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1 said, "Well, do you suppose old Andy is going to make it to  
2 heaven," and the other looked back and, with a little bit of  
3 a twinkle in his eye, said, "By god, he will if he wants to."

4 ... Laughter ...

5 MR. DUNN: Thank you very much.

6 ... Applause ...

7 GOVERNOR MOORE: Winfield, thank you so very much. I  
8 would hope that there is beginning to jell here some feeling  
9 as to really the challenge which was thrust at us as governors,  
10 governors-elect, and former governors as we began this  
11 conference, addressing ourselves to the strength of our party  
12 and these challenges that are going to have to be responded to  
13 in its immediate future.

14 I think that there is developing here, and as this  
15 dialogue continues, pretty generally an answer to the country  
16 as to the direction this party is going to take. This party  
17 can't function and can't breathe and can't be administered  
18 properly unless it is from the standpoint of the role of the  
19 administrators of party functions as far as State chairmen are  
20 concerned.

21 I asked a very effective State chairman if he would  
22 join us and share briefly with us his thoughts as they related

1 to the influence of governors on the national party structure,  
2 and particularly share with us his challenges in the State of  
3 Kansas.

4 I would like Jack Ranson, the Chairman of the  
5 Republican Party of Kansas and Executive Committee of the  
6 State of Kansas, if he would come forth and share with us his  
7 observations.

8 Jack.

9 ... Applause ...

10 THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNORS  
11 ON THE NATIONAL PARTY STRUCTURE  
12 BY  
13 JACK RANSON, CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN  
14 PARTY OF KANSAS

15 MR. RANSON: Thank you, Chairman Moore.

16 Governors, members of governors' staffs, distinguished  
17 guests, I would like to start out by congratulating Chairman  
18 Moore and his staff on this particular conference.

19 I have been associated with and an observant on  
20 several Governors Conferences. I think that the concentration  
21 on the political aspects of the Republican Party and the  
22 political scene that we inherit after the 1976 elections is  
extremely important and I congratulate this group on taking the  
leadership.

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1           The subject I was asked to speak on is basically the  
2           governors' role in the State party, the chairman's viewpoint  
3           of that. I think maybe I should have made a deal with my  
4           governor to see if he wouldn't absent himself while I made my  
5           remarks.

6           I think the answer to that question, of what is the  
7           role of the governor in the State party, is obvious. I think  
8           it is almost the same answer as the answer to the question,  
9           where does the 600-pound guerrilla sleep, which is of course  
10          wherever he wants.

11          The answer to the question as to the governor is  
12          that his role is whatever he wants it to be. So I am probably  
13          going to talk about my viewpoint as a chairman on what I think  
14          it should be.

15          I would like to preface my remarks by saying I was  
16          a chairman for two years before we had Governor Bennett's  
17          election in 1974, and I have been a chairman now for two years  
18          with the Governor and it is sort of like the difference between  
19          rich and poor.

20          I much prefer being a chairman with the incumbent  
21          Republican Governor. We have had a great relationship. Governor  
22          Bennett has been totally supportive of the Republican Party in

1 Kansas and a great help in continuing the building process that  
2 is going to be necessary for a long, long time in the future.

3 I think that it is important that a governor under-  
4 stands the role of the party. And I think, conversely, the  
5 party must understand the position of the governor regarding  
6 the party. That is a nice generalization.

7 I would like to get into some specifics. As far  
8 as the role of the party, I think it is pretty clear that, as  
9 to challenging candidates and prospective candidates, the State  
10 parties are the layer of the groundwork in our 24-month  
11 election cycle and the 18 months immediately following the  
12 elections preparatory to the six months that is generally  
13 devoted to the actual campaigns.

14 I think that, where you have an incumbent Republican  
15 governor, the role of the party is not to be an apologist or a  
16 spokesman for the governor's administration. I think that, in  
17 addition, the State party is the principal agent for the recruit-  
18 ment of candidates where you do not have an incumbent Republican  
19 **officeholder.**

20 As to the governor's role in relationship to that  
21 State party, he is obviously the titular head of the party in  
22 every State where there is a Republican governor.

1 I agree with all of the remarks of Governor-elect  
2 du Pont and Governor Dunn. I think it is very important that  
3 the governor lead that State party and not dictate.

4 One of the speakers before me made a reference to  
5 that, that our State tradition has been that governors handpick  
6 State chairmen. In fact, the history of our State is that  
7 governor nominees have picked our State chairmen in the past.

8 In recent years we have gotten away from that and  
9 we now have a fairly open State committee election of the State  
10 chairman.

11 I think it is important, not only to the governor  
12 but to the State chairman, that there be reasonable agreement  
13 and a unity of thought as to who that chairman is going to be.

14 I think anybody who would take a State chairmanship  
15 in a State with a Republican governor without the support of  
16 that governor is probably not smart enough to be chairman.

17 I think it is very obvious that if he is going to get his job  
18 done he must have the support of the governor.

19 In our case, in Kansas, that is exactly what has  
20 happened. The governor is the statesman. He is the governor.  
21 He is the head of the party, but it is only one of many roles  
22 he plays. I believe that it is the most effective position

1 for him to be in, regarding the party and regarding the  
2 constituency in the State. He is the major spokesman in Kansas  
3 for the Republican Party.

4           Fortunately, Governor Bennett is a fine speaker. He  
5 speaks out quite often on party matters. But I think it is  
6 important that the party then understand that the governor  
7 can't day by day be a party apologist, a party promoter, that  
8 his obligation is to be governor of all the people, that he is  
9 going to make some decisions and take some actions that are not  
10 going to please the strong party people and that that is the  
11 way it is and that is the way it has to be.

12           The governor is the best party builder of any office  
13 holder that we have, either on the Federal or the State level.  
14 He is the best magnet for fund raising. In our party, we were  
15 deeply in debt four years ago. We were \$100,000 in debt.

16           The Kansas party, after the 1972 election, which we  
17 lost by about 225,000 votes, were still \$60,000 in debt when  
18 Governor Bennett was elected. But with his support and with  
19 his active participation, we were able to turn that around and  
20 within 90 days, as a matter of fact, changed that \$60,000  
21 deficit into a \$30,000 surplus, and we have stayed in the  
22 black ever since.

1 I am happy to say that we stayed in the black follow-  
2 ing the 1976 election. Without his support and without his  
3 active participation in that fund raising activity, that would  
4 not have been possible.

5 More importantly than money, the governor is the key  
6 recruiter of not only government personnel but of party  
7 personnel. If we talk about rebuilding a party or if we talk  
8 about building a party or if we talk about strengthening the  
9 party, what we are really talking about is getting better and  
10 better and more active people involved in the Republican Party  
11 at all levels.

12 The governor is easily in the best position to  
13 encourage the people who have sat on the sidelines to comfort  
14 and participate in the political process.

15 Again, in Kansas, that has been happening. There  
16 has been great cooperation between the governor's staff and  
17 between the State Committee headquarters. There is great  
18 communication between the Party Central Committees and the  
19 County Chairman and the Governor's Office. All of it strengthens  
20 the party.

21 To the extent that a Republican governor is willing  
22 and able to do that in his State, I would guarantee that the



1 party will end up a stronger party.

2           Again, to try and get a little bit more specific on  
3 the relationship of the governor, I think there are several  
4 key questions. I have touched on one of them, which is should  
5 the governor handpick a State chairman?

6           In my opinion, he should not. He should lead but not  
7 dictate. He should support possibly more than one candidate  
8 but have the general understanding of the programs and policies  
9 of the nominees.

10           And, if he is in essence going to take a major role  
11 in the selection of a chairman, I believe that the best  
12 political course for him to take is to do that with private  
13 consultations with party leadership, rather than public  
14 endorsement and public support of a particular candidate.

15           As a potential candidate for State chairman, I would  
16 like his public endorsement. But as a State chairman, who  
17 understands that he is the governor and he is going to seek  
18 reelection, I think to the extent that I and the party can  
19 shield the governor from public political involvement in the  
20 electoral process within the party, then I think we have done  
21 one of our tasks and one of our jobs that we need to do for  
22 the governor as not only an officeholder but as a potential

1 candidate for reelection.

2 I think there is an element of other candidates,  
3 both Federal and legislative, resenting what sometimes happens,  
4 which is the conversion of a State Committee to principally  
5 a governor's campaign vehicle.

6 In Kansas this used to be the case. We have seen  
7 the scars of it in Kansas. I think we have seen the benefits  
8 of the State Committee becoming a broader vehicle than that,  
9 and I think it impacted favorably on the gubernatorial election  
10 in 1974.

11 Lastly, what should be the relationship of the  
12 governor with the three Republican National Committee members  
13 from his State?

14 I think the same thing that goes as far as the State  
15 chairman is concerned goes with the National Committeemen  
16 and the National Committeewomen. I think there should be  
17 great communications. I think there should be closeness of  
18 agreement on the purposes.

19 I think that the governor's thinking should be given  
20 to, and reflected by, the National Committee members who are  
21 independently elected and independent thinkers, but are  
22 responsive to the leadership of a governor in a Republican State.

1 I would point out, in the very important National  
2 Committee chairman election coming in January, that the National  
3 Committee votes represented by the 12 States with Republican  
4 governors in 1977 represents the 36 votes on the Republican  
5 National Committee, almost one-half the number needed to elect  
6 the national chairman.

7 I think it is a legitimate and a proper and important  
8 function for the governors to have some **impact** on the National  
9 Committee members from their States.

10 Chairman Moore, I have appreciated the chance to share  
11 these thoughts with you. I congratulate you again on the very  
12 important political flavor of this conference.

13 I thank all of you for hearing me out.

14 ... Applause ...

15 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you, Jack, so very much.

16 I would like to present to you now a very lovely and  
17 gracious lady, who has served our party as its National Chairman  
18 since September of 1974 and over the years previous to that  
19 as the Republican National Committeewoman from the State of  
20 Iowa since 1964, and who has, in terms of the political parlance  
21 of the hour, served in wide and many, many varied capacities  
22 as she has fulfilled her commitment as she saw it to that

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1 Great Party of ours.

2 Mary Louise Smith, in my judgment, has been an  
3 excellent advocate of our party's cause throughout this country.  
4 I can say to you, as Chairman of this Republican Governors  
5 Conference, that she has felt strongly in the need and the  
6 desire to support it as best she could as Chairman of the  
7 Republican National Committee.

8 In my judgment, she has exceeded many of the expecta-  
9 tions that some of us laid down for her years ago in relation-  
10 ship to the manner in which she handled her responsibilities  
11 in leasing this National Party of ours.

12 I would like for you to join with me in welcoming  
13 warmly the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mrs.  
14 Mary Louise Smith.

15 ... Standing ovation ...

16 ... Applause ...

17

18

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## 1 THE CHAIRMAN'S VIEW

2 BY

3 MARY LOUISE SMITH, CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN  
4 NATIONAL COMMITTEE

5 **MRS. SMITH:** Governor Moore, thank you very much for  
6 those remarks, but I particularly thank you for asking me  
7 to come here today. I, too, want to joint Jack Ranson in  
8 congratulating you on the constructive way that you are approach-  
9 ing the problems that we are faced with today.

10 Governor Bennett, distinguished Republican Governors,  
11 including my own Governor, Bob Ray of Iowa, and I will tell  
12 you, Jack, we take your advice and we do have that kind  
13 of a working relationship between the Governor and the National  
14 **Committeewomen.** We came in on planes half an hour apart last  
15 night, I understand, and I have not had a chance to visit  
16 with Bob.

17 Pete, when they republish that brochure listing all  
18 those new Governors, I hope there are some women's pictures  
19 among those. I think that would be a giant step in the right  
20 direction.

21 I am here today, as all of you know, in a very unique  
22 position of having already announced my resignation as Chairman  
of the Republican National Committee, to become effective when

2

1 my successor is elected at the upcoming meeting of the  
2 full membership of the committee. That will be on the 14th  
3 or 15th of January. From this vantage point I am going to  
4 speak bluntly, then, hoping that you take my message from one  
5 deeply concerned about the future of this Party and anxious that  
6 we all do everything we can to guarantee its growth.

7  
8 Since the election I have talked to literally hundreds  
9 of Republicans at all levels of the Party and to non-Republicans  
10 as well. Many people approach me cautiously, offer their  
11 condolences, and generally treat me as though there had been  
12 a death in the family. I don't happen to view it that way.  
13 I think there are some congratulations in order, congratulations  
14 certainly to all of you and especially to our new governors,  
15 and congratulations to Republicans who worked hard and spoke out  
16 for what they believe.

17 In all candor, however, I cannot call the election of  
18 '76 a victory for our Party. We suffered some heartbreaking  
19 losses. But neither is this the end of the road. I think it is  
20 time to put this election into proper perspective. Because we  
21 lost the Presidency by an incredibly thin margin, we tend to  
22 focus on defeat. I believe 43 percent of Americans who cast

1 their ballots voted Republican -- no small accomplishment when  
2 you consider that only 18-20 percent, or whatever the figure  
3 now is, identify themselves with our Party. While that is  
4 no comfort in this election, it points to continuing opportunity  
5 down the road. If we look at levels below the Presidency, at  
6 Governorships, the House of Representatives, the Senate, we  
7 find that overall the Republican Party came out very close  
8 to even. Our disappointments are because we failed to make  
9 important gains, not necessarily because we sustained heavy  
10 losses.

11           Where our Party is concerned, this election does not  
12 so much spell an end as it points up the need for a new beginning.  
13 Watergate is finally behind us. We have come to a threshold,  
14 to a watershed, a time of reassessment. The Republican Party  
15 is going to come back. We always come back and we will be  
16 historically going with the tide in 1978. But in the past we  
17 haven't come back far enough. One wouldn't have been satisfied  
18 to take one step forward and two steps backward. It is up to  
19 Republican leaders across the nation to help change that. It  
20 is almost inevitable that we will make some modest gains over  
21 the next 2 years, but it is imperative that we resist the tempta-  
22 tion to call it a great victory and then once again lapse

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1 into smug self-satisfaction, thereby remaining the minority  
2 party forever.

3 We would be foolish to go ahead doing things just as  
4 we have in the past. Obviously the old approaches don't work  
5 well enough. We cannot continue to ignore whole segments of the  
6 voting population of this country. The old coalitions simply  
7 aren't weighted in our favor.

8 We must broaden our appeal and reach out to a greater  
9 constituency. Because only then will we have the capacity to  
10 put together the kind of sweeping victory this party desperately  
11 needs.

12 Our Republican governors -- those of you right  
13 here -- have a central role to play, and you have heard it in  
14 several splendid, superb messages today, a much greater role  
15 than you have possibly assumed before. You are in close touch  
16 with the people at the grass roots level.

17 You have won their trust and confidence, and their  
18 votes. If you are going to step out now on behalf of the  
19 Republican Party, and I believe you must, then I urge you to  
20 step out quickly and I urge you to step out firmly.

21 This responsibility is not yours alone, of course, but  
22 you are in singularly advantageous positions to exercise this



1 leadership and influence opinions and directions. From everyone  
2 who is concerned that our party is becoming too narrow and  
3 exclusionary the proper correction will require vast amounts  
4 of time, of energy and of effort, combined with a high degree  
5 of aggressiveness and creativity and energy.

6 Everyone has ideas about what we ought to do. You  
7 ought to hear the idea that I had over at 310 First Street,  
8 S. E. Words come easily but they must be translated into  
9 action.

10 We need an active, working party organization within  
11 your own State party structure. This means far more than mere  
12 campaign committees, more than personal attachments and  
13 alliances. We need work from the precinct level on up.

14 In some States, such organizations already are in  
15 place. You have heard that in almost every case that you are  
16 considered the party leader in your State. But in too many  
17 States, we lose out again and again because we don't have the  
18 grass roots organization to get the job done.

19 Yet organization, while it is vital, is not enough.  
20 And it cannot exist in a vacuum. There is no future in  
21 organizing a smaller and smaller minority. We must take  
22 concrete steps to increase the drawing power of our party.

1           After all, we are the only alternative and, I can  
2 guarantee you, what we have to offer America will become increas-  
3 ingly more important over the next four years.

4           It is our responsibility to let the new people know  
5 who we are, what we stand for, and what it is we want to do.  
6 We must do a much better job of translating economic freedom  
7 and individual freedom into personal terms. We have to show  
8 that we really care about people.

9           There is absolutely nothing wrong with the position of  
10 the Republican Party. Our failure is in how we have presented  
11 it to the people or in how we have failed to present it at all.  
12 We don't need to change our name, we need to live up to it.

13           I think particularly of our great Republican heritage  
14 in the field of civil rights and in the work of equality for  
15 women.

16           As I said earlier, we cannot drift along and wait for  
17 the world to come to our doorstep. We must launch some new  
18 initiatives of our own. We need the combined energies of a  
19 broad range of Republican leadership to help us set the course.

20           During these past three weeks I have investigated the  
21 possibility of formulating a policy committee of Republican  
22 leaders whose specific task would be to harness ideas and set

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1 directions. This is still in a conceptual stage.

2 As I see it now, it will bear some relationship to  
3 the Republican Coordinating Committee that was quite successful  
4 in the 1960's. But its makeup and its focus may be quite  
5 different because times have changed and the problems and needs  
6 of our party have changed as well.

7 Such a policy committee would present the ideal  
8 opportunity, the ideal opportunity, for involvement by governors  
9 in building our national party. You represent an important  
10 element of our party leadership.

11 In addition to the things you will be doing personally,  
12 a policy committee would be a good means of helping you achieve  
13 maximum impact at the national level. It also would provide a  
14 good vehicle to help us fulfill our responsibility as the  
15 opposition party.

16 It is our job to point out the Democrats' shortcomings.  
17 We must be a constructive opposition but cannot just be  
18 "against." We also must stand for something positive. I am  
19 not yet able to speculate on the structure or specific makeup  
20 of a policy committee because these decisions have not yet been  
21 made.

22 I welcome any thoughts you have. But I can touch

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1 briefly on some of the problems that we, together, need to  
2 solve, if we are to inject new vitality into this party and  
3 increase our capacity to win.

4 The overriding challenge to our party, I believe, is  
5 to broaden our base. I almost hesitate to say those words  
6 because, to many people, they have become code words that mean  
7 abandoning our principles and trading excellence for expediency.  
8 That is neither desirable nor necessary nor under any  
9 consideration in any quarter so far as I know.

10 But there are millions of people who already agree with  
11 our basic philosophy. What we must do is apply this philosophy  
12 to issues that are important to those people. And you all  
13 know them because many of the cases are unknown.

14 We have tried to do that on a scattershot basis in  
15 the past, and we have not been very successful. Where this has  
16 been accomplished, in isolated, individual instances it has  
17 been effective.

18 It is time for us to focus our emphasis in specific  
19 areas. For one, I believe the Republican Party has an oppor-  
20 tunity to significantly increase the membership of the RGA.  
21 Thirteen States carried by President Ford have Democrat  
22 governors whose terms end in two years. In addition, Maine has

ac 6

1 an independent governor whose term will expire at the same time.

2           Republicans must begin to think right now about gain-  
3 ing ground in those States. The presidential vote indicates  
4 that a majority of voters there are receptive to Republican  
5 positions.

6           With good candidates and an all-out effort, we can  
7 win. Another fertile field for our party right now is the  
8 congressional districts where President Ford won, but the  
9 Republican candidate for Congress didn't.

10           In those districts there are obviously large numbers  
11 of voters who share the Republican stand on many of the issues  
12 of today. Those issues must be kept alive. At the same time  
13 we must launch an early search for good candidates in these  
14 districts and then, as a party, I believe we must be prepared  
15 to provide substantial support in the initial stages of their  
16 campaigns.

17           I have not mentioned here the vital importance of  
18 State legislative races, the proving ground, if you will, for  
19 higher office that we must not overlook.

20           Probably the best way to truly broaden the base of  
21 this party is by fielding the kind of candidates who inspire  
22 the confidence and respect of a broad spectrum of the voting

1 public.

2 All of this will require new initiatives from both  
3 the National Committee and the State parties. Another  
4 challenge is to find new ways to activate the so-called non-  
5 political leaders of society, the men and women whose leadership  
6 has been limited to business or civic affairs.

7 These people represent a whole new pool of talent  
8 and energy that is often Republican in focus. They can provide  
9 our party an infusion of new leadership, if we can draw them  
10 into prominent, active roles.

11 In this time of reassessment, we must reevaluate the  
12 long-range goals of our party. We must examine what our goals  
13 are and how we hope to achieve them. Our resources are limited.  
14 If we are going to make the best use of these resources, we  
15 need specific targets and specific plans for party building.

16 We also need concrete financial plans and here, too,  
17 there is plenty of room for innovation. It is important that  
18 we be able to count on steady, broad-based, year-round, year in  
19 and year out financial support for our party that will allow  
20 our programs to flow uninterrupted.

21 These are but some of the tasks that would face a  
22 policy committee, coordinating committee, or whatever we choose

1 to call it. Clearly, membership on such a committee would not  
2 be an honorary position because we cannot afford to organize  
3 for the sake of organizing. We must organize to get things done.

4 I can't emphasize too strongly the responsibility that  
5 I hope you will assume for the future of our party. In the  
6 critical weeks and months ahead, each of you will be called  
7 upon to play a role. Here among you there are so many heroes,  
8 maybe some knights in shining armor. More power to you.

9 I urge each of you to make the Republican Party one  
10 of your top priorities: your party, your State, and your  
11 country will all be stronger for it.

12 Thank you for the cooperation I have enjoyed. I look  
13 forward to continuing to work with you in whatever capacity for  
14 me that it may be.

15 Thank you.

16 ... Standing ovation ...

17 GOVERNOR MOORE: Mary Louise, thank you so very,  
18 very much for your service and your commitment to your party,  
19 and certainly for your very, very genuine interest in the future  
20 of our nation.

21 We began this session this afternoon hearing about  
22 the future of our party as it related to governors-elect.

1 The Governor-elect of Delaware shared certainly some very genuine  
2 thoughts with us and spoke to us on a shoulder-to-shoulder  
3 basis as to the manner in which he envisioned his responsibilities  
4 in his State.

5 I would like at this time to present to you another  
6 Governor-elect, who brought a State previously headed by a  
7 Democratic governor into the Republican column. The Governor-  
8 elect of the State of Illinois defeated the handpicked  
9 candidate, a machine politician of the city of Chicago.

10 Forty years old seems somewhat sinful for such a  
11 young man to take over a position of responsibility in a great  
12 State like that, a graduate of Washington University and a law  
13 degree from Northwestern, active as a Federal Prosecutor,  
14 served as Prosecutor in Cook County, and also headed and was  
15 chief of the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement and Public  
16 Protection.

17 We are very privileged at this time to have the  
18 opportunity to have him share with us a few of his thoughts as  
19 he looks to the responsibilities of his in the great State of  
20 Illinois, and that added responsibility which must necessarily  
21 flow as we address ourselves to the future of the Republican  
22 Party. Some say "Big Jim," some say "Smiling Jim."



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1           But I have got to give you the proper designation --  
2 the Honorable James R. Thompson, Governor-elect of Illinois.

3           ... Applause ...

4           THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNORS ON THE NATIONAL  
5           PARTY STRUCTURE AND THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL  
6           COMMITTEE

7           BY

8           HONORABLE JAMES R. THOMPSON, GOVERNOR-ELECT  
9           OF ILLINOIS

10           MR. THOMPSON: Chairman Moore, Governor Bennett,  
11 Chairman Smith, ladies and gentlemen, I had no hesitation  
12 about participating in this conference. Though it is limited  
13 to members of my party, I believe it important that a governor  
14 participate in all of those national and regional forums  
15 which can contribute to a better understanding of his role as  
16 a governmental and political leader.

17           That ought to redound to the benefit of the people of  
18 his State, no matter what their party or philosophy.

19           I did have somewhat of a hesitance about accepting  
20 a speaking role at this session because I haven't done anything  
21 yet except get elected. Most of my time and energy is to be  
22 expended in the State of Illinois, carrying out those pledges  
that I made to the people of Illinois -- Republicans, Democrats  
and independents -- who expect some performance from me over

ac 11

1 the next two years, else they shall not reelect me and I will  
2 join the alumni, and I am not ready to join the alumni at my  
3 sinful young age of 40, Governor Moore.

4 I was cheered by Chairman Ranson's view of the  
5 governor's role. I happen to share it, and I think my State  
6 chairman, who is also present, shares it.

7 I was pleased particularly to hear the chairman say  
8 that we governors or governors-elect ought to speak out on our  
9 views concerning the future of the National Republican Party,  
10 and particularly how we are to relate to the Republican  
11 National Committee in its selection of a new chairman in  
12 January.

13 Everybody who has attended this conference knows  
14 that these are views that are being expressed freely in the  
15 hallways. Every time a governor or governor-elect goes out of  
16 the room he is nabbed by some member of the news media and  
17 asked whither direction of the Republican Party and who the new  
18 chairman of the Republican Party should be and should we  
19 include or exclude X, Y or Z.

20 I don't have a vote on the Republican National  
21 Committee, but under your view -- which I share -- I do have,  
22 I suppose, a voice since I have a close working relationship

1 with my National Committeeman, my National Committeewoman, and  
2 my State chairman.

3           So on Jim Thompson's behalf and not speaking for  
4 anybody else here -- although I have heard these sentiments  
5 shared in the hallways since I have been here, and in this room  
6 repeatedly and very encouragingly as we go along -- I will  
7 speak my piece.

8           First, I believe that governors ought to have an  
9 influence on the Republican National Committee, both for the  
10 reason that you set forth, Chairman Ranson, and because I  
11 detect in this nation a growing emergence of the governors as  
12 a power structure in the party about which people may operate.

13           There have been, I suppose, the era of the Senators,  
14 and the election of President Carter would seem to indicate  
15 that we are at least entering one toe at a time into the era  
16 of the governors.

17           Politics as a science is also changing. Things  
18 happen much more rapidly now in the business of politics than  
19 they used to. People don't serve, in many instances, long  
20 apprenticeships anymore. I didn't, at least not in politics.  
21 And that is also true of some of my fellows here and in State  
22 houses around the nation.

1           The legislative part of the government, as important  
2 as it is, is more of the deliberative process -- you are  
3 freshmen much longer. It takes a number of terms to reach a  
4 position of National Party influence.

5           Indeed, under the old customs they don't let you make  
6 your maiden speech for awhile after you join the Senate, and  
7 here we are, the governors-elect, speaking right up, and we  
8 haven't even taken over in our own States yet.

9           So the role of the governor politically and the  
10 role of the governor governmentally is much different from  
11 the role of the Senator or Congressman.

12           I believe that with politics changing these days,  
13 with more rapid pace, particularly on the national scene, and  
14 again the Carter phenomenon -- unknown to the White House in  
15 18 months essentially -- points toward an era in which  
16 governors are going to be more important on the national scene  
17 than they have been prior to this time.

18           We ought to, frankly, recognize that and take charge  
19 of our responsibilities at an early time.

20           So I feel less uneasy about speaking to this subject  
21 than I might have when I first accepted this invitation, both  
22 for that reason and for the reason that you have expressed.

1 I think also we ought to put this talk of ours  
2 today and tomorrow into the context of changing party. I am  
3 not a political historian. I don't pretend to be. But at one  
4 time in America people were behavioral Republicans or behavioral  
5 Democrats -- Republicans on the day they were born and  
6 Republicans until the day they died, because their fathers  
7 were or their grandfathers were, or because the community in  
8 which they lived was solidly Republican or Democratic, or  
9 because their State happened to be, or because, on the  
10 Democratic side, Franklin Roosevelt came along in the thirties  
11 and converted everybody and nobody has been converted back  
12 since.

13 Whatever the reason, historically in America we have  
14 had behavioral people, people who would walk readily into a  
15 polling booth and pull the Democratic lever or pull the  
16 Republican lever. It isn't happening anymore.

17 I have heard a great deal of talk here this morning  
18 about the shrinking number of Republicans: 12 or 14 percent,  
19 depending on whether you are looking at a national picture or  
20 the Illinois picture.

21 Let's say it is 14 percent in Illinois -- that is  
22 just about what it is -- who identify themselves as Republicans,

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1 who are willing to go into the polling place and pull a  
2 Republican lever. That is not enough to be viable as a State  
3 party -- 14 percent voting population. It is not enough to  
4 be viable as a National Party.

5 But the Democrats aren't in such great shape either,  
6 because the most optimistic figure I have heard for Illinois,  
7 for example, is that only 26 percent of the voting populace  
8 are behavioral Democrats, straight ticket-pullers. Everybody  
9 else is an independent.

10 You add 26 percent and 14 percent in Illinois and  
11 you come out to 40 percent. That means a solid majority of  
12 the people in the State of Illinois are independents, people  
13 who go in and go back and forth across the ballot.

14 So let's not kid ourselves. If we are talking about  
15 the rebuilding of the Republican Party, it is going to be a  
16 different kind of Republican Party than our fathers and our  
17 grandfathers and great grandfathers enjoyed.

18 We are no longer going to have the automatic need of  
19 your allegiance to a party or a set of principles we once had  
20 in this country, and we ought to take account of that new  
21 behavior on the part of the American voter and work with it  
22 and not struggle against it.

1           If we struggle against it, we are going to die,  
2 because the independent political movement in the United States  
3 is going to continue to grow and nourish as the level of  
4 sophistication of American voters increases, as the American  
5 educational level increases in this country.

6           You aren't going to be able to persuade that many  
7 people in the future to automatically vote for every candidate  
8 that the Republican Party puts up for any office anywhere in  
9 the United States -- and neither are the Democrats. So we  
10 are going to be even there.

11           The most we can hope for in the future, I believe, is  
12 that most of the time most of the people will find most of the  
13 Republican candidates acceptable. I think that would be a  
14 wonderful goal.

15           And that is what we ought to work for. That is the  
16 realistic goal, not a return to the political parties before  
17 and around the turn of the century.

18           I believe a governor should be a political leader and  
19 say so openly and strongly and work publicly towards that end.  
20 Indeed, on the day I announced my candidacy for the governor of  
21 Illinois on July 1, 1975, I said that one of the reasons I was  
22 running for governor was to help strengthen the Republican

1 Party in Illinois.

2 I don't believe any of us have anything to be  
3 ashamed about in attending a Republican Governors Association  
4 meeting and talking Republican politics, even though back home  
5 where we do our official business we have Democrats, Republicans  
6 and independents who are now under our charge as the Chief  
7 Magistrate of the State.

8 Because, as I told the people of my State, including  
9 the Democrats and independents, it ought to be important to  
10 them to have a strong two-party system where both parties are  
11 strong, they are both equally challenged to produce their very  
12 best in terms of candidates and philosophies.

13 Where one party is strong and where one party is  
14 weak, neither party is challenged to offer the voters its  
15 very best, and then the people suffer.

16 So I take it as one of my responsibilities in the  
17 State of Illinois to help rebuild and strengthen the Republican  
18 Party. And I take it that that is a responsibility which will  
19 be beneficial to those of my constituents who happen to be  
20 Democrats or independents.

21 That is what I intend to do in the State of Illinois  
22 and where I have a voice on the national scene, that is what I



1 intend to do as well.

2 I will speak to the question of the new chairman for  
3 a moment. I have expressed this view prior to this time. I  
4 have expressed it in the hallways of this conference. Others  
5 have expressed it in this room and I agree with most of the  
6 sentiments expressed.

7 I certainly agree with some of the sentiments  
8 expressed by Mr. Connally, by Chairman Smith, by the speakers  
9 who have preceded me, Pete du Pont. We need somebody as the  
10 chairman of this party who can put us back together, who can  
11 build us up.

12 We need a technician, I will say it plainly. We  
13 may not need even a spokesman for awhile. There are plenty of  
14 people in this room and outside who can go around the country  
15 making speeches and espousing the philosophies -- plural -- of  
16 the Republican Party, because I believe there ought to be  
17 philosophies of the Republican Party.

18 We need a man or a woman who can take the Republican  
19 National Committee and the headquarters and the operation and  
20 put it together and extend its new strong influence down to  
21 the States and down to the local levels in time to meet the  
22 challenges of 1978 and 1980 to make the Republican National

1 Committee and its organization and its apparatus serve as a  
2 vehicle for whatever candidates and whatever philosophies  
3 emerge.

4 Philosophies and the candidates that emerge ought  
5 not to be the business of the chairman or the Committee. That  
6 ought to be the business of the Republican voters and the  
7 Republican Party members of the United States. In other words,  
8 our new chairman cannot be an ideologue.

9 He cannot come with any ideological baggage. He  
10 can't be anybody's man or woman in an ideological sense. Now,  
11 everybody has got to come from somewhere. It doesn't  
12 especially bother me if the new chairman is identified as having  
13. come from the Reagan camp or the Connally camp or the Ford  
14 camp or the Percy camp, or anybody's camp, so long as they  
15 leave their ideological baggage behind and bring with them  
16 their skills and their crafts and their reorganizational  
17 ability and their ability to make the Republican Party a  
18 vehicle for whatever philosophies emerge in the various races  
19 that we face in the next two or four years.

20 And it ought not to be a person who is intent on  
21 being a political candidate himself. Pete du Pont expressed  
22 the view that defeated candidates ought not to hold the

1 chairman position.

2 Without saying one way or another on that, I think  
3 it is abundantly clear that potential candidates ought not to  
4 hold chairmen's positions.

5 I repeat the old phrase that no man can serve two  
6 masters. As hard working or as talented as any potential  
7 chairman might be, he cannot devote the time to the party  
8 that is needed in the next two or four years, as well as harbor  
9 personal political ambition. And I think that is important.

10 There has been some talking about changing the name  
11 of our party. I think that is wrong. I think that is dead  
12 wrong. We don't need a conservative Republican Party in the  
13 United States, because all that would spawn is a liberal  
14 Republican Party.

15 Then we would have three. Then we would have a semi-  
16 conservative and a semi-liberal Republican Party, we have a  
17 moderate Republican Party. And we will find ourselves so  
18 fragmented that we couldn't operate efficiently and we would  
19 lose the inherent strengths to the whole American political  
20 scene of the strong two-party system that we ought to possess  
21 and that we once possessed.

22 Any time you go tinkering with the name of the

1 party, you run the risk of further alienation. We need to stop  
2 Republican alienation of a whole bunch of people out there who  
3 would like to join us and believe in us but who have been  
4 prevented from doing so by our policies of the past.

5 I think our present chairman is absolutely right,  
6 we ought to live up to our present name. Forget about changing  
7 the name, otherwise we might find ourselves, if we don't  
8 change our policies and our image, in the position of taking  
9 on a new name unwillingly, something like the don't call us,  
10 we will call you party.

11 We don't want to be known as the don't call us,  
12 we will call you party. But to an awful lot of people in the  
13 United States we are the don't call us, we will call you party.  
14 And they regularly send us messages to call election defeats  
15 to tell us that they don't want to be excluded anymore.

16 We have heard talk too about the Republican Party is  
17 too negative. I agree with that. We ought to offer  
18 alternatives. We just can't stand up and holler every time  
19 the Democrats present a social program, whether in Congress or  
20 in the legislatures, we just can't stand up and holler that  
21 costs too much money.

22 It is our duty to present a program that costs less

1 money, if that is a legitimate criticism.

2 We can't stand up and holler that raises expectation  
3 levels too high. It is our duty to offer a program which  
4 offers expectation levels. We can't stand up similarly and  
5 say, "That promises too much. You can't deliver."

6 It is up to us to promise a program we can deliver.  
7 That is what being a viable alternative means. And we are of  
8 no use to anybody, ourselves or the people of the United States,  
9 unless we are a viable alternative.

10 So while it is entirely correct to speak in terms of  
11 not being negative, we have got to go beyond dropping our  
12 negative. We have got to adopt policies which offer people  
13 alternatives; alternatives that work.

14 We have got to stop promising people everything. All  
15 politicians have got to stop doing that in my view, because in  
16 the past we have all been guilty of promising too much. One  
17 of the themes of my campaign was I wasn't going to make a lot  
18 of promises.

19 Some people, even within my party, called that naive.  
20 They said, "you couldn't get through an election without  
21 promising a highway here and a bridge here and a dam here, and  
22 all sorts of things."

1           I said, "If I make those promises, what do I say  
2 about the legislative role? The legislature that will serve  
3 with me as governor hasn't been elected yet. How can I speak  
4 for them and where will the money come from?"

5           It doesn't do any good to go back to some farmer  
6 you met on the road that you promised to straighten out the  
7 curves in the street and go back to him and say there is no  
8 money for them. You said here is a two-lane road that will need  
9 straightening.

10           I don't believe in that kind of campaign. I was  
11 elected. I don't have all that many promises to keep. I  
12 don't have any long list of highways, bridges, dams and roads.  
13 I got a few judiciously sprinkled around the State but I don't  
14 have a whole lot.

15           ... Laughter ...

16           MR. THOMPSON: It is going to make a difference in  
17 the next two years, I believe. Because people are tired of  
18 being over-promised. As I sometimes used to say on the stump  
19 the problem with my opponent is he promises way up to here  
20 (indicating) and we will get performance down here (indicating)  
21 and there will be a great big hole between that everybody can  
22 see but him.

1           Well, too many politicians in the past have been  
2 guilty of that and people have caught up to us. I get people  
3 come out of the audience and say, "Don't make us any promises,  
4 just promise to do the very best you can."

5           We realize government is a tough business. You can't  
6 do everything that you sometimes promise to do. So let's not  
7 fall into the trap of trying to regain power in America by  
8 over-promising.

9           That has been one of the faults, I think, on the  
10 other side.

11           There is a lot of talk about image versus substance.  
12 There is nothing wrong with image. Image is the guts of  
13 politics these days, especially if it is true, as Bob Teeter  
14 told us this morning, that people are becoming more and more  
15 candidate versus political and philosophical-oriented.

16           But image is meaningless unless it conveys substance.  
17 Image is fine. You need image. But image is simply a vehicle  
18 for conveying a substance that a candidate or a party possesses.  
19 Image can never replace substance. The wise politician I  
20 think will draw that distinction.

21           The newspapers in Illinois, during the course of my  
22 campaign for governor, liked to write inciteful articles about

1 how I was going around the State with the help of the East  
2 Coast advertising agency -- whatever that meant -- conveying  
3 an image of being youthful.

4 Well, I was 20 years younger than my opponent. It  
5 is an image conveyed by the substance in this case. He said I  
6 conveyed an image of being vigorous. Well, I went to 44  
7 County Fairs. How else are you going to meet the farmers and  
8 small town people in downstate Illinois, where you are barely  
9 known?

10 I made more speeches than any other candidate. I  
11 worked hard. I lost 42 pounds. I got out there on the trail  
12 from early in the morning until late at night, while my  
13 opponent didn't work so hard.

14 So I had an image of an aggressive, vigorous  
15 candidate. But it wouldn't have been any good if it didn't  
16 convey the substance of an aggressive, vigorous candidate. I  
17 campaigned in blue jeans and T-shirts.

18 I kidded myself. I had a T-shirt that said, "Thank  
19 God, I am a country boy." My opponent took that seriously. He  
20 was the only person in the whole State of Illinois to take  
21 that seriously.

22 He got downstate and said to the farmers, "Thompson



1 i s a slick city lawyer, an urbane city lawyer," I think he  
2 said once. I thanked him for that.

3 He said, "He is trying to persuade people he is a  
4 country boy. He is not a country boy."

5 He was the only person in the State of Illinois who  
6 thought I was trying to portray myself as a country body. I  
7 was sort of poking fun at myself but at the same time saying  
8 to people, "Look, I recognize the difference between city people  
9 and country people and suburban people," and I identified.

10 Politics is very much the process of identification.  
11 You have got to let people know you identify with them. Some-  
12 times it can be just saying the things that are important to  
13 them and sometimes it is a very subtle process, whether it is  
14 wearing boots to a County Fair, or campaigning with a bird dog  
15 in southern Illinois or putting on a country boy T-shirt.

16 It doesn't make much difference so long as you don't  
17 take yourself too seriously -- and you never can. You have  
18 to have the ability to laugh at yourself and people have to  
19 see that you have that ability.

20 Politicians take themselves much too seriously.  
21 So let's not talk just about image changes without substance  
22 behind it. That gets us to who we want to bring into the

1 party.

2 I read an excerpt from a speech by Bob Dole this  
3 morning in The Washington Post. He said it was a grave  
4 mistake for the Republicans on the national level to exclude  
5 blacks. You bet your life!

6 Maybe that is why President Ford lost. I didn't  
7 make that mistake in Illinois. I didn't exclude anybody. I  
8 welcomed everybody in. I had a special button just for  
9 Democrats. All it said on it was, "I am a Democrat, but."

10 People wanted to get me to put my name on a button, "I  
11 am a Democrat, but I am going to vote for Thompson." I said,  
12 "No, I am a Democrat, but." Because that is what people are  
13 saying to me -- "I am a Democrat, but I am going to vote for  
14 you." I used to carry those in my right-hand pocket.

15 I was the only person who campaigned who was allowed  
16 to carry those buttons, so when people came up to me and said,  
17 "I am a Democrat, but I am going to vote for you because," it  
18 didn't make any difference what the reason was, I said, "What  
19 did you say?"

20 "I am a Democrat, but I am going to vote for you."  
21 And I popped out a button and handed it to them and they saw  
22 their first four words repeated on a button.

1           Then when I had that base established, I tried to  
2 move those people in the direction of the people who were  
3 running with me, most notably the President.

4           We carried President Ford in Illinois by 92,000  
5 votes. I am not taking any credit for it, but we all worked  
6 hard on his behalf. And we did it by not shutting anybody out.  
7 I went into the black wards of the city of Chicago last summer  
8 all by myself, walked down the street in and out, shaking hands;  
9 no retinue, no reporters.

10           I wanted to test my acceptance among the black  
11 people. It was astounding.

12           First of all, most of them said they had never seen  
13 a candidate governor before. They had seen their Democrat  
14 Precinct Captain and maybe an alderman's candidate. And they  
15 had never in their lives seen a Republican. They didn't know  
16 what one looked like.

17           I hope they don't think all Republicans are 6 foot,  
18 6 inches tall or we won't have succeeded very far in our  
19 organizational efforts.

20           In the fall, I went back, this time on a more  
21 organized basis. But I appealed for black votes. I appealed  
22 for Polish votes, for Catholic votes. Even though abortion

1 was an issue in the governor's race in Illinois, I carried the  
2 Catholic vote -- and I was on the wrong side according to some  
3 people.

4           So we can't exclude anybody and we have to project  
5 the image that we care about people. People want to be cared  
6 about. People have to understand that we care about the  
7 elderly, that we care about sick people in terms of National  
8 Health Insurance, that we care about jobs.

9           And you can do those things; you can satisfy our  
10 business friends who understand capital formation, as John  
11 Connally said, and at the same time use capital formation to  
12 create jobs in the private sector.

13           But the care has to be expressed in terms of the  
14 working stiff who is drawing the unemployment comensation  
15 check, as well as the care we are always eager to express at  
16 the Chamber of Commerce luncheon when we are talking to the  
17 president of the Board, or the chairman of the company, in  
18 persuading him to expand his plant in Illinois.

19           You have got to go at both ends. Most of those  
20 people are part of corporations. More and more I believe you  
21 have got to show a concern for the people who pay the freight,  
22 the taxpayer, who is now being asked in extraordinary measure

1 to pay for very expensive government programs that in the main  
2 sometimes don't work -- not only don't work and are not  
3 responsive to human needs but create scandal and misery and  
4 fraud along with it.

5 A perfect example is the Medicaid program in this  
6 country, which has gotten to be a national shame and a scandal  
7 as well as an extraordinary horrible burden on the backs of  
8 every governor in every State in the United States.

9 Who do we have to go after? John Connally and Bob  
10 Teeter talked about different people. Bob Teeter talked about  
11 the uncommitted. John Connally talked about converting the  
12 Democrats and the independents.

13 I say I agree with both of those. There are  
14 specific categories. Out there in the world there are a whole  
15 bunch of people who have never contributed to a political party  
16 before.

17 I was very strong in Illinois about making people  
18 understand their responsibilities. You can't have good govern-  
19 ment unless you are willing to pay for it beyond the taxes you  
20 pay. How many thousands of people do you know out there who  
21 can afford \$50, who can't afford \$100 and won't contribute \$100  
22 but who can afford \$50?

1           We have to set realistic financial goals for the  
2 broadest possible participation, because one of the oldest  
3 rules of politics is true -- once you got the money, you got  
4 their hearts.

5           All right, one follows the other. They become much  
6 more interested. They are likely to give a second time. They  
7 are likely to attend that meeting to listen to a speech. They  
8 are likely to canvass their precincts. And they become involved.

9           We have been aiming for a long time at the level of  
10 the contributors. We have got to be aiming at the people who  
11 have never taken part in the process before.

12           They don't have to be the alienated and the  
13 suspicious and the cynical. There are a lot of neutral people  
14 out there who have never bothered with politics, who have  
15 never had enough time and who got to be made to understand  
16 that politics is the vehicle by which you get good government  
17 which they talk about in their living rooms all the time. If  
18 we carry that message long enough, we can do that.

19           John Connally said we have got to pay attention to  
20 organization, we don't want to organize 20 percent forever.

21           Just refine that a bit. I agree with that, but it  
22 ought to be further. Those 20 percent have to be organized or

1 we will never reach the other, the uncommitted. You can't have  
2 empty Republican precincts. There are people in those  
3 precincts who can be recruited to carry the message to the  
4 uncommitted in the precincts.

5 So organization and fund raising is important.

6 Finally, I agree with our retiring chairman on the  
7 challenges for 1978 and 1980. We have got to start right now  
8 finding the very best congressional candidates, gubernatorial  
9 candidates we can find.

10 In my own State I intend to take it as a personal  
11 project to find the very best legislative and county candidates  
12 we can find. Now is not too early to start picking them.  
13 Now is not too early to start putting money in the bank to  
14 finance their election races.

15 We have got to do that if we want to get the very  
16 best quality of people.

17 What is the challenge of the party for 1980? The  
18 Republican National Committee and its chairman to provide the  
19 vehicle for whatever presidential and vice presidential  
20 candidates emerge and whatever their philosophies are.

21 Their philosophies will be tested in the crucible  
22 of our primaries and our convention. The Committee has got to

1 be in shape to carry forward those candidates without any  
2 ideological preconceptions. We have got to start supporting  
3 challengers.

4 I received strong support from this organization  
5 during the course of my race for governor of Illinois, for  
6 which I am very thankful, Mr. Chairman and all the members.  
7 That ought to be your primary duty, I believe.

8 And I will say that, now that I am an incumbent who  
9 is going to run for reelection, you take care of the challengers  
10 first. Us incumbents ought to be able to care of ourselves.

11 While we mightily appreciate that help -- understand  
12 I am not turning it down if you have any extra -- the challenge  
13 I think for our party is to expand, not just to hold on. We  
14 can't do that unless we are prepared on a national level to  
15 help new voices and new faces.

16 And let's not throw people in or out of the party.  
17 Let's recognize that in some sections of the nation people are  
18 very conservative and they want conservative Republican  
19 candidates, and let's have them.

20 In some parts of the nation people are very liberal  
21 and they want liberal Republican candidates, and let's have  
22 them. And recognize, I think, that most American people on



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1 the national level, when they are talking about national  
2 policy, are right in the middle.

3 And let's have some candidates there too. That is  
4 the kind of Republican Party for the decade of the seventies  
5 and the eighties that, in my view, makes sense. I think that  
6 is what I am hearing out of this conference from rookies and  
7 veterans alike.

8 If I am correct, I am very much encouraged and look  
9 forward to coming back.

10 Thank you very much.

11 ... Applause ...

12 GOVERNOR MOORE: We have covered a broad spectrum  
13 as it relates to the challenges of our party. We have talked  
14 and we have heard views and the observation that building a  
15 base to a political party is an absolute necessity for us to  
16 continue to be viable in this country of ours.

17 I would like at this time to take just a few minutes,  
18 if I might, and invite one of our former governors to at this  
19 time share with us some thoughts that he might have in this  
20 particular regard.

21 I would like George Romney, if he would, to come  
22 forward and share with us his thoughts as they relate to

1 broadening the base of our party, a matter which he coped with  
2 in the State of Michigan.

3 BROADENING THE BASE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY  
4 BY  
5 GEORGE ROMNEY  
6 FORMER GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN

7 MR. ROMNEY: Thanks.

8 It is late. I have a suggestion I would like to make.  
9 I have been encouraged by this meeting and what has been said  
10 here.

11 Let me just remind you of a few basic points. I  
12 agree with what the new Governor of Illinois has said about the  
13 necessity of involving those who have not been involved and of  
14 getting a chairman of this party who can take this party's  
15 activity and effort down to the local level and broaden the  
16 base at that level, because that is where it has to happen.

17 I was pleased that our current chairman indicated  
18 that she would continue to serve until her successor is elected.  
19 The suggestion I am going to make of a specific character has  
20 reference to timing and what needs to be done.

21 She has indicated we need to take concrete steps to  
22 increase the drawing power of our party. I am delighted that she  
is working on the structuring of a policy committee like the  
Republican Coordinating Committee that came into being as a

1 result of the Republican Governors Conference meeting following  
2 the disastrous defeat in 1964.

3           It was the governors who took the initiative in  
4 bringing into being that broadened structure of party leadership,  
5 which included not only the National Committee but also the  
6 leadership from Congress and the governors themselves, and also  
7 former presidential candidates, Tom Dewey and Barry Goldwater,  
8 and so on.

9           It was their effort that pulled the party together  
10 following the 1964 election and, in my opinion, established the  
11 basis on which the party won and was able to win in 1968.

12           I was also interested in the comments made this  
13 morning by Chairman Moore and Mr. Teeter, and I won't review  
14 all of them. Chairman Moore said we must involve responsible  
15 people in our efforts.

16           Governor McCall indicated we must invite the best  
17 minds. Mr. Teeter pointed out the declining participation that  
18 is occurring. It has just been pointed out to us that that  
19 declining participation is on the part of people in both parties.  
20 It is not just the Republican Party. And we face a substan-  
21 tially different situation.

22           I think the Republican governors represent the most

1 cohesive leadership group that has the closest contact with  
2 the grass roots. Therefore, you are in the best position to  
3 recommend what is needed.

4 I think what is needed should be done in the proper  
5 order. I don't think we should get the cart before the horse.  
6 I think that it would be a mistake to focus on the question  
7 now about who is going to be chairman.

8 I don't think we should permit the media to push us  
9 into a premature decision with respect to the future chairmanship  
10 of the National Republican Party.

11 ... Applause ...

12 MR. ROMNEY: The reason I say that is this: the basic  
13 problem here is to broaden the base. That is the purpose.  
14 There is no question about our being United on purpose. The  
15 purpose is to broaden the base, to involve those who haven't  
16 been involved, to give people who have been alienated an  
17 opportunity to participate in a meaningful political process.  
18 That is the thing that needs to be dealt with.

19 The method of doing that needs to be determined first,  
20 in my opinion. How do you do that? That is the key question.  
21 What is the process of broadening the base of this party?

22 I think the first step is the one that the chairman

1 has outlined; namely, a representative leadership group that  
2 brings together the different elements of the party. And it  
3 may include people not now in party leadership.

4 In any event, it ought to be properly structured,  
5 and she is working on that. That isn't going to happen in a  
6 couple or three weeks. That is going to take a little time.

7 In my opinion, that group ought to have an opportunity  
8 to meet and decide how to broaden this party. It seems to me  
9 very obvious that if you are going to broaden this party, you  
10 have got to get people involved in this who are not now  
11 involved in its processes.

12 I have had some experience in that. I have had  
13 experience in that in more than one field of endeavor. My  
14 experience is that you have to invite people who are not now  
15 active to participate and give them an opportunity to partici-  
16 pate in a meaningful way.

17 I think that the policy group, when it comes into  
18 being, ought to take a look at the possibility of convening--  
19 either under their leadership or under the leadership of the  
20 best of leadership not now involved in the party that you can  
21 bring in for this purpose -- a people's convention and invite  
22 the people of this country who are not now active politically

1 in the party to participate in local forums and that those  
2 local forums discuss what they think the key problems are and  
3 what ought to be done about them.

4 And then select delegates to conventions or forums  
5 in the congressional districts and let them discuss what they  
6 think the problems are. Then elect delegates from the  
7 congressional forums or conventions to an all-people's  
8 convention, a national convention of the people. And let them  
9 voice and determine what they think the problems are and what  
10 ought to be done about them.

11 I agree with the view that there is great concern in  
12 this country and there are people who want to participate. I  
13 have just been through a process of the type I outlined. I am  
14 chairman of the National Center for Voluntary Action.

15 We thought it was important in this Bicentennial Year  
16 to give the people of this country, who are volunteers, an  
17 opportunity to help determine what are the key problems in the  
18 area of nonprofit activity in this country, and the role of the  
19 people who volunteer their services without compensation.

20 In one year we organized local forums, congressional  
21 district forums, and we had last week in this city a national  
22 convention with delegates all the way from Alaska to Florida

1 and from California to New Hampshire.

2 They dealt with the issues that the people themselves  
3 had raised, with the help in the process of resource advisers  
4 who had the knowledge that would enable them to give intelligent  
5 consideration to the problems that were involved.

6 I think the need is to reach out with some new  
7 processes that will enable more people to become involved in  
8 determining what things the Republican Party is going to  
9 address itself to.

10 I have participated actively in all aspects of  
11 American life. I have been involved in the economic sector.  
12 I have been involved in the political sector and I have been  
13 involved in the voluntary nonprofit sector.

14 I want to tell you that I am a profoundly concerned  
15 American. This nation needs fundamental reform of a funda-  
16 mental character, and the people sense that. I have had the  
17 frustrating experience of trying to deal with housing when  
18 national leadership, neither in the executive branch nor in  
19 the congressional branch, would deal with inflation in any  
20 adequate and realistic way.

21 Inflation is the thing that prevents people from  
22 getting decent housing more than any other single thing.

1 I have had the frustrating experience of trying to do  
2 something about the urban problems in this nation, when there  
3 isn't the understanding and support at any level to deal with  
4 the most critical problem of all, and it is a State problem,  
5 which is the fragmentation of local government in these  
6 metropolitan areas.

7 We need basic reforms.

8 I could point to others: the energy situation, and  
9 others, but I want to say to you in all seriousness that the  
10 basic reforms we need are not going to come about in the next  
11 four years.

12 I don't say that President Carter wouldn't like to  
13 bring about those reforms. But he isn't going to have the  
14 power to do it.

15 John Connally told you about the realistic extent to  
16 which we have excessive expectations with respect to what a  
17 President can do. I have seen the limitations of what a  
18 President can do and I want to tell you that four years from  
19 now the concerns in this country are going to be as deep as  
20 they are now and the need for basic reforms is going to be just  
21 as great because the primary political influence in this country  
22 today is the alliance between the special interests, the ad hoc



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1 political organization which Mr. Teeter was talking about, and  
2 the bureaucrats in the Congress.

3 That is the dominating political influence in this  
4 country today. And it is going to take a new force to overcome  
5 that influence.

6 I don't say a third force, like Tom McCall has said.  
7 I say a new force.

8 I think the Republican Party can still become that  
9 new force, but I am absolutely certain that the Republican Party  
10 has got to do what is being talked about here today; namely,  
11 broaden its base and bring in more people and give people from  
12 all walks of life an opportunity to identify what they think the  
13 problems are and what ought to be done about them.

14 I think it would be a mistake to select the new  
15 chairman of the Republican Committee until the Republican policy  
16 group that is only in the process of being structured, is just  
17 being thought out, can come into being and decide what are the  
18 best methods and what is the best process.

19 We haven't talked much about the process -- oh, in a  
20 limited way, but there hasn't been an adequate discussion of how  
21 you do it. How do you do it? How do you get people involved  
22 now that are not involved?

1 I think you can get them involved if you compose a  
2 leadership that is going to shape a people's convention, local  
3 forums, congressional district forums and a national convention  
4 in whom they have confidence and whom they believe will make it  
5 an objective thing and will enable the people who participate  
6 to help identify what the problems are and what they ought to  
7 be doing about them.

8 I want to say to you in all seriousness, against my  
9 knowledge of the American process, that not until I have a  
10 greater degree of citizen enlightenment in this country are  
11 you going to turn this country around.

12 The greatest obstacle to doing what needs to be done  
13 is lack of public understanding of what needs to be done. And  
14 the only way to bring that about, in my opinion, is to provide  
15 some means -- I suggest a Congress.

16 Maybe there is a better way. This is my basic point  
17 and I conclude with it. I think that the party ought to do  
18 things in order. I think you ought to get this policy committee  
19 set up properly. I think you ought to let that policy committee  
20 get at the question of how do you broaden the party, how do you  
21 get leadership of people not now involved in the process, and  
22 then select a chairman who has the capacity to give direction

1 to that sort of a process.

2 Thank you very much.

3 ... Applause ...

4 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you, Governor Romney.

5 As we had indicated in the presentations that we have  
6 shared, it has been my experience in eight years as a governor  
7 that newly elected governors and governors-elect were given  
8 some considerable period of time before they shared in an  
9 expression of their views concerning the direction of the Party.

10 Perhaps the results of November the 2d expedited in  
11 some degree or in some measure the necessity -- yes, the  
12 requirement -- to hear from those who are going to be leading  
13 this party of ours in vital areas of the geography of our nation  
14 where in the past we have either slipped in our identification  
15 or our representation from those that carry our party's label.

16 We have been fortunate to hear from the Governor-elect  
17 of Delaware and the Governor-elect of Illinois. I am pleased  
18 to present to you the Governor-elect of Vermont, who ran for  
19 this job in 1966 and had the tenacity to move back again and  
20 not give up in respect to his quest to provide Republican  
21 leadership to that great State.

22 Join me in welcoming the Governor-elect, Richard

1 Snelling.

2 ... Applause ...

3 THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY  
4 BY  
5 GOVERNOR-ELECT RICHARD SNELLING OF VERMONT

6 MR. SNELLING: Thank you very much, Governor Moore.

7 Governor Bennett, and Chairman Smith, when I arrived  
8 at the Vermont Legislature for the first time many years ago  
9 from the business world green as grass, I met a very, very  
10 famous distinguished senior Senator in our State Senate who  
11 told me whenever I found myself at the very end of a program,  
12 at the end of a long day, that I should ceremoniously take off  
13 my watch and put it on the podium so that everyone knew that I  
14 was conscious of the time.

15 Of course because I want to be very candid, I must  
16 tell you that the second part of his advice was that I should  
17 then proceed not to pay any attention to it on the grounds that  
18 it might take me off my pace. But my watch is on the podium.

19 You know, to be asked to come before you at this stage  
20 of the game and speak about a subject as broad and as important  
21 as the future of the Republican Party is a doubly tough assign-  
22 ment for me.

It is a tough assignment, first, Jim, because I am a

1 country boy, or at least a boy from the country. I come from  
2 the State of Governor George Aiken.

3 Some of you may not know that George Aiken ran his  
4 very first quest for the United States Senate in a celebrated  
5 journey in which his total expenditures were \$29.29 for a set  
6 of tires.

7 Though that probably doesn't amaze you at all,  
8 because it is a long time ago that George Aiken sought the  
9 Senate for the first time. But I want to tell you that when he  
10 ran for election the last time, just eight years ago, his total  
11 expenditures were \$13.77 for postage.

12 So that George Aiken has certainly exhibited both  
13 some Vermont characteristics and some Republican characteristics  
14 because over the 44 years the total expenditures of the Senate  
15 campaigns went down. That kind of a background is hardly a  
16 **qualifier** for the task that you assigned me.

17 But, you know, it is doubly difficult because of the  
18 awesome array of experience that I see in front of me and  
19 because of the lateness of the hour. If I now tell you things  
20 that you have already heard or that you already know, I run the  
21 risk of boring you and fulfilling no purpose. But if I tell you  
22 something that you have never heard before, there is a high

1 probability that you won't agree with it. So I have chosen to  
2 do a little bit of both.

3 I am going to bore you a little bit and tell you some  
4 things that you will disapprove. But that is the task that has  
5 been given me.

6 You probably have heard about the celebrated John D.  
7 Rockefeller -- and not the one who has just been elected  
8 governor but an ancestor of his -- who had a habit of going out  
9 without taking any money with him.

10 I understand that one time he found himself  
11 embarrassingly in the elevator going down with a guest that he  
12 was going to take to lunch. He reached in his pocket and he  
13 didn't have any money.

14 He turned to the elevator operator and said, "Henry,  
15 I seem to have gone off without my wallet. Would you kindly  
16 lend me \$10?"

17 Henry is reputed to have turned to Mr. Rockefeller and  
18 said, "Mr. Rockefeller, I can't lend you \$10 because I don't  
19 have a dime on me, but I sure do appreciate the compliment."

20 I feel a little bit that way about the task that is  
21 before me. But enough of the disclaimers; now the task.

22 I would like to start with a note of perspective as

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1 it seems to me. The tragedy is not that of 1976. The tragedy,  
2 if there is any at all, is of a much earlier period. The  
3 tragedy is a tragedy that started at least in 1972, and all  
4 that happened in 1976 was the score.

5 You can interpret it how you want. It seems to me  
6 that we lost one governor and one President and held just about  
7 even in Congress. I think that if we put that in perspective  
8 we would all agree that today, in 1976, is no cause for a wake.

9 There is an ebb and flow in these things. You cannot  
10 tell the direction of the tide from the flow of one or two  
11 waves. It is only when viewed from a longer perspective that  
12 you know where you are and it is important if we are going to  
13 talk about the future of the Republican Party that we have some  
14 sense of where we are.

15 So to one born in 1927, with really only 12  
16 presidential elections in my memory since 1932, I see that in  
17 the first half of those 12 we lost all but one, five out of six;  
18 in the second six, the most recent six, we have ~~won~~ three out  
19 of three.

20 That just doesn't seem to me like a cause for a  
21 dismissal of our party or of our objectives or of our aim or of  
22

1 our goals.

2           When we realize that as recently as 1971 there were  
3 37 of us and, more to the point, that number was nearly double  
4 what it had been seven years before in 1964, I think it becomes  
5 clear that we are not in the face of a tragedy, that we are  
6 dealing with the changes of time which carry with them at least  
7 as much opportunity as they carry risks.

8           Because I think we have learned -- and I am now  
9 repeating that which I have heard several times today, and I  
10 repeat it because it is appropriate because perhaps it makes the  
11 point more clear -- that we have reached a point in time where  
12 registration of voters and what the polls show early are  
13 meaningless.

14           Those are not the harbingers of victory or defeat.  
15 Vermont, these last 15 years, has been predominantly a  
16 Democratic State. We don't have registration. And, as shocking  
17 as it should be -- and I hope it is -- for any of you to know  
18 we have come to the point where in recent years the polls con-  
19 sistently show something like 10 percent of the people calling  
20 themselves Democrats and Republicans.

21           I started out some 38 points down in the polls this  
22 year. We ended up electing a governor, a United States Senator



1 and a Congressman. We broke even in the House and we have  
2 two-thirds of the Senate now who are Republicans. So the polls,  
3 which show what should have happened, did not bear fruit and we  
4 were able to accomplish some substantial changes.

5 My conclusion from this is that the future is up to  
6 us. The future of the party has not been determined. It is not  
7 the kind of thing which requires us to read the tea leaves.  
8 It is the kind of thing which requires us to take action.

9 I believe that the key is for us to establish an  
10 identity with some real and enduring values. I don't think any  
11 new Republican organization is going to be built, Madam Chairman,  
12 which will give us any assurance, any period in advance that  
13 we are going to win the elections of two or four or six or eight  
14 years down the pike.

15 I think we must establish a new basis of scoring,  
16 recognizing the preponderance of people who choose to call  
17 themselves Democrats or independents, and we must be willing to  
18 fight each and every contest on its own merits with candidates  
19 appropriate to that contest in that locality and with issues  
20 which are pertinent to that time.

21 Will you forgive me for a moment of philosophy because  
22 I would like to deal a little bit with the theory of the past.

1 We have an old joke in Vermont which has the punch line, "You  
2 can't get there from here." But I believe you can get there  
3 from here. You can get anywhere from here, but you sure have to  
4 know where you are when you start.

5 So I see the history of 1932 and the period since as  
6 a key to understanding what we might do now to rebuild our  
7 party and to maximize our opportunities. To me, at my age,  
8 1932 started a new political epoch, following a period of very,  
9 very rapid growth in the economy, the Roaring Twenties. There  
10 is no end economy. 1932 changed the mood of America.

11 It presented us with a prevailing mood in which people  
12 were very, very concerned about the complexity that society had  
13 obviously come to. And their concern about that complexity and  
14 their frustration, I believe, made them much more willing than  
15 they had been in the past to give up their independence, to  
16 give up their initiative and to look to government for the  
17 solution of problems which they no longer felt could come from  
18 the private sector.

19 I don't know why it is they thought the government had  
20 the answers but I think they did. So they turned more and more  
21 to government.

22 But at the same time they were looking for simple

1 understandable solutions to these problems, which they had  
2 already agreed were of great complexity. So now for 40 years,  
3 for 40 years we have been listening to simple solutions to  
4 complex problems.

5 We have been listening to higher and higher expecta-  
6 tions, encouraged by politicians. We have been listening to  
7 short-term solutions to long-term problems, partially because  
8 politicians themselves serve for such short periods of time.  
9 We have been in a bidding game, a steady escalation of promises.

10 The easiest kind of simple short-term solution is of  
11 course to design a program and to fund it. So spending has  
12 become really the keynote to public policy in America.

13 There have been no solutions, no real solutions to the  
14 problems. So there has been a growing frustration which I think  
15 existed long before Watergate. I think any understanding of  
16 where the Republican Party is now which depends upon Watergate  
17 as an isolated incidence is really in error.

18 Because I think what was happening long before  
19 Watergate is that the people were turning away from a government  
20 which was failing them more and more. This is in essence what I  
21 heard Bob Teeter say this morning, an alienation of the public.  
22 Watergate may be just as much an epoch starter in its own way

1 as the Depression was in its time because after Watergate  
2 people, I think, have decided to look back again to the govern-  
3 ment and to the problems and to the leadership in a way that  
4 they had ceased to look to it in the period of the eight or 10  
5 years perhaps before Watergate, to watch again what politicians  
6 were doing, to exert a new kind of independence, a new kind of  
7 determination, a new concern for accountability. And that is  
8 our opportunity.

9           The irony of Watergate may very well be that it  
10 started Gerald Ford's presidency and I believe it ended it. As  
11 sorry, as deeply sorry, as I am that President Ford lost this  
12 last election, I do believe that with that defeat a period is  
13 now truly over and there are lessons which have been learned  
14 and opportunities inherent in our having learned those lessons  
15 because we can start again now and move towards a new opportunity.

16           But people do believe that government is too big, that  
17 it is too costly, that it is too meddlesome, that it deprives  
18 them of their liberty, and that it has not solved problems.  
19 And this is the consequence, I think, largely of the politics  
20 of funding, which has carried the tax burden of this country to  
21 such heights that there is no part of the country that I know  
22 of where people do not consider the tax burden to be a very

1 serious part of the problems of government.

2           Nationally I understand that some 15 percent of the  
3 average person's income is going to State and local taxes. And  
4 when you add on the Federal taxes, just the direct taxes, which  
5 have the specter of people working January, February, March and  
6 April and -- depending upon the State -- perhaps part of May  
7 before they begin doing anything for their own account, that  
8 does give us an opportunity to return to a new kind of account-  
9 ability which recognizes these frustrations.

10           What can we do about it? What can we do not just to  
11 win but to serve? Because I think, if our goal is only to win,  
12 that we will certainly lose. And if your goal is to serve,  
13 then it obviously must be based on our efforts to restore the  
14 individual confidence in government.

15           There are some things that I am sure we ought not to  
16 do. Some of them I have heard discussed today in various forms,  
17 and I don't reject any of them as parts to the solution. But  
18 the notion that any one of three easy solutions will be of  
19 great benefit to our party is, I think, erroneous.

20           First, we are not going to solve our problems by the  
21 so-called nuts-and-bolts approach. We have got to have solid,  
22 sensible, continuing organization. But the notion that if you

1 have only 21 percent of the people who call themselves firmly  
2 on your side, that if you succeed in getting 85 or 90 percent of  
3 such a small number of people out to the polls that you solve  
4 a long-term problem, I think falls of its own logic.

5 There simply are not enough of us at the moment to  
6 rest upon or to count heavily upon the nuts-and-bolts approach.

7 I don't think that our answer is as simple as to  
8 talk about broadening the base in the sense in which I sometimes  
9 hear it said. We are not going to win by saying we want more  
10 minorities to vote for our side.

11 We can't accomplish our goal by talking about bringing  
12 more blacks into the party or more steelworkers or more Catholics  
13 or more Polish or more anything else, because the talk will no  
14 longer be effective -- not just for our party but I believe for  
15 either party.

16 Because in a way it is almost insulting, it is almost  
17 insulting, in my view, to believe that a goal so simply stated  
18 could possibly succeed.

19 What we really want to do is to meet the needs of  
20 people and, if we do in fact meet the needs of people who happen  
21 to be black, or who happen to be Catholics or who happen to be  
22 blue-collar workers or happen to be professionals, then we will

1 be on the road to success, but not alone because of a policy  
2 of inclusion.

3 Thirdly, I think we have nothing to gain whatsoever  
4 from any continuation of this age-old asinine battle between  
5 the conservatives and the liberals of the party. Such battles  
6 will serve no useful purpose.

7 There is no choice in my mind between conservatives  
8 without programs and liberals without follow-through.

9 War cries which are issued from each of the camps  
10 from time to time muster a smaller and smaller number of people  
11 and, if they were all responding to the same cry, they would  
12 still be inadequate in number.

13 They are redundant, these quarrels. They are self-  
14 defeating, and no point can possibly be served by having it out  
15 with either side of that battle.

16 The situation then, I think, calls for some funda-  
17 mental reassessments of what we have to offer, what we, who are  
18 Republicans, have to offer. I think we have got to build a new  
19 identity between our fundamental common goals and values and  
20 those of the majority of Americans.

21 I think the road is clear for us to proceed in that  
22 direction.

1           An approach of leadership based on seeking these  
2 common goals which we share as Republicans, and which we know  
3 are shared also by large numbers of Democrats and of independents,  
4 is in itself an automatic politics of inclusion rather than of  
5 exclusion.

6           So it starts down the road that we must travel. The  
7 goals are so broad, and that is part of their virtue, because  
8 these are the things which determine the credibility of our  
9 policies. We have ample reason to claim that over the years,  
10 over a long period of years, stretching back through most of  
11 those 40 years, that we have worked consistently for a sound  
12 economy.

13           If we get that out of the jargon of sound economy and  
14 say that what we are talking about is employment, what we are  
15 talking about is the availability of housing, we have a natural  
16 constituency so large as to be the basis for a strong and enduring  
17 party.

18           We have worked for a long time and spoken about stable  
19 currency and expressed our fear about inflation. If we get off  
20 of that jargon and talk about protecting the purchasing power  
21 of the dollar and protecting the opportunities for people upon  
22 retirement to live lives of dignity and of sensibility, then we



1 have another very, very large constituency.

2 We stand, I think, for the wholesome attitude of  
3 government, a government of service to the people, a government  
4 which operates with a gentle hand, a government which has a  
5 high respect for the individual.

6 I hear more and more people on the other side of the  
7 political fence using phrases that I grew up with as a boy and  
8 that I always thought were phrases that were particularly of  
9 significance to Republicans.

10 We have also been concerned, at least as a basis  
11 philosophy, with reasonable levels of taxation.

12 So I am saying that we have a common denominator  
13 if we will play it. And it is program management, resource  
14 management, positivism, because the public is searching so  
15 hard for those qualities.

16 I am saying we must turn now from eloquence to  
17 accomplishment, and the people will respect that. We must turn  
18 from charisma to confidence. We must turn away from the number  
19 of promises in a competition with the other side as to the  
20 scope of our promises to measuring very carefully our delivery  
21 and stacking it up against theirs. That is the role that we  
22 can play, both as political leaders and as government employees.

1           I think the era in which political leaders and  
2 government employees are thought of as politicians and  
3 bureaucrats speaks of its own problem. And we must replace  
4 that image of politicians and bureaucrats with a concept of  
5 public management.

6           Who is it that can better do that, who is it that  
7 could better lead the way to the concept of public management  
8 than Republicans? I think we have got to stop fighting with  
9 Democrats about their aspirations for people, because our  
10 aspirations for people are no less.

11           I think we must show that our side is more likely to  
12 deliver, and this is a matter of perception.

13           We have got to stop trying to outpromise and fight  
14 for a better record of promise keeping. And here is the place  
15 where I think the governors have an excellent opportunity. We  
16 are on the firing line. Each of us has made certain commitments  
17 to the people of our State.

18           Our records can be very carefully measured. If we  
19 succeed more on balance in performing the services that people  
20 need, with adequate responsibility and understanding of the  
21 burden that we undertake when we take their tax resources from  
22 them in the public sector, we will have presented a cause for our

1 party in those States which do not have Republican governors  
2 and for those States which need Republican governors and  
3 Congressmen.

4           With such a policy, let us end the public's perception  
5 that there isn't a nickel's worth of difference between  
6 Republicans and Democrats. Let us make the difference be an  
7 effective test.

8           There is already less emphasis on the philosophy of  
9 promising. Unfortunately, I see it as much today amongst  
10 Democratic candidates as I do among Republican candidates.

11           What is the phenomenon of Jerry Brown if it isn't  
12 a phenomenon of delivering on a lesser number of promises and  
13 of showing great respect for the same fundamental principles  
14 that we have been talking about for a long time.

15           If you will excuse me, didn't really Jimmy Carter  
16 achieve an upset victory over all odds by calling forth many  
17 of the principles which were ours, to which we thought we had  
18 hereditary rights? I am not looking for a short solution or  
19 a permanent solution.

20           I think the question is not what we can do today to  
21 change the circumstances. I think the question is what can we  
22 begin today that will put us on the road. The real question is

1 who is going to lead America to a new political maturity in  
2 this day of greater accountability? Who is going to make the  
3 third century of American democracy more responsive and more  
4 effective?

5 If it is us, the future of the Republican Party is  
6 bright; and, if not, our future is bleak and deserves to be.

7 But I believe that we are the best. I believe that  
8 we have the best opportunity to build a new politics of  
9 performance, to attract to our cause -- by changing our  
10 perception of what our task is -- a very large number of  
11 Democrats and independents whose greatest concern is that govern-  
12 ment work, that they should be able to have pride in it, that  
13 they should go to the polls and vote and feel not that they  
14 have chosen between the lesser of two evils, but that they have  
15 played their part as citizens in establishing a framework in  
16 which people can live and work together in harmony and live  
17 out their lives in peace. That is the goal of the Republican  
18 Party.

19 If we accept the challenge, our future is bright.

20 Thank you very much.

21 ... Applause.

22 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you so much for a very excellent

1 and sobering perspective.

2           When we really think of the time that we have devoted  
3 to these observations this afternoon and the great real  
4 challenge of distilling all that we had consumed, both in  
5 the morning session and in the afternoon session, and what we  
6 hope this political instrument to be as it relates to the future  
7 of the country we have really in substance spent very little  
8 time.

9           But those who have shared with us their thoughts,  
10 from the broad spectrum of that which is eternally referred to  
11 as governor, I think we have been the beneficiaries as a party  
12 and the party leadership.

13           I know myself, as a seated governor, that I have  
14 profited not only from our former colleagues and their observa-  
15 tions but those that have come from seated governors. But  
16 theirs has been a particularly exciting perspective given to  
17 us by those that very narrowly carried the Appalachian  
18 governor-elect in 1976.

19           You will not have a very big meeting room, as you get  
20 your alumna together for this 1976 election, but I think that  
21 it is great testimony to the manner in which the governors have  
22 given their attention to your thoughts and the very, very

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1 perceptive way in which you have made a very, very solid commit-  
2 ment to this new beginning after this Association and a re-  
3 establishment of our party as that which is the best industry  
4 to move America forward.

5 Mary Louise, we are deeply appreciative of your help;  
6 Jack, and Governor Romney, as well as those who have participated.

7 May I respectfully call to your attention the selection  
8 of a nominating committee that will present those who are to  
9 head this Association at its meeting tomorrow.

10 I have asked Governor Milliken of Michigan  
11 to chair that nominating committee. I ask Governor Bond and  
12 Governor Thomson of New Hampshire to serve.

13 I respectfully call to your attention that this  
14 evening your transportation requirements to the White House are  
15 left to your own best initiatives. It is entirely proper that  
16 we be there at 6 p.m.

17 I look forward to seeing the governors-elect, the  
18 governors, and the former governors and their associates this  
19 evening with the President of the United States.

20 We will see you at breakfast in the morning at 8:30.

21 Thank you, and good afternoon.  
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... At 4:45 o'clock p.m., Monday, November 29, 1976,  
the Republican Governors Association Conference was recessed,  
to reconvene at 8:30 o'clock a.m., Tuesday, November 30, 1976 ..





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McAuliffe

VOLUME III

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

CONFERENCE

- - -

10:04 o'clock a.m.  
Tuesday, November 30, 1976

Yorktown-Valley Forge  
Conference Room  
Hyatt Regency Hotel  
400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20001

APPEARANCES

1  
2  
3 Hon. Arch A. Moore, Jr., Governor of West Virginia;  
Chairman, Republican Governors Association

4 Hon. Robert F. Bennett, Governor of Kansas; Vice Chairman,  
5 Republican Governors Association

6 Hon. Otis R. Bowen, Governor of Indiana

7 Hon. Robert D. Ray, Governor of Iowa

8 Hon. William G. Milliken, Governor of Michigan

9 Hon. James Thompson, Governor-elect of Illinois

10 Hon. Meldrim Thomson, Jr., Governor of New Hampshire

11 Former Governor George Romney of Michigan

12 Former Governor Tim Babcock of Montana

13 Former Governor Frank Farrar of South Dakota

14 Hon. Robert Dole, United States Senator  
from the State of Kansas

15 Mrs. Mary Louise Smith, Chairman, Republican National Committee  
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C O N T E N T S

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Page

WHAT NOW FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?  
by HON. ROBERT DOLE, United States  
Senator from the State of Kansas

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P R O C E E D I N G S

... The Republican Governors Association Conference reconvened at 10:04 o'clock a.m., in the Yorktown-Valley Forge Conference Room, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C., Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., chairman, presiding ...

GOVERNOR MOORE: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

I would acknowledge with certainly a great measure of appreciation and respect for the manner in which the conference participants have given attention to those who have made their presentations to the conference. You have been most cooperative and we are deeply appreciative.

We begin this final day of deliberations relating to the Republican Governors Association. It is a great privilege of mine to share with you a distinguished member of the United States Senate and candidate for the vice presidency of the United States.

Without any long introduction, which certainly is not necessary, all of us have come to know and have great appreciation for the industry of Bob Dole. He began his political career at the age of 26 in the Kansas Legislature. He moved to the United States House of Representatives, where it was my

1 privilege to serve as a colleague of his for a number of years.

2 He was elected to the United States Senate in 1968  
3 and in August of 1976 he was selected as the vice presidential  
4 nominee for the Republican Party.

5 He is presently the ranking Republican on the United  
6 States Senate Committee on Agriculture.

7 We are very pleased and privileged that Senator  
8 Dole's schedule would permit him to share with us this Republican  
9 Governors Association meeting here in Washington. Would you  
10 join me in welcoming the distinguished Senator from Kansas,  
11 Senator Dole.

12 ... Standing ovation ...

13 WHAT NOW FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

14 BY

HON. ROBERT DOLE

15 UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

16 SENATOR DOLE: Thank you very much, Arch.

17 I wasn't privileged to be here yesterday and didn't  
18 have a chance to hear the many remarks of those who talked  
19 about the Republican Party. But I am happy to be here today.

20 I guess there is probably a lesson to be learned from  
21 the fact that we have more candidates for chairman of the  
22 Republican National Committee than we have Republican governors.

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1 I am not certain just what that lesson is, but I tried to hail  
2 a cab this morning and the fellow said he was waiting for the  
3 Republican governors. So it indicates that not only in this  
4 group but in nearly every group we have got a great deal of work  
5 to do.

6 I would like to talk about my own perception as I  
7 traveled around the country and as I see it after the election.

8 I think it is tempting to dwell on the presidential  
9 race as some have. Some are still putting together all sorts  
10 of options which would have made it possible for President Ford  
11 to be elected.

12 I think we do have a right to congratulate ourselves  
13 on having turned a potential rout into a very close horse race.  
14 And there is another view, which has become a traditional source  
15 of comfort to us Republicans -- that is that with only some 23  
16 percent of the people identifying themselves as Republicans, we  
17 took over 48 percent of the votes cast.

18 We did come very close in the presidential race. We  
19 had a great leader. In spite of all the odds, the wisdom, the  
20 decency, dignity, and courage of Jerry Ford were nearly in  
21 themselves enough to overcome a 30 point lead. In the months  
22 and years to come, the President will provide the rallying point

ac 4

1 and the strong presence we will need as a cornerstone for the  
2 rebuilding of our party.

3 As I said on a program on Sunday, I think I know  
4 Jerry Ford and many in this room know President Ford. He is  
5 not the kind who will sit back and just relax and rest on his  
6 laurels, having been the President of the United States.

7 He believes in a strong two-party system. And I  
8 predict that it won't be very many weeks that President Ford --  
9 or former President Ford when the time comes -- will be out  
10 working for what he believes in. And that is a strong two-party  
11 system.

12 Any way we slice it, the figures on the presidential  
13 race, however, do not give an indication of the health of our  
14 party. For this we have to look at registration figures, at how  
15 many Senators and Congressmen we have, at the State legislatures,  
16 at the number of mayors we have and, yes, at the number of  
17 governors.

18 The question "What now for Republicans" is one that  
19 inevitably turns our faces to the future. The classic complaint  
20 about generals is that they always fight the last war. We  
21 cannot afford to do that.

22 As individual politicians, we have prospered by

1 approaching our goals in a fairly pragmatic way. Yet as a  
2 party, we have faltered by projecting a very dogmatic image.  
3 Without wanting to sound like a heretic, I am more interested  
4 now in our winning elections and surviving, than I am in seeing  
5 our party fade into history proudly clinging to some narrow  
6 notion of ideological purity.

7 We have all seen the demographics on the past election,  
8 so I won't go into all the statistics and analyses here.  
9 Briefly, we got most of the white votes, we got the votes of  
10 most of the better educated people in our society, we got the  
11 votes of the higher income Americans.

12 The problem is that we seem to appeal rather  
13 exclusively to those groups and as long as we are seen in  
14 exclusionary terms, we are going to fall behind in registration.  
15 I do not mean to suggest for one moment that we ought to change  
16 our principles.

17 I do mean that we have to learn to present what we  
18 stand for in a way that doesn't make us appear in the eyes of  
19 many, many millions to be an elitist group. Unfortunately, I  
20 don't have any fast, ready answers for how that should be done.

21 What I am saying is simply that we need to look for  
22 answers and not sit back taking stiff-necked pride in our



1 refusal to explore new avenues of approach to the affections of  
2 the American people. We simply cannot afford to keep winning  
3 moral victories and sustaining political defeats.

4 As a Senator, a former Party Chairman, and a candidate  
5 for national office, I have a sense of our party as one with a  
6 very barren middle ground. We have two wings, one which stands  
7 against nearly everything the majority party stands for, the  
8 other which seems to support nearly everything the majority  
9 party stands for. These two wings are in constant, fruitless  
10 competition.

11 In my view, if this condition persists and we spend  
12 the next four years splitting ideological hairs, we are going  
13 to be very ineffectual as the party in opposition; our chances  
14 of recapturing the White House are going to be greatly limited,  
15 and our chances of building our party at the grass roots are  
16 going to be sharply reduced.

17 We have to find the common ground we can all stand  
18 upon, and not isolate ourselves on separate islands that drift  
19 further and further apart.

20 And as you know probably better than I, there are  
21 no easy answers. We have an image problem -- I said that  
22 before in debate over reforming the food stamp program. We are

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1 perceived as a party of political "againsters," a party that  
2 cares for the rich and not the poor, the businessman and not  
3 the consumer, the industrialist and not the environmentalist,  
4 those who can help themselves and not those who need help.

5 We are the victims of much oversimplification, but  
6 we have struggled mightily to bring that problem down on our  
7 own heads. We are going to have to struggle mightily to solve  
8 it.

9 In the next four years, we will be in opposition to  
10 President-elect Carter. It is essential that we be perceived  
11 as, and that we be in fact, the loyal opposition, putting  
12 country before party.

13 This is a political opportunity, certainly. But it  
14 is, more importantly, a civic obligation. Let us remember that  
15 the importance of the two-party system is not first that it  
16 keeps the Republican Party alive, but that it keeps our system of  
17 democratic government alive.

18 Solving our image problem and unifying our party are  
19 interdependent goals, in my view. I do not believe we can get  
20 together and pound out a series of high-blown statements which  
21 say this is what we stand for, and we are all agreed on it. We  
22 know what we stand for -- a substantial part of the American

1 people are not so certain, and what they think they are certain  
2 of, they don't like. The task is not rhetorical. Words alone  
3 won't get us far. We have to demonstrate where possible, and  
4 try to illustrate where necessary, what we stand for.

5 In practice, this is going to mean not just opposing  
6 and criticizing the Carter Administration at every turn. It  
7 is going to mean offering realistic alternatives. More than  
8 that, it is going to mean taking the initiative, identifying  
9 national needs, recognizing where a Federal role exists in  
10 meeting those needs, and moving ahead of the Administration and  
11 the Democratic congressional majority to call national attention  
12 to those needs and propose sound solutions to them. That is  
13 leadership.

14 How we demonstrate that leadership, arrive at sensible  
15 solutions, and exert a unifying authority is largely a  
16 procedural problem now, or should be treated as one. In my  
17 view, the way to end factionalism is not to indulge in it.

18 Our leadership positions: the governors, the  
19 Republican policy committees, House and Senate Minority Leaders,  
20 and the National Committee, assume a new importance. We need to  
21 use these as we never have before to hammer out Republican  
22 positions.

1           We need to get ahead of the policy-making curve -- not  
2 to respond or react, but to initiate. We need full communication  
3 between all members and all factions, and we need to adjust to  
4 the notion of compromise so that we can stand united as our  
5 individual principles permit.

6           Party-wise, the National Committee resumes the signifi-  
7 cance it always has for the party out of office. I believe that  
8 Mary Louise Smith has done an excellent job. Having been  
9 chairman myself under a Republican President, I know how  
10 difficult the task is when the real authority lies at the White  
11 House and not at the Eisenhower Center.

12           But now we face a change. I believe the selection of  
13 the new chairman should not represent a victory for one faction  
14 and a defeat for another, but should be a person who can bring  
15 all sides together.

16           I believe we should be concerned not with building a  
17 candidate, but with building the party. We need leadership that  
18 can unify, we need leadership with vision, we need leadership  
19 that can work with the Congress, with the governors, with other  
20 elected Republicans and, equally important, with other electable  
21 Republicans.

22           Which brings me to my final point.

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1 I think it is time to recognize -- and again everyone  
2 in this immediate audience understands that, but for some who  
3 will read what we have said or will not learn what we say here  
4 today, it is time to realize that people are not going to come  
5 beating on our door, begging to be Republicans. We have to go  
6 out and get them. We have to focus heavily on recruitment.

7 Neither party should take comfort from the voter  
8 turnout this year. The fact is that both the major parties are  
9 minority parties. The Democrats have a plurality, but in the  
10 end, it is apparent that a huge group of Americans have turned  
11 away from the political process.

12 For the sake of the country, both parties have to go  
13 after that uncommitted group and bring them back into our  
14 political process. For the health of our own party, the  
15 Republican Party, we should take the lead in that effort. If  
16 we can't convince those who are disinterested, how much more  
17 difficult will it be to convert those who now oppose us?

18 We need a Republican version of affirmative action at  
19 the grass roots political level. We need the women, the young,  
20 the blacks, the Hispanics, the ethnics, the Indians. We need  
21 working men and women. We need those who live in row houses  
22 and tenements.

1           These groups may not be as easy to reach. But how  
2 better to test the vitality of our Republican beliefs than by  
3 persuading these groups face to face, as individuals, that what  
4 we stand for best serves their interests? How better to demon-  
5 strate that we stand for the interests of all Americans than by  
6 reaching our across the whole broad spectrum of our population  
7 for new members and new candidates for the Republican Party.

8           It is also time to recognize that candidates are not  
9 going to come begging to be nominated -- and those who do may  
10 not always be the people we want. One thing I learned about  
11 traveling around the country in the past several weeks is that  
12 there is a scarcity of outstanding Republican candidates in  
13 many areas.

14           I am talking about county levels and State levels and  
15 national levels. We have got to find outstanding black candi-  
16 dates and ethnic candidates and Hispanic candidates. And they  
17 are there. If I can be of any service as a Senator and as a  
18 former member of a ticket, I hope I am relegated or delegated  
19 with that assignment -- that assignment in finding outstanding  
20 candidates, of having some discipline in how we select candidates  
21 for office.

22           Because I am not a pessimist. I think we can better

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1 demonstrate that we stand for all the interests with some good  
2 candidate selection. Again, we are going to have to recruit  
3 these candidates, and we have to have candidate schools at the  
4 local levels. Many don't even know how to get on a ballot, let  
5 alone win an election.

6 And I think we will, if proper attention is paid to  
7 that. Without good organization and without good candidates,  
8 everything else we suggest might be ineffective.

9 We do not have to wait four years to make our comeback.  
10 We can begin now. Indeed, if we don't begin now, if we sit  
11 idly by in the complacent belief that Governor Carter will make  
12 a botch of things and give us a new lease on life, we may not  
13 have a comeback.

14 We have off year elections coming up, we have the  
15 congressional elections in 1978. I am going to Kentucky  
16 tomorrow, for whatever it may be worth, to meet with Republicans  
17 there. They have some elections coming up next year and we  
18 start now,

19 Senator Mondale mentioned once that Senator Dole wasn't  
20 fit to be dogcatcher. We have to look to the electing of  
21 dogcatchers, sheriffs and aldermen, just as we do to State  
22 legislators, mayors and governors.

1           Our minority status isn't legislated. We don't have  
2 to remain a minority party. On the other hand, neither is our  
3 existence legislated.

4           So, we have sacrifices to make. We have hard work  
5 to do.

6           Let us begin not with apologies, but with pride. Let  
7 us proceed not with an attitude of desperation or despair, but  
8 with the firm conviction that we still carry some candles to  
9 light the way into America's uncharted future.

10           Remember our origins. When we talk about being the  
11 party of freedom -- defending the free enterprise system, freeing  
12 people from government regulation, getting the government out  
13 of our private lives -- these are commendable goals, but they are  
14 abstract goals, and this party was not founded on abstractions.

15           The Republican Party was born in the greatest struggle  
16 for human liberty that this nation has ever known. It was the  
17 Republican Party that responded to the admonition of Isaiha "to  
18 undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free."

19           So we extended and expanded human freedom in a very  
20 real, tangible way. Time has passed. The world is a very  
21 different place. But our founding purpose, the extension and  
22 expansion of human liberty, remains the same. And that is the



1 banner we carry and the purpose we have to articulate as we work  
2 to reassert our leadership role in America.

3 Thank you very much.

4 ... Applause ...

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you, Senator Dole.

6 May I inquire as to whether or not there are any  
7 questions that the conference participants might want at this  
8 time to pose to the Senator?

9 He would be happy to respond to any of the questions  
10 that may be on our mind.

11 At this time then I would like to declare a 10-minute  
12 recess and we will go into the business portion of our session,  
13 taking up the resolutions that have been presented to the  
14 governors for their consideration, to receive the report of  
15 the nominating committee and to hear the remarks of the  
16 incoming chairman of the Republican Governors Association.

17 ... At 10:20 o'clock a.m., the Republican Governors  
18 Association Conference was recessed, to reconvene for a business  
19 session at 10:45 o'clock a.m., the same day ...

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ac end

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VOLUME IV

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

BUSINESS MEETING

---

10:45 o'clock a.m.  
Tuesday, November 30, 1976

Yorktown-Valley Forge  
Conference Room  
Hyatt Regency Hotel  
410 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20001

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A P P E A R A N C E S

Hon. Arch A. Moore, Jr., Governor of West Virginia;  
Chairman, Republican Governors Association

Hon. Robert F. Bennett, Governor of Kansas; Vice Chairman,  
Republican Governors Association

Hon. Christopher S. Bond, Governor of Missouri

Hon. Otis R. Bowen, Governor of Indiana

Hon. Robert D. Ray, Governor of Iowa

Hon. James Thompson, Governor-elect of Illinois

Hon. Meldrim Thomson, Jr., Governor of New Hampshire

Former Governor George Romney of Michigan

Former Governor Tim Babcock of Montana

Former Governor Frank Farrar of South Dakota

Mrs. Mary Louise Smith, Chairman,  
Republican National Committee

P R O C E E D I N G S

1  
2 ... The Republican Governors Association Conference  
3 reconvened for a business session at 10:45 o'clock a.m., in the  
4 Yorktown-Valley Forge Conference Room, Hyatt Regency Hotel,  
5 400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., Governor Arch  
6 A. Moore, Jr., chairman, presiding ...

7 GOVERNOR MOORE: It is appropriate at this time for  
8 the conference to propose the resolutions that have been  
9 presented to it for its consideration.

10 Again, I would like to ask those who are in the  
11 Conference Hall to be seated so we might expedite the work of  
12 the conference. It would be greatly appreciated.

13 The manner in which we shall proceed on resolutions  
14 that have been presented to the conference for their considera-  
15 tion is in each instance to ask the sponsor of the resolution to  
16 come to the center microphone and share the contents of that  
17 resolution with the membership of the Association, and ask  
18 your direction and guidance in that particular regard.

19 I respectfully call to your attention the resolution of  
20 the Governor of Kansas in regard to support of "Sunset"  
21 legislation. At this time I ask Governor Robert Bennett if he  
22 would address himself to the pending resolution.

1 GOVERNOR BENNETT: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

2 You have indicated you want this read. We really  
3 should have a reading clerk, but in the absence thereof, it is  
4 a resolution with reference to "Sunset" legislation.

5 "WHEREAS, government at all levels has grown like  
6 Topsy in recent decades;

7 "WHEREAS, government at all levels has assumed an  
8 increasing number of functions and responsibilities;

9 "WHEREAS, the proliferation of governmental agencies  
10 has become increasingly immune to public scrutiny or to effective  
11 oversight by executive and legislative branches of government;

12 "WHEREAS, the Republican Governors Association is  
13 continuously seeking ways to make government more accountable  
14 to the citizens and to assure that government serves the citizens  
15 without dominating them;

16 "THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the Republican  
17 Governors Association endorses the concept of "Sunset" legisla-  
18 tion developed according to the following principles:

19 "First, governmental agencies should be automatically  
20 terminated periodically unless affirmatively recreated by law.

21 "Second, termination should be periodic in order that  
22 each governmental agency receives public review at specific time

ac

1 periods.

2 "Third, agencies in the same substantive area should be  
3 reviewed simultaneously in order to encourage coordination and  
4 responsible reorganization.

5 "Fourth, existing staff agencies should undertake the  
6 preliminary agency evaluation work, but their evaluation  
7 capacities should be strengthened.

8 "Fifth, specific criteria for review should be estab-  
9 lished to guide the evaluation process.

10 "Sixth, preliminary staff work should be packaged in  
11 manageable decision making reports for top decision makers to  
12 use in exercising their common sense political judgments.

13 "Seventh, public participation in the form of public  
14 access to information and public hearings should be an essential  
15 part of the agency process.

16 "Eighth, Sunset legislation must be tailored to suit  
17 the specific needs of each State."

18 I would say, Mr. Chairman, that this is the party  
19 that frequently castigates big government. It got stolen from us  
20 in the last election. But it seems to me that the Sunset  
21 legislation represents an excellent approach whereby we can  
22 value the various agencies that we have in our respective States

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1 and then act affirmatively to continue them, rather than do as  
2 we do now -- try to get them through attrition in the budget  
3 process, only to find out we spindled another sacred cow.

4 Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the resolution.

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: You have heard the motion with  
6 respect to the adoption of the resolution. In order that the  
7 resolution might be before us for consideration, may I have a  
8 second to that motion?

9 MR. THOMPSON: I second.

10 GOVERNOR MOORE: It has been appropriately and  
11 properly seconded by the Governor from Illinois. May I inquire  
12 whether there are any questions of the sponsor of the resolution?  
13 I would ask that he might again take the center microphone for  
14 purposes of responding to questions.

15 Governor Ray of Iowa?

16 GOVERNOR RAY: I didn't even put up my hand.

17 ... Laughter ...

18 GOVERNOR MOORE: That will teach you not to move.

19 GOVERNOR RAY: I do have one.

20 GOVERNOR MOORE: I have been rather content to keep  
21 this conference moving with some expeditious character and, like  
22 the auctions of old, I thought I saw you scratch your ear.



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1 Knowing that you have had some discussion of this particular  
2 proposal in the State of Iowa, perhaps I had over-anticipated  
3 your response.

4 GOVERNOR RAY: You didn't!

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: What is your question?

6 GOVERNOR RAY: I have been called a character of sorts,  
7 but not an expeditious character before.

8 Governor Bennett, I find it rather interesting and  
9 intriguing, Sunset has a nice connotation and a good ring to it,  
10 but I would ask, are you including all kinds of governmental  
11 agencies in this resolution?

12 GOVERNOR BENNETT: I think the last paragraph addresses  
13 itself by saying you should tailor it to your own State  
14 situation. Realizing that you have a peculiar one, and I am  
15 about to have one, I acknowledge the fact that some tailoring  
16 might be appropriate.

17 But I think, yes, to all State agencies in due course,  
18 because even your large ones -- we have the Department of  
19 Revenue -- obviously we are not going to do away with it. But  
20 it has many functions that we might in effect do away with if  
21 we had to act affirmatively.

22 GOVERNOR RAY: As you know, and as Arch knows, I

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1 vetoed the Sunset law in my State this last year. Even the  
2 people from Common Cause, who have been instrumental in  
3 supporting this kind of concept, agreed, I think, that the bill  
4 that I vetoed was not a very good bill.

5 Basically, what it did was to require every Agency to  
6 come before the legislature once every six years to prove its  
7 worth so that it could continue.

8 Interestingly enough, when our legislature adopted  
9 that bill, it also provided for performance auditing which  
10 would require a lot more people in the legislative branch of  
11 government.

12 It refused to allow the Energy Policy Counsel to self-  
13 destruct, which it was designed to do and we were prepared for  
14 it to do. They added two members to that, incidentally, instead  
15 of letting it expire.

16 They added two new licensing and examining boards.  
17 They added a new level for the courts. We now have an Appeals  
18 Court we didn't have before. All of this at a time when they  
19 could have dropped any agency out by just not appropriating any  
20 money or by eliminating it statutorily.

21 It seemed to me that it really was a cop-out as an  
22 excuse for what they weren't going when they could do it.

1           What troubled me was if we had all of the agencies  
2 come before the legislative body to try to prove that they should  
3 continue to exist -- as you point out, there are departments  
4 that we know are going to exist -- I can see a great amount of  
5 time and effort and money expended in preparing a great public  
6 relations proposal.

7           In this resolution, I see where they not only would  
8 have to convince the legislature, which would take a considerable  
9 amount of time, but they also would have to have a public hearing  
10 which would take a lot more time when they have public hearings  
11 on the appropriations. They can do all of this right now.

12           One of the first ones that we had that would have to  
13 come before the legislature is the Board of Regents. It is  
14 pretty obvious we are going to have a Board of Regents, whether  
15 they have to bow to the legislature and prove that they should  
16 exist or not.

17           It seemed to me like if you are not very careful with  
18 the Sunset laws, you make government inefficient and ineffective  
19 and you waste an awful lot of the taxpayers' time and the  
20 taxpayers' money and the legislator's time.

21           I think there is an area where it has some meaning,  
22 and that is like with the licensing boards and the examining

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1 boards. But this seems so broad that I have difficulty in  
2 supporting it.

3 GOVERNOR BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, I would have to agree  
4 with the distinguished governor from Iowa, that sometimes these  
5 things can be abused.

6 I don't think there is any question about it. But it  
7 is true that in the budget process we can get, at least by  
8 recommendations, at some of these agencies. Certainly the  
9 legislature has had this power for many, many years, to get at  
10 them.

11 The point of it is they don't. The point of it is it  
12 is much easier for them to just sort of live along, make no  
13 changes, rock no boats, spend more money and never go down and  
14 analyze why you have it and how you can improve it.

15 I think this may be a self-starting mechanism. I  
16 would agree with the governor, however, it has to be exercised  
17 with care and that it has to be tailored. This is the reason  
18 for the last paragraph.

19 GOVERNOR RAY: Robert, do you know, is Colorado the  
20 only State that has enacted one?

21 GOVERNOR BENNETT: Florida has enacted a limited one.

22 GOVERNOR RAY: Has either one of the States eliminated

1 any agency yet under the Sunset law?

2 GOVERNOR BENNETT: Colorado's are up this year, I  
3 believe. I think this is where they get to the nitty-gritty  
4 this year. They started with the licensing boards and ended up  
5 down at the end of the line with the departments.

6 GOVERNOR MOORE: May I inquire as to whether there are  
7 any additional questions that would be entertained by the move-  
8 ment of the resolution?

9 If not, then I will put the question on its adoption.  
10 All those in favor of the resolution, which calls for the  
11 support of Sunset legislation produced and presented to the  
12 conference by Governor Robert Bennett of Kansas, please say aye,  
13 (ayes); all those opposed, please say no, (none).

14 The resolution is adopted.

15 At this time I would like to call upon the Governor  
16 of New Hampshire, who has presented to the conference a resolu-  
17 tion with respect to nuclear energy, and ask that he come to the  
18 center microphone and discuss with us the content of this  
19 particular resolution.

20 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The  
21 resolution which I have presented for the consideration of the  
22 governors reads as follows:

1           "WHEREAS, America and her citizens suffer from an  
2 acute shortage of energy that seriously affects our domestic  
3 welfare and national security;

4           "WHEREAS, our economy is heavily dependent upon the  
5 importation of 40 percent of our crude oil at a present  
6 approximate cost of \$30 billion a year;

7           "WHEREAS, our Congress has thus far failed to adopt  
8 an emergency national policy that will insure the early produc-  
9 tion of energy in all of the multivarious forms available to us;

10           "WHEREAS, many foreign nations are rapidly meeting  
11 their energy requirements by the production of clean and safe  
12 nuclear energy;

13           "WHEREAS, our two most recent Republican presidents  
14 urged the Congress and the nation to produce a minimum of 200  
15 nuclear plants -- President Nixon suggested by the year 1980 and  
16 President Ford by the year 1985; and

17           "WHEREAS, under our present laws, regulations and by  
18 means of multitude of frivolous law suits we now have only 61  
19 nuclear plants and it now takes us eight to 10 years to construct  
20 a plant compared to five years in the Republic of China;

21           "NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this Republican  
22 Governors Conference hereby strongly urges the President-elect

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1 and Congress-elect immediately to adopt legislation that will  
2 encourage a more rapid production of nuclear plants which would  
3 greatly enhance the employment opportunities of our working  
4 people, insure a lower comparative cost of electricity for home  
5 use and for industry, and add greatly to the strength of our  
6 national security."

7 Mr. President, I hope and believe that this resolution  
8 is in line with Republican policies in the past. This nation  
9 has too long deferred a strong national policy on the production  
10 of energy.

11 The conservation of energy is important and we have  
12 made great strides in that direction. I am sure more can be  
13 done in that area.

14 But we have done little or nothing in terms of actual  
15 development of the productive resources of all forms of energy.  
16 I have focused on nuclear energy because this is a transitional  
17 form of energy that most of our experts indicate is imperative  
18 for this country to develop during the phase of our experimenta-  
19 tion into other and greater forms of energy.

20 I would be happy to answer any questions that there  
21 may be.

22 GOVERNOR MOORE: You have heard the resolution which

1 has been appropriately read and moved for its adoption. May I  
2 ask if there is a second to that resolution so the matter might  
3 be debated?

4 GOVERNOR BOND: I second.

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: So that the matter might be debated,  
6 it was appropriately seconded by the Governor of Missouri.

7 May I ask if there are any questions that you desire  
8 to pose to its sponsor?

9 Governor Bowen of Indiana.

10 GOVERNOR BOWEN: I agree with the intent. I would  
11 like to offer an amendment that we simply omit the last whereas.  
12 This seems to rub a little salt into the wounds of the opponents.

13 I would submit that safety and environmental and  
14 location factors are not frivolous. They are proper considera-  
15 tions. I would simply like to omit the last whereas.

16 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Mr. Chairman, I will accept it. I  
17 will point out to the governor that I do it somewhat reluctantly.  
18 I think it is cutting part of the important matter out

19 Let me point out to you, I am concerned about this  
20 because we have a plan and we are having all kinds of problems  
21 trying to get it underway. Actually, it is under construction  
22 now. FEA has suggested that they may be suspending activities



1 there.

2 We have about 600 men working. We expect, if all goes  
3 well, by next March we will have 3,000. I am frank to admit  
4 that certainly we in our State believe that many of the actions  
5 that have been taken, both by Federal agencies and by those who  
6 are very bitterly opposed to any form of nuclear energy, had  
7 been frivolous. However, in order to show a united front as  
8 Republicans, that we do want to have nuclear energy, I will  
9 accept the amendment, Mr. Chairman.

10 GOVERNOR MOORE: May I inquire, that amendment having  
11 been accepted to the resolution, whether or not there are any  
12 further questions?

13 Governor Ray, of Iowa.

14 GOVERNOR RAY: Governor Thomson, I presume on the  
15 resolution itself that you are not encouraging rapid production  
16 of nuclear plants if it is not shown they are safe or properly  
17 sited or that we do not have an area for the disposal of waste  
18 materials.

19 Those are all conditions precedent to any nuclear  
20 plant?

21 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Yes, I agree with you 100 percent  
22 on that, Governor Ray. I have said many, many times in my own

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1 State, that anything in connection with the Seabrook would have  
2 to meet all of our State regulations and all of the Federal  
3 regulations. It would have to continue to be safe, clean and  
4 efficient.

5 As for the disposal of the nuclear waste, we do have  
6 a means of doing that under a temporary setup now. We will have  
7 direction from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission on their plans  
8 for the ultimate disposal.

9 It is my understanding certainly that the Administra-  
10 tion is in favor of moving forward with the construction of  
11 these plants inasmuch as they are now taking as long as they do,  
12 eight to 10 years, and that there is full confidence that the  
13 program for the ultimate disposal of the waste will be a satis-  
14 factory one and the plants themselves, I don't believe, would  
15 ever be allowed to operate without that coming into being.

16 GOVERNOR MOORE: I inquire does any governor or  
17 governor-elect desire further inquiry of the movement of the  
18 resolution? If not, I will put the question.

19 The resolution on nuclear energy by Governor Meldrim  
20 Thomson, Jr., of New Hampshire, which has been amended, the  
21 whereas clause immediately preceding the resolving clause having  
22 been deleted from the resolution and in that context and form,

1 I put the resolution.

2 All those in favor of the resolution as amended,  
3 please say aye (ayes); all those opposed? (None)

4 The resolution is adopted as amended.

5 Next is a resolution by Governor Meldrim Thomson, Jr.  
6 of New Hampshire, entitled Republican Principles.

7 I would inquire whether or not all the participants of  
8 the conference have a copy of that resolution before them. They  
9 were passed out and should have been available to you. I ask  
10 that the sponsoring governor, Governor Thomson, to come forth  
11 and share with us the contents of the resolution on Republican  
12 Principles.

13 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Mr. Chairman, before reading the  
14 resolution and in the area of the Republican responsibility and  
15 appreciation, I would like to publicly acknowledge the very  
16 practical help that I received from the Republican Governors  
17 Conference and from the National Committee in my race for the  
18 governorship in New Hampshire.

19 We have heard a lot at this meeting about procedure and  
20 how to reform the party. One of the things that has been  
21 discussed is making finances available to the various candidates.

22 Let me say, sir, that the finances that were made

1 available to us were of utmost importance in our victory. I am  
2 deeply grateful for them and I want you and Mary Louise Smith  
3 and Ralph Griffith to know of our great appreciation for your  
4 help.

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you.

6 GOVERNOR THOMSON: The resolution reads:

7 "WHEREAS: At this Republican Governors Association  
8 conference there have been many references by a number of  
9 speakers to Republican principles, but there has been no  
10 discussion or definition of what specifically these principles  
11 are; and

12 "WHEREAS: There should be some consensus among  
13 Republican Governors as to precisely what constitutes Republican  
14 principles so that we can speak and work with some degree of  
15 unanimity in our future efforts to rebuild the Republican Party.

16 "NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Republican  
17 principles which we support and will work to implement during  
18 the next four years are those enunciated in the Republican  
19 platform adopted by the party delegates at the national convention  
20 held in Kansas City last August."

21 You will recall in the discussion yesterday by John  
22 Connally that he quoted from several of the Republican platforms

1 in the past, showing what were the principles at that time that  
2 moved the voters to support the Republican Party.

3 I think that it is all well and good to talk about  
4 rebuilding and reorganizing. In fact, it is necessary to do  
5 that. But we must have some common ground that we stand on and  
6 that we present to the voters of this nation as what we will do  
7 if we hold office.

8 So I thought it would be appropriate, Mr. Chairman,  
9 for us to consider the emphasis of the Republican platform as  
10 the guidelines for our activities during the next four years.

11 Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move the resolution.

12 GOVERNOR MOORE: The resolution you have heard and it  
13 has been appropriately moved. May I inquire as to whether or  
14 not there is a second to the resolution for the purposes of  
15 debate?

16 If there is not a second, the Chair will second for  
17 the purposes of putting the resolution before us for final  
18 action and debate.

19 May I inquire as to whether or not any of the members  
20 desire to be heard? Governor-elect Thompson of Illinois.

21 MR. THOMPSON: Governor Thomson, I can't support this  
22 resolution, at least in its present form. I will simply outline

1 to you my concerns of why not.

2 First of all, let me say that the intent of the  
3 resolution is one with which I do agree. We ought to, as a  
4 party and specifically within this Association, set about the  
5 task of formulating some Republican principles upon which we  
6 can agree and which we can use at least as an interim guide for  
7 the benefit of the party and the nation until our next national  
8 convention.

9 I agree the Republican governors of the United States  
10 ought to be taking a lead in that regard.

11 So the intent of the resolution is one which I could  
12 fully support.

13 The thing that disturbs me is that it adopts in blanket  
14 fashion as the principles of a party for the future only those  
15 principles which were set forth in the party's platform at its  
16 last preceding convention.

17 I am afraid that that draws the circle a little narrowly.  
18 I don't think we should limit ourselves simply to those principles  
19 which were last enunciated.

20 Secondly, I believe this resolution would be sort of  
21 jumping the gun on efforts which our present chairman, Mary  
22 Louise Smith, was discussing yesterday, that may be under way in

1 the Republican National Committee in terms of a policy council,  
2 which I believe ought to have some input into Republican  
3 principles.

4 While we can take a lead, and we should, I believe  
5 we ought not to end all discussion simply by adopting those  
6 principles that were in our party's last form.

7 Thirdly, I am somewhat troubled because it seems to me  
8 that blanket adoption of the last platform would seem to some  
9 inconsistent with the talk yesterday about broadening the base  
10 of the party and broadening party support, because our platform  
11 in the last election was part of our proposal to the voters and  
12 we did not receive a mandate in November at the national level.

13 I am concerned that our adoption of that same platform  
14 in the face of our failure to persuade the people of this nation  
15 to enforce it, at least implicitly by electing our candidates  
16 for President and Vice President, would be inconsistent with the  
17 efforts that we were all talking to yesterday.

18 Those are the concerns that I have, sir.

19 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Bond of Missouri

20 GOVERNOR BOND: Mr. Chairman, I would like to take  
21 this opportunity to comment on the general area of discussion  
22 of the future of the Republican Party, to which I believe this

1 resolution itself is directed.

2 We heard yesterday many talks about what is wrong with  
3 our party, and there was some gross talk that was quoted  
4 rather widely by our friends in the media as to the "gathering  
5 here at the graveside of a party contemplating its imminent  
6 extinction."

7 The "aged species" was one of the terms that was used  
8 and widely quoted.

9 I suppose I should be one who would share the morbidity  
10 of those assessments. However, I would like to express a note  
11 of optimism. I was one who gained a great deal of experience  
12 in this last election.

13 They tell me that experience is what you gain when  
14 you are expecting something else. And I gained experience.

15 I think that the Republican Party does have a great  
16 opportunity. There are many reasons I think so. First of all,  
17 I think the record of the Ford Administration has been a good  
18 one.

19 I think that the future Administration in the nation's  
20 capital will be judged by the honesty and integrity and straight-  
21 forwardness and openness of President Ford, the fact that he  
22 brought and kept peace in the world, the fact that we as



1 governors appreciate so much that he stood very strongly for  
2 the Federal system and for returning to State and local govern-  
3 ments the powers to decide those important matters that face  
4 their citizens.

5           In my own State of Missouri we established high  
6 ethical standards and developed a responsible, responsive State  
7 government that met the people's needs. No tax increase for  
8 four years was a difficult promise, but we kept it.

9           We promoted jobs for Missourians, and we are proud  
10 that our unemployment rate is below five percent. This then is  
11 just part of a record. That alone doesn't mean that the party  
12 will survive.

13           But I think there are some more things that do indicate  
14 the party will survive.

15           Our system of a constitutional republic depends  
16 upon a two-party system. When it gets out of balance one way  
17 there are automatically adjusting factors. The landslide of  
18 1964 ultimately brought the other landslide of 1972.

19           Our system depends upon the political freedom, the  
20 economic freedom of our people.

21           Senator Dole this morning said there are no really  
22 easy answers. I would suggest very topically that those people

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1 who promise to roll back steel prices, or lower utility prices,  
2 just because they are unpopular are really no different from  
3 those who would roll back wages or the prices that farmers  
4 receive for their products just because they don't want to pay  
5 the price.

6 Those promises are not liberalism, they are not  
7 conservatism. Very simply put, they are demagoguery. Sure, I  
8 don't like higher prices. I would hate to see the price for  
9 higher cost of steel passed on to me.

10 But the alternative is to have the delivery of steel  
11 and the jobs it provides run by government, the same folks who  
12 brought you Amtrak and the Post Office bringing you steel  
13 doesn't make a great deal of sense to me.

14 I think we, as a Republican Party, ought to be talking  
15 about some things that we can do to strengthen the private  
16 sector and the opportunity of every individual. Antitrust laws  
17 traditionally are a Republican stronghold to make sure that  
18 competition does exist.

19 Environmental laws to protect the neighbors, safety,  
20 fair treatment laws for employees, good consumer legislation --  
21 these are things that we can be positively for. I think it all  
22 gets down to what our vision of the future is going to be.

1 I think we have good responsible government records  
2 as the Republican Party of what we have done in the past. Our  
3 job is to relate them to the needs and the aspirations of the  
4 future. We can do this.

5 Senator Dole said how do we relate what we stand for  
6 to our target groups -- the black unemployed teen-ager in the  
7 central city? We have something to say to that teen-ager in  
8 terms of job training and educational opportunities, anti  
9 discrimination laws to make sure that that teen-ager has an  
10 opportunity for a job and, most of all, good sound jobs in the  
11 private sector to enable that teen-ager to achieve his or her  
12 ability.

13 Yes, there are many things like that that we as a  
14 Republican Party, I think, can proudly promise for the future.

15 The question is have we been too busy in carrying out  
16 the details? Maybe we haven't promised enough. I think in our  
17 basic philosophy and the principles that bind us together as a  
18 Republican Party there is a great hope for the future.

19 The Republican Party is not just limited to one small  
20 document, one small set of principles. It has a proud record and,  
21 as I look around and see the people who next year are going to  
22 be serving as the Republican governors of the nation -- I would

1 say perhaps with a little bit of prejudice borne out of  
2 friendship -- that you offer the kind of hope, that you offer  
3 the kind of service, that you offer the kind of vision which  
4 the Republican Party will fill.

5 I certainly hope you will do so.

6 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you very much, Governor Bond.  
7 Governor Bowen of Indiana.

8 GOVERNOR BOWEN: I have no quarrel with the platform  
9 that was adopted in Kansas City. I want to congratulate the  
10 authors of it and also Governor Ray, who chaired it. I support  
11 it, but I think if we adopt the resolution as it is, it simply  
12 commits us to the status quo for another four years.

13 Times change and circumstances change and, to correct  
14 that and still get the resolution adopted, I would like to  
15 offer an addition to the resolution right at the end of it.  
16 Just put "Be it further resolved that the Republican National  
17 Committee, through an appropriate broad based policy examination  
18 committee, periodically reexamine the platform and make  
19 appropriate recommendations for alterations, and that these  
20 suggested changes be placed before the Republican National  
21 Committee for adoption or rejection."

22 There is no pride in authorship, but that is the type

1 of idea I think that it would be well to put through.

2 GOVERNOR THOMSON: If I may, Governor Bowen, I would  
3 certainly accept that. In fact, I was going to suggest it.  
4 It seems to me it would be tragic for us to have been here two  
5 days and then say that we have no guidelines or principles.

6 What I have suggested is if we adopt our present  
7 platform and if, as experience and time shows, we believe that  
8 it should be amended as we go along and amended through the  
9 organization of the National Committee, that is fine. I have  
10 no objection to that at all.

11 But I do believe it is incumbent upon us not to  
12 reject -- which would be the feeling that I gathered from  
13 Governor Thompson's discussion -- our Republican platform.

14 I would call your attention to the fact that Mr.  
15 Teeter yesterday pointed out some of the things that moved  
16 voters. All of these things - for example, jobs, the high  
17 cost of government, health, education, recreation -- all of  
18 these have been addressed in the Republican platform.

19 Until something better is done and we have, as time  
20 gives us an opportunity to develop, other and better principles  
21 I think that these are the latest enunciations by a Republican  
22 organization and should be our guidelines for the moment.

1           Also, I cannot resist suggesting that, although the  
2 national ticket did not win on the basis of the platform, there  
3 were many who did -- in Congress and in the State houses across  
4 the nation -- who will in one way or another have the responsi-  
5 bility of keeping fiath with those voters who supported us in  
6 terms of our promises.

7           I think that that is a covenant that we have committed  
8 ourselves to and should hold firmly to, so that when we go back  
9 to the people -- at whatever time it may be -- we go back with  
10 high credibility.

11           GOVERNOR MOORE: The resolution has been amended.  
12 The particular amendment offered by the Governor of Indiana  
13 having been accepted by the sponsoring governor, Governor  
14 Thomson of New Hampshire. May I inquire whether or not there  
15 is any other debate on the resolution?

16           GOVERNOR RAY: Would you read the amendment, please?

17           GOVERNOR MOORE: I would ask Governor Bowen if he would  
18 read the contents of his amendment following the resolved. It  
19 is an amendment to the Resolved section. If he will do that at  
20 this time.

21           GOVERNOR BOWEN: "Be it further resolved that the  
22 Republican National Committee, through an appropriate broad-based

1 policy examination committee, periodically reexamine the  
2 platform and make appropriate recommendations for alterations;  
3 and that these suggested changes be placed before the Republican  
4 National Committee for adoption or rejection."

5 Mrs. Smith just stated to me that the platform  
6 itself could not be amended but the principles involved could  
7 be put forth and adopted by the National Committee. But I  
8 don't think my addition would rule out that possibility anyhow.

9 GOVERNOR MOORE: Do you have any questions with  
10 respect to that amendment that has been agreed to?

11 GOVERNOR RAY: I have no objection to the amendment.  
12 I share somewhat Jim Thompson's view of this matter. I guess  
13 I would ask Mel, do you perceive this to mean that we would  
14 limit our principles to that party platform which incorporates,  
15 I think much more than just a set of well-defined principles?

16 If you are talking about the basic party platform  
17 being a document that has merit and something for which we can  
18 say we stand for or approve, that is one thing. But if we are  
19 limited to that document being only the principles for which  
20 this party is known and for which this party believes in, then we  
21 are talking about a different subject almost.

22 I could support this if I believe we are not

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1 restricting the party just to a party platform. There are  
2 many aspects of a party platform that Republicans, who are  
3 solid Republicans and believe in the philosophy of the  
4 Republican Party, who do not agree with those parts of it.

5 I don't suppose there is anybody around this table  
6 who would agree with all aspects of that party platform. I  
7 wouldn't want us to be voting for something endorsing every  
8 aspect of it. But if you could lift out the basic principles,  
9 I think we could all support that.

10 I would suspect we would find other principles that  
11 we also would want to support.

12 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Governor Ray, it would be my  
13 thought that the platform does embody the principles as last  
14 enunciated by a Republican group. But we are no way limited.  
15 And this is why I was glad to accede to the amendment by Governor  
16 Bowen.

17 If he hadn't suggested it, I would have suggested it  
18 after listening to Governor Thompson.

19 I do think that we ought to have some way of express-  
20 ing nationally to the people where we, as Republicans, stand  
21 on major issues, and those issues can all be drawn out from the  
22 Republican platform, each can draw it out as he sees fit,



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1 until such time as the National Committee under the amendment  
2 may come along with some other suggestions as those things that  
3 motivate Republicans on which they will be seeking votes.

4 GOVERNOR RAY: I think the party platform exists. I  
5 think this is almost redundant. I think it is a statement of  
6 what already exists as a factual matter.

7 GOVERNOR MOORE: If I might interrupt, until there  
8 would be another convening of the Republican delegates to the  
9 national convention, that party platform remains the platform  
10 of the party.

11 GOVERNOR RAY: Can we have it clearly understood, Mel,  
12 that this isn't enough, that this is not enough for us to look  
13 forward with some direction and a course of action.

14 There are good aspects of the party platform. In  
15 fact, I think it captures the mood of the people basically.  
16 But, as I mentioned a moment ago, no one can agree with all  
17 aspects of that party platform.

18 I think what we want to do is to look forward. I  
19 think we want to charge forward, take the suggestions we have  
20 heard here, particularly those that said we have to be positive,  
21 we have to stand for things, we have to meet the needs of people,  
22 and we have to perform, all of that makes sense, and I don't

1 want people to think we are looking back to a statement of  
2 policy or a statement of principles in the past alone.

3 As long as I understand that what we are talking about  
4 is more than just the party platform as the only source for us  
5 to have a basic set of principles, then I can support this.

6 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Governor, I think in essence we  
7 are both together on this. Because, as I envision a reviving  
8 and rejuvenated Republican Party, it must be one that moves  
9 forward and not locked into any particular cement.

10 I look upon the platform itself as a staging area, if  
11 you would, from which we move forward. Let us say to the  
12 people that this is where we begin and, as a growing and respond-  
13 party to the needs of our party, we anticipate that the times and  
14 conditions will suggest other things and we will enunciate them  
15 as they come along. That is my feeling about it.

16 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Thompson of Illinois.

17 GOVERNOR THOMPSON: Mr. Chairman, I still have two  
18 difficulties which I would like to share with the author of the  
19 resolution and my fellow governors. That is that I am not  
20 exactly clear what Governor Thomson meant by our being able to  
21 lift out of the platform those major principles.

22 For example, as I recall it, was there not a platform

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1 statement on an abortion amendment? Is that a principle of the  
2 Republican Party which will bind us for the next four years?

3 If so, I will have some difficulty with that. I  
4 just use that as an example. I don't mean to focus on that.

5 Secondly, the thing that disturbs me with Governor  
6 Bowen's amendment, I guess you call it, is that it seems to  
7 commit us not only to the platform until there is some change  
8 but until there is some change by the Republican National  
9 Committee.

10 While I, in my earlier remarks, suggested that we  
11 ought to be coordinating with whatever policy group comes out  
12 of Chairman Smith's suggestion, the difficulty with that amend-  
13 ment that is now on the table is that it seems to rule out any  
14 policy initiatives by this group, the Republican Governors  
15 Association.

16 I believe that we have a duty to undertake. The  
17 reexamination of the Republican Party principles, especially in  
18 view of everything we have been saying for the last day and a  
19 half.

20 I am a little uncomfortable with your language,  
21 Governor Bowen, in its confinement to the Republican National  
22 Committee. I think it kind of shuts us out, and I don't think

1 we ought to be shut out.

2 GOVERNOR MOORE: May I inquire, Governor Bowen.

3 GOVERNOR BOWEN: I simply would urge that the  
4 Republican National Committee include some of the governors on  
5 that policy group. I think that would be very helpful.

6 GOVERNOR MOORE: You are living a life of expectation.

7 ... Laughter ...

8 GOVERNOR MOORE: May I inquire as to whether or not  
9 there are any further comments with respect to the resolution  
10 which has been amended by the Governor of Indiana.

11 If not, I will put the question with respect to the  
12 resolution. All those in favor of the resolution as amended,  
13 pleas say aye (ayes); all those opposed, no.

14 MR. THOMPSON: No.

15 GOVERNOR MOORE: The resolution stands adopted. I  
16 understand the Governor of Iowa has a resolution that he would  
17 like to present at this time.

18 GOVERNOR RAY: If you don't agree with this one, we  
19 just won't count your vote.

20 "WHEREAS, five members of the Republican Governors  
21 Association are in the final weeks of their present assignments  
22 in their States and nation in the capacity of governor; and

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1           "WHEREAS, this will be the last meeting of the  
2 Republican Governors Association that they will attend in their  
3 present status, although we here and now extend to them an  
4 unlimited invitation of welcome to any and all future meetings  
5 of the RGA; and

6           "WHEREAS, it is fitting that we, their colleagues and  
7 admirers, recognize in this way their devotion to duty, their  
8 efforts toward an orderly and good society, their sacrifice  
9 and the sacrifice of their wives and families during this  
10 period; now

11           "THEFORE be it resolved by the above mentioned  
12 members of the Republican Governors Association that we wish to

13           "The Honorable Frank Barnett, Acting Governor of  
14 American Samoa

15           "The Honorable Christopher S. Bond, Governor of  
16 Missouri

17           "The Honorable James E. Holshouser, Jr., Governor of  
18 North Carolina

19           "The Honorable Daniel J. Evans, Governor of Washington,  
20 and

21           "The Honorable Arch A. Moore, Jr., Governor of West  
22 Virginia the best luck, the most happiness and the greatest

1 satisfaction in the days ahead; and be it

2 "FURTHER resolved that we express for the citizens of  
3 their States and all Americans, but particularly for ourselves  
4 our deep appreciation for the service they have rendered, for  
5 their compassion and recognition of human problems and their  
6 search for solutions; appreciation for the association we have  
7 enjoyed and as friends may <sup>we</sup> say

8 "God speed and good luck to good fellows."

9 Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the resolution.  
10 All in favor say aye (ayes); opposed, no (none).

11 GOVERNOR MOORE: Kit, I will give you a round of  
12 applause. Thank you very much, Bob. It has been a great  
13 privilege of mine, as Kit has also indicated a little earlier,  
14 to be eight years a practicing member of this Republican  
15 Governors Association.

16 The friendships that have been formed and respect that  
17 has been obtained has been tremendously helpful in the many,  
18 many areas of the challenges that have faced me as a governor.  
19 We appreciate the very, very kind thought of that embraced  
20 within the resolution and have a measure of appreciation  
21 knowing now if we ever are in Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan,  
22 New Hampshire, Ohio, Virginia, Illinois, Vermont, or Delaware

1 that our parking tickets will be accurately taken care of.

2 ... Laughter ...

3 GOVERNOR RAY: That means you pay.

4 GOVERNOR MOORE: Yes, for any of us who are in  
5 American Samoa, likewise.

6 I ask Governor Milliken to chair the nominating  
7 committee. Governor Milliken has directed Governor Thomson to  
8 make the report of the nominating committee. Governor Thomson  
9 at this time will make the report for the nominating committee.

10 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Mr. Chairman, the nominating  
11 committee unanimously suggests that for chairman we elect  
12 Governor Bennett; for vice chairman, Governor Ray; for the  
13 executive committee, Governor Godwin, Governor Rhodes and  
14 Governor-elect Snelling.

15 GOVERNOR BOND: I second.

16 GOVERNOR MOORE: You have heard the report of the  
17 nominating committee which has been appropriately seconded. May  
18 I inquire whether or not there are any other nominations at  
19 this time?

20 If not, I will put the motion and the report of the  
21 nominating committee to the conference, and ask those in favor  
22 of the nominating committee's report to please say aye (ayes);

1 all those opposed, say no (none).

2 I declare and cast a unanimous ballot in favor of  
3 the candidates presented by the nominating committee. It is a  
4 great privilege and pleasure of mine to at this time present to  
5 you the new chairman of the Republican Governors Association,  
6 the Governor from the State of Kansas, Mr. Robert Bennett.

7 Governor Bennett.

8 ... Applause ...

9 GOVERNOR BENNETT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do  
10 appreciate the unanimity with which we addressed that particular  
11 problem. The railroad was working very well. Both Olivia and  
12 I enjoyed having you all down in Wichita and laying the  
13 foundation at that time for your election.

14 As I see it now, I have several functions. I want  
15 to lay some of your minds to rest, however, that the hour is  
16 late, the attrition is great, and I am mindful of the fact that  
17 the mind cannot absorb that which the seat cannot endure.

18 So the three-hour filibuster that I had originally  
19 planned for this occasion will be considerably shortened and I  
20 will address myself to the three functions which I have.

21 The first function is a very pleasant one because we  
22 have an opportunity, and now that the meeting is nearly over, to



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1 present the outgoing chairman with a gavel. Fortunately, peace  
2 and unanimity was sufficiently displayed here that the absence  
3 of a gavel didn't present much of a challenge to you.

4 I think we are all very pleased with the work that you  
5 did in a trying year with the arrangements for this conference,  
6 which was one of the best conferences that I have attended, with  
7 the time that you spent in a number of the campaigns throughout  
8 the United States in an effort to elect or maintain Republican  
9 Governors.

10 So as a token and memento of your hours of devotion  
11 and those of your charming wife, we will now give you gavel  
12 since you can no longer wield it.

13 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you very much.

14 ... Applause ...

15 GOVERNOR BENNETT: We will give you the box to go  
16 with it.

17 The other two functions I think perhaps might be to  
18 summarize the meeting that has occurred here and then to talk  
19 a little bit about the future.

20 I know that a number of you not seated around this  
21 table came because you thought you might be witnessing, as  
22 Governor Bond said, a graveside service, a funeral where we

1 would eulogize in some detail the accomplishments of our party  
2 and bid it farewell.

3 I note with interest that maybe that was even true of  
4 some of those who sat at this table. However, I think that  
5 after we have listened to the comments and statements that have  
6 been made here today, we can very quickly and very easily say  
7 that the funeral that was scheduled for the Republican Party  
8 today will not be held, for, on close examination, we have found  
9 that a death has not occurred and that the feared victim is  
10 alive and commencing to recover satisfactorily.

11 I think we can find also that by the application of  
12 the diets and the exercises prescribed in this meeting that  
13 this party will be spoiling for a fight in 1978 and will be fit  
14 for victory in 1980.

15 I think we have found in the meeting today that we do  
16 have a central goal. And, although many of us may vary as to  
17 how that goal may be achieved, in our party we have a panorama  
18 that points toward the goal of the individual, the right of the  
19 individual, and the integrity of the individual to support that,  
20 to advance it, and to acknowledge that, with it, we can treat the  
21 wounds and woes of a nation and satisfy that nation's people.

22 Today and yesterday we heard some comments about the

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1 means to achieve this goal. One of the means, quite obviously,  
2 is a reconstructed party which will retain and build on the  
3 48 percent base of the American people who supported our  
4 presidential and vice presidential candidates in the last  
5 election.

6           If you think, and think but briefly, of where we were  
7 two years ago and of the absolute lack of optimism two years  
8 ago, and if you even think back to Kansas City and where we  
9 were in the polls but a few months ago, and then you see what  
10 was done in a relatively short period of time, there is no way,  
11 no realistic and no honest way, that we can say or even think  
12 for a brief moment that this party is either dead or close to a  
13 fatality.

14           The meeting that we have had here suggests a number of  
15 things. I think it suggests that

- 16           1. We must be positive;
- 17           2. We must be politically evangelical;
- 18           3. We must be persuasive; and
- 19           4. We must be possessive.

20           We must be positive because it is not enough to say  
21 that what the others propose won't work. We have got to  
22 commence to tell that we know something that will.

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1           To say that we must be politically evangelical is  
2 another way of saying that tired phrase that you hear so  
3 frequently but unfortunately that we have done so little about,  
4 and that is "to broaden our base," to talk to the American  
5 people about our philosophy and to share with them our solutions  
6 to the problems rather than just comment on the problems that  
7 others have created.

8           We have got to be evangelical in our selection of  
9 candidates and we have got to tell them they have got to work.  
10 We we certainly have to be evangelical with the great mass of  
11 independents who, although they agree in the concept of a  
12 two-party system, would prefer to maintain their own individualism  
13 and pick and choose, based upon both philosophy and personality.

14           We need to be possessive for it was said here  
15 yesterday -- and I think said with a great deal of truth -- that  
16 in many instances the Democrats purloined the philosophy of  
17 this party and claimed it and accolated it for their own, when  
18 in truth and in fact many of the things that are done in these  
19 areas that are supported by the people were initiated, promul-  
20 gated, and have been continued through the Republican faith  
21 rather than through the faith of our former loyal opposition.

22           This party started on the organizational concept that

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1 all men were free and should be and yet this has been quickly  
2 stolen from us. Our party of course is very strong in the area  
3 of being against big government, wanting a return of the concept  
4 to the individual.

5 But this too was stolen somewhat in the last election.  
6 Our party has been one in recent years that has talked a great  
7 deal for the sovereignty of the States, and yet this slipped  
8 away in the melee of the last election campaign.

9 I suggest to you also that we need to be persuasive.  
10 We need to be persuasive with a better organization and an  
11 organization that is as concerned about the Courthouse and the  
12 Statehouse as it is about the White House.

13 We need to utilize the organization we have and try  
14 to expand it in the vineyards of the party workers back home,  
15 so that ultimately the goal that we have -- seeking out and  
16 endorsing and supporting the concept of the right and the  
17 integrity of the individual -- can, in effect, be realized.

18 The Republican Governors Association of course has its  
19 own challenges in the two years that will intervene before the  
20 next election, when I think some 37 of our colleagues and  
21 potential new colleagues will be up for popular vote.

22 I think during this period of time we have got to

1 turn our attention to a recruitment process, not to tell States  
2 who they should nominate and who they should select, but to  
3 assist them in that nomination and selection.

4 I think, once selected, we have to be available with  
5 advice and with funds. And our National Committee has to realize  
6 that this perhaps last bastion or first bastion of the Republican  
7 Party needs as much fiscal support as do many of our national  
8 candidates.

9 I suggest to you also that, as the minority party --  
10 as the loyal opposition, if you will -- that we have a duty to  
11 articulate our position and not only to ferret out and expose the  
12 mistakes of the majority but, more important, to positively  
13 state the programs that we feel will solve some of the problems  
14 that we all can agree will exist.

15 I suggest to you that when we meet again in two years,  
16 when some come and say "whither your party?", you can respond very  
17 quietly but very confidently, "to victory."

18 Thank you.

19 ... Applause ...

20 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you very much, Governor Bennett.

21 I respectfully call to your attention that for the  
22 convenience of conference participants, there is a getaway

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1 luncheon that is in Columbia A Room.

2 I respectfully call to the attention of the governors  
3 that the next opportunity for the governors as Republicans to  
4 convene would occur naturally at the next conference of the  
5 National Governors Association which has ordinarily taken place  
6 the latter part of February or the first part of March here  
7 again in Washington.

8 Unless there is further business, there is one other  
9 observation. I do want to thank very, very sincerely the former  
10 governors who joined us and very much stayed with us through our  
11 deliberations and added immeasurably with their input.

12 We are deeply appreciative of your participation and  
13 your concern and your active alumna support.

14 If there is nothing further to come before this  
15 meeting of the Republican Governors Association, I declare this  
16 conference to have concluded.

17 Thank you very much.

18 ... At 11:45 o'clock a.m., the Republican Governors  
19 Association conference was concluded ...

20

21 ac end

22 McAuliffe