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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, AUGUST 8, 1976

: HOLD FOR RELEASE :
: 12:00 PM SUNDAY :

GUEST:

JOHN CONNALLY - Former Governor of Texas

Former Secretary of the Treasury

INTERVIEWED BY:

Bob Clark - ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent

Tom Jarriel - ABC News White House Correspondent

MR. CLARK: Governor Connally, welcome back to
ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

MR. CONNALLY: Thank you, Bob.

MR. CLARK: Some Republicans in Congress, including
apparently some who are worried about losing their own
seats, are warning it will be a disaster for the Party

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if President Ford picks you as his running mate. Would you like to respond to that before we go on to other questions?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, I think I probably should, Bob. Who knows? I certainly can't say what impact I would have on the ticket. All I can tell you is that I am not a candidate for Vice President, I am perfectly happy where I am. I have not done anything to seek the Vice Presidency, I am not going to do anything to seek it. I am somewhat bemused by these particular Members of Congress, though, and I must say not only bemused but a little bit offended by Congressman Railsback and Congressman Findley and Congressman Cohen. They went out of their way, it seems to me, in both appearances on television and by letter, to try to insinuate, to infer that they knew something about me that hadn't been disclosed, that they were going down to see the President and tell him all about it.

Frankly, if they know anything I wish they'd tell it. I wish they'd tell it to the world. I wish they would have a press conference.

You know these men are constantly raising the question of Watergate and I think we ought to deal with the facts in this campaign. I hope we will. And the first fact we ought to establish is that I had no part in Watergate. I was a part of the Milk Fund problem, as you

well know but that was not a part of Watergate. I was out of the country when Watergate occurred. I have not been in the government since that time. And for these fellows to infer that I was, it seems to me, is doing nothing but frankly hurting the Republican Party.

You know the RFC are famous initials in America. They used to stand for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation but I really think we ought to give it a new meaning: Railsback, Findley and Cohen. RFC. That ought to be probably known as Republicans for Cannibalism. This is the attitude that these men have taken.

MR. CLARK: Governor, I know you this week can blame the liberals in Congress including those you just named. I would remind you that the Chairman of the House Republican Caucus, John Anderson, is one of those who has publicly said your nomination would be a disaster. Senator Robert Griffin who will be the President's floor manager at Kansas City said he is concerned about the political risk. He thinks there are plusses and minuses that need to be examined.

Doesn't that cut across a rather broad spectrum of the Party?

MR. CONNALLY: I think it basically has been just as I have characterised it. I think it has been a few liberals, a handful, basically sponsors of the Rippon

Society who started this, who carried it on, who obviously have orchestrated it and it is those I am talking about.

MR. CLARK: You are not calling John Anderson and Charlie Griffin liberals?

MR. CONNALLY: No, I am not talking about those two. And as I recall what Senator Griffin said was that I had plusses and minuses and my background should be looked into and I think it should.

Frankly, I think the President ought to look into every potential Vice Presidential candidate's background, everything about him and I certainly want him to do that with respect to me. If there is anything that any of them can find that is in any sense derogatory or that would be damaging, that is fine. Then just don't pick me and I will be perfectly happy. But I will say this, with respect to the Republicans for Cannibalism, Mr. Railsback, Findley and Cohen, I will be glad to compare my political record with theirs, I will be glad to divulge all of my political contributions. The last time I ran for public office as Governor of Texas, if they will do theirs. If they will name every person who contributed to them, the amount they contributed in their last election, particularly Congressman Cohen, I will be delighted to compare records with him.

MR. JARRIEL: Governor, Congressman Cohen mentioned

to us specifically in a news conference outside the White House the other day a taped conversation between you and former President Nixon on March 23, 1971. He said this was a three minute conversation that he wanted the President to hear and after he heard it he did not think you would be put on the ticket. Do you recall that conversation and exactly what was said?

MR. CONNALLY: Here again, here is what I am talking about, Tom. They infer that this is a secret mysterious tape that was not available to the House Judiciary Committee on which they sat in the Impeachment hearings. This two minute tape. There is no secret tape. This tape was used in my trial, it was available, it was heard, it was produced. The jurors sat there, they heard it not once but twice, they sat there with earphones on, they listened to it. It is a very bad tape. I testified about what that conversation was during those two minutes. I was under cross examination and direct examination. I testified for thirty-five minutes about that tape. There is nothing secret about the tape. I would be delighted for you to play it on this program and I would be delighted for you play the long tape on this program where we were talking about milk price supports.

MR. CLARK: Let me be sure what we are talking about and then I will turn it back to you, Tom, but let me cite

what is allegedly in that tape. The tape is barely audible but at your bribery trial where you were acquitted, as you know, the prosecution produced this transcript. They produced the tape --

MR. CONNALLY: Not a transcript. They produced their interpretation of what they wanted it to say.

MR. CLARK: I believe, Governor, a transcript was produced in the private chamber of the judge.

MR. CONNALLY: Not transcript, no.

MR. CLARK: Then accounts vary because there are -

MR. CONNALLY: This is what the prosecutor said the tape said.

MR. CLARK: That is right. That is where the disagreement comes.

MR. CONNALLY: That is correct.

MR. CLARK: Let me read to you what the prosecutor said the tape said, and this is after the conversation about the increasing dairly price supports:

"The President: They are tough political operators. This is a cold political deal.

"Connally: It is on my honor to make sure there is a very substantial allocation of oil in Texas that will be at your discretion.

"The President: Fine."

MR. CONNALLY: Now let me respond to that. You

read that as if that was a continuous sentence. Have you listened to the tape?

MR. CLARK: No, I have not.

MR. CONNALLY: I have. I listened to it repeatedly. Those are not continuous sentences, those are words. If you look at even what the prosecutor said, those words are disjointed words. They don't necessarily read like that at all. They don't sound like that at all. They interpret what was said as "oil and taxes."

The truth of the matter is, I went into the oval office with the President during the long discussion that we had about milk price supports. We had agreed that before any announcement was made that the President and members of his cabinet would contact various Democratic leaders on the Hill. Because the Democrats, frankly, were the ones who were primarily interested in increasing price supports. Senator Mondale, for instance, had written a letter insisting that the price supports be increased to 100 per cent. Every leader in both houses of the Congress were for price supports. Humphrey, Carl Albert, every one of them. Wilbur Mills was the primary mover in it. So what the President said was, "Go and try to get some credit with these Congressmen. If we are going to do this, let's try to get some credit with them because they are --"

MR. CLARK (interposing): Governor, I hate to interrupt.

Just so we don't fight the price support let me go over that again if I could ask you --

MR. CONNALLY (interposing): And then he said to Secretary Shultz and Mr. Ehrlichman, "You go talk to Wilbur Mills."

I asked to see him for two minutes after that for the simple reason -- I said, "Mr. President, you ought not to ask Secretary Shultz and John Ehrlichman to talk to Wilbur Mills, you ought to talk to him. You ought to get him down here and you can get him committed to help you on revenue sharing and the principal concern he has with respect to revenue sharing is the allocation of taxes."

And the prosecutor interpreted what they could hear as "oil in Texas."

MR. CLARK: Let me ask you this because there is a conflict over what was in the tape and in a barely audible tape. The President has asked Leon Jaworski, the Special Watergate Prosecutor, for any information he might have about your involvement in Watergate or these allied scandals --

MR. CONNALLY: I am delighted. I hope he will ask everybody.

MR. CLARK: Would you be satisfied to accept Mr. Jaworski's judgment as to what is in that paper, if anything?

MR. CONNALLY: I will be happy if they will reveal on the public record anything that is in those tapes, the Watergate tapes,

I will be delighted.

MR. CLARK: If Mr. Jaworski --

MR. CONNALLY: I don't want to take any one person's judgment. I want the President to listen to them if he wants to, or have anybody else he wants to. Let Phil Buchen listen to them, or take them to Mr. Jaworski. Get his judgment.

MR. CLARK: I believe the President has assigned Mr. Buchen but if the judgment came back that there was some information that might possibly incriminate you, would you accept that judgment and --

MR. CONNALLY: Not unless the information was made public. I don't want any secret incriminations. There is not anything in the Watergate tapes that will incriminate me. Nothing at all. If they think there is, I want them to reveal it publicly.

MR. JARRIEL: One of the other complaints again from Congressman Cohen is that you convey the image of a wheeler-dealer politician that he thinks is a very negative image. After Watergate regardless of involvement or non-involvement there. Do you deny that you do convey this impression?

MR. CONNALLY: Yes, Sure. Well, I don't know. I don't know whether I do or not. I don't know what one is. What is a wheeler-dealer?

MR. JARRIEL: Well, maybe a wheeler-dealer politician is someone who sits on the fence during the Texas primary and then when Ronald Reagan names his Vice President he races to Washington to endorse Gerald Ford.

MR. CONNALLY: I don't think anyone can accuse me of -- whatever else you might accuse me of, I don't really think you can accuse me of being afraid to take a stand.

No, I sat out the primaries -- let me go back. I talked to President Ford last July, of 1975. I didn't hear from him again until April the first, approximately April first, 1976. I talked to Governor Reagan last July, in 1975, and he called me to tell me he was going to announce last fall but I didn't hear from him until April when both of them called me and asked me to help them in the Texas primary. But in the meantime I had gotten committed to doing other things and I had reason that this was going to be a brutal battle, I had said so all fall and spring on television and radio and elsewhere around the country and I thought that some of us ought to maintain some neutrality between the two, hopefully to put the pieces back together when it was all over and one or the other had won this contest. That is why I was sitting it out. Not because I was afraid to choose sides. I have never been afraid to make a decision.

MR. CLARK: And would you ask -- this is a question, too, that relates to what might be in that tapes, those tapes. If you found that you had become , either because of the tapes or because of some political controversy swirling about you and the tapes, if you concluded that you had become a liability to the Party, would you ask Mr. Ford not to name you as his running mate?

MR. CONNALLY: Os, sure. Sure. Absolutely. As a matter of fact the only conversation the President and I have had about the Vice Presidency is that we have talked generally about what type of campaign -- and this has been a very cursory conversation -- what type of a campaign should be run. And I told him that I had no advice to give him about a vice president or a running mate but I thought he ought to pick the best man that was available to him in the Party to run with him. The one who could hopefully contribute the most to his election in the fall and to his service in the next administration. And beyond that I had no recommendations. We did not discuss individuals. I have no earthly idea what he has in his mind and I said to him, "I have done absolutely nothing to try to bring my name to your attention. I will not do so. I have actually discouraged others from doing so." And that is the position I am in.

As a matter of fact, Bob -- and I can't convince you

of this -- I have said it before but I don't think you will believe me because you think I am motivated beyond the point that I am but I think it is highly questionable that I would accept the Vice Presidency if it was offered to me.

(Announcements.)

MR. JARRIEL: Governor, a moment ago you said it is highly questionable you would accept the Number Two place on the Ford ticket. Why?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, simply that I would like to talk to the President, I don't want to elaborate on it too much at this particular point in time but I don't think it serves any real purpose, now, but I would like to have an opportunity to talk to the President at great length at some time whether I am on the ticket or off the ticket, about his campaign, about the strategy, about the people, about the policies that are going to be followed. Frankly, I have felt all spring that the President has not been well served by some of the judgments made by people who have been running his campaign. And I am not critical of any individual because I don't even know who has made the decisions very frankly and nobody I know in the country knows who has been running the show. But I think we need a whole revitalization of the election -- of his reelection committee, of the National Committee. I think we need more aggressive,

articulate treatment of his record. He has a superb record. The President has a superb record. People -- If indeed the people are interested in a man of honor and integrity, unquestioned trust, they have that in President Ford. No doubt about that. No one questions that. If they want a man who has done a superb job in preserving peace in the world he has done that to the maximum extent that he could.

He has got a marvelous record on economic contributions to this society and lowering the number of unemployed, lowering the rate of inflation, of increasing the economic expansion, of increasing the number of employed people, the number of jobs in the country. Everywhere you look the record is good, sound and superb as a matter of fact but nobody knows it --

MR. CLARK: We need to interject at that point that the unemployment figure did go back up to 7.8 this week.

MR. CONNALLY: These things vary week by week but there is no question the trend is on a downward turn.

MR. JARRIEL: You have also said earlier in the program that you would step aside and take yourself out of consideration as a vice presidential possibility.

MR. CONNALLY: You all speculate on it. I have done nothing to add to that speculation.

MR. JARRIEL: Could you remove yourself from speculation to this point: if you concluded that all of the controversy swirling around you as a personality --

MR. CONNALLY (interposing): Oh no, I wouldn't put it on the basis of personality.

MR. JARRIEL (continuing): -- might hurt the President or hurt the chances for victory in November?

MR. CONNALLY: Tom, let me say this to you. I don't make that assumption. Maybe that is true. Obviously I am not a concensus candidate for anything. I agree with that. But frankly, I don't want to be. If you set out to please everybody, you please no one because that means you have never done anything much, you have never made any decisions and I am not that type of person. I have been an activist, I am an activist. Now I can't believe that I displease all that many Republicans. I don't find it when I go around the country. I was in Detroit last night, I was in Cleveland the night before, or I should say last week. I have been all over this country from New Hampshire and Vermont to California. In every fund-raising affair that I have attended, and I have attended many. I think I have attended more state conventions than either Governor Reagan or President Ford and I don't find all this feeling that I would be a tragedy. I get asked there, I get a tremendous reception there when I mail out a letter to raise funds for the Republican Party. There is a greater response to it than has ever been in any single letter mailed by any person in the history of the GOP.

MR. CLARK: Could it be, Governor, that you are widely regarded by Republicans and particularly those campaigning for reelection, as a great fund raiser, but they still think you would be a drag on the ticket?

MR. CONNALLY: No, I don't believe that, either. I think they feel that -- they believe in what I believe and I believe in what they believe. That I try to articulate the principles and the ideals of the Republican Party as being the best hope for the preservation and the continuity of this free enterprize system as we know it in America and that is what this campaign is all about. It is not a campaign of personalities. It ought to be a campaign of issues: who can do the best job for the country.

MR. CLARK: Governor if we can talk with you a little bit more about who President Ford might pick as his running mate if you don't get that tap on the shoulder, do you think, for instance, that he should pick a conservative who could help draw votes away from Jimmy Carter in the South or what are your views?

MR. CONNALLY: I really think that has been over-worked and over done and I don't think it is all that important very frankly. I think this business of balancing the ticket is passe. I think the President needs to pick someone in whom the American people have confidence in their ability to be Vice President and confidence in their ability to

succeed to the Presidency if unfortunately something should happen to the President.

MR. CLARK: You really don't care whether it be from the conservative or the liberal wing of the party.

MR. CONNALLY: I really don't. I think it doesn't make that much difference. I think he has to pick someone whose views are consistent with the views of the majority of the people of the country. Obviously he can't go overboard in picking an extremist to run with him and help him. But in my view the majority of the people in this country are moderate and centerist in their political philosophy and this is a group the Republicans do appeal appeal to, should appeal to and will appeal to if they have a chance to. So I just don't think that we ought to lay down a lot of guidelines about what section of the country and all this business. I think that has been grossly overdone.

MR. JARRIEL: Let's go back just a moment to what has happened since your name has been prominently mentioned this past week in speculation for Vice President. One thing that has happened, you have had congressmen come out and revive the Watergate spector, justified or not. You have had Senator Tower in a White House meeting saying the vultures circling overhead are going to tear up the Party and lead it to defeat. You have had Ronald



Reagan pick up six delegates in the North-East and I am not sure that is related to you as a particular issue but certainly Reagan is still alive and is not out of the picture, yet. I go back to this question: Would it not be better for the President to make a decision now on his Vice President and let the country know about it or would it not be better if you said you would not accept the nomination?

MR. CONNALLY: You have asked two questions. In the first, I would certainly advise the President -- I gather he doesn't need any advice on the subject -- according to Ron Nessen he has made the decision that he is not going to pick his Vice President until after he is nominated and with that I wholeheartedly concur, I think it would be a terrible mistake if he did otherwise. And number two I am not about to take myself out of -- now his treatment of me is a very simple one. If he doesn't think I can contribute something to his election and the Republican Party he just doesn't recommend me to the convention, that is all. It is just that simple. I am not a candidate for it. He is not going to hurt my feelings.

MR. CLARK: Would you agree, Governor Connally, that the Reagan surprise strategy, the bold gamble, so called, in picking Senator Schweiker, has succeeded at least for the moment in stalling the Ford bandwagon?

MR. CONNALLY: Who can say what would have happened if he hadn't done that. It was fairly well a battle down to the end anyway it appeared to me but I frankly don't think that Governor Reagan's pick of Senator Schweiker was all that helpful to him.

MR. CLARK: Would you be offended in your own political philosophy if President Ford went that far to the left in the Party to pick his running mate?

MR. CONNALLY: I wouldn't be offended, I would be disappointed because I think he would be making a mistake.

MR. CLARK: You have said here it doesn't make any real difference whether his running mate be a liberal or conservative. Somewhere out there is there a line between centerist and --

MR. CONNALLY (interposing): Yes, and I said provided he doesn't go to the extremes and I think Governor Reagan went to the extremes. He picked a candidate here who has as liberal a voting record as Walter Mondale and that is just what Governor Carter did. Mondale has as liberal a voting record as there is in the Senate of the United States. Senator Schweiker has a one hundred per cent rating of the AFL-CIO for the last three years hand running, one hundred per cent in '73, one hundred per cent in '74, one hundred per cent in '75. He has an 89 per cent rating of the ADA compared to about 91 for Senator Mondale. You know, they could be legislative twins.

MR. CLARK: What do you think of the basic philosophy enunciated by Mr. Reagan as he announced his selection of Schweiker, that the Republicans have to build a winning coalition by some how bridging this gap between the moderate or liberal and conservative wings of the party?

MR. CONNALLY: I think there is a lot to that. If you properly define, I guess, the stretch of how you define Liberal and Conservative. Now to assume the Republicans are going to be able to out-liberalize the Democrats is ridiculous. You are not going to go over and take the liberal Democratic votes away from them. Because frankly the Democrats have gone way to the left. And this is one of the problems that Governor Carter is going to have. Because, you know, we presently see President Ford and Governor Reagan running against each other but that is going to end here in the convention. Governor Carter has the insoluble problem. He ran all spring as a conservative against Washington, against big government, big spending, big deficits and so forth. Now he has embraced Walter Mondale, he has embraced the Democratic platform. Now he is going to have to run all fall against his own record in his own campaign in the spring. So he is going to have a terrible time in my judgment.

MR. JARRIEL: Governor, back in 1960 a newspaper reporter writing a profile on you said, "His associates

class him as a conservative in style and dress and in speech until he gets on the political floor and then he is a fighter."

The question goes to this. If you reach Kansas City and it goes to several ballots and neither Mr. Ford or Reagan sews up the nomination and it should be open for grabs, would you run away from it or would you fight for it?

MR. CONNALLY: I haven't even thought about that. Tom, that is just not going to happen. That is so highly speculative I haven't even thought about it and wouldn't even consider it.

MR. CLARK: Let me ask you one final question: If President Ford preliminary to picking you as a running mate sort of looked you in the eye and said, "Is there anything in your service in the Nixon administration that could possibly come back to haunt us in the Presidential campaign," what would you say?

MR. CONNALLY: My answer would be No.

MR. CLARK: Governor, on that clear and unequivocal answer we are out of time.

Thank you very much for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

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M E E T T H E P R E S S

SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1976

Produced by Betty Cole Dukert

GUESTS:

JOHN P. SEARS - Reagan Campaign Director

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER - The Vice President

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

Lawrence E. Spivak - NBC News

Bill Boyarsky - Los Angeles Times

George F. Will - Syndicated Columnist

Carl T. Rowan - Chicago Daily News

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MEET THE PRESS

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MR. MONROE: Our guest on the first half hour of this special edition of MEET THE PRESS is John Sears, Director of Ronald Reagan's Presidential campaign. In half an hour from now we will question Vice President Rockefeller.

In 1967, then a 27-year old lawyer, John Sears became Executive Director of the Nixon for President Committee. He later joined the Nixon White House staff but quit after one year. He is now chief strategist of a nomination campaign that has kept a Republican President off balance.

It was Mr. Sears' idea to choose Senator Richard Schweiker as Governor Reagan's runningmate.

We will have the first questions now from Lawrence E. Spivak of NBC News.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Sears, according to this morning's Kansas City Star, you are sticking to your claim that Governor Reagan has 1140 delegates, 10 more than he needs to win the nomination.

If that is so, why have you been putting up such a fight to amend the rules, that President Ford would be forced to name his runningmate before a President is picked?

MR. SEARS: Well, there are two reasons for that, Mr. Spivak. No. 1, what I have always said, and we will find out the truth of this on Wednesday night, is that we would have at least 1140 votes on the first ballot at the Republican National Convention.

One of the difficulties about this race is the perception of it. We are running against an incumbent inside our own party. Never in history has there been a race quite of this kind. What that means is that there are a number of delegates who until the very bitter end are not very anxious to indicate to the public at large exactly where their sentiments are, and I think if there is a test vote on the Floor that perhaps everyone will be able to see at that point what our true strength is.

MR. SPIVAK: The charge is being widely made that strategy and not political principle was the basis for the Schweiker selection and for your fight to amend the rules. Now, what useful purpose is that serving the party?

MR. SEARS: Well, I have heard that charge many times before. I would like to respond to it. Obviously either people are saying we didn't know anything about the Pennsylvania Republican party, and I would hope people wouldn't think that, when they say we picked Mr. Schweiker in an attempt to get a large number of delegates from the State of Pennsylvania.

We do not feel that Mr. Schweiker, not being in the hierarchy of the organization in Pennsylvania, was in a position to deliver large numbers of delegates there. Indeed, as he has well said during the discussions we had relative to the vice presidency, we never discussed delegates, and that is the absolute truth.

We thought and we still think, and we think it is the absolute truth, that Mr. Schweiker, coupled with Mr. Reagan, gives the Republican party the best chance it has to win in the fall because Mr. Schweiker compliments Mr. Reagan's candidacy quite well.

There is no reason to go and get nominated unless you can win in the fall and Mr. Schweiker, teamed with Mr. Reagan, we thought would present the convention as well with a ticket that both could unite the party and that people would see would do well in the fall, and that is precisely what we are doing.

As regards Rule 16(c) --

MR. MONROE: Would you explain Rule 16(c), Mr. Sears?

MR. SEARS: Rule 16 (c), which we have proposed, would call for all persons whose names are to be placed in nomination to inform the convention by 9:00 a.m., on the day of the presidential balloting exactly who their choice would be as a runningmate.

Now, the Republican party, in 1972, pursuant to Rule 29, set up a committee to study reforms of the vice presidential nomination process. That has supposedly been in motion for four years. There was enough debate and controversy about the former process that it was felt even in 1972 that we should have some reform. We would not be suggesting this rule amendment or change unless we were prepared as we are doing to press it for 1980 as well as this convention.

It is our feeling that this rule should be implemented at this time because the vast majority of the delegates feel it is their privilege and their right to know who Mr. Ford's runningmate would be. But actually that has nothing to do with the fact that this is a very good rule.

MR. SPIVAK: I don't think you are quite responding to the question I am trying to get answered. It is being said that having made the mistake of picking Senator Schweiker you are now trying to get President Ford into making a similar mistake.

MR. SEARS: Well, we certainly don't feel --

MR. SPIVAK: Isn't that a matter simply of strategy and not a matter of principle?

MR. SEARS: We don't feel our selection of Mr. Schweiker has been a mistake and we don't think that our suggestion of this rule is a mistake either. I think if one is to take the position that it is a problem for Mr. Ford to tell the convention on Wednesday who he is going to select, then one must concede that it would be a worse problem after the delegates could do nothing about it, to tell them on Thursday, so we don't see this is trying to get Mr. Ford in any particular difficulty.

He will have more difficulty if he were the nominee, given the past history of debate in our party anyway over these selections, if he has to tell the convention on Thursday and send everybody home quite upset with him.

(Announcements)

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MR. BOYARSKY: Mr. Sears, you have made such an issue out of Rule 16(c) this past week and this morning it was defeated in the Convention Rules Committee by a slightly better margin than the Ford forces had hoped. If you lose it on the convention floor, isn't it all over for you?

MR. MONROE: Let's say once again this is the rule to require President Ford to name his runningmate in advance.

MR. SEARS: Well, it was not our expectation to win this particular rule in the Rules Committee. As has been our history in this endeavor, our strength in the primary states, for instance, existed in the grass roots. Here in this context it exists on the floor of the convention.

We do feel that the majority of the delegates by far are very anxious to know who Mr. Ford would select as a running mate before they make their decision on the presidential nomination, and we think that as we look through tomorrow and into the next day at that I think most of you will see that.

In regard to whether defeat on this particular item would spell the end of our candidacy or not, the perception that many people have from reading the newspapers and other accounts is that at the moment Mr. Ford is within 10, 12, 20 delegates of being nominated, and that we are about 100 short, so we, of course, disagree with that analysis, but if we had even a narrower vote on a rule on the floor, I think it would change some perceptions as to what the true facts were in regard to the closeness of this race.

MR. BOYARSKY: All through last week the Ford people have given state by state counts of their delegates, something you have refused to do. Now this morning we had for the first time in that committee, we had sort of a test of strength of the two sides. If it goes to the Convention floor, this Vice Presidential disclosure rule, that will be another test, and that will be another sign of the strength of the two sides. So if you lose that, where is your strength? What evidence do we have of those 1140 votes?

MR. SEARS: Well, obviously as I said just a moment ago we would expect to do best on the floor of the Convention. It was not our feeling that we would win in the Rules Committee. In fact, had we done that, it might have been a little more difficult for us to be sure that it might go to the floor of the Convention.

MR. WILL: Mr. Sears, just to polish this off, in response to Mr. Spivak what you said was: If there is a test vote on the floor, people will be able to see what your strength is.

Is it fair to say that if you don't win on, say, a platform issue such as the Panama Canal or a procedural issue such as 16(c) it will be reasonable to infer that you do not have the strength to nominate a Presidential candidate?

MR. SEARS: Well, there can be no doubt that as votes are taken on the floor of the Convention they obviously relate to peoples' attitudes about the vote on the nomination ballot. Obviously if you lose a bunch of them on the floor that reflects badly in terms of peoples' belief that you can win the nomination. Of course, the reverse is true, as well.

MR. WILL: Is that a yes, though, that if you don't win either of those two that you will lose the nomination?

MR. SEARS: I am not restricting myself, Mr. Will, to those two or any two, or anything whatsoever in particular. I was just commenting in regard to your indication that test votes are indeed taken as indication of strength on the nomination, and that is true.

MR. WILL: Mr. Sears, most Reagan supporters of course are conservatives. Why do they care so much about who it is that President Ford picks as his runningmate, given that it is virtually certain his runningmate will be more conservative than Ronald Reagan's runningmate?

MR. SEARS: I don't know that that is certain at all, No. 1. We are confronted at the moment with a list that runs as long as 15 names, many of whom I don't know are more conservative than our runningmate.

No. 2, I don't think the problem here resides so much with the Reagan delegates. They are quite interested to

know who Mr. Ford would select, that is true, but of course they are Reagan supporters, and therefore they are not quite as interested, I don't think, as many of the Ford supporters.

MR. ROWAN: Doesn't it boil down to this, Mr. Sears, that you hope to force Mr. Ford to say "I am going to pick Nelson Rockefeller," or something like that, and scare off some of his delegates?

MR. SEARS: Well, I know actually in terms of the name that you mentioned, I think Mr. Ford at the time that he did it originally made a very good choice in Mr. Rockefeller. He received some criticism for it, but I think it was a very good choice. I am not hoping that Mr. Ford will select Mr. Rockefeller. I am not really hoping that he will select anybody in particular.

I think that whoever he selects will give some extra dimensions to his own identification inside the party, and we will see what that turns out to be.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Sears, a lot of people out there are still asking questions about the "why" of this extraordinary effort to deny the nomination to a sitting President. Is this just an ideological matter? Is it that you think Mr. Ford is a bad leader, or that you simply want to move the country further right on things like detente, China policy, Panama Canal and so forth?

MR. SEARS: Well, I don't know that I can respond in the fashion that the question was asked. Our simple belief has always been that Ronald Reagan would be the best man in our party to be President of the United States, and that Mr. Ford, even though he is in the office, was never selected by this party to be in this office, and therefore, whatever happened, it was necessary and good and constructive to test his nomination.

We have done that. I don't think there is anything sacrosanct, and there shouldn't be in our politics, about testing a man who is in the office. I think perhaps if it were done more often Presidents might pay more attention to their parties and more attention to the public in general.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Sears, do you accept as a fact that if Governor Reagan wins the nomination there will be a serious fight on the Convention floor against Senator Schweiker as his runningmate?

MR. SEARS: Oh, I don't expect that at all. Obviously what -- one of the things we have pointed out about changing the process by which Vice Presidents are selected has been the fact that really the day after the nomination ballot for the Presidential candidate, the Convention has no practical recourse. It would not be thinkable, really, to stand there and have a majority of the delegates to the Convention reject their Presidential nominee's first actual decision by selecting somebody other than what he wanted, and that is the trouble with the present system.

MR. MONROE: Why do you say that President Ford should announce his Vice Presidential choice in advance to allow the Convention to have an imprint on the choice, when you are saying that the Convention ought to swallow Senator Schweiker in case Governor Reagan is nominated?

MR. SEARS: I am not saying they should swallow anything. I am just pointing out the practical aspect of the supposed right they have to reject nominees. Our rule doesn't change the ability of the Convention to reject anything. I am just saying that it never happens. Now obviously since there has been in the past and there is this year a great deal of controversy over the manner in which Vice Presidents are selected, it is our view, and we think it is shared by the Convention, that the very least a Presidential candidate can do is share this particular thought with the Convention before they ballot on the nomination itself.

MR. MONROE: But you are saying the Convention, in order not to weaken the Presidential candidate, should accept the nominee's choice as Vice Presidential runningmate.

MR. SEARS: I am not offering on whether they should or shouldn't. I am just saying as a practical matter not enough people are going to embarrass their Presidential nominee who they just selected the night before by going against his choice. That is the practicality of it.

MR. SPIVAK: I hate to keep on this subject, but it is a matter of some importance because it is a question of, as I said, principle, or gimmick. Haven't the delegates the power to select or reject a Vice Presidential candidate now, regardless of what you said about what they would or wouldn't do. These are extraordinary times. They have that power now, haven't they?

MR. SEARS: And our rule does not change that power.

MR. SPIVAK: As I said, why then do you want to force him to announce ahead of time, if they have the power to reject anybody he might nominate, and to reject your own candidate?

MR. SEARS: Well, it is our particular feeling, and this is why so many people in our own party -- and this has come up a great deal in the Democratic party as well -- have felt that the present system is inadequate. Even though they have that naked right, it is not practical to expect that a party would embarrass their Presidential nominee by the very next day after they nominated him rejecting his choice as Vice President. How could the ticket have any credibility for the party under those circumstances.

Now, what we are only saying is that so that the party can have the full picture -- and this includes all the people in the country who are going to have to be running under this ticket, are going to have to run with it -- why can't the party be given a view before it makes the ultimate decision on the Presidential nominee, so that it can endorse the whole ticket?



MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Sears, the conservative and influential Chicago Tribune has just endorsed President Ford, and in that endorsement it said, "In the last two weeks Governor Reagan's designation of the Liberal Senator Richard Schweiker as runningmate and the slick pre-convention maneuvering of its aides do not square with the Mr. Integrity image he has held so successfully."

Now, isn't that an ominous sign that your game may be up?

MR. SEARS: I would take great difference of opinion with those in this country or anywhere else who feel that in any way integrity is involved with narrow-mindedness about one's views and the reluctance to accept the views other than one's own.

If we are going to run this country on that kind of a basis, then politics has little future here and the country, in terms of it ever becoming united again in a full society, has very little future.

Now, I don't particularly care myself what anybody has to say about what we have done or I have done or anything else. I do think that one thing that should be understood about this particular choice is that nobody has said, since we made it, that this particular choice of a vice presidential candidate will do anything but unite the party and we think that it will. Just in our own little way, we think this can help unite the country.

MR. BOYARSKY: Mr. Sears, if President Ford wins the nomination and throws the choice of his runningmate over to the convention and they choose Ronald Reagan, do you think that Ronald Reagan would then accept a draft from the convention?

MR. SEARS: Under no circumstances.

MR. BOYARSKY: Even if the convention put it to him as a public duty?

MR. SEARS: Absolutely not.

MR. MCNROE: Can you guarantee that?

MR. SEARS: Yes, I can.

MR. WILL: Senator James Buckley of New York says that people who have been asking him for permission to put his name into nomination are from the Reagan camp, but not acting on behalf of the Reagan camp. But, realistically it would be hard for him to get the necessary support in five delegations to get nominated without the collaboration of Reagan supporters. Do you want Senator Buckley's name placed in nomination?

MR. SEARS: We have taken no part whatsoever in anything that Mr. Buckley has been doing or not doing. We have taken no position on whether he should or he shouldn't. We have not talked to him previously about his chance to or to not do whatever he is doing.

As I understood this morning, it is expected that sometime today he will make some further statement to clarify exactly what his intentions are and I might say to you that proof of

the fact that we have had very little to do, or nothing to do with whatever he is doing is the fact that we will be as surprised as anybody else as to what that statement will include.

MR. WILL: Will you secure delegates not to lend support to a petition, say, to put him into nomination on the first ballot?

MR. SEARS: We are very simple-minded with our delegates. We tell them one thing and that is we would certainly like to have them vote for Mr. Reagan and I suppose in that process we discourage them from doing anything else.

MR. ROWAN: You have said Mr. Reagan will not take the vice presidential nomination. If Mr. Ford wins, do you think Mr. Reagan will campaign wholeheartedly for him?

MR. SEARS: Mr. Reagan has always said that he will support the ticket, whatever that ticket is. We would expect the same kind of treatment if we are to win. Mr. Reagan will campaign for the ticket in the fall. He will do everything he can to make the Republicans victorious this year.

We certainly expect the same would be true on the other side and we know of nothing right now that would keep that from happening.

MR. ROWAN: Do you take seriously the talk of a possible walkout of some conservatives and the start-up of a third party if Mr. Ford wins?

MR. SEARS: Oh, it is not a matter of whether I take those things seriously or not. I will say this, that a year ago or a little over that, before we started this effort, there was a great deal more talk about that than there is now. I really don't think, and I never have felt that there is any possibility of a third party really having any bearing on this election one way or another, and we certainly would not support one if one developed.

MR. ROWAN: I asked this because even some Republicans are saying that this big fight between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Ford may wind up destroying the Republican party. Do you hold any such fears?

MR. SEARS: I really don't. This is a much different situation from the instance which it is usually compared with and that is 1964. The dispute here really comes down to a matter that is appropriate for a political party and that is which candidate will win in the fall, and whether in reference to that one can remove from the office of President someone who is sitting there and run a better candidate. We happen to believe that you certainly can and should. There are some others that don't. We have not had the kind of situation that developed in 1964 in this race and I don't think we will.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Sears, for many months most, I am sure all of the major television interview programs have

invited Governor Reagan to appear on their programs to participate in question and answer sessions like this one. He has declined those invitations for many months. Why not appear?

MR. SEARS: Well, I am not sure how many months that has been. What our feeling on that has always been is that we would appear on such programs with about the same frequency that Mr. Ford did. That is not a strategic problem. That is just a practical thing. If you are running for President, you should run for President and run against whoever you are running against and that has been our attitude about it. I have not noticed that Mr. Ford has appeared at all on any of these programs.

MR. MONROE: Governor Reagan has sometimes campaigned and his people have campaigned on his behalf as being a more articulate campaigner than President Ford.

Do you, does Governor Reagan have the feeling he is not that articulate in spontaneous situations answering newsmen's questions?

MR. SEARS: Oh, no, we feel that is quite correct, that he is more articulate than any other man in our party as a matter of fact. But, as I said earlier, we are running for the presidency and candidates for the presidency should do things with the same kind of frequency that their opponents do.

Now, we have always said, and we still say, although nobody seems interested, that we would be perfectly happy to have Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan appear any place really together and certainly we would be happy to do it at this convention, but no one has ever been anxious to take us up on that.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Sears, after the selection of Senator Schweiker, you said two things on television and I quote: "That it had bridged the gap between the conservative and liberal wings of the Republican party" and the other, "that Governor Reagan had not changed any position that he had taken previously."

Now, just how are you going to bridge the gap between the conservative and liberal moderate wings of the party if Governor Reagan sticks to his ultra-conservative positions.

MR. SEARS: I might object to the term "ultra" in there.

Governor Reagan has a record in California. If you will study that, you will find it is not ultra in any way. My feeling on all of this -- and I don't really understand any more why people don't view things like this in this fashion, is that there is nothing inconsistent about a man who has strong beliefs in given areas, inviting and wanting to run with or to be identified with or to associate with someone who agrees on many points, but disagrees on others. I think that adds to the fullness of the ticket politically. I think it would add to the fullness of the administration afterwards, and I don't see anything inconsistent about it.

MR. SPIVAK: I was wondering about bridging the gap. What, for example, does he offer the liberals that might bridge the gap? Can you mention one thing?

MR. SEARS: Well, I think one of the problems inside the Republican party is that it has not had enough access or even credibility with a number of very large and significant voter groups to begin with, but also segments of the society. Now, what we had felt and do feel about this particular ticket is that in essence one of the great things that Mr. Schweiker brings to the ticket is that he has credibility, personal integrity and credibility with a number of segments of the society that we would like to get a fair hearing from.

It is very difficult in this day and age for some reason for candidates for office to get a fair hearing from everybody. You are labeled, you are tarred, you are called things before you ever get a chance to go before the people. And in our way, we have hoped that with the selection of Mr. Schweiker that we could demonstrate to enough segments of the society that we do not feel have a correct impression perhaps of Mr. Reagan that we are worth listening to, and these include members of organized labor, various ethnic groups, and various other segments of the society that the Republican party has not tried really to address itself to before.

MR. MONROE: We have about a minute and a half with Mr. Sears.

MR. BOYARSKY: A lot of conservatives here at this convention feel that Governor Reagan has already started bridging the gap in the wrong way by not speaking up for such cherished positions as the Panama Canal, by kind of keeping silent this week. Is that true? Is he sort of forgetting his friends on the right?

MR. SEARS: Well, as I said yesterday, while we are quite pleased with the way the platform has progressed, we are still studying it, and by tomorrow afternoon we will let you know what the fruits of that study are.

We have been especially interested in reading some of the foreign policy sections, and we are in the process of doing that. But we are quite pleased with the platform as it stands.

In regards to your question, we do not feel that we -- in regard to the platform -- have been in any way disadvantaged by its writing in terms of what our actual positions have been. We passed out a list yesterday of 15 or 16 instances where the exact language in the platform really is the exact language almost of what Mr. Reagan has been saying about these issues.

MR. BOYARSKY: Panama?

MR. SEARS: As I say, we are examining the platform, especially in the foreign policy issues, and will let you know what the results of that are.

MR. BOYARSKY: The point was that during the fights over the Panama Canal at the committee hearings there was no help from the Reagan side, nor did the Governor speak up on what was a major issue in his campaign in the primaries.

MR. SEARS: The major issue in his campaign in the primaries that related to Panama was the fact that negotiations were being conducted to give away rights we had in the Panama Canal, when Mr. Ford at the same time was saying under no circumstances would he give up those rights. It was a credibility issue more than anything else, and that is what made it a big issue, because Mr. Reagan had been speaking of it for many months before that happened.

MR. MONROE: Thank you, Mr. Sears, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MR. MONROE: Mr. Rockefeller has held high Government posts under Democrat and Republican Presidents. He was Governor of New York for four terms. He ran unsuccessfully three times for the Republican Presidential nomination.

President Ford appointed him Vice President in 1974. Last November he announced he did not wish to be considered as a runningmate for President Ford this year.

MR. WILL: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Sears on the earlier part of the show said that the issue is who is the most electable candidate. Mr. Ford has only been elected from the 5th district of Michigan. Ronald Reagan has carried twice a Democratic state that has one-tenth of the American electorate in it, and in the primaries he defeated the President in ten primaries, receiving 135,000 more total votes in the primaries than the President. On the basis of that, how do you argue that Mr. Ford is more electable?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Because I don't think the thesis is correct. You take for instance Wyoming has one delegate to six Republican voters in the '72 campaign. In Massachusetts it is 36,000 instead of 6,000 in Wyoming, so it has no relation to the number of voters.

Secondly, I think Mr. Ford, President Ford has run on his record. To me it is the most extraordinary record. We all forgot that two years ago this country was torn apart emotionally, confidence in Government was at an all-time low, the economy was going downhill, inflation, unemployment; our position in the world was deteriorating.

This has been reversed by President Ford. Here is a man with a record. This record is unique. It is going down in history.

I think the American people, just as I think the Convention, are going to want to stay with a good thing when they have got it.

MR. WILL: The Reagan forces argue that if Mr. Ford doesn't know yet who his Vice Presidential choice is, he is being irresponsible, and if he knows and isn't saying, that must be because he thinks the choice will be offensive to wavering delegates and wants to surprise them after he is nominated. What's the matter with that reasoning?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I listened to the last half hour, and of course to me the whole thing that came out so clearly was nobody said: If this argument is valid, then why didn't they run before the State conventions all over the country as a team?

And I have got to say to you that in my opinion if



and

they had, if Mr. Reagan/Senator Schweiker had run together, I don't think Reagan would be here at this Convention; and I think the same would be true for Governor Carter. If he had run with Senator Mondale around the country, I don't think he would be the candidate.

So I think the argument has been limited to one specific moment in time, rather than a conceptual approach which if it is sound should be adopted. But how do you come up with a major shift in American political concepts and expect it to be adopted within a day, 24 hours? Because really, let's face it, it is sort of a "misery loves company" amendment.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Vice President, Melvin Laird said he thinks you are one of the top four people President Ford is considering selecting as his runningmate. Are you?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No.

MR. ROWAN: If he offered it to you, would you take the nomination?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, sir, I have withdrawn. I did a year ago.

MR. ROWAN: And under no circumstances would you take it?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: That is correct.

MR. ROWAN: Do you think that it is possible that he could pick Mr. Reagan? You said earlier that you thought that kind of ticket would be inconceivable. Do you think Mr. Sears really ruled that out?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I don't know whether he did, but it is still inconceivable to me.

MR. ROWAN: You also made an earlier statement that you thought it would help President Ford to be attacked by the conservatives in the party; that it would help him to win. Do you still believe that they are helping the President?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I do. I think that is true and I think if they set up a conservative party nationally and attacked him this would be a clear indication that he is not part of this radical right.

MR. ROWAN: So you would like to see Senator Helms and some of the others start a third party movement, is that it?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, it may well be that this move to get Senator Buckley from New York to come in is part of that situation. In other words, that has got to be, in my opinion, a way of drawing off delegates from Mr. Reagan in order to get him to back away from Mr. Schweiker and this is the start of what you are talking about, in my opinion.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Vice President, when Mr. Rowan asked whether, as former Defense Secretary Laird has suggested, you were one of four men as top contenders being considered by President Ford for vice president, you said flatly no, that is not the case. How do you know that is not the case?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, I just have an intuit feeling that it isn't and I think I am closer at this point to the President than Mel Laird is.

MR. MONROE: There is a report as of a few days ago that you have been talking with President Ford about vice presidential prospects, is that correct?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, he has been very generous during the two years I have had the privilege of working with him and we have had a totally open relationship and one that is in my opinion unique in the history of presidential-vice presidential relationships.

MR. MONROE: Is he likely to name a vice presidential

choice who could not be labeled with any justification either liberal or conservative.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I should think that is a real possibility.

MR. MONROE: A primary possibility?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Beyond that, I -- no, I couldn't say that. I would have to just say that is what I would call a likely possibility.

MR. MONROE: Do you see, as many people do, articulateness as a prime ingredient necessary in a vice presidential candidate to run with President Ford?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: It is useful.

MR. MONROE: Is it important in this campaign?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, an articulate politician always has a certain edge that is very helpful and I can't imagine the President picking someone as a runningmate who was unable to express himself effectively with the people.

MR. MONROE: John Connally is articulate but you have described him as having had some associations that would create problems. What did you mean by that?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, I feel that John Connally is one of the ablest people in this country and that he would bring a tremendous strength in terms of his campaigning ability and his administrative ability. There are certain areas of the country where he doesn't have as much strength as he does in others.

MR. MONROE: His associations that you are talking about have to do with geographical preferences?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I think that is correct.

MR. SPIVAK: Governor, some years ago you said that you could see no ideological gulf between Governor Reagan and you. Is that still the truth? Is that still so?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Are you sure I said that?

MR. SPIVAK: Well, the New York Times said you said it.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I have great respect for the New York Times.

MR. SPIVAK: Do you see an ideological gulf at this time?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I have to put it this way. It is very difficult for me to understand exactly where Mr. Reagan is, or Governor Reagan is ideologically speaking. He started out as a liberal Democrat; he then came along and ran around the country or sought the delegates around the country as a conservative Republican and now he has picked Senator Spivak -- Senator Spivak -- I am looking at you -- excuse me, Senator.

MR. SPIVAK: Thank you for the promotion.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Senator Schweiker as his runningmate. Now, where do you say he stands? That is a pretty broad spectrum of political action.

MR. SPIVAK: That still doesn't answer my question. Is

there an ideological gulf between you and Governor Reagan now?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: If you can tell me which Governor Reagan's position you are thinking about, I can answer the question.

MR. SPIVAK: May I ask you this question then: If Governor Reagan should win the Republican nomination, many people feel you would refuse to endorse him and would refuse to work for his election. Is that so?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, I don't think it is a possibility he will be nominated.

MR. SPIVAK: Well, let's assume that it is.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I think it is an academic question.

MR. SPIVAK: Would you answer an academic question?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No.

MR. BOYARSKY: Mr. Vice President, you know a little bit about New York politics. Could you assess the effect on Senator Buckley of his possible entrance into the presidential race, both his effect on the party as a whole and the effect on himself in New York politics?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Adverse.

MR. BOYARSKY: How adverse?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Time alone will tell and it depends upon whether he follows through, whether he gets five delegations, whether he gets further tied up with Jesse Helms. I can't see Jesse Helms running in New York State, so the closer he gets to that radical-right position, I think the more it hurts him in New York.

MR. BOYARSKY: Then do you think the regular party -- the party will disown him? He will lose the election? He will lose the primary?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: He won the nomination.

MR. BOYARSKY: He will lose the general election in the fall?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, you asked whether I thought it would help him. I think it is not helping him. I think what will happen in the fall is hard to tell until we get there.

MR. WILL: Mr. Vice President, twice now in ten minutes you have used a phrase that brings back echos of the 1964 convention. You have used the phrase "the radical right" in saying in answer to Mr. Rowan's question if a third party on the right was formed to attack Mr. Ford it would show that he was not a part of the "radical right."

Are you suggesting by this and by your refusal in answer to Mr. Spivak's question to say you would support Mr. Reagan if he is nominated, are you saying Mr. Reagan is part of the radical right?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, and I didn't say either that it would show that Mr. Ford was not part of the radical right. I said that it would help if the radical right attacked him, because then it disassociates him from any of their positions.

MR. WILL: Can you name anyone of public standing that our audience might recognize who is a member of the "radical right," as you define it?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Jesse Helms. Sen. Helms.

MR. WILL: Jim Buckley?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: That is why I said it depends upon how close he gets to him.

MR. WILL: Ronald Reagan?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, I don't think he is. I think that he has been in so many positions that it is hard to tell which one he is going to end up with, and if you go back and take his history of these primaries and the votes which you mentioned in the beginning which he got in the primaries, and if you then go back and say that he was running in those same primaries with Schweiker, what votes we come out with, I think he would have lost at least half of them.

MR. WILL: Is that because you think Schweiker is not of Presidential timber?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I think Schweiker's positions as recorded in his votes do not represent the majority of the people in the Republican party, or they do not represent but a small minority.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Vice President, I would like to know why you think Mr. Reagan has pressed this campaign to deny the nomination to a sitting President. Is it ideological, or is it simply one man's quest for power?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, I think he would like to be President. And that is a perfectly legitimate objective. He would like to serve his country. I can't criticize anybody for that.

MR. ROWAN: But you won't tell us whether or not you will campaign for him if he wins the nomination?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: As I said, I think

that is totally academic. I think the delegates to this Convention, when they see in clear focus the record of this President, the extraordinary achievements of the last two years, they are not going to want to change horses. And I think the American people are not going to, either. They are going to want someone whose record they know, and not somebody who is unknown in terms of national political positions and international.

MR. ROWAN: Are you telling me that it is inconceivable that on Wednesday night you might have Mr. Buckley up there, and he draw off enough votes from New York, Pennsylvania and so forth that Mr. Ford not win on the first ballot, and then proceed not to win at all?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, Mr. Rowan, I have to say that I disagree with your concept. In my opinion the votes that Mr. Buckley would draw off are from Mr. Reagan, and the whole ploy is to force Mr. Reagan to drop Mr. Schweiker. This is the way I read it politically. I don't think it has anything to do with Mr. Ford. He is not going to take any votes away from Mr. Ford. He will take them away from -- if Jesse Helms -- pardon me, Senator Helms gets five states, a majority to support him, you don't think he is going to come up to New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey to get those. He is going to get those in the Sun Belt somewhere, and they are going to be all Reagan people; and that in my opinion is the ploy.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Vice President, isn't Governor Reagan, in naming Senator Schweiker to run with him, doing exactly what you have often asked the Republican party to do -- making an effort to broaden the base of the party; making an effort at a coalition embracing both wings of the party?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Yes, I think that is a very fair statement.

MR. MONROE: Why then don't you applaud his choice of Senator Schweiker?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Because I think he did it too late. I think he has misled the people. He went to get their support for the nomination, and that is where I think the whole argument is that Mr. Sears made, and I have to say Mr. Sears is a very able political operative, but I think his logic is weak, because if his case is correct, then it should have been presented to the American people and the members of the party, and in many states the party can cross over, and I think that is when it should have been presented. If that is our concept, okay, but let's go all the way with it. Let's not do it in the 11th hour and make a purely political argument out of it.

MR. MONROE: Your argument on the selection of Senator Schweiker is purely a matter of timing. Had Governor Reagan announced this six months ago you would have applauded it?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I would have applauded the concept. I perhaps frankly would not have considered in going that far, for a Republican ticket. I would have picked somebody with a more moderate position to give that broad spectrum, rather than Senator Schweiker.

MR. MONROE: What do you expect to happen when the fight comes to the convention floor over the proposed rule that requires President Ford to name his Vice Presidential runningmate in advance?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I think when the members of the delegation see really the hypocrisy of it, if you will forgive me, I think that they are honest men and women, decent men and women, and they are going to say "Well, look, if this thing is that important, we ought to study it, and we ought to see whether next year you don't go to the people in the states as a team." If you should go as a team, fine. But this idea all of a sudden, coming out of the blue, because the selection of Schweiker sort of backfired, didn't do what they hoped, now try to force Ford to do the same thing, to me that is too obvious.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Vice President, in a recent interview you spoke of the fantastic record of Mr. Ford in restoring the economy and credibility in government. I would like to deal with the economy, since the American people who are suffering from 6 percent inflation and 7.5 percent unemployment don't consider that record fantastic. Will you tell us why you do?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Because we had around 11 percent inflation before; now we have got 6. That is cut in half. That is extraordinary.

MR. SPIVAK: It is pretty disasterous, though, isn't it?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: It has moved in the right direction. It is the lowest of any industrial country in the world except Germany.

Now you go to unemployment. In the last month and a quarter there have been almost 4 million new jobs created in industry, and the reason for the still high unemployment rate is that in the last month, for instance, there were 400,000 new jobs and there were 700,000 people came into the labor market, a large percentage of them women. And this shows restoration of confidence. However, the important thing is, Mr. Spivak, that the growth rate in this country has been restored. It was up as high as 8.6 percent for an annual basis, and if that growth rate continues, even in 7 or even a little bit lower, you are going to have another 3 or 4 million people with jobs in the next year.

MR. SPIVAK: How do you explain the public's failure to recognize this fantastic record by -- according to the Gallup poll and the Harris poll, by voting almost two to one against President Ford now --

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: They are not against him. They have voted in favor of Carter.

MR. SPIVAK: If he runs against Carter?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Carter. That is right. Very simply.

Carter has talked love and compassion and the family. These are all things like motherhood and we believe in them and it is wonderful and I admire him for talking about love, but when it comes to the issues, it is very hard to tell exactly where he stands. He takes a conservative position, he takes a liberal position, but in each case he always, in the small print, puts in some clauses which give him an escape hatch so that when he gets to make the final decision, should he get there, he has got total latitude.

I think the American people, when they get right down to it, are going to want to know, where does this man stand?

MR. SPIVAK: Do you think the American people are being fooled now?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I don't think they are being fooled; I think they are being lulled. I think they have gotten a wonderful impression of warmth and friendliness. That is fine, but you don't solve problems with love alone. You have to have positions and you have got to take tough positions and these are touch issues, and I frankly don't think that even in his own party that they are clear as to where he stands.

MR. BOYARSKY: A lot of delegates or at least some delegates coming here have said in both public opinion surveys and in interviews that they are coming here to nominate a loser, and they raise the question of whether this party can survive or whether this might be one of the last conventions of the Republican party. Do you think the party can survive?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I not only think the party will survive, but I think President Ford is going to be elected in November.

MR. BOYARSKY: How can you say that in view of the dwindling membership of the party?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, I will tell you. I come from a state which has a million registered plurality against the Republican party, votes, Democratic and Independent, and I ran four times and I was as low as 24 percent before I started to run. I never got higher than 36 percent, but I always won. Now, I just have to tell you when you go to the people and you talk the issues and you talk the substantive questions that concern them and that you represent the broad spectrum of American life, the hopes, the fears, the

aspirations of people, and they feel you are more competent to do that than your opponent then they are going to vote for you regardless of your party and I think that is what will happen to Ford.

MR. BOYARSKY: But that is New York State. Now, we are dealing with the Republican Convention and the same ideological differences that prompted people to boo you in San Francisco are still here today, although people are acting much more civil than they did in 1964. You still have the same divisions. How can the Party survive with those divisions?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, it makes it exciting, let's put it that way. I think that the party is going to survive because I think the two party system is essential in America. I happen to believe both parties should be centerist parties which come up with different conceptions for solutions but representing all of the people, not a special interest. That is the strength of our democracy; in fact it is the future of freedom. If we lose that two party strength then I think we are going to lose the basis for preserving freedom and opportunity in America. I think we have the greatest system in the world. I think there never was a moment in history when the opportunities for the future at home and in the world were greater. We need the vision, the faith and the confidence to grasp them and I think the Republican Party and President Ford is in a better position to do it.

MR. MONROE: We have a bit less than two minutes.

MR. WILL: Mr. Vice President, Jimmy Carter has taken to referring repeatedly to the Nixon*Ford Administration, trying to link the two names together. Do you think it would be useful for the Republican Party or at least for Mr. Ford, to formally repudiate Mr. Nixon?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, I don't. I think his actions already have shown this is a Ford Administration. He has taken the problems that existed at the end of the other period when Mr. Nixon resigned; he has dealt with them; they are behind us. We have major issues in front of us. The President saw that. That is why he wanted to get the whole thing behind him. Naturally, the opponents want to bring this back and make an issue out of it, but I think it is an academic issue at the present time. I think the American people know it and I don't think it will work.

MR. ROWAN: You angered Mr. Carter recently when you talked about the ruthless operation he used to win the nomination. He says you indulged in a vicious personal attack. Do you expect Mr. Carter to be ruthless in the campaign he runs this fall?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Well, you know Mr. Carter made one mistake. A reporter caught him just before he was going in to net fish in his pond and instead of finding out

what he actually said, he responded to what the reporter said I said, which is not what I said, and he got himself into a situation which is totally unrelated to reality as far as what I said is concerned.

I just said he has a problem reconciling these different questions of love, compassion and hard-boiled politics and some pretty tough actions relating to the success he has had in the campaign, and I think the American people want that reconciled too.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Vice President, in maybe 15 seconds, do you see some possibility that President Ford, if he wins, could ask you to be Secretary of State?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: You never know in this world what is going to happen, but I have got responsibilities back home and we have got the greatest Secretary of State this nation has ever had in Henry Kissinger.

MR. MONROE: Thank you very much. Our time is up. Thank you, Mr. Vice President, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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