

AIRTEL

1 - [REDACTED] b7c 21

To: SACS, San Antonio (175-0) (Enclosure)  
Houston (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI

[REDACTED] b7c  
NELSON ROCKEFELLER  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ReSAairtel and LHM 6/29/77.

Enclosed for San Antonio and Houston is a copy of an airtel and LHM from WFO dated 9/20/76, captioned "Alleged Nuclear Devices in U. S. Territorial Waters."

Enclosed airtel and LHM set forth background information concerning [REDACTED] who maintains an office at [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Based on the information contained in referenced airtel and LHM, it would appear that [REDACTED] organization, which is referred to as the American Patriots Committee, has been involved in anti-Nelson Rockefeller type rhetoric and allegations in the past, which have not been based on fact. b7c

Although it would not appear that further investigative action is warranted in this matter, the fact that individuals mentioned in referenced LHM claimed they took photographs of the entrance to Rockefeller's property in Willacy County, Texas, San Antonio should advise local authorities of this fact as well as apprising the appropriate personnel at the Rockefeller ranch.

MAILED 17  
JUL 19 1977  
FBI

- Assec. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Adm. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Fin. & Pers. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_

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SEE NOTE PAGE 2

~~JUL 21 1977~~

ENCLOSURE

62-72612-  
FOR FILED

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

AUG 2 1977

1977

Airtel to SACS, San Antonio.  
Houston

Re: [REDACTED] b2c

NOTE:

Referenced LHM contained information that the American Patriots Committee, headed by [REDACTED] had information in their possession concerning the fact that Russian tanks and Cuban infantry were poised for assault on the United States from Mexico to occur on or about July 4, 1977. In addition, information was contained therein that certain members of the American Patriots Committee had been seeking information concerning Nelson Rockefeller's ranch located in Willacy County, Texas, and had allegedly taken photographs of the entrance to this location. [REDACTED] had previously been involved in allegations concerning nuclear devices allegedly placed in United States territorial waters. These allegations were explored by a number of Federal agencies to include the FBI, who determined that these allegations were not based on fact. Although no further investigation is necessary in this regard, San Antonio is being instructed to furnish information regarding Rockefeller's ranch to appropriate authorities so that they might be alert to any activities which might endanger the lives of any of the Rockefeller family. hu

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

- Teletype
- Facsimile
- Airtel

PRECEDENCE:

- Immediate
- Priority
- Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- TOP SECRET
- SECRET
- CONFIDENTIAL
- E F T O
- CLEAR

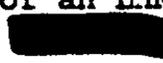
Date 6/29/77

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. AD Adm.	_____
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Adm. Serv.	_____
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Spec. Inv.	_____
Tech. Servs.	_____
Training	_____
Public Affs. Off.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (175-0) (C)

RE:   
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM setting forth results of information received from 

Enclosed for Houston are four copies of the LHM furnished to the Bureau.

LEADS

HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS. Will furnish copies of enclosed LHM to Secret Service and ATF, Houston, Texas.

SAN ANTONIO

AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS. Will furnish copies of LHM to Secret Service and ATF at San Antonio.

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 5)
- 2 - Houston (Encs. 4)
- 1 - SA
- WHM/ies
- (5)

~~Enclosure~~

Enclosure

1-155  
 1-ATF  
 1-5555  
 2-6-77  
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Approved: 

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14 JUN 22 1977



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Antonio, Texas

June 29, 1977

[REDACTED]

b7c

INFORMATION CONCERNING

[REDACTED]

furnished the following information:

[REDACTED]

he attended a convention sponsored by the American Legion held at the Sheraton Hotel, San Antonio, Texas, on June 11 and 12, 1977.

[REDACTED] One of the guests at the hospitality room was one [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

[REDACTED]

he identified himself to [REDACTED] as an individual who was working for an intelligence agency and implied that it was an agency of the U. S. Government. He subsequently stated that he did not work for the government or for a private intelligence agency, and began asking questions about the situation in Mexico and wanted to know about the landing strip on Nelson Rockefeller's ranch located in Willacy County, Texas. He also questioned [REDACTED] about any

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

62-72612-

Enclosure

~~ENCLOSURE~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

information he might have regarding Russian trawlers and barges using the intercoastal waterway along the south Texas coast line. He told [REDACTED] that his group had information that there were Russian tanks and Cuban troops in Mexico all set to invade the United States.

[REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that he had served in the U. S. Air Force.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7  
b7

He wanted to know the location of the landing strip on the Rockefeller Ranch and wanted to know whether there had been any possibly assassination or kidnap attempts against Rockefeller on that ranch. [REDACTED] that he and [REDACTED] had photographed the entrance to the Rockefeller property on their way to McAllen from Houston, Texas, on the afternoon of June 23, 1977. He also inquired of [REDACTED] of any detailed information he might have regarding Russian trawlers and barges using the intercoastal canal along the Texas coast. [REDACTED] that he had additional information regarding Russian tanks and Cuban infantry poised for an assault on the U. S. from Mexico to occur on or about July 4, 1977, and wanted to know whether or not [REDACTED] had any information which might lend support to this information.

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### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b7c & b7d with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
62-72612-412 SERIAL 6/29/77

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

On June 24, 1977, [REDACTED] Special Agent in Charge, U. S. Secret Service, San Antonio, Texas, advised that [REDACTED] is subject of their file [REDACTED] is described as a white male, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that Nelson Rockefeller is not currently under active protection by the Secret Service.

b7c

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**Party Is Given  
For Official  
From Cuba**

The President-elect of Cuba, Senor Ramon Grau San Martin, was the guest of honor at a dinner given last evening by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller, in his home on Foxhall Road.

Others in the company were the Cuban Ambassador, Senor Dr. Aurelio P. Conchoso; Senor Dr. German Alvarez Fuentes, Senor Dr. Guillermo Beit and Senor Gustavo Moreno, sr., who accompanied the President-elect to this country; the United States Ambassador to Cuba, Mr. Spruille Braden; the Attorney General, Mr. Francis Biddle; the Undersecretary of State, Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, jr.; the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Adolf A. Berle, jr., and Mr. Norman Armour, Mr. George Scherer and Mr. John Cabot, also of the State Department.

Also present were Mr. Isador Lubin, economic adviser to the President, Mr. William Green, Mr. Robert J. Watt, Mr. Alan Haywood, Mr. Emil Rieve, Mr. Jacob Potofsky, Mr. J. G. Luhrsen, Mr. David J. McDonald, Mr. Elmer Millman and Mr. Victor Borella, Assistant Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and Mr. John Herling, also of that office.

*File*

INDEXED

151

162-72612-A

NOT RECORDED

87 SEP 5 1944

EX-24

40

53 SEP 18 1944

SEP 8 1944

WASHINGTON STAR  
Page

mk

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

# Postscript ON A CONFERENCE PERSONALITY

## NELSON ALDRICH ROCKEFELLER

Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, Assistant Secretary of State for the United States of America, was born July 8, 1908. This should make him practically 37 years old.

Actually, however, Mr. Rockefeller is eight years of age, hemispherically speaking, of course.

It was in 1937 that Mr. Rockefeller discovered Latin America. It was in the same year that Latin America discovered Mr. Rockefeller. Since then there has existed a grand passion of such proportions as to make the second act of Tristan und Isolde sound like the second verse of "I Call My Sugar Candy."

Within the course of eight years Mr. Rockefeller, whose background is strictly Anglo Saxon, has become as Latin as a Villa-Lobos chorus.

His mental processes are Latin American. His gestures are Latin American. His enthusiasms, and they run very high indeed, are Latin American.

He has both warmth and spontaneity and in addition, possesses the very happy talent of making everyone with whom he comes in contact feel that he alone is the personification of the good neighbor policy.

### Easy to Look at

Mr. Rockefeller is a good looking young man.

He has football shoulders should, by rights, be wrapped in serape but instead, carry his somely draped British suits. He has tawny hair that is Byronic in tone and one unruly lock invariably dips over his brow.

Whoever assembled his features did a very adroit job, and his face with its ivory patina has a grace allor than is desirable.

Being a rich man's son has not interfered vitally with Mr. Rockefeller's multiple interests and activities.



NELSON ALDRICH ROCKEFELLER

### is incidental

In his own words, Mr. Rockefeller is "crazy about the people of Latin America." They are his friends and he finds them delightful. That he is also trying to do a constructive job in welding hemispheric good will is quite beside the point.

He first became interested in the possibilities of any exclusively American content in 1932 when he was president of New York's Museum of Modern Art and was first exposed to the works of Diego Rivera and pre-Columbian archaeological exhibits obtained for the Metropolitan Museum.

When both his business interests as well as activities of the Rockefeller Foundation led him to the study of the areas lying to the south of these United States.

From that moment on Mr. Rockefeller was lost to the old world and was then that his conviction that future security and welfare of the country lie in the unity of the Americas was born. It was neither difficult nor a painful birth.

When answering a telephone he says "Yeah" or "Yep" and because of his obvious passion for people in general, he usurps the role of every character with whom he comes in contact.

His rather smallish hands are tied in a granny knot to every word that falls from his lips, and he wears two rings, one a heavily-set sapphire and the other a wedding ring. The little finger of his left hand is reported Cliches

indulges in an occasionally

is a reaction with an attached wobbles. It is because Rockefeller's eyes are bigger than his stomach. It should be said that they are very nice eyes, sparkling with laughter.

Mr. Rockefeller does not take seriously the fact that he is a Democrat Phi Beta Kappa. A man of fact he ignores it entirely in the interests of international understanding.

Although he likes most things and most people (provided they are American) Mr. Rockefeller has a horror of guerilla warfare when it is carried into the American continent of Fleet street.

He particularly dislikes the potshots that have been taken at him

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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

JUN 25 1945

started cliché—such as “the proof is in the eating” and thinks that over-simplifications of current problems are dangerous.

He denies that he is more interested in regional security than in world security and says that the Mexico City conference was an enormous step forward because it was there that the Monroe Doctrine became a multi-lateral document.

He takes very seriously the fact that he has four brothers fighting in this war, two in the Army and two in the Navy, and recites with considerable drama the fact that his brother Major Winthrop Rockefeller is now serving at Okinawa after having been one of a few officers to survive an attack by a Jap suicide plane on his landing craft.

He says he cannot accept lightly any germs of fascism and steps to eradicate this alien ideology cannot be taken too rapidly.

His job, first as Co-ordinator of Inter-American affairs and now Assistant Secretary of State, is to uphold the best interests of this country and further to eliminate those forces tending to create war. And he adds that only time will tell whether what he has done is right. For the time being, he says, he is willing to stand still and wait and let posterity judge the effectiveness of his efforts.

#### **No Fear of Cameras**

Cameras do not frighten him because once he edited a photographic magazine, and he never fails, he says, to collect a few paintings while on his travels.

He has had little opportunity to play during the last five years and the only plan he has for a vacation this year is to spend a day with his daughter in Washington before she takes off for camp. Incidentally he has five children, three boys and two girls, including a pair of twins named Michael and Mary.

He denies emphatically that he contributed to Tom Dewey's campaign fund last year and adds with some heat that the moment he entered government service he gave up his interest in politics as such.

Mexican painters, Orozco and Rivera, he classifies as “great guys” and he is as friendly to criticism as he is to praise. As a matter of fact, he encourages formal or informal panning, because he believes that progress is accomplished only through the conflict of ideas.

Unlike his famous grandfather, John, Mr. Rockefeller does not distribute dimes to all comers. He doesn't need to. He distributes harm instead, which is better, deeper and more disarming.

—Carolyn Ansbacher

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY  
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

JUN 25 1945

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Alden \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

### Troubled Continent

Mr. Nelson Rockefeller has berated the Administration for its Latin American policy in the manner, curiously for him, of a Braden or a Berle. The criticism comes from a man who himself played a leading role in the conduct of our Latin American affairs in the early days of the Administration. He has kept up his connections. And through his basic economy joint enterprises he has been applying himself to the betterment of the economic relation in a model kind of copartnership. When he complains, therefore, of the Administration's failure to deal decisively with affairs in Latin America, and pins upon our policy or lack of it a share of the responsibility for the present disunity and unrest there, he knows whereof he speaks.

The major fact about the ferment in Latin American countries is that it is unfamiliar in past experience. The caudillo type of revolution appears to be passing out of fashion. Always regarded as an incident in the growing pains of political development, it flourished on the use of the army as the power source for more or less personal regimes, and the disturbance to national life was relatively minor. Overnight an "in" would become an "out," but there would be the minimum of bloodshed, and an absence of vindictiveness. For the new "in" always acted on the assumption that his turn to be thrown out would come around sooner or later, and it thus behooved him not to set up any precedent that might be an awkward boomerang.

Now the troubles have a pattern that is less Latin American than European. Peron's Argentina marked a decided break with the old order, and it started something new very recently when he closed down *La Prensa*. When Paz Estenssoro got control in Bolivia, he followed suit, and *La Razon*, Bolivia's chief newspaper, was silenced. Bolivia itself had established another sort of precedent five years before when the MNR, or National Revolutionary Movement, chased its predecessors out of office, and then proceeded to kill them off. An uneasiness then spread to other countries over this bitter-end settling of accounts, especially when it occasioned a questioning of the right of asylum, which is traditional in Latin America. The end seems to be

G.I.R. 3

approaching, in short, of all tolerance toward adversaries in the seesaw conflict over internal control.

The manifestation is the evil fruit of the alien ideologies that are rocking Latin America. Peronism is not indigenous, but a mixture of fascism and communism, though it derives whatever strength it has from a demagogic courting of the masses with a program of "justicialism" that sounds original. Again the new Bolivia may be following suit in its courting of the tin miners in behalf of state control. The change, which is feeding on the same old ills of inflation and poverty, deserves the close attention that Mr. Rockefeller commends, for, no matter how extensive our interests have become, Latin America is still our first neighborhood.

[Redacted]

*De b/c*

*cb*

*br*

[Redacted]

*file 5-60*

Page

- Times-Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- Wash. Post
- Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_
- Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_
- N.Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
- N. Y. Compass \_\_\_\_\_

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 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Rockefeller Letter Called Hoax by Reds

By a Star Staff Correspondent

THOMASVILLE, Ga., Feb. 29 —The White House brands as "a complete fabrication by the Communists" a purported letter from Nelson Rockefeller to President Eisenhower recommending that the United States use economic aid to win political and military domination of recipient countries.

Press Secretary James C. Hagerty noted that Communist propagandists have "made quite a to-do" about the purported letter since it was published in the East German Communist newspaper Neues Deutschland on February 15.

Mr. Rockefeller is a former special assistant to the President for co-ordination of foreign policy activities.

Mr. Hagerty said he had done some intensive checking of files and had talked personally with Mr. Rockefeller. As a result, he said, he found that "the purported letter was a complete fabrication by the Communists."

He said no such letter ever had been written by Mr. Rockefeller or by any other associate of the President, and that "no such policy ever has been proposed to or entertained by the President."

*file*



Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date FEB 19 1957

NOT RECORDED  
138 FEB 26 1957

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HEADLINE PERSONALITY

# Nelson Rockefeller Served 3 Presidents

NEW YORK, Jan. 7 (AP).—The man who engineered the Rockefeller Fund project which this week turned out its comprehensive report on American security has had an influential hand in national affairs before.

Many times, in fact.

His name is Nelson A. Rockefeller, dynamic, 49-year-old scion of one of the country's great fortunes, and he has put much of his wealth and his own labors into public service—at home and abroad.

A half-dozen times, he has taken on major posts in Washington—under the last three Presidents—and he is credited with sparking the idea that grew into the Nation's postwar "Point 4" program on foreign aid.

### Headed Study Project

Two years ago, he resigned his last Federal job as a special international relations assistant to President Eisenhower and has since headed the study project which on Sunday issued its report on United States defense.

Some of the Nation's best military, scientific and industrial minds had a part in compiling the report, but Mr. Rockefeller was the organizer behind it.

An energetic, warm-natured man brimming with ideas, Mr. Rockefeller has been an active figure on the national and international scene for 17 years.

In 1940, after he returned from a tour in South America, that his concern about hemispheric relationships induced the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt to launch his "good neighbor" policy.



NELSON ROCKEFELLER

### Germ of Point 4

He named Republican Mr. Rockefeller, then 32, as co-ordinator of Inter-American affairs. Mr. Rockefeller directed an extensive good-will program in Latin America, and conceived the idea of exporting technical know-how.

This was the germ of what later became "Point 4."

At the end of World War II, Mr. Rockefeller was Undersecretary of State for Latin American Affairs, resigning when former President Truman replaced Secretary of State Edward Stettinius with James F. Byrnes.

Subsequently, however, Mr. Truman turned the idea for sending technical aid abroad into a world plan, and called Mr. Rockefeller back into service to run it, as chairman of the International Development Advisory Board.

It was the influence of Nelson Rockefeller that has been credited with persuading his father, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to donate the \$8.5 million site for the United Nations in 1946.

### Worked for Eisenhower

In late 1951, Nelson Rockefeller stepped out of the Truman administration to campaign for Mr. Eisenhower, but was soon back in Washington as head of Mr. Eisenhower's

### Advisory Committee on Government Organization.

It drew up numerous recommendations, several of which were put into effect, including the establishment of the unified Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

In 1953, Mr. Rockefeller became Undersecretary of the department, and helped draft major planks in the Eisenhower welfare program.

He became Mr. Eisenhower's special assistant on foreign policy in 1954, sitting in on cabinet meetings and meetings of the National Securities Board as a specialist on waging peace in a world of cold war.

This was the post he left two years ago to round up experts to study various problems of national life. The study on United States security is the first of seven reports to be made.

### Called Hard Worker

Mr. Rockefeller is president of the Rockefeller Fund, which sponsored the project, and chairman of the project itself.

A Baptist, and man of simple habits, he has been described while in Washington as one of the hardest working men about. He is in his office from early to late, frequently taking work home.

He often dines on a common fare, such as a hamburger and glass of milk, doesn't smoke, and when necessary to take a drink for diplomatic reasons will have only a sherry.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Clayton \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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JIF

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- Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_
- Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_
- N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- N. Y. Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
- N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

162-72612-17  
126 JAN 13 1958

Date \_\_\_\_\_

JAN 7 1958

186  
64 JAN 15 1958

# These Days

By George E. Sokolsky

## The 1958 Campaign Moves

NO POLITICAL party, not even one that is motivated by pollsters, as the Republicans are, can afford to acknowledge that it faces a sharp defeat in a forthcoming election. Its motto is always, "Excellent!" and it goes forward with the hopefulness of everlasting youth until it disappears as the Whig Party disappeared.



Sokolsky

Nevertheless, for practical purposes, it is clear that the Republican Party has pursued a suicidal political policy during the Eisenhower Administration and that the Democrats will take full advantage of the situation in both the 1958 and 1960 campaigns. The Republicans have, however, some hopes:

1. That the recession will be dissipated before the election day and that the people will be cognizant of better times. This can, in no manner, be affected by advertising, television, or propaganda in any form. It is a matter of individual well-being and a sense of security.

2. That the Democrats will overdo their anti-Republican investigations to the point where they will boomerang. The Republicans are not altogether displeased with Oren Harris' operations of the House Committee investigating Sherman Adams. It has been a badly done job which is beginning to evoke sympathy for Adams.

3. That individual candidates might draw strength in particular states. It is such a hope which motivates the candidacy of Nelson Rockefeller for Governor in New York State. The assumption is that the Rockefellers have done so much for New York City and that they have such a good name, that it will carry Nelson Rockefeller into the Governorship.

SUCH HOPES as these are not within the realm of political practicality. The Re-

publican Party between 1932 and 1962 managed to keep itself intact as the conservative element in the country, opposed to the New Deal and the Fair Deal and antagonistic to what it called creeping socialism, a term invented by Herbert Hoover. The character of the party might best be described by the fact that during most of this period, Sen. Robert A. Taft was its leader. However, due entirely to big business influence, Taft could never be nominated for President because the pollsters and the advertising consultants on Madison Avenue had decided that Taft could not be elected.

Their own selections, Alf Landon, Wendell Willkie, Thomas E. Dewey, also could not be elected, which proves that their political judgment as to what it would have taken to defeat Roosevelt or Truman was amateurish, until they found Dwight D. Eisenhower, a product of the course of events. Politically, Eisenhower made the mistake from the outset of failing to recognize that he had to be a partisan to operate successfully within the American system. He set out to destroy the conservative Republicans and although there is some appearance of success, the fact is that the rank and file of the Republican Party remain conservative and that many of them have not voted in a presidential election since 1940.

NEW YORK state is an excellent example of what has happened. The state party organization has no standing and provides no leadership. Such a mass vote as New York County is ir-

vocably gone to the Democrats and to the Liberal Party.

Thus Nelson Rockefeller, who has apparently been assured that he can defeat Gov. Averell Harriman, moves into a strictly political fight without enough of a party to support him. Whereas the Liberal Party has been friendly to Rockefeller when he was an appointee in the Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, that party, for whatever its strength is worth, will support the Democratic Party, as it always has.

In other states in the Northeast similar conditions prevail and the Democrats are very confident for 1958.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Nixon Rival Seen In Rockefeller

By Drew Pearson

There's a lot more than meets the eye behind the Republican state convention meeting in Rochester this week. Not all the delegates who attend will know it, but they are grooming a man who may challenge Vice President Nixon for the presidential nomination in 1960 — Nelson Rockefeller.



Pearson

Six months ago, certain bigwigs who make the wheels go round in the Republican Party decided that Nixon had a lot of defects in his political background and they should start looking ahead. They remembered Stassen's spur-of-the-moment stop-Nixon campaign as too hurriedly thrown together; so they decided to begin early.

Nixon, they figured, could never entirely live down the \$18,000 personal expense fund nor his oscillation back and forth between Taft Republicanism and Eisenhower Republicanism.

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**THESE DAYS:**

# Both Candidates Have Rich Record

By **GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY**

**T**HE 1930's PRODUCED a special breed of millionaire's son—the man not only with the social conscience but also with the guilt complex. These young people were at college during the Depression years, or were still under the influences of the exciting movements which marked that period. They wanted to do the right thing. They witnessed the poverty of those who lost their money as well as those who never had had any. Even if born Republican, they found themselves happiest in the New Deal which gave them an outlet for serving that one-third of a nation which the rich felt that their ancestors had robbed.

Averell Harriman is the son of E. H. Harriman who made an enormous fortune building Western railroads. The elder Harriman was a particularly astute person who came out of the ranks and had neither a grandfather nor a father to leave him any wealth. What he had was his because, in accordance with the ways of his day, he earned it.

Averell Harriman started life as a Republican but entered the New Deal as a liberal. Franklin D. Roosevelt was attracted to him as Theodore Roosevelt was repelled by his father. He was given a number of important posts in the Roosevelt Administration, the most important being his ambassadorship to Moscow during the Teheran and Yalta Conferences.

He is well-informed on all phases of the Russian question, although like so many New Dealers he is impelled to defend Roosevelt's errors as politically necessary, which while it may be sound politics is unsound morals.

Harriman has served as Governor of New York State for one term and is now up for re-election. His career as Governor, while not startling, was nevertheless distinguished for competence. Not a great orator, Harriman likes to get around, making an unusually large number of speeches.

Nelson Rockefeller is one of the five grandsons of John D. Rockefeller who founded the Standard Oil fortune which was, at one time, one of the largest in the world. Each of the five grandsons shows particular qualities, Nelson's being politics and public service.



**SOKOLSKY**

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## Gave Worthy Advice

LESLIE HARRIMAN, he joined the New Deal under Franklin D. Roosevelt and together with Dr. Stanley High, authored the "Good Neighbor Policy" for Latin America. The failure of this policy cannot be attributed to Rockefeller because as long as Roosevelt and later Truman adhered to the "Europe First" policy, Latin America had to take third place after Europe and Asia and that has proved to be most unfortunate for the United States. The "Good Neighbor Policy" might have saved this country from the costly errors which have now laid Latin America open to Soviet penetration.

Nelson Rockefeller served in the Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower Administrations. He might have continued accepting appointive positions but he has chosen to risk placing himself before the people for election which is tough under any circumstances. Habituated to research and polls and stuff like that, Rockefeller must have data which incline him to believe that he has a good chance of election.

Averell Harriman and Nelson Rockefeller have had the same associations in and out of politics. They are socially of the same element. They have both been influenced in their political careers by Harry Hopkins and Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, who has been Nelson Rockefeller's political mentor. They have both devoted their enormous fortunes to public life.

The campaign will therefore be very interesting because what will they say against each other? Harriman's record as Governor has been good. Rockefeller's record as a public servant will stand scrutiny. This can be a campaign on the issues without too much personal vituperation, although there is no telling what may happen in campaigns.

It is known that the Republicans plan to make the Democratic leadership of Carmine DeSapio a major issue. It is difficult to see how they can succeed with that because Carmine DeSapio has never been associated with those Italians who are often referred to as the Mafia. Nor can it be said that Harriman has been under DeSapio's control, for Harriman brought with him to Albany many New Dealers, some of them of a leftist persuasion. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to see what the Republicans make of all this. A campaign against DeSapio would not be a campaign against Harriman.

...he fixed the price.  
The name Rockefeller was  
cursed all through the West,  
and the laws which some all  
seen now want to change were  
put on the statute books in  
order to prevent the cutthroat  
tactics of the man whose  
grandson is now running for  
Governor of New York.

Contemporary with the  
elder John D., another man  
named Harriman was busy  
gobbling up, not pipelines, but  
railroads. He got control of  
the Union Pacific, dominated  
the Southern Pacific, and then  
plunged into a race with  
James J. Hill for control of  
the Northern Pacific, which  
led to the most serious crash  
then known on Wall Street.

### Attitude Changed

In fifty years the sons of  
both men have reversed pub-  
lic opinion. Both did it by  
dedicating their lives to pub-  
lic service. And the American  
people, who don't hold the  
sins of a father against his  
son, have forgiven the past.

Averell Harriman, still the  
largest stockholder in the  
Union Pacific, has spent  
twenty years working for the  
Government. As Secretary of  
Commerce, Ambassador to  
England, Ambassador to Rus-  
sia, head of mutual aid, he be-  
came one of the most experi-  
enced public servants of this  
generation. He has charted his  
course not by his father but  
by his grandfather, a famous  
Episcopalian minister.

The Rockefeller family, fifty  
years ago, got tired of being  
hated and hired Ivy Lee as  
public relations adviser. He  
advised them to do good in  
the world and public rela-  
tions would take care of it-  
self. They have been follow-  
ing his advice. The Rocke-  
fellers have been giving away  
their millions—to colleges,  
hospitals, for medical research,  
national parks, and the im-  
provement of the Good Neighbor  
policy in Latin America.  
Nelson is sincere, idealistic,  
public-spirited, hasn't had as  
much governmental experi-  
ence as Averell Harriman, and,  
paradoxically, is a friend of  
Harriman's. Both were  
brought into the New Deal  
by Harry Hopkins.

The odds will be on Harri-  
man. But Rockefeller will  
give him the fight of his life.  
Either way, New York will  
have a good Governor. But  
riding behind Nelson in the  
race will be backers who are  
grooming a new jockey to  
pilot the Republican Party to-  
ward the White House in 1960.  
(Copyright 1958, Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

Thus was born the plan to  
run Nelson Rockefeller for  
Governor of New York—a  
springboard which has sent  
more men to the White House  
than any other public post.

Rockefeller has never run  
for office. But gradually GOP  
candidates steeped in New  
York politics—Oswald Heck,  
Speaker of the New York As-  
sembly; State Senator Walter  
Mahoney; Leonard Hall, ex-  
chairman of the Republican  
National Committee, and Dis-  
trict Attorney Paul Williams—  
dropped out of the race. Skill-  
ful, unseen hands were at  
work. Result: A band wagon  
rush to Rockefeller.

### Sons of Hated Men

If the American people had  
been told 50 years ago that  
an offspring of John D. Rocke-  
feller would aim for the gov-  
ernorship of New York, they  
would think they were dream-  
ing. Or if they had been told  
that the son of Wall Street  
railroad speculator Edward H.  
Harriman would become Gov-  
ernor of New York, they would  
have been equally incredu-  
lous.

Both of the old gentlemen  
were men who trod ruthlessly  
on the public interest and  
were hated in return. John D.  
Rockefeller, founder of the  
Standard Oil empire, pio-  
neered the practice of buying  
up pipelines so that no oil  
men could sell unless they  
sold through Rockefeller.

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# These Days . . . . . By George E. Sokolsky

## Harriman vs. Rockefeller

THE 1930's produced a special breed of millionaire's son—the man not only with the social conscience but also with the guilt complex. These young people were at college during the depression years, or were still under the influences of the exciting movements which marked that period. They wanted to do the right thing. They witnessed the poverty of those who lost their money as well as those who never had any. Even if born Republican, they found themselves happiest in the New Deal which gave them an outlet for serving that one-third of a Nation which the rich felt that their ancestors had robbed.



Sokolsky

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**VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR**

# Liberals Boo GOP; Not 'Rocky'

20

The Democrats may have lost it at the Astor—on the night of Sept. 4, in the North Ballroom. If they lose the 1960 presidency, I believe that's where they began to lose it—at a "we-view-with-alarm" session of the leaders of New York's venturesome Liberal Party.

This balance of power political uplift society met to denounce the Republicans and nominate District Attorney Frank Hogan for the U. S. Senate. They nominated Hogan. They denounced the Republicans. But, strangely enough, they did not denounce the Republican candidate for Governor of New York State, a fellow by the name of Nelson Rockefeller.

It seems to me nationally significant that a gathering of 400 New Dealers and veterans of some mighty militant picket lines not only did not attack Nelson Rockefeller but didn't even mention him once by name that evening.

Yet here these men had the chance to rip into a Rockefeller—a Republican and a foe of

Averell Harriman. Yet they didn't. For they, the rank and file, respect Nelson Rockefeller. And so do the Liberal Party strategists, David Dubinsky of the Ladies Garment Workers Union and Alex Rose of the Hatters Union.

**THIS SAMPLING** of a mood is a sign of what's to come in this pivotal New York gubernatorial campaign. The labor people, devoted as they are to Democratic incumbent, Harriman, are not going to campaign directly against Mr. Rockefeller. Neither will other powerful labor forces outside the Liberal Party.

Furthermore, Mr. Rockefeller, as head of Radio City which bears his family name, has had continuing peaceful relations with the more conservative construction unions. Leaders of these outfits are devoted to Mr. Harriman. But campaigning takes more than just devotion. It takes heavily financed, loud, denunciatory in-fighting. Such a campaign will be waged against the Republican Senatorial nominee, Rep. Kenneth Keating. He will be called many names, as he was that Thursday evening at the Astor. But not so Mr. Rockefeller.

In addition, the young millionaire has a strong Negro fol-

lowing for he has given more than lots of cash to their cause. He's been there personally. And many of the studies made by foundations bearing the Rockefeller name have also caught the imagination of New York's intellectuals.

**THIS WILL BE A** hard combination for Gov. Harriman to beat. He can only do it if the union-financed Liberal Party attracts enough independent voters to cast ballots for Harriman on its line. And if the last gubernatorial vote means anything, Mr. Harriman will lose if the Liberals lose a mere 25,000 votes.

Should thousands of militant Liberal rank-and-filers stay home on Election Day or simply not vote for a gubernatorial candidate, and Mr. Harriman loses, the Democrats will lose one of their potential candidates for the 1960 presidential election.

If Rockefeller wins this November in New York, he can have the second spot on the GOP's '60 ticket, insiders say. But if he doesn't run for office in '60, he certainly will be one of those who will decide who the Republicans will run for president. And he'll go in fighting hard for that man.

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# N. Y. a Hoods' Haven Under Ave—Rocky

By JAMES DESMOND  
 Nelson Rockefeller blasted Gov. Harriman last night for allowing New York to develop a "climate" in which "hoodlums from all over the country feel comfortable" and charged that juvenile delinquency is increasing rapidly upstate.

in a filmed TV interview broadcast from 6:45 to 7 o'clock over a statewide CBS network. It was his most slashing attack to date on the crime issue.

Rockefeller warned that organized crime is a financial burden to every citizen.

A prompt crackdown by Harriman on the gangsters who attended the mob convention at Apalachin last November, Rockefeller said, would have dispelled this climate and given an object lesson to young toughs who were emboldened by the brazen example of their elders.

### Lefkowitz Curbed, He Says

But, Rockefeller said, Harriman refused to let Attorney General Lefkowitz, "the only man in the state who could take effective action," move against the hoods.

As a consequence, the GOP candidate for Governor said, New York has more major crime than any other state east of the Rockies, narcotics arrests are on the rise, and last month New York City had 90 muggings, two of which were fatal.

Rockefeller made his charges

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# Ave, Rock Find Issue Is: What's the Issue?

By DICK LEE

Gov. Harriman and Nelson A. Rockefeller, his Republican foe in the Nov. 3 gubernatorial sweepstakes, went into the last two weeks of the campaign yesterday snarling at one another about the terms under which they would debate the issues.

The Governor, speaking at a breakfast at the Rendall Memorial Presbyterian Church, 61 W. 137th St., charged Rockefeller with creating a "new form isolationism" for New York State. He was referring to the Republican candidate's insistence that any joint debate be limited strictly to "state issues."

### Cites Civil Rights

"Civil rights represent certainly one issue which transcends the boundaries of New York State," said the Governor.

Rockefeller's last word in the debate about debating was his taunt to Harriman embodying the



Bernard Newman



Edward N. Scheiberling

Issue charges and claims

suggestion that the Governor consent to discuss a state issue such as the propriety of his removing Tammany Leader Carmine DeSapio from his lush job as secretary of state.

Rockefeller's campaigning for the day consisted chiefly of handshaking on the Coney Island Boardwalk.

### Carmine Counterpunches

DeSapio, who is more than willing to argue with the Republican candidate on the latter's pet issue, bossism, last night went right back at Rockefeller, whom he styles the candidate of the Chase-Manhattan Bank, Standard Oil and duPont.

After picturing Rockefeller as a Liberal, a radical, a reactionary or Republican of the modern type, according to where he appears, DeSapio went on to tell the Amsterdam Democratic Club, at a dinner in the Commodore Hotel, why Vice President Richard Nixon is not appearing on the same platform with Rockefeller.

### Cites GOP's Problem

"Their principal campaign problem has been to find some means of disassociating the Chase-Standard candidate, for the duration of the campaign, from other notorious reactionaries and to convince men like Richard Nixon, for example, that he could best serve their interests by restraining his joyful support of their candidate," said DeSapio.

Manhattan Republican Chairman Bernard Newman called a press conference yesterday to announce that he had information to the effect that Gov. Harriman and Mayor Wagner had met five weeks ago in the Harriman town house, 16 E. 81st St., to agree on a plan to boost the city sales tax from 3 to 4%.

Peter J. Crotty, the Democratic candidate for attorney general, told Between-the-Lines television listeners yesterday that he didn't mind in the least not getting the Liberal Party endorsement.

Chairman Edward N. Scheiberling of the Democratic Veterans Committee, announced that com-

pletion of their statewide poll had shown that 73% of the city's veterans would vote Democratic and that the veterans in all but 11 of the state's 62 counties would support Harriman for reelection.

U. S. Senator Jacob K. Javits yesterday went counter to the stand of many of his Republican Party colleagues in the matter of the so-called right-to-work laws.

He told the "Let's Find Out" television program that such laws would put "chains on labor."

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# Labor's Role In Upcoming Elections



**NELSON ROCKEFELLER**  
Labor pains?

## VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR

In one brief moment recently on a windy New York street, the story of this bitter national election was telescoped into a short conversation as two men watched a parade.

Republican gubernatorial candidate, Nelson Rockefeller, turned towards his good friend, but political opponent, the New Dealing Ladies Garment Workers Union chief, David Dubinsky, and softly needled him with:

"Dave, I'm going to invade your garment territory and take those votes from you. Hope you don't mind."

Dubinsky, who doubles as Liberal Party leader, grinned and said something about seeing who'll get those votes—Rockefeller or Gov. Averell Harriman.

Until then there had been no real labor blast at Rockefeller. But soon anti-Rockefeller ads began to appear. A garment area mass meeting was scheduled by the union. A series of smaller rallies were penciled into the last hour calendar for District Attorney Frank Hogan and other Democratic-Liberal-Labor nominees. Thus it went in the final campaign days in just a handful of New York precincts.

THUS IT GOES IN 30,000 other precincts out of the 130,000 election areas across the U. S.—from the garment jungle to the Badlands of South Dakota, literally. For not since 1944, when the target was Sidney Hillman, have the Republicans hit as hard at the labor leadership. And never before has the labor movement so openly and willingly taken on the Grand Old Party.

In thousands of precincts the Democrats seem to be standing on the sidelines watching the big game.

But the parallel with 1944 passes when you note that the only similarity is the substitution of Walter Reuther for Sidney Hillman and the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) for the old CIO Political Action Committee (PAC).

This time there is no central direction, no central headquarters on either side shouting at each other. The contests are local battles. The labor machine, for example, is decentralized. COPE, operating out of the sixth floor of the AFL-CIO headquarters has a national staff of only 50, ranging from porter to national director, James McDevitt. The old Hillman PAC had 180 in its New York headquarters alone.

COPE's main office has coordinated, braintrusted, when necessary, and trained specialists—on a national budget of only \$465,000 this year, according to its official report. Daily it rings the telephone bells of union presidents, asking for money and getting mighty little of it. This year, the money is being spent on local and state campaigns by local and state labor organizations. Never has labor been so well organized politically over so broad a base.

WHEREVER IT could, labor operated quietly but effectively. Everywhere the local unions have told their national chiefs to stay out of their states so there could be no charges of invasion by "outsiders"—a charge which beat them in 1950 when they threw everything and everybody into the war on Robert Taft in Ohio.

A survey made as best one can in this sampling business reveals that each union expects to have as many or more autos in the Election Day car pools as they had in '56. This could mean anywhere up to 25,000 cars making swift round trips to voters' homes and the polling places.

But how the working guy will vote once the booth curtain shields him, no one can predict.

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- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Hard to Defeat Billion and Smile

By Drew Pearson

NEW YORK—It's hard to beat a million-dollar smile plus a billion-dollar family fortune, and the people of New York are proving that they're a pushover for both.

It's even hard to beat that combination when you have \$75 million of your own, a very winning smile, and an excellent record as incumbent Governor of New York.



Pearson

That about sums up the race between the two millionaires—Nelson Rockefeller of Standard Oil and Gov. Averell Harriman of the Union Pacific. No one would ever have dreamed it 50 years ago when Nelson's grandfather was the most cussed-out man in America, but the Rockefeller billion and the Rockefeller smile look as if they are going to win. Nelson may be the next Governor of New York. If so, he will also have an excellent chance of becoming the next Republican candidate for the White House and perhaps the next President of the United States.

Of course he may meet some hurdles along the way—such as an investigation of the record-breaking amounts of money his family have thrown into his campaign. It makes Sen. Frank Smith of Illinois, unseated for spending \$100,000, look like a Scrooge and it makes Truman Newberry of Michigan, forced to resign from the Senate because of heavy campaign spending, seem miserly.

It's fairly easy to figure out the Rockefeller money spent on television, and in the last week of the campaign it ran around \$60,000 a day. The full-page ads are also fairly easy to calculate. Rockefeller took full-page ads merely to announce the 12 phone numbers where people could call in to get Nelson's transcribed answers to certain questions.

How much it cost to transcribe these questions and arrange an automatic telephone answering service is more difficult to calculate. But it wasn't hay.

Fifty-four department stores in New York featured Rockefeller headquarters where literature is passed out to lady shoppers. There are six stores in Harlem alone. The foreign-language press blazed with Rockefeller advertising.

Experts who have watched other campaigns estimate the Rockefeller family spent \$2 million—about 50 cents for every vote in New York State—an all-time record.

There are also a lot of ex-

penditures that don't readily meet the eye. When Dick Amper of the New York Times was reluctant to leave the New York Times to advise on Rockefeller's press relations, he was given a five-year contract at \$25,000 a year and "loaned" to Nelson. This is one reason Harriman forces claim the Times has been slanting the news in Rockefeller's favor.

It's not merely political money that has helped Rockefeller. It has been money spent wisely and for the public welfare over a long period of time. There's the United Nations Building, paid for by the Rockefellers. And the Lincoln Square project for the new Metropolitan Opera House, the Philharmonic Orchestra, Fordham University, and the Ballet Theater to which the Rockefellers are contributing generously.

And there was the \$1.5 million contributed recently to Catholic Charities in Tarrytown, where the Rockefellers live, plus the honor given to David Rockefeller by the Jewish Theological Seminary in token of other generosity. And the work Nelson did with David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and Jake Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for a new housing program for the garment workers.

There was also Nelson's offer to build a stadium to keep the Brooklyn Dodgers in Brooklyn. When Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem challenged Rockefeller on the race question, Nelson only had to refer to the \$51 million given to Negro education over 20 years, including heavy donations to the NAACP.

Even Harry Truman, coming to New York to campaign for his old friend, Averell Harriman, was able to give Nelson only a slight slap on the wrist. The Rockefellers had given \$40,000 to the Truman Library.

And when Truman and Harriman wanted Anna Rosenberg, a lifelong Democrat, to be more active for Harriman, she hesitated. Truman had made her the first woman Assistant Secretary of Defense in history. But the Rockefellers and the Whitneys were paying her around \$200,000 as labor adviser.

On top of all this money, Nelson Rockefeller is a good man. He is honest, sincere, genuinely devoted to his fellow men. Harriman has more courage, is equally devoted, has a terrific record, would make a better Governor. But either way New York State will be in good hands.

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Drew Pearson, on WTOP Radio, will give his final predictions on Tuesday's election at 6:45 p. m. Saturday.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Rockefeller Role In '60 Described

D19 By Drew Pearson

The emergence of Nelson Rockefeller as the NATION'S No. 1 Republican vote-getter does something very vital and long overdue to the Grand Old Party.

It not only gives Richard Nixon the political heebie-jeebies but it is almost certain to mean sweeping the dinosaurs out from the ranks of Republicanism. This was expected under Eisenhower. Rockefeller was among those who expected it. It didn't happen. Ike beat the GOP dinosaurs who tried to nominate Taft at the Chicago convention in 1952, then turned round and accepted a peace treaty with the dinosaurs when he signed the so-called "surrender" statement which Taft laid before him at that morningside breakfast in late 1952.

From that time on, the Eisenhower Administration has been a split personality—trying to ride the two elephants of Republicanism in opposite directions. It has tried to ride the conservative wing, founded by the late President William Howard Taft when he split with the late Theodore Roosevelt. And it tried to ride the progressive-liberal wing founded by Teddy Roosevelt when he ran as a Bull Moose Progressive in 1912.



Pearson

Rockefeller belonged to the liberal wing. And one reason he got out of the Eisenhower Administration was first, because he couldn't take the do-nothing policies of Oveta Culp Hobby, his chief as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and later, when he joined the White House staff, couldn't take the split personality which influenced its faltering decisions.

Note—It's highly significant that the man who is certain to lead the Republican Party toward the old Teddy Roosevelt Bull Moose wing of Republicanism is the grandson of the man whose Standard Oil empire was partly decimated by the trust-busting of Teddy Roosevelt.

### Nixon's Scar Tissue

It's inevitable that a politician who has been in the limelight for some time accumulates scar tissue. He makes enemies. Those enemies leave scars. The longer Franklin Roosevelt remained in office the more scar tissue

he acquired. Likewise with Truman.

The man who has acquired the most scar tissue in the Republican Party today is Richard Nixon. He has been scarred first because he switched from Taft Republicanism to Eisenhower moderation, then back to Taft Republicanism. (This is one reason he is called the "young man with a wet finger in the wind.") He has also been scarred because he's stuck his neck out far more than Eisenhower.

When a public figure acquires too much scar tissue he becomes a less effective candidate. Eventually he becomes a political liability. Nixon is heading in that direction. A lot of people voted for Rockefeller in New York State simply to block Nixon as the Republican nominee for President in 1960.

Nixon still has potent friends in the GOP. He has done favors for dozens of Republican National Committeemen and State Chairmen. He has helped out many GOP candidates. These leaders will be called upon to pay off their debts in 1960.

On the other hand, behind Rockefeller is the most potent political machine in the United States—that which twice nominated Tom Dewey for President and twice put Eisenhower in the White House. It has behind it the Chase Manhattan Bank, Guaranty Trust, U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, the Ford Motor Co., General Motors, and the Standard Oil empire.

These were the factors which switched delegates from Taft to Eisenhower during that bitter 1952 battle over delegates in Chicago.

It was financial pressure through U. S. Steel which switched Gov. John Fine and the Pennsylvania Republican delegates from Taft to Eisenhower at that convention, not political pressure. Those pressures, skillfully manipulated by Tom Dewey, are what eliminated Len Hall, Oswald Heck and other Republicans who wanted to run for governor of New York last summer, and those pressures are all set to put Nelson Rockefeller in the White House in 1960.

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*file views re Rockefeller*

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Whence the Rockefeller Magic

By Drew Pearson

NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S triumphant campaign for Governor of New York was a long time in the making. It was launched, in fact, 44 years ago by two men who had no idea then that they were shaping the career of a future Governor and possibly a future President.

The two men, now dead, were Ivy Lee and Mackenzie King. Lee, the pioneer press agent for big business, was the son of a Georgia clergyman. King was a rising figure in Canada's Liberal Party, later to become Prime Minister of Canada.

It was public relations man Lee who molded the saga of Rockefeller philanthropy and good works in the public mind. It was King who counseled Nelson's father, John D. Jr., to ignore the advice of big business contemporaries and listen to the "collective bargaining" demands of American labor 20 years before FDR wrote them into Federal law.

Together they established the groundwork of Rockefeller benefactions and labor cooperation that John D. Jr. came to regard as the "kinship of humanity" and which paved the way for young Nelson's present rise in politics.

## Massacre in Colorado

IN 1914, WHEN John D. Jr. first met Lee and King, son Nelson was 6 years old, and a Rockefeller couldn't have been elected dogcatcher. It was perhaps the most hated family in America, the arch-symbol of ruthless capitalism. The hatred was fanned to white heat by the Colorado mine strike when several miners were killed by state militiamen and the armed guards of Rockefeller's company, Colorado Fuel and Iron. Next morning, the violence took on a ghastlier aspect. It was discovered that 11 children and two women had suffocated in a cave where they had fled the shooting.

Ida M. Tarbell and other leading writers joined in the coast-to-coast newspaper protests against the Rockefellers and their Colorado "vigilantes." Declared the aroused New York World:

"The Rockefeller message insists upon non-unionized labor rather than that American working men should be deprived of the right under the Constitution to work for whom they please. . . . The coal fields have been ruled by military and hired guards. . . . What young Mr. Rockefeller calls 'freedom' is proving to be war."

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joined the cry. Hostile pe-  
sides followed in New York.  
Angry crowds pelted the  
Rockefeller office at 20 Broad-  
way and the family house on  
54th st. A harragar on  
lower Broadway urged a  
shouting mob to "shoot him  
(John D. Jr.) down like a  
dog." A time bomb, presum-  
ably meant for the Rocke-  
feller home, exploded in a  
Lexington Avenue tenement,  
killing four members of the  
left-wing I.W.W. and injur-  
ing seven others.

### Oil Hatred

ROCKEFELLER'S troubles  
were not limited to labor hos-  
tility. He also was under  
heavy criticism from the cut-  
throat competition of the  
Standard Oil empire built by  
his father.

But more than anything, it  
was the Colorado violence  
that brought John D. Jr., a  
deeply religious man, to his  
senses, awakened him to the  
realization that, contrary to  
the advice of his Colorado  
managers, there was a lot  
more than "union agitation"  
behind the strike. He became  
further convinced of this  
after his meeting with Ivy  
Lee and Mackenzie King—a  
meeting that was to change  
the course of his life and the  
popular concept of the Rocke-  
fellers.

Ivy Lee, No. 1 public rela-  
tions man of that day bor-  
rowed from the Pennsylvania  
Railroad, advised that Rocke-  
feller philanthropies to the  
underprivileged be greatly in-  
creased. John D. Jr. also  
agreed to Lee's suggestion  
that he should stop listening  
to the anti-labor counsel of  
the mine officials and give the  
public a "frank and open" re-  
port on the dispute in Col-  
orado. Meantime, King urged  
that the strike be settled  
"without delay."

John D. Jr. went to Col-  
orado with King for first-hand  
observation of the strike  
scene, personally talked to  
the miners.

The visit was applauded in  
the press, and King and  
Rockefeller were able to work  
out a settlement whereby the  
miners went back to work  
under better wages and work-  
ing conditions. Among other  
things, the agreement pro-  
vided for employe-elected  
bargaining spokesmen (for  
the first time), plus an effec-  
tive grievance procedure  
against discrimination and  
discharges.

was a total victory for  
labor. It was a sensational  
stride for that day, represent-  
ing, as Raymond Foedick re-  
ported in his book on the  
Rockefellers, "the beginnings  
of a new attitude of respon-  
sibility and cooperation on  
the part of employers."

### Wall-Street Aghast

OVERNIGHT, the Rocke-  
feller prestige, which had  
reached rock-bottom, began  
to climb. Newspapers which  
once derided began to extol  
John D. Jr. as a public bene-  
factor. Cartoons depicted him  
walking arm-in-arm with  
labor, his Wall Street con-  
freres looking on aghast.  
Writing in the New York  
Tribune, William Allen White  
commented: "No other Ameri-  
can has the peculiar power  
for good in his works and  
words than John D. Rocke-  
feller Jr."

King had to return to his  
duties in the Canadian Parli-  
ament. He became head of the  
Liberal Party in 1919 and  
Prime Minister in 1921, but  
kept in close touch with  
Rockefeller and continued to  
advise him on labor relations  
for years.

Lee remained by Rocke-  
feller's side until his own  
death in 1934, broadening the  
public service frontiers of  
the Rockefeller Foundation  
and increasing Rockefeller  
philanthropies to an unpar-  
alleled scale. These gifts and  
charities, running into hun-  
dreds of millions of dollars,  
have gone to all creeds and  
races, to public enterprises  
and private causes from one  
end of the country to the  
other.

Boys' clubs, public parks,  
conservation projects—any-  
thing to improve the citizenry  
and beauty of the Nation—  
have been freely supported  
by the Rockefeller family, as  
have Protestant, Catholic and  
Jewish charities. "Human  
sympathy cannot be divided  
by sectarian lines," John D.  
Jr., a Baptist, once wrote the  
late Cardinal Hayes of New  
York, enclosing an unsolicited  
check for Catholic Charities.  
Negro causes and organiza-  
tions also have been liberally  
helped.

Good works, like bread cast  
upon the water, return man-  
ifold to reward the giver.

Nelson Rockefeller prob-  
ably would be the first to  
agree that he would not be  
Governor of New York today  
were it not for two men—Ivy  
Lee and Mackenzie King—  
who, with a wise father, 44  
years ago began to build the  
foundations of his campaign.

# Rocky Names Hinman His Aid for the Present



(NEWS photo by Ed Clarity)  
Gov.-elect Rockefeller mits George L. Hinman after naming him his interim executive assistant.

George L. Hinman of Binghamton, a power in upstate Republican politics, was named yesterday as "interim" executive assistant by Gov.-elect Nelson Rockefeller.

Rockefeller said Hinman was taking the job on "a personal basis" and would work with him until Jan. 1. Hinman will not be available for a full-time state job, but may be used on special assignments after Rockefeller takes office.

Hinman has been a close adviser to Rockefeller since they met about two years ago when Rockefeller was chairman and Hinman was counsel of the Constitutional Convention Commission. During the election campaign, Hinman was one of the men closest to the Governor-elect.

### Puts Hopefuls on Notice

Announcing Hinman's appointment at his temporary office, 20 W. 55th St., Rockefeller at the same time put Republican political hopefuls on notice to go through channels in trying to get state jobs in his administration.

Applications, he said, must be screened by county chairmen and State Chairman L. Judson Morhouse. Rockefeller added that "ability and integrity will be prime considerations."

Rockefeller will begin study of the state's fiscal problems Friday when his budget director, T. Norman Hurd, will submit his estimate of the prospects at the first meeting between the two since Hurd was appointed.

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(ROCKEFELLER)

ALBANY--GOV. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER TODAY BEGAN WORK ON A SWEEPING LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM TO ERASE WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY IN STATE GOVERNMENT.

ROCKEFELLER SAID HE PLANNED TO OUTLINE THE PROGRAM FOR THE 1959 LEGISLATURE WHEN IT CONVENES NEXT WEDNESDAY. HE DISCLOSED HIS ADMINISTRATION'S AIMS IN HIS INAUGURAL SPEECH.

"WE MUST MAKE ORDERLY, EFFICIENT AND RESPONSIBLE OUR GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES," ROCKEFELLER SAID. "WE MUST PUT THE STATE'S FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER. WE MUST REVIEW--AND REVISE---OUTMODED METHODS OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. WE MUST ERASE ALL ADMINISTRATIVE ABUSES, ALL MARKS OF WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY, FROM OUR GOVERNMENT.

"FOR ONLY BY SUCH REPAIRS AND REFORMS CAN THIS GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE BE SERIOUSLY AND LITERALLY GOVERNED FOR THE PEOPLE." ROCKEFELLER SAID HIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE "CONSERVATIVE, LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIVE." HE SAID HE HOPED IT WOULD BE AN EXAMPLE AND INSPIRATION FOR FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

FACED WITH A \$200-MILLION TREASURY DEFICIT AND HIGHER TAXES, ROCKEFELLER SAID AMONG THE FIRST PROBLEMS TACKLED BY HIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE THE STATE'S ECONOMIC CLIMATE. HE SAID HE AIMED TO CREATE MORE JOB OPPORTUNITIES, EXPAND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND HEALTH PROGRAMS AND COMBAT JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

~~THE NEW REPUBLICAN GO~~

DELINQUENCY.  
THE NEW REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING AMERICA IS THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

"OUR NEIGHBORHOOD IS THE WORLD," HE SAID. "HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY, THE HOPE OF FREE MAN EVERYWHERE AND THE MENACE TO FREEDOM EVERYWHERE-- ALL THINGS HAVE CONSPIRED TO MAKE THIS SO. THE SPEED OF THE ROCKET AND THE FORCE OF AN ATOM BOMB, THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA AND THE STRENGTH OF HER ENEMIES--SUCH THINGS MEAN THAT EVERY STATE IN OUR UNION, EVERY COMMUNITY IN OUR STATE, EVERY CITIZEN IN EACH COMMUNITY --ALL FACE A COMMON CHALLENGE AND SHARE A COMMON CAUSE."

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INSIDE LABOR  
THE VICTOR RIESEL COLUMN

By Victor Riesel

(This is an exclusive report on what happened behind the closed doors of Gov. Rockefeller's first meeting with top labor leaders who fought him in the recent campaign.)

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Mark down six p.m. on Monday, Feb. 2, as the moment when Nelson A. Rockefeller began to realize that becoming the peoples' millionaire is the toughest hurdle in the presidential sweepstakes. Especially for a sincere political leader who would rather not make the race in his old silks.

At six o'clock that evening Gov. Rockefeller and some 20 New York State labor leaders gathered for cocktails in the Executive Mansion in Albany and grouped themselves around the old television set. At 6:15, Gov. Rockefeller and his guests watched Gov. Rockefeller (via pre-filmed tape) telecast an appeal for tough higher taxes.

No one congratulated the Governor on his performance. They went politely through their roast beef dinner for the next hour -- all seated strictly according to protocol, personally arranged by Rockefeller himself. To many, the new Governor seemed strained.

Even the most militant of the AFL-CIO leaders hated to see this, for they like "Nelson" and were unhappy at the thought that they'd have to slice him like the roast beef. Finally, Mr. Rockefeller spoke for some 45 minutes -- but not on taxes, except for a few moments at the end.

The Governor called them together for another reason. It was his personal experiment. He plans a series of these sessions with them. Earlier his aides had drawn up a list of the state's top 50 union chiefs. For this dinner conference, the roster was trimmed to 20. It was Mr. Rockefeller's first effort to contact labor on a personal, intimate basis since he had taken office a month earlier.

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He was elected without labor support. But now to be a successful Governor and run a state in such manner that it could be used as a springboard for some future presidential nomination, Rockefeller, the Republican, needs these labor leaders. He explained that he wants a favorable industrial climate in the state. He would welcome their support and counseling, he said. He wants to woo back to New York the industry it has lost, in greater proportion than other states have.

Then came the few words on his unswerving demand for higher gas, cigarette and income taxes.

Then the labor people hit him.

First chiding came from Liberal Party leader Alex Rose, president of the Hatters Union. Rose quipped that he was glad to see that Mr. Rockefeller did not consider those who opposed him as "anti-Party people" who should be purged. The union chief said he was certain that Mr. Rockefeller did not want the labor men just to come and thank him for the dinner. Rockefeller nodded his head. Rose told him that labor wants to be consulted before action, such as the tax increase move, is taken -- and not afterwards.

Soon the floor was taken by Rockefeller's personal friend, Jack Potofsky, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, one of the founders of the old CIU. Potofsky, who had been seated at the Governor's side, has never been one to bait a political opponent. It was Jack Potofsky, for example, who thought and said publicly that it was unfair to needle President Eisenhower for his efforts to ease tensions with a few hours on the golf links.

Gentle-voiced Potofsky then hit Rockefeller hard. The men's clothing chief pointed out that his union has 175,000 members in the state -- and that they have restrained themselves from asking for a wage increase for three years. They have not wanted to hurt the industry in New York by raising costs and putting local factories at a competitive disadvantage with firms in other states.

Thus they believe they have aided business, saved jobs, fought inflation and served the public by keeping down the price of clothing shipped throughout the U.S. Now, said Mr. Potofsky, Mr. Rockefeller comes with heavy tax demands which will hit the clothing workers -- who have not been working a full year and full weeks anyway.

Mr. Potofsky told the Governor to try and close tax loopholes elsewhere to raise the money. Labor is going to fight the new Governor hard and if Mr. Rockefeller wants labor support and wants them in for future discussions, they want to be consulted first and not told after the fact.

It was Mr. Rockefeller's first hurdle. It looks like he'll have to run the course all over again.

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### VICTOR RIESEL INSIDE LABOR

# Unions to Fight Rocky Taxes

Mark down six p.m. on Monday, Feb. 2, as the moment when Nelson A. Rockefeller began to realize that becoming the people's millionaire is the toughest hurdle in the presidential sweepstakes.

At 6 that evening, Gov. Rockefeller and some 20 New York State labor leaders gathered for cocktails in the Executive Mansion in Albany and grouped themselves around the old TV set. At 6:15, Rockefeller and his guests watched Rockefeller (via pre-filmed tape) telecast an appeal for tough higher taxes.

No one congratulated the Governor on his performance. They went politely through their roast beef dinner for the next hour—all seated strictly according to protocol, personally arranged by Rockefeller himself. To many, the new Governor seemed strained.

Even the most militant of the AFL-CIO leaders hated to see this, for they like "Nelson" and were unhappy at the thought that they'd have to slice him like the roast beef. Finally, Mr. Rockefeller spoke for some 45 minutes—but not on taxes, except for a few moments at the end.

The Governor called them together for another reason. It was his personal experiment. He plans a series of these sessions with them. Earlier his aides had drawn up a list of the state's top 50 union chiefs. For this dinner conference, the roster was trimmed to 20. It

was Mr. Rockefeller's first effort to contact labor on a personal, intimate basis since he had taken office a month earlier.

**HE WAS ELECTED** without labor support. But now to be a successful Governor, and run a state in such a manner that it could be used as a springboard for some future presidential nomination, Rockefeller, the Republican, needs these labor leaders. He explains that he wants a favorable industrial climate in the state. He would welcome their support and counseling, he said. He wants to woo back to New York the industry it has lost, in greater proportion than other states have.

Then came the few words on his unswerving demand for higher gas, cigaret and income taxes.

Then the labor people hit him. First chiding came from Liberal Party leader Alex Rose, president of the Hatters Union. Rose quipped that he was glad to see that Mr. Rockefeller did not consider those who opposed him as "anti-Party people" who should be purged. The union chief said he was certain that Mr. Rockefeller did not want the labor men just to come and thank him for the dinner. Rockefeller nodded his head. Rose told him that labor wants to be consulted before action, such as the tax increase move, is taken—and not afterwards.

Soon the floor was taken by Rockefeller's personal friend, Jack Potofsky, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, one of the founders of the old CIO.

**GENTLE-VOICED** Potofsky then hit Rockefeller hard. The men's clothing chief pointed out that his union has 175,000 members in the state—and that they had restrained themselves from asking for a wage increase for three years. They have not wanted to hurt the industry in New York by raising costs and putting local factories at a competitive disadvantage with firms in other states.

Thus they believe they have aided business, saved jobs, fought inflation and served the public by keeping down the price of clothing shipped throughout the U. S. Now said Mr. Potofsky, Mr. Rockefeller comes with heavy tax demands which will hit the clothing workers—who have not been working a full year and full weeks anyway.

Mr. Potofsky told the Governor to try and close tax loopholes elsewhere to raise the money. Labor is going to fight the new Governor hard and if Mr. Rockefeller wants labor support and wants them in for future discussions, they want to be consulted first and not told after the fact.

It was Mr. Rockefeller's first hurdle. It looks like he'll have to run the course all over again.



**GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER**  
Misses the first hurdle.

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# These Days

## Rockefeller's Error

A-13  
By George E. Sokolsky

POLITICS is the art of controlling men's minds and wills so that their political support will be available when needed.

Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New York State, has been trained to public life. Although he has had some considerable experience in administration and has engaged in public activities during his adult life, he has never learned first-hand, by trial and error, the techniques of American politics.



Sokolsky

Elected Governor of the State of New York as a Republican against a national Democratic trend, he was immediately hailed as a prospective candidate for the Presidency. In fact, so certain were his managers of his prospects that they set in motion a covert Nation-wide activity on his behalf.

Rockefeller has a personality and trappings suitable for current political popularity. He is youthful in appearance; reads a speech ably; is active and energetic and has unbounded ambition. His family name is now synonymous with charity and good works.

Just as in a former generation, the man who emerged from the log cabin to eminence was regarded favorably by the American people, today the millionaire who eats a hot dog with a garment worker amasses popular appeal. This sort of thing is called democratic and the crowd enjoys democracy, both true and fraudulent.

DURING his first two months as Governor of New York State, Nelson Rockefeller displayed political ineptitude. The political theory

in support of his sudden tax rise could only be that if he instituted higher taxes now, the public would become accustomed to them by 1960. In fact, if economics could be effected by then, it would be possible to send taxpayers refunds by then.

Whatever the plan, it got fouled up, first, because too many persons on all economic levels are finding taxes unbearable in this year 1959; secondly, because New Yorkers have been expecting a business approach to the state's problems by one who bears the name, Rockefeller; thirdly, because while Rockefeller has managed to gain control of the Republican organization in New York State, Republicans know that the state is now essentially Democratic and they fear the political consequences of the Rockefeller program.

One of the principal complications is the financial situation of the City of New York. Nearly half the population of the state lives in the Metropolitan area, which includes the city and the suburbs. The City of New York is broke. The morale of the police force is frighteningly low despite the fact that the city has the most competent commissioner it has known in decades. Some school teachers have been on strike recently and all are complaining.

HERE ENTERS the sorry spectre of party politics. The Mayor proposes a tax on off-track betting, which is a popular proposal, or a 4 per cent sales tax, which is hateful. Obviously, the Mayor has no desire to impose the 4 per cent sales tax because he continues to have political ambitions. On the other hand, the Governor is not too strong for off-track betting because that may raise certain moral issues among Protestants.

Further, the city admini-

stration is Democratic; the Governor is a Republican. The strength of the Republican Party, such as it is, is in the northern and western counties of the state; the City of New York grows increasingly Democratic.

The citizen who cares less about all this than he does about a television murder, wants fewer taxes, less waste in government, less duplication and more police protection.

It was assumed that such a person as Nelson Rockefeller would go into the Governor's office in Albany with a vacuum cleaner and an extenuator. Instead, he just proposed another tax load.

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**As Pegler Sees It:**

# Check on Politics Of Politico's Wife

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

**T**HE politico-social activities of wives of electoral officers hitherto have been granted privacy on a naive assumption, ludicrous to wise Europeans, that a public man's private life is none of our business. Mrs. Roosevelt prepared us for a change of attitude.

Recent conduct of the wife of Governor Rockefeller, of New York, has made an issue of the matter. This lady took part in mechanized political demonstrations in favor of David Dubinsky, an old-time Socialist, who operates, rather fitfully now, a Socialist Party in New York called the Liberal Party, and a Socialist political machine in Europe, North Africa and elsewhere overseas, under the general management of an old Trotsky Communist known as Jay Lovestone. Lovestone's advocates in journalism claim that he has apostatized but offer no proof.



PEGLER

Mrs. Rockefeller was photographed sewing union labels in garments for the benefit of Dubinsky's union, the Garment Workers. This union notoriously deserves the official attention of the McClellan Committee but, for political reasons, has been exempt.

The type of ballyhoo to which Mrs. Rockefeller and Mrs. Meyner, the wife of the Jersey Governor, lend themselves and the prestige of the husbands' offices is not spontaneous but organized. All newspaper people and all politicians know that it is a product of a sinister phenomenon called public relations.

Mrs. Rockefeller's impudence here is rather important. Her husband purports to be a Republican. Therefore, there is a careless public belief that she is a Republican, too. Mrs. Meyner's husband is a partisan Democrat and so, apparently, is she. In view of the intermingling of the Democratic Party and various Socialist fronts, when Mrs. Meyner pays respect to Dubinsky's union, itself, a political force, her conduct is not surprising. However, there are upstanding, anti-Socialist Democrats who reject Dubinsky and his union and its works.

We come now to a sensible understanding of a fact of life known to all persons who have been married. The wife often is the deciding member and this plainly implies that a Socialist or Communist wife of a hypothetical Republican or a Loyalist, Jeffersonian Democrat, will make decisions for him contrary to the legitimate expectations of the public.

In Europe, the influence of women in great, often tragic, developments is well known and there is none of the boyish reticence that handicaps us in our belated recognition of the power of a soft, sweet voice on a pillow in the dead of night.

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There was a lady named Pompadour, whose career reminds us that some American statesmen have had mistresses, in particular one who repudiated his declared position and fought for the United Nations.

For years I have noted that not one Communist who was sentenced to prison for contempt or any of the sly disloyalties which the Supreme Court has now found amiable, was sent to Alcatraz and that some of the most malignant were quietly transferred to Danbury where one of them was given facilities to write a book. Danbury is relatively so pleasant that it is called the country club. One such Red was transferred from Los Angeles to Connecticut, so that he could be near his mother.

On the other hand, offenders who no less deserved the favor of proximity to their loved ones were railroaded to Atlanta, Leavenworth and the Rock on the caprice of persons unknown who may have been not officials with decisive authority but spouses thereof. One such wife is known to be, in a quiet way, a devotee of Mrs. Roosevelt and sympathetic with her designs and proteges.

So the time is here to make candidates qualify their wives at the nominating conventions and for the wives to submit information on their own politics and associations. To err is human but to refuse to profit by experience is nobody's fault but our own.

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**Mr. Pegler's Next Column Appears Here Monday.**

From The Hall Syndicate, Inc.  
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York  
FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

3/5/59

INSIDE LABOR  
THE VICTOR RIESEL COLUMN

By Victor Riesel

Chances for Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller to take the Republican Presidential nomination were jacked up last Tuesday by a band of Democratic Texans roving the U.S. Congressional offices. Mr. Rockefeller may not be aware of all this. The band of Texans certainly were not aware of it. But they were definitely part of a mass move in Washington which has been helping the New York Governor's chances against Vice President Nixon.

We can start this sagebrush-less saga of the Texans at the moment when they walked quietly into the Senatorial headquarters of Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson. The Texans inadvertently interrupted an off-the-record meeting between the Senate majority chief and the chief of the AFL-CIO, George Meany. The labor leader was discussing the proposed anti-racketeering bills with the Senate leader. But Meany did not mind being interrupted.

These were not Lyndon Johnson's Texans. They were George Meany's Texans. They were part of the 3,500 delegates to the fifth annual legislative conference of the Building and Construction Trades Dept. of the AFL-CIO. They had met in full convention the day before with similar delegations from all the other states, including Alaska.

They were second and third echelon officials from the Plumbers, the Electricians, the Carpenters, the Iron Workers and the other unions which lay the roads, hack out harbors and send buildings scraping the skies.

They visited their regional Congressmen in state delegations. Unlike the past, they did not just leave their business cards. They came in groups. They had been briefed on lobbying. They did not take too much time.

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They came with special research kits. They had charts, graphs and documents which they said backed up their drive for special laws for a 35-hour week, for more money for construction of airports, schools and housing. They carried special questionnaires, printed in advance. They asked specific questions on whether the solons would support their proposals and their version of the Kennedy-Erwin labor reform bill.

They then turned their questionnaires in for tabulation by Building and Construction Trades Dept. researchers.

And like the Texas group, which also sought out that state's lone Republican Congressman, the delegations were non-partisan in their talk and approach. Naturally they were closer to the Democratic Congressmen. But not in all states.

Many of the delegates are traditional Republicans. For years their unions have supported Republican candidates all along the line. But all the delegations hewed to the non-partisanship of their lobbying. Even after hours. They ran cocktail parties for all the Congressmen from their states.

Tuesday night, for example, the Ohio Building Trades had a dinner and were genial hosts to the two feuding Senators as well as to the other Democratic and the GOP people from the Buckeye state.

Their lobbying impressed the Republican Congressmen. That was the talk in the Capitol Hill Club where a Democrat couldn't win a poll at a table for two. The talk Tuesday, and throughout the week, was that this traditionally conservative labor lobby was now as slick, as publicity-minded, as TV-ed as the militant CIO bloc.

And the talk was that the GOP, or at least the Congressmen who had been visited by the old-line AFL construction union officials, would want a national candidate who would not antagonize such forces.

Immediately the conversations turned to Gov. Rockefeller and Vice President Nixon -- and their subliminal strategic drives for labor support.

The word is, and it can be corroborated by the results of interviews with Republican leaders across the country, that Rockefeller already is beginning to build his machine for the 1960 convention. There is no doubt that he wants the presidential nomination. There is no doubt that the eastern Republicans are saying that only Mr. Rockefeller can neutralize some of the labor machine power.

And last Tuesday, after listening to all the visiting delegations from Texas to Alaska, many of the GOP Congressmen were impressed by the argument that they would need to woo or at least neutralize labor. Even the conservative union chiefs are on the march.

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# Rocky Seen as '60 GOP Pitch to Labor

## VICTOR RIESEL: WHEELS TURN

*NEEDSON*  
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**Building and Construction Trades Dept. researchers.**

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NEW YORK MIRROR, FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1959

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# These Days

## Politics and Taxes

By George E. Sokolsky

A-23

THE political battle between Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York State and Mayor Robert W. Wagner of New York City hurts nobody but the taxpayer. The Governor demands more taxes for the state, more than half of which are paid by those who live in the city. The Governor demands more taxes before he proposes to reduce state expenditures by any means; the Mayor contends that the city should receive back from the state a large proportion of the taxes collected from the city or failing that, that the city should be permitted by the state to tax off-track betting.



Sokolsky

The Governor will not permit the Mayor to collect any but nuisance taxes which will make the Mayor very unpopular. On the other hand, unless things go very wrong, the Governor could find himself with a surplus by 1960 and he could then give the citizens refunds of their own money, which would make him very popular in a year when popularity could count, particularly as regards a Presidential nomination.

THERE can be no justification for not collecting off-track betting taxes. The state collects on-track betting taxes.

Actually, it could be a large source of revenue. The state cannot object to taxing off-track betting on moral grounds without divesting itself of the authority to collect on-track taxes, the state maintaining a Racing Commission which controls all race tracks and supervises a parimutuel system. If it is immoral for the city to collect a tax on off-track betting, why is it moral for the state not only to collect a tax but to supervise the business? It would seem that Governor Rockefeller's moral code is double-standard.

Involved in this proposition is not morality but politics. The state administration is Republican; the city administration is Democratic. One side wants to hurt the other. It is a struggle over the control of New York City. Meanwhile, the taxpayer suffers.

So far as Governor Nelson Rockefeller is concerned, he started his elective career like a ball of fire. He ate hot dogs, knishes, pastrami, pizza pies and got the votes. His lady sewed a label on a garment and thereby established herself as a liberal. Everything looked as though Nelson Rockefeller would have a brilliant career. Then he got into this tax situation. How damaging the tax situation is to Governor Rockefeller's political chances, it is impossible to know at the present time.

There is a theory about this. First, it is that he masters his Party, so that all the divergent elements become obedient servants of the Governor, the way they were when Thomas E. Dewey was Governor; thereby, Rockefeller will control the enormous New York delegation to the Republican National Convention. However, Rockefeller is not Tom Dewey; he does not possess Dewey's political acumen nor will he have time between now and 1960 to develop the loyalty which Dewey demanded and received. Secondly, Dewey did not build strength by raising taxes and mailing refunds; his political strength was the result of astute and competent administration over a long period of time. Thirdly, Dewey was careful not to pick a quarrel with New York City where the citizens do not forget how they were used and where the Republican Party really does not count for much.

Rockefeller blew into New York State affairs, in which he had previously played no part, like a cyclone. No public figure has caused as much distress in so short a time. He has moved forward with a ruthlessness that is mindful of his grandfather. It could cause a strike of all municipal employes in New York City.

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# HUMAN EVEN

Vol. XVI, No. 10

Wednesday, March 11, 1959

Washington, D. C.

## News Section

- SPENDING:** *Rockefeller's fading star* (page 1)  
*National tax revolt brewing?* (page 1)  
*Ike vs. housing bill* (page 1)
- DULLES:** *A new "liberal" maneuver* (page 2)
- SCHOOLS:** *Private education meets the test* (page 3)

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News men deem significant what the Democratic press were saying quietly in the corridors of Washington Sheraton-Park Hotel last week, during the big Democratic \$100 a plate dinner. They said that Rockefeller had slipped badly; they predicted the nomination of Vice President Nixon to succeed Eisenhower; and they conceded—very privately—that Nixon would be the hardest Republican to beat.

**The Rockefeller Reversal:** Wherever the party professionals (Democratic or Republican) gather in the Nation's Capital, the talk today revolves around the big political development of recent weeks—the reversal of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's posture in the national scene.

Three months ago, Rockefeller occupied a commanding place among those cited as likely to win the Presidential election in 1960. At that time, the irresistible force of his "personality" was rated as a decisive element in the coming contest for power. Today, the pros studying the details of Rockefeller's sudden fall place major emphasis on the revolt of the taxpayer as the factor overriding infectious grins, ingested blintzes and warm handshakes.

What particularly rivets the attention of GOP politicians is not the fact that national polls show Rocky's decline, but the mounting evidence that the Governor is fast losing the mob on the New York sidewalks which swept him to victory in November.

Such evidence includes the following items: (1) *The scene in New York's Coliseum, February 20, when Governor Rockefeller received such a booning from New Yorkers that he had to beg his auditors to listen to his apologia. The New York World-Telegram reported (February 21) that the Governor "was wildly and steadily booed last night by upward of 5000 persons."*

(2) *The tidal wave of mail received by legislators in Albany—in a ratio of 100-to-one—protesting the Governor's tax program and frequently expressing a determination never to vote again for Rockefeller.*

(3) *Hence, there has appeared the profile of a recently masterful Governor, now yielding day by day to increasingly rebellious members of his party, bent on cutting his big spending budget.*

Scanning all such signs and portents, the pros here in Washington conclude that Rockefeller has—at least temporarily—lost control of his party in New York. This conclusion carries ominous overtones for 1960: If he can't control his own party in his own state, what chance has he to win the country in November, 1960? And, if this picture becomes clearer, what chance has he for winning the Presidential nomination in the Republican convention? Hence, many GOP politicians are beginning to say: "He's a nice fellow, but he can't be elected President."

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**The Washington Merry-Go-Round**

# Rockefeller's Candidacy Boosted

By Drew Pearson

Another of Washington's hush-hush dinners recently charted the strategy of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to capture the Presidency in 1960.

This dinner was held, not in the White House, but the Georgetown home of Congressman Perkins Bass of New Hampshire, and was attended by



Pearson

Rockefeller's chief political lieutenant, New York State GOP Chairman Judson Morhouse. At this private, political, hair-down session, Morhouse made it clear that Rockefeller would be a candidate for President.

Former Speaker Joe Martin, not Bass, was supposed to be the biggest fish at the affair. Joe has not been an ardent admirer of Vice President Nixon since Nixon joined with Congressman Charlie Halleck to oust Martin as House GOP Leader. At the last minute, Martin had to cancel out, but made it clear he will use his considerable influence inside the Republican Party to help Rockefeller.

Only House members were

invited to the private political powwow, among them Chester Merrow of New Hampshire, John Saylor of Pennsylvania, John Lindsay and Stuyvesant Wainwright of New York.

Morhouse started off by declaring that he was confident Rockefeller would run for President, that his intentions would be made clear later this fall, and that his name would not be withdrawn from the key New Hampshire primary. Morhouse added that Rockefeller might not campaign personally in New Hampshire, but that his campaign would be well financed. Congressman Bass and Rockefeller, incidentally got to know each other working on Dartmouth affairs. Both are alumni and Rockefeller is a trustee. Bass' father is a former Governor of New Hampshire.

Congressman Merrow of New Hampshire cited private polls taken in New Hampshire which showed Rockefeller leading Nixon by as much as five to one.

Besides New Hampshire, Morhouse said Rockefeller would enter other primaries—at least Oregon and Wisconsin. He might even challenge Nixon in his home state of California.

The group agreed that Nixon

had scored a political bull's eye on his Russian trip, but questioned how long it would take for the favorable impression to wear off. They recalled that he had come back from being stoned in Venezuela a national hero. Six weeks later, he was slipping again in the popularity polls.

The group expressed conviction that Nixon, whatever his present strength, could never win a national election. They discussed his political drawbacks and even discussed how easy it was for cartoonists to caricature him. His heavy jowls, ski-jump nose and dark beard make him a natural for lampooning cartoonists.

The group acknowledged it would be difficult to start the Rockefeller bandwagon now, because Republican leaders would hesitate to oppose Nixon while he is only one heartbeat from the Presidency. They agreed frankly that if Ike should die and Nixon should move into the White House, it would be impossible to stop his nomination in 1960. Republican politicians, having this in mind, don't want to risk antagonizing Nixon so early.

## Ike Pulls the Rug

The President pulled the

- The Washington Post and Times Herald *D*
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
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- Date \_\_\_\_\_

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pull slightly out from under  
Vice President Nixon when he  
issued the important an-  
nouncement of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower reciprocal  
visits.

Though Ike made it appear  
that he was primarily respon-  
sible for issuing the invita-  
tion, actually this was not the  
case. It was Nixon. While  
it's true that the invitation had  
been dangled before the  
Kremlin earlier and had been  
discussed between the Presi-  
dent and Herter as early as  
last May, actually Mr. Eisen-  
hower remained reluctant  
right up until the very last  
minute — even while Nixon  
was in Moscow.

Nixon had talked to him be-  
fore he left Washington about  
issuing the invitation, at which  
time Ike was dead opposed.  
He almost acted as if he con-  
sidered a Khrushchev invita-  
tion disloyal to Dulles' mem-  
ory.

After Nixon got to Moscow  
he cabled Mr. Eisenhower urg-  
ing the invitation. After re-  
ceiving this cable following  
Nixon's private conversation  
with Khrushchev, White House  
aides went into a huddle with  
the President. He finally  
agreed.

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*M/S*

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- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

### The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Dewey as Rockefeller Manager?

By Drew Pearson

How serious Nelson Rockefeller is about running for President is clear from the fact that he's asked ex-Gov. Tom Dewey to be his campaign manager.

Dewey was highly successful in getting Ike nominated and elected even though he never did too well for himself... Mamie Eisenhower says that she'll go to Moscow with Ike but only by boat. She hates long overseas airplane flights... The Air Force has caught Gov. Ernest Vandiver of Georgia mooching a free joyride in a National Guard plane all over the Caribbean after he finished at the Governors' Conference. It plans to bill him in the same way it did embattled Gov. Earl Long of Louisiana when he flew to Houston, Tex. (somewhat against his will) to a mental institution. What the Air Force doesn't know is that Gov. Vandiver is the nephew of potent Sen. Russell of Georgia who sits on Air Force matters as Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee. Wonder if they'll really try to collect?



Pearson

The General Motors Grand Jury — Two junior Congressmen have been responsible for two of the most important

probes in Congress this year. Frank Kowalski of Connecticut sparked the investigation of GIs used as brass-hat servants, which has already brought drastic changes in the Army. Alfred Santangelo of New York inspired the probe of the munitions lobby... Kowalski recently made a broadcast, in Polish, over the Voice of America. Though his parents immigrated from Poland, the Congressman's English is far better than his Polish and he had to spend about four hours practicing for a 15-minute broadcast. He did a good job for Polish-American understanding... The CAB is getting down to business in a probe of Pan American Airways... Congressman Frank Thompson of New Jersey, who was sprayed with acid the other day, finds time to be the Capital's No. 1 advocate of culture, though Congressman Harris McDowell of Delaware is runner-up. They urge that future memorials to great Americans be in the form of living monuments, not rigid stone.

#### Inside the Labor Conference

The Democratic Senator who's inclined to slide over to the Republican side during the hot Landrum-Griffin bill discussions is likable Jennings Randolph of West Virginia. With four Democratic Senators, balanced against three Republicans, Randolph's vote can throw the conference one way or the other... Sen. Pat McNamara of Michigan was

the only Senator who opposed secrecy at the Senate-House labor talks. It was agreed to keep Senate assistants in the room, but bar newsmen. As the last newsman walked out, McNamara wise-cracked: "I want the last man who walked out the door as my assistant. He's with the Detroit News. I want to use him for public relations advice"... There's a contractors' closed shop gimmick tucked in the Landrum-Griffin bill which was sold to Landrum and Griffin by the powerful Associated General Contractors. It will squeeze out all nonmember contractors. It provides that in the building trades, contractors may sign prehire contracts with a labor union, but the contractor must have a history of collective bargaining. This means he must belong to the local contractors' association, and also means a closed shop for contractors—written into law... Rep. Graham Barden of North Carolina is so anti-labor that in the closed-door sessions he insisted that officers and unions be required to have surety bonds of 10 percent of the union money they handle. This would mean that David Dubinsky's Garment Workers, with a \$200 million fund would have to get \$20 million surety. This goes far beyond the surety requirement of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which guarantees deposits in the Nation's banks. When Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, a business-

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- The Washington Post and Times Herald *D-1*
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- Date \_\_\_\_\_

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man, heard about this, he  
drastically scaled down the  
Garden provision.

Malibag—Rep. W. F. Norrell  
of Arkansas—I have your tele-  
gram stating that you are not  
now in a wheel chair and have  
not been since your stroke. I  
am delighted to make this fact  
clear and very sorry that you  
have been ill . . . Herman  
Johnson, the Johnson Co., Du-  
luth, Minn.—You are right  
that there have been cases of  
secondary boycotts and organ-  
izational picketing, but the  
fact remains that with the ex-  
ception of one narrow loop-  
hole, they are banned under  
the Taft-Hartley Act. Not only  
my column but the New York  
Times has pointed out that  
section 8 (B) (4) (A) of the Taft-  
Hartley Act specifically bans  
this type of picketing and that  
President Eisenhower was not  
fair when in his telecast on  
labor legislation he cited the  
secondary picketing of retail  
furniture stores because the  
furniture manufacturer would  
not permit union organization.  
The President's own Justice  
Department through the Taft-  
Hartley Act, in most cases, has  
the power to stop this type  
of picketing.

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Jack Anderson, substituting  
for Drew Pearson, will report  
on stepped-up Soviet military  
activity and the congressional  
plan for free vacations, over  
WTOP Radio, Saturday, 6:45  
p. m.

- Tolson ✓
- Belmont ✓
- DeLoach ✓
- McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen ✓
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- W. J. Ryan ✓
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Newson*

**A-17**

**Rockefeller Is Made NAACP Life Member**

NEW YORK, Sept. 4 (AP).— Gov. Rockefeller has been enrolled as a life member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Elvie Kaplan, a Boston industrialist and chairman of the NAACP Life Membership Committee, presented a plaque to Gov. Rockefeller during a brief ceremony yesterday in the Governor's office.



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- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star A 17
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- Date \_\_\_\_\_

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# Rocky Rolls Union Men in Aisle

## VICTOR RIESEL: CALM CANDIDATE

If Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller is running for the presidency, he's the calmest candidate this side of George Washington.

Last Monday morning he walked into the midst of powerful men who are his political opponents and who have spent the past week denouncing his party. He disarmed them. He out-ripped them—including David Dubinsky, the Noel Coward of the needle trades.

To a few of us caught in the line of good natured repartee, it was apparent that the New York Governor had the friendship of these labor men and that they would never really attack him in their characteristic trip-hammer, class-jargoned fashion.

WHAT HAPPENED on that jammed reviewing stand answered one question: Would the union chiefs turn their backs on the New York Republican Governor because his national leader, Dwight D. Eisenhower, had almost personally pushed through (and was about to sign) the toughest labor law in U. S. history?

Rockefeller laughingly took the initiative as the parade started. There were two baby elephants in line ahead of the hundreds of banners and floats which denounced Republican policy. The Governor leaned forward to Dubinsky, standing there in a sloganed overseas parader's cap with a needle worker's yardstick in hand.

"Now there's a fine set of symbols," the Governor jested pointing to the Republican-type elephants. "That's nice of you to run this parade for me. Where are the donkeys?"

Just then the 21,000 needle workers' contingent began to file

past, veterans of many a New Deal campaign. This reporter remarked that they were the largest group in the parade, coming from the city's largest union. Dubinsky sighed:

"But they didn't listen to me in the last election, did they Governor?", referring to the trouncing Rockefeller had given labor's candidate, Averell Harriman, by half a million votes the New York State gubernatorial race.

"Ah, but Dave," said the Governor, "you did not talk ve loudly."

Dubinsky laughed. Not often had anyone referred to the fact that labor in New York had not once really attacked Rockefeller in last year's election. Obviously in Nelson Rockefeller the Republicans have a national figure who will not draw labor's wrath.

But he is not alone in the Republican leadership. There Vice President Dick Nixon. He has his labor friends, too.

THERE WAS STILL another friend in court—U. S. Labor Secretary Jim Mitchell. Many talk of him as the logical runner mate for Nixon if the Californian gets the nomination. Tuesday morning, it was apparent that Jim Mitchell was determined to prove that the passage of the Landrum-Griffin Bill is no sign of a war on labor by the GOP.

- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- Date \_\_\_\_\_

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The Labor Secretary briefed President Eisenhower for almost an hour. He told the President that he was set to spend a week with the labor leaders at their national convention site in San Francisco.

Mitchell has the job of preventing the angry leaders of some 14,000,000 union members from turning their convention into a snorting anti-Republican rally. If he succeeds, he will influence the greatest political year of all—the year of the Democrats' efforts to turn out the Republicans.

## INSIDE LABOR



THE GOVERNOR  
Rocky took the stage.

From The Hall Syndicate, Inc.  
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York  
FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

10/15/59

INSIDE LABOR

By Victor Riesel

*gm*

New York — Nelson A. Rockefeller has just held a summit session of his own. A home front summit. The Governor of New York has been eager to lend his personality and prestige to melt the industrial ice age which appears to be slowly freezing the nation into paralysis.

Thus last Tuesday night, while labor and industrial executives were battling each other across the land, Mr. Rockefeller held a very off-the-record dinner in honor of AFL-CIO chief George Meany in the privacy of the Rockefeller home in Manhattan's East Sixties.

There was to be no publicity. This roast beef bull session was to honor Mr. Meany's appointment to our UN delegation. The party was small, jolly and informal right down to the last moment when the Governor, his arms moving like a symphony conductor's, led the group in singing "happy birthday" to one of the diners.

There was little whiskey, but they were lusty for there had been good fellowship among those who supped at the Governor's table — David Dubinsky, the Ladies Garment Workers chief; Jack Potofsky, the men's clothing leader; Alex Rose, the Hatters president; Harry Van Arsdale, head of the City Central Labor Council (now one of the most influential men inside labor), Peter Brennan, head of the New York State Building and Construction Workers Council; Victor Borella, executive vice president of Rockefeller Center, and the governor's soft-voiced, truly knowledgeable personal labor expert; and two state officials and some businessmen. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, who had been tussling with the Russians at the UN, came in late.

For some of the three hours they talked of the cold war and the need of a United Nations to meet the Khrushchev threat. They were regaled by Ambassador Lodge's delightful reminiscence of the Russian's tour. The voice of the tourist was no longer heard throughout the land, but his threats still echoed.

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—MORE—

Then the labor leaders spoke of the industrial civil war. Gov. Rockefeller was concerned with the problem of taking the ball away from the extremists at both ends. Meany talked of his days on the War Labor Board. There were four labor men, four industrialists and four public figures on it.

Meany observed that this board had quietly and friendly-like settled most industrial disputes. Referring to the bitter steel strike, Meany and Dubinsky were strongly critical of President Eisenhower. They pointed out that labor had asked for a steel fact-finding board two months ago. Mr. Eisenhower waited, they said sharply, and finally appointed what was, in effect, a fact-finding board under Prof. George Taylor. This delay intensified the crisis, they charged. Gov. Rockefeller did not take issue with them.

Meany then said that some time ago he had suggested an industry-labor summit meeting. Rockefeller spoke, and all were conscious that they might be listening to the next president of the U.S. He appeared to favor such a national labor-management conference.

The Governor spoke again. There was no reference to politics. This was as it should be, for all the 15 guests realized that it was early in the presidential season; that no one could predict who would be running, and that much of labor's attitude and support would depend on whom the Democrats nominated. But there was good-natured kidding on the Governor's predilection for opinion polls.

The Governor, knowing he was talking in the privacy of his own home, said he was concerned by the thought that the Khrushchev visit might soften the American people into believing we had the time and luxury to lower our guard.

He said we needed national unity, a tough working together on the industrial front to meet the Soviet production challenge and space successes.

--MORE--

The Governor spoke of bringing about a new climate in our land. We can not end the cold war or beat the Russians if we push ourselves into a domestic cold war. There are many problems. Of these, the toughest is the machine which runs other machines -- automatic. If we beat each other's brains in a series of waterfront, rail, meat and steel strikes over who will benefit from automation, we'll lose both cold wars -- domestic and international.

To some it appeared that was the reason for Mr. Rockefeller's quick nod when Rose, the philosophical hatter and a leader of New York State's Liberal Party, said at the conversation's end:

"Mr. Governor, we've been talking of the old War Labor Board; what we need now is a new Peace Labor Board."

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*John*

- Tolson ✓
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- W.C. Sullivan ✓
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy



ROCKEFELLER



MEANY

**VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR**

# Rocky Feeds Guests Food for Thought...

Nelson A. Rockefeller has just held a summit session of his own. A home front summit.

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- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_ 16
- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- Date \_\_\_\_\_

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The Governor spoke of bringing about a new climate in our land. We could not end the cold war or best the Russians if we push ourselves into a domestic cold war. There are many problems. Of these, the toughest is the machine which runs other machines—automation. If we beat each other's brains in, in a series of waterfront, rail, meat and steel strikes over who will benefit from automation, we'll lose both cold wars—domestic and international.

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Tolson ✓  
Belmont ✓

# What Makes Rockefeller Run?



*Everybody needs a sense of purpose, says New York's jet-propelled Governor — with his eye on the White House*

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## By ELEANOR HARRIS

LAST NOVEMBER 4, a politically unknown Republican multimillionaire named Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller defeated a politically famed Democrat multimillionaire named Averell Harriman to become Governor of New York. The victory was overwhelming, although it took place during a country-wide sweep for the Democrats.

Since four New York governors have gone on to become President, jittery experts instantly told one another, "Look out for this newcomer—he might run right into the White House in 1960!" Run is the right word, too.

On first meeting, the impression he makes is that of physical magnetism. Bursting with vitality, radiating a combination of self-confidence and good humor, he walks rapidly into a room to become its focal point. Yet, as one woman mused aloud, "Why do I have this compulsion to notice and like him? When you sum it all up, he's just a nice-looking stocky guy in an old-fashioned suit!" (He invariably wears double-breasted

suits, most of them tailored several years ago.)

The fact remains that people do have a compulsion to notice and like this 51-year-old man—who looks closer to 40. He stands five feet ten inches and weighs 185 pounds; his face is square-jawed, and he has extremely observant blue eyes and neatly combed brown hair. He moves with the effortless energy of a healthy animal, and he moves a great deal—spontaneously helping photographers lift a heavy table for use in a picture, hurrying into his office in order to carry out a globe to show visiting school children, leaping up from a conference to adjust the Venetian blinds at the window.

He always has been a doer rather than a spectator. "I enjoy problems—the greatest game is to try and solve them. A lot of people play poker or bridge to make up problems . . . You don't have to make 'em up, there are plenty around. And when you find one, I think you should act while you're focused on it. Get experts in. Change it!"

He adopts the same attitude toward big problems or little. His wife and five children have lived for years with some of his inventive solutions to little problems around their triplex apartment in New York City. For instance, because of the balustrade on a terrace outside the windows of his penthouse-study, he was unable while seated at his desk to see the lovely panorama of Central Park spread out below; the balustrade interfered unless he was on his feet. How did he solve this problem? He had an architect friend build two-thirds of the floor up into a platform reached by steps, making it into a split-level room. On the "platform"—his desk, a couch and easy chairs permit him and his seated visitors a fine view out the windows.

The halls of the three-story apartment reveal still another Rockefeller innovation. A series of showcases are built into the walls, and on their lighted shelves stand displays of primitive art—African necklaces and bracelets, pre-Inca ceremonial feather headdresses, pre-Columbian stone figures. "I like moving things around in these cases just the way I like to rehang my pictures every so often."

He has bought paint- (Continued on page 6)

and statuary all his life, and his boundless energy has made him by all odds America's most jet-propelled collector. Before politics crowded his time, he thought nothing of making a trip of some 7,000 miles to Iran to spend a week buying Iranian art treasures.

A few years ago, when his wife objected to all the primitive art around the house, he solved that problem by opening to the public New York City's first Museum of Primitive Art.

He brings the same imaginative zest to his political life. Says one long-time politician, "He's often disarmingly honest. When a group came to see him during his campaign, promising to support him for Governor only if he committed himself to their policies, he told them honestly that in that case he guessed he wouldn't have their support. He explained, 'After all, I don't have to be Governor—and I can't promise something I don't believe in.' Some of the group were so bewildered by this direct approach that they said they'd vote for him anyway."

Three months after he arrived in Albany last January to start his four-year term as Governor, he had changed everything in sight—from taxes (despite cries of protest) to the decoration of the Governor's Mansion (as a background for his dozens of vivid abstract paintings, its rooms were painted all-white).

He sent out "task-forces" of experts to research state needs and then report back with their findings. Middle-income housing got a shot in the arm; private industry invested \$200,000,000 in funds, while the state put up \$100,000,000. Commuter facilities got a new lease on life; taxes were adjusted for railroads and bus companies. A general labor reform bill was passed by the Legislature. Rockefeller painstakingly read 1,202 bills (880 approved, 322 vetoed) departing from custom by explaining in writing the reason for each veto.

"I believe a great majority of our problems can be solved by the state," he insists. "It's not necessary to go to the federal government—and taxes are sometimes necessary. Most people in charge are reluctant to tell the rough facts to the people of a state; I believe they have a right to know."

Flying back and forth between New York City and Albany in private planes owned jointly by his brothers and himself, he managed to oversee a lot of remodeling in both places. In the

Capitol Building he took one look at the governor's office, a long room opening directly into a public hall, and ordered it foreshortened by a partition so as to provide a waiting room. And the large garden of the Governor's Mansion now boasts a Rockefeller-added tennis court, an enormous circular plant-area, and a wide brick terrace.

Somehow, as well, he also found time on week ends to be with his wife and collected children and grandchildren—often at his summer home at Seal Harbor in Maine, where he played golf and tennis and sailed some of his boats. Last August, as everyone knows, he flew to Norway for the Cinderella-story wedding of his son Steven to Anne-Marie Rasmussen.

How does he find the energy for his jam-packed life? Much of his vitality is, of course, a birthright. But some of it comes from his attitude toward life. He says enthusiastically, "We're living in the greatest state in the greatest country in the most exciting time in the history of the world—how can people be bogged down with frustrations and worries of any kind?"

Then he adds, "I'm a great believer in having a purpose. If you have a sense of purpose and direction, that gives meaning to life . . . I've always had a purpose."

What is his purpose? Although many people are convinced that part of it is to become President of the United States, they also admit that some comes from his background and rearing. He had two toweringly powerful grandfathers, the famed John D.

Rockefeller, richest man in the world (and, for many years, one of the most hated), and U. S. Senator Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island who was a Republican leader and Speaker of the House. It was his daughter Abby who married John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to become Nelson's mother.

She had an immense influence on her son. She was at once a gay party-hostess and a woman of character and impetus. Among her many interests was helping to start New York's famed Museum of Modern Art, urging the welfare of Negroes (her father-in-law started the first Negro women's college, Spelman) and prodding friends and relatives into building low-cost housing for working people. Rockefeller says of her with pride, "She was a terrific personality. She had a great love and enthusiasm for people."

With his four brothers and his sister, he grew to manhood in a household where, apart from art, the natural conversation of the adults concerned philanthropy on a gigantic scale (through the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute, his idealistic father gave away more money than any man in history).

There was also a strong influence of religion in his home, where the parents were devout Baptists. Even the Governor's detractors admit that he has a genuine spiritual side to his nature. No one was surprised when he told Khrushchev during the Soviet Chairman's recent visit to the United States that the "values in which we believe . . . grow out of basic spiritual beliefs in the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, in love as the greatest force in the world . . ."

While blotting up the varied information at home, he attended the progressive Lincoln School in New York City. (Continued on page 1)

Then won a Phi Beta Kappa key at Dartmouth College.

A week after his Dartmouth graduation in June of 1908, he married Mary Todhunter Clark of Philadelphia and, following their year-long honeymoon trip, they settled into a 16th century Dutch Colonial house in Tarrytown, New York. While it has been enlarged with the coming of their five children, it is still their country home.

"Tod" Rockefeller, exactly his height and a year older, owns a sense of humor and as friendly a personality as he has. She was able to boast of a grandfather almost as vigorous as his—George B. Roberts, who had been president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. (Her cousin is U. S. Senator Joseph S. Clark, a Democrat.) Her freshness of mind shows in the fact that their five children—Rodman (now 27), Ann (25), Steven (23), and the 21-year-old twins, Michael and Mary, each attended a different college—not to mention that Steven's recent bride worked as a Rockefeller maid.

Tod had been married only a year when her husband assumed his first real responsibility, a huge one. By his father's appointment, he became director in charge of real estate and rentals for Rockefeller Center—in the depths of the depression. The heavily mortgaged project was losing \$4,000,000 yearly. Says Wallace Harrison, architect for the Center, "Although he was so young, he just walked in and took command. He started ordering everyone around—even people who made hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. And he made good at it."

Today, of course, Rockefeller Center is a tourist mecca for the world and its gross income is \$20,000,000.

As a director also of the family

owned Creole Petroleum Corporation in Caracas, he bought a large ranch in Venezuela where he built another home. Here he still conducts endless experiments in animal husbandry and in planting. In the year 1939 he built the first modern hotel in Caracas, the Avila. The manner in which he acquired the land for it is an example of the way he operates.

"I've always thought that if you want to settle a problem with anyone you shouldn't rush head-on into it. First you find if you have any common interests—and this is true of parents, children and nations. In Caracas my representatives had been working six months to get this man to sell the property I needed. He absolutely refused. Finally I went to call on him at his home—and right away I saw that he had some pre-Columbian pottery. We talked about it for 45 minutes. Then he suddenly interrupted our conversation to say, 'By the way, you're interested in some property of mine—and you can have it.'"

His intense concern about South America spurred, in pre-war 1940, his forming of a discussion group of friends and businessmen who were familiar with Latin-American affairs. Their talks solidified into a memorandum, which was sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. As a result, Roosevelt established the new Office of Inter-American Affairs—and named Nelson Rockefeller head of it.

He remained in the capital five years, also serving as Assistant Sec-

retary of State for the American Republics. Returning in the late 1940s, under President Truman, he headed the International Development Advisory Board, which dealt with the Point Four Technical Assistance program abroad. In early 1953, the time thanks to President Eisenhower, he made his third Washington appearance—as chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization, and as Under Secretary of the newly formed Department of Health, Education and Welfare. He also was Special Assistant for Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile, no outside interest kept him from being a father to his five children. With each one he built a new rock wall in Tarrytown; with each he camped, visited art galleries, traveled extensively. "I don't think it's so much a matter of the time a parent spends with his children as it is the integrity of his relationship with them," he says. In his case, the relationship is so close that he wrote letters to each during his campaign for governor so that "they could share in the experience I was having." His children call him any one of three pet names—Daddy, Pops or Chief.

Nor have his interests, new or old, kept him from his enjoyment of jazz (he has a collection of jazz records for the years 1937, 1938 and 1939) and a good party. The shindig he gave at the Governor's Mansion this past summer—for all Executive Chamber workers was best summed up by the attendant in the lady's washroom of the capitol building: "I didn't feel like a rat in the wrong garret at all!"

Reading, to a character so jet-propelled, presents a problem. He has always treated books to a kind of frontal attack. As a young man he kept abreast of current literature by having his secretary prepare written digests of books. Now he uses a new method. "The best way to read a book is to get the author to tell you about it," he says. "I'm a great believer in sitting down with a group on a subject; when the Rockefeller Brothers study group met, we'd have authors in at the panel discussion. They disciplined themselves to tell us about their books in 15 minutes, and that way we got the essence."

Accused by a number of people of being a complicated personality, this newcomer to elective office replies, "I'm complicated only in my enjoyment of a wide variety of people and things."

What troubles a great many uneasy politicians, both Democrat and Republican, is that a wide variety of people seem to enjoy him as well.



**THE ROCKEFELLERS B.A.M. (before Anne-Marie)**—After upsetting Harriman, he celebrated with son-in-law Rev. Robert Pierson, daughter Ann Pierson, son Rodman and his wife, twins Michael and Mary, and Steven.



**THE GOVERNOR AND HIS WIFE** on their Venezuela ranch. It's one of five —homes they own—and why not, when you're worth \$200,000,000?

5

THIS Washington, D. C., home is where Nelson lived while serving under three presidents. His next Washington address may be the most famous one in the world.



*John D. Rockefeller*  
DAVID, NELSON, Winthrop, Lawrence and John D. Rockefeller III confer with their father, John D., Jr., who through the Foundation and the Institute has given away more than any man in history.

The American Weekly—November 1, 1959



—FOO ROCKEFELLER in the New York apartment which the governor remodeled to improve the view and to display his private art collection.

*Jm*  
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SPECIAL -- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

11/9/59

(For use in any fashion)

By Victor Riesel

New York -- Talking about getting the questions in advance, Gov. Nelson

Rockefeller has had a series of briefings on the queries that will be thrown at any Republican presidential candidate by the sternest opposition comes 1960's big quiz -- much of which will be on television. All of this is unrehearsed -- and has been breaking wide open at a series of private, off-the-record labor dinners the genial Governor has been throwing for some of the GOP's severest critics.

The labor people have left these dinners absolutely convinced that Mr. Rockefeller has already begun actively contesting Vice President Richard Nixon for the Republican presidential nomination.

Having met at the summit with George Meany and other national labor chiefs last month, the Governor went slightly sub-summit last Wednesday, the day after election. He asked the New York City labor leaders into a private dining room high in Manhattan's Rockefeller Center. Helping to host the union chiefs was Victor Borella, the Governor's labor expert.

Among them were Harry Van Arsdale, president of the City Central Labor Union; Charles Zimmerman, head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, and Al Manuti, leader of the country's largest Musicians Union Local 802. Also participating in the political hors d'oeuvres were Labor Council secretary Moe Iushewitz, the Painters Martin Barback and the Hatters Jim Quinn.

They were bitter about the steel strike and criticized President Eisenhower's handling of it.

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Ten days before the Wednesday night meeting, the Governor met with another group of New York AFL-CIO leaders who were seeking to raise the state's minimum wage to \$1.50 an hour. And on Nov. 23, Mr. Rockefeller will throw another dinner for another group of union chiefs.

There will be a series of these labor sessions running until the Governor personally meets and gets to know virtually all the state's union officials. Mr. Rockefeller is also planning to meet out-of-state labor leaders on most of his trips across country.

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JM

# As Pegler Sees It Wealth No Barrier To Political Ties

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

MRS. NELSON ROCKEFELLER, through her secretary, has admitted to me in writing that she registered in 1946 as a member of David Dubinsky's Socialist Party, officially called the Liberal Party, a local New York political parasite. My curiosity was aroused when Mrs. Rockefeller was photographed,



PEGLER

and the picture was widely printed, showing her sewing a label of Dubinsky's union, in a garment, with Dubinsky beaming satisfaction.

Dubinsky has a knack of crashing publicity pictures for general publication in the guise of news. The official publication of the International Ladies Garment Workers, a bi-monthly called, ironically, "Justice," often has had from four to six photographs of The Benefactor. This title, originated by Generalissimo Trujillo of the Dominican Republic

and ridiculed by Dubinsky and his own political bund, nevertheless has been applied to Dave in sweet contempt by some of his own subjects.

His reign, like Trujillo's, is for life or until deposition by a revolution within the realm; his family circle has prospered lavishly by a very similar system of nepotism; the praise of Dubinsky in his own press is more nauseating if possible than Trujillo's self-acclaim in El Caribe; and his political system, like Trujillo's, has included vicious racketeers, notably his "martyr picket," Will Lurye, of New York, a habitual criminal who was almost beheaded in an underworld triple-cross.

## Has Income for Life

That Mrs. Rockefeller found this climate politically consistent with her principles, whatever they may be, and inoffensive to her personal taste, may surprise naive and gullible victims of the old superstition that colossal wealth precludes cooperation with such forces. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote not long ago that she had had an income of \$8,000 a year all her life from just one inheritance from her generally dissolute, predatory family. To this she added the subsidy of the Delano opium fortune which descended to her husband through his mother. And in the years of F.D.R.'s reign her own income from political by-products, such as her "column" and magazine prattle and her speeches at \$2,500 a performance, was greater than Roosevelt's own pay and legal perquisites from the Presidency.

Then, too, there were Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who went as far to the left as the dropping-off place in the old pre-Columbian concept, and Corliss Lamont and his mother, son and wife of the late Tom Lamont of J.P. Morgan and Company. Old Tom provided a life-long trust fund yielding \$60,000 a year, tax free, for Corliss long after he had revealed his favorable opinion of the Muscovite phenomenon.

*Worked*  
Tolson ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Boardman ✓  
Ladd ✓  
Clegg ✓  
Glavin ✓  
Harbo ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tracy ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Gandy ✓  
*810 Fifth Ave New York, N.Y.*  
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*Nelson Rockefeller*  
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- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American 23
- New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- Date \_\_\_\_\_

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Mrs. Lamont once was described by Herbert Hoover as the reddest American at the Vermont peace conference where she had no business whatever but that of a well-heeled, pestiferous harridan. Old Tom was a gutless, handwashing office boy and little brother of the rich. He died without showing the spark of manhood which this challenge would have struck from the flint of a stout American.

Mrs. Rockefeller's admission, signed by "Helene C. Bay, Secretary," on the letterhead "310 Fifth Avenue" and dated Oct. 15, said: "With regard to your letter of Oct. sixth, Mrs. Rockefeller has asked me to state that she registered as a member of the Liberal Party in New York City in 1946, a fact which has been noted on a number of occasions in the press. (I read papers with professional diligence but missed that. So I assume that millions of casual readers also may have missed or forgotten this interesting and possibly fateful political information.) Previously and subsequently, Mrs. Rockefeller registered as a member of the Republican Party."

### Some Questions Remained

This still left numerous questions. So I wrote Miss Bay to ask Mrs. Rockefeller, please, to tell me exactly when she quit the Liberal Party and re-enrolled with the Republicans; whether she ever was a delegate to a Liberal Party convention or held any party position other than that of enrolled member—such as chairman or secretary of any committee and, if so, to give me the details for publication. I told her my interest had been aroused by that photo in January, 1959, for Dubinsky's obvious political profit at the expense of the Republican Party, of course.

If she was in Dubinsky's party then, there would be fair reason to wonder whether her reconversion to the Republican Party represented a change of conviction and political objective or a mere accommodation for the benefit of her ambitions as the wife of a potential Republican nominee for President. In that case we would have to contend with another Eleanor Roosevelt, this one named Rockefeller, and using the rooster instead of the Democratic jackass as her insignia.

I await further information which, if any, I will duly communicate.

(ONLY FOR PAPERS PURCHASING LEWIS COLUMN. OTHERS MUST NOT USE.)  
(C. COLUMN: ADVANCE & LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2  
A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Trotter
- Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS JR.

*File*

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*John*  
*5/19*  
*2/2/57*

WASHINGTON - DEC. 1 -- It may be true, as Nelson Rockefeller claims, that he has not finally made up his mind whether or not to run for the G.O.P. Presidential nomination, but he is amassing a brain trust of such awesome proportions that it seems he is trying to get a corner on Madison Avenue.

It is a weird coterie of hardened anti-Nixonites, New Dealing newspapermen and professional "thinkers," seemingly put together on the theory that quantity means quality.

The Governor is likely to find out otherwise before he is through, because his screening system has been very loose and the stable already contains several Trojan Horses, privately pro-Nixon but not averse to an interim diet of Rockefeller lettuce.

The setup is a far cry from <sup>the</sup> comparatively small group of seasoned, facile party professionals who make up the rival camp of Richard Nixon. It is rather a reversion to the days of the Tom Dewey campaigns, and Dewey, in fact, is sitting ever in the background of the present picture.

As Dewey cast his lot with the Madison Avenue hucksters in 1944 and 1948, so is Nelson Rockefeller turning in the same direction at the present time. And thus far, the chief faces and faults that have come to light are the same.

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Working with Dewey is his old lieutenant, Owen Rorick, who began by directing Wendell Willkie's blitzkrieg convention putsch in 1940 at Philadelphia.

New York G.O.P. leaders George Hinman and L. Judson Morhouse do the actual political spadework to dig delegates and influence party politicians. Hinman is G.O.P. National Committeeman and Morhouse is State Chairman and between the two, they figure to hold the New York delegation, at least, in line.

But it takes more than New York to cop a Presidential nomination, and for the rest of the country, the candidate himself has a part to play, which thus far has not been played very well.

MORE

Rockefeller is doing a lot of traveling, making a lot of policy commitments. The things he is saying are designed to win a big stake of confidence among rank and file Republican voters. But the way he has said them has been eloquently unimpressive.

His think-teams and ghost writers have been working the stratosphere. The composition has been that of copywriters for the printed word, not the spoken.

On an ad lib basis, mingling off the cuff with the crowds, Rockefeller's personality shines through. With these ponderous literary masterpieces his presence has been halting, stilted and unforceful. He has tended to recite his speeches, frequently getting tangled in the long, involved sentences and paragraphs.

In an effort to solve this problem, he reached down to Washington and the office of his year-ago New York State running-mate, Senator Kenneth Keating, and drafted one of the most talented speech writers in the country, a veteran magazine writer and public relations man, Hugh Morrow. Morrow was Keating's highest paid assistant and Keating, by way of tribute to his ability, has replaced him with not one man but two.

The new ghost's function will be to breathe life, humor and earthiness into the Rockefeller scripts and put the slow-moving stone-sledges on ball-bearing wheels. But he joins a highly paid pack of already established ghosts who are responsible for the ills of the past and may swamp him in their morass.

It is headed by Ernest Hughes, <sup>U.S.</sup> one of Ike's old speechwriters in the 1952 campaign, and a professional New Dealer, John Franklin Carter, who authored a liberal column, years back, under the pseudonym "Jay Franklin." And Carter is by no means the only New Dealer on the Rockefeller staff. There are at least four other ex-newspapermen, all of whom were registered Democrats.

Probably the most interesting of these is his assistant press secretary and sometime ghost writer, Robert McManus, <sup>U.S.</sup> who just happened to be press aide to William Averell Harriman when the latter was governor, prior to the Rockefeller Administration.

McManus was Harriman's chief speech writer, indeed, during the campaign that Harriman lost to Rockefeller a year ago. It would not seem to be much of a recommendation, but Rockefeller held him on, which may be part of the answer.

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INSIDE LABOR

By Victor Riesel

No Sherlock Holmes nor even a second string Dr. Watson am I, but it seems to me I've stumbled on evidence that Nelson A. Rockefeller is eager to smoke out Vice President Nixon on what could be a lethal political issue — how to settle a nationally crippling strike when it's deadlocked.

The New York Governor has rushed in where Dick Nixon's strategists fear to have the Vice President tread. Nearly two weeks ago, though almost unnoticed by the nation, Mr. Rockefeller challenged Mr. Nixon. The Governor asked the Vice President to come up with a solution for the steel crisis before President Eisenhower gets back from Paris. Virtually all insiders, from the White House to the White House hopefuls, however, now are convinced that there will be no steel settlement before the Chief Executive returns — or before he opens Congress, for that matter.

It has not been generally reported, but what Rockefeller said in New York on Dec. 7, was:

"I hope that the Vice President, in his position of high prestige as Vice President, will be able to contribute a solution to this problem...Once it gets to a point where it has overlapped the industry that's involved and affects the public, then I think the Federal government has a responsibility."

Having asked for a solution, Rockefeller characteristically offered one two weeks later. He proposed, in effect, that next January Congress pass a law which would give the President of the U.S. the discretion to decide when there should be compulsory arbitration. Mr. Rockefeller is against compulsory settling of strikes as a general policy. But he said some solution has to be found.

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Therefore, the New Yorker asserted, let's trust the President, whether he be Democrat or Republican, in future years to decide when a strike really threatens the nation. Then, and only then, let the President appoint a board which will settle that strike and slip into history.

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MORE

Gov. Rockefeller knows this isn't going to win him labor's man of the year award. But nonetheless he put it this way:

When two powerful forces have reached the point in a labor-management conflict that there seems to be no answer, the following should happen:

"1 -- Mediation should be pursued to the ultimate practical limit. Upon failure, the Federal Mediation Board should request a fact-finding board.

"2 -- If a report by a fact-finding board is not acted upon by the parties involved within a limited time, this board should have the power to recommend a settlement.

"3 -- If the parties do not get together after these steps, the President would ask them to agree to voluntary arbitration of the dispute.

"4 -- Failing in this, the President would then have the power to ask for an injunction as at present under the Taft-Hartley Act and/or appoint an arbitrator or arbitrators who would be charged with settling the dispute strictly on its merits and in the public interest for the contract period."

There is no automatic labor court, compulsory arbitration or czar suggested here. However, Mr. Rockefeller says that the steel strike crisis shows the need for some exception to the general policy of free collective bargaining.

This he calls "an extreme case of complete stalemate" affecting the health and safety of our country. Thus the time has come to "trust the President." It would be the President's duty, under Mr. Rockefeller's proposal, "to see that the conditions laid down for the contract period in such a (compulsory -- VR) arbitration as a final step would not harm our economy nor do injustice to the human considerations involved. During the contract period the conditions for normal collective bargaining would be established."

More and more it is the opinion of those deep inside the Administration that the steel strike will be settled in some such manner as Gov. Rockefeller suggests.

# LIRR Strikers Earn More Than Commuters

## VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR

Not since the "Great Train Robbery" has there been a script as stirring as the saga of the struck LIRR.

It is the tale of unhappy conductors some of whom earn over \$15,000 a year. They are ill-tempered, despite the great green freshness through which they roll, because the management of the world's busiest commuter line whimsically believes it has the right to decide how to run a railroad without asking the local's permission.

It must be explained quickly that under an old contract the railroad's executives must get up all new schedules and train assignments 15 days in advance of the effective change. Then the schedule is sent over to the Trainmen's local headquarters for approval. The General Council of the Brotherhood of Trainmen of the Long Island Rail Road has five days to veto management's decisions.

And the council, led by a young, ambitious fellow named Harold Pryor, who spits fire like a Casey Jones' locomotive, does veto. The manning chart is gone over by the leaders of the conductors, trainmen and yardmen. They are the only brotherhood council in America which has the right to dismiss management's schedules for the running of trains.

THE COUNCIL leaders—seven or eight in all—treasure this right for it is a treasure indeed. The best runs go to the senior men. They're the ones who earn \$15,000 annually and will be taking home \$16,000 next year. The average pay for conductors and ticket takers will be over \$8,000 next year.

The best runs are those which give a man one, possibly two, round trips in the morning rush hours. Then the on-train employee "lays over." He is on his own until the evening home-going crowds push aboard. This gives him considerable free time during the late morning and early afternoon.

It's not free time, however, for the railroad. The Long Island pays for that lay over time. Thus the line pays many of its 1,650 trainmen for a full 13 or 14 hours, though sometimes five or at most six hours are worked.

Now what the road wants is to reschedule the trips so that a man will work eight hours and get paid for eight hours work and not for the useless lay over time.

I say useless. Not really useless to some of the trainmen. They pick up some extra money at other jobs during their lay over time. In addition, they are the only trainmen who get a \$700 annual cost-of-living bonus.

Thus the striking railroaders—who do not have the blessing of their national brotherhood leaders—earn more than the working girls and guys they haul each day at ever-increasing rates eating into the income of Long Island breadwinners.

THE LONG ISLAND trainmen's leader, Harold Pryor, has been fighting for a shift from a six-day to a five-day week at seven days' pay. The company agreed after Gov. Nelson Rockefeller intervened.

When, in a closed tent conference last Saturday in Mr. Rockefeller's headquarters, all this was pointed out, Pryor said it was too inflexible and he didn't have the full data. The Governor then asked, "Why don't you postpone the strike?" Pryor said he couldn't. The Governor said, "I request you to." The labor leader said, "I reject your request."

This was brash disdain for the sovereignty of the state and its chief executive. Mr. Rockefeller had spent several hours alone with the management people edging them towards the union's demands. It was brash because neutral experts report that it would have taken only the shifting of 28 trainmen from their juicy runs to satisfy the company's new manning charts. It was brash because there was no strike vote of the membership. The decision to paralyze the world's biggest commuter line was made by the small



HAROLD PRYOR  
Rejected Rocky's request.

- Tolson ✓
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons ✓
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
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- W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
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Nelson O Rockefeller

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- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- Date \_\_\_\_\_

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# Rockefeller Outlines Race-Equality Plan

BUFFALO, June 17 (UPI) — Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller tonight proposed a broad program for across-the-board racial equality.

The New York Governor, who has made himself available for a Republican presidential draft, outlined his five-point desegregation program a little more than a week after asking Vice President Richard M. Nixon to give his views on this and other subjects.

Rockefeller chose as the forum for his desegregation program the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress of the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc. This is a Negro church.

He told his fellow Baptists the Federal Government should guarantee the following for every American:

- The right to vote.
- Equal job opportunities.
- Equal educational opportunities.
- The right to live where he pleases.
- Equal opportunities for Government employment and use of Government facilities.

Rockefeller credited the Eisenhower Administration with having made more progress toward "insuring justice and equality for all Americans" than has been made in any decade since the Civil War, and added:

"This progress has come to the Nation with little if any help from a Democratic Party deeply divided against itself. This division . . . is a tragedy, a national tragedy precisely as it serves to undermine, to embarrass, to delay full realization of the promise implicit in this Nation's dedication to the principle that supreme worth lies in the individual human being."

Rockefeller also had words of criticism for his fellow Republicans. Some Democrats, he said, are trying to lead their party "to the path of progress," while "the Republican record cannot claim perfection either

in the Nation or in my own State."

In presenting his racial equality program, Rockefeller called for the following actions:

• The Justice Department should enforce existing legislation by asking courts to act against states in which any minority is deprived of the right to vote.

• The Federal Government should take the initiative in promoting local inter-group conferences to open channels of communication, ease tensions and encourage cooperative solutions of community problems.

• The Justice Department should obtain court injunctions against persons defying Federal Court desegregation orders.

• Congress should authorize the Attorney General to initiate school desegregation suits to encourage integration in "hard core" states.

• Congress should authorize the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to provide technical and financial aid to states and cities that run into difficulties in school desegregation efforts.

• The Civil Rights Commission should launch a full-scale review of state laws on fair employment practices to develop a cooperative Federal-State program.

• The President should issue an executive order banning discrimination in all public housing subsidized by the Federal Government.

• All Federal agencies should review their employment practices and all washrooms in Southern post offices should be desegregated.

- Tolson ✓
- Mohr ✓
- Parsons ✓
- Belmont ✓
- Callahan ✓
- DeLoach ✓
- Malone ✓
- McGuire ✓
- Rosen ✓
- Tamm ✓
- Trotter ✓
- W.C. Sullivan ✓
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

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- New York Journal-American
- New York Mirror
- New York Daily News
- New York Post
- The New York Times
- The Worker
- The New Leader
- The Wall Street Journal
- Date

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Kennedy, Rockefeller Think Alike

By Drew Pearson

CHICAGO—There's striking similarity between the political doctrines of Sen. John F. Kennedy and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

This is not going to evoke hosannas from old guard Republicans or help Rocky toward being drafted. But it would help him pull millions of votes away from the Democrats in the November showdown.



Pearson

If you read the magnificent acceptance speech delivered by Kennedy in Los Angeles and the bristling manifesto issued by Rockefeller when he challenged Nixon last June, you might think you were reading the same man.

Both talk of the future, not the past. Both warn of our lagging defenses, of national complacency, make no promise of tax cuts, put sacrifice ahead of personal security. Rockefeller proposes essentially the Forand bill for medical help to the aged which Mr. Eisenhower has threatened to veto. Kennedy has come out for a similar plan.

Here is a comparison of what the two men said: Regarding Nixon, Rockefeller

said: "I find it unreasonable that the leading Republican candidate has firmly insisted upon making known his program and his policies not before but only after nomination by his Party . . . We cannot . . . march to meet the future with a banner aloft whose only emblem is a question mark."

Kennedy had this to say about Nixon: "The Republican nominee to be is a young man. But his approach is as old as McKinley. His party is the Party of the past. His speeches are generalities from Poor Richard's Almanac."

Rockefeller—"We face . . . a problem either to be resolved by strong action or to be evaded by strong slogans."

Kennedy—"Young men are coming to power . . . who can cast off the old slogans and delusions and suspicions."

Rockefeller—"A new period now begins. It summons new men, new problems to mend, new ideas, new actions. We cannot and we must not confuse taking pride in the past with taking measure of the future."

Kennedy—"We stand today on the edge of a new frontier—the frontier of the 1960s—the frontier of the unknown opportunities and perils — the frontier of unfulfilled hopes and threats."

"Today our concern must be with the future. For the

world is changing. The old era is ending. The old ways will not do."

Rockefeller — "The people . . . need an assurance—and a strategy of national purpose for the future. They cannot be answered—by either political party — with mere petty designs or partisan maneuver."

Kennedy—"There may be those who wish to hear more promises . . . more harsh rhetoric about the men in the Kremlin—more assurances of a golden future, where taxes are always low and subsidies ever high. But . . . our ends will not be won by rhetoric and we can have faith in the future only if we have faith in ourselves."

Rockefeller—"What — and who — is this future? It is a host of men and nations, problems and forces, to be ignored or evaded only at deadly peril to our own Nation's life and freedom. It is nuclear power either to better lives and to defend peoples—or serving to shatter nations and shake the planet. It is the rise of new nations across the earth, either to learn and to enjoy the ways of freedom—or to suffer and serve the ways of tyranny. It is a giant technological revolution changing the lives of all men for better or for worse, as it is disciplined and directed."

Kennedy—"The new frontier

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of which I speak is not a set of promises—it is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them. It appeals to their pride, not their pocketbook—it holds out the promise of more sacrifice instead of more security.

"Beyond that frontier are uncharted seas of science and space, unsolved problems of war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus.

"Courage—not complacency—is our need today—leadership—not salesmanship . . .

"We will witness not only new break-throughs in weapons of destruction, but also a race for mastery of the sky and the rain, the ocean and the tides, the far side of space, and the inside of men's minds

"Are we willing to match the Russian sacrifice of the present for the future? Or must we sacrifice our future in order to enjoy the present?

"That is the choice . . . that lies not merely between two men or two parties, but between the public interest and private comfort—between national greatness and national decline — between the fresh air of progress and the stale, rank atmosphere of 'normalcy' — between determined dedication and creeping mediocrity."

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8/30/60

INSIDE LABOR

By Victor Riesel

New York -- Amid boos and hisses and catcalls and cackling, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller got the what-have-you-done-for-me-lately treatment here the other day at the first topside labor convention since the national nominations.

He told them. And in certain terms. Occasionally the words to the New York State AFL-CIO convention were blurred by clenched teeth. There were no boos at the end of Rockefeller's talk. Only a crescendo of handclapping while some of the nation's most influential labor-political strategists got to their feet for a standing ovation.

Through it all the genial Governor, whose executive mansion doors have always been open to the union chiefs, learned that friendship is friendship but there is nothing neutral about labor in a presidential campaign.

In this first face to face encounter en masse after the fact, Rockefeller proved that if anybody in the GOP can help Richard Nixon take the six biggest industrial states -- New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and California -- it's N.A.R., just to coin a new set of initials.

He handled the hecklers like Milton Berle with Jerry Lewis in the night club crowd. For 40 minutes, the Governor had been waiting in a suite above the Hotel Commodore's Grand Ballroom. From time to time he flipped mentally through his speech for which his researchers had been given orders -- keep it non-political. The Governor had even removed the small Symbolic elephant from his lapel.

Then came word of the convention downstairs -- and the rip-sawing of Nixon, President Eisenhower and the Republicans. Nelson Rockefeller, let me report, is a very determined man. And he determined not to be positioned. He took his elephant out of his pocket and pinned it right atop his convention speaker's badge.

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As he stood in the rear of the ballroom the chairman said "The Governor is waiting". The boos broke out, and shouts of, "Aw, let him wait." You could never tell from Rockefeller's grin that he was about to let them have it after almost two years of helping to push through their special legislation in New York.

He said it was really nice of them to invite him. And then:

"I deeply believe in the two-party system as being in the best interests of the U.S. and the American people. In my opinion, American labor's interest can best be served by the preservation of the two-party structure within labor....Your leaders of labor and every one of your Representatives are as welcome in the Republican Party as you are in the Democratic Party."

Then he turned to a loud heckler who had asked why the Governor had not done anything for labor. Rockefeller told them of the heavy social program which went through at his insistence after many private dinners with top New York labor chiefs. These include such men as George Meany, David Dubinsky and Jack Potofsky, who also are national leaders.

As the Governor ran through the check list, they began to cheer each item. When he told them that they had better get in close with management and government to meet automation-fed competition in autos and machinery from Europe's newest "fantastic" plants and soft goods from Japan, they really applauded.

He wound up with, "Those in political life who hold labor's interests high, and in their hearts, are not confined to one party."

He shouted he'd see them at the Labor Day Parade and left as AFL-CIO state chairman Harold Hanover said he hoped the Governor didn't mind the few murmurs which greeted him. The Governor did mind. He just couldn't see being booed because he is a Republican.

He stopped on his way out only for the swarming rank-and-file delegates seeking autographs. Then he went down the elevator and out into a campaign in which he will be one of the big four -- with Nixon, President Eisenhower and Henry C. Lodge -- who will criss-cross the industrial, labor packed states until Election Day eve.

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### The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Rockefeller Calls on Ike for Help

By Drew Pearson

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller reported to President Eisenhower last week that Kennedy popularity was so strong in upstate New York it would take Eisenhower himself to counteract it.



Pearson

The President seemed startled at this news but readily agreed to make two, possibly three speeches in New York wherever it would do the most good.

This was an amazing right-about-face for Governor Rockefeller in more ways than one. First, it was an about-face from the day when he was highly critical of Nixon and inferentially critical of Eisenhower. Second, it was an about-face from the belief that he, Rockefeller, could swing New York for Nixon. Finally, it was an about-face from 1958 when Nelson was running for governor and Ike was sidetracked when he came to New York to help him.

Other presidents have toured up and down Manhattan in open cars in election campaigns, but President Eisenhower, in contrast, was kept in his hotel suite all day. It became clear that Rockefeller wanted to divorce himself from the Eisenhower Ad-

ministration, and it was said in that theatrically minded city of New York that the longest run on Broadway was Nelson Rockefeller keeping away from the Eisenhower Administration.

Today it's different.

## The Campaign Jells

Political campaigns have a way of jelling at a certain point, and it looks as if the Kennedy Nixon campaigns had begun to jell. Kennedy's operation hasn't meshed nearly as well since his nomination as it did in the primaries, but now it's getting into high gear. Nixon's operation has always been in high gear.

This writer has trailed both candidates in Ohio and parts of New York. There's no question but that Kennedy is going like a house afire in the industrial midwest. His crowds are tremendous, enthusiastic, almost uncontrollable.

Nixon is outdrawing him in parts of the South. But if the northern sweep continues, Kennedy could be elected by a landslide vote.

## Lausche Gets Off Fence

On his first trip to Ohio last week, Kennedy noted the absence of his Senate colleague and fellow Catholic, Frank Lausche, nominally a Democrat and five times governor of Ohio.

"I'd like to have Frank ride with me when I come back to

Ohio Tuesday," Kennedy told Mayor Anthony Celebrezze of Cleveland.

Mayor Celebrezze phoned Lausche. The Senator, however, was noncommittal. He wasn't at all sure he would come to Cleveland to be seen with Kennedy. He said: "Call me again Monday." Finally he agreed to at least meet Kennedy for breakfast.

"I'll meet him at the restaurant," he told Mayor Celebrezze, "but I won't ride with him in the car."

Lausche and the Mayor arrived at Kennedy's motel in Painesville, just outside Cleveland. It was early, but the crowd was tremendous. While Kennedy breakfasted, it grew. Lausche took a look at it, got in the car with Kennedy. It would have taken a bulldozer to pull him out.

"When I go in the voting booth in November," he announced, "my vote will be cast for Kennedy."

## Discouraging New York

When Governor Rockefeller urged Eisenhower to come to New York to rescue Nixon, he had not yet accompanied Nixon on his campaign trip through Long Island. That trip made him feel worse.

Nixon took with him to Long Island the most shining array of brass-hat Republicans to be found in New York state. Even so, they couldn't attract a crowd. True, at times it was grizzling.

But Nixon was accompanied

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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
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by Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller, who've been no mean crowd-drawers in the past; also both the GOP senators from New York, Jack Javits and Ken Keating, who have had quite a following in New York; the GOP State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz and Len Hall, former chairman of the GOP National Committee; long-time boss of Nassau County, and an aspirant to be governor of New York.

Yet crowds along the way were so meagre it was pathetic. Nixon had a full-dress speech ready for delivery, with neatly mimeographed handouts for the press. The crowds were so discouraging that he cut his speeches down to a few minutes. Police had erected barricades, but there were no crowds to be held back.

The Vice President and his escort of top GOP brass hats tried to look enthusiastic, as if thousands of cheering people were lining the streets. But the best actors in the world couldn't have camouflaged their disappointment.

Finally, as Nixon's party moved into the heart of Nassau County where Len Hall rules supreme, the crowds increased and spirits perked up.

From this and other political soundings, it would appear that, as of today, the state of New York, with the top electoral vote of the nation, is in Jack Kennedy's column.

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**VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR**

# Automation Is Here to Stay

*Victor Riesel asked Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York, what he believes are some of the nation's most pressing problems on the home front. Here is his analysis.*

By **GOV. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER**

**ALBANY, July 13.** — Automation is the great promise of the American economic future—and one of our major problems of the present.

The fear of industrial machinery that enables fewer men to do more work is nothing new. Three hundred years ago, in Poland, the inventor of an automatic loom was put to death and his invention was suppressed.

Weavers in 19th-century England resorted to rioting and arson in a vain effort to halt mechanization of the textile industry. Labor disputes in the United States today frequently involve the issue of work rules in relation to new and improved machines.

Technological change and advance, now popularly called automation, is no new phenomenon in America. But it has been accelerated in recent years and — with business recessions and a lack of sufficiently rapid national economic growth — has become identified in many minds as the economic villain causing most of our unemployment.

Actually, we don't really know enough about the extent to which unemployment is directly traceable to automation—especially the so-called "hard core" unemployment.

But the failure to automate, whether from management inertia or resistance by labor, is not the answer. The prime need is increased productive efficiency, not less, so automation can create far more and better paying jobs than it destroys.

We must also face the fact that postwar automation of new plants in Europe and Japan is one major reason that certain American products are having a tough time competing with products of friendly nations in world markets. Moreover, the Soviets in their strug-

gle for world domination have embraced automation as a prime weapon.

As one deeply concerned with this problem, I am convinced that an environment of accelerated, vigorous and sustained economic growth is the core of the solution—and that automation is essential to spearhead this growth.

Our objective, in short, should be to accelerate our rate of economic advance without inflation and to do so within the framework of our existing system of initiative and enterprise—with government action in a complementary but never a dominating role.

Last year, in Cooperstown, New York State sponsored the Governor's Conference on Automation.

Management, labor, education and government officials gave intensive attention to this subject. One of several group-discussion leaders at that conference was Arthur Goldberg, then general counsel to the United Steelworkers, but now, as Secretary of Labor, in an even more significant position to influence the nation's approach to the automation problem.

The conferees, though often diverse in approach, emerged with certain recommended guideposts, the first of which was that automation was necessary and desirable; was here to stay, and should be the subject of continuing attention by industry, labor, education and government.

The need was stressed for advance planning to meet the human problems arising when a specific company moves forward with technological improvement—the development of a comprehensive and cooperative program by labor, management and the community.

There is urgent need for assistance during the transition period including job counseling, retraining and placement, transfer of employees to other jobs, severance pay agreements to fit a particular situation, and the use of special unemployment insurance benefits for workers who make themselves available for retraining.

The State of New York is increasingly active in assuming its share of responsibility in these areas.

I firmly believe that industry, labor and management working closely together can solve the human problems created by automation, meet the problem of foreign competition and provide the jobs needed for the steadily increasing numbers of new workers as well as the existing unemployed in the labor force, if we make accelerated economic growth the central focus of our economic policies—private and public.



**ROCKY**

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**VICTOR RIESEL: THE NEW YORK BEAT**

# Kilroy..er..Rocky Was There—First

There are now more Democratic hopefuls than bridesmaids at a Waldorf wedding. Latest being discussed by those who make decisions on a New York state ticket is the dignified A. A. Berle former assistant secretary of state.

But whoever the front runners are and whenever they hit out for the grass roots they will find that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, like Kilroy, was there before them.

Almost unnoticed "downstate," the governor has been campaigning hard for practically a year. "Rocky" and his aids have been making periodic swings into upstate areas on regional development tours. They have hit Syracuse, Binghamton, Rochester, Niagara-Buffalo, Rome-Utica, and just a week ago, the Jamestown area.

These all are districts with heavy concentrations of working people. Nelson R. is not taking for granted that the Democrats will take the "labor vote."

THESE TRIPS were no junkets. Rockefeller put in 15 hours

a day. The governor met not only with municipal officials, businessmen, educators, service clubs, ladies clubs, newsmen, but with labor leaders and labor groups, too.

Each talk, each conference, each private conversation, pivoted on the achievements of his administration. He submitted to questioning; knew each problem of each area visited. No doubt he strengthened his political image wherever he went.

USUALLY, he started each day of each trip at breakfast with labor groups. Some came to attack. Some came to demand. Whether or not the cordiality will be carried into the voting booth, the labor men left each coffee and eggs conference in the friendliest of moods.

The governor hit hard at the intricate background of the social and labor bills passed by his administration. He was especially fluent, on middle-income housing, new plans for imaginative, terraced, river-front housing, education and juvenile delinquency.

He didn't appease, he didn't battle the labor people. If he believed them misinformed on some laws, he debated. If the criticisms were justified, he hit

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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
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**GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER: REACHING FOR ALL THE MARBLES?**

the phones and got action.

When complaints were made by labor on workmen's compensation in the state, he set up a 10-man committee under the chairmanship of Victor Borella. Borella is one of the most knowledgeable of business executives and most respected of management men — most respected in labor circles here.

To many of the citizenry, the phrase "workmen's compensation" makes no dent until somebody breaks a leg or a back. But, last year, there were over 800,000 recorded industrial accidents in this state, costing industry \$300,000,000.

There is significance in the special brunch in Rochester on May 5th, at which the New York Union Label and Service Trades Dept., AFL-CIO, honored the governor.

Quietly, the State is fighting the muscle crowd which is now specializing in do-it-yourself, charter-it-yourself dummy unions. The battle is directed by the State's almost unknown Advisory Council on the Labor

and Management Improper Practices Act (not to be confused with the Federal unit).

**DURING RECENT MONTHS** the three-man council, which is asking for more investigators and accountants, went after such outfits as the Independent Amalgamated Local 88 of Brooklyn and Amalgamated Local 224 of Queens. The state probers found that sweetheart contracts had been signed which bound workers to a 54-hour, six-day week. Overtime pay began only after nine hours a day. "Union members, under these pacts, earned a dollar an hour straight time.

Recently five officers of the Local 224 outfit were indicted by the Nassau County Grand Jury on 84 counts of extortion, coercion, bribery, conspiracy and violation of fiduciary duties in the car wash industry.

All this the governor has been supervising. He'll be a lot of laps up on the inside track if the Democrats don't pick their candidates soon and start running.

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# Rocky Makes a Hit at State Labor Convention

## VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR

Nelson Rockefeller (Republican) had just finished speaking. A crescendo of shuffling chairs in the Hotel Commodore's Grand Ballroom quieted down as 2,000 labor leaders (officially Democrats) retook their seats after some loud cheering and a standing ovation.

Flash bulbs popped as officials of the massive State labor federation enthusiastically joined Rockefeller in the after-speech news photos at their convention opening Monday morning.

Suddenly a virtually unknown labor leader, Pete Brennan, chief of the powerful New York construction trades, took the microphone.

Brennan doesn't get into the spotlight often. But he appeared moved by the Governor's blunt, down-the-middle talk about a strong home front and unity of government, management and labor. Then something happened unique among the thousands of convention sessions I've covered.

Brennan, after asking Gov. Rockefeller to stay a while, addressed himself to the President of the U.S., away off in Washington.

"There's a chowderhead," said

Brennan "over there called Khrushchev."

Then this Brennan, leader of hundreds of thousands of workers, said he was not talking as a Democrat or a Republican or as a labor leader. But as an American. He said there have been strikes on the defense production front. But not in New York State.

Brennan called on President Kennedy to take action. He called on labor to settle its differences on the defense front without stoppages. He said the time had come to stand up to the enemy. He added that those present knew what war was. They had gone through two of them, many of them. But the time had come to stand up, he said once more.

You don't let a bully roam your streets. And "chowderhead" Khrushchev is a bully, Brennan continued in an outpouring of emotional words. The audience caught the fervor. It



GOV. ROCKEFELLER Cheers and tears.

radiated back to Brennan. Suddenly he called on the delegates to stand and pledge allegiance. It came as a roar. They faced Rockefeller. He faced them.

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Then it became a convention again and not an anti-Soviet rally in the presence of a national leader. Rockefeller waved. The crowd applauded.

It was not always so on that very same platform for a Republican. Ten years ago, almost to the day, another G.O.P. leader, Dwight D. Eisenhower, standing at the same spot before another labor convention, got the frozen treatment.

This convention of leaders here, representing well over two million union members in the state, may be a political straw in the wind. Or the convention's reaction may have been merely sheer emotion at a tense international moment as ships steam into Cuban harbors and the Berlin wall is splattered with the blood of those chancing it into freedom's fresh air.

But there is no doubt that a labor movement led by Democrats showed their approval of "Rocky." They stood up when he arrived. They cheered during his speech. Applause was both spontaneous and led by men on the platform. They rose when he finished. And it was not always thus.

They had debated whether to invite him at all to the previous

convention in Buffalo. Finally they did. When he arrived then, there had been boos.

But this year he was among friends. Yet he wooed them not, nor did he anger them. He said that employers who exploit labor should go elsewhere and not set up their plants in New York.

Then he said that labor was to blame for some of the unemployment. He criticized it for what he called "overly aggressive and inflexible union attitudes." He called on the labor leaders to help correct these attitudes.

After the speech the crowd surged to him as did the newsmen. Finally we cornered him for an interview. He handled us easily. The banter was fast.

"You have me against a wall," he told us, which we literally had done. But not politically. Someone asked him about the Democrats' fight against him.

"Well, I hope," he said as he went through the cross examination, "they find a candidate before Election day."

At stake, of course, this year and in '64, is the make-or-break State of New York, without which few have ever won the Presidency.

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**VICTOR RIESEL INSIDE LABOR**

# Insider's View of The Dem Outsider

Late in October John Kennedy will hit this city twice in a hard-punching drive to smash Nelson Rockefeller's political strength. The Governor's vote-winning ability is the President's most throbbing political headache these days.

When Mr. Kennedy steps out on the platform of a vast, garment area street rally of some half a million people summoned by the labor-lead Liberal Party, about 10 days before election, he'll wind up more than a year's planning against the only man he believes may be hard to beat for the Presidency in November of '64.

This story begins about a year ago when President Kennedy's wizard of odds, Lou Harris, the famed poll taker, sat with some White House strategists. It was decided that New York could be held only by a second-generation silk-stocking liberal of the Senator Lehman-Franklin Roosevelt tradition—but a newcomer.

**THE SEARCH** for the new name which could cut into Rockefeller's appeal to the big city's voters began immediately. Soon there was a short list of names. Lou Harris began one of his precision polls some six months ago. Robert M. Morgenthau, 43-year-old Navy veteran, son of FDR's Secretary of the Treasury, grandnephew of Herbert Lehman, did not quite make the top of the list. But he was the best all-around candidate for what the White House wanted.

Harris flew to Washington. He told the President and Bob Kennedy and Mayor Wagner

what he had found. The decision was made. Morgenthau would run for Governor in the Fall.

Then this became the best-kept political secret in the land. It wasn't leaked until mid-August.

By then there were even more compelling reasons in White House circles for Morgenthau's nomination for Governor. Former Sen. Lehman, 84-year-old grand old man of the Party, will not be able to campaign nearly as actively as he had planned.

Furthermore, polls and some political scouting disclosed that Gov. Rockefeller has been gaining wide support in the very political fortress few thought a Republican could crack.

Not only has Rockefeller been widely cheered in big city Democratic balliwicks—but he has also amassed considerable and important labor support.

None of the national leaders will declare for Rockefeller. But their unions, and their manpower, and their second- and third-echelon officials will be working for him in the precincts. This backing will come from the building and construction trades.

It does, of course, look good for Nelson Rockefeller. But he is taking no chances, not even against the "quiet man," his virtually unknown opponent.



**PRESIDENT KENNEDY**  
Good picker?

**FIRST**, Rockefeller is aware that the Kennedys plan to put one of the best political machines into action ever seen in this state.

Secondly, he knows he is running against three parties: the Democrats; the Liberals, brain-trusted by the astute hat union chief, Alex Rose—both of which have nominated Morgenthau; and the Conservative Party.

At the moment few expect that any of these forces can bring the man down. But they could cut into his vote.

And if the margin is small, if the unknown Morgenthau runs the famed Governor a close race, it could keep Rockefeller out of the '64 Presidential campaign. This is what the Kennedys are counting on.

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- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_

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# These Days

## Half a Century of Service

By George E. Sokolsky

*A 31*

NO PUBLIC official in any part of the country is comparable to Robert Moses in his devoted and unending and mostly uncompensated public service for nearly half a century. Moses regarded public service as a career and he gathered about him able executives who built for New York City a superb park system, for New York State a beautiful and useful parkway system and for the St. Lawrence River, a power utility. He also manages the Triborough Bridge Authority and the New York World's Fair. He once held 11 jobs but a salary only for one.



Sokolsky

H. Lehman long before Nelson Rockefeller became Governor. There must be criticism of the Governor's bad manners, his ineptitude in proposing that Moses resign to give his brother a chance to shine in the public eye. Moses's reply was explosive, direct and to the point. It was an older and more experienced man talking to a youngster in the tool-shed. I saw Bob Moses several hours later and his eyes were still blazing. He was not acting as a cover for anyone.

will stir up very ugly opposition in many parts of the country and a rampage of antagonism from Nelson Rockefeller.

It is curious, in American politics, how minor incidents take on national significance. Nelson Rockefeller has groomed himself for the Presidency, preparing for it since the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has met with some measure of success in New York State, but generally, the American people do not know him and have not been particularly impressed by his personality which is strictly cosmopolitan New York. He has, on the whole, been a competent Governor of New York State, but not a beloved one, as, for instance, Al Smith was. His personality is pleasant but cold; he lacks the vibrant humanity of John F. Kennedy.

The significance of all this is that it adds to the political turmoil in New York State and leaves Gov. Rockefeller's chances of running for the Presidency on the Republican ticket more uncertain. No man can be trusted with major affairs who asks such a man as Robert Moses to resign so that his brother might bask in the bloom of another's achievements.

At 73, Robert Moses can do more of a day's work than most. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's plea that Moses was overloaded is nonsense. The fact is that Rockefeller wants Moses's job as chairman of the Park Council for his brother, Laurance, who is also overloaded with numerous real estate and other business operations. The Rockefellers must be jealous of the Kennedys, but that is no excuse for asking a competent, efficient, honored public servant to resign in favor of nepotism.

SINCE the election, Rockefeller has been remote from the public. Announcing himself as a candidate for the Presidency in 1964, prematurely, and advising Republicans to go slow, he stirs the embers of the conservative fire in both New York State and California. The conservatives are not likely to accept Rockefeller, even if he were willing to take Barry Goldwater for Vice President. On the other hand, some nonpolitical persons, carried away by the size of the Javits vote for Senator, are already mentioning him for Vice President, which

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- The Washington Daily News
- The Evening Star
- New York Herald Tribune
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# Rockefeller Hits Kennedy News Policies

ALBANY, N. Y., Jan. 30 (AP).—Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller attacked the public information policies of the Kennedy administration last night, demanding to know when the American people will be told what he called the "true situation" in Cuba.

The Republican Governor told the New York State Publishers Association there is a philosophy, "all too popular in high places, that the public cannot be told the whole truth about the international situation" because the people "might panic."

He called this concept "fundamentally and dangerously wrong."

It was the second assault on the Democratic national administration in two days by Gov. Rockefeller, who is considered a likely G. O. P. presidential nominee in next year's election.

The Governor expressed "deep concern" Monday over President Kennedy's decision to halt underground nuclear tests during negotiations with the Soviet Union on a test-ban treaty and also said he was disturbed by an "apparent weakening" of the United States position on treaty provisions.

State Senator Walter J. Mahoney, majority leader of the Republican-controlled Senate and a booster of the Rockefeller presidential candidacy, said yesterday that Federal

agents have been sent into the State in search of information that could damage the Rockefeller administration.

Officials in Washington denied the allegations.

Gov. Rockefeller said he had no personal knowledge of the situation Mahoney described.

Senator Mahoney, in a Senate speech, said the investigation was being directed by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the President's brother, and involved widespread wire-tapping. Agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Treasury and Internal Revenue units are taking part, he said.

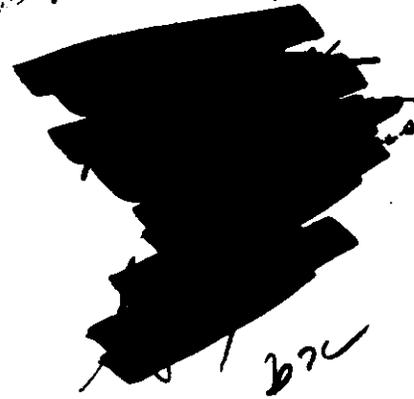
He said that the probe is being conducted "under the guise of a gambling investigation" and that its objective is to embarrass Gov. Rockefeller and reduce his effectiveness as a critic of Kennedy policies.

In Washington, Press Secretary Pierre Salinger said the White House would have no comment. Spokesmen for the FBI, the Treasury and the Justice Department denied Mr. Mahoney's charges.

Mr. Mahoney issued the charges during a Senate speech on an appropriation for a special investigator for Gov. Rockefeller. There had been much partisan oratory between Republicans and Democrats on executive abuse of the investigatory function for political purposes.

Mr. Mahoney also charged that Robert Kennedy had urged a number of labor leaders in New York State to oppose revision of the controversial Condon-Wadlin law barring strikes by public employes in New York State. Gov. Rockefeller has called for revision, rather than repeal. According to Mr. Mahoney, Mr. Kennedy told the labor leaders to accept nothing but repeal.

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- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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ROCKEFELLER, NELSON

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(ROCKEFELLER)  
 ALBANY--NEW YORK STATE SENATE MAJORITY LEADER WALTER J. MAHONEY ACCUSED THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION YESTERDAY OF SENDING FEDERAL AGENTS INTO THE STATE IN THE GUISE OF CRIME INVESTIGATORS TO TRY TO HURT GOV. ROCKEFELLER'S PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES IN 1964. MAHONEY MADE THE CHARGE ON THE FLOOR OF THE STATE SENATE. HE SAID THE "INVESTIGATION" WAS BEING DONE UNDER INSTRUCTION FROM ONE OF "BOBBY'S BOYS," AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO ATTY. GEN. ROBERT KENNEDY. IN WASHINGTON, A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN SAID "THERE IS NO ACTIVITY REMOTELY RESEMBLING WHAT SEN. MAHONEY HAS DESCRIBED." HE SAID THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS AND WILL CONTINUE TO INVESTIGATE ORGANIZED CRIME AND RACKETEERING IN NEW YORK AND ALL OTHER STATES. MAHONEY SAID "ONE MAN BROKE DOWN AND TOLD ME IN SHAME AND CONSTERNATION THAT CERTAIN MEN OF THE FBI, THE ALCOHOL TAX UNIT, THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT AND THE INTERNAL REVENUE DEPARTMENT, UNDER ORDERS FROM WASHINGTON, ARE HONEYCOMBING THIS STATE TODAY AND HAVE BEEN FOR SEVERAL WEEKS UNDER THE GUISE, IF WE WERE ASKED, OF A GAMBLING INVESTIGATION."

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### Witch Hunting?

Sen. Walter J. Mahoney, boss of the Republican legislature, says that the Kennedy administration is using the FBI to build a case against Governor Rockefeller, now the front runner for the Republican presidential nomination.

That's quite a sensational charge by a reputable legislator. If he has anything with which to back it up, it would make interesting reading.

Or is he talking for political purposes?

① ROCKEFELLER, NELSON

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Page 8

Jamestown Morning Star  
Jamestown, N.Y.

Date: January 31, 1963

Edition:

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**The Washington Merry-Go-Round**

# Rockefeller Behind Cuba Uproar?

By Drew Pearson

If you want to understand the reasons for the frenzied clamor on Capitol Hill regarding Cuba, you have to know what's going on behind the scenes in Republican politics.



No. 1. It's virtually certain that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York will be the Republican candidate for President. He has made plans to set up a working staff immediately; has told intimates he will definitely enter the primary in New Hampshire, a state in which he went to college and serves on the Dartmouth board of trustees; will also enter the Wisconsin primary.

No. 2. Rockefeller has picked Cuba and foreign affairs as his chief campaign weapon against President Kennedy, with civil rights as his second.

This is the real reason why Sen. Jack Javits of New York flabbergasted his civil rights friends in the Senate by making a petty gripe against an insignificant ruling by Vice President Johnson to adjourn after the filibustering rules vote. After Javits, a fair-minded Senator but under no obligation to the Governor of New York, came to see Johnson privately and apologized.

No apology has come from the other New York Senator, Ken Keating of Rochester, for the rabble-rousing speeches he has made on Cuba. Keating is a smart lawyer and in the past, a decent Senator. He is not a McCarthy admirer. However, his inflammatory speeches on Cuba have reminded senatorial colleagues

of Joe McCarthy in his heyday.

## "Just One Missile"

A minority of Republican Senators has joined the Keating wolfpack on Cuba in the same spirit that the late Bob Taft supported McCarthy. When McCarthy was claiming there were "205 card-carrying Communists known to Dean Acheson" in the State Department, every fair-minded Republican knew this could not be true. But Taft told a GOP meeting: "Suppose he finds just one Communist—we'll have Truman on the run."

Likewise, every Republican Senator knows today that all offensive Soviet missiles are almost certainly removed from Cuba. But they argue privately: "Suppose Keating finds just one—we'll have Kennedy on the run."

What most people outside Senate cloakrooms don't know, however, is that when Keating speaks, it's Keating's voice but Rockefeller's mastermind. The two men are extremely close. They ran together on the same ticket in 1958, when Keating didn't really want to run, didn't really expect to win. Rockefeller support and Rockefeller money helped him win. And the two will probably be running together again in 1964, one for the Senate, the other for President.

Meanwhile, Keating has sent his ghost writer, ace newsmen Hugh Morrow, formerly of the Saturday Evening Post, to help Rocky in Albany, and the Governor is on the phone to Keating more or less every other day.

## Pulling the GOP Rug

Real fact is that Kennedy has won some amazing victories in Cuba. Few diplomatic

observers really expected Khrushchev to start pulling troops out of Cuba. But he did—another victory for Kennedy. But every victory he wins helps pull the rug out from under Rockefeller's strategy; so the howl from the war clique in Congress becomes more frenzied. It could also become dangerous.

The danger is that too much war-mongering in the Senate will heal one of the most important rifts ever to occur in the Communist world—that between Russia and Red China. Or it could knock the props out from under Khrushchev's moderate policy and restate the tough tactics of the Red Army.

These cross currents inside the Communist world can shift rapidly. If they shift for the worse, there could be real danger of war. And if the United States is at war in 1964, Nelson Rockefeller won't have a prayer of winning. The United States has never been known to defeat a Democratic war president—especially when he's pushed into war by Republicans.

## Battle Over Anzoategui

It didn't leak out, but the Navy and Air Force had another tug-of-war over that hijacked Venezuelan freighter. The Navy tried to keep the Air Force out of the act during the 4-day search.

When the Navy couldn't find the ship, Gen. Curtis LeMay, the Air Force chief, phoned Adm. George Anderson, the Navy chief, and offered to send Air Force planes to join the search.

Adm. Anderson passed the buck. He suggested that LeMay get in touch with Adm. Allen Smith, the Caribbean commander, in charge of the sea

hunt. LeMay had his No. 2 man, Gen. Thomas Power call Smith.

But the Caribbean commander was not at all eager for Air Force help. He told Power he would not ask the Air Force for assistance, though if the Air Force insisted upon volunteering, he would give it a segment to search—in the middle of the ocean.

Gen. Power politely declined, and a few days later a Navy Neptune finally located the missing freighter.

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- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
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- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele Room
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**VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR**

# Laboring in Those Electoral Vineyards

Nelson A. Rockefeller, talking in the spirit and voice of a presidential candidate, has bluntly told his people to go out and fight for the labor and big city vote.

The Governor contends that he has gotten such votes before by the millions and he will not concede—and believes the Republican Party should not concede—the nation's union members and city residents to the Democratic Party.

President Kennedy has his doubts about all this. But he appears to be taking no chances.

The White House has just scheduled a series of labor luncheons to which influential, policy making New York union leaders have been invited. One will be held April 24, another May 2.

There are reports there will be other such "give and take" luncheons with labor men for an exchange of ideas on taxes, automation, unemployment and the economy. Before the gatherings are over, JFK will have seen virtually all of the land's national and international union presidents.

MANY OF THESE have been Rockefeller's friends—even political supporters in recent years. He has long feared, however, that most of them will

swing back to the Democrats in '64. He would rather attempt to win the labor vote with them on his side. But he'll try without them.

One of his pile driving campaign proposals will be a plan to create 20 million new jobs in the next five years.

He'll hit it over and over again. He and his inner circle are considering opening up on this in his speech scheduled for Cincinnati, April 29.

Rockefeller will hit Kennedy's line on taxes. The governor will reiterate that a huge immediate tax cut of some ten billion dollars in one year while holding the national budget at about a ninety-three billion-dollar level will create the necessary jobs. He'll add that by bringing the working force up to almost ninety million, the country will have a partial answer to automation.

It was during his visit to Washington on April 16 that the question on the hopelessness of a GOP drive to capture "big city-labor minorities" was put to him.



GOV. ROCKEFELLER  
Go get 'em, moll

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- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
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He gave the following answer:

He said the Democrats had a four to one superiority over the Republicans among registered voters in the cities. But he came within 150,000 votes of carrying New York City, a record almost unprecedented. This, he added, was 100,000 better than he did when he ran for governor in 1958.

IN 1962 the AFL-CIO Council was neutral here for the first time in years. It traditionally endorses the Democratic candidate. Despite this, many of the city's most influential leaders quietly worked for Rocky and gave the signal to their people to run rallies for him. Many openly endorsed him. Though it is still early, there are moves to set up a labor campaign committee not only in New York but across the country.

Rockefeller believes that by planning housing projects, by encouraging collective bargaining and working with many labor men who are not in the national leadership and by always keeping his door and telephone open to them he won strong support. What he did in New York he hopes to do nationally.

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Washington Merry-Go-Round

# Why Marriage May Hurt

## Rocky

By Drew Pearson

NEW YORK—The Rockefeller brothers have had a team of psychologists and opinion testers studying the question of whether Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's marriage to the former margareta (Happy) Murphy will hurt his chances of becoming President of the United States.



Pearson

The general consensus has been that the marriage will be a public sensation for a time, but in about five months will have subsided.

This presumably is why the former Mrs. Murphy went ahead with a divorce which has been reported in the works for a long time. In fact the governor's name has been linked with hers ever since he took the initiative in divorcing his wife, Mary Clark Rockefeller, a little over a year ago.

Political observers, who sometimes have their ears closer to the ground than the psychologists, are not so sure the advice given to the Rockefeller brothers is correct. It is true that some New Yorkers are already saying that Nelson deserves credit for his courage in risking his political future by marrying the woman he loves.

On the other hand, here are the factors which may seriously upset the governor's ambition to be President of the United States:

- No divorced man has ever been elected to the White House. Adlai Stevenson, who ran twice as the Democratic

candidate, has confided to friends that his divorce hurt.

- Some political pundits point out that Grover Cleveland was elected, despite the fact that he acknowledged an illegitimate child. At that time however, women did not vote. Furthermore, the issue in regard to Cleveland became one of loyalty to the child, whom he had supported and acknowledged.

- The issue of children is also involved in the Rockefeller divorce. Mary Rockefeller had borne five children by the Governor, and the former Mrs. Murphy has four children by her husband.

At the time of the original Rockefeller separation, one son was lost in New Guinea, but the Governor went ahead with the divorce despite this loss and despite his wife's sorrow. It is significant that none of the Rockefeller children were present to be photographed with their father

when he was elected Governor the second time.

The case of the former Mrs. Murphy's children is also not one to win Republican votes. Her brood of four range from 11 to about 18 months and a relative who called Dr. Murphy immediately after the divorce found him having great difficulty.

He had received 60 phone calls from newspapermen in one day and found it so embarrassing to the children to know what was happening that he took them with him to work at the Rockefeller Institute, where he is engaged in research.

It is well known that Dr. Murphy did not want the divorce, just as Mrs. Rockefeller did not.

All of this leads many political observers to the conclusion that the governor's divorce and remarriage will hurt and hurt deeply. It will hurt especially with women

who feel that he is setting an example to millions of husbands in favor of divorce.

Security is all-important to the average wife, especially after she has raised her children and reached middle age—the case of Mary Rockefeller after 31 years of matrimony and five children.

Note—Gov. Rockefeller has never been too popular with old line GOP leaders and the organization men who make up the backbone of the party. Some, however, were delighted to see him get the nomination because they figure Mr. Kennedy would be tough to beat. They were glad to see Rocky run as a sacrifice candidate. Now, however, they are not sure.

- The Washington Post and Times Herald B-27  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_

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### **Shirts Off Their Backs**

The Internal Revenue Service always gets a lot of beefs from taxpayers filing income returns—and this year was no exception.

At least five men taxpayers sent in their shirts with their returns.

Another taxpayer didn't even bother to address his return. He simply drew a picture on the envelope of a naked man in a barrel. The Post Office Department promptly delivered it to the Internal Revenue Office in Washington.

The IRS also receives a number of "guilty conscience" payments at this time of the year from people who owe back taxes and are trying to get straight with Uncle Sam.

The most unusual of these was sent in by an unidentified person whose letter contained \$310 in cash. It came from the town of Truth or Consequences in New Mexico.

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**VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR**

# Rocky Readies His Assault on 1964

Keenly aware that his private life has become dinner-table conversation—not always friendly—across the land, Nelson Rockefeller nonetheless will stay in public life by making a tough fight for the presidency of the U.S.

There is "absolutely no doubt" that he will run a grueling campaign for the Republican nomination. That's the word from the men who will work alongside him during the coming year.

Most of them now are vacationing, for they have been told there may not be another holiday until a year from November. They expect the Governor to return during the last week in May. Then they will start their high-command decision sessions.

Gov. Rockefeller does not intend to say much publicly for at least a month after he wings back from Venezuela.

At most, he may make some news by talking to Richard Nixon when the former G.O.P. candidate arrives in New York

for his June 12 departure for Europe. Interestingly enough, both Nixon and President Kennedy will be in Europe at the same time.

It will be almost six weeks more before Mr. Rockefeller makes any public political moves. But much more than the weather will be stirring in Miami Beach during the week of July 21, when he gets to the Governors' Conference there. It is then that the Rockefeller machine will begin operating in high gear. The New Yorker will have the chance for the first time in a long time to talk personally with other Republican governors who also have considerable support for the G.O.P. presidential nomination.

After that, Rocky will hit the hustings.



*CHASNB*

**GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER**  
Hitting the road.

He'll hit hard and often. He is aware that he is just a name throughout much of the U.S. Unlike Dick Nixon, he knows comparatively few of the men who will head the nominating convention delegations in '64 and even fewer delegates. He has made some forays into the farm belt and the South, but has been nowhere near hundreds of communities which make up power blocs in any convention.

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- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Mirror 20
- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
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He plans to get into the precincts right across the U.S. He won the 1958 New York gubernatorial election by hitting the streets, shaking hands, mixing with the voters. They are not his problem yet—for first he must round up the delegates. But by getting out and mixing he wants to prove to the men who run the big city political machinery that he still can attract friendly crowds.

He is a linguist. Anywhere from the deep Southwest to the center of the big Puerto Rican concentration in New York, he can address mass meetings in Spanish. His record among the minorities and in labor circles is good. He'll make the point that he is the only national Republican leader who can cut into these blocs of votes, which most observers expect John Kennedy to carry.

**THUS HE HOPES** to swing the leaders of the big industrial state delegations behind him at the '64 convention. Those close to him do not believe that the other contenders really want to run next year. They say that the upsurging Michigan Governor, George Romney, has his political eye on 1968, for he first wants to consolidate his position in his home state.

Rockefeller's inner circle is convinced of Barry Goldwater's political strength. They know they'll need his support to win. But they are equally convinced that the Arizonian does not want to chance losing his Senate seat.

For that and many other reasons they do not see him as a vice presidential candidate either.

Therefore they talk of three men as the Governor's potential running mates. There is Senator Thruston Morton of Kentucky. He could neutralize the strength of Vice President Lyndon Johnson. There is Sen. Thomas Kuchel, who ran so strongly in California despite the Nixon debacle. And California is all important in both the nominating convention and the national campaign. There is Oregon's Gov. Mark Hatfield, young and popular, to give the ticket a coast-to-coast breadth.

National politics takes no holiday. There just is not enough time between presidential elections to stop thinking strategically. And this is how Mr. Rockefeller and his inner circle have been thinking.

Tolson ✓  
 Mohr ✓  
 Parsons ✓  
 Belmont ✓  
 Callahan ✓  
 DeLoach ✓  
 Malone ✓  
 McGuire ✓  
 Rosen ✓  
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 Tele. Room ✓  
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UPI-119

(RELEASE AT 3:30 P.M.) (PLATFORM)

NELSON CHICAGO-GOV. ROCKEFELLER OF NEW YORK TODAY URGED REPUBLICAN PARTY

PLATFORM-MAKERS TO ADOPT A PROGRAM THAT WOULD STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY EVERYWHERE AND BUILD UP THIS NATION'S DEFENSES AND ECONOMY.

THE NEW YORK GOVERNOR, AT ODDS WITH THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION ON SOME PLATFORM PROPOSALS, LAID DOWN FIVE MAJOR AND GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS, INCLUDING ONE WHICH CALLED FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM THAT WOULD BE "A LIVING PROOF OF OUR FAITH IN THE FREE INDIVIDUAL, OUR RESOLVE IN OUR CAPACITY TO ENABLE HIM TO FULFILL HIS FREE DESTINY."

ROCKEFELLER WAS THE FIRST SPEAKER OF THE AFTERNOON AT THE MEETING OF THE FULL COMMITTEE.

ROCKEFELLER SAID "WE MUST, I DEEPLY BELIEVE, DO THESE THINGS," AND THEN FOLLOWED WITH THESE PROPOSALS:

- "STRENGTHEN THE WORKINGS OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA--STRENGTHEN THE VERY PROCESSES BY WHICH FREE MEN GOVERN THEMSELVES."
- "STRENGTHEN THE WORKING OF DEMOCRACY IN ALL THE WORLD OF FREE PEOPLES--THROUGH BUILDING A WORKABLE STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL ORDER-- THEREBY PROVIDING THAT THE PROCESSES OF FREEDOM WORK AMONG FREE NATIONS AS WELL AS WITHIN FREE NATIONS."
- ~~--"STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S, AND THE FREE WORLD'S, SHIELD AGAINST COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM--BUILDING DEFENSES STRONG ENOUGH TO MEET~~

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--"STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S, AND THE FREE WORLD'S, SHIELD AGAINST COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM--BUILDING DEFENSES STRONG ENOUGH TO MEET AND REPEL ALL THREATS OF MILITARY AGGRESSION OR BLACKMAIL, ECONOMIC DOMINATION OR PENETRATION, OR POLITICAL SUBVERSION."

--"SPEED THE GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY OF OUR NATION, AND OF THE FREE WORLD, TO GIVE ALL OF US THE STRENGTH AND RESOURCES ESSENTIAL TO OUR SECURITY AND FOR THE GROWING NEEDS OF OUR GROWING POPULATIONS."

--"MAKE OUR WHOLE AMERICAN SOCIETY IN ITS DEDICATION TO CIVIL RIGHTS AND ITS RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES, A LIVING PROOF OF OUR FAITH IN THE FREE INDIVIDUAL, OUR RESOLVE IN OUR CAPACITY TO ENABLE HIM TO FULFILL HIS FREE DESTINY."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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# U.S. 'Sat' on Hiss Case For 3 Years: Rocky

MANCHESTER, N. H., Jan. 10 (UPI).—Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller said last night that the FBI was investigating Alger Hiss in 1945 "long before anything else broke."

In a campaign speech, Gov. Rockefeller threw new light on the cases of Hiss and former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Harry Dexter White. It was in 1948 that the names of Hiss and White made headlines when confessed Communist spy courier Whittaker Chambers accused both men of Communist affiliation.

### DENIED CHARGES

Hiss, in 1950, was convicted of perjury in connection with his association with Chambers. White, an international monetary expert, died of a heart attack Aug. 16, 1948, three days after he had testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He denied Chambers' charges.

While detailing some of his experiences with "Communist infiltration" in this country, the New York governor told of what occurred in San Francisco in 1945 at the conference where the United Nations was founded.

Gov. Rockefeller, attending the conference as an assistant secretary for the U. S. State Dept., said it was his job to meet every morning with the FBI which was responsible for security.

### 'WE HAVE THE GOODS'

"They came in one morning and said, 'we have the goods on Alger Hiss.' He was then secretary general of the conference. This was in 1945, mind

you. Long before anything else broke," Gov. Rockefeller said. Gov. Rockefeller also linked White to a \$7,500 check from Amtorg, the Russian trading mission in the United States at that time, but his statement, as tape recorded, did not specify what this link was.

The FBI, Gov. Rockefeller said, claimed it had evidence also that Harry White, who was assistant secretary of the Treasury under (Henry A.) Morgenthau had received a \$7,500 check from Amtorg.

"But there was a real question on my part whether I could go to the rest of the Department and say this because of the concern they had that this was a plot of a Fascist organization in our midst," he said.

Gov. Rockefeller did not elaborate what the Amtorg check was for or what eventually happened to it. He did not say whether he ever informed other U.S. authorities of the FBI report.

The Governor, bidding for votes for the state's March 10 Presidential primary, warned that the United States should not let down its guard against Communism.

"Don't let's kid ourselves, they (the Communists) have not abandoned their concepts or goals," he said.

### KEEP U. S. STRONG

Gov. Rockefeller said "Communist fellow-travelers" he met in New York in the 1930s and later in South America and Washington "believe they are going to dominate the entire world."

"We must never forget that a strong America, materially, spiritually and morally strong, that kind of America is going to protect freedom in this world," he said.

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*Law & War*

- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
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# VICTOR RIESEL INSIDE LABOR

## Rocky Woos Labor at Secret Meeting

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13.—To parry Barry Goldwater's outspoken conservatism in the New Hampshire primary race, Nelson Rockefeller has been quietly wooing labor leaders ranging from bricklayers to musicians.

His theme behind closed doors is a liberal line which says, in effect, that he and the unionists have much in common and that there should be a common front against the Arizona Senator.

The New York governor has met secretly with the labor men, individually and in small groups, in Albany, throughout New Hampshire, in New York City and most recently at his home here in Washington.

At this latest closed door session he met with some fifteen construction union chiefs, it can be revealed. Rockefeller's people asked for the meeting. Amongst those invited were Neil Haggerty, leader of the 18-union, 3 million-member Building and Construction Trades Dept. of the AFL-CIO, Harold Mills secretary-treasurer of the lathers and Harry Bates of the bricklayers.

### Made Honorary Musician

The most piquant touch in Mr. Rockefeller's drive for labor support came in an exchange of letters he had with Herman Kenin, President of the American Federation of Musicians. This exchange occurred after the governor had led a live orchestra for a few minutes. Kenin wrote commending him for his baton wielding. The union leader then said that the musicians would make him an honorary member. They would send him a card for life union membership.

"I wish you to note that you now share status with other

distinguished Americans, such as Chief Justice Earl Warren, former President Harry Truman, and many of like public stature," wrote the musicians' president.

Soon Mr. Rockefeller replied as follows:

"I am delighted to be an 'honorary member at large' of the American Federation of Musicians and to join your distinguished roster of membership.

"Just so you will not feel that the awarding of your card is completely academic, I want you to know that I am what might be called a frustrated cello player."

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*FBI*

## Helped Quill Win Victory

"As a boy I played this 'chair' in the Rockefeller family orchestra. Mother played the piano, father the violin and Winthrop the drums. For some obscure reason nobody seemed to object when I gave up my cello lessons and whatever musical future was involved. I am still very fond of music—but that of others—not my own. Sincerely, Nelson A. Rockefeller."

Thus, consistently, day by day, the Rockefeller strategy is to attempt to befriend labor leaders in all fields.

During the recent New York City transit crisis, for example, Mr. Rockefeller helped the fiery Mike Quill, leader of the Transport Workers Union, win a substantial victory. In a series of truly secret negotiations the governor agreed in advance to push through state legislation which would give the city funds, which when added to other monies, would enable Quill to get a bigger package.

The governor's chief liaison with the labor movement is Lee Minton, leader of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association. He is also an AFL-CIO vice president. Minton and several publicists—who also work for unions—have been attempting

to whip a labor-for-Rockefeller national committee into shape.

They have placed hundreds of long distance telephone calls across country to second echelon union officials. They have just begun work on a series of pamphlets.

Some of this activity was stalled for a while when the governor's advisors "leaked" a story on the Friday Senator Goldwater declared himself a fighting candidate for the presidential nomination. The story, which reported that Mr. Rockefeller would demand the repeal of the New York law which calls for a fixed full crew on trains in the state, was intended to give the governor a more conservative look and take the edge off the Goldwater announcement.

This angered some of the unionists working behind the scenes for Mr. Rockefeller. It may yet disrupt his strategy.

The primary votes will tell if it does—and whether the labor people can deliver votes against the embattled Senator Goldwater.

BA

**THESE DAYS:**

# Beware Hiss Case, Rocky—Ask Nixon

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

WHEN he raised the shadow of the Alger Hiss case in one of his recent stump speeches in New Hampshire, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller exhibited great courage—or possibly it was naivete. For the Hiss case has been an albatross to those who have touched it. Ask Richard Nixon, for instance.

What the New York Governor did, at least inferentially, was to accuse the U.S. government of falling down on its internal security job from 1945 to 1948. During that period, Nelson Rockefeller served the Truman Administration in the State Department. It was as an Assistant Secretary of State that he went to San Francisco in 1945 to attend the conference which gave birth to the United Nations.



Pulling back the veil from his San Francisco experience, Gov. Rockefeller told a New Hampshire audience that it was part of his job to meet each morning with the FBI to discuss security matters. "They came in one morning," so Rockefeller recalled, "and said, 'we have the goods on Alger Hiss.' He was then secretary general of the conference. This was in 1945, mind you. Long before anything else broke."

Nothing was done about Hiss at the time. In fact, the case had been smoldering ever since the beginning of World War II. It was during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact that Isaac Don Devine, a superior journalist, had taken Whittaker Chambers, an ex-Communist on the staff of Time magazine, to see Adolf Berle at the State Department. Chambers had warned Berle about Hiss and other members of "Marxist study groups" employed by the U.S. government in sensitive spots.

Berle passed the information on upwards, but nothing came of it. So when the FBI informed Rockefeller that the secretary general of the United Nations' natal conference was a suspected menace, it was passing along some pretty old stuff. But it was not less potent for that.

ROCKEFELLER'S exhumation of the Hiss case might be considered as something neither here nor there, now that Hiss has paid his penalty for perjury about his past.

But Richard Nixon might have warned Rocky that to take the anti-Hiss side is apt to bring some subtle but nonetheless strong forces into play against a politician. Nixon has always felt he both lived and died politically by his connection with Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss. He made his reputation when he pushed the investigation that forced the

But an impalpable malevolence has dogged Nixon from that day to the present.

With Nixon's career in mind, Rocky should know there's no political pay dirt in virtually accusing the U.S. government of "sitting" on the Hiss case for some three years after 1945, to say nothing of the years between 1939 and the end of the war. But if it is courage that led Rocky to bring the matter up, then he deserves great credit for it.

This columnist has not been particularly in Rockefeller's corner. But when it comes to resisting euphoria whenever Khrushchev smiles, it should in all fairness be said that Rockefeller is by no means the least worthy of the Republican candidates. Said Rocky to his New Hampshire partisans: "Don't let's kid ourselves. They (meaning the Communists) have not abandoned their concepts or goals." And Rocky went on to describe the Communists and fellow-travelers he encountered in South America and Washington as thoroughly dedicated men who "believe they are going to dominate the entire world."

Better watch out, Rocky. They'll be smearing you as a "McCarthyite" yet.

- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American 26
- New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Javits Leading Rockefeller Opposition

By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson

The strongest opposition to Nelson Rockefeller as candidate for President is coming, not from his bitter Republican foe, Barry Goldwater, but from his friend, Jacob Javits, the liberal Republican from New York.

Most people don't know it, but after Maryland's Gov. Spiro Agnew sent up the first trial balloon for Rockefeller, Javits burned up the wires to the Statehouse in Annapolis.

In high excitement, Javits insisted Rockefeller was not a candidate, and urged Agnew to drop the Rockefeller-for-President idea. The moderates should unite, said Javits, around Michigan's Gov. George Romney.

Inside reason why the GOP Senator from New York opposes Rockefeller for President is that Javits is hungry to become the first Jew in history to become Vice President of the United States. If Rockefeller should be nominated Javits would be out, because two New Yorkers could not run on the same ticket.

Knowing this, Sen. Javits played his cards very shrewdly. He began making noises about running for Governor of New York himself. This was before Rockefeller had made up his mind whether to run for a third term. And, while making up his mind, he found Sen. Javits making speeches all over the State indicating he was not averse to running for Governor himself.

A 'Sacred Deal'

Finally the two Republicans, always good friends, got together. Rockefeller suggested that Javits stop nudging him for Governor, and Javits, in turn, made a frank confession that he wanted to run for Vice President. He was willing to support Rockefeller for Governor if Rockefeller would support him for Vice President.

Rockefeller agreed. According to Javits's friends, he also made a "sacred pledge" that he would put his money on Gov. George Romney of Michigan, thus giving the Republicans a well-balanced ticket—a Midwesterner for President and a New Yorker for Vice President.

Rockefeller's most able professional, Leonard Hall, then took over the Romney campaign, and Rockefeller was emphatic both in private and in public about his determination not to run for President.

Recently, however, the "sacred deal" appears not too sacred after all. Two things have happened. LBJ's ratings have dropped, and Rockefeller admirers, led by Gov. Agnew, have cooled toward Romney after personal exposure.

The Maryland Governor is now trying to persuade Rockefeller to change his mind. When Agnew went to see Rocky in Albany, the latter stuck to his Javits pledge. His friends, however, are still hoping, and Javits is still fuming. A pledge is a pledge, says Javits, and he expects Rockefeller to keep his.

Javits and Nazi Victims

Meanwhile, Sen. Javits, who has a fine record in Congress, has had some sour reaction from Jewish leaders because of his championship of Gen. Julius Klein, close friend of Sen. Tom Dodd, in the argument over a \$75 million contract with Rheinmetall for a 20 mm. gun for the U.S. armed forces.

Klein, a Chicago public relations man, acted as the paid agent for Rheinmetall even though that company had used Nazi slave labor during the war.

Because Rheinmetall had refused to pay restitution to slave labor camp survivors, the West German Defense Minister had recommended that the United States refuse to sign the gun contract. The

closing of the historic Springfield Arsenal was also involved. The U.S. Defense Department had followed this advice and the U.S. State Department had also taken a firm stand that Rheinmetall must pay restitution to slave labor victims.

Gen. Klein, however, though a former commander of the Jewish War Veterans, protested that the company was "innocent of such charges as have been alleged." The Jewish War Veterans, in turn, threatened to expel him.

Even though fully aware of the seriousness of the State Department's Nazi claims against Rheinmetall, and even though the Senate Ethics Committee had already begun its probe of Klein and Sen. Dodd, Javits wrote Klein this letter:

"Within the context of your representation of West German business concerns and individuals — which is itself a matter of your business judgment and your personal disposition and not for me to pass on — I feel you have done your utmost to secure justice for the victims of Nazism and a measure of reparation through aid to Israel."

Many Jews wonder what Klein did to get Javits to write such a letter.

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- Olson ✓
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- The Washington Post
Times Herald
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The Sunday Star (Washington)
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The New York Times
World Journal Tribune (New York)
The Sun (Baltimore)
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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
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- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

### STATE OF TWO STATES 53

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R-N.Y.) is to deliver his state of the state message to the Legislature today.

From reliable sources, we get a prediction that the Governor will urge a 5% across-the-board cut in state and local assistance spending except on debt service, which can't be cut.



Gov. Ronald Reagan (R-Calif.)

Sounds fine, and we hope it happens.

It doesn't sound nearly as fine, though, as a couple of things Gov. Ronald Reagan (R-Calif.) included in his state of the state message to the California Legislature yesterday.

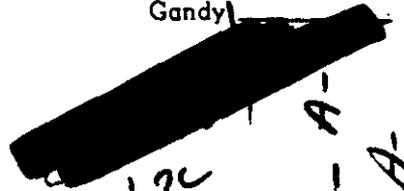
Gov. Reagan, whom "liberals" delight in smearing because he once was a movie actor (and what's wrong with that?), proposed what he termed "a substantial personal [state] income tax reduction," and added that "under no circumstances will I support or sign into law any tax increase."

Gov. Rockefeller, we believe, though expected to ask a state sales tax boost, should ponder this Reagan astonishinger.

Reagan also came out flatfooted for tough new laws aimed at hell-raisers on college campuses — stepped-up penalties for assaults on teachers or students; dismissal of teachers who interfere with educational processes; stronger anti-trespass laws to keep troublemakers off college property.

To which, we respond with a grand Amen.

We recommend this Reagan formula to the New York Legislature, and to Mayor John V. Lindsay with reference to his just-launched anticrime drive. It's fine to tell people how to make life harder for burglars. But how about also concentrating on making the streets a lot safer — and giving the police ample leeway in their efforts to that end?



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- The Washington Post Times Herald
- The Washington Daily News
- The Evening Star (Washington)
- The Sunday Star (Washington)
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- Sunday News (New York)
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- The Daily World
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- The National Observer
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WILSON

(COOPERATION)

ALFRED WILSON (UPI) ... RESIGNING IN A MOVE THAT MOST POLITICAL OBSERVERS VIEWED AS A ... TO A QUEST FOR THE 1978 NOMINATION.

THE SENATOR ... RESIGNATION ... NOMINATION ...

WILSON WOULD BE SWORN IN THE SAME WAY.

AS CHIEF INVESTIGATIVE OFFICER OF THE NATION'S LARGEST ... RESIGNATION ANNOUNCEMENT AT A PACIFIC NEWS CONFERENCE ...

HE SAID HIS RESIGNATION WOULD ALLOW HIM TO DENY ... NATIONAL COMMISSION ... PROBLEMS.

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THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NATION'S LUMBER INDUSTRY... GOVERNOR... THE \$5,000-A-YEAR POST... GENERAL...  
GENERAL...  
GENERAL...

ROCKEFELLER SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE, "HE HAD CONCLUDED "I CAN RENDER A GREATER PUBLIC SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK AND THE NATION BY DEVOTING MYSELF TO THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL NATIONAL COMMISSIONS."

THE ONE COMMISSION IS THE GROUP SET UP RECENTLY BY ROCKEFELLER ON CRITICAL CHOICES FOR AMERICA. THE SECOND GROUP, ROCKEFELLER SAID IN HIS STATEMENT, IS THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON WATER CONTROL.

IT IS BEING SAID THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON WATER CONTROL IS HIS FOURTH ATTEMPT. HE TRIED THIS COURSE TWICE IN 1942, 1943 AND 1944.

THE GOVERNOR STOPPED SHORT OF BECOMING AN OPEN CANDIDATE FOR THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION AND CRITICIZED THAT HE HAD CALLED THAT HIS ACCEPTING CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION WAS ONLY A PLOD TO MAINTAIN A NATIONAL PLATFORM FOR HIS CAMPAIGN.

THE ONLY DOUBT IN UNDERSTANDING THESE TACKS IS THAT IT HAS BEEN INTERPRETED AS A POLITICAL MANEUVER TO STAY THE PRESIDENT'S... ROCKEFELLER SAID, "I AM NOT A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY... ANY OTHER OFFICE."

BUT THE GOVERNOR SAID THE QUESTION OF WHETHER HE WOULD BECOME A CANDIDATE IN THE FUTURE WAS AN OPEN QUESTION.

"I'M KEEPING MY OPTIONS OPEN," HE SAID, ADDING, "WHEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD I CONSIDER SUCH A MOVE UNTIL THE LATE FALL OF 1948."

ROCKEFELLER, I WISSED WILCO, SAID HE WAS UNWILLING TO FILL OUT THE GOVERNOR'S TERM IN OFFICE.

"I CAN NOT SEE ANY EXCEPT FOR MY UNRESTING CONSCIENCE... I ALSO WOULD," ROCKEFELLER SAID, THIS IS THE ONLY... QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP AND HIS ABILITY TO LEAD... QUESTIONS."

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# Screenings of Ford,

# Rock May Be Good Precedents



By JERRY GREENE

Washington, Oct. 14—The intensive inquiry into the desirability of seating Nelson Rockefeller as vice president, now well under way by House and Senate committees, points up an opportunity for badly needed change—an opportunity that seems to have been overlooked by ardent political reformers.

They could, if they truly had the interests of the people at heart, do something about screening all candidates for President and vice president before they were nominated.

As Dr. Milton Eisenhower said in his new book, "The President Is Calling," both the Republican and Democratic parties—particularly for the 1976 campaign—owe to the nation the obligation of selecting presidential and vice presidential nominees "who clearly possess keen intelligence, broad knowledge of crucial problems, absolute integrity, moral and executive leadership. . . ."

Eisenhower, brother of one President and troubleshooter for him and seven others, conceded that his hopes were idealistic "almost to the point of naivete." We would have to concur.

But with members of the Congress beating their collective breast over a two-hit campaign-reform bill just passed—a bill calculated to help perpetuate incumbents and to invite evasion—and a search for loopholes at the top levels—it would appear that there is still essence of desirable change in the air.

The Democrats, of course, are in the midst of an approach to finding a better way of choice. Reforms to their party structure are pending. The Democratic leaders are seeking improvements in procedures and convention-delegate

selection. The improvements, theoretically, at least, would insure the choice of the very best available nominee.

The Republicans seem content to get along pretty well with what they have in the way of party machinery.

However, no matter what the Democrats come up with at their mini-convention in December, no matter what the Republicans might do, neither party has as yet anything in sight like the screening process to which Rockefeller is being subjected—and which Gerald R. Ford underwent when he was named vice president, under the 25th Amendment process.

### The Ford Inquiry

The pattern was laid out when Richard Nixon nominated Ford as vice president to succeed Spiro T. Agnew. No other prospective vice president, or President, in the history of this nation had ever submitted to the scrutiny given Ford. And it is becoming more apparent daily that what was done to Ford was almost miniscule compared with the microscopic probing of Rockefeller. But then, after all, Ford had very little money to sift or fondle.

Staff investigators of the Senate Rules and House Judiciary committees worked weeks over Ford before he submitted to public questioning about the last dime of his holdings; he had to answer numerous hypothetical and philosophical questions about what he would or would not do under various circumstances. One of those hypothetical questions, by the way, was whether he would give Nixon a pardon. He said he didn't think the public would stand for it.

The committees have been working longer and harder over Rockefeller, and there will be a minimum of six or eight weeks more of such scrutiny. More than 300 FBI agents have been drawn in to trace details.

Never before has a presidential or vice-presidential nominee had to submit income-tax returns for 17 years to congressional committees. If Rockefeller survives the test, then the country should be assured that in him and in Ford it has the cleanest pair of leaders who ever made it to the top.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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# Senate Panel Set To Back Rocky

A-1 By Spencer Rich  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate Rules Committee wound up hearings yesterday on vice presidential nominee Nelson A. Rockefeller and prepared to vote out the nomination Wednesday or Thursday—possibly unanimously.

"I expect to vote for it," asserted Chairman Howard W. Cannon (D-Nev.) in announcing that the committee will start consideration of the nomination Wednesday, with a view toward voting approval by the end of this week, filing the formal report by next Tuesday night, and bringing the nomination to the floor right after Congress comes back Dec. 2 from a brief Thanksgiving recess.

In the House, which must also approve the nomination, the Judiciary Committee plans to start hearings Thursday.

Before ending testimony yesterday, the Senate Rules Committee heard the Port of New York Authority chairman, William J. Ronan, swear that his \$625,000 in gifts from Rockefeller over 16 years weren't intended to influence his conduct as a public official, and in fact didn't have any such influence.

Ronan served as Rockefeller's program planning aide and secretary during the first eight years Rockefeller was New York governor (1959 through 1966), then headed the giant Metropolitan Transpor-

tation Authority until early this year, when he resigned and went to work for the Rockefeller family as an adviser at \$100,000 a year. In addition to being unpaid head of the port authority, he is also a part-time trustee of the New York State Power Authority at \$12,500 a year.

Ronan said the gifts, chiefly unsecured, interest-free loans that Rockefeller later said needn't be paid back, "precluded solely out of his concern for the welfare" of the recipient.

"His motives in assisting me and others were innocent of any ulterior design," said Ronan, adding that as for himself "I'm not a person particularly interested in money."

He sought the loans, he said, largely to secure his retirement and the financial future of his family. Rockefeller's decision this year to cancel the debt, he said, came as a surprise.

"It has been alleged that there might have been a more sinister purpose in these gifts or loans—something to the effect that this was Rockefeller's way of purchasing or influencing . . . my public positions. There is no truth to such innuendo or speculation," Ronan said.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., of Americans for Democratic Action opposed the nomination, asserting that the Rockefeller family owns so many millions of dollars worth of major-industry stocks and properties that it is impossible for Rockefeller as potential president to avoid conflict-of-interest situations.

"As President, every decision Mr. Rockefeller would make would affect the Rockefeller empire," said Rauh. "At 8 o'clock, a decision affecting banks, at 9, affecting communications, at 10, affecting airlines, at 11, affecting oil, at noon affecting insurance, and so on through the day."

As testimony finished, Sen. James B. Allen (D-Ala.) said his only reservations about the nomination didn't spring from Laurance Rockefeller's covert 1970 financing—at Nelson's request—of a book critical of Nelson's gubernatorial opponent Arthur J. Goldberg. Nor did they spring from the nearly \$3 million in Rockefeller gifts and loans to associates, and public figures over the past 16 years.

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- The Washington Post A1
- Washington Star-News \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- The Los Angeles Times \_\_\_\_\_

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The only thing that concerned him was whether the nominee might be too liberal and too much given to backing heavy government spending, Allen said, without indicating how he will vote later.

Sens. Harrison A. Williams (D-N.J.), Robert C. Byrd (D-

W. Va.), Cannon and Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) repeatedly pressed the point during the hearings that giving \$3 million in loans and gifts to public officials could create "psychological servitude" on the part of the recipients and a presumption that Rockefeller had a hold over their policy-making decisions. But hard evidence never appeared during the hearings that Rockefeller had used that presumed hold to influence their decisions.

Ronan, former New York State Housing Commissioner James W. Gaynor and the New York State Urban Development Corp. Chief, Edward J. Logue, all denied yesterday that any of the loans or gifts had influenced their public decisions, caused them to throw state business to the Chase Manhattan Bank headed by David Rockefeller, or violated the New York anti-bribery or anti-tipping statutes for public officials.

Byrd once again said the loans and gifts had skirted the edge of the anti-bribery and anti-tipping statutes in some case, but he didn't charge outright violation. He also contended that there was an inconsistency between Ronan's statement to the committee that Rockefeller never informed him beforehand that he would eventually forgive the loans, and Ronan's implication in earlier FBI testimony that they had discussed the matter ahead of time.

But he said that so far he didn't see any conclusive evidence of violation of the statutes and probably would give the nominee the benefit of the doubt and vote for him.

The question of possible violation of the New York stat-

utes and of the Roman inconsistency may well be re-examined by the House Judiciary Committee.

Logue, a Democrat who ran for Boston mayor unsuccessfully in 1967, Gaynor and Ronan all unreservedly endorsed Rockefeller for Vice President.

Ronan declared, "Neither the administration of the government in New York nor the citizens of that state suffered because of the loans and gifts he made. . . . It would be a bitter irony if this man who has given so much of his life and resources to his fellow citizens and whose record is one of achievement, integrity and

candor should be denied confirmation because he shared part of his wealth with those he loved and trusted."

As the hearing ended, Cannon released a list of political contributions made by the nominee's wife, Happy, since 1963, chiefly to GOP New York groups, totaling about \$157,000.



EDWARD J. LOGUE

JOSEPH L. RAUH JR.

witnesses for and against Rockefeller