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# THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

General Haig

August 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Kenneth Rush

Subject: Recommendations for Vice President

My recommendations for Vice President, in the order of preference listed, are:

1. George H. W. Bush

Mr. Bush would, in my opinion, have a broader appeal to all segments of the political spectrum than any other qualified choice. His relative youth, Texas residence with a New England background, wide popularity in business and political circles, and unqualified integrity and ability, combined with his personal qualities of charm and tact, would make him a natural for the new Presidential/Vice Presidential team.

2. Nelson A. Rockefeller

Despite his age, Governor Rockefeller would add considerable political strength, particularly in the liberal sector, to the new Presidential/Vice Presidential team. In addition to his own demonstrated political sagacity and governmental experience, he would also doubtless be able to attract to Government service many able people who otherwise would be unwilling to serve.

3. Melvin R. Laird

During my association with him in the Defense Department, I developed a very high admiration for Mr. Laird's political skill, knowledge of Government, and keen mental capacity. He would be an articulate and effective spokesman for the President's policies and would be highly effective on the Hill. A drawback would be that he would probably add little, if any, political strength to the team in view of the fact that his background is similar to the President's and in many ways he would appeal to the same constituency.

PERSONAL - EYES ONLY

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Assistant to the President

The White House

By Courier

✓

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

Al Haig -

Here's some VP ideas.  
Handle either anonymously  
or put my name on it,  
as you see fit.

Thanks,

Clunde

8/13/74



## On Selecting a Vice President

8-13-74

### Essential Criteria:

1. Must have the immediate ability to become an effective President, with strength and leadership that will be apparent to the world.
2. Must have been successful in winning elective office; must show good base of public support.
3. Must be able to come through a searching confirmation procedure reasonably unblemished.

### Desirable Criteria:

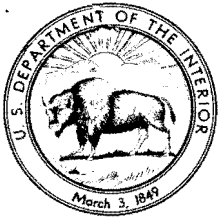
4. Should complement President Ford's strengths.
5. Should add to the Republican Party's long-term strength.

### Recommended Candidates:

	<u>Standing on Criteria</u>				
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Gov. Nelson Rockefeller	High	High	Medium	High	Low
Sen. Howard Baker	Medium	High	High	Medium	Med/High
Cong. John Rhodes	Medium	High	High	Medium	Medium
Amb. George Bush	Med/Low	Medium	Medium	Medium	Med/High

### Possible long-shot:

Gov. Dan Evans	Med/Low?	High	High?	High?	High?
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THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON

August 13, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

I have given a great deal of thought to your nomination of a Vice President.

There are many reasons for the selection of Nelson Rockefeller that I think are over-riding. I am sure he will be all out for you in 1976. His service now will result in an opportunity for a realistic selection process for the nomination of a Vice President by the Convention before the next election. At that time this process may be very important for the Party.

He has many advantages:

-- He would be totally capable of being President should it become necessary

-- He is proven in the domestic, international and executive fields

-- He would complement your personality and leadership as opposed to competing with it

-- He has been a consistent winner at the polls, having had millions of votes cast for him

-- He provides geographical and political balance as well as keen intuitive judgment.

A new Vice President in my judgment should not come from the Congress, Party leadership or the Cabinet.

These considerations have been reached after serious soul searching and I would be privileged to discuss this with you, if you desire.

Respectfully,

Rogers C. B. Morton

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

August 13, 1974

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The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.





THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20240

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The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 13, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DEAN BURCH *DB*  
SUBJECT: The Vice President

My purpose in this memorandum is not primarily to evaluate particular candidates but, rather, to lay out some considerations that might govern the choice.

THE ROLE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

The Vice President can and should be whatever the President wants him to be. He can be a symbol of principle and Party (e.g., Barry Goldwater); a functioning executive (e.g., Nelson Rockefeller charged with oversight of revenue-sharing); a handy-man who takes on the speeches, ceremonies, and even positions that the President doesn't care to handle (e.g., Nixon under Eisenhower, Humphrey under Johnson); a relative newcomer with a perceived long term political future (e.g., George Bush). These categories are not mutually exclusive, necessarily; but particular choices would represent particular emphases as to the Vice Presidential role.

PRESIDENTIAL CONSIDERATIONS

There are three basic considerations, which subsume factors of geography and ideology:

- (1) Should the Vice President be chosen specifically for the 1974-1976 period, with all options left open for '76 and thereafter?

(2) Should the Vice President be chosen with an eye to a running mate for 1976?

(3) Should the Vice President be chosen with a conscious consideration of Republican politics (and the Presidency) post-1980?

Depending on the President's decision as to the Vice Presidential role, near term, and particularly as to the political future, certain conclusions follow.

Virtually all the publicly-discussed candidates would qualify as running mates for 1976; all of them would probably accept the Vice Presidency without commitment as to the 1976 election. But only a few have a post-1980 political future.

My own choice would be a Vice President with a long term political future -- a potential candidate, at least, for the Presidency in his own right. On this assumption, many of the names on the consensus list would have to be crossed out because of age.

Still operating on this assumption, my personal choice is George Bush.



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20201

August 13, 1974

PERSONAL - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

I think that your Vice Presidential selection should be entirely supportive of your 1976 plans.

Either way, that is, if you have decided to run, which I very much hope is the case, or if you are not yet decided, your choice for Vice President should completely support your 1976 decision, and that support should be firmly secured in advance.

With this caveat in mind, I think either ex-Governor Nelson Rockefeller or Governor Ronald Reagan would be excellent choices.

They are both very popular and have been elected and re-elected by big margins. Governor Rockefeller is far more conservative than most people think, and Governor Reagan is a far better administrator than many give him credit for. He is also an extraordinarily good public speaker, and as loyal a party man as there is. He would be a tower of strength to your Administration on the speaking circuit, taking over the role you filled so well as Vice President, but cannot do now as President because of time and other factors. His gubernatorial record in California is exceptionally good--I think he has been one of our best Governors--as of course is the record of Governor Rockefeller.

Determined to be an  
Administrative Marking

By SD NARA, Date 6/10/15

Appointing either one would not lose us a State House. Generally, I do not believe we should lose a seat in Congress or a State House by this appointment if we can possibly avoid it.

Both Rockefeller and Reagan, of course, have enemies and opponents, but either would bring great strengths to you and the Nation.

I have long admired and respected Rogers Morton. He is so well known to you I do not have to add anything about his strengths and experience. He would be excellent.

Ex-Governor Scranton would be another excellent choice if he could be persuaded.

If you want an attractive, new young face with some State experience and a good record, Governor Christopher Bond of Missouri is a good possibility. However, I would think it doubtful if we could elect a GOP successor to him in Missouri.

Another suggestion not much spoken of, but with much strength, is Justice Potter Stewart of the Supreme Court. His record and integrity are unimpeachable.

Of course, you would have to satisfy yourself as to the basic personal loyalty of any appointee, but I firmly believe any of the above suggestions would be completely loyal to you, as indeed any person in that post would have to be.

To sum up, I would rate my recommendations as follows:

- Governors Reagan or Rockefeller -- very close for No. 1, but primarily because I worked with Governor Reagan closely for two years, I would say:  
Governor Reagan -- Number 1, and  
Governor Rockefeller -- Number 2.
- Rogers Morton -- No. 3
- Governor Bond -- No. 4
- Justice Potter Stewart -- No. 5.

  
Caspar W. Weinberger

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

August 13, 1974

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Al:

In response to the President's request for our suggestions concerning the Vice Presidential selection, I am enclosing herewith for his information an envelope, as directed, containing my suggestions for his consideration.

I would appreciate your delivering these to him.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "R. C. L.", written in a cursive style.

Secretary of Commerce

Enclosure

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

August 13, 1974

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I recommend your major considerations for the Vice Presidential candidate be age-building for the future, forward looking, proven executive and political ability, good press relations, removed from the Washington scene, a solid Republican, and if possible, a good fiscal record.

Based on this criteria my choices are (additional data attached):

1. Governor Robert D. Ray of Iowa
2. Senator William Brock
3. Ambassador George Bush

Respectfully yours,



Frederick B. Dent

Enclosures

## Governor Robert D. Ray of Iowa

Personal - Married, personally attractive, attractive wife and three daughters (8, 13 and 15). Trial lawyer and businessman with interests in several radio stations. He is absolutely clean in his political, business and personal life. Age 46.

Political - Three-term governor elected in 1968. Iowa's most popular governor winning all 99 counties in 1972 and only Republican Governor to run ahead of Nixon in 1972.

Prior to being governor, Ray was G.O.P. State Chairman, Chairman of G.O.P. State Chairmen.

Fiscal - As Governor in 1969, the State had \$4.2 million in its treasury and was spending more money than it was taking in. As of July 1, 1974, the surplus was \$300 million--highest ever. Ray has successfully led complete State government reorganization and has given Iowa tax reform and thereby lowering real property tax in Iowa and providing for the elimination of personal property tax. The standard income tax deduction has been doubled with sales tax removed from food and drugs.

Governors - Ray serves on the Executive Committee of the National Governors' Conference, has served as Chairman of the Mid-West Governors' Conference and on the Policy Committee of the Republican National Committee. Ray led a delegation of governors to Japan in 1972 and in 1974 visited the Republic of China.

Press Relations - He is creditable, believable and stable. He is extremely patient with the press and public. During legislative sessions he holds daily news conferences in his office. When the legislature is not in session, he holds three press conferences each week. He has great relations with the State's press.

Public Support - His present approval rate is 82 percent. Only 7 percent of the people say they like him because he is a Republican. Most people approve of him because of trust, the way he conducts the State government and his stands on issues. He has broad based support very similar to that for Eisenhower in 1952.



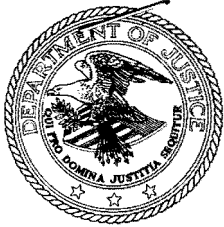
Senator William Brock

- Sound convictions and philosophy.
- Fine family and character.
- Fiscally sound - sponsored Budget Reform Act.
- Great political organizer of young people.
- Could be succeeded by Governor Winfield Dunn whose term is expiring.
- Border state representation.

Ambassador George Bush

- Solid integrity; fine family.
- Some foreign affairs experience.
- House legislative experience.
- National recognition.
- Party loyalist in trying times.

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.



Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D. C. 20530

August 13, 1974

*President  
opened  
8/13*

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to your request, I respectfully submit for your consideration the names of the following individuals as potential nominees for the Vice Presidency of the United States:

The Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller,  
Former Governor of New York

The Honorable Donald Rumsfeld,  
Ambassador to NATO

The Honorable William W. Scranton,  
Former Governor of Pennsylvania

I believe that any one of the aforementioned individuals would bring to your Administration those qualities and talents which would be of great assistance to you.

Very truly yours,

William B. Saxbe  
Attorney General

Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D. C. 20530

Postage and Fees Paid  
U. S. Department of Justice

*Pres  
opened  
8/13*

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE  
WASHINGTON

August 14, 1974

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VICE PRESIDENT:

Barry Goldwater

Ronald Reagan

Nelson Rockefeller

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE  
WASHINGTON

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VICE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

✓ —


THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON

14 August 1974

FOR THE PRESIDENT

Enclosed are my recommendations for Vice President.

If you should wish, I am ready to discuss the reasoning behind the suggestions.

  
*J. J. [Signature]*

Enclosure

- 
1. Elliot L. Richardson
  2. Senator John Tower
  3. Governor Daniel J. Evans

**THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

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OFFICIAL BUSINESS

THE PRESIDENT

PERSONAL

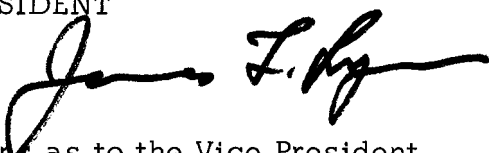




THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20410  
EYES ONLY

August 14, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: James T. Lynn   
Subject: Recommendations as to the Vice President

A. A partial listing of considerations:

1. Above all, the appointment must be confirmable by the Senate and the House promptly and without seriously damaging evidence, and must have the qualities to be a good President by succession. I won't attempt to repeat the qualities that lie behind these "musts".
2. Must be a person in whom the President can have complete confidence and who has the abilities and willingness to perform the roles the President has in mind. This "must" points out a limitation on any recommendation -- only the President really knows what he wants the Vice President's role to be. For example, mostly "spokesman" or more substantive responsibilities? (I hope it will be more like "Secretary and Under Secretary" than we have seen before. For the first time in my lifetime the Republicans have an opportunity with a minimum of intraparty bickering to show the country we can govern well over an extended period of time.)
3. Must have a good reputation with, and the ability to work with, the Congress and media.

4. Must be a Republican.
5. Must be someone not perceived as having attitudes "against" any particular sector of our people. I prefer stating it this way rather than "conservative" or "liberal".
6. Preferably -- and unless someone is clearly better qualified under the "must" items above, should -- be someone who is known nationally and has run successfully for public office (particularly in his or her last election, whether or not still in office).
7. Preferably, the Vice President should not be someone who is presently among the known contenders for Presidential nomination in 1980. First, six years in advance is too early to be singling out a "chosen" successor. 1976 would be a better time and give more opportunity for the Vice Presidential field to develop. Second, if the Vice President chosen now turned out to be the best Presidential candidate, "hard decisions" that the President will probably have to make in the years immediately ahead could hurt his Vice President's chances for the Presidency later. Third, such "hard decisions" are more difficult for the Vice President to accept and fully support if he has the 1980 elections foremost in mind. I admit, however, that this is a hard call to make.
8. Preferably, for obvious reasons the Vice President should not presently be in the House of Representatives.

B. Choices.

1. First Choice.

The only person I have been able to think of that meets all of the above criteria is Nelson Rockefeller. My personal concern with this selection is whether he can properly adjust to being a "No. 2". If the appointment were made, it would be useful if he accepted it on the basis of a two-year appointment.

2. Second and Third Choices.

I know of no other choices that satisfy point 7 above -- that the person not be a presently obvious contender for the 1980 Presidential nomination. Casting aside that point -- which is hard to do in my opinion -- my next choice, in order, would be Senator Howard Baker or Governor Dan Evans.