALT final agreement which could be signed as a treaty. That treaty has been delayed in its consummation due to the fact that the backfire bomber and the cruise missile and how those two shall be handled and limited is still under question and debate.

I think that this country has done two things in this: One, it has tried to hold down the number of destructive weapons that are allowed and; number two, to hold down the costs, the astronomical costs of building military equipment.

I think both are sound and useful and I think that those who have negotiated have shown great skill, great patience and that I think on balance, the agreements achieved today have been to the mutual interests of both countries and to the world as a whole.

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QUESTION: You have used the word the "sufficiency" in your text and this has been another question that has puzzled me very much when we talk about a sufficiency. Does this mean "party"? Where does that place the United States from the point of view of sufficiency of defense? It is such a big term.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I make three comments relating to that.

The SALT Talks relate primarily to strategic weapons, those are the intercontinental, nuclear weapons. In recent years tremendous emphasis has been put on the development of conventional weapons in the far more sophisticated form; they are not included in the SALT Talks, the conventional weapons. That is Naval, other air power and all of the weapons that go with it.

There is a third factor; that is that science and technology is moving so rapidly that a breakthrough in some field can totally eliminate the effectiveness of an entire weapons system.

So that if you have a new development that you have come up with, you may knock out the enemies' capability in the field because either you can detect it or you can destroy it in a way that they hadn't anticipated.

To that sufficiency has to be used because you can't talk any one area, tanks, tanks were not thought to be tremendously significant and successful as were tactical airplanes until the last, the second war in the Middle East when both turned out to be very vulnerable due to the development of new weapons. Precision bombing has moved very rapidly. This is another development.

High-level bombing; the whole question of satellites; the research and development that is being done in laser beams is another field that is just coming onto the drawing boards in a way that nobody really fully understands what its potentials and its capabilities may be. But a major breakthrough at any time can change the balance in any one of the fields. So sufficiency has got to cover all three areas, research and development, new conceptual strategic planning and thinking and the construction of weapons.

This is a very interesting, complex field. There is one other that I think should be added to sufficiency and that is intelligence and counterintelligence, because there is this whole gray area that is very actively undertaking in the world of espionage and counterespionage. That does not show the American people don't understand it as clearly as I think they should.

And the capabilities today to listen to telephone conversations or to listen to discussions in this room or to pick up the information that is being transmitted by satellite on intercontinental telephone conversations is tremendous. So that we are living in a world which is moving so rapidly that the only assurance we really can have that we can have sufficiency is to stay ahead -- I emphasize that -- to stay ahead in research and development and technology which has been our strength. We need to get the appropriations approved, that the President requested, by the Congress of the United States.

QUESTION: In other words, we are talking about a qualitative superiority of weapons rather than perhaps a quantitative superiority?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Both.

QUESTION: But do we not have fewer submarines, fewer weapons in many classes and categories than the Soviet Union?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That is correct.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Vice President.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: But that may not be significant because if those can be destroyed, then their existence is interesting but irrelevant. This is the problem.

QUESTION: Joe Coors from Colorado. Mr. Vice President, I have heard some reports that I understand are reliable, that indicate that the United States has lost Naval superiority and are continuing to lose the control of the seas. I would like to ask you to comment on that, particularly in regard to the serious problem that we might face if we were not keeping the sea-lanes open that brings over 40 percent of our petroleum products into this country.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I would differ with you when you say that we have lost control of the seas. I think that this is, without doubt, an area that is not fully understood by the American people, one of the most serious and one of the most dangerous because the entire free world depends on and takes for granted freedom of the seas. I think if you ask -- or 90 percent of the American people say of course we have freedom of the seas. We have always had it. The British did it before. We are doing it now. If you read Admiral Gorshkov's books -- Head of the Soviet Navy, and has been for 18 years -- I have to agree with you that one of the most phenomenal developments in military history is what he has been able to accomplish in developing a Soviet worldwide offensive navy. It is supported by Air Force satellite communications systems which are tremendously sophisticated.

This is a major problem. This is an extremely serious problem. I don't think we have -- in fact, I know we have not reached the point where they do or can control the seas. However, their capacity to disrupt transportation is growing, and we have got to preserve the capacity to control the seas so that if there is an action to disrupt it, we can then establish the control.

I am personally very glad you raised this because this is the lifeblood not only of the United States, but if you take Japan for instance, we have a treaty with Japan which limits their own capacity for military development of military establishments. Therefore, they depend on us. So that we have a major responsibility there to protect the Japanese trade lanes because without those they can't exist. It is 40 percent for us, but it is 95 percent for them.

QUESTION: I am Bea Strong from Arizona. I am concerned about our military bases, here, at home and since I have arrived in Kansas City, the Richards Gebaur Air Base out here has, I think, a question as to whether it will be continued or abandoned. But we have millions of dollars of government money invested out there. If we have to maintain our military strength superiority, I wonder why we should abandon any of those bases.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Mrs. Strong, that is a very good question. As a four-term governor who fought to preserve bases in New York State, and Naval construction yards unsuccessfully, I have to say I am very familiar with this subject and I have to have as a citizen two points of view.

There are really three problems here. One is the political problem to the local community which benefits by the expenditures of the Federal government and their payrolls and their purchases in the economy of their local community from the base being there; so that is number one. This is what we governors and mayors and county executives fight for is to keep those economic factors alive.

From the Federal government's point of view with the rapid change in technology many of the activities carried on on these bases are no longer relevant to modern strategy in terms of military activity. So that they are not needed. Therefore, they should be terminated. That is a judgmental question and can be argued.

The third point is that -- this, Lynn would agree with very strongly -- that we should not continue expenditures for either political reasons -- that is putting it simply, political reasons logically -- nor for the carrying on of activities which are no longer pertinent to our national security strategy and should concentrate only on where the money can best be spent to get the maximum defense for every dollar.

This is a tough question politically, but there are many bases that should be closed that are obsolete and that have really no relevance, virtually no relevance to our modern defense effort. This is a tough one to face. I fought it as a governor. So I understand exactly what you are saying.

It is a very difficult question. But I think one that we have to face as a people but that has been explained to the American people so they understand it.

QUESTION: I am Reese Taylor from Nevada, Governor.

Mr. Vice President, in the area of foreign trade, particularly with the Communist world, do you believe we should use our food surplus to assure both our access and our receipt of the necessary and strategic raw materials which the United States must import?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Frankly, that is not the way I would go about it if I were in a position to make decisions, which I am not.

The negotiations with countries who have raw materials -- this is why I tried to identify ourselves with their broad objectives -- those countries are looking, for example, technology and development. They have raw material.

Our farmers who produce food, if you remember, we were a little bit disturbed when the President put an embargo on the export of soybeans at one point and also when he didn't move in the military to load the ships on grain and negotiated with the unions who were on strike.

I just have to think that if the United States is going to continue this unbelievable policy of producing these tremendous quantities of food that the farmers have got to have assurance that they are going to be able to sell that to people who need to buy it and that they can't be used as pawns in somebody else's game.

So that is why I would oppose it. I think a global diplomacy should include what you say is negotiating to get access to the raw materials or doing research to develop alternate methods of production from within our own country and there are only three strategic materials which cannot be either substituted or produced within our own borders if we spend the time and the money and the research to make it possible.

So that my answer really is no, I don't think food should be used for that bargaining position because of the nature -- I just think the American farmers are not going to continue to produce it unless they have some reasonable assurance that they are going to be able to sell it and if they feel they are going to be used as pawns, I think they will quit producing it, and I wouldn't blame them. But I think the world needs it.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, Gary Enright from South Dakota, in the American foreign policy elements in the 11 points you made, number 9, was building constructive communications with our potential adversaries.

I would like your viewpoint with regard to the future in reference to situations like the Helsinki Agreement in which there is some belief that we are selling out some of our Eastern European countries to Soviet domination. And in fact, strengthening our adversaries and weakening those nations' right to self-determination and also weakening our position in world leadership.

Would you comment with regard to the future of our foreign policy in that area?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I understand the concern that you express. I have to think that the areas which concern you were more in the field of rhetoric than they were in the field of actual domination and all one has to do is to remember back to when Hungary -- when they rose up in Hungary and the Soviets just moved in their tanks.

When the government in Czechoslovakia, which was a Communist government but didn't please them, again they moved in the Soviet military forces. I don't think they will be deterred by any rhetoric of any kind that relates to their direct objectives.

So that I think that many things were gained, again in terms of rhetoric, in terms of free movement of peoples, the right to people to migrate and so forth. I think that it was a good statement of principles, just the way the United Nations has an excellent statement of principles, tragically sometimes the world doesn't appear to be statements of principles to which they identify.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, let's take one more.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I will try to make the answer short.

QUESTION: We are going to have to stop, as much as I am sure they would like to have more questions, because we have the afternoon scheduled also. Let's take one more.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I am June East from North Carolina.

One question, I will make it short, I wanted to ask you. I thought you this morning had been very eloquent in your statement about the Soviet challenge, the nature of tyranny behind the Iron Curtain and the need to have a strong defense posture on it.

As a member of the Executive Branch, I am certainly not holding you responsible for it, one thing that somewhat embarrassed me was when Alexander Solzhenitsyn came to the United States and for reasons that were not quite clear to me, was not brought to the White House and given what I think is the kind of welcome that we ought to give to men of this stature who symbolize the nature of the great struggle of our time.

As you will recall, the CIO and the AFL hosted him here in this country. I was embarrassed and troubled. If the threat is of the type you say that it is, and I agree with you that it is, and if Soviet tyranny is of the type you say it is, and I agree that it is, I find it troublesome that when we have a man of this stature, most recently is coming into the West, it seems to me it would be appropriate -- I don't mean that we be extremist on the point in terms of the rhetoric and the yahooism, but when you have

a Nobel Prize winner in literature, a man who speaks with great power and intellect and eloquence to the great world crisis of our time, I can't understand why he is not brought to the White House, brought into the Executive Branch and given that kind of welcome that I think all Americans across the spectrum think that he deserves.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Mr. East, I have to say to you that I agree with what you have said and I think a mistake was made.

Now, I will explain why the mistake was made. A low level -- the Secretary of State was out of the country at the time -- a low level opinion was given from the State Department to a comparably low level in the White House. The President had a busy schedule. It never really was brought to his attention on the level that you are talking about, and that I agree with you.

I have to say to you, although it was not publicized, I had dinner with Mr. Solzhenitsyn, with George Meany and Lane Kirkland at Lane Kirkland's home. So it was not a situation where there was no contact and I did that with the President's full approval because I went to him, to talk to him about it, and he said he thought it was exactly the right thing to do. So it is an unfortunate thing that happened.

I think the simplest thing to do is just say it was a mistake and the reasons are as I explained them. I know that the Secretary of State feels the same.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, thank you very much.

END

(AT 11:15 A.M. CDT)

Office of the Vice President
(Kansas City, Missouri)

PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

AT 11:30 A.M. CDT

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Kansas City.

I have just had the honor of testifying before the Platform Committee, or talking before the Platform Committee, on the subject of the national defense, foreign policy and national defense, and would be glad to answer any questions that you would care to ask.

QUESTION: Governor, what points would you say you differ specifically with Governor Reagan on national defense and foreign policy?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Only on facts.

QUESTION: What kind of facts?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Such as whether we have sovereign rights over Panama which we don't. It is largely factual.

QUESTION: How about philosophical?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I believe if we are talking national defense, foreign policy, I believe that if we are going to preserve democracy it depends on the American people understanding the facts and the hard realities of the world in which we live.

It depends upon a strong America at home, both materially and morally and spiritually. It depends on the sustained will on the part of the Americans to preserve those values on which our country was founded; namely, the concept of individual freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom; the respect for human dignity, equality of opportunity.

So, first, that to me is the base; these strengths at home. We then, in my opinion, have to identify these with other countries and peoples who aspire to the same in other parts of the world. This lays the foundation then for a resistance to totally alien ideologies in which the individual does not count and human dignity is not respected, and freedom is meaningless. Added to that, of course, is finally the point of our military capability which we must have sufficient military capability to meet whatever challenge is presented to us and in whatever form, in whatever place that will affect our freedom and security.

When you go down to the details, I think he is for a strong national defense. I perhaps give larger dimensions

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to what is the basis for a strong national defense that we must be strong at home, both in terms of the well-being and opportunity of our people and in terms of our belief in these basic values and our adherence to them.

QUESTION: Do you think that Reagan has distorted the facts with respect to military strength?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No. I think in the case of the facts relating to military weapons that he has used the facts correctly, but then has distorted the significance of the facts and that is why I used the concept of sufficient and balanced forces and emphasized research and development.

I mean, the Soviets may have more tanks than we did but we have more helicopters than they do. Okay, but it depends upon what are the strategic concepts of the moment.

What are the new developments in terms of weapons and I think that the last war in the Middle East showed that many even in the short time since the Six Day War, that many concepts even of the sophisticated Israeli military establishment had been overrun by the development of new technology and new weapons. So their planes were shot down and tanks didn't prove to have the massive power which people thought they did because they could be knocked out by a bazooka.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, would you give your opinion in answering political questions?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I will try.

QUESTION: Have you sent your list of recommendations for the vice presidential nominations to President Ford?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No, sir.

QUESTION: Do you have any recommendations that you would like to tell us?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I have discussed the subject with him, but I have not been asked to give a list.

QUESTION: Has he said that you are on his list? He says he has a list of a dozen or so people.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I haven't discussed who is on his list and who isn't on his list. Whatever discussions I have with him are on a totally personal, confidential basis which is the way they should be.

As Vice President, he has been very generous in giving me the opportunity at all times and on all subjects to express totally freely and openly my views and then I have not sought at any time to get an answer or to argue with him. I just want the opportunity to express it.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, would you liked to be named on another four years?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No. I stand on what I said earlier. I asked my name be withdrawn.

QUESTION: There was a report you commissioned or otherwise caused to be taken a Gallup poll on potential Vice Presidential candidates for President Ford. Is that so?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No, sir.

QUESTION: Did you have anything to do with such a poll?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I have read all the polls that I can get my hands on just to see what the trends are so I can try to answer your questions better. I read a great many in the papers.

QUESTION: There was a report of one poll.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I knew there was a report.

QUESTION: In which some 35 candidates had a lower preference rating than Governor Connally. Do you know anything about that one?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No.

QUESTION: Can you say what sort of things you believe ought to go into the making of the decision on the Vice President?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes. Number one, having the preparation, should under some unforeseen circumstance, God forbid, a President being unable to carry on. Therefore, number one has got to be that the individual has the capacity to be President by experience, by the ability to make decisions, to act, to carry on the unbelievably complex and demanding responsibilities.

I would think that that includes a good deal of physical energy because of the time-consuming pressures that we live under. That to me is number one.

Number two, would be compatible to the President. To the extent the President wants to work with him and use his time, he is a staff assistant is the way I view myself. I have followed that course. But the individual is a member of the National Security Council, Domestic Council, has various other responsibilities and, therefore, it needs to be someone with a breadth of vision and a depth of mind.

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QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, what specific activities will you undertake in the next 10 days or so, to secure the nomination for President?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: It is getting down to a rather limited field. I have been supporting in every way that I could appropriately, and I think that perhaps one of the most important developments was the fact that the New York State delegation gave 119 votes to President Ford the same weekend that Pennsylvania did, and put President Ford in the lead and kept him in the lead ever since.

So that that, not that I was responsible, but I did talk to the delegation, along with others. And I think probably that was the most significant. Then there have been obvious contacts with delegations, with individuals.

QUESTION: Will that continue, particularly in the Northeast?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: As I said, the field is narrowing as to those that are left. If I can be helpful, it is a pleasure.

QUESTION: How many votes will New York State deliver to the President, on the first ballot?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: We still have some uncommitted. There are not very many. I would think maybe around 135.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, have you been asked to supply to the President, or to the other people in the White House, an update of your financial situation and your health records?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Not that I am aware of. I thought that the Congress had done a reasonably thorough job with the aid of 500 FBI agents.

QUESTION: Do you know President Ford's Vice Presidential candidates are being asked for such information? I wonder if you have been asked for an update.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: How are they asked? Are they getting a memo to fill out, or form?

QUESTION: Supposedly they were called over the weekend, by people in the White House, and asked, "Are you interested in being Vice President?" and if they answered affirmatively, they were asked to supply the information to the White House.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Is this your list or is this the President's list?

QUESTION: I have no list; this is the President's list.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I haven't seen any list. I am trying to identify a list. So I don't know.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, yesterday the President's forces lost some procedural votes on the platform. How do you view that? Was it a setback in any way?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Totally unimportant.

QUESTION: Unimportant?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Unimportant.

QUESTION: Have you seen any change in the leanings of the New York delegation since the Ronald Reagan selection of Senator Schweiker for his Vice Presidential running mate?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No. I don't think it affected anybody.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, can I follow up on a previous question, please?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: How can you say it is totally unimportant when actually the potential for kicking out your good friend, Robert Ray, as appointed chairman exists now, to be filled by, possibly filled by a chairman of Reaganite following and that, in turn, would have a conceivable influence on the platform writing? Why do you say it is totally unimportant?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Mr. Reagan has a majority of the members of the committee or you wouldn't have made the statement. I am not sure you are right. You have assumed.

QUESTION: Can we say why you feel it is totally unimportant?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Because I don't think it is going to have any affect on changing the chairman. That would be my guess. I don't know. I wasn't here. You asked me what I thought. I just expressed my own feeling.

QUESTION: I wonder, Governor, if you have any thoughts about the irony that seems to be involved in the choice of Mr. Schweiker, after your decision some months ago concerning the Vice Presidency? If you have any thoughts?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That is a fair question. But what I do think is interesting, is that a man who has had the support of what I referred to as the minority of the minority, and who has had the support of the delegations from the areas of the country where the conservative positions take by this group are predominant, that this person in the form of Mr. Reagan, Governor Reagan, should come to recognize that the North and Northeast are essential to winning a Presidential nomination. I think it is important because what it said to me was that they really are interested in winning and not just holding on to certain ideological concepts and controlling small organizations but not winning elections.

So that I think there is a fundamental interesting, fundamental and interesting shift, there, in concept from what has been the position of a good many of his followers.

How his followers are taking this, I don't know.

QUESTION: Do you think it will be a plus for President Ford when the first ballot is taken?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I think President Ford is going to get the nomination on the first ballot, and I have felt that right along. I don't really think that this has too much affect because the person he selected was, in my opinion, rather unusual in terms of, if you were trying to get for instance in New York or the Eastern Seaboard area, or the Western States, I think that a person with a record more of the moderate progressive Republican position, rather than the extreme liberal Republican position, would have been more effective. But that is just a personal, political judgment.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, in view of your comments on Governor Reagan's choice of Schweiker, do you think your withdrawal from active competition has made it easier for President Ford to get the nomination?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Of course, that has got to be a judgmental thing.

QUESTION: Yes, that is what I am asking, for your judgment.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: You see, I have a very strong feeling, and have always held this, that the President is the man; that he is the important one and that whatever a Vice President can do for a citizen to support a President, particularly in this case where I was working for him, I did not want to be in the position where his campaign manager felt that I would be detracting from his chances.

QUESTION: Could you comment on, if as you say, a Vice President should be compatible with the President, can you comment on the compatibility factor of Mr. Reagan with President Ford, or Senator Baker with President Ford?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: After a campaign, it takes a little while for the wounds to heal from a campaign, from campaign rhetoric; therefore, if you are referring to Mr. Reagan, I would think that that compatibility would take a little while to develop.

QUESTION: But do you consider it possible? Is it possible that that could be a winning ticket for the Republicans?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That is a difficult question. You started out on compatibility, which has very little to do with winning.

QUESTION: How about Senator Baker?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I mean, or it may be causal or it may be just coincidental. How about Senator Baker? Outstanding man.

QUESTION: Would he be compatible?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Surely.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I will insert from that last answer, are you saying that you would not be in favor of a Ford-Reagan ticket?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No. I wasn't commenting on that subject at all. We were talking about compatibility. I should have spoken louder.

QUESTION: You said that the wounds would take some time to heal.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That is right. That is the wounds that would affect the compatibility.

QUESTION: You said compatibility was important to the Vice President. That sounds like you say the two men would not be able to get along initially.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: A factor, I said.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, what are the odds that you will end up on this ticket?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't take a bet on it.

QUESTION: You are not making any Shermanlike statement, either, are you?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I wrote my letter. I stand on the letter. I thought it was a very good one.

QUESTION: Is Mr. Connally compatible with the President, and how would that affect Mr. Ford's chances of winning?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I think he is compatible. I think he is compatible. I think he has pluses, very real pluses and he has got some minuses.

QUESTION: Which are most important and what are they?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Those are the questions that the President and only the President can decide. This is to me the whole heart of this thing. The President of the United States has got to pick his own running mate. I can discuss with him what I see here on this side or what I see on that side. Then he does agree with other people and he has got to weigh all of those factors and make his final decision.

QUESTION: Do the pluses of Mr. Connally outweigh his minuses?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That is a question the President will have to decide.

QUESTION: What is your view?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I am not in a position to have a view on this because I have no decision to make.

QUESTION: Governor, you mentioned a few moments ago --

THE VICE PRESIDENT: It would be presumptuous on my part as Vice President.

QUESTION: You mentioned a few moments ago, sir, that Mr. Schweiker does not represent the moderate part of the Party. There have been some Congressmen who presumably do represent that moderate section of the Party, who have

been actively campaigning against Mr. Connally. I am wondering if you see their position has any great validity in terms of a national ticket aimed at winning in November?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That is one of the minuses.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you got some experience in coming from behind the polls but no President has ever come or no candidate has ever come from as far behind as Mr. Ford is now apparently.

Do you think that should be some cause for concern on his part?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't personally be too worried about it under the circumstances because so much of Mr. Carter's record and so many of his positions really are unknown. Therefore, not that he hasn't taken positions, but it is a question of which position. So that we have to wait until that is developed in the campaign and then as it is developed.

I started out once at 24 percent, which I guess is a record and I was advised by all of the pros, that they might be able to rehabilitate me, but forget running for governor again. But I was interested in running again because I hadn't finished the things I was trying to do.

So I ran. I won -- well, I have forgotten what that was, three, four, five hundred thousand votes. So the people of this country are very sophisticated and if you take strong action on the subject, you are bound to -- or take actions, plural -- you are bound to irritate people who were affected even though you may represent the majority's best interest, and others who are affected.

Those cumulatively result in a great many negatives. Then until you can put forward the positives and they are fully perceived, you don't overweigh and then one is hopeful that one's opponent looks better in the polls than he does on the podium.

QUESTION: Why do you think it is that President Ford has had such problems selling his positives?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: He has been so busy making decisions and carrying them out he hasn't had time.

QUESTION: Shouldn't he be worrying about them more than he does?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: He has got a full campaign ahead of him.

QUESTION: Sir, you said in a recent interview that you thought that the President may have to write off the South. Is that the way you feel about the South in the coming campaign?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't think I said it quite that way. I said I thought that Mr. Carter was going to have, whether I said solid support or very strong support, for

patriotic reasons, for regional reasons from the South. He is the first candidate for the President to have been selected from the South -- what? -- 100 years, something like that, 80 years.

In my visits there I have found even Republicans feeling that this is something that is so significant that he is going to get very, very heavy support.

QUESTION: Do you think that means that he will have to choose a Vice President from that region?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I think that it is interesting that Mr. Reagan's reaction was just the opposite. He made his decision to go the other way.

I think that if you look at the chart or the map that was published in I think Time magazine, showing where President Ford's strength was, then if you multiply those -- there are some very interesting facts. I think one delegate in Wyoming represents 6,000 voters. One delegate from Massachusetts represents 36,000 voters.

So that when you translate delegate strength into voting strength, and your strength is all from the South or the smaller States, as Mr. Reagan's is, you begin to worry about election rather than nomination or in addition to the nomination. Excuse me.

QUESTION: Sir, as a political practitioner of some years standing, would you recommend to President Ford that he go out and campaign or that he retain his Presidential image during the fall period and send his Vice President out as the campaign -- make the campaign effort?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I would think that would be a decision for the President and his campaign manager for the campaign itself.

QUESTION: You would have no recommendation?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: If I do, I will give it to the President.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you were a Republican House candidate from upstate New York and how would you feel running --

THE VICE PRESIDENT: If I were?

QUESTION: If you were, and how would you feel running on a ticket headed by Ford and Connally involved?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: It depends upon which District.

(Laughter.)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: You have to know your State.

QUESTION: What about the District that was lost, say, by Mr. King, a fairly staunch Republican District, but

it was picked up by a Democrat in '74?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I have got to tell you a secret. New York State has 1 million, the Republican Party, 1 million registered plurality against. Therefore, the candidate to win has to get Independent and Democratic votes except in a very few, in a very small number of Districts where the Republicans have a majority.

So I would not judge by who is on the ticket in relation to the candidate. In fact, if I could recall, when I was running for Governor against Averell Harriman, in the Democratic year, in fact that was the way it was described, I asked President Eisenhower, whom I admired and whom I had worked for, please to stay out of the State because I wanted to run on State issues and not get it confused in national issues.

If I were a local candidate, I would try and concentrate on the problems of my District and stay away from these worldwide controversial issues which are pretty far away from the local constituents who are actually going to vote.

So I don't think the candidacy on the national ticket is that important if you are a good candidate for local office.

QUESTION: Do you think the issue of public trust and association, whether valid or not in the public mind with Watergate, is an issue to consider in the case of John Connally, because I think it came up a moment ago about the Congressman's complaints and that is what they were speaking of?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Of course, any issue is one that has to be considered. I am sure the President will weigh all of those issues in relation to each candidate, including whatever information he gets as a result of the inquiry that he has made or is making; that he will have to weigh all of those.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, this is the first time in a long time that you have come here not as a potential nominee. How does that feel?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Pretty good, no tensions, just relaxation.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, are you afraid that the President may ignore the Northeast which has supported him --

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Which what?

QUESTION: May ignore the Northeast which has supported him and where he can get votes in November, to support the Southwest or West in the selection of a Vice Presidential running mate?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I am sure he is not going to ignore them. If I were the President, and I am sure that he will look for votes and support in every corner of this country -- that, in my opinion, is always the best way to run.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very much for letting me have this pleasure. I am delighted for this visit. Thank you.

NO53

R

ROCKEFELLER

WOODSTOCK, VT. (AP) -- THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM DOES NOT REFLECT THE VIEWS OF PRESIDENT FORD, VICE PRESIDENT NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER SAYS.

EN ROUTE TO A FUNDRAISER HERE THIS WEEKEND FOR U.S. SEN. ROBERT T. STAFFORD OF VERMONT, ROCKEFELLER SAID REPUBLICAN MODERATES PROBABLY WILL NOT RUN ON THE CONSERVATIVE PLATFORM ADOPTED EARLIER THIS MONTH IN KANSAS CITY.

"IT'S JUST NOT A REPUBLICAN MODERATE PLATFORM," ROCKEFELLER TOLD REPORTERS AT THE AIRPORT IN NEARBY WEST LEBANON, N.H., WHERE HIS PLANE LANDED SATURDAY.

"I REGRET TO SAY THAT I DON'T THINK THE PLATFORM IS THE DOCUMENT THAT REFLECTS THE PRESIDENT'S BASIC PHILOSOPHY OR BELIEF IN ITS TOTAL. AND IT DOESN'T REFLECT MINE," HE SAID.

ROCKEFELLER DID NOT ELABORATE.

THE VICE PRESIDENT, FRESH FROM A MEETING THE PREVIOUS DAY WITH PRESIDENT FORD IN VAIL, COL., TO DISCUSS CAMPAIGN STRATEGY, PRAISED BOTH FORD AND STAFFORD.

HE CALLED FORD A "STRONG MAN AND GOOD LEADER," SAYING, "WE HAD A NATION THAT WAS TORN AND HE HAS BROUGHT US BACK TOGETHER."

REMINING STAFFORD THAT THEY BOTH FIRST BECAME GOVERNORS IN 1953, ROCKEFELLER SAID THE VERMONT REPUBLICAN "COULD DO ANY JOB YOU SET OUT TO DO."

THE \$50-A-PERSON COCKTAIL RECEPTION AT THE ESTATE OF ROCKEFELLER'S BROTHER, LAURENCE, DREW 250 PARTY FAITHFULS. THEIR DONATIONS NETTED ABOUT \$7,000 IN CAMPAIGN FUNDS FOR STAFFORD, WHO IS COMPLETING HIS FIRST TERM AND SEEKING RE-ELECTION.

NOT FAR FROM THE RECEPTION, DEMONSTRATORS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ABORTION ISSUE MARCHED THE SIDEWALKS OF WOODSTOCK.

ANTI-ABORTIONISTS TURNED OUT TO PROTEST ROCKEFELLER'S POSITION IN FAVOR OF ALLOWING WOMEN THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY CAN HAVE AN ABORTION.

03-29-76 22:46EDT

NO54



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jim Baker
Dick Cheney
Rogers Morton
Mary Louise Smith
Ted Stevens
Guy Vander Jagt

FROM: Jack Veneman *JV*

SUBJECT: Vice President's Campaigning

Attached is a summary of the Vice President's Illinois and Ohio trip on September 21 and 22.

The trip included 8 events attended by 4,580 persons, 4 press conferences, and 6 individual TV tapings. 61 Republican candidates for Federal, state and local offices were in attendance.

cc: Bill Greener
Eddie Mahe
✓ Ron Nessen
Stuart Spencer

Summary of Vice President Rockefeller's Trip
to Chicago, Illinois, Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati, Ohio
September 21-22, 1976

Chicago, September 21, 1976

Event: Jim Thompson for Governor Fund Raising Dinner.
V.P. main speaker.
Sponsor: Jim Thompson for Governor Committee
Attendance: 2,600 - open press coverage
Candidates attending:
Jim Thompson - Governor
Bill Harris - Secretary of State
George Lindberg - Comptroller
Dave O'Neal - Lt. Governor
Bill Scott - Attorney General
Reginald Volger - State Supreme Court
Russ Arrington - Illinois House
Bud Washington - Illinois House

Press events - Chicago:

Press Conference - 50 credentialed
TV Taping - The Callaway Ruddle Report,
Channel 11, 30 minutes,
John Callaway and James Ruddle,
interviewers

Cleveland, September 22, 1976

Event: County Finance Committee Breakfast
Sponsor: Cuyahoga County Republican Committee
Attendance: 50
Candidate attending:
Robert Taft - U.S. Senate (Inc.)

Event: President Ford Committee Headquarters Opening
Sponsor: Cuyahoga County Ford Committee
Attendance: 800 - open press coverage
Candidates attending:
Robert Taft - U.S. Senate (Inc.)
Ralph Kreiger - County Sheriff (Inc.)
Don Brown - Justice, Ohio Supreme Ct.

Event: Continental Breakfast, Candidates Rally,
Cuyahoga County Republican Headquarters
Sponsor: Cuyahoga County Republican Committee
Attendance: 300 - open press coverage
Candidates attending:

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Robert Taft | - U.S. Senate (Inc.) |
| Harry A. Hanna | - U.S. Congress, 22nd Dist. |
| Michael T. Scanlon | - U.S. Congress, 23rd Dist. |
| Charles A. Byrne | - Ohio Senate, 22nd District |
| Thomas C. Perk | - Ohio House, 6th District |
| Bruce Moses | - Ohio House, 17th District |
| Pete Catavolos | - Ohio House, 5th District |
| George V. Voinovich | - County Commissioner |
| Robert B. Michalski | - County Treasurer |
| Ralph E. Kreiger | - County Sheriff (Inc.) |
| John J. Poland | - County Coroner |
| Robert Lawther | - Judge, Ct. of Common Pleas |
| Ralph J. Perk, Jr. | - Clerk, Ct. of Common Pleas |
| Carl R. Withers | - Judge, Ct. of Common Pleas |
| Blanche Krupansky (represented by husband, Frank Varga) | - Judge, Court of Appeals |
| Richard L. Boylan | - Prosecuting Attorney |
| Jean M. Capers | - Judge, Ct. of Common Pleas |
| Richard Markus | - Judge, Ct. of Common Pleas |
| Saul G. Stillman | - Judge, Court of Appeals |
| Wyatt Brownlee | - Judge, Ct. of Common Pleas |
| Ronald A. Stackhouse | - County Engineer |

Press events - Cleveland:

Press Conference - 35 credentialed
TV Tapings - Morning Exchange, Channel 5,
15 minutes, Fred Griffin,
interviewer.
- Dorothy Fuldheim Show, Channel 5,
7 minutes, Dorothy Fuldheim,
interviewer.

Columbus, September 22, 1976

Event: Airport Arrival
Sponsor: Franklin County Republican Committee
Attendance: 30 - open press coverage
Candidates attending:

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| W. Richard Boling | - Ohio House |
| C. William Brownfield | - Ohio Senate |
| Charles E. Swad | - Franklin Co. Commissioner |
| John W. Rickenbacker | - Franklin Co. Commissioner |
| Dr. Wm. R. Adrion | - Franklin Co. Coroner (Inc.) |

Event: Columbus Bar Association Luncheon
Sponsor: Columbus Bar Association
Attendance: 300 - open press coverage
Candidate attending:
Dana G. Rinehart - Franklin Co. Treasurer
Candidates not attending but endorsed by the V.P.:
Robert Taft - U.S. Senate (Inc.)
Samuel Devine - U.S. Congress (Inc.)
Chalmers Wylie - U.S. Congress (Inc.)
V.P. urged the election of a Republican Legislature.

Press events - Columbus:
Press Conference - 50 credentialed
TV Taping - Eye Witness News, WBNS Channel 10,
30 minutes, Marlynn Singleton,
interviewer

Cincinnati, September 22, 1976

Event: Airport Arrival, Covington, Kentucky
Sponsor: Hamilton County Central Committee
Attendance: 100 - open press coverage
Candidates attending:
W. Richard Boling - Ohio House
C. William Brownfield - Ohio Senate
Charles E. Swad - Franklin Co. Commissioner
John W. Rickenbacker - Franklin Co. Commissioner
Dr. Wm. E. Adrion - Franklin Co. Coroner (Inc.)

Event: Hamilton County Republican Rally
Sponsor: Hamilton County Republican Committee
Attendance: 400 - open press coverage

Candidates attending:

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Dick Finhn | - Ohio House, 19th District |
| Norm Murdock | - Ohio House, 21st District |
| Chester Cruse | - Ohio House, 22nd District |
| James Longacre | - Ohio House, 23rd District |
| William Schneyer | - Ohio House, 24th District |
| David Albanese | - Ohio House, 25th District |
| Helen Fox | - Ohio House, 26th District |
| Robert Taft, III | - Ohio House, 65th District |
| Ray E. Schannon | - Ct. of Appeals, 1st Dist. |
| Gilbert Bettman | - Ct. of Appeals, 1st Dist. |
| Lyle W. Castle | - Ct. of Appeals, 1st Dist. |
| Robert L. Black, Jr. | - Ct. of Appeals, 1st Dist. |
| Rupert A. Doan | - Court of Common Pleas |
| William A. McClain | - Court of Common Pleas |
| Robert A. Wood | - County Commissioner |
| Allen Paul | - County Commissioner |
| Simon L. Leis, Jr. | - Prosecuting Attorney |
| Robert B. Jennings | - Clerk of Court |
| Lincoln J. Stokes | - County Sheriff |
| John E. Held | - County Recorder |
| Wayne F. Wilke | - County Treasurer |
| Dr. Frank P. Cleveland | - County Coroner |
| William J. Morrissey | - Ohio Supreme Court |

Candidates represented:

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Robert Taft (represented by daughter Sarah) | - U.S. Senate (Inc.) |
| Stan Aranoff (represented by wife Vicky) | - Ohio Senate |

V.P. mentioned:

| | |
|---------------|------------------------|
| Bill Gradison | - U.S. Congress (Inc.) |
| Don Clancy | - U.S. Congress (Inc.) |

Press events - Cincinnati:

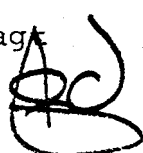
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|------------------|---|
| Press Conference | - 50 credentialed |
| TV Tapings | - Dave Surber Show, WKRC Chan. 12, 30 minutes, David Surber and David Altman, interviewers. |
| | - Evening News, WCWT Channel 5, 10 minute interview. |



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jim Baker
Dick Cheney
Rogers Morton
Mary Louise Smith
Ted Stevens
Guy Vander Jagt

FROM: Jack Veneman 

SUBJECT: Vice President's Campaigning

Attached is a summary of the Vice President's New Jersey and Pennsylvania trip on September 28 and 29.

The trip included 10 events attended by 1770 persons, 4 press conferences, and 7 individual radio/TV interviews. 36 Republican candidates for Federal, state and local offices were in attendance. Funds raised for State and local committees and candidates is estimated at \$150,000, as well as generating support for the Senator Dole Dinner in Pittsburgh on October 5.

cc: Bill Greener
Eddie Mahe
✓ Ron Nessen
Stuart Spencer

Summary of Vice President Rockefeller's Trip to
New Jersey (Hasbrough Heights and Dover)
Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Erie and Pittsburgh)

September 28-29, 1976

NEW JERSEY

Newark, September 28, 1976

Event: Airport Arrival
Attendance: 50 - 24 press attending
Candidates Attending:
James Sheehan - U.S. Congress, 7th District
Harold "Cappy" Hollenbeck - U.S. Congress, 9th District

Hasbrough Heights, September 28, 1976

Event: Bergen County Candidates' Brunch
Sponsor: Bergen County Republican Committee
Vice President Main Speaker
Attendance: 225 - Open press, 60 attending
Candidates Attending:
David Norcross - U.S. Senate
William Schluter - U.S. Congress, 13th District
James Sheehan - U.S. Congress, 7th District
Harold "Cappy" Hollenbeck - U.S. Congress, 9th District
Joseph Carucci - Freeholder, Bergen County
Harry Gerecke - Freeholder, Bergen County
Mrs. Joan Steinacker - Freeholder, Bergen County

Dover, September 28, 1976

Event: Morris County Fund-Raising Luncheon
Sponsor: Morris County Republican Committee
Attendance: 200 - Open press, 50 attending
Candidates Attending:
David Norcross - U.S. Senate
William Schluter - U.S. Congress, 13th District
Frank Headley - County Clerk (Inc.)
Rod Frelinghuysen - Freeholder, Morris County
Peter Burkhardt - Freeholder, Morris County
Al Shubo - Freeholder, Morris County
Gary Garafalo - Freeholder, Morris County
Chuck Hetian - Freeholder, Morris County
Wally Bruner - Freeholder, Morris County
Frank Morrison - Freeholder, Morris County
Candidates not attending, but endorsed by the Vice President:
Millicent Fenwick - U.S. Congress (Inc.)
Republican office holders attending, non-candidates:
Tom Kean - Minority Leader State Assembly
Bob Galdon - Mayor, Rockaway Township
Leanna Brown - Freeholder Director, Morris County
Walt Foran - Assemblyman
Virginia Taft - Assemblywoman
Eileen McCoy - Freeholder, Morris County

Press Events - New Jersey:

- Hasbrough Heights: - Radio Interview
Greg Stevens, President Ford
Committee, distribution to 58
New Jersey radio stations.
- Dover: - Press Conference - 60 credentialed.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia, September 28, 1976

Event: Airport Arrival

Attendance: 40

Candidates Attending:

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| John Heinz | - U.S. Senate |
| Sam Fanelli | - U.S. Congress, 1st District |
| Jesse Woods | - U.S. Congress, 2nd District |
| Terrence Schade | - U.S. Congress, 3rd District |
| James Mugford | - U.S. Congress, 4th District |
| James Kenney | - U.S. Congress, 7th District |
| Dick Frame | - State Senate (Inc.) |

Event: John Heinz for Senate Reception

Sponsor: John Heinz for Senate Committee

Attendance: 35 - closed to press

Candidates Attending:

- | | |
|------------|---------------|
| John Heinz | - U.S. Senate |
|------------|---------------|

Event: Distinguished Republican Award Reception and Dinner

Sponsor: Pennsylvania State Republican Committee

Attendance: 700 - open press

Candidates Attending:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| John Heinz | - U.S. Senate |
| Sam Fanelli | - U.S. Congress, 1st District |
| Jesse Woods | - U.S. Congress, 2nd District |
| Terrence Schade | - U.S. Congress, 3rd District |
| James Mugford | - U.S. Congress, 4th District |
| James Kenney | - U.S. Congress, 7th District |
| John Renninger | - U.S. Congress |
| Larry Coughlin | - U.S. Congress (Inc.) |
| Richard Schultz | - U.S. Congress (Inc.) |
| Pat Gleason | - State Auditor General (Inc.) |
| Pat Crawford | - State Treasurer (Inc.) |
| Dick Frame | - State Senate (Inc.) |

Press Events - Philadelphia:

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Press Conference | - 40 credentialed |
| TV Taping | - Mike Douglas Show KYW-TV Mike Douglas, interviewer |
| Individual Interview | - WCAU-TV Kauti Martin, interviewer |
| Individual Interview | - <u>New York Times</u> , <u>Marty Tolchin</u> , interviewer, in flight Dover to Philadelphia. |

Erie, September 28, 1976

Event: Airport Arrival
Attendance: 200 - 35 press in attendance
Candidates Attending:
Marc Marks - U.S. Congress, 24th District
Dick Frame - State Senate (Inc.)

Erie, September 29, 1976

Event: Republican Fund-Raising Brunch
Sponsor: Various Pennsylvania Republican Organizations
Attendance: 150 - 15 press in attendance
Candidates Attending:
John Heinz - U.S. Senate
Marc Marks - U.S. Congress, 24th District
Dick Frame - State Senate (Inc.)
Jim Ketchum - State Senate
Leo Weir - State Assembly
Ken Gruenwald - State Assembly
Karl Boyes - County Commissioner
Andrew Hanisek - Sheriff
Candidates not attending, but endorsed by the Vice President:
Pat Gleason - State Auditor General (Inc.)
Pat Crawford - State Treasurer (Inc.)

Press Events - Erie:

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Press Conference | - 30 credentialed |
| TV Taping | - "Focus 12" Channel 12, WICU-TV Interviewers: Hyle Richmond, WICU-TV (NBC affil.); Denny Bonavita, Warren (Pa.) <u>Times</u> <u>Observer</u> ; Len Kholes, <u>Erie Daily</u> <u>Times</u> . |
| Individual Interview | - <u>Pittsburgh Post</u> Dave Leherer, interviewer, in flight Erie to Pittsburgh |

Pittsburgh, September 29, 1976

Event: VIP Luncheon to urge support of October 5
Alegheny County Fund-Raising Dinner

Sponsor: Pennsylvania Republican State Committee

Attendance: 70 - closed to press

Candidates Attending:

John Heinz - U.S. Senate
(represented by Mrs. Heinz)

Dick Frame - State Senate (Inc.)

Candidates not attending, but endorsed by the Vice President:

Robert Casey - U.S. Congress, 18th District

John Kostelac - U.S. Congress, 20th District

John Bradley - U.S. Congress, 14th District

Pat Gleason - State Auditor General (Inc.)

Pat Crawford - State Treasurer (Inc.)

Event: Grand Opening of President Ford Committee
Headquarters.

Sponsor: President Ford Committee

Attendance: 250 - open press coverage

Candidates Attending:

Robert Casey - U.S. Congress, 18th District

Press Events - Pittsburgh:

Press Conference - 50 credentialed

TV Taping - "Eye Witness Magazine"

KDKA

Ray Tannehill, interviewer