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I'd like to speak to this point for a moment. I feel that you as Governors can truly play a unique role in avoiding this. Governor Reagan obviously has the right and the privilege in fact, maybe even the responsibility to make this race if he feels that it is something that he should do. I think that right now all of us in leadership roles should make a commitment to ourselves and to each other no matter where we stand, no matter which side we may be on, our ultimate goal is to elect a Republican President. We must conduct ourselves always with that goal in mind, and we must come out of the convention united, determined, a party in a position to achieve our ultimate objective.

Our Republican Governors by the obvious leadership role you fill nationally and of course, within your respective states, can be an important influence for good. The National Committee has been working on long-range plans with representatives of both the Ford and the Reagan committees since before Governor Reagan made his formal announcement. We will continue in this direction.

At this time I have not concerned myself with who the Vice Presidential nominee will be. I am sure there will be many who will be seeking this position. There may be capable Republicans in this country, there are many capable Republicans in this country, including of course people in this very room, who are more than qualified to fulfill this important responsibility if selected to do so.

I hope the debate which emerges from the Presidential race will be productive for both the party and for the nation. My greatest concern is that this be the kind of a contest that does not preclude ultimate unity behind the candidate who is the choice of the majority, who is the choice of the delegates at that convention.

If on August 20, we are in a position to bring ourselves together not in a singleness of mind but in a singleness of purpose, we will be poised and ready to elect a Republican President.

In the meantime we at the Republican National Committee and we hope each state committee will be devoting ourselves to gearing up at the grassroots level. We must recruit. We must train the necessary volunteers that are necessary for this kind



of an effort. We must encourage good, qualified men and women to run for office at every level. And we must raise the money necessary to conduct strong winning campaigns.

We must also of course give attention to the convention itself. It is important that our 1976 convention include a broader spectrum of our party. People who had been under-represented in past conventions. The number of delegates will be 60 percent greater than in 1972 and that in itself spells great opportunity for our party. I urge all of you as you go back to your states as party leaders to take personal responsibility for assuring the widest possible representation in your own state delegations. It will require a conscious effort by state leadership, if we're going to make certain that when we meet in Kansas City, our delegates in addition to being there in greater numbers will reflect varied outlooks and broader constituencies.

This convention can serve as a springboard for our victory. There is no question that the opportunity is there. The people of this nation are searching for answers to their problems. The candidates who win in 1976 will be those who address themselves to the things people are worried about who have solutions, the old political rhetoric full of empty promises simply will not work. The time is right for Republicans who really care, who feel a closeness and a concern for people.

While I think the concern for human values, the concern for human welfare, probably is something that transcends party lines, I also think that the Republican approach to preserving those values and improving our lives is closest to the hopes and dreams of most of the people of America.

One poll after another tells us that the Republican concept of government is squarely in the mainstream of public opinion. Our belief in smaller government that is closer to the people. Reduced government spending. Greater personal freedom, less intrusion by government into people's lives, all of these beliefs are in tune with America.

As I travel across the country, I see a momentum building within our party. We're already beginning to see some very good exciting candidates emerge. The closer we come to 1976 the more certain I am that we have that potential for victory. Let me assure you that our efforts at the National

Committee combined with yours and combined with the efforts of the parties within your states will make the kind of effort that can fully use this potential and that's what we're on the road to be doing and on the road to victory in 1976. Thank you.

GOVERNOR BOND: Are there comments or questions for Mary Louise Smith? Any questions.

All right, we would also like to recognize those of you that weren't at the meeting this morning that Dick Obenshain, Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee is with us. Dick, if you would stand up. We appreciate your being here.

When you think of pollsters in American generally there are two names which come to mind. George Gallup and Lou Harris. At the RGA Conference two years ago, George Gallup was one of our speakers. A survey of public opinion has determined that we should give Lou Harris equal time. We are delighted to do so because since he founded his own firm about 18 years ago Lou Harris has conducted some 1500 surveys covering a wide spectrum of marketing and industrial and financial and governmental research, as well as a number of major social and psychological studies.

In 1972 the Harris forecast of the election of 61 percent for President Nixon was the most accurate of any national poll. In 1973 he conducted the first poll ever authorized by Congress, one on how to restore faith in government -- I am sorry I didn't have a chance to answer that -- he also is the father of modern election night early projections for which we may not forgive you, sir.

His surveys are widely syndicated in newspapers across the country. His reports and analyses of public opinion are truly valued by all students of politics and are government and it is indeed a great pleasure for us to welcome one of America's leading analysts of public opinion, Lou Harris.

MR. HARRIS: Governor Bond, Mary Louise Smith, distinguished Republican Governors and guests of the RGA, it's a great pleasure to be here this morning. I must say your mentioning Dr. Gallup, I am particularly grateful to him this

morning because just this week in Time Magazine he did a poll that I'd never dare do. It asked the public if they think the people in elective and appointed political office ought to listen to poll takers more and by gosh, he found that 67 percent of the people think that's the case.

Dr. Gallup and I ask different questions. That's maybe one of the hallmarks of our differences. For example, I can say that we have been asking another set of questions. Do you think poll takers invade your privacy and that's gone up from nine to 19 percent in the last two years, so -- and perhaps our moment of greatest acceptance, I want to just start out with a great caveat and say that I preach the philosophy of fallability of the whole human race including poll takers especially.

Let me say for nearly two centuries now, we Americans have prided ourselves on our ability to reflect change through the orderly elected process, and I must report to you today that the changes now on our doorstep are so imminent and so sweeping in scope and magnitude as to literally put our system on trial. It is not overstating the case to say that either we produce the kind of leaders who are willing to take high risk and yet still succeed or mark it well, we will find large numbers of our people who will conclude that this system simply does not work.

At the outset let me assure you that it's not my want to exhort, or to exaggerate or to raise needless fears with inflammatory rhetoric. To the contrary, I hope I am and will remain a reporter of facts. But I beg you to indulge me for the country's sake to let me take you on a journey with the American people here this morning to explore where their minds are, the mood they're in and where they're determined to go.

They still want leaders, I can assure you, who will operate within what I call the parameters of the consent of the governed, but they also desperately want their leaders to know that the parameters of consent are changing drastically, radically or barnyard wide, this electorate no longer wants to be governed by leaders wed to the old parameters of consent nor by those who would try to sooth away their worries by false and easy promises nor by those who would try to panic

them by appeals to easy fear. The message from the people is one of essential hope. Do not lose sight of the fact that 95 out of 100 people in this country still believe in the system and want the system to work and have faith that it can be made to work. This is a message of hope for the people are willing to give up their own physical comforts and aspirations for the greater wellbeing of the larger community both at home and abroad.

It's a message of hope for the people are not looking for any Messiah with surefire panaceas but rather are patiently prepared to work out with their leaders what really is wrong and what to do about it. And above all, it's a message of hope for the people believe more deeply than ever before after the Watergate trauma, in the God given right of their neighbors to be different and pursue their own personal tastes and goals in an open pluralistic society, but their central concern is this: is anyone in authority still listening. Are there men and women with the common courage to ask the hard questions and to ask the people to share in meeting our common problems of survival and change.

Indeed by any measure, when a period of rapid change where the old order has passed and together, together we are all equal in this. We're struggling to find the shape of the new. The long litany of traumas over war and violence, over dishonesty and threats to liberty from the highest places of trust, with the twin plague of high prices and high unemployment, of an energy shortage and imminent change in lifestyles, to adjust to a world running out of raw materials, all of these have left the American people far from enchanted with their current lot.

I am sure it comes as no surprise to you when I report that disenchantment today with the establishment has reached record peaks here and now.

Let me tick off a few of these, the feeling that "what I think doesn't really count much anymore". We found 37 percent of the American people who felt that way in 1966. Today a month ago, it was 67 percent. The number with the view that "people with power are out to take advantage of me" has jumped from 33 to 58 percent over the same period. The notion that "people running the country don't really care what happens to me" has gone up from 33 to 63 percent.

And I find most poignant of all back in 1966 I didn't realize it when we did it, that this would show such a change, but we found nine percent of the public who said I feel left out of things going on around me, that has now risen to 41 percent just this year.

Now, given that kind of concern people have and worry and disenchantment, the toll on confidence and the leadership of institutions has been enormous in both the public and the private sectors, over the same period confidence in doctors, long our sacred cows, down from 72 to 43 percent, scientists down from 68 to 48 percent. The military have fallen off a pace from 62 to 24 percent. College educators are not immune, 61 to 36 percent, they've fallen off. Organized religion never was that high. It's gone from 41 to 32 percent. Organized labor was always low and it's even lower. It started at 22 percent high confidence, it's down to 14 percent.

Lest any of you who are in allied fields to those I am, I can assure you advertising -- confidence in those leaders of advertising off from 19 to seven percent.

Perhaps the most serious drops have taken place in the case of two of our most central points of power, in American business and the Federal Government. High confidence in business has slipped from 55 percent in 1966 all the way down to 18 percent this past year.

In the White House it's fallen from 41 to 14 percent. Congress even more from 42 to 12 percent. U. S. Supreme Court from 51 to 28 percent. Now, in the case of state government, you can take some solace from the fact that confidence in state government is higher than it is in the Federal Government today, but for all of that 20 percent express a high confidence in people running state government, it's still down from the 40 percent level of nine years ago.

The recent survey we completed on this leadership question, we explored not only levels of confidence, but the extent to which specific types of leaders really know what people want and which are mostly out of touch with the public they're supposed to lead or help or serve.

Let me call another roll on that, because it's an interesting one. Although they've lost some share of confidence,

leadership in the following institutions still is thought to be tuned in to what the people want and not out of touch. Doctors, college presidents and those running the press and TV news. I might say the media, the only institution which has gone up. Not a lot, I mean their TV news is a high confidence rating of 34 percent, the press 29 percent, but both of those are up and a big majority, 64 percent think they're -- contrary to what all of you may think -- a big majority think they're in touch with the people.

Now, in the case of business leaders, by 50 to 39 percent the public thinks business is out of touch in this country. Finally, we get to leadership in government, by a narrow 43 to 38 percent, people think the U. S. Supreme Court is out of touch. 51 to 35 percent, the White House is out of touch and by the biggest margin 54 to 34 percent, that Congress is just not tuned in.

Basically, I think the startling news in this is that the two major institutions viewed as most out of touch with reality are American business, which for so long has prided itself in correctly assessing and anticipating public needs and American political leadership which so often has claimed to head up the most responsive and democratic system in the world.

Now, you can take, and note this well, again you can take another source of solace from the fact that leadership in state government contrary to federal government, by 47 to 40 is felt to be in touch with the people. That's not a big margin, but it's a turnaround from what it is federally, so one can say quite categorically that the closer government gets to people, the more people feel government's in touch.

Washington, D. C. believe me, could be floating near to the moon in terms of its remoteness as far as the American people are concerned. This is the reputation it has. It's going to take some doing believe me, to bring that back.

Now, two other sweeping criticisms of leaders to emerge from this survey get close to the crux of the matter. Note these well by 71 to 23 percent, not an issue of contention at all, most Americans complain in hard and clear terms that "the trouble with most leaders is that they treat the public as though it has a 12 year old mentality instead of as grownup

human beings that can take the hard truth on most issues.

Sadly, they're saying the voices heard from the people are not those normally heard at the top these days. The gulf between the public and its leadership has rarely been so wide or so deep, make no mistake about it the public is finished, finished with the old politics as we have known them and perhaps many of you have known them in the past.

And let me take one right up that is very controversial. I know before this group but I'll say it and I'll report on the other one which is finished as well. One is what can be described as the appeal to easy fear. This is the politics that says no matter how -- to the voter-- no matter how badly off you may be if you elect my opponent you will suffer a fate far worse, for my opponent will be influenced by and indeed be the tool of sinister, foreign, communist, a whole host of other forces. I am sure you have all heard that political rhetoric before.

Well, I say to you quite categorically, it's my judgment that such appeals to easy fears are finished in the politics in the next era ahead.

Let me give you three examples at the presidential level. If any of these bear any resemblance to any candidates' claims of today, let the shoe fit the foot. If a candidate for President brands his opponent as "soft on Communism, he's likely in today's environment to be disbelieved. Why? Because by over two to one the public says "such a candidate is likely to be a hypocrite because if elected one of his first acts will probably be to go to Peking or Moscow to work out agreements with Communist leaders.

Or take the tempting issue of busing to achieve racial balance. By an even larger three to one margin, the majority suspect "the candidate who tries to get the votes of white people by opposing forced busing will end up enforcing busing and issuing other orders for integration because that is the law of the land set down by the U. S. Supreme Court."

Or take the candidate who campaigns on a promise to make the streets safe from crime and claims to be a tough law and order candidate. The majority now believe "such a candidate

will not make the streets safe from crime and the chances are he will end up being proved a crook himself". I have to say sadly that's what I call and I probably will offend some people here by saying it, but that's probably the Spiro Agnew legacy in American politics.

If the politics of appeal to easy fear is finished, so is the other major political appeal and that's the politics of the appeal to easy promise. Back in my former life, when I polled for over 200 candidates before I gave all that up to write for the press I must confess I often recommended this type of political approach. Divide the electorate in 14 or 40 segments, find out what each wants, find out a way hopefully to honestly promise it to each. Now, what do we find, by five to one, the public now believes "the candidate who says he's a special friend of one group probably will be a friend of no group." By four to one people feel "that the candidate who tries to promise one thing to one group and another thing to another group ought not be trusted", but most of all, most of all and there's no doubt this is the best Republican issue going in 1976, by 77 to 13 percent people feel "the trouble with your getting special benefits and handouts from the government these days, is that you'll have to pay for it four or five times over in higher taxes."

One of the most commanding facts that's rapidly closing out the long era of new deal influence in our politics is that 72 percent of the public no longer feel they get good value for their tax dollars and that's up from 59 percent who felt that way back in 1969 without doubt, the politics of appeal to easy promises is rapidly perishing although I must say, when I have said this before Democratic audiences, I am before a Republican audience today, I find those Democrats choke at the thought of admitting it and most politicians there are horrified at the thought -- the dominant mood of the changing electorate can best be summed up I think in two results that we have recently obtained, by an overwhelming, almost as non-controversial finding as you can get, 85 to nine percent, a majority feel "most government leaders are afraid to tell it like it is", that is to tell the public the hard truth about inflation, energy and other subjects.

And this one is even more significant, 67 to 22 percent majority, a three to one majority, believe "the trouble with most leaders is that they don't understand people want

better quality of almost everything they have rather than more quantity of nearly anything.

Let's just test that last proposition, that people are far more concerned with the quality of life these days and far less with the unlimited acquisition of more physical goods and products. Here are some facts over two in every three people admit they're highly wasteful and a much higher 90 percent think we're going to have to find ways to cut back on the amount of things we consume and waste. A substantial 64 percent think such a cutback will mean a cut in the U. S. standard of living.

Now, this area is no longer an academic matter for as a nation we are going to have to face this matter of the fact and these are facts that we consume roughly 40 percent of the world's resources, raw materials every single day, every week, every month of our lives although we're only six percent of the world's population. We put this key set of facts to a cross-section recently. Here's what people had to say about it. Three-quarters thought -- said the obvious, it makes us too dependent on foreign oil and they don't like that.

An identical number said it makes products and raw materials scarce thereby driving prices up and up and making inflation almost inevitable. Three-quarters said it uses up our own natural resources and those of others abroad and even higher, 81 percent thought it causes us to pollute the air, river, and seas.

Now, significantly, by 50 to 31 percent, they thought that the disparity of our consumption patterns will sooner or later turn the rest of the people of the world against us; by 55 to 30 percent most believe it hurts the wellbeing of the rest of the world and by a significant 61 to 23 percent, almost three to one, a majority feel this is morally wrong.

The question then is one, what are Americans prepared to do about this. Put bluntly, are we willing as a nation to alter our lifestyle, yes, to cut our materialistic standard of living and here's what we just found. 91 percent of the American people are willing to go to one meatless day a week. 78 percent are willing to stop feeding all beef products to pet animals. 90 percent are willing to do away with changing clothing fashions every year. 73 percent are willing to wear old clothes even if they shine until they wear out. 73 percent

are willing to prohibit the building of large houses with extra rooms that are seldom used. 57 to 34 percent majority are willing to see a national policy which would make it cheaper to live in multiple unit apartments than in single homes. 92 percent are willing to eliminate annual model changes in the automotive industry and 82 percent are willing to sharply reduce the amount of advertising urging people to buy more products.

These are radical findings by any measure. For they mean that the age of materialism as we have known it is likely to be radically altered in a very short time. Why will people buy this idea. Because when the alternatives are posed, and I must say Governor Rockefeller swiped my punchline here the other day on this, when the alternative is posed, -- Vice-President Rockefeller -- is posed between changing our lifestyle and have less consumption of physical goods on the one hand and enduring the risks of continuing inflation and unemployment due to raw material shortages on the other, by 77 to eight percent the American people opt for change in lifestyle.

Now, such a cutback in material consumption could well be the order of the day, then how we avoid even harder times of people buying less and many jobs disappearing. This is not an easy question. Yet, I would suggest we're further along on this path than most of our leadership realizes. Indeed, it's forgotten that today 61 percent of all of our employed people in this country are not engaged in turning out physical goods and products, but rather hold service jobs.

In a world of short raw materials, it's not hard to predict that employment in service industries is going to rise to 80 to 85 percent of all those gainfully employed. The economy will grow and will be stimulated to grow not by expanding our physical production but by expanding our service economy, and for one very good reason. The most renewable resource on earth is the human resource, turn on human creativity and what we can produce in terms of services to our fellow man is boundless and what is more, let me assure you people will pay for it.

Now, you might ask what in the world does all this have to do with the emerging politics. I say to you today it has everything to do with the politics of the future. In

simple terms it means that new politicians are going to have to emerge who are willing, willing to have the courage to advocate this kind of cutback in material acquisition. It means that if important parts of our work force have to be retrained and relocated, will have the political courage to do it. It means that politics of the future what people do with increased leisure time will be of critical importance. It means for example, and you might think it a foolish example I give you, that the 23 cents per capita now allocated for cultural matters in the national budget will have to go to at least \$2.30 but you see cultural expansion uses up human creativity not physical resources.

But what about some of the centers of the storm that rage over politics in the moment. What about the hot issue of government spending and which there's no doubt -- I said this is one of the best Republican issues a moment ago and which no doubt conservatives in this country fervently believe that they can come back all the way to national power, the spending issue is real, make no mistake about that. But I would warn you as Republicans that an increasing number of non-conservatives even liberals including the majority of the House Democratic freshmen in Washington elected last year, are also saying and reaching the conclusion and you got a Governor of California who shares this in legion terms and he's a Democrat, that simply legislating new programs to employ more people and in a sense to throw money at problems as a way of solving them, won't solve anything and will create a bloated, seemingly, permanently in place bureaucracy.

That is a fact which I think political people of all persuasions albeit the Republicans have the franchise on that and invented it, nonetheless it's my judgment you're going to find the spending issue going non-partisan in a hurry and mark that well.

What about the liberal's hot charge that the conservatives want to abolish all social reform and care not about the 12 percent still below the poverty level. About the way the elderly have been shoved over in a corner out of the way and I'll have a word to say about that in a moment. About the fact that blacks, Spanish speaking, other minorities have not come close to obtaining anything like the equality of opportunity in jobs, housing or schooling. These are real issues and I would raise the caveat that rank conservatives

who advocate an end to all government programs in the name of "let freedom ring" will be shocked to find a negative reaction not from the unwashed masses out there, but from that largest segment in the electorate, 43 percent who now have incomes of over \$15,000 and some college education, who will feel most deeply that if you overkill in this area of talking about and having programs for the disenfranchised, they will turn against you, I'd say this mark how quickly conservative Gerald Ford will get this message before much of 1976 passes and I've added here this morning, if he can survive the Reagan challenge.

If you have time for questions, I will be glad to talk about that. But what about the liberal's charge that the Republicans are dominated in big business and business' influence on national policy and this must be ended.

Well, I tell you 69 percent of the public believes that your party is too close to big business. But is the answer merely to pelt big business with high powered rhetoric at election time to get votes or I rather suggest is it to devise new types of regulations which not only punish business for boarding the quality of life objectives of the public but which reward and incent business from improving such things as air and water pollution control, improving employee safety, putting out safer products, offering up better quality of services, employing more minority group members, conserving energy and a whole host of other quality objectives.

I find enormous irony in this big business issue for the Republican Party, and I'll be absolutely blunt about it, you are charged with the label of being too close to business, big business and nearly seven in ten believe it and yet I have yet to meet any businessman who doesn't feel that government is bad news all the way, including the Ford government in Washington in terms of whenever they hear the word "government" or "communication from government" businessmen say please, go away. It's got to be bad news.

The business community in this country feels outside the system and yet the electorate feels the Republican Party is too close to big business and Republican government if you will is too close to big business. I think there's an answer to that and I'll get to that in a moment.

What I would say just categorically and just say as deeply as anything I can report to you this morning it is my observation that the old left-right conservative liberal divisions in our midst are at least 30 years out-of-date as painful as that news may be today, to diehards on either side, such Don Quixotes of the political process are going to be casualties of the new process.

Let me tick off some specific political types who in my judgment are going to trigger positive response from votes in the future, and remember the future may well be here and now. Former liberals who are going to have the courage to advocate an end to mandatory retirement for the elderly. Why? Well, a major study we did in this past year for the Clark Foundation we found 37 percent of all those over 65 bitterly complain that they were retired against their will, a majority of all the elderly in this country say they want to make real contributions to the mainstream of society until they die. They don't want to be either bought off on the one hand nor dumped on the ashcan of old age and be forgotten.

Our senior citizens in American, and we're going to be old by 1980s, I can guarantee you, we may have been young in the sixties, the population turn is going to make us old by the eighties, our senior citizens want in not out.

Former conservatives, I'd say, we're going to have real appeal, who have the guts to advocate and this is what I was talking about on the business thing a minute ago, a whole new set of government regulation, not saying do away with government regulation period, but rather advocate a whole new form of government regulation which locks business to the new quality of life values which are dominant in our society with tough punishment for businesses that ignore the new ground rules but with an incentive to reward business for meeting these new ground rules or going beyond them, and I must say when I tried that out on business people, I find them uniformly turned on by it, as well as the public favoring it by four to one margin.

Another one, former liberals who are willing to endure the wrath of some old line labor leaders by advocating that restrictive union practice of freezing in jobs in the name of union security must be eliminated and the new principle of work sharing must be a new guiding principle. The startling

68 percent of the public and I might say an even higher 71 percent of all labor union members are willing to go to work sharing. This particularly applies to unions of government workers who are rapidly changing the reputation of trade unions into anti-social and regressive and even reactionary forces all in the name of the sacrosanct union contract but also people who will have real appeal on this new environment are former conservatives who are willing to really make a contribution to conserving freedom and liberty, not by just exercising rhetoric on it, but by advocating that the rights of unpopular minority causes and spokesmen cannot be violated for freedom is indivisible.

I might suggest such advocacy is what original conservatism was all about in the first place. I could go on for a long time with such illustrations but my plea is really very simple. I say to you, take off the labels and put on new gloves and get to work. Seize, not the conservative, not the liberal, not the middle-of-the-road opportunities, but I say seize the radical, unlimited opportunities of this rare moment in our national life, the regrouping has begun. The issues are real. Not only will you survive yourself that way, but the people will bless you for it, for you will be restoring the proper place of government in a free society. Thank you very much.

GOVERNOR BOND: Are there questions for Mr. Harris?

QUESTION: Yes, sir.

GOVERNOR BOND: Governor Holshouser.

QUESTION: Mr. Harris, I've been fascinated. I heard you say a lot about what candidates shouldn't do in the way of instilling fear or the overpromising and if I read it right, you are saying there's some straight talk about maybe tightening our belts, and hard facts might be the best line if I were running for President, or whatever, in 1976.

Now, having been through a war or two, I know that nobody's just a people. He's also an employee or an entrepreneur of some kind or another and that when you say we should go to one meatless day a week immediately all the beef growers and the pork growers and the chicken growers in American and their associates get mad at you and you may lose their votes.

And when you say maybe we ought to cut out automobile changes every year maybe all the auto workers automatically you lose Michigan or whatever, and all of us who have been around awhile remembered what happened in '64 when Barry Goldwater talked about Social Security and so nobody's just a people.

Now can you sort of translate that politics of austerity into how you meet those hard questions that come along with specific programs?

MR. HARRIS: Governor, I think you're raising -- let me say at a personal note here, Governor, that anything that may be wrong with me, you can blame on the fact that I went to the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

GOVERNOR HOLSHOUSER: There's a lot of N. C. State people that would agree with you there.

MR. HARRIS: You've had a lot better teams lately. I'd say what you're saying is which I get back regularly from political types and I am not suggesting you are typical of that, but I'd say it's a question raised always, is hey, this all sounds very good to talk in terms of the community of interest, that's what I am suggesting. There's an overriding community of interest instead of my interest, but when my interests are gored by the community of interests then by gosh, you are going to hear from me.

I would say you'd be amazed, at the number of, if you strip away the very articulate and well placed spokesmen who speak in behalf of these groups, see, I have gone for example to Capitol Hill and told them you just cut that layer of lobbyists out from around you, you'd be amazed on how clearly you'd hear the voices of the people. The voices you hear every day are not necessarily those.

But the fact of the matter is people have learned some basic lessons and let me give you one example I didn't have in my talk. Take inflation. It's my judgment that there has been one -- oh, maybe only one good upshot from inflation. It has taught people that you cannot -- it's taught them a great community of interest and I will tell you what it is and we asked this -- I think we first asked it in 1972 when we did some work for the Cost of Living Council and I couldn't believe it, and we went back and did it since about eight or ten times,

we asked people this simple question: if you had your choice would you rather get a pay increase higher than the rise of the cost of living but with no assurance that inflation will be brought under control or would you rather get a pay increase less than the rise in the cost of living but with some assurance that inflation could be brought under control. 88 to six percent consistently, overwhelmingly people said I'd rather get a lesser pay increase. Why? Because people feel that they can't beat inflation individually.

That's a basic lesson that they learned. Basic lesson and that is true, you see, again people don't have a 12 year old mentality. We may not know all the facts but if we live long enough with the problem we get rather sophisticated and intelligent about it, and today in this country the best way I can sum it up, people are fully prepared to say, look, instead of attacking each other as groups as we have seemed to have done ever since the 1960s or from maybe the beginning of the sixties on, for heaven's sake, let's find a way to attack our common problems together and above all we don't expect easy answers, we don't expect curealls. We expect to have to pay something for it to solve them.

You see, such a leader as this is immediately going to have credibility and frankly, it's because so much of the leadership talks just the opposite, and I know, and I don't mean to belabor all the people on Capitol Hill today but you know, a lot of those fellows say, I've been elected five, ten times and people hate to give up the way they got elected. They say, look don't knock a good thing, you know, but I tell you the people are way, way and I think they're wrong in a lot of things and have been -- I could cite a lot of cases -- but I think today they happen to be way, way ahead of the leadership and I think if we could only get men to match our people -- I used to think get men to match our mountains, now I think it's men to match our people we'll be in much better shape.

GOVERNOR BOND: Mr. Harris, I'd like to ask one question, along those lines. Something that concerns me I guess, maybe called I understand the halo effect that an American talking to a pollster wants to sound like the finest highest minded citizen around and will therefore tell pollsters that he or she would prefer to give up some standard of living and in general the propositions that you've discussed sound very good. They know it's the kind of thing that they ought

to do to cut down on their consumption but when you make a specific proposal say, well, gosh I hadn't really thought about giving that one up and how do you discount the barnyard factor in the high and mighty statements --

MR. HARRIS: Well, Governor, let me say first of all when we do these things, we don't go in and just ask a few questions. We ask --our average interview lasts an hour or an hour and a quarter. We don't -- people just don't give you their opinions with a neat ribbon tied around it. The fact of the matter is you got to ask them the same type -- you know, the same question on the subject eight, ten, twelve different ways and by the time we get through with it, we think we got the setup of opinion.

Let me give you a couple of illustrations of where skeptics said, well, the people don't mean what they say and the truth of the matter is that I can -- think I can prove to you that they do. One of these is on this question of setting a national speed limit of 55 miles an hour to conserve gasoline. Now, I am sure there is some among you who will smile and say, you know, everybody violates that. Do you know what the facts were for the first year and a half in which the 55 mile an hour speed limit -- we got 78 percent of the nation's drivers who said they'd be glad to live up to that.

The first year and a half and I got this from the insurance companies, there's a 33 percent decline in the accident payouts by the insurance companies. Now, they weren't driving safer at 80 miles an hours, I can guarantee you, they were driving more closely -- maybe they were driving 55 to 60 miles an hour but their auto safety did improve in this country and people took it seriously.

Now, we found in our most recent survey people in all of these energy conservation things said, well I'm not sure I am going to do it now. Why? Because nobody has asked them to do it. In 1974, I'll never forget this, the one group of Governors who went up in respect when confidence in all areas of government went down were what, those Governors who asked for odd/even rationing of gasoline who -- people thought those Governors had the guts to level with them to say this is serious situation.

People will believe public servants who will level with them rather than saying leave it to me, you know, as Lyndon Johnson used to say, old Pop will pat you on the hand and let you, take care of you, see from cradle to grave, people don't believe that anymore. They just don't believe it.

Now, I'll give you a couple more examples if you like. One is on this question of meat. People became absolutely convinced that price control doesn't work on meat so what happened. I talked to a lot of people in the meat industry -- I remember around that time, and they said, well that's great and don't worry, they'll be right back buying meat like they always did. Not so. People have restrained themselves and you do not get today the sale of prime cuts of beef and expensive meat that you got. People say look, there's only one way that we can keep that in line and that is by restraining our purchases and in a sense sacrificing having prime cuts of meats on their table as much as they do and to this day they are cutting back on that. Ask anybody in the meat business, he'll tell you.

So I say people are far more willing -- I'd say take them at their word, Governor, more often. Don't be so cynical about saying well, they talk one way and they'll behave another way. We are not, I suggest, as a people predatory just out for all we can get and let the devil take the hindmost. This is not the spirit of our people. We are highly generous people. We are highly decent people at heart, we really are.

GOVERNOR BOND: Well, I would agree with you on the way that the American people will respond. The 55 mile an hour speed limit just to take that example, we have had a nine mile an hour reduction in average speeds on Missouri highways. We've also had a doubling of arrests by our highway patrol including some very close friends of mine who haven't had -- have since decided that maybe it is wise to drive 55. I don't discount the American people generally, I was interested in finding out what protections that the pollsters had built in. Excuse me, Governor Thompson had a question.

QUESTION: Mr. Harris, you referred to the challenge by Reagan, and at the risk of hearing the good news and the bad news, would you lay on a bit?

MR. HARRIS: Governor Thomson, I have no doubt what you consider to be good news in this situation. I'd say the fact of the matter is this is a judgment and we have a poll out now which I won't anticipate because I go from total pragmatist and puritists in what we find and I wait until it comes out of the computer.

But having said that it's my judgment that Ronald Reagan has been helped in his challenge to President Ford more by President Ford's attitude toward Ronald Reagan than anything Ronald Reagan has done. The dogs -- I learn this back when I took the Alsop Brothers out polling early on and the reason they couldn't poll by themselves is because they both had what they called the accurate smell of fear and every dog would come after them for some reason -- well, the accurate smell of fear seems to come out of Mr. Ford in terms of Governor Reagan and so a lot of people in America are saying today, well, if the President of the United States is so worried about the challenge from this man, he must be a very important man.

And I would say that the defensive posture of the Ford politics has done more to probably make this a much closer contest than anything it would have been normally. I think normally an incumbent President, albeit one that hasn't been elected before, running, has great advantages by running as President, saying I must meet the mainstream needs of the American people, if our party is so out of touch with the mainstream that the mainstream isn't good enough, then sobeit I'll be defeated.

That would have been a much stronger posture in my judgment. Rather I think you found the President trying to usurp, cut off I think the phrase used to me privately was you got to cut off Ronnie Reagan at the pass at every instance and in the process, you never win anything fighting battles on somebody else's ground.

That's some hard political advice, you asked me for it and I gave it to you.

GOVERNOR BOND: Governor Thomson, you care to follow up or is that -- anything more you'd like to say?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: No, that's wonderful good news.

GOVERNOR BOND: Okay, did I see a hand over here.
Governor Evans.

QUESTION: I just wonder, and Jim Holshouser mentioned sort of the politics of austerity. I wonder if it really is in terms of political success not so much someone who advocates in Churchillian terms all I have to offer is blood, sweat and tears but rather responding to the kind of thing you are talking about in terms of a new or a changed or perhaps even a better rather than a more austere future.

And putting it in positive terms rather than asking you know, the people I think did respond to, as you pointed out, the 55 mile an hour speed limit because when they were asked to do it and when everybody did it, it turned out to be not only a safer, a less tension producing way of getting around, but it didn't really hurt all that much.

MR. HARRIS: Right. I think you're right. I think the -- just to say, hey, I want you to have less is not right. I think what -- you see, we found -- I ticked off some of them in here this morning, but people are genuinely concerned with a whole series of what I call quality of life objectives in this country. They're genuinely concerned as far as the business area is concerned, of safety, of products, you know, we used to have enormous confidence in the knowhow of American industry. Now people are worried that the products they use will hurt them, poison them, kill them, maim them whatever, and they're very concerned about that. It's a very real issue.

Another one is the growing area of employee safety. Which has become a major issue. I know back in my youth, I used to work in a college in a chemical plant and we used to use something called rock wool that we thought was the greatest insulator ever lived. Well, it turns out they now think that can ruin your lungs, and that's shocking to me as one who grew up believing in this firmly.

Well, that's one. This area of air and water pollution -- take the power industry. We've done a lot of work with them and I told these fellows, I said, you're spending 40 billion dollars on air and water pollution cleanup, it's mandated on you. I think you're foolish to just say constantly, gee, look at this terrible imposition we've had put upon us. I say if you talk positively about saying, look

part of the cost of doing business these days is going to have to be that you got to be responsible in the air and water pollution area. Now, what we find is that people are willing to pay more for the products or services for all of these added benefits and I say if you cut business into the system, say to business, look, these are going to be part of your normal costs.

Somebody raised the question of Social Security. That's part of the thing, all business accepts it as a thing you have to pay for. But if you reward business for living up to these quality of life objectives instead of just saying to business constantly, hey, you're just going to be punished if you get out of line, then you have -- then government becomes a very negative force like the austerity question. You can pose it negatively, or you can pose it positively. What I will say to you categorically and make no mistake about this, the American dream no longer is to have a table in the dining room that gets heaped higher and higher and higher with material acquisition, with the three bathtub, three car syndrome, was just leaving America awfully fast. People are far more selective about what they want. People say look, the services I talked about are what they are willing to pay much more of their money for.

I'd like to see -- I'll be blunt about it, it's unsolicited in terms of the advice I give you, but I say I would -- what people would really go for is government taking a role to see how the service end of the economy can be stimulated because what we're going to back into and this is serious, because we operate in England and France and what I heard there the other day was incredible from our people.

In England for example they nationalized the British Leyland Motors, they are the biggest motor operation in -- automobile operation. Why? Because it was uncompetitive abroad, and they said but we can't let it go out of existence. How can we let all those jobs go? So in the name of just sort of namelessly preserving jobs, even though functionally their industry doesn't compete worldwide, they have gone nationalized. I understand in France they're going to do much the same thing.

Now, the day and we find it now, you know, the biggest employer is in this country, government, 23 percent work for

the government in this country, so the New York City situation what was the big hew and cry when they started to lay off people and they haven't begun to do as much as they will, how can you put people out of work. People need jobs. Now, the day that America reaches the point or any country where you say, you got to provide jobs for people even though those jobs are not doing or performing any function, is the day I think any country is giving away its right to greatness.

What you have to do though it seems to me is government, its private sector, all together, is to be able to work together to plan for the future so that you stimulate growth of new types of industry that aren't dependent on using up the scarce raw materials that the world is obviously running out of and that's a great challenge that I think can be done.

I just wish to goodness that there were more political people who were talking this way and doing something about this, and here you get an enormous response from people. You really would.

QUESTION: Have you done any specific testing? You mentioned jobs sharing. Have you ever asked anything along the lines of posing the question to people if you had a choice between a fulltime 12 month job at the pay you are now getting or the opportunity to work nine months in three-quarters of that pay and have three months of free time or vacation which would you choose.

MR. HARRIS: We asked not quite that way, Governor, but in a similar vein, are you willing in this whole series I reported before, we asked about are you willing to work shorter hours in order to be sure that with fewer jobs around and more people would be able to work, and they get 68 percent are willing to share work you see.

Then we asked the followup though but suppose this meant less take home pay for you, are you willing to take this cut. There by 48 percent to 40 people said no, but I am impressed by the fact that 40 percent said yes, which is very interesting. In other words, that's not an overwhelming lopsided division. In other words, people I think what we are reaching in this country is a basic fact that people

don't realize we don't live by bread alone, that we live pretty high on the hog, that we're awful wasteful and that some of these good things of life in a material way are running out.

Now, it doesn't meant that just the 55 mile an hour speed limit, you don't need law enforcement. You're darn tootin' you do. I mean you can't just urge people to do it and they'll automatically do it.

Well, talking to the Governor of California a month ago and he said, veto all the freeway money or whatever and he had a bunch of highway engineers and he said well, I can transfer a lot of them to OSHA, make highway engineers into safety engineers. Well, yeah, you're building quite an army of -- and one of the problems you got in this, is you don't want to build such an army of bureaucrats in all these new areas that then you have new constituencies which say, hey, you can't put me out of existence. I don't mind saying again, I think one of the problems government has is creating monsters of its own making who then have vested interests and say, how can you put us out of business.

We reached that point, but that's the point you reach when you got 23 percent of the people employed by government.

GOVERNOR BOND: Governor Godwin.

QUESTION: I'd like to make one comment and then ask you a question in two things not directly related at all, but in Virginia it was necessary in recent months to institute a spending in order to keep a balanced budget, keep our spending within our available revenue. I think it interesting in -- and this was not as a result of any poll but simply the result of letters, telegrams and phone calls without an initiative on government part -- contacted the office about what had been done and this was across the board, five percent cut in general spending.

And about 60 percent of those who communicated with us supported it. About 40 percent expressed some reservations. The interesting part to me was that of the 40 percent who expressed the reservations were those who were immediately involved in the spending cuts, to wit, the education associations, professionals, those who had the most to lose. When

you took those out of the 40 percent that were expressing some reservations it was pretty overwhelming. This was a reaction that was unsolicited and it came in as a free expression of those who wanted to express it.

My question to you though relates more to the comment you made about the spending issues being real in the minds of our people with which I agree completely. It's directed to the point that you say that this same concern is being expressed by the new members of Congress that came in this year. Without analyzing it specifically, I would have thought that the record would suggest that they didn't understand it quite that way. In light of the way that they have been voting.

MR. HARRIS: Well, I can't speak for them, Governor, but I'd say that they're at least privately quite unhappy with having to face options and choices which don't put this spending issue into proper focus.

In other words, part of the problem in government, which you know perfectly well, you have just described it in Virginia is that you get in the aggregate quite a formidable array of people who say hey, you can't touch this, this is sacred ground here. Now, what we find more and more just as I reported earlier, people feel that you can't beat inflation individually, is that those professional people who speak in behalf of these organized groups increasingly I find can be faced down when you say, look, have you really talked to your rank and file there to check out whether -- how they really feel about these things or are you talking as a kind of vested interest to where in effect your job has been created by dint of the fact that the government is in this business and those private representatives are every bit as much of this bureaucracy, they're just the counterparts of the government bureaucracy.

Now, how much do you have the guts, I'll just put it that way, as elected leaders to confront them on that issue. I think you're going to have to do it more and more. The easy way to do it is because they're well organized they have access to you, they are articulate, the easy way to do it is to find a painless, a non-visible way to give them what they want all things equal do it and forget about it. That's been the way of government in this country, Democrat or Republican. It's bi-partisan. I think that way is going to change. That's my judgment.



Let me give you an example. We investigated Army Engineer -- Corps of Engineers projects and I don't mean to pick on them but the members of Congress had asked me, don't you think those are good for us. We went into the cross-section of the districts where these existed, these Army Engineer projects and we asked the voters what they thought of them. And they were negative about them. Why? Because they said, well everytime they saw that project going up, it did provide some jobs during the construction period, they said, that's an example of where my tax dollars are going and that's the kind of thing that's excessive spending.

And they said who benefits by it. Well, they said, they thought the contractors are the ones who benefited more than anybody else. Well, how did the contractors get it? Well, that's easy to say, they probably shoveled money to the Congressman under the table around campaign time so everybody lost in the end on that, you see. Everybody lost and the public by over two to one didn't like them. Even in the districts where they were.

This old notion that you're going to bring back some goodies from government to kind of pay off the folks back home just doesn't pay off anymore.

Now, having said that, I think the most foolish conclusion you can reach and here I think is the vulnerable position the Republican Party could put itself in would be irretrievable in my judgment, is therefore to conclude that what you need is no government, you see, if you conclude no government at all, I tell you at your peril you are going to go right down the drain. What you got to come up with is a rewriting of the ground rules here, have the courage to say, we -- when I call these quality of life objectives are critical to our society and by golly, government's going to see that they're achieved, but it's going to be done through the private sector by incenting the private sector or saying to business or wherever, we can tax you out of existence if you think you can get up and flaunt the public interest here.

The interesting thing is I sense now that you could bring nearly every group together on this kind of proposition and why we don't do it I just don't know.

GOVERNOR BOND: Governor Bowen.

QUESTION: There are two questions I think both of which are political issues, one involves crime and safety on the streets. Your remarks were very candid and I am sure accurate that it poses a tremendous problem. How do you campaign with such an issue? If you ignore it, you're stating essentially that you have no suggestions for the solution. If you say that you are going to solve it, they don't believe you.

MR. HARRIS: Right, Governor, let me say this, that it is a real issue. There are people -- let me say this -- our own surveys have borne this out and they have been verified by the increases in official crime statistics. We have found that apprehension over crime is no longer a big city phenomenon. It's increased most of all regionally in the last two years in the south, and most of all in the small towns of the country.

So that crime is now become -- well, I suppose it's become an endemic disease, is the only way I can describe it. I think what people are leery of is a politician who will get up on an issue as serious as this and say, I am going to handle it for you the way it should be handled and my opponent is soft on the issue. People then will accuse you of saying, well, this guy is really more interested in gaining votes on it than doing something about it. I think it's an issue now, you got to talk substance on. Some areas you got to get tougher on. Some what people -- I am impressed with the fact that 73 percent say that we do a terrible job of rehabilitation of criminals in this country. We don't have any programs on it. People have -- that's come way up from about 52 percent a few years ago.

Because they just say the system seems to feed on itself and produce more and more criminals down the line and we don't seem to set anybody straight anymore. They also feel that -- you know, in the simple -- put this bluntly the simplistic solution again it's part of this just throwing money to solve problems, just hiring more police. People don't believe there's a solution here. They think you got to have sophisticated methods of crime prevention and I'll be blunt about this, people do not think that very many areas of government in this country are playing for keeps with the organized crime. That's a whole issue that I find great vulnerability in. Even to the point -- I am shocked to say

when we ask people do you think that organized crime contributes to campaigns 69 percent say it does. Major contributor so that people think somehow that the people engaged in crime are active politically, know how to reach politicians and as long as they have that feeling, they're going to say well, once a fellow like that gets elected he's not going to do much about it.

GOVERNOR BOWEN: In other words, you say it would be the best positive solutions and suggestions and don't knock the other fellow. That's essentially --

MR. HARRIS: Well, if you claim that I'm going to be good at it and my opponent's a patsy, you better have some pretty doggoned good facts about the other fellow to prove that he's bought by the crime or whatever. I think, you see, what happens to issues is that after you finally go the whole political route on them and you get enough fellows elected on the issue and then the situation doesn't seem to get better, then the issue becomes non-political.

In other words, people don't think they're going to get a political solution. They may think they're going to get a government solution, but not necessarily a political solution. That's what I'm really saying is happened to the issue of crime. Somebody can't get up and say I am going to be soft on crime and get elected in this country. That's for sure.

But what people have come to be skeptical and cynical about, are candidates who get up and say I'm a tough law and order man, just elect me and I'll make the streets safe and boy, we'll really won't mollycoddle, you know, let the Judges mollycoddle, you know, six months after that fellow's been elected on that issue, people are saying, you know, I don't feel one damn bit safer here. Somehow nothing's working, I mean, where is that guy. You see, well the next time he comes up he'll hear about it.

GOVERNOR BOWEN: Another big issue in our state and I think it is in the rest, also, is utility rates in the fuel adjustment clause. It seems to me that people are beginning to accept a little bit better the fact that there is no such thing as cheap fuel and energy anymore. Is that a right assumption?

MR. HARRIS: Absolutely, the energy situation I don't mind saying categorically, you got me in the mood of saying a lot of things here this morning. I'd say we have probably fouled up the energy situation in this country more than any issue I can think of in recent times.

The people here would be very willing to do a whole host of things. For example, we did a study on nuclear power and found overwhelmingly, I think it's what 62 percent, I think we should favor speeding up the building of nuclear power plants. They may have some worries about radio-active wastes and things like this, which are serious, but they nonetheless on balance say this is a risk we have to take.

Offshore drilling, I cannot for the life of me understand how the Governors along the coast have been able to block this. We found that rise from less than a majority three years ago who favored offshore drilling off the Atlantic and the Pacific and Gulf Coast to over 70 percent now. Why? Because people say look we got to find energy supplies closer to home. We can't be dependent on foreign oil because they are just holding us up. People know this. When we ask for the single biggest cost of inflation, 73 percent said it was Arab oil producers raising the price of oil. It isn't just Arabs. It's Venezuelan and a whole lot of others, but the fact is they feel this.

And offshore drilling is what people say, if you're going to allow the oil companies to do it, for heaven's sake be damn sure that you don't have oil spills. That they don't ruin the beaches. They don't do a lot of things. And others say, they're going to demand and have a right to demand those failsafes that are there. It isn't a license to just go to spoil the oceans and the beaches and so on. But I think if you couple the demand that this be done with these assurances and serve fair warning on the oil companies, look, you can't go in there and just willy nilly wreck the environment but you have to do it on these ground rules, and if you can't do it that way, tell us, but if you can do it that way those are the terms you got to live under. People would be for it and you know, it amazes me, we get these overwhelming divisions of public opinion and then you get to the political area and you find it's like just the opposite and I can't understand what the blockages are between how the public feels, what the necessities are for action and what the -- and the inaction.

The only thing I can say is I have reached the conclusion and I am sad to say and I wouldn't exempt everybody here from this that political leaders seem to be the last people these days to get the word. Why, I just can't understand.

I do have one reason, Governor, which I can't resist saying, and it's my final comment and you will throw me out, but I think the trouble with too many elected people is that they struggle and crawl their way to the top for 20 years and then lo and behold they find they are 20 years out-of-date when they get there.

GOVERNOR BOND: Mr. Harris, I was going to say as much as we would like to continue the discussion we have -- we are going to have to move on to some other business. I know that we could talk all morning. Governor Holshouser, I think wanted one last question. Jim.

QUESTION: It is a quickie, and it's sort of partisan. Going back to Governor Godwin's question about the Congressmen, and the pressures from the lobbyists doesn't it seem that the only way that you're going to ever get Congressmen in a position to resist that kind of pressure is to do what the President proposed and what Congressman Ullman said was impossible, which is to set a limit to start with on spending and then that makes you set your priorities within those limits and gives you an answer when people come along and say do this, you say we can't, we agreed not to go above certain limits.

MR. HARRIS: I think this notion which we have fallen out of, you know, a lot of the states have mandatory provisions. You fellows know better than I of required balanced budget, and why for the simple reason this proposition people do understand and if your revenues are going to be above this you ought not spend beyond it and then you have a big fight as to the distribution of those revenues.

I am more hopeful than you may think because I think the system set up in Congress, the Senate and the House on budget committees is going to work. That's one bureaucracy I'm happy to see. I think Congress for a long time has been almost non-functioning because they haven't had adequate professional staffing. I think you are going to get for the first time a working together between the legislative and executive branch on this budget area. I think -- well, I

mean, the other day it's the Senate that's trying to put a 374 billion dollar spending limit on and the problem you get into is this theoretical model of budget restraint, you know, of limits and then the -- it's the difference between authorization and appropriation. You can say we are only going to get authorized so much and then you come to appropriations and it squirts out the other end, but I dare say you've had some problems with your own state legislatures and budget bureaus the same way, I am sure.

Thank you for being so indulgent.

GOVERNOR BOND: Mr. Harris, thank you, sir. We thank you very much for an interesting and thought provoking discussion and we certainly will keep in mind the things that you have suggested.

It's now -- the floor is open for resolutions and Governor Evans, this resolution you have to present.

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think the resolution has been distributed. I will read it for the benefit of those who don't have copies. It does follow up with suggestions made yesterday during the course of our conversations with the Vice-President.

"The Republican Governors Association opposes the continued proliferation of special interest categorical grants. While we recognize that many of the problems facing the people are national in scope, in most instances their solutions can more readily and effectively be accomplished at the state and local levels. Categorical grants are wasteful. They deprive states of their flexibility to meet local needs. They lead to an unwarranted federal intrusion in state and local affairs; and have created the blight of a bloated federal bureaucratic super structure. Block grants can do the job better, can do it for less and can provide better service for the ultimate beneficiary. We believe costs can be significantly reduced by eliminating most of the over 1000 narrow categorical grants and substituting broadly based,

flexible block grants. We pledge our support to the President in his efforts to cut federal spending. This is one way in which this can be done while still providing better citizen services. We call on Congress to work with the President and with Governors to achieve these ends. "

I so move.

GOVERNOR BOND: Do we hear a second?

QUESTION: When you say support the President in his efforts to cut federal spending, what are you really saying. You may be approving bills which he has vetoed the spending but you have overlooked the important thing, namely that he has come in with a budget of 349 billion of which 52 billion was in deficit and now we are told it will be at least 60 or 70 billion in deficit. The President himself indicated that the budget for 1977 might well be 423 billion and this is why he's offering a tax cut of 28 billion off the 423 billion.

And I think that rather than get into the politics of Presidential primary, suggest that the President exert national leadership in cutting something that is real and understandable to our people. And that's why Mr. Chairman, I would move the amendment.

GOVERNOR BOND: Do I hear a second to that motion? It dies for lack of a second.

Is there further discussion on the resolution?

All those in favor?

(Ayes)

GOVERNOR BOND: All those opposed?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: I abstain sir.

GOVERNOR BOND: It's adopted with one abstention. There are other resolutions?

GOVERNOR BOWEN: I have a resolution that should be last.

GOVERNOR BOND: All right, are there any other substantive resolutions?

I will now call on Governor Bowen for his resolution.

GOVERNOR BOWEN: "Be it resolved by the Republican Governors whereas the 1975 winter conference of the Republican Governors Association is now in its concluding business session, and whereas, throughout the days of its meeting all of us have experienced firsthand the warmth, hospitality and true friendship of the people of the State of Kansas, and whereas, all of us wish to recognize and thank the outstanding host Governor, the Honorable Robert F. Bennett, the efficient and courteous staff of his administration, our many warm and friendly hosts and the hospitable people of the City of Wichita and the great Sunflower State of Kansas, now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Republican Governors Association hereby expresses its thanks and gratitude to our Sunflower State hosts for hosting a most enjoyable and worthwhile 1975 winter Republican Governors Association conference and also that each of us looks upon the days in Wichita with the deepest warmth and fondest remembrance."

I move for the adoption of the resolution.

GOVERNOR BOND: Second?

GOVERNOR : Second.

GOVERNOR BOND: All those in favor.

(Ayes)

GOVERNOR BOND: I would like to add in addition to that very fine resolution my own personal and sincere thanks not only to Bob and Olivia but to the host state, the key staff people and those who have helped, the general chairman John Bell. The Governor's own staff and Bob, we sometimes overlook the fact that we couldn't do it without them. I know that Pat Storey, Tish Concannon and Leroy Townes on your staff have done a whale of a job and Bruce Blomgren and a number of folks on my staff have made it possible for us to be here. We deeply appreciate their good service throughout

and we also express our appreciation to the people of Wichita.

It's been my great pleasure and privilege to serve as the chairman of the Republican Governors Association, an organization which helped me get elected and whose membership I have always admired and respected. I do appreciate the ability to work with you and now it's with a great deal of pleasure that I turn over to the newly elected Chairman the responsibilities of the Republican Governors Association.

The new Chairman, Arch Moore.

GOVERNOR MOORE: Kit, thank you so very much. I would assume that this is one of the unusual opportunities in which the very, very broad based dissertation on hopes for the future and the manner in which we are going to multiply our numbers would be in order, after listening to Mr. Harris, this morning I am really probably surprised that each of us will not return to our respective states and submit our resignations and start over again, on a different block building scheme or on a different approach to government.

I accept with a great measure of humbleness the designation of Chairman for this next year of the Republican Governors Association. We know the basis of our Association and what our hopes are for the future. There were times in the recent past when this room in terms of numbers of Republican Governors was absolutely overwhelming. We have watched that number through a process of political distillation, reduce itself considerably but qualitative aspect of it I insist has not diminished in any regard whatsoever.

As your incoming Chairman there are and must be certain areas that will have special emphasis, not to suggest for a moment that under our outgoing Chairman and those that have been his predecessors that the same emphasis has not been applied, but certainly a re-examination, an indepth approach to and soliciting of the one ingredient that it seems to me so many of the national pollsters overlook in terms of the political process. I still believe that there is something that is really undefinable in terms of polling, undefinable in terms of trying to solicit the public's general feeling from what nominally is referred to as the candidate

for public office. I think in great measure that is the one secret ingredient to success in the number of states in which we will contest in 1976 and as we contest across the country.

We can use and accept the guidance of those that are our professional peers in determining what is in the public conscience and what is in the public mind. But nevertheless if we have not as a party brought into our membership and those that are willing to move into the actual arena of political combat, political candidates and nominees of our party that can carry as best we represent it, the message to the people of our respective states and to the nation as a whole, all the professional guidance that we have perhaps gained either this morning or in the sum total of this conference will be lost.

So it's going to be our job as we look ahead in 1976 and the states in which we are going to contest to put together what we consider to be the best opportunities in terms of candidates and yes, even perhaps the Conference itself, become a little more intimately involved a little further down the line in the selection process. That's not to say that I believe strongly that we should invade the fundamental prerogative of the party mechanism in each of the states to select without regard of advice or evaluation from the outside, their particular candidate to carry the party's banner in a Gubernatorial race and as it addresses itself to any of the political races that may be underway.

But I think we have been far too hesitant in the past to simply become involved as an Association, to lend what we might in a constructive way be a bit of advice to those that are in the selection process within the breasts of the state party organization themselves. If we begin that looksee and that evaluation a little earlier -- I said a little further down the line but I meant perhaps, correct it to say a little earlier in the process -- it would seem to me that in the tools that we have to work with in presenting that particular program to the people in the and on the election day, that perhaps we will be able to aid them in putting together not only in terms of the candidate, but the program in such a way that we will add immeasurably to our numbers here today.

In addition to that I don't know how weighty we as a conference should be in the area of policy. We have among our numbers strong differences in terms as we address ourselves to the nation's challenges. We have strong differences and independence of thought as it relates to the best manner in which we can approach, some of the fundamental changes that must be undertaken and encouraged by Governors as it relates to the federal/state relationship.

We do have in policy though an absolute adherence to and commitment of working with you, Mary Louise, to see to it that these next months ahead will produce a fine and effective national convention, that we'll go forward from that convention in the sense of unity unparalleled perhaps in our party's history, and to move from even our minority position as a group across this country, to retain the White House and to provide this nation with effective Republican leadership to the challenges that are ours in this the 200th year of our birth.

Beyond that may I simply say that the only matter that probably should be left unresolved at this conference will be the question as to where we might reconvene. We have an invitation from New Hampshire, for which we are deeply grateful, to reconvene the conference at its next winter meeting, I would ask any of you to bring to our staff any invitations to entertain as graciously as the Bennetts have here in Kansas and the Kansas people.

And we should resolve that matter so that we can be forward in our planning process and give at least our host as much lead time as possible. I shall dispose of that particular matter quite rapidly so I appreciate hearing from any of you that might be of a mind to host the Republican Governors Association in its next winter meeting.

I have one very pleasant task and yet it does mark the end of an era, in concluding my remarks this morning and that is Kit, to say to you, for and on behalf of our fellow Republican Governors and Republicans across the land, our deep appreciation and thanks for the manner in which you have handled your responsibilities as Chairman for the Republican Governors Association.

I would think that nothing would have pleased you

more than to have had a few more votes cast in Mississippi that would have given us such an overwhelming and historical event to have produced a Republican Governor among our midst but the significance of it all in terms of the effort that you made simply indicated to us that the Republican Party is now alive and well, Gubernatorially speaking across this land whether it be the east, the west, the north or the south.

So at this time I would like to present to you for and on behalf of your fellow Republican Governors this gavel which is symbolic of your stewardship and to express to you our deep appreciation for the manner in which you have guided us this past year.

GOVERNOR BOND: Thank you very much, Arch.

It's tough to see your era ended when you're 36 but I suppose receiving this gavel reminds me that I've relied on one person to give me notes throughout the meeting, tell me what I am supposed to do next and the one thing he didn't put on the notes was his own name and throughout this meeting I have relied very heavily on Jim Galbraith as I have throughout my term as chairman and Jim, you and your staff have given us substantial support in this conference and I do appreciate it. Arch.

GOVERNOR MOORE: I wish I had the privilege of this in some legislative sessions, but I still don't have that much control. Unless there is a matter to come before the conference at this time, I declare this conference of the Republican Governors Association to have concluded.

END OF CONFERENCE

ISSUES AND ANSWERS



SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1975

* Transcript of special hour-long interview with 5 Republican *
* Governors produced and broadcast over ABC-TV and ABC Radio. *
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Guests:

HONORABLE ROBERT F. BENNETT, GOVERNOR OF KANSAS
HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER S. BOND, GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI
HONORABLE DANIEL J. EVANS, GOVERNOR OF WASHINGTON
HONORABLE ARCH A. MOORE, JR., GOVERNOR OF WEST VIRGINIA
HONORABLE MELDRIM THOMSON, JR., GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Moderator:

Mr. Bob Clark - ABC News Issues and Answers - Chief Correspondent

Producer:

Ms. Peggy Whedon

Production Associate:

Mr. Tom Shine

Vice President, ABC News, Director, TV Public Affairs:

Mr. Thomas H. Wolf

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* ABC NEWS "ISSUES AND ANSWERS". *

ANNOUNCER: With us today on this one hour ISSUES AND ANSWER program, five prominent Republican governors from various sections of the United States who have been attending the National Republican Governors Conference here in Wichita, Kansas. Governor Robert F. Bennett of Kansas, the host governor for the Republican Governors Conference.

Governor Christopher Bond of Missouri, outgoing Chairman of the Conference.

Governor Meldrim Thomson, Jr., of New Hampshire.

Governor Daniel Evans of the State of Washington.

Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia, the new Chairman of the Republican Governors Conference.

From Wichita, Kansas, ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent, Bob Clark.

MR. CLARK: Our guests are five governors who have been attending the Republican Governors Conference. This has been an eventful week for Republicans, with Ronald Reagan's formal entry into the Presidential race.

There is a danger, of course, that the Reagan challenge to President Ford will rekindle that old feud between the liberal and conservative wings of the party.

Governor Bond, you have been presiding over this conference, so we will let you answer the first question. How seriously do you view that danger?

GOVERNOR BOND: I think there is always a danger in a primary contest as well as an opportunity. The opportunity of course is to hear both sides, and I know that both Governor Reagan and President Ford have a great deal to say. I am hopeful that the campaign will be kept on the issues dealing with the problems of the day. If we bog ourselves down in arguments over narrow ideological points of view or personal criticisms, then I think it could hurt the nominee and substantially lessen the chances that President Ford will be reelected in November - and I think he will be.

MR. CLARK: Governor Evans?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think sometimes we forget our own history. We look back to 1952, that was a time of great contest in a primary between Senator Taft and President Eisenhower. Sometimes it got pretty bitter. But that was the most successful Republican election in a broad sense that we have had since World War II, so I don't think there is anything wrong at all with contests. I hope we can keep it on issues, which is where any political contest belongs; but I think we all kind of look forward to it. It shows we have some life in the party.

MR. CLARK: Governor Bennett, Governor Evans neglected to mention 1964, which was a year of bitter division in the party, where you went down to defeat, where Barry Goldwater was defeated about two to one by Lyndon Johnson. How seriously would you view this division within the party?

GOVERNOR BENNETT: As a result of Mr. Reagan's announcement?

MR. CLARK: Yes.

GOVERNOR BENNETT: There is a division of philosophy, but I don't think that means it is going to divide the party. I told someone the other day it is pretty hard to divide an elephant. It can be done, admittedly, but I don't think these two candidates are inclined to do it. I think they are going to present their own philosophies; we are going to listen to those philosophies, people will take their candidates and make their own selections. And I don't think -- maybe we have learned a lesson from '64, if you want to put it that way.

MR. CLARK: Governor Thomson, representing the conservative wing of the party, how seriously would you view the threat of division or the threat of division?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: I don't believe there is any real threat. I think this could probably be more newspaper talk than anything else.

I would call your attention to the fact that Ronald Reagan is really the one to develop what he calls the 11th commandment of the Republican Party, namely, "Thou shalt not speak ill of another Republican," and he has said publicly in his announcements that he plans to follow this commandment, and he will direct his attention to the issues.

There are strong differences between the two announced candidates in the Republican Party, and I think it will be good for the party if it is to be a viable party, and for the nation to have these differences developed.

MR. CLARK: Governor Moore.

GOVERNOR MOORE: I would think that perhaps we relate these divisions to what happened in '64, and we are all aware of the outcome of that election, but I really think that the candidacy and the contest really helps the President. He now has a legitimacy to his travels across the country, to establish a political base. Without this contest I would think he would have had the problem which he inherited, and that is having no real national constituency. So in that sense, I think it is probably a healing mechanism for the party, in terms of presenting very forthrightly both candidates.

MR. CLARK: We want to talk to you about a lot of things besides Presidential politics, but before we start, we would like to get a sounding from each of you as to whether you expect to support Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan.

Governor Bennett?

GOVERNOR BENNETT: I support the President.

MR. CLARK: Governor Bond?

GOVERNOR BOND: I support the President also.

MR. CLARK: Governor Thomson?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: I support the one I expect to be President, Governor Reagan.

MR. CLARK: Governor Evans?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I am a strong supporter of the President.

MR. CLARK: Governor Moore?

GOVERNOR MOORE: Well, as the incoming President of the Republican governors, we have the responsibility of looking at both sides which have been present to me here in this ISSUES AND ANSWERS context this morning, but I think really what I should say to you is that the President has been such a fine and solid friend over along number of years during my long time of service in the Congress, and I support the President.

MR. CLARK: Governor Thomson, that leaves you in the minority, so we want to give you a chance to say whether you think the expression of sentiment by the governors here is a fair reflection of Republican sentiment across the country.

GOVERNOR THOMSON: No, I wouldn't say that at all. Certainly I wouldn't be able to say that for my own State of New Hampshire, because I feel that there is a very strong tide running in favor of Governor Reagan there. I think that you will see developed an appeal by Governor Reagan to the grass roots, and that is where the voting is going to be done, by the man who has the dinner pail and the woman who is concerned about prices in the grocery stores, and I think Reagan's positions on this are much better than those of the President.

MR. CLARK: Both the President and Governor Reagan say they are for big cuts in Federal spending, but Mr. Reagan does go much farther than the President has so far. He says Federal spending could be cut by \$90 billion and Federal taxes reduced 23 percent by turning programs such as welfare, housing and education, back to the states.

How many of you think this is possible? Are there volunteers?

Governor Evans?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I shall volunteer. That is just dumping the load from one level of government to another, and I don't think it is any answer at all. Certainly each state tries to do the best it can with the particular problems it has. Welfare is one of the major ones. Welfare is the problem that plagues all of us, and I think there are many things being done by each individual state attempting to insure that welfare payments go to those who need them, but no further.

Governor Reagan took great credit over the years for attempting to get at the welfare program in California, but it is interesting to note that the welfare load in California during and right up to the end of his term is one of the highest in the country. It still is. GOVERNOR BOND: I think it is very spectacular to talk about \$90 billion and Kicking that back to the states, but I think a far sounder approach would be the one that our Governors Conference adopted in its policy position, of changing the form of Federal programs. Right now there are many categorical grant programs which come with red tape, federal bureaucrats, federal auditors, detailed guidelines. We think we could do the job better in our state on those important social programs if they cut the level and also cut the strings, much as Revenue Sharing has done in broader areas where they permitted these to be used in block grants with more flexibility so we could meet the needs of our people. The needs are still there. I think we can meet them under a state and local government system better than the federal.

MR. CLARK: Governor Thomson, do you support your man Ronald Reagan in his proposal to cut federal spending \$90 billion. GOVERNOR THOMSON: Yes, I certainly support him in that I think that is quite possible. I would point out that President Ford has presented to the Congress the largest budget of any President in the history when he recommended a \$349 billion budget, of which \$52 billion was in deficits. And I would point out that he is now talking about for Fiscal 1977 a \$423 billion budget, and says that he would cut that back by \$28 billion if he could get the Congress to go along with him, for a tax reduction. But this is no reduction in the taxes for the people themselves. This is a very key issue, and I will even suggest if this cannot be presented by Governor Reagan, or President Ford, forcibly to the people, the time has come for us to cut down on the excessive spending at all levels of government, particularly the federal level, then the people will be looking somewhere else to support a candidate.

MR. CLARK: Governor Moore, do you see any prospect that Federal taxes can be cut 23 percent by turning \$90 billion worth of federal programs back to the states?

GOVERNOR MOORE: Of course, I think this is the ideal. I would think anybody presenting a program such as this to the country would have to make a broad-base evaluation of the federal categories which money is now going in. I think we have utterly failed in our delivery system in the country. May be the Reagan proposal addresses itself to the delivery system and its inadequacies. We are living in a time of rising expectations, and yet the federal establishment has not really spending has continued. So perhaps maybe this is where he is addressing himself. If it is a redefinition of priorities, a better and stronger relationship from the standpoint of the federal government to the state, it might have some legitimacy.

To look at the budget from this distance and indicate that arbitrarily that can be a magic figure, it is a little bit difficult for me to perceive what would happen

MR. CLARK: Governor Bennett.

GOVERNOR BENNETT: I am a little bit like Governor Moore. I would like to know how he is going to do it. I think everyone would like to see us cut \$90 billion off of federal spending, so long as they don't cut the programs we are interested in. The federal government has mandated all of this welfare on us; we are stuck with it. If the answer is for the federal government to pull out of it and then continue the mandate and us to have to pay at the local level, which is their program, all you are doing is transferring the crisis we may have nationally to the crisis that already exists in many states. But I would hope, as Chris would, that we would get something worked out where we could go more to block grants, get away from the categorical grants, get away from the mandated bureaucracy, and get away from some of the buzzy programs like studying butterfly wings and things of that nature, and get down to real true priorities. And I think you can save many billions of dollars, but \$90 billion is a lot of dollars.

MR. CLARK: Governor Thomson, your state is unique in the country in that you have neither a state sales tax nor state income taxes. Is there a danger if you try to throw some of these extensive programs back to the states, that even the worthwhile programs would just die; they would be abandoned by the taxpayers?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: Well, of course you have to take time to have a definition of what are the worthwhile programs? One thing I would like to point out is that with neither a sales nor an income tax, we also wound up our fiscal year with a surplus of \$15 million and look ahead to a surplus next year. So it can be done.

I don't understand that Governor Reagan is suggesting that whatever cutbacks are made in the federal budget necessarily are going to be throwbacks onto the state. If they were, this would be difficult for all of us, and we can understand that. But there are great areas where they can be cut back and not carried by the states.

For example, one that I would think that all governors would agree upon is that our food stamp program is way out of line. When 70 percent of the people of Puerto Rico for example qualify for food stamps and the person making up to \$16,000 can qualify for food stamps, there are some real problems, here. This is what I understand Governor Reagan is addressing himself to. I cite the food stamps as only one of many areas where our programming at the federal level has grown too large, become topheavy and is bureaucratically directed and this is what he would like to see cut back, and I think we can do that.

MR. CLARK: As governors you are all well aware of the rebellious mood the taxpayers are in these days. There have been many examples of voters turning down bond issues for schools and other essential services.

The federal withholding tax I think most of you might agree may be a diabolic devise, but I wonder if you would also agree that it is the only way to raise money for many programs that could never be approved if they had to be submitted directly to the taxpayer. Governor Bennett?

GOVERNOR BENNETT: Well, that presupposes, I suppose, that you can't share with the taxpayers the need for dollars and then -- no one like to vote for taxes. I can't think of anyone that does. I think, however, the conservatism that has been expressed by the voters in all of these various bond issues turned down, it is really totally different than general tax support. You have a lot of people who want to stop spending whatever it might happen to be, and live within the dollars that are available. And the New York situation undoubtedly has given everyone a new pasue to worry about this spending for tomorrow and borrowing today, rather, for tomorrow.

MR. CLARK: Governor Moore, I would like to ask you, how serious do you think this taxpayers rebellion as it is reflected in the bond issues and other signs, how serious do you think it is going to be in the 1976 election?

GOVERNOR MOORE: I think it is a consideration that all of us have to be confronted with in terms of our capital improvement programs. We seem to be going against the stream of general consensus in the nation in the State of West Virginia. We haven't defeated a statewide referendum on bond authority either for highway construction or school construction, for that matter, in the last ten years.

With that type of an understanding in my constituency that is not posed, and I would not assume it would pose a national problem, as part of the national dialogue in '76. There isn't any question in my mind when you see the taxpayer mostly those states where the real estate tax burden is so unconscionable at the present time. It is for basically the elementary and secondary school systems of the various states that has just got it beyond the average person's reach. And even though he wants good schools, for example, it is beyond his ability to pay, and thereby he just simply says no.

I think that some of the states are taking into consideration a different form of supporting their school systems, and perhaps maybe when that occurs and that rehabilitation of their tax structure in that regard is underway there will be a different attitude in terms of all these bond issues.

MR. CLARK: And Governors Bond and Evans, you are both from what Republicans like to call the progressive wing of the party -- I think some of the conservatives might say that is the wing that is more likely to join the big spenders. I would like to ask each of you the same question we put to the other side. How seriously would you regard the taxpayers rebellion, and what looks like it might be a rebellion in 1976 against big spending politicians?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Well, first, I think no bird flies without two wings, and I think these labels are, frankly, nonsense. If I could be pardoned one commercial, a recent national publication has pointed out that of all the states in the nation during the last ten years, the State of Washington has had the smallest increase in state taxes, so we have kept within bounds. I think what people are looking for today,

it seems to me, it is not just a rebellion against taxes, it is a question of what they are getting for their money. I think people are devoted to quality schools, I think they are devoted to helping those who need help and who cannot support themselves. I think they are devoted to a quality environment. I think the real concern is that they don't feel they are getting their money's worth. The tax money just isn't being spent as efficiently and as well as it might be spent, and that is why there is little confidence in what is going on.

GOVERNOR BOND: Rather than fighting to get out of the straightjacket that you have put us in, I will just say perhaps you aren't aware of what has been going on in Missouri, because we have had a very tight budget in my administration and we have gone through reorganization, and we have done efficiency studies in the state government which has helped us save money and helped us keep a tight budget in balance. I would ask that you withdraw your designation.

MR. CLARK: I meant to indicate that as a member of the progressive wing of the party you might be more sympathetic to so-called social welfare programs.

GOVERNOR BOND: Let me answer your question without spending more time arguing with your designation. I agree with Dan Evans that people are concerned, primarily about how well their money is being spent.

I think our people recognize that there are many pressing social needs that government must address. There are needs that can come from no other source. They hate to see waste. I think they are frustrated at the federal level with bureaucracy, red tape and the misdirected priorities that many of the categorical grant programs we discussed earlier forced on us.

MR. CLARK: And soaring property taxes, and that has become a particularly nasty word across the country, are one of the reasons for the rebellious mood among many taxpayers. Do any of you as governors have the answer to this -- and I know a number of states are trying to develop programs that will provide some relief on property taxes.

GOVERNOR MOORE: We have already undertaken this in the State of West Virginia, and this is not something we have undertaken recently. It is a throwback to the early '30s. We don't support our secondary and elementary educational system on the basis of real estate taxation. The state of West Virginia supports its educational system by 97 percent of an expenditure from the general revenue fund of the state.

So we are not constantly, when the costs of education are going up, we are not constantly going back to that real estate base, which is causing a lot of states problems. We have the evenest, aside from Hawaii, as a state, in the distribution of our tax dollar to education of any of the states.

GOVERNOR THOMSON: We have just the opposite of what Governor Moore has indicated in West Virginia, because as far as our public schools are concerned, we contribute less than any other state in the union to the public school system, which means that most of the burden of the public schools is carried at the local level. I have been a strong advocate of having it at the local level, which means the property taxes in our state, because it simply means that the people themselves are closer to the educational problems. They have to go out once a year to their school meeting and decide whether they are going to vote a particular appropriation, whether they are going to raise salaries of the teachers.

We have a very democratic government in New Hampshire. This is something that I would like to see us preserve. I would point out that our property taxes are, while high, not that stifling; they are much lower than Massachusetts. On a total local and state contribution we are well under the national average, and we are well below any others in New England. For example, the total that a taxpayer pays in New Hampshire, local and state, is \$456 per capita, and that is much lower.

We would all like to see the property tax less, but let's bear in mind that when you make the property tax less, then you have to do what has happened in West Virginia, transfer the burden somewhere else.

In Massachusetts they tried this some five or six years ago, saying that they would reduce property taxes by bringing in a sales tax. That didn't work at all, because after one year the property taxes went up, and now the sales tax has gone from three to five percent. And so the important thing always -- and I think this applies to all of us as public officeholders -- is to level with the people, and let them know that when you want to reduce property taxes, you are going to change the load and put it somewhere else, on some other taxpayer.

MR. CLARK: Governor Bennett, do you find Kansas voters upset about property taxes?

GOVERNOR BENNETT: There is no doubt about it. Kansas, of course, is an agrarian state, and most of the people that are engaged in the farming industry have tremendous tax burdens, and it may or may not bear some relationship to their ability to pay. So we have been trying to develop not only state aid, but alternative sources of revenue that might be available to dependent upon the property tax. The state has gotten out of the property tax business except for a very minor levy that is made for state institutions, but what we are going to do about the property tax is almost a daily, certainly an annual problem here in Kansas.

MR. CLARK: Governor Evans or Governor Bond, do either one of you have a magic formula to ease the burden on the property tax?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I guess if we had a magic formula for doing that, one or the other of us would be running for President. There are no magic answers. We have some severe problems in our own state right now in terms of school support, a rising rate of rejection of property tax special levies for school support, and I don't think it comes because people are objecting to supporting the schools, or that they want less in the way of quality education, but they simply come to the point where they, in the face of their own budgetary problems, can't absorb additional property taxation; and that is coupled with their skepticism over what they are getting in terms of educational quality. And unless they get back to the point where they have that confidence in educational quality, I think it will be very difficult.

GOVERNOR BOND: One point that Meldrim Thomson brought out I think is essential in Missouri. Our property tax is the base of support of local government. By having a local tax base, we assure that local governments do maintain their independence. If they had to rely totally on revenue collected by the state or at some other level, I think quite frankly local governments would disappear, and the strings attached to aid from above would take away the responsiveness of local government.

We do have problems with the administration of the property tax in Missouri, and in my state I have proposed and will be proposing a number of legislative and administrative reforms. I think the real problem with the property tax is it is paid in one whop; something like a sales tax which is a nickel here and a few cents there, is not quite as obvious.

The property tax could be paid over a length of time rather than hit upon the taxpayer as one large bundle, in our state just after Christmas. It would not cause the problems that it does.

MR. CLARK: Governor Bennett, we are going to ask you about a specific problem. Housing is one example of a problem that has been badly bungled at the federal level. Many housing programs, I think you would agree, have been costly failures. We have a national housing shortage and a critical shortage in some cities.

Would the states be able to solve this problem if the federal government got out of the housing business and just dumped it all on your lap?

GOVERNOR BENNETT: I think any time the federal government gets out of some of these things that normally would fall to the jurisdiction of the states, it is bound to improve, if nothing else in reducing administrative costs. I think the states are going to have to do it. We are considering a housing authority here, but we want to be of assistance more than we want to really go into the banking business or into the construction business, because perhaps New York and some other places have taught some lessons in that particular area.

I still have a great deal of confidence in the ability of the private segment of our economy to address the problem if we just give them some help, and I think our little friend that was talking to us today was addressing himself to that problem when in effect he said, give them some encouragement, some incentive, and they can move along with it.

MR. CLARK: Because housing stands as such a horrible example of the type of program that has been a failure at the federal level, we want to continue that discussion a little bit and see whether any of you really would like to have responsibility for handling that sort of a problem in your states.

GOVERNOR THOMSON: No, housing is certainly a real problem in the United States today, but I wouldn't want to take on the responsibilities of housing in our state, where the federal government has made such a mess of it. The real answer in my judgment, is for us to cut down, as I said earlier, on our levels of spending. I can recall at the National Governors Conference in Washington in March we were all told there by Bill Simons, the Secretary of the Treasury, that we were going to be short something like 80 percent of the available capital for investment, simply because the various governments in our land would be absorbing that during this fiscal year, and that leaves about 20 percent. If we can begin to cut back on some of our expenditures and hold our costs down, this will free up more money for the private investment sector, and then if you have that, I am sure that builders and bankers can do a much better job in the housing field than the bureaucrats or, with due respect to the governors here, certainly as far as I am concerned, they could do a better job than this governor could do, and I would leave it in the private sector and put more money back into the private sector.

MR. CLARK: Would anyone else like to get into this housing item?

GOVERNOR MOORE: We have undertaken this question in the State of West Virginia. We have our West Virginia Housing Development Authority, with considerable bonding authority to correlate between the private sector -- it is an encouraging type, and incentive type of program, to relieve the housing difficulties.

Very frankly, if you talk about a national housing problem, I indicated the other day to one of the under secretaries of HUD that if HUD were to close down every operation in the State of West Virginia we wouldn't even miss them.

They are not carrying out, really, any of the answers that are in existence today to the problems in the field of housing. Now granted, all of us would much rather have no government at all. I mean, even though we are in positions of fundamental constitutional responsibility, we would like to do with the federal establishment and the state establishment. All of us would have less headaches. But Government is established for the express purpose to deliver in an area where: 1. the private sector has either failed, or 2. the people themselves cannot undertake to fulfill that deficiency in the broad spectrum called the quality of life. Very frankly, if the states have to assume it, I am not afraid as a governor to undertake it. Very frankly, I happen to think the most innovative government in the United States today is representative of what is taking place in the states around this conference table here an a number of states not represented in this ISSUES AND ANSWERS program. I think, very very frankly, the delivery system in America is all fouled up, and until the Congress and the Administration, whether it is this one or the oncoming Administration, can conceive a better delivery system to provide answers to that segment of our society that government must provide the answers for, not for all of society but for that segment, then the states are going to have to undertake some responsibility.

MR. CLARK: Are there any advocates of state housing programs on this side?

GOVERNOR BOND: Well, we have a housing development commission in Missouri which provides assistance in low-income housing. This again is one of the areas such as Governor Moore mentioned where there is perhaps some extra assistance needed. But I would also agree with the point that the heavy federal deficits, the inflation, the drying up of available capital for investment through financing of deficits at all levels of government has done a great deal to cause the problem. I would like to see our free economy in a better position to respond to the needs, but we in Missouri are also ready to help in those instances in the low-income area where housing can only be provided with some state assistance.

MR. CLARK: and, Governor Evans, with the tremendous cost of financing house programs, and particularly with currently high and still climbing interest rates that convert into very expensive mortgage rates over a period of years, do you see any realistic prospect of the states funding their own housing programs?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Well, some have over the years, and have developed a revolving fund that now has as much income coming in as the expenditures they are making, from past loans, for the past efforts. The state of Oregon is good example, where they have had what started out as a Veterans housing program. The state of Washington does not have any similar program, and I don't imagine we are likely to get into that.

We have a very personal interest in housing. The state of Washington, the northwest is a major producer of lumber and plywood and the materials that go into the national housing industry, and I think on that side of things, there are many relaxations of some governmental restrictions and some traditional practices that could cut the cost of housing. We tend in our building codes to restrict to such a degree new and innovative ways of doing things that we raise the cost of housing. I think some of our labor practices through our traditional craft unions again lead to more expensive than necessary housing costs.

I think there are a lot of ways, on the half that relate to how you can build a better home cheaper, there is a lot to be done there, just as there is something to be done in terms of financing.

MR. CLARK: I would like to shift to another subject at this point, and take another quick poll on how many of you favor federal aid to rescue New York City.

GOVERNOR BENNETT: I am unalterably opposed to it. I do feel that we could consider the bankruptcy situation as the President suggested, but I don't think that is the answer, and I think it would be an encouragement to further fiscal irresponsibility.

GOVERNOR BOND: I have strongly opposed any direct federal bail-out or any federal guarantee of New York. We are having to pay higher interest rates on our bonds. If New York City's bonds were guaranteed by the federal government if would give them a preferred position, and it would penalize those states and localities which have been responsible. New York's only salvation is going to have to come through tightening its own belt, which we in our states have had to do.

GOVERNOR THOMSON: I am very much opposed to any help there, because we will never get a control on spending unless those who are doing the excessive spending come to realize that there must be a balance between the income and outgo, and the people of New York and the State of New York for that matter, are going to have to learn that.

I am very concerned that there are those in Congress who are now talking about general revenue sharing being tacked onto a bail-out for the City of New York, and I would be opposed to it, even if they put the revenue sharing on it, because I think that there is a very real principle involve here, and we must face up to that principle, and I hope that the President will not waffle on what he has said about this in the past, and stand strong and veto any kind of bill that might come in for the aid of New York City.

MR. CLARK: Governor Evans, would you like to see a Presidential veto on that?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Well, first I think the prime responsibility is with the citizens of New York City, the secondary responsibility is with the State of New York. Many of our citizens would like to have free tuitions at our colleges and universities. Our state employees would unquestionably like to have a non-contributory pension system. But we contribute 6 and 7½ percent of the gross salaries of state employees to enjoy a pension system. We would like to have the salaries that exist in New York.

I think the question of whether the federal government has any role or not depends first on New York City doing as much as it possibly can. The federal roll, if any, ought to be one to assure that after those two things have happened, if there is a temporary problem remaining that will affect the basic continuance of important services in New York City, I don't think any of us would like to see those dissolve and the city, itself come to a standstill. But if the federal government in any respect steps in, it has got to be done after a full effort by both of those other two levels, and in a way that will not give either windfall profits to those who may be holding bonds at the present time or in a way that would affect the fiscal responsibility that is so important for other units of government.

MR. CLARK: And Governor Moore, would you like to see President Ford veto any program of federal aid for New York City passed by Congress?

GOVERNOR MOORE: Well, Bob Clark, you have just discovered a political first. You have got five governors that agree in total essentially with respect to the situation in New York, and I don't know of any other news program, given the circumstances that exist within the Republican Party or across this country, that is going to get the unanimity expressed here.

I could echo each of the observations made by each of my fellow governors and indicate that they generally have summed up my attitude.

MR. CLARK: Are any of you concerned about the ripple effect, so-called, the worry that a bankruptcy in New York City would spread across the country, and as Vice President Rockefeller has said, would be a catastrophe for the country?

GOVERNOR MOORE: I think we are, Bob. But I think Chris perhaps made the observation that the State of Missouri has already begun to pay a premium as a result of the problem of New York.

Our recent experience in the bond market indicated that even though the State of West Virginia bonds in that particular category were well received, that we had also paid a premium. That ripple effect I think is already there. It has not been as profound as some of those that have been suggesting its net result.

There is one other factor involved. We are talking about the default on a single premium. We are not talking about every bond that the State of New York -- excuse me, the City of New York has coming due on a given day, and their inability to reach it. We are talking about the default on a particular coupon, and I would say that is one experience that a lot of us have had around the horn in one way or another, and it has not altered materially -- given, though, the circumstance of the stature of the City of New York and the financial community it represents, but some of us have experienced the default of a coupon. It has not had that great disturbing and rippling effect that is broadcast to have been the case in New York.

MR. CLARK: Governor Evans, your state has the highest unemployment rate of any of those states represented here today, about 9 percent, higher than the national average. Can Republicans hold on to the White House or to state offices if they go through 1976 with 8 million or more Americans out of work?

GOVERNOR EVANS: We are in a tough economic situation. The 8 or 9 percent unemployment rate in the state of Washington is nothing we would like very much, but we went through an aerospace recession a few years ago when the unemployment rate was 12½ to 13 percent, and over 16 percent in the City of Seattle, and the City of Seattle is now down to about 6½ percent. Our unemployment rate in the state will always be somewhat higher than the national average, simply because of the seasonal nature of much of our industry, the fishing and the lumber, logging and other associated industries just statistically lead to a higher unemployment rate. But I hope in 1976 people will understand and recognize that the President came into office with no time for preparation, came in at a time when there was raging inflation, when unemployment was soaring, when the world was torn apart. I think some very constructive major steps have been taken back toward economic stability, to cut the rate of inflation in half.

We are not going to very easily cut down the rate of unemployment. We have just got the full force of the youngsters born right after World War II now coming into the labor market, and nobody, believe me, no matter what they promised, are likely to cut the rate of unemployment very rapidly in this nation.

MR. CLARK: Governor Bond, do you see this high rate of national unemployment, which is currently 8.6 percent, I believe, as a dangerous political issue for Republicans in the coming year?

GOVERNOR BOND: I think we have to look at it as one of the most significant problems that we face in the country today, and the political considerations ought to come second. Missouri we think is very fortunate. We have only about 6.4 percent unemployed, and yet we still make jobs for Missourians our No. 1 priority. We are interested in getting good jobs in our state, working to develop through all the resources we can, the necessary incentives and attractions for private industry and private employers to provide good jobs. We can do that on a state level. I think on a national level, the President's recommendations to cut taxes and to cut spending are a very sound start in dealing with the federal fiscal problems which have contributed to unemployment.

I think if we worry about solving the problems, then the political fallout or the political feedback will be secondary. But I think it is one of the key problems we have to solve.

MR. CLARK: Governor Moore, do you see unemployment or inflation as the more serious economic issue facing the country?

GOVERNOR MOORE: Of Course, the timeframe in which we are operating, we have had the experiences of both, neither of which have been pleasant. There isn't any question if we review every Presidential election for the last 40 years, the question of economics relating to employment have been a very basic part of the Presidential campaign dialogue. But then again if you just think a little bit deeper, so is housing. You posed a question to us on housing. So is the question of education. The treatment of those that are aged citizens. And each one of the presentations that have been undertaken by both political identities that have contested for the Presidency have tried to respond or answer to these areas of deficiency in the national climate, and yet we still have them today. And I am essentially saying to you, yes, it is going to be a part of the Presidential campaign dialogue, and yes, by reason of the high rate of unemployment and the fact that we occupy the White House, we are going to get our hard knocks as a result of it.

But then, Dan has indicated if you look at it in a much broader context, my state of West Virginia has an unemployment rate of about the 6 percent level, a real unemployment rate of about 8 percent, which in modern history is the finest economic climate in terms of jobs we have had. But the fact of the matter is my people are still sensitive of the fact that there are 8 percent unemployed in the country. And it is going to be a part of the Presidential campaign dialogue.

MR. CLARK: Governor Thomson, as a Ronald Reagan chief booster, here, do you think the national rate of unemployment is going to hurt or help him? Of course he will be campaigning against President Ford, who a lot of voters will blame for that high unemployment.

GOVERNOR THOMSON: I think it will rather help Reagan than hurt him because I think people are going to be responding to the incumbents and going to be upset with them. We in New Hampshire have the lowest unemployment rate in New England. The figures as of a few weeks ago were 5.9, and we have consistently been almost half of that of our sister states.

The real problem, unemployment and inflation go hand in hand, and I think the real problem here is that we are not solving our energy problem. This would provide a lot of jobs, but all up and down the East Coast, we know from South Carolina to New York and westward to Ohio there will be severe unemployment this winter. Why? Because of a shortage of natural gas.

Now, we should get out and get the oil and the gas on the continental shelf, we should be building more nuclear plants, providing jobs for our people, and most important of all, providing the energy that will keep our factories running, and this we have not done, and the blame for this should be placed squarely upon the shoulders of the Democrats in Congress. They have waffled and have not had a national program.

MR. CLARK: I want to get on to another political question or two if Governor Bennett doesn't object.

Vice President Rockefeller has thus far avoided saying flatly he won't be a candidate for President, if President Ford fails to get the nomination himself.

Does anyone here think that Rockefeller may still try to get the nomination for himself, perhaps in a stop-Reagan move at the national convention? We will ask Governor Bennett first.

GOVERNOR BENNETT: I don't think so. He didn't give us any indication publicly or privately that he was going to seek the nomination. I think the only thing I did hear him say at a press conference was -- somebody tried to say "Well, you say you will never run for President," and he obviously wouldn't make that statement. But I don't think he is going to be a nominee or a candidate for nomination at all.

MR. CLARK: And Governor Thomson, briefly, do you think Rockefeller is really out of the 1976 race for good?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: No, I do not. He hasn't closed the door, and I think there is a good possibility he might very well run for the Presidency.

GOVERNOR BOND: As long as President Ford is in the race, I am fully confident that Governor Rockefeller, former Governor Rockefeller, now Vice President Rockefeller, would not enter the race.

MR. CLARK: Governor Bond, stop me if I am wrong, but I believe you are one of the Republicans governors who has declined to state flatly that he would support the nominee of the Republican Party, whether it is Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan. Is that correct?

GOVERNOR BOND: No.



MR. CLARK: You have said you will support --

GOVERNOR BOND: I have said all along I will support the nominees of my party, and I would expect that I would be able to do so under almost any circumstances.

I can't say that forever and always I will always support the people, but I have no problems with --

MR. CLARK: To be realistic, the question perhaps should be would you support Ronald Reagan if he was the Republican nominee?

GOVERNOR BOND: I would certainly have no reason at this point not to support him. I see nothing that would cause me to decline to support him.

MR. CLARK: Governor Evans, can you see Vice President Rockefeller entering the Presidential picture?

GOVERNOR EVANS: No. I think he said what he has said, I think it is quite clear that he is stepping aside from the Vice Presidential race. I don't think he will be in the 1976 race, even if President Ford were to step aside. I rather suspect he would not be back in the race. I think he has reached the watershed, that he is stepping aside and means it.

GOVERNOR MOORE: I agree with the observations Governor Evans had made. I can't conceive of any change in circumstances even given the removal from the race of the President himself, that the Vice President would reenter the Presidential race.

MR. CLARK: And Governor Thomson, as the lone avowed Reagan man here, would you support President Ford if he becomes the nominee?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: That will depend on how the issues develop throughout the campaign.

MR. CLARK: Does that mean at this stage --

GOVERNOR THOMSON: Not saying categorically that I would.

MR. CLARK: And that might raise the question, would you think your view on this reflects a fairly wide view among conservatives?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: No, I don't know that it does, but I think the time has come in the Republican Party for us to place less emphasis on structure and more importance on issues, and I look forward in this campaign to a renaissance of the Republican Party in service to the people.

MR. CLARK: And to still another rather detached issue, though it may have some political spinoff: How has the firing of former

Defense Secretary Schlesinger and the debate that has sparked over detente and national security affected the President's election prospects?

GOVERNOR BENNETT: As nearly as I can tell here in Kansas it hasn't had any effect at all. I think maybe the press exaggerated a little bit, and perhaps made it a little more dramatic than it was, but talking to individuals who come in and out of the office and at meetings and what-not, I find no great concern, except over the press exaggeration, at the moment.

MR. CLARK: Governor Moore, do you find concern in West Virginia that the President and Henry Kissinger might have gone too far too fast on detente?

GOVERNOR MOORE: I think you have moved the question and sort of come up with a marriage of the two, when you refer to the President and the Secretary of State. I think all of us have a very very serious question in our minds, to a degree, on the question of detente, but if I relate your question in the same context as it was posed to Governor Bennett, the removal or the change of personnel within the framework of the Executive Branch of the Government, we didn't view with alarm, nor do West Virginians.

It was interesting to me to note that the print media and most of the viewing media generally looked at the President and said, "When are you going to put your own team in?"

He waited a period of 12 or 14 months, got his own team in, and zingo, you ask why he did it.

MR. CLARK: We want to give Governor Thomson, because Ronald Reagan does feel strongly that we are moving too fast toward detente. Do you feel the same way, Governor?

GOVERNOR THOMSON: I feel the same way. I think that the President fired the wrong man, namely, he should have fired Kissinger instead of Schlesinger, and I think his move is definitely going to hurt him in the Presidential primary in New Hampshire.

MR. CLARK: There is no one else here I gather who feels that the President's reelection prospects would be hurt by his stand on detente?

GOVERNOR BOND: Not in Missouri. I think the news media has made more of it than most of the voters.

MR. CLARK: Gentlemen, we are to the point where we are about out of time. We wouldn't have time to let each of you answer another complete question.

We want to thank all of you for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

NEXT WEEK: Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California, and candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination.

GOVERNMENT



RGA: Government

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION
FIRST STREET, S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
202 • 484-6620

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The U.S. Department of Commerce, in 1975, published the following statistics concerning Voter Participation in November, 1974. Statistics from previous election years are included for reference.

It should be noted that this reported estimate of 45% compares with 39% from the preliminary count of actual votes cast as published in Congressional Quarterly. Previous experience has shown that there is a tendency for persons to overreport voter participation in surveys.

Reported Registration Rates, by Region and Race: November 1966 to 1974

(Civilian noninstitutional population)

Region, race, and Spanish origin	Congressional elections			Presidential elections	
	1974	1970	1966	1972	1968
UNITED STATES					
Total, voting age.....	62.2	68.1	70.3	72.3	74.3
White.....	63.5	69.1	71.6	73.4	75.4
Negro.....	54.9	60.8	60.2	65.5	66.2
Spanish origin ¹	34.9	(NA)	(NA)	44.4	(NA)
NORTH AND WEST					
Total, voting age.....	63.3	70.0	73.8	73.9	76.5
White.....	64.6	70.8	74.5	74.9	77.2
Negro.....	54.2	64.5	68.8	67.0	71.8
SOUTH					
Total, voting age.....	59.8	63.8	62.2	68.7	69.2
White.....	61.0	65.1	64.3	69.8	70.8
Negro.....	55.5	57.5	52.9	64.0	61.6

NA Not available.

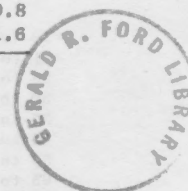
¹Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

Of the 25 million persons who were registered, but did not vote, 7.7 million reported that they had been unable to go to the polls because of illness, disability, or inability to take time off from work. Another 7.7 million reported that they were not interested in the election, did not like the candidates, or did not think their vote would matter. Others were out of town or did not know of the election.

This report provides advance statistics on voting and registration; more detailed tabulations and analysis will be presented in a forthcoming report. Statistics presented in this report are based on answers to a series of questions asked of a sample of persons of voting age two weeks

after the elections of November 5. The questions were designed to provide information on voting behavior and reasons for nonparticipation of the various segments of the population.

Since the data presented in this report are based on a sample of the population, they are, of course, subject to sampling errors. Confidence limits of 95 percent probability were applied to all statements of this report. This means that the chances are at least 19 in 20 that a difference identified in the text indicates a true difference in the population rather than the chance variations arising from the use of samples. Estimates of the size of the sampling errors will be included in the forthcoming detailed report.



**Table 1. Reported Voting and Registration of the Population of Voting Age, by Age and Sex:
November 1974**

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Age and sex	All persons	Reported that they were registered			Reported not registered ²
		Total	Voted	Did not vote ¹	
Both sexes.....	141,299	87,889	63,164	24,725	53,410
18 to 20 years.....	11,621	4,234	2,412	1,822	7,387
21 to 24 years.....	14,098	6,384	3,718	2,666	7,714
25 to 29 years.....	15,957	8,197	5,396	2,801	7,760
30 to 34 years.....	13,351	7,830	5,438	2,392	5,522
35 to 44 years.....	22,355	14,902	10,971	3,931	7,453
45 to 54 years.....	23,569	17,078	13,169	3,909	6,491
55 to 64 years.....	19,392	14,560	11,297	3,263	4,833
65 to 74 years.....	13,316	9,721	7,428	2,293	3,595
75 years and over.....	7,639	4,983	3,336	1,647	2,656
Male.....	66,393	41,704	30,675	11,029	24,689
18 to 20 years.....	5,540	2,019	1,184	835	3,521
21 to 24 years.....	6,000	3,144	1,852	1,293	3,656
25 to 29 years.....	7,726	3,857	2,550	1,307	3,869
30 to 34 years.....	6,453	3,725	2,621	1,104	2,728
35 to 44 years.....	10,741	7,100	5,286	1,814	3,641
45 to 54 years.....	11,337	8,262	6,500	1,762	3,075
55 to 64 years.....	9,133	7,032	5,598	1,434	2,101
65 to 74 years.....	5,779	4,456	3,573	884	1,322
75 years and over.....	2,884	2,107	1,511	596	776
Female.....	74,906	46,185	32,489	13,696	28,721
18 to 20 years.....	6,082	2,215	1,228	987	3,866
21 to 24 years.....	7,298	3,240	1,866	1,374	4,058
25 to 29 years.....	8,231	4,340	2,846	1,494	3,891
30 to 34 years.....	6,898	4,105	2,817	1,288	2,794
35 to 44 years.....	11,614	7,802	5,685	2,117	3,812
45 to 54 years.....	12,231	8,816	6,669	2,147	3,415
55 to 64 years.....	10,259	7,527	5,698	1,829	2,732
65 to 74 years.....	7,537	5,264	3,855	1,409	2,273
75 years and over.....	4,755	2,876	1,824	1,051	1,879
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION					
Both sexes.....	100.0	62.2	44.7	17.5	37.8
18 to 20 years.....	100.0	36.4	20.8	15.7	63.6
21 to 24 years.....	100.0	45.3	26.4	18.9	54.7
25 to 29 years.....	100.0	51.4	33.8	17.6	48.6
30 to 34 years.....	100.0	58.6	40.7	17.9	41.4
35 to 44 years.....	100.0	66.7	49.1	17.6	33.3
45 to 54 years.....	100.0	72.5	55.9	16.6	27.5
55 to 64 years.....	100.0	75.1	58.3	16.8	24.9
65 to 74 years.....	100.0	73.0	55.8	17.2	27.0
75 years and over.....	100.0	65.2	43.7	21.6	34.8
Male.....	100.0	62.8	46.2	16.6	37.2
18 to 20 years.....	100.0	36.4	21.4	15.1	63.6
21 to 24 years.....	100.0	46.2	27.2	19.0	53.8
25 to 29 years.....	100.0	49.9	33.0	16.9	50.1
30 to 34 years.....	100.0	57.7	40.6	17.1	42.3
35 to 44 years.....	100.0	66.1	49.2	16.9	33.9
45 to 54 years.....	100.0	72.9	57.3	15.5	27.1
55 to 64 years.....	100.0	77.0	61.3	15.7	23.0
65 to 74 years.....	100.0	77.1	61.8	15.3	22.9
75 years and over.....	100.0	73.1	52.4	20.7	26.9
Female.....	100.0	61.7	43.4	18.3	38.3
18 to 20 years.....	100.0	36.4	20.2	16.2	63.6
21 to 24 years.....	100.0	44.4	25.6	18.8	55.6
25 to 29 years.....	100.0	52.7	34.6	18.2	47.3
30 to 34 years.....	100.0	59.5	40.8	18.7	40.5
35 to 44 years.....	100.0	67.2	48.9	18.2	32.8
45 to 54 years.....	100.0	72.1	54.5	17.6	27.9
55 to 64 years.....	100.0	73.4	55.5	17.8	26.6
65 to 74 years.....	100.0	69.8	51.1	18.7	30.2
75 years and over.....	100.0	60.5	38.4	22.1	39.5

¹Includes persons who were recorded as "do not know" and "not reported" on voting.

²Includes persons who were recorded as "do not know" and "not reported" on registration.

Table 2. Reason for Not Voting or Registering by Race: November 1974

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Voter participation and reason for not voting and registering	Total	White	Negro	Spanish origin ¹	Percent distribution			
					Total	White	Negro	Spanish origin ¹
Total, 18 years old and over.....	141,299	125,132	14,175	6,095	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Voted.....	63,164	57,918	4,786	1,397	44.7	46.3	33.8	22.9
Did not vote.....	78,135	67,213	9,389	4,698	55.3	53.7	66.2	77.1
Registered.....	24,725	21,571	2,992	728	17.5	17.2	21.1	11.9
Reason for not voting:								
Illness, disability.....	4,328	3,704	596	128	3.1	3.0	4.2	2.1
Couldn't take time off from work.....	3,371	2,790	565	104	2.4	2.2	4.0	1.7
Machines not working, lines too long..	135	128	7	3	0.1	0.1	(Z)	(Z)
Out of town.....	3,285	3,064	200	59	2.3	2.4	1.4	1.0
Did not know about election.....	232	167	63	19	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3
Not interested, just didn't get around to it.....	4,577	3,985	556	141	3.2	3.2	3.9	2.3
Dislike politics in general.....	629	587	40	28	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.5
Did not prefer any of the candidates..	2,142	1,971	155	60	1.5	1.6	1.1	1.0
Vote wouldn't matter anyway.....	366	328	36	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	-
Other reason.....	3,411	3,029	359	97	2.4	2.4	2.5	1.6
Reason not reported.....	2,248	1,816	415	89	1.6	1.5	2.9	1.5
Not registered ²	53,410	45,642	6,397	3,970	37.8	36.5	45.1	65.1
Reason for not registering:								
Not a citizen.....	4,005	3,143	180	1,582	2.8	2.5	1.3	26.0
Residence requirement not satisfied...	1,931	1,805	110	57	1.4	1.4	0.8	0.9
Recently moved, never got around to it.....	4,796	4,406	346	150	3.4	3.5	2.4	2.5
No transportation.....	454	334	115	6	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.1
Hours or place of registration inconvenient.....	1,357	1,209	132	66	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.1
Did not know how or where to register.	1,982	1,670	273	257	1.4	1.3	1.9	4.2
Physical disability.....	1,643	1,322	307	55	1.2	1.1	2.2	0.9
Not interested, just didn't get around to it.....	16,839	14,448	2,170	754	11.9	11.5	15.3	12.4
Dislikes politics in general.....	2,166	1,993	151	129	1.5	1.6	1.1	2.1
Did not prefer any of the candidates..	1,224	1,121	89	30	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.5
Vote wouldn't matter anyway.....	654	568	69	20	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3
Other reason.....	5,417	4,567	731	265	3.8	3.6	5.2	4.3
Reason not reported.....	2,558	2,036	497	179	1.8	1.6	3.5	2.9

- Represents zero.

Z Less than 0.05 percent.

¹Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

²Includes 8,384 persons who did not report on registration, not shown separately.

Table 3. Reported Voter Participation and Reason for not Voting, for Persons who Were Registered: November 1974 and 1972

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Whether voted and reason for not voting	1974		1972	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total, 18 years old and over.....	141,299	100.0	136,203	100.0
Voted.....	63,164	44.7	85,766	63.0
Did not vote.....	78,135	55.3	50,437	37.0
Registered.....	24,725	17.5	12,714	9.3
Reason for not voting:				
Unable to go to polls.....	7,698	5.4	4,419	3.2
Out of town.....	3,286	2.3	1,464	1.1
Machines not working.....	135	0.1	269	0.2
Not interested.....	4,577	3.2	1,898	1.4
Dislikes politics.....	3,138	2.2	1,511	1.1
Other reasons.....	3,643	2.6	1,567	1.2
Reason not reported.....	2,248	1.6	1,586	1.2

Table 4. Reported Voter Participation and Reason for not Registering of Persons of Voting Age: November 1966 to 1974

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Whether voted and reason not registered	1974		1972		1970		1968		1966	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	141,299	100.0	136,203	100.0	120,701	100.0	116,535	100.0	112,800	100.0
Registered.....	87,889	62.2	98,480	72.3	82,181	68.1	86,574	74.3	79,295	70.3
Voted.....	63,164	44.7	85,766	63.0	65,888	54.6	78,964	67.8	62,518	55.4
Not registered.....	45,026	31.9	33,242	24.4	34,091	28.2	26,942	23.1	29,735	26.4
Reason not registered:										
Not a citizen.....	4,005	2.8	3,530	2.6	3,052	2.5	2,680	2.3	2,285	2.0
Residence requirement not satisfied.....	1,931	1.4	1,988	1.5	4,956	4.1	3,022	2.6	5,612	5.0
Unable to register.....	5,436	3.8	4,203	3.1	4,014	3.3	3,602	3.1		
Not interested.....	21,635	15.3	14,256	10.5	17,131	14.2	14,366	12.3	18,703	16.6
Dislikes politics.....	4,044	2.9	2,513	1.8						
Other reasons.....	5,417	3.8	4,977	3.7	3,699	3.1	2,564	2.2		
Reason not reported.....	2,558	1.8	1,775	1.3	1,239	1.0	707	0.6	3,134	2.8
Registration not reported....	8,384	5.9	4,481	3.3	4,430	3.7	3,019	2.6	3,770	3.3

Note: Includes persons 18 years old and over in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 year old and over in Alaska, 20 years old and over in Hawaii, and 21 years old and over in the remaining States in 1966, 1968, and 1970. Includes all persons 18 years old and over in 1972 and 1974.

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RGAA: News

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Business in Alaska

What Lies Ahead After the Pipeline?

By WALLACE TURNER

Special to The New York Times

ANCHORAGE—This is the third and final summer construction season on the \$7.7 billion trans-Alaska pipeline, and as thousands of high-paying jobs disappear,

already under lease, but in September 1969 the state auctioned leases in nearby areas and the bidding was intense. Alaska collected \$900 million in bonus bids for land

continent. Consumer prices soared beyond their previous highest levels. The cost of living jumped 21 percent between April 1974 and April 1975 and an additional 7.8 percent by April 1976.

Pipeline employment will fall sharply to about 6,000 when the summer construction season ends. The expectation is that no rehiring will come next spring, for the line is to be in use by July 1, 1977. However, not all the laid-off workers are expected to leave the state.

RGAA:

News

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2—The Missoulian, Thursday, April 22, 1976

Judge's Explanation Left More Questions

By ARTHUR HUTCHINSON
Missoulian State Bureau

HELENA — Gov. Thomas L. Judge's latest attempt to end the controversy over admitted discrepancies in his 1972 campaign financing only served to elevate the affair into a major campaign issue this year.

In a bizarre performance Tuesday, the image-conscious governor — an advertising and public relations executive by profession — mostly succeeded in raising more questions instead of dispelling doubts raised earlier about the way he and his campaign committee handled political contributions four years ago.

Accepting this explanation substantially reconciles the books, but does not answer which individuals made the unreported contributions and what were the individual amounts.

A similar explanation was made for the discrepancies in what was actually spent on the campaign and what was reported spent.

It balances the books but does not say which individuals or firms received the \$81,407 not reported as expenses in the public record, for what amount or for what purpose.

Also not explained is which officials in the Judge campaign club had the responsibility to accept the contributions, cash them or bank them, or pay the bills.

Surplus Difference

Moses' reconciliation shows a surplus of approximately \$13,600 including at least \$4,840 received after the November 1972 election, but

News Analysis

SOME SUNSHINE

Variable cloudiness Thursday with a chance of a few afternoon and evening showers. High 58-55, low near 38. Chance of precipitation 30 per cent, decreasing to 20 per cent Thursday night.

Missoulian

Vol. 103 — No. 305
Founded May 1, 1873

Missoula, Montana, Thursday, April 22, 1976

Single
Copy..... 20¢ 3 sections
30 pages

Democratic Leaders Not Entirely Satisfied With Judge Statement

By CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Missoulian State Bureau

HELENA — Although pleased that Gov. Thomas L. Judge issued a statement discussing the disputed financing of his 1976 campaign, some Democratic lead-

ers said.

"If it is bad accounting procedures, that's a plausible explanation," Driscoll said. "But a person still wonders."

Driscoll said he considers the governor to be an honest man and added: "I

But Meloy said Judge's explanation raised other questions — why the discrepancy was so great between the amount of contributions and expenses reported to the secretary of state by the Judge for Governor Club and a later ac-

trick, D-Great Falls, for comment.

Among other officials, the reaction was generally favorable, although guarded in some cases.

Gary Wicks, director of the Department of Natural Resources and Game-

\$93,000 in Contributions To Judge Went Unreported

By CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Missoulian State Bureau

HELENA — A report released by Gov. Thomas L. Judge this week blames bookkeeping errors as the likely cause of

Judge for Governor Club, based his analysis on an audit that he hired Patricia Douglas, a Missoula certified public accountant, to perform last year.

Adding up the amounts in the club's

cause of poor bookkeeping late in the campaign. He lists one \$250 check from an unidentified contributor that was returned and thus shouldn't have been included in the report.

From the \$201,457.47 total contribu-

Steve Brown, a former Judge aide who now heads the Department of Health's legal division, called the statement "an important step in the right direction."

"The governor is the one who has to decide if this is full disclosure," said Brown, "and I'm in no position to second guess him."

Brown had called for a more complete explanation two weeks ago.

Judge's running mate, Ted Schwinden, said he saw much of the information released by Judge before he agreed to join the ticket.

It apparently satisfied him because, as Schwinden said, "My political reputa-

EDITORIAL PAGE — Editorials, Letters, Opinion

Too Much to Be Dismissed With a Tear

"At that same time, I will answer questions that have been raised relative to the 1972 campaign for governor." — Tom Judge April 14 when he announced he was running for re-election, and said he would file this week and answer questions. Quoted by the

story describing events April 20 when Judge filed for governor and released an accounting of his 1972 campaign finances.

o—O—o

It's pretty pathetic. Tom Judge dodged questions rather than answer them as he had

also handles criminal cases, showed the governor's 1972 campaign received \$93,625 more than was reported to the secretary of state.

It showed Judge's campaign club spent \$81,407 more than was reported to the secretary of state.

sibility and trust, honesty goes on to encompass the political obligations he might owe to those who gave money and the obligations he might have bought from those he paid.

Whether the law in 1972 commanded that information from candidates is irrelevant.



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Des Moines---

May 5, 1976

Governor Robert D. Ray of Iowa has written to Representative Paul Rogers (D-Fla.), chairman of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health, urging repeal of a present law which requires States to waive sovereign immunity to Medicaid suits or lose 10 percent of their total funds. Rogers hopes to bring his bill (HR12961) to repeal Section 111 of the Medicare legislation (PL 94-182) passed last December to the House floor on the consent calendar as soon as possible after the recess. Opposition to repeal of the law is being expressed by providers of the in-patient hospital services which Medicaid covers. These providers want the waiver (a last-minute floor amendment) so they can sue States over reimbursement issues.

The waiver in Section 111 is in direct violation of the Eleventh Amendment and "an unjustifiable abrogation of the sovereignty of our States," according to Governor Ray's letter. HEW Secretary Mathews also supports repeal and has instructed HEW officials to comply with a court order barring enforcement of the section. Governors are urged to write to Representative Rogers and their congressional delegations urging speedy passage of the repeal bill.

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RGAs

News

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April 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: Governors and Aides

FROM: Robert W. Witt *RW*
Public Relations Director

Governor Daniel J. Evans has announced the appointment of 51 year old James Dolliver to a seat on the Washington State Supreme Court, replacing the late Justice Robert Finley. Dolliver who has been Assistant to Governor Evans since 1965, says he will campaign for election to a full term on the bench in this November's elections. Evans says Dolliver has the intellectual and judicious nature to "make an outstanding justice."

Replacing Dolliver as Assistant to the Governor is 47 year old William Jacobs, a long time friend and advisor to Governor Evans. Since 1969, Jacobs has served as Director of the Washington State Department of Labor and Industries. Previous to his appointment in the labor post, Jacobs served two years as a special assistant to the Governor.

The changes in position become effective on May 7, 1976. Please make the necessary change on your RGA Governors and Aides list in your 1976 RGA Communications notebook.

76-ne-6



RGAs

News

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APRIL 21, 1976

Governor Robert F. Bennett of Kansas, recently announced he has accepted an invitation to be the opening keynote speaker April 26 at an international food conference in Madrid, Spain.

Bennett, Governor of the nation's leading wheat producing state, will speak on the role of American agriculture and the Kansas farmer in meeting the world's need for food and fiber. Scheduled to speak on the final day is U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz. King Juan Carlos of Spain will preside at the conference.

The five-day conference is being sponsored by the Mediterranean Foundation and the Spanish National Institute of Industry (INI). Both prestigious non-profit foundations are respected worldwide for their work on social and economic problems.

"It indeed is an honor to accept this invitation to carry the message of Kansas agriculture to an influential international audience," Governor Bennett, Vice Chairman of the Republican Governors Association said.

"Our state, with only 1 per cent of the nation's population, produces about 5 per cent of the value of all U.S. agricultural exports. We clearly produce more of such commodities as wheat than we can consume, and Kansas farmers have long known that with the proper incentives they can be partners in supplying food for a hungry world."

Entitled "Food, a Right of the People," the conference will be featuring mini-symposiums focusing on such topics as cycles of agricultural production, land use for agriculture and the prospects for new food resources.

76-ne-4

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News

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Friday, January 9, 1976

Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr. of West Virginia, Chairman of the Republican Governors' Association, today named Ralph Griffith, as Executive Director of the RGA. Griffith succeeds James Galbraith in the post.

Griffith, a resident of Nashville, Tennessee, is a former political editor of the Knoxville Journal. He served as Press Secretary and Special Assistant to U. S. Senator Howard Baker and was Director of Information for former Tennessee Governor Winfield Dunn.

Immediately prior to joining the Republican Governors' Association, Griffith served as Assistant to the Director for Congressional-Media Relations, Office of Telecommunications Policy, Executive Office of the President.

In making the appointment, Governor Moore said, "Ralph Griffith brings to the post not only his knowledge of the total political arena, but his intimate practical knowledge of the workings of State government. I believe he will be a major asset to the RGA as the Republican Governors work to add significantly to their numbers during the 1976 elections."

Governor Moore also paid high compliments to James Galbraith. "During his six years with the RGA, Jim has been a constructive force in the development of the Association into a very useful arm of the nation's Republican Governors. On behalf of those Governors, I extend our appreciation to Jim for his dedication, and extend our best wishes to him in his new post." Galbraith resigned as RGA Executive Director to accept a position as Director of Corporate Communications with the Ti Corporation in Los Angeles, California.

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PARTY



Policy

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1976 RGA COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

RGA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Governor Arch A. Moore Jr., West Virginia...Chairman
Governor Robert F. Bennett, Kansas...Vice Chairman
Governor Jay S. Hammond, Alaska
Governor Mills E. Godwin Jr., Virginia
Governor James E. Holshouser Jr., North Carolina

RGA POLICY COMMITTEE:

Governor Daniel J. Evans, Washington
Governor Earl B. Ruth, American Samoa
Governor Otis R. Bowen, Indiana
Governor Christopher S. Bond, Missouri
Governor Meldrim Thomson Jr., New Hampshire

RGA CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE:

Governor Robert D. Ray, Iowa
Governor William G. Milliken, Michigan
Governor James A. Rhodes, Ohio
Governor James B. Edwards, South Carolina

* * * * *

NGC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: (Republican Members)

Governor Robert D. Ray, Iowa
Governor Robert F. Bennett, Kansas
Governor James A. Rhodes, Ohio
Governor James B. Edwards, South Carolina
Governor Mills E. Godwin Jr., Virginia



RGA:

Policy

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What is the RGA?

Its membership consists of all Republican Governors and Republican Governors-elect of the United States.

When was the RGA formed?

The Association took roots in the summer of 1963 at the bipartisan National Governors Conference in Miami Beach. Its first chairman was then Governor Robert Smylie of Idaho. The Association acquired its first professional staff, based in Washington, D.C., in May, 1967.

What are the RGA's objectives?

The organization was designed "to enable the Republican Governors to take their proper position in expressing, developing and preserving the philosophy of the Republican Party in all the States of the Union." It assists in the election and re-election of Republican Governors and then offers the Governors an opportunity to consult and cooperate with each other as well as the Republican President, members of the Executive Branch and the Congress and Republican Party leaders.

Does the Association hold regular meetings?

Yes, the RGA holds two Conferences each year.

Does the Association have any special committees to carry out its objectives?

There are three committees. A Policy Committee has the job of developing suggestions for policy positions of the Association. It also conducts research for use of the members in the conduct of their political and governmental responsibilities. A Campaign Committee assists Republican Gubernatorial candidates. An Executive Committee deals with general RGA functions and consists of the Chairman, Vice Chairman and three Governors elected by the membership.

How is the Association funded?

Its operational expenses are funded through the Republican National Committee. Beginning in 1972, the RGA administered a campaign fund for Republican Gubernatorial campaigns. As the present time, the Association does not share in proceeds from the large Party fund-raising dinners as do other Republican Campaign organizations.



Policy

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RGAs

Speeches

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SPEECH BY GOVERNOR ROBERT F. BENNETT
MIDWESTERN REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN
JAN. 30-31, 1976

My duty here today, a pleasant one, is to encourage you to give your attention to the gubernatorial races that our party is going to be involved in during Election 1976. I know, of course, that we're all concerned with the Presidential race. I know that senators are concerned with the senatorial races and the congressmen are concerned with the congressional races. But, I trust that we will continue to give some attention to the gubernatorial races which will be fought and hopefully, for our party, won in 1976.

You realize that it is sort of difficult for our Republican Governors to meet together, at least in spacious quarters. We've usually been caucusing in phone booths, because we are only 13 in number, not including the provinces. We are 13 -- that's a baker's dozen. Some folks call it a dirty dozen, but they're on the other side. We'd like very much to expand that group. We've also got to realize that there is a possibility that the group will contract. If that should be the case we'll move from the phone booth to the broom closet.

76-sp-1

more



We very much need your help in supporting the governors, particularly in this area, because if you look at the banners we have around the hall you will find that Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas and West Virginia all have Republican governors. There are more Republican governors in this Midwest Conference than there are in any other conferences in the United States. Unfortunately, three of those gubernatorial seats are up again for grabs. In Indiana, Governor Bowen will be running and from all I can tell, although he's not a shoo-in, he needs your support in order to be returned to office. In Missouri, Kit Bond will be seeking re-election. Under all circumstances, he needs to be returned to office in that state. In West Virginia, as I understand it, it still hasn't been decided whether Governor Moore can succeed himself or whether he'll have to step aside because of constitutional requirements.

These all will be tight races. We have two other opportunities in this conference to win. One is in Illinois, where the current incumbent and the democratic factions will be fighting one another. Hopefully they'll be winded by the time we go to the polls in November. Also, in the state of North Dakota we have a Republican Senate and Republican House, but we have a Democrat governor. Currently I hold the distinction, if it can be called that, of being the only Republican governor who has a Republican House and a Republican Senate. I'd very much like to have North Dakota join me in that particular distinction after the Election of 1976.

The Republican Governors Association wants to be as helpful as it can in all of these gubernatorial races. We have a speaker's bureau made up of both governors and nongovernors available to try to indicate support and the need for Republican governors in the states that are affected. We think this is a very important campaign and a very important year for the governors, because with President Ford's program that he submitted to Congress we realize that there is a possibility that through our Party we can return to the states the sovereignties they lost under the Democrat regime of many decades. The President has proposed a number of programs, not only the area of block grants and things of that nature, but also in other areas which would in effect give the governors and the states a key responsibility in addressing some of the problems that our nation has at the present time. We've asked for that in a unanimous voice and the President has at least been willing to submit it. Hopefully our congressional delegations will be willing to support it. But without Republican governors in these various states all you'll be doing is transferring the bureaucracy of Washington to the bureaucracy of the state capitols.

We think that the governors have something to offer in the development of our country. We think the Republican governors, particularly, have the ability to offer fiscal responsibility which is something that has been lost in some states with different philosophies, but we need your help. In getting your help I might say to you that in my opinion we won't get it by Republicans just talking to Republicans. Unfortunately, for

alltogether too long we've found that there's something nice about talking to people with the same philosophy and something somewhat scary about addressing people who either have no philosophy at all or have a philosophy different from ours.

We are in fact the minority party. As the minority party, if we hope to succeed at all, if we hope to restore any concept of fiscal responsibility, either nationally or at the state level, we're going to have to talk to people other than those of our own political faith. We're going to have to go out and labor in the vineyards with the independents and with the uncommitted who are just as concerned about this country as are we, but perhaps are less dedicated to the involvement in partisan politics as we are.

I can tell you that it is possible to do. We can dream the impossible dream. We can succeed.

Thank you very much.

* * * * *

Robert F. Bennett

Co-Chairman
Republican Governors Association