

The Weather

Today—Partly cloudy, high in mid 70s, low in low to mid 50s. Chance of rain is 30 per cent. 10 per cent tonight. Wednesday—Sunny, high in mid 70s. Yesterday—3 p.m. Air Index: 25; Temp. range: 78-47. Details on A.24.

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Rocky Bars Race

ington Post

With Ford

Tells President He Will Complete Appointed Term

By Jules Witcover

Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Rockefeller, pilloried from the right within his own Republican Party and ignored on major policy decisions within the Ford administration, yesterday suddenly withdrew his name from consideration as President Ford's running mate next year.

The Vice President, in a letter he handed personally to President Ford at the White House about 10:30 a.m., gave no reason for his unexpected move, except to say he was acting now "for your own planning" on considering a 1976 vice presidential replacement.

But the timing of the announcement, coinciding with the President's shake-up of his administration's national security leadership, led inevitably to speculation that the two were related.

A close New York political associate of Rockefeller, Rep. Barber B. Conable (R-N.Y.), said he thought the apparent downgrading of the Vice President's old friend, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, may have been "the last straw" triggering Rockefeller's action. But Conable said he had not discussed the matter with the Vice President.

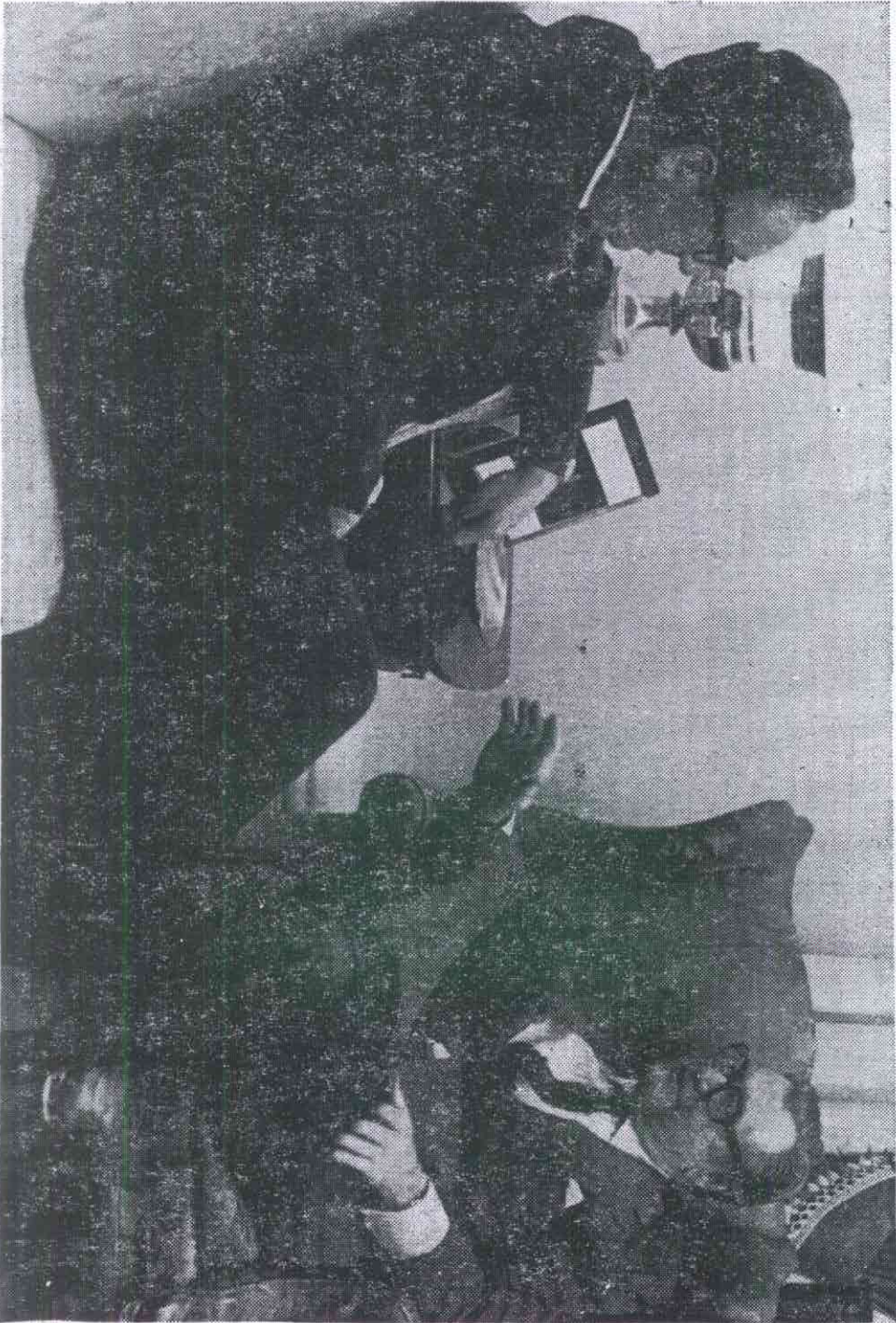
Sources within the administration said that the Vice President was not consulted in advance about any aspects of the national security shake-up. Shortly after Rockefeller informed Mr. Ford of his decision yesterday, Kissinger had lunch with the Vice President in Rockefeller's office, suite, but there was no report on their conversation.

Another close associate, Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.), said he believed the Vice President had acted because he "just couldn't take" the administration's increasingly conservative policies, and particularly Mr. Ford's adamant posture against bailing out near-bankrupt New York City. That position was one of the few Rockefeller had publicly disagreed with. Javits said he talked with the Vice President after his decision to withdraw from 1976 vice presidential consideration, but they did not discuss why he had so decided.

Rockefeller assured the President he will stay on as Vice President for the rest of his appointed term, to January, 1977, and to "assist in any way I can in carrying on to cope with the problems that confront the nation" until then.

But Rockefeller's role in the administration, always less than he had hoped and according to associates a cause of increasing chagrin to him, seems certain to be even further diminished as a result of his decision.

Both the White House and Rockefeller's office emphasized that the letter was sent on the Vice President's initiative, but White House press secretary Ron Nessen said Mr. Ford and Rockefeller had discussed the matter



Vice President Rockefeller chats with Secretary of State Kissinger shortly after notifying President Ford of decision to withdraw.

White House Photo via United Press International

directly a couple of days earlier.

Although Rockefeller made no mention of the pressure for his removal from the 1976 Republican ticket by party conservatives, such pressure has been a continuing political reality not only for the Vice President himself but for the President striving to hold his party together and withstand a well-organized challenge to his own nomination.

For most of this year, Rockefeller has been the target of Republican conservatives who wanted at first to replace him in 1976 with somebody like former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

The emergence of Reagan as a prospective challenger to Mr. Ford— he is expected to declare his candidacy

See ROCKEFELLER, A18, Col. 1

Rockefeller Withdraws Fro

ROCKEFELLER, From A1

later this month—led to an intensified wooing of party conservatives, with the President's campaign manager, Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, openly volunteering that Rockefeller's presence on the 1976 ticket would make it harder to nominate Mr. Ford.

Through last summer, Callaway's candor about Rockefeller as a negative factor in the President's prospects was viewed widely as a thinly veiled enticement to Reagan to abandon thoughts of running for President and accept the second spot to Mr. Ford next year.

But through it all, Reagan's political lieutenants have pressed forward undeterred by Rockefeller's fate. Reagan, in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., yesterday, said he was "astounded" at the Vice President's decision and added immediately that he was still not interested in replacing him on the ticket.

"Frankly, my own feeling is no, I'm not interested," Reagan said. "I have another decision to make."

Callaway said Rockefeller's decision came as a "complete surprise" to him. "As a practical political matter, this will stimulate interest in the President's campaign and in the Republican National Convention next August."

Other Republicans noted that Rockefeller's removal from consideration in 1976 could bring strength to Mr. Ford merely by the fact that other influential politicians would back the President in the hope that such action might bring them the vice presidential nomination.

Reagan himself, in Florida, said he thought Rockefeller's decision "will probably open an appeal to a number of conservative Republicans who have expressed dissatisfaction with the other half of the ticket (Rockefeller). So in that way it should help President Ford."

But a Reagan aide minimized the impact. "They're going to find there wasn't as much to all this get-Rocky talk as they thought," he said. "Rocky was an excuse (for conservatives) for not supporting the President, not a fact."

Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.), long an intraparty

foe of Rockefeller's, said the Vice President phoned him Sunday night to break the news. "I just said to him, 'Maybe you should run for President,'" Goldwater reported.

Nessen, asked whether he thought Rockefeller's decision indicated the Vice President might try for the 1976 presidential nomination himself, said: "I didn't get the feeling of anything like that."

Goldwater said he believed Rockefeller "felt that by his action he could relieve President Ford of some of the political pressures that had resulted from his possible inclusion on the Republican ticket next year. His action was a commendable recognition of today's political realities."

Among New York Republicans especially, the belief was strong that the Vice President's differences with Mr. Ford over the New York City crisis was, as Javits suggested, decisive. A source described as close to the Rockefeller family told the Associated Press:

"Nelson felt that all the things he helped to build here would be in jeopardy because of Ford's policy toward New York. You can see the monumental impact of New York City's crisis . . . when it impelled Nelson to give up something he really wanted."

Rockefeller's interest in the vice presidency came after three unsuccessful tries for the GOP presidential nomination, in 1960, 1964 and 1968, during which he often turned aside speculation that he accept the vice presidency by saying he was "not built to be stand-by material."

But when Gerald Ford became President, Rockefeller — then having resigned as governor of New York after 15 years in office to prepare to run himself in 1976 — made his availability known at once. He endured long congressional confirmation hearings and once sworn in often publicly expressed satisfaction in his role.

But like most Vice Presidents before him, he soon found that he was not as influential in administration decision-making as he had hoped. He was credited with authorship of the administration's proposal for a new Energy Independence Agency and took pride in that effort, but it is expected to be rejected by Congress.

Changes In Aides Listed

By Laurence Stern

Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford, in the first major personnel shake-up of his administration, confirmed last night that he is replacing Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, Central Intelligence Agency Director William E. Colby and clipping the national security powers of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

They will be succeeded by the President's aide and confidant Donald Rumsfeld in the Defense position, U.S. envoy to Peking George Bush as CIA director, Mr. Ford said in a televised news conference. Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft was moved up to replace Kissinger as special assistant for national security affairs.

The President's public announcement of the changes followed an extraordinary two days of rumors and leaks about the changes.

In addition to the above announcements Mr. Ford said he was naming Elliot L. Richardson, U.S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James's to succeed Commerce Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton. He will also replace Rumsfeld with Richard Cheney, now the White House deputy chief of staff.

"These are my guys and the ones I wanted and I hope the confirmation will be quick in the United States Senate," the President said.

"I did it totally on my own," the President insisted. "It was my decision. I fitted the pieces together and they fitted perfectly."

But the President repeatedly ducked the question of what differences

existed between himself and Secretary Schlesinger to justify replacing him 15 months into the administration and almost exactly a year before the election.

"There were no basic differences," the President said at one point. "I wanted a team that I selected. As President I wanted them on an affirmative basis."

Even before last night's announcement it was widely speculated that Schlesinger, who disagreed with Kissinger on fundamental issues of detente and strategic arms policy, was let go at the insistence of the Secretary of State.



ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON
...choice for Commerce



ROGERS C. B. MORTON
...leaving Cabinet

Text of Rockefeller Letter to Ford

Dear Mr. President:

The time is virtually at hand when you will be firming up your program for the residential primaries, the Republican National Convention and the presidential campaign of 1976. Involving, as this must, difficult calculations, considerations and decisions, it will clearly help you in this task if the range of options is simplified at the earliest time.

As I have told you and the American people, I have been honored by your nomination of me as vice president and by the approval of the Congress. In association with you in the

months since that time, I have come to have the highest regard for your dedication to the presidency and for your courage, resolution and forthrightness. Your friendship and that of Mrs. Ford mean much to Mrs. Rockefeller and myself.

My acceptance of the vice presidency, as you know, was based upon my concern to help restore national unity and confidence after the shattering experience of Watergate. Working under your leadership toward this goal has been challenging and rewarding as our basic institutions are surmounting

our unprecedented crises and the nation is returning to its regular elective presidential pattern next year.

Regarding next year and my own situation, I have made it clear to you and to the public that I was not a candidate for the vice presidency; that no one realistically can be such, and that the choice of a vice presidential running mate is, and must be, up to the presidential candidate to recommend to a national party convention.

After much thought, I have decided further that I do not wish my name to enter into

your consideration for the upcoming 8 Republican vice presidential nominee.

I wish you to know this now for your own planning. I shall, of course, continue to serve as Vice President to discharge my constitutional obligations and to assist in every way I can in carrying on to cope with the problems that confront the nation until the installation once again of a President and Vice President duly elected by the people of this great republic.

—Sincerely yours,

—Nelson A. Rockefeller

NOVEMBER 4, 1975

"... AS WE MAKE OUR APPROACH TO 1976, YOU MAY NOTICE A LITTLE TURBULENCE ..."



*f-Post *** 11-4-75*

Rumsfeld could be VP choice

WASHINGTON (AP) — Donald H. Rumsfeld's expected transfer from right hand of President Ford to head of the Department of Defense presents him with his sixth administration job in six years.

And with Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller bowing out as a potential Ford running mate in 1976, a seventh job could be on the horizon for the 43-year-old former Illinois congressman, who is frequently considered as a future national political figure.

The Ford-Rumsfeld alliance began in 1965 when Rumsfeld backed Ford in his successful effort to take over the House Republican leadership from Charles Halleck.

Rumsfeld had first won election to Congress in 1962 as a 29-year-old Princeton graduate waging a longshot campaign on a shoestring.

As a bright, hard worker, he chafed under the seniority system of the House and was available for another job in 1969.

Then-President Richard M. Nixon put him in charge of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the days before the Republican White House moved to disassemble the Democratic-fathered antipoverty agency.

Rumsfeld next moved to the White House as a counselor to Nixon briefly before he became director of the Cost of Living Council during Phase II of price controls.

Perhaps his most timely move came in December 1972. Rumsfeld moved to Brussels as the U.S. ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, far from the wreckage of careers inundated by Watergate.

Rumsfeld was one of the first people summoned to Ford's aid when it became apparent the country would have a new President. He flew to Washington to assist in transition policy and mechanics.

Despite interim disavowals, Rumsfeld was back to stay for good barely a month after Ford took office.

Joseph Kraft

The Crumbling Administration

By chopping and changing top national security advisers, President Ford has tried to reassert personal authority over his crumbling administration. But in the process he stimulated new doubts as to whether he has the brains to be President.

For the Sunday massacre advertised disarray in a way that makes Mr. Ford easier meat for his political foes in both parties. Hence the logic of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller's decision to take himself out of the running for 1976.

The sweeping change on Sunday had its point of departure in three glaring exceptions to the "let's all be buddies" spirit which is Mr. Ford's idea of running an administration. First there was the problem of a seemingly omnipotent Secretary of State.

The symbol of Dr. Kissinger's power was his unprecedented double role as Secretary of State and head of the National Security Council. Resentment of his power inside the government was so great that two of the best men in the administration—Assistant Secretary of Defense Robert Ellsworth and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Charles Cooper—have quietly resigned their jobs because they couldn't even get a hearing on issues where they differed with Kissinger. Some of the President's closest aides, moreover, believed that Kissinger tended to overshadow the President in the eyes of the public.

The second problem was Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, a man of rugged honesty who probably takes defense more seriously than any of his predecessors. Mr. Schlesinger was repeatedly at odds with Dr. Kissinger on matters of substance that were leaked to the press and thus became presidential headaches.

For example, Mr. Schlesinger complicated conclusion of another arms control deal with Russia by insisting that the new deal include provisions on weapons not covered in the President's first discussion of the matter with Russia's leader Leonid Brezhnev a year ago. Mr.



James Schlesinger



William Colby

Schlesinger also objected vigorously to profligate gifts of American weapons to other countries in order to achieve the appearance of diplomatic success.

At a time when the President was pin-

ning his electoral hopes on budgetary stringency, furthermore, Mr. Schlesinger was fighting vigorously against cuts in the defense budget. Last week, he told Gen. Brent Scowcroft, then Dr. Kissinger's deputy at the National Security Council, that he would resign rather than let projected budgetary cuts interfere with the integrity of the defense program.

Finally there was the sad case of William Colby, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Colby, genuinely shocked by disclosures of past CIA horrors, broke the cardinal rule of the intelligence game.

Rather than take the blame chin out, he came clean. He thus kept passing to Mr. Ford hot potatoes the President couldn't, and still can't, handle—including notably the stories of assassination plots.

Superficially Mr. Ford got all these problems out of his hair by the Sunday massacre. He took Dr. Kissinger down a notch by replacing him as head of the NSC with his deputy, Gen. Scowcroft. He is putting two old congressional buddies—Donald Rumsfeld of the White House staff and Ambassador to China George Bush, respectively—at the troublesome Pentagon and CIA jobs.

But, in fact, Gen. Scowcroft is so much the loyal No. 2 that Dr. Kissinger's power will only be clipped slightly. It remains to be seen—to put it kindly—whether Messrs. Rumsfeld and Bush have the weight to manage the Pentagon and the CIA during times of stress.

The seemingly arbitrary decisions, moreover, betray a President who seems not to know what he's doing. The Republican right has been outraged by the firing of Mr. Schlesinger, whom they admire, and the mere slap on the wrist to Mr. Kissinger, whom they suspect. With the President's own party thus keenly divided, the Democrats will be that much more eager to move in for the kill next year. In those circumstances Vice President Rockefeller does himself a favor by getting out of the murderous infighting which is now getting under way.

Field Enterprises, Inc.

Decline of an Iconoclast

By Stephen Isaacs

Washington Post Staff Writer

James Rodney

Schlesinger's Washington career advanced almost as rapidly as it has now declined.

Considering himself a "Taft Republican," he arrived in Washington from the academic world with the victory of Richard M. Nixon in 1968.

His first Washington job was as assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget, where he used his years of academic research into the economics of national defense to slash the Pentagon's budget, winning him no points with then-Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird.

In that job, Schlesinger is considered to have personally written the manned orbiting laboratory program out of the Air Force budget.

His iconoclasm and tough-minded intellect again came to the attention of President Nixon, who named him to head the Atomic Energy Commission in 1971.

Schlesinger tried to convert the AEC from its concentration on weapons to a licensing agency and gained favorable attention from Mr. Nixon when he, his wife and two of their eight children went to Amchitka Island to demonstrate the safety of a controversial underground nuclear explosion there.

Mr. Nixon chose Schlesinger to replace Richard M. Helms as director of the Central Intelligence Agency on Feb. 2, 1973. Schlesinger promptly



Associated Press

Former Defense chief Schlesinger: star rose rapidly.

started removing employees whom he thought had been in their government's spy service too long, reportedly cutting 1,200 from the CIA's 18,000-member staff.

Four months later, the defense job became vacant when Richard G. Kleindienst left as Attorney General and Nixon named then-Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson to replace him.

Nixon's first choice for the defense job was Richardson's deputy, David Packard, who declined and recommended Schlesinger. (Packard resigned late last week as finance chairman for

graduated with highest honors. They did not know each other then.

Schlesinger went on to get master's and doctoral degrees in economics from Harvard, but felt it was too much a knee-jerk liberal institution, and took a teaching job at the University of Virginia, where he taught economics for eight years.

His fascination with the economics of defense led him to write "The Political Economy of National Security," published in 1960.

The book attracted the Rand Institute, a defense think-tank, which hired him in 1963. Schlesinger stayed there until the Republicans won the White House in the 1968 election.

Schlesinger is a notoriously ruffled dresser, usually wearing scuffed shoes and sagging socks, who professorially puffs on his pipe and talks in the phrases of academia.

Schlesinger, 46, met his wife, Rachel, while both were studying at Harvard. They live with their children in a modest house in Arlington.

President Ford's election campaign committee.)

Schlesinger and his high-level antagonist, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, were in the class of 1950 at Harvard College, where they

Rumsfeld: Silent Architect

Chief of Staff Seen as Force Behind Shake-up

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

White House chief of staff Donald Rumsfeld, considered the master maneuverer of the Ford administration, was widely credited yesterday as being the silent architect of the President's dramatic Cabinet shake-up.

The soft-spoken, hard-driving former Illinois congressman emerged as the big winner from the Byzantine battle for power that went on behind the closed doors of the supposedly open Ford administration.

Not only did Rumsfeld wind up with an important Cabinet post and equal access with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to President Ford, but he also left behind him in the White House as chief of staff his deputy, Richard B. Cheney, who is considered highly capable and totally loyal to Rumsfeld.

While Kissinger retains enormous power and prestige within the inner councils of the administration, it was clearly Rumsfeld who gained power yesterday and Kissinger who lost.

Rumsfeld left no fingerprints on any of his internal recommendations that helped produce the shake-up within the White House.

He was not even around Sunday when Mr. Ford fired Secretary of Defense

James R. Schlesinger and Central Intelligence Agency Director William E. Colby. Instead, Rumsfeld took a rare day off and went to the Washington Redskins football game.

The official White House position, stated by Rumsfeld and others, was that Mr. Ford had initiated the changes and that he desired to put his own stamp on the foreign policies of his administration after 14 months in office.

Privately, however, a variety of administration officials were saying that Rumsfeld accomplished the dual purpose of diminishing Kissinger's authority and finding a job for himself at the same time.

He also presumably made himself available for the vice presidential vacancy that was created yesterday by the withdrawal of Nelson Rockefeller from the 1976 GOP ticket.

The precise reasons for the timing of the President's decision were not known. But it was known that Schlesinger argued vigorously in behalf of the Pentagon's request for \$97.8 billion in new obligational defense authority at a Saturday budget conference.

When Mr. Ford said that Congress will vote a lower budget, Schlesinger said he might not be able to support a lower figure and left the White House. The next day he was fired by Mr. Ford.

The President had held separate and private discussions during the past two weeks with Rumsfeld and Kissinger to discuss changes in Cabinet assignments relating to foreign policy. He did not discuss his plans with Schlesinger, who has clashed repeatedly with Kissinger on strategic nuclear policy and detente policy.

In fact, Mr. Ford was described as ready to get rid of Schlesinger months ago. A Senate source recalls that Mr. Ford quizzed Schlesinger sharply at National Security Council meetings over Schlesinger's optimistic estimates of congressional action on the defense budget.

On Oct. 21, Schlesinger called a news conference—his first in four months—to denounce "deep, savage, arbitrary cuts" that were made in the defense budget by the House Appropriations Committee.

This attack angered committee Chairman George H. Mahon (D-Tex.), who is a friend of the President's and who played golf with him a couple of days later.

Yesterday, Mahon took the news of Schlesinger's firing with equanimity and said, in words similar to those used by many White House officials:

"An administration has to speak with

See SHAKE-UP, A16, Col. 1



JAMES R. SCHLESINGER
...opposed detente



DONALD RUMSFELD
...power game "winner"

SHAKE-UP, From A1

one voice...I'm not greatly surprised. They (Schlesinger and Colby) were not Ford's men. Every President has a right to pick his own people."

Mr. Ford has a reputation of finding it difficult to fire anyone, a tendency that drew critical attention in the first months of his presidency when he kept Nixon holdovers far longer than expected.

In the case of Schlesinger and Colby, it was clearly the President's intention not to arbitrarily dismiss them but instead to offer them substantive appointments, which would be announced as transfers rather than firings.

Colby was offered the post of ambassador to NATO and Schlesinger reportedly was to have become head of the Export-Import Bank. Both men turned down the offers in conversations with Mr. Ford before he flew to Jacksonville, Fla., Sunday morning.

According to well-placed White House sources, the Rockefeller letter announcing he did not wish to be the vice presidential nominee next year was scheduled for announcement yesterday morning. The announcement of the Cabinet shake-up was scheduled for Wednesday.

"But leaking of the Cabinet shake-up screwed up the timing," said one high White House official, who added that Mr. Ford had no choice but to announce the Cabinet changes last night.

The President knew that the Rockefeller letter was coming. White House press secretary Ron Nessen said the two men had discussed it late last week.

But it was possible that Rockefeller and Mr. Ford also had talked about it Oct. 22, when a scheduled 15-minute meeting between the two lasted for more than an hour.

In political appearances in the Midwest in the two days after this meeting, Rockefeller repeatedly left the impression it didn't matter greatly to him whether he was on the ticket in 1976.

He said in an interview with The Washington Post at the end of the trip that he agreed completely with Mr. Ford that the decision should be made at the Republican convention next August.

The withdrawal of Rockefeller was widely viewed by White House officials as a plus for Mr. Ford in his impending battle with Ronald Reagan for the GOP presidential nomination.

For this reason, it was considered desirable to release the news of Rockefeller's withdrawal before the firing of Schlesinger, who is popular with conservatives for his advocacy of big defense budgets.

But the leaking of the Schlesinger firing on Sunday ruined this timetable and conceivably may have hurt Mr. Ford more with the conservatives than the Rockefeller withdrawal will help him.

"I think it's a sop to keep us from raising hell," said one prominent conservative officeholder. "But I'm still going to raise hell because this is more important than politics."

A private adviser to the President believes that Mr. Ford's decision to make the Cabinet changes crystallized during the three days of Oct. 20-22 when he was confined to his residence with a severe cold.

"It may just be that while the President had a cold that slowed him down for 15 minutes it gave him time to think about the stresses and strains in the administration," this adviser said. "There's never an ideal time."

Mr. Ford's most controversial and difficult decisions, most notably the Nixon pardon, were closely held and discussed with only a few persons before announcement.

This policy of the President's of avoiding wide discussions of his planned policy changes gives an enormous advantage to those few aides who do know about them—and it was the general opinion in the White House that Rumsfeld was the chief beneficiary of this.

Even the nomination of George Bush as CIA director could conceivably benefit Rumsfeld if Mr. Ford seeks a vice president from within his administration.

The CIA directorship probably would be a political liability for Bush, who was second choice for vice president at the time Mr. Ford chose Rockefeller. And by taking over as director before the



Associated Press

Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, NSC deputy director, talks with Kissinger.

congressional investigations of the CIA are completed, Bush conceivably could be put in the position of having to defend past excesses of the intelligence agency.

But there were other substantive reasons for appointing Bush, presently U.S. envoy to Peking, who earned the

admiration of Mr. Ford for the job he did as chairman of the Republican National Committee from late 1972 until September, 1974.

"What is needed is an outside guy, nationally known, who can work with Congress," said a high White House of-

official. "You've got to have support on the Hill."

The big benefit for Rumsfeld in the Cabinet shake-up is the equal access he will enjoy with Kissinger on foreign policy matters.

Ever since Mr. Ford has become President, he has spent an hour each day with Kissinger in private conversation, a personal access enjoyed by no one else in the administration.

The President also has spent 20 minutes each day with Brent Scowcroft, Kissinger's deputy who will become staff director of the National Security Council in Kissinger's place.

Both of these daily private meetings will be eliminated.

Instead, as a White House official put it, Mr. Ford will now adopt "a team approach" and schedule a one-hour meeting each day with top foreign-policy advisers. Both Kissinger and Rumsfeld will attend these meetings.

This official said that Scowcroft will forward his intelligence report to the President, who will read it privately and call Scowcroft in if he has any questions.

State Department officials minimized the importance of Kissinger's reduced access to Mr. Ford.

"I don't think this makes that much difference," one official said. "He has the President's confidence. And you put new people in these agencies this late in an administration, I don't see how they can present formidable opposition."

But outside the State Department the reduced access was considered a major diminishing of Kissinger's still formidable power.

A former high-ranking CIA official said that Kissinger had "won a pyrrhic victory in getting rid of Schlesinger."

"First, he loses his job as head of National Security Council, something he

has said he would never give up," this ex-CIA official said.

"This means he will no longer be in charge of reorganizing the intelligence community when Ford gets around to that.

It also means he can no longer duck his battles with (the) Secretary of Defense by pushing one of his pet schemes through the NSC."

Additionally, Rumsfeld is likely to be a far more formidable opponent for Kissinger in the sense that he has the confidence of Mr. Ford.

And Rumsfeld, who favors a strong defense policy, is likely to pick up Schlesinger's fallen standard and fight against congressional slashes in the defense budget.

White House officials purported to be unconcerned about the impression of confusion and uncertainty that the slowly leaked story of the shake-up caused over the weekend.

It was referred to jokingly by some aides as "the Sunday morning massacre" or "the weekend wipeout." And there was no unusual atmosphere of tenseness. Nessen said he had "never seen the President in a better mood."

Officially, at least, the view of the White House is that the shake-up would wind up as a considerable plus for the Ford administration.

One official said that the new Cabinet lineup would clear congressional confirmation hurdles by Christmas and give the President a stronger administration in the election year.

"The whole thing is obviously a bold move; it's Ford's feeling that he ultimately strengthens his hand both in Congress and the country," this high-ranking official said.

Kremlin Saw Defense Chief as Foe

By Peter Osnos

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Nov. 3—Nowhere else in the world is the departure of James Schlesinger from the Defense Department likely to be as closely watched—or as warmly received—as in the Kremlin.

To the Soviets, Schlesinger was a powerful and persuasive opponent of detente in the highest reaches of the Ford administration. Publicly, Moscow assailed the defense secretary's policies. Privately, Soviet officials voiced alarm at each sign of his apparently increasing influence.

Just this weekend, the widely read magazine,

Ogonyok, in an unusually detailed account of the strategic arms negotiations, blamed Schlesinger—"the representative of the interests of the military-industrial complex"—for posing new obstacles to a SALT accord.

The article said that Schlesinger was deliberately contradicting Secretary of State Kissinger's assertion recently that the arms pact was 90 per cent completed—one of the first specific references in the Soviet press to a policy split between the two men.

However, specialists at Kremlin think-tanks like the U.S.A. Institute and the Institute for International Relations and World

Economics have been carefully following reported differences between Schlesinger and Kissinger for nearly a year.

These experts believed that to a large extent the future course of Soviet-American relations depended on whether Kissinger's approach to bargaining with Moscow prevailed over Schlesinger's harder-line stance.

The Defense Secretary's departure now is bound to increase Kissinger's prestige here, restoring the authority that he seemed to be lacking in recent encounters with the Soviet leaders.

The changes in Washington will also provide some badly needed good news for those in

the top Soviet leadership who argue that detente, along the general lines of recent years, should be reaffirmed at the 25th Communist party congress in February.

Over the past few months, as President Ford and even Kissinger appeared in speeches and press conferences to be sharply stiffening their rhetoric on matters such as Soviet interference in Portugal, the Kremlin stepped up its own attacks on "enemies of detente gathering momentum" in the U.S.

That sort of sour exchange, combined with the problems in SALT, the Middle-East and

See MOSCOW, A13, Col. 4

The Kremlin Loses Powerful Opponent

MOSCOW, From A1

other areas, put strains on the superpower ties that at times appeared likely to overwhelm whatever mutual confidence and understanding has been achieved since the U.S.-Soviet Summit in 1972.

Fortunately, one success was achieved during these difficult months with the agreement on long-term Soviet grain purchases from the United States. This agreement assured Moscow the food supplies it badly needs and defused the controversial grain issue in Washington, a satisfactory balance of interests for the two sides.

Grain, however, was one aspect of the U.S.-Soviet relationship that did not involve Schlesinger. Most other important Moscow-Washington negotiations touched on the Defense Secretary's responsibilities.

Hence, so long as

Schlesinger seemed to be on the ascendancy in Washington, there was considerable doubt here about the possibilities of ever achieving a genuine compromise on the complex arms and disarmament questions that must be decided if international tensions are to subside.

The Kremlin's own military-industrial strategists presumably argued that the best answer to the Schlesinger hard line was an equally firm Soviet weapons policy.

Whether the Schlesinger resignation will lead quickly to a breakthrough in the SALT talks is hard to predict. But there is no doubt that the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, wants the pact, and the summit signing in Washington, completed before the party congress takes place.

The shuffle in Washington will certainly be regarded by the Kremlin as a step in the right direction.

Experienced In Difficult Assignments

George Herbert Walker Bush, President Ford's choice as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, is a personable politician whose loyalty to Republican Presidents has led him into difficult assignments before.

Bush replaces William E. Colby in the embattled intelligence agency heading the CIA at a time when it is under criticism for its performance in the intelligence field abroad and for snooping on American citizens at home.

Currently the U.S. representative in Peking, Bush, 51, has been ambassador to the United Nations and chairman of the Republican National Committee.

In Washington, he is known as a gregarious, amiable Republican Party loyalist. His credentials in the intelligence community are few, but his knack for getting along with people and his wide political contacts could be an asset in an agency subject to persistent criticism on Capitol Hill.

Bush is the well-heeled, well-educated son of a former U.S. senator, Prescott Bush of Connecticut. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate (in economics) from Yale, he made his mark while still young as a Texas oilman when, after moving to Houston, he became wealthy as head of the Zapata Petroleum Corp.

Always regarded as a bright



GEORGE BUSH

... personable politician

figure in Republican politics, he was elected to Congress in 1966 and 1968, becoming the first of his party to be elected from Houston. By 1970, he was being rumored as a future vice presidential nominee. But his loss that year in the election for senator from Texas ended that speculation.

President Nixon appointed him ambassador to the United Nations in 1971, where he was regarded as a hard-working official who got along easily with representatives of hostile countries.

In late 1972, Bush was summoned back from the United Nations to take over the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee from Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and thus inherited the party leadership just as the Watergate revelations began to unfold.

Bush's mission at the GOP committee was to convince Republicans that Watergate should not be allowed to affect the chances of office-holders not directly involved in the scandals.

Kissinger's Loyal Aide Inherits Job



LT. GEN. SCOWCROFT
... sees Ford first

Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft is a slight, lean, balding man who, every morning, tells President Ford what's going on in the world.

He's the man who sees Mr. Ford first in the morning, about 7:30 a.m., when he gives the President the daily foreign intelligence briefing.

As deputy national security affairs adviser in the White House, Scowcroft has operated in the shadow of his chief—Henry A. Kissinger, who has held the title of national security adviser in addition to being Secretary of State.

Now, Scowcroft is stepping out of those shadows to inherit Kissinger's White House job. Although he has been Kissinger's loyal subordinate, Scowcroft is regarded by some in Washington as a man independent and intelligent enough to make his own way as chief of the national security apparatus.

Scowcroft, 50, has been in charge of the day-to-day operations of the National Security Council since his mentor, Kissinger, moved over to State.

He is known among his staff as a soft-spoken man with a quiet sense of humor and a habit of saying as little as possible. "He plays everything very close to the vest," says one White House aide. Scowcroft also is described as "direct" and "blunt." He keeps long hours—usually from 7:30 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. during the week.

"He is Kissinger's alter ego in every sense of the word," says one aide. "He's always even-tempered, always calm."

A career military man who came up through a series of staff planning jobs, Scowcroft had been military assistant to President Nixon until April 1973, when he replaced Alexander M. Haig Jr. as deputy assistant for national affairs.

His background is a mixture of the administrative and the academic. He is a graduate of the Georgetown University School of Language and Linguistics—friends say he still speaks Serbo-Croatian fluently—and for four years was an assistant professor of Russian history at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

In the Air Force, he was assigned to the deputy chief of staff and the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs. In 1969, he was made deputy assistant for National Security Council matters in the Air Force Directorate of Plans.

Nixon Man Survives Unscathed

Donald Rumsfeld is one of the few top aides of Richard M. Nixon who emerged from the Watergate era with reputation unscathed.

Rumsfeld was representing the old Illinois 13th District in the House of Representatives when Nixon on his fourth attempt succeeded in convincing him that the proper outlet for his ambition was the executive branch.

Rumsfeld, then 37 years old, gave up his seat in 1969 to become head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, then considered a nearly impenetrable bureaucracy.

From OEO, Rumsfeld bounced to the White House, where he became counselor to the President and then, when Phase II price controls came into effect, he was named head of the Cost of Living Council.

In December, 1972, Nixon named Rumsfeld ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and he stayed in Brussels until the Watergate crisis began to topple the Nixon White House.

Although Rumsfeld was a key figure in the group that made transition plans for Gerald Ford's assumption of the presidency, he constantly denied at that time that he would be involved in the Ford White House, and went back to his post in Brussels.

A month later, however, he came back to Washington to become, as some critics put it, "Ford's Haldeman"—chief of staff to President Ford as H.R. Haldeman had been to President Nixon.

At the White House Rumsfeld has in effect administered the business of the President, including supervision of more than 500 staff members.

He is considered a pragmatist who is highly organized, extremely intelligent and a "quick study" who uses enormous stamina to his administrative advantage.



DONALD RUMSFELD
...pragmatic

He is a physical fitness enthusiast and tries to keep in the kind of shape that won him a state wrestling championship in Illinois more than 25 years ago.

At the White House he has preferred to work on his feet at a "stand-up" desk.

He grew up in the northern outskirts of Chicago, attending New Trier High School in Winnetka, where he met his future wife, Joyce Pierson.

He went from New Trier to Princeton University. At Princeton he was in ROTC and after graduation went into the Navy and served two years as flight instructor.

He was anxious to get into politics and, while attending Georgetown University law school here from 1957 to 1959, worked as an intern to then-Rep. David Dennison (R-Ohio) and then-Rep. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.).

He was told that Washington was a poor place to start a political career and went back to Illinois to work in an investment banking firm and to look for his chance.

It came almost right away, when Rep. Marguerite Stitt Church decided to retire in 1962. With help from his old New Trier High and Princeton friends, Rumsfeld (then 29) set out to get himself elected to Congress. He succeeded.

In 1965, he and several other young congressmen led a drive to oust the late Charles Halleck as leader of House Republicans. The young members' candidate to succeed Halleck was Gerald Ford.

Basic Power Relationships Change

By David S. Broder

Washington Post Staff Writer

With a suddenness that shocked the political community, President Ford has made three moves that change the basic power relationships in his administration and force a recalculation of the line of succession to the presidency.

The first assessment of most politicians was that Mr. Ford has done little to improve the odds on his own nomination and election, but has rewritten the book on who wields influence so long as he is the President.

With Vice President

Rockefeller out at the beginning of 1977, Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger dismissed and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger stripped of one of his two hats, observers inside and outside the administration saw the apparent "winner" in the power game as presidential assistant Donald Rumsfeld.

By coincidence or otherwise, Rumsfeld also emerged as an early favorite to replace Rockefeller on the 1976 Republican ticket—if Mr. Ford is the presidential nominee.

But politicians in both parties said yesterday they

saw the massive upheaval in the administration as a symptom of political shakiness on the President's part. Several speculated that the shakiness would encourage, rather than discourage, those considering challenging Mr. Ford's right to lead the GOP in 1976.

The most obvious challenger, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, said in Boca Raton, Fla., he was "astounded" by Rockefeller's decision but gave no indication it would affect his own plans.

Reagan is expected to announce his candidacy later

this month, and the director of his national organization, John P. Sears, said, "This development doesn't change our situation whatsoever."

Privately, Reagan backers said that even if Rockefeller took himself out of the 1976 picture at his own initiative, as Rockefeller said was the case, it would have to be interpreted as "a sign of weakness" on Mr. Ford's part.

The demand for Rockefeller's scalp has been coming from the same party conservatives who would be

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conservative, who declined to be quoted by name, said of the Rockefeller announcement, "I think it's a sop to keep us from raising hell" about the firing of Schlesinger, the strongest critic inside the administration of Kissinger's policy of detente with the Soviet Union.

Judging from the comments of Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.), the conservatives were not likely to be appeased. Goldwater called Schlesinger's removal "a very serious thing," and said he was disturbed that it left the Cabinet "without a strong dissenting voice."

Although Mr. Ford made a point of calling Goldwater personally on Sunday to brief

him about the impending changes, the conservative leader used harsh language in criticizing the Schlesinger move. "The Soviets will look on this as quite a victory," he said.

"This is probably the best help Ronald Reagan has had . . . What it shows is continued unhappiness in the house of Ford," the Arizonan declared.

Another Republican official agreed, saying the whole set of shakeups "underscores the instability of the administration." He also questioned the reaction of party conservatives to Rumsfeld as Defense Secretary, noting that Rumsfeld "has been seen as a liberal influence in the administration, and if conservatives want a hard-liner anywhere, they want him in Defense."

That same concern was underlined by former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, who, like Schlesinger, has been a frequent critic of some aspects of the detente policy.

Reached by phone in Paris early yesterday, Laird questioned whether the President would give Rumsfeld the Pentagon, even though he said, "I know he wants to go over there." Laird said that shift would "create too much disturbance, and I think it's more important for Rumsfeld to remain at the White House."

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move was being made, Laird reversed course and said he supported the President's decision.

Meantime, progressive Republicans expressed their dismay at Rockefeller's decision and—in some cases—began re-evaluating the desirability of getting a candidate of their own into the presidential race.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) said the action fit a pattern of "identifying the President with the right wing of the Republican Party, and this I consider most unfortunate."

Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) said, "the perception will be of a narrowed party." Mathias, who last week suggested the possibility of a liberal Republican challenger to Mr. Ford, said he had not advanced his plans "for the time being."

But he said, "The events of today may make it easier to find the center position somewhere else" than in the Republican Party. Mathias said he saw a real chance for a third party "that will not be outside both parties but in between them and attract from both as a result."

Some politicians speculated that Mr. Rockefeller, who has

begun campaigns for the presidency three times before, might run again—either in the Republican primary or in the kind of independent effort Mathias is describing.

But nothing in Rockefeller's letter to the President indicated such plans.

What was not speculative was the beginning of a contest for the vice presidential spot on the ticket with Mr. Ford. Despite his own denials of interest, Rumsfeld was

viewed immediately as a prime contender for that post, with many politicians seeing the visibility of the defense job as a better launching pad than the relative anonymity of a White House staff position.

Others who figured in the speculation were Reagan, who has repeatedly denied any interest in the No. 2 post, Tennessee Sens. Howard H. Baker Jr., and Bill Brock, and George Bush, who is being recalled from his post as envoy in Peking to take over the Central Intelligence Agency.

Bush had been in the running with Rockefeller for the Ford appointment as Vice President 15 months ago, but one Republican official said it would "be harder for him to move from the CIA to Vice President than it would have been even if they'd left him in China."

Ford backers said the prospect of being named Vice President might bring several neutral but politically influential governors and senators to the President's support.

But other Republicans speculated that the vacancy in the vice presidency and the apparent shakiness of Mr. Ford's political position might encourage additional people to run as "favorite son" candidates for President.

"I would think," said one party pro, "that a number of people would want to tie down at least their own state delegations for bargaining purposes. After all, how do you run for Vice President except by running for President?"

At the White House, the hope was that the series of surprise announcements would clear the decks for the 1976 campaign and put the quarrels centering on Schlesinger, CIA Director William Colby and Rockefeller into the past. It was a comparable move, so some officials said, to the pardon of former President Nixon—controversial at the time but of long-term political value.

The contrary view came from Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss. "It hurts him badly," Strauss said of Mr. Ford. "It just shows how little leadership we're getting."