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## CONTACTS:

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
OCTOBER 11, 1974

Following is the text of a letter which Nelson A. Rockefeller has sent today to Senator Howard W. Cannon, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration:

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am replying to your letter of October 4 in which you requested information concerning certain gifts set forth in the gift tax returns that I furnished to you and your Committee in confidence on August 29, 1974.

You also asked for information with respect to any other gifts shown on these returns which were made to any person who is either a present or former public official or member of my staff when I was Governor. The additional information you requested is attached hereto.

Throughout my life, I have made loans and gifts to friends and associates to assist them in meeting the kind of pressing human needs which all people have from time to time -- problems such as severe illness and medical expenses, marital problems, education of children, problems of adolescents, problems of relocation, problems of meeting one's obligations to aged parents, and problems that have to be faced after retirement. In many cases there were special human circumstances that dictated urgency of action, and I responded simply out of friendship and affection.

I have been especially fortunate in being able to share in the meeting of these needs. That sharing has always been a part of my upbringing, and we always have lived our lives that way.

All my gifts have been fully reported as required by the Internal Revenue Code and taxes due have been paid in full. My total gifts to the eighteen present or former public officials and members of my staff when I was Governor, during the period from 1957\* to 1974 amount to \$1,778,878 and the total Federal and State taxes amount to approximately \$840,000.

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\*Chairman Rodino of the House Judiciary Committee requested information regarding gifts and loans in the period 1957 - 1967 and I am including those made during that period.

In closing, I should like to point out that:

All of the public officials or staff members listed as recipients in the attached memo were appointed by me.

They were all administratively responsible to me.

They all operated in a framework of policy established by me as Governor of the State.

We had identical objectives, there was no conflict of interest involved, and there was nothing illegal or immoral about either the loans or the gifts.

Unfortunately, confidential information submitted to the Committees and to the Executive Branch weeks ago has in some unauthorized or improper way been leaked piecemeal to the press, causing the compromising of the privacy of many individuals and misleading interpretations of the facts which I made available confidentially to the Committees many weeks ago.

In the light of this situation and in order to clarify the record, I appreciate greatly your willingness to let me make this letter and the information it contains immediately available to the public.

Sincerely,

/s/ Nelson A. Rockefeller

The Honorable Howard W. Cannon  
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

PUBLIC OFFICIALS

Richard S. Aldrich. Mr. Aldrich is my first cousin; he has been my friend and associate for more than thirty years. On June 23, 1969, I appointed him as a member of the New York State Housing Finance Agency, a position he still holds. In 1965, four years before that appointment, I made a gift to him in the amount of \$18,167 as an expression of my personal affection, friendship and esteem.

G. Russell Clark. Mr. Clark was Executive Manager of the American Bankers Association and was a well-recognized expert on banking systems. I appointed him Superintendent of Banks on February 18, 1959. Prior to this appointment, on January 27, 1959, I made a gift of \$25,000 to Mr. Clark to assist him in his relocation expenses before he took office.

Henry L. Diamond. On April 24, 1970 I appointed Henry Diamond, a highly recognized expert in the field of conservation and ecology, as head of the newly formed Department of Environmental Conservation, in which capacity he did an outstanding job. After his resignation in December, 1973, I made two gifts to him totalling \$100,006 to help him in meeting certain pressing family obligations which he had.

Mr. Diamond presently serves as Executive Director of the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans.

Mr. and Mrs. James W. Gaynor. Mr. Gaynor was an outstanding engineer located in Denver, Colorado. On January 14, 1959, I appointed him as New York State Commissioner of Housing and Community Renewal, a position he resigned in 1969.

I made gifts to Mr. Gaynor on two different occasions. The first was a gift of \$7,000 which I made in February 1959 to assist them in moving from Denver to New York. The second gift was made in December of 1970 when I gave Mr. Gaynor \$100,000, forgiving various loans which were made to him to help with personal and business losses occasioned by his relocation.

Henry A. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger has been a close personal friend and associate for more than eighteen years. In January of 1969, after he had resigned as a consultant to me and before he became Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, I made him a gift of \$50,000. This gift was made not only because of my

affection and appreciation for Dr. Kissinger's invaluable assistance, but to help him during a particularly difficult time in meeting financial responsibilities to his children and former wife.

Edward J. Logue. I first knew of Mr. Logue as one of the nation's outstanding urban planners and builders, first in New Haven and later in Boston. As New York State organized its Urban Development Corporation, I asked Mr. Logue to serve as its President and Chief Executive Officer. Mr. Logue was interested in the position, but was concerned with the necessity of repaying a number of outstanding personal obligations he had in Massachusetts. In order to help with these obligations and also to enable him to relocate in New York, I made him gifts in 1968 totalling \$31,389. I also loaned him \$145,000 of which \$45,000 has been repaid and \$100,000 is still outstanding.

Alton G. Marshall. Mr. Marshall first entered State government in 1947 and served New York State in a number of capacities. He was one of my early associates and became one of my valued advisers. In 1965 I appointed Mr. Marshall as my Executive Officer and in 1966 as my Secretary. After fifteen years of dedicated and brilliant service in my administration, Mr. Marshall resigned in December 1970 to become President of Rockefeller Center, Inc. At that time I forgave his indebtedness of \$306,867, resulting from loans I had made to him in 1967-1969 to help him meet exceptionally serious family obligations and problems, including health and education.

L. Judson Morhouse. Mr. Morhouse was the unsalaried Chairman of the Republican State Committee from 1954 to 1962. In March, 1959, after I was elected Governor, I appointed Mr. Morhouse a member of the New York State Thruway Authority and he served until his resignation in January, 1963. In 1960, at Mr. Morhouse's request, I loaned him \$100,000 to enable him to make an investment. The loan was secured by stock. Mr. Morhouse had very pressing family obligations to meet at that time.

In 1962 Mr. Morhouse was indicted for bribery in connection with an attempt to obtain a liquor license. He was subsequently convicted and spent a period in jail. In 1970, after a panel of doctors appointed by the State Medical Society unanimously certified that his life was in danger if he stayed in jail because he had both cancer of the colon and Parkinson's disease, I commuted his sentence.

After I resigned as Governor in December, 1973 and it was clear there was no prospect of his repaying the loan, I forgave the debt which was discounted to \$86,313 and paid the gift tax.

Joseph H. Murphy. Mr. Murphy was a close personal friend and associate from the beginning of my State administration. On January 1, 1959, I appointed him Commissioner of Taxation and Finance. He resigned from that position on June 30, 1969, and then became Chairman of the New York State Housing and Finance Agency. In November, 1967, I made a \$20,000 loan to help him meet certain pressing family obligations relating to his children's education and to help him meet his obligations to aged parents, which loan I forgave in 1970.

William J. Ronan. Dr. Ronan is a long-time personal friend and associate. Our close relationship goes back to when Dr. Ronan served as Executive Director of the Temporary State Commission of the Constitutional Convention in 1956 and 1957. It was there that I first became aware of his extraordinary ability and, upon my election as Governor, I asked him to serve as my Secretary. He served in that capacity with great distinction until 1966, at which time I appointed him the full-time Chairman of the Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority (this subsequently became the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, and I appointed Dr. Ronan its Chairman). Dr. Ronan resigned as Chairman of the MTA in May, 1974, and became the unsalaried Chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey by appointment of Governors Wilson and Byrne. Governor Wilson also appointed Dr. Ronan as a member of the New York State Power Authority on May 16, 1974.

The first gift to Dr. Ronan, of \$75,000, was made on December 19, 1958, prior to his appointment on January 1, 1959 as my Secretary. Sixteen years later on May 3, 1974 I made a second gift to Dr. Ronan in the amount of \$550,000 by way of a cash gift of \$40,000 and the forgiveness of six loans totalling \$510,000 that I had made to him over a period of seven years. The gifts were made to Dr. Ronan in recognition of our long friendship, his pressing family responsibilities and problems, and to assist him in meeting continuing financial responsibilities after retirement.

Fred A. Young. On January 14, 1965, I made a gift of \$15,000 to Fred A. Young, who had been Chief Judge of the Court of Claims of the State of New York, but who was at that time Republican State Chairman. Mr. Young was experiencing a tragic and continuing problem involving one of his children. Subsequently, in December of 1965, I reappointed him to the Court of Claims and in January 1966 designated him as Presiding Judge.

#### MEMBERS OF MY OFFICIAL STAFF AS GOVERNOR

Victor Borella. Mr. Borella is a long-time friend, associate, and adviser of nearly 45 years. From November 1967 to December 1971, he served as a Special Assistant to the Governor on labor matters. In May of 1972, when he retired and moved out of state, I gave him \$100,000 as an expression of my great esteem for him by forgiving a loan I had made in November of 1968, to help him with medical expenses and other family obligations.

James M. Cannon. Mr. Cannon is a personal friend of ten years and associate for the last five. He was Special Assistant to the Governor from February 9, 1969 to December 1973. In January, 1974, after he had resigned from State government to join my personal staff, I made a gift in the amount of \$40,000 out of friendship and respect.

Jerry Danzig. Mr. Danzig is a long-time friend and associate who has worked with me in both my personal office and in State government. He was a special Assistant to the Governor from February 4, 1969 to December 1973. Out of admiration and friendship, I made him gifts totalling \$29,738 over a five-year period.

Mrs. Mary Kresky. Mrs. Kresky served as a Program Associate on the personal staff of the Governor and then as Assistant Secretary to the Governor since 1965. In January, 1974 she became Associate Director of the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans.

Because of my great respect and admiration for her, when she was married in November of 1972, I gave her a wedding present of stock valued at \$24,560. As a result of the unfortunate subsequent decline of this stock, I made an additional gift of stock to her in January 1974 of \$5,064.

Hugh Morrow. Mr. Hugh Morrow is a long-time close personal friend who served on my personal staff for many years and more recently on my staff in State government as Director of Communications from February 1969 to December 1973.

In 1967 he had very serious financial obligations to meet in connection with the health and education of his ten children and to meet several serious and tragic emergencies that occurred in his family, and I loaned him \$35,000. I forgave this debt on December 31, 1970. Subsequently, Mr. Morrow incurred substantial additional debts at a bank for the same purposes and in 1974 I made a gift to Mr. Morrow of \$100,000 enabling him to pay that loan, and loaned him \$30,000 which is still outstanding.

Thomas E. Stephens. Mr. Stephens was a long time friend and a man for whom I had tremendous admiration since the days when we had worked with each other in Washington at the time he was Appointments Secretary to President Eisenhower. On December 31, 1962, I forgave the balance of two loans in the amount of \$27,000. At that time Mr. Stephens was in extreme financial difficulty because of a series of tragic events. I made another gift to him in 1967 in the amount of \$4,000. Mr. Stephens served in a number of posts in State government; including a short period in the Executive Chamber as a Special Assistant.

Mrs. Ann Whitman. I have had a long friendship and association with Mrs. Whitman for over twenty years dating back to the 1950's in Washington when she was President Eisenhower's Secretary for eight years.

She came to work with me in the 1960's first as my personal Secretary and then as Executive Assistant when I was Governor.

In July, 1972, I made a loan of \$25,000 to Mrs. Whitman to help in meeting some of the financial problems facing her after retirement.

In June, 1973, because of my great respect and admiration for her, I gave her a birthday present of stock, then valued at \$19,237. Due to the subsequent decline in value of the stock, I made an additional gift to her in January, 1974, of stock valued at \$3,545.

OTHERS

The following sets forth the facts as to six other persons who appear on my 1967 through 1974 gift tax returns and about whom you have inquired, and who do not belong in the categories listed above:

Victor Andrade. Mr. Victor Andrade is not and never was a public official in the United States. He was Ambassador from Bolivia at the time I was Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and Assistant Secretary of State. Later he was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia. Ever since the 40's he has been a close personal friend of mine and a great friend of the United States.

As a result of various political upheavals in Bolivia, he has been exiled from the country at various times, living mostly in the United States without adequate means of support. Over the years I have made gifts to him totalling \$38,200.

Robert R. Douglass. In 1973 and 1974 I made gifts to a Trust for the benefit of a long time personal friend and associate on private affairs who is not now and never was an official or employee of State government. The total of these gifts to the Trust was \$139,090.50.

Mr. Douglass is not the recipient of these gifts but is merely the Trustee who administers the Trust.

Emmet John Hughes. Mr. Hughes is not and never was a State official. He has been a close friend of mine from the days of the Eisenhower Administration, when he was at various times on the President's staff.

On January 9, 1959, I gave Mr. Hughes \$5,000 as token of my high esteem for him. A year later, in the early 1960's, he was employed by the family office as a public relations adviser and speech writer. He also did some consulting work in 1968 and 1969. In the spring of 1968, I made Mr. Hughes a loan of \$150,000 to enable him to make investments. In December of 1970 I decided to forgive this loan because of my personal friendship for Mr. Hughes and my respect for his talents as a writer.

John N. Mitchell. In July 1971, I loaned Mr. John N. Mitchell an oil painting by J. B. Stearns to hang in the Conference Room of the Justice Department. After his resignation as Attorney General in 1972, the painting was returned. This transaction was inadvertently reported by my accountants as a gift of \$6,500 which has been corrected.

Mario Noto. In my 1973 gift tax return, Mario Noto was inadvertently listed as the recipient of a gift of \$12,850.00. In fact, Mr. Noto was a manufacturing jeweler who produced a statuette of the Seal of the City of Albany, which I presented as a memento at Christmas time to a large number of my close friends and associates. The error in reporting this as a gift to Mr. Noto is being corrected.

Carl Vergari. Expenditures of \$4,639 which I undertook in behalf of Mr. Carl Vergari's campaign for District Attorney of Westchester County in 1971 were inadvertently reported on my 1971 gift tax return as a personal gift to "Vergari, Carl, District Attorney."

**CONTACTS:**

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212-CI 7-3700  
WASH: SHIRLEY BROWNE  
202-785-8470**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
TUESDAY,  
OCTOBER 22, 1974**

For the last two months, I have been responding fully and freely to all questions asked of me by:

- The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration;
- The House Judiciary Committee;
- The Federal Bureau of Investigation;
- The General Accounting Office;
- The Internal Revenue Service;
- The Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, and
- Their more than 400 investigative agents.

I have submitted to the FBI and the House and Senate Committees all of the tax returns, income and gift, which they have requested. These are as follows:

- For the House and Senate Committees - seven years of income tax returns and seventeen years of gift tax returns.
- For the FBI - ten years of income and gift tax returns.

I have given to the public lists of the following:

- All my assets owned outright by my wife and myself and in the trusts of which we are the beneficiaries;
- My income, expenses and total taxes -- federal, state and local -- by years, for the past 10 years;
- Total gifts to my family;

-- Lists of all contributions over \$3,000 by Mrs. Rockefeller and myself to charitable, educational or other tax-exempt organizations from 1957 through the third quarter of 1974;

-- Lists of all gifts, including forgiven loans, to friends of mine who were or are public officials or members of my official staff as Governor;

-- Lists of all loans to individuals from 1957 through the third quarter of 1974 (being delivered this week);

-- Lists of all political contributions that Mrs. Rockefeller and I have made, as set forth in our Federal gift tax returns, and in addition all political contributions under \$3,000, which are not required to be reported, covering the period from 1957 through the third quarter of 1974 (being delivered this week).

In addition, I have been as responsive to the needs and demands of the public information media as has been humanly possible.

But it has become physically impossible to do the research and obtain all the information requested by the press while similarly fulfilling the requests from the committees. Today, alone, I had requests for detailed information on multiple subjects from as many as 7 reporters from a single publication.

Matters have reached a point at which I must insist on fulfilling my primary obligations:

-- My special obligation at this time to my wife and children;

-- And also to the Congressional committees and the Congress as representatives for the American people under the provisions of the 25th Amendment.

Therefore, I am deferring answering further questions until I appear in person before the Congressional committees. My first scheduled appearance is before the Senate Committee on November 13.

**CONTACTS:**

**NYC: HUGH MORROW  
212-CI 7-3700  
WASH: SHIRLEY BROWNE  
202-785-8470**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
MONDAY,  
OCTOBER 28, 1974**

Following are the texts of letters from Nelson A. Rockefeller to Chairman Howard W. Cannon of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and Chairman Peter W. Rodino, Jr. of the House Committee on the Judiciary, with enclosures sent to both Committees:

October 28, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

You have asked me to provide you with identical information requested by Chairman Rodino. In his letter to me of October 8, 1974, Chairman Rodino asked for a listing of loans. I am, therefore, enclosing herewith a list of all loans that I have made to individuals for the period from 1957 through the third quarter of 1974. Although Chairman Rodino asked for a list of the loans only for the period 1957 to 1967, I thought that both you and he would want this information brought up to date. Virtually all of these loans were made to close personal friends, associates, or members of my family. For your convenience, I have added a footnote for all those individuals who I know at one time or another have been in public service. This list supplements and does not duplicate the information that I previously provided to you on October 11, 1974.

Sincerely,

/s/ Nelson A. Rockefeller

The Honorable Howard W. Cannon, Chairman  
Committee on Rules and Administration  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

October 28, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In accordance with the request in your letter of October 8, 1974, I am enclosing herewith a list of all loans that I have made to individuals for the period from 1957 through the third quarter of 1974. Although your letter asked for a list of the loans only for the period 1957 to 1967, I thought that you would want this information brought up to date. Virtually all of these loans were made to close personal friends, associates or members of my family. For your convenience, I have added a footnote for all those individuals who I know at one time or another have been in public service. This list supplements and does not duplicate the information that I previously provided you on October 11, 1974.

Sincerely,

/s/ Nelson A. Rockefeller

The Honorable Peter W. Rodino, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

\* \* \*

(Note to Press: With reference to "information that I previously provided you on October 11, 1974" as mentioned in letters above, the October 11th press release is attached for your convenience.)

(more)

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

## Loans to Individuals, 1957-1967

<u>Obligor</u>		<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date of Payment</u>	<u>Amount Paid</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Richard S. Aldrich	(1)	9-17-63	\$ 26,000	1965-73	\$ 16,000	\$ 10,000
Winthrop W. Aldrich	(2)	3-15-57	12,000	1958-60	12,000	-0-
Robert B. Anderson	(3)	1-2-57	60,000	6-6-57	60,000	-0-
" " "		4-1-57	24,000	6-6-57	24,000	-0-
Louise A. Boyer		1-1-57	6,000	1957-66	6,000	-0-
George A. Dudley	(4)	4-1-57	6,000	1958-63	6,000	-0-
John J. Gilbooley	(5)	8-31-61	2,500	1-31-62	2,500	-0-
Leonard Glenn		2-9-57	2,500	Written off	-0-	-0-
Vera Gosler		1-1-59	15,000	1959-61	15,000	-0-
Walter Gordon		2-25-58	2,425	1958-60	2,425	-0-
" "		12-13-63	1,650	1964-65	1,650	-0-
Wallace K. Harrison	(6)	3-1-57	60,000	1959-64	60,000	-0-
Eugene Holman, Jr.		4-1-57	21,212	1958-59	21,212	-0-
Francis A. Jamieson	(7)	1-2-57	12,000	1957-62	12,000	-0-
Frederick S. Johnson		11-1-57	6,000	1958-62	6,000	-0-

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

Loans to Individuals, 1957-1967

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<u>Obligor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date of Payment</u>	<u>Amount Paid</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Richard H. Mansfield	4-1-57	\$ 6,000	5-9-58	\$ 6,000	\$ -0-
Robert C. and Martha M. Orf	6-18-59	3,500	1959	3,500	-0-
Ann R. Pierson	3-4-60	12,500	1961-62	12,500	-0-
W. Kenneth Riland (8)	4-1-57	6,000	1958-65	6,000	-0-
Anna M. Rosenberg	5-1-57	6,000	1958-67	6,000	-0-
Theodore C. Streibert (9)	4-10-57	6,000	1958-62	6,000	-0-
Ruth Tillinghast	1-2-57	6,000	1957-62	6,000	-0-
Various Constitutional Commission employees (10)	2-17-58	3,000	7-22-59	3,000	-0-
" " " "	3-12-58	3,600	7-22-59	3,600	-0-
" " " "	4-22-58	3,986	7-22-59	3,986	-0-

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Note: For items marked 1 through 10, see attachment.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

Loans to Individuals, 1957 - 1967

1. Richard Aldrich -- My first cousin and long-time close friend and associate; former New York City Councilman and unsalaried member of State Housing Finance Agency; private citizen at time of loan.
2. Winthrop Aldrich -- My deceased uncle who was the closest to us in my mother's family; former United States Ambassador to Court of St. James; private citizen at the time of the loan.
3. Robert B. Anderson -- A long-time friend and former Federal Cabinet officer; private citizen at the time of loan.
4. George A. Dudley -- A friend and associate of more than thirty-five years; Chief Executive Officer, New York State Council on Architecture; private citizen at time of loan.
5. John J. Gilhooley -- A close friend and former Federal sub-cabinet officer and City Transit Authority member; private citizen at time of loan.
6. Wallace K. Harrison -- An intimate friend and associate for over forty years; former Director of the Office of Inter-American Affairs during the 1940's; private citizen at time of loan.
7. Francis A. Jamieson -- A friend and close associate from the late thirties until his death in 1961; with Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in 1940's; private citizen at time of loan.
8. W. Kenneth Riland -- Personal physician and close friend since 1940; member of State Public Health Council and member of Commission on the Uses and Regulation of Acupuncture; private citizen at time of loan.
9. Theodore C. Streibert -- Friend and associate in the family office; Director of U.S. Information Agency in 1950's; private citizen at time of loan.
10. Various Constitutional Commission employees -- These were loans in the form of salary advances to the staff of the Temporary State Commission on the Constitutional Convention during the period in 1958 in which legislative funding had terminated and prior to establishment of new legislative funding.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

Loans to Individuals, 1968-1974

<u>Obligor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date of Payment</u>	<u>Amount Paid</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Joan Braden	12-31-73	\$ 10,283	2-7-74	\$ 6,000*	\$ 4,283
Leonard Glenn	2-11-69	1,400	Written off	-0-	-0-
Albert L. Radley	12-11-72	15,000	-	-0-	15,000
Margaratta F. Rockefeller	10-1-73	15,000	4-5-74	2,500	12,500
Rodman C. Rockefeller	12-11-68	27,000	1973	6,750	20,250
Steven C. Rockefeller	4-8-71	12,600	1973-74	3,150	9,450
Carl E. Siegesmund	12-28-73	11,250	8-8-74	11,250	-0-
Various family office employees**	1969-74	101,250	Various	25,000	76,250

\* Cancelled by gift.

\*\* To enable employees to purchase interests in investment partnership.

November 1, 1974

STATEMENT BY HUGH MORROW  
PRESS SECRETARY TO NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

The story by Jack Nelson of the Los Angeles Times as published in today's New York Post is inaccurate and the quotations attributed to a member of the House Judiciary Committee are misleading and very unfair.

The facts are:

1. At the request of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, whose staff has just completed a two-month study of Mr. Rockefeller's income tax returns, Mr. Rockefeller authorized the release of the Joint Committee Staff Report to the Senate Rules and House Judiciary Committees.
2. However, in view of the fact that he had not been furnished a copy of the report, Mr. Rockefeller specified at that time that it be treated by the Committees on a confidential basis -- as was understood from the outset between the Senate and House Committee Chairmen and Mr. Rockefeller on all tax matters.
3. Copies of the Joint Committee Staff Report were requested from the two Congressional Committees so Mr. Rockefeller could review the report. To date, the report has not been made available to him by the House Committee. It was made available to Mr. Rockefeller by the Senate Committee, on the specific condition, concurred in by the General Counsel to the House Committee, that he not release or comment upon any of the information in the report.

These basic facts above were not brought out in the article.

4. If a majority of either Congressional Committee wishes to set the precedent of releasing detailed individual tax information as set forth in the report of the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, Mr. Rockefeller has no objection -- as he stated before the Senate Rules Committee in September when a similar question came up.

VP

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 11, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to request your assistance and cooperation in carrying out the clear intention of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution which we in the Congress proposed in 1965 and which became effective upon ratification by the Legislatures of 47 States in 1967.

The essence of the 25th Amendment, insofar as it pertains to a vacancy in the Office of the Vice President (Section 2), is that a prolonged vacancy in the second office of the Federal Government and the normal successor to the Presidency is undesirable as a matter of public policy. While the language of this Constitutional amendment fixes no specific time limit on the process of nomination and confirmation, I view it as implicit in the adoption of this section that vacancies be as brief as the careful consideration of a nominee by the President and the Congress will permit.

I therefore considered it my Constitutional duty, immediately upon assuming the Office of the President, to place the highest priority on submitting a nomination for the vacancy in the Vice Presidency to the Congress. Within eleven days I submitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives the name of Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York.

In contrast to this Congress' careful but expeditious consideration over a period of eight weeks of my own nomination to be the Vice President, the only precedent in the use of the 25th Amendment for this purpose, neither body has yet completed consideration of the qualifications of my nominee. There is public speculation that no final action will be taken by this 93rd Congress before it adjourns sine die.

The Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate commenced its hearings promptly on September 23 and I understand will resume them on November 13th, prior to the return of the Congress from its current recess. However, the hearings of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House have not yet even begun.

In nominating Nelson Rockefeller for the vacancy in the Office of the Vice President on August 20, 1974, almost 12 weeks ago, after personal consultation with the leadership of the majority and minority parties in both bodies of the Congress, I reached the considered conclusion that he was the best qualified person to fill this important office and the one who could best assist me in working with the Congress to find practical solutions to the many problems facing our country at home and abroad.

In accordance with the urgency implicit in the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, I immediately authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigation and all other Executive Agencies of the Federal Government to cooperate with the respective Committees of the House and Senate in their investigation of Governor Rockefeller's qualifications and fitness to fill this office. The nominee has stated his willingness to cooperate fully with the cognizant committees in their preliminary studies, audits, investigations and inquiries.

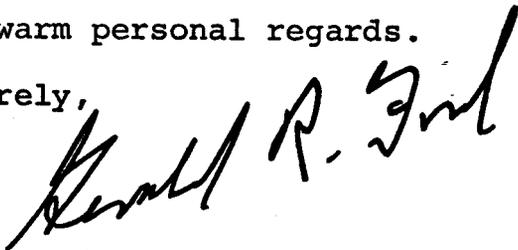
Governor Rockefeller has served with five Presidents in Federal positions and has administered the affairs of one of our most complex State Governments with demonstrated efficiency and capacity for solving economic and social problems and with concern for the rights and well-being of all its people.

In my judgment it is essential that this Congress give the highest priority to completing the confirmation process mandated by the Constitution when it returns from recess on November 18. The national interest is not well served by a continued vacancy in the Vice Presidency and I remain firmly convinced that Governor Rockefeller is eminently qualified for this office.

Therefore, I respectfully request your assistance in expediting those procedures for which the Congress is constitutionally responsible in order to ensure a final determination by both the Senate and the House of Representatives in the remaining days of the 93rd Congress.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Howard W. Cannon  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Senator Mike Mansfield

Dear Mike:

Senator James O. Eastland

Dear Jim:

Senator Robert C. Byrd

Dear Bob:

Senator Hugh Scott

Dear Hugh:

Senator Howard W. Cannon

Dear Mr. Chairman:

(type two letters)

Dear Howard:

Senator Marlow W. Cook

Dear Marlow:

Representative Carl Albert

Dear Carl:

Representative Thomas O'Neill, Jr.

Dear Tip:

Representative John J. Rhodes

Dear John:

Representative John J. McFall

Dear Jack:

Representative Leslie C. Arends

Dear Les:

Representative Edward Hutchinson

Dear Ed:

Senator Robert P. Griffin

Dear Bob:

Representative Peter Rodino, Jr.

Dear Pete:

FORD (TOPS)

(PHOENIX, ARIZONA) -- PRESIDENT FORD TONIGHT EXHORTED CONGRESS TO PROMPTLY CONFIRM NELSON ROCKEFELLER AS VICE-PRESIDENT. THEN, THE PRESIDENT DECLARED HE CAN IMAGINE NO CIRCUMSTANCES THAT WOULD LEAD HIM TO WITHDRAW THE NOMINATION.

FORD SAID HE REMAINS CONVINCED THAT ROCKEFELLER IS "THE MOST QUALIFIED PERSON TO BE VICE-PRESIDENT."

AND THE PRESIDENT SAID HE INTENDS TO DO ALL HE CAN TO SEE THAT ROCKEFELLER IS CONFIRMED.

FORD MADE THE COMMENT IN A NATIONALLY BROADCAST QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION IN PHOENIX AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE JOURNALISTIC FRATERNITY, SIGMA DELTA CHI.

FORD PREFACED THE SESSION BY SAYING CONGRESS SHOULD WRITE DEADLINES INTO THE 25TH AMENDMENT TO PREVENT PROLONGED HASSLES SUCH AS THAT NOW DELAYING ACTION ON THE ROCKEFELLER NOMINATION.

HE SAID ONE SUCH CHANGE SHOULD BE TO REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON AN ALTERNATIVE NOMINEE IF IT FAILED TO CONFIRM AN INITIAL SELECTION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT IN SOME FUTURE SITUATION.

FORD WAS ASKED WHETHER HE WILL WITHDRAW THE ROCKEFELLER NOMINATION IF IT HAS NOT BEEN APPROVED BY THE TIME THE CURRENT 93RD CONGRESS ADJOURNS. HE REPLIED: "NO".

08:47PES 11-14-74

(POLL)

NEW YORK (UPI) -- ACCORDING TO A LOUIS HARRIS POLL RELEASED TODAY, THE AMERICAN PUBLIC GENERALLY DISAPPROVES OF NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S BEING NAMED VICE PRESIDENT BUT FEELS HE AND HIS FAMILY HAVE BEEN GENEROUS IN GIVING MONEY TO GOOD CAUSES.

THE HARRIS POLL SAID 43 PER CENT OF THOSE SURVEYED SAID THEY DID NOT FAVOR ROCKEFELLER AS VICE PRESIDENT COMPARED WITH 55 PER CENT APPROVAL TWO MONTHS AGO WHEN PRESIDENT FORD SUBMITTED ROCKEFELLER'S NAME TO CONGRESS.

IN THE LATEST SURVEY, TAKEN NOV. 1-5, 39 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE APPROVED OF ROCKEFELLER AS VICE PRESIDENT. IN THE SURVEY TWO MONTHS AGO 31 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE DISAPPROVED.

HARRIS SAID HIS SURVEY INDICATED THAT THE REASONS FOR THE ROCKEFELLER FALL WERE HIS GIFTS OF \$2 MILLION TO PEOPLE HE APPOINTED TO OFFICE (54-28 PER CENT DISAPPROVAL); DISAPPROVAL OF HIS BROTHER'S FINANCING OF A BOOK CRITICAL OF ARTHUR GOLDBERG IN 1970 WHEN GOLDBERG OPPOSED ROCKEFELLER FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, AND THE WAY ROCKEFELLER HANDLED THE DISCLOSURE (BY 58-15 PER CENT).

A 47 PER CENT PLURALITY (VERSUS 34 PER CENT) FEELS THERE WOULD BE "A CONFLICT OF INTEREST...BECAUSE OF HIS FAMILY'S FINANCIAL HOLDINGS AND INVESTMENTS."



N120

R

ROCKEFELLER LEAD

BY JIM LUTHER

WASHINGTON (AP) -- THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE TODAY ENDED TWO DAYS OF QUESTIONING OF NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, AND THE VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE DESCRIBED IT AS "ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING AND INTERESTING EXPERIENCES OF MY LIFE."

AT THE SAME TIME, PRESIDENT FORD ISSUED A EXHORTATION TO CONGRESS TO "FISH OR CUT BAIT" IN THE MATTER OF CONFIRMING OR DENYING THE ROCKEFELLER'S NOMINATION.

SPEAKING IN PHOENIX, FORD REITERATED HIS BELIEF IN ROCKEFELLER, BUT SAID IT WAS IMPLICIT IN THE 25TH AMENDMENT "THAT PROLONGED VACANCY IN THE SECOND OFFICE OF THE LAND IS UNDESIRABLE AS PUBLIC POLICY

HE SAID HE WOULD PROPOSE THAT THE NEXT CONGRESS REVIEW THE AMENDMENT TO SEE IF A DEADLINE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS.

ROCKEFELLER DEFENDED HIS PRACTICE OF HANDING OVER LARGE SUMS TO FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES, BUT PROMISED TO REDUCE HIS PRIVATE GIVING IF HE IS CONFIRMED.

THE NINE-MEMBER COMMITTEE QUESTIONED ROCKEFELLER ABOUT HIS MORE THAN \$2 MILLION IN PRIVATE LOANS AND GIFTS, AND HE INSISTED THAT HIS ONLY PURPOSE HAD BEEN TO HELP THOSE IN NEED.

ONE OF THOSE IN NEED, ROCKEFELLER SAID, WAS HENRY A. KISSINGER, A LONG-TIME ASSOCIATE OF THE FORMER NEW YORK GOVERNOR. ROCKEFELLER SAID HE GAVE KISSINGER \$50,000 BEFORE HE JOINED THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN 1969.

THE REASON WAS THAT KISSINGER "HAD JUST GOT DIVORCED AND MADE A SETTLEMENT WHICH SEEMED TO ME LESS THAN FULLY EQUITABLE FROM HIS OWN POINT OF VIEW AND HE HAD SOME VERY HEAVY OBLIGATIONS WITH TWO KIDS," ROCKEFELLER SAID.

"WAS THIS GIFT AN ATTEMPT TO KEEP YOUR FOOT IN THE DOOR AT THE WHITE HOUSE?" CHAIRMAN HOWARD W. CANNON, D-NEV., ASKED. "AT THAT TIME MY FOOT WAS NOT WELCOME AT THE DOOR," REPLIED ROCKEFELLER.

SEN. ROBERT C. BYRD, D-W.VA., ROCKEFELLER'S MOST PERSISTENT QUESTIONER, EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT ROCKEFELLER'S GIFTS AND LOANS IN LIGHT OF A NEW YORK LAW THAT PROHIBITS A PERSON FROM OFFERING A BENEFIT TO ANY PUBLIC SERVANT "FOR HAVING ENGAGED IN OFFICIAL CONDUCT . . ."

ROCKEFELLER TESTIFIED MOST OF THE LOANS HE MADE TO STATE OFFICIALS WERE INTEREST-FREE AND THAT THE RECIPIENTS WERE NOT ASKED TO HAVE THEIR WIVES CO-SIGN THE NOTES.

11-14-74 19:42EST

UP-151

(ROCKEFELLER)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- FORMER SUPREME COURT JUSTICE ARTHUR GOLDBERG TOLD SENATORS TODAY HE COULD NOT ACCEPT NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S APOLOGY FOR HIS ROLE IN PUBLISHING A "LIBELOUS" AND "PORNOGRAPHIC" BOOK ABOUT HIM.

BUT GOLDBERG, APPEARING BEFORE A TELEVISED HEARING OF THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE, REFUSED TO SAY WHETHER HE CONSIDERED THE AFFAIR SO SERIOUS AS TO JUSTIFY REJECTION OF ROCKEFELLER'S NOMINATION TO BECOME VICE PRESIDENT.

USING A JUDICIAL TERM, THE WHITE-HAIRED FORMER JUSTICE SAID HE WAS "A PARTY INVOLVED" IN THE ISSUE SO HE WOULD DISQUALIFY HIMSELF FROM OFFERING AN OPINION.

ROCKEFELLER TOLD THE COMMITTEE YESTERDAY HE WAS EMBARRASSED AND HUMILIATED BY HIS ROLE IN HAVING THE BOOK PUBLISHED WITH \$60,000 FINANCING FROM HIS BROTHER, LAURANCE. HE ALSO ADMITTED HAVING ISSUED A FALSE STATEMENT DENYING ANY ROLE IN THE MATTER WHEN THE ISSUE AROSE LAST MONTH.

THE BOOK, BY CONSERVATIVE AUTHOR VICTOR LASKY, WAS PUBLISHED DURING THE 1970 CAMPAIGN BETWEEN ROCKEFELLER AND GOLDBERG FOR THE NEW YORK GOVERNORSHIP. GOLDBERG TOLD THE COMMITTEE HE CONSIDERED THE BOOK "PORNOGRAPHIC IN THE COMMON DICTIONARY SENSE -- THAT IT IS DIRTY BUSINESS."

HE SAID HE FELT IT WAS LIBELOUS UNDER THE SUPREME COURT'S TOUGH DEFINITION THAT A PUBLICATION MUST BE NOT ONLY FALSE AND DEFAMATORY BUT ISSUED WITH ACTUAL INTENT OF MALICE IN ORDER TO LIBEL A PUBLIC FIGURE.

UPI 11-14 07:01 PES

UP-152

ADD 1 ROCKEFELLER, WASHINGTON (UP-151)

"THEN YOU HAVE A LAWSUIT, DON'T YOU?" ASKED SENATE REPUBLICAN WHIP ROBERT GRIFFIN.

"NO," SMILED GOLDBERG. HE SAID HE DISSENTED FROM THAT SUPREME COURT DECISION AND WROTE AN OPINION ARGUING IT IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO LIBEL A PUBLIC FIGURE.

SINCE "I AM A MAN OF CONVICTION," HE SAID, HE COULD NOT NOW SUE LASKY UNDER THE COURT'S LESS RIGID DEFINITION.

NONETHELESS, HE SAID, HE COULD NOT ACCEPT ROCKEFELLER'S TELEPHONED APOLOGY BECAUSE HE HID FROM HIM -- EVEN WHILE APOLOGIZING -- HIS OWN ROLE IN THE BOOK'S PUBLICATION.

GOLDBERG CONCEDED THE BOOK HAD LITTLE IMPACT IN THE CAMPAIGN. AND HE SAID ALL PUBLIC FIGURES "MUST TAKE OUR LUMPS".

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER HUGH SCOTT CALLED THE BOOK A "DUD" AND SAID, "THEY'VE SAID WORSE ABOUT ME THAN THEY HAVE ABOUT YOU, ARTHUR."

LASKY, SMOKING A LONG CIGAR, LISTENED TO THE DAY'S TESTIMONY. HE IS TO TESTIFY TOMORROW.

MEANTIME, MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, WHOSE HEARINGS INTO THE NOMINATION START NOV. 21, RECEIVED A BRIEFING ON THE 2,300-PAGE FBI REPORT ON ITS INVESTIGATION OF ROCKEFELLER.

"I JUST CAN'T GET UP TIGHT OVER WHAT WAS IN THIS BOOK," SAID REP. TRENT LOTT, R-MISS. "IT'S THE CONFLICT OF INTEREST THAT BOTHERS ME. IS THERE SOME WAY HE CAN DIVORCE HIMSELF FROM HIS VAST FINANCIAL INVOLVEMENTS?"

UPI 11-14 07:05 PES

UP-153

ADD 2 ROCKEFELLER, WASHINGTON

GOLDBERG, IN PREPARED TESTIMONY, SAID HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE BOOK'S "CONCEALED SOURCE, INSPIRATION AND FINANCING."

BUT HE SAID ONLY CONGRESS -- NOT HIMSELF -- SHOULD DETERMINE IF ROCKEFELLER'S "BELATED ASSUMPTION OF RESPONSIBILITY IS COMPATIBLE WITH HIS BEING CONFIRMED AS VICE PRESIDENT."

HE SAID THE INCIDENT SHOULD BE JUDGED NOT BY THE NEW WATERGATE MORALITY BUT "BY TRADITIONAL MORALITY" AS WELL.

ROCKEFELLER'S EXPLANATIONS -- ABOUT THE BOOK AND HIS GIFTS AND LOANS TO ASSOCIATES -- APPEARED TO HAVE SATISFIED THE SENATORS.

SCOTT SAID THERE WERE NO ISSUES LEFT AGAINST HIM.

GRIFFIN HAD EARLIER ACCUSED DEMOCRATS OF "DILLY-DALLYING" ON THE NOMINATION BECAUSE THEY FEAR ROCKEFELLER WOULD BE "TOO GOOD A VICE PRESIDENT."

FOR HIS PART, ROCKEFELLER SAID HE WOULD SIGN A PLEDGE PROMISING NOT TO GIVE AWAY LARGE SUMS OF MONEY TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IF HE IS CONFIRMED. THE ONLY EXCEPTIONS WOULD BE "NOMINAL AMOUNTS" SUCH AS WEDDING, CHRISTMAS AND BIRTHDAY GIFTS OR HELP TO FRIENDS SUFFERING "MEDICAL HARDSHIPS."

UPI 11-14 07:09 PES

NI 22

R

WASHINGTON ADD ROCKEFELLER (NI20)

"IF A LOAN IS INTEREST-FREE, IT IS A GRATUITY," BYRD SAID. "IF A WIFE'S SIGNATURE IS NOT ON A NOTE IT COULD BE CONSIDERED A GRATUITY." BUT HE EMPHASIZED HE WAS NOT IMPLYING ROCKEFELLER HAD BROKEN THE LAW.

SEN. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, R-MICH., ADDED: "IF YOU BELIEVE HIS (ROCKEFELLER'S) TESTIMONY, IT SEEMS TO ME THERE IS NO QUESTION OF VIOLATION."

ROCKEFELLER REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES THE LOANS AND GIFTS WERE NOT MADE FOR SERVICES RENDERED BY THE RECIPIENTS, BUT ONLY OUT OF FRIENDSHIP AND A DESIRE TO HELP HIS ASSOCIATES WITH THEIR FAMILY AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

HOWEVER, IN AN AGREEMENT HAMMERED OUT BEFORE A NATIONAL TELEVISION AUDIENCE, ROCKEFELLER SAID IF HE BECOMES VICE PRESIDENT HE WILL MAKE NO GIFTS OR LOANS TO ANY FEDERAL EMPLOYEE, EXCEPT FOR "RELATIVELY NOMINAL" AMOUNTS ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND "IN THE EVENT OF MEDICAL HARDSHIPS OF A COMPELLING HUMAN CHARACTER."

"YOU'VE MADE ME SEE HOW SOME OF MY ACTS WHICH WERE UNDERTAKEN OUT OF GENEROSITY HAVE COME TO APPEAR TO THE PUBLIC TO BE SOMETHING THEY WEREN'T," ROCKEFELLER SAID.

AT THE MIDDAY BREAK IN THE HEARINGS, CANNON TOLD REPORTERS HE HAD HEARD NOTHING TO PROVIDE A REASON FOR VOTING AGAINST ROCKEFELLER, BUT NOTED THAT "WE AREN'T THROUGH YET." HE SUGGESTED THE DISPUTE OVER ROCKEFELLER FAMILY FINANCING OF A BOOK CRITICAL OF ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG "HAS BEEN PRETTY WELL LAID TO REST."

DISCUSSION OF THE GOLDBERG BIOGRAPHY OCCUPIED THE COMMITTEE FOR MOST OF THE DAY WEDNESDAY, WITH ROCKEFELLER ADMITTING HE ERRED LAST MONTH IN DENYING KNOWLEDGE THAT HE HAD ARRANGED FINANCING FOR THE BOOK.

ROCKEFELLER WAS FOLLOWED ON THE STAND BY GOLDBERG, THE FORMER SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WHO WAS SWAMPED BY ROCKEFELLER IN THE 1970 RACE FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK. THE BOOK, FINANCED BY LAURANCE ROCKEFELLER, BROTHER OF THE NOMINEE, WAS PUBLISHED SHORTLY BEFORE THE ELECTION.

GOLDBERG SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT ROCKEFELLER'S APOLOGY FOR THE INCIDENT OR HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE UNFLATTERING BIOGRAPHY AS THE TYPE OF CRITICISM THAT MOST POLITICIANS ARE SUBJECT TO.

HE SAID HE HAD NOT OBJECTED TO THE BOOK BEFORE BECAUSE "I COULD NOT BELIEVE GOV. ROCKEFELLER, WHO SAID HE WAS MY FRIEND, WOULD BE A PARTY TO PUBLISHING A BOOK ABOUT ME THAT PRESENTS THIS PICTURE."

11-14-74 19:57EST

NI 23

R

HARRIS POLL

NEW YORK (AP) -- POLLSTER LOUIS HARRIS SAID TODAY THAT IN TWO MONTHS THE PUBLIC HAS SWITCHED FROM 55-31 APPROVAL TO 43-39 DISAPPROVAL OF FORMER NEW YORK GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S APPOINTMENT AS VICE PRESIDENT.

HARRIS SAID DISAPPROVAL OF \$2 IN MILLION GIFTS AND LOANS ROCKEFELLER MADE TO APPOINTEES, AND FINANCING OF A BOOK UNCOMPLIMENTARY TO HIS 1970 GUBERNATORIAL OPPONENT, ARTHUR GOLDBERG, HAVE BEEN THE MAIN FACTORS COSTING ROCKEFELLER PUBLIC SUPPORT.

IN THE LATEST SURVEY OF 1,525 PERSONS ON THE SUBJECT, CONDUCTED NOV. 1 THROUGH 5, A 43-39 PER CENT PLURALITY DISAPPROVED OF ROCKEFELLER'S DESIGNATION BY PRESIDENT FORD, WITH 18 PER CENT LISTED AS NOT SURE.

IN A POLL JUST AFTER THE APPOINTMENT IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, THOSE SURVEYED VOICED APPROVAL BY 55 TO 31 PER CENT, WITH 14 PER CENT UNSURE.

A LARGE MAJORITY, 71 TO 9 PER CENT, EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY HAD "BEEN GENEROUS IN GIVING THEIR MONEY TO MANY GOOD CAUSES," BUT BY 47 TO 34 PER CENT THEY FELT THE FAMILY'S VAST WEALTH WOULD CREATE A CONFLICT OF INTEREST IF HE WERE CONFIRMED AS VICE PRESIDENT.

A MAJORITY OF THOSE POLLED AGREED THAT ROCKEFELLER IS "A SOUND AND PROGRESSIVE MAN" WITH A "DYNAMIC PERSONALITY" AND "ONE OF THE MOST EXPERIENCED MEN IN PUBLIC LIFE," AND A 49-35 PLURALITY FELT HE IS "WELL QUALIFIED TO BE PRESIDENT IF HE HAD TO TAKE OVER."

BUT BY 37 TO 23, THOSE POLLED FELT ROCKEFELLER'S HANDLING OF THE ATTICA PRISON RIOT THAT RESULTED IN 43 DEATHS WAS WRONG, WITH 40 PER CENT NOT SURE.

11-14-74 20:01EST

INSERT IN EMBARGOED RELEASE (ROCKEFELLER)

THE FOLLOWING PAGES, NUMBERED 33 AND UPWARD,  
ARE FOR INSERT FOLLOWING PAGE 32 OF THE PRESS RELEASE  
OF NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE  
RULES COMMITTEE.

BOTH THE ORIGINAL RELEASE AND THE ATTACHED  
RELEASE ARE EMBARGOED UNTIL 10 A.M. (E.S.T.) ON  
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1974 AND ARE NOT TO BE  
RELEASED PRIOR THERETO.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO AVOID PREMATURE  
RELEASE WHETHER BY DIRECT QUOTATION OR EXCERPT OF  
INFORMATION.

HUGH MORROW  
PRESS SECRETARY  
TO NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

WASH: 202-785-8476  
N.Y.: 212-247-3700  
HOME: 914-961-3005

CONCLUSION

I cannot close without turning finally from these necessary details, to the great questions before us.

You are concerned on behalf of the American people -- we are all concerned -- with the question of whether it is dangerous, too dangerous, to have a person of great personal wealth potentially having in his hands the power of the Presidency.

Now I pray that, if I should be confirmed, the question of my reaching the Presidency via this special constitutional process will never come up;

-- That no terrible calamity will require that I assume the Presidency;

-- But that is nonetheless the issue before Congress and the American people in these confirmation proceedings:

Namely, whether someone like myself, who has whatever private power great wealth brings should also be entrusted with the public power of the Presidency.

Let me try to look that question straight in the eye and give it as honest and thoughtful an answer as I can.

First, I do not want to minimize the problem or cut the question down to comfortable size.

No, we are really talking about wealth in potential combination with the great power of the Presidency.

The details of my personal fortune are now a matter of public record, more fully on the record than has ever been the case for any other nominee for public office.

It does not happen to be nearly so great as many have imagined. But that is beside the point.

I am proud to acknowledge that I come from a family known for hard work and success and the wealth it has achieved -- and, I hope, known also for its philanthropic and public service.

And my private wealth is to say the least quite great enough to be abused;

-- That is, if I were the kind of man to do so and if the American political system permitted wealth to be used uncontrollably.

Let me deal especially with that last point: Whether the American political system permits wealth to be used dangerously. Now wealth is almost everywhere a potential source of power. That seems to be in the nature of things: Wealth almost always gives a person an edge. But people do not understand America if they do not understand that, here, because of the wisdom of our Founding Fathers, the power of wealth was tamed.

Let me say what we in this room, who have been working politicians all know, and what all thoughtful Americans know.

It is this:

Political authority, the only enduring kind of political power, is not for sale in the American political system. Yes, you can buy some influence, you can bribe and win sordid gains, your wealth can purchase a piece of political power here or there. And we also know that with raw political power without wealth, you can buy some influence, you can bribe and win some sordid gains, and you can acquire some personal wealth here or there.

But great political authority in America comes only from the free gift of the people when they vote for you.

Wealth only leads to true political power here when it has been transmitted by our constitutional arrangement into public authority.

Let me say that I know something personally about the difference between private power and public authority.

Four times I was honored by the people of my state: that is, four times, my private energy, resources, knowledge, and experience were turned into public authority by the votes of the people of my state.

And I deeply appreciated those electoral victories. But I also know just as well the disappointment of defeat when the voters of my own party rejected my bids for their nomination.

Whatever my personal qualities and private resources, they counted for nothing because I failed on those occasions to receive the authority of my party. I have learned therefore through both victory and defeat the limited value of private resources whatever they are.

I have spoken personally about my own victories and my own defeats. I must say something more in this personal vein. It is embarrassing to have to speak about ones self in this way. But I believe the American people will appreciate that I must.

They know that the issue finally comes down to a personal question about myself, and that I have to put forward a personal answer.

The abstract questions about private wealth and the power of the Presidency come down finally to a direct personal question about myself:

Am I the kind of man who would use his wealth improperly in public office? Or, more generally and more importantly, would my family background somehow limit and blind me, so that I would not be able to see and serve the general good of all Americans?

I think the answer is no.

I would not behave improperly.

And I would not be limited or blinded.

I think I could rise to the responsibility of the office.

I have held public office under six presidents, I have been elected four times and served for fifteen years as Governor of the State of New York.

And I think the record speaks for itself.

Lets remember that we are all limited to some extent by our backgrounds, that all American politicians must rise above the limitations of their private backgrounds.

Poverty too can blind a man or a woman. Some never rise above the hungry resentments of early hardships.

Others never rise above a merely regional background to achieve a national viewpoint.

We must achieve a viewpoint that embraces the well-being of all Americans.

I believe that my forty-year public career demonstrates that I have tried, and at least partially succeeded, in rising to achieve a broad national outlook.

It is the unbought voice of the people that here ultimately determines everything.

And then when you are in office, true authority in office depends upon a Governor or a President winning the collaboration of the legislative body.

Authority in office comes only through public support and the cooperation of all three branches under our separation of powers.

And indeed, under our system of federal decentralization, the system functions effectively only through the willing cooperation of Federal, state and local government.

That is what I have in mind when I say that the American constitutional system is the greatest arrangement ever devised for taming private power and moderating it into public authority.

There are all kinds of private power -- individual and family, corporate, trade unions and voluntary associations.

There is not only wealth, but also political family connections; it is inevitable that the sons and daughters of famous political families start life with an edge. We see examples of this every day in America.

And there is also strength, sheer physical stamina and there is intelligence and there is eloquence, and there is personal appearance.

All these are among the many natural sources of private power. Nothing can change that: It is a fact of human nature.

But in corrupt or tyrannical systems, those with power rule and they rule corruptly or tyrannically.

But here in America, it is the magic and majesty of our constitutional order that all the sources of private power are in the long run tamed and domesticated.

Wealth or any other private advantage is here only an advantage for a moment at the start.

My life, I believe I can claim, demonstrates that my purpose has always been to serve the best interests of and hopefully to earn the good opinion of my fellow citizens by a devotion to public service.

It is not for me here to say how well I have performed my public duties.

But I can and do say that my interest in service to the American republic is greater than any interest I have in family wealth or in family position.

And that my purpose in serving my fellow citizens and in earning their good opinion has secured and will always secure my fidelity to any public trust.

Thank you.

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