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# REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

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

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Chairman  
HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER S. BOND  
Governor of Missouri

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

January 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: Governors and Key Assistants

FROM: Bob Witt

This is RGA Communications '75--the seventh installment of our internal information service, distributed to Governors and their key staff assistants.

The notebook contains a number of informational inserts, filed in the appropriate section. In the coming months, additional inserts will be mailed to you.

All materials will be printed on pre-holed paper, making it convenient for filing upon receipt--and, thus filed, for ready reference in the future. The letterhead and RGA signature will remain the same, with the exception of a key word (printed in green) reflecting the subject matter.

I hope you will take a few moments to become familiar with Communications '75. If the past is prologue, this informational service should prove itself a valuable and handy reference in the coming year.



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Republican Governors and Key Assistants

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### 1976 - 1977 ELECTION GUIDE

#### 1976 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

*In 1976 Fifteen States and Puerto Rico will elect Governors. This information, from Secretaries of State and State election boards, is accurate as of April, 1975.*

##### Arkansas

Filing dates: Noon, March 6, 1976 through Noon, April 6, 1976.  
Primary: May 25, 1976.  
Primary Runoff: June 8, 1976.  
General Election: November 2, 1976.

##### Delaware

Not available, legislation is pending.

##### Illinois

Not yet available. Legislation has been introduced to change filing and primary election dates. Also, Illinois will elect a Governor, in 1976, to an interim 2-year term. This constitutional change was passed in an effort to coordinate statewide elections into non-Presidential election years.

##### Indiana

Filing deadline: March 15, 1976.  
Primary: May 4, 1976.  
General Election: November 2, 1976.



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Louisiana\*

\*Note dates carefully.

August 2, 1975: State Central Committees meet to qualify candidates.

August 9, 1975: Deadline for candidate qualification.

Primary: November 1, 1975.

Primary Runoff: December 13, 1975.

General Election: January 27, 1976.

Missouri

Filing deadline: April 27, 1976.

Primary: August 3, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

Montana

Filing deadline: April 22, 1976.

Primary: June 1, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

New Hampshire

Filing deadline: to be set by Attorney General. The deadline must be within 74 days preceeding the primary election.

Primary: September 14, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

North Carolina

Various pieces of legislation are pending in the General Assembly which could change election dates in North Carolina.

North Dakota

Action by state legislature may change dates. Information should be available mid-May, 1975. Telephone (701) 224-2900.

Rhode Island

Filing dates: June 1-10, 1976.

Primary: September 14, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

(more)

Utah

Filing dates: April 15 - May 10, 1976.

Primary: September 14, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

NOTE: In Utah, Party nominating conventions are set by the individual political parties, but must be held in June or July. The two candidates receiving the greatest number of delegate votes are then placed on the primary election ballot. Should a candidate receive more than 70% of the delegate votes in a nominating convention, that individual becomes the official candidate.

Vermont

Filing deadline: August 4, 1976.

Primary: September 14, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

Washington

Filing dates: July 26-30, 1976.

Primary: September 21, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

West Virginia

Filing dates: January 5 - February 7, 1976.

Primary: May 11, 1976.

General Election: November 2, 1976.

Puerto Rico

Deadline for nominating candidates: April 30, 1976.

Primary election: July 11, 1976.

General election: November 2, 1976.

NOTE: Candidates are chosen by the political parties in nominating conventions. If a single candidate is not chosen, the top contenders are placed on the Primary election ballot.



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1977 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

New Jersey

Filing deadline - not yet set, see RGA 1975 election information mailed earlier.

Primary election day probably will be the last Thursday in April.

Virginia

Filing deadline - April 11, 1977.

Primary election day is June 10, 1977.

# # #

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JAMES R. GALBRAITH  
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR  
ROBERT W. WITT

### GUBERNATORIAL RACES

States up for election in 1975:

Kentucky--Julian Carroll, D  
Mississippi--William L. Waller\*, D

States up for election in 1976:

Arkansas--David Pryor, D  
Delaware--Sherman W. Tribbitt, D  
Illinois--Dan Walker, D  
Indiana--Otis R. Bowen, R  
Louisiana--Edwin Edwards, D (January 27, 1976)  
Missouri--Christopher S. Bond, R  
Montana--Thomas L. Judge, D  
New Hampshire--Meldrim Thomson, Jr. R  
North Carolina--James E. Holshouser, Jr.\*, R  
North Dakota--Arthur A. Link, D  
Rhode Island--Philip W. Noel, D  
Utah--Calvin L. Rampton, D  
Vermont--Thomas P. Salmon, D  
Washington--Daniel J. Evans, R  
West Virginia--Arch A. Moore, Jr.\*, R

\* \* \* \* \*

Puerto Rico--Rafael Hernandez-Colon, PD

States up for election in 1977:

Virginia--Mills E. Godwin, Jr.\*, R  
New Jersey--Brendan T. Byrne, D

\*barred from seeking re-election





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### 1975 ELECTIONS

#### KENTUCKY

Constitutional Officers to be elected:

GOVERNOR	Superintendent of Public
Lieutenant Governor	Instruction
Secretary of State	Commissioner of Agriculture
Attorney General	State Treasurer
Clerk of Court of Appeals	State Auditor

Members of State Legislature to be elected:

One-half of State Senate (odd-numbered districts), 5 Republicans  
and 14 Democrats.  
Entire State House, 20 Republicans and 80 Democrats.

Primary Election date: May 27, 1975  
General Election date: November 4, 1975

#### MISSISSIPPI

Constitutional Officers to be elected:

GOVERNOR	Superintendent of Public
Lieutenant Governor	Education
Secretary of State	Commissioner of Agricultural
Auditor	Commerce
Attorney General	Supreme Court Clerk
Treasurer	State Land Commissioner

Members of State Legislature to be elected:

Entire State Senate, 2 Republicans and 50 Democrats  
Entire State House, 2 Republicans and 120 Democrats

Primary Election date: August 5, 1975  
Primary Election Run-off date: August 26, 1975  
General Election date: November 4, 1975

(over)



LOUISIANA (note election dates)

Constitutional Officers to be elected:

GOVERNOR	Comptroller
Lieutenant Governor	Superintendent of Public
Secretary of State	Education
Attorney General	Commissioner of Agriculture
Treasurer	Register of State Lands
	Commissioner of Insurance

Members of State Legislature to be elected:

Entire State Senate, 0 Republicans and 39 Democrats.  
Entire State House, 4 Republicans and 101 Democrats.

Primary Election date: November 1, 1975.  
Primary Election Run-off date: December 13, 1975.  
General Election date: January 27, 1976.

NEW JERSEY

Members of State Legislature to be elected:

Entire State Senate, 10 Republicans, 29 Democrats and 1  
Independent.  
Entire State House, 14 Republicans and 66 Democrats.

Primary Election date: June 3, 1975.  
General Election date: November 4, 1975.

VIRGINIA

Members of State Legislature to be elected:

Entire State Senate, 5 Republicans and 35 Democrats.  
Entire State House, 19 Republicans, 72 Democrats, and 9  
Independents.

Primary Election date: June 10, 1975 (if primary is deemed  
necessary by the political party)  
General Election date: November 4, 1975.

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### LOUISIANA ELECTIONS

A new election law in the State of Louisiana eliminates party primaries and provides one primary in which candidates of all parties compete against each other. Also, the gubernatorial election will now be held in 1975 instead of 1976.

### 1975 ELECTION DATES -- LOUISIANA

NOVEMBER 1 -- Open Primary

DECEMBER 13 -- General Election\*

*\*(The two candidates receiving the greatest number of votes in the primary will run in the general election unless one candidate receives more than 50% of the primary vote. This means the two candidates in the general may be of the same party affiliation.)*

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# RGAs

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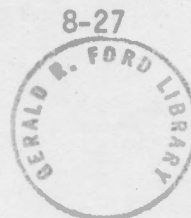
FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE, PLEASE FIND LISTED BELOW THOSE  
STATES WITH JOINT ELECTION OF GOVERNOR AND LIEUTENANT  
GOVERNOR.

*Alaska*  
*Colorado*  
*Connecticut*  
*Florida*  
*Indiana*

*Hawaii*  
*Illinois*  
*Kansas*  
*Maryland*  
*Massachusetts*

*Michigan*  
*Minnesota*  
*Montana*  
*New Mexico*  
*New York*

*North Dakota*  
*Pennsylvania*  
*South Dakota*  
*Wisconsin*  
*Nebraska*



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GOVERNMENT

# RGA: Government

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*Congressman Rhodes invites comment and questions from the Republican Governors. The House Republican leader may be reached at the U.S. Capitol, (202) 225-0600. His Legislative Counsel is Mr. Dennis Taylor (202) 225-0608 and his Press Secretary is Mr. Jay Smith (202) 225-0606. These reports, supplementing your current informational sources, should be kept in the "Government" section of your RGA: COMMUNICATIONS '75 notebook.*



## REPORT TO THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS

### FROM THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER,

JOHN J. RHODES

## POLITICS

JULY, 1975

As this is written, Congress has just recently returned from a Fourth of July recess. Consequently, most of the significant legislative battles lie ahead. In the coming weeks, the chief area of conflict will probably be energy. Specifically, the matter of decontrol of old domestic oil prices will come before Congress. The Democrats apparently want to roll back the price of domestic oil, while the Administration favors decontrol coupled to a windfall profits tax to protect the consumer. This major difference has set the stage for what could be an important clash of views.

In my judgement, the Democrats have really missed the boat on the energy issue. This is good for the Republican Party politically but bad for the Nation since the Democrats currently control Congress. The only thing that the Democrats seem to care about is lower gasoline prices for the short term. As far as they are concerned, no gasoline at lower prices is better than adequate supplies of gasoline at higher short term prices. The Republican minority, of course, does not agree with this approach. We feel that the economy can adjust to higher prices. But the economy cannot adjust to a shortage, and a shortage is what we will have if the Democratic policies prevail. It will be interesting to see how the American people perceive this important debate.

75-go-8

(over)



7-16-75



Based on my travels throughout the states, I am really optimistic about the party's political prospects for next year. I made the statement this week that politically speaking, the GOP has advanced light years from where we were one year ago. While it is too early to play the numbers game, I am willing to predict that Republicans will pick up a substantial number of House seats next November.

The main reason for this hopeful development -- as far as I am concerned -- is the fact that the people are becoming more aware of the issues than ever before. My reading is that the people are beginning to seriously question the tired Democratic rhetoric that Government can do anything it wants. They have been through a recession and understand that the need now is for fiscal responsibility and restraint rather than the wild spending tendencies of past Democratic Congresses. It used to be that a Member of Congress would be in real trouble with the voters if he dared vote against a bill with the name "jobs" in it, even if the bill was poorly conceived. Now the people seem to realize that it takes more than a nice-sounding title to make a good bill or program. That can really work to the advantage of the Republican Party in the next election.

I remain interested in any thoughts or suggestions you or your staffs may have concerning things that we can be doing to get the Republican congressional message out to the people.

The attached list represents the major items pending in the House with an interest for the Republican Governors.

1. Background hearings are currently underway on revenue sharing. These sessions are designed to explore federal, state and local fiscal relations. Hearings on the Administration's bill, H.R. 6558, are expected to begin later in the Fall. At the present time, renewal of revenue sharing seems to be gathering support on Capitol Hill, as well as in the State Houses and cities across the country.

2. The President signed S. 2003, authorizing some \$98 million for tourism promotion. The original legislation was vetoed because of an \$8 million three-year authorization in the bill for the promotion of domestic tourism. A compromise was negotiated which requires that there be a national need before the federal government undertakes promotion of domestic tourism, and prohibits such promotion from being in competition with the efforts of states, localities or private industry.

3. The House is scheduled to begin debate this week on H.R. 7014, the Energy Conservation and Oil Policy Act of 1975. This bill involves the controversial question of decontrolling the price of oil, and is expected to generate considerable debate and controversy during its consideration.



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REPORT TO THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS  
FROM THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER, JOHN J. RHODES

POLITICS

JUNE, 1975

As far as the House of Representatives is concerned, our political fortunes have rarely looked better. Despite our small numbers, we have been able to hold together remarkably well on key votes and have succeeded in sustaining some critical Presidential vetoes. In doing so, I believe that we have helped to spare the nation from some truly bad legislation. What I predicted might happen early this year has actually come to pass: the GOP minority has proven to be the single largest cohesive force in Washington, D.C.

All of this places the huge Democratic majority in a highly vulnerable position. Immediately following the 1974 election, there was widespread talk among leading Democrats of a "veto-proof" Congress and the great mandate that had been handed to congressional Democrats. "The ball is in our court now," one Member of the Democratic leadership was quoted as saying. Now -- six months into the session -- it is clearly evident to all that the Democrats have dropped the ball. The press has been very effective in reporting the disunity on the Democratic side. Hopefully, the people are beginning to get the word that it was a mistake to place control of the Congress in the hands of the Democrats. More importantly, I hope that they are beginning to perceive the existence of an active GOP minority -- one that knows where it wants to go and how it intends to get there.



"Where we want to go," of course, is to win enough seats in 1976 to become the majority. In order to get there, I am involved in at least two initiatives that you should know about:

First, there is the recent revival of the regular news conferences which used to be held by the Republican Leaders of the House and Senate. Senator Hugh Scott and I held our first joint press conference on the Hill several weeks ago and the reaction was quite positive. Already the press has dubbed our effort "The Hugh and John Show," in memory of the old "Ev and Charlie" Shows of the mid 1960's. Our purpose is to call attention to the ineffectiveness of the Democrat-controlled Congress and to publicize Republican alternatives.

Second, there is the House GOP Legislative Program which I explained in a previous newsletter. This will be a document setting forth basic Republican objectives, the idea being to give the American people a concrete notion of what a Republican Congress would seek to accomplish. Politically speaking, the program assumes added significance in the sense that it will dispel the Democrats' current claim that Republicans are entirely negative and obstructionist. I hope to be able to present the program to the House Republican Conference in mid-July.

#### LEGISLATION

1. Strip Mining - As I am sure you are aware, on June 10 the House sustained President Ford's veto of H.R. 25, the strip mining bill. The veto was sustained because it would reduce coal production at a time when our demands are expected to increase, and completely ignored the positive efforts made by states in enacting state laws for reclamation of strip mines. It is important to note that utility rates were expected to increase significantly had H.R. 25 passed, and the already overburdened consumer would have been faced with spiraling electric rates.

2. Energy - On June 19 the House passed H.R. 6860, the Democratic Energy Conservation and Conversion Act. The concern with this bill is that it has been stripped of any meaningful incentive for energy conservation and it is a poor excuse for the national energy policy that the Democrats heralded it to be.

3. The recent defeat of the bill to increase the debt ceiling is a result of what I believe to be fiscal irresponsibility. While I oppose deficits of the magnitude such as we now have, I think it is the height of hypocrisy for Members who vote for increased authorizations and appropriations -- day in and day out -- to now turn their back when it comes time to pay the tab. Having authorized the programs and appropriated the money, Congress must either raise revenues or authorize an increase in the debt ceiling. A new version of the bill has been prepared and will be considered soon on the House Floor. I hope that Members of Congress will act responsibly this time and not precipitate economic calamity.

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

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

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

(Civilian noninstitutional population)

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

NA Not available.

<sup>1</sup>Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

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

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

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

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



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

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

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

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

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



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

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

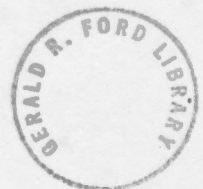
Voter participation and reason for not voting and registering	Total	White	Negro	Spanish origin <sup>1</sup>	Percent distribution			
					Total	White	Negro	Spanish origin <sup>1</sup>
Total, 18 years old and over.....	141,299	125,132	14,175	6,095	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Voted.....	63,164	57,918	4,786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

- Represents zero.

Z Less than 0.05 percent.

<sup>1</sup>Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

<sup>2</sup>Includes 8,384 persons who did not report on registration, not shown separately.



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

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

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

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

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

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

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

# RGA: Government

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION  
310 FIRST STREET, S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003  
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ROBERT W. WITT

*With this report, the RGA begins a series of reports on activities in the U.S. House of Representatives. The cooperation of Congressman John Rhodes in opening this line of communication is appreciated. The reports, supplementing your current informational sources, should be kept in the "Government" section of your RGA COMMUNICATIONS '75 notebook.*

REPORT TO THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS  
FROM THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER, JOHN J. RHODES  
MARCH, 1975

This is the first of what I hope can be a regular series of reports to you on the state of affairs in the House of Representatives. As these reports must be necessarily general in nature, please feel free to contact me, or my staff, on any specific points of interest. My Legislative Counsel is Mr. Dennis Taylor (202-225-0608) and my Press Secretary is Mr. Jay Smith (202-225-0606). They will be available to you and your staffs for whatever assistance you may need.

## POLITICS

In the coming weeks, I suspect that you will be reading in the press about the intention of House Republicans to develop our own legislative program. My chief motivation for undertaking this project is to establish an identity or "image" for Congressional Republicans that we can run on in 1976. It is my firm belief that the days are gone when Republicans running for Congress could hope to be swept into office in great numbers on the coattails of a popular President. If we are to have any hope of someday becoming the majority party in Congress, we must make it very clear to the American people what it is that we stand for, and what we would do with Congress were we to gain control. That is the purpose of the Congressional program, which I hope can be ready by late May or early June. It should not be interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction with the policies of the Administration. The President is fully aware of our plans and has endorsed the idea. We are quite simply tired of being eclipsed by a lackluster and largely ineffective Democratic majority and intend to draw some attention to our views for a change. Your input into the development of this program would be greatly appreciated, as will your promotion of it as one small aspect of a larger GOP effort to become the majority party in America.

Despite high hopes that the 94th Congress could gear up legislatively earlier than past Congresses (based on an "early organization" reform passed last year), we have yet to really get down to business. This should change within a matter



of weeks, as House Committees are currently involved in an active schedule of hearings and legislation will soon be ready for consideration by the full House. Looking down the road, I can see several pieces of legislation soon to be considered that might be of special interest and importance to the states.

1. ABSENTEE VOTING: The House Administration Committee has been holding hearings on H.R. 3211, the Overseas Voting Bill. The purpose of this legislation is to establish uniform voting procedures for American citizens residing abroad. Supporters of this legislation insist that there are adequate safeguards to prevent abuse of the "mail registration" system. There is considerable concern, however, that such a system would be unworkable and unfair because it would establish different registration provisions for absentee voting by citizens residing abroad. At this writing, further hearings are expected on H.R. 3211.

2. LAND USE: The House Interior Committee -- which has been busy with hearings on strip mining -- is presently anticipating hearings in late March on land use planning. As you may recall, there was considerable opposition last year to the proposed Federal land use bill because it represented what many believed to be undesirable extension of Federal control at the expense of the states and localities. When the Committee bill was defeated last year, it was hoped that field hearings would be conducted around the country in order to obtain more input from interested parties in the states. I am still hopeful that the states will urge such field hearings and will work towards a Federal land use bill which will encourage and assist states and localities in developing reasonable land use programs without imposing unnecessary Federal regulations over the use of land.

3. HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION FUNDS: The House Public Works Committee is currently conducting subcommittee hearings on H.R. 3786. That legislation is designed to assist the states in utilizing the additional \$2 billion in highway construction funds which were recently released. Some states apparently felt that they could not utilize the Federal money because they lacked state matching funds. Under the provisions of H.R. 3786, the matching funds requirement for states would be waived between now and the end of the fiscal year (June 30, 1975). The amount of the state matching funds waived during this period would be considered as a loan coming out of the highway trust funds. It would have to be repaid by January 1, 1977. Due to the time frame imposed, action must be prompt if the states are to accrue any benefit from this proposal.

# # #







REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION  
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## Issues

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MAIL-GRAM

DECEMBER 11, 1974

TO: NBC "TODAY" SHOW  
NEW YORK

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The Today Show program Wednesday morning, December 11, featured Governor Milton Shapp and the Lieutenant Governor-elect of California in a discussion of state issues and implied that they somehow represented a broad spectrum of opinion among state leadership. Governor Shapp's derogatory remarks about revenue sharing are totally unrepresentative of the views of almost all of the other Governors in this nation. The National Governors' Conference, composed of both Democrats and Republicans, has overwhelmingly gone on record favoring the extension of revenue sharing and the expansion of the broad grant philosophy to other areas of federal domestic programs. Revenue sharing has meant that state and local officials, who are closer to the people than those at the federal level, make the decisions about the priorities of the people in their jurisdictions and how best to meet them.

Governor Shapp's statements about the causes of inflation and the need for a new massive federal spending program show an overwhelming lack of understanding of economics and government today. Massive federal spending and resulting deficits do not create wealth, as he asserts, but they have created the double digit inflation which adversely affects all citizens, as well as state and local governments.

The Republican Governors Association last week unanimously urged Congress to extend federal revenue sharing.

If you are interested in presenting the viewpoint of the overwhelming majority of Governors in this nation with respect to revenue sharing, I urge you to contact the man the Governors have selected to speak for them, the Honorable Calvin L. Rampton of Utah, Chairman of the National Governor's Conference.

Christopher S. Bond  
Governor of Missouri  
Chairman, Republican Governors' Assoc.





# RGAs

## News

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION  
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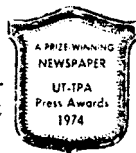
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR  
ROBERT W. WITT

# The Paris Post-Intelligencer

W. Percy Williams, Editor 1927-1967

An independent newspaper established in 1866, published as a daily since June 2, 1930

W. Bryant Williams, Editor and Publisher  
Bill Williams, Assoc. Publisher and Gen. Mgr.  
Jimmy Williams, Production Superintendent



"Here shall the press, the people's rights  
maintain, unaw'd by influence and unbrib'd  
by gain." —West Tennessean, May 7, 1828

Paris, Tenn., Thursday, Dec. 26, 1974

## Dunn's Good Record

Winfield Dunn is nearing the close

The Dunn speeches and press

PARTY

# RGAs

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION  
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## *Party*

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### SELECTED TABLES FROM U.S. NATIONAL STUDY

Presented to: Republican State Chairmen's Conference  
Chicago, Illinois  
January 23-25, 1975

Prepared by: Market Opinion Research

Study based on 2000 Personal Interviews  
Conducted Between November 23  
and December 12, 1974





MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Party Identification by Regions of the United States

	Region I					Region II							
	National	North-east	North Central	West	South	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	Border	Deep South	Mountain	Pacific
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	2010	(500)	(552)	(351)	(607)	(116)	(384)	(385)	(167)	(167)	(440)	(84)	(267)
<u>Party Identification with Intensity</u>													
Strong Republican	7%	7%	8%	8%	5%	3%	8%	8%	7%	6%	5%	10%	8%
Weak Republican	11	10	11	11	12	7	11	10	14	19	9	18	9
Independent Republican	8	8	9	5	8	9	8	10	7	6	9	6	4
Independent	16	17	17	15	13	16	18	19	13	10	14	12	16
Independent Democrat	16	21	18	15	12	24	20	21	12	10	12	17	15
Weak Democrat	20	15	17	24	25	18	15	16	21	28	24	14	27
Strong Democrat	22	21	18	21	25	22	21	15	25	22	27	25	20

\*Other

\*Apolitical

\*Not ascertained

Party Identification (Collapsed)

Republican	18	17	19	19	17	10	19	18	21	25	14	28	17
Independent	40	46	44	35	33	49	46	50	32	26	35	35	35
Democrat	42	36	35	46	50	40	36	31	46	50	51	39	47

\* Less than 0.5%.

Party Identification within Subgroups

Total	Party Identification			Number of cases (2010)/(2000) <sup>a</sup>	
	Total 100%	Rep. 18%	Ind. 40%		Dem. 42%
Region I					
East	100	17	46	37	(500)/(416) <sup>a</sup>
Midwest	100	19	45	36	(552)/(582) <sup>a</sup>
South	100	17	32	51	(607)
West	100	19	35	45	(351)/(402) <sup>a</sup>
Region II					
New England	100	10	50	40	(116)
Mid-Atlantic	100	19	45	36	(384)/(300) <sup>a</sup>
East N. Central	100	18	50	31	(385)
West N. Central	100	20	32	46	(167)/(198) <sup>a</sup>
Border	100	25	26	50	(167)
Deep South	100	14	35	51	(440)
Mountain	100	27	35	39	(84)/(168) <sup>a</sup>
Pacific	100	17	36	47	(267)/(234) <sup>a</sup>
Type of Area					
Urban	100	15	38	47	(861)
Suburban	100	19	38	42	(512)
Balance Metro	100	18	54	28	(174)
Rural	100	21	39	39	(462)
Occupation (Head)					
Professional/Technical	100	20	50	30	(250)
Officials/Business					
owners/Administrators	100	21	40	38	(250)
Clerical/Sales workers	100	18	42	40	(202)
Skilled Craftmen	100	12	50	38	(276)
Other operatives/ Kindred workers	100	13	39	47	(133)
Service workers/ Laborers	100	11	38	50	(219)
Retired/Completely disabled	100	23	27	50	(374)
Housewives	100	25	27	47	(113)
Age					
17-20	100	12	54	32	(114)
21-24	100	10	55	35	(190)
25-29	100	9	52	39	(230)
30-34	100	11	46	43	(213)
35-44	100	19	45	35	(303)
45-54	100	19	35	46	(322)
55-64	100	17	31	51	(281)
65 and over	100	31	22	47	(347)
Age (Special)					
Under 35 total	100	11	51	38	(747)
Under 35/Non-College	100	10	53	37	(404)
Under 35/College	100	11	49	39	(342)
35 and over total	100	22	34	45	(1253)
35 and over/Non College	100	20	31	49	(915)
35 and over/College	100	29	39	32	(331)

<sup>a</sup> Unweighted number of interviews.



Party Identification within Subgroups (Continued)

		Party Identification			Number of cases
	Total	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	
Total	100%	18%	40%	42%	(2010)
<u>Education</u>					
Grade school or less	100	18	27	55	(301)
Some high school	100	10	37	53	(306)
Graduated high school	100	19	41	39	(607)
Vocational/Technical	100	21	48	31	(111)
Some college	100	19	45	35	(385)
Graduated college	100	20	47	32	(176)
Post graduate work	100	19	38	42	(115)
<u>Education (Combined)</u>					
Less than high school	100	14	32	54	(607)
High school or Vocational	100	19	42	38	(718)
Some college	100	19	45	35	(385)
Graduated college/Post graduate work	100	20	43	36	(291)
<u>Income</u>					
\$0 - \$2,999	100	23	29	48	(143)
\$3,000 - \$4,999	100	13	34	52	(188)
\$5,000 - \$5,999	100	20	31	49	(120)
\$6,000 - \$6,999	100	12	33	55	(97)
\$7,000 - \$9,999	100	17	40	42	(256)
\$10,000 - \$14,999	100	17	49	34	(493)
\$15,000 - \$24,999	100	20	39	41	(332)
\$25,000 - \$34,999	100	21	36	44	(94)
\$35,000 and over	100	30	36	33	(33)
Refused	100	18	40	41	(253)
<u>Income (Combined)</u>					
Under \$5,000	100	17	32	50	(331)
\$5,000 - \$6,999	100	17	32	52	(217)
\$7,000 - \$9,999	100	17	40	42	(256)
\$10,000 - \$14,999	100	17	49	34	(493)
\$15,000 - \$24,999	100	20	39	41	(332)
\$25,000 and over	100	24	36	41	(127)
Refused	100	18	40	41	(253)
<u>Union Membership</u>					
Respondent	100	9	44	47	(320)
Other member	100	15	40	44	(300)
Both	100	17	42	42	(36)
No one	100	21	38	41	(1319)
<u>Union Membership (Combined)</u>					
Union household	100	12	42	46	(657)
Non-union household	100	21	38	41	(1319)
<u>Religion</u>					
Roman Catholic	100	12	38	49	(487)
Protestant	100	22	36	42	(1191)
Jewish	100	6	49	45	(80)
Other	100	15	55	30	(114)
Agnostic/None	100	8	61	30	(108)

Demographic Profile of Republicans, Independents and Democrats

	Party Identification			
	Total	Republican	Independent	Democratic
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Total</u>	100%			
<u>Region I</u>				
East	25	23	29	22
Midwest	27	29	31	23
South	30	28	25	36
West	17	19	15	19
<u>Region II</u>				
New England	6	3	7	5
Mid-Atlantic	19	20	22	16
East N. Central	19	20	24	14
West N. Central	8	9	7	9
Border	8	11	5	10
Deep South	22	17	19	26
Mountain	4	6	4	4
Pacific	13	13	12	15
<u>Type of Area</u>				
Urban	43	35	41	47
Suburban	25	28	24	26
Balance Metro	9	9	12	6
Rural	23	27	23	21
<u>Occupation (Head)</u>				
Professional/Technical	12	14	16	9
Officials/Business				
owners/Administrators	12	15	13	11
Clerical/Sales workers	10	9	11	10
Skilled Craftsmen	14	9	17	12
Other operatives/				
Kindred workers	7	5	7	7
Service workers/				
Laborers	11	7	10	13
Retired/Completely				
disabled	19	24	13	22
Housewives	6	8	4	6
<u>Age</u>				
17-20	6	4	8	4
21-24	9	5	13	8
25-29	11	6	15	11
30-34	11	7	12	11
35-44	15	17	17	12
45-54	16	16	14	18
55-64	14	14	11	18
65 and over	17	30	10	19
<u>Age (Special)</u>				
Under 35 total	37	22	48	33
Under 35/Non-college	20	11	26	18
Under 35/College	17	10	21	16
35 and over total	62	77	52	66
35 and over/Non-college	45	50	35	53
35 and over/College	16	27	16	12

Demographic Profile of Republicans, Independents and Democrats (Continued)

<u>Total</u>	<u>Party Identification</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Democratic</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Education</u>				
Grade school or less	15	15	10	20
Some high school	15	9	14	19
Graduated high school	30	32	31	28
Vocational/Technical	6	6	7	4
Some college	19	21	22	16
Graduated college	9	10	10	7
Post graduate work	6	6	6	6
<u>Education (Combined)</u>				
Less than high school	30	24	24	39
High school or				
Vocational	36	39	38	32
Some college	19	21	22	16
Graduated college/Post				
graduate work	5	16	16	13
<u>Income</u>				
\$0 - \$2,999	7	9	5	8
\$3,000 - \$4,999	9	7	8	12
\$5,000 - \$5,999	6	7	5	7
\$6,000 - \$6,999	5	3	4	6
\$7,000 - \$9,999	13	12	13	13
\$10,000 - \$14,999	25	23	30	20
\$15,000 - \$24,999	17	18	16	16
\$25,000 - \$34,999	5	6	4	5
\$35,000 and over	2	3	2	1
Refused	13	13	13	12
<u>Income (Combined)</u>				
Under \$5,000	16	16	13	19
\$5,000 - \$6,999	11	10	9	13
\$7,000 - \$9,999	13	12	13	13
\$10,000 - \$14,999	25	23	30	20
\$15,000 - \$24,999	17	18	16	16
\$25,000 and over	7	9	6	6
Refused	13	13	13	12
<u>Union Membership</u>				
Respondent	16	9	18	18
Other member	15	13	15	16
Both	2	2	2	2
No one	66	76	63	63
<u>Union Membership (Combined)</u>				
Union household	31	22	35	35
Non-union household	66	76	63	63
<u>Religion</u>				
Roman Catholic	24	17	23	28
Protestant	59	74	54	58
Jewish	4	1	5	4
Other	6	5	8	4
Agnostic/None	6	3	8	4



# MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Demographic Profile of Republicans, Independents and Democrats (Continued)

Here's a list of some personal need, hopes, and goals that other people have mentioned to us. Which one of these is the most important to you? Which one is second most important? Which one is the third most important?

	Combined	First	Second	Third
Health	81%	51%	20%	10%
Financial security	64	13	33	18
Closer relationship to God	38	17	11	10
College education for children	24	3	7	14
A better relationship in the family	21	4	7	9
Enjoying leisure time	17	2	4	11
Planning for retirement	14	2	4	8
Better and more personally satisfying job	13	3	5	6
Having your own home/ Buying a new home	11	2	4	5
Traveling	9	*	3	5
Don't know	2	2		4

# MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

I would like to read you some things one of the parties could do in the future and have you tell me for each item if it would be an extremely useful, useful, or not very useful thing for a party to do?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Extremely Useful</u>	<u>Useful</u>	<u>Not Very Useful</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Supply you with information about how your representatives are voting in Congress and in the state legislature.	100%	48%	44%	5%	3%
Formulate and make available specific positions on major issues.	100%	36	52	7	5
Sponsor neighborhood meetings where you have the opportunity to meet your elected officials.	100%	31	54	12	3
Sponsor regular TV programs about party positions on the issues.	100%	27	52	18	3
Sponsor discussions on issues in your neighborhood regularly.	100%	24	54	17	5
Give young people positions of leadership in the party.	100%	23	55	15	7
Refused to take any donations that were over \$100.	100%	22	40	28	10
Support the equal rights amendment for women.	100%	21	50	23	5
Personally issue you an invitation to participate in Party activities.	100%	14	43	39	4
Hold regular social events in your area.	100%	8	34	53	5

# MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

There are many ways people can get involved in elections and campaigns. I am going to read a list of things and I would like to know if you would do any of them if you were asked or given the opportunity to do so.

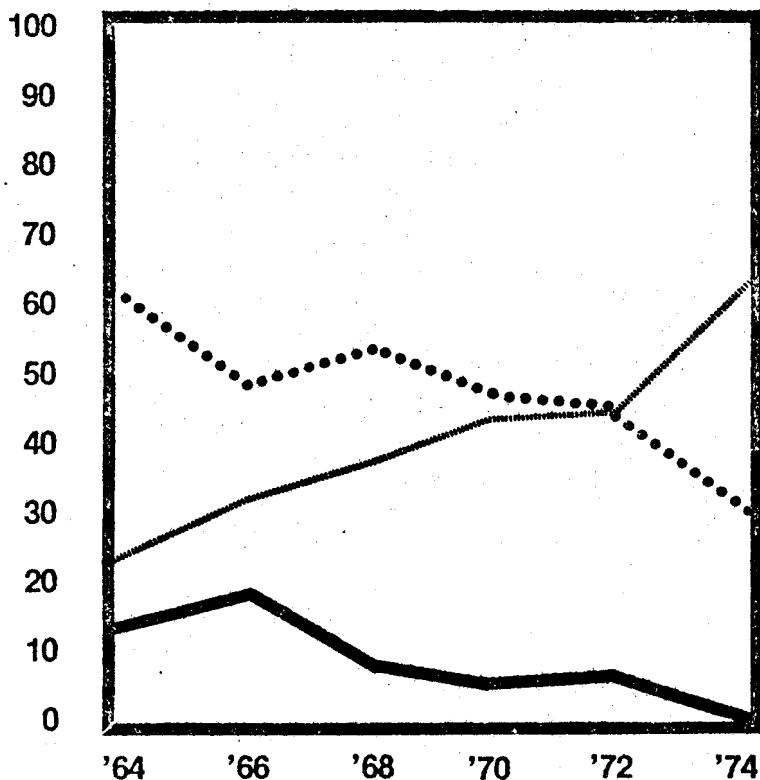
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Go to a political meeting to meet a candidate.	100%	69%	25%	6%
Attend a local meeting sponsored by one of the parties.	100	64	30	6
Wear a campaign button or display a campaign poster for your candidate.	100	62	33	5
Work as a volunteer for a candidate.	100	53	40	8
Work as a volunteer for a party	100	37	55	8
Give money to a party.	100	31	63	6
Give money to a candidate.	100	30	63	6

You said that "yes" you would give money to a party - how much do you think you would contribute to a party?

Five dollars	32%
Ten dollars	22
Twenty-five dollars	14
Fifty dollars	5
One hundred dollars	5
Over one hundred dollars	1
Don't know	<u>22</u>
	100%
Number of cases	(619)

HOW MUCH OF THE TIME DO YOU THINK YOU CAN TRUST THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT--JUST ABOUT ALWAYS, MOST OF THE TIME, OR ONLY SOME OF THE TIME?

Percentage

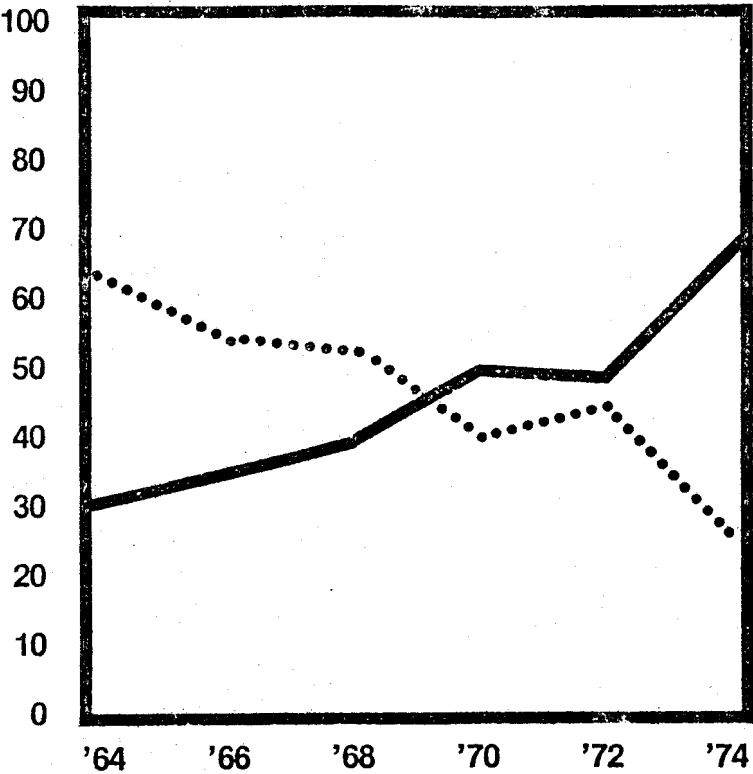


————— Always  
 ..... Most of the time  
 - - - - - Only some of the time

	Total	GOP	Ind	Dem	Under 35	Over 35	Less Hi Sch	Coll Grad	Union	Non Union
always	2%	4%	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%	1%	2%	3%
most of time	30	36	28	29	30	30	25	38	28	31
some time	64	57	66	66	65	64	68	58	67	63
don't know	3	3	4	3	3	3	5	3	3	3

WOULD YOU SAY THE GOVERNMENT IS PRETTY MUCH RUN BY A FEW BIG INTERESTS  
LOOKING OUT FOR THEMSELVES OR THAT IT IS RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OF  
THE PEOPLE?

Percentage



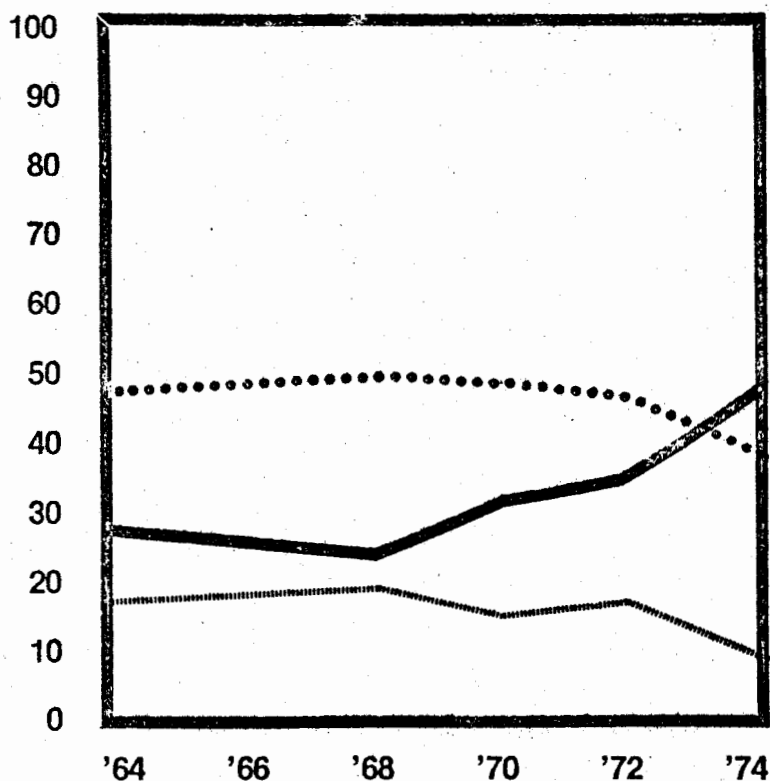
..... For benefit of all  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Few big interests

	<u>Total</u>	<u>GOP</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Under</u> <u>35</u>	<u>Over</u> <u>35</u>	<u>Less</u> <u>Hi Sch</u>	<u>Coll</u> <u>Grad</u>	<u>Union</u>	<u>Non</u> <u>Union</u>
few big interests	70%	62%	69%	74%	70%	70%	74%	64%	71%	69%
benefit of all	21	28	21	19	21	21	19	26	20	22
don't know	9	10	10	8	9	8	7	10	9	9



DO YOU THINK THAT QUITE A FEW OF THE PEOPLE RUNNING THE GOVERNMENT ARE A LITTLE CROOKED, NOT VERY MANY ARE, OR DO YOU THINK HARDLY ANY OF THEM ARE CROOKED AT ALL?

Percentage

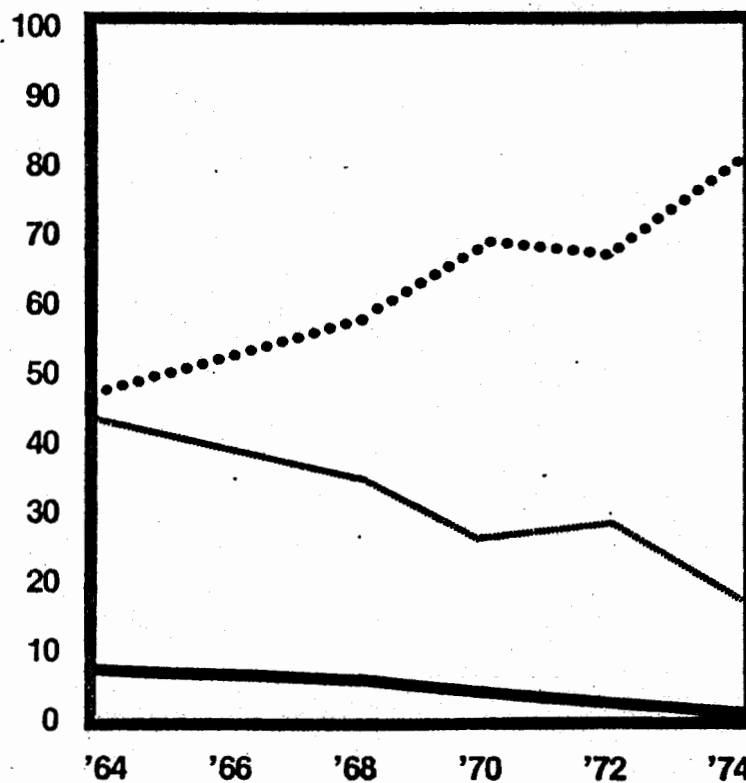


..... Hardly any  
 ..... Not many  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Quite a lot

	Total	GOP	Ind	Dem	Under 35	Over 35	Less Hi Sch	Coll Grad	Union	Non Union
quite a lot	49%	41%	51%	51%	53%	47%	54%	40%	51%	48%
not many	38	42	35	39	37	38	34	45	37	39
hardly any	10	13	10	8	9	10	8	13	9	10
don't know	3	3	4	2	2	4	4	2	3	3

DO YOU THINK THAT PEOPLE IN THE GOVERNMENT WASTE A LOT OF THE MONEY WE PAY IN TAXES, WASTE SOME OF IT OR DON'T WASTE VERY MUCH OF IT?

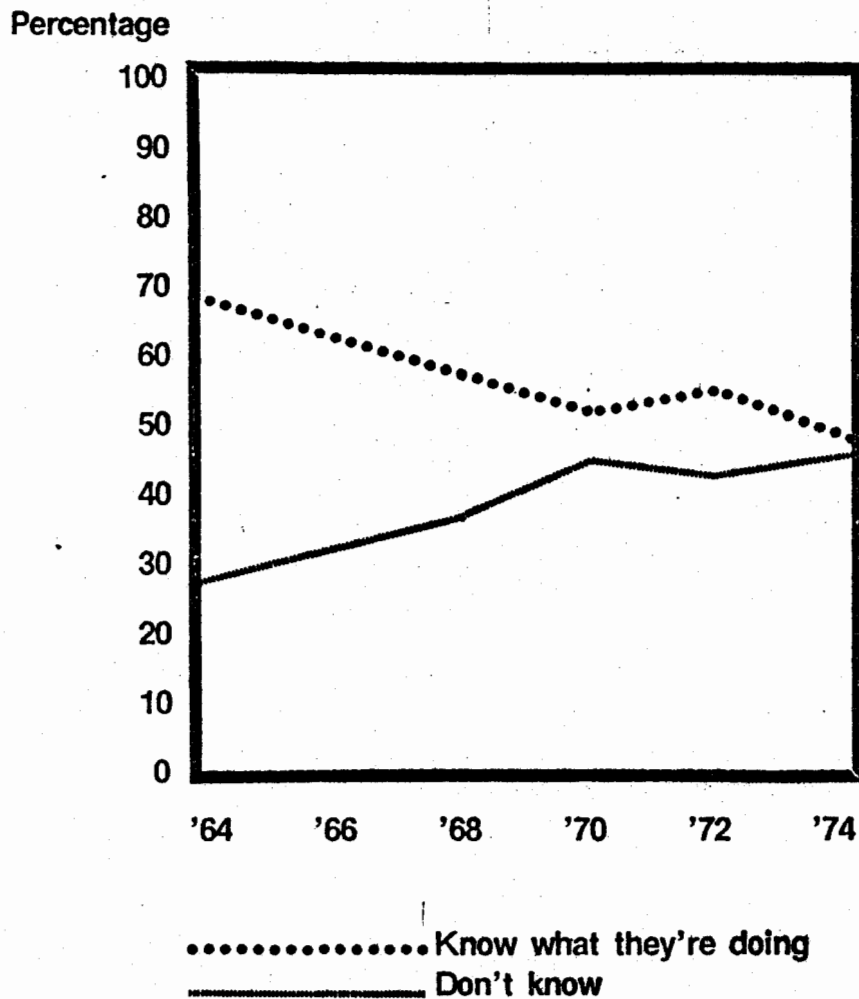
Percentage



————— Not much  
 ————— Some  
 ..... A lot

	Total	GOP	Ind	Dem	Under 35	Over 35	Less Hi Sch	Coll Grad	Union	Non Union
lot of money	81%	75%	82%	82%	77%	84%	83%	77%	83%	80%
some money	16	22	15	15	21	14	14	20	15	17
not very much	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
don't know	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1

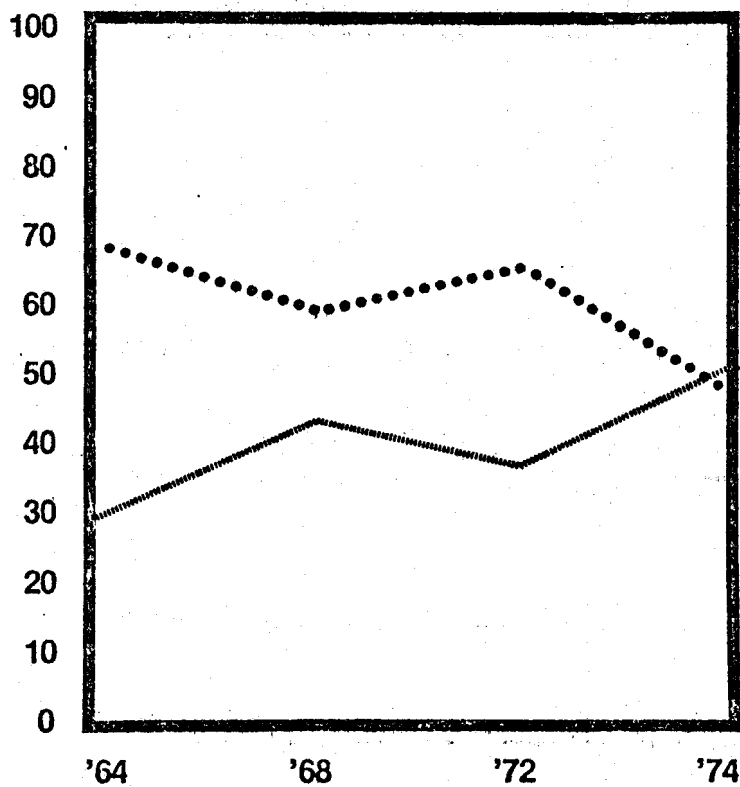
DO YOU FEEL THAT ALMOST ALL OF THE PEOPLE RUNNING THE GOVERNMENT ARE SMART PEOPLE WHO USUALLY KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING, OR DO YOU THINK THAT QUITE A FEW OF THEM DON'T SEEM TO KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING?



	Total	GOP	Ind	Dem	Under 35	Over 35	Less Hi Sch	Coll Grad	Union	Non Union
know what they're doing	47%	51%	46%	46%	49%	45%	44%	43%	47%	47%
don't know what they're doing	47	41	47	48	45	48	48	52	48	46
don't know	7	7	7	6	6	7	9	6	5	7

PEOPLE LIKE ME DON'T HAVE ANY SAY ABOUT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES.

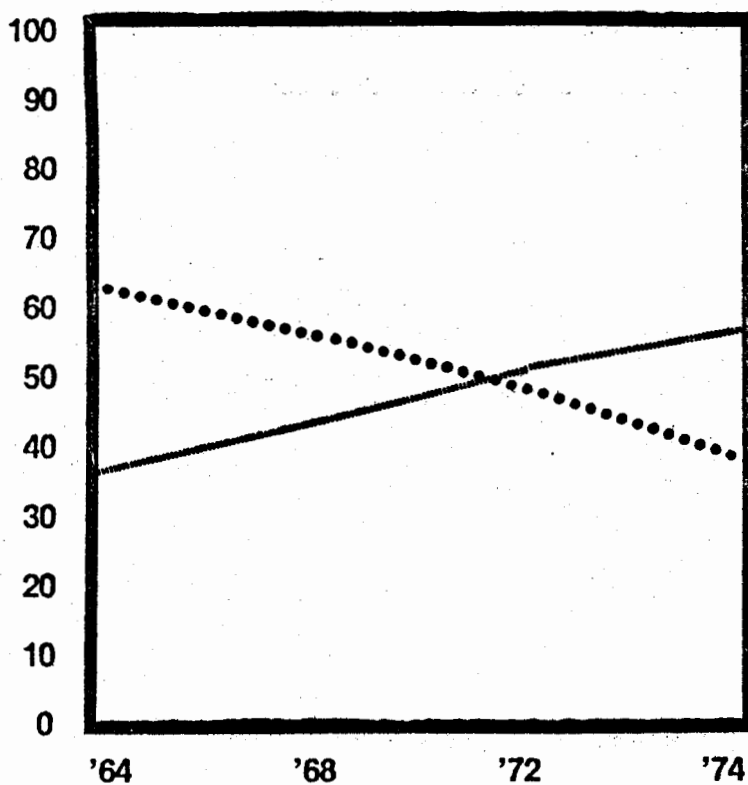
Percentage



— Agree  
..... Disagree

I DON'T THINK PUBLIC OFFICIALS CARE MUCH WHAT PEOPLE LIKE ME THINK..

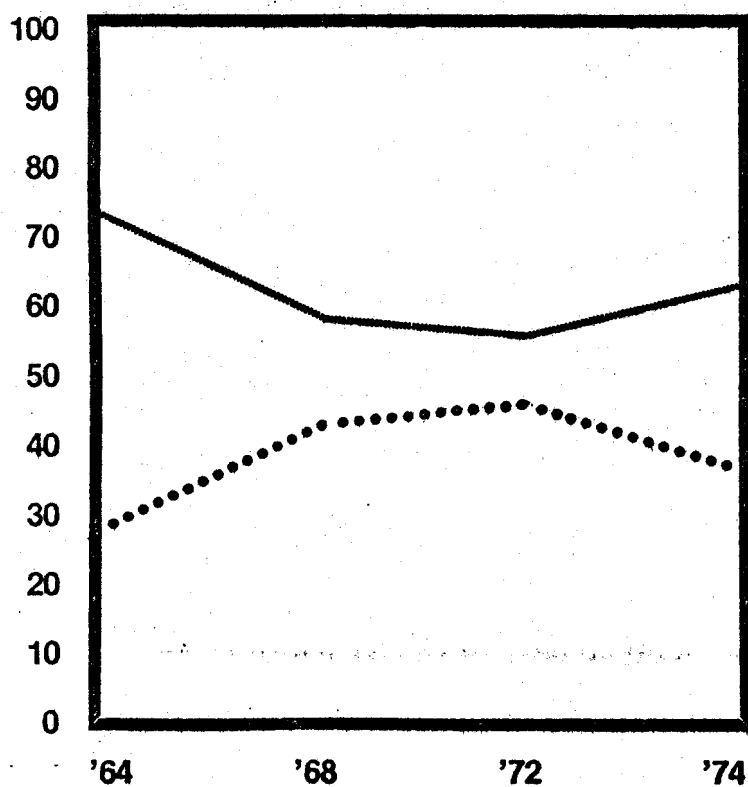
Percentage



— Agree  
..... Disagree

**VOTING IS THE ONLY WAY THAT PEOPLE LIKE ME CAN HAVE ANY SAY ABOUT HOW THE GOVERNMENT RUNS THINGS.**

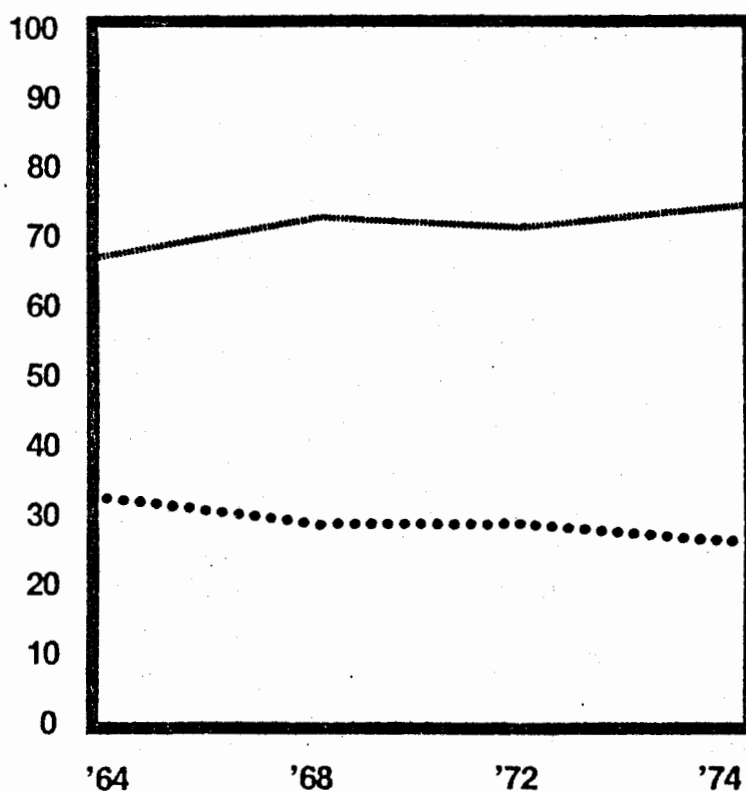
Percentage



————— Agree  
..... Disagree

SOMETIMES POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT SEEM SO COMPLICATED THAT A PERSON LIKE ME CAN'T REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT'S GOING ON.

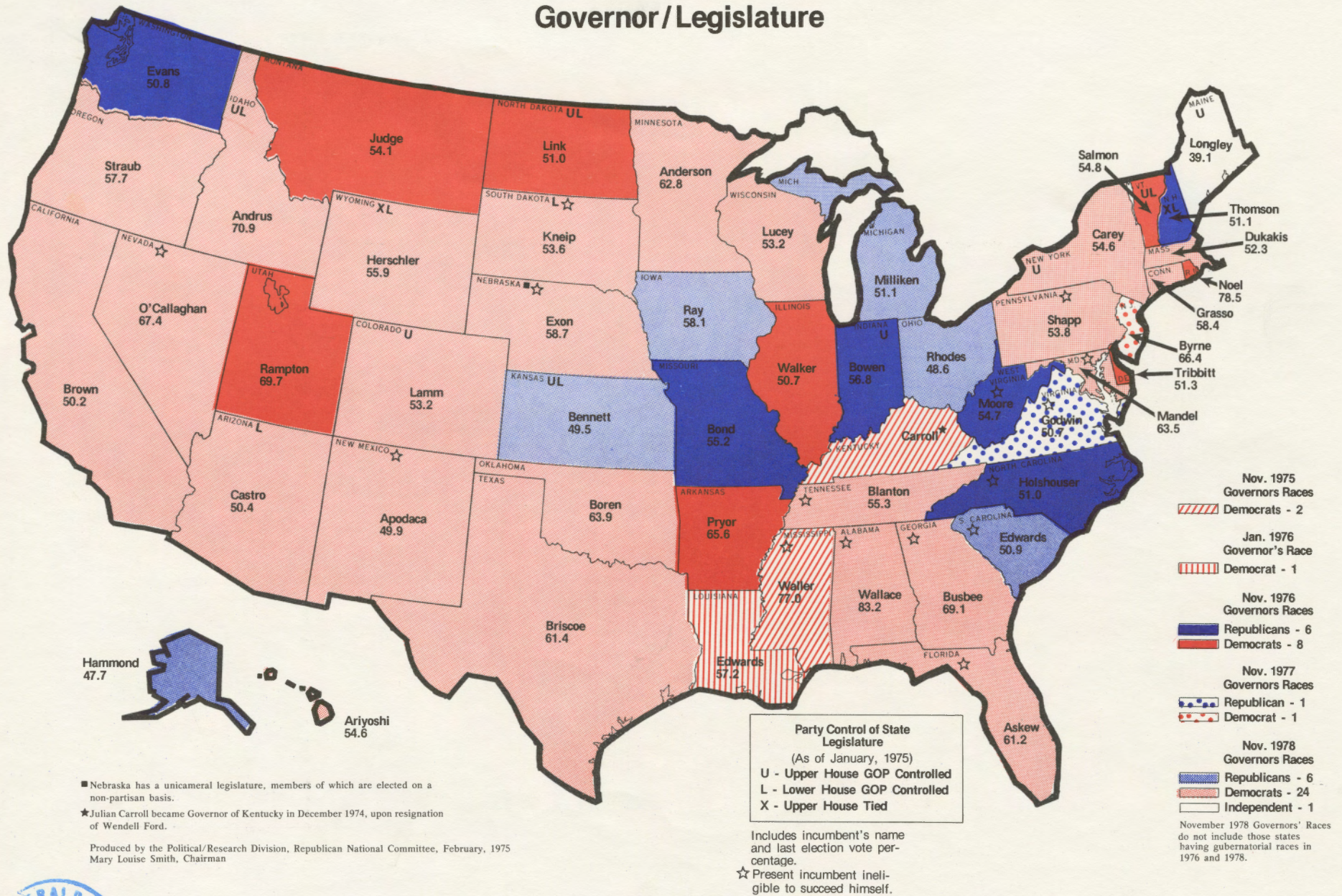
Percentage



————— Agree  
..... Disagree

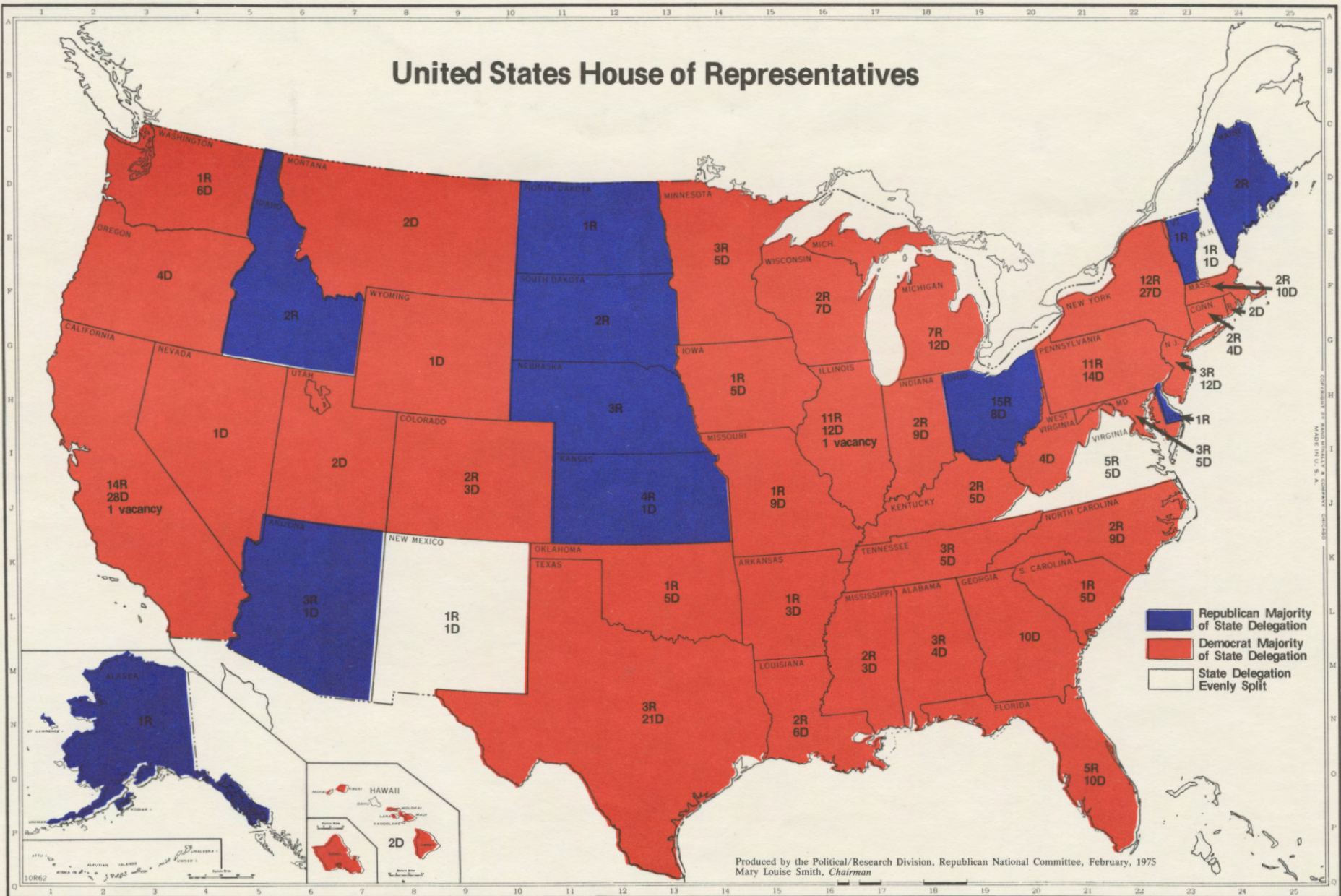


# Governor/Legislature





# United States House of Representatives

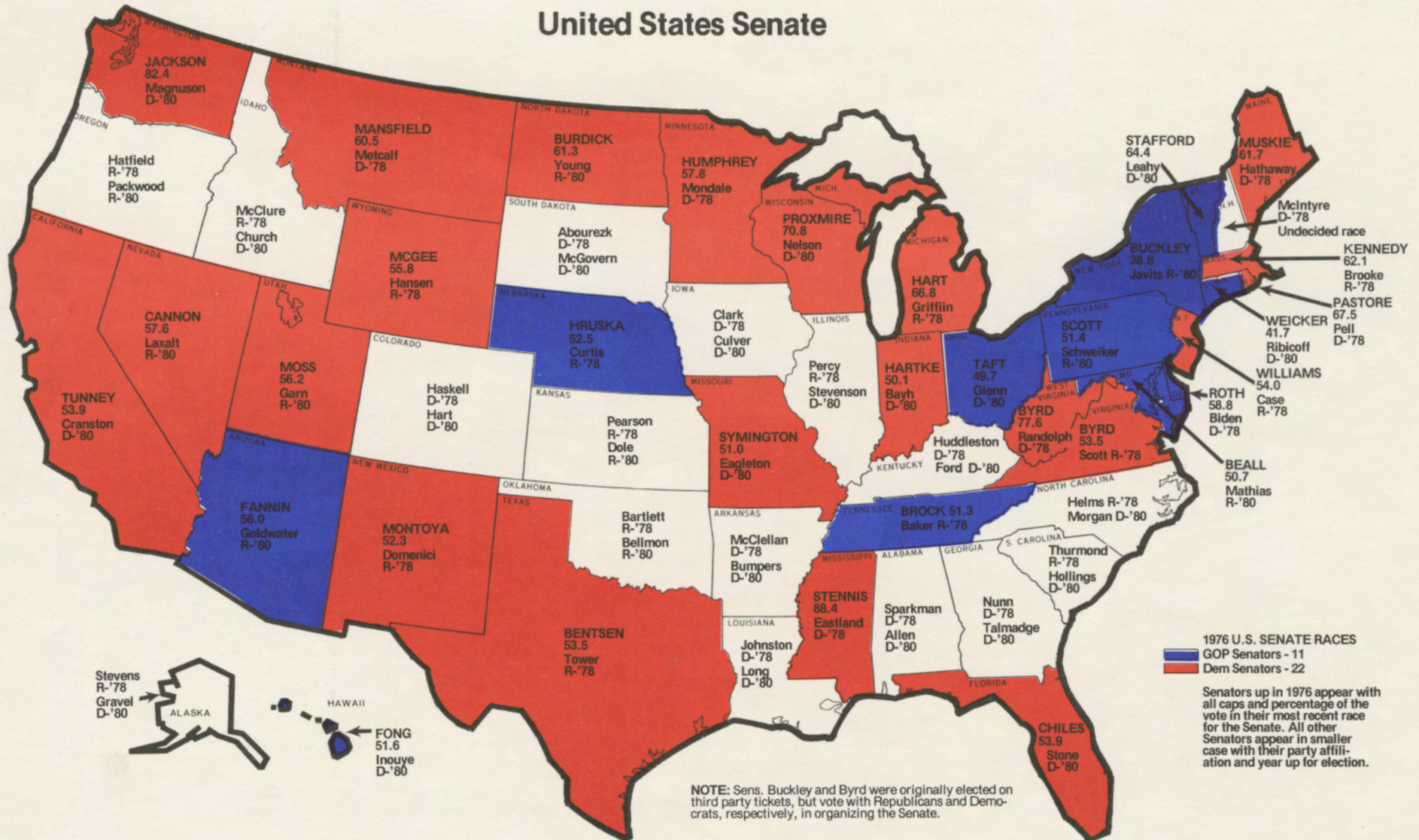


Produced by the Political/Research Division, Republican National Committee, February, 1975  
Mary Louise Smith, *Chairman*





# United States Senate



Produced by the Political/Research Division, Republican National Committee, February, 1975  
Mary Louise Smith, *Chairman*



POLICY



# Policy

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

310 FIRST STREET, S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003  
202 • 484-6620

CHAIRMAN  
GOVERNOR CHRISTOPHER S. BOND, MO.

VICE CHAIRMAN  
GOVERNOR ARCH A. MOORE, JR., W.VA.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
JAMES R. GALBRAITH  
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR  
ROBERT W. WITT

## 1975 RGA COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Governor Christopher S. Bond, Missouri...RGA Chairman  
Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., West Virginia...RGA Vice Chairman

Governor Otis R. Bowen, Indiana  
Governor James B. Edwards, South Carolina  
Governor Meldrim Thomson, Jr., New Hampshire

### POLICY COMMITTEE

Governor Robert D. Ray, Iowa...Chairman

Governor Robert F. Bennett, Kansas  
Governor Daniel J. Evans, Washington  
Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., Virginia

### CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Governor William G. Milliken, Michigan...Chairman

Governor Jay S. Hammond, Alaska  
Governor James E. Holshouser, Jr., North Carolina  
Governor James A. Rhodes, Ohio



# RGA:

## Policy

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*What is the RGA?*

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

*When was the RGA formed?*

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

*What are the RGA's objectives?*

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

*Does the Association hold regular meetings?*

Yes, the RGA holds two Conferences each year.

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

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

*How is the Association funded?*

Its operational expenses are funded through the Republican National Committee. For the first time in 1972 and again in 1974, the RGA administered a campaign fund for Republican Gubernatorial campaigns. At the present time, the Association does not share in proceeds from the large Party fund-raising dinners as do other Republican Campaign organizations.



# **RGAs** *Public Relations*

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**THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MARCH 31, 1975**

## Reported Political Use of Radio Fairness Doctrine Under Kennedy and Johnson Is Causing Concern

By LES BROWN

A report yesterday that the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations had carried on organized, covert campaigns to har-

were critical of Administration goals.

The clandestine campaigns, which reportedly began in 1963, were also designed to inhibit stations from carrying

mentator who was involved in that case and who describes himself as "an extreme right-winger," remarked in a telephone interview from Los Angeles that he believed political

National Committee, and his request for air time to defend himself was at the behest of the committee and was written with the help of its lawyers.



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### GOP RADIO NETWORK

*The Washington-based GOP Radio Network has been in continuous operation since 1973. The system, a cooperative effort of the Republican National Committee, the House Campaign Committee and the Republican Governors Association, is designed to allow a Governor to feed radio outlets in his state at no cost. The information below should be helpful in further explaining the mechanics of the Republican network. If you have any additional questions, don't hesitate to give me a call at the RGA Washington office.*

#### INPUT

The Republican Radio Network can be utilized at any time, day or night, from any place in the country. It will supplement the Republican Governors Association Washington actuality service that has been in operation for several years. Technically, a Governor's statement (remembering that brevity and conciseness is appealing to radio broadcasters) can be put into the system through several sources. A Governor can simply pick up a telephone, call the GOP Radio Network telephone, (202) 488-1905, and dictate his statement. Similarly, a Gubernatorial press secretary or sound man can feed via tape recorder into the system at the same telephone number. And finally, when a Governor is in Washington or is attending one of the regular Governors Conferences staffed by the RGA, he can utilize the RGA actuality service and we will handle distribution through the system. I HIGHLY RECOMMEND UTILIZATION OF A TAPE RECORDER INSTEAD



OF ALLOWING THE GOVERNOR TO MAKE A COMMENT OR STATEMENT DIRECTLY THROUGH THE TELEPHONE SYSTEM. RADIO STATIONS, ESPECIALLY MAJOR NETWORKS, ARE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS AND CRITICAL OF TECHNICAL QUALITY. TELEPHONE VOICE QUALITY IS OFTEN NOT ACCEPTABLE. IN ALMOST EVERY INSTANCE, BY-PASSING THE TELEPHONE MOUTHPIECE AND EITHER ALLIGATOR CLIPPING TO THE PHONE OR PATCHING DIRECTLY INTO THE TELEPHONE SYSTEM (IF YOU HAVE THAT CAPABILITY) WILL MAKE QUALITY TOTALLY ACCEPTABLE TO RADIO OUTLETS.

#### DISTRIBUTION

The GOP radio system can be utilized to distribute voice actualities to two basic markets. The first, and probably most important for a Governor, is state and regional radio coverage areas. PLEASE MAIL TO ME AT THE RGA OFFICE AN UPDATED LIST OF TWENTY RADIO STATIONS, WITH THEIR TELEPHONE NUMBERS, TO WHICH YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE GUBERNATORIAL STATEMENTS TELEPHONED. These 20 stations and their telephone numbers will be recorded at the GOP Radio Network facility and will be on hand for use at any time in the future. Thus, when a Governor calls with a statement, it will be automatically fed to the stations he prefers in the coverage area he chooses. As you can see, a Governor does not need to make a statement of national significance to be able to fully utilize the GOP Radio Network.

The second major distribution market is national radio network systems. These national networks will be fed with a Governor's statement either at the specific request of the Governor (or his press secretary) or when a statement the Governor intends only for regional distribution.

seems significant and timely enough to be of interest to the national media. Generally that decision can be made at the GOP Radio Network based on news events of any particular day. (Logically, on a day filled with actualities on new economic policies, the Governor's statement on nuclear power plant siting or reducing automobile speed limits would not warrant national coverage. However, on a slow news day in Washington, such a statement might arouse the interest of major networks and get the Governor some good PR/publicity.)

#### AVAILABILITY AND COST

The GOP Radio Network is available to all Republican Governors for their use at any hour, day or night. After 6:00 p.m. eastern time, the system is converted to automatic record and any statement phoned in by a Governor or his press assistant will be recorded and held for distribution at 6:00 a.m. eastern time the next day (to reach morning radio prime-time). If you call the GOP Radio Network telephone and find the system automated with a telephone answer recording, be sure to leave not only the Governor's statement, but also, instructions for distribution.

The radio actuality system operates free of cost for all Republican Governors with the exception of the initial long distance telephone call from the Governor (or press secretary) to the Network office.

*The system is simple and it works. It's to your benefit to utilize it either for statements of national interest or for normal statements of day to day state-wide interest. You will receive a "call sheet" noting the stations called, at what time, and their response after each use by a Governor. Again, let us know if you have any questions on technicalities of the radio system.*





# Speeches

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---

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN

CONVENING THE MIDWESTERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

NETHERLAND HOTEL --- CINCINNATI, OHIO

---

JULY 21, 1975

---

Thank you, Governor Rhodes and Mayor Berry, for your warm welcome to Cincinnati. This fine city played host to the Mid-Western Governors' Conference once before, in 1966, and I want to thank you both for inviting us back.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow called Cincinnati the "Queen City," referring to the stately beauty of this center of culture and commerce that presided over the Ohio River when Chicago was just a village. From what we have seen, I'm sure we would all agree.

When I became Chairman of this Conference last year at our Minneapolis meeting, I noted that we are in a period of revitalization of state government throughout the nation. For example, we need only look about us at Jim Rhodes' programs in industrial expansion, urban development, transportation and other areas. Some of the most innovative things happening in government today are happening because of the initiatives of state governments.

It was from the states that this nation was forged nearly 200 years ago, and it is from the states that we are getting many of the answers to the problems of today. At a time when sustaining forces are desperately needed, the states constitute one of the great sustaining forces of this nation.

We're also in a period of almost unprecedented cooperation among the states. Through the committees of the National Governors' Conference, through such mechanisms as the Task Forces of this Conference, and through many other means, the states are working cooperatively to develop common approaches to solve common problems.

We are innovative. We are creative. We are cooperating among ourselves. But we are not always effective in exercising our collective clout.

I was struck with something Arch Moore said recently in New Orleans during our National Governors' Conference debate on energy. He observed that what we were about to say could well amount to "a puff of smoke."



The headlines coming out of New Orleans tell one side of the story: From a Christian Science Monitor story: "Governors steadily falling in influence, and nobody cares"...from the National Observer: "Governors earn anonymity"...from a UPI dispatch: "Governors say nobody gives them a second look"...from the Baltimore Sun dispatch: "As Presidential timber, Governors remain lost in the woods."

I think it is a mistake to assess Governors on how many presidential prospects are among them.

My concern is not that our ranks haven't produced a presidential nominee since Adlai Stevenson in 1952 or a President since FDR in 1932.

My concern is that we have not often enough been involved in the decision-making process in Washington, especially in the decisions that affect the states.

A good case in point is the question of railroad abandonment. Last year, in Minneapolis, this Conference adopted a policy opposing federally proposed rail abandonments which "would have serious detrimental effects on several Midwestern states."

More recently, in New Orleans, the National Governors' Conference adopted a policy calling for a moratorium on the rail abandonment plan that has been developed by the U.S. Railway Association for Northeastern states.

Yet it appears the USRA is turning a deaf ear to the Governors, and is pressing forward with its ill-considered plan. Now, in the Upper Great Lakes Region, Governor Lucey, Governor Anderson and I are jointly sending letters to our three Congressional delegations urging revision of the abandonment proposal.

Clearly, I think we as Governors, must do more to develop a good working relationship with Congress, as well as the Administration.

As to the Administration, I am very encouraged by the steps President Ford is taking to assure better Federal-state coordination. The regional meetings he held with Governors earlier this year...the way he has been meeting at the White House with groups of us on railroad, highway and other issues...the leadership roles in domestic policy he has given to Vice President Rockefeller, who was one of us, and to Jim Cannon - all of these things reflect well on the President's relations with the states.

(more)

I think we're particularly fortunate to have Vice President Rockefeller and Jim Cannon to work with in this effort, and we're fortunate that they're going to be with us at this Conference.

There are people today who speak of "states' rights," in terms of the power of state governments to selectively resist the authority of the Federal government, and to exert greater control over local governments.

But I believe we should more properly speak of states' responsibilities.

At no other time in our nation's history - save for the time of its founding, nearly 200 years ago - has it been more apparent that states must bear the burden of holding this country together, of making it work.

In this time of crisis, local governments are too burdened and immersed with many of the problems to be able to solve them alone, and the Federal government is too far away.

It is the pressing responsibility of the states today, from their unique and opportune vantage point, to act as an intermediary between local problems and Federal solutions.

Too often, we have acted merely as a conduit for the funneling of dollars from Washington to our cities and towns...and clearly, this hasn't worked.

We need more than money to solve our problems. We need the wisdom, the foresight, to use the money well. And we must recognize that there are times when this expert advice itself is needed more than a grant. I say that is the responsibility of the states.

In Colonial America, it was the states which were created first as the most logical and workable system of governing the people.

Let us remember that the states assumed the RESPONSIBILITY of governing. When the states created the Federal government, they may have relinquished some of their rights as individuals - as all do in a democratic society - but they gave over none of their RESPONSIBILITY of making the Federal system work.

Let me read a brief excerpt from a letter written by one politician warning that the Federal government was gaining too much power:

(over)

"I see, as you do, and with the deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the Federal branch of our government is advancing towards the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the states, and the consolidation in itself of all powers, foreign and domestic..."

That was not written in 1975. It was written in 1825 - by Thomas Jefferson.

From the beginning, we have worried about states' rights. I submit that the Federal government has grown in direct proportion to the willingness of the states to turn to Washington for all the answers.

We have not given away our rights. Nor must we give away our responsibilities. We must now reclaim them if the nation is to survive.

We can't look solely to Washington for solutions to our troubles. We must look as well to ourselves, and to our near neighbors in the region.

We cannot expect Washington to be as sensitive to the needs of the Midwest, with its 15 states and more than 65 million people, as are we - those of us who know and love the region.

We must find our own answers to the pressing problems of today, or they may well become the disasters of tomorrow.

Our Bicentennial theme, "Land-Food-People in Century III," is a reminder that we ourselves must plan the wise use of those resources so that the next hundred years will see this region continue to thrive and prosper.

We are going to be discussing some important topics in the sessions about to begin - the economy, land use, transportation and health planning. We will hear the opinions of many distinguished experts, including Vice President Rockefeller and Donald Rumsfeld, the President's chief of staff.

As we do, let us remember to ask ourselves - what are the states' RESPONSIBILITIES in these areas? What can WE ourselves do to meet the needs of our people?

We must not just draw up a list of questions and submit them to Washington on grant applications. Let us seek workable solutions.

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# RGAA

## Speeches

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION  
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REMARKS OF CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER S. BOND  
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
MARCH 7, 1975  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

It is a great honor for me to be sharing the platform this morning with you, Mary Louise, and with the distinguished Republican leaders of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. Each of you has made enormous contributions to the Republican Party over many years.

As has been indicated, I am serving this year as Chairman of the Republican Governor's Association, which obviously is a great privilege for me. In fact, just being a Republican Governor is an increasingly rare distinction. There are now only thirteen of us -- and our best hope may be that the National Wildlife Service declares Republican Governors an Endangered Species.

As the youngest Republican Governor I fully appreciate the fact that I do not have all the answers to our Party's dilemma. At the same time, I am deeply troubled by what has happened to us, and in the spirit of this conference, which brings Republicans from all parts of America together in a kind of massive group therapy session, I would like to share a few thoughts with you this morning.

First, a brief word about Watergate. I can understand that many of you feel that there is no way to be too brief about that subject. But there is every indication that our Party was gravely wounded by Watergate and we will not put Watergate behind us by trying to forget that it happened. As far as the overwhelming majority of Americans is concerned, Watergate and other violations of the law which are linked in the public mind to Watergate were Republican transgressions.

To regain the trust of the American people, there must be a visible Republican response. Watergate will not be put behind us as a Party until we take the lead virgorously, everywhere -- at the federal level and in each of our separate states-- in reforming our election laws, in tightening our financial disclosure and conflict of interest laws, in opening up government to closer public scrutiny, in safeguarding our law enforcement and security agencies from being politicized, and in securing the basic right of privacy for all our citizens. In Missouri, my administration has led the battle for reform and we have been able to eliminate the practices of requiring state employees to contribute to campaign coffers to keep their jobs, and the bypassing of competitive bids to toss state business to political cronies. By executive order we have established a strong code of ethics for employees of the

executive branch. We have enacted an open meetings law and, by an initiative petition drive when the Democrat legislature refused to act, we have pushed through a tough new campaign finance and reporting law. We are fighting now for strong conflict-of-interest legislation and tighter control of lobbying activity. In my judgment, we must stand firmly for reforms of this kind if we are to regain the trust of the American people.

The second point I want to make is this. In my judgment, at the conclusion of this conference we will have spent about as much time and money as we can afford talking among ourselves and trying to examine and analyze the attitudes of that growing number of people who are non-Republicans. It is time for action.

The people of this country want to know how a government run by Republicans can help them. They are waiting to see whether or not we are prepared to give them a piece of the action. They want to see government that is more effective, more efficient and more honest. They want some hard evidence that we understand their needs, that we care about their needs, and that we have the ability to do something about those needs.

One astute Washington political writer referred to us last Sunday as "The Party of the Comfortable." He may be right; I hope not. But how much do we care?

--How much do we care about the young factory worker who wants a decent home in a safe neighborhood for himself and his family; who wants a good school for his kids and a chance for them to get the education he doesn't have; who wants a park or a campsite within range of his home where he can take his family on weekends?

--How much do we care about the elderly couple living in a substandard nursing home, lacking adequate medical care, watching their meager savings being eaten away by inflation?

--How much do we care about the young widow, who must work to support her family but who cannot find adequate day care services, and is discriminated against in employment, in seeking credit, and in a whole host of other ways?

These are the real problems of our people, and they are only a few of them. If we, as Republicans are to succeed in the future, we will have to convey to the people of America that we are men and women of compassion and competence. And the only way that we can convey those qualities is by our actions.

Again, in my own state of Missouri, we are trying by our actions to do that.

We have completed a total reorganization of state government to make it both more efficient and more responsive. We have brought in volunteer executives from business and professions to help us streamline the bureaucracy of government. We have just launched a new "Jobs for Missouri" program to help insure the state balanced

economic growth. Working with our General Assembly we have enacted and funded a major new law to assure quality education for mentally and physically handicapped children. We have provided tax relief for the elderly poor and a new Emergency Medical Services Program. We are working actively now for reform in basic school financing, for a better mental health system, and for a more effective state role in the fight on crime. My wife Carolyn and I are continuing the fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Through our programs and through our appointments, we are trying to reach out, to make state and local government work for people, to involve people from all walks of life. We are trying to reach out to both young and old, to organized labor as well as the business community. We're appointing qualified Democrats as well as Republicans to important state posts. In my judgment, this kind of reaching out is both good politics and good government and I don't think there is any alternative if we want our Party to grow and our candidates to win.

That leads me to my third and final point.

I have a very strong personal commitment both to a broadly based Republican Party and to the two-party system.

Those who talk of splintering off and forming a third party, or of forcing the Republican Party into some narrow ideological mold are doing both our Party and our country a disservice. And frankly, I am a little tired of reading about Republicans meeting to discuss the so-called third party option, or organizing committees to "watch" the President. This good and decent man doesn't need watching. I think we ought to be applauding President Ford for the spirit of his openness, conciliation, cooperation and responsible compromise which he has brought to the Presidency. He needs our help and our support in a very trying time. And our Party needs our help and support.

Our challenge as Republicans is to maintain our distinct identity and our historic principles while appealing to the major segments of our society. I believe it can be done. At our best, the Republican Party has great principles to offer the American people: A commitment to strong state and local government rather than heavy reliance on the Federal bureaucracy; a commitment to preserving the essential mechanisms of a free market economy; a commitment to maximum individual freedom and to full equality for every citizen. Of course they are broad principles, but they can be given specific meaning by our actions. If we can apply those principles in meeting the people's needs, if we can show them that Republican principles work in solving their problems, they will respond.

Obviously, we are all discouraged by the results of this fall's elections, but frankly I am optimistic about the future. If President Ford can show the American people some success in dealing with their problems, they will re-elect him and I believe they will re-elect him. If those of us in office now can produce tangible results, they will re-elect us. And if we can recruit thoughtful, sensitive candidates who offer people real hope, they will elect them.

The years ahead will not be easy ones for any of us, but they will be full of opportunity to show people that Republicans can make government work for them. The future of our Party, and indeed the future of our country, depend upon how well we meet that challenge.

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From time to time, the RGA makes available to you, speeches delivered by its members and other officials. They are presented as a handy reference to be filed in the Speech section of your RGA Communications '75 notebook.

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN  
CASS COUNTY LINCOLN DAY DINNER  
CASSOPOLIS, MICHIGAN  
FEBRUARY 26, 1975 - 7:00 p.m.

I'm delighted to be with you tonight to observe Lincoln's Birthday, a little belatedly perhaps, but with just as much enthusiasm for the occasion as I would have had on February 12th. This county is a stronghold of the Republican Party, and with so many loyal party members on hand, I don't really have to do much of a selling job on the party itself or on the greatest Republican whose birthday we are observing tonight.

By way of reminder, though, I would like to say that it was this party, under Abraham Lincoln's leadership, that brought slavery to an end and saved the union. It was this party which, under Teddy Roosevelt's leadership, saved our great natural resources and introduced the then alien concept of conservation. And it is this party, under the leadership of President Ford, that I believe will lead this nation out of its present difficulties.

I am proud to be a Republican, and I know that every one of you is proud of this party too. We have had our trails and our tribulations and our traumas, but we have lived through them and will emerge stronger than ever before.

Admittedly, these are hard times. It is easy for anyone, Democrat or Republican, to stand back and criticize the national leadership, or the leadership in Lansing, or local leaders for failing to produce the instant solutions which an impatient populace seems to be demanding.

But from the vantage point of those who must produce the solutions, the task at hand does not lend itself to the simple, quick solution. The current economic crisis is international in its origins, and the complexities of dealing with it successfully are baffling even to the most brilliant economists.

And yet our leaders are working very hard at the solutions. Already, there are some encouraging signs in the automobile industry which is such a critical part of this state's economy. I believe we are going to find our way out of this recession to a new prosperity, and that this will happen faster than most people think.

Understandably, when solutions aren't produced as quickly as many people would like to have them developed, frustration grows and people reach out in new directions. One of the current examples of this is the increasing talk we hear these days about the need for a third party.

I can understand some of the frustrations of those who flirt with the idea that a third party can be more effective than either of the existing principal parties. But I happen to think that there is nothing that a third party could do that couldn't be accomplished by the Republican Party.

I believe that Republicans who are dissatisfied with this party should concentrate their efforts on rebuilding it, before they go off in the direction of founding another party. We need to build, not divide.

Admittedly, we have serious problems, both nationally and in the state organization. In Michigan, the Republican Party suffered a serious defeat in the November elections--not as bad as the disaster which struck in other states, but bad enough.

And yet I believe very strongly that we Michigan Republicans should keep the situation in perspective. We re-elected a Republican Governor. We have a great Republican Senator from Michigan in a key leadership role in Washington. While we lost control of the State Senate, we succeeded in electing to both houses of the Legislature a remarkable number of articulate, intelligent and progressive Republicans of whom we can be exceedingly proud.

What I am saying to you tonight is that the situation is far from hopeless. I am absolutely convinced that we have a very solid foundation upon which to rebuild this party. And I am absolutely committed to do everything I can to join you in an all-out effort to build the strongest Republican Party we have ever had in this state on the foundation that exists today.

This foundation would not be there if it had not been for your help. I want to use this occasion to extend to each of you my deepest gratitude for the work you have done--for the long hours that you and many other Republicans put in during the November campaign.

Without the help that you and others provided in raising money, in manning those very effective telephone centers, in getting out the vote, and in all of the other campaign activities--without that help the Republican effort in Michigan might very well have been a total loss, as it was in many other states.

But we can gain nothing by dwelling on the past. We should admit our mistakes, recognize our inadequacies, and move on to the future.

Our most immediate and pressing problem is a financial one. We must move quickly and effectively to pay off our debts. We must hire the additional staff and finance the other costs which the rebuilding process will entail now.

Eliminating the party's debt and building a solid financial base for expansion and reconstruction--that is our most immediate and most urgent goal. Another is to begin now to recruit and develop the kind of candidates we will want to run on the Republican Party label in 1976.

Here I am extremely optimistic. I believe Republican candidates will have an excellent chance of winning Michigan's other Senate seat in 1976, of recapturing the congressional seats we lost in November, and of recovering lost ground in many other areas.

I have said before and I will say again today that one of the greatest strengths of this party is the outstanding quality of men and women who run under the Republican banner. I am very impressed by many of our new Republican legislators, and I am confident that many of them will quickly emerge as leaders and innovators.

I want to make another point tonight. While I am concerned by the succession of polls that show a decline in the number of people who identify themselves as Republicans, I believe strongly that we in Michigan should keep these figures in perspective.

If these polls meant what they appear to mean, then it would seem that no Republican candidates at all would be elected. But that, of course, is not the case. Here in Michigan especially, there is a huge body of voters who regard themselves as Independents--who show a remarkable readiness to vote for the best candidate running and not to tie themselves too securely to party labels.

We should do everything we can to take advantage of this independent spirit--to work with this large body of Independents, to get their financial support when they are willing to give it, to get them to support our candidates, and to give us whatever help they can.

We should not, I believe, become obsessed with the idea that we can depend only upon those people who identify themselves as Republicans. We must adjust to a new and spreading attitude among the great bulk of the populace which, on election day, seems to reject party labels in favor of freedom to choose the best candidates from either party.

Far from despairing that fewer people call themselves Republicans, I think we should be heartened by the fact that many who once thought of themselves as Democrats are willing to vote for Republican candidates and support Republican programs.



I'm convinced that one of the goals of the American majority is to improve the quality of government and politics. The Republican Party of Michigan can play a leading role in this effort. We can lead the way in raising the ethical level of politics in this state, and in achieving true and comprehensive reform in the financing of election campaigns.

I am proud of this party, and I am also proud of the role that I have played in its progress.

I have worked very hard in support of this party. I promise you tonight that I will work even harder than I have in the past. What we need now most of all is faith and unity. To build successfully upon the solid foundation which we now have, we cannot afford the luxury of factions, of backbiting and recriminations.

Surely it would be an exercise in futility to keep looking back to November 1974, and to keep asking ourselves who is to blame for our all-to-evident failure. We all must bear some measure of that blame, but perhaps more than anything else, we should understand that we were victims of historical events over which we had no control.

I ask you to dedicate yourselves to this party with new vigor, with fresh imagination, with revived faith that as free men and women, we have it within our power to mold this great Republican Party of Michigan into the most effective political instrument this state has ever seen.

Thank you.

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# RGAs

## Speeches

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### ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

GOVERNOR CHRISTOPHER S. BOND, MISSOURI  
CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI -- DECEMBER 2, 1974

Thank you. Thank you very much, Win and fellow Governors. It was quite a tense time waiting for the election mechanism to go forward but I did have just a few remarks I had prepared in case I was fortunate enough to be selected. It goes without saying that I deeply appreciate your friendship, your confidence, kind words and Bob Ray's resolution and it's a real honor to be selected as Chairman of the Republican Governors Association. In fact, even being a Republican Governor is becoming an increasingly rare distinction these days.

But I look forward with great anticipation to making whatever contribution I can to the national effort to revitalize our Party and to make us truly competitive in all parts of our country. In the elections both 1975 and 1976. We are very appreciative of the close working relationship with the Republican National Committee and its very charming Chairman, Mary Louise Smith, who is out here with us and I count on our very effective RGA staff under Jim Galbraith to take care of the details of organizational politics with the support of each one of us who continue as a Republican Governor, and of course, in close cooperation with the Republican National Committee.

There are some areas of course where our own personal efforts are going to have to be involved, such as candidate recruitment. There are many fine people on the Republican ticket who lost this election. I know because all the ones I campaigned for happened to fall in that category. But we must make it our own personal effort to insure that these people are encouraged to continue to offer themselves once again for service. This to me is significant that we play this active role in the Party because the strength of the Republican Party is, I think, important to the strength of the whole political process in America. Our system works



best with two strong parties. Ours is a two-party system and we are clearly number two at this point.

It would be presumptuous of me, however, to offer any longwinded prescription for our party's problems although the ego of a politician is reputed to be large, mine is not so large as to lecture you on what's wrong with the Republican Party, or how it can be set right. I am just in my second year, my first term as Governor and as the youngest Governor among you, I am more comfortable listening rather than lecturing. But I am troubled as certainly you all are by the results of this last month's election and I would like to share just a few thoughts with you.

Our party obviously was gravely wounded by Watergate and Watergate is not going to be put behind us as a party until we take the lead everywhere in reforming our election laws, in tightening our financial disclosure and conflict of interest laws and safeguarding our law enforcement and security agencies from being politicized. In securing the basic right of privacy for all our citizens. In opening up government to closer scrutiny. In Missouri in the past two years the people have responded enthusiastically to efforts we have made in these areas.

Secondly, I do not believe that the answer to our party's problems lie in some cosmetic approach whose focal point is an expensive advertising campaign designed to sell people on how truly great we are. We will not attract people to our party or win elections by reminding them of our glorious past or of our great historic leaders. We will attract them as many of you repeated yesterday by our performance.

Third, I think we must reject the idea that the cure for our party's ills now or ever lies in binding ourselves to some narrow ideology that denies a constructive role of government in our society or places us in shackles of some narrow sectional or economic class appeal or that turns our backs on those in need. Such an approach would surely point us toward extinction and we would deserve nothing better if we pursued that course. I don't believe we can hope to be all things to all people.

or that the solution to every human problem lies in more government. Some of the problems may in fact be worsened by government and the solution may be to some ills, not one more government program but one less government program.

But I do not propose that government itself is the enemy. Our enemies, the people's enemies are poverty and the hunger, ignorance and illness and it's up to us creatively to develop and use the tools of government to help defeat these enemies. Unless our candidates are compassionate and sensitive to human need they will not deserve and they will not win the support of large numbers of voters. It may not please some of the ideological purists who talk and write constantly about the party of the left or a party of the right, but I continue to believe that the battle lies in the broad center of political spectrum which is precisely where the voters perceive themselves to be.

And I also continue to believe that the key to electoral success at every level lies very simply in succeeding to meet people's basic needs. Government can't do everything and perhaps some of the disillusionment of the 1970s comes about from the vastly inflated expectations and promises of government created in the early sixties. But government properly limited and properly administered can be made to work constructively for people. Each of you in your own states can point proudly to specific governmental progress which has been good for people. In Arizona in 1971 Governor Williams started the atom project. Arizona tradeoff model, to evaluate consequences of environmental and economic development policies and the program worked.

Oregon, as Governor McCall has indicated became the first state to require cash deposits on bottle and beer and soda cans to stop litter, reduce solid waste, and conserve energy. In Tennessee Governor Dunn initiated a program to open regional health centers offering the whole spectrum of health care services and in the Virgin Islands, Governor Evans developed the first major sewage system in the islands and doubled the number of school buildings. In Connecticut, Governor Meskill established a hospital cost control commission to hold down the spiraling

costs for health care services. In Missouri we spent much of the past two years trying to eliminate the remains of an old patronage machine in retooling and redesigning the institution of state government to make it more responsive, more efficient and more economical. It's been a bruising struggle that we haven't totally won, that we are nearing the point when we can free up more resources. Resources which can be used to assure the availability of emergency medical services throughout the state. And universal special education programs for the retarded and the handicapped. People want to see tangible evidence that government can work for them and if we can show them success in my state and your state and in the nation, I know they'll support us.

In fact, there's nothing that's going to help our candidates and our party more than a few successes in dealing with people's problems. Obviously, we were all very much discouraged by the results of this fall's elections. But frankly I think we can be optimistic about the future. If President Ford can show the American people some success in dealing with their problems, they will re-elect him. If those of us in office now can produce tangible results, they will re-elect us. If we can recruit thoughtful, sensitive candidates who offer people real hope, they will elect them. Americans are smart people. They have a healthy skepticism and recent events have produced more than just a little distrust. They will be watching us, just as they will be watching our Democratic rivals and if we give them sensible reasons to support us they'll do it.

The years ahead will not be easy ones for any of us, but they will be full of opportunity for us to show people that we can make government work for them. That's a challenge to which I am looking forward personally and which I look forward to sharing with each of you.