

The original documents are located in Box 20, folder “Vice President - Other Suggestions (1)” of the Robert T. Hartmann Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Summary of Suggestions by Others:

	<u>FIRST</u>	<u>SECOND</u>	<u>THIRD</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Bush ✓	2		1	3
Brooke ✓	1		1	2
Rockefeller ✓		2		2
				(7)



① These
addressed
to Mr. Hartmann

Others

First

Second

Third

C. Gregg Petersmeyer ①
(Hudson Institute)

Bush

—

—

John J. Flynn ①
Northern Westchester
Conservative Party Club
Pound Ridge, N.Y.

(no recommendation - just advising
against Rockefeller.)

Dorothy Height * ②
Nat'l President
Nat'l Council of Negro
Women (Wash. D.C.)

Bush

Rockefeller

Brooke

Robert L. Wright ②
Chairman
Southeast Black
Republican Council
Columbus, Ga.

Brooke

Rockefeller

Bush

David H. Rogers
Mayor, Spokane, Wash.

Gov. Evans



(note to RTH)

New V. P.

The White House
Washington

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4043244847 TDMT COLUMBUS GA 35 08-14 0854A EDT

PMS BOB HARTMAN

WHITEHOUSE DC

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT TO PRESIDENT GERALD FORD: DEAR
MR PRESIDENT I WOULD LIKE TO SUBMIT FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION THE
NAMES OF SENATOR ED BROOK NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND GEORGE BUSH
FOR VICE PRESIDENT SINCERELY

COUNSELMAN ROBERT L WRIGHT CHAIRMAN SOUTHEAST BLACK REPUBLICAN
COUNSEL

NNNN



The White House
Washington

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(note to Rth)

new v P

The White House
Washington

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2022232363 TDMT WASHINGTON DC 122 08-14 0126P EDT

PMS COUNCILMAN ROBERT HARTMAN

WHITE HOUSE DC

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT TO PRESIDENT FORD WE DEEPLY
APPRECIATE THE NEW INSPIRATION WHICH YOUR LEADERSHIP IS BRINGING
TO OUR NATION. NOW WE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
WANT YOU TO KNOW OF OUR INTERESTS AS YOU ARE CONSIDERING THE
SELECTION OF A PERSON TO SERVE WITH YOU AS VICE PRESIDENT WE
ARE GREATLY HEARTENED BY YOUR RECOGNITION OF OUR NATIONS NEED
TO STRENGTHEN CONFIDENCE IN ONE ANOTHER AND TO ACHIEVE A QUALITY
OF FEELING THAT CONTRIBUTES TO A TRUE RECONCILIATION AS A BASIS
FOR MOVING AHEAD ON OUR NATIONAL GOALS. AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE
DEMONSTRATED SENSITIVITY TO THE CRITICAL PLIGHT OF OUR CITIES
AND THE CONCERN OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES THE FOLLOWING



NNNN

The White House
Washington

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2022232363 TDMT WASHINGTON DC 122 08-14 0126P EDT

PMS COUNCILMAN ROBERT HARTMAN

WHITE HOUSE DC

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HAVE OUR HIGHEST RECOMMENDATION:

GEORGE BUSH, NELSON ROCKEFELLER, EDWARD BROOKE, DAN EVANS

DOROTHY I HEIGHT NATIONAL PRESIDENT NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO

WOMEN

NNNN

FORM 0805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U. S. A.

(note to RTH)

New V.P.

Peters have.

Pound Ridge N.Y. 10576.

Dear Mr. Hartman.

May I urge you to be especially cautious of any movement to select Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President. We conservatives in New York State have opposed him for 12 years and know him well. Any alliance he is a part of immediately becomes a vehicle for his own ambition.

Please consult with the Chairman of the N.Y. State Conservative Party before any decision on Mr. Rockefeller.

Sincerely yours.

John J. [Signature]
Chairman, Western Westchester
Conservative Party Club.



JOHN J. FLYNN, P. E.
CONSULTING ENGINEERS
39-14 104th STREET
QUEENS, N. Y. 11368



Mr Robert T. Hartmann
Presidential Staff
White House
Washington D.C.



(note to RTH)

New T.P



QUAKER RIDGE ROAD, CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N.Y. 10520 • TELEX 137343 • 914 RO 2-0700

13 August 1974

Mr. Robert T. Hartman
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hartman:

The last two years have been hard on politics and government. Inevitably this affects attitudes of young people. Therefore, in my opinion the national interest would be served by a Vice President highly attractive to young Americans. For this, among many reasons, my overwhelming hope is the nomination of George Bush.

Yours sincerely,


C. Gregg Petersmeyer
Professional Staff

CGP:jfs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Gwen Anderson



Subject: Candidate for Vice President

Tom Evans, former Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee and currently National Committeeman for Delaware, came to town today hoping to have a five minute appointment with you. He has indicated that he wishes to discuss the selection of the Vice Presidential candidate.

Would you like to call him? His telephone numbers are 302-656-0880 (evening, home) and 302-656-4417 (day, office).

GA:sh

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT

15 Aug. 74

Dear Mr. President,

All Americans are most grateful for the tremendous leadership you are giving our country. You have set precisely the proper tone which is very much needed at this time.

I would however like to offer some constructive comments relative to the Vice-Presidency which you might wish to consider.

1. The method used to determine the National Committee members preferences did not lend itself to an objective assessment.



2- No-one should campaign for the position and I offer these thoughts only because of an active campaign that is being conducted on George Bush's behalf which I do not believe properly reflects Republican opinion.

3- Certainly one of the major issues confronting our country at this time is the economy and the related problems of inflation, unemployment, and high interest rates. I respectfully suggest that you need someone who can help substantively in this area.



George is great at P.R.
but he is not as good
in substantive matters.
This opinion can be confirmed
by individuals who held
key positions at the
National Committee.

4. As co-chairman and
operating head of the RNC
during 1971 + 1972 I was
the individual on the point
with key members of the
Committee to Re-elect the
President and some of the
White Hse. staff. We disagreed
often and in some instances
refused to do things that I
felt were unethical or unfair.

In early December of 1972
I spoke to the Republican
Governor at Phoenix in
executive session and said
almost to the word what
you subsequently said
about CREP in March of
1974 speaking to the Midwest
Republican Conference.

George Bush could have and
should have used these facts
and others to widen the
gap between the Republican
Party and Watergate.

5. There is merit in
appointing someone who
will not run for the Presidency
in future years although
this is open to debate.



I respectfully suggest that
Governor Nelson Rockefeller
is the very best man you
could select as Vice-President.

You are very much in
our prayers and whatever
your decision you can be
sure of my unwavering
loyalty and support.

Highest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Tom

(Thomas B. Evans, Jr.
Rep. Natl. Committee -
Delaware)



15 August 1974

Dear Mr. President:

All Americans are most grateful for the tremendous leadership you are giving our country. You have set precisely the proper tone which is very much needed at this time.

I would, however, like to offer some constructive comments relative to the Vice Presidency which you might wish to consider.

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4. As co-chairman and operating head of the RNC during 1971 and 1972, I was the individual on the point with key members of the Committee to Re-elect the President and some of the White House Staff. We disagreed often and in some instances refused to do things that I felt were unethical or unfair. In early December of 1972 I spoke to the Republican Governors at Phoenix in executive session and said almost to the word what you subsequently said about CREP in March of 1974 speaking to the Midwest

Republican Conference. George Bush could have and should have used these facts and others to widen the gap between the Republican Party and Watergate.

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I respectfully suggest that Governor Nelson Rockefeller is the very best man you could select as Vice President.

You are very much in our prayers and whatever your decision you can be sure of my unswerving loyalty and support.

Highest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Thomas B. Evans, Jr.
Republican National
Committeeman - Delaware
274 Delaware Trust Bldg.
Wilmington, Del. 19801
302 656-4417

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 16, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

AL HAIG

FROM:

JERRY H. JONES

Attached is a letter from Tom Evans, former Co-Chairman of the RNC. This is in essence an anti-Bush effort based on the fact that as many as 19 of the National Committeemen whom Bush polled for Vice Presidential candidates felt that they had to support his candidacy and he (Bush) would be seeing their recommendations.

Evans has requested a meeting with the President to discuss this and is a Rockefeller supporter. I have had the letter typed for easy reading and it is attached at Tab A.

for Phil Hartman

15 August 1974

Dear Mr. President:

All Americans are most grateful for the tremendous leadership you are giving our country. You have set precisely the proper tone which is very much needed at this time.

I would, however, like to offer some constructive comments relative to the Vice Presidency which you might wish to consider.

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You are very much in our prayers and whatever your decision you can be sure of my unswerving loyalty and support.

Highest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Thomas B. Evans, Jr.
Republican National
Committeeman - Delaware
274 Delaware Trust Bldg.
Wilmington, Del. 19801
302 656-4417

From
Mr. Marsh

2. Britt Gordon, Dober Corporation, New York.

Wishes to pass on a consensus from his business community regarding the Vice Presidency - they would be very much concerned if Rockefeller was appointed and would much prefer Bush. Gordon's personal choice would be Laird and feels that his background experience, etc., would make a good team with President Ford.

no action



JAMES HAFFORD HIGGS
7226 Forsyth boul.,
St. Louis, Mo., 63105
August 10, 1974.

Dear Bob:

Just a note to urge you to get your daily rest. The world is going on regardless and I don't want to lose another of my old friends to fatigue and a heart attack. I have already lost too many by normal attrition.

Heard on the news , the President had requested potential V-P names from members of the Congress. Here's one for free from one citizen..... Melvin Laird.

Reason: Laird will pull together all but the fringes.

His reputation instills confidence and
represents stability.

Remember, mon Capitaine, take care of yourself. Say hello to Joann for me and give my best to Roberta.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jim".

Robert T. Hartmann,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

*Suggesting Gov. Day of Iowa
for Vice President*

LAW OFFICES

HERRICK, LANGDON, BELIN & HARRIS

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DES MOINES, IOWA 50309

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RICHARD G. LANGDON
ROBERT H. HELMICK
PHILIP C. LOVRIEN
JOEL D. NOVAK
JEFFREY E. LAMSON
EDGAR H. BITTLE
FREDERICK C. BLACKLEDGE

DWIGHT BROOKE
COUNSEL

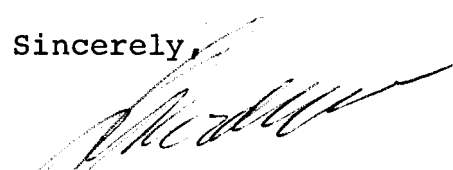
August 10, 1974

Mr. Robert Hartmann
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hartmann:

I am enclosing a copy of my August 10 correspondence to President Ford. I understand that you played an important part in the drafting of his August 9 address, and if this is accurate, I want to express my congratulations to you.

Sincerely,


David W. Belin

DWB:cs
Encl.

LAW OFFICES

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HERRICK, LANGDON, BELIN & HARRIS

300 HOME FEDERAL BUILDING
DES MOINES, IOWA 50309

AREA CODE 515
TELEPHONE
288-7071

August 10, 1974

DWIGHT BROOKE
COUNSEL

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

This letter has a three-fold purpose:

First, Connie and I want to congratulate you on becoming our President. We know you will do an outstanding job!

Second, as I have done in the past, I thought I should give you some preliminary observations concerning your first speech immediately after being sworn in as President. I can describe it in one simple word: SUPERB!

And finally, I thought you would be interested in my personal comments concerning the name of one person whom the national media have mentioned as being possibly considered for the important office of Vice President. This is Governor Robert D. Ray of Iowa, whom I know both as a man and as an effective political leader.

One of the reasons that I believe Bob Ray merits strong consideration is that he has many of the same qualities that you have: Absolute integrity, extremely fine relations with the working press, the respect of his peers, a tremendous following among the voters, and last, but surely not the least, a very lovely wife and family.

Equally important, I believe he has a number of very important assets that are not shared by the other people who have been mentioned in the national news media as being under possible consideration. Let me state just a few of these:

Bob Ray is relatively young--only 45 years old. He is wholly untarnished from any connection with the Nixon administration. He has a tremendous broad base of support. He has won three elections in a row for Governor and in the 1972 election, he not only ran ahead of President Nixon in Iowa but he carried every single one of our 99 counties.

In the most recent state-wide poll of approval ratings, Bob Ray showed an 82% rating--surely this is not shared by very many Republicans prior to August 9.

Bob Ray is pragmatic and program oriented. In part, this stems from his background as an Iowa State Republican Chairman and a former National Chairman of the State Chairmen.

Philosophically, Bob Ray can be categorized as middle of the road. From your personal standpoint as well as the standpoint of the GOP, I believe that philosophically the best possible choice would be someone in the middle of the road to the right of Senator Percy and to the left of Governor Reagan. I also believe there would be many advantages in having the choice made from among the nation's governors.

Bob Ray is "Mr. Clean" in Iowa Republican politics. He is very highly respected among the other governors and is presently serving on the Executive Committee of the National Governors Conference as well as the Executive Committee of the Republican Governors Conference. He is also on the Executive Policy Committee of the Republican National Committee.

And above all, Bob Ray is extremely hard working and capable and has tremendous ability to work with others as well as an extremely fine rapport with the press. For instance, I think that you could call John Lindsey of Newsweek, Godfrey Sperling, Jr., of the Christian Science Monitor, Loye Miller of the Knight newspapers, Tom Petit of NBC, or Greg Wyrzinsky of the Chicago Bureau of Time, and you would find that they all have a great deal of respect for Governor Ray. From our conversations in the past, including my service with you on the Warren Commission, I know how sensitive you are to the import of the position of Vice President. There is no doubt in my mind that Governor Ray has the ability and personal qualities which are so important for this vital office.

To be sure, some of the other people whose names have been mentioned share many of these qualities.

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford

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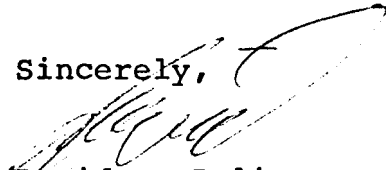
August 10, 1974

But if you want the rare combination of a relatively young, highly successful, pragmatic political leader who works to get things done by bringing people together, who would have an extremely broad base of support within the Republican Party and within the total national electorate, who would be a tremendous team player working in your administration, I cannot think of any person who would fit the bill as well as Governor Robert D. Ray.

I will be calling Mrs. Leonard on Monday or Tuesday to try and arrange for an appointment to visit with either you or someone on your staff concerning Governor Ray, and be available to answer any questions that might arise.

Again, our congratulations and best wishes and prayers for your success.

Sincerely,



David W. Belin

DWB:cs

c.c. Robert Hartmann
c.c. William Seidman
c.c. Philip Buchen

V. P. Reem.

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER & ASSOC., INC.

1627 "K" STREET, N.W., SUITE 514-518 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • PHONE 202 347-7762

MESSAGE

TO Mr. Bob Hartmann

Counselor-to-the-President

The White House

Washington, D. C. 20500


DATE August 15, 1974

Dear Bob:

The enclosed is for your information.

Encl:

Sincerely,

BY  Art Fletcher**REPLY**

DATE

SIGNED

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER, PRESIDENT
Arthur A. Fletcher & Associates, Inc.
1627 K Street, N. W., Suite 518
Washington, D. C. 20006
(202) 347-7762

August 12, 1974

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

First let me say congratulations. My prayers are with you and good luck as our new commander-in-chief.

This letter also comes to say that I am urging that you appoint Hon. George Bush, as your Vice-President. His experience, technical and professional capabilities are a matter of record that I am sure you are familiar with. Therefore, I shall not attempt to reconstruct or elaborate here.

However, I would like to point out that I have worked with Mr. Bush, in two capacities. I served as Alternate-Delegate to the United Nations, when he was the American Ambassador to that body. During the past eighteen (18) months I have served as Minority Affairs Consultant to him, in his capacity as Chairman of the Republican National Committee. In both instances I have found him to be thoughtful, thorough, able, loyal and dedicated to fulfilling his assignments. In addition, I have found him to be quite sensitive to the perplexing domestic and world human problems. I know that he is eager to find and implement workable solutions to these problems.

Because I have observed him in action when dealing with minority group citizens of this country, and third world people throughout the world, I am convinced that he will be effective in helping to reconcile our differences and bring the nation together again.

Respectfully,

Arthur A. Fletcher

AAF/bah



August 13, 1974

Robert T. Hartmann
The White House

Dear Bob:

I suppose it may be a bit presumptuous to interpose my thoughts at this juncture, but as an old Stanford student, an ex-University professor, a newspaperman and television commentator, the former Administrative Assistant to Ted Stevens in the Senate, a political appointee in the Nixon Administration for three years and still serving in the Ford Administration, and a self-professed political pundit, I thought I would pass along the following thoughts to you for any use to which you might put them. Please excuse the typing as it is my own, but I hope this paper lays out options from what I think are necessary premises and does not show excessive personal bias towards any individuals.

It is my hope that the Ford Administration will be decisive, forthright, and upstanding, and that this image will get across to the public-at-large. The President was a breath of fresh air in his first address Before the Congress.

One of the first significant decisions will be the selection of the Vice President. The President has listened thus far to a number of persons and is seeking guidance, but it should not appear that he is being dictated to by any factions in his choice. The Vice President must be the President's choice. But the President seems to be covering all the bases thus far.

For what it is worth, however, I believe there is a logical progression from which hopefully a "good" choice can be made.

Firstly, The President's own feelings must be sorted out. Whether or not he will run in 1976 is a prime consideration.

Even though President Ford said in months past that he would not be a candidate for anything in 1976, it is widely assumed that he will now run for nomination in his own right in 1976. However, if he consciously says no for 1976, then his decision must reflect two thoughts: (1) he has a desire to pick a Vice President he would like to see start a quest for the Presidential nomination with a leg up on the rest of the field; if he has no intentions of running in 1976, then his selection of a Rockefeller, a Percy, or a Reagan or anyone else means that the person selected will have the inside track for the GOP nomination in 1976; (2) he chooses a person who will not run for the GOP nomination in 1976; this may mean a Goldwater or someone else who makes it clear he will not run in 1976; however, a conscious decision along this line could well mean a period of simply marking time, and it could create as much havoc as previous governments of national unity, for example, J. Ramsay MacDonald's coalition during the British depression of the 1930's.

Moving on then by assuming that President Ford is running in 1976, or at least that if he does not run then that option will remain mute for the moment. In any case, the President presumably wants to select the best man he can, a man whom he believes could become President. Before choosing that "best" man, the President must figure out who is "best" for him and not for other people, unless, of course, he plans a role for the Vice President that was assigned to that person in the days of Garret Hobart or Thomas Marshall or Alexander Throttlebottom.

So (1) What is the role President Ford envisions for his Vice President? If he picks the man first then the job must be tailored to the man. I think the President should carefully consider what he expects his Vice President to do. Does he want his Vice President to be



(1) a speechmaker and traveller, domestic and/or international (if so, then a good speaker with a good TV image is a necessity — such as a Reagan or a Rumsfeld or a Percy); (2) an executive, perhaps playing an administrative role in domestic and/or foreign policy, for example serving as head of a strong Domestic Council (probably a Governor or former Governor has better credentials here than ~~many~~ Senators or Congressmen — such as a Rockefeller or an Ogilvie or Evans); (3) extensive Hill work, meaning that in addition to presiding over the Senate, the Vice President would carry the brunt of day-to-day Hill contact (this is a sensitive area, witness Lyndon Johnson's Vice Presidency, but a flexible and personable Hill product with experience in Congress the pre-requisite — such as a Morton or a Rhodes); (4) an alter-ego to the President, that is, a Vice President who would almost serve as a policy advisor or an administrative assistant or as a whip (this means a close friend, such as Finch was to Nixon, maybe a Laird or a Quie or a Byrnes).

In other words, mapping out what the President has in mind for the Vice President may make his choice easier. Choosing a Rockefeller or a Goldwater, who are vastly different personalities with vastly different interests, means choosing a person who may or may not fit what President Ford would like to ^{see} the Office of the Vice President undertake. There are differences between a Bush and a Laird, a Scranton and a Rumsfeld, etc., cerebrally, personally, philosophically, and in most ways. President Ford knows most of the contenders; do they fit his conception of what the Vice President should be?

There are a number of random criteria that must weigh in any selection.

(1) Choosing a sitting Governor or Senator or Congressman could mean the loss of a GOP position (either now if the successor is a Democrat or through the elections in November). This rules out many candidates, save for Laird, Rockefeller, Rumsfeld, Morton, Bush, and a few others, but it is a factor, albeit small.

(2) Choosing a Congressman means the two at the top have similar slants; a Senator or a Governor or an ex-..... would mean more balance. This consideration mitigates against House members, many of whom are not widely known anyway.

(3) Strong political backing from the Party is a necessity; most contenders, whether conservative, moderate, or liberal, have strength in the Party.

Exceptions would be a Richardson or a Goodell/ a Weicker or a Percy, and, of course, any Democrat. A Democrat could tear asunder the Party. Remember Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans. Appointing a Martha Griffiths or a Jack Marsh to a post in the Administration is a lot different than appointing them Vice President. In fact, it is desirable to get a few visible Democrats in the Administration. Some candidates would be anathema to large segments of the Party; their selection should be seen^{as} occasioning excessive and unneeded intra-party squabbling. There are so many who would not upset many Party people, why select someone who would do so?

A Richardson or a Goodell or a Weicker or a Percy would spell trouble not only with conservatives but the strong Nixon element in the Party. A Reagan or a Tower or even a Buckley could cause convulsions, on the^{other} hand, from the left of the Party.

Rockefeller and Goldwater are both probably unique in that their images seem to have mellowed since 1964 and they could probably be accepted with excessive to-do, although a Helms or the Ripon Society respectively might gripe loudly.

There can be little doubt that a Bush or a Morton or a Taft or a Baker or a Rumsfeld or a Scranton would be oil on any troubled waters. None of them fan any flames. Why, when these men are available, stir up unnecessary difficulties?

(4) Geographical balance must play a part. The President is from the Mid-West, thereby mitigating against anyone from the same proximity, although national communications now diminishes that consideration. If the strategy for 1976 is to keep the South, then pick a border state person with moderate views, or at least someone who would have scant appeal to the Republican constituency in the South. If one thinks about capturing the big states or the North-East, short-circuit the Democrats with an Eastern or Western Liberal. Michigan people (a Griffin or a Milliken) unfortunately are out in any case. An urban person may be more significant in deliberations, for the President is not seen as a "Big City" type. This may give weight to someone like a Rockefeller.

(5) Ideological balance is at least something that political commentators will discuss. Generally, President Ford probably represents and is seen as the bedrock of the Republican Party. Percy certainly represents the left of the Party, as does Javits, Case, Hatfield, McCloskey, and Mathias. Rockefeller, Dan Evans, Bond, Packwood, Laird, and Stevens probably represent the slightly left of center in the Party. The broad center can include many, certainly some of those already mentioned, and probably most slightly right of center, such as Hugh Scott, Griffin, Cook, Dole, Bush, Baker, and, of course, the President himself. Goldwater, Reagan, Tower, Dominick, William Scott, Helms, Buckley, and Bob Mathias are to the right.

The preceding is, naturally, very general, but I think it represents a certain public image. The President certainly needs to weigh ideological compatibility as well as ideological balance.

(6) Ethnic, perhaps religious, balance is an area that will be scrutinized by observers. Certain Republicans (Volpe-Italian; Javits-Jewish; Hatfield-Baptist) are strongly identified with certain groups, although most of the leading contenders are WASP. Some of them, such as a Rockefeller, are more strongly identified with minorities than others. The appointment of a Black (and there seems to be only one candidate of consequence within the Republican Party — Ed Brooke) could be opportune in that the person would be appointed (confirmation would raise a real stink) and could serve for two years, showing that, if he did well, a Black could perform creditably. This may be historic, could be couched in terms of bringing all the people together (liberal and conservative, Black and White). However, Brooke is so liberal (and he would have to respond to his calling — he could be in a far worse position than a Jackie Robinson — thereby causing dissension with conservatives) that he could be nothing but trouble. Brooke's blackness could be as much trouble as Eagleton's stability. Brooke is a liberal, and on that basis alone, would be devastating to conservatives. A Percy or a Hatfield are unacceptable to conservatives, and they do not have the color to overcome.

(7) Female representation is always a thought now, but the drawbacks at least balance off the assets. Anne Armstrong certainly should rate strong consideration. But the appointment of any woman could cause tremendous problems.

(8) The President should pick a man he knows. This familiarity and friendship could mean a hand-in-glove relationship between the President and the Vice President. Some contenders are only marginally acquainted with the President

(Governors such as a Ray or a Holshouser, Senators such as a Brooke or a Packwood), and they may bring unforeseen personal problems to the relationship. President Ford should be fully confident of his #2. He knows enough of the top contenders not to have to pick a person he only vaguely knows and hears is good.

(9) The initial shock of an announcement means a great deal. That old first impression is still important, and everybody has their hopes riding on one or another candidates. An unknown, such as a Quie or a Stafford or a Ray (who?) may not be good, unless they could cut a good TV figure and are as easy to pin the term "integrity" on as President Ford. We do not need another Agnew — a person the Presidential nominee only vaguely knew. President Nixon (or George McGovern) got into subsequent difficulties, because he ~~he~~ did not know his man, and many initial impressions of his #2 were negative.

What does it all add up to??!!??

Certain liberals (Chuck Percy, Elliot Richardson, Charles Goodell, Lowell Weicker, Mark Hatfield, Ed Brooke, Dick Schweiker, Tom McCall, Francis Sargent, Bill Steiger, Jake Javits, John Anderson, and Bob Packwood) are either too liberal, too anti-Nixon, or too much the maverick, and they would cause undue dissent within the hard core of the Republican Party. All of these men are too liberal, too undependable, and not good enough team players to suit many in the center and the right of the Party.

Considered too conservative (Ronald Reagan, Jim Buckley, John Tower, Jack Kemp, Bob Mathias, Bill Scherle, Dave Treen, John Ashbrook, Ben Blackburn, and Charles Wiggins) are people who would cause massive problems with the left of the Republican Party, and many independents and Democrats likely to vote Republican given the right candidate.

All of the preceding names seem to have such drawbacks that, when there are others who do not offend large segments of the Party, why select these people??? The Republican Party is fortunate in having a great wealth of talent, and it is from the next group that can be seen as having mostly positive affects with few negatives.

What do we have left??? The great broad center and some in the left or the right who are less offensive. The list follows from left to right:

Nelson Rockefeller (generally regarded as an outstanding executive, a household name)

Mel Laird (respected, tough, able)

Dan Evans (well thought of)

Bill Scranton (pleasant, popular)

Robert Taft, Jr. (sincere and well known)

Robert Stafford (dedicated, serious)

Robert Ray (popular, able)

Linwood Holton (Southerner, liberal, good image)

John Love (ruggedly handsome)

Marlow Cook (tough)

George Bush (affable, personable, from the South-West)

Rogers Morton (personable, popular, and flexible)

Dick Ogilvie (respected executive, dedicated)

Winfield Dunn (popular border state governor)

Bob Dole (smooth, articulate, witty)

Barber Conable (sharp, studious)

Howard Baker (Watergate celebrity, good press)

Al Quie (earnest, dedicated)

Jim Holshouser (Southern moderate)

John Byrnes (knowledgeable, articulate)

William Brock (smooth)

Barry Goldwater (the Conservative deity, Mr. Integrity)

Name identity goes to Rockefeller and Goldwater; they are household names. Taft and Baker are well known. Dole, Bush, Scranton, and Laird are recognizable. The rest are nationally less recognized. Some are very obscure figures to the general public or even to the press. Al Quie or Barber Conable or John Byrnes are widely respected in the House or elsewhere with those who know, but their names are not household words. There are a number of people from outside Washington on this list. Does the President know a Holshouser or a Ray that well?

The choice, given all the previous premises, seems to come down to the two heavyweights first, and they are "heavy" for different reasons: Rockefeller and Goldwater. They seem to possess some similar assets and problems. Goldwater is a problem to some liberals; Rockefeller to some conservatives. But since Ford is in the middle, surely his Vice President should reach out toward the Independents and the Democrats. Rockefeller does that in the North-East, Goldwater in the South. There are great arguments about appeal, but a selection of one of these two men indicates where President Ford figures he is weakest and needs to appeal. Unless the President is inclined to toss away the legislative record he has created and what he stood for and against his adult life, which is moderate Republican, then he should have a slightly more liberal BUT compatible Vice President — or someone of the same general ilk as he is. No one has yet accused Ford of being a Commie. Ford is conservative in the view of most people. He should go slightly left. Where are conservatives going to go if he disappoints them in his selection of a Vice President, unless he names a totally unacceptable liberal. Conservatives CANNOT vote for a Kennedy or a Mondale or a McGovern; a Jackson or a Bentsen could be threats, but they would have trouble holding onto their liberals.

My own purely political logic seems to indicate Rockefeller, but he may be too hot an item. He certainly would be the vigorous, dynamic choice that many urban types could applaud, while the President salves the heartland of the nation, north and south. Rockefeller was a capable state executive, acknowledged to be a great governor. His choice would indicate that Ford is a strong man willing to choose and work with a strong man. Goldwater, however, is the respected Grand Old Man for conservatives; his integrity and his calling them as he sees them are hallmarks for many Republicans. His selection would be greeted by the guts of the Party as a great turnabout on 1964's results. He would not be unduly castigated by the liberal press, but he certainly would put a more conservative bent on the Ford Administration. He is a speechmaker and not an administrator; his role would necessarily be different than a Rockefeller. It depends on what President Ford is looking for in his Vice President on a day-to-day basis.

If both Rockefeller and Goldwater are too hot to handle, then the next best candidates are appealing because none of them are as liberal as Rockefeller or as conservative as Goldwater or as antagonistic to many elements of the Party. Besides, Rockefeller may be more valuable as Secretary of Defense or Secretary of HEW, while Goldwater may be more valuable in the Senate as the Conservative Conscience.

The next five men are all well known to the President. None have any particularly overwhelming drawbacks. All are moderate, slightly left or right of center. None would alienate many people, particularly the Nixonites or most GOP liberals or GOP conservatives.

- Bob Taft, Jr. — famous name, solid BUT a little dull, not glamorous, from the Mid-West, and a sitting Senator with a Democratic Governor.
- Bill Scranton — popular Pennsylvania Governor in his time, universally respected as a decent guy BUT a little diffident, has a reputation as being indecisive at times, and out of the limelight for years.
- Don Rumsfeld — telegenic, articulate BUT from the Mid-West, a reputation of being slightly arrogant, and not too well known.
- Howard Baker — border state moderate with a well known and positive image BUT too short and some pro-Nixonites may be a little peeved at him.
- George Bush — telegenic and personable, from the South-West with an Eastern heritage BUT identified with the Party organization, accused of a lack of profundity, and seems to be everybody's second or third choice, which may indicate a lack of real enthusiasm for him.

This is very much a capsule version (not emphasizing the Bush or Rummy experience in foreign affairs, the Taft orientation to domestic social ills, the Bush background in oil, their personalities, etc.), but I think it does indicate that these men are possessing many pluses, and you really have to search to find many negatives, and the negatives are only in a few minds. I would think there is no need to move beyond these five. One of them can certainly fit the bill. However, Mel Laird is such a shrewd, respected figure that he might warrant serious consideration; his A-Bomb head though is not a great public image as cartoonists would continue to have a field day. Laird might better serve as the head of a strong Domestic Council or the Secretary of HEW. Rogers Morton too is a thought; he is friendly, popular, and flexible, but his health problems are a negative.

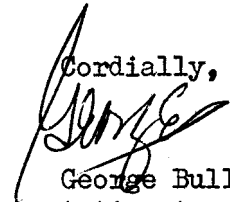
Why go further?!? The remaining viable people, particularly the Governors or ex-..... (Dunn, Evans, Ray, Ogilvie, Holshouser, Holton, and Love), President Ford knows less well, and the Senators (Brock, Stafford, Cook, and Dole) have various drawbacks putting them behind Senators Taft and Baker. Congressmen Conable, Quie, and Byrnes (the latter two from the Mid-West) are unknowns.

So why go beyond such talent as the first six or seven??? You have liberals and conservatives, as well as moderates. Surely one of them can be the "best" one. President Ford knows all of them well.

The logic-building en-route to reaching a major decision is sometimes easy, although it can be criticized; all one has to do is to lay out the options, from a variety of viewpoints. I have not been that successful in being thorough for ~~need~~ of brevity. Nevertheless, the final selection in any case is subjective. That should be up to the man who has to live most with the choice. That is why I think any one of the eight (Rockefeller, Goldwater, Taft, Scranton, Rumsfeld, Baker, Bush, and Laird) would be an acceptable choice to most Republicans — and Democrats across the country. It would be presumptuous of me to rank these eight, but I hope that I have laid out a case, albeit brief, for the selection of one of the preceding eight individuals. I have confidence that President Ford will select the "best" man, because it is going to be his "best" man and no one else — except the American people. All of the preceding eight would be acceptable would be acc acceptable to most of the American people, for one or ^{more} reasons.

Others have seen this write-up, but I hope that you will see some use in it for yourself to use in any way you see fit. The best wishes to you in your new responsibilities.

Cordially,



George Bullock
Acting Associate Director
Office of Program Review
Office of Economic
Opportunity.

August 14, 1974

President of the United States
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

This letter comes to you with our interest in the selection of the Vice President of the United States.

That individual should be an effective reconciliation agent, capable of helping you put the nation together. The following individuals have demonstrated their sensitivity in minority people's problems. They have apparently developed to a functional level of business capacity for taking care of the people they represent with respect to all Americans.

Therefore we recommend that you select one of the following:

Honorable George Bush
Honorable Nelson Rockefeller
Honorable Edward Brooke
Honorable Daniel Evans

Sincerely,

Forest Hamilton
Roham Industries, Inc.

FH/jl

cc: Honorable Hugh Scott
Honorable Edward Brooke
Honorable Bob Hartman
Honorable Arthur Fletcher

