

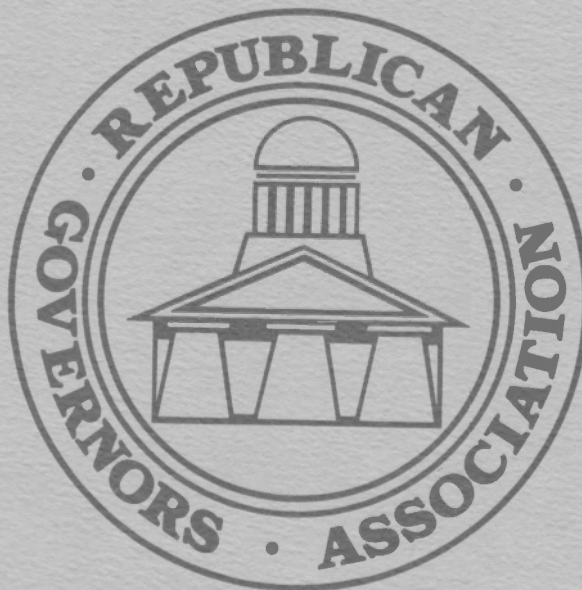
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Republican Governors Association Conference

Washington, D.C. November 28-30, 1976
Transcript of Proceedings and Debate



Governor Arch. A. Moore, Jr., West Virginia
Chairman

Governor Robert F. Bennett, Kansas
Vice Chairman



REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

Phone: (202) 484-6620

Chairman

HONORABLE ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
Governor of West Virginia

Vice Chairman

HONORABLE ROBERT F. BENNETT
Governor of Kansas

December 15, 1976

Dear Friend:

Perhaps at no other time in history have so many written the obituary of the Republican Party as they did following the November elections. Fortunately the Republican Governors Association had a regular winter conference scheduled for the final days of November and it did provide a forum for a discussion of Party problems by leaders from around the country.

Following is a transcript of that conference and with its reading I think you will find some very thought provoking ideas expressed by veteran politicians, by relative newcomers on the national scene and by those with philosophies as far apart as the Potomac and Mississippi Rivers.

The one theme that emerged from the conference, however, was expressed by Governor Robert F. Bennett of Kansas, the new RGA chairman, who summarized by saying:

"The form of the Republican Party is neither prostrate nor dead. The victim is alive and commencing to recover satisfactorily. We will be spoiling for a fight in 1978 and fit for victory in 1980."



Ralph Griffith
Executive Director

VOLUME I

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

CONFERENCE

- - -

9:55 o'clock a.m.,
Monday, November 29, 1976

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

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P R O C E E D I N G S

... The Republican Governors Association Conference convened at 9:55 o'clock a.m., in the Valley Forge Conference Room of the Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., Chairman, presiding ...

GOVERNOR MOORE: Take your seats, will you, please?

At this time I would like to call on Governor Thomson of New Hampshire for the purposes of giving us a prayer. Governor Thomson.

GOVERNOR THOMSON: Shall we rise, please?

Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for the opportunity of meeting here in the Nation's Capital as elected officials of the people of our respective States. We pray that Thou will give us guidance as we attune ourselves to the great traditions of this Republic and try to serve all of our people in the manner that will hasten the Kingdom of Thy love here on earth.

Guide and direct these deliberations. May we, as participants, listen attentively to our fellow participants and go forth from here renewed in inspiration to work and labor for our people in Thy love. This we ask in Christ's name, Amen.

1 OPENING REMARKS BY GOVERNOR ARCH A. MOORE, JR.,
2 CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

3 Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is a privi-
4 lege of mine as Chairman of the Republican Governors
5 Association to welcome you to this conference opening here
6 in our Nation's Capital. We are privileged this morning to have
7 old friends with us. Again, I repeat my earlier admonition.
8 I would hope those who are participating in the deliberations
9 of the conference do so as quietly as possible so that we might
10 focus attention upon those who are making presentations.

11 In this particular meeting I want to share with you
12 the appreciation that we have had as members of the Association
13 for our Republican Governors Association staff, which completely
14 planned this particular conference, the movement of it from
15 one section of the country here to the Nation's Capital. In
16 fact, all the details were undertaken by our staff, with the
17 participation of the District of Columbia Federation of
18 Republican Women who have helped us immeasurably, that have
19 put together some of the functions that either the first ladies
20 or we as Governors will be participating in.

21 At this particular time it is my privilege to
22 welcome you to this meeting of Republican Governors and to

1 officially call this session to order.

2 I would like to begin with a statement of congratulations
3 and at the same time share with you introduction of those
4 Republicans who were victorious in the recent election.
5 You are going to be hearing from a great number of them during
6 the course of this program because we have asked that they
7 participate in the deliberations and share with us some of their
8 thinking as it relates to the future of our party and particularly
9 the future of this Association.

10 We are particularly privileged to have a number of
11 former Governors who have been active participants in the
12 Republican Governors Association to share this conference with
13 us and to add to it with their thinking and their direction
14 as it relates to the years ahead.

15 In terms of those who are with us here this morning
16 for the first time, individuals who were successful in the Novem-
17 ber election, I simply choose to introduce each one of them
18 with the expectation that we will be guided by their remarks
19 as they appear and they will share with us later in the day.

20 First, from the State of Vermont, Governor-elect
21 Richard Snelling. It is a great privilege to have you with us.

22 ... Applause ...

1 MR. SNELLING: Thank you.

2 GOVERNOR MOORE: From the State of Delaware, Governor-
3 elect Pete duPont. Pete?

4 ... Applause ...

5 MR. DU PONT: Thank you.

6 GOVERNOR MOORE: From the State of Illinois, Governor-
7 elect Jim Thompson.

8 ... Applause ...

9 MR. THOMPSON: Thank you.

10 GOVERNOR MOORE: I would like also at this time to
11 extend, certainly, our congratulations to those incumbent
12 Governors who were successful in their bids for reelection.
13 Governor Otis Bowen of Indiana, we are pleased to have you
14 back again.

15 ... Applause ...

16 GOVERNOR BOWEN: Thank you.

17 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Thomson of New Hampshire.

18 ... Applause ...

19 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Thank you.

20 GOVERNOR MOORE: We will have participating with us
21 the Acting Governor of Samoa, Frank Barnette, who was with us
22 for breakfast and will join us.

1 While this conference, by necessity, is devoted to
2 our future as a party and the role that we as governors
3 must assume in this future, I would like to focus my remarks
4 on the content of the conference -- its goals and certainly
5 its expectations -- and leave, if I might, the broader question
6 for each of us to mutually determine by the conference's end
7 the direction it shall take.

8 In putting together what we consider to be an
9 excellent program, which we have presented to you in the agenda
10 form, it was assumed that our Association in its role and the
11 role of our Party, as well as our Party itself, needed some
12 thorough self-analysis.

13 Those of you who shared the brief reception last
14 evening I am sure were constantly tortured by questions from
15 those of the media that inquired of us about the future of our
16 Party and the direction it should take.

17 In that particular regard, in putting this program
18 together -- which, incidentally, came together sometime in
19 early October -- it was in anticipation that we would have the
20 opportunity, with success in November, to chart the future
21 of our Party in relationship to gubernatorial participation.
22

1
2 Not being successful in November, the agenda of this conference
3 is as germane.

4 We assumed that, in terms of the future of our Party,
5 in some of the gubernatorial races we lost in retrospect
6 there wasn't any reason in the world that such elections
7 should have been lost.

8 After a case that came before us as an Association
9 in which we participate in attempting to guide and counsel and
10 encourage the Republican candidate in a particular state, we
11 found that in the reality of defeat there was really not much
12 reason that our Party's candidates had not been successful.

13 It is beyond me, very frankly, why the credibility
14 and the competence, for example, of a great young Governor
15 of Mississippi, Kit Bond, was not reaffirmed by his fellow
16 citizens on Election Day. There were other races across this
17 country that we lost in which we, as Republicans, and
18 Republican gubernatorial hopefuls, should have been successful.

19 A particular state comes to mind, a state which gave
20 its electoral vote to the Republican candidate for President
21 of the United States, elected a Republican United States Senator
22 and at the same time a state in which a Republican candidate

1 for Governor had a widespread percentage advantage going into
2 the last month of the campaign, only to find that in the end
3 result the Democratic Party had retained that governorship.

4 It is equally perplexing, it seems to me, as we
5 review a number of the states across the country in which this
6 Association aided in every way it could -- either by the
7 contributions of governors themselves, committing time and
8 effort, this Association, through the encouragement of our
9 Republican National Committee, doing everything we possibly
10 could to support and undergird the finances of a number of
11 the different campaigns -- why we were not successful.

12 I think, first, that in this conference we must talk
13 candidly and purposefully about our problems. After all, who
14 is better qualified to discuss the depth of those difficulties
15 or the problems that might exist across this country than each
16 of us who are surrounding this conference table here this
17 morning. All of us in our own respective ways -- either as
18 governors, governors-elect, or previous governors of the states
19 of this nation -- are more qualified to examine in an in-depth
20 way the problems and the challenges of the Republican Party,
21 the tremendous challenge to make it a viable political instrument
22 in years ahead in this country. Very, very frankly, I have

1 always looked upon the governors, the governors-elect and
2 the former governors as the "precinct captains" of the various
3 states that they have represented. And that particular regard
4 should have and be the best information that we can rely upon
... 5 to build and restructure in that particular state.

6 I hope we can examine the productivity of our
7 Association as Republic Governors and ask some penetrating
8 questions which reveal the essence of what we are really about
9 to do as a group and what our challenge shall be. In that
10 particular regard, shall this Association continue henceforth
11 to meet and sponsor, to counsel in every way it possibly can,
12 gubernatorial candidates across the country carrying the
13 Republican Party's banner?

14 I think a forthright appraisal of our own Association's
15 productivity is certainly in order. We have gubernatorial
16 races that we must be prepared for in 1977 and a large number
17 of races in 1978. Our strength as a group, it seems to me,
18 will well serve these particular contests if we have and can
19 make some appropriate determinations of what the mission of
20 incoming governors and party leaders and sitting governors might
21 be. I think we have to determine what really is justifiably
22 our position as governors within the party structure. Far too

1 long, in my judgment, the Republican Party has been the
2 nation's orient, or Washington D. C.'s orient. I think there
3 has been a tendency to overlook the fact again that the strength
4 of this party is its state houses, the strength of this Party,
5 the depth of its strength wherever it exists in the country,
6 basically rests and vests itself in the governorships that
7 we have and that we can obtain.

8 I hope that certainly we can clarify our role as
9 governors as it relates to our Party's National Committee.
10 Our definition of mission is quite confused. We, as leaders
11 in our respective states, give lighter attention in my judgment
12 to our states' representation on the Republican National Committee.
13 In my opinion, this circumstance can be attributed to an improper
14 orientation in some respects in the thinking, certainly as
15 it has been committed in the past by our party as it relates
16 itself solely to our Party's national mission.

17 I think there must be an expansion as it relates
18 to the Republican National Committee and focusing its attention
19 on the Party's challenge in the fifty states. It is within
20 the fifty states that the electorate of this nation resides.
21 And it is at that level where the decisions are made on which
22 individuals shall serve in national affairs.

1 Finally, I would hope that we could have a consensus
2 and a genuine definition of a political party, realizing that
3 this generalized question has been asked so many times,
4 particularly of we Republicans, by many questioners, both
5 inside and outside the mainstream of the two-major-party
6 structure. I raised it today simply as a big picture goal
7 of our Association's purpose. And I am not talking about the
8 tired proclamation that we have to reorganize the Party. In
9 25 years of public life I have been through more reorganizations
10 and more Chapter 11's in this Party than any prominent business
11 identity in the country.

12 I found also the fact that we seem to be constantly
13 agonized with the reappraisal of the strength of our Party
14 and its hope for the future, and at the same time, when we as
15 Republicans had 35 of the 50 governorships in the country, I
16 saw no pronouncement of the benediction of the Democratic Party
17 for its purpose and future role in the country. I think we
18 have got, as governors, to assume a manner of responsibility,
19 that critics in the past seemed to focus their attention upon
20 our membership in the Congress, or in those times when we
21 have controlled the White House and focused that critical
22 viewpoint upon the Republican occupant there.

1 Certainly, if we are going to immerse ourselves daily
2 into the mainstream of the national political dialogue, we
3 are going to have to begin now to plan the activities and
4 goals of this party of ours to meet its challenges in 1977,
5 certainly as we look to those governorships in that year, as
6 well as in 1978.

7 It is clear that a political party is not organized
8 on the basis of rigidly determined social and economic
9 philosophy. As a party, in my judgment, we must be big enough
10 and comprehensive enough to attract many diverse and certainly
11 varied positions within the body politic. It is clear to me
12 that the first honest, and certainly forthright, evaluation is
13 that we are not reaching enough people -- most specifically,
14 enough young people who have decided to register their political
15 affiliation elsewhere.

16 If you choose to interpret the recent election with
17 the simplistic aphorism that this was an election of negatives
18 in America, which simply sought to remove those who were in
19 to the end that a tide arose in the country which could not be
20 repelled, then it seems to me that you have conveniently
21 explained the election. But you have created a myriad of problems
22 in charting the course of action for our future. Easy answers,

1 therefore, are elusive and our problems will only be solved
2 by the infusion of new ideas and hard work.

3 Most importantly, it is my opinion that our definition
4 of a party must not occupy all our time, but must be quickly
5 followed by a program of reaching people, and reaching them
6 not only while they stand in the voting booth, but long before
7 election day arrives in the form of political registration.

8 What did we do as a group in the last election?
9 It is my contention that we, as a Republican Governors
10 Association, filled a vital role. We asked some of you
11 to make personal commitments in behalf of campaigns of our
12 Party's candidates in the various states. In every such case,
13 in every state our gubernatorial candidates were better served
14 financially by the Republican Governors Association than at
15 any time in the recent past. Suffice it to say they were
16 well financed candidates for their respective governorships in
17 their respective states.

18 Most specifically, I think that this change of atti-
19 tude in terms of financing governors' candidacies can be
20 attributed to the perception of our National Chairman, Mary
21 Louise Smith. It was through Ms. Smith and her steady hand
22 which produced our improved financial posture and, with few

1 exceptions, her productivity was well spent, in 1976, in
2 gubernatorial elections.

3 We were encouraged as an association with good
4 candidates in most of our states. Candor, however, requires
5 me to state that our recruitment efforts were not good enough.
6 We were a party in many parts of the country where we were
7 content to win the primary and did not give adequate attention
8 to the fact that the big prize was the general election. We
9 were a party that seemingly was content to divide ourselves
10 from within, to be satisfied merely with whose candidate
11 survived a primary test, and we were not willing to put our
12 shoulder to the wheel to determine again whether or not the
13 big prize was there.

14 Please do not misconstrue this observation as a bad
15 rap on many capable and diligent people. It merely serves
16 as a firm observation that we have got to undertake a stronger,
17 certainly a more militant, effort and be willing to invest
18 our personal time, when called upon, to encourage responsible men
19 and women to personally involve themselves in our struggle for
20 our nation and the sovereignty of our states.

21 Our office in Washington is capably manned by our
22 Executive Director, Ralph Griffith, who I happen to believe

1 to our opportunity is here to build our research organization,
2 to expand upon our media activities. Through Ralph we have
3 a technician in which we can take a major pride. The fact that
4 he has certainly served in the past as an aid to a governor
5 gives him a better understanding as to what the responsibilities
6 are as Executive Director in adding to the efforts to elect
7 additional Republican governors.

8 We were involved intimately in every campaign
9 across this country. It was an ambitious undertaking. We had
10 high hopes. And the question certainly can be legitimately
11 asked of Republican governors, why were we not more successful?
12 In that particular regard I maintain that part of our problem
13 occurred long before the campaign. The season of September and
14 October was upon us. I would hope that our national political
15 organization is beginning to understand our persistent observa-
16 tions that the flow of national activities needs to play out
17 to a better harmony with the political organizations of our
18 various states. While this trend is an encouraging sign, it is
19 not yet completed and I think remains to be a challenge.

20 I propose that we need a thorough change of mind
21 as it relates to the national-state interaction of our Party.
22 The orientation of our National Committee -- as I have spoken

1 about our National Committee and those who work for it --
2 is still too closely aligned with the banks of the Potomac.
3 Our situation on a superficial level appears to be good.
4 The National Committee allows us office space, lets us run
5 our own affairs, and pretty much does not involve itself in
6 any of the intra-Governors Association decisions. While I seek
7 the opportunity to perform, our performance should be jointly
8 shared with the Senate and House committees, with the office
9 of the National Chairman, to the end that the Chairman of the
10 Republican Governors Association should be a strong voice
11 and an equal voice with the National Chairman and the Chairmen
12 of the two national Legislative committees.

13 I am asking for more input upon the part of governors,
14 demanding in a way that governors be consulted, not merely
15 as a courtesy, but as a necessity, that we be allowed
16 to achieve our rightful place in the composite national
17 party structure.

18 Candidly, I think perhaps I would conclude by
19 allowing this criticism to somewhat spill over to the White
20 House. Each of us knows the demands upon the time of the
21 President of the United States and his staff. As executives
22 probably we, better than anybody else, fully appreciate and

1 are totally aware of the necessity to chart a government
2 course, despite the subject matter, and to proceed to implement
3 and sell that program to our fellow citizens. But federal
4 action is state action.

5 While President Ford's Administration has demonstrated
6 in this particular regard dramatic openings and eager communica-
7 tion, the criticism of isolation of governors and state
8 organizations still is valid. In that particular regard, I
9 think that sets the format of the discussions of this
10 conference which I would hope to be, and draw from you, candid
11 observations about our future. As the late distinguished
12 Senator from the State of Illinois once said, "It takes
13 really no special talent to criticize."

14 The observations that I make this morning are not,
15 certainly, intended to be in the nature of criticism, but
16 simply a predicate upon which we can encourage each of you
17 to give your maximum participation and to make this a conference
18 in which all of us can take a measure of pride.

19 In moving to our program this morning, at this time
20 I would like to call upon Bob Teeter, who can tell us just
21 a little bit as it relates to the circumstances our Party
22 finds itself in as it relates to the general citizenry of this

1 country and gives some of the more intimate details, particularly
2 as it relates to any post-election evaluation that Bob would
3 like to give us.

4 Bob is well known in the field of inquiring of the
5 public mind and certainly is one of the finest political
6 inquirers in the country.

7 I am pleased at this time to present to you Mr.
8 Bob Teeter for his observations. Bob?

9 ... Applause ...

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1 "THE PRESENT NATIONAL POLITICAL ATTITUDE
2 AS DETERMINED BY PRE-ELECTION POLLS,"

3 BY

4 BOB TEETER, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF
5 MARKET OPINION RESEARCH, DETROIT

6 MR. TEETER: Thank you, Governor Moore.

7 I would like this morning to start out with some
8 general descriptions and attitudes I think we found over the
9 past eight or 10 months this year in surveying for the
10 presidential campaign in a number of individual States.

11 First of all, I think as a background to your delibera-
12 tions here and to your thoughts about the role of the party and
13 the role of the governors in the future, a few comments about
14 the general mood or attitudes in the country are in order.

15 First of all, as many of you know, and I discussed with
16 a number of you, beginning in 1972 and 1973 we had tremendously
17 increasing rates of alienation and of cynicism from the govern-
18 ment and government officials on the part of the public.

19 These attitudes and changing attitudes did not begin
20 in 1973 and 1974. They began in the mid and late sixties. They
21 simply were accelerated and, if anything, just moved ahead and
22 were amplified by Watergate. The fact is today we still are
continuing to work in an atmosphere where the cynicism toward
government and government officials is at an all-time high.

ac 2

1 These attitudes have been measured for 20 or 25 years.
2 We found these changes moving very rapidly in the early
3 seventies and, when they reached their high in 1974, we found
4 them almost double what they were 10 years ahead of that in 1964.

5 Those attitudes and those feelings of alienation and
6 cynicism have not changed since 1974 and remained immediately
7 before the election and still do in our post-election surveys at
8 an all-time high.

9 Interestingly and importantly, these feelings of
10 alienation are not directed simply at government and government
11 officials. They are directed at almost every major institution
12 in our society and with which individuals have to work. They
13 are directed at businesses, at labor unions, at school systems,
14 at churches, at stores where people shop, at every kind of
15 institution that individuals are forced to deal with in their
16 regular daily lives.

17 Certainly they have not been caused simply by Watergate,
18 even though they were accelerated over those years. They have
19 been caused, I think, by simply a very rapid growth in both the
20 size and the complexity of the society in which people have to
21 deal.

22 If you question individual citizens about their

ac 3

1 attitudes and why they hold those attitudes toward government,
2 largely in other institutions bigness tends to be the bottom
3 line. Ultimately, if you continue to question what is the cause
4 and what is wrong with these institutions, the bottom line and
5 the real objection to most of them is simply bigness.

6 The individual has been taught for a large number of
7 years that this society and this system works best when it is
8 made up of a group of individuals all acting as responsible
9 individuals. They have come to find over the last number of
10 years that no longer as individuals can they have any significant
11 effect on the institutions they have to deal with.

12 There is just no way as an individual -- whether they
13 don't vote or who they vote for or where they shop or what they
14 do -- it doesn't have any real influence on that particular
15 institution they are dealing with.

16 Moreover, and even a greater objection, I think they
17 found it almost impossible to communicate on a one-to-one basis
18 with anybody in those institutions that makes any difference,
19 whether it is the government or again the most simple example
20 we find regularly are simply stores where people shop.

21 They go to large chain stores because they feel they
22 have to do it to get the best price. At the same time, they

1 say, "It really doesn't make any difference whether I stop
2 buying things there or don't go there. I can't affect them, I
3 can't register any objection, I can't register any satisfaction.
4 There is no way that I can change or affect those institutions
5 or even communicate with them."

6 It is in many ways the classic definition of the
7 notion of powerlessness. People simply feel powerless to deal
8 with or to affect or to communicate with or to influence the
9 institutions that they have to deal with.

10 Certainly, while this spreads across almost every
11 institution they deal with, at the same time these attitudes
12 are held in a much greater degree and to a much greater
13 intensity when directed at government and government officials.

14 For the first time we have found over the last year
15 or year and a half, when we asked the traditional question about
16 which level of government do you think is best able to solve
17 your problems, for 25 or 30 years, at least as far back as
18 public opinion data that has been collected that I am aware of,
19 that answer was always the Federal Government first, the State
20 government second, and the local government third.

21 We have found over the past two or three years that
22 that has essentially reversed and that now we have people saying

ac 5

1 the local government, then the State government, and the Federal
2 Government last.

3 Believe me, that is a change that was not there and has
4 not been there, at any time that I am aware of, for 25 or 30
5 years. It is simply not a matter that they are angry. It is
6 a matter that they are frustrated.

7 They are anxious; they are frightened; they are
8 worried about the future and worried about the role that they
9 are going to play in how the institutions are going to affect
10 them. They are the people who are on the end of the string.
11 They are also the ones that, every time one of these major
12 institutions makes a change of policy or the way they are doing
13 things, it is the individual citizen and voter on the bottom of
14 that string that is affected. And yet he feels his complete
15 inability to do anything about the policies or the direction
16 that those institutions take.

17 Certainly, there have been some very important effects
18 in our political systems of these changes in attitudes. The
19 most important one is simply less participation. This was the
20 seventh consecutive election over 14 consecutive years in which
21 participation in elections in this country has gone down.

22 While we talked all during election day, and many of

1 the press talked about, a remarkably high turnout, the fact is
2 turnout was lower in this election than it has been in any
3 other election in modern time. And it continued to decrease
4 as it has now for 14 consecutive years.

5 Secondly, as we find a higher and higher level of
6 ticket split, there is virtually no longer any association or
7 very little association to party ties. The number of people
8 who affiliate themselves or who identify with either of the
9 major political parties is at an all-time low.

10 Certainly the Republican problem is by far the most
11 acute simply because we are lower in number. We have 20 to 21
12 percent of the people that identify with us. The Democrats have
13 42 or 43 percent.

14 If you add those together, we have less people
15 identifying with either of the two major political parties
16 than we have ever had in modern times. And those people are
17 identifying with those parties with less intensity than they
18 ever have, which may be even more important, which means that
19 the tie in voting parties to those parties is less than it
20 has ever been and appears to be continuing to decrease.

21 The third effect is that we have had a dramatic
22 increase -- and I am sure all of you are well aware of this --

1 in the number of special interest groups which in many ways
2 have become ad hoc political parties in this country. Most of
3 you have seen all kinds of unusual bizarre coalitions formed
4 around various causes.

5 Those special interest groups, whether they be in
6 environmental groups or consumer groups or any other kind of
7 special interest group, have in many ways become ad hoc political
8 parties.

9 It is a fact that the people have found that the two
10 political parties themselves are simply no longer effective to
11 communicate with and to influence the issues that they want to
12 influence. So they have found it much more effective to form
13 these special interest groups and make their wishes and their
14 influence in society known through them.

15 Again, I am sure, as most of you know, these groups
16 have had an increased militancy and people who belong to them
17 feel stronger and stronger about their goals, about narrow
18 special interests as opposed to what has been the role of the
19 party politician. That is direct interest in a whole breadth
20 of problems in the society.

21 Along with this we have certainly had a change in
22 values. Leading up to about five or six years ago, I think we

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1 always found in every survey that I am aware of, that when you
2 ask people what their immediate goals and what their aspirations
3 in life were, in every survey I am aware of for 35 years that
4 it has been done, that something having to do with people's
5 jobs or their occupation or their profession was the leading
6 goal and aspiration.

7 That was, people's leading goal was to either get
8 promoted to do better in their job, to learn how to do it
9 better, to leave that and start their own business, but it was
10 something having to do with the way they made their living.

11 Beginning about five or six years ago, with an
12 increasing number of people, those kinds of concerns have gone
13 down and down the list. Even at the height of the recession
14 we did not find those problems -- of how to improve someone's
15 life through their job -- rising very much.

16 All of those things that get lumped into a kind of
17 quality-of-life issues have increased in terms of people's
18 goals and aspirations. Certainly how well they do on the job,
19 or at least how much they make, greatly affects how well they
20 can satisfy these other goals.

21 But the fact is when you question people in an open-
22 ended fashion, no longer do they tell you that their leading

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1 goal or their aspiration is to get promoted or get a better job
2 or a new job. It now tends to be things like travel, leisure
3 time activity.

4 Certainly the leading aspiration in the country right
5 now is for people to own their own home. If you asked people
6 what is the single thing that you and your family are working
7 hard for right now, your immediate goal, what is the number one
8 thing that you would like to accomplish over the next few years,
9 there are two things that come far to the top of that list.

10 The first is either to own their own home or own a
11 better home; the second one is to be able to educate their
12 children better than they were educated themselves.

13 Another political effect -- and it may be the most
14 important one of these changing attitudes and this increased
15 alienation -- is that our elections have become virtually
16 totally candid-oriented.

17 It is that we have always had that mix of influence
18 in people's voting behavior between partisan issues and candi-
19 dates. In the great majority of elections that we have studied
20 in the past four or five years, and particularly this year, we
21 find that the only overriding issues are the two candidates.
22 Presidential elections have become, and certainly the one just

1 past was to a greater extent than any that I am aware of,
2 essentially a nonpartisan media event, is simply a contest
3 between two individuals.

4 I find that increasingly a number of top of the
5 ticket races, whether for governor or senator, have also become
6 essentially nonpartisan media events in which people are
7 deciding whether to vote for President Ford or for Governor
8 Carter simply on the basis of those two individuals.

9 While partisan issues still have some effect, at no
10 time -- and this is an amazing finding -- at no time during
11 this presidential campaigning, from the Democratic Convention
12 through the election, could we find one issue that was having a
13 statistically significant cut in determining whether people
14 were going to vote for President Ford or Governor Carter.

15 All the variance that we could account for statisti-
16 cally throughout this campaign, and in the post-election study
17 we are just finishing now, is accounted for by the perception
18 of the personal characteristics of those two individuals.
19 Whether they be of competence, honesty, intelligence, trust-
20 worthiness, whatever they are, it was the personal dimensions
21 that almost entirely determined whether people voted for or
22 against one or the other of the candidates in the presidential

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1 election, in most of the gubernatorial and senatorial elections
2 that I was involved in this year.

3 There are some exceptions to that. As you get lower
4 down the ticket you are more apt to find a local issue moving
5 in and affecting an election greatly. But at the same time
6 this general trend that we are now dealing in -- an era of
7 almost entirely candidate elections -- I think is critical.
8 The issues simply have become the means or one of the important
9 means by which people learn what kind of individuals they are
10 that they choose to vote for or against.

11 The only issue -- I was asked this many times during
12 the campaign this year and I answered it after seeing post-
13 election data the same way I answered it before the election --
14 the only issue in the presidential election this year was which
15 one of the two men would you most prefer to have sit in the
16 Oval Office over the next four years and make your value
17 judgments for you.

18 When we looked at the dimensions and studied them
19 carefully on how they considered these two individuals or any
20 individuals this year, we found that the people think the voters
21 think of candidates roughly in two dimensions.

22 They think of them kind of in the old classic partisan

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1 dimensions and economic dimensions which have controlled
2 elections for 40 years in this country. Then they think of the
3 two candidates as how they spread themselves across in
4 dimensions, how they are perceived on dimensions of traditional
5 American values.

6 Within traditional American values come almost every
7 issue: the economic issues, all of the issues you and I think
8 of which are called the social issues, the foreign affairs
9 issues, the national defense issues.

10 And out of those that is thought of as the traditional
11 American values, the voter tends to vote for the candidate who
12 they feel most strongly represents a reaffirmation of what they
13 think of as traditional American values.

14 I saw no evidence in this election or in recent
15 years, where there are a large number of voters, of anything
16 resembling a majority or significant plurality of voters who
17 are demanding or want some kind of basic or fundamental change
18 in our basic system of government.

19 People simply want better government. They want the
20 government to be responsive to them. They want the government
21 and the individuals who are running the government to address
22 their concern. But you could not find a demand for a basic

1 change in the way our government, or the economic system for
2 that matter, is organized or the way it is conducted.

3 Another reason, I think, for this candidate orienta-
4 tion is that over the past 10 years or so voters simply are having
5 to deal with more issues. They have more concerns that are
6 important to them.

7 Each of those concerns have become more complex. If
8 you go back into public opinion data more than eight or 10 years
9 ago, you will find that in any given election there usually was
10 one overriding issue.

11 There were always three issues in this country: war,
12 peace or foreign affairs issues. The money issues, whether at
13 any given point it was unemployment or inflation or taxes,
14 government spending; and the domestic peace issues which for
15 30 years in this country have centered in some way around
16 race.

17 At any given point prior to 1966 or 1968, one of
18 those issues was important in each two-year election. You had
19 a Korea election; you had a recession election in 1958; and
20 then beginning in 1968, as we came into that election, all
21 three of those issues were perceived as vitally important.
22 Inflation was important in 1968. Certainly the Vietnam war

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1 and foreign affairs was important, and domestic peace was
2 important when we had a lot of domestic unrest.

3 So once you got all of those issues of great concern,
4 people voters simply said to themselves I can't separate the
5 two candidates in any given election on all these issues I am
6 concerned about. I can't find one candidate I agree with
7 exclusively and one I disagree with. Therefore, what I am
8 going to have to do is simply rely on my judgment of the two
9 individuals, which one will I most trust and I think is best
10 able to deal with these individual problems.

11 So that tended to make candidates and the candidates'
12 perception much more important and diminish the importance of
13 the individual issue.

14 At the same time, I think there are a number of rising
15 concerns that we are going to see over the next period of a few
16 years that are critically important that you, as governors,
17 will have to address and be confronted with.

18 Certainly if I were to list the five or six issues
19 I see rising -- and these are things we can deal with -- generally
20 are: taxes is going to be a critical issue. It always has been
21 and will continue to be. The crime issue I don't believe has
22 reached its high point yet. The crime issue is an issue which

1 has greater intensity than any other issue in the country right
2 now. And the difference in the crime issue today and what it
3 was two or three or four or five years ago, it is no longer
4 limited to the large cities.

5 The concern over crime has spread to suburbs, to small
6 towns, to the rural areas, and the intensity of that concern is
7 going to force public officials and force parties and govern-
8 ments to deal with it in the next two or three years.

9 Public employee strikes is another one that I think
10 is a problem that has only begun to make its head felt.

11 The cost of health care is an issue on which there
12 is going to be a great demand for some kind of governmental
13 action. The cost of health care is a terribly complex issue,
14 as all of you know, and the perceptions of it are almost as
15 complex.

16 The fact is that most people in this country today
17 are satisfied with the kind of health care they get. They think
18 they are getting good health care and they like the delivery
19 system they are getting. But there is a misapprehension that
20 this is being priced out of their list and in the near future
21 they are no longer going to be able to afford it. And there
22 is also a great concern over the possibility of catastrophic

1 illness.

2 The energy issue is going to become important. It is
3 an important issue and it is unfortunate it is one of those
4 issues that only expresses itself in surveyed data in the public
5 concern when there is a crisis.

6 It is one when prices go up or a shortage develops
7 or a problem appears to be developing in the Middle East that
8 concern over energy goes up. In the absence of that problem,
9 it goes down.

10 As all of you know, it probably could have a greater
11 effect on us than almost any of these other issues.

12 Then there is this general broad issue I mentioned
13 before, about people wanting to improve their quality of life.
14 During this fall and after the election we have questioned very
15 carefully about what people think improves their quality of
16 life.

17 What are the elements of the quality of life that they
18 would like to see changed or they would like to improve in their
19 own lives. First of all, the most important element -- not the
20 most important but one of the elements -- is that they have a
21 job, have a means of income.

22 Secondly, that they have home ownership, that they

ac 17

1 have a place to live.

2 Third, that they and their family have adequate
3 health care, that they have the opportunity to give their
4 children a better education than they had.

5 Fourthly, that they have the opportunity for recrea-
6 tion and leisure time. That is a much broader issue, as most
7 of the unions have found out, than is generally perceived.

8 Many of the labor unions have found in their survey-
9 ing of their own members in getting ready for contract
10 negotiations that the demand for more time off and for greater
11 amounts of leisure time has exceeded many of the economic goals
12 that were there five and six years ago.

13 Look at these attitudes. I think there are some
14 demographic cuts that may be very important to you and very
15 important to us in trying to broaden and build this party from
16 a small minority party, and one which is very close to becoming
17 a permanent minority party in this country. And believe me,
18 that can happen.

19 If you look at countries in Western Europe, there are
20 many of them that have essentially permanent majority parties
21 and permanent minority parties. Until we can improve and
22 expand this party at its most elemental levels, at the local

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1 levels and the legislative level and get control of the reorgani-
2 zation and redistributing process, I think we are confined and
3 doomed to the role of a permanent minority party both in many
4 of our legislatures and in Congress.

5 That is why it is simply more important to build a
6 party with a much broader base than a number of very attractive
7 elected officials -- whether they be governors or senators or
8 the President.

9 While it is very important to do that, you in no way
10 can have a broad effect in this country until we can get control
11 of the party at its grass roots or particularly at its
12 legislative level.

13 The Republican Party suffers today from exactly the
14 same perceptions it suffered from ever since the Depression --
15 that of representing the wealthy, the rich, and many specialty
16 interests in this society.

17 We gained unfortunately over a short period of time
18 about two or three years there the perception of being corrupt.
19 Fortunately, that has left us and neither party has seen this
20 more onerous or more corrupt than the other at this point.

21 We have now I think fallen back into the perceptions
22 that have doomed us or caused us problems for 20 or 30 years,

ac 19

1 that is that we represent a special interest while the Democrats
2 and other parties represent an average and working people better
3 than we do.

4 Certainly the rebuilding of a party is a slow and
5 tedious process. But in our upswings that we have had at any
6 point in the past, the governors have always been the cornerstone
7 of that rebuilding.

8 I think there are three or four things that we ought
9 to keep in mind as you address yourself to the party and the
10 rebuilding of it here.

11 First of all, while we cannot limit, and ought not
12 to limit, to specific demographic rules in the society and aim
13 at those, there are two or three things that are very apparent.

14 One is that we have got to do better with blacks
15 than we have done in the past. That is not a liberal or a
16 conciliatory argument. It is simply a statement of fact, as
17 we found out in this presidential election, you cannot carry a
18 majority of the States in this country and get two or three
19 percent or four percent of the black vote, which is what the
20 President got in many of the large States.

21 Traditional Republicans, if you justify them, have
22 gotten 10 or 11 percent. And successful Republicans in most of

ac 20

1 these big States have also been able to get a minimum of 16 or
2 18 percent, and in many cases up to 30 percent. We have got to
3 do better with blacks.

4 That is the only group that in this country continues
5 to vote 90 percent one way or the other in election after
6 election. We cannot allow that to continue and build a broad
7 party.

8 Secondly, as Governor Moore said, we have got to do
9 better with our younger voters. If you look at the distinguish-
10 ing, the only distinguishing demographic trait of some of the
11 things that I talked about before -- these attitudes of aliena-
12 tion and cynicism -- it is age.

13 There is a very sharp distinction in this country
14 between people who enter the electorate, pre- and post-1960.
15 And if we look at those people who have entered the electorate
16 prior to 1960, which means they have got to be over 38 or 39
17 years old today, they have behaved in a pretty traditional
18 political manner.

19 They hold about the same values voters have held
20 for 30 or 40 years. They have tended to follow their parents in
21 one party or the other by the time they are about 25 or 30
22 years old.

ac 21

1 But if you look at the group of voters who have come
2 into the electorate, 38 or 39 years old, that is where the
3 highest levels of alienation are, where the lowest levels of
4 turnout are, and particularly with the groups of voters who are
5 not college educated.

6 Forty percent of all the eligible voters in this
7 country in this past election were people who have become
8 eligible to vote since 1960. And 70 percent of that group have
9 never seen a college campus.

10 So don't fall into the trap, that when immediately
11 people start talking about young voters and doing better with
12 you, of thinking of college campuses. Seventy percent of those
13 people have never seen any kind of post-secondary education.
14 In fact, 29 percent have not graduated from high school.

15 That is the one group I think that will determine
16 where the next majority coalition in this country comes from.
17 The fact is that over, I think this is true, at no time in our
18 history has any political party ever built a majority by convinc-
19 ing people to switch from one party to another.

20 Every new majority, if I am not mistaken, has been
21 built by one political party or the other, bringing people into
22 the active electorate who have not been there before, new

ac 22

1 voters.

2 That is how the Democrats accomplished the New Deal
3 in the thirties. They brought blacks, blue-collar workers and
4 labor union members into the electorate in the thirties who had
5 not been there previously. This is a group, this group of
6 under 37 or 38 year olds, particularly not college educated
7 voters, who will determine in my mind where the next majority
8 coalition comes from.

9 There was no evidence in this election that they were
10 moving one way or the other. Those are people who are essen-
11 tially anti-party and aparty right now. They are slightly more
12 Democratic than Republican, but they are not people we have got
13 to change from being Democrats to being Republicans.

14 These are people who are looking for some kind of an
15 institution to associate themselves with.

16 I think that we have got to continue the emphasis on
17 candidates that Governor Moore mentioned.

18 Certainly, if there is one single most important thing
19 in determining whether we win or lose, in any election that I
20 have ever been involved in, it is the candidate selection
21 process; that once the candidate is chosen, certainly a great
22 majority of the variance in that election is over.

1 This is an area where I think the governors can be
2 particularly important in helping, beignning right now, to find
3 people to run for the governorships that are opening in 1977
4 and 1978.

5 I think you can be very important, and there is
6 nothing that is more important than finding good people to run
7 for office. More importantly, finding qualified people and
8 good candidates to run for legislative and congressional seats,
9 particularly within your own State.

10 It is also important that a political party has some
11 kind of idea behind it. I don't think you can build a majority
12 political party simply out of a number of attractive individual
13 stars.

14 I think you can elect a large number of Republican
15 governors or a significant number, at various times Republican
16 senators, but I don't believe that you can have a serious effect
17 on the Democratic majorities in most legislatures and in Congress
18 unless we can establish something more than just a lot of
19 attractive individuals.

20 Because there is not enough awareness, there is not
21 enough focus on those positions on the ticket that those are the
22 places that are important to the future of the party, that the

1 places where the party has its greater effect on voting is down
2 the ticket at the legislative and congressional level, where
3 we have got to have some kind of an idea behind the party.

4 That is not necessarily an ideological idea, but it
5 is simply important that our party not represent in its
6 minority status. It has got to say something more, that we can
7 do the same thing the Democrats have been doing only do it a
8 little better.

9 It is important, I think, that the Republican Party
10 be able to communicate some kind of an ideal that we can improve
11 and that our kind of government can improve the way of life of
12 a majority of the citizens in the country.

13 It certainly is also important that we pay attention
14 to the political organizations within the States. When we look
15 around the table here this morning -- and I am aware of it and
16 I think a majority of the governors here -- a number of the
17 successful governors are those who have spent considerable time
18 and paid considerable attention to improving and strengthening
19 the Republican Party within their own State.

20 In closing, I think there is one other thing that I
21 probably don't have to say here but I would like to say in
22 almost every speech I give. This is that when we think about

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1 building the Republican Party, what our plans are going to be
2 certainly for the next two years but more importantly for the
3 next four and six and eight years, it is that it is very
4 important that we not underestimate the intelligence and the
5 wisdom of the American voter.

6 The American voters, when they go to the polls,
7 generally have -- at least in my view -- a very true, a very
8 real, a very accurate perception of what it is they are voting
9 for and what it is they are voting against.

10 They generally have, at least in my experience of
11 dealing with candidates over a number of years, a pretty
12 accurate view and a pretty accurate perception of just what
13 kind of an individual it is they are voting for or against.

14 They may think they may be taking some risks and may
15 not like everything about the person they are voting for, but at
16 least the voter you see by the time you get to the election
17 day, the average voter has a pretty accurate view of the kind
18 of individual they are voting for on that day or the kind of
19 program they are voting for.

20 I would be happy to answer any questions.

21 ... Applause ...

ac end 22

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mjdl

1 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you. I would like at this
2 time to open the floor for questions. Simply raise your hand
3 and inquire of Bob on any of the areas that he touched upon
4 or, more importantly, an area of deficiency. Governor Romney
5 has a question.

6 MR. ROMNEY: Bob, what states have done the best job
7 of broadening the base, and how did they do it? Do you know
8 examples?

9 MR. TEETER: I think, not to be overly provincial,
10 that in Michigan the Party has done a good job. It certainly
11 has, in Indiana, done a good job, as witness the results in
12 this particular election, where the two top-of-the-ticket
13 candidates both got about 60 percent. In each of those cases
14 one of the things you find is that you do not have a narrow
15 demographic appeal or a narrow ideological appeal of those
16 campaigns or the parties in those states. They have been,
17 as Governor Moore referred to, big enough umbrellas and are
18 broadly enough based that they do reasonably well, whether they
19 win or lose. They address themselves and they don't go into
20 any election, I think, writing off any kind of individual group.
21 If you don't find any group within those states where we end
22 up with three or four or five or ten percent, it is that we

2

1 are able to do reasonably well right across the spectrum.

2 In fact, this is a censorious people. When you ask people,
3 if they don't know anything else about two candidates, and they
4 know one is a conservative and one is a liberal, which do they
5 vote for, 57 percent of the people, as recently as, I believe,
6 August, rejected that out of hand and say simply, "That doesn't
7 tell me enough. I couldn't make up my mind if that is all
8 I knew. I wasn't able to do it."

9 The fact is that it is an eccentric kind of thing.
10 If you look specifically in addressing ourselves to individual
11 demographics, particularly Blacks -- I referred to Blacks
12 earlier--it is that you know from your own experience,
13 Governor, as I believe you did significantly better every time
14 you ran among Blacks than you did the time before, I think
15 it is because you had a record of addressing yourself to the
16 concerns that they had and that, as you see the Republican
17 candidates who do well among Blacks, they are those who do
18 better each time they are elected and those who build a record
19 of being concerned and expressing that concern about the things
20 that those voters are concerned with. It is simply addressing
21 yourself, I believe, to the concerns of these individuals.
22 I believe it is much more important to do that in the record

1 of the officials than it is to do it organizationally.

2 I think we have got to pay attention to an organization.
3 Bill McLaughlin told me after the election that, I believe,
4 the ticket in Michigan paid a lot of attention to working hard
5 in the student areas this year, that the ticket in Michigan
6 carried every student precinct except those at the University
7 of Michigan, and across the state, at all of the other universi-
8 ties -- Central Michigan, Michigan State -- the Republican
9 ticket carried every student precinct in Michigan except a
10 few in Ann Arbor. That is simply, and I think Bill can
11 tell you, a matter of paying attention and making a serious
12 effort in those areas, which we too often don't do.

13 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor-elect Thompson.

14 MR. THOMPSON: Bob, when you get down to the
15 comparison of Ford and Carter as individuals without controlling
16 the vote, where does Carter's Southern background and associations
17 in the Southern vote come into that, if at all?

18 MR. TEETER: It is critical. If you look at a map,
19 that was the thing.

20 MR. THOMPSON: Are you assuming the regionalism of
21 Carter's appeal is part of his personality as distinct from
22 an outside force in the election?

1 MR. TEETER: Yes, I think so. And I think it is
2 particularly so that if there was one thing that was very
3 important in Governor Carter's appeal, it was the Black voters,
4 where he did very well. It was basically, I think, his per-
5 ception as an honest and moral and Christian individual. His
6 religion was particularly, and probably more important to him
7 among Black voters than any other place in the election.

8 MR. DU PONT: Bob, you commented that so often the
9 successful candidates at a state-wide level were the individuals
10 who were able to run an effective and bright, if you will,
11 campaign on their own. What happens when you get down to the
12 state legislative level?

13 Our experience in Delaware has been that you can
14 run the brightest, most attractive, most articulate people you
15 can find, and they get the devil knocked out of them because
16 we haven't found whatever the correct key is.

17 Have you any observations on that?

18 MR. TEETER: We found that everywhere this year, that
19 we did poorly in elective races and we did poorly with good
20 candidates, well-financed candidates. That is why I mentioned
21 the fact that it is important, I think, that we begin to
22 build an idea behind the Republican Party; because, given

1 the negative perception that the Party has now and is
2 separate from varying degrees and intensities of 35 years, it
3 is that at those lower levels on the ticket where those
4 candidates don't get that much exposure, that is where a
5 party group has its greatest effect and that is where our two-to-
6 one deficit is. When you get down to a level where the voter
7 says, "I don't know either of these candidates very well", then
8 they tend to fall back into the party predisposition which is
9 better than two-to-one Democratic and we do very poorly.

10 So I think it is important that, through your adminis-
11 tration, we begin to build the notion of what a Republican
12 Government would do differently than a Democratic Government
13 and what it would stand for. Because if we cannot begin
14 to effect the general perception of the Party in addition to
15 just those individuals at the top of the ticket, I don't think
16 we are ever going to have the kind of success we need to have
17 at that level of the ticket. I just don't think it is possible
18 in a state to go down and mount 50 or 60 or 70 individual
19 campaigns to give those candidates the kind of exposure that
20 you are going to get at the top of the ticket. It won't work.

21 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor McCall.

22 MR. MC CALL: Very quickly, Mr. Teeter, there is

1 a greater faith in local government, you say; yet we are
2 having more trouble getting school levies passed in our State
3 and I know in Ohio and around the nation.

4 Would you comment on that and what approach school
5 board members could take? They are killing themselves to try
6 to get these passed now. Is there any psychological fulcrum
7 they could use to get more of these levies passed?

8 MR. TEETER: I am not aware of it if there is any magic
9 button in that regard. It seems to me that with the school
10 levies, there are two things, very briefly, that have affected,
11 I think, a lot of school levies when we studied them.

12 First of all is that as we went through the recession,
13 it is simply dollars became more important. People were
14 unwilling to vote for anything that would cost them any more
15 money. It simply was not out of an antagonism for education.
16 It was simply out of a feeling they could not afford anything
17 more.

18 If you go back as far as '58 and look at the recession
19 and when inflation was important, and ask people, "What were
20 the elements of inflation that concerned you the most?" 93
21 percent mentioned food prices. Now, if you ask, "What are the
22 elements of inflation that concern you greatly?" there are

1 three that get significant mention. First are good prices,
2 secondly are energy costs and taxes -- particularly property
3 taxes are seen as a rising and important element of inflation.

4 The second thing that has had to do, I think, with
5 a lot of school levies, frankly, is that 15 or 20 years ago
6 the majority of the teachers' income was less than a large
7 number of people in any given community. As the income of each
8 teacher rose and rose above the average income, there were more
9 and more people who were feeling that they were not getting
10 anything more, they were not improving the quality of education
11 by voting for school levies. Certainly, you will find where
12 there have been public employee strikes, and teacher strikes
13 in particular -- we studied one a year ago in Buck County,
14 Pennsylvania, where attitudes toward public employee strikes
15 and toward the schools just simply suffered irreparable harm
16 over the period of an extended strike. We had that experience
17 in Michigan, certainly.

18 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Farrar.

19 MR. FARRAR: Mr. Teeter, you talked about building
20 a base through an idea, an idea different than the Democratic
21 Party. But you didn't suggest any idea. Do you have any?
22 Could you enlighten us on a couple of those ideas that look

1 attractive to the American people that we could live with
2 in the Republican Party?

3 MR. TEETER: Certainly I think that idea has to
4 be built around two or three things. One is the notion of
5 individuals and the rights and the ability of individuals
6 to function as individuals, the ability of individuals to
7 communicate with and influence their institutions. I think this
8 has a lot to do with local government and the kind of old
9 Republican idea of more decision-making on the part of local
10 government; for instance, an idea in which the name never meant
11 much, but which we tested and was a very important idea before
12 I think it got shoved off. It was back in the Nixon Adminis-
13 tration when the whole notion of new federalism was around.
14 If you were testing examples of that idea, that was a very strong
15 idea. It was one, I think, that contained the elements for a
16 real basis for the Republican Party, the whole notion of getting
17 decision-making back into local areas and away from the state
18 capitol. And just as importantly, it has to contain, however,
19 the idea that in doing that we are not saying that government
20 is not going to address any of the problems. People want
21 the government to address problems that they have. It is
22 not a matter of people wanting to see the roads built. People

1 want to see the city and the problems of the cities taken
2 care of. People want the government to do things, and they
3 think the government has a legitimate role. It is continuously
4 an argument for government, which is somewhat different
5 than it is now; that is, that they locally can control and that
6 they can decide which problems are going to be addressed and
7 which priorities, and how they are going to be addressed.
8 And this whole field of alienation has been brought about in
9 large degree by this idea that there are regulations passed
10 on down and down and down and, as the individual begins to
11 try and work his way up and change those, he sees something
12 he doesn't like. There is no place that he can get that.

13 Another important aspect is some way that the
14 individual can get his hands on the policy-making mechanism.
15 There is a growing feeling, and probably an accurate one, that
16 a great number of policy-making decisions have been taken out
17 of the hands of individuals and of institutions that the
18 individual can get close to. For instance, huge numbers
19 of policy decisions that directly affect people are made in
20 what they think of as the bureaucracy. Even if they vote
21 against them, throw out all the incumbent office-holders,
22 it doesn't change those decisions. They can't get to them.

mjd10

1 Certainly this is a source of a lot of antagonism towards
2 the courts, a feeling that there is a public policy being
3 made and decisions being made by courts in which the voters
4 cannot get their hold on these courts. They can't do anything.
5 There is no way they can affect them.

6 The most obvious example of that is busing. If you
7 go out and ask people what they think, or what the neighbors
8 think, whether they are for or against busing, most have
9 a pretty accurate view in those cities, in Louisville, Boston
10 and Detroit, if you studied it. You studied it in Pontiac,
11 which was one of the first cities to have a busing program.
12 We did a study of that city to test the effect of it every
13 year since it took place. What has happened is you find people
14 having a very accurate view. They say, "Eighty percent of the
15 people in this community are opposed to it, and yet it has
16 happened."

17 We are having policy being made, forced on us
18 through institutions that in no way can we affect. I think
19 we have got to find a way for individuals to communicate with
20 and affect those institutions that are making policy that affect
21 their lives.

22 If you listen to group interviews that we video-taped

mjd11

1 and sit in our office and watch them, you hear example after
2 example where individuals say, "I can't find out who made
3 the regulations. I can't change it. I can't even talk
4 to somebody who has anything to do with it" -- that kind of
5 frustration. So I think this idea of bringing government down
6 to a lower level ought to be the basis for it to prosper.

7 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Thomson.

8 GOVERNOR THOMSON: I would like to know whether
9 you see the voters as perceiving any material difference between
10 the two major parties; and, if so, what are those differences?

11 MR. TEETER: They do not perceive significant
12 enough differences to influence their vote record. They do
13 perceive some differences. They perceive the differences
14 that have been there for 30 years or 40 years, since the
15 Depression. The Republicans are generally perceived as more
16 able to handle foreign affairs and defense. The Democrats are
17 more able to handle economic issues. But in terms of approach
18 to government and this general issue I was just talking about,
19 that they do not see as chief differences, as most of us here
20 do, in the approach between the Republicans and Democrats
21 as to where decisions are going to be made and how government
22 is going to be conducted.

mjd12

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GOVERNOR MOORE: Bob, thank you very much.

2

MR. TEETER: Thank you.

3

... Applause ...

4

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GOVERNOR MOORE: We are appreciative of your time and effort.

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In structuring the conference we wanted to bring to the totality of discussion of the issues to their fullest extent possible former Governors who had served in a distinguished manner in their respective States.

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Our speaker at this time, speaking to us on "The Historical Perspective of the Role of Government in America," is the former Governor of Oregon, Tom McCall, who is presently now writing a newspaper column, involved as President of Applied Energetics, a nonprofit institution, but for those of us who served with Tom -- he was my seat-mate for so many years in the National Governors Conference deliberations -- he became affectionately known by all of us as the only Governor who carried on a campaign to ban himself.

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Governor McCall.

md ends,
ac fls

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fls md

1 "THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE ROLE
2 OF GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA,"

3 BY

4 FORMER GOVERNOR TOM MCCALL OF OREGON

5 MR. MCCALL: Certainly I want to thank Arch for that
6 very warm welcome. We were great friends when we were colleagues.
7 Arch Moore has been especially understanding about the winding-
8 down problems of the governor. And believe me, it is hell to
9 wind down after you have been in public life.

10 When you go to private life, as I mentioned to Cal
11 Rampton the other day -- he is finishing his third term and
12 getting out and he says he knows it is going to be a tremendous
13 problem because where they used to say "yes, sir" to him, they
14 are now saying "why?"

15 That is one of the main things you run into.

16 ... Laughter ...

17 MR. MCCALL: I think Arch was awfully complimentary
18 to me in saying also that I was going to trace the historic
19 role of government in this country. I would sort of like to
20 put on a Republican perspective because that would take up the
21 combined talents of the Walter Lippmann, James MacGregor Burns,
22 and our good friend, David Broder, and my illustrious grandfather
Tom Lawson and Sam McCall.

1 Granddaddy Lawson was known the world over as the
2 "Copper King." He wrote the first magnificent history of
3 the Republican Party, had it printed on silk and presented copies
4 to President McKinley and the members of his Cabinet.

5 Grandfather McCall was a historian and newspaper
6 publisher in Boston, and often endorsed while in Congress by
7 The New York Times as the most independent and intellectual
8 member of that great body.

9 He was the first three-term governor of Massachusetts
10 and in a sense he gave the United States a guy called "Silent
11 Cal." He pulled Calvin Coolidge out of the legislative woodwork
12 and got him to run as his lieutenant governor, but only allowed
13 him to speak during the campaign to smaller groups, preferably
14 fervent Republican women.

15 The McCall-Lawson Republican roots go back almost to
16 the day this party was founded. We won 17 out of 20 elections
17 for State and Federal office running as Republicans. I am the
18 only person here today, I am sure, who could say he had two
19 grandfathers beaten in the same year, running for the United
20 States Senate, by the same man.

21 The third and successful part of this triangle was
22 a fellow named John W. Weeks, who had been Secretary of War for

1 Massachusetts.

2 This shinnying around the family tree is appropriate,
3 I think, Arch and Bob and my colleagues, and ladies and gentlemen,
4 because it lets you know that this family background not only
5 supplies good Republican credentials but perspectives on govern-
6 ment from both the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards.

7 Since we have been progressive, as well as coastal
8 Republicans, you can count on me not to spend all of my allotted
9 time or very much of it delving through the musty attics of
10 history.

11 Certainly, John Connally is as forceful and brilliant
12 a political figure as you will find roaming America today, and
13 I wish him well. But that doesn't mean that he necessarily will
14 win by default on saying anything on his topic, or what the
15 governors ought to be doing in America.

16 Arch asked me here because I am not only a former
17 governor, but because I am a political writer and have been most
18 of my life and a commentator doing 12 commentaries a week on
19 radio and television stations.

20 So please understand, if you will, gentlemen, I am
21 not a House man today and I may not indulge in all the glossing
22 and the building and the bravado that characterizes a post-election

1 meeting of a losing party. It may sound, in places, like
2 recriminating -- but it really is analyzing.

3 We lost a treasure, believe me, when we lost Gerald
4 Ford as President. This is not to imply any derogation of the
5 President-elect, but just to go on record with my belief that
6 no more suitable substitute could have been found to take over
7 the White House when this Nation was in the toils of Watergate.

8 I came to know the President as a man of innocence
9 and idealism and fidelity, and those are unusual traits, to still
10 survive a quarter century of bartering in the Congress. These
11 and his honesty and his openness made him the perfect personality
12 to lead us back toward the light of national self-respect.

13 History would certainly say of him, I would judge,
14 that no President did so much in so short a time, perhaps not
15 programmatically but in terms of commitment of his heart and
16 soul to the leadership of his country.

17 I had hoped that, if he could have been here today
18 to discuss the role of the governor's part in domestic policy,
19 he would have dwelt on the record of another Michigander,
20 Governor William Milliken, a fitting successor to the great
21 Governor Romney of that State.

22 If you look at governors like Bill Milliken and Dan

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1 Evans of Washington, Bob Ray of Iowa, you, Arch Moore, Kit
2 Bond, you look at their records and you begin to understand the
3 role of government in our free system.

4 All would have been likely to have qualified for and
5 received a postcard I got last year in my last year in office,
6 year before last, from the son of a Democratic leader, a third-
7 grader in Eugene, who scrawled a postcard to me saying, "You
8 may be a Republican, but you're a good man."

9 ... Laughter ...

10 MR. McCALL: I think my grandfather McCall might have
11 qualified for that compliment in his day too, because he was a
12 leader also who recognized, as you have to be successful,
13 government is the people's servant and it is not the other way
14 around.

15 So, like Bill Milliken, he went to work to increase
16 the competence of that servant to do its job. And at a national
17 governors conference six years ago, State Senator Bill
18 Saltonstall came up to me and said, "We are still working to
19 carry out your grandfather's massive blueprint of State
20 government for reorganization and constitutional revision."

21 In 1973, I addressed my first strongly Democratic
22 legislature -- both Houses had swung over -- and I drew heavily

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1 on Sam McCall's 1917 inaugural address in Massachusetts for my
2 message to the Oregon legislature.

3 It was so modern in terms of consumerism, drug and
4 price control and the environment, that it popped their eyes, the
5 eyes of all these Democrats, to learn that it not only had come
6 from the pen of a Republican but it was written 56 years earlier.

7 We went from there to a session that saw enactment of
8 more than 90 percent of my program. So the role of government,
9 then, in this Republican's concept of it, is to serve the
10 public, not partisanship, through a cooperative, not an
11 adversary, procedure that inculcates quality, insofar as is
12 possible, at the expense of quantity.

13 That isn't a perception of the full practice of
14 statecraft that we find dominating history. That is the way it
15 ought to be, and it would be if the pros of politics get over
16 their obsession with playing a game that an Oregon State Senator
17 scornfully describes as "those games of elephants and donkeys."

18 Surely, it is fatuous to hope any longer that the
19 Nation is going to elect a whole slew of Republicans simply
20 because they are Republicans.

21 Surely, if a Kit Bond is beaten in Missouri, you are
22 not going to blame Kit Bond. Because you can just imagine

ac 7

1 what a whopping victory that magnetic young governor would have
2 won had he worn the label "Democrat," and not the millstone
3 "Republican."

4 It may sound like heresy, but the heretical, although
5 discomfoting, can also be the truth, which is something this
6 party has to confront with realism.

7 It has made so many mistakes that it finds itself
8 today an endangered species sitting at graveside. Most of
9 those mistakes, I think, derive from the basic mistake that this
10 party belongs to the American Right Wing or at least the
11 Right-of-Center is so powerful that it can dictate every major
12 move, no matter how politically suicidal.

13 I also pause for a moment to let that sink in and
14 there will be a little more coming in a second.

15 ... Laughter ...

16 MR. McCALL: I think an excellent case in point is the
17 misuse and abuse of Nelson Aldridge Rockefeller, the wearing
18 away of what was once the greatest single asset in either major
19 party. Can you imagine, gentlemen, the euphoria we would be
20 feeling now if we had unleashed Rockefeller in his prime -- in
21 1964 or 1968.

22 There would have been no Watergate, programmatically

1 government would have been working better, presumably so would
2 the economy and, in my estimation, the Republicans would be the
3 majority party of this country.

4 Ten years ago in Colorado Springs, the Republican
5 governors Association found the party actually heading in the
6 direction of becoming the dominant party. That was the time
7 we found that we had gone from 17 to 25 governors just on the turn
8 of the election of 1966.

9 We had added 47 new Representatives to the Congress
10 and we had even registered huge inroads in the big cities of
11 this country. This was only six years after the incomparable
12 Ray Bliss -- whose name is on every lip, I notice, of this
13 particular conference -- made a survey to determine the standing
14 of the Republican Party in the cities.

15 He summarized his findings with one word. That word
16 was "pitiful."

17 So the Colorado Springs rally came only two years
18 after the Republican governors had rallied in an emergency
19 session at Denver to pick up the pieces of the party from the
20 1964 debacle.

21 It was held about 15 years, incidentally, after
22 Thomas E. Dewey of New York took command of the Draft Eisenhower

1 movement and drove it to victory.

2 David Broder and Steve Hess, in their marvelous book,
3 "The Republican Establishment," wrote: "This feat was
4 possible because Dewey retained a base of political
5 power, which was the governorship of the largest State in the
6 Union."

7 We might wonder down through history what it might
8 have been like if Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan had not
9 abandoned their gubernatorial power bases in each of the two
10 largest States.

11 I suspect that Nelson Rockefeller during the last
12 couple of years could have been his own man instead of being
13 forced to his knees in Washington in deference to every living
14 creature right of the Republican center.

15 Would Ronald Reagan have been of greater stature in
16 the past year, running as a third-term governor out of Sacramento?
17 I would suspect so because it would have underlined the
18 importance of his incumbency in our greatest and largest State.

19 This conjecture is worthwhile, gentlemen, because we
20 can learn from our mistakes if we ever have another chance. It
21 is not intended to be recriminatory or hindsight because I have
22 been a vigorous Rockefeller supporter, as you all know, for 20

1 years and lost the chairmanship of the Oregon delegation to the
2 1968 Republican convention because of that fervent support of
3 Rockefeller.

4 It is no empty conjecture that the GOP's catering to
5 the minority in, and near, its right flank at Kansas City cost us
6 the White House in the recent presidential election. The barring
7 there of the moderates from the vice presidency tended, as the
8 campaign progressed, to wall off more and more voters from the
9 Republican ticket.

10 It will also be argued for a long time whether Ronald
11 Reagan could have won November 2. My intuition tells me he
12 couldn't have because his pool of potential voters would not
13 have been large enough.

14 Also, one of the most astute Democratic politicians
15 in America, told me he would sit on his hands in a Ford-Carter
16 contest but would campaign day and night for Carter if the
17 latter were opposed by Ronald Reagan. And this sentiment was
18 not confined to just this one personage.

19 Now we see many headlines blasting out about Right
20 Wing intentions to take over party leadership. The Portland
21 Oregonian played the story under the headline, "GOP Chairman
22 Quits; Control Sought by Right."

1 Mary Louise Smith, a pragmatist on the order of Ray
2 Bliss, warned, in stepping down, against "any fatal lurch to
3 either extreme of the political spectrum."

4 It is a timely thought from a fine leader, but I would
5 be hard-pressed to locate enough moderate Republicans to cause
6 even a ripple to the left. A lurch to the right, however,
7 would warm the hearts of armies of the McKinley type political
8 philosophers whose raw-meat approach to problems needing
9 positive and sometimes compassionate treatment would repel a
10 goodly majority of America's voters.

11 That is the meat, gentlemen, of the party's
12 dilemma: what do you do with the moderates? They are popular
13 with about 65 to 75 percent of the people, yet the other 25 or
14 35 percent which runs the party loathe the moderates. They
15 can't get along with the moderates. They can't get along with
16 the party without the moderates.

17 There are moderates of star rating who want to leave
18 the party. You know right now Howard Baker has two young men
19 I know of who were horsing across the campuses of the Northwest
20 building up Baker sentiment for President in 1980.

21 There are also the brilliant Millikens and the John
22 Andersons and the Dan Evanses who are alive despite the deep

1 wounds of Kansas City, which sent Senator Mark Hatfield back to
2 Washington, vowing bitterly to concentrate on local and State
3 candidates -- period.

4 But the defectors of the moderate and liberal
5 persuasion, they all crawled back on the White House bandwagon
6 eventually, wanting to be known to the electorate they were good
7 sports.

8 It made them fair game for the contempt of that most
9 vindictive of the syndicated columnists, Patrick J. Buchanan
10 who, in writing about '78 and '80, said, "Then perhaps the
11 liberal-moderate film on top of the Republican Party will be
12 useful. Look at that lineup: Weicker of Connecticut, Javits
13 of New York, Case of New Jersey, Schweiker and Heinz of
14 Pennsylvania, Mathias of Maryland, Percy of Illinois, and so on.
15 What better cover could conservatives ask, as they go about
16 consolidating control of the grass roots GOP and building for
17 1980?"

18 How long will the liberal-moderates play porpoise for
19 the nets of those who, if the choice were theirs, would rather
20 ruin than rule?

21 We saw them read Daniel Jackson Evans out of the
22 party after the Right had manipulated caucuses and conventions

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1 to win nearly all the delegates to the Republican convention from
2 Washington State, a State that by popular vote in every poll
3 would have gone for President Ford. And yet, Dan Evans came
4 back from this terrible meanness, after being driven into the
5 wilderness, and put together a winning Washington State team for
6 President Ford. As you know, Oregon nosed finally into the
7 Ford column.

8 That is where all the continental West is, gentlemen,
9 as you are aware. But that is not proof there is Republican
10 sectionalism with promise out there. Oregon and Washington are
11 as diverse from ultraconservative Idaho, Montana, Nevada and
12 Utah as diverse can be.

13 But I do counsel you respectfully to look to the
14 Northwest corner of this vast land for a clue to what Republican
15 government can really mean -- where you find the so-called
16 Dorchester Republicans.

17 In 1911, Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, stood
18 in the streets of Portland and said, "I count myself immensely
19 progressive when I am in the East, but when I am in Oregon, I
20 am not so sure."

21 The same year he counseled his legislature to "point
22 toward Oregon because that is the direction I believe in which

1 New Jersey ought to go."

2 It simply was ahead of its time because of its
3 adoption of direct legislation, the popular election of United
4 States Senators, and especially inventive laws protecting
5 children and women from labor abuses.

6 It soon was to create the gasoline tax, a sales
7 impost that dragged American traffic from the mud and under-
8 girded the greater highway system the world has ever seen.

9 There is much, much more to the Oregon Story. And
10 Republicans like Evans and Milliken are helping to write their
11 own absorbing Washington and Michigan stories also.

12 This is to me fragmentary evidence of what
13 Republicanism ought to mean, but many States are laboratories
14 where good government is practiced. And they abound wherever
15 the problem-solvers managed to dominate the hate-slingers.

16 So you put together the doings of the party doers
17 all the way back to the inception of this party and you have
18 an image of what ought to be the GOP's approach to good govern-
19 ment, even counting the brave efforts of Alf Landon to make
20 proper land use planning a major issue in the 1936 presidential
21 race, even counting a portentous decision by President Coolidge
22 way back in the middle twenties.

ad 25

1 Silent Cal's Air Corps asked for six planes and the
2 President had this comment, "I fail to understand this. Why
3 must each pilot have a plane? Why can't they buy just one plane
4 and everyone take turns flying it?" It sounds like him.

5 I am just about through and there is nothing that is
6 going to be invidious from now on.

7 So subsequently Mr. Coolidge did approve a \$13,000
8 appropriation, and who would have guessed that that most
9 conservative of Presidents triggered a major budget-buster in
10 1925, because that is what that six-plane decision developed
11 into.

12 It underlines the whole government spending dilemma,
13 because it brought about that six-plane decision, a major
14 factor in defeating the axis, which of course was the awesome
15 United States Air Force.

16 What we need to contest with all our will is not
17 necessarily Big Government but Bloated Government.

18 I think there is one point citizens of all persuasions
19 can agree on. But bloat can be construed in so many ways,
20 even that premise is of little avail as this party battles today
21 against factionalism becoming an ever more lethal habit of the
22 GOP.

1 We have a warning before us from John Adams, "Once
2 the erosion of power begins, it develops a momentum of its own.
3 Voters generally show a disposition to abandon a sinking
4 politician or a defeated party."

5 So the turnaround that was so sensational that we
6 achieved between 1964 and 1966 is more impossible today, even
7 though Big Jim Thompson, of Illinois, is newly dynamic on the
8 Republican horizon and there are other bits of hopes, such as
9 the election of charming John Chafee, of Rhode Island; John
10 Danforth, of Missouri; John Heinz, of Pennsylvania; Richard
11 Lugar, of Indiana; and Malcolm Wallop, of Wyoming, who wrote
12 to me and asked to get into my third force because he said
13 I am a conservative and you are a conservationist and conserva-
14 tion is the soul of conservatism.

15 But the two-party imbalance is so pronounced that
16 Ronald Reagan himself said he would seriously consider changing
17 the party's name to something bouncier and more alluring. For
18 years many candidates have recognized that it is a voter
19 repellant. You go from State to State and I will ask you to
20 find one signboard being used by a Republican candidate that
21 mentions he is a member of the Republican Party.

22 It is doubly opprobrious to blacks and to many of

ac 17

1 the non-black poor and elderly. I have a black anchor man who
2 works with me on one of my newspaper programs and he said,
3 "When you go back there, tell them my mother was a fervent,
4 ardent Republican, my grandmother was, and tell them I send
5 them the back of my hand," to underline what Mr. Teeter was
6 saying about our trouble with the blacks.

7 Anyhow, I am in the home stretch and it is sad to see
8 the once-honored Republican symbol tossed around like a hot
9 rivet. But it seems to be an impending development of all this
10 post-election turbulence in 1976.

11 Also, in these jolting times, Gene McCarthy has gone
12 so far as to talk about putting all the splinter parties
13 together in a third party -- a far cry from my third force, I
14 want you to know.

15 But can you imagine Gene McCarthy embracing Lester
16 Maddox with Ronald Reagan standing by to perform the nuptials?
17 Man, that is just crazy!

18 The times encourage sort of a desperate audacity.
19 Something that I want to leave with you today would be to give
20 low priority to fighting over the party label. To ask you,
21 Jerry Ford, giving high priority to asking Jerry Ford and Nelson
22 Rockefeller and retiring Governor Don Evans to head up a group

1 to invite our best minds in and out of office to organize, and
2 mandating the panel to pound full speed ahead in research and
3 planning for programs in all areas of public concern.

4 This careful, nonpartisan quality work could begin to
5 surface in the second year of the Carter Administration, offering
6 challenging alternatives and supplements to their programs, not
7 in an adversary way but with an eye to sharpening problem-solving
8 thrusts in what is going to be, and is in effect, essentially a
9 one-party capital.

10 This will not be the vulture-jackal interparty role
11 that Buchanan-Saffire and other polarizers envision for the
12 GOP -- a pack of bum losers circling and waiting to kick all
13 those teeth in, once Jimmy Carter stumbles.

14 No, indeed, the team that I have in mind would be
15 issue-absorbed, knowledgeable in statecraft and devoted to a
16 conviction that good government is possible. Membership would
17 be barred to no moderate, whether he is a liberal or whether he
18 is a conservative. Former governors and former Congressmen
19 would be welcome and a team would move hopefully in the direction
20 of attracting as its chief of staff the type of leadership
21 that is exemplified by Governor Dan Evans of Washington.

22 That nucleus or what should be the nucleus is a

1 question John Gardner and I discussed the other day at breakfast.
2 Believe it or not, John Gardner is still a registered Republican.
3 He feels that the moderates and the liberals were kicked out of
4 the party for sure in Kansas City. We said, "Maybe you could
5 build around something called The Ripon Society."

6 Maybe this Republican Governors Association might be
7 a natural step, maybe its title would raise suspicions and not
8 objectivity.

9 Perhaps the Steering Committee and Task Forces could
10 be assembled under a new banner or a new rag, R-A-G, for Restore
11 America's Greatness or Glamour or Go. Or R-A-M, for "Revive
12 America's Magnificence," or M-O-M-A, for "Maintain our Marvelous
13 America."

14 One wag said we ought to call it the "Neo-pachyderm
15 Party."

16 None of this would imply an end to conventional party
17 activities, but we simply must protect our moderates and
18 liberals because America needs their wisdom. Yet we fail
19 almost utterly to provide a format which comes within a country
20 mile of utilizing their talents to make this Nation stronger.

21 I have overstuffed your ears trying to delineate
22 "The Republican Perspective of the Role of Government in America."

1 I simply could have said -- and Arch would have been
2 caught up on his lost time -- that role ought to be, and
3 sometimes is, the providing of enlightened leadership and
4 citizens participation at every level of government in the
5 furtherance of the quality of life in a strong, unified and
6 humane nation.

7 Thank you.

8 ... Applause ...

9 GOVERNOR MOORE: May I inquire if anybody would dare
10 have a question for Governor McCall at this point?

11 Tom, we want so very much sincerely to thank you.
12 We knew you would be provocative. We knew that you would speak
13 quite sincerely from your perspective. You have always been
14 a valuable and contributing member of our party and we have had
15 great high personal regard for you. We thank you for sharing
16 this conference with us.

17 MR. McCALL: Thank you sir.

18 GOVERNOR MOORE: We might move to the next portion of
19 our program. We are pleased to have former Secretary of the
20 Navy in the Kennedy Administration, and also the Secretary of
21 the Treasury of the United States from February 1971 to June
22 1972, the very distinguished former Governor of the State of

1 Texas, an individual who worked hard and long in behalf of our party
2 in 1976, the Honorable John Connally.

3 ... Applause ...

4 "THE REPUBLICAN CONCEPT OF THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT
5 IN AMERICA,"

6 BY

7 FORMER GOVERNOR JOHN CONNALLY OF TEXAS

8 MR. CONNALLY: Mr. Chairman, distinguished governors
9 and your guests, let me at the outset beg your indulgence. I
10 came with a very bad cold and a very bad throat, hoping that
11 with one more day's passage of time it might improve somewhat.
12 It unfortunately hasn't.

13 I am afraid that I certainly will not sound as I
14 normally do. Perhaps to some of you I will sound much better.

15 In any event, I can be pleased with the thought that
16 the difficulty with which I speak is inevitably going to result
17 in my speaking less. So from that standpoint at least you are
18 certainly the beneficiary because I will curtail my remarks
19 to a considerable degree.

20 I had been asked, as you know, to comment somewhat
21 on the Republican Concept of the Role of Government in America.
22 Without dwelling too long on that subject, let me go back and
refresh your minds a bit about some of the feeling on that score

ac 22

1 at the time of the formative years of this party. William
2 Seward, in a speech at Rochester, New York, in October 1858,
3 said that the party believes in one paramount idea: "The
4 quality of all men before human tribunals and human laws as
5 their equals before the divine tribunal and divine laws."

6 Again in 1860, the Republican Party platform said,
7 "The party views with alarm the regulation extravagances which
8 pervades every department of the Federal Government." That
9 is 1860.

10 That same platform in 1860, in some somewhat familiar
11 words, the party calls for "the return to economy and account-
12 ability, which is indispensable to arrest the systematic
13 blunder of the Treasury."

14 In 1872, the Republican Party platform said, "The
15 Republican Party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation
16 as to secure full protection and the amplest field for
17 capital and labor, the largest opportunities and a just share
18 in the mutual profits."

19 The truth of the matter is that perhaps the Republican
20 Party concept of the Role in Government might best be outlined
21 at least in a negative sense by one who is only part American,
22 who never served in the American government, but who knew much

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1 about government, who had much to do with government, who
2 contributed much to freedom in this world.

3 It is contained in the advice that Winston Churchill
4 gave in 1945 to Clement Attlee, to the Labor Party, to Great
5 Britain and indeed to the world. Winston Churchill said, and
6 I quote him, "I do not believe in the power of the state to
7 plan and enforce, no matter how numerous are the committees
8 they set up or the ever-growing hordes of officials they
9 employ, or the severity of the punishments they inflict or
10 threaten. They can't approach the high level of internal
11 economic production achieved under free enterprise.

12 "Personal initiative, competitive selection, the
13 profit motive, corrected by failure in the infinite processes
14 of good housekeeping and personal ingenuity, these constitute
15 the life of a free society. It is this vital creative impulse
16 that I deeply fear the doctrines and policies of the socialist
17 government have destroyed.

18 "Nothing that they can plan and order and rush around
19 enforcing will take its place. They have broken the main
20 spring and, until we get a new one, the watch will not go."

21 I am still quoting. "Set the people free. Get out
22 of the way and let them make the best of themselves. I am sure

1 that this policy of equalizing misery and organizing scarcity
2 instead of allowing diligence, self-interest and ingenuity
3 to produce abundance has only to be prolonged to kill this
4 British Island stone-dead."

5 That is the end of the quote. That was Winston
6 Churchill's advice to Clement Attlee, to his country and to the
7 world in 1945.

8 I think it is fair to say that when you talk about
9 the Republican Concept of the Role of Government in America, it
10 can be summarized by saying that we believe, and have
11 traditionally believed, in government supporting the privacy
12 and the privilege of the individual, the opportunity of the
13 individual in every way that those privileges and rights can
14 be promoted by legitimate means and with understandable and
15 acceptable policies.

16 Why, if indeed the Republican Party has espoused the
17 freedom of the individual, the rights of the individual, the
18 right of an individual to choose for himself, if indeed the
19 Republican Party has as its basic concept the very heart of the
20 American Revolution as its name -- and we do indeed; this
21 American Revolution about which we talk a great deal and for
22 which we celebrated the 200th anniversary this year, was

1 different from most other revolutions that have occurred around
2 the world through all the passage of time.

3 The American Revolution had as its central theme,
4 for the first time in all the history of man's time on earth,
5 that the individual had a right to decide for himself. That
6 indeed a man could make decisions without fear of government,
7 without domination by government, and without persecution by
8 government as a result of those decisions.

9 The American Revolution had as its central theme,
10 for the first time, that the individual could think for himself,
11 plan for himself, do for himself, act for himself, and learn
12 for himself, train his children by himself, and indeed fashion
13 a career and fashion a life based upon individual desires and
14 individual activities and individual aspirations and individual
15 talents.

16 It has been that central theme that man has a right
17 to decide for himself that has been the controlling and guiding
18 genius of this democracy, of this Republic, and of the progress
19 that we have made as a free people.

20 No other people, no other society, no other organized
21 government in all the history of the world, has even come close
22 to approaching what we have been able to do under that basic

1 concept.

2 So why, if indeed the Republican Party believes in
3 this basic concept -- in protecting and nurturing the rights
4 of the individual to plan for themselves, to use their talents,
5 to use their brains, to use their hands to the highest possible
6 degree in order to create the greatest possible results of
7 their labors -- why is it that we have not been more successful
8 in the political arena, particularly in more recent times?

9 I think it is fair to say that we have lost sight of
10 many of the real problems that we face, that we have failed to
11 communicate as we must communicate, that we have been caught up
12 in certain rhetoric, that to some is understandable, to others
13 is Greek and totally unintelligible, and to others meaningless.

14 We have talked about free enterprise and a free
15 market system without defining it or perhaps even being able to
16 define it. We certainly have not defined it or translated it
17 in terms that the average person can understand what it does
18 mean, in terms of the contributions of the business community of
19 America and their contributions to the social progress and the
20 social policies of the nation and to the economic vitality of
21 the nation.

22 We have talked in terms of profits and not jobs.

1 Much of this really is not so much due to a lack of understanding
2 as it is due to circumstances that we have not been able to
3 cope with.

4 Let's go back a moment. Let me try to explain to you
5 what I am saying. We have tended to think, since the founding
6 of this country, that there were three branches of government,
7 that there was a legislative branch and an executive branch and
8 a judicial branch; and that they were basically coequal in
9 power.

10 Some have felt that the executive branch was so
11 powerful that its limitations must be severe and, indeed, as
12 you well know, the people of this country have limited the time
13 that a President can serve this nation as a result of a
14 constitutional amendment.

15 Yet, during that same period of time that we were
16 passing that constitutional amendment, we failed to perceive
17 that then and now there are not three branches of government.
18 Basically, there are five branches of government. To the three
19 that I have already enumerated, I think you would have to add
20 the civil service bureaucracy as a branch of government.

21 I think, indeed, you would have to add an even more
22 powerful and influential branch of government, and that is the

1 press. So, today we have five branches of government and,
2 indeed, if I were to give you my own personal evaluation, I
3 would say that the five branches: the press, the civil service
4 bureaucracy, the legislative, the judicial, and the executive,
5 I would put the executive last in terms of basic power because
6 I think that is where they really belong.

7 During the 40 years we Republicans have not understood
8 that during this period of time we have been cast in a negative
9 role. We have been cast in the role of those who advocate the
10 status quo. Yet, we have been cast in the role of being a
11 party of business, basically of big business, but in any event
12 of business.

13 Yet, paradoxically, the most innovative, the most
14 ingenious people in America today who live with constant change
15 are those very people, those in business. And yet we have been
16 cast in the role of being in favor of the status quo, largely
17 because for 40 of the last 44 years the Democrats have controlled
18 both Houses of the Congress -- 40 of the last 44 years.

19 During the effective memory of all of us here in this
20 room, we haven't known anything basically but the control of
21 the Congress by the Democrats. This inevitably put the
22 Republicans in the House of Representatives and the Senate of

1 the United States in the position not of advocating, not of
2 initiating, but always protesting or objecting or voting
3 against.

4 And, indeed, we have a President now in office who
5 is best known I suppose for his vetoes, not for what he has
6 done, not for what he recommended to the Congress, not because
7 of any ideas that he has had but because he vetoed a bunch of
8 things that the Democrats passed.

9 And we have not understood that somehow we have to
10 go to the American people, we have to say to the American people
11 that we are not people of one philosophy. And I couldn't
12 agree more with Governor McCall, any time this party reaches
13 the point where its breadth is narrowed, its demise becomes
14 more certain, there is no doubt about that.

15 Indeed, if there is any reasonable or rational
16 justification for only two parties in America -- and I believe
17 there are basically two -- it is that each of the parties
18 contain diverse elements within those parties, ranging all the
19 way from liberal to conservative and all shades of belief in
20 between, and that in the process of working out the intraparty
21 affairs, choosing candidates for each of the parties, in the
22 crucible of the party conventions or the party affairs there

1 tends to develop a common view -- not necessarily a consensus
2 but a common view -- that is acceptable to most, both in terms
3 of individuals and in terms of policies that are pursued.

4 As a consequence, we have had a nation that has been
5 well governed, basically well governed, without the wild swings
6 of the pendulum that result when you have people of all one view
7 in one party and people all of another view in another party.
8 One or the other is going to control at one time or another.
9 No one party controls a nation indefinitely.

10 Let's take our wonderful country of Great Britain.
11 You see the wild swings of the pendulum between the Conservative
12 party and the Labor Party, depending on which is in power.

13 We have been spared that in the United States because
14 we have had within each party people of diverse political
15 judgments and political views. I hope we can maintain that and
16 keep it.

17 I think it is an essential part of the political
18 stability of this nation. Without political stability in this
19 country, you have no stability in this country.

20 I think it is important and inherent now at a time
21 in crises for this Republican Party that we go to the American
22 people understanding that we have to speak. We have to have a

1 forum for speaking.

2 And you governors here today occupy the best forums
3 that exist in the country today. You are respected in your
4 various States. You are a leader in those States or you
5 wouldn't be where you are.

6 You are listened to. Your views are important. You
7 have a forum from which you can be heard. And it is incumbent,
8 it seems to me, on you assuming part of the responsibility at
9 least for speaking for this party as a national party.

10 It is incumbent upon this party to go to the American
11 people with some new ideas and some new concepts.

12 We absolutely have to change the idea that we are a
13 party of negativism, that we are a party that believes in the
14 status quo. We have to go to the American people with a
15 justification for our beliefs and an explanation of our commit-
16 ments as a party.

17 We have to go to the American people saying to them
18 that we think about this country, we believe in this country,
19 we are interested in its future and that we have something to
20 offer in terms of the ability to govern this nation.

21 I simply say that one of the great problems that we
22 are facing today is when we have a Republican President, we all

1 get completely enamored and infatuated with the idea that we
2 want an election and we have a Republican.

3 We have just gone through eight years of that. But
4 who controls the Congress? The Democrats control the Congress.
5 Who controls the legislation? The Democrats control the
6 legislation. Who controls the finances? The Democrats control
7 the finances. They control the appropriations. They basically
8 set the policy.

9 We tend to think that because the President sends a
10 message or a governor -- and you are all governors and you have
11 all lived with this problem -- you send a message to your
12 legislature but that doesn't mean it is going to be law, and
13 that doesn't mean that you are necessarily going to structure
14 what comes out of that legislature.

15 It simply means that you have a shot one time of
16 making a recommendation. That doesn't mean that that is
17 ultimately the policy that is going to be adopted by your
18 legislature, nor does it mean because the President sends a
19 message to the Congress of the United States that the Congress
20 is going to adopt it or that what they ultimately send him
21 bears any resemblance whatever to the recommendations that he
22 made.

1 We tend to forget that. Frankly, we are never going
2 to be a party of any significance, in my judgment, unless we
3 can learn how to win congressional elections. That is where
4 the strength of the nation is. That is where the power of the
5 country is.

6 I am both amused and appalled when I hear all this
7 talk about the Congress going to reassert, to recapture its
8 power. What power has it lost, for heaven's sake? It has it
9 all. It, and only it, has the power to tax, to initiate taxa-
10 tion. It, and only it, has the power to create departments, to
11 abolish departments, to create agencies or bureaus or to
12 abolish them.

13 It, and only it, can appropriate the money that feeds
14 these bureaus and these agencies and these departments year
15 after year.

16 We tend to forget that the President of the United
17 States is merely an executive, that his primary responsibility
18 is to administer the laws that the Congress passes. Sure, he
19 makes recommendations. But we tend, without thinking, to put a
20 President on a pedestal and assume that he has the authority to
21 do almost anything in this country.

22 We look to him both for the answers, and we share with

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1 him all the responsibility and we place on him all the blame
2 for any failures. It is because we don't think and because we
3 don't talk and because we don't put the responsibility where
4 it belongs -- in the halls of the Congress of the United
5 States -- I simply say to you that it is time that we
6 Republicans take a new approach.

7 Let's go to the American people with some new ideas.
8 Let's go with some new thoughts about how this government
9 should be structured.

10 I have a few thoughts that I would like to share with
11 you this morning, and they are not limited to any one area of
12 activity.

13 I think again one of the reasons that we talk about
14 the lack of response on the part of the American voters is
15 because they are turned off on politicians, all of us, there
16 is no doubt about that.

17 Eighty-three percent, according to the polls, 83
18 percent of the people say they think more solutions to problems
19 of America should be found outside of the political arena, yet
20 none of us give any encouragement that that will ever be done.

21 It seems to me we ought to think in terms of a major
22 transformation, a major revolution in the political arena in

1 America. It is time that we do it.

2 I submit to you that this party ought to be out now
3 talking about one six-year term for a President so he never
4 has to be reelected, so he is not subject to all of the
5 pressures that go and are imposed on a President of the United
6 States on every decision he makes.

7 We are all human, every one of us. We are all going
8 to react not necessarily in the interest of our state or our
9 nation, but always first in terms of self-interest. So long
10 as we permit a condition to continue in the Congress of the
11 United States where a man is rewarded because of his longevity
12 and his seniority in that body, then you can be sure he is
13 going to be primarily interested in serving his own interest
14 and not the national interest.

15 I submit to you that the greatest change that could
16 be made in the American political arena today is to limit the
17 terms of Congressmen and Senators.

18 I would propose when you limit a term of the President
19 to one six-year term that we limit the term of a United States
20 Senator to one eight-year term, that we change the Constitution
21 with respect to Congressmen and elect for four years instead of
22 two years, that we limit them to two four-year terms.

1 This, in my judgment, would have the most profound
2 effect upon government of anything we could possibly do.

3 We talk about bureaucracy. We talk about this ever-
4 expanding bureaucracy and ever-expanding regulations. We don't
5 think in practical terms that one of the reasons for it is
6 because of the unholy alliance that now exists between the
7 17,000 staff members of the Congress of the United States and
8 the civil service bureaucracy that exists in every department.

9 Let me say at the outset I am not foolish enough to
10 think that you can go to the Congress and ask these fellows to
11 limit their terms and get their vote to do it. But there is a
12 little provision known as the Grandfather clause. Some of
13 them would qualify under any definition of that word.

14 ... Laughter ...

15 MR. CONNALLY: But I would make it apply to all of
16 them. The constitutional amendment would not be applicable
17 to any seated member of Congress of either the House or the
18 Senate.

19 Let's make some changes. Let's talk to the American
20 people about what is going to affect them. Let's talk to them
21 in terms of what they believe is important to them. Let's
22 don't put ourselves in a position of just being negative.

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1 We could go down a broad spectrum of activities. We
2 ought to talk about mandatory retirement of all Federal judges
3 at age 70. That ought to be something that we, as Republicans,
4 ought to recommend because it is something that is desperately
5 needed.

6 I would like to hear at some point, privately or
7 publicly, from the newly elected Governor of Illinois of what
8 he would recognize with respect to the abolition of grand
9 juries.

10 His view may be different from mine. I happen to
11 believe that any prosecutor in this country, State or Federal,
12 can get any grand jury to get them to do anything he wants
13 them to do, at any time, including 12 midnight if he wants
14 them to.

15 I submit it is time we start a national debate on
16 the abolition of grand juries so that when prosecutors become
17 overzealous in their activities -- and thank god Governor
18 Thompson was not one of those, but there are some -- and at
19 such time as they accomplish their purpose by filing informa-
20 tions for which they bear the sole responsibility.

21 I think we ought to put on our thinking caps and talk
22 about requiring every Federal department and Federal agency and

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1 Federal bureau to file with the tribunal -- a court, if it is
2 in the court -- or file with the Commission itself at the end
3 of any investigation or interrogation or case, a total cost of
4 what that proceedings cost so that the American people can see
5 what is being done with Federal funds and Federal personnel in
6 terms of the time that is used and the cost to the individual
7 taxpayers in protecting their basic human rights. Because this
8 is what we are talking about.

9 If, indeed, we in this party believe in protecting
10 the individual, then we ought to talk about how do you protect
11 that individual. I submit that there are a great many ways it
12 can be done, but we can't do it in terms of the traditional
13 things we talk about.

14 We ought not to be concerning ourselves just with
15 the divisions within the Republican Party and whether we ought
16 to be all conservative or all moderate or all liberal, for
17 heaven's sake.

18 We ought to concern ourselves in trying to say to the
19 American people how we, as Republicans, are equipped to provide
20 better government. There is no excuse for a Republican Party
21 or the Democratic Party except as they are instrumentalities
22 through which we serve to govern the American people. That is

1 all.

2 No one is going to vote for us because we are
3 Republican or because we change our name and call ourselves
4 something else. They are not going to do it. They ought not
5 to do it.

6 They are going to do it only because they think we
7 are better equipped than someone else to provide the political
8 stability and the political leadership that this great nation
9 needs, not only to protect our own welfare, our own human
10 rights here at home, our own economic vitality here in the
11 United States, but indeed that we also are able to provide the
12 leadership to provide for the free world at a time when we,
13 and we alone, can provide that type of leadership.

14 It is with this type of an approach that I think we
15 are going to have to go to the American people and we are going
16 to have to change our whole concept of what we have been
17 saying and what we have been doing.

18 And there are an infinite variety of ways to do it.
19 But we are not going to do it unless we unlock our brains and
20 unless we take a different approach and recognize the diffi-
21 culties under which we work.

22 We are going to have to be articulate in espousing

1 our own beliefs and our own justifications for those beliefs.
2 For instance, we are in the mold today of basically being
3 against a National Health Program.

4 There is not a Republican that I know of who is not
5 for some kind of a health program. And there is not any
6 question in my mind but what we are going to have a National
7 Health Program.

8 It may initially be one limited to catastrophic
9 illness, but if indeed that is where we want to begin, then
10 let's begin. Let's be for something. Let's give the impression
11 to the American people that we can do something.

12 We have lived three years since the embargo by the
13 Arab nations against the United States and the industrialized
14 world with no energy policy in this country.

15 That is not really the fault of the Republicans. It
16 is the fault of the Congress of the United States. But how
17 many of us have been speaking out about it? Do you know any-
18 thing that is more important to us than an energy policy in
19 this country? Is there anything more vital in this nation? I
20 know of none.

21 I know of nothing that reflects the vulnerability of
22 this nation more than the lack of an energy policy. At the

1 time the Arab embargo against the United States we were import-
2 ing approximately 25 percent of our crude needs. Today, it is
3 over 40 percent, and it is going to be over 50 percent before
4 we can hope to do anything about it.

5 The whole Third World is under pressure. They are
6 striving, begging, because of their fuel costs. What have we
7 done about it? We have done nothing about it. We have given
8 them no hope.

9 And yet we sit here on enormous deposits of coal,
10 of oil shale. We could have, during the past three years,
11 been buying the best mining equipment, encouraging the best
12 purchase of the best mining equipment by the coal companies,
13 given them incentives if necessary, or if necessary let the
14 government itself become a purchaser of coal to be used in
15 foreign aid.

16 We could have mined millions of tons of coal. If we
17 couldn't burn it because of its high sulfur content, because
18 of environmental constraints, we could have sent it to the
19 islands of the Caribbean or the nations of Latin America, or
20 nations around the world.

21 They could have used it, and would have used it.
22 They could have had the protection. If nothing else, they could

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1 have stockpiled it against another embargo.

2 But we sit here doing nothing. Is this the role of
3 a leader? As a nation, is this the role of a party that would
4 be a leader of this nation? I think not.

5 We are here today, a nation with incredible capacity
6 to produce foodstuffs in a world with an exploding population.
7 It has taken us 10,000 years to reach a population of 4 billion
8 people in America.

9 We estimate in the next 40 years we will double it.
10 Yet we don't understand or don't recognize or don't deal with
11 the fact that two out of five children that die in the world
12 today, under the age of six, die of malnutrition.

13 Yet we have a capacity to produce foodstuffs in this
14 country that is absolutely unbelievable. But what do we do
15 with it? We produce a great deal. We produce more than our
16 needs.

17 We have been so efficient and so ingenious and so
18 innovative in the production of agricultural pursuits that we
19 are now able to feed this nation with a commitment of four
20 percent of our population in production of food and fiber.

21 No other country in the world even comes close to us,
22 not at all.

1 It takes us four percent. It takes the Soviet Union
2 35 percent. That is why they have to buy wheat from us, because
3 they are so inefficient, because they can't do it. And this is
4 not going to change. Yet we have no food and fiber policy.

5 What do we say to the American farmers? There was
6 a great deal said about grain embargoes during this campaign
7 and both candidates said, "We are not going to do that anymore."
8 What are they going to do? What are we going to do?

9 Are you going to ask the American farmer to quit
10 producing more than we can consume at home, or are we going to
11 tell him to produce more for a hungry world? If we are going
12 to ask him to produce more, how are we going to utilize it?

13 What policies can we have? What ideas do we have?
14 Who has even suggested a policy, a world policy of food and
15 fiber to deal with the amazing capacity of American agriculture
16 to produce?

17 We talk about other things in this country. The
18 Republican Party doesn't talk. We are saddled with the
19 responsibility of being characterized as an instrumentality and
20 the tool of business.

21 Yet none of us even talk about really what is important
22 to us. None of us understand what this economic system is. We

1 don't talk about it in terms that the average person can
2 understand it. The average fellow who goes out and gets a job
3 doesn't know what that means.

4 I talked to one of the major companies in the country
5 recently and he said in that particular company they said it
6 costs \$60,000 on the average for every new job created.

7 We talk about capital formation, but that is over
8 the heads of people. What do people know about capital
9 formation? They don't know what you are talking about. We
10 have to talk in terms they can understand.

11 We have to create a new language, a language of
12 understanding, a language that is translated into terms that
13 the average American can understand, in terms of his take-home
14 pay, in terms of his job, in terms of his hopes for advancement,
15 in terms of the hopes for his children to do something better
16 than he.

17 Finally, we are going to have to say that this is
18 the only society that has ever permitted a system to exist over
19 a long period of time that permits a person from impoverished
20 means, whatever his race or color, to rise above his beginnings
21 and to assume a stature in society that is equivalent to the
22 talents which he has and which he utilizes.

1 We have no caste system in this country basically.
2 We have injustices, sure. We have unused talents, of course.
3 But in terms of other societies and other nations around the
4 world, we have provided more opportunities and more freedom of
5 opportunity for individuals than any other society in the history
6 of the world, and we ought to be talking about it.

7 We ought to be talking about how we have been able to
8 do it. We ought to talk about it in terms of the strength of
9 the economic vitality of the nation.

10 We ought not to forget that that is the underlying
11 foundation of the strength of the country. And when we talk
12 about that, we have to recognize how we got that way. We got
13 that way because we were out in front. We were more ingenious
14 and we were more inventive.

15 In 1951 and 1953, there was a two-year study looking
16 toward the major innovations and inventions that had taken place
17 throughout the world in the prior 20 years. The result of that
18 study in 1953 showed that in the United States we were responsible
19 for over 75 percent of all of the major inventions and innova-
20 tions that had occurred in the 20 years preceding.

21 All the world, the rest of the world combined, was
22 responsible for 25 percent. That is why we have the enormous

1 economic vitality that we have in this country. And we are
2 going to have to recognize that every person in America has a
3 stake. His job, his future, his children's future depends on
4 how well we recognize that we have to keep a modern facility,
5 a modern plant, a modern industrial society moving ahead of
6 the rest of the world if we want to maintain the standard of
7 living.

8 But we don't talk about those things. Yet the
9 American people know that there is something missing. They
10 know that there is something missing. They are not hearing
11 the politicians. That is why they don't even go vote.

12 So I submit to you that it is time for us to quit
13 worrying about which narrow tunnel we would put each other in
14 in terms of our philosophical commitments. It is time for us
15 to realize that we are going nowhere, we will amount to nothing,
16 individually or collectively, as a party or otherwise unless
17 we are able to surmount these difficulties, unless we are able
18 to pool the talents and the resources and the ideologies of us
19 all in order to arrive at a better idea for this nation.

20 And we are going to have to go about it in a different
21 way. We are going to have to not only organize, we are going
22 to have to explain. We are going to have to articulate as we

1 have never articulated before.

2 We are going to have to talk about whole new concepts.
3 We are going to have to go with new and fresh ideas if you want
4 to appeal to people, if we want to attract new people to this
5 party.

6 I hear some say we need to organize better. We
7 don't need to just organize better. You can organize 20 percent
8 until you are blue in the face but you still have 20 percent.

9 Frankly, we need to convert a few. That is what we
10 need to do. We need to convert a few. We are not going to
11 convert them unless we go to them with some ideas that are
12 worthy of their conversion.

13 So I simply say that I think always in a time of
14 stress and a time of defeat is the time to take realistic
15 stock of where we are and what we are and what we want to be
16 and what we hope to be.

17 And this party is not going to be anything other
18 than a reflection of the American people, of the American
19 people's hopes and aspirations, if it is anything indeed. If
20 we can't bring ourselves to reflect the views of the majority
21 of the American people and convince them that we do have the
22 capacity to provide responsible and reasonable government at

1 all levels to reflect those views, to carry out those aims and
2 aspirations, then I can assure you that we are a dying party,
3 and we ought to be dying, because we have no justification for
4 continuity or justification for the perseverance of a party
5 that is so out of tune that we can't reflect the views and
6 ambitions of the great people that so readily are apparent to
7 us.

8 Mr. Chairman, thank you for the privilege of being
9 here. I again ask your indulgence for the sound of my voice.
10 I again misspoke when I said it was going to be shorter than I
11 thought. It was longer than I thought.

12 ... Laughter ...

13 ... Applause ...

14 GOVERNOR MOORE: Might I inquire if there are any
15 questions that you would like at this time to pose to Governor
16 Connally? He would be happy to respond, I am sure.

17 Governor, thank you so very much.

18 MR. CONNALLY: Thank you.

ac end 19 GOVERNOR MOORE: In keeping with the pattern
20 established for this conference, our luncheon will direct
21 itself to what I consider to be an even more direct meaningful
22 relationship to the governors in their everyday responsibilities.

md fls

mjdl

1 You have heard most of our presentations this morning
2 addressing themselves to energy, the need for research and
3 Development in this aspect of our individual responsibilities
4 as Governors.

5 At lunch today our guest will be Dr. Robert Seamans,
6 the Administrator of the Energy Research and Development
7 Administration, who will talk to us in terms of energy,
8 relationship of the states in production of that energy,
9 and various program areas in which the Federal Government
10 is addressing the question of energy sufficiency and inde-
11 pendence.

12 I ask that you, as Governors, Governors-elect, and
13 former Governors, in wanting to join us in listening to
14 Dr. Seamans during the lunch hour, will convene immediately
15 in the Columbia Room A. We look forward to your immediate
16 return for the afternoon session at 2:00 p.m.

17 We stand in recess until 2:00 p.m.

18 ... At 12:15 o'clock p.m., the Republican Governors
19 Association Conference was recessed, to reconvene at 2:00
20 o'clock p.m., the same day ...
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22



VMcA/mjd

VOLUME II

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

CONFERENCE

- - -

2:20 o'clock p.m.
Monday, November 29, 1976

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

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P R O C E E D I N G S

... The Republican Governors Association Conference reconvened at 2:20 o'clock p.m., in the Valley Forge Conference Room, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., Chairman, presiding ...

GOVERNOR MOORE: Moving to the agenda program this afternoon, and looking to the generation, as much as possible, of any open dialogue in consideration of many of the observations that are made, I would like for each of the participants to make their opening observations from the center, at the microphone, if they will.

It is my privilege to present to you a member of the United States Congress, now serving his third term, from the State of Delaware -- its only Member in the House of Representatives, a graduate of Princeton University and Harvard Law School, the Governor-elect of the State of Delaware, the Honorable Pierre S. (Pete) du Pont.

... Applause ...

1 "THE ROLE OF GOVERNORS IN A STATE PARTY"

2 BY

3 GOVERNOR-ELECT PETE DU PONT OF ILLINOIS

4 MR. DU PONT: Thank you very much, Arch. And thank
5 you for the opportunity of addressing a very august group for
6 at least a few moments. I say "very august" because I come
7 here as a polite throwback. I was the only Member of the
8 United States Congress to run for Governor. They tell me over
9 there I have regressed. But we won, and I believe I was right
10 and they were wrong.

11 I am very happy to be amongst this group and have
12 a chance to share a few thoughts on how we might make the
13 Republican Party a little stronger and a little better.

14 I am going to begin by reference to something else
15 that is unique about me, and that is that I appear on the
16 cover of this publication (indicating) that I was handed today,
17 which certainly has to be the skinniest, smallest publication
18 in which I have ever been listed. It says, "The Republican
19 Governors Association welcomes its newest members," and lists
20 three poor souls, including my friends Dick Snelling and
21 Him Thompson. By gosh, when we are here two years
22 from now I want to see 15 pages trying to describe

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1 all the victories we have achieved.

2 ... Applause ...

3 MR. DU PONT: It also strikes me as a little bit
4 strange that I would be asked today to say a few words about the
5 leadership role a governor has to play in a State party when
6 I have, in fact, been a governor-elect for exactly 27 days.

7 I don't know that that qualifies me to talk about
8 anything having to do with being a governor or a leader in the
9 party, or anything else. But it does give you some idea of how
10 much I know about the job. Perhaps you can take my remarks with
11 sufficient disdain to discount them to their true value.

12 I think the answer to the question that Governor Moore
13 has put to me is a very simple one; that is, that the role of a
14 governor in the State party should be to build that party to a
15 point where all the candidates on his or her ticket have a good
16 opportunity to win. It is as simple as that.

17 It is very easy for a personably popular individual to
18 seek higher office and succeed. We have got a lot of people to
19 prove that. I was elected three times to Congress. I was well
20 known in my State and I was successful by a wide margin in
21 winning my election.

22 I was totally unsuccessful in improving the position

1 of my party in the State Legislature. We spent a lot of time
2 and a lot of effort doing it, and we netted a loss of one seat.
3 So it isn't good enough simply to win the election. You have
4 got to have some substance within your party to give you the
5 tools to get the job done after you win the election.

6 I don't think running on personal appeal is nearly the
7 answer. You have got to have a structure. You have got to have
8 some substance and you have got to have an organization. I
9 think that is the thing that a governor has got to do in the
10 party he represents.

11 How do you get that done? First, you have to do the
12 job, the best selling point any office holder -- be he dog
13 catcher or be he President of the United States or somewhere in
14 between -- the most important job that individual has to do is
15 to perform credibly and effectively on the job.

16 If I can do that, then I think I can help build the
17 Republican Party in Delaware. If I can run the State of
18 Delaware free of political scandal, if we can make some progress
19 on our problems of finances and the environment and jobs and
20 education, and all the rest of the problems that you all are
21 aware of, I think that is the best selling point that we can
22 have in 1978 and in 1980 for building our party.

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1 Over and over again, my constituents have said to me
2 that they don't care if I am from the red party, the white
3 party, or the blue party if I would be willing to get in there
4 and do the job that has to be done.

5 I think that is the first message that we have got to
6 get across in rebuilding the Republican Party.

7 The fact is that most of us who have been successful
8 in our political careers have been successful because we have
9 been credible people. We have performed well on the job, and
10 performing well on the job is the first ingredient required of
11 success.

12 My next four years are going to be spent in taking
13 hold of the mess I have been left by my Democrat predecessor
14 and trying to turn Delaware's government around and get things
15 in order and get the Republican Party back on its feet by
16 getting them in order.

17 But if I am going to accomplish that, I think there
18 are some things that I have to recognize, and all of you have
19 to recognize, that a governor can't do. A governor can't be a
20 closet party chairman. He needs a professional to do that job.
21 He can't do that job himself. A governor cannot be an employer
22 of last resort for Republicans who can't hack it in the private

1 world.

2 A governor cannot be the principal speaker on the
3 mashed potato circuit and expect to get his job done. But I
4 think if he applies himself, and looks at the problems and
5 candidly tries to assess what ought to be done about them and
6 then goes ahead and tries to do it and has the desire to help
7 build his party, that he can.

8 But it is going to take some support from outside the
9 State, as well as inside the State, to get that job done. If
10 we are going to build a strong Republican Party nationally, it
11 is going to take a whole lot of places like Delaware with a
12 whole lot of parties being built on the local level, but it is
13 going to take a readjustment of thinking here in Washington, too,
14 to get that job done.

15 I spent six years in the House of Representatives and
16 it appears to me that the leadership of the Republican Party
17 over those six years has largely been in the White House and in
18 the congressional wing of the Republican Party. That may be
19 all right politically, but it isn't very good organizationally,
20 and I think we have got to do a lot better.

21 Members of Congress -- and I speak from experience --
22 frequently don't know about the nuts-and-bolts problems down at

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1 the level where the programs are operated. I don't think it
2 does you a lot of good as a national party to have people in
3 charge who are solely concerned with the big picture, with the
4 big concepts.

5 You have got to have some people involved on a
6 day-to-day basis. I think a governor can provide that kind
7 of input.

8 Bureaucracies that are created here in Washington
9 come home to roost with us. We are the people who are the
10 ultimate beneficiaries of all that Federal largesse that comes
11 flowing down the pipe, and we are the people who have to deal
12 with the affluent at the other end and make sure that the
13 programs that the planners want put in place in fact work.

14 We are the people who meet the talent out there in
15 the community, who see who is a good organizer and who isn't
16 in making these programs go. And we are the people who ought
17 to be able to draw those people into the Republican Party and
18 build our Republican base from the bottom up. That is the only
19 way that you are ever going to build any organization.

20 We all know too that Washington suffers from a
21 massive credibility gap. I don't think I can give you a
22 two-minute nutshell analysis of why Jimmy Carter won the

1 presidential election. One of the reasons he won certainly is
2 that the American voters were a little fed up with Washington.

3 So in structuring the leadership of the Republican
4 Party in the next generation, let's look outside this big dome
5 that sits across the street here and let's go back to the grass
6 roots and look at where the people are who are handling the
7 problems from day to day, and let's bring some of them into the
8 leadership and decision-making process of the Republican Party.

9 We are going to have to do on the national level
10 what we are doing on the State level. It is time for some
11 craftsmen in government, not just crafty men. We have had
12 enough of that in the past few years, and it is time to change.

13 We have to select some people for leadership, both at
14 the State and national level, with some fresh ideas, some fresh
15 faces, new approaches to old problems. I don't think we can do
16 that by appointing to our leadership posts defeated candidates
17 who have been unsuccessful at the polls.

18 We can't look upon the national chairmanship of the
19 Republican Party or the chairmanship of any State political
20 party as a consolation prize for a loser. We have got to look
21 further ahead than that.

22 I don't think either that we can look just for a

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1 spokesman. We have got to look for somebody who has that
2 nuts-and-bolts experience that is going to be required to run
3 this party.

4 We can't spend our time and energy either ferreting
5 out the ideologically unpure. We have got to have a broad
6 party that includes representatives from every responsible
7 group in Republican politics in the United States of America.

8 So let's not talk of purges. Let's not talk of
9 defeated political candidates. Let's talk of fresh ideas,
10 fresh inputs from people who know what is going on out in the
11 real world, not just on the banks of the Potomac.

12 I think that governors of the many States have a
13 responsibility to build their political parties along these
14 lines. If they do that, and if they begin to draw in the
15 fresh talent from the bottom that we can build those strong
16 local units, that not only will elect governors and
17 Congressmen but will elect county councilmen and State
18 legislators and collectors of taxes and all those jobs that
19 don't seem so important but, when taken altogether, add up to a
20 solid political base for building a strong Republican Party.

21 I think that is the way it has got to be done, and
22 I appreciate the opportunity, Governor, of spending a few

1 minutes this afternoon to tell you my thoughts. Thank you.

2 ... Applause ...

3 GOVERNOR MOORE: I think all of us governors, as
4 governors, realize, Pete, that at some time in our early
5 beginnings of this job we had to summons a measure of modesty
6 to undertake our assignment.

7 I knew that we had come full circle on that when I
8 heard a du Pont refer to himself as a poor soul.

9 ... Laughter ...

10 GOVERNOR MOORE: We appreciate much your observations
11 and we think they are certainly very, very cogent and very,
12 very applicable to our discussion here today.

13 Outstanding former Governor of the State of Illinois,
14 Dick Ogilvie, served as its 37th Governor. He had previously
15 been elected as Sheriff of Cook County and twice served in a
16 position as Federal prosecutor in the Chicago area.

17 He was elected in 1966 as president of the Cook
18 County Board of Commissioners. He is presently now a member
19 of the legal profession and thriving on whatever means flow in
20 that particular direction. But he has not lost his attachment
21 for, and his dedication to, the Republican Party and its
22 vitality.

1 At this time I would like to present to you Governor
2 Richard Ogilvie from the State of Illinois.

3 ... Applause ...

4 "THE ROLE OF GOVERNORS IN A STATE PARTY,"

5 BY

6 RICHARD OGILVIE

7 FORMER GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

8 MR. OGILVIE: Thank you, Arch. I am delighted to be
9 once again sitting in the Councils of the Republican Governors.
10 It is also a great pleasure to see some of the alumni whom I
11 have not had an opportunity to visit with for now almost four
12 years.

13 To a Princeton man, as a Yale graduate I say that
14 was a damned good speech, Pete. I am tempted to say "amen"
15 and go sit down, but I had some things I put together.

16 I was also reminded the first time I had been invited
17 was when I was Sheriff of Cook County to speak to the Chicago
18 Rotary. I had spoken to a number of service organizations and
19 clubs of that nature.

20 I assumed that it would be like most -- a fairly small
21 group of businessmen, that I could make a few brief remarks and
22 then take questions from the floor which I kind of like to do
anyway, and that would be it.

1 The meeting was scheduled for one of our major
2 downtown hotels. I went over there and looked at the bulletin
3 board as to where the meeting was being held. It said in the
4 Grand Ballroom.

5 I thought that was a little strange, but figured that
6 was probably the only room they had available and we were going
7 to use a small part of it. I walked in and found myself
8 confronted with an audience of about a thousand people.

9 I can remember never having written a speech so quick
10 in my lifetime as I did because the Rotary, as you may know,
11 only has one club in each community and this was it for Chicago.

12 I have not quite done that today, but as I have been
13 sitting, listening to the presentations this morning, a couple
14 of things occurred to me that might be of some interest to our
15 new governors.

16 I might also tell you that being an ex-Governor
17 isn't all that bad. I came out of office I think with a fair
18 regard on the part of most of the people of our State and I am
19 telling Kit that practicing law is not that hard to do, even
20 if you are out of it for awhile.

21 A governor really has a variety of responsibilities,
22 some that are quite apparent. A position of chief executive

all

1 I am sure is the one that was most often thought of. But
2 another that I took very seriously, and I am sure all of you
3 either will come to this or have, you are the chief legislator,
4 you know, of the State in which you are serving and, because of
5 frequently localized interests on the part of State legislators,
6 I think very often major legislation has to come from the
7 broader scope that a governor has, a broader reach in terms of
8 the concerns and needs of his State.

9 Sometimes that can be rather painful, because one of
10 the things that I concluded after I had been in office only a
11 few weeks was that I was about to make our State take a massive
12 dose of castor oil when I recommended that Illinois adopt for
13 the first time a State income tax.

14 I almost overcame it -- but not yet. And that was,
15 I think, the principal reason I got retired.

16 In the assignment that Pete and I have been given,
17 the role of the governor in the State party, that brings to
18 mind of course another role that I think the governor is expected
19 to serve in.

20 At the risk of offending some of the elected party
21 officials, we have some here from Illinois, including our State
22 chairman. The governor is really the chief of his party. He is,

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1 because he occupies a position of prestige and, like one of
2 our famous generals said, paraphrasing him, "You know, if you
3 are in charge, you get the credit and you take the blame."
4 That includes matters having to do with the political considera-
5 tions of the party of which you are a part.

6 I was visiting with Big Jim the day after his enormous
7 success in this past election and told him that, with a certain
8 sense of relief, I was now passing over to him a role that I
9 had had for eight years, for years when I was in office as
10 governor, and then four as the last governor of our party of our
11 State and four years the role of being the party leader.

12 He has the ball now, and he is going to get all the
13 help I can give him. And I am sure others will cooperate too.
14 This is the guy in Illinois -- I suspect this is the case
15 elsewhere -- who is going to have to take the leadership in
16 guiding the destiny of our political affairs.

17 You have got to be wary, of course, that you do not
18 act in too dictatorial fashion. Really, what you are trying to
19 do is to do it by persuasion, by gentle suggestion and
20 occasionally, when that doesn't get through, then you have got to
21 be prepared to knock heads and to take the consequences.

22 I think that really if you aspire to be governor, you

1 have got to have a certain appreciation of, and I think an
2 interest in, serving in a political role. I have perhaps a
3 little more of a political background than some fellows who have
4 come to the office of governor, having gotten started as a
5 young Republican and gone through some organizational activities
6 and in those earlier offices that Arch described that I had
7 served in.

8 There are two responsibilities that I can think of
9 that are of particular importance in terms of this role of being
10 chief of party, one which Governor du Pont referred to
11 certainly -- the responsibility of developing candidates.

12 This is an ongoing thing. It isn't something that
13 you do just before the primary, that is, you don't do it if
14 you are going to do it well just before the primary time in
15 your State.

16 You don't then go looking quickly for candidates to
17 run for the legislature and candidates to run for office and
18 candidates for important local positions. Of course, in our
19 State, with Cook County occupying about half the population of
20 Illinois, there is a responsibility there to cooperate in trying
21 to find salable or electable candidates to run for those very
22 important offices. I think that is fairly obvious.

1 Another one, however, which the governor has by virtue
2 of the office that he occupies, is the raising of funds for
3 political purposes.

4 It is a much easier activity, I can tell you, to be
5 in office and discharge that part of your responsibility than
6 it is in being out.

7 I know that in 1972, when I was running for reelection,
8 we were able to generate enough financial support where we were
9 able to make major commitments of funds that were raised
10 through my campaign for the Illinois General Assembly of both
11 Houses.

12 The candidates for two of our principal offices were
13 almost entirely funded in terms of their political activities
14 by the campaign funds that we raised. We also underwrote the
15 major part of the principal campaign that took place in Cook
16 County.

17 It is important that it works, as a matter of fact,
18 because one of the two State candidates that we funded won.
19 The Cook County candidate won. We did well with the candidates
20 that we were supporting financially at the legislative level.
21 This is something that, as I say, you are as a governor in a
22 unique position to do.

1 There is one final observation that I would like to
2 make, and I am not quite sure I am going to put this as
3 diplomatically as I would like to. I think you have got to be
4 wary of trying to be a consensus governor.

5 I know that maybe that makes sense politically in
6 the sense that you may be able to survive if you do it. But
7 you were elected as governor to do a job, not to occupy an
8 office with your principal concern being to get reelected.

9 I think that you are going to have to occasionally --
10 and hopefully not too often -- take some high political risks
11 in terms of what is in fact in the best interests of the people
12 of your state.

13 Very often this is not something that, if you were
14 to put it to a referendum, would get enough popular support to
15 carry it. There is no question in our State -- in going back
16 and using the analogy of the income tax -- they had to have it.

17 Our State was on t'e verge of bankruptcy. We were
18 unable, in terms of foreseeable revenues, to see how we were
19 going to be able to survive as a viable unit of government,
20 and it was just absolutely imperative that we have substantial
21 revenues. We could have done perhaps some things that were a
22 little bit easier. I suppose some States do.

1 You raise the sales tax, but I didn't feel that that
2 was a particularly wise thing to do. At the time property taxes
3 were not quite as unpopular as they are now. The power of the
4 government in our State of Illinois was such that we could
5 impose a State property tax.

6 That would have hit fewer people. But the fairest
7 thing, in our judgment, was to do what we did, and we did it.
8 As I say, I did it fully realizing that I was going to be as
9 popular as a skunk at a picnic, and hopefully live it down.

10 With that admonition, I would just say do the best
11 possible job you can and surround yourself with the most
12 effective and political people. These are usually young people.
13 Don't sit on them too hard. I found that the crowd that we
14 put together was a very exciting group of people to live with,
15 and much of the compliments -- now that I am a veteran governor
16 and people have sort of measured what we did in terms of
17 time -- were really largely their doing.

18 I suppose that what I am saying is that, yes, you are
19 the governor but it is sort of a corporate office that you are
20 going to occupy because you alone cannot do the whole thing.
21 Just get the best help you can and then go out and do the job.

22 Thank you.

1 ... Applause ...

2 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you, Dick, so very much.

3 At this time I would like to call on a former chairman
4 of the Republican Governors Association, a son of a former
5 Democratic Congressman from Mississippi, who brought his dental
6 chair into the governorship of the State of Tennessee and is
7 now the vice president of the Hospital Corporation of America
8 who builds and plans hospitals across the country and from the
9 private initiative standpoint we welcome back one of our former
10 colleagues, Winfield Dunn of Tennessee.

11 ... Applause ...

12 "THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNORS ON THE NATIONAL
13 PARTY STRUCTURE AND THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
COMMITTEE,"

14 BY

FORMER GOVERNOR WINFIELD DUNN OF TENNESSEE

15 MR. DUNN: Thank you very much.

16 Chairman Moore and Governor Bennett, Chairman Smith,
17 distinguished governors and ladies and gentlemen, I do appreciate
18 the privilege of coming back to a gathering such as this and
19 having my heart and my mind stimulated by the refreshment that
20 takes place when I see so many attractive and fine people with
21 whom I have associated in the past.

22 Thank you for the reference to my Democrat

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1 Congressman father, Governor Moore. It is a beautiful lead
2 into something I wanted to share briefly with this group, as I
3 hurriedly make my comments.

4 You know, we suffered the political equivalent of
5 being broadaxed on November the 2d. We Republicans have had
6 that experience before. But I don't think there was ever a
7 time when I searched my mind any more thoroughly than I did on
8 this occasion to try to determine why certain races were lost,
9 why we were unsuccessful in our presidential efforts. I still
10 don't know the answer.

11 But I think out of a letter which I received from my
12 father, who was 80 years old this past Saturday, a man who has
13 served in the one-party State of Mississippi but a State
14 which is showing some promise, by the way, an expression in a
15 letter that sort of characterizes I think the attitude of a
16 lot of people.

17 It is a little humorous now and perhaps it is not
18 altogether accurate but I want to share it with you, this
19 personal letter from my father written back in October.

20 In the paragraph on politics, which I usually get
21 from him, he says: "The political scene nationally is such
22 that it is now unattractive to me. Not being a party man

ac 19

1 anymore, I find nothing that is presidentially good about
2 either man. I did, indeed, get a little excited over Carter's
3 wizardry and political prowess in the beginning, but time has
4 pretty well erased his earlier portrait.

5 "He is showing now poor judgment and a hell of a lot
6 of funky equivocation."

7 ... Laughter ...

8 MR. DUNN: "Aside from his amateurish press releases,
9 particularly the Playboy expose, the man is turning out to be
10 apparently what he is, a peanut hustler with shallow roots."

11 ... Laughter ...

12 MR. DUNN: "I was in his presence a month or so ago
13 in Jackson and somehow he was far below the impressions I first
14 had. I doubt that he will carry either Mississippi, Alabama,
15 or Louisiana. But even then I can, for myself, see no
16 presidential stature in Ford.

17 "So, to tell the truth, as I scrambled through the
18 twilight of old age, there is one thing, sort of a principal
19 thing I personally am proud of, between the two -- thank God,
20 they can't elect but one of them."

21 ... Laughter ...

22 MR. DUNN: Now, you have got to remember that this is

1 a father's letter to his son. This is an outpouring which was
2 spontaneous on his part and just a portion of the pattern of
3 communications I have.

4 But if you stop and think about it a little bit
5 perhaps it will have more than a passing attachment to your
6 thought processes and you will reflect back and you will begin
7 to glean what I think a lot of American people expressed in
8 many ways in this past election, and that is the fact that
9 they are looking for something different.

10 I am not sure they know exactly what, but I believe
11 they are looking for something different.

12 I certainly didn't intend for this to be derogatory
13 in any way of our President-elect, a very fine man, one with
14 whom we have served, nor our great distinguished President,
15 Gerald Ford, but simply an opportunity to share with you the
16 reflections of an 80 year old man who has walked down many a
17 political trail seeking to achieve his political objectives.

18 I have been assigned the topic of speaking about the
19 influence of governors on national party structure and the
20 process of the National Committee. I can do that in about
21 five minutes or less. I certainly don't want to be redundant,
22 because so many of the fine things I have heard in my brief

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1 moments here today leave me to believe I shall be, if I go too
2 far along the notes I have prepared.

3 I would like to point up just for a moment, if I may,
4 to you the image of the governorship as it is viewed in my State.
5 I can't help but believe that we have ignored all too long the
6 greatest political natural resources we have in America from
7 the political party point of view in not making or not permitting
8 the governors of this country and the former governors to be a
9 more contributory part of the process of establishing national
10 policy and conducting the everyday business of our national
11 party.

12 A proper understanding of the role of a governor in
13 public affairs can't be gained simply by looking at the executive
14 or the administrative responsibilities that he has. Those
15 powers are great, and of course they include the broad executive
16 and administrative functions that have to do with policy
17 implementation and creation.

18 The military powers, which the Governor of a State
19 exercise and through which he influences so very many
20 people -- usually the National Guard personnel -- the significant
21 powers of legislative leadership because the governor is in fact
22 in most States the premier legislator in the process of State

1 government, with that power of legislative leadership of course
2 comes the veto and the veto message and the influence on special
3 sessions and the speeches, pointing up the circumstances of the
4 State.

5 A governor in my State deals with 99 legislators, 33
6 Senators, 95 county judges, 95 Republican county chairmen. He
7 deals with the Municipal League and with the County Services
8 Organization.

9 He deals with countless civic and service groups. He
10 deals with business, with industry, with the professions. He
11 deals with his Senators and with his Congressmen.

12 What I hope I am suggesting to you in rather basic
13 terms is the fact that there is no one political personality in
14 the United States of America, barring the President of the
15 United States, who has his hand closer to the pulse which
16 reflects the heartbeat of politics and government in this
17 country than does a governor.

18 The comments I am reading in the paper now go some-
19 thing like this: "Republicans are locked in a naked fight for
20 power." "Now comes the Republican term to spill blood."
21 "Republicans arm for internal conflict."

22 I find little solace in such comments and I find

1 little substance in such comments.

2 Our Republican Party is not going to fade away. The
3 28,350,000 votes which were cast for a Republican candidate
4 for President is star evidence of the fact that our party is
5 not about to fade away.

6 We have a following. The following is in place. We
7 Republican leaders -- and I stress the gubernatorial aspect of
8 that leadership -- have got to provide the leadership for that
9 following that is out there.

10 They are waiting for leadership, fresh, positive,
11 articulate, common sense leadership, to spell out clearly what
12 we Republicans are for, what we are determined to protect,
13 what we wish to promote -- sound, new thinking to produce
14 positive proposals for all the people of America.

15 These times call for new spirits. They call for new
16 personalities, those who can spell out for the black citizen,
17 the label-oriented citizen, the business person, the profes-
18 sional, the housewife, the mother, the youth of America, what
19 our party represents and why it is important to our country
20 what our unified efforts should be seeking to achieve.

21 We simply cannot afford to fall back into any patterns
22 of the past and let our party be displayed or portrayed as the

1 captive of any particular ideology. The only thing we should
2 picture ourselves as being up against is the wall that we have
3 been backed up to -- and we can't deny that.

4 Our Republican Party must make a comeback. Our
5 country needs this party. We must make it beginning today,
6 this very moment. It is difficult for a party to build strong
7 support when it doesn't have a base somewhere in government on
8 which it can build.

9 I do not believe we have a better base on which to
10 begin than the base of governors and, if I may say so, former
11 governors who have acquired and accrued so much in the way of
12 experience and political knowledge and capacity.

13 Understanding, as governors do, the basic funda-
14 mentals of political organization, I want to stress that we
15 must stress and reemphasize the necessity of building organiza-
16 tion from the ground up, from the precinct level up.

17 We must conduct the old workshops to inform parties,
18 recruits as to our stands, what we mean to America, and what
19 can be done through the political process to further and
20 preserve the American dream.

21 We must conduct voter registration programs and, of
22 overwhelming importance, we must bring new faces, new political

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1 talent for election at every level onto the scene. We have
2 new faces, fresh faces, exciting personalities, emerging on
3 the national scene, and we need more.

4 We veterans of the party must exercise common sense
5 to an uncommon degree, gentlemen, and make room at the top for
6 what is inevitably coming up to crowd us out if we don't do it
7 in a more constructive and comfortable fashion.

8 If there is anything we should have learned from
9 November the 2d, it is that the voters of America, as I said
10 earlier, are looking for something different. The election of
11 Governor Carter, a man with little or no national image 18
12 months ago, who conducted a campaign of nonspecifics which led
13 him straight to the White House, ought to be telling us something
14 about the mood of America.

15 We have got to build from the ground up. And there
16 are no better political vehicles by which we can journey to
17 the successful destinations we chart for ourselves than the
18 governorships of America. There is the pulse which reflects
19 the heartbeat.

20 Have we reached that new maturity as a result of this
21 most recent political adversity? Only time, only time will
22 tell. Only time and genuinely unselfish efforts on the part of

1 all Republicans will tell.

2 Republican leaders face difficult choices in the
3 weeks ahead. The first priority must be to do what is right.
4 When faced with a difficult decision, there is always the
5 danger of trying to do the wise thing when in fact the first
6 consideration has to be to do the right thing and to do it
7 wisely.

8 The next six months are going to be crucial to us.
9 The selection of our national chairman by the National Committee
10 will tell Americans what we intend to do, how we want to go
11 about it, and will suggest the possibility of success that
12 might be anticipated if we keep our common sense actively at
13 work and if we have any doubts at all that we can't achieve
14 the objectives that we set for ourselves, as long as they are
15 reasonable and as long as they are charted in the context of
16 what is right.

17 Let me just remind you of a little story we tell
18 about Andy Jackson -- born in South Carolina, nurtured in
19 Tennessee, a man who first took the presidency to the common
20 people. The day he was laid to rest two of his old compatriots
21 were standing by his side.

22 One with a tear in his eye looked at the other and

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

4 ... Laughter ...

5 MR. DUNN: Thank you very much.

6 ... Applause ...

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

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

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

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

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

8 Jack.

9 ... Applause ...

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

15 MR. RANSON: Thank you, Chairman Moore.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 I think anybody who would take a State chairmanship
15 in a State with a Republican governor without the support of
16 that governor is probably not smart enough to be chairman.
17 I think it is very obvious that if he is going to get his job
18 done he must have the support of the governor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 party will end up a stronger party.

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

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

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

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

1 candidate for reelection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 I thank all of you for hearing me out.

14 ... Applause ...

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

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

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1 Great Party of ours.

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

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

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

15 ... Standing ovation ...

16 ... Applause ...

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1 THE CHAIRMAN'S VIEW

2 BY

3 MARY LOUISE SMITH, CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN
4 NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

2

1 my successor is elected at the upcoming meeting of the
2 full membership of the committee. That will be on the 14th
3 or 15th of January. From this vantage point I am going to
4 speak bluntly, then, hoping that you take my message from one
5 deeply concerned about the future of this Party and anxious that
6 we all do everything we can to guarantee its growth.
7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 directions. This is still in a conceptual stage.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ac 6

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 public.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 Thank you.

16 ... Standing ovation ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 ... Applause ...

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

7 BY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Party in Illinois.

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

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

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

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

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

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1 intend to do as well.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 chairman position.

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

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

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

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

22 Any time you go tinkering with the name of the

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

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

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

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

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

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1 money, if that is a legitimate criticism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 ... Laughter ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 So organization and fund raising is important.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10 Thank you very much.

11 ... Applause ...

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

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

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

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

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

7 MR. ROMNEY: Thanks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 I think the Republican governors represent the most

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

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

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

11 ... Applause ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 and from California to New Hampshire.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 We need basic reforms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 to that sort of a process.

2 Thank you very much.

3 ... Applause ...

4 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you, Governor Romney.

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

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

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

22 Join me in welcoming the Governor-elect, Richard

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1 Snelling.

2 ... Applause ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 our goals.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 But at the same time they were looking for simple

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 serious part of the problems of government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 have another very, very large constituency.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20 Thank you very much.

21 ... Applause.

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

1 and sobering perspective.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21 Thank you, and good afternoon.
22

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

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McAuliffe

VOLUME III

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION
CONFERENCE

- - -

10:04 o'clock a.m.
Tuesday, November 30, 1976Yorktown-Valley Forge
Conference Room
Hyatt Regency Hotel
400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

APPEARANCES

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

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

Hon. Otis R. Bowen, Governor of Indiana

Hon. Robert D. Ray, Governor of Iowa

Hon. William G. Milliken, Governor of Michigan

Hon. James Thompson, Governor-elect of Illinois

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

Former Governor George Romney of Michigan

Former Governor Tim Babcock of Montana

Former Governor Frank Farrar of South Dakota

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

Mrs. Mary Louise Smith, Chairman, Republican National Committee

C O N T E N T SPage

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

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P R O C E E D I N G S

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

GOVERNOR MOORE: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 ... Standing ovation ...

13 WHAT NOW FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

14 BY

HON. ROBERT DOLE

15 UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

16 SENATOR DOLE: Thank you very much, Arch.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 As individual politicians, we have prospered by

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 Which brings me to my final point.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Thank you very much.

4 ... Applause ...

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you, Senator Dole.

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

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

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

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

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

BUSINESS MEETING

- - -

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

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

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A P P E A R A N C E S

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

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

Hon. Christopher S. Bond, Governor of Missouri

Hon. Otis R. Bowen, Governor of Indiana

Hon. Robert D. Ray, Governor of Iowa

Hon. James Thompson, Governor-elect of Illinois

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

Former Governor George Romney of Michigan

Former Governor Tim Babcock of Montana

Former Governor Frank Farrar of South Dakota

Mrs. Mary Louise Smith, Chairman,
Republican National Committee

P R O C E E D I N G S

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 periods.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 MR. THOMPSON: I second.

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

15 Governor Ray of Iowa?

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

17 ... Laughter ...

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

19 GOVERNOR RAY: I do have one.

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

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

4 GOVERNOR RAY: You didn't!

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: What is your question?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21 GOVERNOR BENNETT: Florida has enacted a limited one.

22 GOVERNOR RAY: Has either one of the States eliminated

1 any agency yet under the Sunset law?

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

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

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

14 The resolution is adopted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 GOVERNOR MOORE: You have heard the resolution which

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

4 GOVERNOR BOND: I second.

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

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

9 Governor Bowen of Indiana.

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

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

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

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

1 there.

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

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

13 Governor Ray, of Iowa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 I put the resolution.

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

4 The resolution is adopted as amended.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you.

6 GOVERNOR THOMSON: The resolution reads:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 to you my concerns of why not.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Those are the concerns that I have, sir.

19 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Bond of Missouri

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

1 resolution itself is directed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 I certainly hope you will do so.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 I could support this if I believe we are not

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Thompson of Illinois.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 we ought to be shut out.

2 GOVERNOR MOORE: May I inquire, Governor Bowen.

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

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

7 ... Laughter ...

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

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

14 MR. THOMPSON: No.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 satisfaction in the days ahead; and be it

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 ... Laughter ...

3 GOVERNOR RAY: That means you pay.

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

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

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

15 GOVERNOR BOND: I second.

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

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

1 all those opposed, say no (none).

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

7 Governor Bennett.

8 ... Applause ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you very much.

14 ... Applause ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 Today and yesterday we heard some comments about the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 This party started on the organizational concept that

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Thank you.

19 ... Applause ...

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

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

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1 luncheon that is in Columbia A Room.

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

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

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

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

17 Thank you very much.

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

20

ac end

McAuliffe

