

The original documents are located in Box 25, folder “Rockefeller, Nelson - Confirmation Hearings (2)” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Ron Nessen donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

EMBARGO

EMBARGO

EMBARGO

THE ATTACHED IS FOR RELEASE AT 10 A.M. (E.S.T.)
ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1974, AND NOT PRIOR THERETO.

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

HUGH MORROW
PRESS SECRETARY
TO NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

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

EMBARGO

EMBARGO

EMBARGO

November 13, 1974
10:00 A.M.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the United States Senate:

It is a privilege to have the opportunity of appearing before you again, and I look forward again to answering, freely and fully, any and all questions.

A great deal of the information which I had originally submitted to various Federal investigators has found its way piecemeal into the press, where it has been variously interpreted.

Therefore, I especially welcome this opportunity to clarify the record, which has become somewhat confused since my last appearance before you seven weeks ago.

May I take this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, to express my appreciation to you and the other members of your committee, and to your extremely able staff, for your cooperation, courtesy and consideration throughout this period.

As I mentioned before, I recognize the tremendous responsibility you have as members of the Rules Committee, as do the other members of Congress under the 25th Amendment, representing the American people in passing upon my qualifications to become Vice President of the United States.

These are difficult days for everyone.

Since I appeared before you in September, the situation in the world has become even more serious.

There is growing concern about inflation and unemployment throughout the industrial and developing nations.

These concerns weigh heavily upon every family in America -- particularly those on fixed incomes.

The governments of all free nations are wrestling with these problems.

Past solutions have seemed inadequate in the face of the continuing acceleration of change throughout the world.

Frustration and pessimism are prevalent.

Despite all this, I'm optimistic about the future.

Americans have traditionally responded to crises with faith and courage, imagination and vision.

Americans have a unique capacity to come up with new conceptual thinking and creative solutions.

Free people, with a heritage of deep religious faith, have the inner strength and will necessary to face the unknown and meet new problems.

The great upheavals around the world today, caused by the crises and dislocations in energy, food, raw materials, balance of payments and inflation, have created unprecedented problems.

But we should not overlook the fact that these critical upheavals are creating, at the same time, unique opportunities to achieve a better future for all.

The very process of meeting and solving these new problems provides in itself the most extraordinary challenges and opportunities.

If we move intelligently and decisively on all fronts:

-- We can deal with the political aspects of the problems both at home and abroad;

-- We can restore sound growth and protect the ecology;

-- We can increase employment opportunities;

-- We can bring back the balance between production and demand;

-- We can control inflation;

-- And we can continue to improve the quality of life for all.

It is not going to be easy.

It is going to take self-discipline and sacrifice.

But it is the most important and exciting challenge America has ever faced.

It can be done -- and in my opinion it will be done.

And I'm convinced that a better nation and a better world will emerge.

* * *

I have abiding faith in the American people;

-- In our system of democracy and individual initiative;

-- In the limitless potentials of science and technology;

-- In our organizational genius and productive capacity;

-- And in our national destiny as the champion of respect for human dignity and freedom in the world.

I love this country -- and I have tried throughout my life to serve it.

I have worked in government at Federal, state and local levels.

In addition to having served the people of New York State as their Governor for 15 years, from 1959 through 1973, I have had the privilege of working closely with and for six Presidents of the United States:

-- For President Roosevelt, as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and as Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs; (1940-'45)

-- For President Truman, as Chairman of his Advisory Committee on International Economic Development -- a blueprint to carry out his Point Four Program; (1947-'49)

-- For President Eisenhower, as Chairman of his committee on government reorganization, as Undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and as Special Assistant to the President for International Affairs; (1953-'58)

-- For President Johnson, as a member of his Advisory Committee on Inter-Governmental Relations; (1964-'68)

-- For President Nixon, as head of an official mission to twenty Latin American countries to review and recommend U.S. policy in the Western Hemisphere and as a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board; (1969-'74)

-- And now, President Ford has done me the great honor of nominating me under the 25th Amendment to be his Vice President.

In these varied public capacities, as well as in my private activities, I have always tried to approach the problems of people, whether as individuals, or as groups, or as a nation, with understanding but with imagination and within a conceptual framework that would reflect the best interests of all.

All during these years, like anyone else, I've had some successes and I've had some failures.

But I've always tried to do my best.

* * *

When I first appeared before you at the start of these hearings, I submitted a statement of my personal and family background and of the philosophy of responsibility and stewardship in respect to wealth that has been our family ethic.

As you will recall from my earlier testimony, that ethic consisted of religious feeling, hard work, and the recognition that "Every right implies a responsibility; every opportunity an obligation; every possession a duty."

That family heritage is essential to any fair understanding of my lifetime of giving to charity and of helping on a personal basis friends and those in need.

I have been more fortunate in material things than most Americans and therefore felt a greater sense of responsibility to use material assets for the good of others and to commit myself to the service of the public.

Unfortunately, the tradition of sharing with others seems now to have become a political issue.

Comparatively, millions of other Americans give more, in terms of personal sacrifice, than either myself or my family. This is all within the framework of our great and distinctively American tradition of personal charity, of sharing and of love for each other.

These are things that one does not normally talk about. I do not enjoy talking about them here.

It is in recognition of the extraordinary nature of the responsibility borne by the Congress that I have made available all information requested by this Senate Committee, or by the Judiciary Committee of the House and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

You are familiar with the extent of the submissions I have made with respect to my finances, tax returns, business ventures, loans, gifts, investments and the like.

In the course of this process, I have voluntarily yielded up, in an extraordinary measure, the right of privacy that is a protected privilege in our society.

This does not mean that I do not prize my own privacy.

Rather it is that I recognize that no individual's right of privacy is absolute.

The claim to privacy must yield in the presence of a compelling public interest.

Unquestionably, there are limits beyond which it is not appropriate for me to go when the privacy of other persons may be linked with my own -- especially when they are private citizens and no compelling public interest is served by exposing them to unreasonable publicity.

Where the line is to be drawn and how the balance is to be made in any particular instance is difficult both for you and for me.

I know you share with me a sense of constraint not to subject my friends and associates to unreasonable publicity about their personal lives and family affairs.

No one of us will have served our nation well if in the process of these hearings we are insensitive to the values of personal privacy which are fundamental to our form of society.

I have been dismayed by the embarrassment that has been brought to persons who, without exception, are innocent of the slightest impropriety in accepting the help that I could give them.

In fairness to them, in fairness to me and in fairness to you in the discharge of your responsibilities, I must of course talk about these matters now.

What I must say to you now, and what I do say to you now is that not one of the gifts or loans I have made, not one of the loans I have forgiven during my lifetime, was designed to corrupt or did corrupt either the receiver or the giver.

The implication has been made that my financial help to persons associated at one time or another with my administration as Governor of New York State was given to influence or reward their official conduct.

That was not my intent or the fact in a single instance.

All of the public officials or staff members listed as recipients of loans or gifts from me were appointed by me.

They were all administratively responsible to me.

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

Throughout my life, I have been fortunate to have had a relationship of mutual respect, confidence and affection with those with whom it has been my privilege to be associated -- men and women of outstanding ability and integrity.

Almost invariably, these have been long time associations -- some for over forty years.

Whatever successes I may have had, in both public and private life, have been due to the character, brilliance and continuing sense of common purpose of those with whom I have been associated.

What kind of a human being would I be if, under the circumstances, I had not returned their confidence, affection and commitment;

-- If I had not welcomed opportunities to be helpful to them in their needs and problems;

-- If, regardless of needs and problems, I had not sought out ways to express to them tangibly, with a generosity matching their commitment, my appreciation for what they had done.

I am not in the banking business. I don't believe that when one makes a loan to a friend, he does so as a commercial transaction. These loans were either interest free or at nominal rates.

There is an unfortunate cynicism abroad in the land. In view of the abuses of trust in high places, it is understandable.

But I do not believe the day has yet come in this great country of ours where the decencies of human relationships disqualify one for public office.

Having said all that, I am completely sensitive to the fact that you must examine -- in fact, you have the duty to examine -- into the details of any of my gifts where you feel there could be a question of propriety.

I happen to be a tremendously intense and active person, with a propensity for sustained concentration, who gets absorbed for hours on end with my associates in the challenges of trying to solve people's problems.

During those fifteen years when I was Governor, because of the magnitude, the importance and the challenge of the problems, I was able to attract the ablest and most experienced people in government to deal effectively with these problems.

We worked together on creative solutions to complex problems in a changing world:

-- Whether they were problems of expanding the State University to meet the needs of our rapidly growing numbers of high school graduates;

-- Or the financing of low and middle-income housing, which was in desperately short supply;

-- Or developing the vehicles to finance:

a) Public and private homes for the elderly;

b) Day care centers for the young;

c) Hospitals and mental institutions for the sick;

-- Overcoming the hurdles to developing an integrated, publicly financed and operated mass transportation system for the metropolitan areas;

-- Or developing a means by which government could preserve and extend the unique heritage of privately sponsored cultural institutions;

-- While extending public recreational facilities and preserving the natural beauties of our State and protecting its ecology.

It was an endless and exciting process, to which a nucleus of fifteen or twenty key people in the State government gave of themselves in total dedication.

Out of this kind of intensive, sustained effort grows a community of respect and interest and spirit that is hard to understand unless you have been through it -- and, most important, came lasting personal friendships.

Therefore, it was the most natural thing in the world for me to make loans when individual members of this group had personal or family problems, or serious concern as to their future ability to meet the needs of their family in their later years.

I know that every one of you has helped friends in need.

And I don't think there is a man or woman in this country who would not have done the same.

The American tradition has been to share -- to help one's neighbor in time of trouble, to share one's blessings with friends and family.

* * *

DR. WILLIAM J. RONAN

Dr. Ronan personifies what I am discussing. He is without doubt one of the most brilliant men I have known -- a man of great integrity with an extraordinary combination of

creative and conceptual thought together with hard driving administrative ability. He is also one of my closest friends.

He was an integral part of the thinking, the planning and the administration of the State government's programs that contributed so much to the creative accomplishments of my administration. We were constant colleagues in our common dedication to good government, responsive to the people's needs.

In common with almost all other Americans, Bill Ronan had personal responsibilities and problems to meet. These included, as a matter of prime concern, making provision for his family, particularly for the years after his retirement.

To help him in meeting this deep-seated concern, I made him loans of from \$50,000 to \$150,000 in the following years: 1962, 1963, 1965, 1966, 1967 and 1969, which he used to meet pressing family responsibilities and problems, and to assist him in meeting continuing financial responsibilities after retirement.

Four years later, after I had resigned as Governor and he had left the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, I made him a gift by forgiving these loans, totalling \$510,000, and gave him an additional \$40,000. This was done in appreciation of his friendship and our eighteen years of association.

I recognize that, because of the size of the loans and my gifts, that many feel that there must be something more to this than friendship -- that maybe I was trying to buy influence for some personal gain or personal power.

I can understand how some people have these concerns.

But as I pointed out earlier, I appointed Dr. Ronan to each of the positions he held, he was responsible to me administratively and he operated within the framework of policy established by me as the four-time elected Governor of New York.

Bill Ronan was not in a position to do anything for me except to enhance my capacity to serve the people of the State.

In spite of this, his detractors are attempting to undermine his leadership and impugn his integrity.

For example, his role in helping to consolidate the transportation agencies in the metropolitan region of New York City has been falsely and irresponsibly described as part of a secret deal between my brother and myself.

This totally untrue accusation was picked up from a book attacking Robert Moses which went on to say that the results of this so-called secret deal had been mysteriously sealed by the court.

There was no secret deal, and no records were sealed.

What took place was a transportation consolidation that was hailed by the New York Times as "the greatest advance in the metropolitan transportation system in at least half a century."

In fact, the alleged "secret deal" was a settlement of a highly publicized law suit brought by the Chase Manhattan Bank as Trustee for the bond holders of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority.

This settlement cleared the way for the Triborough bond holders' approval of surplus Triborough funds being used to hold down the fares on the subways, buses and commuter railroads in return for a one-fourth per cent increase in the interest payments on their bonds.

More recently, there are those who have claimed that Dr. Ronan should be disqualified to be Chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey because of the loans and gifts which I made to him.

This is totally absurd.

Neither the Chairman nor the other Board members of the Authority are paid. Virtually all of them are engaged in private businesses or professions.

Dr. Ronan is employed as a Senior Adviser in the family office. The members of the Port Authority board are fully aware of this and it was publicly announced last Spring.

Dr. Ronan is an outstanding authority in the field of mass transportation in this country.

Dr. Ronan as a member of the Port Authority Board was responsible to me while I was Governor since both the Governor of New Jersey and the Governor of New York have veto power over all the actions of that Authority.

I hope this will straighten out the unfair misrepresentation of the record, and of the motives and of the integrity of Dr. Ronan and myself.

There are several other individuals I should mention in connection with the loans and gifts which I made to friends and associates.

* * *

JAMES GAYNOR AND ED LOGUE

Two of them are James Gaynor and Ed Logue, both of them extremely talented and experienced in the housing field.

One of the most serious problems confronting the people of New York related to the growing shortage of middle and low-income housing.

State bond issues to finance low-income housing were being turned down by the voters.

I was looking for new and more imaginative ways of encouraging the initiatives and resources of the private sector to be more effective in meeting this urgent housing need.

Both Mr. Gaynor and Mr. Logue had uniquely demonstrated -- one in New York City and the other in New Haven and Boston -- the energy and the competence that the State needed.

Both of these men had also left the public housing field. I needed to enlist their help in meeting the State's formidable housing problems.

I asked Mr. Gaynor to come from Colorado to join me in January 1959 to become the Commissioner of Housing and eventually head the Housing Finance Agency which the Legislature created in 1960 at my request.

In 1968, I asked Ed Logue to come from Massachusetts to head the newly created Urban Development Corporation with its larger concept of responsibility for public housing as a part of total community development.

In both cases, they wanted to come to New York to undertake what to them were challenging opportunities for public service, but both of them had problems with respect to the relocation.

The State had no funds for this purpose. For this reason, I made gifts and loans to facilitate their coming to the State -- a move which has benefitted the people of New York in terms of more than 50,000 new units of low and middle-income housing.

* * *

ROBERT ANDERSON

The third person I would like to mention is Robert Anderson, with whom I had worked very closely while he was Deputy Secretary of Defense and I was Assistant to President Eisenhower for International Affairs. In that capacity Mr. Anderson played an important role for our country at a critical moment in history.

When I returned to New York in 1956 I became Chairman of IBEC -- a company I had organized in 1946 to help develop the basic economy of Western Hemisphere countries.

Mr. Anderson, originally from Texas, came to New York in 1955 to become President of a company with mining interests.

Mr. Anderson and I were in touch with one another from time to time in 1956 and 1957 as an outgrowth of our earlier friendship. Early in 1957 I made two loans to Mr. Anderson, aggregating \$84,000, to enable him to purchase stock in IBEC, which he did.

Mr. Anderson was a man for whom President Eisenhower had the most tremendous respect, and in whom he had great confidence. When President Eisenhower subsequently asked Mr. Anderson to come back into his administration as Secretary of the Treasury, I offered to buy the IBEC stock back. I did this and Mr. Anderson repaid both of my loans to him prior to his taking office as Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Anderson had a number of other investments, particularly in some oil properties which he felt would be inappropriate for him to own as Secretary of the Treasury. He came to me about the practical problems involved in liquidating his business interests and I was sympathetic with the difficulties he faced. We talked about my helping in disposing of some of his assets but I decided the problems were too great. I did not wish to be negotiating over property values with him and decided not to do so. Thus Mr. Anderson worked out the disposition of his business interests without my participating.

Some time later, in September 1957, I was invited by a Mr. T. L. Wynne, President of Dalada Corporation, to purchase for \$150,000 a 50 per cent stock interest in Dalada which prior thereto had acquired some of Mr. Anderson's oil properties. I thought the suggested price for the Dalada stock interest was fair and the opportunity reasonable although speculative. I agreed to purchase \$150,000 of the stock of Dalada and then offered this investment opportunity to IBEC. IBEC ultimately decided to make that investment itself and the purchase of Dalada stock by IBEC was made in the summer of 1958. By that time I was actively engaged in a political campaign and was no longer actively involved in the affairs of IBEC, including the Dalada investment.

* * *

In addition to loans and gifts, in a few instances I have also assisted friends by acting as a guarantor of their bank loans.

JACK WELLS AND DR. W. KENNETH RILAND

Mr. John Wells, a brilliant New York lawyer and a good political friend of mine, acted as volunteer director of my 1964 campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. He put a tremendous amount of time and effort into the undertaking.

At that time, he asked me to guarantee a \$300,000 bank loan to help him make an investment.

He agreed to put up stock as collateral for the loan, and I am advised that the loan has since been reduced to \$80,000.

* * *

Dr. Kenneth Riland has been my physician and warm personal friend ever since 1940 when I first met him in Washington, D.C.

In 1973 the Internal Revenue Service brought charges against him and he was indicted. I guaranteed two loans totalling \$60,000 which Dr. Riland secured to help meet his expenses in connection with the investigation by the IRS.

As I had stated at the time of Dr. Riland's indictment, I had full confidence in his integrity. After 9 weeks of the trial, Dr. Riland's attorney rested his case without calling any defense witnesses -- and the jury unanimously acquitted Dr. Riland on all of the charges.

* * *

POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Both committees of Congress have asked for detailed information about my political contributions for the past eighteen years.

I am submitting herewith a detailed list of all my political contributions -- those over \$3,000 as listed in my gift tax returns and those under \$3,000, going down to the smallest contributions of \$3.

This has not been easy to reconstruct because it covers almost two decades -- but we have done it.

In addition, I have carried on over the years, at personal expense, extensive and continuing research of the issues and problems facing people at the state and local levels, nationally and internationally. As part of the research, I have undertaken extensive attitudinal surveys and analyses.

My family has traditionally believed in the concept of the two-party system and its importance to the strength and vitality of our free society. They have always recognized their obligation as responsible citizens to support the party of their choice and the candidates of that party in whom they believed.

I have carried on that tradition and have tried to keep in touch with party leaders throughout the country, including personal visits when possible, also at my own expense. I have contributed regularly over the years to Federal, state and local Republican organizations.

And I have also contributed to the campaign expenses of individual candidates -- including my own.

During the past eighteen years, my total contributions to political parties, campaign committees and candidates have amounted to \$3,265,000, two-thirds of which I gave in connection with the four state and three national campaigns in which I was involved personally.

I am grateful to my brothers John, Laurance and David, and my sister, Abby, for their support of my political activities over 17 years amounting to a total of \$2,850,000. And I would like to make special mention of my most enthusiastic and generous backer, my Stepmother, the late Martha Baird Rockefeller, who averaged about \$1.5 million per campaign.

L. JUDSON MORHOUSE

In all of the fifteen years in which I was Governor and leader of the Republican Party in New York State, there was only one situation of political corruption involving individuals who worked for me.

This situation arose out of bribery in connection with the issuance of a liquor license and L. Judson Morhouse became caught up in this tragic case.

Mr. Morhouse had already been New York Republican State Chairman for four years when I was elected Governor.

There had been a tradition in New York of having a non-salaried, full-time Chairman of the Republican State Committee.

Mr. Morhouse was not a man of substantial independent means. Nearly two years after I was elected, he came to me for help and I loaned him \$100,000 to buy into a going business which would produce some income. It was a real estate business where there could be no possible conflict of interest at any time.

I asked my brother, Laurance, if he would also help Mr. Morhouse and he authorized one of his associates to arrange for a loan of \$49,000 to purchase shares of stock in two venture capital companies which he had helped to finance, Geophysics Corporation of America and Marks Oxygen Company, which later became American Cryogenics, Inc.

A year and a half later, the value of the stock having gone up in a generally rising market, Mr. Morhouse sold back a part of his holdings at market value and paid off the loan to my brother.

The purpose of these loans from my brother and myself was to help Mr. Morhouse earn a living and to support his wife, two children, and both his mother and his wife's mother who were living with him and his family.

Our help evidently was not enough. In 1963, Mr. Morhouse became involved in an attempted bribery to secure a liquor license -- and at my request he immediately resigned from all party and state government positions.

This experience was a shocker to me. The remainder of the tragic story concerning Mr. Morhouse has already been given in full in my previous testimony to this committee.

As a result of this experience, at my insistence the Republican State Chairmen have, ever since, been paid a salary.

* * *

I would like to make a general observation regarding my loans, guarantees and gifts.

I have always considered them as personal and confidential matters, and so treated them in providing information to the Federal investigators.

Publicity about the reasons for these gifts and loans could, it seemed to me, be embarrassing to the recipients, since mostly they involved intimate family problems.

When details about these loans and gifts were leaked to the press, I became deeply concerned as to the effect on the personal feelings of my friends and their families.

I have, wherever possible, tried to explain this to each individual whose name has been publicized.

Because I have lived with substantial means all my life, and have been taught to handle it in an open and generous way, it is more difficult for me than most to appreciate how my acts, which to me were meant as acts of helpfulness and friendship, could look to others.

I understand how they can look questionable in motive and might be so interpreted especially by those who wish to injure me and my friends, or to oppose my confirmation as Vice President.

The experiences of the past seven weeks have sharpened my appreciation of all of these considerations.

* * *

THE GOLDBERG BOOK

In regard to the financing of the book on Mr. Justice Goldberg, let's face it -- I made a mistake.

I made a hasty, ill-considered decision in the middle of a hectic campaign in 1970.

I have already apologized to Mr. Justice Goldberg, publicly and privately, and I want to take this opportunity to publicly apologize to my brother, Laurance, for having gotten him involved in an undertaking which is out of character for the family.

Jack Wells dropped into my office to tell me of a project he was promoting on behalf of a client of his, Victor Lasky, to write and publish a book on Mr. Justice Goldberg. He was looking for financial backers of a corporation he was setting up for this purpose.

I referred Jack Wells to my counsel, Donal O'Brien, and sent a message to my brother, Laurance, asking if he could help Jack Wells find some investors. That was the extent of my involvement with the project. Later, I saw a copy of the book, but I never really looked at it.

My brother, who wanted to be helpful, didn't have time to find other investors and therefore simply authorized his people to underwrite the project while other investors were being sought -- and that is the only connection my brother Laurance had with the project.

We never discussed the subject with each other.

No other investors in the corporation were forthcoming. Therefore, the office staff authorized payments based on my brother's underwriting.

My mistake was that I should have killed this project in the beginning when Jack Wells originally brought it to me.

Confusion has grown out of the fact that when I was asked by the FBI about the book, it was in the context of FBI interviews that began two days after I was nominated, took place in Washington, New York, and on an airplane to Maine, covered more than thirty years of public and private activities -- and my memory of the book or its origins was extremely sketchy.

There was no attempt whatsoever to cover up the facts.

I only recalled having had a brief conversation about the idea of such a book being written, but no memory of the details and no recollection of how it was financed.

I also told the FBI that I had never felt that campaign biographies cut much ice one way or the other.

I had no other recollection myself. I only learned of the facts piecemeal as they were leaked to the press.

The tragedy was that I responded to a press inquiry before I had obtained the full story of what actually happened -- and as a result, I was extremely unfair to my brother by what I said.

As for the book itself, considerable confusion might have been avoided if everyone had read it before issuing any statements about it. Certainly this is true of me -- I never read the book, but I accepted Mr. Justice Goldberg's view that it was derogatory -- and my friend, Mr. Justice Goldberg, who later stated that he had never read it but called it pornographic.

I have now read the book. Pornographic it is not. Scurrilous it is not. It is not anything that by any stretch of the imagination goes beyond the limits of the kind of political comment to which all of us in public life are subject from time to time -- and to which I have been subjected in full measure from other authors over a long period of time.

So an evaluation of this incident or any intelligent discussion of it has got to start with a reading of the Goldberg book.

I have provided a book for each member of the Committee and I respectfully express the hope that you will read it.

I think you will agree with me that it has got to be the most over-rated, misrepresented, innocuous, political dud ever perpetrated in a partisan political campaign.

* * *

FACTS ON RETURNS AND AUDITS

There is one other area I would like to mention -- the final outcome of the regular audit of my income and gift tax returns for the last five years.

1. In August, 1974, the Chairmen of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and the House Committee on the Judiciary requested copies of my Federal income and gift tax returns for the last seven years, and the FBI requested copies for the last ten years.

2. The IRS had completed audits of some of those returns, had others under audit, and had not yet begun audits of the remainder. The audit status was:

- Audits of my income tax returns for 1964 to 1968 and my gift tax returns for 1964 to 1971 were completed. These audits resulted in total additional income taxes of \$8,500 for five years and total additional gift taxes of \$87,248 for eight years.
- An audit of my income tax returns for 1969, 1970 and 1971 was then in process, the first two years under extensions of time I had granted.
- Audits of my income tax returns for 1972 and 1973 and my gift tax returns for 1972, 1973 and the first two quarters of 1974 had not been started.

3. Therefore, when I was asked to provide copies of all these returns, I stated that I would be happy to furnish copies of the audited returns but I preferred to defer furnishing copies of the others because they were subject to final audits by the IRS. I still believe it would have been better to defer furnishing copies of the unaudited returns until after the audits were completed.

4. Nevertheless, the two Committees and the FBI required me to furnish in August, 1974 copies of all the requested returns, and I did so only to conform to their requests.
5. Since August 20, 1974, I have upon request provided information on my taxes to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, the House Committee on the Judiciary, the FBI, the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, and the Internal Revenue Service. The information furnished includes:
 - Copies of my Federal income tax returns for the past seven years, provided to both Committees on a confidential basis.
 - Copies of my gift tax returns for nearly 18 years (1957 through September 30, 1974), provided to both Committees on a confidential basis.
 - Copies of my income tax returns for ten years and my gift tax returns for ten and one-half years, provided to the FBI, which was briefed on the status of IRS audits of those returns.
6. I also have made public a summary of my Federal income tax returns and tax payments to Federal, state and local governments for the past ten years, and I have made public a revision of that summary to show the results of the recent IRS audit, a description of the major IRS adjustments and the resulting additional taxes.

7. Following my nomination by the President on August 20, 1974, the IRS accelerated its audit of my income tax returns for the years 1969 to 1971 and expanded the audit to include all of the later income and gift tax returns which I had filed, as required, up to that time.
8. That intensive audit, covering my income tax returns for the five years from 1969 to 1973 and my gift tax returns for the two and one-half years from January 1, 1972 to June 30, 1974 was completed in five weeks.
9. During the audit, my books, and all other accounting records as requested, were made available to an IRS team of supervisors and numerous specialists. The IRS team checked my income and gift tax returns against my records and met with my tax advisors to present and discuss the adjustments they proposed to make in my returns.
10. At the conclusion of the audit on October 18, 1974, the IRS proposed certain adjustments and resulting additional taxes which I have agreed to pay.
11. The IRS adjustments to my income tax returns are shown in the attached schedule. These adjustments increased my income or reduced my deductions by a total of \$1,389,496 for the five years from 1969 to 1973, and resulted in total additional income taxes of \$820,718 (not including interest). There was no

negligence or fraud. Almost all of this additional income tax resulted from four adjustments involving these legal questions:

- What are "reasonable" investment expenses.
 - Whether the 20% or the 50% limitation on deductions applied to my contributions to finance the Presidential mission to Latin America, there being no challenge to the legitimacy of the deduction itself. The question was whether the contributions were made "to" the U.S. government or "for its use."
 - Whether my primitive art, which is on loan to a museum and pledged to the museum, is held for profit.
 - Whether an exchange gain upon repayment of bank loans in Venezuela is income or reduces the cost of the investment for which I borrowed the money.
12. The IRS adjustments to my gift tax returns increased my taxable gifts by a total of \$145,089 for the two and one-half years from January 1, 1972 to June 30, 1974, and resulted in total additional gift taxes of \$80,621 (not including interest). Over \$60,000 of the additional gift tax -- more than 75% of the total -- resulted from the retroactive application of IRS rulings published after the returns were filed.
13. With respect to the recent audit, I am advised by my tax counsel that:
- The issues raised involve legal questions on which tax attorneys and the IRS can and do differ.

- The treatment on my returns of the items in issue is in accordance with the law when the returns were filed, as pointed out to the IRS during the audit.
- Except for minor items, counsel believes the IRS adjustments should be further contested.
- The time limitations on the audit did not allow counsel to follow the normal course of extensively briefing and discussing the issues with the IRS auditors nor of taking appeals on the significant contested issues to higher levels within the IRS for discussion with personnel who have settlement authority.
- Under the circumstances, while I have agreed to pay the additional taxes resulting from all of the income tax and gift tax adjustments made by the IRS, I have the same rights as any other citizen to appeal any of the adjustments should I decide to do so.

(Text of conclusion to come)

SUMMARY OF
POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS
by Nelson A. Rockefeller
1957 - 1974

SUMMARY OF
POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS
by Nelson A. Rockefeller
1957 - 1974

1. Republican Party National Committees and Clubs	\$	85,199
2. New York State Republican Party, and local committees and clubs*		1,031,637
3. Out-of-State Republican committees and clubs*		20,820
4. Nelson Rockefeller Presidential campaigns		1,000,228
5. 1968 Romney Presidential campaign		200,000
6. 1972 Nixon Presidential campaign		62,025
7. Rockefeller Team New York State campaigns		80,599
8. Winthrop Rockefeller Team Arkansas campaigns		274,000
9. Congressional, state and local candidates in New York State*		411,966
10. Congressional, state and local candidates outside New York State		<u>98,900</u>
Total (18 years)		\$3,265,374

*(In Maine, Westchester County (N.Y.), and in New York City, in each of which locations he has a residence, Mr. Rockefeller gave a total of \$404,370 during this period to various committees and candidates; this sum is a part of, not in addition to, the sums embraced by categories 2, 3 and 9.)

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1957NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Committee	\$ 3,000
-------------------------------	----------

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	1,050
United Republican Finance Committee	2,000

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican County Committee	3,100
New York Young Republican Club	250
Westchester Republican County Committee	1,500
Republican City Campaign Committee for 1957, Finance Committee of	500

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR:

Javits, Jacob K. (N.Y., Congress)	1,500
Christenberry, Robt. (N.Y.C., Mayor)	1,000
Hildebrand, Richard	<u>100</u>

Total - 1957.....\$ 14,000

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1958NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Women's National Republican Club	\$ 75
----------------------------------	-------

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	3,000
United Republican Finance Committee	3,000
New York State Salute to Republicans	1,000

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican County Committee	1,000
New York Young Republican Club	250
Westchester Republican County Committee	1,000
Manhattan Republican Club, 13th AD	15
United Young Republican Club	100
Young Women's Republican Club of New York	50
Hawthorne, Elmsford & N. Tarrytown Republican Clubs	32

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Toote, Gloria	50
Ted Lamb, Arkansas	<u>3,000</u>

Total - 1958.....\$ 12,572

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1959NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Committee	\$ 3,100
Republican National Congressional Committee	3,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	1,250
Maine Republican Finance Committee	200
Kentucky Republican State Central Comm.	1,000

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican County Committee	2,000
New York Young Republican Club	300
Westchester Republican County Committee	3,000
Queens County Republican Comm.	3,000
Yonkers Federation, Republican of	20
McKinley Republican Club, Wm.	2,000

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Pierce, Samuel R. (N.Y.C., Judge)	3,000
Vetrano, Edw. (Greenburgh, Westchester, Supervisor)	100
Rockefeller (President - Citizens Information Committee)	3,000
Morton, Thruston (Ky., Senator)	<u>100</u>

Total - 1959.....\$ 25,070

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1960NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Committee	\$ 3,000
Republican National Congressional Committee	3,000
Republican National Senatorial Committee	3,000
Dinner With Ike	1,000
Republican Dinner Committee (Congressional candidates)	1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	3,000
New York State Republican Volunteers	25
United Republican Finance Committee	3,000
Maine Republican Finance Committee	2,000
Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania	1,000

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican Organization of the 9th Assembly District (NYC)	150
New York Young Republican Club	250
Westchester Republican County Committee	3,000
Central Republican Club, NYC	4
Mamaroneck Rep. Club	20
Mt. Pleasant Republican Comm.	15
New Rochelle Young Men & Women's Rep. Clubs	7
Rye Republican Organization	14
White Plains Young Men's Rep. Club	10
Two Party System, Little Rock, Ark.	1,000

1960 (cont.)INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Nixon-Lodge (Pres. and V. Pres.)	\$ 1,000
Nixon-Lodge (Pres. and V. Pres.)	2,000
Lindsay, John V. (N.Y.C., Congress)	1,000
Cooper, John S. (Ky., Senator)	1,000
Stender, John H. (Washington, Congress)	1,000
Tupper, Stanley R. (Maine, Congress)	1,000
Pierce, Samuel R. (N.Y.C., Judge)	<u>1,000</u>
Total - 1960.....	\$ 32,495

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1961NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Committee	\$ 3,000
Republican Dinner Committee - Wash. D.C. (Congressional candidates)	1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	53,000
United Republican Finance Committee	3,000
Maine Republican Finance Committee	500
New Jersey Republican Finance Committee	1,000
N.Y.S. Republican Volunteers	25

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican County Committee	1,000
Republican Organization of the 9th Assembly District (N.Y.C.)	150
New York Young Republican Club	615
Westchester Republican County Committee	1,000
United Young Republican Club	100
Mamaroneck Republican Club	20
Tarrytown Republican Village Committee	108
Republican Victory Committee (Mt. Kisco)	7
Mt. Pleasant Republican Committee	15
Young Men's & Women's Republican Club (New Rochelle)	7
Ossining Young Republicans	12
Rotterdam Men's Republican Club	7
Rye Republican Club	14
North Tarrytown, The Republican Party of	5
Wantagh Republican Club	8
Young Republican Clubs of Westchester	15
Young Men's Republican Club of White Plains	8
Republicans of Yonkers Federation	4
15th A.D. No. Republican Club Dinner	25
Young Republican Club - Brooklyn	20
Tribute to Seymour Halpern	10

1961 (cont.)INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Mitchell (New Jersey, Governor)	\$ 3,000
Republican Dinner for Good Government)N.Y.C., Mayor,	1,000
Republican Campaign Committee)City Counsel,	3,000
Lefkowitz, Fino & Gilhooley)Comptroller	3,000
Dorothy Bell Lawrence (N.Y. State, Assembly)	<u>1,000</u>
Total - 1961.....	\$ 75,675

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1962NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Committee	\$ 3,000
Republican National Congressional Committee	3,902
Republican National Senatorial Committee	3,000
Republican Dinner Committee - Wash. (Congressional candidates)	1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	363,000
RSVP Dinner Committee (Republican State Fund-Raising Dinner)	70,000
United Republican Finance Committee (N.Y.)	3,000
Maine Republican Finance Committee	1,000
New York State Republican Volunteers	25

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

National Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	100
New York Republican County Committee	3,000
Republican Organization of the 9th Assembly District (N.Y.C.)	150
New York Young Republican Club	3,265
Westchester Republican County Committee	1,000
Roosevelt Republican Club	10
Young Republican of Greenpoint	5
Queens County Republican Committee	17
Republican Clubs of East Greenbush	6
Republican Village Committee	3
Republican Women in Business & Professions	85
Greenburgh Republican Town Committee	15
Mamaroneck Republican Club	20
Young Men's & Women's Republican Club of New Rochelle	27
Tarrytown Republican Village	5
North Tarrytown Republican Party	5
Young Republican Clubs of Westchester County	15
Young Men's Republican Club of White Plains	8
Republicans of Yonkers Federation	6
Young Women's Republican Club	25

1962 (cont.)INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Committee for Richard S. Aldrich (City Council, N.Y.City)	\$ 3,000
Friends of Richard S. Aldrich & Jacob K. Javits	3,000
Citizens Committee for the Election of Richard S. Aldrich and MacNeill Mitchell (State Senate)	3,000
Independent Citizens Cmte. for the Election of Richard S. Aldrich and Joseph Pinto (Assembly, N.Y.)	3,000
Professional Men's Committee for the Election of Richard S. Aldrich & Louis J. Lefkowitz (Attorney General, N.Y.)	3,000
Javits, Jacob K. (N.Y., Senate)	1,000
John V. Lindsay (N.Y., Congress)	1,000
Reid, Ogden (N.Y., Congress)	2,000
Robinson, Gil (N.Y., Congress)	1,000
Tupper, Stanley R. (Maine, Congress)	1,000
Parker, John G.	1,000
Merrill, Allen W.	<u>3,000</u>
Total - 1962.....	\$480,694

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1963NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Committee	\$ 3,000
Republican Dinner Comm., Wash. D.C. (Congress)	1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	145,720
United Republican Finance Committee (New York)	3,000
New York Young Republican Club	775
Maine Republican Finance Committee	500
New York State Republican Victory Dinner	1,000
Minnesota Republican Dinner	100
New York State Republican Volunteers	3,000

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican County Committee	2,000
Westchester Republican County Committee	1,000
National Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	100
United San Francisco Republican Finance Committee	125
Republican Central Committee, L. A.	725

1963 (cont.)INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Information Committee for Rockefeller (President)	\$ 17,295
New Hampshire Rockefeller for President	5,000
Vermonters for Rockefeller	5,000
Washington State for Rockefeller	15,000
A Tribute to Ken Keating (N.Y., Senate)	1,000
Aldrich & Burns (N.Y.C., Council)	3,000
Judge Nunn, Louisville, Ky.	1,000
Rockefeller-Wilson, New York	3,000
Ed Brooke (Mass., Senate)	3,000
Arthur M. Richardson (N. Y., Congress)	2,000
Downtown Republican Club, Niagara Falls, N.Y.	8
Broome County Republican Committee, Binghamton	16
Young Women's Republican Club, N.Y.C.	25
Republican Club of East Greenbush, N.Y.	6
Mamaroneck Republican Club, New York	36
Young Men's & Women's Republican Club, New Rochelle	7
Young Republican Clubs of Westchester, New Rochelle	20
Young Men's Republican Club of White Plains	8
Republicans of Yonkers Federation, Yonkers	<u>15</u>
Total - 1963.....	\$217,481

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1964NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican Go-Party Gala Committee, Washington, D.C.	\$ 1,000
Women's National Republican Club	7

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

United Republican Finance Committee	3,000
New York Republican State Committee	5,250
New York State Republican Volunteers	3,000
New York State Republican Candidates Committee	3,000
Maine Republican Finance Committee	1,000
North Carolina Republican Party	10

1964 (cont.)LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Bay Ridge, Republican Club of	\$	10
East Greenbush, Republican Clubs of the town of		7
Eisenhower Republican Club		7
Mamaroneck Republican Club		24
Mount Pleasant Republican Club		20
New Rochelle, Young Men's & Women's Republican Club of		27
New York, Young Women's Club of		25
New York Republican County Committee		2,000
New York Young Republican Club		850
9th Assembly District Republican Organization		150
No. Amityville, Republican Club of		25
No. Tonawanda Women's Republican Club		6
Ossining Young Republican Club		14
Queens, Young Republican Club of		6
Tarrytown Republican Club		100
Triboro Republican Club		30
United Young Republican Club		75
Westchester Republican County Committee		1,000
Westchester, Young Republican Club of		12
White Plains, Young Men's Republican Club		5
Yonkers Federation, Republican Club of		143
Republican Women in Industry & Professions		200
National Republican Club (N.Y.C.)		50

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Bagley, William T. - California Legislature		500
Bennett, Edward J. - New Hampshire, Delegate-at-Large		1,250
Bergeron, Arthur J. " " "		1,250
Britschzi, Carl A. - California Legislature		500
Chamberlin, James C. - New Hampshire, Delegate-at-Large		1,250
Capadis, Nicholas G. " " "		1,250
Cox, Stan (West Virginia)		250
Green, S. William (New York, Assembly)		250
Flournoy, Houston, I. (California, legislature)		500
Halpern, Seymour - (N.Y., Congress)		1,000
Keating, various committees for Ken. (New York, Senator)		1,500
Lindsay, John V. (N. Y., Congress)		2,000
McCarthy, John F. (California, legislature)		500
Marks, Milton " "		500
Milias, George W. " "		500
Morse, Richard A., (New Hampshire, Delegate-at-Large)		1,250

1964 (cont.)INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR (cont.)

Parfitt, John W. (New Hampshire, Delegate-at-Large)	\$ 1,250
Osmers, Frank (New Jersey, Congress)	1,000
Quigley, Robert M. (New York, Assembly)	1,000
Reid, Ogden (New York, Congress)	1,000
Rockefeller, Information Committee, Nelson A.	100,000
Rockefeller - various other committees	1,053
Rockefeller - various committees for Winthrop	60,000
Scott, Friends of Hugh (Pa., Senate)	3,000
Shanley, Bernard J. " "	500
Thomas, Lowell, Jr. (Alaska, Congress)	1,000
Walker, Cora - (New York, Senate)	500
Veneman, John G. (California, legislature)	<u>500</u>
Total - 1964.....	\$206,106

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1965NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Committee	\$ 3,000
Republican Congressional Boosters' Club	1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

United Republican Finance Committee	3,000
New York Republican State Committee	303,120
Maine Republican Finance Committee	500
Republican Governors' Association	500

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Committee to Continue Good County Government (Westchester, N.Y.)	1,000
Committee for Effective Candidates (N.Y.C., John V. Lindsay, Mayor)	90,000
Eight South Republican Club	20
Greenpoint, Young Republicans of	20
Hudson, Republican Club of	10
MacArthur Republican Club, Douglas	20
Mamaroneck Republican Club	24
Mount Pleasant Republican Committee	20
Niagara Falls, Congressional Dinner	20
New York Republican Club	1,675
New York Republican County Committee	1,000
9th Assembly District Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	150
New York City, Young Women's Republican Club	75
North Tarrytown, the Republican Party of	250
Orangetown Republican Club	10
Oswego City Republican Committee	20
National Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	100
New Rochelle, Young Men's & Women's Republican Club	20
Westchester County, Young Republican Clubs of	18
Westchester Republican County Committee	2,000

1965 - (cont.)LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS - (cont.)

White Plains, Young Men's Republican Club	\$	7
Yonkers, Federation of Republican Clubs		34
Dirksen, Everett (Illinois, Senate)		1,000
Eisenhower Birthday Dinner		1,000
Michaelian, Edwin (Westchester, N.Y., County Exec.)		3,000
Michaelian, Edwin " "		3,000
Michaelian, Edwin " "		3,000
Rue, Milton (North Dakota)		10
		<hr/>
Total - 1965.....	\$	418,623

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1966NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Finance Committee	\$	3,000
Republican Congressional Boosters' Club		1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee		1,000
N.Y. State of Federation of Women's Republican Club		170
Winthrop Rockefeller for Governor of Arkansas:		
(Arkansas: Arkansas River Regional Campaign Committee		3,000
(" Arkansas Valley " " "		6,000
(" Delta " " "		5,000
(" Greer's Ferry " " "		6,000
(" Northeast Arkansas " " "		3,000
(" Northwest " " "		3,000
(" Ozark " " "		6,000
(" Southeast " " "		6,000
(" Southwest " " "		6,000
(" Southern " " "		3,000
(" Western " " "		6,000
(" White River " " "		6,000
Mass. Young Republican, Salute to Saltonstall		10
Maine Republican State & Finance Committee		500

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

58th Assembly District (N.Y.C.)		24
Flushing, New York, Republican County Committee of		5
Greenpoint-Williamsburg Young Republican Club (N.Y.C.)		15
Manhattan - East Republican Club		20
New York Young Republican Club		290
New York Republican County Committee		1,000
New York, Young Women's Republican Club of		50
Republican Women in Industry & Professions		200
72nd Assembly District Regular Republican Club (N.Y.C.)		150
60th Assembly District (N.Y.C.)		30
Uptown Republican Club (N.Y.C.)		25
Eastchester Republican Town Committee (Westchester Co.)		17

1966 - (cont.)LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS (cont.)

Mamaroneck Republican Club (Westchester Co.)	\$	44
Mount Kisco Village Republican Comm. (Westch. Co.)		15
Mount Pleasant Republican Committee	" "	20
North Tarrytown, Republican Party of	" "	250
North Tonawanda Women's Republican Club	" "	20
Ossining Young Republican Club	" "	25
Oswego City Republican Committee		20
Ramapo Women's Republican Club (Rockland Co.)		15
Rochester Republican Club		7
Suffolk, Italian-American Republican Club of		25
Valley Stream, Women's Regular Republican Club of		15
Westchester County, Young Republican Club of		26
Westchester Republican County Committee		2,000
Yonkers Republican Organizations		34

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Britt, Fotsie (Ark., Lt. Gov.)	6,000
Brooks, Ralph (Maine)	1,000
Flournoy, Hugh (Calif., State Comptroller)	1,000
Gregg, Hugh (N.H., Governor)	1,000
Guthrie, Mahlon G. (W. Va., Congress)	1,000
Halpern, Seymour (N.Y., Congress)	1,000
Hammerschmidt, John Paul (Ark., Congress)	6,000
Johnson, William R. (N.H., U.S. Senate)	1,000
Kingman (N.Y.C., Council)	250
Martin, Joe (Calif., Congress)	1,500
Morton, Thruston (Ky., U.S. Senate)	1,000
Reed (Maine, Governor)	1,000
Reid, Ogden R. (Westchester Co., N.Y., Congress)	1,000
Rockefeller Team (Nelson A.), Committee for the nomination of the	1,000
Rockefeller Team (Nelson A.), Friends of the	3,000
Rockefeller and Wilson, Friends of	3,000
Rockefeller, Winthrop; Rockefeller, Arkansas Women for (Ark., Governor)	6,000
Rockefeller Winthrop; " Young Arkansans for (Ark., Governor)	6,000
Rockefeller, Winthrop; Rockefeller for Governor of Ark.	6,000
Seymour, Whitney North - (N.Y., Senate)	500
Thomaston, Jerry (Ark., Attorney General)	6,000
Committee for Responsible Government (Westchester) (Frederic J. Martin, Jr. (N.Y., Congress))	<u>10,000</u>

Total - 1966.....\$133,272

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1967NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican Congressional Boosters' Club	\$	1,000
Republican National Committee		3,000
Republican Victory Gala (Washington, D. C.)		1,000

1967 - (cont.)STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York State Negro Republican Assembly	\$ 200
New York Republican State Committee	1,500
Maine Republican State & Finance Committee	500
George Romney, President:	
(Michigan: Associates for Good Government	6,000
(" Citizens for Good Government	6,000
(" Citizens For Progress	6,000
(" Citizens for Progress in Government	6,000
(" Citizens for Urban Progress	5,000
(" Committee for Domestic Affairs	6,000
(" Committee for International Affairs	6,000
(" Committee in Good Government	6,000
(" D. C. Committee of Good Government	6,000
(" Michigan for Good Government	6,000
(" Michigan for Progress	6,000

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

55th A.D. Regular Republican Scholarship Fund	100
New York Republican County Committee	1,500
New York Young Republican Club	575
New York Young Women's Republican Club	75
North Queens Young Republican Club	10
7th Ward Men's Republican Club	15
66th Assembly District Republican Club	150
26th A.D. Regular Republican Club	150
Eastchester Republican Town Committee (Westchester Co.)	20
Hudson Republican Club (Columbia Co.)	15
Mamaroneck Republican Club (Westchester Co.)	32
Nassau County Young Republican Club	25
Northern Delaware County Women's Republican Club	25
Oswego City Republican Committee	20
Westchester Republican County Committee	2,000
Westchester County, Young Republican Club of	12
Yonkers Republican Organizations	100

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Aldrich, Sam (N.Y.C., Congress)	3,000
Betts, James (Ohio, Congress)	6,000
Javits, Jacob (N.Y., U.S. Senate)	2,500
Marino, Ralph (Westchester Co., N.Y. Supervisor)	1,000
Marks, Milton (Calif., State Senate)	1,000
O'Rourke, James F. X. (Westchester Co.)	3,000
George Romney, President:	
(Romney "68"	6,000
(Romney Associates	6,000
(Romney Boosters Committee	6,000
(Romney, Citizens for	6,000
(Romney, Friends of	6,000
(Romney for Good Government	6,000
(Romney for Progress	6,000
(Romney, Michigan for	6,000
(Romney, Michigan Republicans for	6,000
(Romney for President	6,000
Seymour, Whitney North (New York, State Senate)	200
Wachtler, Sol (Nassau Co., Executive)	1,000

Total - 1967.....\$154,724

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1968NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican Congressional Committee	\$ 1,000
Republican Congressional Boosters Club	1,000
Republican Gala, Miami Beach, Florida (Rep. Conven.)	5,000
Republican National Committee	3,000
Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee	1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Committee	4,500
Republican Finance Committee	1,000
Maine Republican State & Finance Committee	500
George Romney, President:	
(Michigan: Associates for Good Government	6,000
(" Citizens for Good Government	6,000
(" Citizens for Progress & Good Government	6,000
(" Committee for Domestic Affairs	6,000
(" Committee for Good Government	6,000
(" Committee for International Affairs	6,000
(" D. C. Committee for Good Government	6,000
(" Michigan for Good Government	6,000
(" Michigan for Progress	6,000

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Bronx County Republican Club	100
Jamaica Political Action (Queens Co.)	20
New York Republican County Committee	1,500
New York Young Republican Club	325
New York Young Women's Republican Club	25
26th A.D. Regular Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	50
Committee of Concern (Conference of Negro Leaders in Cleveland, Ohio)	4,000
Nassau County Federation of Republican Women	5
Nassau County Young Republican Club	25
North Castle Women's Club (Westchester Co.)	15
Larchmont-Mamaroneck Young Republican Club	6
Oswego City Republican Committee	30
Polk County Republican Control Committee	10
Puerto Rican Republican Party	500
Ramapo Women's Republican Club (Rockland Co.)	15
Republican Leadership Dinner	1,000
Town of Rochester Republican Club	10
Virgin Island Republican Party	1,000
Volunteers Tie-Line (Schenectady, N.Y.)	5,000
Westchester Republican County Committee	2,500
Westchester County, Young Republican Club of	16
West Nyack Republican Club	10
Yonkers Republican Organizations	100

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Allison, Ed. (Ark., Republican Candidate)	5,000
Anderson, D.G. (Honolulu, Rep. Candidate)	1,000
Blaisdell for Congress (Honolulu)	1,000
Britt, Fotsie (Ark., Lt. Gov.)	6,000
Davis, Lynn (Ark.)	5,000
Dellenback for Congress Committee (Oregon)	1,000

1968 - (cont.)INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR (cont.)

Farmer, James (Brooklyn, Congress)	\$ 3,000
Findley, Paul (Illinois, Congress)	3,000
Halpern, Seymour (New York)	1,000
Heckler, Margaret (Mass., U.S. Congress)	1,000
Javits, Jacob (New York)(various committees)(Senate)	3,167
Kuchel (California, Senate) various committees	22,000
Mackay, Malcolm (Brooklyn, Assembly)	1,000
Mathias (Maryland, U.S. Senate)	1,000
Nakasian, Sam (Westchester Co., Congress)	1,000
Nixon, Victory '68 Dinner for Richard	3,000
Peabody, Malcolm (Mass., Lt. Gov.)	1,000
Reid, Ogden (Westchester Co., U.S. Congress)	1,000
Rockefeller for President	350,000
Rockefeller, Various other committees for Nelson A.	371,380
Rockefeller, Various committees for Winthrop (Ark., Gov.)	94,000
Romney, various committees for George (Pres.)	21,000
Saxbe Campaign Committee (Ohio, U.S. Senate)	3,000
Seymour, 7th Citizens Committee for Whitney North (Congress)	2,500
Thomasson, Jerry (Ark., Attorney General)	5,000
Troxell, Campaign for Leona (Ark.)	5,000
Tyler, Whitney (Ark.)	5,000
	<hr/>
Total - 1968.....	\$1,904,309

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1969NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican Victory Gala, Washington, D.C. (Rep. dinner)	\$ 3,000
--	----------

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

National Council of Concerned Afro-Americans (N.Y.)	100
New York Republican State Committee	3,000
Maine Republican State & Finance Committee	500

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Bronx County Republican Club (annual dinner)	100
Eleventh Ward Republican Club	75
Metropolitan Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	250
Mid-City Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	150
New York Republican County Committee	1,500
New York Young Republican Club	450
Thirty-second Assembly District Dinner (dance NYC)	25
Twenty-six A.D. Regular Republican Club (NYC)	75
Young Women's Republican Club	150
Inaugural Parade Committee - Washington	25
Mamaroneck Republican Club (Westchester)	20
Mt. Desert Republican Town Committee (Maine)	100
Mt. Pleasant Republican Town Committee (Westchester Co.)	25
North Castle Women's Club, North Castle	15

1969 - (cont.)LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS (cont.)

Oswego City Republican Committee	\$	24
Ramapo Women's Republican Club (Rockland Co.)		16
Westchester Republican County Committee		2,000
Yonkers Republican Organization		10
Young Republican Club of Rockland County		10
Women's Republican Club of Saratoga County		25

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Agnew, Spiro - reception committee		100
Hansen, Steve (N. Y., Assembly)		250
Heinz, Henry J. II (Pa., U.S. Congress)		1,000
Lindsay - various committees for mayor (N.Y.C., mayor)		44,000
McGrath, John W. (N.Y.C., City Council Committee)		6,000
Michaelian, Edwin (Westchester Co. Executive)		3,000
O'Rourke, James F.X. (Westchester Co.)		3,000
Perrotta, Fred (N.Y.C., Comptroller)		6,000
Rockefeller for President - various committees		60,000
Taber Campaign Committee, John (Pittsburgh, mayor)		500

Total - 1969.....\$135,495

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1970NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican Congressional Boosters Club	\$	1,000
Republican National Committee		3,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Maine Republican State & Finance Committee		500
--	--	-----

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Metropolitan Republican Club (N.Y.C.)		250
Mid-City Republican Club (N.Y.C.)		120
New York Republican County Committee		2,500
New York Young Republican Club		150
Young Women's Republican Club		25
Eastchester Republican Town Commission (Westchester Co.)		50
Hastings Young Republicans	" "	12
Larchmont-Mamaroneck Republican Club	" "	10
Mamaroneck Republican Club	" "	5
Mt. Pleasant Republican County Committee	" "	500
Mt. Pleasant Young Republican Club	" "	190
Niagara Falls Downtown Republican Club		100
Westchester Republican County Committee		3,000
Yonkers Republican Organization		100

1970 (cont.)INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Goodell - various committees for Charles (U.S. Senate)	\$ 38,000
Goodman, committee to re-elect Roy M. (N. Y. Senate)	500
Hansen, to re-elect Steven (N.Y., Assembly)	250
Kemp for Congress (Buffalo, Congress)	1,000
McCall, Tom (Oregon, Gov.)	1,000
Milliken (Michigan, Gov.)	1,000
Peyser, Peter (N. Y., Westchester Co., Congress)	2,000
Reid, Ogden R. (Westchester Co., Congress)	3,000
Rockefeller, various committees for Winthrop (Ark., Gov)	50,000
Scott, Hugh - (Pa., Senate)	1,000
Spaulding, Sy - (Mass. Senate)	<u>1,000</u>

Total - 1970.....\$110,262

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1971STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Dinner Committee	\$ 3,000
Maine Republican State & Finance Committee	500

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Council of Elected Black Democrats of N. Y.	500
New York Republican County Committee	1,500
Young Women's Republican Club of N. Y. C.	25
Catskill, Town of - Republican Club (Delaware Co.)	25
Mt. Pleasant Republican Club (Westchester Co.)	380
Ramapo Women's Republican Club (Rockland Co.)	15
Republican Finance Committee of Westchester Co.	500
Westchester Republican County Committee	1,500

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Chapman, Bruce (Seattle, Wash., Council)	250
Heinz, John, (Pa., Congress)	500
Lewalski, Frank (Erie Co., Highway Comm.)	20
Nixon Campaign Committee	2,500
Salute to the President Committee	2,500
Proskin, Campaign fund for Arnold (Albany, Dist. Att.)	100
Regan, Campaign Committee for Edward V., (Buffalo, Erie Co. Executive)	1,000
Smylie, Robert E. (Boise, Idaho, Senate)	1,000
Spano, Leonard (N.Y. Co. legislature)	10
Vergari, Carl (Westchester Co., Dis. Att.)	<u>4,639</u>

Total - 1971..... \$ 20,464

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1972NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

National Women's Political Caucus	\$ 1,250
Republican Convention Gala '72	1,000
Senate House Majority Dinner	2,000
Victory '72 Dinner Committee - Nixon	2,000
Young Republican National Federation	175

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Dinner Committee	3,000
Nixon, Richard M. - various committees in Delaware:	23,000
Good Government League of Delaware	
Dedicated Citizens of Delaware	
Delaware Committee for Civic Betterment	
United Citizens of Delaware for Good Government	
Delaware Civics League	
Delaware Citizens for Responsible Government	
Good Citizens League of Delaware	
United Citizens of Delaware for a Prosperous America	

1972 (Cont.)STATE ORGANIZATIONS (cont.)

Nixon, Richard M. - various committees in Illinois:	\$ 27,000
Good Government League of Illinois	
Dedicated Citizens of Illinois	
Illinois Committee for Civic Betterment	
United Citizens of Illinois for Good Government	
Illinois Civics League	
Illinois Citizens for Responsible Government	
Good Citizens League of Illinois	
United Citizens of Illinois for a Prosperous America	
Citizens of Illinois in Support of Good Government	

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Bronx United Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	100
Metropolitan Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	100
New York Republican County Committee	1,500
Mamaroneck Republican Club (Westchester Co.)	51
Mt. Pleasant Republican Finance Committee (Westchester Co.)	450
North Tarrytown Republican Committee	" " 500
Ossining Republican Town Committee	" " 25
Westchester Republican County Committee	" " 2,000

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Boyd for Congress, Joseph (New York, Congress)	5,000
Chaffee, John, various committees (Senate)	5,500
Cohen for Congress Committee (Maine, Congress)	500
Diamond, William (N.Y., 66th Assembly)	500
Gabrielli, Dominick (N.Y., Court of Appeals)	1,000
Jones, Hugh R. (N.Y., Court of Appeals)	1,000
Langley, Jane Pickens - (N.Y., Congress)	1,000
Nixon, Richard, various committees	1,000
Peyser, Peter, various committees (Westchester Co.)	11,000
Phalen, John (Buffalo, Senate)	3,000
Peterson, Russell (Del., Gov.)	2,000
Ramos, Manuel (N.Y.C., Congress)	3,000
Wachtler, Sol (N.Y., Court of Appeals)	<u>1,000</u>

Total - 1972.....\$100,401

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1973NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican National Finance Committee	\$ 2,000
Women's National Republican Club	90

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Dinner Committee	3,000
Maine Republican Committee	500

1973 (cont.)LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Metropolitan Republican Club (N.Y.C.)	\$ 200
New York Republican County Committee	1,500
Mt. Pleasant Republican Club (Westchester Co.)	500
Greenburg Republican Town Committee (Westchester Co.)	1,000
North Tarrytown Republican Committee (Westchester Co.)	200
Westchester Republican County Committee	4,750

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Breitel, Committee to Reelect Judge Charles D. (N.Y. Court of Appeals)	3,000
Brady, Ed., Friends of Committee (Westchester Co., Supervisor)	800
Cohen Victory '72, Victory '74 Committee (Maine, Congress)	1,000
Cohen for Congress Committee	100
Crosbie Reelection Committee (Westchester Co., Legislature)	1,000
Diamond Campaign Committee (N.Y.C. Council)	100
Dole, Robert (Kansas, Senate)	250
Vetrano, Ed (Westchester Co., County Executive)	3,000
Vetrano, Ed (Westchester Co., County Executive)	200
Galvin Campaign Committee (N.Y.C. Council)	1,000
Logan, Helen D. (Westchester Co., Town Clerk)	100
Marchi, Campaign Committee (N.Y.C., Mayor)	<u>5,000</u>
Total - 1973.....	\$ 29,290

POLITICAL GIFTS - 1974NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Republican Senate House Dinner, Washington, D.C.	\$ 1,000
Republican National Associates (Rep. Nat'l Finance Committee)	3,000
Congressional Black Caucus Dinner, Washington, D.C.	1,000

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

New York Republican State Dinner Committee, N.Y., N.Y.	3,000
New York Republican Senate Campaign Committee, N.Y., N.Y.	6,000
New York Republican Assembly Campaign Committee, N.Y., N.Y.	6,000
Friends of the Rockefeller Team	599.61
Arkansas State Republican Committee, Little Rock, Ark.	1,000
Maine Republican Committee, Me.	1,000
Washington State Republican Central Committee	3,000

1974 (cont.)LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Metropolitan Republican Club, N.Y., N.Y.	\$ 100
New York Republican County Committee, Inc., N.Y., N.Y.	1,500
The Club, Syracuse, N.Y. (Rep. Onondaga Co. Finance Committee)	250
Ossining Republican Town Committee, Ossining, N.Y.	12
Westchester Republican County Committee, White Plains, N. Y.	2,000

INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGNS - COMMITTEES FOR

Dominick, Peter (Colorado, Senate)	500
Flournoy for Governor Committee (Los Angeles)	5,000
Citizens Committee for Bernard G. Gordon (Westchester, Senate)	100
Gradison, Bill (Ohio, sp. election, Congress)	250
Committee to Reelect Jacob Javits (N.Y. Senate)	5,000
Javits Finance Committee (N.Y., Senate)	5,000
Friends of Senator Javits (N.Y., Senate)	5,000
Lewisohn Campaign Committee (N.Y.C. Council)	100
Myers, Clay (Oregon, Gov.)	1,000
Peyser, Peter (Westchester Co., Congress) various committees	3,000
Peyser, Peter, various committees	2,000
Citizens for Tom Petri (Wisc., Senate)	500
Stephens Campaign Committee (Westchester Co., Congress)	1,000
Peter Sullivan Campaign Committee (N.Y., Westchester Co., Assembly)	500
Friends to Reelect District Attorney Carl Vergari Committee (Westchester Co., Dist. Att.)	3,000
Cohen Victory 72, Victory 74 Committee (Maine, Congress)	500
*Cohen Victory 72, Victory 74 Committee (Maine, Congress)	500
Wilson, Bob (Calif., Congress)	100
Wilson, Malcolm (N.Y., Governor)	34,000
Young, Milt (North Dakota, Senate)	1,000
	<hr/>
Total - 1974.....	\$ 97,511.61
	<hr/>
	-500.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 97,011.61

*later returned 9/11/74