

The original documents are located in Box D23, folder “Republican Governors' Association, Palm Beach, FL, December 9, 1967” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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GRF REMARKS TO REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION
PALM BEACH, FLA., DEC. 9, 1967

DISTINGUISHED GOVERNORS AND FRIENDS:

IT'S A NEW AND PLEASANT EXPERIENCE TO MEET WITH A REPUBLICAN GROUP REPRESENTING THE MAJORITY OF CHIEF EXECUTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES. THANK YOU FOR ASKING US HERE.

I WANT TO ADD MY WARM CONGRATULATIONS TO GOVERNOR-ELECT LOUIE NUNN WHO HAS BROUGHT THE NATIVE STATE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN BACK INTO THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' FOLD. I HOPE NEXT YEAR YOU ALSO RECLAIM ILLINOIS AND INDIANA FOR HONEST ABE.

JUST A YEAR AGO WHEN I LAST MET WITH YOU IN COLORADO, NONE OF US COULD QUITE BELIEVE OUR GOOD FORTUNE



AT THE POLLS. BUT THE TREND IS GENUINE AND CONTINUING. MANY REPUBLICANS CAN SHARE CREDIT FOR THIS UPSURGE, BUT AT BEDROCK LIES THE PATIENT, PAINSTAKING JOB OF PARTY-BUILDING WHICH RAY BLISS HAS BEEN DOING NIGHT AND DAY. INVARIABLY, RAY THROWS HIS WEIGHT ON THE SIDE OF PARTY UNITY AND REPUBLICAN HARMONY, AND WE ARE ALL BENEFICIARIES.

LAST YEAR WE SCORED A NET GAIN OF 47 SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THESE GAINS WERE MADE IN 33 STATES, OFFSET BY LOSSES IN 3 STATES. WE HELD OUR OWN IN 14 STATES. AT THE SAME TIME, REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS WERE WINNING IN 24 STATES AND, GENERALLY, WHERE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS WON BIG, OUR HOUSE CANDIDATES DID WELL.

THOUGH 1968 IS A PRESIDENTIAL YEAR, I THINK IT'S DOUBLY URGENT THAT REPUBLICANS PURSUE THE "ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL" PRINCIPLE CLEAR UP AND DOWN THE TICKET. IF

Chart #1

(blue)

(red)

(white)

Overview

Cross-hatch
R.I. → main



overlays
B
WE DO ELECT A PRESIDENT HE WILL NEED STRONG SUPPORT ON
CAPITOL HILL AND IN THE STATE HOUSES. THERE WILL BE 1968
CONTESTS FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP IN 20 OF THE STATES WHERE
HOUSE REPUBLICANS EITHER GAINED, OR HELD THEIR OWN, IN
(green)
1966, PLUS NEW MEXICO AND LOUISIANA, WHICH HAVE NO INCUMBENT
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN.

ASSUMING WE REGAIN THE CURRENT CALIFORNIA VACANCY,
WE NEED ANOTHER NET INCREASE OF 31 SEATS TO CONTROL THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THIS GOAL IS REALISTICALLY
WITHIN OUR PARTY'S GRASP. I WILL LEAVE THE DETAILS ON THIS
TO OUR EXPERT, BOB WILSON OF CALIFORNIA, THE TIRELESS
CHAIRMAN OF OUR NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

EVERY MEMBER OF THE HOUSE WILL BE RUNNING NEXT
NOVEMBER ON HIS OWN RECORD AND THE RECORD OF THE 90TH
CONGRESS. REPUBLICANS WILL HAVE A FAR BETTER RECORD TO



TAKE HOME TO THE VOTERS THAN THE DEMOCRATS WHO HAVE BEEN IN CHARGE.

WE ARE STILL THE MINORITY PARTY IN THE HOUSE, 186 TO 247.

THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY LEADERSHIP, AND THE DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMEN OF ALL HOUSE COMMITTEES, DETERMINE ABSOLUTELY WHAT MEASURES SHALL COME BEFORE THE HOUSE, IN WHAT FORM THEY COME, WHEN THEY COME, AND THE RULES UNDER WHICH THEY WILL BE CONSIDERED. THE NEWS NATURALLY IS FOCUSED ON THE FATE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM RATHER THAN UPON OUR REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES AND INITIATIVES.

NEVERTHELESS, THIS FORD AND CO. DOES HAVE SOME BETTER IDEAS! AND WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY WRITTEN MANY OF THEM INTO LAW THIS YEAR. OFTEN WE HAVE RECOGNIZED AND SUCCESSFULLY REFLECTED THE WILL OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF



AMERICANS WHEN THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT. WITH 47 REINFORCEMENTS ON OUR TEAM, IT HAS BEEN A DIFFERENT BALLGAME.

MOST IMPORTANT, REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE HAVE FOUGHT ALL YEAR FOR FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND AGAINST AN INFLATIONARY LEVEL OF DOMESTIC SPENDING ON TOP OF HEAVY WARTIME DEMANDS. ON 23 KEY ECONOMY VOTES, REPUBLICANS AVERAGED 85% FOR RESTRAINT AND DEMOCRATS AVERAGED ONLY 17%. MOREOVER, WE WON 11 OF THESE 23 SHOWDOWNS. AS THE SESSION ENDS, PRESIDENT JOHNSON IS GRUDGINGLY COMING AROUND TO OUR POSITION AFTER UPPING HIS DEFICIT CONJECTURE TO \$35 BILLION AND FEELING THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE DOLLAR SHAKING.

THERE WERE 40 SPECIFIC REPUBLICAN RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DOMESTIC ACTION ADVANCED LAST JANUARY IN OUR REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL OF THE STATE OF THE UNION.



REPUBLICANS IN THIS CONGRESS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN ENACTING INTO LAW, GAINING APPROVAL EITHER BY THE HOUSE OR THE SENATE, OR ADVANCING FAVORABLE COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION OF 15 OUT OF 30 DOMESTIC PROPOSALS, AND ALL BUT ONE OF OUR 10 NATIONAL SECURITY RECOMMENDATIONS. SIXTY PERCENT ISN'T A BAD SCORE FOR THE MINORITY.

REPUBLICAN PRESSURE COMPELLED THE HOUSE TO CREATE A COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT, A BALANCED PACKAGE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT LEGISLATION, IMPROVEMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY AND VIET-NAM VETERANS BENEFITS, HONEST BOOKKEEPING ON PARTICIPATION SALES BORROWING, AND SLOW BUT STEADY PROGRESS TOWARDS A CLEAN ELECTION LAW FOR 1968. REPUBLICAN INSISTENCE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF REVENUE SHARING AND GREATER STATE CONTROL OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS RESULTED IN MARKED IMPROVEMENT OF THE COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH ACT, THE LAW

ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE AND JUVENILE DELIQUENCY ACTS, THE AIR QUALITY AND THE FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTION ACTS OF 1967.

THIS IS QUITE A CHANGE FROM THE GREAT SOCIETY RUBBER STAMP THAT WAS WORN DOWN TO A NUBBIN DURING 1965 AND 1966. THE LATE UNLAMENTED 89TH CONGRESS SOWED THE WIND OF THE FISCAL WHIRLWIND THAT NOW FRIGHTENS THE WORLD. IN THIS 90TH CONGRESS WE HAVE WON SOME AND LOST SOME; WE HAVE MADE SOME MISTAKES AND WE HAVE LEARNED SOME LESSONS, BUT ALL IN ALL WE ARE WRITING A RESPONSIBLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN RECORD FOR 1968.

WHEN WE HAVE WON -- AND WE ^{*intend to win more --*} AREN'T FINISHED YET -- IT HAS BEEN DUE TO A DEGREE OF TEAMWORK AND SOLIDARITY AMONG HOUSE REPUBLICANS UNMATCHED IN MY 19 YEARS IN CONGRESS.

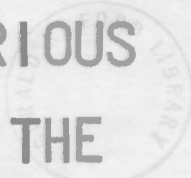
OUR POLICY COMMITTEE IN 29 SPIRITED MEETINGS HAS TAKEN 30 FORMAL AND PUBLIC POLICY STANDS ON PENDING MATTERS. THESE RECOMMENDED 10 AFFIRMATIVE REPUBLICAN PROGRAMS,



SUPPORTED 13 LEGISLATIVE SOLUTIONS OR IMPROVEMENTS IN PRESENT LAWS, PROPOSED CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGES IN 5 KEY MEASURES, AND TWICE OPPOSED A DEBT CEILING INCREASE THAT WAS EXCESSIVE AND INFLATIONARY.

IN 24 INSTANCES THESE ISSUES CAME TO A ROLLCALL VOTE. OF COURSE, THE POLICY COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS ARE NOT BINDING UPON ANY REPUBLICAN MEMBER. BUT THE RECORD SHOWS AN AVERAGE OF 96% OF REPUBLICANS PRESENT AND VOTING SUPPORTED THE PARTY POLICY POSITION.

I THINK THAT'S TERRIFIC -- AND SO, SECRETLY, DO OUR DEMOCRATIC RIVALS IN THE HOUSE. IF THEY HAD 96% UNITY THEY COULD PREVAIL EVERY TIME IN THIS CONGRESS AS THEY ALMOST DID IN THE LAST ONE. IN THEIR FRUSTRATION, THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP HAVE PUBLICLY MADE A CURIOUS CONFESSION -- THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY CANNOT GOVERN THE



COUNTRY UNLESS IT HAS A 2/3s MAJORITY IN THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH!

REPUBLICANS WILL SETTLE FOR A SIMPLE WORKING MAJORITY.

IN THOSE 24 ROLLCALLS WHERE REPUBLICANS STOOD TOGETHER 96%, OUR POSITION PREVAILED 18 TIMES. WHERE WE STAKED OUT A RESPONSIBLE REPUBLICAN STAND ON MAJOR ISSUES IN ADVANCE, WE SCORED 75% OF THE TIME. I THINK WE'RE BOTH READY AND ABLE TO ORGANIZE THE NEXT HOUSE.

A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. WITH REPUBLICANS RUNNING ITS COMMITTEES AND DIRECTING ITS LABORS, WOULD BE THE BEST THING FOR THE COUNTRY EVEN IF PRESIDENT JOHNSON WERE TO WIN RE-ELECTION. BUT IT WILL BE ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE FOR ANY REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT TO HAVE A REPUBLICAN HOUSE IF HE IS TO HAVE A REAL OPPORTUNITY TO

ENACT A REPUBLICAN PROGRAM OF REDIRECTION AND REFORM.

I WAS MOST IMPRESSED WITH THE RECENT WARNING OF OUR HOST, GOVERNOR KIRK, THAT EVERY REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS IN 1968 SHOULD DISPLAY A LARGE SIGN SAYING: "REMEMBER 1948."

I REMEMBER 1948 AS ONE ALWAYS REMEMBERS HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN. I MADE IT, BUT I HAD TO WAIT FOUR YEARS FOR A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT AND 12⁴ LONG YEARS FOR A REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR, BY WHICH TIME WE AGAIN HAD A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

TIMES DO CHANGE. IN 1948 PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAD A BALANCED BUDGET OF \$33 BILLION -- JUST ABOUT THE SIZE OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S CONJECTURED DEFICIT FOR 1968! AND PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAD HIS TROUBLES FROM A WALLACE ON HIS LEFT AND A McCARTHY ON HIS RIGHT.



BUT THE 1968 THREATS OF A SENATOR McCARTHY ON THE LEFT AND A GEORGE WALLACE ON THE RIGHT POSE PROBLEMS FOR REPUBLICANS AS WELL AS FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON. THE PROSPECT OF A THIRD OR FOURTH PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WINNING THE ELECTORAL VOTES OF SOME STATES IS A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY. IN A CLOSE ELECTION, THE CHOICE OF OUR NEXT PRESIDENT COULD BE THROWN INTO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1825.

AFTER 142 YEARS OF DISUSE IT'S NOT SURPRISING MOST AMERICANS HAVE FORGOTTEN THAT WHEN THERE'S NO MAJORITY IN THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE, AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CHOOSES THE PRESIDENT FROM THE TOP THREE CONTENDERS, WE BALLOT NOT AS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS BUT BY STATE DELEGATIONS.

THUS THE STATES REPRESENTED IN THE HOUSE BY ONE CONGRESSMAN -- AND FOUR OUT OF FIVE OF THESE ARE NOW



REPUBLICANS -- COUNT AS MUCH IN A PRESIDENTIAL RUNOFF AS THE BIG HOUSE DELEGATIONS OF NEW YORK, CALIFORNIA AND TEXAS, NOW DEMOCRATIC. AND THOSE STATES WHERE PARTY STRENGTH IS EQUAL OR TIED, ~~AS~~ ILLINOIS, OREGON AND MONTANA NOW ARE, WOULD HAVE NO VOICE AT ALL IN THE DECISION.

IT'S QUITE CONCEIVABLE THAT WE COULD WIN A MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE NEXT NOVEMBER AND STILL FALL SHORT OF THE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF 26 STATE DELEGATIONS REQUIRED TO DECIDE A CLOSE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST. RIGHT NOW WE HOLD ONLY 18 REPUBLICAN ^(blue) DELEGATIONS, WHILE THE DEMOCRATS ^(red) DOMINATE 29, AND THREE ARE "EVEN-STEVEN."

BUT THE ODDS ON OUR PICKING UP EIGHT MORE STATE DELEGATIONS ARE NOT AS BAD AS THEY LOOK.

FOR INSTANCE, THERE ARE SEVEN STATES WHERE ONE REPUBLICAN REPLACING AN INCUMBENT DEMOCRAT IN THE HOUSE

Montana, Oregon, Nevada, Ky, Tenn, Illinois, Pa,

Chart #2

Overlay A



WOULD SWITCH CONTROL OF THE STATE DELEGATION FROM DEMOCRAT TO REPUBLICAN, THE THREE TIED DELEGATIONS ALREADY MENTIONED ^{Illinois, Montana or Oregon} PLUS PENNSYLVANIA, NEVADA, KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE. AND WE HAVE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS IN 5 OF THESE 7.

overlan B THERE ALSO ARE 11 ^(brown) STATES WHERE A SINGLE SWITCH WOULD TIE UP THE DELEGATION AND DENY IT TO THE DEMOCRATS, WHILE A NET GAIN OF TWO REPUBLICAN SEATS WOULD WIN THEM FOR THE REPUBLICAN STANDARD-BEARER. THEY ARE VIRGINIA, ARKANSAS, COLORADO, MARYLAND, OKLAHOMA, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW MEXICO, HAWAII, RHODE ISLAND, ALABAMA AND MAINE. SEVEN OF THESE 11 STATES ARE NOW BLESSED WITH REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS.

TO SUM UP -- IF EVERY REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR COULD HELP US ELECT TWO ADDITIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN FROM HIS STATE -- OR ONE MORE IF THAT'S THE BEST HE CAN DO --

WE WOULD GAIN 35 SEATS IN THE NEXT HOUSE -- A MAJORITY PLUS 4-

There's only one Democrat left whip



~~///~~ -- AND WE WOULD SAFELY SEW UP 31 STATE DELEGATIONS FOR A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT IN A PHOTO FINISH. I ABSOLVE GOVERNORS HICKEL (ALASKA), SAMUELSON (IDA.), TIEMANN (NEB.), BOE (S. DAK.) AND HATHAWAY (WYO.) FROM THIS CHARGE BECAUSE THEIR HOUSE DELEGATIONS ARE 100% PURE REPUBLICAN.

MY CALCULATIONS ARE BASED ON 1966 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, AND OF COURSE THERE WILL BE SOME CHANGES DUE TO REAPPORTIONMENT. ON THE SUBJECT OF SHIFTING CONGRESSIONAL CONSTITUENCIES, LET ME LEAVE YOU WITH A STORY FROM ONE OF MY HOUSE COLLEAGUES.

THIS MEMBER OF CONGRESS RECEIVED A LONG AND ANGRY LETTER ABUSING HIM FOR EVERY IMAGINABLE SIN OF COMMISSION AND OMISSION, AND WINDING UP THIS WAY: "I VOTED FOR YOU LAST TIME BUT NEVER AGAIN. NEXT TIME I'M VOTING FOR THE DEVIL."



optional

MY COLLEAGUE HAD THE PERFECT ANSWER.

optional

"DEAR FRIEND," HE WROTE BACK, "THANKS FOR YOUR NICE LETTER. SORRY TO HEAR YOU WON'T BE IN MY NEW DISTRICT."

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY SINCERE THANKS AND THOSE OF ALL HOUSE REPUBLICANS FOR THE GREAT AND GROWING CONTRIBUTION YOU ~~ARE~~ ^{TO} MAKING TO THE REVIVAL OF OUR PARTY. ONE OF THE EARLIEST VISITORS TO THIS HOSPITABLE STATE WAS PONCE DE LEON (PONE - SAY DAYLY - OWN), WHO WAS LOOKING FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH. SOME SAY HE FOUND IT, AND IS ALIVE AND WELL TODAY IN MIAMI BEACH.

I HOPE REPUBLICANS WILL GO FORTH FROM MIAMI BEACH NEXT SUMMER REJUVENATED, REUNITED AND REDEDICATED -- ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE -- TO A GREAT REPUBLICAN VICTORY AND A NEW ERA FOR AMERICA.





CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY--

Remarks of Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.), House Republican Leader, to the Republican Governors' Association, Palm Beach, Florida, Dec. 9, 1967.

Distinguished Governors and Friends:

It is a real pleasure to meet with a Republican group representing the majority of Chief Executives of the United States.

I want to add my warm congratulations to Governor-elect Louie Nunn who has brought the native State of Abraham Lincoln back into the Republican Governors' fold. I hope next year you also reclaim Illinois and Indiana for Honest Abe.

Although I am still the House Minority Leader, I am convinced that our party today is reflecting the desires, hopes and great good sense of the majority of Americans. If we stay on this course, our future will be as sunny as these Florida skies.

Just a year ago when I last met with you in Colorado, none of us could quite believe our good fortune at the polls. But the trend is genuine and continuing. Many Republicans can share credit for this upsurge, but at bedrock lies the patient, painstaking job of party-building which Ray Bliss has been doing night and day. One of Ray's not-so-secret formulas is simply getting Republicans together and talking things out face to face, whether in the National Coordinating Committee or in conferences and seminars all over the country. Invariably, Ray throws his weight on the side of party unity and Republican harmony, and we are all beneficiaries.

I could wish that all the Governors and all Senators and Congressmen of our Party would get together periodically between conventions for more eyeball-to-eyeball discussions. There's no limit to the help we can give one another within the Republican fraternity and, believe me, that's the only way we're ever going to get this great country out of the mess it's in.

Last year we scored a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives. These gains were made in 33 States, offset by losses in 3 States. We held our own in 14 States. At the same time, Republican governors were winning in 24 States and, generally, where Republican Governors won big, our House candidates did well. We picked up five more members each in my own state of Michigan and in Ohio--and three in California.

(more)



Though 1968 is a Presidential year, I think it's doubly urgent that Republicans pursue the "all for one and one for all" principle clear up and down the ticket. If we do elect a President, if he is to undertake the serious tasks that must be done, he will need strong support on Capitol Hill and in the State houses. There will be 1968 contests for the Governorship in 20 of the States where House Republicans either gained, or held their own, in 1966, plus New Mexico and Louisiana, which have no Republican Congressmen.

Assuming we regain the current California vacancy, we need another net increase of 31 seats to control the House of Representatives. This goal is realistically within our party's grasp. Just how and just where we hope to do it I will leave to our expert, Bob Wilson of California, the tireless chairman of our national Congressional Campaign Committee. If anyone can bring in those 31 extra Republicans, Bob will.

Every member of the House will be running next November on his own record and the record of the 90th Congress. Republicans will have a far better record to take home to the voters than the Democrats who have been in charge. This is only half-time, of course, with another year to go. But let me give you a brief, and perhaps prejudiced, progress report.

We are still the minority party in the House, 186 to 247.

The Democratic majority leadership, and the Democratic chairmen of all House Committees, determine absolutely what measures shall come before the House, in what form they come, when they come, and the rules under which they will be considered. Whatever the Founding Fathers intended, in practice the President proposes legislation and Congress disposes. The news spotlight naturally is focused on the fate of the Administration's program rather than upon our Republican alternatives and initiatives.

Nevertheless, this Ford and Co. does have some better ideas! And we have successfully written many of them into law this year. Often we have recognized and successfully reflected the will of the great majority of Americans when the Johnson Administration has not. With 47 reinforcements on our team, it has been a different ballgame. And we have been in the ballgame every minute since January 10th when we defeated the Democratic leadership's effort to seat former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.).

Most important, Republicans in the House have fought all year for fiscal responsibility and against an inflationary level of domestic spending on top of

(more)

heavy wartime demands. On 23 key economy votes, Republicans averaged 85% for restraint and Democrats averaged only 17%. Moreover, we won 11 of these 23 showdowns. As the session ends, President Johnson is grudgingly coming around to our position after upping his deficit conjecture to \$35 billion and feeling the foundations of the dollar shaking.

Similarly, during the year the President belatedly embraced our Republican call for restoration of the investment tax credit and gave a long-overdue go-ahead to close the Anti-Ballistic-Missile defense gap, which may someday save millions of American lives.

These were two of the 40 specific Republican recommendations for domestic action advanced last January in our Republican appraisal of the State of the Union.

Running through these 40 points, I was agreeably surprised to find that Republicans in this Congress have succeeded in enacting into law, gaining approval either by the House or the Senate, or advancing favorable committee consideration of 15 out of 30 domestic proposals, and all but one of our 10 national security recommendations. Sixty percent isn't a bad score for the minority.

Republican pressure compelled the House to create a Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, a balanced package of law enforcement legislation, improvements in Social Security and Viet-Nam veterans benefits, honest bookkeeping on participation sales borrowing, and slow but steady progress towards a Clean Election law for 1968. Republican insistence on the principle of revenue sharing and greater State control of Federal programs resulted in marked improvement of the Comprehensive Health Act, the Law Enforcement Assistance and Juvenile Delinquency Acts, the Air Quality and the Federal Meat Inspection Acts of 1967.

This is quite a change from the Great Society Rubber Stamp that was worn down to a nubbin during 1965 and 1966. The late unlamented 89th Congress sowed the wind of the fiscal whirlwind that now frightens the world. In this Congress we have won some and lost some; we have made some mistakes and we have learned some lessons; but all in all we are writing a responsible and constructive Republican record for 1968.

When we have won -- and we aren't finished yet -- it has been due to a degree of teamwork and solidarity among House Republicans unmatched in my 19 years in Congress. This has been achieved by the broadening of our leadership base, which now includes, besides Bob Wilson and myself, Les Arends of Illinois,

(more)

Follow

Mel Laird of Wisconsin, John Rhodes of Arizona, H. Allen Smith of California, Charlie Goodell of New York, Dick Poff of Virginia and Bill Cramer of Florida. Naturally the news emphasizes those times when so many Republicans vote with the Democrats or so many Democrats vote with the Republicans. But the cold record of this session shows that Republicans generally stuck together when the chips were down. Les Arends' whip organization has never performed more effectively.

Of course we have varying viewpoints -- we are supposed to. These have been aired and threshed out in frank but friendly House Republican conferences of all our members, chaired by the able Mel Laird, and within the representative House Republican Policy Committee under the dedicated guidance of John Rhodes.

Our Policy Committee in 29 spirited meetings has taken 30 formal and public policy stands on pending matters. These recommended 10 affirmative measures to implement major Republican programs supported 13 legislative solutions to major problems or improvements in present laws, proposed constructive changes in 5 key measures, and twice opposed a debt ceiling increase that was excessive and inflationary.

In 24 instances these issues came to a rollcall vote. Of course, the Policy Committee's conclusions are not binding upon any Republican member. But the record shows an average of 96% of Republicans present and voting supported the party policy position.

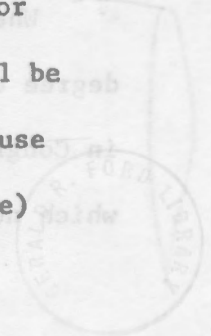
I think that's terrific -- and so, secretly, do our Democratic rivals in the House. If they had 96% unity they could prevail every time in this Congress as they did in the last one. In their frustration, the President and the Democratic leadership have publicly made a curious confession -- that the Democratic Party cannot govern the country unless it has a 2/3s majority in the legislative branch!

Republicans will settle for a simple working majority.

In those 24 rollcalls where Republicans stood together 96%, our position prevailed 18 times. Where we staked out a responsible Republican stand on major issues in advance, we scored 75% of the time. I think we're both ready and able to organize the next House.

A Republican majority in the House of Representatives, with Republicans running its committees and directing its labors, would be the best thing for the country even if President Johnson were to win re-election. But it will be absolutely imperative for any Republican President to have a Republican House

(more)



if he is to have a real opportunity to enact a Republican program of redirection and reform.

I was most impressed with the recent warning of our host, Governor Kirk, that every Republican campaign headquarters in 1968 should display a large sign saying: "Remember 1948!"

I remember 1948 as one always remembers his first campaign. I made it, but I had to wait four years for a Republican President and 12 long years for a Republican Governor, by which time we again had a Democrat in the White House. I must say both President Eisenhower and Governor Romney were eminently worth waiting for, but I surely second Gov. Kirk's caution against Republican overconfidence.

Times do change. In 1948 President Truman had a balanced budget of \$33 billion -- just about the size of President Johnson's conjectured deficit for 1968! And President Truman had his troubles from a Wallace on his left and a McCarthy on his right.

But the 1968 threats of a Senator McCarthy on the left and a George Wallace on the right pose problems for Republicans as well as for President Johnson. The prospect of a third or fourth party Presidential candidate winning the electoral votes of some States is a serious possibility. In a close election, the choice of our next President could be thrown into the House of Representatives for the first time since 1825.

After 142 years of disuse it's not surprising most Americans have forgotten that when there's no majority in the Electoral College, and the House of Representatives chooses the President from the top three contenders, we ballot not as individual Members but by State delegations.

Thus the States represented in the House by one Congressman -- and four out of five of these are now Republicans -- count as much in a Presidential runoff as the big House delegations of New York, California and Texas, now Democratic. And those States where party strength is equal or tied, as Illinois, Oregon and Montana now are, would have no voice at all in the decision.

It's quite conceivable that we could win a majority in the House next November and still fall short of the absolute majority of 26 State delegations required to decide a close Presidential contest. Right now we hold only 18 Republican delegations, while the Democrats dominate 29, and three are "even-steven."

(more)

But the odds on our picking up eight more State delegations are not as bad as they look.

For instance, there are seven States where one Republican replacing an incumbent Democrat in the House would switch control of the State delegation from Democrat to Republican, the three tied delegations already mentioned plus Pennsylvania, Nevada, Kentucky and Tennessee. And we have Republican Governors in 5 of these 7.

There also are 11 States where a switch would tie up the delegation and deny it to the Democrats, while a net gain of two Republican seats would win them for the Republican standard-bearer. They are Virginia (R4-D6), Arkansas (R1-D3), Colorado (R1-D3), Maryland (R3-D5), Oklahoma (R2-D4), Massachusetts (R5-D7), New Mexico (D2), Hawaii (D2), Rhode Island (D2), Alabama (R3-D5) and Maine (D2). Seven of these 11 States are now blessed with Republican Governors.

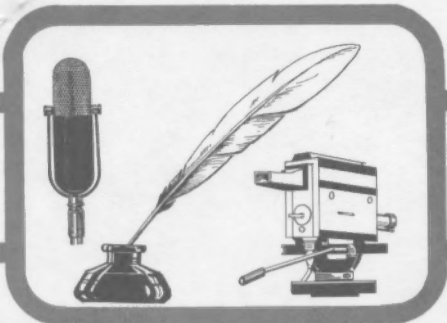
To sum up -- if every Republican Governor could help us elect two additional Republican Congressmen from his State -- or one more if that's the best he can do -- we would gain 35 seats in the next House -- a majority plus 4 -- and we would safely sew up 31 State delegations for a Republican President in a photo finish. I absolve Governors Hickel (Alaska), Samuelson (Ida.), Tiemann (Neb.), Boe (S. Dak.) and Hathaway (Wyo.) from this charge because they can't do any better for us in the House than they have already -- their delegations are 100% pure Republican.

Gentlemen, my very sincere thanks and those of all House Republicans for the great and growing contribution you are making to the revival of our party. One of the earliest visitors to this hospitable State was Ponce De Leon, who was looking for the Fountain of Youth. Some say he found it and is alive and well today in Miami Beach.

I hope Republicans will go forth from Miami Beach next summer rejuvenated, reunited and rededicated -- one for all and all for one -- to a great Republican victory and a new era for America.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

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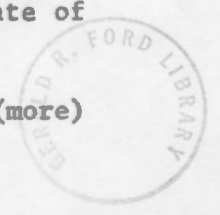
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Just a year ago when I last met with you in Colorado, none of us could quite believe our good fortune at the polls. But the trend is genuine and continuing. Many Republicans can share credit for this upsurge, but at bedrock lies the patient, painstaking job of party-building which Ray Bliss has been doing night and day. One of Ray's not-so-secret formulas is simply getting Republicans together and talking things out face to face, whether in the National Coordinating Committee or in conferences and seminars all over the country. Invariably, Ray throws his weight on the side of party unity and Republican harmony, and we are all beneficiaries.

I could wish that all the Governors and all Senators and Congressmen of our Party would get together periodically between conventions for more eyeball-to-eyeball discussions. There's no limit to the help we can give one another within the Republican fraternity and, believe me, that's the only way we're ever going to get this great country out of the mess it's in.

Last year we scored a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives. These gains were made in 33 States, offset by losses in 3 States. We held our own in 14 States. At the same time, Republican governors were winning in 24 States and, generally, where Republican Governors won big, our House candidates did well. We picked up five more members each in my own state of Michigan and in Ohio--and three in California.

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Though 1968 is a Presidential year, I think it's doubly urgent that Republicans pursue the "all for one and one for all" principle clear up and down the ticket. If we do elect a President, if he is to undertake the serious tasks that must be done, he will need strong support on Capitol Hill and in the State houses. There will be 1968 contests for the Governorship in 20 of the States where House Republicans either gained, or held their own, in 1966, plus New Mexico and Louisiana, which have no Republican Congressmen.

Assuming we regain the current California vacancy, we need another net increase of 31 seats to control the House of Representatives. This goal is realistically within our party's grasp. Just how and just where we hope to do it I will leave to our expert, Bob Wilson of California, the tireless chairman of our national Congressional Campaign Committee. If anyone can bring in those 31 extra Republicans, Bob will.

Every member of the House will be running next November on his own record and the record of the 90th Congress. Republicans will have a far better record to take home to the voters than the Democrats who have been in charge. This is only half-time, of course, with another year to go. But let me give you a brief, and perhaps prejudiced, progress report.

We are still the minority party in the House, 186 to 247.

The Democratic majority leadership, and the Democratic chairmen of all House Committees, determine absolutely what measures shall come before the House, in what form they come, when they come, and the rules under which they will be considered. Whatever the Founding Fathers intended, in practice the President proposes legislation and Congress disposes. The news spotlight naturally is focused on the fate of the Administration's program rather than upon our Republican alternatives and initiatives.

Nevertheless, this Ford and Co. does have some better ideas! And we have successfully written many of them into law this year. Often we have recognized and successfully reflected the will of the great majority of Americans when the Johnson Administration has not. With 47 reinforcements on our team, it has been a different ballgame. And we have been in the ballgame every minute since January 10th when we defeated the Democratic leadership's effort to seat former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.).

Most important, Republicans in the House have fought all year for fiscal responsibility and against an inflationary level of domestic spending on top of

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heavy wartime demands. On 23 key economy votes, Republicans averaged 85% for restraint and Democrats averaged only 17%. Moreover, we won 11 of these 23 showdowns. As the session ends, President Johnson is grudgingly coming around to our position after upping his deficit conjecture to \$35 billion and feeling the foundations of the dollar shaking.

Similarly, during the year the President belatedly embraced our Republican call for restoration of the investment tax credit and gave a long-overdue go-ahead to close the Anti-Ballistic-Missile defense gap, which may someday save millions of American lives.

These were two of the 40 specific Republican recommendations for domestic action advanced last January in our Republican appraisal of the State of the Union.

Running through these 40 points, I was agreeably surprised to find that Republicans in this Congress have succeeded in enacting into law, gaining approval either by the House or the Senate, or advancing favorable committee consideration of 15 out of 30 domestic proposals, and all but one of our 10 national security recommendations. Sixty percent isn't a bad score for the minority.

Republican pressure compelled the House to create a Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, a balanced package of law enforcement legislation, improvements in Social Security and Viet-Nam veterans benefits, honest bookkeeping on participation sales borrowing, and slow but steady progress towards a Clean Election law for 1968. Republican insistence on the principle of revenue sharing and greater State control of Federal programs resulted in marked improvement of the Comprehensive Health Act, the Law Enforcement Assistance and Juvenile Delinquency Acts, the Air Quality and the Federal Meat Inspection Acts of 1967.

This is quite a change from the Great Society Rubber Stamp that was worn down to a nubbin during 1965 and 1966. The late unlamented 89th Congress sowed the wind of the fiscal whirlwind that now frightens the world. In this Congress we have won some and lost some; we have made some mistakes and we have learned some lessons; but all in all we are writing a responsible and constructive Republican record for 1968.

When we have won -- and we aren't finished yet -- it has been due to a degree of teamwork and solidarity among House Republicans unmatched in my 19 years in Congress. This has been achieved by the broadening of our leadership base, which now includes, besides Bob Wilson and myself, Les Arends of Illinois,

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Mel Laird of Wisconsin, John Rhodes of Arizona, H. Allen Smith of California, Charlie Goodell of New York, Dick Poff of Virginia and Bill Cramer of Florida. Naturally the news emphasizes those times when so many Republicans vote with the Democrats or so many Democrats vote with the Republicans. But the cold record of this session shows that Republicans generally stuck together when the chips were down. Les Arends' whip organization has never performed more effectively.

Of course we have varying viewpoints -- we are supposed to. These have been aired and threshed out in frank but friendly House Republican conferences of all our members, chaired by the able Mel Laird, and within the representative House Republican Policy Committee under the dedicated guidance of John Rhodes.

Our Policy Committee in 29 spirited meetings has taken 30 formal and public policy stands on pending matters. These recommended 10 affirmative measures to implement major Republican programs supported 13 legislative solutions to major problems or improvements in present laws, proposed constructive changes in 5 key measures, and twice opposed a debt ceiling increase that was excessive and inflationary.

In 24 instances these issues came to a rollcall vote. Of course, the Policy Committee's conclusions are not binding upon any Republican member. But the record shows an average of 96% of Republicans present and voting supported the party policy position.

I think that's terrific -- and so, secretly, do our Democratic rivals in the House. If they had 96% unity they could prevail every time in this Congress as they did in the last one. In their frustration, the President and the Democratic leadership have publicly made a curious confession -- that the Democratic Party cannot govern the country unless it has a 2/3s majority in the legislative branch!

Republicans will settle for a simple working majority.

In those 24 rollcalls where Republicans stood together 96%, our position prevailed 18 times. Where we staked out a responsible Republican stand on major issues in advance, we scored 75% of the time. I think we're both ready and able to organize the next House.

A Republican majority in the House of Representatives, with Republicans running its committees and directing its labors, would be the best thing for the country even if President Johnson were to win re-election. But it will be absolutely imperative for any Republican President to have a Republican House

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if he is to have a real opportunity to enact a Republican program of redirection and reform.

I was most impressed with the recent warning of our host, Governor Kirk, that every Republican campaign headquarters in 1968 should display a large sign saying: "Remember 1948!"

I remember 1948 as one always remembers his first campaign. I made it, but I had to wait four years for a Republican President and 12 long years for a Republican Governor, by which time we again had a Democrat in the White House. I must say both President Eisenhower and Governor Romney were eminently worth waiting for, but I surely second Gov. Kirk's caution against Republican overconfidence.

Times do change. In 1948 President Truman had a balanced budget of \$33 billion -- just about the size of President Johnson's conjectured deficit for 1968! And President Truman had his troubles from a Wallace on his left and a McCarthy on his right.

But the 1968 threats of a Senator McCarthy on the left and a George Wallace on the right pose problems for Republicans as well as for President Johnson. The prospect of a third or fourth party Presidential candidate winning the electoral votes of some States is a serious possibility. In a close election, the choice of our next President could be thrown into the House of Representatives for the first time since 1825.

After 142 years of disuse it's not surprising most Americans have forgotten that when there's no majority in the Electoral College, and the House of Representatives chooses the President from the top three contenders, we ballot not as individual Members but by State delegations.

Thus the States represented in the House by one Congressman -- and four out of five of these are now Republicans -- count as much in a Presidential runoff as the big House delegations of New York, California and Texas, now Democratic. And those States where party strength is equal or tied, as Illinois, Oregon and Montana now are, would have no voice at all in the decision.

It's quite conceivable that we could win a majority in the House next November and still fall short of the absolute majority of 26 State delegations required to decide a close Presidential contest. Right now we hold only 18 Republican delegations, while the Democrats dominate 29, and three are "even-steven."

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But the odds on our picking up eight more State delegations are not as bad as they look.

For instance, there are seven States where one Republican replacing an incumbent Democrat in the House would switch control of the State delegation from Democrat to Republican, the three tied delegations already mentioned plus Pennsylvania, Nevada, Kentucky and Tennessee. And we have Republican Governors in 5 of these 7.

There also are 11 States where a switch would tie up the delegation and deny it to the Democrats, while a net gain of two Republican seats would win them for the Republican standard-bearer. They are Virginia (R4-D6), Arkansas (R1-D3), Colorado (R1-D3), Maryland (R3-D5), Oklahoma (R2-D4), Massachusetts (R5-D7), New Mexico (D2), Hawaii (D2), Rhode Island (D2), Alabama (R3-D5) and Maine (D2). Seven of these 11 States are now blessed with Republican Governors.

To sum up -- if every Republican Governor could help us elect two additional Republican Congressmen from his State -- or one more if that's the best he can do -- we would gain 35 seats in the next House -- a majority plus 4 -- and we would safely sew up 31 State delegations for a Republican President in a photo finish. I absolve Governors Hickel (Alaska), Samuelson (Ida.), Tiemann (Neb.), Boe (S. Dak.) and Hathaway (Wyo.) from this charge because they can't do any better for us in the House than they have already -- their delegations are 100% pure Republican.

Gentlemen, my very sincere thanks and those of all House Republicans for the great and growing contribution you are making to the revival of our party. One of the earliest visitors to this hospitable State was Ponce De Leon, who was looking for the Fountain of Youth. Some say he found it and is alive and well today in Miami Beach.

I hope Republicans will go forth from Miami Beach next summer rejuvenated, reunited and rededicated -- one for all and all for one -- to a great Republican victory and a new era for America.

#

CHARTS FORD-WILSON
PRESENTATION TO GOP GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

Needed Thursday Dec. 7 SURE
(Deliver to Paul Theis)

Chart No. 1 -- Map of United States
blue

In ~~red~~: 33 states where GOP gained House seats in 1966

Michigan-plus 5
Ohio-plus 5
Iowa-plus 4
California-plus 3
Wisconsin-plus 2
Kentucky-plus 2
Texas-plus 2
New Jersey-plus 2
Virginia-plus 2
Alaska-plus 1
Arizona-plus 1
Arkansas-plus 1
Colorado-plus 1
Connecticut-plus 1
Delaware-plus 1
Florida-plus 1
Georgia-plus 1
~~Idaho~~-plus 1
Illinois-plus 1
Indiana-plus 1
Maryland-plus 1
Minnesota-plus 1
Nebraska-plus 1
New Hampshire-plus 1
New York-plus 1
North Carolina-plus 1
North Dakota-plus 1
Oklahoma-plus 1
Oregon-plus 1
Pennsylvania-plus 1
Tennessee-plus 1
Utah-plus 1
Wyoming-plus 1

No color: 14 states with no net change.

Kansas ~~7/6~~
Massachusetts ~~10/5/10/7/10/1~~
Missouri ~~10/5/1~~
Montana
New Mexico
Hawaii
Louisiana
Nevada
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Vermont
Washington
West Virginia

In red: Three states where GOP lost House seats in 1966.

Alabama-minus 2
Maine-minus 1
Mississippi-minus 1



First transparent overlay for chart No. 1

²⁴
24 states where GOP governors won in 1966 or 1967

Michigan
Ohio
California
Wisconsin
Kentucky (1967)
Alaska
Arizona
Arkansas
Colorado

Florida
Idaho
Maryland
Minnesota
Nebraska
New York
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania

Wyoming
Massachusetts
New Mexico
Nevada
Rhode Island
South Dakota

The second transparent overlay for chart No. 1

²²
22 states which will elect a governor in 1968

Iowa
Texas
Arizona
Arkansas
Delaware
Illinois
Indiana
New Hampshire
North Carolina
North Dakota
Utah

Kansas
Missouri
Montana
New Mexico
Louisiana
Rhode Island
South Dakota
Vermont
Washington
West Virginia

Wisconsin



Chart No. 2-Map of United States

In blue: 18 states with GOP majority in House delegations, 90th Congress

Michigan R-12 D-7
Ohio R19 D-5
Iowa R-5 D-2
Wisconsin R-7 D-3
Alaska R-1
Arizona R-2 D-1
Delaware R-1
Idaho R-2
Indiana R-6 D-5
Minnesota R-5 D-3

Nebraska R-3
New Hampshire R-2
North Dakota R-2
Utah R-2
Wyoming R-1
Kansas R-5
South Dakota R-2
Vermont R-1

In red: 29 states with Democratic majority in House delegations, 90th Congress

California R-~~17~~¹⁶ D-21 (1 vac.)
Kentucky R-3 D-4
Texas R-2 D21
New Jersey R-6 D-9
Virginia R-4 D-6
Arkansas R-1 D-3
Colorado R-1 D-3
Connecticut R-1 D-5
Florida R-3 D-9
Georgia R-2 D-8
Maryland R-3 D-5
New York R-15 D-~~21~~²⁵ (1 vac.)
North Carolina R-3 D-8
Oklahoma R-2 D-4
Pennsylvania R-13 D-14

Tennessee R-4 D-5
Massachusetts R-5 D-7
Missouri R-2 D-8
New Mexico D2
Hawaii D-2
Louisiana D-8
Nevada D-1
Rhode Island D-2
South Carolina R-1 D-5
Washington R-2 D-5
West Virginia R-1 D-4
Alabama R-3 D-5
Maine D-2
Mississippi D-5

No color: Three states with equal party strength in House delegations, 90th Congress

Illinois R-12 D-12
Oregon R-2 D-2
Montana R-1 D-1



First transparent overlay for chart No. 2

Seven states where one seat needed for GOP majority in House delegation

- Illinois**
- Oregon**
- Montana**
- Pennsylvania**
- Nebraska**
- Kentucky**
- Tennessee**

Second transparent overlay for chart No. 2

11 states where two seats needed for GOP majority in House delegation

- Virginia**
- Arkansas**
- Colorado**
- Maryland**
- Oklahoma**
- Massachusetts**
- New Mexico**
- Hawaii**
- Rhode Island**
- Alabama**
- Maine**





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of America

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House of Representatives

HOUSE REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS—FIRST SESSION, 90TH CONGRESS

Mr. RHODES of Arizona, Mr. Speaker, in the first session of the 90th Congress, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have compiled a remarkable record of achievement and progress. In committee and on the House floor, many legislative measures that update existing programs or establish a new and sound approach to problem solving at the Federal level have been developed or substantially improved through Republican efforts.

On January 19, 1967, the minority leader, GERALD R. FORD, presented the domestic portion of the Republican appraisal of the state of the Union. In this appraisal, there was presented a 40-point program of constructive Republican proposals for consideration by the 90th Congress. Thirty of these proposals were in the area of Republican alternatives to the tired and outdated approaches of the Johnson administration and the Democratic congressional majority. This was admittedly an ambitious program, but it was a program that responded to the needs of the 1960's and the challenges of the 1970's.

Since the first of the year, the House Republican policy committee has held 29 meetings and adopted 30 policy statements. The discussion at these meetings and the action taken by the committee have played an important part in formulating sound legislation and fostering the broadest possible public understanding of the Republican proposals. In the 30 policy statements, the policy committee: First, recommended 10 affirmative measures to implement Republican programs; second, supported 13 legislative proposals that provide solutions to major problems or basic improvements in present laws; third, proposed constructive changes and substantive improvements to five key measures; and, fourth, twice opposed debt ceiling increases that failed to deal with nonessential spending and greater budget deficits.

In the 24 cases where a rollcall vote was taken on the amendment or position supported by the policy committee, 96.1 percent of the Republican Members voting, voted in agreement with the policy committee. And in 18 cases, the bill or amendment supported by the policy committee was adopted by the House of Representatives.

The policy committee statements, and the positions that they contain, have been addressed to the vital issues and problems that presently challenge this country. They reflect hours of study and provide specific and workable suggestions for improving old programs or initiating needed new legislation. They express a determination that the basic changes and improvements demanded by the American people in the 1966 election shall be given at least a fair hearing and, if at all possible, enacted into law by this Congress.

FIGHTING INFLATION AND WILD GOVERNMENT SPENDING

The first-session of the 90th Congress has witnessed a continuing battle by House Republicans against the spending policies of the Johnson administration—spending policies that fed the inflationary fires, skyrocketed interest rates and dramatically increased an already swol-

len budgetary deficit.

The budget for fiscal 1958 totaled \$73.3 billion. Today the Federal Government is spending at an annual rate in excess of \$140 billion. In the 5-year period of the Johnson administration, the Federal Government has spent \$60.487 billion more than it has taken in. The non-defense spending by the Federal Government in 1960 was \$48.6 billion. The estimated nondefense spending for fiscal year 1968 is \$95.6 billion. And now, the administration's January 1967 forecast of an \$8.7 billion deficit for fiscal 1968 has been shot upward by President Johnson to a staggering \$30 to \$35 billion.

The second and third installments on the grandiose Great Society programs that were hastily enacted by President Johnson and his rubberstamp Democratic majority in the 89th Congress are now due. The combination of Great Society spending and increased defense expenditures has resulted in an inflationary spiral that has reached an annual rate of 4.4 percent and the cost of living has risen 12.6 percent since January 1961. Key interest rates are soaring out of control and may zoom to heights not reached since the 19th century.

Despite the seriousness of the present situation, the Johnson administration refused to cut back on nonessential spending and establish spending priorities. It waited until August 3, 1967, to request a tax increase and then offered dubious promises of future frugality. Only recently has President Johnson finally faced up to the fact that "the cruelest tax of all is the inflation tax." It was not until November 29, 1967, 11 days after the fateful devaluation of the British pound, that a specific plan for expenditure reduction was submitted to Congress by the Johnson administration.

In an effort to stem the inflationary tide, House Republicans led the fight to cut nondefense spending. An increase in the public debt ceiling that sanctioned the Johnson administration's dangerous and irresponsible approach to Federal spending and budget deficits was opposed on three different occasions. On March 22, 1967, the policy committee urged the adoption of a Republican resolution that would return the 1968 budget to the President and request that he indicate the places and amounts where he believes that reductions can be made. This resolution was pigeonholed by the Democratic majority. However, a Republican proposal that imposed a \$131.5 billion limitation on Government spending except for added expenditures that might be necessary for Vietnam, and could lead to a spending reduction of at least \$5 billion, was adopted by the House of Representatives on October 18, 1967. And, as a result of Republican efforts, approximately \$4 billion has been pared from the administration's request for new spending authority.

Republicans have made it abundantly clear that if the President is sincere about wanting a tax increase, he must take the first step toward reestablishing his fiscal credibility. He must cooperate in making a significant cut in the expenditure level of this Government—see February 8, March 22, June 7 and 21, and October 18, 1967, policy committee statements.

THE CRISIS IN THE CITIES

Although billions and billions of dollars have been spent by an ever-increas-

ing Washington bureaucracy, solutions have not been found to the many problems that face urban America. It is interesting to note that even liberal Democrats such as Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor and now director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Affairs, has stated that:

We must abandon the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington.

The Great Society program that is built around the concept of the categorical grants administered by huge Federal bureaucracies has not delivered the goods. Waste, inefficiency, and few real results have been the rule rather than the exception. In an effort to counter this trend, the Republican Members of Congress have advocated a system of block grants that encourages maximum State coordination and permits the States and localities to establish priorities and run their own programs with a minimum of Federal interference.

The recently enacted Comprehensive Health Act provides one of the best examples of what can be done under the block grant approach. This Republican-sponsored and supported act consolidated 16 separately administered public health programs and permitted the States to develop plans, establish priorities, and coordinate local activities. Under this approach, the priority health problems in each State and community whether they stem from communicable disease, narcotics, or rat infestation can be identified and programs designed to combat the problems established and properly funded. The bill will provide more than \$900 million for comprehensive health grants to the various States during the next 3 years. See September 19, 1967, policy committee statement.

The House-passed Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act as it was improved and perfected by Republican amendments, employs the block grant approach. It provides maximum State and local control over law enforcement and minimum Federal interference. The Republican initiated and supported Air Quality Act encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by States. And the House-adopted Meat Inspection Act establishes a viable Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program.

The principle of block grants also prevailed in the final House version of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In this legislation, a portion of the massive educational program has been returned to State control and planning. See April 19 and August 2, 1967, policy committee statements.

PUBLIC SAFETY—ASSISTING STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

This year alone urban rioting has caused more than \$100,000,000 in property damage. Cities, counties, and States have spent millions in overtime for police and fire departments and calling up of National Guard units. More than 16,000 persons have been arrested during outbreaks of violence in 67 cities, more than 3,200 injured and 85 killed.

The current "Uniform Crime Reports" reveal that serious crime in the United States increased 11 percent in 1966 when

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compared with 1965. All crime index offenses showed substantial increases in volume. Crimes of violence were up 11 percent with a 9-percent increase in murder, 10 percent in aggravated assault, 10 percent in forcible rape, and 14 percent in robbery.

These statistics starkly dramatize the crisis in law enforcement in this country. The very ability of government to maintain law and order and to provide personal safety has been challenged as never before. Local law enforcement, criminal justice, techniques of correction and rehabilitation must be updated and improved.

In response to this challenge, Republican-sponsored legislation that would impose criminal penalties upon persons traveling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent to incite a riot was enacted by the House of Representatives. This legislation represents the legitimate exercise of Federal power under authority based on the commerce clause of the Constitution. Historically, certain types of conduct have been prohibited by Federal statute when the facilities of interstate commerce are used. The Republican-sponsored antiriot legislation follows this pattern of asserting Federal authority. The provisions of the bill supplement not supersede local law enforcement. By assuring Federal jurisdiction over out-of-state inciters, State and local authorities are assisted in keeping the peace and protecting the public safety. See July 12, 1967, policy committee statement.

Republicans also supported the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967. This legislation establishes a Federal program to provide assistance to local law enforcement agencies. Key Republican amendments offered and adopted on the floor of the House materially strengthened this bill. These amendments, which were supported by the National Governor's Conference, curb the unlimited power of the Attorney General and provide essential State coordination and control. Each State is authorized to develop a state-wide comprehensive law enforcement plan and establish a State agency to administer the plan. Once this plan is accepted, all Federal assistance goes to the State agency which in turn distributes the aid to local law enforcement agencies. See August 2, 1967, policy committee statement.

ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM

On August 9, 1967, the Republican policy committee urged the Johnson administration to provide the American people with an effective antiballistic missile system. In calling for immediate action, the committee noted: First, the Soviets have been building and deploying their ABM system for some time. Second, the Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously support the position that this country should now proceed to deploy. Third, Congress has appropriated sufficient funds for this purpose. Fourth, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has warned:

A low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communists against the United States by the early 1970's. At present we do not have an effective anti-ballistic missile system which could repel such a suicidal (for the Chinese) but nevertheless possible strike.

On September 19, 1967, the Johnson administration finally heeded these warnings and announced that the United States this year would start building a \$5 billion missile defense system. The importance of this decision to go forward with the establishment of a defense against missiles has been underlined by the recent announcement that the Soviet has developed a fractional orbital bombardment system that would cut the warning time of targets in America from 15 to 3 minutes. See August 9, 1967, policy committee statement.

S O S—S O S—THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Deeply concerned that the Johnson administration has permitted the American maritime industry to drift into a major crisis, the policy committee issued a call for immediate action and endorsed legislation sponsored by the Republican members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee that would establish an independent Maritime Administration. It is both ironic and deeply dis-

turbing that in a period of continued American decline the other maritime nations of the world are building up their merchant fleets. In 1963, the Russians constructed 115 ships while America launched 31. Between 1959 and 1963, the American fleet increased by 20 fewer ships than the Russians produced in the single year 1963.

In response to the Republican call to action, legislation establishing an independent Federal Maritime Administration was enacted by the House of Representatives. This legislation can facilitate the development of a forward-looking maritime program and help to bring an end to the present period of neglect, confusion, and inactivity. Unless our shipbuilding effort is increased, our defense commitments throughout the world will be in jeopardy. Our national survival may depend upon the shipping that should be under construction but which the Johnson administration has scuttled—see May 3 and October 11, 1967, policy committee statement.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM AND REORGANIZATION

Unless Congress is strengthened and new procedures and techniques developed, the historic roll of Congress as an essential check on the massive power of the executive branch may be dangerously diluted. The enactment of a mass of open-ended legislation has created an escalating bureaucracy that is in no way responsible to the voters of the country. Congress, limited as to staff and access to pertinent information, cannot adequately audit the mass of Federal activities and programs. A spittoon approach to the problems of a computerized society is no longer adequate. Early in the session, the policy committee advocated legislation that would update and modernize Congress. This legislation would:

First. Establish a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations with continuing authority to study the structure and procedures of Congress and to recommend additional reforms and changes.

Second. Protect the rights of the minority through the provision of additional committee staff and the right to present minority views and reports.

Third. Authorize measures designed to assist Members of Congress in the performance of their congressional duties.

Fourth. Implement fiscal controls and budgetary reforms that would include a greater utilization of the General Accounting Office.

Fifth. Establish a bill of rights for congressional committees.

The policy committee also urged the immediate establishment of a Select Committee on Congressional Standards and Conduct which would be provided with the authority to establish a code of ethics, investigate alleged breaches of conduct, recommend appropriate action, and report violations of law to the proper local and State authorities. Legislation has been enacted and a code of ethics is now being drafted. This is an important first step in recapturing the public confidence and respect that has been lost through the highly publicized allegations of misconduct against a few Members of Congress—see February 8 and May 10, 1967, policy committee statements.

EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION

As a result of hastily enacted and oftentimes competing programs that have been stacked one upon another, it is impossible for State and local officials to know what Federal programs are available for what purpose or even where to go for specific information. Moreover, old departments and agencies created and organized to meet the problems of the first half of the 20th century are now woefully antiquated. In order to provide a careful and thoughtful study well above partisan politics and interagency power fights, the policy committee recommended the establishment of a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch similar to the first and second Hoover Commissions.

This Commission would be empowered to conduct an in-depth study of the Federal Government's bureaucratic sprawl. It could probe a war on poverty that now includes more than 260 Federal programs. An answer might even be found to a mushrooming Federal bureaucracy that defies a Presidential order to cut back by adding 192,000 employees to the rolls. Recently, the Johnson administration has taken an important first step by an-

nouncing that it, too, will recommend the establishment of a Hoover-type commission to help weed out obsolete Government programs—see February 23, 1967, policy committee statement.

RESPONDING TO PUBLIC DEMANDS FOR CLEAN ELECTIONS

For some time, there has been general agreement that the laws dealing with election campaigns should be revised and updated. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act was enacted in 1925. The Hatch Act was passed 27 years ago. Recent studies such as the 1962 Report of President Kennedy's Commission on Campaign Costs reveal that present laws invite evasion and are filled with loopholes. Unless there is basic reform, public confidence in the election process will be impaired.

At the start of the 90th Congress, the policy committee urged the House leadership to schedule the Election Reform Act as one of the first pieces of legislation to receive floor consideration. Thereafter, with unanimous Republican support, an election reform bill, H.R. 11233, was reported by the subcommittee of the House Administration Committee on June 27, 1967. This is sound legislation. Through the incorporation of the following major Republican provisions, honest reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures and streamlined enforcement procedures would be insured:

First. A five-member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission is established to receive reports and statements regarding campaign contributions and expenditures.

Second. The Commission has been granted full and complete authority to enforce the provisions of the act. It is also authorized to make reports and statements available for public inspection and to prepare and publish summaries and reports.

Third. Candidates for Federal office, and political committees supporting such candidates, that accept contributions or make expenditures exceeding \$1,000 in any calendar year, are required to report contributions and expenditures.

Fourth. Donations by an individual of more than \$5,000 to any candidate or any committee supporting such candidates in any calendar year are prohibited.

Fifth. Campaign contributions by political action committees financially supported by a corporation, trade association or labor organization are regulated.

Sixth. Conventions, primaries, and party caucuses have been placed under the reporting and disclosure provisions of the bill.

Seventh. The disclosure of gifts or honorariums of more than \$100 is required of candidates for the House and Senate as well as incumbents.

At a series of committee meetings, Republican Members consistently urged that this important legislation be reported so that it could receive early floor consideration. However, their efforts were met by delaying tactics and late in the session, the election reform bill did not even appear on the administration's list of must legislation. Certainly, congressional action cannot be delayed much longer if this legislation is to be in effect and operative during the 1968 campaigns. It must receive early consideration in the second session of Congress. The American public demands and deserves an election process that commands respect and confidence.

SKILL DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

The Republican Members of Congress have long been interested in establishing a sound program that would solve this Nation's manpower problems by upgrading and developing the skills of our labor force. The Republican effort in this area began with Operation Employment in 1961-62. In this study by the Republican policy committee, leading authorities in the fields of education and on-the-job training were contacted for their comments and recommendations. The results of this study were incorporated into the Republican-proposed Manpower and Development Training Act of 1962 which was adopted in great part and enacted into law by the 87th Congress. This act has proven to be an important step in a greatly expanded war on unemployment and underemployment. For example, from August 1962 to April 1967 there were 635,000 trainees enrolled in MDTA

institutional training and 163,000 trainees enrolled in MDTA on-the-job training.

HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT

Despite the efforts that have been made under the MDTA and other costly Federal training programs, there remain today an estimated 2.7 million Americans who are chronically unemployed and hundreds of thousands of others who are underemployed. In order to meet this need, the Republicans in the House of Representatives have urged the immediate consideration of the Human Investment Act of 1967. This act is designed to encourage on-the-job training by private industry and skill development by individuals. It would offer a tax credit toward certain specified expenses of programs designed to train prospective employees and to retrain current employees for more demanding jobs. It is a proven fact that the most effective employee trainer in the Nation is private enterprise. The Human Investment Act would encourage employers throughout this country to develop and implement additional training programs that will equip thousands and thousands of individuals to cash in on the job opportunities that will be provided by the many technological changes and advances that are being developed and implemented by American industry.

HELPING THOSE ON WELFARE

One of the most perplexing problems facing this country today is the welfare problem. We have second and third generation welfare families. Their business is welfare and the payments are so good that they cannot afford to go to work. A way must be found to get these individuals trained, into private employment and off the welfare rolls.

An important first step in the solution of this terribly complicated problem has been taken by the House of Representatives during this session of Congress. The House-adopted Social Security Act amendments make a number of important changes in the program that provides aid to families with dependent children—AFDC. In the last 10 years, this program has grown from 646,000 families that included 2.4 million recipients to 1.2 million families and nearly 5 million recipients. It is estimated that the amount of Federal funds allocated to this program will increase from \$1.46 billion to \$1.84 billion over the next 5 years unless constructive and concerted action is taken. In order to reduce the AFDC rolls by restoring more families to employment and self-reliance, the States would be required to:

First. Establish a program for each AFDC adult or older child not attending school which would equip them for work and place them in a job.

Second. Establish community work and training programs throughout the State by July 1, 1969.

Third. Provide that protective payments and vendor payments be made where appropriate to protect the welfare of children.

Fourth. Furnish day-care services and other services to make it possible for adult members of the family to take training and employment.

Fifth. Have an earnings exemption to provide incentives for work by AFDC recipients.

See August 16, 1967, policy committee statement.

UPDATING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

During the 89th Congress and again in the January Republican state of the Union message, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives called for an immediate increase in social security benefits. Due to the Great Society inflation, many of our elderly citizens have been faced with a serious situation. Last year alone, the cost of living rose 3.3 percent. Cash benefits fell 7 percentage points behind the Consumer Price Index. It is unfortunate that the administration delayed action on this legislation for so long. There are nearly 40 million retired Americans who do not enjoy the benefit of rising wages and income to cope with rising prices.

The Republican-supported social security bill that has been adopted by the House, provides an across-the-board increase by 12½ percent, increases the amount an individual may earn and still get full benefits, strengthens the benefit formula and improves the health insur-

ance benefits.

Under the provisions of this bill, the amount that a person may earn and still get his benefits would be increased from \$1,500 to \$1,680 and the amount to which the \$1 for \$2 reduction would apply, would range from \$1,680 to \$2,880 a year. The amount a person may earn in 1 month would be increased from \$125 to \$140. Also, the number of days of hospitalization would be increased from 90 to 120 days. A patient would be permitted to submit his itemized bill directly to the insurance carrier for payment. And a physician no longer would be required to certify that a patient requires hospitalization at the time he enters or that a patient requires hospital outpatient services. See August 16, 1967, policy committee statements.

IMPROVING FEDERAL AND STATE MEAT INSPECTION

The Republican-supported Meat Inspection Act, establishes a cooperative Federal-State inspection system under which the Federal Government assists the States in meeting their responsibilities to provide high quality meat inspection. Federal cooperation and assistance to the States includes program planning and technical and laboratory assistance as well as financial aid up to 50 percent of the total cost of the State program.

The prohibition against counterfeiting, forgery, and other unauthorized use of official certificates, labels, and marking devices is clarified. The authority of the Department of Agriculture to regulate the marking, labeling and packaging of carcasses, meats, and meat food products is clearly defined. The same standards, that apply to meat and meat products produced and processed within the United States is extended to imported meat.

This legislation does not preempt the jurisdiction of the States over intrastate commerce. An amendment that would have virtually eliminated State inspection programs and assigned the responsibility of State and local health protection, at an additional annual cost of \$31.2 million, to the Federal Government was rejected.

Under the provisions of this act, a viable Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program is established. New protection is afforded to the consumer. This legislation strengthens and improves a meat packing and processing industry that has \$16 billion in annual gross sales and that provides \$13 billion in yearly sales of livestock to the American farmer—see October 31, 1967, policy committee statement.

LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF OUR AIR HAS A HIGH PRIORITY

The Republican-supported Air Quality Act of 1967 encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States. It provides \$428 million over a 3-year period for air control research, studies, planning and grants to States and air pollution agencies.

Air pollution is no longer just a threat, it is a present menace to the health and well-being of the American people. Approximately 130 million tons of pollutants are discharged annually into the Nation's atmosphere, an average of 1,400 pounds for each American. This pollution is a byproduct of our highly developed economy. It stems from the rising number of motor vehicles, and from the trend toward urbanization which concentrates the highest levels of pollution in the most populated areas. Economic and mechanical progress has meant the deterioration of our precious air supply. Smog, damage to health and property, and even death have resulted from the pollution of our air.

For some time, the Republican Party has recognized that steps must be taken to improve this Nation's knowledge and technical capability to meet the air pollution problem. In his 1955 state of the Union address, President Eisenhower urged the enactment of air pollution legislation. With the support of Republicans of both Houses of Congress, the first legislation in this field was enacted by the 84th Congress. The Air Quality Act materially strengthens and improves this basic legislation. See October 25, 1967, policy committee statement.

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENTS AND FLOOR VOTES

First. February 8, 1967: Adopted a

statement urging the immediate consideration and enactment of the Election Reform Act of 1967 which has been sponsored and introduced by Republican Members. This act would establish a five-member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission which would receive, investigate, and audit campaign contributions and expenditure reports and statements.

Second. February 8, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate establishment of a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. This 12-member committee would be empowered to recommend rules and regulations to insure proper standards of conduct by Members and officers and employees of the House. Also, it would have the authority to investigate alleged breaches of conduct, recommend appropriate action and report violations of law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

H. Res. 418 (Apr. 13, 1967), final passage:

Yea	175
Nay	0
Not voting	12
Percentage	100

Third. February 8, 1967: Opposed H.R. 4573 which would raise the debt ceiling to \$336 billion without making certain basic budgetary reforms. Urged the adoption of an amendment which would include as a part of the public debt participation certificates sold as full faith and credit obligations. Also, urged the adoption of an amendment which would permit the Secretary of the Treasury to save as much as \$50 million in annual interest payments by issuing up to \$6 billion long-term Treasury obligations on the same interest basis as short-term obligations.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	153
Nay	23
Not voting	11
Percentage	86.9

Final passage:

Yea	2
Nay	173
Not voting	12
Percentage	98.8

Fourth. February 23, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration and enactment of legislation sponsored and introduced by Republican Members that would establish a Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government—new Hoover Commission.

Fifth. March 8, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration of legislation introduced by Republican Members that would eliminate political favoritism and insure the recognition and promotion of able and experienced career postal employees.

Sixth. March 15, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration of the Human Investment Act of 1967. This Republican-sponsored legislation would encourage American business to invest in our No. 1 resource—the American working man and woman. It would stimulate the initiation and expansion of job training and retraining programs by providing a tax credit for certain expense of such programs.

Seventh. March 22, 1967: Commended the Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee for their excellent analysis and review of the 1967 Economic Report of the President. Urged the enactment of a Republican resolution that would return the 1968 budget to the President and request that he indicate the places and amounts where he believes substantial reductions may be made.

Eighth. April 5, 1967: Urged the updating and revision of the copyright law, H.R. 2512. This law would insure that authors receive the encouragement they need to create and the remuneration they deserve for their creations.

Final passage:

Yea	182
Nay	1
Not voting	4
Percentage	99.4

Ninth. April 5, 1967: Urged the creation of a bipartisan Congressional Committee on Captive Nations. There is an obligation to promote the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever they may be denied or threatened. If we are to consider building bridges to the East, such an effort should start with the people in the

captive nations.

Tenth. April 19, 1967: Urged basic reforms in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Under the present law, Federal support intended to improve elementary and secondary education has been used to undermine State and local initiative and responsibility. Urged an amendment to provide block grants to the States for educational purposes. Such grants would replace the multiplicity of categorical grant-in-aid programs now in operation.

Block grant amendment:

Yea	154
Nay	26
Not voting	7
Percentage	85.5

Eleventh. April 26, 1967: Adopted a statement regarding congressional redistricting which noted that the establishment of precise criteria for congressional redistricting is a matter for Congress. If Congress does not establish guidelines for the State to follow, the districts in 22 States or 297 congressional districts may be ruled invalid. H.R. 2508 would provide congressional standards for the State to follow in the establishment of districts for the election of representatives to Congress.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	158
Nay	3
Not voting	26
Percentage	98.1

Final passage:

Yea	141
Nay	15
Not voting	31
Percentage	90.3

Twelfth. May 3, 1967: Urged the prompt enactment of legislation to prohibit the deliberate and defiant desecration of the American flag.

H.R. 10480 final passage:

Yea	175
Nay	0
Not voting	12
Percentage	100

Thirteenth. May 3, 1967: Adopted a statement that warns of a national crisis in the American maritime industry that has been triggered by the neglect, confusion, and general inability of the Johnson-Humphrey administration to meet the mounting maritime problem. Urged the revitalization and modernization of our shipbuilding industry so that the demands of the future can be met. Called for the development of a meaningful maritime policy that will incorporate a forward-looking ship replacement program.

Fourteenth. May 10, 1967: Adopted a statement which urged prompt action on the congressional reorganization legislation, S. 355. The awesome problems of today and the challenges of the 1970's demand an efficient and effective Congress. Unless Congress is strengthened, there is grave danger that the historic role of Congress as an essential check on the massive power of the Executive may be dangerously diluted.

Fifteenth. May 24, 1967: Adopted a statement supporting the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, S. 1432. This legislation updates and improves the present Selective Service System in a number of important respects. It establishes uniform criteria for future undergraduate college student deferments.

Final passage:

Yea	164
Nay	0
Not voting	22
Percentage	100

Sixteenth. June 7, 1967: Adopted a statement in opposition to H.R. 10328 which would increase the public debt ceiling by \$29 billion. Urged a cutback in nonessential spending and honest reporting of anticipated Government expenditures. This must be done if we are to avoid a runaway economy that may lead to Government control of wages, prices, and credit as well as further increases in taxes.

Final passage:

Yea	0
Nay	176
Not voting	11
Percentage	100

Seventeenth. June 14, 1967: Adopted a statement on the railroad labor dispute legislation, House Joint Resolution 559, pointing out that due to the vacillating performance of the Johnson-Humphrey administration, the country is faced with a tragic situation. Legislation must be enacted, for in this period of international tensions and war, a chaotic nationwide railway strike cannot be permitted. No

record vote.

Eighteenth. June 21, 1967: Opposed H.R. 10867 which would increase the borrowing authority of the Treasury to a maximum of \$365 billion. Urged the continuation of the present \$336 billion debt limit. This would be adequate to finance the Government expenditures through September 30, 1967, and would afford the Johnson-Humphrey administration another opportunity to review and reassess its fiscal policies and forward to Congress up-to-date and credible information regarding anticipated expenditures and revenues.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	169
Nay	10
Not voting	7
Percentage	94.4

Final passage:

Yea	0
Nay	176
Not voting	10
Percentage	100

Nineteenth. July 12, 1967: Urged the prompt enactment of antiriot legislation, H.R. 421. This Republican-sponsored legislation would impose criminal penalties upon persons traveling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent to incite a riot.

Final passage:

Yea	180
Nay	4
Not voting	2
Percentage	97.8

Twentieth. July 19, 1967: Urged the House-Senate conference on the National Aeronautics and Space Administration authorization bill to accept the key Republican amendments which were adopted on the floor of the House. These amendments reduce the funds requested by NASA by \$201.4 million, establish an independent safety panel in NASA and require the Space Administration on its own initiative to keep Congress fully and currently informed of problem areas in the space effort.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	157
Nay	20
Not voting	9
Percentage	88.7

Twenty-first. August 2, 1967: Adopted a statement with respect to the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967, H.R. 5037 which urged the adoption of three key amendments. The States must be given the authority to coordinate applications for assistance and distribute aid to local law enforcement activities. An appropriate allocation formula should be adopted that would limit the Attorney General's unchecked discretion to distribute funds. A National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice which would be authorized to establish regional training institutes should be established.

Amendment that would grant authority to States:

Yea	172
Nay	4
Not voting	10
Percentage	98.8

Final passage:

Yea	173
Nay	1
Not voting	12
Percentage	99.4

Twenty-second. August 9, 1967: Urged the Johnson-Humphrey administration to provide the American people with an effective antiballistic missile system. The Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously support the position that this country should deploy an antiballistic missile system. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has warned:

A low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communist against the United States by the early 1970's.

Twenty-third. August 16, 1967: Supported H.R. 12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967. This bill provides an across-the-board increase of 12½ percent, increases the amount an individual may earn and still get full benefits, strengthens the benefit formula, improves the health insurance benefits, and requires the development of programs under Aid to Families with Dependent Children—AFDC—that would insure that individuals receiving aid would be trained to enter the labor force as soon as possible.

Final passage:

Yea	182
Nay	1
Not voting	3
Percentage	90.4

Twenty-fourth. September 13, 1967: Adopted a statement with respect to the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendment of 1967 and Amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, S. 602, which urged that the Appalachian region be retained in its present size, that the authorization be restricted to its current amount and that the amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act be deleted.

Amendment to reduce authorization by \$50 million:

Yea	146
Nay	14
Not voting	26
Percentage	91.2

Motion to recommit:

Yea	143
Nay	17
Not voting	26
Percentage	89.3

Twenty-fifth. September 19, 1967: Supported the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967—H.R. 6418. This Republican sponsored and supported proposal provides \$892 million in comprehensive health grants to the States during the next 3 years. With these funds each State and locality will be able to zero in on its most serious public health problem whether it is due to rat infestation or some other cause.

Final Passage:

Yea	172
Nay	4
Not voting	10
Percentage	97.7

Twenty-sixth. October 11, 1967: Supported H.R. 159 which would create an independent Federal Maritime Administration.

Final Passage:

Yea	162
Nay	5
Not voting	19
Percentage	97

Twenty-seventh. October 18, 1967: Adopted a statement supporting a reduction of at least \$5 billion in governmental expenditures. Urged that a spending ceiling be imposed so that the anticipated Budget expenditures for fiscal year 1968 would be reduced from \$136.5 to \$131.5 billion.

H.J. Res. 888—Spending ceiling amendment:

Yea	171
Nay	9
Not voting	6
Percentage	95

Twenty-eighth. October 25, 1967: Supported the Air Quality Act of 1967, S. 780. This legislation encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States. It provides \$362.3 million over a 3-year period for air control research, studies, planning, and grants to States and air pollution agencies.

Final passage:

Yea	161
Nay	0
Not voting	25
Percentage	100.0

Twenty-ninth. October 31, 1967: Supported the Federal Meat Inspection Act, H.R. 12144. This legislation updates and revises the act of March 4, 1907, the Horsemeat Act and the Imported Meat Act into a single new statute. It broadens the present meat inspection service by establishing a Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program. The Department of Agriculture is provided with authority to eliminate practices that could defraud consumers and endanger the public health.

Final passage:

Yea	179
Nay	1
Not voting	6
Percentage	99.4

Thirtieth. November 8, 1967: Urged the prompt consideration of clean elections legislation. On June 27, 1967, a bipartisan election reform bill, H.R. 11233, was reported by a subcommittee of the House Administration Committee. This legislation contains the basic reforms advocated and supported by President Johnson and the Republican congressional leadership. With the next presidential and congressional elections less than 1 year away, congressional action cannot be delayed if this legislation is to be in effect and operative during the 1968 campaigns.

Total average..... 96.1

(13) for 31 states

18 + 2 = 20

20
14
~~94~~
+1
35
Also
Add to
Use GOP

From the desk of

Add to
Rep Pres

ROBERT T. HARTMANN
+ 2 Reps

R.I. Ky okla Minn. Mich
wash Ark Ore N.Y. Ohio
Pa. Calif
Colo. Mass. Wisconsin
Md. N.Mex. Fla

+ 1 Reps

Mont.
New

Army
Food

Can't do better
Alaska Idaho
Montana Wyo
S Dakota



Congress of the United States
Office of the Minority Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

December 1, 1967

(COPIES SENT TO ALL REPUBLICAN
GOVERNORS)

The Honorable Name
Governor of State
City and State

Dear Governor Name:

We deeply appreciate the invitation of the Republican Governors Association to take part in your Palm Beach meeting next week and look forward to seeing you there.

On Saturday morning at 9, we plan to bring you a brief report on the current session of Congress and outline our hopes for electing a Republican House of Representatives next year. We want and need your counsel and your help, and we pledge you our close cooperation, throughout the 1968 campaign which is so crucial for our party and our country.

With warm regards,

Gerald R. Ford, M.C.
Minority Leader

Bob Wilson, M.C.
Chairman, National Republican
Congressional Committee

bKR

CHARTS FORD-WILSON
PRESENTATION TO GOP GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

Needed Thursday Dec. 7 SURE
(Deliver to Paul Theis)

Chart No. 1 — Map of United States
blue

In ~~red~~: 33 states where GOP gained House seats in 1966

No color: 14 states with no net
change.

Michigan-plus 5
Ohio-plus 5
Iowa-plus 4
California-plus 3
Wisconsin-plus 2
Kentucky-plus 2
Texas-plus 2
New Jersey-plus 2
Virginia-plus 2
Alaska-plus 1
Arizona-plus 1
Arkansas-plus 1
Colorado-plus 1
Connecticut-plus 1
Delaware-plus 1
Florida-plus 1
Georgia-plus 1
Idaho-plus 1
Illinois-plus 1
Indiana-plus 1
Maryland-plus 1
Minnesota-plus 1
Nebraska-plus 1
New Hampshire-plus 1
New York-plus 1
North Carolina-plus 1
North Dakota-plus 1
Oklahoma-plus 1
Oregon-plus 1
Pennsylvania-plus 1
Tennessee-plus 1
Utah-plus 1
Wyoming-plus 1

Kansas ~~1/1~~
Massachusetts ~~1/1/1/1/1/1~~
Missouri ~~1/1~~
Montana
New Mexico
Hawaii
Louisiana
Nevada
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Vermont
Washington
West Virginia

In red: Three states where GOP lost House seats in 1966.

Alabama-minus 2
Maine-minus 1
Mississippi-minus 1



First transparent overlay for chart No. 1

¹⁴ 18 states where GOP governors won in 1966 or 1967

Michigan
Ohio
California
Wisconsin
Kentucky (1967)
Alaska
Arizona
Arkansas
Colorado

Florida
Idaho
Maryland
Minnesota
Nebraska
New York
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania

Wyoming
Massachusetts
New Mexico
Nevada
Rhode Island
South Dakota

The second transparent overlay for chart No. 1

²² 27 states which will elect a governor in 1968

Iowa
Texas
Arizona
Arkansas
Delaware
Illinois
Indiana
New Hampshire
North Carolina
North Dakota
Utah

Kansas
Missouri
Montana
New Mexico
Louisiana
Rhode Island
South Dakota
Vermont
Washington
West Virginia

Wisconsin



Chart No. 2-Map of United States

In blue: 18 states with GOP majority in House delegations, 90th Congress

Michigan R-12 D-7
Ohio R-19 D-5
Iowa R-5 D-2
Wisconsin R-7 D-3
Alaska R-1
Arizona R-2 D-1
Delaware R-1
Idaho R-2
Indiana R-6 D-5
Minnesota R-5 D-3

Nebraska R-3
New Hampshire R-2
North Dakota R-2
Utah R-2
Wyoming R-1
Kansas R-5
South Dakota R-2
Vermont R-1

In red: 29 states with Democratic majority in House delegations, 90th Congress

California R-~~17~~¹⁶ D-21 (1 vac.)
Kentucky R-3 D-4
Texas R-2 D-21
New Jersey R-6 D-9
Virginia R-4 D-6
Arkansas R-1 D-3
Colorado R-1 D-3
Connecticut R-1 D-5
Florida R-3 D-9
Georgia R-2 D-8
Maryland R-3 D-5
New York R-15 D-~~20~~²⁵ (1 vac.)
North Carolina R-3 D-8
Oklahoma R-2 D-4
Pennsylvania R-13 D-14

Tennessee R-4 D-5
Massachusetts R-5 D-7
Missouri R-2 D-8
New Mexico D-2
Hawaii D-2
Louisiana D-8
Nevada D-1
Rhode Island D-2
South Carolina R-1 D-5
Washington R-2 D-5
West Virginia R-1 D-4
Alabama R-3 D-5
Maine D-2
Mississippi D-5

No color: Three states with equal party strength in House delegations, 90th Congress

Illinois R-12 D-12
Oregon R-2 D-2
Montana R-1 D-1



First transparent overlay for chart No. 2

Seven states where one seat needed for GOP majority in House delegation

**Illinois
Oregon
Montana
Pennsylvania
Nebraska
Kentucky
Tennessee**

Second transparent overlay for chart No. 2

11 states where two seats needed for GOP majority in House delegation

**Virginia
Arkansas
Colorado
Maryland
Oklahoma
Massachusetts
New Mexico
Hawaii
Rhode Island
Alabama
Maine**



STATE OF FLORIDA

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

TO: News Media

DATE: December 6, 1967

FROM: Jim Wolf, Press Secretary

GOVERNORS, AIDES AND SPECIAL GUESTS

Agnew, Spiro T. & Mrs.

Governor of the State of Maryland

Mr. & Mrs. Charles Bresler - 507

Mr. & Mrs. B. Melvin Cole - 560

Mr. & Mrs. John Surrick - 555

Mr. Joseph Dukert, State Chairman 545

Mr. Arthur Sohmer, Executive Assistant - 523

Bartlett, Dewey F.

Governor of the State of Oklahoma

Wayne Rowley, Administrative Assistant - 452

Babcock, Tim & Mrs.

Governor of the State of Montana

James B. Patten, Executive Assistant - 127

Boe, Nils

Governor of the State of South Dakota

Charles Howard, State Chairman - 225

Cargo, David F. & Mrs.

Governor of the State of New Mexico

Merrill Johns, Administrative Assistant - 570

Chafee, John H.

Governor of the State of Rhode Island

Arthur D. Levin, Press Secretary - 227

Howard E. Russell & Mrs. Russell, State Chairman - 446

Joseph Sinclair - 219

Evans, Daniel

Governor of the State of Washington

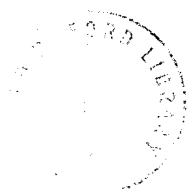
Captain William Lathrop - 444

James M. Dolliver, Executive Assistant - 410

Neil McReynolds, Press Secretary - 411

C. Montgomery Johnson, State Chairman - 409

Charles Finncoune - 414



GOVERNORS, AIDES AND SPECIAL GUESTS - 2

Hathaway, Stanley K. & Mrs.
Governor of the State of Wyoming

Hickel, Walter J.
Governor of the State of Alaska

Joel Holberg - 238

Kirk, Claude & Mrs.
Governor of the State of Florida

J. W. Conner - 102

Scott Linder - 474

Mr. & Mrs. Michael O'Neill - 512

Knowles, Warren - not coming
Governor of the State of Wisconsin

Laxalt, Paul
Governor of the State of Nevada

Bob Robertson - 222

Mr. and Mrs. Phil Lucier - 200

Edward Allison - 714

Le Vander, Harold
Governor of the State of Minnesota

Robert Hinkley - 422

Love, John A. & son, Andy
Governor of the State of Colorado

Patrick Murphy, Appointments and Press Secretary - 527

Robert Waggoner, Executive Secretary - 543

McCall, Tom & Mrs.
Governor of the State of Oregon

Ronald C. Schmidt, Administrative Assistant - 320

Nunn, Louis B.
Governor Elect, the Commonwealth of Kentucky

Tommy Lansdowne - 353

Reagan, Ronald
Governor of the State of California

Arthur Van Court, Travel Secretary - 430-432

Lyn Nofziger, Communications Director - 442

Tom Reed, Republican - 428

Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Gillenwaters - 580

GOVERNORS, AIDES AND SPECIAL GUESTS - 3

Rhodes, James A.

Governor of the State of Ohio

Paul Quick, Assistant to the Governor - 120

Richard Krabach, Director of Finance - 160

Rockefeller, Nelson & Mrs.

Governor of the State of New York

George L. Hinman, National Committeeman - 116

Dr. William Ronan - 515

Leslie Slote, Press Secretary - 525

Stan Tupper - 402

Dr. Kenneth Ryland - 423

Charles Schoeneck, Chairman, New York Republican
State Committee - 165

Alton Marshall - 511

Ann C. Whitman (Mrs.) - 565

Mary McAniff - 559

Major Edward Galvin - 427

Romney, George - not coming

Governor of the State of Michigan

Dr. Walter D. DeVries, Special Assistant - 405

Dick Van Dusen, Aide to the Governor - 564

Samuelson, Don & Mrs.

Governor of the State of Idaho

Mr. & Mrs. Grant (Mary) Kilbourne - 547

Shafer, Raymond P.

Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Hugh Flaherty, Legislative Assistant - 128

William Sennett, Attorney General - 156

Arthur Sampson - 156

John Conmy, Press Secretary - 110

Manley Stampler, Security - 134

Fred Speaker, Counsel - 134

Mr. and Mrs. Jack Jordan, State Chairman - 118

Tiemann, Norbert T.

Governor of the State of Nebraska

Sgt. Hanus, Security - 122

Dr. & Mrs. Clayton Yeutter, Administrative Assistant - 146

GOVERNORS, AIDES AND SPECIAL GUESTS - 4

Volpe, John A. & Mrs.

Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Tauro, Appointments Secretary - 310

Mr. & Mrs. Barry Locke, Press Secretary - 316

Sgt. Larry Carter - Security - 328

Anthony P. De Falco - 318

Les Ainley - 318

Richard S. Robie, Sr. - 356

Williams, Jack & Mrs.

Governor of the State of Arizona

Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Shadeegg - 340

Chairman & Mrs. Ray C. Bliss - 334 - 6

Jim Baker - 411

Ab Herman - 421

Jim Welden - 415

SENATOR Everett M. Dirksen - 248 - 50

SENATOR George Murphy - 249 - 251

Lee Nunn - 247

CONGRESSMAN Gerald R. Ford - 149 - 151

Bob Hartman - 378

CONGRESSMAN Bob Wilson - 230 - 232

Paul Theiss - 220

Lee Potter - 228

RGA Staff:

Fleming, Richard T. - 302

Hughes, Maggie - 403

Kiley, Patricia - 357

Marshall, Jim - 478

✓ GOP Net Gain in 1966	GOP NET GAIN IN HOUSE SEATS 1966	HOUSE DELEGATIONS IN 90TH CONGRESS	GOP SHARE OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE FOR GOV- ERNORSHIP IN 1966	ELECTS A GOV- ERNOR IN 1968	INCUMBENT GOP GOVS
✓	Michigan +5	R12 D7	61%		Romney
✓	Ohio +5	R19 D5	62%		Rhodes
✓	Iowa +4	R5 D2	44% (Lost)	Yes	
	California +3	R10 D21 (D) (1 race)	58%		Reagan
✓	Wisconsin +2	R7 D3	54%		Knowles
	Kentucky +2	R3 D4 (D) ✓	52% (1967)		Nunn ('68)
	Texas +2	R2 D21 (D)	26% (Lost)	Yes	
	New Jersey +2	R6 D9 (D)			
	Virginia +2	R4 D6 (D) X			
✓	Alaska +1	✓ R1	51%		Hickel
✓	Arizona +1	✓ R2 D1	54%	Yes	Williams
	Arkansas +1	R1 D3 (D) X	54%	Yes	W. Rockefeller
	Colorado +1	R1 D3 (D) X	55%		Love
	Connecticut +1	R1 D5 (D)	44% (Lost)		
✓	Delaware +1	✓ R1		Yes	
	Florida +1	R3 D9 (D)	55%		Kirk
	Georgia +1	R2 D8 (D)	50.2% (Lost in legislature)		
✓	Idaho +1	X R2	53%		Samuelson
	Illinois +1	✓ R12 D12 (Tied) ✓		Yes	
✓	Indiana +1	✓ R6 D5		Yes	
	Maryland +1	R3 D5 (D) X	55%		Agnew
✓	Minnesota +1	X R5 D3	53%		LeVander
✓	Nebraska +1	R3	62%		Tiemann
✓	New Hampshire +1	X R2	46% (Lost)	Yes	
	New York +1	R15 D26 (D)	54%		N. Rockefeller



	North Carolina +1	R3 D8 (D)		Yes	
✓	North Dakota +1	X R2		Yes	
	Oklahoma +1	R2 D4 (D) X	56%		Bartlett
	Oregon +1	✓ R2 D2 (Tied) ✓	55%		McCall
	Pennsylvania +1	R13 D14 (D) ✓	53%		Shafer
	Tennessee +1	R4 D5 (D) ✓	(No GOP Candidate)		
✓	Utah +1	X R2		Yes	
✓	Wyoming +1	✓ R1	54%		Hathaway

SUMMARY In November 1966 Republicans made a net gain of 47 seats in the House.

At the same time Republicans made a net gain of 8 Governorships and won 1 more (Kentucky) in November 1967. The GOP now holds 26 of the 50 Governorships.

+51
-4
+47

Republican gains in the House were made in 33 States.
 Republican losses in the House occurred in 3 States. (Maine -1; Miss. -1; Ala. -2)
 There was no change in House delegations from 14 States.

Of the 33 States where the GOP picked up House seats, GOP Governors won in 18. In the same 33 States, GOP candidates lost the Governorship in 5 States. There were no gubernatorial races or no GOP candidate in the other 10 States. There will be gubernatorial races in 1968 in 12 of these 33 States.

Of the 14 States in which the 1966 elections brought no change in the ratio of House delegations, 19 will elect Governors in 1968: Kansas, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, Louisiana, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington and West Virginia. Thus there will be gubernatorial races in 1968 in 22 States where House Republicans either gained or held their own in 1966.

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Republicans need 31 more seats (plus 1 Calif. vacancy) to win House control in 1968

States in which GOP neither gained nor lost House seats in 1966 were:

✓ Kansas	R 5			45% (Lost)	Yes	
Massachusetts	R5	D7	(D) X	63%		Volpe
Missouri	R2	D8	(D)		Yes	
Montana	✓ R1	D1	(Tied) ✓		Yes	Babcock
New Mexico		D2	(D) X	52%	Yes	Cargo
Hawaii		D2	(D) X	49% (Lost)		
Louisiana		D8	(D)		Yes	
Nevada		D1	(D) ✓	52%		Laxalt
Rhode Island		D2	(D) X	63%	Yes	Chafee
South Carolina	R1	D5	(D)	42% (Lost)		
✓ South Dakota	X R2			58%	Yes	Boe
✓ Vermont	✓ R1			42% (Lost)	Yes	
Washington	R2	D5	(D)		Yes	Evans
West Virginia	R1	D4	(D)		Yes	

States in which GOP lost House seats in 1966 were:

Alabama -2	R3	D5	(D) X	33% (Lost)		
Maine -1		D2	(D) X	47% (Lost)		
Mississippi -1		D5	(D)			

X = Switch of 1 seat would tie delegation
 ✓ = " " " " " win majority

There are 18 States with Republican House delegations (15 have GOP Govs.)
 " " 3 " " Tied or Equal " (2 have GOP Govs.)
 " " 29 " " Democratic House delegations (9 have GOP Govs.)

The votes of 26 State delegations are required to elect a President in the House of Representatives. Tied delegations, or any lacking a majority choice (if split 3 ways) cast a "divided" ballot.
 Republicans must either pick up majority of House seats in 8 States (holding all 18 now held) or deny Democrats 4 or more delegations now held and win 3rd Party or Conservative support elsewhere. Otherwise, House would elect Democrat on 1st ballot.
 Note: There are 3 tied delegations: Illinois, Oregon, Montana and 5 one-member delegations: Alaska, Delaware, Wyoming, Vermont, Nevada, where 1 death or absence could change party control even after November 1968 elections.





REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EYE STREET NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • National 8-6800

RAY C. BLISS
CHAIRMAN

December 22, 1967

Thank you

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Minority Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jerry:

As we move to the close of the year, I just want to thank you for all you have done to be helpful to me in my difficult role as National Chairman.

I want to reiterate my deep appreciation to you for the very generous remarks you made concerning my leadership on the occasion of the Republican Governors' Association at Palm Beach.

You have been a real team player and without the help of men like you the progress our Party has made in the past three years would not have been possible.

For all you are doing and have done not only for our Party but our Nation as well, I am deeply grateful to you.

Thanking you for all your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ray C. Bliss

RCB:jmd



From the desk of

ROBERT T. HARTMANN

Murbeck

9:18

111 = 3591

52 = 32 = 30
56 = 35 = 24
60 = 55 =



Bob Cresham n 9195
Leone -

From the desk of

Chas Thomas

ROBERT T. HARTMANN

Wash. Hilton
483-3000

Boyd

656 - 7877

95

48

143

5

Henry

\$

241-

213

363-1558



Palm Beach
December 8, 1967

Dear Governor Love:

The Policy Committee, in accordance with your request, has given much thought to the contribution the Republican Governors' Association should make to the development of the Republican Platform for 1968.

In the opinion of the Policy Committee, the Republican Platform should not deal solely with the federal level of government but rather with the total federal system -- the federal, state and local levels of government. The Platform should address itself to the ability of the federal system to solve particular problems.

The solutions to national problems will require the utilization of all levels of government. Governors, because of their experience in working with all three levels of government, are in a unique position to determine how the activities and energies of the three levels of government can most effectively be stimulated and coordinated.

It is the view of the Policy Committee that the Republican Platform of 1968 must offer solutions to the problems confronting this nation today. As chief executives, Governors must continually develop and implement specific solutions to problems. The knowledge and experience of Governors in problem-solving should be incorporated into the development of the 1968 Platform.

As its initial step, the Policy Committee, through its staff, has attempted to present factually the dimensions of certain problems as they currently face the nation. To this end, a statistical workbook has been developed and is transmitted herewith.

This working document prepared by staff presents factual information on degree and kinds of domestic problems in certain areas of national concern.

The document is designed only to give factual information regarding major domestic problems. It does not deal with solutions to these problems. The Policy Committee of the Republican Governors' Association viewed its first task as making available comprehensive material which accurately and factually presented aspects of the problems.

Because of the tremendous volume of information available, this document is by no means exhaustive. It does not, for example, include material regarding all domestic areas of concern. However, the Policy Committee intends to continue to prepare for consideration similar statistical material for remaining areas of national concern, such as natural resources and efficiency in government.

Furthermore, even in those areas covered, additional data are available and may be needed in developing comprehensive proposals. For example, housing statistics are based on 1960 Census Bureau data which must be updated as soon as more recent figures are made available.

This material attempts to set forth the pertinent facts in major areas of concern such as education, poverty, housing, health and mental health, agriculture, water and air pollution and others. The material also highlights the elements of certain specific problems in these areas. In addition, it clarifies the interrelationship between various problems, and points to the need to recognize the complex nature of each problem rather than just individual aspects of it.

The Republican Governors Association Policy Committee having prepared factual material relating to certain background on domestic problems now intends, as its next step, to develop alternative solutions in these areas for consideration by the members of the Republican Governors Association. This material will present the arguments for and against such alternative solutions.

Republican Governors as elected public officials are also deeply concerned about defense, space and foreign affairs. The Policy Committee, therefore, intends to develop materials similar to those submitted or planned regarding domestic concerns.

Sincerely,

Nelson A. Rockefeller, Chairman

John A. Volpe

George Romney

Jack Williams

Tom McCall

David F. Cargo

Warren P. Knowles

Nils A. Boe

Raymond P. Shafer

Daniel J. Evans

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Press Intelligence, Inc.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

Print Edit Other
Page Page Page

KANSAS CITY, MO.
STAR

DEC 10 1967
E-557,733
8-399,319

G.O.P. GOVERNORS BALK

**Chief Executives Admit They Are Not Prepared
to Select or Back a Republican Candidate
for President at This Time**

AN EDGE FADES

**New Less Likelihood of Nom-
ination From Their
Ranks**

Palm Beach, Fla. (AP)—

Republican governors acknowledged yesterday they have no consensus — and none in prospect — on a presidential candidate for

Island chairmen, said he will call a meeting of chairmen from the Northeastern states to discuss the situation.

Should Act Now

Russell said Republican chairmen and governors should look at the opinion polls, take their own soundings, then try to agree to back the man who looks like the party's most potent challenger to President Johnson.

Twenty-six strong but unable to align their power behind any potential 1968 contender, the governors had to content them-

THE NEW CHAIRMAN of the National Republican Governors association is John H. Chafee (right), governor of Rhode Island. He received the gavel of office yesterday in Palm Beach, Fla., from Gov. John A. Love of Colorado. —(Wirephoto).

Front Page Edit Page Other Page *35*

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JOURNAL
DEC 9 1967

E-247,912
S-511,319

Ford Says House May Pick President

PALM BEACH, Fla. (UPI)—House Republican Leader Gerald Ford appealed to GOP governors Saturday for help in electing

the GOP would control 31 state delegations.

Rep. Bob Wilson of California, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, told the governors his committee had picked 37 prime target districts in its drive to gain control of the House. He said there were a number of other districts in which strong

face when it happens, but I don't think it's a reality. I haven't faced it. I don't think it's going to happen.

Rockefeller a draft come of the party haven't felt.

party could win enough electoral votes to throw a close presidential election into the House.

Ford said the GOP could gain the 31 seats it needs to control the House and still fail to control the 26 state delegations needed to elect a president.

He said the Republicans now hold the majority in 18 states and the Democrats in 29, while three delegations are evenly divided.

If every Republican governor helped elect one or two more members to the House, he said,

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

LANSING, MICH.
STATE JOURNAL

D - 75,444
S DE 592867

Ford Asks Help of Governors

PALM BEACH, Fla. (UPI)—House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford appealed to GOP governors today for help in electing more Republicans to Congress because, he said, there was "a serious possibility" that the next presidential election may be thrown into the House.



Press Intelligence, Inc.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

Front Page Edit Page Other Page
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

W-517,229
S-943,731

DEC 4 1967



GOP Governors Shaping Issues Stand

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 (AP).—Republican governors are preparing to define their position on national issues as part of a drive to forge for themselves a major role in the fight against the Democrats in the next presidential election.

The Republican Policy Coordinating Committee, of which eight governors are members, has a meeting in Washington today. The committee is part of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, which is scheduled to tell the governors at a "salute to General Eisenhower" luncheon Friday in Washington.

Ford and Rep. Bob Wilson of California, head of the Congressional Campaign Committee, will make a pitch Saturday for aid to the committee.

DEC 10 1967

POLITICAL LOOKOUT
By George Tagge
CHICAGO TRIBUNE POLITICAL EDITOR

Will Illinois vote on the next President? Our analysis raises some doubt.
These are Virginia, Arkansas, Colorado, Maryland, Oklahoma, Massachusetts, New Mexico.

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

TO: All Media

DATE: December 6, 1967

FROM: Jim Wolf

MASTER LIST - AND ADDENDUM

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NUMBER</u>	
Abrahms, Al	147	New Jersey Republican Party
Agnew, Bruce	608	Business Week
Allen, Hal		Perry Publications
Altmeyer, Paul	186	ABC
Barrett, Lawrence	461	Time - Life
Beard; Ditta	355	Gov. Reagan
Behrens, Earl C.	114	San Francisco Chronicle
Behringer, J. C. M/M	217	Fort Lauderdale
Bell, Jack M/M	561	Associated Press
Bell, Paul	517	National Airlines
Bellmon, Gov. H. (former Gov. of Okla.)	166	Nixon for President Committee
Biosset, Bruce	509	Newspaper Enterprise
Blackburn, Dan	557	Metromedia Radio News
Bourdier, James	701	Associated Press Miami
Bourne, Mary	715	Congressional Finance Advisory Committee
Boyd, Robert	223	Knight Newspapers
Brautigan, A. R.	367	Hotel & Restaurant Commission
Brennan, Phil		Success Magazine
Brock, Norris	504	Time - Life
Brack, Dennis		Metromedia
Broder, David M/M	407	Washington Post
Brown, Joe	502	State of Florida
Brown, Omar III	441	Chairman, Virgin Islands Republican Party

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

TO: All Media

DATE: December 6, 1967

FROM: Jim Wolf

-2-

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NUMBER</u>	
Bruce, B ob	611	CAP News Bureau
Bryan, Jacob M/M	347	Jacksonville, Florida
Bulloch, Nolland M/M	300-301	Tulsa Tribune
Campbell, L. S. M/M	401	De Funiak Springs, Florida
Cannon, James M/M	482	Newsweek
Carter, Bob	705	Bob Carter Association
Carter, Roger M/M	138-40	WIOP
Chalmers, Judd M/M	466	Jacksonville, Florida
Clancy, Martin	204	Public Broadcasting N. Y. C.
Clarity, Jim M/M	366	New York Times
Clayton, Peter	125	Gov. Babcock
Clayton, Ralph M/M	516	State Senator, Deland, Florida
Cole, Betty	604	Meet-The-Press
Coleman, Carl	259	Time - Life
Collins, George M/M	417	WTVT - TV, Tampa
Conklin, Hartwell	605	WDBO - TV
Conway, Monica		Perry Publications
Courtney, Phoebe	721	Independent American Newspaper
Cronkite, Walter M/M	266	Columbia Broadcasting System
Davis, Charles M/M	372	Florida House of Representatives
Davis, J.	145	Florida House of Representatives

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NUMBER</u>	
Day, James	154	With F. Clifton White
De Bartolo, E.	553	Youngstown, Ohio
De Filippo, Frank	252	News American
Dent, Harry M/M	412	State Chairman, Republican Party of South Carolina
Desmond, Jim	164	New York Daily News
Donovan, Robert	576	Los Angeles Times
Drummond, Geoffrey	500-503	Publishers Newspaper Syndicate
Drummond, Roscoe M/M	500-503	Publishers Newspaper Syndicate
Duke, Paul	615	WNBC

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NO.</u>	
Duncan, Richard	103	Time
Eddy, Jas. R.		Florida State Committee
Ellsworth, Robert	211	Nixon for President Committee
Embrey, George	344	Columbus Dispatch
Endicott, Robert	311	Dayton Daily News
Evans, Tom	178	Nixon for President Committee
Farmer, John	263	Newark News
Fern, Jack	115	National Broadcasting Co,
Fisher, Jos.	144	Gannett Newspapers
Flor, Mrs. B.A.	136	
Friedman, Saul M. /M	306	Knight Newspapers
Fritchey, Clayton	182	Newsday
Gavin, Tom	616	Denver Post
Germond, Jack	304	Gannett Newspapers
Gibbons, Clarence	707	Columbia Broadcasting System
Goldstein, Larry	364	American Broadcasting Co.
Gould, Stanhope	719	Columbia Broadcasting System
Gregory, F.L.	322	Newark Starr
Greco, Charles	607	WBDO TV & WJAR TV
Gustafson, Joel /M		Florida House of Representatives
Guerra, David	264	WVSF - Tampa
Haddan, Edmond	711	Capitol Cities Broadcasting KPOL
Halley, Jim	208	Chairman, California Republican Party
Hamill, Pete	376	Newsday
Hamilton, Tony	218	WFLA - TV Tampa
Harrison, Clayton /M	419	Chairman, Delaware Republican Party
Harrison, C. Creshull	124	Florida Development Commission
Healy, Robert	170	Boston Globe
Heath, Ralph	M64	Xerox



<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NO.</u>	
Henry, William	218	WFLA - TV Tampa
Hillings, Pat	256	
Hope, Paul	305	Washington Star
Hopkins, John /M	578	Fort Lauderdale News
Hubbell, Williams	253	Guidance Associates
Hudson, Bill	702	Associated Press
Jackson, Don	174	Nixon for President Committee
Jacobs, Bradford	453	Baltimore Sun
Johnson, Beth (and Peter)	606	Florida State Senator
Johnston, T. W.	374	Florida Industrial Commission
Jones, G. Paul	460	State Chairman, Georgia
Kampmann, Mrs. Ike	267	Texas Finance Committee
Kappes, Charles R.	188	WGBS Miami
Kelly, Paul	158	Providence Journal
Khromak, Leo	612	NBC
Knapp, Ted	244	Scripps Howard
Knowles, Howard	359	Worcester Telegram
Kraft, Joseph	358	Chicago Daily News
Krauser, Bob		WIXY, WFLM News
Kulsea, William C.	380	Booth Newspapers
Lahr, Raymond	361	United Press International
Lamont, Lansing	574	Time - Life
Lawrence, Bill	505	American Broadcasting Co.
Lawrence, David	111	Orlando Sentinel
Leach, Tom	101	Chicago American
Lee, Robert /M & son	167	
Leonard, Bill	314	Columbia Broadcasting system
Lewis, Irwin	603	NBC
Lindsay, David	323	Florida State Legislature

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NO.</u>	
Livingston, Lyons	582	Baltimore Sun
Marko, Paul		Florida Industrial Commission
Manitzas, Frank	209	Columbia Broadcasting System
Marans, J. Eugene	362	Ripon Society
Mathews, Frank	325	Pittsburgh Post Gazette
Maytag, L.B.	567	National Airlines
McCready, Albert	556	The Oregonian
McDermott, John	260	Miami Herald
McIntile, James Jr.	162	
Means, Marianna	476	Hearst Newspapers
Mears, Walter	215	Associated Press
Meisel, Lawrence	240	Missouri State Committee
Miller, Norman C.	152	Wall Street Journal
Moed, Helen	704	Columbia Broadcasting System
Morone, Emile	338	UPI
Morrell, Ken	142	Nashville Banner
Morris, John L.	360	Florida Development Commission
Mounger, W. D.	416	Mississippi Republican Party
Murfin, William	467	State Chairman, Florida
Naughton, James	472	Cleveland Plain Dealer
Nellius, Dick		St. Petersburg Times
Nicholson, E. D.	307	Fort Lauderdale
Nicodemus, Charles	343	Chicago Daily News
Nolan, Martin	370	The Reporter
Novak, Robert	372	Inside Report
Ottenad, Tom	619	St. Louis Post Dispatch
Palazzi, John	235	State Chairman, New Hampshire
Pell, Ernest	454	Westinghouse Broadcasting

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NO.</u>	
Phillips, William		Ridder Newspapers
Persons, Gen. Wilton B.		
Pieper, Donald	261	Omaha World Herald
Pierce, Lawrence	717	Columbia Broadcasting System
Piglia, Lynne	721	Independent American
Plamtz, Don	441	Virgin Islands
Pourade, Richard	562	San Diego Union
Powers, Dick	406	Sun Sentinel
Pride, Donald	258	St. Petersburg Times
Prisendorf, Anthony	315	New York Post
Pullen, Dale	363	Perry Publications
Ray, Robert	720	Chairman, Rep. Party of Iowa
Reed, Clarke	418	Chairman, Rep. Party of Mississippi
Reed, Maureen	161	WSMB, New Orleans
Renick, Ralph	184	WTVJ - Miami
Reuter, Cliff	506	Florida State Senate
Richter, Robert	157	Columbia Broadcasting System
Ridel, J. J.	367	Hotel & Restaurant Commission
Ridder, Bernard		New York Journal of Commerce
Robertson, Claude	341	Chairman Republican Party of South Carolina
Roach, Jack		
Rollins, Levey	709	Columbia Broadcasting System

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOM NUMBER</u>	
Roth, Robert	257	Philadelphia Bulletin
Russell, Frank	207	Orlando Sentinel
Salisbury, John	445	KXL, Portland
Schindler, Max	618	Meet-The-Press
Schultz, David	361	United Press International
Sears, John	172	Nixon for President Committee
Sellers, Gene	123	
Shaffer, Jesse M/M & C	339	Cincinnati Enquirer
Sharkey, Dorine	163	Florida Times Union
Sherman, E. H. M/M	309	
Shipley, Carl M/M	319	District of Columbia Committee, Chairman
Short, Hal	327	
Smith, Les	221	WVCG News
Spencer, A. Conover	420	New Jersey Republican Party
Sperling, Godfrey	610	Christian Science Monitor
Spagnoli, Gino	242	New York Daily News
Spivak, Lawrence M/M	614	Meet-The-Press
Stafford, Charles	203	Tampa Tribune
Stayman, H. W. M/M	621	Florida Turnpike Authority
Stockman, W. T. M/M	447	Florida State Senate
Stone, Ross M & C	106 - 108	WINZ Miami

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ROOMNUMBER</u>	
Sweissgood, Bill	245	Florida Times Union
Taft, Dale	617	Kiplinger Magazine
Taggee, George M/M	456	Chicago Tribune
Taylor, C.	121	National Broadcasting Company
Taylor, Ken	243	WLBW TV
Theiss, George	216	Chairman Republican Party of Minnesota
Thimmesch, Nick	276	Newsday
Timmons, William	180	Nixon for President Committee
Thompson, Robert M/M	400	Hearst Newspapers
Thurston, George	192	WTVT Tallahassee, Florida
Todd, Webster M/M	408	Chairman Republican Party of New Jersey
Topping, John	239	Ripon Society
Turner, Bob	159	Tampa Times
Valentine, Harold	265	Associated Press
Vanocur, Sander M/M	554	National Broadcasting Company
Wallace, M. M/M	706	Columbia Broadcasting System
Walsh, Travis	205	Tulsa World
Weaver, Richard	609	WDBO-TV & WJAR-TV
Weaver, Warren	202	New York Times
Weber, Charles		Florida State
Wells, Cy	508	Colorado Republican Party
Wells, John M/M	568	
Wessels, Hugo	338	United Press International
White, Arthur	620	Meet-the-Press

White, Condon E.	404	Desert News - Salt Lake
White, F. Clifton	176	F. Clifton White & Associates
Whiteford, Charles	582	Baltimore Sun
Whitfield, C. R.	308	
Wicklein, John	345	Public Broadcast Laboratory
Wieghart, Jas M/M	712	Milwaukee Sentinel
Williams, Jack M/M	480	Journal Herald, Waycross, Georgia
Wilson, Larry	342	Omaha World Herald
Winter, Rolf	28	
Witcover, Jules M/M	262	Newhouse National News
Wussler, Robert	365	Columbia Broadcasting System
Young, C. W. "Bill"	104	Florida Senate Minority Leader
Zimmer, Richard	558	Daytona Journal Herald

ADDENDUM

NAME

ROOM NO.

Brower, Millicent		Women's News Service Syndicate
Dawson, Ed /M		Society Pictorial
DiBona, Darrell		WVSF TV & Radio Tampa
Guerra, Barbara		WVSF TV & Radio Tampa
Hall, Clif		WLIZ
Humphries, Bill		WVSF TV & Radio Tampa
Kay, Mort		Photographer
McElroy, Gayle		Beachcomber
McKean, Douglass		Oregon Journal
Minter, Jim		Miami Herald
Napier, Bill		WVSF TV & Radio Tampa
Purks, Jim		AP Tallahassee
Potter, James	139	
Price, John R.		Ripon Society
Roach, Jack		
Smith, Vee		World Wide Features
Taylor, Sip		WPTV Palm Beach
Ward, Ray		WSBR Boca Raton

PRESS LIST - ADDENDUM

NAME

MEDIA

Ash, Agnes	Women's Wear Daily
Anderson, Tom	Scripps-Howard
Arsenault, George	Palm Beach News & Life
Burt, Al	Miami Herald
Bate, Dick	WEAT - Palm Beach
Bailey, Lowell	WEAT, Palm Beach
Cason, Thad	WEAT, Palm Beach
Charnley, Bill	Miami Herald
Carroll, John	John Waldron Associates
Colee, Don	Colee and Co.
Connor, Jim	WEAT
Didio, Dave	Miami Herald
Dosdourian, Jack	Scripps-Howard
Douthat, Strat	AP - Miami
Davidoff, Bob	Miami News & Life
Eden, Jerry	Lion Country Safari, Inc.
Eden, Jerome Mr. & Mrs.	Lion Country Safari, Inc.
East, Bob	Miami Herald
Eberling, Ray	WEAT
Fisher, Ray	Miami Herald
Freese, Jack	Scripps-Howard
Gordon, Bill	Scripps-Howard
Humphrey, Jim	Scripps-Howard
Hubbell, William	Guidance Assoc.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>MEDIA</u>
Jones, Clarence	Miami Herald
Koppel, Mr. & Mrs. Monte	Lion Country Safari
Kerlin, Jim	AP - Miami
Kane, Dean	WIRK - Palm Beach
Lapham, Georgie	Gold Coasting
Massey, Toby	AP - Miami
McKee, Alice	Ft. Lauderdale News
Morgan, Carrol	Palm Beach News & Life
Morgan, Bert	Palm Beach News & Life
Morris, Dwight	Scripps-Howard
Morris, Mona	Miami Herald
Mansfield, Bill	Miami Herald
Nauton, Ena	Miami Herald
Norton, Charles	Scripps-Howard
Owens, Jack	WTVJ Broward Bureau
Pike, C. E., Jr.	Scripps-Howard
Parrish, Martha	Palm Beach News & Life
Ralls, Charles	Palm Beach News & Life
Reed, Tedd	WEAT - Palm Beach
Rosenberg, Ira	Miami Herald
Sutton, Bill	WEAT
Smith, Tom	Miami Herald
Simmons, Dave	Miami Herald

NAMEMEDIA

Smith, Helen Ban Hoy

Miami Herald

Silay, Beverly

Jack Walrad Assoc.

Smollor, Jim

WTVJ

Stewart, Bob

Palm Beach News & Life

Thompson, Robert

WIRK Radio - P. Beach

Vaughan, Battle

Miami Herald

Veverka, Toni

Palm Beach News & Life

Woodward, John

WTVJ

Wilson, Bob

WEAT

Walrad, Jack M. Jr.

Jack Walrad Associates

Walrad, Jack M. 3rd

Jack Walrad Associates

Walrad, Charlene

Jack Walrad Assoc.

Walrad, Marian

Jack Walrad Assoc.

Zimmerman, Bill

Scripps-Howard

MASTER
ADDRESS LIST - ADDENDUM 2

NAME

MEDIA

Ash, Agnes	Women's Wear Daily
Anderson, Tom	Scripps-Howard
Arsenaault, George	Palm Beach News & Life
Burt, Al	Miami Herald
Bate, Dick	WEAT - Palm Beach
Bailey, Lowell	WEAT, Palm Beach
Cason, Thad	WEAT, Palm Beach
Charnley, Bill	Miami Herald
Carroll, John	John Waldron Associates
Colee, Don	Colee and Co.
Connor, Jim	WEAT
Didio, Dave	Miami Herald
Dosdourian, Jack	Scripps-Howard
Douthat, Strat	AP - Miami
Davidoff, Bob	Miami News & Life
Eden, Jerry	Lion Country Safari, Inc.
Eden, Jerome Mr. & Mrs.	Lion Country Safari, Inc.
East, Bob	Miami Herald
Eberling, Ray	WEAT
Fisher, Ray	Miami Herald
Freese, Jack	Scripps-Howard
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Walrad, Charlene	Jack Walrad Assoc.
Walrad, Marian	Jack Walrad Assoc.
Zimmerman, Bill	Scripps-Howard

GOP To Gain New Governorships In '68

The Republican Governors Association will expand its membership next year.

Gubernatorial races are set in 21 states next November—13 of these states now have Democratic Governors and eight have Republicans.*

Republicans will win at least five of the State Houses now controlled by Democrats and very likely several others while retaining the eight Republican governorships.

The number of Republican Governors presently stands at 26 as a result of the upset victory of Louie B. Nunn over Democrat Henry Ward in Kentucky's gubernatorial election last month. It marks the first time since 1955—when there were 30 Republican Governors in the 48 states—that the Republican Governors outnumber their Democratic counterparts.

Seven of the incumbent Republicans—Governors Jack Williams of Arizona, Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas, Tim Babcock of Montana, David F. Cargo of New Mexico, John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, Daniel J. Evans of Washington and Warren P. Knowles of Wisconsin—are expected to seek re-election and are heavy favorites to win. Although Governor Nils Boe of South Dakota is prevented from seeking another term by state law the GOP nominee will easily win the governorship in this strong Republican area.

Seven of the Democratic Governors may challenge for

the seat of the incumbent Republican Senator in their state that will be up in the fall rather than seek re-election. There has been serious speculation that the Democratic Governors in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Utah and Vermont will forgo State House re-election races to try to achieve membership in the Senate Club. Any such move by the Democratic incumbent will make the task of the Republican gubernatorial nominee in that state much easier.

Another three Democratic Governors—in Indiana, North Carolina, and West Virginia are ineligible to run for another term next year and will bow out.

The decision of John B. Connally of Texas to by-pass a fourth term bid has spurred the Republican forces into an all-out effort to capture this Governorship for the GOP for the first time since Reconstruction.

Next year promises to be a banner year for Republicans throughout the country—particularly in the governorships.

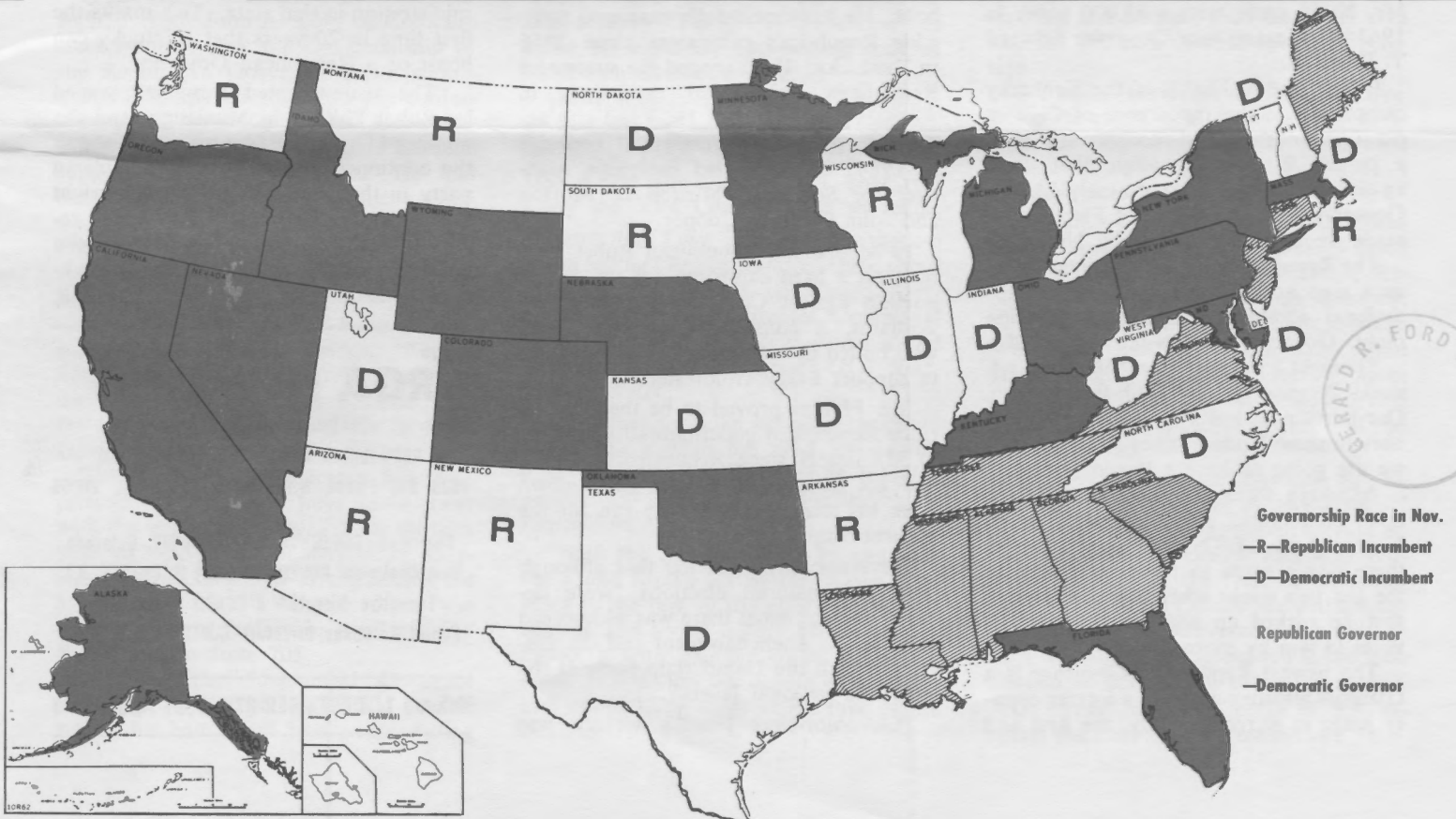
* In Louisiana's statewide election in February Democratic Governor John J. McKeithen is unopposed.

A state-by-state analysis of the 21 gubernatorial elections next November starts on page four.



Governors News Log

Published by the Republican Governors Association 1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006





Gov.-Elect Nunn

Republicans Hold 26 Governorships After Kentucky Win

The upset victory of Louie B. Nunn over Democrat Henry Ward in Kentucky's gubernatorial election last month continues the Republican surge at the State House level that saw Republicans capture 10 states which were held by Democratic Governors in the 1966 elections.

"The elections last month disclosed Republicans have retained their 1966 momentum and will win additional governorships in next year's election," it was predicted by Colorado Governor John A. Love, RGA chairman.

Governor-elect Nunn's victory broke 20 years of Democratic reign in Kentucky and was particularly sweet since Mr. Nunn came within 13,000 votes in 1963 of defeating now-Governor Edward T. Breathitt.

One of the highlights of the Kentucky campaign was the appearance of California Governor Ronald Reagan at a \$10 a person fund-raising affair that drew an enthusiastic audience of nearly 12,000. Governor Claude R. Kirk of Florida also made an appearance for Mr. Nunn.

The Republican victory was interpreted as a slap at President Johnson and the national administration and on election night, Governor-elect Nunn remarked:

"Tonight I am sure that 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue is aware of this victory. Our party now has a majority of Governors in these United States and next year we are going to have a President."

Although there is a nominal three to one Democratic registration figure in Kentucky the CBS News survey indicated there was a surge to the Nunn camp in the last two weeks when it was estimated that he picked up about a third of his votes to win by more than 26,000 votes.

The newest Republican Governor is a Glasgow attorney and was a former county judge in Barren County, the first and

State Urban Action Center Result of RGA Initiative

The initiative shown by the Republican Governors Association has resulted in the establishment of the States Urban Action Center—a privately financed, non-partisan agency of experts in state government—to advise the 50 Governors.

The Action Center is a result of the plan recommended by the Policy Committee of the RGA to deal with the national crisis of lawlessness and social injustice. The plans call for creative state leadership to meet all phases of urban problems in the light of the summer riots. The proposal was conceived by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, chairman of the Policy Committee, and hammered out at a conference of eight Republican Governors in New York City in August.

The Action Center was established last month and former Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York was named chairman with former Governor Elmer L. Andersen of Minnesota as co-chairman and Stanley R. Tupper, former Maine Congressman as executive director.

The sentiment that greeted the RGA's 60-point "action program" was summed up in the New York Times editorial that stated the "Republican Governors have offered the nation a constructive and enlightened response" to the summer of our national discontent.

"The action plan set forth by the Governors," the editorial continued, "contains many useful, specific suggestions for transforming the physical environment of the slums, increasing job opportunities, creating community schools, and tailoring educational programs to the distinctive needs of the impoverished and disoriented."

"The Republican Governors," the editorial concluded, "have provided the leadership that the GOP members of Congress, the Democratic majority and the Johnson Administration could all heed."

The Center will send experts into various states to recommend steps that can be taken to solve the specific problems found in each state. Mr. Wagner said that the new organization will use research experts but that "action not research" is the main objective.

"We studied problems to death in some instances," Mr. Wagner asserted. The action plan has been given the approval of the National Governors' Conference.

only Republican ever elected to a county-wide office in that Democratic stronghold. He has successfully managed statewide Republican campaigns since 1956 in Kentucky. He managed the successful Republican Presidential campaigns in Kentucky in 1956 and 1960 and was active for the GOP presidential nominee in 1964. He was also campaign manager for Senators Thruston B. Morton and John Sherman Cooper.

In Mississippi, Republican Rubel Phillips ran a hard campaign for the governorship against Congressman John Bell Williams, a conservative segregationist, who bolted the Democratic party in 1964 to support Barry Goldwater.

Mr. Phillips proved to be the only serious Republican gubernatorial candidate in Mississippi since Reconstruction days and got 30 percent of the vote—down from his total vote when he ran for the governorship in 1963.

Governor Love asserted that although both gubernatorial elections "were decided on state issues there was widespread evidence of disenchantment and dissatisfaction with the Democratic party at the state and national levels."

"Governor-elect Nunn's victory was

achieved by his vigorous campaign against the entrenched Democratic administration in that state. This marks the first time in 20 years that Kentucky can boast of a Republican Governor.

"The issue-oriented campaign waged by Rubel Phillips in Mississippi and the number of votes cast on his behalf shows the continued growth of the Republican party in the South. It indicates a bright future for the Republican Party in a region—which until this decade has been considered hopeless territory for Republican candidates."

RGA NEWSLOG

Official Publication

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Chairman: GOVERNOR JOHN A. LOVE, Colorado

Vice Chairman: GOVERNOR JOHN H. CHAFEE, R.I.

Executive Director: RICHARD T. FLEMING

Public Relations Director: JAMES J. MARSHALL

Volume 1 DECEMBER 8TH, 1967 Number 1



Governor John A. Love with Troops in Vietnam

Gets Association Rolling

Chairman John Love Stresses the Need for Republican Unity

It has been a busy and productive year for Governor John A. Love of Colorado since he took over the Chairmanship of the Republican Governors Association.

His first task after the two-day conference at Colorado Springs last December 9th and 10th was to gain some financial support for the Association. He had been instructed by the Republican Governors to meet with Chairman Ray Bliss and seek funds in order to rejuvenate the Association and set up a Washington office.

Governor Love found himself in a wonderful bargaining position. Republicans had captured 10 State Houses in the fall election formerly controlled by the Democrats and the number of GOP Governors had increased to 25.

The session with Chairman Bliss was productive. Governor Love came away with the promise of \$90,000 for the first year of operation. Shortly after Governor Love completed arrangements for a staff and the Washington office was opened without fanfare in April at 1625 Eye Street, in Suite 705.

In May, the 50-year-old Governor jetted across the same Pacific waters where he had spent two years during

World War II piloting a PBY with the famed Navy "Black Cat Squadron," to make an eight-day fact-finding tour of battle-torn Southeast Asia.

His two-week tour included briefings by military officials, helicopter tours of the battle zones, a visit to the carrier USS Kitty Hawk, and a PT boat ride along the Viet Cong-infested shoreline.

Governor Love has spent countless hours selling "Republicanism" throughout the country. He has been particularly active in the "Opportunities Unlimited" campaign aimed at college students and new voters and in addressing GOP fund-raising affairs.

Whenever he talks before Republican groups, he stresses the need for Republican unity as he did when he told the annual convention of the Federation of Republican Women:

"With the great opportunity and with the sound reason for optimism, we must bring to the task of the elections of 1968 healthy and sound debate. But we must follow it with another course of action—we must follow the debate with a solid and unbreakable unity at the time of the election."

Discussion Scheduled On Role of Governors In '68 Convention

Consideration of the role that the Republican Governors will take in the National Convention and a statistical presentation of the problems of concern to the states, will be part of the agenda for the two-day RGA conference that open in Palm Beach today.

The Republican Governors are also expected to spend considerable time discussing steps that the Association can take to win the 21 gubernatorial battles that are set for the November election.

The nation's Republican Governors are also scheduled to get a first-hand look at the preparations for the United States moon rocket program when they tour the Cape Kennedy Space Center on Saturday.

Top officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) will give the Governors a run down on activities at the space center that are now concentrated on tests for the first time of the three-stage, 362-foot Saturn rocket and the Apollo spacecraft that will carry American astronauts to the moon—hopefully by the end of 1970.

The Governors will view the 530-foot high Vehicle Assembly Building (VAB)—as tall as the Washington Monument—where four Saturn rockets can be assembled and housed, the launch pad area and the intricate control systems operation.

Colorado Governor John A. Love, RGA chairman, said the Association "is delighted that the December conference is to be hosted by Claude Kirk—Florida's first Republican Governor in 94 years."

A "Salute to General Dwight D. Eisenhower" luncheon is set for Friday noon when Senators Everett M. Dirksen, Republican Leader, and George Murphy, Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, will talk about the "Governors Role in Electing More Republican Senators." It is hoped that former President Eisenhower will be able to attend.

Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss will attend as an official guest of the Association. Congressmen Gerald R. Ford, Republican Leader and Bob Wilson, Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee will discuss the ways that the Governors can help to elect Republican Congressmen in the next election at one of the business sessions.

Governor John H. Chafee of R.I. assumes the chairmanship tomorrow.

GOP to Win at Least Five Democratic Governorships in November

Arizona



Governor Jack Williams, the fifth Republican Governor in the state's history, is more popular today than he was in 1966 when he ousted incumbent Democrat Samuel Goddard.

Governor Williams pushed through the legislature a reorganization bill to prevent the recurrence of the scandals that rocked the State Liquor Department during the previous Democratic administration.

These new laws establish a code of ethics for public employees and tougher penalties for bribery and corruption and have earned Governor Williams a "well done" from the public.

The registration figures that give the Democrats a big edge are meaningless in this state, the only one outside of the deep South which cast its 1964 electoral votes for its own Senator—Barry Goldwater. The expected return of former Senator Goldwater to the state's political arena to battle for and win the Senate seat of 90-year-old Democrat Carl Hayden should aid the Republican cause.

The Democrats got a drubbing at the polls in 1966 when Governor Williams headed a GOP sweep that carried Republicans into control of the legislature for the first time in the State's history. Next year's gubernatorial race is shaping up as a rerun of the 1966 affair. The lackluster Sam Goddard is very much interested in a comeback try. Another serious contender appears to be State Senator Bob Stump of Maricopa County, the minority whip.

Arkansas



Winthrop Rockefeller, the first Republican Governor of Arkansas in 94 years, has made a resounding impact on the State. He has quickly put

into force his election promises of reform in the areas of insurance regulation, law enforcement, government reorganization and prison reform. The continuing disclosures of scandal in previous Orval Faubus administrations should make an easy re-election for Rockefeller who will probably be opposed by the former Governor.

According to state polls, most Arkansans—Democrats and Republicans alike—are ready and willing to give the Governor another term. They have been embarrassed by the backward image of their state and appreciate his efforts to get the state into the national mainstream.

The Christian Science Monitor (11/8/67) reported:

"The very fact he decided to move here in 1963—a man with millions who could reside anywhere in the world—has done much to overcome what has been described as a statewide inferiority complex.

"Governor Rockefeller is, by name and fortune, able to open doors of hard-nosed industrialists in an era when new jobs are needed to keep the state's best young people at home."

Delaware

While Democratic Governor Charles L. Terry, Jr., ponders the question of whether to seek a second four-year term, Delaware Republicans are becoming increasingly optimistic about their chances of taking over the governorship.

Many think that Governor Terry's declining popularity and his age—he is the nation's oldest governor at 68—may convince him not to run again.

The five Republicans most often mentioned as candidates for Governor in 1968 are:

Attorney General David P. Buckson (who is also a former Lieutenant Governor) who narrowly lost for Governor in 1964.

Dr. Russell W. Peterson, a duPont executive who has led successful statewide reform drives for the state correctional system and the reapportionment of delegates to state party conventions.

Robert A. Short, the State Insurance Commissioner who came into office in 1963 and who led the Republican ticket in 1966, receiving more votes than anyone in Delaware history.

Harry G. Haskell, Jr., of Wilmington, the Republican National Committeeman for Delaware and a former Congressman.

George W. Cripps, a Dover businessman and retired Lieutenant Colonel who was elected State Auditor in 1966.

Illinois

Optimistic reports that the eight-year Democratic reign in Illinois can be ended next fall have caused a number of Republican hopefuls to cast a covetous eye on the Republican nomination for

Governor.

The leading contenders are Richard B. Ogilvie, President of the Board of Cook County Commissioners and John Henry Altorfer, a Peoria industrialist and Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1964. Mr. Ogilvie has licked the Democrats' Chicago machine twice—first as sheriff and in 1966 as President of the county board.

Others on the growing list of Republican potentials are House Speaker Ralph T. Smith of Alton; former Governor William G. Stratton; Benjamin S. Adamowski, former Cook County State's Attorney and the GOP's 1963 candidate for Chicago Mayor; and State Senator Arthur R. Gottschalk of Flossmor.

It is considered highly unlikely that Governor Otto Kerner will depart from the political scene voluntarily. He is expected to either seek re-election to a third term or challenge the venerable Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen.

If Governor Kerner bows out of the gubernatorial race to tackle Senator Dirksen next fall it is expected that the Democrats will turn to State Treasurer Adlai E. Stevenson III. The son of the twice defeated Democratic presidential nominee was lassoed by Mayor Richard Daley to run for the post of State Treasurer in 1965 and was the only Democrat to survive on the state slate. The glamor of his father's name was an important factor in Stevenson's narrow 11,000-vote-victory. Another possible Democratic candidate for either Governor or Senator is Sargent Shriver, brother-in-law of the Kennedys and head of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. There is also some mention of Mayor Daley as the Democratic party's choice for Governor.

Indiana

Most political observers list Indiana as one of the states where a change from a Democratic to a Republican Administra-

tion can occur. The present governor, Roger D. Branigin, cannot serve another immediate successive term and the Indiana Democratic party is currently so factionalized that GOP chances look very promising.

According to the Christian Science Monitor, "An atmosphere of general Republican optimism and Democratic pessimism is found here. Front runners for the gubernatorial nominations now would appear to be GOP Secretary of State Edgar D. Whitcomb and Democratic Lt. Governor Robert L. Rock.

"Hoosiers may be looking for a change after two straight Democratic administrations. Vietnam, and the presidential race most certainly will have a major effect on the governor's race. The President's popularity is down."

A second candidate for the GOP nomination is Dr. Earl L. Butz, Dean of Agriculture at Purdue University, who announced his candidacy in early November. House Speaker Otis Bowen is also known to be interested in making the race.

Iowa

Republican hopes are high in Iowa as Democratic Governor Harold Hughes runs into political trouble over the state's controversial new tax law.

Most political insiders in Iowa believe Governor Hughes will not run for another term anyway, but may challenge Iowa's veteran Senator Bourke B. Hick-enlooper for his Senate seat.

Republicans reportedly interested in the gubernatorial race are: Robert Beck, Centerville newspaper publisher who ran in the 1964 gubernatorial primary; Don Johnson, a West Branch businessman who is a former National Commander of the American Legion; Max Milo Mills, a Marshalltown lawyer, former state legislator and candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1966; and GOP State Chairman Robert Ray of Des Moines.

Kansas

Kansas Republicans hope to recover their only wayward high state office by defeating one-term Governor Robert Docking next year. Governor Docking was one of only two Democrats in the nation to take a Governor's chair from an incumbent Republican in the 1966 elections and the only one up for re-election in 1968. There have been rumors that Governor Docking will run for the Senator seat of Republican Frank Carlson, who is expected to retire.

There appears to be a surplus of Republican talent available to run for the office. Reportedly leading the list of potential candidates are Lieutenant Governor John Crutcher of Hutchinson and State Senator Glee Smith of Larned who is president pro tem of the State Senate.

Others often mentioned as possibilities to make the race are: Attorney General Robert C. Londerholm; Congressman Robert Dole; State Representative John Conard; former Governor John Anderson; former president of the Kansas Livestock Association Bill House; Johnson County Republican Chairman and former Kansas State University athlete Rick Harman; and former Congressman Robert Ellsworth who is now Executive Director of the National Nixon for President Committee in Washington.

Missouri

Though no candidates have yet announced, Missouri Republicans are very optimistic about their chances in next year's gubernatorial race.

Though Democratic Governor Warren Hearnes has said he will probably run for re-election, both he and Lieutenant Governor Thomas Eagleton are reported to be interested in running against Senator Edward Long in the Democratic primary.

The October 11th Christian Science Monitor states: "If the President loses in Missouri by 200,000 votes, Governor Hearnes will go under regardless of who the GOP candidate is. That is the opinion of top Democratic professionals in this state, and they believe there is a good possibility that President Johnson may lose by 200,000 votes."

The leading possibility for the Republican nomination for Governor of Missouri at this time appears to be Kansas City manufacturer Dutton Brookfield, who is chairman of the Kansas City sports complex and a former candidate for mayor (he lost by less than 1200 votes in heavily Democratic Kansas City). Mr. Brookfield gained a great deal of support early this year when he was the chief force behind the passage of a major County bond issue.

Other possibilities are: State Senate Minority Leader Thomas Woolsey, Republican State Chairman and House Minority Leader Dorman Steelman, and Chairman of the St. Louis County Council, Hugh Scott.

Gubernatorial Elections November—1968

REPUBLICANS (8)

State	Candidate	Term	% of Total Vote Last Election
Arizona	Williams	2 years	53.8
Arkansas	Rockefeller, W.	2 years	54.3
Montana	Babcock	4 years	51.3
New Mexico	Cargo	2 years	51.7
Rhode Island	Chafee	2 years	63.3
South Dakota	Boe*	2 years	57.7
Washington	Evans	4 years	55.8
Wisconsin	Knowles	2 years	53.5

DEMOCRATS (13)

State	Candidate	Term	% of Total Vote Last Election
Delaware	Terry	4 years	51.4
Illinois	Kerner	4 years	51.9
Indiana	Branigan*	4 years	56.2
Iowa	Hughes	2 years	55.3
Kansas	Docking	2 years	54.8
Missouri	Hearnes	4 years	62.1
New Hampshire	King	2 years	54.0
North Carolina	Moore*	4 years	56.6
North Dakota	Guy	4 years	55.7
Texas	Connally	2 years	72.8
Utah	Rampton	4 years	57.0
Vermont	Hoff	2 years	57.7
West Virginia	Smith*	4 years	54.9

*Ineligible for another term.

Election Analysis Continued . . .

Montana



The Republicans have retained firm control of the governorship in this state since 1953 and Governor Tim Babcock aims to make it at least 20 years of Republican leadership.

Elected as Lieutenant Governor in 1960, Governor Babcock took over the office in 1962 when a tragic plane crash killed his predecessor and friend, Governor Donald G. Nutter.

Despite the landslide victory of President Johnson in Montana three years ago Governor Babcock became one of only three Republican incumbent Governors returned for a full term in November of 1964 when he defeated Dr. Ronald R. Renne, the former president of Montana State College.

The public agrees with his concern about the problems of education in the state and approves of his decision to make available additional state funds for this purpose.

Further, people are fed up with the Democratic Party's attempt to play "politics" with the sales tax issue and applaud Governor Babcock's view that the financial problems that "confront Montana in the near future go beyond the sphere of political parties."

Speculation about the Democratic nominee centers around several unexciting prospects. They include: Attorney General Forrest Anderson, Billings Mayor Willard Fraser, John W. Mahan, member of the do-nothing U.S. Subversive Activities Board, State Senator LeRoy Anderson of Conrad and Merrill K. Riddick of Philipsburg.

New Hampshire

Republicans here are very optimistic about next year's gubernatorial race.

Governor John W. King has indicated that he has "no plans" regarding a possible fourth term.

Many New Hampshire political observers, however, find it hard to believe that Governor King will not run for re-election—or for the Senate seat now held by the firmly entrenched Republican Senator Norris Cotton.

Over a year ago, Republican House Speaker Walter Peterson of Peterborough indicated an interest in being a candidate in next year's gubernatorial race. Several other Republicans are interested in the race, but no one has yet made a formal announcement.

New Mexico



As the youngest chief executive since statehood in 1912 — Governor David F. Cargo, 38 years old, has had to spend much of his time watchdogging the Democrat-controlled legislature and bringing some much needed reform to state government.

He has deactivated close to 50 of the 214 cumbersome and archaic boards and commissions in his State and has combined the duties of five agencies into one Department of Transportation.

The people like the results. It showed in a recent popularity poll taken at the Eastern New Mexico State Fair when Governor Cargo defeated his nearest Democratic rival among possible gubernatorial candidates by three to one.

As the underdog candidate in 1966 Governor Cargo tripped up the pundits by winning the Republican primary and overtaking the top-heavy Democratic favorite in a gubernatorial campaign in which Governor Cargo spent only \$14,000. He'll win again in November—and improve on his 1966 plurality of 9,038.

Democrats have bid adieu to Governor Cargo's opponent the last time around—T. E. (Gene) Lusk and are casting around for a candidate. Likely choices are former Lieutenant Governor Mack Easley of Hobbs or Bruce King, Speaker of the House.

North Carolina

North Carolina Republicans have an excellent chance to gain the state's chief executive office and may for the first time have a primary struggle for the gubernatorial nomination. By state law, Democratic Governor Dan Moore cannot serve an immediate successive term.

Jack L. Stickley of Charlotte, a 64-year-old businessman and a former president of the International Association of Lions Clubs, has announced his intention of seeking the 1968 Republican gubernatorial nomination. He may be opposed for the nomination by Congressman James C. Gardner, a drive-in restaurant tycoon from Rocky Mount who unseated 32-year veteran Congressman Harold Cooley in 1966.

Until late last summer, Congressman Gardner, who has a large following of dissident North Carolina Democrats, seemed to be a front-runner for the

nomination and was regarded by the Democrats as a major threat.

However, at that time, Mr. Stickley with backing from many of the State's most influential party regulars began to run. Among his backers are Congressman Charles R. Jonas who clashed with Mr. Gardner in 1963 over a congressional redistricting plan; and the former state GOP chairman, William E. Cobb, who came out of retirement to help build a campaign organization for Mr. Stickley.

An important factor to be considered is that most of the state's 350,000 registered Republicans live in the Western and Piedmont portions of the state (the home area of Mr. Stickley, Congressman Jonas and Mr. Cobb) while many of Congressman Gardner's supporters (from the Eastern part of the state) are registered Democrats who could vote for him in a general election but who will be unable to do so in a primary.

Other names sometimes mentioned in connection with the Governorship are: Congressman James Broyhill, Congressman Jonas and Guilford lawyer William Osteen.

North Dakota

Republican hopes are high in North Dakota to unseat Democratic Governor William Guy who will probably try for an unprecedented fourth term. No Governor of North Dakota before Guy had ever remained in office for over six years. Because of this precedent, some speculate that Governor Guy may choose to challenge Republican Senator Milton Young for his Senate seat in 1968.

North Dakota Republicans already talked about for the race are: State Representative Gordon Aamoth of Fargo, 1967 Speaker of the House; Arley Bjella, Williston attorney and a former GOP state chairman; former Governor John E. Davis of Bismarck, who has just completed a year as national commander of the American Legion; Ed Doherty, New Rockford newspaper publisher; Richard Elkin of Taylor, member of the state Public Service Commission; State Senator Evan Lips of Bismarck, 1967 Senate Majority leader; Robert P. McCarney, Bismarck auto dealer; State Representative Robert Reimers, Melville seed farmer who was assistant House Majority leader; State Senator Grant Trenbeath, Neche farmer, in the Senate since 1957; and State Representative Bryce Streibel, Fessenden farmer who was the House Majority leader in the last session.

Probably the most well-known candidate is former Governor John E. Davis who has been on the party sidelines since

Plenty of Muscle

The political muscle of the Republican Governors is evident in a few interesting statistics.

The 26 states that will have Republican governors next year have a total of 302 electoral votes—32 votes more than the magic 270 figure that is needed to elect the presidential ticket.

These states will send 760 delegates out of the 1,333 delegates to the Republican National Convention that opens in Miami Beach on August 5th. This gives them 93 votes more than the 667 votes that is needed to select the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees and approve the Party platform.

Republicans will control a majority of the 50 States Houses in the country for the first time since 1955 when there were 30 Republican Governors in the 48 states.

Republicans hold the governorships in seven of the 10 largest states—New York, California, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Massachusetts and Florida.

Republicans govern in states with some 58 percent of the nation's population.

Elections . . .

his second term as Governor expired in 1961.

Rhode Island



In this tiny, traditionally Democratic state Governor John H. Chafee, the new chairman of the Republican Governors Association, has performed political miracles. He will repeat for a

fourth term next November.

In 1964—in this state in which you can still use the master lever on the voting machine—President Johnson won an astonishing 82% of the vote. The vote should have buried Governor Chafee. It didn't. He captured a record breaking 61% of the vote.

In 1966 he was again the winningest Republican Governor in the country with 63.3% of the vote and carried into office with him a Republican Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General. It was the first time in 28 years that Republicans had won a statewide office other than the governorship.

As one columnist wrote about Governor Chafee—"his personal leadership and popular acceptance as 'the man you can trust' have revitalized his state's political spirit."

Democrats are scouting about for possible candidates to oppose Governor Chafee but the pickings are slim. It appears that former State Senator Thomas R. DiLuglio of Johnston — unsuccessful aspirant for the Democratic nomination for Lieutenant Governor in 1966—will be given the blessing of his party but little help.

South Dakota



Republicans should have no difficulty in holding the governorship of South Dakota even though Governor Nils A. Boe is unable to succeed himself.

Governor Boe has said that he is "very interested" in running for the Republican nomination to face Democratic Senator George McGovern. However, he said he won't announce for a while.

Prominent in the speculation to win the Republican nomination are Attorney General Frank Farrar and State Senator Robert Bartron.

The state's political situation was recently appraised in an article in the Sioux-Falls (S. Dak.) Argus Leader which reported that in the Democratic party "so far no one has indicated interest in running for anything. In view of last fall's election results, it might be suggested that this is not so much a sign of disinterest as of good sense."

Texas

The decision of Governor John B. Connally to forego a try for a fourth-term has given the Republicans their best chance in nearly 100 years to win the governorship.

His departure from the political scene promises to embroil the two warring Democratic factions in the state—the liberal and the conservative forces—in a bitter struggle for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

Such a split in the Democratic ranks was a big factor in Senator John G. Tower's victory in 1961. President Kennedy's ill-fated trip to Texas in November 1963 was made to mediate the Democratic party's tong warfare which is sure to escalate into a full-scale battle over the

choice of the party's gubernatorial nominee next year.

Lt. Gov. Preston Smith has already announced. Many expect Senator Ralph W. Yarborough to represent the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

Republicans have a number of popular figures ready. Senator Tower has not ruled himself out and Congressman George W. Bush is mentioned often. Other Republican possibilities are Congressman Robert D. (Bob) Price; former Democratic Attorney General Will Wilson; James M. Collins, a Dallas businessman; Peter O'Donnell, Jr., Republican State Chairman; and Albert B. Fay, GOP National Committeeman.

Utah

Democratic Governor Calvin Rampton's waning popularity and the Republican upsurge in 1966 in Utah have sparked unprecedented interest in the 1968 gubernatorial race.

In 1966, Utah citizens returned both congressional seats (one had been Democratic for one term) to the Republican column with 60 percent of the total statewide vote. Democratic Governor Rampton and Senator Frank Moss were saved from the Republican landslide only because they were not up for re-election that year.

At an early meeting called to consider candidates for the GOP gubernatorial nomination, over 30 people expressed interest in running for the post. The list has now narrowed to 10 active candidates who are currently co-sponsoring a public opinion survey throughout the state to determine the relative popularity and strength of each against Governor Rampton in next year's race.

Vermont

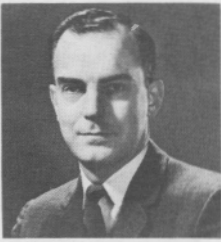
Vermont Republicans who had held the Governorship for more than 100 years before Democrat Philip H. Hoff took office in 1963 have high hopes to reclaim that chair in 1968.

At the moment, the leading GOP candidate for the nomination appears to be Attorney General James Oakes who was the only Republican to win a Constitutional state-wide office in 1966.

Other candidates being mentioned are: Frederick Smith, a Burlington banker; Thomas Hayes, an attorney in Middlebury and former administrative assistant to Senator Winston Prouty; Deane Davis, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Life Insurance Company in Montpelier; and Robert Gibson, a Brattleboro attorney who is the son of former Governor and now District Judge Ernest Gibson.

Elections . . .

Washington



After the 1964 election of Governor Daniel J. Evans, TIME magazine predicted that "he is a Republican to keep an eye on." TIME couldn't have been more accurate. He came into

office with a 35-point "Blueprint for Progress" program that outlined his proposals in the fields of mental health, tourism and modernization of state government. He has spent the past three years carrying through on these plans.

Unfortunately, the Democratic legislators have thrown many roadblocks in Governor Evans' way. Nevertheless, he has managed to push through much of his program. Washingtonians are delighted about the state's explosive economic growth and the growth of their urban areas which has come about under the leadership of Governor Evans.

The measure of his success is the grudging admission that is made even by the staunchest Democrats that "he's done a good job." His success has captured widespread national attention.

The choice of his opponent in the fall doesn't matter to Governor Evans. "The more the merrier," said the Governor recently. It may take a Democratic primary to decide the question. The speculation centers around three Democrats: Attorney General John J. O'Connell, a "me-too-man" of administration policy; State Senator Martin Durkan—who has used his position as chairman of the Senate Ways and Means Committee to torpedo worthwhile legislation; and for-

mer Governor Albert D. Rosellini—defeated by Governor Evans four years ago.

Governor Evans—whose upset victory in 1964 came despite the Democratic sweep throughout the Country—will roll merrily over his opposition.

West Virginia

West Virginia Democratic Governor Hulett C. Smith cannot serve an immediate successive term and two highly formidable Republican candidates have already announced for the Republican nomination to succeed him in office.

Former Governor Cecil H. Underwood (1957-1961) and six-term Congressman Arch A. Moore, Jr. of Glen Dale, who announced their candidacies within days of one another last month, are candidates of considerable experience and ballot box appeal.

They are both deadly serious about unseating the Democratic administration in Charleston and "getting the state moving again."

Wisconsin



A recent article in the Chicago Tribune described Republican Governor Warren P. Knowles as "the galvanic governor of America's Dairyland" who has "been winning elections for

30 years." So true.

He first won the governorship in 1964 by an 18,000 vote margin although LBJ was carrying the state by 400,000 votes. The next time around, in 1966, he widened his lead to 78,000 votes and made some significant inroads in the Democratic fortress of Milwaukee.

His political standing in the state is attested to by the statement of Democratic Senator Gaylord A. Nelson that Governor Knowles is the "only Republican who can give me a fight." Governor Knowles has kept his options opened and has yet to announce if he will seek re-election to a third-term or seek the seat of Senator Nelson in November.

Governor Knowles is proud that he has been able to hold the tax line on the 1967-69 biennial budget. This coupled with the sound legislative program that he has guided through the Democratic-controlled legislature during the past three years has boosted his political fortune and won him widespread popular support.

Democrat Bronson La Follette has spent little time at his job lately as Attorney General as he spends much of his time politicking and angling for the Democratic nomination for Governor. He hopes that his family name will help him but he will be swamped by Governor Knowles if he seeks the governorship.

Volpe Takes Charge



Republicans took over the chairmanship of the National Governors' Conference in October with the election to that post of Governor John A. Volpe of Massa-

chusetts.

As Chairman, Governor Volpe is also a member of the executive committee which includes three other Republican Governors—Walter J. Hickel of Alaska, Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland and Nils A. Boe of South Dakota.

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SUPER KEY DISTRICTS IN CASE PRESIDENTIAL RACE
IS THROWN INTO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Considering the possibility that the Presidential race may end up being decided by the House of Representatives, it might be well for us to consider which are the key House seats in such a contingency.

Super concentration on 19 specific Democrat House seats all of which are now on our target list, plus concentration on holding 14 presently Republican seats, seven of which are currently on our vulnerable GOP seat list, could make the difference on whether we win or lose the Presidency, should this election be decided by the House.

Our Present Situation

House Delegations in which there is a Republican majority: (18 states)

Alaska	Nebraska
Arizona	New Hampshire
Delaware	North Dakota
Idaho	Ohio
Indiana	South Dakota
Iowa	Utah
Kansas	Vermont
Michigan	Wisconsin
Minnesota	Wyoming

Where We Must Gain

Where do we go to pick up majority of delegations in eight other states?

1. Illinois -- now split 12-12 -- really zero in on what appears to be the best district after redistricting is completed -- *if redistricted*
2. Pennsylvania -- now split 14D-13R -- hold 19th (Goodling) and concentrate on 24th (Vigorito - D).
3. Montana -- now split 1-1 -- take close marginal 1st (Olsen - D).

The above are reasonable prospects. The following are not as good:

4. New Jersey -- now split 9-6 -- redistricting mess with ^{Republicans}~~Democrats~~ in control of it. Present districts give us a good shot at two districts. We will need two districts here, whenever redistricting mess is resolved.
5. New Mexico -- We have an excellent chance at one of the two seats. It will be much more unlikely to take two, but not impossible.

6. Maine -- two Democratic seats -- we have a good chance at one, the other is a harder problem, but in this basically Republican state, it should not be an impossibility.
7. Oklahoma -- now split 5-2 against us. With two sure Republican districts after redistricting -- all out efforts to hold incumbent Smith (R) and to go after Edmondson again in the 2nd -- gives us a long shot chance for a 4-3 split.
8. California -- now split 21-17 against us. Proposed "sweetheart" redistricting bill would hurt our chances of gaining the necessary three seats. Still under any circumstances we should concentrate on three seats -- even if one of them looks like a real long shot.
9. Washington -- now split 5-2 against us. While prospects of gaining two seats look poor, we have held three of the present Democrat seats up to two years ago.
10. Virginia -- now split 6-4 -- concentrate on gaining the 5th where Tuck is retiring, on possibility that with a 5-5 split, and a long drawn out House election for President, one of the Democrats might weaken when the chips are down (Satterfield or Marsh?????).
11. Colorado -- now split 3-1 against us. A reasonable prospect of picking up one seat -- very difficult in regard to another, but we might work on the long shot 1st.
12. Oregon -- now split 2-2 -- all out effort against Ullman (D).

Wallace Delegations?

Mississippi: House vote likely to be for Wallace.
 Alabama: House vote likely to be for Wallace.
 Louisiana: House vote possible for Wallace.
 South Carolina: House vote possible for Wallace or split.

FROM POINT OF VIEW OF POSSIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTE FOR PRESIDENT DISTRICTS ON WHICH WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE

14 Seats We Must Hold

(on our present vulnerable seat list) (in addition to those on vulnerable list)

18th Cal.	Mathias	55.9%	19th Pa.	Goodling	51.7%
25th Cal.	Wiggins	52.5	8th Va.	Scott	57.2
33rd Cal.	Pettis	53.5	9th Va.	Wampler	53.7
6th Minn.	Zwach	51.4	Alaska	Pollock	51.6
4th Okla.	Smith	41.6	Del.	Roth	55.8
(new)			8th Ind.	Zion	51.1
1st Iowa.	Schwengel	51.3	Wyoming	Harrison	52.7
4th Iowa	Kyl	51.7			

19 Seats We Must Gain

11th Ill.	Pucinski	49.1%
	probably will remain best Ill. target after redist.	
24th Pa.	Vigorito	44.7
	probably better target than others with slightly higher percentage	
1st Mont.	Olson	49.2
N.M.-A.L.	Walker	49.5
N.M.-A.L.	Morris	44.1
1st Maine	Kyros	45.2
2nd Maine	Hathaway	43.2
2nd Okla.	Edmondson	47.1
2nd Ore.	Ullman	36.7
5th Va.	Tuck (retiring)	43.8
3rd Colo.	Evans	48.3
1st Colo.	Rogers	44.0

2 seats in New Jersey
redistricting makes this
a problem, but general area
of present 3rd --- now 46.6%
and present 9th -- now 49.1%
would seem best gamble.

2 seats in Washington -- among 2nd ---43.5%
5th and 6th (new figures not
yet available).

3 seats in California, the best we can find
after redistricting, which are likely to
include:

29th	Brown	now 48.9%
34th	Hanna	now 44.2%
38th	Tunney	now 45.5%

MEMORANDUM

Subject: The Election of the President by the House of Representatives

Brief Summary of Findings:

The 12th Amendment provides that if no Presidential candidate has a majority of the electoral votes when they are counted in front of a joint session of Congress, ~~the~~ "the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice."

By law the electoral count occurs in the Hall of the House at 1 p.m. on the sixth day of January succeeding every meeting of the electors. (3 U.S.C.15)

The 20th Amendment provides that the terms of the Representatives shall begin on the 3rd day of January.

This combination of law and Constitutional provisions makes it clear that any election of a President by the House of Representatives would take place after the newly elected Congress had begun their term. This would remain true unless the law as to the date of counting the electoral votes were changed to a date prior to January 3.

More Extensive Summary:

The third paragraph of the first section of the second article of the Constitution provides:

"The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States."

The election of the President - Page #2

In 1801 the electoral count failed to give a majority of votes to any of the candidates. At that time the 12th Amendment had yet to be enacted but the Constitution had a provision on the subject which was similar to the language of that Amendment. (See Footnote 1; III Hinds 1981). The primary distinction was that before the 12th Amendment there was no distinction between votes for President and votes for Vice-President. This led to the election by the House in 1801, and the 12th Amendment cured this defect.

The term of Congress at that time began on March 4 of the off-numbered years and extended through two years.

On February 11, 1801, the election of a President was thrown into the House of Representatives, (III Hinds 1983). This election included as participants, Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson. It is interesting to note that Alexander Hamilton's support of Thomas Jefferson in this election was one of the factors that led to the duel between Burr and Hamilton, which resulted in Hamilton's death. For a story of the rivalry between these men, see The Rivals by Clemens, P23 (5898, R being its call number in the Library of Congress). They proceeded to elect a President under rules adopted for this matter just a few days before. (III Hinds 1982). On the thirty-sixth ballot, Thomas Jefferson was elected President with his term to begin on March 4, 1801. Therefore, Jefferson was elected by the outgoing Congress less than a month before their term was to expire.

In 1804 the 12th Amendment was enacted. The pertinent part of it provides:

"The person having the greatest number of votes (referring to Electoral Collège votes) for President, shall be the President,

if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for a President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice."

In 1825, the electoral college again gave no candidate a majority and on February 9, 1825, the election in the House of Representatives of John Quincy Adams took place; the other candidates being Andrew Jackson and William Crawford. (Rules governing this election found at III Hinds 1984). It should be noted that again in 1825 the election was conducted by the outgoing House of Representatives as their term was to end on March 4, 1825.

In 1825 the election by the House involved three men. From this fact it appears to be precedent that the language not exceeding three in the 12th Amendment, means "three" when at least three have received votes from the electoral college.

The 20th Amendment became operative in 1933 and its most significant provision for present purposes provides:

"Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of the Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall

then begin."

This Amendment makes it clear that it is only the newly elected Congress that can act after January 3 of the odd-numbered years. The 12th Amendment provides that the election goes into the House of Representatives only after the Electoral count has failed to give any candidate a majority. Therefore, it becomes vital as to when this count is taken. The electoral count occurs in the Hall of the House at 1 p.m. on the sixth day of January succeeding every meeting of electors (3 U.S.C. 15), but in the 1957 count the date was changed to Monday, January 7. (P.L. 436, 84th Cong.). So if the Congress operates within existing law any election of a President by the House of Representatives would necessarily occur after the newly elected Representatives' terms had begun.

The electors actually meet in their respective states to vote on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December next following their appointment, (3 U.S.C.7) which occurs on the day the public "votes" for President. (Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, 3 U.S.C. 1). The possibility therefore apparently exists that Congress could by law change the date of the counting of all the electoral votes to a time in say late December. If this were done and no Presidential candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, the election of the President would fall upon the outgoing House of Representatives.

Since Congress is not usually in session in late December, such a meeting of Congress could be called by the President as provided by Article II, Section 3 of the Constitution. In one instance, the President called Congress into session when it had already provided by law for a later time to meet. (1 Hinds 12).

The election of the President - Page #5

Congress?

On January 3, 1961, the ^(*adapted a*) Senate ~~by~~ concurrent resolution ~~approved a~~
~~resolution~~ providing as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring) that the two Houses of Congress shall meet in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Friday the 6th day of January 1961, at 1 o'clock post meridian, pursuant to the requirements of the Constitution and laws relating to the election of President and Vice President of the United States, and the President of the Senate shall be their Presiding Officer; that two tellers shall be previously appointed by the President of the Senate on the part of the Senate and two by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives, to whom shall be handed, as they are opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral votes, which certificates shall be opened, presented, and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States, beginning with the letter "A", and said tellers, having then read the same in the presence and hearing of the two Houses, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates; and those votes having been ascertained and counted in the manner and according to the rules by law provided, the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote, which announcement shall be deemed sufficient declaration of the persons, if any, elected President and Vice President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the journals of the two Houses."

On January 4, 1965, a resolution was adopted that was identical to the above except that the date was changed to January 6, 1965, and "President of the Senate" was changed to "President Pro Tempore of the Senate."

These resolutions make it clear that Congress has in practice strictly followed the requirements of 3 U.S.C. 15 as to the date of counting the electoral votes; namely on January 6. As long as this law is followed it is clear that it would have to be the newly elected House that would elect the President should an election be thrown to them.

As to the questions of procedure once the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, the election of 1825 becomes the primary precedent. The entire procedure is set out at III ^{Hinds} 1984. The highlights beyond direct 12th amendment requirements are:

- 1) The House is to continue to ballot without interruption by other business until one of the candidates, not exceeding three, shall have a majority of all the States.
- 2) The doors of the Hall shall be closed during the balloting, except against the Members of the Senate, stenographers, and the officers of the House.
- 3) The Representatives of each State shall first ballot among themselves in order to ascertain the vote of their State.
- 4) If the votes within a State don't give either candidate a majority then the word "divided" shall be written on their vote.
- 5) When either receive a majority of the votes of the States, the is elected President.

It therefore appears that a "divided" vote may ^{for all practical purposes,} ~~as well~~ be a vote against the potential winner.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

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NEWS RELEASE

Jim Marshall
Public Relations Director

Release: MONDAY
A.M. - November 13th

The nation's Republican Governors are scheduled to get a first-hand look at the preparations for the United States moon rocket program when they tour the Cape Kennedy Space Center during their two-day conference in Florida next month.

The Governors will be briefed by top officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) before their inspection of the facilities at the space center on December 9th (Saturday), it was announced by Colorado Governor John A. Love, Chairman of the Republican Governors Association. The tour will wind up the Association sessions that open at The Breakers in Palm Beach at 9:00 a.m. on December 8th (Friday) with business sessions on both days.

A rundown will be given the Governors on the activities at the space center that are now concentrated on tests for the first time of the three-stage, 362-foot-tall Saturn rocket and the Apollo spacecraft that will carry American astronauts to the moon - hopefully by the end of 1970.

The Governors will view the 530-foot high Vertical Assembly Building (VAB) - as tall as the Washington Monument and the largest building in the United States outside of the Pentagon - where four Saturn rockets can be assembled and housed, the launch pad area and the intricate control systems operation.

The Governors will welcome into their ranks Governor-elect Louie B. Nunn whose upset victory in the Kentucky election gives the Republicans 26 out of the 50 governorships. It marks the first time since 1955, when there were 30 Republican Governors in the 48 states, that the Republicans have outnumbered their Democratic counterparts.

-more-



The agenda will include a discussion of some of the domestic problems that confront the country and the States along with consideration of the role that the Republican Governors will play in the National Convention in Miami Beach in August.

A "Salute to General Dwight D. Eisenhower" luncheon is set for Friday noon when Senators Everett M. Dirksen, Republican Leader, and George Murphy, Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, will talk about the "Governors Role in Electing More Republican Senators." It is hoped that former President Eisenhower will be able to attend.

The social functions will be highlighted by a special show by Perry Como at the Royal Poinciana Playhouse on Friday night (December 8th) for the conferees.

Florida's Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr. - the state's first Republican Governor in 94 years - is host for the conference that will be held only about a mile from his Palm Beach home - "Ducks Nest".

Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss will attend as an official guest of the Association. Congressman Gerald R. Ford, Republican Leader and Bob Wilson, Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee will discuss the ways that the Governors can help to elect Republican Congressmen in the next election at one of the business sessions.

Governor John H. Chafee of Rhode Island assumes the Chairmanship of the Association from Governor Love for a year at the end of the Palm Beach conference.

The eight Republican Governors on the Republican Coordinating Committee are expected to fly directly from Palm Beach to Washington, D. C. for the Monday (December 11th) meeting of that group which will be held at the Statler Hilton Hotel. Republican Governors on the Coordinating Committee are Governors Love, Chafee, Nils A. Boe of South Dakota, Daniel J. Evans of Washington, Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, George Romney of Michigan, Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania and John A. Volpe of Massachusetts.



6-9-67

Maybe Reason for \$1 Billion Add-on to military construction?

Paul

The President now thinks he has a winning formula for 1968 in spite of everything.

Keynote of the campaign will be "Johnson prosperity."

Main appeal will be to cities, suburbs, Negroes, labor unions.

LBJ believes he even has a campaign answer to the biggest issue—the war in Vietnam.



—Washington Reporters Photo

"Personal campaigning" is prescribed for President Johnson in '68 by political advisers—meeting people "the way Harry Truman did," leaving TV to others.

LBJ'S PLAN FOR WINNING IN '68

Strategy Being Shaped

The White House, at this time, is starting to plot the basic strategy to be used in Lyndon Johnson's campaign for re-election as President.

Here is how—according to political advisers—LBJ plans to run, and win again, in 1968:

The President foresees victory as a result of putting together a winning combination of votes from the cities, suburbs, Negroes, and labor unions.

The next election—in Mr. Johnson's estimation—will be won or lost in rapidly growing suburban areas of the nation.

Thus nearly a third of the current presidential messages to Congress are aimed at suburban problems—education, crime, pollution, consumer legislation, mass transit and auto safety.

The key: "good times." In the White House view, suburban families are so prosperous that they will not take a chance on changing "good times" by voting Republican next year.

Also, the Administration believes that suburbanites will not be sufficiently aroused by racial conflicts to vote for former Governor George Wallace of Alabama—who seems almost certain to run for President on a third-party ticket.

Where the "Wallace effect" in the next election is concerned, the President has expressed satisfaction to White House visitors with a recent Gallup Poll indicating that most of Mr. Wallace's vote would be taken away from the Republican nominee.

There even is reason to believe that the regular Democratic organization may see some merit in helping to finance the Wallace campaign in a roundabout way.

A stand on record. Racial controversy would be handled this way: Mr. Johnson has given signs that he does not propose to stir up the suburbs by making strong civil-rights speeches in the 1968 campaign. At the same time, the President does not intend to back down

on previous positions—such as advocacy of "open housing" legislation and integrated juries.

Those close to LBJ say he plans to stand on the record of civil-rights laws and regulations adopted during his Administration. And, he thinks, the Republican platform on this issue is bound to be quite like the Democratic plank.

If it comes to a choice between the declining farm vote and urban consumers—then the Johnson strategy will be aimed at wooing the big cities and their suburbs.

Pocketbook appeal. Above all, the President hopes to win in 1968 by an overriding appeal to the pocketbook interests of broad classes of voters—from young to old, from rich to poor—cutting across State or regional boundaries.

"Prosperity" will be the keynote of the Democratic campaign. Over and over again, Mr. Johnson will call attention to the "good times" he claims the public is enjoying under his leadership.

A Government official observed: "Whatever it takes, the President will have the economy soaring by Election Day. Then people will ask, as they go to the polls, whether they would be better off under a Republican President. That is when they will decide not to vote against prosperity."

This official continued: "Deficit? Sure, there will be a budget deficit—a big one. Republicans will talk about Government spending, taxes, and deficits. But so did Goldwater in 1964." Recently, the Administration has been releasing billions of dollars in previously impounded federal funds for construc-

SPEECH BEFORE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

COLO. SPRINGS, COLO. - FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1966

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND FELLOW REPUBLICANS--AND I THINK THAT S REDUNDANT.

I M HAPPY AND HONORED TO HAVE THE CHANCE TO SPEND A FEW HOURS WITH YOU. FIRST OF ALL TO CONGRATULATE YOU-- THOSE WHO WERE ELECTED OR RE-ELECTED LAST NOVEMBER 8--AND TO THANK ALL OF YOU. WHETHER YOU WERE CANDIDATES OR NOT. FOR THE KEY ROLES YOU PLAYED IN THE GREAT RESURGENCE OF REPUBLICANISM WHICH WE HAVE WITNESSED AND WHICH IS STILL IN MOTION.

IF I CAN CLEAR MY DESK OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAT HAVE PILED UP IN ANTICIPATION OF THE NEW CONGRESS. I AM COMING BACK TO ^{THE ROCKIES} ~~COLORADO~~ WITH MY WHOLE FAMILY LATER THIS

MONTH FOR THE RELATIVELY SAFE SPORT OF SKIING. WE ALL LOVE THIS ~~STATE~~^{AREA}. THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT THESE MAJESTIC MOUNTAINS THAT REDUCES MAN TO HIS PROPER SIZE. AND I THINK IT WAS A WONDERFUL CHOICE FOR REPUBLICANS TO GATHER HERE IN THE FLUSH OF LAST MONTH'S SWEEPING SUCCESSES. WE STILL HAVE A WAY TO GO.

YOUNG LT. ZEBULON PIKE. WHEN HE FIRST LOOKED AT THE PEAK THAT BEARS HIS NAME. SUPPOSEDLY SAID IT WOULD "NEVER BE SCALED BY MORTAL MAN." ONLY A FEW YEARS LATER. OF COURSE. IT WAS. I THINK WE MIGHT CONSIDER SETTING UP A ZEBULON PIKE AWARD FOR ALL THE POLITICAL PUNDITS WHO TWO YEARS AGO WERE DOLEFULLY PREDICTING THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD GO THE WAY OF THE WHIGS. AND AS LATE AS THE END OF OCTOBER CONCLUDED THAT THE REPUBLICANS HAD FAILED TO FIND ANY SIGNIFICANT CAMPAIGN ISSUES IN 1966 AND THAT THE ELECTION

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COLO. SPRINGS, COLO. - FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1966

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND FELLOW REPUBLICANS--AND I THINK THAT'S REDUNDANT.

I'M HAPPY AND HONORED TO HAVE THE CHANCE TO SPEND A FEW HOURS WITH YOU. FIRST OF ALL TO CONGRATULATE YOU--THOSE WHO WERE ELECTED OR RE-ELECTED LAST NOVEMBER 8--AND TO THANK ALL OF YOU. WHETHER YOU WERE CANDIDATES OR NOT. FOR THE KEY ROLES YOU PLAYED IN THE GREAT RESURGENCE OF REPUBLICANISM WHICH WE HAVE WITNESSED AND WHICH IS STILL IN MOTION.

IF I CAN CLEAR MY DESK OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAT HAVE PILED UP IN ANTICIPATION OF THE NEW CONGRESS, I AM COMING BACK TO ^{THE ROCKIES} COLORADO WITH MY WHOLE FAMILY LATER THIS

MONTH FOR THE RELATIVELY SAFE SPORT OF SKIING. WE ALL LOVE THIS ~~STATE~~^{AREA}. THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT THESE MAJESTIC MOUNTAINS THAT REDUCES MAN TO HIS PROPER SIZE. AND I THINK IT WAS A WONDERFUL CHOICE FOR REPUBLICANS TO GATHER HERE IN THE FLUSH OF LAST MONTH'S SWEEPING SUCCESSES. WE STILL HAVE A WAY TO GO.

YOUNG LT. ZEBULON PIKE. WHEN HE FIRST LOOKED AT THE PEAK THAT BEARS HIS NAME. SUPPOSEDLY SAID IT WOULD "NEVER BE SCALED BY MORTAL MAN." ONLY A FEW YEARS LATER. OF COURSE. IT WAS. I THINK WE MIGHT CONSIDER SETTING UP A ZEBULON PIKE AWARD FOR ALL THE POLITICAL PUNDITS WHO TWO YEARS AGO WERE DOLEFULLY PREDICTING THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD GO THE WAY OF THE WHIGS. AND AS LATE AS THE END OF OCTOBER CONCLUDED THAT THE REPUBLICANS HAD FAILED TO FIND ANY SIGNIFICANT CAMPAIGN ISSUES IN 1966 AND THAT THE ELECTION

WOULD PRODUCE NO APPRECIABLE CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF THE COUNTRY OR THE CONGRESS.

NOW THESE ~~SAME~~ PROGNOSTICATORS ARE SAYING WE REPUBLICANS WILL GET SO EMBROILED AND ENMESHED IN OUR OWN IDEOLOGICAL AND PERSONAL ARGUMENTS THAT WE WILL DEFEAT OURSELVES BEFORE 1968 WITHOUT ANY HELP FROM THE OUTSIDE. I THINK WE OUGHT TO SEND THIS WARMED-OVER DISH RIGHT BACK TO THE KITCHEN. I THINK THEY ARE TALKING ABOUT THE WRONG PARTY. DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. I HAVE MADE ONE OR MORE VISITS TO SOME 44 STATES. AND ALL I CAN REPORT IS THAT I NEVER HEARD ANY REPUBLICAN TALKING ABOUT ANY OF YOU THE WAY SENATOR FULBRIGHT AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON ARE ALLEGED TO TALK ABOUT EACH OTHER. AND I NEVER CAUGHT ANYBODY EYEING ME THE WAY HUBERT LOOKS AT BOBBY. AND VICE VERSA.

THE MAIN REASON I'M HERE IS TO REPORT TO YOU BRIEFLY AS MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. AND IT SHOULDN'T SURPRISE YOU THAT WITH A NET REINFORCEMENT OF 47 MORE REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE. I DO FEEL A LOT MORE LIKE A LEADER AND A LOT LESS LIKE A MINORITY.

IN THE UPCOMING 90TH CONGRESS. WE WILL HAVE 187 SEATS-- OUR HIGHEST FIGURE SINCE 1958. THIS IS STILL 31 VOTES SHORT OF THE MAJORITY WE'D LIKE. BUT IT'S A WHOLE LOT DIFFERENT FROM BEING OUTNUMBERED BY TWO TO ONE WITH 15 VOTES TO SPARE.

PRELIMINARY FIGURES INDICATE THAT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WON CLOSE TO 49 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL CONGRESSIONAL VOTE NATIONWIDE. THIS WOULD BE OUR BEST OFF-YEAR SHOWING SINCE 1950.

THE TOTAL VOTE FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN HOUSE CONTESTS WAS MORE THAN 25 MILLION. WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO BE A RECORD FOR A NON-PRESIDENTIAL YEAR. YOU GENTLEMEN RIGHTFULLY SHARE IN THE CREDIT FOR THIS TURNOUT AND FOR THE ENCOURAGING FACT THAT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES OUTPOLLED DEMOCRATS IN HOUSE RACES IN 26 STATES -- ALASKA. ARIZONA. CALIFORNIA. DELAWARE. IDAHO. ILLINOIS. INDIANA. IOWA. KANSAS. KENTUCKY. MICHIGAN. MINNESOTA. MONTANA. NEBRASKA. NEW HAMPSHIRE. NEW JERSEY. NORTH DAKOTA. OHIO. OREGON. PENNSYLVANIA. SOUTH DAKOTA. TENNESSEE. UTAH. VERMONT. WISCONSIN AND WYOMING.

NOT TO PAINT TOO ROSY A PICTURE. WE DID LOSE HOUSE SEATS IN MAINE. MISSISSIPPI AND ALABAMA. AND WE FAILED TO GAIN BACK HOUSE SEATS LOST IN 1964 IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

BUT JUST AS THE SCOPE OF OUR SUCCESS WAS NATIONWIDE. SO THE FEW DARK CLOUDS WERE NOT CONFINED TO ANY PARTICULAR REGION. THERE WAS ENOUGH HAPPINESS FOR ALL TO SHARE.

PERSONALLY. I STARTED THE GUESSING SEASON SAYING WE COULD PICK UP 30 TO 40 HOUSE SEATS. BUT AS THE PRESSURE FROM THE PRESS INCREASED. PARTICULARLY AFTER MY GOOD FRIEND SENATOR DIRKSEN LAID \$100 ON THE TABLE TO BACK HIS FORECAST OF 75 SEATS. I TOOK TO SAYING "40 OR MORE." TOWARDS THE END. I KEPT LAYING A LITTLE LOUDER STRESS ON THE "OR MORE" AND THUS I DISQUALIFIED MYSELF FOR THE ZEBULON PIKE AWARD.

BUT I WILL VENTURE ONE MORE PROPHECY. IF WE ALL HANG TOGETHER IN SUCCESS AS WELL AS WE DID IN ADVERSITY. WE ARE NOT GOING THE WAY OF THE WHIGS. WE ARE GOING THE WAY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, FOR WHOSE SPEEDY

RECOVERY FROM SURGERY WE SHOULD ALL PRAY TODAY.

YOU GENTLEMEN ALL WANT TO KNOW IN A NUTSHELL HOW THE 90TH CONGRESS WILL DIFFER FROM THE UNLAMENTED 89TH.

AS I SEE IT. THE DIFFERENCE WILL BE SIMPLY THIS. REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE BACK IN THE BALLGAME.

THE MINORITY PARTY WILL AGAIN BE IN A POSITION TO SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCE THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. AND THAT IS THE WAY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS SUPPOSED TO WORK. IT HASN'T FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE NEXT CONGRESS WON'T SIMPLY GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS OF RECEIVING, APPROVING AND RETURNING PRESIDENTIAL PROPOSALS FOR SIGNATURE. WITHOUT HEARING OPPOSING OPINIONS OR ADEQUATE FLOOR DEBATE. WE WILL REALLY BE LEGISLATING AGAIN. IN COMMITTEES AND ON THE

FLOOR--AND THE COUNTRY WILL BENEFIT. AS THE VOTERS KNEW.

BUT WITH INCREASED INFLUENCE. WE REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE WILL HAVE TO BEAR INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY. AND THE VOTERS WILL BE WATCHING THIS. TOO. WE WERE RESPONSIBLE. I BELIEVE. AND WE TRIED TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE IN THE 89TH CONGRESS. BUT WITH THE LOPSIDED LINEUP. WE DIDN'T WIND UP WITH TOO MUCH TO SHOW FOR IT. NEXT YEAR I THINK YOU WILL FIND MANY DEMOCRATS. MAYBE INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT. PUSHING FOR THE VERY THINGS WE KEPT URGING BE DONE IN 1965 OR '66.

IT WOULD BE EASY FOR US JUST TO SIT BACK AND SAY "WE TOLD YOU SO" OR "WE SAID IT FIRST" -- BUT THAT WON'T DO. INSTEAD WE PROPOSE TO START RIGHT OFF WITH A POSITIVE REPUBLICAN PROGRAM IN THE SECOND "STATE OF THE UNION" APPRAISAL WHICH SENATOR DIRKSEN AND I PLAN TO MAKE WHEN CONGRESS CONVENES.

WHILE IT IS TOO EARLY TO REVEAL ALL THE PROPOSALS WE ARE CONSIDERING FOR THIS PRESENTATION, WHICH WILL AGAIN BE NATIONALLY TELEVISED ACCORDING TO CURRENT PLANS. IT CERTAINLY WILL INCLUDE A FORM OF FEDERAL-STATE TAX SHARING AND INCREASED SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS TIED PERMANENTLY TO COST OF LIVING AND INFLATIONARY INCREASES.

IT IS NOT TOO EARLY, EITHER, TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE IN THE HOUSE ARE NOT MAKING ANY AUTOMATIC ALLIANCES OR COALITIONS SIMPLY FOR POWER OR OBSTRUCTION. WE WILL WELCOME THE SUPPORT OF LIKE-MINDED DEMOCRATS IN ADVANCING MEASURES THAT ARE GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY OR RESISTING THOSE THAT ARE UNWISE OR UNTIMELY--BUT WE ARE GOING TO CALL OUR OWN PLAYS AND WILL BE GLAD TO HAVE THE HELP OF ANY DISCERNING DEMOCRATS.

I EARNESTLY HOPE, AND I SPEAK NOW FOR ALL MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE, THAT YOU REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS AND INDEED REPUBLICAN OFFICIALS AT ALL ECHELONS OF GOVERNMENT WILL FIND THE TIME AND TAKE THE TROUBLE TO FORWARD YOUR SUGGESTIONS AND IDEAS TO US. WE WOULD LIKE THESE DURING THE DRAFTING OF OUR FORTHCOMING STATE OF THE UNION APPRAISAL, AND WE WANT TO SUSTAIN A CLOSE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WITH REPUBLICAN STATE CAPITOLS THROUGHOUT THE NEXT TWO YEARS. WE ALL SUBSCRIBE AS REPUBLICANS TO THE THEORY THAT ALL WISDOM DOES NOT REPOSE IN WASHINGTON. THIS THEORY SHOULD FIND CONCRETE EXPRESSION IN CONTINUING COMMUNICATION ON MATTERS AFFECTING YOUR STATES OR THE FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONSHIP IN GENERAL.

WE HOPE DURING THE 90TH CONGRESS TO HAVE EACH OF YOU

AS OUR GUEST TO ADDRESS OUR HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE OF ALL 187 REPUBLICAN MEMBERS IN WASHINGTON. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE INCREASED PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ON THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE. AND, ALTHOUGH THE DEMOCRATS ARE STILL IN CONTROL, WE FEEL YOU COULD CONTRIBUTE MUCH-NEEDED INFORMATION AND VIEWS AS EXPERT WITNESSES BEFORE THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS.

WE, IN TURN, ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS. AND I AM REMINDED THAT BETWEEN NOW AND 1968 SEVEN STATES WITH A TOTAL OF 110 HOUSE SEATS MUST BE REDISTRICTED--INCLUDING CALIFORNIA, WHICH I AM DELIGHTED TO SEE REPRESENTED AGAIN AT A REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' MEETING. AS THE DEMOCRATS GROW A LITTLE LESS POSITIVE ABOUT BEING

A PERMANENT MAJORITY PARTY IN THE NATION. THERE IS A DANGER THAT THEY MAY TRY TO SHORTCHANGE US IN SOME STATE LEGISLATURES.

I HAVE TAKEN TOO MUCH OF YOUR TIME ALREADY. BUT MAY I SPEAK VERY BLUNTLY AND EARNESTLY BEFORE I CLOSE. I AM SICK OF HEARING THAT WE REPUBLICANS CAN SURVIVE ANYTHING EXCEPT SUCCESS. I AM TIRED OF READING HOW WE ARE GOING TO FLY OFF INTO ALL KINDS OF COLLISION COURSES. THE GOVERNORS VERSUS THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS. THE EASTERNERS VERSUS THE WESTERNERS. THE LIBERALS VERSUS THE CONSERVATIVES. THE URBANITES VERSUS THE SUBURBANITES. AND THE SUBURBANITES VERSUS THE FARMERS. AND SO FORTH AD NAUSEUM.

THAT ISN'T THE MESSAGE I READ IN THE 1966 RETURNS.

I THINK OUR REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE. WHICH

IS MEETING AGAIN NEXT MONDAY UNDER THE ABLE CHAIRMANSHIP OF RAY BLISS. HAS DONE A MARVELOUS AND ALMOST MIRACULOUS JOB OF UNIFYING OUR PARTY AND HAMMERING OUT RESPONSIBLE REPUBLICAN POSITIONS ON CURRENT ISSUES. THIS BODY WAS AN EXPERIMENT HARDLY ANYONE THOUGHT WOULD WORK. BUT IT HAS WORKED. AND IT HAS WORKED BECAUSE WE ALL WANTED THIS RESULT. CONCURRENTLY. IT HAS BEEN THE DEMOCRATS WHO HAVE BEEN ON ALL SIDES OF EVERY ISSUE. CUTTING EACH OTHER UP FOR PERSONAL SPITE OR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. CAUSING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO WONDER IF THEY REALLY DESERVE TO DIRECT THEIR DESTINIES.

I SAY LET S LET THE DEMOCRATS CONTINUE TO ENJOY THESE CANNIBALISTIC EXERCISES. IF WE ARE RESPONSIBLE REPUBLICANS. IF WE ARE A MEANINGFUL MINORITY. AND ABOVE ALL IF WE CONTINUE TO SHOW THE COUNTRY A PICTURE OF CLEAR UNITY AND

COMMON PURPOSE ON THE GREAT ISSUES OF THESE DIFFICULT
TIMES. 1966 WILL BE JUST A PRELUDE TO VICTORY:

THANK YOU----

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