

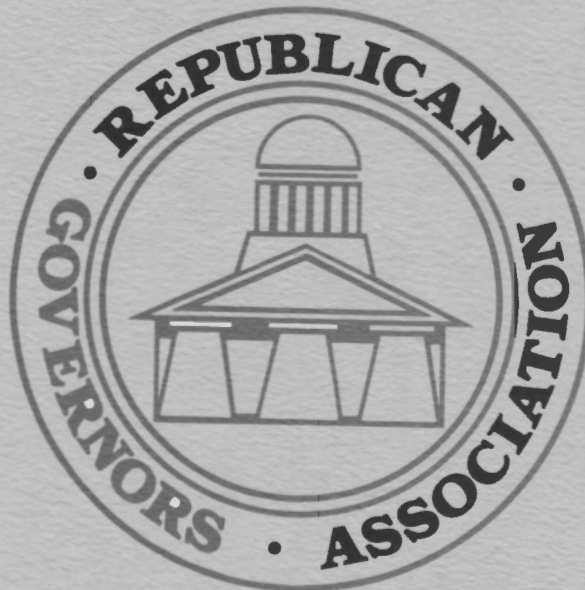
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Republican Governors Association Conference

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



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

Governor Robert F. Bennett, Kansas
Vice Chairman



REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

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

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

Vice Chairman
HONORABLE ROBERT F. BENNETT
Governor of Kansas

December 15, 1976

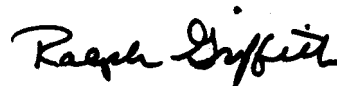
Dear Friend:

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

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

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

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



Ralph Griffith
Executive Director

VOLUME I

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

CONFERENCE

- - -

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

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

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P R O C E E D I N G S

1
2 ... The Republican Governors Association Conference
3 convened at 9:55 o'clock a.m., in the Valley Forge Conference
4 Room of the Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey Avenue, N. W.,
5 Washington, D. C., Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., Chairman,
6 presiding ...

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

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

11 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Shall we rise, please?

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 officially call this session to order.

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

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

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

20 First, from the State of Vermont, Governor-elect
21 Richard Snelling. It is a great privilege to have you with us.
22

... Applause ...

1 MR. SNELLING: Thank you.

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

4 ... Applause ...

5 MR. DU PONT: Thank you.

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

8 ... Applause ...

9 MR. THOMPSON: Thank you.

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

15 ... Applause ...

16 GOVERNOR BOWEN: Thank you.

17 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Thomson of New Hampshire.

18 ... Applause ...

19 GOVERNOR THOMSON: Thank you.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 always looked upon the governors, the governors-elect and
2 the former governors as the "precinct captains" of the various
3 states that they have represented. And that particular regard
4 should have and be the best information that we can rely upon
... 5 to build and restructure in that particular state.
6

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 ... Applause ...

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

3 BY

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

6 MR. TEETER: Thank you, Governor Moore.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 If you question individual citizens about their

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 illness.

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

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

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

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

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

22 Secondly, that they have home ownership, that they

1 have a place to live.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ac 19

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 voters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20 I would be happy to answer any questions.

21 ... Applause ...

ac end 22

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

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

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

2

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

9

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

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

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

13 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor-elect Thompson.

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 Have you any observations on that?

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

5

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

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

21 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor McCall.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Farrar.

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

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

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

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

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

mjd10

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

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

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

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

mjd11

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

7 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Thomson.

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

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

mjd12

1

GOVERNOR MOORE: Bob, thank you very much.

2

MR. TEETER: Thank you.

3

... Applause ...

4

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

6

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

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

Governor McCall.

md ends
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ac 1

fls md

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

3 BY

4 FORMER GOVERNOR TOM MCCALL OF OREGON

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

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

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

16 ... Laughter ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Massachusetts.

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

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

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

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

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

ac 4

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

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

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

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

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

22 If you look at governors like Bill Milliken and Dan

ac 5

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

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

9 ... Laughter ...

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

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

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

ac 6

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

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

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

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

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

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

ac 7

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

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

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

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

15 ... Laughter ...

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

22 There would have been no Watergate, programmatically

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 movement and drove it to victory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 New Jersey ought to go."

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

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

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

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

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

ac 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

ac 16

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

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

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

22 It is doubly opprobrious to blacks and to many of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 That nucleus or what should be the nucleus is a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 Thank you.

8 ... Applause ...

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

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

17 MR. McCALL: Thank you sir.

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

21
1 Texas, an individual who worked hard and long in behalf of our party
2 in 1976, the Honorable John Connally.

3 ... Applause ...

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

6 BY

7 FORMER GOVERNOR JOHN CONNALLY OF TEXAS

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

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

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

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

ac 22

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 concept.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 forum for speaking.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 America. It is time that we do it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 ... Laughter ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 all.

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

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

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

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

22 We are going to have to be articulate in espousing

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

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

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

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

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

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

41
1 time the Arab embargo against the United States we were import-
2 ing approximately 25 percent of our crude needs. Today, it is
3 over 40 percent, and it is going to be over 50 percent before
4 we can hope to do anything about it.

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

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

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

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

1 have stockpiled it against another embargo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 have never articulated before.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 ... Laughter ...

13 ... Applause ...

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

17 Governor, thank you so very much.

18 MR. CONNALLY: Thank you.

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

md fls

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

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

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

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

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

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VMcA/mjd

VOLUME II

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

CONFERENCE

- - -

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

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

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P R O C E E D I N G S

1
2 ... The Republican Governors Association Conference
3 reconvened at 2:20 o'clock p.m., in the Valley Forge
4 Conference Room, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey Avenue,
5 N.W., Washington, D. C., Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr.,
6 Chairman, presiding ...

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

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

19 ... Applause ...
20
21
22

1 "THE ROLE OF GOVERNORS IN A STATE PARTY"

2 BY

3 GOVERNOR-ELECT PETE DU PONT OF ILLINOIS

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

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

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

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1 all the victories we have achieved.

2 ... Applause ...

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

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

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

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

22 I was totally unsuccessful in improving the position

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 ... Applause ...

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

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

9 ... Laughter ...

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

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

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

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

3 ... Applause ...

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

5 BY

6 RICHARD OGILVIE

7 FORMER GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 Thank you.

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

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

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

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

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

ac 19

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

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

7 ... Laughter ...

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

11 ... Laughter ...

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

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

21 ... Laughter ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

ac 21

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 I find little solace in such comments and I find

1 little substance in such comments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 all Republicans will tell.

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

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

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

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