

MINUTES OF THE NINETY-FIRST MEETING OF THE JOINT REPUBLICAN  
CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS CALLED FOR MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1965,  
AT 9:00 A.M. IN THE CAPITOL OFFICE (H-202) OF THE HOUSE  
MINORITY LEADER, THE HONORABLE GERALD R. FORD, JR.

Present:

Chairman Dean Burch

Senators Dirksen, Saltonstall, Kuchel, Morton, Hickenlooper  
Congressmen Ford, Laird, Brown, Byrnes, Arends

Absent:

Congressman Wilson

Also Present:

Robert Humphreys, Bryce Harlow, Harry Brookshire, Fred B. Rhodes,  
Mark Trice

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Dean Burch, at 9:10 A.M.

The agenda is as follows:

Background on Party Superstructures Proposals

Coordinating Committee Proposal

Statement on Philosophy of Coordinating Committee Proposal

Statement on Details of Coordinating Committee Operation

Legislative Matters

BACKGROUND ON PARTY SUPERSTRUCTURE PROPOSALS

The Chairman recognized Bob Humphreys for the purpose of giving background information in regard to the press clippings and the organization chart. He also read for the information of the Membership the sheet prepared on questions and answers. This background information was attached to the prepared press releases.

COORDINATING COMMITTEE PROPOSAL

A number of questions were asked in regard to publicity which might be given to task force reports before approval by Senator Dirksen and Congressman Ford.

January 11, 1965

There was some difference of opinion as to how this question should be handled. It was stated that if the Committee could agree on the structure of the committee, the question of control could be worked out later.

It was generally thought that if the appointments to the respective committees were properly handled there would be no loss of control by the legislative group.

STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE PROPOSAL

The Chairman then recognized Senator Dirksen who read a previously-prepared speech on this subject. After several minor changes the statement was approved.

STATEMENT ON DETAILS OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE OPERATION

The Chairman then recognized Congressman Ford who read a previously-prepared statement on this subject. After several minor changes the statement was approved.

Senator Morton suggested on behalf of Congressman Bob Wilson that the title of the group be changed to "Republican Leadership Council" but the word "Council" did not meet with general approval. It was thought that later on the name could be changed if necessary.

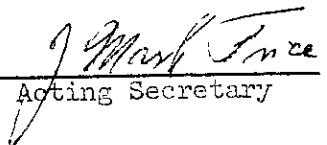
Chairman Burch stated that \$250,000.00 had been allocated to this project by the National Committee but that this amount has not yet been raised.

LEGISLATIVE MATTERS

There was no discussion on legislative matters at the meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:15 A.M.

Attached hereto are approved statements plus the chart, clippings and question and answers submitted.

  
Acting Secretary

176 James  
Nov 12, 1964

### Rebuilding Agency Proposed

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov 11 — A leader of the Republican party's conservative wing proposed today the creation of a broad-based agency to draft and promote a program for rebuilding the party.

The proposal was made by Representative Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin, who was chairman of the Platform Committee at the Republican National Convention last July. Mr. Laird was an early and vigorous supporter of Senator Barry Goldwater's candidacy for President.

He said that a temporary rebuilding agency was needed "to fill the vacuum of leadership" and restore the party to "a condition of vigor."

"The Republican party," he said, "suffered a grievous injury in last week's election. The major objective for all Republicans now is to rebuild their party."

"This is no time to hunt for scapegoats, no time to indulge in intraparty bickering, no time to pursue personal ambition. Above all, this is a time for anybody to read anybody else out of the Republican party."

#### Moderates Hold Talks

Mr. Laird outlined his proposal after consulting with several other Republican Representatives, including Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, chairman of the party's conference, or caucus, in the House; Charles E. Goodell of upstate New York and Robert P. Griffin of Michigan.

Another group of House members, who describe themselves as liberal-to-moderate Republicans, continued discussions, meanwhile, on how to revive the party and reshape it as a forward-looking instrument of political moderation.

The informal group is known as the Wednesday Club, because it usually meets on Wednesday. A spokesman, Representative John V. Lindsay of Manhattan, reported that the club had taken no position on the Laird proposal.

"We'll have to study that," he said.

Mr. Lindsay said that members of the group had decided to make themselves available to attend a rebuilding conference called by Gov. Robert E. Smylie of Idaho, chairman of the Republican Governors Association. The Governors are expected to meet some time next month.

#### Membership Enlarged

Mr. Lindsay also reported that the club had increased its membership to 19 and expected to recruit other representatives. In the expiring Congress, there were 14 members, but one is retiring from the House and another was defeated in the election last week.

Three of the seven new members attended the meeting today, held privately in the office of Mr. Lindsay. He identified them as Representatives Mark Andrews of North Dakota, William S. Broomfield of Michigan and Frank J. Horton of upstate New York. He declined to name the four other recruits.

Representative Laird said that the new temporary agency he proposed should represent all interests. He said its membership should include Republican Senators, Representatives, Governors, national committeemen and committeewomen, state and county chairmen, state and local officeholders and "Republicans from private life in various fields of endeavor."

"To do its job," he said, "the agency should assess the adequacy and efficiency of existing party agencies."



The New York Times

**WOULD FORM AGENCY:**  
Representative Melvin R. Laird, Republican of Wisconsin, who proposed broad-based agency to draft program to rebuild the G.O.P.

quacy and efficiency of existing party agencies"

"It should assess the effectiveness of standard campaign techniques, particularly the means of communicating with the public," he said. "It should take a hard look at party organization and fund raising."

"It should not only appraise the policy positions of the party but should give consideration to establishment of a shadow Cabinet to assist the legislative leadership of our party," he said.

Baob Sun  
Nov 19, 1960

# UNITED GOP PLAN URGED BY HALLECK

## He Wants Program By Governors, Commit- tee, Congressmen

Washington, Nov. 16 (AP)—Representative Halleck (R, Ind) urged today the welding of congressional Republicans, GOP governors and Republican National Committee members into a united force to build a party record for the 1966 elections.

Halleck, the House minority leader, said in an interview that he regards it as inevitable that the development and exposition of the party's position will now occur mainly in Congress.

"But we must bring the Republican governors — and we've got some good ones — and the National Committee in on this," he said "We've got to get the party united and working on a constructive program."

### Goldwater Comments

Senator Goldwater, the defeated GOP Presidential nominee, said on his return from his Jamaica vacation that he looks to Halleck and Senator Dirksen (Ill.), the Senate minority leader, to take over party leadership. He called them "the leaders so far as I am concerned."

Recuperating in Florida from an illness, Dirksen is not expected to return to Washington until the first of the year.

At a news conference later in the day, Halleck said he doesn't regard President Johnson's landslide election as "any great mandate to change the course of the country."

### Sees Medicare O.K.

However, he went on to say, "If you ask me, I guess medicare will go through." His reference was to the Administration's plan for health care for the elderly under the Social Security System, a program long bottled up in the House Ways and Means Committee.

Halleck said also that he believes Mr. Johnson can obtain passage of the Appalachia program which was approved by the Senate in the latest session but which was not brought up in the House.

Goldwater turned up at his office today to dismantle his equipment in preparation for his retirement from the Senate. He said he does not want to talk politics at this point.

Halleck said that while he has not had time yet to explore the possibilities, he thinks it might be wise for Republicans to consider drafting a statement of party principles such as they did in 1946 and 1950.

### "Party Did Pretty Well"

"Bob Taft and I took the lead in whipping those statements into shape, and the party did pretty well in the elections those years," he recalled.

Halleck said that if any such statement is written, governors and National Committee members should share in its drafting.

The GOP leader said that before he makes any plans for Republican action in the new Congress he wants to complete a personal survey of "what happened to us," — specifically House members — in the Democratic landslide.

# Governors Act to Strengthen GOP

DENVER (AP) — Following text of a policy statement made by the Republican Governors Association at the end of its two-day meeting.

Proposals by the Republican Governors Association toward a party that wins elections and serves America.

The 1964 election made it abundantly clear that national party policies have momentous impact on the ability of the Republican party to win elections within the states. Republican governors, therefore, have a clear-cut duty to participate with other leaders of the party in formulating positive policies with broad appeal to bring before all the American people. To discharge this responsibility, the Republican Governors Association looks forward to working with representatives of the Republican National Committee, of the Republican delegations of the House and Senate, and of various other Republican groups and organizations.

We need to appeal to all Americans. We need to become inclusive, rather than exclusive. We need to win elections and serve America as a great broad-based political party, far greater and far more effective than any narrow, exclusive political clique can ever hope to become.

## Priorities Decided

Our experience as governors, and the Republican records of achievement in the various states clearly indicate that certain policies firmly anchored in the great Republican tradition and truly responsive to the modern needs of our nation, must be emphasized to make the Republican party once again a national majority. Here are set some of the priorities:

Republican governors support all necessary action, public or private, to root out discrimination and the effects of discrimination throughout the United States. We will not stop short of this goal. We are proud of the tradition of Republican leadership in civil rights since the days of Abraham Lincoln.

We feel it pertinent to remind fellow citizens that most Republicans in Congress this year supported the federal Civil Rights Act, necessary at least in the measure because racial discrimination is a state administration. Don't let state administrations have denied civil rights.

Republican governors support all forms of political racialism, whether of the right or left, and support the order of the day.

experiment in self-government that is the United States.

Government today is necessarily active in many areas of human need. Republican governors believe that some of these are old-age security, hospital and medical care, decent living standards, public education, mental health and the needs of youth.

In meeting these problems we pose two simple questions: will freedom and individual well-being, as well as the public interest, be served in any given instance by government action? If so, at what level of government can this action be most effectively carried out?

## Assail Archaic Rules

Republican governors believe that the development of modern, responsive state and local government techniques is fundamental to the preservation and extension of individual liberty. The Democratic drive toward a crushing national centralism will not be arrested by solely negative response. Republicans should be in the forefront of removing archaic restrictions which prevent effective local and state action.

Republican governors believe in private competitive enterprise as the best vehicle to serve the interests and rights of consumers, owners, management and labor. All these interests cannot be fully served unless consumers share equitably in economic progress. We have long recognized the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively. We are opposed to monopoly in any unregulated form.

All of these principles—and many more that could be mentioned—form a common ground for all Republicans. But political principles cannot be brought to life without workable political mechanisms. Therefore:

## Plea for Unity

1. We recommend to the national committee.

The first step in marshalling Republican party strength for the future must be the uniting of Republicans themselves. Any policy of exclusion must be changed and cannot be tolerated. We strongly recommend to the national committee that, in determining its leadership at the forthcoming meeting in January, it adopt leadership which clearly represents a broad view of Republicanism and espouses a policy of inclu-

2. Republican leadership conference

We call for a major, all-inclusive, intraparty conference in the spring of 1965 to reflect the opinions of all elements of the party, including Republican public officials and party workers.

This conference should sharpen and restate our party's basic principles, develop positive Republican solutions to current problems of the nation, and undertake a major strengthening of our national party structure.

The Republican Governors Association will appoint several of its members to join with representatives of the Republican delegations in the House and Senate and the Republican National Committee to plan and call a national Republican leadership conference.

## Executive Committee

A major responsibility of the conference would be to recommend needed strengthening of the organizational structure of the party. The Republican National Committee as the party's central core should include considerable representation of all the basic strengths of the party. For example: congressional, gubernatorial, state chairmen and vice-chairmen, young Republicans, women's federation, and finance committee members.

Needed as an arm of the Republican National Committee is a representative executive committee, capable of expressing party policy, positions and programs promptly and constructively during the intervals between national conventions and meetings of the national committee. The executive committee should be as broadly representative as we have recommended that the Republican National Committee itself become.

3. New articles of association for the Republican Governors Association

The Republican Governors Association hereby adopts new articles of association. The full articles are appended to these proposals. The major items for strengthening the service which our association can render the Republican party include appointment of two standing committees:

## Washington Office

A committee on Republican party policy, which shall have the duty of developing suggestions for policy positions of the

association, and conducting research of use to the members in the conduct of their political and governmental responsibilities.

A national Republican gubernatorial campaign committee, which shall have the duty of assisting Republican gubernatorial candidates in any possible manner.

The association and the campaign committee shall have an office in Washington, D. C., with permanent staff, adequate to carry out the responsibilities of the committee.

In conclusion, let it be clearly understood by all that the Republican Governors Association desires that its party be noting less than the majority party of America. It can be. The ideas proposed and the mechanisms undertaken in these pages are offered to help it become such. We are united in seeking to achieve these objectives.

Week. Daily News

Dec 29, 1964

Javits Plans

GOP Summit

By Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Sen Jacob Javits (R, N Y) is working on a plan to call a summit conference of about 50 Republican leaders to reunite the party and revise its platform for the 1965 and 1966 election campaigns, it was learned today

He and other Republicans previously suggested such a meeting. Sen Javits now has gone beyond that and is tackling the problems of agenda and who should be invited

Sen Javits is trying to be especially careful that the conference would represent the proper proportion of conservatives, progressives and those in between

Sen. Barry Goldwater would be invited, as would former President Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and New York's former Gov Thomas E Dewey, they being the party's presidential nominees since 1943

EISENHOWER URGES  
G.O.P.'S OVERHAUL

Revamped Top Leadership,  
Being Discussed in Party

By DARL MAZO

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower has proposed that the Republican party overhaul its national leadership setup.

His plan, it was learned yesterday, would center responsibility for all the party's national organizational, fund raising and campaign managing functions in a revamped national committee. The plan would also give Republican state chairmen, Congressional leaders, governors and other significant officials direct control of that top-level organization

In correspondence and conversations with several participants in the effort to rebuild the Republican party, General Eisenhower contended the national committee's membership structure was the key to the kind of reorganization needed to "insure complete coordination within the top echelons of the party" and to broaden its base of effective leadership

Under the Eisenhower plan the national committee would be composed of the operating state chairman and a woman vice chairman from each state, representatives of the Senate and House membership and the Republican governors, and spokesmen for principal party adjuncts such as the Young Republicans

Few elected officials or grassroots organization leaders now are on the national committee, which is made up of a committeeman and a committee-woman from each state, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico plus a small bonus contingent of state chairmen.

Proposals Are Discussed

Among other things, General Eisenhower's remodeling suggestions would require the elimination of the Senate and House Republican campaign committees, both of which now function independently of each other and the national committee.

The proposals—which General Eisenhower calls "ideas"—have been reportedly well received by most Republican governors and a number of Congressional and party organization leaders. But the reaction among members of the national committee is expected to be mixed

A spot check of party leaders indicated that the Eisenhower proposal would be discussed "only informally" at a meeting

of the committee in Chicago on Jan 22 and 23.

But it is to be a major item on the agenda of an extraordinary Republican leadership conference which probably will be held in June.

As General Eisenhower noted in his letters, full implementation of a reorganization scheme like his would require action by a Republican national convention

Meanwhile, in Washington and several state capitals it was disclosed that the party's principal non-Goldwater elements had agreed to rally around Ray C Bliss, the Ohio state chairman, as a replacement for Dean Burch, the national chairman chosen last July by Senator Barry Goldwater.

Bliss Strangely Backer

This is believed to have resolved a major problem, since those favoring a leadership change had been divided over

whom to promote for Mr Burch's position

One major party figure who had strong backing for the chairmanship said in a telephone interview

"We have agreed that it had to be somebody not identified with any candidate or any faction. Ray Bliss is the man. The last word from him is that he will go all the way"

Mr Bliss was not available for comment

Mr. Burch, stepping up his fight to retain the chairmanship, offered a compromise to avert a showdown and also announced a change of plans for the national committee meeting

In an interview with The Associated Press, Mr. Burch declared that his own post as chairman was not negotiable, but that he would offer those seeking his removal an opportunity to help pick a new executive director and executive committee for the national organization

"I'd be willing to consider anything reasonable," he was quoted as saying.

At the same time the chairman announced he would not invite a vote of confidence at the committee session, as originally planned.

Instead, he said he would leave the first move to those who want him ousted.

Burch Invites Nominees

WASHINGTON, Jan 5 (UPI).—Dean Burch invited General Eisenhower and four presidential candidates today to attend the party's National Committee meeting in Chicago Jan. 22 and 23

In addition to General Eisenhower, the chairman urged Barry Goldwater, Richard M Nixon, Thomas E Dewey and Alf M Landon to take part in the discussions.