

ABC NEWS

"ISSUES AND ANSWERS"

Guests: Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.)
Senate Minority Leader and
Chairman, Platform Committee,
Republican National Convention

Governor Daniel J. Evans (R.-Wash.)
Keynote Speaker, Republican
National Convention

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(ANNOUNCER)

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator Dirksen, I understand that your Platform Committee finished its work in the early dawn, about 5 a.m., and we are certainly grateful that you, with so little sleep, have kept your date with us here today.

Four years ago you said the Republican Platform faithfully reflected the 18th and 19th Centuries but not the 20th. Does your product today bring your party up to date?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I am pretty sure, Bill, it does. I think I find a degree of pride in the 1968 platform and it is testimony, I think, to the diligence, I think, of 102 people who were members of the Platform Committee.

MR. LAWRENCE: Were you able to maintain your pungency and your brevity, as you said, as one of your goals?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Bill, that's a rather delicate and sensitive subject because you discover as you go along that this group and that group and this individual and that individual believe that there is something world-shaking that ought to go in that platform.

Then there are arguments which commence with the members of the Committee itself, and then it is you against defeatists in the rather slender hope that you can in a short document get together a Gettysburg Address or Declaration of Independence.

But the realities of life, the fact that you don't live in a vacuum begins to rub off a little of the shine until pretty soon the platform becomes an extenuated document, if you know what I mean --

So it is somewhat longer than I wanted but it is still a good document and rather inclusive.

MR. REYNOLDS: Senator Dirksen, the major differences on Vietnam among some of the Presidential candidates, let's say the difference between Governor Rockefeller and Governor Reagan, is your plank on Vietnam going to satisfy everybody?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, Frank, I think it will come as close to satisfying any candidate we may nominate as anything that we could reduce to writing. We have done it as realistically as we know how, and we have tried to follow the expressions and utterances of those who are in the running, so to speak, any one of whom might be nominated, and we believe that he can stand on the platform.

You never quite let that go out of your mind because a candidate will be asked whether or not he can run on the platform. Suppose he says "No." Then what do you do; then your labors are in vain.

MR. REYNOLDS: Senator, is there anything in the Vietnam plank that would give positive aim to the presidency in terms of the current peace negotiations?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: We have been mindful of that, also, to do nothing in our judgment that would in any way jeopardize the peace negotiations in Paris. Had we done so, I'm afraid it would have been a disservice to the great hope that everybody nurtures that something can still come out of these negotiations.

It doesn't look too promising at the moment and the reports that we have had from time to time--and incidentally, I have had the most current reports--we still hope always that something will come out of it that will bring comfort and assurance that it may be the beginning of a real peace effort.

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, I think the sharpest conflict drawn was that between Mayor Lindsay of New York who felt that the war was really unnecessary and we ought to get out of it in a hurry, and Governor Reagan of

California, who said that this was in our own national interests and really required additional military pressure to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion.

Have we reached that goal?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I think so. Between those two extremes there has to be an area where most people, I believe, can stand, and that was one of our efforts, to find that effort, not to be too extreme in one relation or the other; in other words, to give comfort to our people who are out in Vietnam, give comfort to the people back home, and keep in mind constantly that there are people sitting across a table in Paris, to find a common denominator where we can work.

MR. LAWRENCE: Do you anticipate any kind of major floor battle with the bruising divisiveness that was on the floor such as four years ago?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I anticipate none so far as the members of the Platform Committee are concerned. You see, we have 102 members, and when we finished around half past four this morning or whenever it was, I insisted on having a vote on the platform and it was not a voice vote.

I did what they do in the House of Representatives. I asked for a division and then I wanted to see how many.

It was virtually a unanimous vote.

There was one vote I didn't get but it was not a nay vote, incidentally, so I just had to say that he voted present.

MR. REYNOLDS: To what extent did the lateness of the hour and the pressure contribute to the working of the Platform Committee?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I think we showed a lot of acuity and sharpness. Is that a good word, acuity? I hope it is.

MR. LAWRENCE: What does it mean?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: You must be sharp, and it is just a redundant expression.

But in any event, they stayed right on the job and I don't think we lost a single member and they were all alert and we had them from all ages there

I think the oldest was probably eighty-two. Don't ask me who it was, it might be embarrassing, but they stayed on and the debate waxed right up to the last minute until the gavel fell, and that was it.

MR. LAWRENCE: What was the most troublesome; Vietnam?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Not necessarily. There was

a good deal of backstage work, as we well know. There had to be, there always is preparatory work.

So while it was probably the stickiest question that we had, there was also the question of crime and law enforcement, what to do about the big city problems and the riot problems, all those offered some differences of opinion, not as an objective but rather in procedure.

I think everybody is interested in doing something about rehabilitation and the development of the hard core of our cities. How do we go about it?

Everybody is unanimous on the objective, as to whether you ought to set up a community development bank or you should do this or you should do that. And so we found common ground.

(Break for commercial.)

MR. REYNOLDS: Senator, without being any more specific than you wish to, can you give us at least a summary, an outline of what the Republican Platform of 1968 will say about this war?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Frank, I can put it to you in this fashion rather than try to detail exactly what is in the Vietnam plank. We approached it pretty much as I am sure Jefferson must have approached the Declaration

of Independence First there is a broad statement of principles in what we think we ought to do, and then we have to try to build particulars around instances where we think the Administration fell down in its management of the war, its failure in its passification efforts, its failure to fully Vietnamize the Vietnam Army and to de-Americanize it as it should have been and then, of course, to say in broad strategy what we hope to do in particular, however, or in detail in order to bring about a successful ending.

MR. LAWRENCE: Should we have been there in the first place?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: You can argue that on both sides.

MR. LAWRENCE: What does the platform say?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: It doesn't quite make it that specific because we don't forget, because we had some interest and we manifested an interest there when Dwight Eisenhower was President of the United States, and, of course, that continued through the Kennedy Administration into the Johnson Administration, so we don't try to slice off these pieces of our history and not accept our share of responsibility.

Because once we manifested an interest, once we indicated that this was a matter of our defense and our security and our outside defense perimeter, from then on, it was a question of how to manage your tactical and strategic efforts in order to preserve self-determination for the people of South Vietnam

MR. LAWRENCE: Do we view with alarm the fact that we suddenly went to large numbers of troops?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Bill, that has always been in my mind. I am familiar with platforms where they start with, "We deplore, we view with alarm." You might find one "deplore" in that platform. I couldn't keep an eye on all of it, but insofar as I could, we tried to make it realistic.

MR. LAWRENCE: It sounds to me, Senator, as if the platform plank reads like Everett Dirksen's record in the Senate on Vietnam

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I suppose I am just a little too modest to say whether it does or not.

MR. REYNOLDS: Senator, I wonder if we could turn to another phase of the proceedings here in Miami Beach this week. We list the Illinois delegates as 50 for Nixon, 6 for Governor Rockefeller, 2 for Governor

Reagan. Where are you in there?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Without having actually talked to the delegation, and I will probably do so, we will have the first of the major candidates appearing, but it seems like your figures are substantially correct.

MR. REYNOLDS: And where are you in that, Senator?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: You know that I have been very non-committal and I have been non-committal for a very good reason, and I think it is a justifiable reason. It could easily be said that the Chairman of the Platform Committee committed himself well in advance of the convention to help create a document that would slant it in the direction of one candidate or another. I didn't want that misimpression to go out in this country, so every time I was asked about my preferences, I said, "I am sorry, but while I have something in mind, I make no commitment now until this chore which has been entrusted to me is resolved, and then if you ask me, I will tell you."

MR. REYNOLDS: Is it not done? You have finished writing the platform

SENATOR DIRKSEN: You forget I still have to go before that Platform Committee at the convention and

present the platform and ask them to give it their stamp of approval. And when they do, then, of course, I can put the old seal and close the book and say, "The labor is done, now I can shout to the circum and to all America who I am for "

MR. LAWRENCE: I am assuming, Senator, then, that we don't put you in either camp but we will just ask you as an old pro in these conventions, do you think Nixon can be stopped, or do you think he has got it locked up?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: If you want a speculation, I will answer it

MR. LAWRENCE: Yes.

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Then that's all I can give you. Offhand, I would have to say that it is probably buttoned off and there may be some area that I will never again use the old phrase, "It is in the bag," because I heard that many, many years ago.

But as I said, what I see in the newspapers and hear on TV, and, of course, I know that you give the most accurate accounts to the country and I listen with bated breath and then I can quote you and say, "Bill Lawrence believes that Nixon has got it in the bag," and

I cite you as authority or I can cite Frank, either one

MR. LAWRENCE: I am suffering now from the same modesty that you now have about the platform.

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Don't, because you will spoil my fun.

MR. REYNOLDS: What we have established here is that you are going to quote Bill Lawrence that Nixon has got it in the bag or are you going to say so?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I will quote you, I think. I think he is so close to striking distance of that nomination that offhand I don't believe he can be stopped but, you know, a prophet is without honor saved, save in his own country, and that's the reason that I am rather short on prophesy.

MR. LAWRENCE: Your son-in-law, Howard Baker of Tennessee, has been mentioned as a probable running mate with Mr. Nixon. Have you heard anything about his chances?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: If you are going to talk about his political future, you ought to speak in a louder tone and say, "Howard Henry Baker, the United States Senator from Tennessee," and give him the benefit of that exposure.

His name, frankly, has been mentioned because I have seen it in the newspapers.

MR. REYNOLDS: What about your other colleague, Senator Percy?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I have seen his likeness in the press, also, and he has been mentioned for the second slot

MR. REYNOLDS: Would his endorsement of Governor Rockefeller the other day make him more attractive to Mr. Nixon?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Frankly, Frank, that I can't tell you, because if you can endorse one candidate and then hope that maybe you can get on the bandwagon of the other, that runs just a little in conflict with the way I assess human nature.

MR. LAWRENCE: Have you heard anything at all about Mr. Nixon's feelings in this vice-presidential selection?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: No. I assessed the vice-presidential prospects for myself some time ago and I think I added up some 17 that started all the way with Mayor Lindsay and went on through the whole list that has been mentioned, and included is a variety of governors,

so it added up to about 17 people.

MR. LAWRENCE: Should it be a man to appeal to the cities or a man that will stop Wallace?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Maybe it should be that and a good deal more. My experience in guessing goes back over three conventions with probably forty or fifty party wheels, let's call it. Then you get to some secluded area where you can find them and then, of course, everybody says-- I remember one of those occasions where I suggested Thurston Morton of Kentucky, the Governor of Illinois suggested my name and gave them a sales talk. When all these were on the table everybody had his say, then it fell into the lap of the Presidential nominee, "Whom do you think you would like to have? Who wears well? Geographically whom do you think is best?"

MR. LAWRENCE: That was what happened in 1960, wasn't it?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: That's right.

MR. LAWRENCE: And while you were meeting, they were typing Mr. Lodge's acceptance speech downstairs.

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, it could well have been but I remember who, what, where and how his name got on that table and where it all began.

I won't mention the name of the man who started it, but it was a former United States Senator.

MR. LAWRENCE: John Bricker of Ohio.

(Break for commercial.)

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, you said tentatively, at least, a moment ago, that this was all locked up for Mr. Nixon or he was so close to it he couldn't fail to get over the top, but Congressman Ford, who will be the permanent Chairman of the Convention, stated yesterday that it might take five or six ballots

It doesn't seem to me that those two things square.

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, of course, it is not usual-- Every endeavor is made to button it up on the first ballot because anybody who has a familiarity with this matter will know that when you exhaust one ballot and the leading candidate, for instance, loses two or three votes, then you know you are moving into a zone of jeopardy and people begin to back off. But if it goes beyond one ballot and a certain candidate moves up a little more, that's when the bandwagon fever begins, and I have seen it before.

MR. REYNOLDS: In the event that the first

ballot does not open the nomination of Mr. Nixon, where do you think it is likely to go, to Governor Rockefeller or Governor Reagan?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Frankly, I am not sure. I think there is a reservoir of prospects for Ronald Reagan, no less, and he would gain in the number of votes beyond the first ballot because I have noticed the appeal that he has and that manifests itself, so if a certain sense of fear creeps into a delegate's mind and he says, "Well, my champion isn't going to make it, I'm going to go over here, I'm going to go over there," then, of course, you have got to make this choice and Reagan, of course, has made an impression throughout the country.

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, to a certain degree, Nixon, and Humphrey to a certain degree are both kind of old hat around the country. Do you think this will have any bearing on the November election?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I doubt it very much. I think that people still set high store by experience and you can't say Dick Nixon doesn't have experience in government. I served with him in the House, I served with him in the Senate, I served in the Senate under his tutelage as Vice-President, and as President of the Senate I have seen him in action. I know he is a good student. He has given attention to his knitting. He is familiar with world affairs, he is very realistic and very perceptive, so that calls for a good deal, I believe, in a candidate.

MR. REYNOLDS: Senator, as to the question on the basis of experience, do you believe--and you have been in the Senate, you have been in the Congress and you have also been around the White House a lot, do you think Ronald Reagan has the experience that qualifies him to be President of the United States?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I have seen that question arise and I have seen it advanced and sometimes I think back. You know, Abraham Lincoln served one term in Congress, 1847, 1848, and then to the Wigwam Convention in Chicago and out of a clear blue sky over Seward and all the rest, he was nominated for the presidency and

elected and he goes across the threshold of the White House with no administrative experience except as a country lawyer.

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, let's leave this--

SENATOR DIRKSEN: No, we have got to button this up.

MR. REYNOLDS: It seems to me from what you have said that Abraham Lincoln turned out to be a pretty good President. What I asked you for is Reagan on the basis of two years as Governor of California.

SENATOR DIRKSEN: It may be with the grace of God as I don't know what we would have done to save the Union, and with God's grace I think he did.

Now, then, Ronald Reagan, if he were in the White House might suddenly in the face of great national challenge rise to it just like Lincoln did, because there is some steel in the fellow, you see, and I have got to defend that, because who knows what name will come out of that convention and I want to be proud of any names that come out of there

MR. LAWRENCE: Senator, let's leave the convention and go back to Washington, if we may.

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Who are we going to go back with?

MR. LAWRENCE: I know that's why I asked you. Do you think that the post-convention session can be productive at all or do you think it might be just as barren as it was, the meeting in 1960?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Bill, I remember those other sessions in between and after the convention, and I know the peculiar lethargy that settles down and the indispositions knowing we ought to be back home visiting with the people.

It is one of those inescapable things as to what happened. They do what is absolutely necessary and perhaps not more than that, then seek to button up the session and go home for the period of campaigning

will be all too short as it is.

MR. LAWRENCE: Can you get a confirmation for Abe Fortas as Chief Justice in that session?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Our first problem will be to get him on the Senate Judiciary Committee, you have got to get his name on the Executive Calendar before you can deal with it in the Senate, but that's one of our problems. You have got two gun control bills that the House and Senate have to confirm, with wide divergence between them. Then we have a supplemental military appropriations bill and it has got billions upon billions in it. That has to be done, so there is a workload.

How long is it going to take and what are you finally going to throw overboard? That is a matter to be determined by the President because when the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader phone and say, "We are ready to quit if you have not got anything more to do," if he says there is, you have to stay.

MR. LAWRENCE: Do you think you can get Fortas confirmed?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: If he gets to the Senate floor and you can get by any proposed filibuster, he will be confirmed because the votes are there.

MR. REYNOLDS: Thank you very much, Senator Dirksen, for being with us on "Issues and Answers."

We will be back in a moment with Governor Daniel Evans of Washington, the Keynoter for the 1968 Convention

(Announcer)

MR. LAWRENCE: Governor Evans, as the Keynoter of the Republican Convention, are you offering the country anything new or is it the traditional recitation of Democratic sins and Republican virtues?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I hope it is something new. I started out this preparation by reading all of the Keynote speeches of both parties since World War II, and

you are right, that's about what they were for the most part. And I don't really think it is worthwhile to spend very much time condemning the present national administration. If the people aren't tired of it now, I am not going to help much, and I think they are tired of it.

I think this year especially people are looking for a new leadership, they are looking for a direction the country ought to go, to be going instead of where it went under either party in the past.

MR. LAWRENCE: How much of this is your own work and how much of it is censored by the Republican establishment?

GOVERNOR EVANS: A hundred per cent my own. They didn't ask to censor it. Actually, it has not even been seen by anyone at the national level. Ray Bliss has asked to see it so he is just aware of what has gone into it, but no censorship whatsoever.

I voluntarily have asked Mr. Nixon, Governor Rockefeller, several of my fellow governors, Mayor Lindsay and others for their thoughts and ideas, but no censorship.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do they have any idea what is in this speech now? Do they know what you are going to say?

GOVERNOR EVANS: No.

MR. REYNOLDS: Four years ago, Mark Hatfield got into a controversy with his references to extremities. Is there anything in your speech that is likely to offend important segments of the Republican Party?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I don't think so. At least, I hope not. I think there is a different atmosphere this time.

Four years ago we seemed to be a party almost bent on suicide, and this time I think we are a party determined to win. I think this is the overriding feature of this convention. I think it will tend to bring people

together in terms of the platform itself. I hope it will tend to bring people together in terms of the keynote.

I don't think we are going to see the difficulties of four years ago in any respect.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do you have any fears that the platform might be found in conflict with the keynote speech?

GOVERNOR EVANS: No, but whether it will be or not, I don't really believe so. There might be a different emphasis to the keynote and the platform. Certainly the platform can go into much more detailed specifics than a 20- or 25-minute keynote.

MR. LAWRENCE: Can you summarize the highlights of the keynote? What is it that you see as the keynote of this 1968 campaign, what are the issues?

GOVERNOR EVANS: The first thing I did in preparing the keynote was to sit down and kind of figure out in my own mind just where this country seems to be and what our major problems seem to be, where the jump-off point was, where do we go from here.

And I think there has been almost an obsession over the past four years with Vietnam, and, of course, there has to be. This is an important issue and we have got to resolve it.

But as between the priorities of a war abroad and a war at home--and I think that's virtually what we have--I think we have not been paying enough attention to our internal priorities. I think it is the No. 1 priority now; at least, we ought to live it in terms of the present and pay more attention to what we are doing here at home.

MR. LAWRENCE: Is the solution to the problem our cities and our society in general now, or are you talking about law and order?

GOVERNOR EVANS: No, no, I am talking about the solution. We are not going to have law and order for

very long if that's where it begins and ends.

We can talk about the effect of the problems that beset our country, and I think we ought to deal with those and deal with them firmly, but we ought to deal much more importantly with the causes that lead to these difficulties.

MR. LAWRENCE: For the Republican Party, do you strike out boldly then in advocating expenditures and projects and movements that, let's say, your representation in Congress has generally rejected?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I don't think it is necessarily just a massive expenditure of money. This is important, these broad, new programs are important, but really the keynote, I think, takes a little different tack.

It does aim at domestic priorities as being very important and then deals with them in terms of a new partnership that I think is exceptional to be a new partnership of government, of private enterprise and of the individual citizen

I think this three-way partnership, we haven't really developed up till now, and I think it is most important

MR. REYNOLDS: A lot of people have been talking about this partnership. Do you have some specific plans as to how to effectuate it?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think the private sector of our economy, I think it is important now to work on low-cost housing which so many of our cities need and the redevelopment of cities with the training of disadvantaged people for job opportunities through governmental programs. Indirectly private industry profits and now pays taxes to various levels of the government. Those taxes come back in terms of these massive programs

I think we ought to short circuit the process and have our industry accept and assume some of these responsibilities. I think there is a new capitalism that

is called for, a capitalism of social enterprise.

I don't think it necessarily has to be just an act of charity on the part of business, but I think perhaps it is even a way to make a profit and still relate much more directly to the social issues.

MR. LAWRENCE: You have relegated Vietnam from the No. 1 or the all-nominating issue, at least, to a secondary position?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I wouldn't downgrade its importance. I think we ought to lift the domestic situation

MR. LAWRENCE: What do you think about Vietnam? Do you think in the view of many people that we shouldn't have been there in the first place, or that we ought to bring massive military pressure to end it or where do you fall in this theological split?

GOVERNOR EVANS: First, I don't believe it serves any great purpose to go into the last dozen years of our history and try to point the finger or lay the blame for our present predicament. It has covered several administrations. We have almost by error got to where we are but here we are, and the problem is where do we go from here. I think it is foolish for any candidate or for any one of us to say here is a one, two, three way in which to end the war in Vietnam. I don't think it is very easy.

I think, instead, the most important thing that could happen right now is for a new administration to come to power, a new administration that would not be hampered and hemmed in by the many, many activities and statements made by the present national administration

I don't think we can say today, "Here is exactly how we end the war," any more than Franklin Roosevelt in running in 1944 could say, "Here is precisely how we will win World War II," or General Eisenhower said in 1952, "Here is precisely how we will win the Korean War "

He said, "I will go to Korea, I will do my best "

I think the very fact of another administration is so very important.

(Break for commercial.)

MR. REYNOLDS. Governor, you have ordered a priority in preparing this speech. I am sure that you are anxious for the response.

What do you think will bring the loudest response from the convention to your keynote speech? What do you think they will be the most responsive to?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I am not really quite sure. I do make the statement in the course of the keynote speech that in essence there is no excuse for weakness and there is no justification for lawlessness, and I am sure that this will bring substantial response

But it is immediately followed by the general statement that strength is no substitute for sound policy, and you can't base law and order on any quality and injustice. I think you have got to have that base or law and order will never prevail

MR. REYNOLDS: What do you mean by, "There is no excuse for weakness"?

GOVERNOR EVANS: This really aims as much to our approach to foreign policy as it does to our domestic policy.

MR. LAWRENCE: Do you have in your speech about extremism anything about violence not being a vice and moderation not a virtue?

GOVERNOR EVANS: That was quoted once before.

MR. LAWRENCE: And not too successfully

GOVERNOR EVANS: So it is a little difficult to know just what the exact mood of the delegates might be and what might draw the most response.

MR. LAWRENCE: So far as the politics of this convention is concerned, do you believe with Senator Dirksen

that Nixon has got the thing all locked up?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Well, it appears that way I have had an opportunity during the past several days to talk to people in both Governor Rockefeller's camp and Mr. Nixon's camp. I have seen a variety of polls on delegates and none of them agree, but interestingly enough, the big difference is in how much strength Governor Reagan really will have on the first ballot. I think if he has less than 200 votes, Mr. Nixon has it all wrapped up. If he has 260 or 270 votes, if he begins to gather a swing, then I think it might very well be an open convention.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do you think the real threat to Nixon, then, is Governor Reagan?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think in stopping Mr. Nixon, yes. Seems to me every one of the polls seems to indicate pretty clearly that Governor Rockefeller's first-ballot strength will be something around 300 votes, and I think he has brought about as many people from Mr. Nixon as he can. The question is, how much Governor Reagan will take.

MR. REYNOLDS: And the question also is, how much Governor Reagan will pick up as the convention goes along?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Yes.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do you think it more likely that the Nixon people will go for Governor Reagan rather than Governor Rockefeller?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I just don't know. If tomorrow Mr. Nixon were to remove himself completely and all the delegates had a chance to choose between Governor Rockefeller and Governor Reagan, I don't know how they would go. I think it is pretty unclear at the present time.

If I had to make a choice I would say probably Governor Rockefeller.

MR. LAWRENCE: What about your own state?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think three-quarters of the

delegates are for Rockefeller rather than Reagan, but that is not certain.

MR. LAWRENCE: Who is your choice?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I said this many months ago, that as the Keynoter I didn't think it was wise to come before a convention as hotly contested, so to speak, to advocate any one candidate. I don't intend to make a decision or to announce a decision until probably Tuesday morning.

MR. LAWRENCE: Your state has 24 delegate votes. How are they divided as of now?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think it depends a little bit. We may be fortunate or unfortunate in being near the end of a ballot. If it looks by the time the roll call gets to Washington that Mr. Nixon has it pretty well wrapped up, I think virtually all the votes will be for Mr. Nixon.

If it is an open convention, if it looks like it is going for some time, it could go as far as maybe half for Mr. Nixon and the remaining quarter each for Governor Reagan and Governor Rockefeller.

We now have two or three declared people for Governor Rockefeller. We probably will have on the first ballot one or two or maybe three for Governor Reagan, the rest for Mr. Nixon.

MR. REYNOLDS: What effect do you think these recent polls have had?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think there is a credibility gap as far as the polls are concerned. I think people are generally confused with these polls taken almost at the same time and so widely at variance.

I think there is one thing wrong where this year these polls have asked an indicator of who can win the presidency. They do ignore to a certain extent the third and rather regional candidacy of Governor George Wallace.

The President is selected by electoral votes and it doesn't do much good for a Republican today to be a close second in all the states of the South. We don't get any votes that way.

I think you have to give Governor Wallace 50, maybe 75, maybe as high as 100 votes, electoral votes. We have to find our victory somewhere else.

MR. LAWRENCE: Do you do this because so much of your party thinking is built around the Southern vote? I am now thinking of Nixon as a nominee rather than Reagan or Rockefeller.

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think we have to put the strongest possible campaign together with a lot of enthusiasm to get behind it. I think we can carry it with a Republican nominee, not just one Republican nominee but perhaps any one of several.

But it seems to me we are going to have to do it in the West and the Midwest and the East rather than expect overwhelming support from the South.

MR. REYNOLDS: In your writing off the South, that's just about what you have done, the Republican Party, then, is really discounting Governor Reagan as a possibility?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Let me not say that we write off the entire South. When I said Mr. Wallace would have maybe 50 votes, I think you are talking about the Deep South, four, maybe five states that he is very likely to carry, and I don't think any Republican candidate is likely to beat him in those states.

There are many other border states in some of the South that Governor Reagan might very well carry, Mr. Nixon might carry, I think to a much lesser degree Governor Rockefeller.

MR. LAWRENCE: Whoever you nominate, you are going to need a strong selection.

GOVERNOR EVANS: That's right.

MR. LAWRENCE: Is your keynote speech in any

way a pitch for yourself as the vice-presidential nominee?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Not as far as I am concerned. No, I am a candidate for reelection as Governor. The primary isn't even concluded in our state. It will be very detrimental for me to break out in mid-campaign to find all this turmoil and the real likelihood that we might lose the State of Washington to a Democratic candidate.

MR. LAWRENCE: As a candidate for reelection, do you have any feeling that any one of these nominees would help you more than the other?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Well--

MR. LAWRENCE: Yes, you do?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I am not about to say, but I don't think it is quite so important in our own state. After all, I was elected for the first time against a Democrat incumbent in 1964.

MR. LAWRENCE: Part of the Democratic landslide

GOVERNOR EVANS: Right, so they have shifted back and forth several times in the past.

MR. REYNOLDS: Governor, you say it would not be right for you to be the vice-presidential nominee although, of course, you might have some different views if a nominee for the presidency asked you that question.

How important do you think the election of the vice-presidential nominee will be this year?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think pretty important. Obviously, your presidential candidate is the most important, he is going to carry most of the vote, but I think people look at the vice-president in a much different light now than they did even a few years ago. The assassinations of the last several years, the problems, the load of the presidency itself means that the vice-president is going to have a much more important part to

play and must be ready to step in if necessary as the President.

MR. REYNOLDS: Should he be a man whose views are totally in concert with those of the presidential nominee or should he bring to play other areas to support the ticket? If, for example, you have Mr. Nixon as the presidential nominee, should you try to get someone who would try to appeal to the big cities, to the Negroes, or is the Republican Party going to make an effort this year to effect this kind of victory?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I certainly hope we do. I think it is very important that we do just that. I think the presidential nominee has to have someone he can be comfortable with, he can work with, an artificial wedding, a shotgun wedding, I don't think, is a very good thing, but it doesn't mean that his ideas have to be exactly in concert.

If a presidential nominee's prime interest and background is in the field of foreign affairs, perhaps he should look for someone whose experience is in totally different fields, particularly with the cities.

MR. LAWRENCE: Do you have a favorite?

GOVERNOR EVANS: No, I don't have a favorite yet. You almost have to eliminate your vice-presidential favorites by one, at least when the presidential nominee is selected, but after that, I think we are fortunate as a party to have as many good new faces coming along as we do, Senator Percy, Mayor Lindsay, Mark Hatfield, Ed Brooks, many good people in all branches of government.

MR. LAWRENCE: Governor, you have spoken now many times about the importance of the role of the 26 Republican Governors and the status they should have within the party, especially as opposed to the Congressional Bloc which is always dominant.

Haven't the governors fumbled the ball again, though, by their inability to find any consensus about a presidential nominee?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I don't really think so. The

governors during the past four years have formed a much closer working relationship. I think the reason we didn't all congregate behind one candidate this time is because there is just a division of opinion. I don't think any governor dislikes any of the candidates. They may have reasons for preferring one over the other, but this convention isn't polarized to the extent, perhaps, that the 1952 convention was, so I think it is a different kind of convention. I don't know what is going to happen in the next several days.

MR. LAWRENCE: I have followed you from Colorado Springs and Jackson Hole and the Virgin Islands and Palm Beach, and always the agreement was going to come at the next meeting, but in the final analysis, you never could agree.

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think maybe it was not the governors themselves that really indicated they were ever really going to get together. I think it was the anticipation of others that they ought to or might. There may be some governors that felt that way, of course.

I just think that there is enough respect in and regard for the presidential candidates that there just couldn't be any coalition behind one.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do you think this is the sort of convention that could nominate Governor Rockefeller or maybe Ronald Reagan and go out of Miami Beach feeling that the will of the convention has been expressed?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I don't think they can easily nominate either of those two men because I do think that Mr. Nixon is far out in front. I don't think he has it locked up or as Senator Dirksen said, "In the bag."

He is out in front. I think it is possible that either of those two governors might beat him. I think there is even a remote possibility if the three men were to wind up deadlocked, that some other person could come in as a dark horse.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do you think Nixon will make it on the first ballot?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think the second ballot where some of the favorite sons will step aside and let their delegations go where they will. If he doesn't then, there will be a real chance of some other nominee

MR. REYNOLDS: What do you think it will be?

GOVERNOR EVANS: I think who is elected will get it on either the first or the second ballot. I don't quite see that it is locked up. It is close.

MR. LAWRENCE: Do you think that is because there is no responsive enthusiasm for him?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Some men draw enthusiasm, others don't draw that much enthusiasm, but it doesn't mean they are less capable or even less capable of winning an election

He came pretty close eight years ago; he is very, very tough and an appealing candidate and a charmed candidate.

MR. REYNOLDS: You are stating that Nixon can win?

GOVERNOR EVANS: Any of our candidates can win, yes, we hope that with any Republican candidate we are going to do everything we can, and I think we are going to nominate the next President

MR. REYNOLDS: Thank you for being with us today on "Issues and Answers "