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MEETING OF THE CONVENTION COMMITTEE  
ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

8:00 a.m.

Friday, August 24, 2012

Hyatt Regency  
Tampa, Florida

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P R O C E E D I N G S

CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Eight o'clock, let's call it to order. I trust you all slept well and nobody's cranky. We'll open with an invocation.

Carol Mumford, delegate from Rhode Island, are you here?

Do I have a volunteer?

MS. MUMFORD: Our Father in heaven, we are grateful to be here this morning to accomplish our very important tasks. We're so grateful for each delegate and committee member and staff member that has sacrificed and dedicated themselves to this very important cause. And we ask for your blessing upon us today. In the name of Jesus Christ, amen.

CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Amen.

Thank you.

Name and state, please?

MS. SKAF: Hawaii, Jacquelyn Skaf.

CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Hawaii, Jacquelyn Skaf.

Pledge of Allegiance. Bruce Hough, are you here, from Utah?

MR. HOUGH: Yes.

Will you please follow me in the Pledge of Allegiance?

[Pledge of Allegiance.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

2           Let me again introduce the officers that are  
3 serving on this committee.

4           Up at the head table, we have Enid Mickelsen,  
5 co-chairman of the Convention Committee on Rules and Order  
6 of Business and national committeewoman and delegate for  
7 Utah; Bill Crocker, RNC general counsel and national  
8 committeeman and delegate for Texas; John Phillippe, RNC  
9 chief counsel; Bill McGinley, counsel to the Convention  
10 Rules Committee.

11           And at the side table, we have Louis Pope, the  
12 vice chairman of the Convention Committee on Rules and  
13 Order of Business and national committeeman and delegate  
14 from Maryland; Bruce Ash, senior counselor of the  
15 Convention Committee on Rules and Order of Business and  
16 national committeeman from Arizona; and Terry Campo,  
17 parliamentarian of the Convention Committee on Rules and  
18 the Order of Business.

19           And our staff, a cast of thousands over there,  
20 but two in particular: Jon Waclawski, associate counsel;  
21 and Jen Voldness, administrative director for the  
22 counsel's office. They will be here to help us do things  
23 effectively, efficiently, and properly.

24           At this time, I'd like to ask co-chairman Enid  
25 Mickelsen to act as secretary for the purposes of calling

1 the roll.

2 MS. MICKELSEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Alabama, Christopher Brown?

4 MR. BROWN: Here.

5 MS. MICKELSEN: Bettye Fine Collins?

6 MS. COLLINS: Present.

7 MS. MICKELSEN: Alaska, Pete Higgins?

8 DR. HIGGINS: Here.

9 MS. MICKELSEN: Catkin Burton?

10 MS. BURTON: Here.

11 MS. MICKELSEN: American Samoa, Sua Carl

12 Schuster?

13 [No response.]

14 MS. MICKELSEN: Amata Radewagen?

15 [No response.]

16 MS. MICKELSEN: Arizona, Randall Pullen?

17 MR. PULLEN: Here.

18 MS. MICKELSEN: Laura Knaperek?

19 [No response.]

20 MS. MICKELSEN: Arkansas, Tom Lundstrum?

21 MR. LUNDSTRUM: Here.

22 MS. MICKELSEN: Reta Hamilton?

23 [No response.]

24 MS. MICKELSEN: California, Robert O'Brien?

25 MR. O'BRIEN: Here.

1 MS. MICKELSEN: Mary Mack?  
2 MS. MACK: Here.  
3 MS. MICKELSEN: Colorado, Dudley Brown?  
4 MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Here.  
5 MS. MICKELSEN: Florence Sebern?  
6 MS. SEBERN: Here.  
7 MS. MICKELSEN: Connecticut, John Frey?  
8 MR. FREY: Here.  
9 MS. MICKELSEN: Patricia Longo?  
10 MS. LONGO: Here.  
11 MS. MICKELSEN: Delaware, Richard Forsten?  
12 MR. FORSTEN: Here.  
13 MS. MICKELSEN: Catherine Murray?  
14 [No response.]  
15 MS. MICKELSEN: District of Columbia, Ben  
16 Ginsberg?  
17 MR. GINSBERG: Here.  
18 MS. MICKELSEN: Margaret Melady?  
19 [No response.]  
20 MS. MICKELSEN: Florida, Andrew Bonderud?  
21 MR. BONDERUD: Here.  
22 MS. MICKELSEN: Susan Wiles?  
23 MS. WILES: Here.  
24 MS. MICKELSEN: Georgia, Brian Kemp?  
25 MR. KEMP: Here.

1 MS. MICKELSEN: Anne Lewis?  
2 [No response.]  
3 MS. MICKELSEN: Guam, David Sablan?  
4 [No response.]  
5 MS. MICKELSEN: Donna Jones?  
6 MS. DONNA JONES: Here.  
7 MS. MICKELSEN: Hawaii, David Chang?  
8 [No response.]  
9 MS. MICKELSEN: Jacquelyn Skaf?  
10 MS. SKAF: Here.  
11 MS. MICKELSEN: Idaho, Damond Watkins?  
12 MR. WATKINS: Here.  
13 MS. MICKELSEN: Abbee Hawkes?  
14 [No response.]  
15 MS. MICKELSEN: Illinois, Steven Daglas?  
16 [No response.]  
17 MS. MICKELSEN: Demetra Demonte?  
18 MS. DEMONTE: Here.  
19 MS. MICKELSEN: Indiana, Michael McDaniel?  
20 MR. MCDANIEL: Present.  
21 MS. MICKELSEN: Paula Hughes?  
22 MS. HUGHES: Here.  
23 MS. MICKELSEN: Iowa, Stephen Scheffler?  
24 MR. SCHEFFLER: Here.  
25 MS. MICKELSEN: Analies DeGroot?

1 MS. DEGROOT: Here.

2 MS. MICKELSEN: Kansas, Jared Suhn?

3 MR. SUHN: Here.

4 MS. MICKELSEN: Helen Van Etten?

5 MS. VAN ETTEN: Here.

6 MS. MICKELSEN: Kentucky, Ian Koffler?

7 [No response.]

8 MS. MICKELSEN: K. Russell?

9 MS. RUSSELL: Here.

10 MS. MICKELSEN: Louisiana, Roger Villere?

11 MR. VILLERE: Present.

12 MS. MICKELSEN: Gwendolyn Bowen?

13 [No response.]

14 MS. MICKELSEN: Maine, John Jones?

15 MR. JOHN JONES: Here.

16 MS. MICKELSEN: Ashley Ryan?

17 MS. RYAN: Here.

18 MS. MICKELSEN: Maryland, Louis Pope?

19 MR. POPE: Here.

20 MS. MICKELSEN: Diana Waterman?

21 MS. WATERMAN: Here.

22 MS. MICKELSEN: Massachusetts, Vincent DeVito?

23 [No response.]

24 MS. MICKELSEN: Amy Carnevale?

25 MS. CARNEVALE: Here.

1 MS. MICKELSEN: Michigan, Stanley Grot?  
2 MR. GROT: Present.  
3 MS. MICKELSEN: Christine Donahue?  
4 MS. DONAHUE: Here.  
5 MS. MICKELSEN: Minnesota, Bill Paulsen?  
6 MR. PAULSEN: Here.  
7 MS. MICKELSEN: Marianne Stebbins?  
8 MS. STEBBINS: Here.  
9 MS. MICKELSEN: Mississippi, Henry Barbour?  
10 MR. BARBOUR: Here.  
11 MS. MICKELSEN: Cindy Phillips?  
12 MS. PHILLIPS: Present.  
13 MS. MICKELSEN: Missouri, Harvey Tettlebaum?  
14 MR. TETTLEBAUM: Here.  
15 MS. MICKELSEN: Patricia Thomas?  
16 MS. THOMAS: Here.  
17 MS. MICKELSEN: Montana, Scott Reichner?  
18 MR. REICHNER: Here.  
19 MS. MICKELSEN: Karen Pfaehler?  
20 MS. PFAEHLER: Here.  
21 MS. MICKELSEN: Nebraska, Mark Fahleson?  
22 [No response.]  
23 MS. MICKELSEN: Peggy Popps?  
24 MS. POPPS: Here.  
25 MS. MICKELSEN: Nevada, Kurt Criss?



1 MR. CRISS: Here.

2 MS. MICKELSEN: Cindy Lake?

3 MS. LAKE: Present.

4 MS. MICKELSEN: New Hampshire, John Sununu?

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Here.

6 MS. MICKELSEN: Renee Plummer?

7 MS. PLUMMER: Here.

8 MS. MICKELSEN: New Jersey, William Palatucci?

9 [No response.]

10 MS. MICKELSEN: Marcia Silva?

11 MS. SILVA: Here.

12 MS. MICKELSEN: New Mexico, Don Tripp?

13 MR. DON TRIPP: Here.

14 MS. MICKELSEN: Rosie Tripp?

15 MS. ROSIE TRIPP: Here.

16 MS. MICKELSEN: New York, Edward Cox?

17 MR. COX: Here.

18 MS. MICKELSEN: Jennifer Rich?

19 MS. RICH: Here.

20 MS. MICKELSEN: North Carolina, Robert Rucho?

21 [No response.]

22 MS. MICKELSEN: Helen Pannullo?

23 MS. PANNULLO: Here.

24 MS. MICKELSEN: North Dakota, Curly Haugland?

25 MR. HAUGLAND: Here.

1 MS. MICKELSEN: Margaret Sitte?  
2 MS. SITTE: Here.  
3 MS. MICKELSEN: Northern Marianas, Ramond  
4 Palacios?  
5 MR. PALACIOS: Here.  
6 MS. MICKELSEN: Ohio, Robert Bennett?  
7 MR. BENNETT: Here.  
8 MS. MICKELSEN: Cheryl Grossman?  
9 MS. GROSSMAN: Here.  
10 MS. MICKELSEN: Oklahoma, Stuart Jolly?  
11 MR. JOLLY: Here.  
12 MS. MICKELSEN: Linda Lepak?  
13 MS. LEPAK: Here.  
14 MS. MICKELSEN: Oregon, Kevin Hoar?  
15 MR. HOAR: Here.  
16 MS. MICKELSEN: Ande Hofmann?  
17 MS. HOFMANN: Here.  
18 MS. MICKELSEN: Pennsylvania, Robert Gleason,  
19 Jr.?  
20 MR. GLEASON: Here.  
21 MS. MICKELSEN: Christine Toretta?  
22 MS. TORETTI: Here.  
23 MS. MICKELSEN: Puerto Rico, Mario Gaztambide?  
24 MR. GAZTAMBIDE: Here.  
25 MS. MICKELSEN: Jenniffer Gonzalez?

1 [No response.]

2 MS. MICKELSEN: Rhode Island, Carol Mumford?

3 MS. MUMFORD: Present.

4 MS. MICKELSEN: South Carolina, Drew McKissick?

5 MR. MCKISSICK: Here.

6 MS. MICKELSEN: Susan Aiken?

7 MS. AIKEN: Here.

8 MS. MICKELSEN: South Dakota, Debra Watson?

9 MS. WATSON: Here.

10 MS. MICKELSEN: Tennessee, John Ryder?

11 MR. RYDER: Here.

12 MS. MICKELSEN: Mary Kate Brown?

13 MS. MARY KATE BROWN: Here.

14 MS. MICKELSEN: Texas, Louis Davis?

15 MR. DAVIS: Here.

16 MS. MICKELSEN: Melinda Fredricks?

17 MS. FREDRICKS: Here.

18 MS. MICKELSEN: Utah, Bruce Hough?

19 MR. HOUGH: Here.

20 MS. MICKELSEN: Enid Mickelsen? Present.

21 Vermont, George Schiavone?

22 [No response.]

23 MS. MICKELSEN: Susan Hudson?

24 MS. HUDSON: Here.

25 MS. MICKELSEN: Virgin Islands, Warren Cole?

1 MR. COLE: Present.

2 MS. MICKELSEN: Gwendolyn Brady?

3 MS. BRADY: Here.

4 MS. MICKELSEN: Virginia, Morton Blackwell?

5 MR. BLACKWELL: Here.

6 MS. MICKELSEN: Anne Gentry?

7 MS. GENTRY: Here.

8 MS. MICKELSEN: Washington, David Nelson?

9 MR. NELSON: Here.

10 MS. MICKELSEN: Diane Tebelius?

11 [No response.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: If there's any members of the

13 committee who were not here when their --

14 MS. MICKELSEN: Mr. Chairman, we still have

15 three more states.

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Oh, I'm sorry.

17 MS. MICKELSEN: It's all right.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You paused, I jumped.

19 MS. MICKELSEN: I had to flip the page.

20 West Virginia, Bill Phillips?

21 [No response.]

22 MS. MICKELSEN: Donna Gosney?

23 MS. GOSNEY: Here.

24 MS. MICKELSEN: Wisconsin, David Anderson?

25 MR. ANDERSON: Here.

1 MS. MICKELSEN: Maripat Krueger?

2 MS. KRUEGER: Here.

3 MS. MICKELSEN: Wyoming, Bob Grady?

4 MR. GRADY: Here.

5 MS. MICKELSEN: Barbara Cubin?

6 [No response.]

7 MS. MICKELSEN: Now we're done, Mr. Chairman.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: My apologies to West Virginia,  
9 Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

10 If there are any members of the committee who  
11 were not here when the roll passed through their state, if  
12 you'd raise your hands, we'll try and add you to the  
13 rolls.

14 Would you stand up and give us your name and  
15 state, the lady here?

16 MS. BOWEN: Gwen Bowen, Louisiana.

17 MS. MILADY: Margaret Melady, District of  
18 Columbia.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

20 MS. HAMILTON: Reta Hamilton, Arkansas.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Have I missed anyone?

22 MR. DEVITO: Vincent DeVito, Massachusetts.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Anyone else?

24 The gentleman here?

25 MR. KOFFLER: Ian Koffler, Kentucky.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you very much, Enid.

2           Let's just spend a little while -- oh, another  
3 one?

4           MS. LEWIS: Anne Lewis from Georgia.

5           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Anne from Georgia.

6           Let's just spend a little while going over a  
7 quick discussion of how we're going to go through this  
8 process. We want to function efficiently, we want to be  
9 effective, we want to do things quickly, but we also want  
10 to give everybody who has an issue to raise a full  
11 opportunity.

12           I am a great believer in an old saying that  
13 Napoleon used to have when folks came in to dress him for  
14 battle. He'd say, "Take your time. I'm in a hurry." And  
15 so I really believe if we can proceed through these things  
16 step by step and make sure that everybody's concerns are  
17 addressed at the proper moment, then we'll be able to get  
18 through this.

19           If you have a proposed amendment for the body,  
20 please rise. Then we'll recognize you. We'll ask you to  
21 state your name and the state you represent. And then you  
22 will present your amendment in the form of a motion.

23           In order for your motion to be discussed and  
24 debated and then voted on, it must first be made and then  
25 it must be seconded. So please don't speak on the motion

1 until it's been properly seconded, and then I will  
2 recognize you to begin debate. At that point, the  
3 discussion shall take place. And when that discussion has  
4 ended, we will restate the motion that is to be voted on,  
5 and a vote shall take place as to whether the motion shall  
6 pass or not.

7           Votes will, by default, be taken as voice votes.  
8 A majority vote is needed to pass a motion adopting a rule  
9 amendment. If a voice vote is too close to determine or  
10 if a member rises and requests a division or a standing  
11 vote, then a standing vote will take place.

12           We sincerely are trying to finish everything  
13 today, but if for some reason we need to continue today's  
14 session tomorrow, we will listen to the remaining motions  
15 tomorrow.

16           Motions being brought may be amended. To amend  
17 a motion, a member may rise, be recognized, and offer an  
18 amendment to the motion. The amendment to the motion must  
19 be seconded. Debate on the amended language will then  
20 ensue. And note that only the amended language can be  
21 debated and discussed when an amendment to the motion is  
22 properly made and seconded. The amendment to the motion  
23 will be voted on like other motions.

24           If there comes a time when the meeting is  
25 becoming too complicated or confusing, I will use my

1 discretion to try and bring a pause to the process and ask  
2 clearer heads from the talent we have gathered here to my  
3 left and your right to clarify the situation.

4           If a member has questions as to whether a motion  
5 has been properly considered or if any other rules are  
6 being properly followed, that member may rise to make a  
7 point of order. By making a point of order, the member  
8 calls on the Chairman for a ruling or for clarification of  
9 the rules of order. A point of order takes precedence  
10 over any pending question. And I will ask the member to  
11 state his or her point of order, and then I will, with the  
12 assistance of this great talent we have here, rule on the  
13 point of order.

14           If at any time you are unsure of what is being  
15 debated or what will be the effect of a vote on a motion,  
16 you can rise to request a point of information -- that is,  
17 for you to ask for information, not to give information.

18           To end debate on a motion immediately, a member  
19 must be recognized by the Chairman and make a motion for  
20 the previous question. It is non-debatable and requires a  
21 two-thirds vote to pass. If it passes, this motion closes  
22 debate and brings the committee to an immediate vote on  
23 the pending motion.

24           I warn you, my eyesight is not good, and I may  
25 not recognize you immediately. Upon a properly moved,



1 seconded, and passed motion for the previous question, the  
2 original motion being debated will proceed directly to a  
3 vote.

4           Again, I want to emphasize, the purpose of going  
5 through all these procedural rules is to make sure that  
6 the meeting goes efficiently, effectively, and we can try  
7 and get everybody's concerns addressed in a fair and  
8 proper manner.

9           Any questions at that point?

10           Okay, you've got in front of you the final  
11 black-lined working copy of the rules, which contains all  
12 of the changes that the Republican National Committee  
13 adopted yesterday based on the work of the RNC Rules  
14 Committee since the last convention. When referring to a  
15 certain passage, please reference the page and line number  
16 in order to allow everybody to understand exactly what the  
17 discussion is and the amendment that you're proposing.

18           We will now proceed to a process which includes  
19 the reading of "The Rules of the Republican Party," rule  
20 by rule. As previously discussed, we will pause to  
21 consider any questions you may have about a rule or to  
22 consider amendments that you would like to propose at the  
23 end of each bloc.

24           As discussed in the orientation meeting  
25 yesterday, if you would like to submit a proposed

1 amendment, please visit the staff attorneys at the side of  
2 the room if you need assistance. When you submit your  
3 amendment, please remember to include the page and line  
4 number of the rule you are amending.

5 A number will be assigned to your amendment, and  
6 a copy of the amendment will be distributed to all members  
7 of the committee. We will also be typing the  
8 amendments on the screen, viewable throughout the room,  
9 so you can see the amendment language as it is being  
10 brought and being amended on the floor.

11 And as I mentioned, when you address the  
12 committee, please use the mics located in the aisles, and  
13 identify yourself by both your name and state. That's  
14 really important so that it makes it easy for our  
15 recording reporter over here to do things properly and to  
16 associate with the proper people the conversations and the  
17 discussions that take place.

18 We will now proceed to the amended rules and  
19 discussion of proposed amendments. And I will entertain,  
20 if there is one, a motion to dispense with the full  
21 reading of the rules and instead simply read the rule  
22 number and the caption.

23 MR. ANDERSON: Mr. Chairman, Dave Anderson from  
24 Wisconsin. I move we dispense with the reading of the  
25 rules.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

2           MR. BENNETT: Bob Bennett from Ohio. Second.

3           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you, gentlemen.

4           Any discussion on that motion?

5           Hearing none, we'll move to a voice vote.

6           All those in favor, say "aye."

7           [Chorus of ayes.]

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed?

9           [No response.]

10          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The motion passes. The ayes  
11 have it.

12           The first section of the rules contains Rules 1  
13 through 11, and that section relates to the governance of  
14 the Republican National Committee.

15           Rule No. 1, Organization of the Republican  
16 National Committee.

17           Rule No. 2, Method of Election.

18           May I remind you, as we go down through these,  
19 if you have an amendment you would like to propose,  
20 indicate it to us, and we will put that rule aside for  
21 discussion after we get to the eleventh one here, and then  
22 come back up.

23          MR. PAULSEN: Bill Paulsen, Minnesota.

1           Just a point of order, and I apologize if you  
2 already addressed this. But if we've submitted something  
3 in writing, is that rule automatically set aside?

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No. I believe what we would  
5 like you to -- it is automatically set aside, Jon? No, we  
6 would like you to indicate that you have done so when we  
7 get to that rule.

8           MR. PAULSEN: Okay.

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So I will start over again so  
10 that those that may not have understood that can exercise  
11 that prerogative as we go through them.

12           Just to repeat, as I read a rule number and  
13 identify what the rule applies to, if you have submitted  
14 or want to submit an amendment, or if you have already  
15 submitted the amendment, please indicate that so that we  
16 will mark that rule for returning to that rule for  
17 consideration after we have reviewed the first 11 rules in  
18 section 1 -- the first 11 rules, which are in section 1.

19           So let me start again.

20           Rule No. 1, Organization of the Republican  
21 National Committee. Is there anyone who wants to propose  
22 an amendment to that rule or who has already provided a  
23 written amendment to that rule as a proposal?

1           Rule No. 2, Method of Election. Does anybody  
2 want to propose an amendment, or has anyone already given  
3 an amendment?

4           Rule No. 3, Term of Office.

5           Mr. Blackwell?

6           MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you. Morton Blackwell of  
7 Virginia.

8           I'd like to have everyone have a clear  
9 understanding of the procedures. In previous meetings of  
10 this committee, we have not generally foreclosed the  
11 possibility of coming up with an amendment for provisions  
12 that had previously been passed through.

13           Is it the intention now that as soon as we have  
14 called for amendments to a rule, that thereafter  
15 subsequent proposed amendments would not be in order to  
16 that rule? I think we need to have a clarity on that.

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You are correct. We will try  
18 and proceed with the process we have outlined, but it is  
19 always in order, until we finally close out, to have any  
20 member propose an amendment, even to items that have  
21 already been amended.

22           MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Rule No. 4, Vacancies.

24           The gentleman here? Okay, then set aside Rule  
25 No. 4 for discussion.

1           Rule No. 5, Officers of the Republican National  
2 Committee.

3           Do you have an amendment to that?

4           MS. HUDSON: Mr. Chairman, Susie Hudson from  
5 Vermont. I had previously submitted an amendment to Rule  
6 5(a)(1), but I'd like to withdraw that amendment.

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you have an amendment? So  
8 we'll set aside Rule 5.

9           Rule 6, Executive Committee.

10          You have an amendment? We'll set aside Rule 6.

11          Rule 7, Rules of Order.

12          Rule 8, Meetings of the Republican National  
13 Committee.

14          Rule 9, Filling Vacancies in Nominations.

15          Rule 10, Committees of the Republican National  
16 Committee.

17          Set aside Rule 10.

18          Rule 11, Candidate Support.

19          Did you raise your hand, sir?

20          MR. TETTLEBAUM: We would ask that it be set  
21 aside. Harvey Tettlebaum from Missouri.

22          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Set aside Rule 11.

23          Could someone from the staff read the rules we  
24 have set aside?

1 MR. WACLAWSKI: Rule 4, Rule 5, Rule 6, Rule 10,  
2 and Rule 11.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Four, 5, 6, 10, 11.

4 MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman?

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes, sir?

6 MR. RYDER: John Ryder, Tennessee.

7 I have a pre-submitted amendment that would be a  
8 new Rule 12 but would go in the first section.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So we will add the phantom  
10 Rule 12 until it becomes the real Rule 12.

11 MR. RYDER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Four, 5, 6, 10, 11, and a new  
13 Rule 12.

14 Does anybody else want to indicate an amendment  
15 to any of the rules contained, Rule 1 through 11, plus the  
16 new Rule 12?

17 All right. Let us now proceed through the  
18 amendments in order. Let us begin with the amendments to  
19 Rule -- oh, the staff would like a 15-minute break to  
20 allow them to produce the copies of the proposed  
21 amendments, so that when you return to your seats -- I  
22 don't know why we have to let you know what you're doing -  
23 - but when you return to your seats, you'll have the  
24 material to look at.

1           So there is a 15-minute break here. It is now  
2 8:24. We will come back at 8:40.

3           [Recess.]

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We'll move back to business.

5           I believe you have before you at least a copy of  
6 the amendment to Rule 4(c), page 6, lines 2 and 3.

7           Who is the proposer of this amendment?

8           MR. CRISS: Point of order, Mr. Chairman?

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes? Where are you? Oh,  
10 there you are.

11          MR. CRISS: Kurt Criss from Nevada. If I could  
12 just ask a question --

13          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes.

14          MR. CRISS: -- before we get started. As part  
15 of our title of our committee is "order of business," at  
16 what point in this agenda will we be talking about the  
17 order of business?

18          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: When the Chairman is in the  
19 mood.

20          [Laughter.]

21          MR. CRISS: I just don't happen to see it on the  
22 agenda.

23          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The Chairman will let you know  
24 when he's in the mood.

25          [Laughter.]



1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We have before us an Amendment  
2 Proposal Form, Rule No. 4(c), page 6, line nos. 2 and 3.

3           Who is the proposer of this amendment?

4           If you want to do it in secret, we'll close our  
5 eyes, and you can go to the microphone.

6           Staff, do we know who proposed it?

7           Oh, I'm sorry.

8           MR. PAULSEN: Lines 2 and 3? Oh, Bill Paulsen,  
9 Minnesota.

10           I guess I had a question, and I spoke with the  
11 parliamentarian about this. This was dealing with that if  
12 you had a vacancy of the chairmanship, that the appointees  
13 of the chairman would continue in office. And I just  
14 wanted to clarify, has that been the past practice of the  
15 RNC? I talked offline with several members about that.

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Jon?

17           MR. WACLAWSKI: Could you reshape the question?  
18 I'm sorry.

19           MR. PAULSEN: So has it been the past practice  
20 that if there's a vacancy in the chairmanship that the  
21 appointees of the chairman continue in office?

22           MR. WACLAWSKI: There's a vacancy, and then it  
23 proceeds -- as the black-lined states now, it allows the  
24 co-chairman to be the stand-in for the chairman of the  
25 RNC.

1 MR. PAULSEN: Okay.

2 MR. WACLAWSKI: Is that what you're referring  
3 to?

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No, but I believe the question  
5 is, if the chairman originally had made appointments to  
6 committees, for example, and the chairman leaves, do the  
7 appointments of that chairman continue in their  
8 responsibility, or are those positions declared vacant and  
9 up to the new co-chairman or the newly elected chairman to  
10 fill?

11 MR. WACLAWSKI: They maintain their position as  
12 chairman until they are relieved of their duties by the  
13 new chairman appointing --

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You don't mean "their position  
15 as chairman." They maintain their position on the  
16 committees until a new chairman makes appointments.

17 MR. WACLAWSKI: That is correct.

18 MR. PAULSEN: But the co-chairman, under this  
19 rule, as proposed, would have the ability to remove them.  
20 If there was some sort of issue with those people, the co-  
21 chairman, acting as chairman, could make new appointments  
22 in the interim?

23 MR. WACLAWSKI: As the interim chairman, yes.

24 MR. PAULSEN: Okay. Then I withdraw my motion,  
25 on that understanding.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The amendment to Rule 4(c),  
2 page no. 6, line nos. 2 and 3, is withdrawn.

3           The next one I have in my hand is an Amendment  
4 Proposal Form for Rule No. 5(a)(3).

5           I'm sorry, is there another one to 4? I'm  
6 sorry. I picked up the wrong one.

7           Amendment to Rule No. 4(c), page no. 5, line no.  
8 18. Proposed language: To insert -- well, first of all,  
9 who is proposing this one? This is the proposal to Rule  
10 No. 4(c).

11           I'm sorry, I see a name at the bottom, Ian  
12 Koffler of Kentucky.

13           Ian?

14           MR. KOFFLER: Yes, the proposed language is just  
15 to add the phrase "from among the members or officers of  
16 the Republican National Committee." The intent is just to  
17 remain consistent with the proposed change to Rule 5, sub  
18 3(a), which is on page 8, line 2, of the red-lined.

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Would you just make that in  
20 the form of a motion so that we can at least stay  
21 consistent with what we said we would do?

22           MR. KOFFLER: Yes, a motion to include the  
23 proposed language in section 4(c).

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

25           [Seconded.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: A motion has been made and  
2 seconded. Discussion?

3           Ian, do you want to discuss it any further?

4           MR. KOFFLER: No, thank you.

5           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion from the floor?

6           Seeing nobody who wants to add to the  
7 discussion, we'll move to a vote.

8           All those in favor of this amendment as proposed  
9 by Ian Koffler of Kentucky, please say "aye."

10           [Chorus of ayes.]

11           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Those opposed?

12           [No response.]

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The motion passes.

14           I do not have another one on 4. Is that  
15 correct?

16           See? Can somebody bring me the next amendment  
17 on 4?

18           Is there another amendment to Rule No. 4? Is  
19 there an author to another amendment to Rule No. 4 here?

20           Okay, we'll move to Rule 5.

21           MS. HUDSON: Mr. Chairman?

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes, ma'am?

23           MS. HUDSON: I withdrew my amendment for  
24 5(a)(1), and that was then affecting Rule 4(c) -- Susie

1 Hudson from Vermont. So that then affected Rule 4(c), so  
2 this would also be withdrawn.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That was the amendment to  
4 which one, Susie, 5(a)?

5 MS. HUDSON: I had originally proposed an  
6 amendment to 5(a)(1), and then that amendment would've  
7 affected Rule 4(c). So in withdrawing 5(a)(1), the Rule  
8 4(c) amendment should also be withdrawn.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

10 MS. HUDSON: Thank you.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have an amendment submitted  
12 by William Paulsen, Rule No. 5(a)(3), page no. 8, line no.  
13 4.

14 Is Mr. Paulsen here?

15 MR. PAULSEN: Yes, Mr. Chair.

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Paulsen?

17 MR. PAULSEN: Yeah, I guess I spoke online,  
18 trying to understand the import of this. So this deals  
19 with the removal of an officer by a two-thirds vote of the  
20 RNC. I guess I'm just trying to understand, were there  
21 just no provisions previously for removing an officer who  
22 was elected by the RNC before the wording was added?

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: What is the question again?

24 MR. PAULSEN: The question was, the proposed  
25 language that's before us inserts language about removing

1 officers by a two-thirds vote. So I guess my first  
2 question was, is there previous language that deals with  
3 the removal of officers, or is this new language? Was  
4 this to clarify something that wasn't previously  
5 addressed, how to remove an officer?

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a Rule 5(a)(3),  
7 which, if I'm not mistaken, speaks to the removal of an  
8 officer and currently says it requires a two-thirds vote.  
9 I believe the gentleman is proposing that two-thirds be  
10 replaced with a majority. Is that correct?

11 MR. PAULSEN: Right. Yeah, I guess I withdraw  
12 the motion. Because somebody pointed out to me that's the  
13 requirement for removing the RNC chairman.

14 This just makes -- I guess maybe to clarify my  
15 question, the language about a two-thirds majority to  
16 remove an officer -- the treasurer or secretary -- it's  
17 just being made consistent with the RNC chairman  
18 requirement that takes two-thirds to remove the RNC  
19 chairman?

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Jon?

21 MR. WACLAWSKI: The removal provision -- and I  
22 believe there is no specific language in the RNC rules --  
23 revert back to Robert's Rules, which I believe would be a  
24 two-thirds vote.

1 MR. PAULSEN: Okay. Okay, so this is just  
2 clarifying what's already the existing precedent under  
3 Robert's Rules.

4 I withdraw my motion then.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: This motion has been  
6 withdrawn.

7 I have an Amendment Proposal Form for Rule 5(c),  
8 page no. 8, line 23, authored by Ashley Ryan of Maine.

9 Is Ashley Ryan here? Would you move to the mic?

10 Does everyone now have this amendment by Ashley  
11 Ryan of Maine?

12 Ashley, would you present it?

13 MS. RYAN: Certainly.

14 Mr. Chair, I move to amend Rule 5(c), line 23,  
15 that after "committee" on line 23 to add "and shall serve  
16 at the will of the chairman." It was previously blacked  
17 out. I'd like to add that back in.

18 Thank you.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

20 [Seconded.]

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The motion has been made and  
22 seconded. Discussion?

23 May I ask a question?

24 Oh, I'm sorry. I see what you have here. Okay.  
25 I'll withdraw the question I didn't ask.

1 Is there any additional discussion?

2 Sir?

3 MR. DEVITO: Vincent DeVito, Massachusetts.

4 So I just want to get a discussion going on what  
5 was the purpose of the proposed amendment. The language  
6 was proposed to be stricken for a reason. It makes sense  
7 to me -- I presume the reason is to have consistency of  
8 counsel. But if there could be an explanation for that?

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Jon?

10 MR. WACLAWSKI: Could you repeat the question?

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The question was, it appears  
12 the words "and shall serve at the will of the chairman" in  
13 Rule 5(c) had been stricken yesterday in the Rules  
14 Committee of the RNC. And the question was, why was it  
15 stricken, so that the members here can determine whether  
16 they want to put it back in or keep it out.

17 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, Morton Blackwell  
18 of Virginia.

19 I have been delegated by a number of veteran  
20 members of this committee at this moment to come up and  
21 say none of us remember why this language was taken out.

22 [Laughter.]

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I can understand that of you,  
24 Morton, but how about the rest of the younger ones?

25 [Laughter.]



1           MR. BLACKWELL: Well, you know, there are older  
2 and younger, wiser heads who have the same opinion. I'll  
3 speak to it.

4           I don't understand why the language should have  
5 been stricken out in the first place. I mean, how are you  
6 going to remove these people? If the chairman wants to,  
7 does he have to get a vote of the RNC, permission to  
8 remove them?

9           It seems to me that this amendment is well-  
10 advised, and if no one can come up with a good reason why  
11 we shouldn't pass it, I think we should pass this lady's  
12 amendment.

13           Thank you.

14           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

15           Sir?

16           MR. HOAR: Mr. Chair, Kevin Hoar from Oregon.

17           I think I know the answer, because when I was  
18 reading through the rules carefully yesterday, I noticed  
19 that there was an amendment to Rule 4(c) which actually  
20 has this language in it. And I think it must've been  
21 redundant to have it again in that same section in 5.

22           Because it literally states in Rule 4(c), "All  
23 appointees of the chairman of the Republican National  
24 Committee shall serve at the pleasure of the chairman  
25 until removed by the chairman," and then it continues on

1 with some other reasons. So I think it was just  
2 redundant.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any additional discussion?

4 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

5 All those in favor of this amendment, please say  
6 "aye."

7 [Chorus of ayes.]

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

9 [No response.]

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The motion carries.

11 I have in my hand an amendment to Rule 6(b),  
12 also proposed by Ashley Ryan of Maine, for page no. 10,  
13 lines no. 10 to 12, to add -- well, Ashley, why don't you  
14 tell people what it is?

15 MS. RYAN: Thank you.

16 Mr. Chair, I move to amend Rule 6(b), lines 10  
17 through 12, to add "ratification of the elections of  
18 members of the Republican National Committee." This would  
19 just be putting that back in. It was blacked out  
20 yesterday.

21 Thank you.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You make that in the form of a  
23 motion.

24 Is there a second?

25 [Seconded.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you want to discuss it?  
2           Is there any discussion on this amendment?  
3           Hearing no discussion, we'll move to a vote.  
4           All those in favor of this amendment, please say  
5 "aye."  
6           [Chorus of ayes.]  
7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed?  
8           [Chorus of noes.]  
9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me do it once more.  
10          All those in favor, please say "aye."  
11          [Chorus of ayes.]  
12          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?  
13          [Chorus of noes.]  
14          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The ayes have it.  
15          All right, next one. I have an amendment, as  
16 proposed by Florence Sebern of Colorado, Rule No. 11, page  
17 no. 25, line no. 8.  
18          Florence?  
19          MS. SEBERN: Mr. Chairman, Florence Sebern,  
20 Colorado.  
21          I move to amend Rule No. 11, page no. 25, line  
22 no. 8, to include this proposed language inserted as  
23 subsection (d) --  
24          [Seconded.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Why don't we let her read it  
2 first, and then you can second it.

3           Florence, go ahead.

4           MS. SEBERN: The Republican National Committee  
5 shall allow, in all Republican National Committee-  
6 sponsored or state Republican Party-sponsored presidential  
7 debates, all candidates who meet the following criteria:

8           1) On record with the Federal Election  
9 Commission as filing the necessary  
10 presidential/exploratory forms;

11           2) Eligible to run for office of president per  
12 the U.S. Constitution; and

13           3) Meeting one of the following three criteria:

14           A) Achieving 1 percent in three to five recent  
15 national polls;

16           B) Achieving 1 percent in the latest secret-  
17 ballot, live, in-person straw poll of the Republican  
18 National Committee people; or

19           C) Completing two terms as Governor of any  
20 state.

21           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm all for the last one, but  
22 I don't --

23           [Laughter.]

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second now?

25           [Seconded.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

2           MS. SEBERN: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to just say,  
3 we state very clearly in our RNC Rules preamble that we  
4 are the party of the open door, the party of liberty,  
5 equality, opportunity for all, favoritism for none. This  
6 amendment would allow any RNC-sponsored or state GOP-  
7 sponsored presidential debate to include all serious  
8 candidates.

9           Candidates would then have to meet the serious  
10 specific criteria and qualify, but this amendment would  
11 allow qualified and serious candidates to speak for  
12 themselves and to encourage eligible electors to decide  
13 for themselves who advances in the primary field.

14           Thank you.

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: May I raise a technical  
16 question here?

17           I understand that 1 percent is supposed to mean  
18 1 percent. Is that rounded up, or is it a minimum of a  
19 real 1 percent? And that's not a facetious question. If  
20 somebody gets 0.6 percent and the polls round it up to 1,  
21 is that 1 percent or is that 0.6 percent? Because when  
22 you're in that level, it's a two-to-one difference almost.

23           What was your intention, so that we at least  
24 know what the intention was? That's my question to the  
25 proposer.

1 MS. SEBERN: Mr. Chairman, I would say as  
2 reported. If they're going to round up, they're going to  
3 round up. I'm talking about -- the spirit of this  
4 amendment is for serious candidates who may be invited to  
5 debates to be heard.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

7 Discussion?

8 MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

9 Mr. Chairman, I would just suggest that it  
10 shouldn't be the business of the Republican National  
11 Committee or the national party to tell state parties who  
12 they do or do not have to invite to a debate.

13 So I'd urge to defeat the amendment.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion?

15 MR. DAGLAS: Good afternoon. Steven Daglas,  
16 Illinois.

17 I actually was hoping the author might yield to  
18 a question?

19 I was wondering and hoping, actually, two  
20 things. One, if you might clarify a bit the concept of  
21 "recent" in line 3(a), if you could give a better idea of  
22 what timeframe you mean by "recent." Can I use, for  
23 example, some early polling to get into debates 3 months  
24 later? Two months later? Five months later?

1           And the second question would be, have you given  
2 any thought to -- I don't suppose you could place a cap on  
3 the number of participants. But, in theory, there's no  
4 cap or limit to the number of participants that may enter  
5 into this debate, as I read it.

6           So if you could just clarify those two points,  
7 I'd appreciate it. Thank you.

8           MS. SEBERN: Again, I would say the spirit of  
9 this is to include serious candidates in a debate. I  
10 mean, I obviously don't think that we're going to have a  
11 cast of thousands. Ten, 12? So be it.

12           "Recent"? Your guess is as good as mine,  
13 because our presidential election cycle keeps expanding.  
14 So I don't -- that's why the general language -- I mean,  
15 we've all been inundated with things for almost 2 years  
16 now.

17           So use reason and logic, practical application  
18 of this. That's the best I can do.

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

20           Mr. Ryder of Tennessee?

21           MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, I wanted to inquire  
22 whether the author means, when you say 1 percent of the  
23 Republican National Committee, which consists of 168  
24 members, you mean if 2 people support a candidate, 2

1 members of the RNC, that that candidate then meets your  
2 minimum threshold?

3 MS. SEBERN: Yes, sir.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You truly mean that if a  
5 candidate is supported by any two of the members of the  
6 RNC, they should be included in, for example, a New  
7 Hampshire debate?

8 MS. SEBERN: Mr. Chairman, do we believe our  
9 preamble, or are those just empty words?

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: They are not empty words. But  
11 there is a level at which impracticality is a definition  
12 of stupidity.

13 MS. SEBERN: And that's why --

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: And I would suggest to you  
15 that the impracticality of two people is a concern that  
16 certain states would have.

17 MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, Ben Ginsberg from  
18 the District of Columbia.

19 Having been involved in roughly 40 primary  
20 debate negotiations over the past couple of cycles, I  
21 appreciate the spirit of this well-intentioned amendment,  
22 but I believe that putting in a requirement like this will  
23 simply have the effect of not making the Republican  
24 National Committee relevant in any of the debates.



1           The truth of the matter is that the debates are  
2 done by media entities these days. The candidates are  
3 very aware of who they're going to get on the stage with.  
4 And I'm afraid the impracticality of this amendment would  
5 override any spirit that it might have.

6           Thank you.

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion or  
8 comments?

9           MR. HOAR: Mr. Chair?

10          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes?

11          MR. HOAR: Kevin Hoar from Oregon.

12                 I can attest to the fact of what Ben Ginsberg  
13 just said, which is that Oregon was one of the states that  
14 was slated to have a debate. It was late in the process.  
15 And it was already difficult to work with the tremendous  
16 number of constraints that existed just to pull it off,  
17 and it didn't happen.

18                 And so you really, in the end, can't pass a rule  
19 that tells candidates what they should think or do, or the  
20 media for that matter. I think we're all familiar with  
21 the media having its own mind.

22                 It was difficult to pull that off. Another  
23 constraint, and you'll just see probably fewer debates  
24 because they are very difficult to arrange.

25          Thank you.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional questions or  
2 comments?

3           MR. BARBOUR: Mr. Chairman? Henry Barbour from  
4 Mississippi.

5           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Henry?

6           MR. BARBOUR: I'd just rise to oppose this. I  
7 think there are many practical reasons that this would not  
8 be helpful. And I appreciate the author's intentions, but  
9 those people are allowed to run, and that is very  
10 participatory, but not necessarily to allow to be in a  
11 debate.

12           Thank you.

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Next? Additional comment?

14           MR. JOHN JONES: John Jones from Maine.

15           I strongly support the intent of this amendment.  
16 We've seen immensely qualified candidates for president  
17 driven out of our debate process because there's no  
18 standard for letting people into the debate.

19           MR. MCDANIEL: Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: What is your point of order?

21           MR. MCDANIEL: Mike McDaniel from Indiana.

22           I understand that we have a person in the room  
23 who's participating in this process who's not a seated  
24 delegate to the convention.

25           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Who is that, please?

1 MR. MCDANIEL: The gentleman who just spoke, I  
2 believe.

3 MR. JOHN JONES: As far as I know, I'm a  
4 delegate representing my state until the Credentials  
5 Committee comes up with its decision.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Counsel?

7 I've been informed that you are not on the  
8 temporary roll, sir. And, therefore, you cannot serve on  
9 this committee, but you may attend in the back with a  
10 guest pass.

11 MR. JOHN JONES: Why was my name, if I may  
12 inquire, Chairman, called with the roll earlier?

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The roll was printed before  
14 you were removed.

15 [Laughter.]

16 MR. JOHN JONES: The Contest Committee's  
17 decision is binding?

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The RNC made a decision to  
19 affirm a temporary roll, and your name was not on the  
20 temporary roll.

21 MR. JOHN JONES: If that's the case, I  
22 appreciate the information.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

24 Additional discussion?

25 Ma'am?

1 MS. STEBBINS: Mr. Chairman, Marianne Stebbins,  
2 Minnesota.

3 I wonder if the author would consider a friendly  
4 amendment, if there is such a thing as a friendly  
5 amendment, to increasing the threshold of these three  
6 criteria to, A, achieving 2 percent in three to five  
7 recent national polls, or, B, achieving 2 percent in the  
8 latest secret ballot.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion?

10 MR. DEVITO: Vincent DeVito, Massachusetts.

11 I do appreciate the intent of the motion;  
12 however, I oppose the motion as it being, one,  
13 impractical; and, given the recent friendly amendment,  
14 two, it's technically flawed. To the Chair's point, 1.5  
15 percent could be 2 percent, 0.5 percent could be 1  
16 percent.

17 I'm opposed.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
19 discussion?

20 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Mr. Chairman, could I ask  
21 the parliamentarian, could I just call the question?

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The question has been called.

23 With no objection, we move to a vote.

24 All those in favor of the motion, please say  
25 "aye."

1 [Chorus of ayes.]

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

3 [Chorus of noes.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The noes have it.

5 Mr. Blackwell?

6 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, I have a question  
7 with respect to the gentleman from Maine, who was put,  
8 obviously, in an embarrassing situation.

9 The Credentials Committee is meeting and are  
10 going to make determinations if -- and they're meeting  
11 today, as I understand it, right next-door. If the  
12 Credentials Committee votes to seat him, would the  
13 gentleman from Maine be permitted to retake his seat?

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: He will be immensely welcomed  
15 if that occurs.

16 MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have an amendment to Rule  
18 10(a). I do not have a name on here. It is an amendment  
19 to Rule 10(a)(5), page no. 18, line nos. 22 and 23.

20 Is the author of this amendment present?

21 Maybe if I read it, it will trigger a  
22 recollection.

23 [Laughter.]

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: On page 18, line 22 to 23,  
25 strike, quote, "on behalf of and under the supervision,

1 direction, and control of the Republican National  
2 Committee," close quote.

3 Is the author present?

4 We'll move on. I have an amendment by Harvey  
5 Tettlebaum of Missouri, Rule No. 10(b)(4), page no. 18,  
6 lines 17 through 19.

7 Mr. Tettlebaum?

8 MR. TETTLEBAUM: It's being handed out right  
9 now, Mr. Chairman.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay.

11 MR. TETTLEBAUM: You may want to wait, in all  
12 due respect, until it's -- there it is.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's posted on the screen.

14 MR. TETTLEBAUM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Tettlebaum?

16 MR. TETTLEBAUM: If I may -- Mr. Chairman, thank  
17 you -- speak to this amendment, the reason for this  
18 amendment is, I believe the language that has been in the  
19 rules has been to prevent a conflict of interest. I  
20 think, in the interests of transparency and fairness, that  
21 if someone is going to be voting on that committee to  
22 where the convention shall be held, if it's related to  
23 their own state, that they should at least have to recuse  
24 themselves from that.

1           So I would ask that the deletions on lines 17  
2 through 19 in the version we have be restored as part of  
3 my amendment.

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments?

5           Is there a second to the motion?

6           [Seconded.]

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any discussion?

8           If not, we will move to a vote.

9           All those in favor, please say "aye."

10          [Chorus of ayes.]

11          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

12          [Chorus of noes.]

13          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let's try it once more.

14          All those in favor, please say "aye."

15          [Chorus of ayes.]

16          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

17          [Chorus of noes.]

18          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm in doubt. Can we have a  
19 division, please?

20          We'll proceed to a division. I will ask, in  
21 turn, those who are in favor to stand, and I then I will  
22 ask them to be seated, and then I will ask those who are  
23 opposed to stand. We will count in two groups here.

24          All those in favor, please stand.

25          Thirty-three.

1           If you'll be seated, please.

2           All those opposed, please stand.

3           Thank you. Be seated.

4           The noes clearly have it. And I thank you for  
5 doing that, because I would've ruled incorrectly on the  
6 basis of the voice vote. The noes have it; the motion is  
7 defeated.

8           I move to another amendment on Rule 10. This  
9 one does not have a signature on it. It is the Rule No.  
10 10(b)(5), no page number noted. I better read some words,  
11 so --

12           MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, no, I apologize,  
13 that's mine.

14           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Come on. You're a lawyer.

15           MR. GINSBERG: Precisely right. The ambiguity  
16 is a comfortable place to be.

17           [Laughter.]

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Some would say yes, and others  
19 would say no.

20           [Laughter.]

21           MR. GINSBERG: It depends if I've billed you  
22 before.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You may be right.

24           Ben, go ahead.

25           MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, thank you.



1           This amendment deals with an amendment that was  
2 made at the RNC Rules Committee. And I proposed this  
3 amendment because the rule, whether intended or not,  
4 actually would take away from the flexibility of the  
5 winning campaign to be able to operate the convention.  
6 And so it's more of a housekeeping matter for future  
7 years.

8           But, again, the deletion of what was passed  
9 yesterday, it would restore the original rule as it is  
10 currently in the RNC rules. Again, designed to give the  
11 winning campaign more flexibility in planning the program.

12           Thank you.

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

14           Is there a second, first of all?

15           [Seconded.]

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

17           MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, we voted by a  
18 standing vote on a proposal by Mr. Tettlebaum, and 3 or 4  
19 minutes after we had the vote, people in the back half of  
20 the room for the first time received the text.

21           I ask that before we go to votes on future  
22 proposals that the Chair try to ascertain if everybody has  
23 a copy of it, because, very frankly, you know, it's  
24 difficult to read, particularly in the latter portion of  
25 the room, what is on that screen. If it would be possible

1 to blow up the language larger, that would be of  
2 assistance.

3 But I think asking us to have a vote, whether  
4 it's a voice vote or a division vote, if we --

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Your point is well-taken.

6 MR. BLACKWELL: -- without seeing the text, it's  
7 not the way to do business.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Your point is well-taken. I  
9 assumed that that was readable. And if it's not readable,  
10 I will make sure.

11 And if we are discussing an amendment that you  
12 have not received, would you please raise your hand and  
13 wave so that I am aware of it? I was not aware of that,  
14 and I did, though, assume that people were able to read  
15 what was on the board.

16 There is a motion that has been made and  
17 seconded relative to Rule 10(b)(5). I am assuming  
18 everyone has it.

19 Is there additional discussion?

20 MR. MCKISSICK: Mr. Chairman?

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir?

22 MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

23 Do we know what page or line number this is?

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It doesn't say a page or line  
25 number.

1 MR. GINSBERG: It is actually a typo, and it is  
2 10(a)(5), the Standing Committee on Arrangements. I  
3 apologize.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: 10(a)(5). 10(a)(5).

5 For clarification, to make sure that everyone  
6 understands, there is a proposed amendment to Rule  
7 10(a)(5) to include language that would make the first  
8 sentence read, "There shall be a Standing Committee on  
9 Arrangements to plan for and manage the next national  
10 convention."

11 Mr. Ryder?

12 MR. RYDER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. A point of  
13 inquiry.

14 So the effect of this amendment is to delete the  
15 language, "on behalf of and under the supervision,  
16 direction, and control of the Republican National  
17 Committee." Is that the intent of the author?

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ginsberg, can you answer  
19 the question?

20 MR. GINSBERG: The intent of the author is to  
21 restore the rule as it was before the RNC Rules Committee  
22 meeting 2 days ago and to return it to the current rule.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional questions or  
24 discussions?

25 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

1 All those in favor of this amendment, please say  
2 "aye."

3 [Chorus of ayes.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

5 [Chorus of noes.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The ayes have it. We'll move  
7 on.

8 Okay. I will move on to amendments for Rule 11.

9 I have an amendment before me -- again, no  
10 signature on this one -- Rule 11, page no. 23, line no.  
11 23. Does everyone have this one?

12 Is the author of this present?

13 We need an author.

14 Sir?

15 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Butch  
16 Davis, Texas.

17 Mr. Chairman, I move to amend Rule No. 11 by  
18 adding the words "of that state" after "for any public or  
19 party office."

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

21 [Seconded.]

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Moved and seconded.  
23 Discussion?

24 Sir?

25 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1           The purpose of this rule is really simple. It  
2 talks about that the -- approval is needed for the RNC  
3 members for money/in-kind contributions and so forth to  
4 candidates for public office or party office.

5           I believe the intent of the original rule was  
6 for state senator or U.S. senator, rather, and congressmen  
7 and so forth. It was not intended for presidential  
8 candidates and vice presidential candidates. So by  
9 inserting the words "of that state," it restricts the  
10 universe to which the candidate population would be  
11 affected.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have to plead ignorance. I  
13 didn't understand what you said. Could you say it again?

14           MR. DAVIS: All right, sir, I will try it again.

15           As the rule states now, it says, "The Republican  
16 National Committee shall not, without the prior written  
17 and filed approval of all members of the Republican  
18 National Committee from the state involved, contribute  
19 money or in-kind aid to any candidate for any public or  
20 party office, except the candidate of the Republican Party  
21 who is unopposed."

22           This restriction, "of that state," would mean it  
23 would just -- we're excluding national candidates,  
24 presidential and vice presidential --

25           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I see.

1 MR. DAVIS: -- candidates from --  
2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. Thank you.  
3 MR. DAVIS: I apologize for any --  
4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No, it was -- it has been  
5 seconded. Additional discussion?  
6 If not, we will move to a vote.  
7 All those in favor of this proposed amendment to  
8 Rule 11, please say "aye."  
9 [Chorus of ayes.]  
10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed?  
11 [Chorus of noes.]  
12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me try it once more.  
13 All those in favor, please say "aye."  
14 [Chorus of ayes.]  
15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?  
16 [Chorus of noes.]  
17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I am in doubt again. We'll  
18 move to a standing vote.  
19 All those in favor, please stand.  
20 Fifty-one.  
21 Please be seated.  
22 All those opposed, please stand.  
23 The ayes have it. It passes.

1           We have another amendment for Rule 10, proposed  
2 by Henry Barbour of Mississippi, Rule No. 10(d), page 23,  
3 lines 4 to 6.

4           Henry?

5           MS. MICKELSEN: They're just getting it.

6           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. We'll wait.

7           Does everybody have 10(d) now?

8           [Chorus of noes.]

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No. Okay.

10           We will not move to anything serious on it, but  
11 I will tell you that the proposal is to strike section  
12 10(d) and renumber the sections accordingly. But let's  
13 make sure that people get copies of it.

14           Henry?

15           MR. BARBOUR: Mr. Chairman, Henry Barbour from  
16 Mississippi.

17           I move that we strike the language that is  
18 10(d). It was added by the Rules Committee of the RNC  
19 yesterday.

20           My purpose in this is to allow the RNC chairman  
21 to appoint, particularly as it relates to the Finance  
22 Committee, people to that committee who would be of  
23 particular use in raising money and not necessarily just  
24 RNC members or even half RNC members.

1 I love RNC members, but they're not necessarily  
2 always the best folks to be on the Finance Committee.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

4 [Seconded.]

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Motion made and seconded.

6 Additional discussion?

7 Mr. Ginsberg?

8 MR. GINSBERG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

9 I rise in support of Mr. Barbour's motion for  
10 the reasons he stated. He is exactly right that expertise  
11 from the outside should not be excluded from these  
12 processes.

13 Thanks.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
15 discussion?

16 MS. STEBBINS: Marianne Stebbins, Minnesota.

17 And I would speak against the amendment.

18 10(d) only requires half of the members to be  
19 members of the RNC. And, you know, the states have  
20 elected their members, and this would give more control to  
21 the states while still giving the chairman quite a lot of  
22 flexibility.

23 So I would argue in favor of keeping (d) and  
24 against the amendment.



1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
2 discussion?

3           Sir?

4           MR. HOUGH: Speaking in favor -- Bruce Hough  
5 from Utah -- speaking in favor because I think the key  
6 provision in the existing language restricts the chairman  
7 of that committee from being a member of the committee --  
8 or requires the chairman to be a member of the committee.  
9 And I think that is maybe the most paramount problem in  
10 this current language and why I support the amendment.

11           A good example of that is exactly our  
12 circumstance today. We have Ron Weiser, who is maybe one  
13 of the best leaders in fundraising this party has had in a  
14 decade. And without him at the leadership helm of that  
15 committee, I think we would be in a much different  
16 position this year. And Reince Priebus, who appointed  
17 him, had that discretion, and I think that discretion  
18 should be left to the chairman.

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments?

20           Sir?

21           MR. PAULSEN: Bill Paulsen, Minnesota.

22           I appreciate the concern about fundraising. I  
23 understand that's one of the most important roles for the  
24 RNC. But I think this proposal goes too far, because  
25 there are also other committees that -- you know, the

1 people who elected the RNC men and women sent them to the  
2 RNC to represent the states. And we should include them  
3 in the committees or show that there's inclusion of those  
4 people in the committees.

5 I don't know if the maker of the motion would  
6 accept an amendment to restrict this to the Finance  
7 Committee since that's his particular concern?

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You may make a motion to amend  
9 the proposed amendment.

10 MR. PAULSEN: I make a motion to amend this --  
11 I'm trying to think of the wording -- that whenever a  
12 Finance Committee is appointed pursuant to Rule 10(c), the  
13 committee -- whenever a committee is appointed to Rule  
14 10(c), the committee shall consist of a chairman who shall  
15 be a member of the Republican National Committee and of  
16 other appointees, at least half of whom shall be members  
17 of the Republican National Committee, except that the  
18 chairman shall have the discretion to appoint who he  
19 wishes to the Finance Committee.

20 I don't know if that's the exact wording we want  
21 to use. That's the intention of the motion.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Just to make sure we do this  
23 properly, it's my recollection that that will have to be  
24 typed up and distributed before we can act on it.

25 Is that correct, Jon?

1           MR. WACLAWSKI: I'm sorry, Governor. Could you  
2 please repeat that?

3           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman has made a  
4 proposed amendment to an amendment we have in hand and are  
5 discussing. My question is, is it proper procedure to  
6 have him have his proposed amendment to the amendment  
7 typed up and distributed before we discuss it? Or can we  
8 discuss it on the basis of a verbal motion to amend?

9           MR. WACLAWSKI: All amendments to amendments  
10 that have currently been handed out will all be made in  
11 real time on the screens so everyone can see it, but  
12 copies will not be made in --

13          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: May I suggest, if you're going  
14 to do that, you raise the font size so that folks as old  
15 as I am can read it?

16          MR. WACLAWSKI: Yes, Governor.

17          MR. DAVIS: Point of order, Mr. Chairman?

18                 Butch Davis, Texas.

19                 The motion before the body is to strike  
20 language?

21          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That's correct.

22          MR. DAVIS: Therefore, in order to amend it, you  
23 can only remove language in it that would not be struck.  
24 You cannot add additional material.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: With all due respect, I think  
2 you can have an amendment that is completely reworded as  
3 long as it's germane to the issue. But I will defer to  
4 counsel here for a ruling.

5           MR. DAVIS: Oh, is he moving a substitute?

6           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes.

7           MR. DAVIS: All right. Thank you.

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm waiting for him to type it  
9 up and display it on the board, and then I will ask for a  
10 second. Because I can't ask people to second a motion  
11 that they don't know what they're seconding.

12           Mr. Blackwell, do you want to comment on  
13 something in the meantime, or are you waiting for the  
14 motion to go to the board?

15           MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman --

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Or are you just trying to get  
17 closer --

18           MR. BLACKWELL: -- opportunity to comment.

19           Mr. Chairman, I'm not completely clear as to  
20 what the language would be. I think I know the intent.  
21 And it would seem to me, and I would ask the mover, if it  
22 would not be appropriate simply to add at the beginning of  
23 that section "with the exception of the Finance Committee,  
24 comma." That would be much simpler.

25           Thank you.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There has been a suggestion --  
2 of course you may use whatever language you wish -- but  
3 there has been a suggestion that the spirit of what you  
4 want to accomplish would be accomplished by adding the  
5 following words at the beginning.

6           MR. BLACKWELL: "With the exception of the  
7 Finance Committee, comma."

8           MR. PAULSEN: "With the exception of the Finance  
9 Committee, comma." Thank you.

10          MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you.

11          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. If we could quickly --  
12 there it is.

13                 Is that type large enough?

14          Morton, will you move to the back row and let us  
15 know if you can read it?

16                 [Laughter.]

17          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. The proposed substitute  
18 amendment to the amendment on the floor -- I think I've  
19 said that right. There is a proposed substitute amendment  
20 to the amendment on the floor to add the words at the  
21 beginning of the section, quote, capital "W," "With the  
22 exception of the Finance Committee, comma," and then the  
23 10(d) that was delivered to us would proceed.

24                 Is that the proposed amendment?

25          MR. PAULSEN: Yes.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second to that  
2 amendment?

3           [Seconded.]

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Second. Additional  
5 discussion?

6           My goodness. Move to a vote.

7           All those in favor, please say "aye."

8           [Chorus of ayes.]

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

10          [Chorus of noes.]

11          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The ayes have it.

12          MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Mr. Chairman, point of order.

13          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes?

14          MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Dudley Brown from Colorado.

15          With the removal of Mr. Jones from Maine, we now  
16 have the delegation chair from Maine appointing a new  
17 member of the Rules Committee, and I'd like to have them  
18 seated.

19          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is the gentleman here or the  
20 lady here?

21          MR. DUDLEY BROWN: It'll be a gentleman.  
22 They're on the way. It's Daugherty, who was duly elected  
23 at their state assembly. And the delegation chair is here  
24 and appointed that person to the committee. That

1 delegation chair is a seated delegate and the delegation  
2 chair.

3 I might add that the appointment is a person who  
4 is not being challenged in the Credentials Committee.

5 MR. BARBOUR: Mr. Chairman? Henry Barbour from  
6 Mississippi.

7 I'd like to make a motion to reconsider. I had  
8 hoped to have an opportunity to speak to this amendment.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Which amendment? The one we  
10 just voted on?

11 MR. BARBOUR: That one, yes, sir.

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Well, let me deal with this  
13 issue first.

14 MR. BARBOUR: Yes, sir. You're in charge.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me explain to you what our  
16 problem is, and maybe you can clarify it. We are trying  
17 to operate under the rules of who has the right to select  
18 a member of this committee from a given state. And the  
19 rule is that they have to be voted by the full delegation  
20 of the state in order to do that.

21 And I'm trying to figure out a way to properly  
22 seat the gentleman on the basis of only having the  
23 chairman making that declaration. And so I'm struggling  
24 to do this properly.

25 Sir?

1           MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Mr. Chairman, then, would the  
2 question not be, why would Mr. Jones be removed, since his  
3 credentials aren't fully -- have not been revoked; there  
4 are being under consideration right now -- until there's a  
5 duly elected replacement?

6           I might add that the staff did call the roll  
7 earlier for that particular member of this committee.

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yeah, let me tell you why  
9 we're struggling. The RNC found that the selection  
10 process in Maine was flawed. And so we are trying to deal  
11 with that in a fair and equitable way without creating, if  
12 you will, a bias or a conflict or a precedent that creates  
13 difficulties.

14          MR. DUDLEY BROWN: But, Mr. Chairman, without  
15 getting into the details of that discussion, I think we  
16 all can see that that would not -- one more member would  
17 not change the composition of this committee. And,  
18 certainly, it would only be fair to the state of Maine to  
19 have them fully enfranchised by two members being here.

20          MR. GLEASON: Mr. Chairman?

21          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm going to make a ruling  
22 from the chair that the gentleman may be seated, that he  
23 may participate, and that if there is a concern raised  
24 later, we will address it.



1           But I think that, in fairness to Maine, to allow  
2 them to have full participation here, I'm going to rule  
3 that the gentleman can be seated, without any implications  
4 on precedent or any other implications beyond that. It is  
5 a chairman's courtesy that I'm extending to the member.

6           MR. GLEASON: Mr. Chairman? But we have rules  
7 that you have to -- Rob Gleason, chairman of Pennsylvania.

8           We have jumped through hoops to have elections  
9 to fill these positions and have the whole delegation vote  
10 on it. And the rules are to be followed. And just to  
11 appoint somebody to this committee is wrong. There should  
12 be an election. Let's see the election. When was it  
13 held? Let's have the roll-call, the whole nine yards, to  
14 seat this person.

15           We all follow rules, and we did this at a big  
16 expense to fill these positions. Because we had people  
17 who couldn't come, and that's why I'm here serving as a  
18 member of this committee.

19           So I think you're wrong in making that motion.

20           MS. RYAN: Mr. Chair, as a member of the Maine  
21 delegation, I would like to say that -- Ashley Ryan,  
22 Maine.

23           As a member of the Maine delegation, I would  
24 like to say that a majority of our delegation is en route  
25 to Tampa at the moment, and we are unable to caucus.

1           We had caucused to elect Mr. Jones to the  
2 position. It was not easy for Maine to caucus. We went  
3 to great expense for all of our delegates to get here and  
4 get here early to serve on the committees.

5           Mr. Daugherty, who graciously accepted to serve  
6 on Mr. Jones' behalf, he was chosen by the delegates that  
7 are here today in Tampa.

8           So I would thank you for your courtesy.

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So he was not chosen by a  
10 majority of the delegation?

11          MS. RYAN: The majority of the delegation is  
12 unavailable, as they're en route to Tampa.

13          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Well, that's not what I  
14 understood had happened then.

15          I do not want this committee to get bogged down  
16 with the responsibilities of the committee that is meeting  
17 next-door. And I really feel that it is beyond the  
18 prerogative -- I misunderstood. I thought the gentleman  
19 had been selected by a majority of the delegation. And  
20 even though there was a question as to what the majority  
21 of the delegation consisted of next-door, we were going to  
22 extend the courtesy.

23          But if he has not been selected by a majority of  
24 the delegation, then I don't see how we can even extend a  
25 chairman's courtesy to him.

1 MS. RYAN: To clarify, Mr. Jones was elected by  
2 a majority of the delegation. As the Contests has ruled  
3 temporarily to unseat Mr. Jones, we were unable to have a  
4 caucus in the time before this --

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm going to rule, then, that  
6 we have to hear from the committee next-door. And as I  
7 understand it, they're actually considering this question  
8 right now. So when we get a clarification from them, we  
9 will ask that that information be brought to the table.

10 So, in the meantime, I'm going to ask the  
11 gentleman not to be seated, and we'll proceed.

12 MR. GRADY: Mr. Chairman? Over here.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes, sir?

14 MR. GRADY: Bob Grady from Wyoming.

15 Just to return to the prior pending business  
16 with Mr. Barbour's amendment, the Chair had ruled on the  
17 amendment to the amendment that the ayes had had it, but  
18 it was a very close vote. I'd like to ask for a division  
19 on that ruling.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We'll move to a division then.

21 Let me clarify for you where we are. There has  
22 been a proposed substitute amendment to the amendment on  
23 the floor. The substitute amendment was to add those  
24 words at the beginning of section 10(d). I took a voice

1 vote, and I ruled that it passed, but there has been a  
2 division requested.

3           So we will now go back and vote on whether or  
4 not the substitute amendment is a substitute to the motion  
5 on the floor.

6           MR. GRADY: Yes. And may I just ask for  
7 clarification from the sponsor of the original amendment,  
8 Mr. Barbour, whether he favors or opposes the amendment to  
9 his amendment?

10           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Would you answer the question,  
11 Mr. Barbour?

12           MR. BARBOUR: Yes, Mr. Chairman. Henry Barbour  
13 from Mississippi.

14           I do stand opposed to this amendment to my  
15 proposed amendment.

16           And just to clarify, of course, this would not  
17 impact the standing committees of the national party, such  
18 as the Resolutions Committee or the Budget Committee.  
19 These are just other committees, such as the Finance  
20 Committee.

21           But there could be other special committees that  
22 the RNC chairman decides he wants to appoint that may  
23 require technical expertise that may or may not exist on  
24 the RNC. So I don't believe we want to take the  
25 discretion away from the RNC chairman to be able to

1 appoint the most appropriate and most qualified person to  
2 chair one of these committees, such as the Finance  
3 Committee or whatever other committee the chairman may  
4 deem necessary, whether it be technology or any other  
5 difficult issue the chairman may face.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Does anybody else want to  
7 discuss this before we move to a division?

8 MR. DEVITO: Vincent DeVito, Massachusetts.

9 I am opposed to the amendment to amend.

10 What the gentleman from Mississippi is proposing  
11 here is very important to the function of the committee,  
12 based on experience. So I'm going to oppose the amendment  
13 and support the gentleman from Mississippi's original  
14 amendment.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments?

16 MR. GLEASON: Mr. Chairman? Over here. Rob  
17 Gleason, chairman, Pennsylvania.

18 I support Mr. Barbour in voting against this.

19 There's only 168 of us. We do not provide the  
20 expertise to deal with everything that the chairman of the  
21 RNC has to deal with.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir?

23 MR. PAULSEN: Bill Paulsen, Minnesota.

24 I guess I rise in defense of my motion.

1           It seems like there is already discretion in  
2 there for the chairman of the National Committee to  
3 appoint half the committee to bring in outside expertise.  
4 And the wording, as it stands, for the other committees  
5 would provide a balance to ensure that, you know, the  
6 states and the people who elected them at the state level  
7 are represented on these committees while also giving the  
8 flexibility to the RNC chairman to appoint people who  
9 have, you know, certain expertise.

10           So I think we have the proper balance in the  
11 amendment as it's currently worded.

12           MR. COLE: Warren Cole from the Virgin Islands.

13           I would like to point -- I support Mr. Barbour's  
14 original amendment. I would point out that Rule 10(c)  
15 requires the approval of the Republican National  
16 Committee. I'm not sure why we are trying to limit what  
17 the RNC can approve.

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right, let me clarify  
19 where we are. We are going to have a standing vote on the  
20 motion to substitute this language at the beginning of  
21 section (d) as a proposed amendment in lieu of the  
22 amendment that was proposed by Mr. Barbour to return to  
23 the original language of 10(d).

24           A vote "yes" will say that this will become the  
25 substitute amendment. A vote "no" will say the amendment

1 that will then be voted on will be Mr. Barbour's  
2 amendment.

3 All those in favor of this as the substitute  
4 amendment, please stand.

5 All opposed?

6 The Chair rules that it is defeated.

7 We will now proceed to a vote on Mr. Barbour's  
8 amendment as presented. I will try a voice vote first,  
9 and if I'm in doubt, we will move to a standing vote.

10 All those in favor of Mr. Barbour's amendment,  
11 please say "aye."

12 [Chorus of ayes.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed, "no."

14 [Chorus of noes.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me try that once more.

16 All those opposed, please say "nay."

17 [Chorus of nays.]

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The ayes have it. Mr.

19 Barbour's amendment passes.

20 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman?

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

22 MR. BLACKWELL: I call the Chair's attention to  
23 the fact that several of the proposed amendments that are  
24 now being passed out to the members for some reason do not  
25 include who has sponsored them. And it's a convenience to

1 us, as this pile develops, to have the name of the  
2 sponsor. That helps us find the document in the stack.

3 So I'd appreciate it if you would ask the staff  
4 to include the sponsor information so that we could find  
5 the papers more easily.

6 Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Point is well-taken.

8 I do have another amendment with no author on it  
9 before me, Rule No. 11(c), page 25, lines 4 through 7. So  
10 that the author might identify it, I will read it.

11 "If I fail to comply with the forgoing pledge" -  
12 - they want to delete, "If I fail to comply with the  
13 forgoing pledge, I promise and shall be personally liable  
14 to repay the Republican National Committee and to any  
15 other donor promptly upon request the amount of their  
16 respective monetary contributions to my campaign" and a  
17 place for the signature.

18 Is there an author of this amendment here?

19 MR. GINSBERG: I'm the author, but I'd like to  
20 withdraw it, Mr. Chairman, in favor of Mr. Tettlebaum's.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The amendment is withdrawn.

22 I have another copy of the same amendment. Is  
23 there a reason it was redundant? Different type,  
24 different print? I will consider this withdrawn.



1 I have another amendment to Rule 11(c), proposed  
2 by Mr. Tettlebaum from Missouri. It's an amendment to  
3 Rule 11(c), page nos. 24 through 25. The proposed  
4 amendment is to strike Rule 11(c) in its entirety.

5 Mr. Tettlebaum?

6 MR. TETTLEBAUM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 I'm calling my amendment the Akin amendment. I  
8 think the recent experience we've had in Missouri speaks  
9 volumes about the reason why this is an ill-advised  
10 amendment. I believe that we should not be unduly  
11 restricting what can be said.

12 I understand the spirit of the amendment. I'm  
13 certainly not opposed to, in principle and in spirit, us  
14 all getting along and trying not to be negative about any  
15 member of our party who runs for office. But I think the  
16 recent example in our own state unfortunately points out  
17 why this is an extremely ill-advised amendment.

18 I move that it be adopted.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You have confused me.

20 MR. TETTLEBAUM: Yeah, I understand. The ill-  
21 advised amendment is the language that I'm seeking to have  
22 stricken by my amendment. So I move the adoption of my  
23 amendment, Mr. Chairman.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

25 [Seconded.]

1 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion?

2 Mr. Ginsberg?

3 MR. GINSBERG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ben  
4 Ginsberg, District of Columbia.

5 I withdrew my amendment because I agree with Mr.  
6 Tettlebaum's amendment. In fact, this has become a  
7 somewhat unworkable document that really constrains the  
8 way elections work. And so I would urge the adoption of  
9 Mr. Tettlebaum's amendment.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
11 discussion?

12 We'll move to a vote.

13 All those in favor of Mr. Tettlebaum's amendment  
14 of striking Rule 11(c) in its entirety, please say "aye."

15 [Chorus of ayes.]

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed?

17 [No response.]

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Passes.

19 By the way, is everybody having fun?

20 [Laughter.]

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have another amendment.

22 Wait a minute, it's the same one.

23 I have a proposed new Rule 12, which we agreed  
24 to discuss as part of section 1. It is unsigned.

25 Proposed language, new Rule 12.

1 John Ryder?

2 MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, John Ryder, Tennessee.

3 This is the phantom Rule 12 to which you alluded  
4 earlier.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you want to read it, John,  
6 and tell people why?

7 MR. RYDER: We would add as a new Rule 12, "The  
8 Republican National Committee may, by a two-thirds vote of  
9 its entire membership, amend Rules 1 through 24. Any such  
10 amendment shall be considered by the Republican National  
11 Committee only if it was passed by a majority vote of the  
12 Standing Committee on Rules after having been submitted in  
13 writing at least 10 days in advance of its consideration  
14 by the Republican National Committee and shall take effect  
15 30 days after adoption. No such amendment shall be  
16 adopted after September 30, 2014."

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

18 [Seconded.]

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's seconded. Discussion?

20 Mr. Ryder?

21 MR. RYDER: All right. Mr. Chairman, this  
22 proposed amendment addresses a concern that arises every 4  
23 years when we convene as the Convention Committee on  
24 Rules.

1           There are a number of issues which confront this  
2 committee which are so politically sensitive that the  
3 presumptive nominee's campaign always admonishes us in the  
4 strongest possible terms not to take up these issues,  
5 which leaves us with rules which have problems that are  
6 incapable of being solved. They can be solved by an  
7 amendment to the rules, but, politically, we can't get to  
8 that amendment process.

9           We've had this experience with our efforts to  
10 reform the primary process. There is consideration of  
11 issues relating to representation on the committee and at  
12 the convention. There are issues related to the criteria  
13 for selection of the chairman. All of these issues are  
14 difficult to address in the context of a political  
15 nominating convention.

16           And, therefore, I propose that we have very  
17 limited opportunity, under strict controls, to consider  
18 the rules in between conventions.

19           The proposal is that a rule could only be  
20 changed upon a two-thirds vote, not of those present and  
21 voting, a two-thirds vote of the entire membership of 168  
22 members elected by their various states; has to be on  
23 advance notice; and no change could be made after  
24 September 30, 2014, so that we don't get into the next  
25 presidential campaign cycle.

1           The reason for that particular date is that the  
2 RNC's summer meeting for 2014 will probably take place in  
3 August. But rather than tie it to, say, the summer  
4 meeting, I thought it was more prudent to give an absolute  
5 final cutoff date that cannot be changed.

6           So, Mr. Chairman, that's the rationale for this  
7 rule, and I would urge its adoption.

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you, Mr. Ryder.

9           Mr. Blackwell?

10          MR. BLACKWELL: Morton Blackwell of Virginia.

11          Mr. Chairman, I have served on this committee  
12 for a very long time, and this may be the most awful  
13 proposed amendment I have ever heard presented to this  
14 committee.

15          One of the enormous virtues of our Republican  
16 process is that our rules are adopted by one convention  
17 and are in effect until the next convention.

18          Now, what the Democrats do is, they have no such  
19 procedure, and their national committee can amend their  
20 rules. And the Democrats spend an enormous amount of time  
21 every election cycle fighting over the rules, as different  
22 factions, different candidates try to get the rules  
23 changed in some way that's going to help their faction or  
24 their candidate.

1           We have a wonderful system. We decide 4 years  
2 in advance, where we can make a dispassionate decision  
3 based on what's in the best interests of the party because  
4 we know what we're doing is not going to affect the coming  
5 convention; it's going to be 4 years later. It's  
6 enormously valuable.

7           This provision would include changing the  
8 delegate allocation formula. We've had national battles,  
9 and Ronald Reagan spoke in a convention floor battle in  
10 1972. And some of those things which had been put in and  
11 have worked very well would be at risk.

12           And I want to tell those of you who are not on  
13 the National Committee a central fact of the operation of  
14 the Republican National Committee, on which I have served  
15 since 1988: The chairman gets what he wants. A two-  
16 thirds vote is not a protection of a majority, because  
17 arms are twisted, trips are offered, various people can be  
18 influenced. And that is an unhealthy situation.

19           This is not necessary. It is dangerous. It  
20 amounts to a power grab. And to centralize this party --  
21 and we are centralized to a significant extent -- this  
22 would centralize it much more.

23           I urge the defeat of this amendment.

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments?

1 MS. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, Bettye Fine Collins  
2 from Alabama.

3 I rise in opposition to this amendment.

4 And I would like to say to this body that the  
5 Democrats for years have enjoyed flexibility. It allows  
6 them to tinker with and change entirely the outcome of  
7 their convention.

8 Now, there are a lot of people from my state who  
9 question our even having a convention. In other words,  
10 they say, you people spend all this money and you get a  
11 lot of TV time. Well, exactly as Mr. Blackwell has  
12 stated, chairmen of RNC change, members of RNC -- we have  
13 a tremendous turnover this time.

14 And the first time we did this was 4 years ago,  
15 and I said the same things I'm saying today. I was on  
16 that Rules Committee, and I appealed to them. To me, when  
17 we leave this convention, what the convention decides  
18 should stand until the next convention. Otherwise, what  
19 are we doing here? This is a dangerous thing.

20 Now, what happened was, a committee was selected  
21 by our chairman and ratified by the body to come up with a  
22 plan for the presidential primary. Worked fine for my  
23 state, but that's not the point. There's no telling what  
24 we'll have for the next presidential primary.

1           It is, as Mr. Blackwell stated, a very dangerous  
2 thing, and I really think it speaks to the heart of what  
3 we Republicans are all about. We're not like the  
4 Democrats; we don't move with the wind, and we're not,  
5 between conventions, flexible.

6           So I'm appealing to all of you, if you think  
7 what you're doing here today has any merit at all, then do  
8 you really want to turn your product over to someone on  
9 the National Committee, 165 people, as opposed to the  
10 thousands who are going to be representing America?  
11 You're sitting here today representing all of the  
12 delegates --

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Another 10 seconds, ma'am.

14           MS. COLLINS: I lost last time --

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We have a 2-minute rule.

16           MS. COLLINS: I don't know how it's going to go  
17 today. I know there's a lot of lobbying going on from  
18 some powerful people. But let me remind each and every  
19 one of you: The most powerful people are those voters  
20 back home who expressed their confidence in what we do and  
21 what we're going to do.

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Time.

23           MS. COLLINS: So please join me in putting this  
24 to rest for the next 4 years.

25           Thank you.



1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments?

2           And since there is a long, long line, I will  
3 enforce the 2-minute rule. May I suggest --

4           MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick from South  
5 Carolina.

6           Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this  
7 amendment.

8           This piece of paper represents the bottle that  
9 has the genie in it. If we rub this, we're going to let  
10 the genie out. And, you know, who knows what happens when  
11 the genie gets out of the bottle? As Mr. Blackwell has  
12 pointed out, two-thirds of the National Committee does not  
13 guarantee that something we don't want done does not get  
14 done. You know, there's an insider's ball game.

15           And, again, this opens the door to anything,  
16 anything in our rulebook being changed, not some specific  
17 item. If someone has a specific item that they wanted to  
18 make this sort of exception for, they should've brought it  
19 forth openly. But they did not do that, and this is an  
20 open door to anything and everything. And I urge you to  
21 oppose it.

22           Thank you.

23           MR. CRISS: Kurt Criss, Nevada.

24           Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this  
25 motion. This motion takes the authority of setting the

1 rules of the Republican Party away from the National  
2 Convention delegates, which includes all of us.

3 Thank you.

4 MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, Curly Haugland,  
5 national committeeman from North Dakota.

6 I want to just call the attention of the members  
7 of the committee to the preamble of our current rules:  
8 "Be it further resolved that the following be and hereby  
9 are adopted as The Rules of the Republican Party, composed  
10 of the rules for the election and government of the  
11 Republican National Committee until the next national  
12 convention."

13 That preamble, I'm sure, has lasted for a long  
14 time, and it states a very good principle. We don't  
15 tinker between conventions. This is our government, and  
16 it should remain that way.

17 I oppose this amendment.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

19 MS. TEBELIUS: Diane Tebelius from the state of  
20 Washington.

21 I was on the RNC, and I rise in support of this  
22 motion.

23 The reason I do so is, we are in an age in which  
24 things move very, very fast. I see no reason why the RNC,  
25 who consists of people elected from our state, can't make

1 changes during the next 4 years. I think it's rather  
2 silly to talk about conspiracies and this is a huge  
3 change. This is a different world; this is not 1890.

4 So I give great judgment of respect to the  
5 people who are on the RNC, and I support the changes  
6 proposed by John Ryder.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

8 Next?

9 MR. PULLEN: Randy Pullen, Arizona.

10 I served on the RNC for a number of years, not  
11 as long as Morton did, thank God.

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Nobody has served as long as  
13 Morton has.

14 MR. PULLEN: And I actually agreed with Morton 4  
15 years ago on this, and I thought that we should not mess  
16 with the rules.

17 But having seen how it's worked out over the  
18 past 4 years, I've changed my position, and I now believe  
19 that you do need to have this flexibility to make changes  
20 if, in fact, the situation requires it. So I am in  
21 support of Mr. Ryder's amendment.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

23 The gentleman from Massachusetts?

24 MR. DEVITO: Yes, Vincent DeVito, Massachusetts.

1           This is my first time on this particular  
2 committee. This may be the best amendment I've ever seen,  
3 for two reasons.

4           Number one, I've seen a lot of haste today,  
5 which is fine, but we may make a mistake. So this allows  
6 for technical corrections if we create it.

7           Number two, the gentleman from Virginia said  
8 that the Democrats are allowed to make changes outside of  
9 the context of these types of meetings. This would allow  
10 us to be more nimble and to respond to them.

11           So I'm very supportive of this motion.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Grady, are you seeking to  
13 speak?

14           MR. HOUGH: Mr. Chairman, I am.

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Oh, I'm sorry.

16           MR. HOUGH: I just wanted to get your peripheral  
17 vision checked.

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's not that. It's the light  
19 there. It really --

20           MR. HOUGH: Okay. It's Bruce Hough from Utah.  
21 I want to speak in favor of the amendment.

22           Two things: Number one, we're not Democrats,  
23 and any rule we make isn't going to make us Democrats.  
24 And if you think that, then we probably shouldn't be in  
25 this room.

1           Number two, the Democrats do have an inordinate  
2 amount of flexibility, and they do run willy-nilly and do  
3 go with the wind. This amendment specifically restricts  
4 any decision made to 2014. This is similar to what we did  
5 4 years ago, and it gives ample time to do the research,  
6 to work through any problems, and to make a decision far  
7 enough in advance of the presidential campaign that it's  
8 not a willy-nilly decision, there's not going to be a  
9 change with the wind. But it will give us a chance to be  
10 responsive to the current conditions of that time.

11           The second part of this is that we're elected as  
12 -- and I am a member of the Republican National Committee.  
13 We're a representative body. That's the body that's  
14 elected by your state to represent all of you and all of  
15 the constituencies of your state to the Republican  
16 National Committee. They're the ones charged with the  
17 responsibility for directing what happens.

18           Now, yes, this body meets every 4 years, but  
19 they meet three times a year. They're involved in the  
20 very minutiae of what happens and what's happening on the  
21 ground at any given moment. We're sort of a  
22 representative democracy. I mean, that's something we  
23 kind of believe in. And that's what we're about. You've  
24 elected members of the committee to represent you, as

1 well. Let's not diminish the ability of that committee to  
2 be able to make good decisions in that timeframe.

3 So I stand in support of this amendment.

4 MR. GRADY: Bob Grady of Wyoming.

5 I also rise in support of the amendment, for the  
6 reasons both Mr. DeVito and Mr. Hough have mentioned. I  
7 think the world is moving very fast; we need the  
8 flexibility.

9 There may be issues that arise that we haven't  
10 thought of today, but I think it's sufficiently protective  
11 of anything that might be a strange amendment, given that  
12 it's a super-majority requirement, it's a two-thirds vote,  
13 and it only applies through the 2014 cycle.

14 Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Ma'am?

16 MS. LAKE: Cindy Lake, Nevada.

17 I rise in opposition of the motion.

18 This puts too much power into a few hands. And  
19 I ask us all to consider what we're doing here today. The  
20 work that we do here today is so important, it should be  
21 in place until the next convention cycle.

22 Thank you.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Bennett?

24 MR. BENNETT: Bob Bennett from Ohio.

25 I rise to oppose this amendment.

1           And I want to contrast it to what was passed at  
2 the last convention, which was the flexibility to address  
3 the rule concerning primaries and primaries only. This is  
4 way too broad. This deals with Rules 1 through 24. It  
5 gives the National Committee the flexibility to go in and  
6 change any of those rules.

7           And having been a member of the committee for a  
8 number of years, I can understand the pressure that comes  
9 in there, particularly when we have a president sitting in  
10 the White House who ultimately controls the Republican  
11 National Committee.

12           So I'm going to be opposed to this amendment.  
13 Thank you.

14           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell? I'm sorry, let  
15 me --

16           MR. BLACKWELL: Sure.

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: -- before you speak a second  
18 time.

19           MS. FREDRICKS: Melinda Fredricks, Texas.

20           Mr. Chairman, I move to amend the motion, to  
21 change it from a two-thirds vote to three-fourths vote of  
22 the entire membership.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a proposed amendment  
24 to the amendment, to change two-thirds to three-quarters.

1 Is there a second to that proposed amendment to the  
2 amendment?

3 [Seconded.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The motion has been made and  
5 seconded. Discussion on the motion to amend the  
6 amendment?

7 MS. FREDRICKS: Mr. Chairman, the arguments from  
8 both sides are compelling. I am concerned because we  
9 would be changing, I believe, the will of the convention,  
10 whether it's the will or just something that they did not  
11 consider.

12 Things do change quickly today. I understand  
13 the need for flexibility. Two-thirds of -- and it is two-  
14 thirds of the entire body, not just present and voting,  
15 which is a high hurdle. But I think three-fourths makes  
16 it safer and gives a minority the opportunity to make a  
17 significant -- to block it.

18 So I think it's a safety measure that I would be  
19 willing to vote for. I think two-thirds I would not be  
20 willing to vote for.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments on the  
22 amendment to the amendment?

23 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote on the  
24 amendment to the amendment, changing two-thirds to 75  
25 percent.



1 All those in favor of that change, please say  
2 "aye."

3 [Chorus of ayes.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

5 [Chorus of noes.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I believe the nays have it.

7 A division has been requested.

8 All those in favor of the amendment of changing  
9 two-thirds to 75 percent, please stand.

10 May I suggest that the counters re-begin your  
11 count? I have seen people rise after you pass them, and I  
12 want to get a fair count here.

13 Please be seated.

14 All those opposed, please stand.

15 I think it is clear to the Chair that the ayes  
16 have it on the amendment to the amendment.

17 We will now move to additional discussion on the  
18 proposed amendment. Is there anyone else who has not  
19 spoken once who chooses to speak?

20 Ma'am, behind Mr. Blackwell?

21 MS. AIKEN: Susan Aiken from South Carolina.

22 I rise in opposition of this proposal. It goes  
23 to the heart of why we're here at this meeting. If we  
24 pass this, why is a Rules Committee needed?

25 Thank you.

1 [Applause.]

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Have you spoken, Mr. Gleason?

3 MR. GLEASON: No, I haven't.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay.

5 MR. GLEASON: Rob Gleason, chairman,  
6 Pennsylvania.

7 I've been on the Rules Committee for 6 years.  
8 To sit and discuss and debate rules knowing nothing is  
9 going to happen for 4 years is ridiculous. I think that  
10 things are moving so quickly today, I think we can make  
11 rules -- and with this new change, three-quarters, it  
12 becomes pretty foolproof.

13 You can't wait 4 years to make changes to what  
14 we're going to do. I mean, the world could end. So we  
15 really need to give the Rules Committee --

16 [Laughter.]

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: But then we don't need new  
18 rules.

19 [Laughter.]

20 MR. GLEASON: You know, I mean, you wonder what  
21 I'm doing there, spending hours and hours at these  
22 meetings, debating these rules, then to come here and then  
23 to do it again.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Over here?

25 MS. STEBBINS: Marianne Stebbins, Minnesota.

1           Four years out is exactly when we should be  
2 passing the rules for a contest 4 years from now. This is  
3 when we are most dispassionate, most objective. Two years  
4 from now, if there is to be a Republican contest, there  
5 will already be candidates somewhat running. And if the  
6 RNC wants to, you know, pick and choose, there is an  
7 opportunity for shenanigans there.

8           This is the time when we are not thinking about  
9 the personalities that may be running, when we are going  
10 to be the most objective. And this is the time we need to  
11 be making these decisions.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Barbour?

13           MR. BARBOUR: Henry Barbour from Mississippi.  
14 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15           I rise to support this amendment. And I do  
16 believe the three-quarters requirement gives even more  
17 safeguards.

18           You know, this Rules Committee has a very  
19 important purpose, and you are going to make a big  
20 difference in the rules that we pass here. But the  
21 committee and the party need the flexibility to make  
22 changes as situations arise.

23           And I do believe, as I sit here in my chair and  
24 I get paper after paper after paper put in front of me,  
25 just as all of you, and we make decisions on this, some of

1 this is in haste. And I think we can trust the RNC with a  
2 three-fourths vote in the Rules Committee, those people  
3 who have much more time to study this, I actually think is  
4 a good thing.

5 And I want to also say, with all respect to the  
6 Romney campaign, all of us in a convention setting feel  
7 the pressure from the presidential campaign of the  
8 nominee. And I believe that in 2 years, actually, we are  
9 in a better position and a better environment to make good  
10 long-term decisions for the party, when we don't have that  
11 campaign twisting our arms.

12 So I actually think this is very much in our  
13 interest as a party.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir?

15 DR. HIGGINS: Pete Higgins from Alaska.

16 You know, I've served at a national level at the  
17 ADA, on committees where we went against the Rules of the  
18 House, that when the House had voted on it and we met in  
19 our little private meetings on certain committees, and  
20 we've changed what the House had decided not to do. And  
21 I've seen the repercussions of that. And I've always been  
22 against that.

23 So I stand in oppose of this. I think the  
24 decisions we make here as a body should stand for 4 years.  
25 And if it's that important to change it, then we come back

1 in the next 4 years and we change it then. But that's  
2 what we stand about. We're here as a body.

3 Thank you.

4 MR. PALATUCCI: Mr. Chairman, Bill Palatucci  
5 from New Jersey. I call the question.

6 [Seconded.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The question has been called,  
8 and it has been seconded. We'll move to a vote on the  
9 call of the question.

10 All those in favor of supporting an end to  
11 discussion and moving to a vote, please say "aye."

12 [Chorus of ayes.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

14 [Chorus of noes.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: This requires two-thirds,  
16 correct? I think we have to go to a standing vote.

17 All those in favor of having the question  
18 called, please stand.

19 Please be seated.

20 All those opposed to the call of the question,  
21 please stand.

22 The Chair will rule that there was not a two-  
23 thirds vote on the basis of the stand. We'll continue  
24 with the discussion.

25 Ma'am?

1 MS. GENTRY: Good morning. My name is Anne  
2 Gentry from Virginia.

3 When I was actually campaigning to be a delegate  
4 to the National Convention, when I was telling people one  
5 reason I was running to be a delegate, it was actually to  
6 serve on this Rules Committee, and they would ask me about  
7 the rules of the Republican Party. And this was always my  
8 number-one topic, was the fact that we set our rules 4  
9 years in advance, unlike the Democrats.

10 And that really resonated with the people who  
11 went to those conventions and voted for me as a delegate.  
12 And I think those voices should be heard.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

14 MR. VILLERE: Roger Villere of Louisiana.

15 I would like to rise in support of this with the  
16 three-fourths. I think that's enough protection. And I  
17 think we need the flexibility as the RNC to make some  
18 changes and not wait 4 years.

19 Thank you.

20 MR. PULLEN: I rise in support of this  
21 amendment. Randy Pullen, Arizona.

22 I would just like to remind everyone here that a  
23 three-fourths vote is quite a high hurdle. And, in fact,  
24 the rule changes that were made these last 4 years would  
25 not have passed with this three-quarters vote. So this is

1 quite a high hurdle to get over for the RNC. Please keep  
2 that in mind.

3 Thank you.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me finish over here.

5 MR. KOFFLER: Yes, Ian Koffler, Kentucky.

6 I'd just ask -- I'm sort of on the fence with  
7 the rule. But I'd ask supporters of the rule change to  
8 provide perhaps an example of an instance where this type  
9 of flexibility would be, you know, necessary for the  
10 National Committee.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is the proposer of the rule  
12 prepared to answer that question? Mr. Ryder?

13 MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, to address the  
14 question from the gentleman from Kentucky, we used this  
15 process 4 years ago to address the need to reform the  
16 primary calendar issue. For 20 years, this party wrestled  
17 with the issue of how to prevent the frontloading of  
18 primaries and creating a virtual national primary, which  
19 is not in the best interest of this party.

20 Every time we would come to a convention, every  
21 time we came to a convention with a reform proposal -- and  
22 we did this throughout the 1990s and in 2000 and later --  
23 we were met with an objection from the campaign of the  
24 presumptive nominee, regardless of who it was.

1           And the arguments were always the same: First,  
2 the system must not be broken because it produced me as a  
3 nominee, so it's got to be a good system. But, second --  
4 and this is the problem with modern conventions -- the  
5 second problem is they say, we don't want a rules fight  
6 distracting from our message to the American people.  
7 That's a valid political concern.

8           We use conventions to share our vision of  
9 America with the American people, unfiltered, unfined,  
10 unmediated by the media, undistorted by the media. And  
11 this is the one opportunity we get to do that. And we  
12 don't want to interfere with the campaign's view as  
13 sideshows and distractions.

14           So the solution to that was to take the debate  
15 over that issue out of the context of the presidential  
16 nominating convention and put it at a time when we can  
17 have a more dispassionate discussion.

18           And the problem, as Mr. Barbour from Mississippi  
19 pointed out, is you get into the convention situation and  
20 you have a campaign, you have a presumptive nominee who  
21 all of us in this room hope will be the next president of  
22 the United States. And his campaign has enormous clout  
23 with this committee and with this convention and distorts,  
24 in a way, the decisions that we make. And so the



1 objective here is to move the decision-making process to a  
2 more neutral ground politically.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you, Mr. Ryder.

4 The lady from Vermont?

5 MS. HUDSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Susie  
6 Hudson from Vermont.

7 I'd just like to point out that, for the last 4  
8 years, the RNC Rules Committee has been making changes to  
9 the rules, and already today you have already amended some  
10 of the changes which we have done over the last 4 years.  
11 There are certain instances that will come about over the  
12 next 4 years that maybe we will have to address  
13 immediately, but that does not mean that 4 years from now,  
14 when this committee meets, that you cannot undo what we  
15 have done over the course of the 4 years.

16 So I just wanted to make that point today. I  
17 think it's important that the RNC have the flexibility to  
18 address the current issues that might stand in the next 4  
19 years.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady from Utah?

21 MS. MICKELSEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Enid  
22 Mickelsen from Utah.

23 I just want to express my support for what Mr.  
24 Ryder is trying to do, because he's absolutely right that  
25 everyone in this room knows that this discussion is being

1 seen through the lens of the people who are running the  
2 presidential campaign for our presumptive nominee.

3 Now, that's their job. But their job isn't to  
4 worry about what happens to the RNC 4 years, 8 years, 12  
5 years, 16 years from now. And so I believe, Mr. Chairman,  
6 that we have an opportunity to discuss changes more  
7 dispassionately in the off-years between the presidential  
8 elections.

9 Now, at the risk of incurring your wrath, Mr.  
10 Chairman, some of us question whether there should be  
11 early carve-out states.

12 [Applause.]

13 [Laughter.]

14 MS. MICKELSEN: But the presidential nominees  
15 always say --

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Don't irritate the Chairman.

17 [Laughter.]

18 MS. MICKELSEN: I know. I have to sit next to  
19 you.

20 [Laughter.]

21 MS. MICKELSEN: But the presidential nominee  
22 always says, don't make those states mad; they're swing  
23 states, I need them.

24 So I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that there are some  
25 issues that need to be discussed in the off-years before

1 we have a nominee, and I believe that this proposal  
2 accomplishes that.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Watch out for the lightning on  
4 the way back to the table.

5 [Laughter.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman behind Mr.  
7 Blackwell?

8 I'm just trying to let the non-first-time  
9 speakers, Morton, speak.

10 MR. BONDERUD: Mr. Chairman, I'm Andrew Bonderud  
11 from the state of Florida.

12 I rise in opposition to this amendment. I have  
13 been persuaded by the opponents to this amendment. It  
14 seems that the risk that this amendment poses is  
15 unbounded.

16 That's not to say that the proponents of this  
17 amendment don't have genuine concerns, but I think that we  
18 can address those concerns with more narrowly tailored  
19 amendments that are intended to remedy those specific  
20 risks.

21 Many of the proponents of this amendment have  
22 been only able to articulate vague notions of risk of  
23 inflexibility. But I think if we could maybe identify  
24 more of those risks, then we can find some specific  
25 amendments to address those risks, rather than

1 fundamentally altering the nature of this committee and  
2 the ways that rules are adopted.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

4 The delegate from the District of Columbia?

5 MR. GINSBERG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ben  
6 Ginsberg from the District of Columbia.

7 Although I think Mr. Ryder called me a  
8 distortion, I nonetheless rise in support of his motion.

9 [Laughter.]

10 MR. GINSBERG: This is, for better or for worse,  
11 necessary in the world in which we find ourselves  
12 politically, for all the reasons that many of the speakers  
13 have articulately talked about.

14 This is going to be a precursor for a number of  
15 other rules amendments we'll be considering this  
16 afternoon. And providing this flexibility to be able to  
17 deal with situations as they arise in the 4-year interval  
18 is important for the political survival of the party in  
19 the electoral context.

20 Thank you.

21 MR. DAGLAS: Good afternoon. Steven Daglas,  
22 Illinois.

23 I simply wanted to make two quick points that  
24 stand out to me. The first is my respect for the need of  
25 our committee to have flexibility. As a state central

1 committeeman, I've been on the other end of that, where  
2 hands are tied. You do need to be able to react quickly,  
3 rapidly to evolving situations.

4 My concern with this is the lack of limitations  
5 and protections upon the bill. This amendment, if you  
6 look at it, we will be handing over the ability to modify  
7 the Rules 1 through 24, which, if I read this correctly,  
8 would include the new Rule No. 12.

9 [Laughter.]

10 MR. DAGLAS: We're handing the ability to modify  
11 anything, which means we can change "amend Rules 1 through  
12 24" to "amend Rules 1 through 46" or 52. We can change  
13 "three-quarters" to "half." We can change anything at  
14 this point.

15 One of our colleagues made the point, this is  
16 the genie in the bottle. It does appear to be that exact  
17 thing. I would be supportive, wholeheartedly, of this  
18 motion if there were some stricter limitations in place so  
19 that we know what we do here today will not be undone and  
20 expanded once we leave this room.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ryder, as the author of  
22 this amendment, would you care to comment on that point?

23 MR. DAGLAS: And I don't know if we can figure  
24 that out in just a matter of hours, either.

25 Thank you.

1 MR RYDER: I would be willing to, except I don't  
2 know if the gentleman is proposing an amendment to --

3 MR. DAGLAS: No.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: He would like to have --

5 MR. RYDER: If he were --

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Excuse me?

7 MR. RYDER: If he were proposing an amendment to  
8 prohibit this rule from affecting itself --

9 [Laughter.]

10 MR. RYDER: -- in other words, is self-reflexive  
11 -- that is, that you couldn't use this rule to change the  
12 three-quarters requirement. If we can -- I would accept  
13 an amendment that prohibited this rule from being used to  
14 change the number of rules that can be affected --

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So you are saying that you  
16 would accept a proposal to change the numbers after  
17 "Rules" to read "1 through 11 and 13 through 24."

18 MR. RYDER: Excluding 12. That's correct.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: "One through 11 and 13 through  
20 24."

21 MR. RYDER: That is correct.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is that a proposal by the  
23 gentleman?

24 MR. DAGLAS: I would not like to make that  
25 proposal at the moment.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman would not like  
2 to make that proposal.

3           MR. DAGLAS: And I think that Mr. Ryder and I  
4 are actually on the same page in the regard that there  
5 does need to be more fluidity and more ability to react to  
6 evolving situations. I don't want to come up with a  
7 solution to a major flaw that I see in the span of 2  
8 minutes of comments.

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: If I may comment as a --

10          MR. DAGLAS: So I would not like to make that  
11 amendment --

12          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: If I may comment as Chairman,  
13 I know there are some people who are itching to call the  
14 question, but I think this is important enough that I  
15 would urge you not to do so, and allow those who wish to  
16 speak to complete speaking to this issue.

17          MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

18          I'd just make the observation that if there was  
19 any intellectual honesty to this, the rule would just  
20 simply abolish the Convention Rules Committee entirely, to  
21 be honest. I mean, that really is what this does, let's  
22 just be honest about it.

23          So, having said that, I move to table.

24          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The Chairman is hard of  
25 hearing and will listen to the next commentator.

1 [Laughter.]

2 MR. MCKISSICK: I move to table, Mr. Chairman.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

4 [Seconded.]

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: A motion has been made to  
6 table. It requires a majority vote and is non-debatable.  
7 We'll move to a vote, and I'm going to go directly to a  
8 standing vote on this because I think it's that important.

9 All those in favor of tabling this motion,  
10 please stand.

11 Please be seated.

12 All those opposed, please stand.

13 The Chair will rule that the nays have it.

14 Those who wish to continue discussion, please  
15 return to the microphone, and you will be recognized.

16 Sir?

17 MR. FORSTEN: Mr. Chairman, Richard Forsten from  
18 Delaware.

19 More than anything, I think the discussion we're  
20 having right now proves the need for some sort of rule  
21 like this.

22 I still have a stack of amendments, and they  
23 seem to be coming fast and furious, for these rules. I'm  
24 seeing them for the first time this morning, these  
25 proposed amendments. And I'm a little worried, in our



1 rush -- because we've only allocated ourselves 2 days if  
2 we take the full amount of time -- that we may make some  
3 mistakes. There was a typo in one proposal earlier, and I  
4 think I've spotted some problems in some of the other  
5 amendments that are being proposed.

6 I personally have confidence in the RNC. You  
7 need 126 out of 168 members, which is a very high  
8 threshold. And I don't think this rule is going to be  
9 abused in any way.

10 A lot of speakers have spoken very eloquently  
11 about the need for flexibility, and so I want to support  
12 that in particular. Because, even now, in looking at this  
13 proposed amendment, people are spotting some technical  
14 issues, and they just may need to be fixed.

15 Thank you.

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir?

17 MR. HOUGH: Bruce Hough from Utah.

18 I'd like to make a friendly amendment to this  
19 amendment and include the language that the counsel was so  
20 quick to put up there before, which is "1 through 11 and  
21 13 through 24" as --

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: A motion has been made. Is  
23 there a second?

24 [Seconded.]

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

1           We'll move to a vote.

2           All those in favor of the amendment, please say  
3 "aye."

4           [Chorus of ayes.]

5           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed?

6           [Chorus of noes.]

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The amendment passes.

8           Mr. Blackwell, I think you now finally get your  
9 chance to speak for the second time.

10          MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11          I have three points to make.

12          The first one I made in my initial presentation,  
13 and I want to stress it again because it's central to this  
14 concept. Ladies and gentlemen, the chairman of the  
15 Republican National Committee gets passed anything he  
16 wants to get passed. There may have been some exceptions  
17 since I joined the National Committee in 1988, but I can't  
18 recall any of them.

19          So what, in effect, we are doing is turning over  
20 the ability to amend our rules to whatever the current  
21 position of the chairman of the Republican National  
22 Committee is. Because, in effect, the deliberative nature  
23 of the Republican National Committee evaporates when the  
24 chairman and the staff begin to twist arms, and it goes  
25 that way.

1           We are abandoning the historic process whereby  
2 our rules are adopted. And I can tell you, having been a  
3 participant in all of the discussions leading up to the  
4 change in the delegate selection process, 4 years ago we  
5 were told, "This is a one-time-only exception for  
6 flexibility. We have known this for a long time, that  
7 we're going to have to pass it; this is the only way we  
8 can pass it." And that was accepted as a valid argument,  
9 and that proposal was accepted by this Rules Committee.

10           So we had a problem; it was solved basically  
11 under the current rules. And it was the narrow edge of  
12 the wedge which is going to destroy the stability of our  
13 rules.

14           The final point which I want to make to you is  
15 that our party constantly is seeking new people to come  
16 in, new waves of folks come in. I think in retrospect  
17 everybody will agree that the wave of tea party people who  
18 augmented our ranks in the 2010 election were highly  
19 desirable. We recruit those people, in part, as my --

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Ten seconds, Mr. Blackwell.

21           MR. BLACKWELL: -- colleague in Virginia said,  
22 because we have stable rules, it contrasts greatly with  
23 the scrambling around and internal deals which the  
24 Democratic Party uses.

1 I urge that you defeat this. This is a terrible  
2 proposal.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The Chair would like to  
4 suggest that I will limit the discussion to those who are  
5 standing at the microphone now. So if you want to speak,  
6 would you please go to the microphone, and then I will  
7 limit it to those who are there, unless, of course, you  
8 overrule me. But I'm trying to give everybody a chance  
9 that wants to speak, but also recognizing that we would  
10 like to move on.

11 I see four there and one here.

12 Ma'am?

13 MS. WATERMAN: Diana Waterman, Maryland.

14 This is just a technical point. If this is  
15 passed, won't 24 become 25? And if we do anything between  
16 13 and 24 with either deletions or additions, that will  
17 have to be -- the numbers will have to be changed.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We will brilliantly do what is  
19 appropriate to be correct.

20 MS. WATERMAN: Okay. I just wanted to make sure  
21 that that language didn't have to come back and be  
22 revisited.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you for pointing that  
24 out.

1 MS. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, Bettye Fine Collins  
2 from Alabama.

3 I have a question for this group. Why in the  
4 world are we going to sit here -- now, by the way, I've  
5 been on RNC Rules Committee for 15 years. I've been a  
6 member of RNC for 16.

7 This did not come out of the Rules Committee.  
8 The person proposing this sits on the Rules Committee.  
9 You have in your handout that you're going through the  
10 changes that after 3-1/2 years' work we are recommending.

11 So why in the world do you want to spend today  
12 sitting here worrying about 1 through 24 when a committee  
13 appointed by three-quarters of the members of the RNC  
14 Rules Committee can set aside, amend, do whatever they  
15 want to it? I don't get it. I don't know why we're doing  
16 all this if the majority of you feel that you want to hand  
17 over that power to another group of people.

18 Thank you, sir.

19 MS. BURTON: Chairman, Catkin Kilcher Burton  
20 from Alaska.

21 Actually, the previous speaker answered the  
22 question that I came up here to ask, as to whether this  
23 had been presented to the Rules Committee and discussed  
24 previously and, if so, what the outcome was. Obviously,  
25 it wasn't discussed.

1           The other question I have is, since this motion  
2 has been amended, is there still a possibility for tabling  
3 it? That's a technical question.

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Well, it can always be tabled,  
5 but I would recommend we would at least complete the  
6 discussion before we receive a motion of that nature.

7           MS. BURTON: Thank you.

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There was one more gentleman  
9 here and one more gentleman here, and I guess we have some  
10 more that want to speak. But go ahead.

11           And I'm extending this courtesy to speak  
12 because, as you can tell from the emotion and the strength  
13 of the arguments, this is a very important decision, and I  
14 don't want anyone to feel they did not have a chance to  
15 comment.

16           MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
17 Dudley Brown from Colorado.

18           I'm opposed to this amendment, and here's why.

19           The argument earlier that somehow this would  
20 affect what is going to be seen next week on a national  
21 basis, isn't that why we're here early? We're not doing  
22 this with CNN in the room. This is where we air our  
23 little dirty laundry and try and figure these things out  
24 respectfully and set those rules.

1           My concern is not about any one candidate.  
2 Truthfully, my candidate didn't even run for president.  
3 My concern is, 4 years from now, I don't want the next  
4 presumptive nominee making changes all along and to fit  
5 themselves as opposed to the whole process.

6           And so I would oppose this amendment, and I hope  
7 you will as well.

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Gleason, you've spoken  
9 once, correct?

10          MR. GLEASON: Right, just once.

11          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Can you wait?

12          MR. GLEASON: Sure.

13          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: And you've spoken once, ma'am?

14          MS. FREDRICKS: I spoke on my amendment.

15          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: On your amendment.

16          MS. FREDRICKS: I've not spoken on the --

17          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. Why don't you speak to  
18 this, then?

19          MS. FREDRICKS: Melinda Fredricks, Texas.

20          I speak in favor of this, with the concern of --  
21 I'm not ignoring what -- those who are concerned about  
22 passing it, I'm not ignoring their arguments, and they do  
23 concern me. But we have put a high hurdle. I think that,  
24 given experience on our own Texas executive committee,  
25 there are times when you do need flexibility.

1 I want to point out another point that has I  
2 don't believe been talked about, but that no such  
3 amendment shall be adopted after September 30, 2014. Our  
4 next election is 2016, so there will still be another 2  
5 years where no changes can be made. There could be no  
6 changes beyond that. It would be up to the next Rules  
7 Committee at the next convention to, in effect, re-adopt  
8 this rule.

9 And so I think that it will give us time to see  
10 if the RNC does deal with this in a faithful manner. I  
11 think they will. I think they will keep the faith of the  
12 people. And I'm willing to give them the opportunity to  
13 do that.

14 Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir at microphone one?

16 MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, thank you.

17 I just want to remind all of the members of this  
18 committee that you are a committee of the Republican  
19 National Convention. The Republican National Committee is  
20 a very small group of people.

21 By the way, I'm Curly Haugland, the national  
22 committeeman from North Dakota. I also serve currently on  
23 the RNC Rules Committee.

24 But I want to remind you that the power of the  
25 government of the Republican Party belongs to the



1 convention. And no rules can become rules without going  
2 through this committee, the Convention Committee on Rules.

3 We do not want to give up that power. I'm  
4 currently a member of the RNC Rules Committee, as I said,  
5 and I don't trust myself with this much power.

6 [Laughter.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from  
8 Massachusetts?

9 MR. DEVITO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Vincent  
10 DeVito.

11 I just quickly want to dispel the notion that  
12 the chair of the RNC automatically gets what he wants.  
13 This is a pretty high threshold that we've made here  
14 today, 75 percent. As I recall, when there was a proposed  
15 change to the primary calendar, the chair didn't come  
16 close to this threshold.

17 So I just want to dispel the notion made by the  
18 gentleman from the Virginia that the chair generally gets  
19 what he wants.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The last two speakers, Mr.  
21 Gleason and this gentleman.

22 Mr. Gleason?

23 MR. GLEASON: I'd also like to address the  
24 gentleman from Virginia's comments.

1           That is absolutely not true. I have sat on this  
2 committee for 6 years. Nobody has ever tried to influence  
3 me on how to vote or what to do.

4           We spend a lot of time -- I mean, I don't know -  
5 - we spend hours and days. Yet you're going to spend 2  
6 days here, and you're going to either undo or do -- which  
7 you have the right to do as members of the committee --  
8 work that has been done over the past 4 years, where a lot  
9 of time and effort -- and the gentleman from Virginia has  
10 spent many, many hours, I know, working on these rules,  
11 has made a big contribution.

12           But, you know, you have to think about the time  
13 and effort. And I'm not so sure any of you want to put in  
14 that kind of time and effort. And as the man from  
15 Delaware said, these are rolling across your desk. Things  
16 are going to slip through; you're not even going to be  
17 able to take care of them. And we really need to give  
18 that some consideration.

19           I'd repeat myself. Things are moving absolutely  
20 very fast now. We've got to make these changes. You can  
21 always change them again before the next convention.

22           Thank you.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir? Final speaker.

24           MR. MCKISSICK: I would just -- Drew McKissick,  
25 South Carolina -- be somewhat sympathetic to what he just

1 said. Yeah, we do have a lot of paper flying across our  
2 desk right now. And one of them is this change right  
3 here.

4           And I'd like to ask -- I don't know if this is a  
5 rhetorical question or not -- but if the mover of this  
6 motion would let us know why this was not introduced to  
7 the Standing Committee on Rules of the RNC prior to this -  
8 - you know, our document being made available to us, so  
9 there was plenty of time for the standing committee to vet  
10 this subject, and it was not brought up to them. So I  
11 would just like to point that out.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That's the close of discussion  
13 and debate on this. We'll now move to a vote. And since  
14 it is an important issue, I'm going to move right to a  
15 standing vote.

16           All those in favor of the proposed language for  
17 a new Rule No. 12, please stand.

18           Sixty-three.

19           Please be seated.

20           All those opposed, please stand.

21           It has passed, for your information, 63 to 38.

22           It passes.

23           We have two more proposed amendments at the  
24 table here now for Rules 1 through 11. If you have any  
25 additional amendments for 1 through 11, please rush them

1 over there. Otherwise, we will do these two, and then  
2 we'll move to a 10-minute break.

3 I have before me a proposed amendment from  
4 Marianne Stebbins from Minnesota. It is an amendment to  
5 Rule 11(a), page 25, line 5. She wants to strike "and to  
6 any other donor."

7 MS. STEBBINS: Marianne Stebbins, Minnesota.

8 Actually, a correction: That was to be changed  
9 to Rule 11(c), and that language has already been  
10 stricken.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay, so this is withdrawn.  
12 Is that correct?

13 MS. STEBBINS: Withdrawn.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

15 I have one more, and this may also be redundant.  
16 It's a proposal to amend Rule 11(c), page nos. 24 and 25,  
17 line no. 24, lines 15 through 25, and line 7. It's a  
18 proposal to strike 11(c) in its entirety.

19 Am I correct that this has already been done?  
20 Is that correct?

21 MR. TETTLEBAUM: Yes, Mr. Chairman.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

23 So I have no more proposed amendments to Rule 1  
24 through 11. Therefore, we have finished section 1. I am

1 going to suggest a 10-minute break, and we will then come  
2 back and proceed with section 2.

3           Could the staff begin to circulate proposed  
4 amendments for section 2 so that we can move rather  
5 quickly on those?

6           Thank you.

7           [Recess.]

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let's get started.

9           We are proceeding to the next section, which  
10 includes the rules under the old numbering system of 12  
11 through 24. Since we have added a Rule 12, we will work  
12 very hard to make sure that there's no ambiguity as we  
13 proceed through here with the numbering.

14           The convention we will use, since the amendments  
15 were submitted under the old numbering, is that we will  
16 refer to the rules by their old number until we get  
17 completed. And then we will, just for tidiness, go  
18 through and do a renumbering motion to make sure that  
19 everything is correct.

20           The first rule with an amendment is Rule No. 13.  
21 The amendment is proposed by Jim Bopp of Indiana, and it  
22 is a proposed amendment to Rule 13(a), page -- I'm sorry?

23           MS. BOWEN: Chairman, that's not proposed by Jim  
24 Bopp. It's proposed by Gwen Bowen, Louisiana. It's a  
25 clerical error.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Oh, I'm sorry.

2           I'm sorry. That amendment is being amended in  
3 its typing right now. We'll just hold on a second.

4           Would you please come in and be seated? We need  
5 a full quorum, and we're going to try and move this.

6           For those of you who have asked the question  
7 about lunch, at an appropriate time there will be, I  
8 guess, boxed lunches in the back. And we will ask you to  
9 move orderly and sequentially during the discussion, grab  
10 your lunch, come back, and eat at your table. We are  
11 going to work right through this to try and get this thing  
12 done today.

13           Is there a corrected amendment to Rule 13?

14           Who is the new sponsor?

15           MS. BOWEN: Gwen Bowen, Louisiana.

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We have an amendment to Rule  
17 13(a), page 28, line 21. The amendment is being proposed  
18 by Gwen Bowen of Louisiana.

19           Ms. Bowen? Are you here? Thank you. Would you  
20 present it?

21           MS. BOWEN: This is the same amendment that was  
22 proposed by Jim Bopp on the Rules Committee. And I saw  
23 the amendment, and I was very much in favor of it.

24           It just simply gives an added incentive for 10  
25 percent more delegates just for the at-large for a closed

1 primary. And I'd appreciate your vote on it as a "yes."

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me just make sure I  
3 understand. This is a bonus, not a penalty?

4 MS. BOWEN: Yes, sir. It's not a penalty. It's  
5 a bonus, not a penalty. It's not intended to be a  
6 penalty. This is intended to be a carrot to encourage.

7 I've even talked with some of the delegates, and  
8 their statehouse is all Republican but yet they -- this  
9 would be an added incentive to help them --

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there --

11 MS. BOWEN: -- legislation they would like.

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

13 [Seconded.]

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

15 Sir?

16 MR. PAULSEN: Bill Paulsen, Minnesota.

17 I guess I'm concerned about how this would  
18 impact caucus states. For instance, Minnesota doesn't  
19 even have registration by party. You have to affiliate  
20 with the party and state you're affiliated with the party  
21 to participate in their caucus. But this adds a whole new  
22 layer of complexity to the caucus process.

23 I urge people to let the states make those  
24 decisions in accordance with their own local interests,  
25 without penalty, and let the states decide how they want

1 to elect their new delegates and national alternates.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Bennett?

3 MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, Bob Bennett from  
4 Ohio.

5 I oppose this amendment, as I did in the Rules  
6 Committee, which was almost unanimously defeated.

7 I want to give you the system in Ohio. We are a  
8 primary state. The only way that you can register for  
9 either party is by voting in a primary. In other words,  
10 you vote in a Republican primary, you vote in a Democrat  
11 primary. We do not have crossover voting.

12 However, if you fail to vote in a primary for 2  
13 years, you automatically become an independent or a non-  
14 declared voter. Now, a non-declared voter can vote in  
15 either primary, and the only time that they do vote on  
16 that is if there's a presidential or a gubernatorial  
17 contest that comes about that one party or the other is  
18 involved in.

19 We have very few crossover votes. From one  
20 election to the other, it's miniscule. And this would  
21 penalize Ohio by not enabling us to get the bonus  
22 delegates. So I've got to oppose this.

23 Thank you.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir? Mr. Pope?

25 MR. POPE: Louis Pope from Maryland.



1           To finish off on Mr. Bennett's comments, I stand  
2 to speak in favor of this, but in no way does it penalize  
3 the state of Ohio or any other state.

4           It actually gives a bonus, just like we give a  
5 bonus if you carry your state for the Republican nominee,  
6 we give a bonus if you have either side of the  
7 legislature, we give you a bonus if you have Republican  
8 U.S. senators, because you did your job, you elected  
9 Republicans.

10           This simply goes back to what we've been  
11 discussing for many, many years and I certainly hear a lot  
12 at home when people say, why do we let Democrats vote and  
13 skew our primary results? Because Democrats, when they  
14 come into the Republican primary process, are there to  
15 create mischief.

16           This allows states that actually allow  
17 Republicans, registered Republicans, who were there a  
18 month in advance of the actual primary date or caucus to  
19 vote. And the Republican nominee and our Republican  
20 president should be chosen by Republicans, not by  
21 Democrats, not by independents.

22           It is a bonus. If it's a states' rights issue,  
23 your state chooses to have open primaries, that's  
24 certainly fine. It is just one more bonus category, just  
25 like the bonus categories I mentioned at the beginning.

1 This is a carrot, not a stick.

2 I suggest you vote in favor of it.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sometimes big carrots can be  
4 used as big sticks.

5 [Laughter.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir?

7 MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

8 I am very much in favor of this idea. I'll  
9 state that to begin with. I sympathize, though, with Mr.  
10 Bennett from Ohio. And let me put it this way. I think  
11 we should have something like this; we just want to make  
12 sure that it doesn't trip up any other state with their  
13 process.

14 And I think possibly, if they would be amenable  
15 to an amendment to this amendment, if we could, instead of  
16 "at least 30 days prior," we can modify that language to  
17 "at any time within the last election cycle." So that  
18 would cast probably a 2-year wide net so folks who  
19 would've voted in the last Republican primary would then  
20 be considered for this process and it would rope them in.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: May I suggest that we go  
22 through the discussion of this amendment and then allow  
23 you, if after that discussion is completed --

24 MR. MCKISSICK: Yes, sir.

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: -- to decide whether you want

1 to propose that as an amendment.

2 Mr. Blackwell?

3 MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I rise  
4 to support this proposal.

5 I would point out to everyone that if your state  
6 already has a primary system that is a closed primary  
7 system and only allows registered Republicans to vote,  
8 then your state gets an automatic bonus, regardless of  
9 what any other state does. And that might be an incentive  
10 for some of you to do that.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Does Virginia, by the way?

12 MR. BLACKWELL: Virginia's situation is that we  
13 have open registration. No one registers by party. We  
14 have a terrible problem with thousands of ill-motive  
15 Democrats coming in to muck around in our primaries. And  
16 the Republican Party of Virginia has been trying to get  
17 the state legislature to establish registration by party  
18 to prevent this wholesale thing.

19 And I don't say that it's not unheard of for  
20 Republicans who have no interest in helping the Democratic  
21 Party to sometimes vote in Democratic primaries.

22 But it's a bad system. Putting this rule into  
23 our Republican rules will be an additional incentive for  
24 our legislature to do what the party has urged by  
25 resolution many times over the years, and that is

1 institute registration by party and close primaries.

2 Thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

4 Mr. Barbour?

5 MR. BARBOUR: Mr. Chairman, Henry Barbour from  
6 Mississippi.

7 I oppose this. We're a bottom-up party. And  
8 the last thing that we need is the national party trying  
9 to tell us, with a carrot up against our head --

10 [Laughter.]

11 MR. BARBOUR: -- how we've got to run our  
12 primaries.

13 And I don't believe because some other state has  
14 a closed primary that they ought to get extra delegates  
15 that basically put a state like Mississippi in a weakened  
16 position.

17 I strongly oppose this.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
19 number three?

20 MR. CRISS: Kurt Criss, Nevada.

21 Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this  
22 motion.

23 Isn't one of our goals of the party to increase  
24 our voter registration? But where do we think these  
25 voters come from? They come from other parties. And most

1 voter-registration work is performed immediately prior to  
2 an election. So this would quell any incentive for this  
3 work to be done.

4 MR. HOUGH: Bruce Hough from the state of Utah,  
5 rising to oppose this amendment.

6 My state has a closed primary, so we probably  
7 would benefit from this.

8 But, you know, one man's carrot is another man's  
9 stick, and the fact of the matter is, we're a national  
10 party. Yes, we represent our states, but the last thing I  
11 want to see is a headline coming out of this committee  
12 meeting today saying, "Republican Party Becomes More  
13 Exclusive," that we become less welcoming, that we're  
14 going to exclude people from our electoral process.

15 The fact of the matter is that, you know, the  
16 idea that Mr. Pope from Maryland, my esteemed colleague,  
17 brought out, that we do reward elections if a governor is  
18 a Republican, if a senator is a Republican. Guess what?  
19 As party people, we have a tremendous amount of ability to  
20 affect those elections.

21 But I would submit that our ability to affect  
22 legislation is substantially less than that, because you  
23 have people who are of a different mindset or a different  
24 party or of a different idea. That one is much more  
25 difficult to wrangle, as many of you in your states know.

1           Look at Florida. The party certainly didn't  
2 want to go to an early primary, but the legislature did.  
3 And look at the penalties they got.

4           So my view of this is, please vote against this.  
5 I think it sends the wrong message to the people we're  
6 trying to bring into the party, many of those independents  
7 who do not affiliate on purpose. There's a lot of reason  
8 to vote this down.

9           Thank you.

10          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone one?

11          MS. THOMAS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Patricia  
12 Thomas from Missouri. And I urge my fellow colleagues to  
13 vote against the amendment.

14          Missouri is an open registration state, and I  
15 know that we would have extreme resistance from our state  
16 legislature, which, by the way, has almost veto-proof  
17 bodies, four Republicans in both the House and Chamber,  
18 but, still, a lot of the elections that we have at our  
19 most local level in our county courthouses are split.

20          So I urge my colleagues to vote against the  
21 amendment.

22          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at --

23          MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

24          Before I propose my amendment, I'll just say  
25 that I come from a state that does have open registration,

1 unfortunately. Our convention has passed multiple  
2 resolutions to try to push our state legislature, which is  
3 controlled by Republicans, to try to give us partisan  
4 registration. So we could close our process if we wanted  
5 to, but they have yet to do so.

6 But our executive committee has passed multiple  
7 resolutions, as well. But I would say, you know, again, I  
8 think if we were to take a poll of all of our activists  
9 back home, they would be firmly in favor of the idea of  
10 Republicans electing Republican candidates.

11 But, that aside, again, I move my amendment that  
12 we insert or change, strike, rather, "at least 30 days  
13 prior to," and we change that to "within the last election  
14 cycle" or "within the previous election cycle."

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There's been a motion to amend  
16 the amendment. Is there a second to the motion to amend  
17 the amendment?

18 [Seconded.]

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there discussion on the  
20 motion to amend the amendment?

21 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

22 All those in favor of the motion to amend the  
23 amendment, please say "aye."

24 [Chorus of ayes.]

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

1 [Chorus of noes.]

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm in doubt. We'll try it  
3 once more, and then if we need to, we'll go to a standing  
4 vote.

5 All those in favor of the amendment to the  
6 amendment, please say "aye."

7 [Chorus of ayes.]

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed, please say  
9 "nay."

10 [Chorus of nays.]

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The Chair rules the nays have  
12 it.

13 Now we move and continue discussion on the basic  
14 amendment.

15 MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Mr. Chairman, Dudley Brown  
16 from Colorado.

17 I work on Second Amendment issues  
18 professionally, and all around the country I see the  
19 teachers' union using the Republican Party and diving into  
20 the process and trying to control the process. And  
21 wherever they have those weak rules, it allows them.

22 I firmly believe that we here should reward  
23 people who work within the party. That's how all these  
24 people were elected to the Rules Committee itself and  
25 delegates next week. And so we should encourage that.



1           This is just one small way of adding a nice  
2 little incentive for people to have closed primaries and  
3 let Republicans elect Republicans, both on the  
4 presidential level and encourage it on all levels.

5           Thank you.

6           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
7 one?

8           MR. SUHN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Jared Suhn  
9 from Kansas. I would like to rise in support of the  
10 amendment.

11           A few years ago, we had a situation in Kansas  
12 that actually involved a court case relative to closing or  
13 opening our primary. At that point in time, the national  
14 media considered Kansas a very purple state; we had a  
15 Democratic governor. The court case ultimately closed the  
16 Kansas primaries, restricted it only to Republicans.  
17 We've since picked up a number of congressional seats, our  
18 governor seat, and so forth.

19           And this is a bonus very similar to the other  
20 bonus delegates relative to seats that are picked up in  
21 Congress, the governor. And I would just encourage  
22 support of this.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone two?

24           MS. CARNEVALE: Mr. Chairman, Amy Carnevale of  
25 Massachusetts.

1 I represent a state where we have approximately  
2 52 percent unenrolled, unaffiliated voters. Our  
3 Republican registration is approximately 11 percent. In  
4 order to grow our party, we need to reach out to those who  
5 are unenrolled. And I believe this amendment would harm  
6 that effort, so I would urge opposition to the amendment.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone one?

8 MS. STEBBINS: Marianne Stebbins, Minnesota.

9 In addition to having an open caucus system,  
10 which actually is a very good recruitment tool to bring  
11 people into the Republican Party, we do also have an open  
12 primary.

13 In fact, this past primary, this past month, we  
14 had a Republican running in the Democrat primary against  
15 the incumbent Democrat senator. He ran radio ads, he  
16 campaigned hard to try to get Republicans to go to that  
17 open Democrat primary to vote for him to negate the  
18 incumbent Democrat U.S. senator. He garnered only 3  
19 percent.

20 So this has not been an issue in the state of  
21 Minnesota, where we do have an open primary. Other  
22 opposite parties have not been successful in trying to get  
23 members to go to the opposite primary.

24 So I don't want to see Minnesota penalized. I  
25 also don't believe that we should be dictating to other

1 states how they should be running their election systems.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ginsberg?

3 MR. GINSBERG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ben  
4 Ginsberg from the District of Columbia.

5 I must oppose this amendment. What this does is  
6 essentially send a message of closing the party, as  
7 opposed to opening it up. And a message of inclusion is  
8 important for us.

9 Also, Mr. Pope mentioned that we do reward  
10 states who are successful in our rules with additional  
11 delegates, which is certainly true. But presumably, in  
12 many states, that includes the ability to bring in people  
13 who are independents and even Democrats. And we should  
14 not pass a rule that does contrary to that.

15 Thank you.

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
17 two?

18 Because you've already spoken, Mr. Barbour.

19 MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, I would like to --  
20 Curly Haugland, national committeeman from North Dakota --  
21 call attention to an existing party rule, Rule -- excuse  
22 me, I'm sorry, I wasn't quite ready -- 15(c)(2).

23 It says here, "Only persons eligible to vote who  
24 are deemed as a matter of public record to be Republicans  
25 pursuant to state law or, if voters are not enrolled by

1 party, by Republican Party rules of a state, shall  
2 participate in any primary election held for the purpose  
3 of selecting delegates.”

4 Does that have any relevance here?

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I’m sorry, what?

6 MR. HAUGLAND: My point, Mr. Chairman, is that  
7 we already have a rule that says you can’t have an open  
8 primary. So why are we trying to pass a rule to reward  
9 people for closing a primary that should already be  
10 closed?

11 MR. PAULSEN: Mr. Chair, I just want to speak to  
12 the gentleman from North Dakota’s claim that we already  
13 have a rule against open primaries. Technically, what we  
14 have, for instance in Minnesota, is you have to affiliate  
15 with the Republican Party on the night of the caucus.

16 So current things require you to be affiliated  
17 with the Republican Party but not in a very restrictive  
18 manner. So we talk about open primaries; that does mean,  
19 though, that they are affiliated with the Republican Party  
20 in some sense.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: In most states that are open,  
22 there is a declaration, walking into the polling place,  
23 that you’re with that party at least for the 20 minutes it  
24 takes you to vote. And then in some states you can  
25 undeclare as you walk out, and in other states you have 30

1 days, and in other states, different rules, is my  
2 recollection.

3 MR. HAUGLAND: Well, I guess, again, if I may  
4 follow up to my point, as I understand it, the Republican  
5 Party rules that we make are the supreme law of the land,  
6 politically speaking. And so, to allow everybody to make  
7 up kind of an ad-hoc-at-every-state-level, different  
8 rules, it seems to me to be pretty punishing for campaigns  
9 to try to understand what the rules are.

10 And not only that, but we should simply define,  
11 again, do our rules trump state party rules?

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

13 Mr. Ryder?

14 MR. RYDER: John Ryder from Tennessee. I think  
15 I wore out that microphone, so I thought I'd try this one.

16 The response to Mr. Haugland's question is  
17 simply this. The current rule requires that only  
18 Republicans, as defined under state law, be allowed to  
19 participate. What this amendment would do is get us into  
20 the business of interfering with that state law definition  
21 of who is a Republican.

22 And Tennessee has long had, as long as it's had  
23 a primary, has had an open primary system, relatively  
24 open. And as a result of that open primary system, we  
25 have been able to grow our party from a point, when we

1 started the primaries, we only had 32 members out of 99 in  
2 our statehouse. Today we have 64. After this election,  
3 we may have as many as 70. We have grown our party.

4 And as the gentleman from Nevada, I think, said  
5 quite eloquently earlier, we need to open the party, bring  
6 these people in, convert them to the Republican cause  
7 through persuasion, not through compulsion.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'll take two more speakers,  
9 Mr. Bennett and then Mr. Barbour. And unless there's a  
10 clamor for additional discussion, we'll move to a vote.

11 Mr. Bennett?

12 MR. BENNETT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

13 I just want everybody to look at that 30-day  
14 rule. We have no mechanism in Ohio that would compel the  
15 voters to come in and declare their allegiance to one  
16 party or the other. The only way that they can do that is  
17 by choosing one primary or the other to vote in.

18 The other thing that we have in Ohio is we have  
19 our primaries on the same day, so you can't vote in a  
20 Democrat primary and then go over and vote in a Republican  
21 primary.

22 What we do do is we use that mechanism to grow  
23 the party. In 2008, we had a very contested primary for  
24 presidential candidates, and we grew the party by 300,000  
25 voters. Now, those voters go into our voter database, and

1 we continuously communicate with them on Republican ideals  
2 and principles.

3 Without that ability, I'm afraid that we would  
4 restrict those people from coming in. Yes, they're soft  
5 Republicans sometimes, but those are the people that we  
6 need in November to win elections.

7 Fifty percent of our delegation or our voter  
8 rolls in Ohio are non-declared. The reason for that is,  
9 if you have a primary where there is no contest at the top  
10 for president or governor, a lot of people stay home.  
11 They're good Republicans. They say, I have no reason to  
12 go out and vote. So they stay home.

13 The normal party vote in Ohio would be somewhere  
14 around 780,000 to 800,000. We grew that to 1.2 million in  
15 2008.

16 So this penalizes us, in the sense that we lose  
17 delegates if we don't change our rules.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Barbour?

19 MR. BARBOUR: Henry Barbour from Mississippi,  
20 Mr. Chairman.

21 My fundamental opposition to this amendment is  
22 that it is rewarding process. I don't need somebody from  
23 some other state to tell me how we need to run our party  
24 in Mississippi. We can figure that out for ourselves.

25 And you should not get rewarded because you have

1 a different process. You get rewarded in politics on  
2 results, not process.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let's move to a vote.

4 All those in favor of this amendment, please say  
5 "aye."

6 [Chorus of ayes.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

8 [Chorus of noes.]

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I don't think I'm in doubt on  
10 that one. The nays have it.

11 Now, I've been reminded that I was remiss in not  
12 running through the individual rules by title so that we  
13 can determine which ones we are going to deal with. I  
14 will go back and do that now.

15 Rule No. 12, Call of the Next Convention. Is  
16 there an amendment to Rule No. 12? Have any amendments  
17 been filed or will be filed for Rule No. 12?

18 None.

19 We are working on Rule 13, and we'll come back  
20 to it in a second.

21 Rule No. 14, Participation.

22 None.

23 Rule No. 15, Election of Delegates and Alternate  
24 Delegates.

25 There are some, so we'll set 15 aside.



1 Rule No. 16, Enforcement of Rules.

2 Oh, there is one.

3 Rule No. 17, Vacancies in a State Delegation.

4 We've set 16 aside. Seventeen, Vacancies in a State  
5 Delegation.

6 I don't see any.

7 Rule No. 18, Excess Delegates and Alternate  
8 Delegates.

9 Rule No. 19, Certification of Election.

10 Rule No. 20, Contests: Resolution by States.

11 There is one. Set that one aside.

12 Temporary Roll, Rule No. 21.

13 None.

14 Rule No. 22, Contest Filing.

15 There is one. Set 22 aside.

16 Rule No. 23, Contest Procedure.

17 There is one.

18 Rule No. 24, Convention Committee on

19 Credentials.

20 Okay. Which ones have we set aside? Thirteen,  
21 15, 16, 20, 22, and 23.

22 All right, we will return to dealing with Rule  
23 13. Are there any additional amendments for Rule 13?

24 Hearing none, we'll move on to dealing with Rule  
25 15. Rule 15 has a large number of amendments, and the

1 problem with dealing with a large number of amendments is  
2 they feed back on each other. I have asked the staff to  
3 do a sorting process here.

4           And I will, unless you overrule me, suggest that  
5 we deal with one comprehensive Rule 15 amendment, as  
6 proposed by the delegate from the District of Columbia,  
7 and then work against that, whether it passes or fails,  
8 work against the Rule 15 that will then stand after that  
9 amendment is either passed or failed. Because the others  
10 end up being perturbations to the body of either the  
11 existing rule or the amended rule.

12           If there's not a violent objection to that, that  
13 is how I will proceed.

14           Hearing none, I will proceed with the first  
15 amendment to Rule 15. It is an amendment to page no. 30,  
16 and it is proposed language -- Mr. Ginsberg, would you  
17 like to tell us what it is and why it is?

18           MR. GINSBERG: I would be honored. Thank you,  
19 Mr. Chairman. Ben Ginsberg from the District of Columbia.

20           What we are presenting is a package of rules on  
21 Rule 15 -- (a), (b), and a new (e)(3). And it's designed  
22 to correct what we saw as a damaging flaw in the  
23 presidential selection and election process in 2012 and  
24 wish to correct for 2016.

25           Basically, the problem occurred when states or

1 parties held statewide votes and thousands or hundreds of  
2 thousands or even millions of voters turned out. But  
3 after the votes were counted and announced, the delegate  
4 selection process all too often overturned the will of  
5 those voters in one of two ways.

6           Either a small or minority in conventions or  
7 caucuses would ignore the expression of the majority in  
8 the makeup of their state's delegations to this  
9 convention. This had the effect of dividing, and has  
10 divided, some state parties at a time when they should be  
11 the most unified in winning elections.

12           Secondly, the true, most dedicated supporters of  
13 the winning candidates were often not chosen for the  
14 delegates or alternate delegates. This amendment corrects  
15 that so that the candidate who wins the actual statewide  
16 vote gets their supporters as delegates; a candidate who  
17 turns out his supporters gets his or her supporters as  
18 delegates.

19           These amendments carefully balance the  
20 traditional role of the state party with the need to  
21 correct the problem of a process where the judgment of the  
22 voters is ignored or even reversed. The amendments to  
23 this rule say that any statewide vote which asks a  
24 presidential preference must actually be used to allocate  
25 and bind the state's delegation.

1           States may choose whether their selection  
2 process is winner-take-all or proportional. If delegates  
3 and alternate delegates themselves appear on the ballot  
4 and are directly elected, there is no change to the  
5 current procedures of the state.

6           Also, the rule provides great flexibility to the  
7 state parties so that each presidential candidate will  
8 effectively precertify or approve his or her delegates in  
9 whatever manner that the state party or state law  
10 prescribes.

11           Part of the new rule also provides that a state  
12 may receive a waiver from the RNC if compliance is  
13 impossible and the Republican National Committee  
14 determines that granting such a waiver is in the best  
15 interest of the Republican Party.

16           I urge the adoption of these rules.

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: A motion has been made. Is  
18 there a second?

19           [Seconded.]

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Seconded by Mr. Bennett.  
21 Discussion?

22           MR. HAUGLAND: Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Point of order.

24           MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, Curly Haugland,  
25 North Dakota.

1 I raise a point of order to this amendment  
2 because it conflicts directly with current Rules 37 and  
3 38.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The Chair rules, on advice of  
5 counsel, that it does not conflict with 37 and 38.

6 If you want to proceed to a vote, we shall  
7 proceed to a vote. What is the pleasure of the body?

8 Go ahead. Go to a mic. Speak.

9 MR. PAULSEN: Just to clarify, are you proposing  
10 we proceed to a vote on the motion or proceed to a debate  
11 and --

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Proceed with debate.

13 MR. PAULSEN: Okay.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

15 MR. BLACKWELL: Morton Blackwell for Virginia.

16 This amendment, which was proposed to us by Ben  
17 Ginsberg, is going to have, in my judgment, a damaging  
18 effect on our presidential candidate, Mitt Romney.

19 There are very large numbers of people who  
20 supported other candidates, and particularly Ron Paul, who  
21 will see this as an attack on them for their behavior. We  
22 do not want these people to stay home. We do not want  
23 these people to vote for the Libertarian Party candidate.  
24 We want them to vote for our candidate.

25 Yes, there were disputes at the state level.

1 But, ladies and gentlemen, those disputes have been  
2 resolved in the normal course of business with the  
3 Committee on Contests, the Republican National Committee,  
4 Committee on Credentials, which, as far as we know, is  
5 still meeting next-door.

6 Large numbers of people who are seriously  
7 considering participating in our party will see this as an  
8 attack on them, newcomers. And I think the current system  
9 works. And this system will appear to them to be designed  
10 to restrict their activities in future election cycles.  
11 And Mr. Ginsberg's proposal is going to lose votes which  
12 should've gone to our Republican candidate this November.

13 Thank you.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ryder?

15 MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, John Ryder, Tennessee.

16 I propose an amendment to the amendment. In the  
17 line that says strike 15(b), I would change that to read  
18 15(b)(1).

19 I think the intent of the proponent of the  
20 amendment is only to delete the language in 15(b)(1) and  
21 not to address 15(b)(2).

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I will treat this as a  
23 suggested technical correction, and rule that we don't  
24 have to move to a vote if the proposer agrees.

25 Do you agree, Mr. Ginsberg?

1 MR. GINSBERG: Yes. Thank you.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

3 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Butch  
4 Davis, Texas.

5 Mr. Chairman, occasionally there are amendments  
6 that are proposed that rise to the level that one either  
7 deeply supports or deeply opposes, as it rises to the  
8 level of a hill worth dying for. My opposition to this  
9 amendment is such a degree.

10 When I first became active, when I attended my  
11 first state convention in 1980, the presidential candidate  
12 selected the national delegates and the national  
13 alternates. It's difficult to describe the anger that  
14 people had when they were forced to make that choice. In  
15 essence, there was no choice. They were forced to  
16 rubberstamp what the presidential candidate selected. The  
17 voice of the grass roots was completely muted.

18 We have since turned that around 180 degrees.  
19 We have, indeed, the requirement that one must support the  
20 presidential candidate, as laid out in our primary.  
21 That's a done deal; that can't be changed. Who the  
22 delegates are are a selection of our grass roots.

23 We're either a grassroots party or we're a top-  
24 down party. I believe the Republican strength, in Texas  
25 in particular, has been proven over the years to be a

1 product of grassroots strength. We are accountable to our  
2 bosses. The bosses are the people who vote in our primary  
3 and tell us, this is what we believe in, this is who we  
4 support. And we follow that.

5 The given presidential candidates, they come and  
6 go. I belong to the Republican Party, who's going to be  
7 here for decades to come, good Lord willing.

8 Therefore, I strongly urge you to defeat this  
9 motion and allow the states to operate on the basis that  
10 they see best and give the grass roots the voice in  
11 selecting their national delegates.

12 Thank you.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from  
14 Massachusetts?

15 MR. DEVITO: Hi. Vincent DeVito.

16 This is a very important amendment to the rules.

17 By way of background, in Massachusetts we had a  
18 problem that this would fix. We were able to correct it  
19 because we had a simple amendment. But what this is  
20 actually doing is protecting the voters who won the  
21 popular vote.

22 So, for instance, in Massachusetts, Governor  
23 Romney won 72 percent of the primary vote. We had a  
24 flawed caucus procedure that followed that that selected  
25 delegates that were not Governor Romney supporters. And



1 one of the things that we're looking to avoid in the  
2 future with this particular amendment is that those  
3 delegates that purport to be supporting a particular  
4 candidate actually do do that.

5 So the import of this motion should not be taken  
6 lightly. And those today that decided to be here have a  
7 very important responsibility -- your responsibility to  
8 the party. And this serves that.

9 What we're doing here, in my opinion -- it's not  
10 my motion -- but what this does is accomplish what we  
11 needed to do in Massachusetts, which, it protects the  
12 party apparatus and it protects the will of the voter.  
13 The potential to disenfranchise folks was very serious in  
14 Massachusetts, and we had to address that.

15 So if I do anything today, I urge everybody to  
16 support this motion. It's crucially important.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker at microphone one?

18 MS. STEBBINS: Marianne Stebbins, Minnesota.

19 And we do have a caucus process there that does  
20 elect delegates on up. And the wonderful thing -- those  
21 of you from caucus states will understand -- the wonderful  
22 thing about the caucus system is that it requires  
23 significant engagement of those who want to participate  
24 all the way on up to choose those national delegates.

25 And so we have brought in, in Minnesota, a

1 tremendous number of fresh blood, who are now out there  
2 working for the candidates. And we've been growing our  
3 Republican Party in Minnesota because of this process.

4           Now, in Minnesota, Santorum won the straw poll  
5 vote on caucus night. So that would've presented a bit of  
6 a problem when you get to this point. Romney actually  
7 came in third. So, in fact, this amendment would not have  
8 awarded Romney the delegates out of Minnesota. They  
9 would've been awarded to Santorum, which I don't think is  
10 the effect that the person proposing the amendment was  
11 looking for.

12           But I do think, with the caucus system, in  
13 electing those delegates on up, there's a tremendous  
14 amount of work. It requires engagement. This is how we  
15 create volunteers within the party. This is how we grow  
16 our party in Minnesota.

17           I urge defeat of the amendment.

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker at microphone three?

19           MR. CRISS: Kurt Criss, Nevada. Mr. Chairman, I  
20 rise in opposition to this motion.

21           This motion removes the representative process  
22 that the delegate process is actually intended to provide.  
23 This motion dictates how the states will perform their  
24 delegate selection process. And I believe all of us here  
25 would prefer for our own state to have the ability to

1 determine its delegate selection process, not to have it  
2 dictated to us.

3 So I urge you to defeat this motion.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone two?

5 MR. O'BRIEN: Thank you, Governor. Robert  
6 O'Brien from California.

7 I rise in support of this motion because I think  
8 it sends a message to the millions of ordinary Republican  
9 voters that come out to the polls to support their  
10 candidate, whether it's in a caucus or in a primary, and  
11 fundamentally believe that, by voting for the candidate  
12 that they came out to support, delegates are going to come  
13 to the convention who support that candidate, not just who  
14 are bound to vote for that presidential candidate, you  
15 know, on the first ballot or second ballot, but are going  
16 to support his vice presidential candidate, that are going  
17 to come to Rules Committees, Credential Committees, and  
18 support the candidate that they want to elect as president  
19 of the United States of America.

20 Now, I'm not a member of the California Central  
21 Committee. I'm not a member of the RNC. I count myself  
22 as being one of those ordinary Republican voters that came  
23 out and regularly comes out to support our candidates.

24 And when we talk about the grass roots, you  
25 know, it may not be the folks that go to every single

1 Central Committee meeting or caucus, but they're the  
2 Republican voters that come out election after election,  
3 that write checks, and that support our candidates, and  
4 expect this convention to recognize their will.

5 Now, these follow-on conventions are rife with  
6 mischief. They can overturn the will of hundreds of  
7 thousands or, in my state, for example, millions of voters  
8 who support a candidate. And it's fundamentally unfair to  
9 our rank-and-file GOP voters.

10 And so I strongly support this --

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Ten seconds.

12 MR. O'BRIEN: -- amendment, and I think it  
13 respects the bigger grass roots, not just the smaller  
14 grass roots, in our party.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

16 Microphone three?

17 MR. HOUGH: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Bruce  
18 Hough from Utah. I stand in support of this amendment.

19 I want to concur with what the last speaker just  
20 said, but just emphasize, you know, we come from a state  
21 that has a caucus, a convention, a primary system. The  
22 most important grass roots of our constituency are the  
23 people who voted in that primary. These people are the  
24 ones who got up and voted for that candidate.

25 To have that changed because a smaller group of

1 people were able to, you know, show up for an additional  
2 meeting to modify the will of the general population who  
3 voted in that is really contrary to the grassroots  
4 mentality that we should have as a party. We want to  
5 support the people that we elected.

6           The group that goes to a convention -- and this,  
7 by the way, does not abrogate any responsibility of the  
8 party to choose the method by which they choose their  
9 delegates and to do that.

10           But it does provide in the safeguards that when  
11 a candidate receives a majority vote, that they're going  
12 to have, either by proportion or by winner-take-all,  
13 whatever that state party decides, that that candidate is  
14 actually going to receive that representation. And it is  
15 just anathema to this process of representative democracy  
16 that we would think otherwise.

17           So I urgently support this amendment.

18           MR. REICHNER: Mr. Chairman, Scott Reichner from  
19 Montana. I'd just like to stand in support of this  
20 amendment.

21           In Montana, the state convention decides the  
22 delegates. And at the end of the convention, we had just  
23 fighting going on. I think this amendment -- and I'll  
24 tell you, there's just a tremendous amount of -- well,  
25 folks were just upset with each other, at the end of the

1 day.

2           And I think this would create some harmony with  
3 the different groups. You'd have some harmony because  
4 they'd be proportional.

5           In our state, it would help. As the chairman of  
6 the Romney campaign in Montana, Ron Paul folks came and  
7 said, hey, we wanted our proportional amount. And I said,  
8 we'd love to have given it to you, but during the  
9 convention, we had all this, just fighting. I think this  
10 proportional amount would allow our states to give them  
11 the proportional amount that they needed.

12           Thank you very much.

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker two?

14           MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.  
15 I rise in opposition to this amendment, no doubt about it.

16           And first off, I want to point out something to  
17 everybody in here just so we know. Rule 15 -- all these  
18 different amendments we're going to have to Rule 15 --  
19 Rule 15 governs the process of allocating delegates,  
20 awarding delegates to candidates, et cetera. I mean,  
21 that's what the whole convention is about. That's why we  
22 have a convention, all these people get here. This is a  
23 whole process.

24           And this is the thing, that ever since I was on  
25 the committee back -- I was on this committee in 1996 in

1 San Diego, again in New York in 2004. And this whole  
2 process has been in fits and starts, chipped at, edited,  
3 and so forth, until we got to where we are now and the  
4 process that we've just used to nominate Governor Romney.

5 And essentially what we're doing here is just  
6 undoing 16 or 20 years of work, for one. Two, we're  
7 talking about essentially letting the candidates pick  
8 their own delegates.

9 I mean, you know, the delegates aren't just here  
10 to nominate candidates. There are other things that go  
11 on, and there are other things that go on up the chain of  
12 your party organization process, depending on how some of  
13 your different states have an organization process. It's  
14 not all just primary; you have caucuses, some have  
15 conventions, et cetera, et cetera. This thing has all  
16 sorts of unintended repercussions.

17 And the point is, we've had a deliberative  
18 process to get to where we are now. And this was just  
19 handed to everybody, you know, 30 minutes ago, an hour  
20 ago. The Rules Committee of the RNC has had 3-1/2, 4  
21 years to think about this thing. Have they thought about  
22 it? Has there been a debate about this? I'm not aware of  
23 it. Maybe some RNC members here could let me know if  
24 that's been the case or not, but I don't think this has  
25 been vetted.

1           So, bad news, bad mojo. I urge you to oppose  
2 it.

3           MR. PALATUCCI: Mr. Chairman, Bill Palatucci  
4 from New Jersey. I rise to be in support of this rule  
5 change, and strongly supporting of it.

6           You know, while I've been involved in the party  
7 for 30 years, this is my first cycle as a national  
8 committeeman and on the Rules Committee. I only joined  
9 since Governor Christie got elected in New Jersey.

10           I think this is just very basic common sense. I  
11 couldn't disagree more with just the prior, previous  
12 speaker, in all due respect. The common sense to me is  
13 the voters in a statewide primary should be the people who  
14 we are listening to.

15           Also, I urge everybody to read 15(a) all the way  
16 through to the end. There is an exception there for  
17 delegates or alternates who appear on the ballot. That is  
18 the system we have in New Jersey. It works very, very  
19 well.

20           I would urge everyone to support this. Thank  
21 you.

22           MR. PAULSEN: Mr. Chair, to build upon the  
23 previous speaker's remarks, they create an exception for  
24 the New Jersey process, but there's no exception for the  
25 Minnesota process. And I believe the process in Minnesota



1 should be governed by, you know, people in Minnesota.

2           And I think there's also a misunderstanding  
3 about how the convention process works. In 2010, we had a  
4 contested race for governor, and there was a preferential  
5 ballot at the caucus in that contested race for governor.  
6 And one candidate came out ahead by 10 points, but he lost  
7 the endorsement of the party because the other candidate  
8 organized at the convention level.

9           I think the other candidates have the  
10 opportunity to organize at the convention level if they  
11 want to help get their delegates through without us from  
12 the national party coming in and dictating how Minnesota  
13 has to elect its delegates and alternates.

14           MR. DAGLAS: Hello again. Steven Daglas,  
15 Illinois.

16           The nature of my concern differs a bit from  
17 anything that I have heard mentioned thus far, and I would  
18 presume it to be something close to our dear chairman's  
19 heart.

20           In reading 15(b) -- and I read it multiple times  
21 -- that specifies with regard to the carve-out for Iowa,  
22 New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Nevada. Now, as I was  
23 standing in line, I've heard that there may be some talks  
24 to address this. But if I read this correctly -- and I'll  
25 reserve my judgment of the carve-out, whether I'm pro or

1 against -- we're striking 15(b)(1). And 15(b)(1) is Iowa,  
2 New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Nevada.

3 I will reserve my comments on whether I support  
4 or oppose that. I just think that since that's something  
5 I've heard about since I was about 2 years old, we may  
6 wish to discuss that in some detail.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Ben, will you address that, as  
8 far as what your motion is to do?

9 MR. GINSBERG: If I may speak to the intent of  
10 the motion, what we are trying to do -- and I understand  
11 the wording is wrong, and it would be put in as a  
12 technical amendment. This does not regard the carve-out  
13 states. This is a new 15(b), and it should be to renumber  
14 accordingly.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Why don't you do this? Why  
16 don't you tell us what those strikes and strikes and  
17 strikes should correctly be?

18 MR. GINSBERG: That should read, a new section  
19 15(b).

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So it should read, "Add a new  
21 section 15(b)."

22 MR. GINSBERG: And then there would be paragraph  
23 (1) instead of paragraph (a).

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Where is that?

25 MR. GINSBERG: The first paragraph.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So that (a) should be stricken  
2 and replaced by a (1)?

3           MR. GINSBERG: Correct.

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: May I suggest this, that this  
5 is important enough that we go and make sure that we have  
6 paper in people's hands?

7           MR. GINSBERG: But let me assure you that this  
8 does not deal with the carve-out provisions. That would  
9 merely have a number change on it.

10          Do you care, Mr. Chairman?

11          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you have children?

12          [Laughter.]

13          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We know where you live.

14          [Laughter.]

15          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right. As I understand it  
16 now, the correct language starts with, "Strike 15(a) and  
17 replace as follows," or is that not correct?

18          So it is, "add a new section to 15(a)"? To 15,  
19 to Rule 15. And that is numbered not (a) but (1).

20          I'm going to wait until you correct it at the  
21 table.

22          In the meantime, we will continue with  
23 discussions on what we think the intention is. And I  
24 think I had two, so it's now microphone three.

25          MS. LAKE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Cindy Lake

1 from Nevada. And I'm sure you're all familiar with what  
2 our caucus process is in Nevada.

3 I would like to -- I rise in opposition to the  
4 amendment, in that we see the media is very, very capable  
5 of getting out the vote. The average voter in a primary  
6 will go and vote in a primary and go home and wait to hear  
7 who the winner is, and that's the extent of their  
8 engagement.

9 In Nevada, the most engaged Republicans are here  
10 in committees and active in the caucus process, et cetera,  
11 et cetera, et cetera. And those are the people you want  
12 representing you and your vote. I don't think that we  
13 should rely upon the average voter, who gets out once  
14 every 4 years to vote in a primary, possibly, based on  
15 what the media tells them to do.

16 So I ask you to vote against this amendment.  
17 Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone one?

19 MS. SKAF: Jacquelyn Skaf from Hawaii. I stand  
20 in support of this amendment.

21 I feel that our country is built on the votes of  
22 the average voter. I want to protect the value and  
23 integrity of the average voter.

24 In my state, Governor Romney won our primary by  
25 44 percent. We spent hundreds of hours, grassroots

1 efforts, working so hard, making many personal sacrifices  
2 for him to win that primary. It is unthinkable to me that  
3 we would've sent delegates to represent a different  
4 candidate. It would've crushed the morale of our  
5 supporters and our voters.

6           So I stand in strong support of this amendment.  
7 Thank you.

8           MS. GENTRY: Anne Gentry from Virginia. I'm  
9 standing in opposition of this amendment.

10           I want you especially to take a hard look at  
11 that middle paragraph. That would allow the presidential  
12 candidate to pick who the delegates are going to be,  
13 totally overriding any state process to pick those  
14 delegates. You know, take a hard look at that.

15           We're trying to encourage people to participate  
16 in our party. I know at the convention where I was  
17 elected, it was good to see a lot of people there who I  
18 had never seen before. We want to encourage those people  
19 to keep participating. And to say that you only get to  
20 participate if you've been preapproved sends the wrong  
21 message.

22           MS. LEPAK: I'm Linda Lepak. I'm from Oklahoma.  
23 And I stand in support of this amendment.

24           In Oklahoma, this was a problem we faced this  
25 year. We had a minority faction elected as delegates to

1 this convention, and they have openly and consistently  
2 expressed that they will not support the will of the  
3 people of the state of Oklahoma. The people in Oklahoma  
4 voted, and they do not want to come here and represent  
5 that.

6 And I think that that's not a good thing for  
7 voters, and I want to stand with the voters. So I support  
8 this amendment.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Haugland?

10 MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, Curly Haugland from  
11 North Dakota.

12 I wish to draw your attention, all of you,  
13 please, to get to Rule 37 and 38 and have it in front of  
14 you while I address this issue. This gets to the point of  
15 order that I raised. And it's important, I think, to  
16 understand the history of the rule and what the rules  
17 actually mean.

18 I went and have done a lot of research on this.  
19 I have the original testimony from this committee's work  
20 in 1964, when the unit rule, Rule No. 38, was original  
21 passed.

22 Rule No. 38 was originally passed to punctuate  
23 Rule No. 37, which says, in part, any delegate to the  
24 convention who takes exception with the announcement of  
25 the chair of the delegation can take exception and then

1 vote their conscience.

2           And I just want to read a little of the actual  
3 testimony here. Mr. Ross, he was the chairman of the  
4 subcommittee which recommended this rule, this rule being  
5 Rule 38, which now is Rule 38.

6           "And I want to say it was our thought at the  
7 time this language was merely explanatory of the sentence  
8 which preceded it." That sentence says this: "But if  
9 exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of  
10 such announcement by the chairman of the delegation, the  
11 chairman of the convention shall direct the roll of the  
12 members of such a delegation to be called, and the result  
13 will be recorded in accordance with the vote of the  
14 several delegates in the delegation."

15           And, again, I'm speaking, this is Mr. Ross:  
16 "Now, that sentence, in different language, is and has  
17 been for a long time an effective method of preventing the  
18 imposition of the unit rule upon any delegate. All any  
19 delegate has to do is stand up and say, I want a poll of  
20 the delegation, and his vote will be recorded in  
21 accordance with his wishes, regardless of any attempt on  
22 the part of any delegation, either at a state convention,  
23 by state law, or by the state delegation, to impose upon  
24 him a position or person he does not wish to support."

25           And that was passed in 1964. Mr. Chairman, it

1 has never been amended.

2           The winner-take-all process that we have now  
3 allows as few as 25 or 30 percent of the votes in some  
4 bogus primary or caucus process to control all of the  
5 votes for that delegation, and we have the absurd  
6 situation arise where the biggest loser wins. Because I  
7 consider anybody who gets less than 50 percent a loser.  
8 Even third-world countries require runoff elections so  
9 that somebody wins a majority before they can get the  
10 delegates.

11           So, Mr. Chairman and the members of this  
12 committee, I urge you -- in the alternative, if you do not  
13 want to follow the existing rule, please, somebody,  
14 introduce an amendment to repeal it.

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone one?

16           MR. PAULSEN: Mr. Chair, I rise to make an  
17 amendment to the amendment, such that -- Bill Paulsen,  
18 Minnesota.

19           Because people have spoken here about protecting  
20 their own process, I want to protect Minnesota's process  
21 and insert the language in the first sentence, "After any  
22 statewide presidential preference vote that permits a  
23 choice" -- where it -- okay, "After any statewide  
24 presidential preference vote in a state where delegates by  
25 state party or statute may be bound," that -- I don't



1 know.

2 I prefer this to be all handled at the state  
3 level.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I confess I do not understand  
5 your proposal. Could you state it again?

6 MR. PAULSEN: Okay, the proposal says that if  
7 you have a state where --

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No, I want to know the words.  
9 I understand the intention. I want the words.

10 MR. PAULSEN: Okay. "In a state where delegates  
11 by state party rule or state statute may be bound" --  
12 insert those words after "presidential preference vote."

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: May I ask counsel how that  
14 sentence would be interpreted? What does that mean?

15 "In a state where delegates by state party rule  
16 or state statute may be bound, that permits a choice  
17 among" -- I'm not trying to be difficult, I just don't --  
18 I understand what you're trying to do, but I don't think  
19 this language does what it you want to do. I don't think  
20 this language does anything. So can you --

21 MR. PAULSEN: There's no rule or state statute  
22 in Minnesota that provides for the binding of delegates to  
23 the national -- the intention is, like, in Minnesota,  
24 except in one -- the Minnesota state party -- this  
25 overturns -- this, as written, explicitly overturns the

1 Minnesota state party constitution, which has been passed  
2 by the delegates multiple times, where we have three ways  
3 to elect national delegates in Minnesota --

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Well, don't misunderstand. I  
5 understand what you're trying to do. I'm just not sure  
6 this language takes you where you want to go. And I just  
7 want to make sure that there is a plausible legal  
8 interpretation of the words you have put on the board  
9 there that does what you want it to do.

10 I'm not trying to argue your issue. I'm only  
11 trying to make sure that the language fits your intention.

12 MR. PAULSEN: Correct. And I may want to modify  
13 my language now that I think about it. So thank you very  
14 much, Governor.

15 Well, I guess I'm trying to understand, what's  
16 another possible interpretation of this language?

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think it doesn't flow in  
18 English with what's before it and what's after it.

19 MR. PAULSEN: Okay. Well, then, may I step  
20 aside before we vote on the amendment to craft the  
21 wording?

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Remember, our process is going  
23 to be voting amendments, and then you may amend the  
24 amendment. We have a whole series of amendments to the  
25 amended Rule 15 to consider.

1           May I suggest that you take some time and  
2 present it as an amendment to the amendment, if this  
3 passes as an amendment?

4           MR. PAULSEN: Okay. Thank you.

5           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So we will strike that  
6 language for consideration at this moment.

7           Speaker at microphone number two?

8           MS. RADEWAGEN: Mr. Chairman, Amata Radewagen of  
9 American Samoa.

10           I've been a member of the RNC for 26 years, and  
11 I was just reelected to another 4-year term. I rise in  
12 support of this amendment.

13           We respect the hard work candidates have done in  
14 the states, and I strongly support Mr. Ginsberg's  
15 amendment. Thank you.

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Again, in an effort to move  
17 things along, I see two speakers at this microphone, three  
18 at this one, and I believe two at that one. And unless  
19 you clamor for more discussion, I would like to limit the  
20 discussion at this point to those that are already  
21 standing.

22           MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, John Ryder, Tennessee.  
23 And it is with great reluctance that I rise in opposition  
24 to this amendment.

25           I think the intention is excellent. When the

1 voters go to the polls and vote in a primary, they deserve  
2 the benefit of the bargain they make when they cast their  
3 vote. But this amendment goes too far, in that it does  
4 not allow this problem to be resolved at the state level.

5 And every state here is unique. We all have  
6 very different political cultures. And I promise you that  
7 what will hunt in Tennessee will not necessarily hunt in  
8 Vermont. And we need to respect those state differences.

9 So I think this is a problem that is best  
10 resolved by going to your legislature and changing your  
11 state laws or going to your party and changing your party  
12 rules. But do it at the state level and address the  
13 problem in your state in a method that is consistent with  
14 your state's political climate and culture, and don't try  
15 to use the rules of the RNC, in this case, to impose a  
16 global solution that, frankly, won't work.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker at microphone two?

18 MS. CARNEVALE: Amy Carnevale from  
19 Massachusetts.

20 I also serve as an elected member of our state  
21 committee. Over the past 4 months, our state committee  
22 has been torn apart over the correct course of action in  
23 terms of seating the proper delegates and alternates.

24 I believe this amendment would bring clarity to  
25 the process. It would respect the will of the voters.

1 And, most importantly, it would allow our party in  
2 individual states to coalesce around the chosen nominee in  
3 that state.

4 So I'd strongly urge your support.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker at microphone one?

6 MR. TETTLEBAUM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Harvey Tettlebaum from Missouri.

8 I want to talk to the concept, because I think  
9 it's important that we understand that there's a policy  
10 choice that this amendment presents to the body. The  
11 policy is, are we going to have this decision about who  
12 the nominee is going to be for that particular state  
13 decided by the people as a whole who vote in the primary,  
14 or whether it's going to be decided by a different group  
15 in, for example, a caucus system.

16 And this amendment tends to support the former  
17 and not the latter. And for that reason, I speak in  
18 support of the amendment.

19 Thank you.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Ma'am?

21 MS. MACK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mary Bono  
22 Mack from California.

23 I rise to speak in strong support of this  
24 amendment and just say, when I think about being out on  
25 the campaign trail right now in California, a lot of

1 people would think that we don't do a lot right, but in  
2 this instance, we do.

3 Right now, when I'm out campaigning and talking  
4 to voters, people want to know that their vote counts.  
5 I'm meeting a lot of new, fresh people who are finally  
6 getting involved in the political process. If you want to  
7 keep them out of this process, simply tell them, your vote  
8 doesn't matter.

9 I mean, it seems to me this is very commonsense.  
10 I really ask you all to support it. In California, you  
11 know, people are happy with it. And, again, please  
12 support this amendment.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone three?

14 MR. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, Butch Davis, Texas.

15 There are two basic ideas brought forward with  
16 this amendment. One is the manner in which delegates will  
17 be bound to a presidential candidate. But there's a  
18 second idea, and that is the presidential candidate or his  
19 or her particular person in that state will pick who the  
20 delegates are. Two separate issues.

21 Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I call for a separate  
22 vote on the middle paragraph, whatever its current  
23 designation may be.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You therefore are proposing an  
25 amendment to remove the second paragraph from this

1 amendment, notifying the body here that you will then  
2 propose a third amendment, which is the second paragraph  
3 standing alone?

4 MR. DAVIS: No, I'm just merely calling for a  
5 separate vote on the middle paragraph.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have to find a mechanism to  
7 get you what you want.

8 MR. DAVIS: Okay.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Right?

10 MR. DAVIS: I'm dividing the question.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So you want to divide the  
12 question -- all right, the question may be divided.

13 There's a motion to divide the question. Is  
14 there a second to that?

15 [Seconded.]

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Motion made and seconded to  
17 divide the question. Do you want to discuss the division?

18 Non-debatable and requires a majority?

19 We'll move to a vote. The motion is to remove  
20 paragraph 2 and its associated introductory definition of  
21 where it goes -- is that correct -- and create two  
22 separate things to be voted on later. If you vote "yes,"  
23 it will be separated. If you vote "no," it will retain  
24 its identity as a single package.

25 All those in favor of separating the question of

1 dividing the question, please say "aye."

2 [Chorus of ayes.]

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

4 [Chorus of noes.]

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think the noes have it. I  
6 will rule that the noes have it. The question is not  
7 divided.

8 You guys keep adding to the line.

9 Is this your third or fourth time speaking to  
10 this issue?

11 MR. MCKISSICK: Second time. Drew McKissick,  
12 South Carolina.

13 I just want to point out one other thing I  
14 didn't point out a minute ago. Especially the paragraph  
15 here that we're adding, I mean, this really is truly  
16 groundbreaking, because what we're doing is we are telling  
17 all the states how they have to pick their delegates.

18 So for those of us in here who were talking  
19 about states' rights a little while ago, I'd love to see  
20 you at the microphones right now. Because this is  
21 intrinsically a states' rights issue. This is turning  
22 upside-down our small-"D" democratic process of how we  
23 elect delegates, and it is putting it in the hands of  
24 campaigns.

25 Now, if you want to go home and tell all your



1 fellow delegates that you fixed it so next time they have  
2 to get permission of a campaign in order to be a delegate,  
3 you know, good luck getting the good seat next time from  
4 those people.

5 I oppose it.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone one?

7 DR. HIGGINS: Yeah, Peter Higgins from the state  
8 of Alaska.

9 You know, I'm actually on the campaign trail,  
10 myself, running for a House seat this year. And talking  
11 to a lot of people, knocking on doors, I hear this: "My  
12 vote doesn't count." Well, you know, that's the core of  
13 our values, is our vote, is the will of the people.

14 And whenever a small group -- and I don't care  
15 which group it is -- can take away the will of the people  
16 for their own personal agenda, I'm against that. I'm in  
17 support of anything that guarantees the will of the people  
18 a voice at any level.

19 Thank you.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from  
21 Massachusetts and then the gentleman behind him. And, at  
22 that point, I am cutting off debate, or discussion.

23 MR. DEVITO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Two  
24 points.

25 Number one, this is not necessarily addressing a

1 state problem; it's addressing a national convention  
2 problem. And it serves that purpose. The state processes  
3 can go forward as they have in the past.

4 All we're saying with this motion -- listen very  
5 carefully -- is that whoever wins the popular vote who is  
6 a candidate for president will have the properly allocated  
7 delegates at the National Convention. That's exactly what  
8 it does.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

10 The next gentleman and the final speaker to this  
11 issue?

12 MR. FAHLESON: Mark Fahleson, state chairman,  
13 Nebraska.

14 I speak in favor of the amendment, specifically  
15 the provision requiring the presidential candidate to  
16 precertify or approve. That simply codifies, in my  
17 opinion, what currently goes on in our state. It requires  
18 the presidential campaign to work collectively and  
19 cooperatively with the state party to make that happen.

20 So I'm in support of the amendment.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

22 We will now move to a vote on the proposed  
23 amendment. I'll move directly to a stand-up, since the  
24 debate has been strong and intense and we'll probably end  
25 up there anyway.

1 All those in favor of the amendment, please  
2 stand.

3 Fifty-six.

4 Please be seated.

5 All those opposed, please stand.

6 The amendment passes, 56 to 40.

7 Now, as we said, the new 15 stands as amended.

8 Now, a number of you have proposed additional amendments  
9 to Rule 15. So we will try and treat those -- we will  
10 treat those as amendments to Rule 15 as it stands.

11 So if those of you who have proposed -- and  
12 there is a large number of these amendments -- amendments  
13 to Rule 15 will take a quick moment and look at your  
14 proposed amendment as to how it now applies to the new  
15 Rule 15, I'll give you 2 or 3 minutes to make sure that  
16 either you are sticking with your amendment as proposed,  
17 whether you want to reword your amendment as you are  
18 proposing, or whether you want to withdraw your amendment.

19 MR. HOUGH: Mr. Chairman?

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes, sir?

21 MR. HOUGH: Bruce Hough from Utah. I'm just  
22 wondering if it's appropriate to move for a brief recess  
23 for some nourishment and --

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No. What we're going to do is  
25 keep working, and I will ask, like, three or four rows at

1 a time to go out, pick up their lunch, and come back here.

2 MR. HOUGH: I just felt it might give us a time  
3 to review this stack of 15's at this point in time.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right, I'll give you a 5-  
5 minute recess? Or a 10-minute recess?

6 MR. HOUGH: Just so we can also do this review  
7 of this stack of 15's.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right, let's do a 7-minute  
9 recess, he says as the great compromise.

10 [Laughter.]

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Seven-minute recess. Grab  
12 your food, look at the amendments, and we'll start again  
13 in 7 minutes.

14 [Recess.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right, let's get started.  
16 Let me tell you what I think we have, and then those of  
17 you who have amendments can let us know what you think we  
18 have.

19 I have in my hand a number of amendments to  
20 section 15 as it now stands. I have an amendment from  
21 Chris Brown of Alabama, an amendment from John Ryder of  
22 Tennessee, an amendment from Butch Louis Davis of Texas,  
23 and two amendments from Kurt Criss of Nevada.

24 Does anyone else think they have proposed  
25 amendments to section 15 as it now stands?

1           Okay, let's proceed. The first one I have is an  
2 amendment from Chris Brown of Alabama.

3           Chris Brown, are you here?

4           Chris Brown, Alabama?

5           Is Chris Brown from Alabama here?

6           One more call. Chris Brown from Alabama?

7           Move on to the next one. John Ryder of  
8 Tennessee, an amendment to Rule 15(b)(2), page no. 32,  
9 line nos. 1 to 4.

10           John, do these apply correctly now to the new  
11 numbering on Rule 15? That's a question that you have to  
12 decide first.

13           MR. RYDER: As I understand the amendment that  
14 was just adopted, it only amended 15(a). And, actually, I  
15 think this may have to become a new -- so that moves down  
16 the existing (a) to (b). Or did -- no. I don't know. I  
17 don't know where we --

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Staff, can you tell us?

19           MR. RYDER: Are we still in (b), or is this now  
20 (c)?

21           And, Mr. Chairman, by adopting Mr. Ginsberg's  
22 amendment to (a)(1) and (2), what did that do with the  
23 remaining paragraphs in subsection (a)?

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: They remained. Right?

25           MR. RYDER: Okay, they're just renumbered and

1 moved down. They're still in (a).

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That's correct.

3 MR. RYDER: Okay. So then this amendment would  
4 be correct; it is to 15(b)(2).

5 And it simply changes the word "shall" provide  
6 for the allocation of delegates on a proportional basis to  
7 "may" provide for the allocation of delegates on a  
8 proportional basis.

9 And I move its adoption.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

11 [Seconded.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

13 MR. RYDER: All right. Mr. Chairman, Rule  
14 15(b)(2) was the product of, oh, approximately 25 years of  
15 serious debate in this committee, in the RNC, in the RNC  
16 Rules Committee, and the academic community and the world  
17 of punditry and all those who have been observing the  
18 primary process that has grown since the primaries became  
19 the dominant form of selecting delegates to conventions,  
20 beginning about 1968.

21 In 1968, a majority of the delegates to national  
22 conventions were still elected by state conventions and  
23 caucuses. Since then, it's grown to about 82 percent of  
24 the delegates are elected by primaries.

25 The problem that we were attempting to address

1 was that of frontloading and the fact that by 2008 we had  
2 44 percent of the delegates elected in a single day, on  
3 Super Tuesday.

4           After dealing with a variety of methods of  
5 addressing this problem, back in 1992 we imposed, or we  
6 granted incentives to states to move their primaries back  
7 in the calendar. As a result of those incentives, six  
8 states moved forward. Four years later, we came back and  
9 we imposed penalties on states that moved forward. As a  
10 result of the penalties, six more states moved forward.

11           In 2000, Rich Forsten, who's the delegate from  
12 Delaware, was then counsel for the Delaware Republican  
13 Party, introduced a very creative plan known as the  
14 Delaware Plan, which would've reordered the primary  
15 calendar. That plan was defeated in the Convention Rules  
16 Committee for reasons we've already discussed.

17           We've considered a number of other plans. Four  
18 years ago, we created the temporary delegate selection  
19 committee -- this committee created a temporary delegate  
20 selection committee, which met for 2 years and reviewed  
21 all of the various proposals, took testimony from campaign  
22 managers of presidential campaigns, from academics, and  
23 from other commentators on the system.

24           The result was 15(b)(2), which requires that the  
25 allocation of delegates for 1 month, for the period of

1 March 1 to April 1, be proportional. That had the effect  
2 this year of extending the primary process -- extending  
3 the primary process so that states like Tennessee had  
4 relevant primaries this year. We think it was valuable to  
5 the campaign and to the primary process.

6           However, there is concern that if we are dealing  
7 with what we all hope will be an incumbent president and  
8 running a reelection campaign, that that may not be the  
9 best process. So I am proposing today that we make the  
10 proportionality requirement optional.

11           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
12 number one?

13           MR. CHRISTOPHER BROWN: Mr. Chairman, I was just  
14 rising for a point of order. You called me for another  
15 rule, and then you passed my amendment. And I just wanted  
16 to --

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We'll come back to it.

18           MR. CHRISTOPHER BROWN: Thank you.

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You did not completely  
20 irritate the Chairman.

21           [Laughter.]

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Bob Bennett?

23           MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, Bob Bennett from  
24 Ohio. I most strongly oppose this rule.

25           This rule was adopted in order to spread out our



1 primary process, which I think worked very well this year.  
2 I think that our presidential nominee is a stronger  
3 candidate today than he was in February. And I think he's  
4 going to go on and he's going to be elected president of  
5 the United States.

6           If we pass this rule today -- and prior to the  
7 change and the adoption of this rule some 2 years ago, we  
8 had 37 states that were going to move to the first Tuesday  
9 in March and elect their president.

10           We are a state, by party rule, that is winner-  
11 take-all. Because of our redistricting process being late  
12 this year, we had to go keep our primary in March. And,  
13 as a result, for the first time since 1976, Ohio is  
14 presenting a split delegation to the convention, although  
15 the entire delegation unanimously have supported and is  
16 supporting Governor Romney for president.

17           If you pass this rule, you can bet that there  
18 will be no control over the state legislators moving your  
19 primary or your caucus into that first week in March, and  
20 we'll be right back where we were just a couple of years  
21 ago.

22           We have it in there as "shall." If a state  
23 decides to go prior to April 1st, then they must go  
24 proportional.

25           And the fact that we have a longer time to vet

1 our presidential candidates I think strengthened the  
2 process this year, and it worked very well. I don't  
3 understand why we're attempting to change it now.

4 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you, Mr. Bennett.

6 Mr. Blackwell, are you pacing or are you waiting  
7 to speak, or both?

8 MR. BLACKWELL: In a minute.

9 [Laughter.]

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ginsberg?

11 MR. GINSBERG: Apparently I got him with his  
12 mouth full.

13 I rise in strong support of this amendment and  
14 change. I suspect we could debate at great lengths the  
15 merits of the extended primary, but for purposes of the  
16 reality of the campaign, and especially in 2016, as Mr.  
17 Ryder mentioned, I strongly support this amendment.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

19 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, Morton Blackwell  
20 from Virginia.

21 This would undo one of the principal reasons why  
22 the changes in the scheduling process were put into the  
23 rules with much labor. It invites, again, the  
24 frontloading of delegates, in my opinion. And I don't  
25 think giving them an option to have winner-take-all

1 primaries prior to the first of April is a good idea. It  
2 undoes a reform which achieved its result.

3 I remind you that the purpose of it was to  
4 stretch out the nomination process so we could vet the  
5 candidates and not have what amounted to a national  
6 primary on a given day or within a few days.

7 And it works. Nobody can deny that the  
8 presidential candidates -- and there were a lot of them --  
9 were vetted. And I don't think anybody could deny that  
10 Mitt Romney is a better candidate for president as a  
11 result of having to go through that long vetting process.  
12 If he'd gotten the nomination quickly, he would not be as  
13 good a candidate as he is today.

14 Please defeat this.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

16 The gentleman from South Carolina?

17 MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

18 I rise in opposition to this amendment.

19 I just want to point out, we are here today as a  
20 result of the process we have now. It worked. Those  
21 changes were made over 15 to 20 years. They'd been  
22 tweaked several times, slow fits and starts. But we have  
23 what we have now. This worked. It was a grand  
24 compromise.

25 I urge that we keep it and that we oppose this

1 amendment.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Seeing no more discussion --  
3 oh, I'm sorry. I didn't see you, sir.

4 MR. PALATUCCI: No problem, Mr. Chairman. Bill  
5 Palatucci from New Jersey.

6 I rise to support the amendment.

7 Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

9 Seeing no more discussion, we'll move to a vote.

10 All those in favor of the amendment, please say  
11 "aye."

12 [Chorus of ayes.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

14 [Chorus of noes.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I believe the nays have it. I  
16 will rule the nays have it unless anyone asks for a  
17 division.

18 Division.

19 All those in favor, please stand.

20 Forty-nine.

21 Please be seated.

22 All those opposed, please stand.

23 It passes, 49-42.

24 Mr. Brown?

25 MR. CHRISTOPHER BROWN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I was so tempted to say "the  
2 late Mr. Brown," but I will not.

3           [Laughter.]

4           MR. CHRISTOPHER BROWN: Chris Brown, Alabama.

5           I'm offering an amendment to strengthen military  
6 voting rights. Do I need to go into it, read it all out?

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's an amendment to Rule  
8 15(c)(7). It is on page 35, and it addresses issues on  
9 line 2.

10           It's short enough. Why don't you read it,  
11 Chris, and then explain it?

12           MR. CHRISTOPHER BROWN: Sure. Thank you, Mr.  
13 Chairman.

14           The revised language will read as follows: "Any  
15 process authorized or implemented by a state Republican  
16 Party for selecting delegates and alternate delegates or  
17 for binding the presidential preference of such delegates  
18 shall use every means practicable to guarantee the right  
19 of active-duty military personnel and individuals unable  
20 to attend meetings due to injuries suffered in military  
21 service the opportunity to exercise their right to vote in  
22 that process."

23           I'd like to offer that amendment.

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

25           [Seconded.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

2           MR. CHRISTOPHER BROWN: Mr. Chairman, can I talk  
3 briefly?

4           This is a simple amendment. It will allow the  
5 Republican Party to end the disenfranchisement of military  
6 voters and wounded warriors in the delegate selection  
7 process and make the GOP the standard for other parties  
8 when it comes to the military.

9           This will allow states to determine their own  
10 process in guaranteeing the right to vote for our  
11 military, which can include, but not all-encompassing,  
12 proxy voting, absentees, and teleconferencing for our  
13 military.

14           There will be a friendly amendment offered by  
15 Mr. Blackwell of Virginia. But I think it's important  
16 that our military is protecting us, dying for us, and  
17 serving us; it's time for us to protect them.

18           Thank you.

19           MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman?

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

21           MR. BLACKWELL: I move to amend the proposal to  
22 add at the end the words, "This rule is not intended to  
23 and shall not prevent a state from using a caucus or  
24 convention process that may or may not elect presidential  
25 delegates or alternates." That's been prefiled, and I

1 don't know if you have copies of it.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I don't have a copy, but  
3 that's all right.

4 Is there a second?

5 [Seconded.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let's discuss the amendment to  
7 the amendment first. Any discussion to that?

8 MR. BLACKWELL: Yes, sir. I could speak to it.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Please do.

10 MR. BLACKWELL: If you look at the original  
11 language, it could be argued, and perhaps successfully,  
12 that a system which runs via convention or a caucus would  
13 be illegal under the rules. The fact is that there are  
14 requirements on active-duty military that they not  
15 participate as delegates to a political convention.

16 And so is there a practicable way to make sure  
17 they get to vote? Yeah. The practical way would be, you  
18 can't hold a convention.

19 This would overturn the procedures that have  
20 worked well in many states that do operate by conventions.  
21 And I don't know that members of this group are interested  
22 in doing away, as a matter of policy, with conventions. I  
23 certainly hope not.

24 Thank you.

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you. Will you provide

1 the language to the --

2 MR. BLACKWELL: I did. It's there. They have  
3 it.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: They are pleading the Fifth  
5 Amendment.

6 MR. BLACKWELL: It's on the way to you. Thank  
7 you.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Does anyone need to wait until  
9 that language is posted?

10 If not, we'll move to a vote.

11 All those in favor of the amendment to the  
12 proposed amendment that would preserve the caucus process,  
13 all those in favor, please say "aye."

14 [Chorus of ayes.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

16 [No response.]

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It passes.

18 We now go to discussion of the amended  
19 amendment. Anyone care to comment?

20 Hearing none, all those in favor, say "aye."

21 [Chorus of ayes.]

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

23 [No response.]

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Perfect. Passes.

25 All right. I have before me an amendment



1 proposed by Butch Louis Davis of Texas.

2 Mr. Davis?

3 MR. DAVIS: I withdraw it, Mr. Chairman.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You withdraw it.

5 I have before me an amendment proposed by Kurt  
6 Criss of Nevada. This is an amendment to Rule 15(b) (1)  
7 and (2), pages 31 and 32, line 22.

8 Mr. Criss?

9 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Point of order. Has this  
10 been given out to everybody yet?

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I believe it has.

12 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: This one that's on the  
13 board? I haven't received that one yet.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I am addressing Mr. Criss's  
15 amendment to 15(b) (1) and (2), page nos. 31 and 32, line  
16 no. 22. I have only one piece of paper that fits that  
17 description in my hand. Is there another one?

18 Does everyone have that paper? Does anyone not  
19 have that paper?

20 Mr. Criss, go ahead.

21 MR. CRISS: Okay, Mr. Chairman, first, a point  
22 of order. Earlier, I heard you say there were two  
23 revisions to 15 by Kurt Criss from Nevada, and I'd just  
24 like to point out it's only one, but I received two  
25 different ways of showing that amendment --

1 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I see.

2 MR. CRISS: -- from your staff over here.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Which would you prefer to do?

4 MR. CRISS: I would prefer to do the one that  
5 shows the full body of the text.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay, so I will withdraw this  
7 piece of paper.

8 MR. CRISS: There's one that only is very short  
9 and doesn't seem to give the essence.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: And I will refer everyone to  
11 the one that says Rule 15(b) at the top, 31, line no. 15.

12 Is that correct?

13 MR. CRISS: That's correct.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. This is a revision to  
15 section 15(b).

16 Would you go ahead?

17 MR. CRISS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Kurt Criss  
18 from Nevada.

19 Mr. Chairman, I move that we strike the language  
20 of 15(b), starting with, quote, "and shall not be subject  
21 to the provisions of paragraph (b)(2) of this rule" and  
22 (2) in its entirety.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

24 [Seconded.]

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

1 Mr. Ryder, are you here to discuss it?

2 MR. CRISS: Do I get to speak first?

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Oh, I'm sorry. I thought --  
4 go ahead.

5 MR. CRISS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 Mr. Chairman, I believe the members of the  
7 affected states would prefer to determine their own method  
8 of selecting delegates instead of having it dictated to  
9 them by the RNC.

10 I'm from Nevada, which is one of the early four  
11 states. And for this convention, we were able to  
12 determine our selection process. This was very gratifying  
13 to us. I ask that others from states that wish to have  
14 the freedom to determine their own selection process join  
15 me in voting for my amendment.

16 And I'd also like to remind you that striking  
17 the aforementioned language will not affect the process  
18 for this current convention.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Point of information for the  
20 Chair. We just approved the substitution of the word  
21 "may" for the word "shall" in section (2). Therefore, my  
22 question to the proposer is, do you still wish to propose  
23 this amendment?

24 MR. CRISS: I do, Mr. Chairman, because by  
25 putting the word "may" in there, it really gives you the

1 option of either doing (2) or not. So what's the purpose  
2 of having (2)? The states would still have the freedom,  
3 if they wanted to, to set their own rule.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay.

5 Mr. Ryder?

6 MR. RYDER: I think Mr. Criss has just answered  
7 his own question and raised the whole point. His  
8 amendment is unnecessary in light of the amendment we just  
9 adopted.

10 This preserves the language of the process that  
11 Mr. Bennett and Mr. McKissick and others pointed out, and  
12 Mr. Blackwell pointed out, that we labored a long time to  
13 get to. And because there are cross-references throughout  
14 the rules to 15(b) (2), the deletion of 15(b) (2) would  
15 cause an unnecessary rewrite of the rules.

16 And, again, as I say, in light of the prior  
17 amendment, it's an unnecessary change at this time.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion?

19 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

20 All those in favor of the amendment as proposed,  
21 please say "aye."

22 [Chorus of ayes.]

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

24 [Chorus of noes.]

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The Chair rules the nays have

1 it.

2           Okay. I have two more amendments to section 15  
3 -- Rule 15, rather. One is by Mr. William Paulsen of  
4 Minnesota.

5           Is that Minnesota?

6           MR. PAULSEN: Yes.

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: And another one is by Mr.  
8 Pullen of Arizona.

9           Mr. Paulsen?

10          This is an amendment to Rule 15(a)?

11          MR. PAULSEN: Correct.

12          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Go ahead.

13          MR. PAULSEN: Yes, and this language was crafted  
14 in consultation with staff, so I don't believe there will  
15 be a question as to the meaning of this.

16          Could we put it on the screen or highlight what  
17 the change is?

18          While they're working on that -- so this inserts  
19 the words after "in a primary, caucus, or a state  
20 convention," and inserts the words "and where state  
21 delegates are bound by state party rule or state statute."

22          So this has, again, a carve-out in the rule for  
23 how New Jersey selects delegates. This would provide a  
24 carve-out for those states that, by their state party  
25 constitution, provides for delegates to be unbound.

1           In Minnesota, the state party constitution  
2 explicitly deals with the binding of delegates and gives  
3 the option to the state convention to bind the at-large  
4 delegates and then requires that the congressional  
5 district delegates be unbound.

6           So this essentially preserves the rule in the  
7 Minnesota state party constitution for how delegates have  
8 been allocated and elected long before any certain  
9 presidential campaign came along. This has been the  
10 longstanding rule in the Minnesota state party  
11 constitution. And I'm just standing to rise in defense of  
12 the constitution adopted by the Republicans of Minnesota.

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: As a point of information, for  
14 the staff, the legal staff, would this affect any other  
15 state but Minnesota?

16           All right. Let's move to a vote then.

17           All those in favor, please say "aye."

18           [Chorus of ayes.]

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

20           [Chorus of noes.]

21           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm in doubt. Let's try it  
22 once more.

23           All those in favor, please say "aye."

24           [Chorus of ayes.]

25           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

1 [Chorus of noes.]

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think the noes have it.

3 MR. PAULSEN: Division, Mr. Chairman.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: A division has been requested.

5 We return to a vote on the previous amendment.

6 All those in favor, please stand.

7 Please be seated.

8 All those opposed, please stand.

9 The Chair will rule that it is defeated.

10 One more amendment. There's an amendment to  
11 15(a)(2), proposed by Mr. Pullen of Arizona.

12 MR. PULLEN: Mr. Chairman, Randy Pullen from  
13 Arizona.

14 I would like to make a motion to amend Rule  
15 15(a)(2) after the words, "is bound or allocated has," and  
16 insert the words, "in consultation with the state party."

17 And the purpose of this is to make clear that  
18 the state party should be considered in the process of  
19 picking the delegates. That's the intention.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

21 [Seconded.]

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

23 Hearing none -- oh, I'm sorry, are you raising  
24 your hand, sir?

25 Okay, no discussion? We'll move to a vote.

1 All those in favor of the amendment, please say  
2 "aye."

3 [Chorus of ayes.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

5 [Chorus of noes.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm confused. Let's try it  
7 once more.

8 All those in favor, please say "aye."

9 [Chorus of ayes.]

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

11 [Chorus of noes.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm going to ask for a  
13 division, in fairness.

14 All those in favor, please stand.

15 Please be seated.

16 Yeah, it's pretty obvious now.

17 All those opposed?

18 The Chair is no longer confused. It passes.

19 The Chair apologizes for its confusion.

20 I have another amendment to Rule 15 by David  
21 Nelson from Washington.

22 Mr. Nelson?

23 MR. NELSON: Mr. Chairman, I'm David Nelson from  
24 the state of Washington.

25 I move that on page 33, line 9, insert the



1 following after the words "of a state": "and who have not  
2 participated in any primary, caucus, convention, or other  
3 process in another state."

4 And I'd like to speak to it.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: May I ask for clarification?

6 MR. NELSON: Certainly.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Would you like to add in there  
8 something like "in that year"?

9 MR. NELSON: Yes. Thank you.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Why don't you then tell us  
11 what you would like it to read?

12 MR. NELSON: "And who have not participated in  
13 any primary, caucus, convention, or other process in  
14 another state in that year."

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

16 MR. NELSON: No. Thank you.

17 [Laughter.]

18 MR. NELSON: The state of Washington is a caucus  
19 state, and caucuses draw a relatively small number of  
20 participants. And, therefore, a small number of  
21 participants can profoundly affect the outcome of a  
22 caucus.

23 This year, in the state of Washington, we heard  
24 stories and had anecdotal evidence of an organized effort  
25 to have supporters of a particular candidate who had

1 participated in the nominating process in another state  
2 move to Washington temporarily to take part in our  
3 caucuses. And I think people should only get one bite of  
4 the apple. I believe in one person, one vote.

5 Now, should the Washington state party rules  
6 address this issue? Yes, they should. But I would  
7 suggest that if you lock the front door to these electoral  
8 hobos, we'll lock the back door.

9 So I once again urge you to support this  
10 amendment.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

12 [Secoded.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

14 Mr. Blackwell?

15 MR. BLACKWELL: Morton Blackwell of Virginia.

16 I'm concerned about the word "participation."  
17 There are many people who are College Republicans and who  
18 participate in the campaign in the state where they are at  
19 school, and then they go home and vote and participate in  
20 their home-state operation. It could be argued, wait a  
21 second, you participated.

22 I think what you mean is voted. Because people  
23 volunteer in more than one state, and that shouldn't  
24 deprive them of the ability to vote in their home state.  
25 I think there's a problem with the wording.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Nelson, will you accept  
2 that as a friendly amendment?

3           MR. NELSON: Yes.

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It now reads, "and who have  
5 not voted in any primary, caucus, convention, or any other  
6 process in another state in that year."

7           Mr. Ryder of Tennessee?

8           MR. RYDER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have a  
9 question for the proponent.

10           Help me out with this. I'm trying to reconcile  
11 your proposal with our state election law. And in  
12 Tennessee, you can register to vote 30 days prior to any  
13 election. So we could have a citizen of Wisconsin  
14 legitimately -- maybe he'd participated in some event in  
15 Wisconsin within the year, but he legitimately moves to  
16 Tennessee to take a job and registers to vote as a good  
17 citizen, and then the next election comes up.

18           Now, I'm troubled with the idea of how we're  
19 going to keep him away from the polls. Just asking.

20           MR. NELSON: I agree it would be difficult to  
21 enforce that people would not take part in an election,  
22 yes.

23           MR. RYDER: Well --

24           MR. NELSON: In a caucus state, we have forms  
25 that you fill out. You sign an oath, basically, that

1 you're not a member of any other party. And we would  
2 potentially, in a caucus state, add language to our form  
3 to say we haven't taken part in a process in a different  
4 state. I do not know how you would do it in your state.

5 MR. RYDER: The second problem I see arising  
6 from that is that if you had a close result in such a  
7 primary, one campaign, the losing campaign filing a  
8 challenge to the results of the primary based on the idea  
9 that a number of hobos from Wisconsin or from some other  
10 state --

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Tennessee?

12 [Laughter.]

13 MR. RYDER: -- had migrated to Tennessee --  
14 well, I would think, you know, in January it's much better  
15 to be in Tennessee than Wisconsin.

16 But you get what I'm saying, is, you know, I can  
17 see election contests arising out of this. I think it's  
18 fraught with difficulties, and I didn't know whether you  
19 had a clarification you wanted to offer.

20 MR. NELSON: I do not.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from South  
22 Carolina?

23 MR. MCKISSICK: I was just wondering if he would  
24 be amenable to a small amendment, inserting the word  
25 "nominating" in front of the word "process," or maybe

1 "presidential nominating process," just to define that  
2 that's what we're talking about here.

3 MR. NELSON: Yes.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You accept that?

5 MR. NELSON: I accept that.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
7 discussion?

8 MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman? Just a question.  
9 What is the -- I think this is a very well-intentioned  
10 motion, and I know what you're trying to get at. I'm just  
11 not sure of the enforceability, nor the vagueness.

12 You do also have the situation where a state  
13 will now vote at different times in its presidential  
14 primary than it does in its Senate or House primary. I  
15 assume you're not trying to stop that behavior from --  
16 somebody could move --

17 MR. NELSON: Yeah.

18 MR. GINSBERG: -- for example, within the time  
19 period.

20 MR. NELSON: Are you suggesting that the  
21 amendment be changed to say "who have not participated in  
22 any presidential primary, caucus, convention, or other  
23 nominating process"?

24 MR. GINSBERG: The difficulty with the vagueness  
25 of the language is I think you also have to take into

1 account having voted in a congressional or a state primary  
2 that's held at a different time than a presidential. So  
3 the drafting becomes challenging.

4 And I do have a question, also, about the  
5 enforceability of it.

6 MR. NELSON: I'm with you on the enforceability.  
7 And yet I believe we should come down on the side of one  
8 person, one vote.

9 MR. GINSBERG: Well, I would agree with that. I  
10 worry about putting something in the rules that that's  
11 vague, but if there are more specifics, we might be able  
12 to work on that and come up with a compromise.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments?

14 MR. PAULSEN: Mr. Chair? I apologize if this  
15 was already raised, but can counsel comment on, like,  
16 certain laws will impose residency requirements, and so,  
17 if the RNC, like, overturned state laws about voting  
18 rights, and I'm just wondering how this would apply to  
19 state and federal election law.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That was directed to whom?

21 MR. PAULSEN: To legal counsel. Would this put  
22 us in violation of challenging federal and state election  
23 law?

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do our crack legal staff over  
25 there or up here have an answer?

1           The answer I get from counsel here is "no."

2           Do our various counsels care to debate the  
3 issue?

4           MS. STEBBINS: To tack on to that and maybe to  
5 clarify it, is there not already -- and I don't know the  
6 answer -- is there not already federal law that prohibits  
7 voters from voting in one state and then another within  
8 the same election cycle?

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I don't think so. The process  
10 of selecting a nominee is really left in the hands of the  
11 party, more than federal law.

12           Hearing no more discussion, we'll move to a  
13 vote.

14           All those in favor of the amendment, including  
15 all the friendly amendments that were accepted, please say  
16 "aye."

17           [Chorus of ayes.]

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

19           [Chorus of noes.]

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think the nays have it. I  
21 will rule the nays have it.

22           Ms. Fredricks of Texas?

23           I have an amendment here from Melinda Fredricks  
24 of Texas. This rule applies to 15(a)(2), as amended, page  
25 no. 30.

1 Ms. Fredricks?

2 MS. FREDRICKS: Yes, Mr. Chairman, this does  
3 apply to the rule that we passed just before lunch. And I  
4 move to strike the middle section.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me ask, if we address that  
6 under the divisibility issue that was before, is this  
7 bringing it forward a second time? Is that permitted?

8 Okay, the proposal is to strike the second  
9 section of the three sections that we adopted just before  
10 lunch. Is that correct?

11 MS. FREDRICKS: Yes, sir.

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

13 [Seconded.]

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

15 MS. FREDRICKS: Our concern with this, sir, is  
16 that it removes the power of our state delegates to choose  
17 who their delegates to the National Convention will be.

18 Yes, they will have a choice, but it'll be a  
19 pool of people that are acceptable by the candidate. And  
20 we want our delegates to have the freedom to vote for  
21 whichever delegate they want to, whether or not they're  
22 approved by the candidate for president or not.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any other comments or  
24 discussion?

25 Mr. Blackwell? I thought you got tired.



1 [Laughter.]

2 MR. BLACKWELL: At one of these meetings?

3 Never.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I knew Morton when he was  
5 6' 4".

6 [Laughter.]

7 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, if you have a  
8 state convention that selects delegates, you generally  
9 have, as we do in my home state, a nominations committee.  
10 And the nominations committee comes up with a slate to  
11 present to the state convention.

12 We have done that since time immemorial in  
13 Virginia. And the nominations committee makes the  
14 decision as to whom they're going to put forward for our  
15 at-large delegates, not the presidential campaign.

16 This works extraordinarily well. It helped us  
17 greatly this year in Virginia, which I think you will all  
18 agree is a vital state for our ticket this year, because  
19 we got into negotiations between long-established people  
20 in the party and the tea party people and the Ron Paul  
21 people, who, by the way, received 40 percent of the  
22 popular vote in our Virginia presidential primary.

23 And it was hashed out, and it was agreed to, and  
24 the nominations committee came forward with a slate of 13  
25 at-large delegates that they had picked. And it passed

1 our convention unanimously; their nominations were  
2 forwarded.

3           This would prevent that happening. This  
4 proposal jerks us around in Virginia unnecessarily.  
5 Virginians, I assure you, are not going to like that.  
6 We're very satisfied with our process. And this is going  
7 to aggravate folks at the grass roots, who currently are  
8 united behind our ticket, including our Senate candidate,  
9 George Allen.

10           And there are many other states that will be  
11 similarly affected, being forced to undertake processes  
12 which are completely different from what we have decided  
13 to have and with which we have worked successfully over a  
14 very long time.

15           So I think this is a particularly bad proposal.  
16 It fits right in with the strategy of centralizing  
17 everything in this party and stopping grassroots people  
18 from making their own decisions. If that's the way you  
19 want to move, fine. But I guarantee you, it is not going  
20 to help grow this party.

21           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Morton, let me ask you a  
22 question just so that everyone is clear. Therefore, you  
23 are supporting this motion?

24           MR. BLACKWELL: Yes, sir. I am supporting --

25           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. I just wanted to get

1 that clarified, that your arguments apply to supporting  
2 it.

3 MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from South  
5 Carolina?

6 MR. MCKISSICK: I also rise to support this  
7 amendment, Mr. Chairman, and would just, again, point out  
8 there are several different ways, obviously, that we can  
9 elect delegates.

10 We can have delegates be completely unbound, we  
11 can have them be bound -- bound on one ballot, two  
12 ballots, three ballots, whatever. We've changed ours in  
13 South Carolina a couple times in the last several years.  
14 And then, way out on the other far extreme, there is  
15 letting the campaigns pick their own delegates.

16 Now, on some other issues here we've had  
17 discussion about participation, when we were talking about  
18 closed primaries. So all the people in here who were  
19 against having Republicans elect Republicans and were  
20 having reservations about promoting closed primaries, I  
21 would suggest you probably ought to also be against the  
22 idea of having the presidential campaigns pick the  
23 delegates because that is a completely closed process.

24 If we're all about an open party of  
25 participation, from the grass roots up, you don't support

1 letting the presidential campaigns pick their own  
2 delegates.

3 Thank you.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from D.C.?

5 MR. GINSBERG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ben  
6 Ginsberg from the District of Columbia.

7 I rise in opposition of this. I certainly  
8 appreciate the heartfelt comments of my colleagues, but I  
9 believe we have bit this apple already, and I think that  
10 we have decided the issue.

11 So I oppose this. Thank you.

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker from microphone three?

13 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Butch  
14 Davis, Texas.

15 Mr. Chairman, the particular motion which I rise  
16 in support of is a very simple one. It's to strike the  
17 language which says the delegates to the 2016 National  
18 Convention will be selected by the presidential candidate.

19 The grass roots, your convention process, our  
20 republic form of government that this party operates  
21 under, will be completely undermined. It will be picked  
22 by the candidate, and that's it.

23 We have historically in this party believed in  
24 grass roots. We believe in listening to the people who  
25 send us here. We represent individuals back home in the

1 Republican Party who voted in our primary or in the caucus  
2 or at whatever method was employed to come forward and  
3 represent them at this meeting. They didn't send us here  
4 to say, "Yes, sir," give a rubberstamp, and then walk out  
5 the door.

6 I think it's very important that we honor the  
7 grass roots, we let them decide who the delegates are  
8 going to be. I believe it's critical that those  
9 particular delegates do, indeed, support the presidential  
10 candidate. That is not the question. It's who picks  
11 those delegates; do they represent our grass roots.

12 So I strongly urge you to vote in favor of this  
13 amendment. Thank you.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker at microphone one, Mr.  
15 Barbour?

16 MR. BARBOUR: Governor, Henry Barbour from  
17 Mississippi.

18 I'm not the smartest guy in this room by a long  
19 shot --

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is that a motion?

21 [Laughter.]

22 MR. BARBOUR: I think we could get unanimous  
23 consent on that.

24 [Laughter.]

25 MR. BARBOUR: But that said, the first time this

1 thing came through, I will say, I didn't quite pick up on  
2 this part in the middle paragraph. And it does trouble  
3 me, if I understand this correctly, that the campaign  
4 basically is getting to sign off on who the delegates can  
5 be from a state. I just -- I think that's backwards.

6 And I don't think anybody in Mississippi,  
7 Virginia, Montana, California, wherever, need the campaign  
8 to tell them who are the folks in that state who ought to  
9 be delegates.

10 We need to make sure that those delegates  
11 represent the voters' will as it was shown in a bound  
12 primary, for certain. But I think this is something that  
13 is unnecessary. So I am standing with my friend, Morton  
14 Blackwell, in support of this amendment.

15 [Applause.]

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
17 two?

18 MR. O'BRIEN: Thank you, Governor. Robert  
19 O'Brien from California.

20 And I'm just a country lawyer, but this thing  
21 seems like a motion for reconsideration of something that  
22 we've already passed.

23 The whole idea here is that average voters -- we  
24 keep hearing about the grass roots. The grass roots are  
25 the Republicans that come out and vote every single day.

1 They may not be elected to the Central Committee or they  
2 may not be an insider who comes to the convention year  
3 after year. They're the average voters that want to come  
4 out and support their candidate for president. And we've  
5 got to include them in our party. If we just go with the  
6 insiders, we're not going to get elected to anything.

7           So we've got to reflect the will of the average  
8 voters. And in California, where I come from, the  
9 candidates put up their own slate. So if you want to get  
10 behind a candidate and you want to be delegate, you better  
11 be all in with that guy or that gal. And then when your  
12 person wins, you get to go to the convention.

13           But you don't get to come in later and say,  
14 well, I'm the regular and I go every time and I'm the  
15 insider, and so I may have supported Candidate X, but now  
16 I'll go and be bound, you know, for Candidate Y because I  
17 got 20 of my friends to come down to the Central Committee  
18 meeting or the local convention.

19           We've got to respect the will of the average  
20 voters, GOP folks that write the \$20 checks to the RNC,  
21 you know, month-in and month-out, that keep this party  
22 going, that come out for the primaries, that come out for  
23 the general election and elect Republicans across this  
24 country. We've got to respect their will, and we've got  
25 to respect the candidates they support.

1           So I'd urge that we reject this motion for  
2 reconsideration, Governor.

3           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The delegate from Utah?

4           MS. MICKELSEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Enid  
5 Mickelsen from Utah.

6           Being from Utah, it will come as no surprise  
7 that we had more people who wanted to be delegates than  
8 there were delegate spaces for this particular convention.  
9 And an issue arose that I believe bears on this particular  
10 amendment, which I support.

11           We had so many people who wanted to be delegates  
12 that we had a Romney slate and other people who didn't get  
13 on that slate went ahead and ran themselves. Some of the  
14 Romney slate got elected; some of the pro-Romney people  
15 who were not on the slate got elected. And I would hate  
16 to see us ever get to a point where, unless the candidate  
17 has given you the nod, you're not going to be seated as a  
18 delegate.

19           So I support this amendment because I think we  
20 shouldn't have anything in here that even has the  
21 appearance of allowing the candidate to pick and choose,  
22 rather than the will of the people in the state.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone one?

24           MS. SEBERN: Florence Sebern, Colorado. I rise  
25 in support of this amendment.



1           As a 33-year Republican who registered  
2 Republican when both of my parents were Democrats, as a  
3 33-year Republican who has been in the trenches, who has  
4 been the good little worker bee, and now for the first  
5 time been able to attend this convention as a delegate and  
6 as an elected member of the Rules Committee, what I'm  
7 hearing is: "Put your head down, girl. Stay where we put  
8 you, and work for us."

9           And that's not the Republican Party that I grew  
10 up in. That's not the kind of people that mentored me.  
11 And that's not who I am going to be to my children and  
12 those young people coming into the party.

13           And I would urge, please, a "yes" vote for this  
14 amendment.

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from  
16 Massachusetts?

17           MR. DEVITO: Thank you.

18           For purposes of clarity, if you voted "yes" for  
19 the prior amendment that changed this section, on this  
20 particular motion you must vote "no."

21           And there's a lot of talk about protecting the  
22 will of the voters and the voters' intent at the  
23 convention. That's exactly what the previous amendment  
24 did. This is not a top-down strategy. This particular  
25 amendment reverses what we did earlier and doesn't solve

1 some of the problems that we had this year, particularly  
2 in Massachusetts.

3 And I directly appeal to the gentleman from  
4 Mississippi to not support this particular motion, because  
5 you said you wanted the will of the voters to be  
6 represented at the convention. If you vote against this,  
7 that's what we get.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
9 three?

10 MR. CRISS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Kurt  
11 Criss, Nevada.

12 Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this motion.

13 In Nevada, we debated this very issue 1-1/2  
14 years ago when we passed rules for allocating our  
15 delegates. And my memory is that the state party Central  
16 Committee was nearly unanimous in not wanting candidates  
17 selecting our delegates.

18 So I ask committee members to consider the  
19 repercussions back home from allowing this. I urge you to  
20 vote in favor of this amendment.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let's continue a little bit  
22 over here to balance the numbers out.

23 MS. KNAPERREK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Laura  
24 Knaperek, Arizona, the great state of Arizona.

25 I'm here to stand in opposition to this

1 amendment. I believe that the Republican Party is in the  
2 future and today could be in jeopardy, and it shows in the  
3 registration in many of our states, with the increased  
4 numbers of parties not declared and independents.

5 This is about the voters' will and not the  
6 party's will. And I would suggest that the Pullen  
7 amendment that we all supported just recently takes care  
8 of the issue of dealing with the party and having them  
9 have input with the presidential candidate.

10 I stand opposed.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Over here?

12 MR. REICHNER: Mr. Chairman, Scott Reichner from  
13 Montana again speaking on the issue.

14 I'd just echo what my good friend from Arizona  
15 has said and then plead with my seatmate here from  
16 Mississippi.

17 "In consultation with the state party" is what  
18 we added to this amendment. The Pullen amendment was  
19 accurately attached. That gives us the right to work with  
20 the RNC, the state party, and go along with the vote of  
21 the people in the primary.

22 So I support the section as it sits. I'm  
23 opposed to this amendment.

24 Thank you very much.

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There's three here, two there,

1 and two more here.

2 All right, the gentleman at microphone two?

3 DR. HIGGINS: Peter Higgins from Alaska. I  
4 stand in opposition to this amendment.

5 And, you know, this goes from experience of what  
6 happened this year in Alaska in the interior. Now, Romney  
7 took it by the will of the people. Unfortunately, our  
8 district meeting was on Saturday, and it was a very nice  
9 day, and most people on a very nice day don't go to  
10 district meetings. But the grassroot effort of the Ron  
11 Paul people did, and guess what? They formed all of our  
12 delegates from their group.

13 And I was a delegate because I'm pretty well-  
14 known there anyhow. So I'm one, out of my district. And  
15 most of those guys came to me and said, "Pete, I'm going  
16 to tell you right now, when we go to Tampa, it's going to  
17 be shenanigans because this is what we do." And I said,  
18 "You know what? You're not voting for the will of the  
19 people, at this point. You're voting for your own agenda.  
20 And that's wrong."

21 So, you know, when the presidential campaigns,  
22 when they came to me and they asked me, "Hey, you know,  
23 what is this group of people from the interior, who are  
24 the Romney guys," and I said, "You know what? These are  
25 the ones that I know of. The rest of them, I don't have a

1 clue who they are because they haven't been involved."

2           So I'm opposed to this amendment, and I think we  
3 need to keep it the way it is.

4           Thank you.

5           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speaker at --

6           MS. LEPAK: Linda Lepak from Oklahoma. I'm  
7 opposed to this amendment.

8           This is an issue that we have been dealing with  
9 for months in Oklahoma, and we've done a good job of  
10 providing solutions through the last hour of voting.  
11 We've come up with solutions that will actually help deal  
12 with a real problem in Oklahoma.

13           So I stand opposed to this amendment.

14           MS. SKAF: Jacquelyn Skaf from Hawaii. I stand  
15 in opposition to this amendment.

16           There seems to be a notion that allowing the  
17 winner of the primary to choose delegates somehow  
18 supplants our grass roots. I'm here as physical evidence  
19 that that couldn't be further from the truth, as the  
20 grassroots secretary for the Romney campaign.

21           I'm not a party insider. I'm recent to the  
22 Republican Party. And there were many feathers ruffled  
23 when I was sent as a delegate and our party veterans were  
24 not.

25           In Hawaii, this process embraced our grassroots

1 supporters, and I'd like to see that happen across the  
2 nation. So I stand in --

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady from Vermont?

4 MS. SKAF: Thank you.

5 MS. HUDSON: Susie Hudson from Vermont.

6 I would like to support this amendment, the  
7 reason being that I come from a state where our delegates  
8 are bound, but we had a situation at our state convention  
9 this last time where we had the Romney slate card, but  
10 there were a lot of really good activist Republicans in  
11 our state who were not included in that slate card. Our  
12 former state party secretary, our number-one most  
13 hardworking county chair, was not included. Another  
14 county chair that's also a former state representative was  
15 not included.

16 And these are people that we need to become  
17 engaged all the time because we depend on their support  
18 every single year to rally the troops in their counties  
19 and across the state to elect Republicans, to elect the  
20 Republican nominee.

21 And it's for that reason, when I saw the hurt  
22 feelings that were imposed the day of our convention -- we  
23 are still dealing with the hurt feelings with people who  
24 do not want to become involved with the party anymore.

25 Our state convention is the largest-attended

1 Republican gathering every 4 years in our state. And I  
2 just feel that people will not feel the incentive to want  
3 to become involved in the process if the process is  
4 dictated for them before they arrive. And that's what we  
5 found this last time around.

6           And, like I said, there's a lot of hurt  
7 feelings, and we cannot afford to lose the passion that  
8 these people have when they are left off of slate cards,  
9 when they were entitled to be there, because they might  
10 have supported someone else in the primary.

11           And I also feel like, in the future, that people  
12 might be afraid to actually come out and support the  
13 presidential candidate they feel in their heart is the  
14 candidate that they want to support, because they're  
15 afraid that when it came time to the slate card being  
16 imposed on them in their state convention, that they will  
17 not be able to go to the convention. And they might have  
18 been someone who'd been five times before.

19           So I think we're really maybe making people  
20 afraid to come out and, you know, support who they want in  
21 their heart in the future.

22           Thank you.

23           MS. AIKEN: Susan Aiken from South Carolina. I  
24 rise in support of the amendment.

25           I think we need to remember that the party picks

1 the candidates, not the candidates pick the party. I find  
2 something totally wrong about us delegates to have to be  
3 certified by a candidate.

4 Thank you.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone one?

6 MS. BOWEN: Yes. Gwen Bowen, Louisiana. And I  
7 rise in support of the amendment.

8 I just wanted to make a reminder that  
9 representation of the people, by the people, is what a  
10 republic is. We're a Republican Party. "Democracy rules"  
11 is the Democratic Party. So we're elected to represent  
12 the majority of the people that voted for us.

13 And so I do rise in support of this amendment.  
14 Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady from Texas?

16 MS. FREDRICKS: Yes, Mr. Chairman. Melinda  
17 Fredricks, Texas.

18 I understand that there are states that  
19 struggled with sending the delegates here that the people  
20 of their state elected -- what am I trying to say? They  
21 had delegates who did not agree to support the vote of the  
22 people, the will of the people. I think that the first  
23 part that we passed covers that, in that it will be bound,  
24 you have to be bound to whatever your state chose.

25 The second part that we're trying to remove, I



1 want to say, you don't take the rights of law-abiding  
2 citizens away because of bad actors. So don't take the  
3 rights of our people to vote, our delegates to be chosen,  
4 because of those who didn't keep the faith, who weren't  
5 faithful to what their word was.

6 That's all I have.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

8 MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you. Morton Blackwell,  
9 Virginia.

10 I fear that some people in this room may be  
11 laboring under the misapprehension that if there is a  
12 binding primary which allocates delegate votes among  
13 different candidates and that somehow people are elected  
14 to delegate positions who want to vote other than the way  
15 their delegate vote was bound by the primary, that that's  
16 going to be a big problem.

17 I'm here to tell you that that is not the case.  
18 Because what happens is, the secretary of the convention  
19 knows which states have bound delegate votes. And if  
20 there is, here or there, a rogue delegate who wants to  
21 vote some way other than the primary bound him to vote,  
22 the secretary will not record that vote as the rogue  
23 delegate wants. The secretary will record the vote  
24 according to the results of the binding primary.

25 So I think that this section was trying to solve

1 a problem that doesn't exist. And it has all the problems  
2 that have been mentioned by so many others. And I thank  
3 Henry Barbour for his support on this thing. But you have  
4 nothing to worry about. Even if the person is a rogue  
5 delegate, if a delegate vote is bound by a primary, it  
6 will be cast that way on the roll-call for president.

7 Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman behind Mr.  
9 Blackwell?

10 MR. FORSTEN: Mr. Chairman, Richard Forsten from  
11 Delaware.

12 A couple of points I want to make. And we  
13 talked about rogue delegates a moment ago. You can be a  
14 rogue delegate, so to speak, not only by being an  
15 unfaithful delegate and casting your vote the wrong way,  
16 but doing other things which undermine that candidate --  
17 not voting for his vice presidential nominee, perhaps.

18 But the real issue that we talked about earlier,  
19 when we first debated this rule, was reflecting the will  
20 of the voters. They're the ones that vote.

21 And you had candidates, and candidates ran, and  
22 they ran commercials, and they knocked on doors, and they  
23 kissed babies, and they did all the things candidates do.  
24 And then, after they win the primary, there's a state  
25 convention. And you may end up with delegates who don't

1 support that candidate. Sure, they're bound to vote for  
2 them on the first ballot, but now they've got to go fight  
3 a second primary, or second battle, so to speak, and  
4 that's the battle to actually get delegates who support  
5 them.

6 And I would submit that that's not fair to the  
7 candidates. And, as many people have said, it's not fair  
8 to the voters.

9 Just one final point here. We did amend to say  
10 "in consultation." So now these candidates are going to  
11 have to consult with the leadership of each state party.  
12 And, for my money, I don't think that they want to do  
13 anything to turn that state off. I mean, they've got to  
14 work in good faith with the state party and put together  
15 delegates.

16 Thank you.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm going to limit this to  
18 three more speakers.

19 Delegate from California?

20 MS. MACK: Mary Bono Mack, California, again.

21 This is deja vu all over again. We already took  
22 this vote. This is simply undoing what we've already  
23 taken a vote on.

24 And to reiterate my position earlier and then  
25 probably to expand on it, first of all, if you want to

1 tell voters that their vote doesn't count, then this is a  
2 way to do that.

3           Secondly, if you stand there and you think about  
4 trying to recruit new potential people who are interested  
5 in running for office, simply tell them, "Well, you  
6 already had better be in that smoke-filled room or in the  
7 club already, or else you're insignificant." That's what  
8 this does.

9           So I urge a "no" vote on this amendment. And  
10 it's just bad for both candidates and for the American  
11 people.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The delegate from Wyoming?

13           MR. GRADY: Bob Grady from Wyoming. I stand in  
14 opposition to the amendment to strike and in favor of the  
15 original position for three reasons.

16           One is, as Congresswoman Bono Mack just  
17 mentioned, we've already litigated this issue. We're  
18 retreading on old ground.

19           Secondly, the core issue here is preventing  
20 imposters, people who say they're going to vote one way  
21 and then get elected and they're actually planning to do  
22 the other.

23           And, thirdly, my experience is very similar to  
24 the gentlewoman from Hawaii who spoke before. At our  
25 convention in Wyoming, the presidential campaigns knew who

1 was active for which candidates. There was actually a  
2 very, very broad slate of candidates who ran. Some were  
3 party officials, some were elected officials, some were  
4 not. And, you know, there was an open competition, 14  
5 people got elected, that was that. The campaigns knew  
6 that they were really people who were active, in this case  
7 for the Romney campaign.

8           And so it did not at all disenfranchise  
9 grassroots people, including myself, who decided to run.  
10 Quite the opposite. It let all those people do so, but it  
11 just made sure that those people really were for who they  
12 said they were for and prevented imposters from stating  
13 one thing and voting another way.

14           So, thank you.

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Bennett?

16           MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, Bob Bennett from  
17 Ohio.

18           We have a fairly simple process, and I want to  
19 make sure that this rule doesn't change that. Number one  
20 is the candidates, presidential candidates, select all  
21 their delegates in Ohio, including the at-large. They do  
22 it by getting an acceptance of that delegate when they  
23 file for election. Very simple.

24           And they work with the state parties because  
25 they don't know these people. So, in many cases, they're

1 working with the county parties, they're working with the  
2 state parties to identify people that are supporting them  
3 as part of their campaign process.

4           Once they're elected, they're bound. This year,  
5 for the first year since 1976, first presidential primary,  
6 we have a split delegation. They came together at their  
7 delegation meeting and unanimously endorsed Governor  
8 Romney for election as president.

9           I think it was a very fair process. I would  
10 venture a guess that there's probably half of our  
11 delegation that I don't know personally because they're  
12 new people that got elected.

13           It's a simple process to get on the ballot in  
14 Ohio. I just want to make sure that we're not passing  
15 something that would affect that or affect what the  
16 candidates are doing.

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I really don't want to cut off  
18 debate, but every time I turn around there's more people  
19 coming up, and a lot of what they're saying is exactly  
20 what's been already said. So let's try and finish it up  
21 here with the two in the -- now there's three.

22           MR. COLE: Warren Cole from the Virgin Islands.  
23 I oppose the current amendment.

24           We have passed that subsection. We have amended  
25 that subsection once. It appears to have already been the

1 will of the body to adopt that subsection as it presently  
2 exists. And I oppose another bite at the apple.

3 Thank you.

4 MS. RADEWAGEN: Mr. Chairman, Amata Radewagen  
5 from American Samoa. I rise to oppose this.

6 We've already settled this problem. We fixed  
7 it. And none of the reasons have changed. Let's not take  
8 a step backwards.

9 [Applause.]

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from Illinois?

11 MR. DAGLAS: Steven Daglas, Illinois. I rise in  
12 wholehearted support of this amendment.

13 I concur with my colleague from Missouri. I  
14 base this not on conjecture or speculation. I base this  
15 on experience firsthand. This was a debate of great  
16 contention in Illinois back in September when we were  
17 discussing our process of changing the delegate selection.  
18 And there were a number of individuals who basically -- it  
19 unleashed a firestorm within the Republican Party in our  
20 state.

21 I don't mean to make it sound overly dramatic,  
22 but the notion that someone who worked to get on the  
23 ballot, collected signatures through the rain, sleet, and  
24 snow, could theoretically have their spot at the  
25 convention taken from them simply because they outworked

1 someone else, they earned that position and it was  
2 snatched from them, was not very well-received.

3 I say this as a Mitt Romney supporter. I was a  
4 Romney delegate candidate 4 years ago. I had the  
5 privilege of doing so again this time around. But if  
6 someone in my district outworked me for another candidate,  
7 then I don't deserve to be here right now. I broke my  
8 backside to be here and to make it here as a delegate.

9 And I can tell you, there are a number of  
10 grassroots individuals, at least in our state, who did not  
11 take kindly to the idea that they could go through the  
12 entire process, reach a successful culmination, have this  
13 moment of joy and happiness, and find it taken from them  
14 even if they aren't causing problems or trouble.

15 If someone else does beat me, God bless them, I  
16 think they deserve it because they outworked me and I  
17 didn't earn it. And I say that as someone who desperately  
18 wants Mitt Romney to become president of the United  
19 States.

20 Thank you.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone three?

22 MS. GONZALEZ: Yes, my name is Jenniffer  
23 Gonzalez from Puerto Rico.

24 And I understand that we already discussed this  
25 issue in the morning. And I'm afraid that we will be the



1 whole afternoon looking at what we already approved.

2           And that's why I ask the people if we are going  
3 to make a revision of all the items we already voted,  
4 because it's the same issue that we are discussing right  
5 now.

6           [Applause.]

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm going to decree that there  
8 should be a compromise come out of that group over there.  
9 Is there a compromise?

10           MR. GINSBERG: Pretty close.

11           MR. TETTLEBAUM: Point of personal privilege,  
12 Mr. Chairman?

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Speak.

14           MR. TETTLEBAUM: Henry Barbour is not from  
15 Missouri. He is from Mississippi. Although we're all in  
16 the SEC now.

17           [Laughter.]

18           [Applause.]

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You kicked the football down  
20 the field, didn't you?

21           [Laughter.]

22           MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, I call the  
23 question.

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have to confer with counsel  
25 over here.

1           You have to go to the microphone and identify  
2 yourself for the -- Mr. Barbour?

3           MR. BARBOUR: Mr. Chairman?

4           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes?

5           MR. BARBOUR: Henry Barbour from Mississippi.

6           We are attempting to try to meet the objectives  
7 of making certain that our state parties select our  
8 delegates. And certainly we want it to be in line with  
9 the results that happen in a binding primary or caucus.  
10 That's the objective of what we're trying to do over here.

11           And I will say, I'm not much for a campaign  
12 coming in and telling me, hey, I want you to pick this  
13 person or that person. But we certainly want to make sure  
14 we pick people that reflect how the folks voted.

15           And I would like to offer an amendment to the  
16 amendment that I believe meets that. And that would be to  
17 add the words "after party selection" after the words "has  
18 precertified or approved," so it would read as such --

19           MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, a question of  
20 order.

21           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes?

22           MR. BARBOUR: Yeah, that on the board is right.

23           And so, basically, the point is that we're -- I  
24 believe with this language that we are going to make  
25 certain that it's the state driving who the delegates are,

1 but it also reflects the will of the voters.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from North  
3 Dakota?

4 MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, a question of  
5 order. Again, the question is, are we about to pass a  
6 rule that violates existing rules?

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Are you referring to Rule 37  
8 and 38 again?

9 [Laughter.]

10 MR. HAUGLAND: Yes, sir. They have not changed.

11 [Laughter.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

13 MR. HOAR: Mr. Chair? Kevin Hoar from Oregon.  
14 I rise in support of the amendment to the amendment that's  
15 been offered.

16 I think that it's very reasonable to say that  
17 all of us want our delegates to reflect the will of the  
18 voters. And this actually still ensures that but ensures  
19 that the state party role is the primary role in selecting  
20 and preserving who those delegates are.

21 Thank you.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I would like to move to a vote  
23 on the amendment to the amendment, unless somebody feels  
24 that they will desperately sway this committee with their  
25 magnificent rhetoric. If you do feel that way, please

1 speak. If you don't feel that way --

2 MR. PALACIOS: Mr. Chairman, I just had a  
3 question. I think the amendment -- Raymond Palacios from  
4 the Northern Marianas.

5 I think the amendment that was offered was to  
6 strike the rule and not to amend it. So does another  
7 amendment need to be offered to amend a previous  
8 amendment?

9 I'm getting so confused.

10 [Laughter.]

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: They are proposing to amend  
12 the proposed amendment to strike by replacing it with a  
13 new amendment that has the new language in it.

14 Can everyone see it?

15 The current status is that this amendment has  
16 been proposed to replace the motion on the floor that was  
17 to strike the middle paragraph of the three that we had  
18 previously passed.

19 So the first thing we will do is vote as to  
20 whether or not this replaces that. You will then get  
21 another chance as to whether or not you want to pass this.

22 Is that correct?

23 MS. BOWEN: Mr. Chairman, this is so important  
24 to the future of our party, could we have this in writing  
25 before we vote on it, this amendment to the amendment,

1 please?

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think they're struggling to  
3 get that to you as you speak.

4 MS. BOWEN: Thank you. Thank you.

5 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, is debate in order  
6 now?

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You may muse while we are  
8 waiting.

9 MR. BLACKWELL: All right. Thank you, Mr.  
10 Chairman.

11 My musing is this: This language is not, I  
12 think, transparently clear to everybody. It is hard to  
13 see through it to what it really means.

14 And I ask this question. We have inserted the  
15 words in the amendment, which a great many of us want to  
16 strike, the words "after party selection." And this also  
17 contains the language about consultation. Consultation  
18 doesn't mean anything if the campaign has the veto power.  
19 Consultation could be, "That's your views? Thank you.  
20 Goodbye."

21 But there's a serious question here. They're  
22 talking about after the delegate selection. My question  
23 is, if the party selects delegates, does the campaign then  
24 have an opportunity to veto as delegates the people whom  
25 the party has preselected? It seems to me pretty clear

1 that that's what it means, but it's not entirely clear,  
2 and I'd like a statement --

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Barbour, could you muse  
4 back to the musing?

5 MR. HAUGLAND: I called the question and it was  
6 seconded some time before this amendment.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You called the question from  
8 your seat, not from the microphone. The procedure is to  
9 go to the microphone, identify yourself and your state,  
10 and call the question from the microphone.

11 MR. HAUGLAND: The reporter signaled to me and  
12 said it was okay to --

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: He's not running the meeting.  
14 Mr. Barbour?

15 MR. BARBOUR: Yes, sir. I understand what  
16 Morton is trying to get to. I think I'm trying to get to  
17 the same point, and I don't know that I necessarily have a  
18 clear answer to that.

19 I do think, as sitting here trying to address  
20 this, certainly one additional change that could be made  
21 is taking out "pre," the "precertified." I don't know  
22 that "pre" sounds very good. Because it sounds like then  
23 the -- that doesn't seem appropriate.

24 So may I add that to my amendment, Mr. Chairman?

25 MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, question. Curly

1 Haugland, North Dakota.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Which question are you  
3 calling?

4 MR. HAUGLAND: I'm calling the question.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Tell me what the question is.

6 [Laughter.]

7 MR HAUGLAND: To vote on the motion.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Which motion?

9 [Laughter.]

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm serious. I'm serious.  
11 I'm not trying to give you a hard time. I'm trying to  
12 find out whether you're calling the question that has been  
13 raised by Mr. Barbour, which members have asked to be  
14 distributed before we act on, or whether you're calling a  
15 previous motion.

16 MR. HAUGLAND: I don't believe that was a  
17 motion.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I thought that was a motion.  
19 I'm not trying to be difficult here. I'm just trying to  
20 tell you, I love the fact that you want to get this done,  
21 but I also want to give the people an opportunity to  
22 understand what they are either voting for or not voting  
23 for.

24 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, since we are still  
25 in a musing category, I have to point out that my question

1 hasn't been answered.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It has?

3 MR. BLACKWELL: It has not been answered.

4 Because my question was, once parties have selected a  
5 delegate -- which, that's the new language -- the question  
6 is, does the presidential candidate have the opportunity  
7 to come in and veto one of those delegates whom the party  
8 has selected?

9 And it hasn't answered the question, if they do  
10 veto somebody whom the party has selected, how do we fill  
11 that vacancy?

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Barbour, if you can't come  
13 up with language in the next 2 minutes, we're going to  
14 revert to the previous motion. And then I will respect  
15 the question being called.

16 MR. BARBOUR: Yes, sir.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You have 1 minute, Mr.  
18 Barbour.

19 Have I got your final amendment, Mr. Barbour?

20 MR. BARBOUR: I have a suggestion, Mr. Chairman.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You get one shot.

22 MR. BARBOUR: Yes, sir. One strike, you're out.  
23 I may be out.

24 We would add the language "has not been  
25 disavowed" before "after party selection." And that would



1 replace "precertified or approved."

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yeah.

3 Let me tell you what I believe the status is so  
4 that everybody -- first of all, you've all acknowledged  
5 this is important, and that's why we're going to pains to  
6 try and get it right.

7 The Pullen amendment, which we adopted, added  
8 the language "in consultation with the state party." That  
9 is in place now.

10 What we are now debating is whether or not the  
11 motion to strike the middle paragraph entirely is the  
12 motion we will vote on or whether we will attempt to vote  
13 on an amendment to that motion which seeks to substitute a  
14 revised paragraph for the second paragraph.

15 Does everybody agree so far?

16 Okay. The proposed language for the revised  
17 second paragraph, as I understand it, is now posted on the  
18 board. Is that correct?

19 MR. BARBOUR: No, sir. I don't believe so.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is that the language?

21 MR. BARBOUR: I'm reading.

22 I believe it's supposed to be "has not been  
23 disavowed."

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is that it?

25 MR. BARBOUR: No, sir. The attorneys are trying

1 to fix the language over there at the computer.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We really have to move on.

3 MR. BARBOUR: The keyboard apparently is stuck.

4 [Laughter.]

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Well, in the absence of that  
6 language there, I'm going to let this body vote on the  
7 standing motion. The question has been called to the  
8 standing motion. The standing motion was to strike the  
9 second paragraph as it stood.

10 We will take that action first. If that is  
11 completed, you will then have an opportunity, if you can  
12 figure out your language, to propose another amendment.

13 We are now going to vote on the motion to strike  
14 the second of the three paragraphs that we had previously  
15 adopted.

16 For those of you that are voting on this, am I  
17 correct in saying, that paragraph has the Pullen amendment  
18 in it, which says, "in consultation with the state party"?  
19 So the paragraph we will pull is the Pullen-amended second  
20 paragraph, if the vote goes that way.

21 MR. BLACKWELL: Yes, sir.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. I'm going to call for a  
23 vote on the motion to strike the second paragraph with the  
24 Pullen wording in it.

25 All those in favor of striking the second

1 paragraph with the Pullen wording in it, please stand.

2 Please be seated.

3 All those opposed to striking the second  
4 paragraph?

5 I believe the nays have it, but I will have a  
6 count just so that everybody is comfortable.

7 The nays have it, 51 to 39 in the negative.

8 MR. PAULSEN: Mr. Chair? Bill Paulsen,  
9 Minnesota. Point of order. What's the procedure for  
10 calling for a roll-call vote?

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We need to have a motion, it  
12 has to be seconded, and the request for the vote has to be  
13 passed by a majority vote.

14 MR. PAULSEN: Okay. I make the motion for a  
15 roll-call vote.

16 [Seconded.]

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We'll move to a vote on the  
18 motion that was made and seconded for a roll-call vote.

19 All those in favor of a roll-call vote, please  
20 stand.

21 Please be seated.

22 All those opposed, please stand.

23 The Chair rules that there's an overwhelming  
24 non-desire to have a roll-call vote.

25 [Laughter.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right. Do we have any  
2 more amendments to section 15?

3           Do we have any more amendments to section 15  
4 besides that amendment to section 15?

5           If not, I will come back to that after we  
6 proceed a little bit, and it'll give you a little time.

7           MR. DEVITO: Mr. Chairman?

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes?

9           MR. DEVITO: Vincent DeVito, Commonwealth of  
10 Massachusetts.

11           I would move, under parliamentary procedure, any  
12 more discussion or amendments to 15(b)(2) are dilatory at  
13 this point.

14           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm not going to accept that  
15 motion. I'm going to suggest to you that this is too  
16 important for us to have anybody in this meeting feel that  
17 they got played by a procedural rule, and that everybody  
18 should have an opportunity to discuss something that  
19 important.

20           And so, since we have an open rule that nothing  
21 is over until it's all over, I'm going to retain that rule  
22 in the process.

23           Item 16, 16(a), page 40, lines 1 through 16.  
24 There is proposed language here that is unsigned. Does  
25 anyone recognize the revision to 15(b)(2) -- I'm sorry, to

1 16(a)? Wait a minute, this has me confused. This is Rule  
2 16(a) that says, "Revise Rule 15(b)(2) as follows"?

3 Does everybody have the page that's confusing  
4 me? Okay. I just want to make sure we're all looking at  
5 the same thing.

6 Who is the proposer of this amendment? If it's  
7 an orphan amendment, I will withdraw it. Is there a  
8 proposer? Ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three  
9 two, one, withdrawn.

10 I have in front of me an amendment to Rule  
11 16(f)(3), page 43, lines 4 to 7. Proposed language:  
12 "Strike section 16(f)(3) in its entirety." It's also  
13 unsigned. Is there a proposer to this amendment?

14 MR. GINSBERG: Yes, Mr. Chairman.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is this yours?

16 MR. GINSBERG: Yes.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Would you tell us what it is?

18 Mr. Ginsberg, what is your proposal?

19 MR. GINSBERG: 16(f)(3) currently says that, in  
20 addition to the penalties provided for in paragraphs  
21 (e)(1) and (e)(2) of this rule, the Standing Committee on  
22 Rules may impose additional sanctions relating to the  
23 offending hotel's location at the National Convention,  
24 guest privileges, and VIP passes at the National  
25 Convention." And I would move to strike that rule.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

2           [Seconded.]

3           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

4           Why, Mr. Ginsberg?

5           MR. GINSBERG: Because in discussions with  
6 various members of the National Committee, they made it  
7 clear that they felt those were unenforceable and probably  
8 counterproductive to eventually electing the president of  
9 the United States.

10           I believe Mr. Ryder would like to talk about  
11 this.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ryder?

13           MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, the National Committee  
14 undertook two processes that sort of balance each other  
15 out here, in seeking to find penalties which would act as  
16 an effective deterrent to the violation of rules.

17           The first is, the discretionary penalties in  
18 Rule 16(f) (3) proved to be difficult, awkward, unworkable,  
19 created enormous problems for the chairman, who was tasked  
20 with enforcing those rules, in certain critical junctures  
21 in the campaign year.

22           Far better is the proposal that was adopted by  
23 the Rules Committee and subsequently by the RNC simply to  
24 take the offending states and strip them down to nine  
25 delegates, plus the three, which gives them the minimum

1 number of delegates they need to staff the convention  
2 committees.

3           So we get out of the discretionary business,  
4 which is always subject to political pressure, and we're  
5 into mandatory penalties, where there is not that  
6 political pressure and the availability of countervailing  
7 force to come into play.

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
9 discussion?

10           MR. RYDER: I support the amendment.

11           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Seeing no more discussion,  
12 we'll move to a vote on striking section 16(f)(3).

13           All those in favor of striking 16(f)(3), please  
14 say "aye."

15           [Chorus of ayes.]

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

17           [Chorus of noes.]

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It passes.

19           We now move to amendments on Rules 20, 22, and  
20 23.

21           MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman?

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes, sir? We have another one  
23 for 16(a)?

24           MR. GINSBERG: I apologize, Mr. Chairman. I was  
25 involved in the other.

1           This goes to a rule that was passed on Thursday  
2 by the RNC Rules Committee that said that if a state  
3 violates Rule 15(b)(1) in regards to a primary caucus,  
4 convention, or other process to elect or select or bind  
5 delegates, et cetera, that that state would be reduced to  
6 nine members in its delegation, plus the members of the  
7 National Committee.

8           I rise in opposition to that rule, simply  
9 because that takes the same penalty out of California as  
10 it does our smallest states. You've got a sort of  
11 fundamental equal protection problem with just willy-nilly  
12 reducing the size of all delegations down to nine should  
13 they be wrong. And there are other penalty provisions  
14 that cover the rule.

15           So I ask that that be striked.

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ryder?

17           MR. RYDER: I rise in opposition to this motion,  
18 which I thought had been withdrawn earlier, but I  
19 understand --

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I --

21           MR. RYDER: And for all the reasons I just said.  
22 I mean, if we are going to reverse the penalties that are  
23 imposed by this rule and delete them, as suggested by this  
24 motion, then I want to move for reconsideration of the  
25 prior motion on the discretionary penalties so we can have



1 some enforcement mechanism available to us.

2           There are two problems that we face in this  
3 primary process. The first has been the frontloading. We  
4 addressed that with proportionality. The second is the  
5 fact that states like Florida have jumped the line, gone  
6 out of place, out of turn, in violation of the rules,  
7 which has caused a disruption of the primary process.

8           People complained about the extended primary  
9 process this year. Ladies and gentlemen, it was extended  
10 for one reason. It was extended because Florida violated  
11 the rules and extended the process 30 days forward, in the  
12 wrong direction. We would have had a shorter process had  
13 Florida followed the rules.

14           I believe that the rules adopted by the Standing  
15 Committee on Rules of the RNC, that this motion seeks to  
16 delete, are appropriate penalties that will result in  
17 maintaining the calendar process that this party needs.

18           I urge that we defeat this amendment.

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from South  
20 Carolina?

21           MR. MCKISSICK: Mr. Chairman, I rise in  
22 opposition to this amendment, of course.

23           You know, again, the RNC worked on this thing  
24 for several years. The process that we have now -- what  
25 you see that they have stricken through in this amendment

1 was the final piece of the fix that they put in the  
2 process we've been working on for 15 to 20 years, which  
3 was to actually have some teeth to the penalty that would  
4 keep states from jumping out of place in the process that  
5 we set up to begin with.

6 And now we're getting rid of that, and we're  
7 leaving it where it was. And where it was didn't work.  
8 So I don't understand what we're going to fix by leaving  
9 things the way they are.

10 Thank you.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The delegate from Utah?

12 MS. MICKELSEN: Thank you. Enid Mickelsen from  
13 Utah.

14 Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this  
15 amendment. This is something that we have worked on for  
16 years in the Rules Committee.

17 And Florida jumped and wreaked havoc on the  
18 primary schedule. Florida knew, when they did it, that  
19 they would lose half of their delegates. But because  
20 Florida is a big state, it was still worth it for the  
21 candidates to come and campaign. There were still 49  
22 votes at stake. So Florida decided it was worth it.

23 And with all due respect to Mr. Ginsberg, it is  
24 precisely because the big states continue to have a large  
25 number of delegates even after the 50 percent penalty was

1 imposed that we decided to go to the greater penalty to  
2 keep states from doing this in the future.

3 I strongly urge you to reject this amendment.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

5 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, the plan, which  
6 was adopted with great labor, which controlled the  
7 scheduling this year worked, with the one exception of the  
8 fact that we didn't have a sufficient penalty to deter  
9 states from breaking the national rules.

10 This was a matter that was of consensus on  
11 members of the Standing Committee on Rules. It was  
12 overwhelmingly supported. The Standing Committee on Rules  
13 has one member from each state; it was overwhelmingly  
14 supported -- unanimously supported there.

15 And, frankly, changing this back is a retrograde  
16 step, when what we needed were more effective measures to  
17 keep states from going forward.

18 I urge that this proposal be defeated.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from  
20 Pennsylvania?

21 MR. GLEASON: Rob Gleason, state chairman of  
22 Pennsylvania. I rise in opposition to this change.

23 Again, we've worked very hard in the Rules  
24 Committee. We need to have order, you need to have rules,  
25 you've got to follow a process. This is just going to get

1 completely out of control.

2 I ask you to reject this immediately.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
4 number two?

5 MR. KEMP: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Brian Kemp,  
6 secretary of state in Georgia. And I also oppose this  
7 amendment.

8 I think this would actually hurt small states,  
9 not help them. I think, when I had to make the decision  
10 of when the primary date was, we decided not to break the  
11 rule, because we had rules and we thought that they would  
12 be applied.

13 And I think that the amendment diminishes that  
14 and will actually hurt small states, allowing larger  
15 states, like Georgia, to have more influence even if they  
16 break the rule. And I don't think that's where we need to  
17 go, so I'm going to oppose the amendment.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from  
19 Massachusetts?

20 MR. DEVITO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Today we've been talking about and we've been  
22 deliberating on fundamental fairness to the voters. This  
23 particular proposal helps us achieve that. So anybody who  
24 has been believing everything that we've been talking  
25 about today moving forward on should support this

1 particular motion.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Seeing no more discussion,  
3 we'll move to a vote.

4 All those in favor of the amendment, please say  
5 "aye."

6 [Chorus of ayes.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

8 [Chorus of noes.]

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think the nays have it.  
10 Thank you.

11 Rule No. 20, 22, and 23, page no. 46 to 50, line  
12 nos. 10 to 16, 13 to 22, 1 to 23, 1 to 23, and 1 to 15,  
13 Ashley Ryan of Maine.

14 MS. RYAN: Mr. Chair, I move to propose that  
15 Rule 20, covering contest resolution by states, will be  
16 replaced with the following: "All contests arising in any  
17 states electing district delegates by district conventions  
18 shall be decided by a third-party arbitrator. The  
19 arbitrator shall be agreed upon by the concerned parties."

20 Rule 22, covering the filing of contests, and  
21 Rule 23, covering the procedure for those contests, are  
22 struck.

23 Thank you.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

25 [Seconded.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

2           Do you want to discuss it, Ashley?

3           Mr. Blackwell?

4           MR. BLACKWELL: May I speak? Morton Blackwell  
5 of Virginia.

6           Arbitration sounds like a good idea, but I don't  
7 see how this rule could impose arbitration, because if  
8 either of the parties declines to agree upon a chosen  
9 arbitrator, then it blows apart.

10           It's already possible for dissenting parties to  
11 agree on an arbitrator and have a resolution of their  
12 problems without the rule. But this doesn't impose an  
13 arbitrator if either side doesn't want to arbitrate.

14           So it seems to me this is a waste of time, and  
15 so I recommend against voting for it.

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion?

17           We'll move to a vote.

18           All those in favor, please say "aye."

19           [Chorus of ayes.]

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

21           [Chorus of noes.]

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The noes have it.

23           Proposed change to Rule No. 25, page no. 52,  
24 lines 5 through 8, William Paulsen of Minnesota.

25           Mr. Paulsen?

1 MR. PAULSEN: Bill Paulsen, Minnesota.

2 I guess the question that comes up here is --  
3 the language talks about the order of business as  
4 established by the Republican National Committee "may  
5 include the time and date for consideration of any item of  
6 business, the time limit assigned for consideration of any  
7 item of business, and procedural rules for the  
8 consideration of any item of business that are not  
9 inconsistent with these rules."

10 I guess the question I have is, if there's  
11 minority reports out of here, is there a way to ensure  
12 that the minority report would be considered with full  
13 respect to the body, to the people issuing the minority  
14 report?

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We assured that any minority  
16 report filed within an hour with 25 percent of the members  
17 of this committee signing on it will be respected.

18 MR. PAULSEN: So is there a -- okay. And is  
19 there any -- what does "respected" mean? Is there going  
20 to be a time limit for debate, then, on --

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It will be scheduled for  
22 presentation on Monday morning -- or Monday afternoon.

23 MR. PAULSEN: Okay.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is it afternoon or morning?

25 On Monday when the Rules Committee report is

1 being presented.

2 MR. PAULSEN: Okay. Well, I withdraw my motion.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: An amendment to Rule 27, page  
4 53, lines 17 and 18. This is by Curly Haugland from North  
5 Dakota.

6 Oh, I'm sorry. Curly, I'm sorry. I jumped to  
7 the third section already.

8 MR. HAUGLAND: It's okay.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have one more, item 15  
10 again. I have language -- has it been distributed?

11 It's being distributed. I'm going to wait until  
12 it's distributed.

13 MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman?

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Bennett?

15 MR. BENNETT: Point of information. When does  
16 the 1 hour start on minority reports?

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think when I hit the gavel  
18 and close the meeting.

19 MR. BENNETT: Okay. I intend to file a minority  
20 report on the change in Rule 15(b)(2), and I would  
21 encourage those, since it was a very close vote, that  
22 would join me. I need 25 members. We'll get a petition  
23 ready for circulation.

24 Thank you.

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Has everybody got this now?



1 Is there anybody who doesn't have it?

2 Right over here.

3 This is a proposed amendment to our beloved Rule  
4 15. It is an amendment to the language of the notorious  
5 second paragraph of the three paragraphs. It is being  
6 proposed by Mr. Barbour.

7 Is that correct?

8 MR. BARBOUR: Yes, sir.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you want to be responsible  
10 for this?

11 [Laughter.]

12 MR. BARBOUR: Want? I will be. How about that?

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Henry --

14 MR. BARBOUR: Yes, sir.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: -- please present it.

16 MR. BARBOUR: Thank you. Henry Barbour from  
17 Mississippi.

18 I would move that we would amend the amendment,  
19 Mr. Chairman, by adding the language that is reflected on  
20 the screen.

21 I believe this would secure the fact that the  
22 state party will drive who the particular delegates are  
23 from your state. The campaign of the presidential  
24 candidate would be able to make certain that a state party  
25 is not selecting delegates who don't reflect the will of

1 the voters. So I believe this language meets that.

2           So, as it reads, "For any manner of binding or  
3 allocating delegates permitted by these rules, no delegate  
4 or alternate delegate who is bound or allocated to a  
5 particular presidential candidate may be certified under  
6 Rule 19 if the presidential candidate to whom the delegate  
7 or alternate delegate is bound or allocated has, in  
8 consultation with the state party, disavowed the delegate  
9 or alternate delegate."

10           As I see it, this makes certain that the party  
11 will drive who the delegates are. It also makes certain  
12 that they reflect the will of the voters in a bound  
13 primary or caucus.

14           And I think this also prevents -- and some of us  
15 in state parties may see this -- where a staffer from a  
16 presidential campaign may have a personal agenda to have  
17 certain people in your state be delegates. And that would  
18 not be allowed. I don't believe that the campaign would  
19 be able to disavow a candidate unless it is based on the  
20 fact that that delegate is supporting another candidate  
21 and that doesn't reflect the will of the voters.

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Unless you overrule me, I'm  
23 going to limit this to five speakers pro and five speakers  
24 con.

25           MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, I'd like a clear

1 answer from Mr. Barbour.

2           What he is suggesting is that if the party has  
3 selected delegates, that a candidate can get that person  
4 removed from the list of delegates. It's a little  
5 complex, of course, as we all know, but it seems to me  
6 that's what it means: that if the candidate, after the  
7 party has selected delegates, disavows somebody, then that  
8 person is no longer a delegate.

9           And it doesn't answer the question as to how we  
10 fill that vacancy if the party has already elected its  
11 delegates.

12           It seems to me this is highly problematic, and I  
13 think it ought to be defeated. Thank you.

14           MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, I again call a  
15 question of order.

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm sorry, I was distracted.  
17 Did you ask me a question, Curly?

18           MR. HAUGLAND: Curly Haugland, North Dakota. I  
19 again call a question of order.

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: A question of order. A point  
21 of order or a --

22           MR. HAUGLAND: Question of order.

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: -- calling the question?

24           MR. HAUGLAND: A question of order. I'm  
25 alerting you to the fact that we're about to pass a rule

1 that breaks a rule -- or break a rule by passing a rule  
2 and conflict with another rule. And you need to state a  
3 reason for denying the point of order.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The reason for denying it is  
5 that the rules you refer to, 37 and 38, apply to the  
6 casting of votes, and the section we are discussing here  
7 is the selection of delegates. That's why it is  
8 inconsistent.

9 Now, the gentleman from South Carolina?

10 MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

11 I just want to point out, from a practical  
12 standpoint, if delegates are, quote, "disavowed" by a  
13 campaign, where is the process to finish filling out our  
14 slate? I mean, we have our convention in May when we  
15 elect our delegates, and if a campaign doesn't like  
16 someone that got elected delegate, then what do we do? We  
17 have to reconvene the convention?

18 You know, this introduces process problems,  
19 which, I think as we well know by the way things worked  
20 out this time, you're opening the door to massive  
21 credentials fights 4 years from now or 8 years from now  
22 over who's certified, who got disavowed or whatever, or  
23 were they properly elected to fill those spots after  
24 someone got disavowed.

25 I mean, we've had the problems we had this time

1 without this complication. Now, you know, 4 or 8 years  
2 from now, in my opinion, it would be even worse, and we're  
3 just opening that door.

4 So I would oppose that, unless we fix it.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Two? Are you on the pro or  
6 anti side?

7 MR. PULLEN: Pro.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. I'm keeping count.

9 MR. PULLEN: Mr. Chairman, Randy Pullen,  
10 Arizona.

11 I think this is being made more complicated than  
12 maybe it really is in reality, because there are party  
13 rules in place to deal with when a delegate is disavowed  
14 or gets sick, ill, or for any other reason has to be  
15 removed.

16 The way the process really works, to a great  
17 degree, is you're sitting down with the candidate,  
18 presumptive nominee hopefully, and you're going over the  
19 list that they have, and you're going over the list that  
20 you have, in terms of who you want to be as part of that  
21 delegation, and you work it out.

22 And I can guarantee you, having been there and  
23 done it, that there will be people on the candidate's list  
24 that I will disavow as the state party chairman just as  
25 much as the other way around, they will disavow someone I

1 have on the list. And, ultimately, it gets worked out  
2 because there's a process for it.

3 Now, I think what happens here, based on my  
4 understanding of the amendment, which I support, is that  
5 if it's a disavowal by the candidate, well, then you have  
6 to go back to the state party and your process and pick  
7 another delegate. Okay? So it's not like the candidate's  
8 going to specify who the delegate's going to be.

9 So that's my point.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Microphone three, pro or con?

11 MR. HOAR: Pro. Do you want to go to con first?

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No, go ahead. I'm just  
13 keeping count.

14 MR. HOAR: Kevin Hoar, state of Oregon. I rise  
15 in support of this proposed amendment.

16 I heard that there were some concerns about some  
17 procedural problems, but isn't the biggest procedural  
18 problem of all that voters go cast votes and that  
19 something entirely different happens when we get here?

20 And I would say that there have been more than a  
21 few contests. This clears up a lot of things. It  
22 shouldn't be happening, that people are flying false flags  
23 and betraying the voters. So this is an opportunity to  
24 make sure that Rule 15 and all of you who voted for that  
25 earlier today is actually enforced.

1           And the presidential campaigns have an abiding  
2 interest in making sure the will of the voters cast on  
3 their behalf is reflected. It leaves it to the state  
4 party, which -- every state party here, I hope, has a  
5 process for filling a vacancy.

6           Thank you very much.

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Lady at microphone two, pro or  
8 con?

9           MS. LEWIS: Mr. Chairman, I think I'm con. Anne  
10 Lewis from Georgia.

11           I echo the sentiment of my friend from South  
12 Carolina, that the process is unclear in this particular  
13 version of the rule. And I understand that maybe some  
14 don't think that we should be overly concerned about the  
15 process, but in running our state conventions, we have to  
16 be overly concerned about that.

17           And so, the way I read this rule is, there would  
18 be an election of delegates as usual by the convention,  
19 but before the certification could happen in July, the  
20 candidate would be able to disavow any of those people.  
21 And then, yes, it would be thrown into the process, I  
22 guess, whereby the state party would ordinarily replace  
23 the delegates.

24           But I think that the phrase "in consultation  
25 with the state party" then becomes quite a bit weaker

1 because the candidate has said, "I don't want this  
2 person," and I think it's unreasonable to think that  
3 anything is going to happen other than the candidate says,  
4 "But I do want this person," and that is the person that  
5 the substitute nomination will be made of.

6 So thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady from Vermont, pro or  
8 con?

9 MS. HUDSON: Pro. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
10 Susie Hudson from Vermont. I just wanted to rise and  
11 support this amendment.

12 This solves some of the problems that I had  
13 earlier with the previous amendment because it allows us  
14 to still conduct our state conventions as we normally  
15 would. And so that is the main problem which I had  
16 before, so I rise to just support this amendment.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have four pros and three  
18 cons have spoken. There's one pro and two con slots left.

19 MR. GINSBERG: I'm pro.

20 [Laughter.]

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ginsberg?

22 MR. GINSBERG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I rise  
23 in support of this amendment.

24 And Mr. Barbour and Ms. Hudson and Mr. Cox and a  
25 number of others have done yeoman duty on crafting this.



1 It is an awfully reasonable solution to the problem that  
2 we want to address in the overall amendment and to be sure  
3 that the state parties have their role in the process as  
4 to the campaign.

5 So I support the amendment.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Room for two more cons.

7 Anybody else care to speak?

8 If not, we'll move to a vote.

9 All those in favor of this amendment, please  
10 raise your -- I'm sorry. All those in favor, please say  
11 "aye."

12 [Chorus of ayes.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed, "nay."

14 [Chorus of nays.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I think the ayes have it, but  
16 since we've gone through all this agony, let's do it by  
17 standing vote.

18 All those in favor, please stand.

19 Please be seated.

20 All those opposed, please stand.

21 I think the ayes have it.

22 Have we exhausted Rule 15?

23 Ma'am?

24 MS. DEGROOT: Ani DeGroot, Iowa. I was just  
25 wondering why I was standing in line and I wasn't called

1 upon to speak. Have we already filled the con positions?

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No, but I asked and I didn't  
3 see you. I'm awfully sorry.

4 MS. DEGROOT: Okay. So how do we proceed?  
5 Because I was standing right here.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Well, I'm sorry. That issue  
7 has been dealt with.

8 All right. Now we move to the next section; is  
9 that correct? We'll address Rules 25 through 42, which  
10 pertain to the proceedings of the National Convention.

11 Rule 25, Order of Business.

12 I see no amendments.

13 Rule 26, Committee Reports.

14 I see no amendments.

15 Rule 27, Definition of States.

16 I see -- were you waving, Mr. Ginsberg? Do you  
17 have an amendment to Rule 27?

18 MR. GINSBERG: No, I don't.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Oh. Just saying hi.

20 Rule 28, Admission to Convention Hall.

21 Curly from North Dakota. Mr. Haugland?

22 MR. HAUGLAND: Curly Haugland from North Dakota.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Curly, we just need to know  
24 that you're going to file one, and then we'll come back to  
25 it.

1 MR. HAUGLAND: Yes, I'm filing an amendment to -  
2 -  
3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Rule 28.  
4 MR. HAUGLAND: -- Rule 27.  
5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Twenty-seven?  
6 MR. HAUGLAND: And I move the adoption.  
7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right, we'll come back to  
8 it. Let's just go through and find out which ones we're  
9 doing. Remember, we identify the ones that will be  
10 amended, and then we'll --  
11 MR. HAUGLAND: Oh, okay.  
12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So there will be an amendment  
13 to Rule 27.  
14 Rule 28, Admission to Convention Hall.  
15 Rule 29, Voting.  
16 There will be an amendment to Rule 29.  
17 Rule 30, Rules of Order.  
18 Nothing?  
19 I'm sorry, Mr. Ginsberg has one. Okay, there  
20 will be an amendment to Rule 30.  
21 Rule 31, Length of Debate.  
22 There is one.  
23 Rule 32, Suspension of Rules.  
24 I hear a mumble from the back. What was the  
25 mumble?

1           Let me go back to make sure I got it right. Is  
2 there an amendment to Rule 31?  
3           There is an amendment.  
4           Amendment to Rule 32, Suspension of Rules.  
5           There is an amendment.  
6           Rule 33, Platform Resolutions.  
7           I see no amendments.  
8           Rule 34, Minority Reports; Amendments.  
9           I see no amendments.  
10          Rule 35, Motion to Table.  
11          I see no amendments.  
12          Rule 36, Previous Question.  
13          I see an amendment.  
14          Rule 37, Roll Call.  
15          I see no amendments.  
16          Rule 38, Unit Rule.  
17          I see an amendment.  
18          Rule 39, Record Vote.  
19          I see an amendment.  
20          Rule 40, Nominations.  
21          I see an amendment.  
22          Rule 41, Convention Committees.  
23          I see an amendment.  
24          Rule 42, Temporary Rules.  
25          I do not see -- I'm sorry, did somebody just

1 wave? I do not see an amendment to 42. If you have an  
2 amendment to 42, make sure I see it.

3 Okay. We go back.

4 The representative from North Dakota?

5 This is to Rule 27, page 53, lines 17 and 18.

6 Am I correct, sir?

7 MR. HAUGLAND: Yes, Mr. Chairman. Curly  
8 Haugland from North Dakota.

9 Current Rule 28, which is now in our discussions  
10 Rule 27, says that "no person except members of the  
11 several delegations, officers of the convention, members  
12 of the Republican National Committee, and incumbent  
13 Republican governors, incumbent senators, and incumbent  
14 members of Congress, shall be admitted to the section of  
15 the convention hall restricted to delegates."

16 Mr. Chairman, this would be the third time today  
17 I've tried to suggest that we should follow some of our  
18 rules, but it doesn't seem to be getting me anywhere. So  
19 in this particular --

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's a radical suggestion, as  
21 you can see. And so we are not prepared to do anything  
22 radical.

23 MR. HAUGLAND: As you can see.

24 So, by reading the newspapers and just by, you  
25 know, observing what's going on around me, it's apparent

1 that we're about to break another rule. And so this is an  
2 attempt to preclude that by amending the rule so that it  
3 won't be broken.

4 As I understand it, the offending states that  
5 went early are supposed to lose half of their delegates.  
6 Well, they're getting around this by calling them "honored  
7 guests" and going to have them seated on the floor anyway.  
8 So this proposal would add "honored guests" as people who  
9 are permitted to the floor area ordinarily reserved for  
10 delegates.

11 Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this  
12 amendment.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

14 [Secoded.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a second. Additional  
16 discussion beyond the discussion from the proposer?

17 MR. BLACKWELL: Yes.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: My, goodness. Mr. Blackwell?

19 MR. BLACKWELL: Morton Blackwell, Virginia.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm sorry, there's an annual  
21 allotment --

22 MR. BLACKWELL: I understand --

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Morton, there's an annual  
24 allotment of time, and you've exceeded it.

25 [Laughter.]

1 MR. BLACKWELL: No. No. The rule said 2  
2 minutes on each question --

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm just joking.

4 MR. BLACKWELL: -- and on each amendment.

5 I can understand why people who took part in  
6 setting up the penalties, which did work, would be upset  
7 because a lot of people extra were added to the floor.  
8 But I must rise to oppose Mr. Haugland's proposal because  
9 he doesn't define who "honored guests" are or who  
10 determines "honored guests."

11 Does that mean that the chairman of the  
12 Republican National Committee may provide seats for an  
13 unlimited number of people whom he designates as honored  
14 guests? What about mayors of big cities?

15 It seems to me this is not well enough defined  
16 to put it in the rules, so I oppose it.

17 Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ryder?

19 MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, John Ryder from  
20 Tennessee. I beg the Chair's permission to agree with Mr.  
21 Blackwell?

22 [Laughter.]

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You do that at your own peril.

24 [Laughter.]

25 MR. RYDER: I think Mr. Blackwell has well-

1 stated it. This amendment should be void for vagueness  
2 and should be defeated.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments?

4 The gentleman at microphone one, do you care to  
5 -- oh. He's a coffee drinker.

6 MR. HOUGH: Bruce Hough, Utah. I want to concur  
7 with the two gentlemen who spoke, my seatmate from  
8 Virginia and from Tennessee.

9 And I'd just point out that, in terms of the  
10 defined area of a convention hall, that's defined by the  
11 chairman and by the people arranging that anyway. In  
12 terms of a delegate area, we don't want to ever be  
13 confused with the idea that the floor, for example, is  
14 exclusively for a delegate area, just as an example.  
15 Those can be modified based on the numbers of people who  
16 are coming and the delegates and guests and alternates and  
17 such that are in the hall and the condition of the hall.

18 So I think it's a moot point, number one. And,  
19 number two, I also think it's ambiguous.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from North  
21 Dakota, it looks like you're having heartburn. Would you  
22 like to --

23 MR. GLEASON: Rob Gleason -- Chairman?

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Oh, I'm sorry. I didn't see  
25 you, Mr. Gleason.



1 MR. GLEASON: Yes. Rob Gleason, chairman,  
2 Pennsylvania.

3 I concur with the other three speakers that  
4 "honored guest" is not defined. This should be defeated.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Sir?

6 MR. HAUGLAND: Mr. Chairman, Curly Haugland  
7 again, if I may.

8 I'm, frankly, pleased that nobody seems to want  
9 to support allowing these honored guests to the floor.

10 But I will point out that we do have space in  
11 our convention hall reserved exclusively for delegates and  
12 others mentioned in the rules. And I will ask the  
13 sergeant at arms to enforce this rule if we don't pass  
14 this amendment.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion?

16 Let's move to a vote.

17 All those in favor of the amendment, please say  
18 "aye."

19 [Chorus of ayes.]

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

21 [Chorus of noes.]

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The nays have it.

23 Next is an amendment to Rule 29 -- I'm correct  
24 there is no amendment to 28, right -- 29, proposed by the  
25 gentleman from Nevada, proposed language to Rule 29, page

1 55, line no. 5.

2 Sir?

3 MR. CRISS: Kurt Criss, Nevada.

4 Mr. Chairman, I move that the language of Rule  
5 No. 29 be modified as shown, when they show it, to strike  
6 the words, quote, "The Rules of the House of  
7 Representatives of the United States shall be the rules of  
8 the convention, except that the current authorized edition  
9 of," such that the new language would read, "Robert's  
10 Rules of Order: Newly Revised (Robert's Rules of Order),  
11 shall be the rules of the convention and for the  
12 committees and subcommittees of the convention," dot, dot,  
13 dot.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

15 [Seconded.]

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion, sir?

17 MR. CRISS: Yes, please. Thank you, Mr.  
18 Chairman.

19 Mr. Chairman, I believe our delegates are far  
20 more familiar with Robert's Rules of Order, as this is the  
21 set of rules they likely followed to get to this national  
22 convention. It seems it is confusing to our national  
23 convention delegates to switch the set of rules for the  
24 final convention in the entire process.

25 Robert's Rules works fine for large deliberative

1 bodies. In fact, our Nevada state convention delegation  
2 is roughly the same size as this national delegation, and  
3 Texas's is roughly four times the size.

4 Therefore, I'm urging members to vote for this  
5 revision to use Robert's Rules of Order for the National  
6 Convention.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

8 Any additional comments or discussion?

9 MS. MICKELSEN: Mr. Chairman?

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes, ma'am.

11 MS. MICKELSEN: Enid Mickelsen from Utah.

12 Mr. Chairman, I had the great honor a number of  
13 years ago of serving in the United States House of  
14 Representatives and, further, was allowed to be speaker  
15 pro tem for a number of our debates at the time. So I  
16 have had the opportunity to chair deliberative bodies  
17 under both sets of rules, both the House of  
18 Representatives' and Robert's Rules of Order.

19 Mr. Chairman, I think it is critically important  
20 that we retain Robert's Rules of Order as the rules  
21 governing the convention.

22 Now, we have plenty of time to sit in these  
23 bodies where Robert's applies and we know them and we use  
24 them. But when you have a convention with 20,000-plus  
25 people in the room, when you have limited television time,

1 frankly, where we need to stick to a schedule, the Rules  
2 of the House of Representatives allow the chairman to  
3 recognize someone for a particular point, as opposed to a  
4 general recognition and then that person has to state the  
5 point. So giving up that ability could throw the  
6 convention into complete chaos.

7           And so I strongly urge the rejection of this,  
8 not as an attempt to confuse people, but to allow us to  
9 conduct the business of the convention in an orderly way.

10           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any additional comments or  
11 questions?

12           If not, we'll move to a vote.

13           All those in favor of the amendment to Rule --  
14 I'm sorry. Mr. Blackwell?

15           MR. BLACKWELL: This same proposal was made in  
16 the Standing Committee on Rules, and we had a full  
17 discussion of it. The question arose, for practical  
18 purposes, what's the difference between using Robert's  
19 Rules of Order or the Rules of the House? And the mover  
20 of inserting Robert's Rules to substitute for the Rules of  
21 the House said that he didn't know of any difference.

22           But there is one difference that came out during  
23 debate in the Standing Committee on Rules, and that is  
24 that the speaker of the House has the right to recognize  
25 somebody for a specific limited purpose, but under

1 Robert's Rules you have the right to come up and be  
2 recognized on anything.

3           And if you can imagine the numbers of dilatory  
4 and frivolous things that might come up from individual  
5 delegates, this would greatly prolong the convention. It  
6 would not have any meaning to those who were watching the  
7 convention; probably would have no effect whatsoever on  
8 the results, the political results of the convention.

9           So I think we have to continue with the Rules of  
10 the House to govern the conduct of the convention.

11           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
12 questions?

13           Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

14           All those in favor of the amendment to Rule No.  
15 29, please say "aye."

16           [Chorus of ayes.]

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

18           [Chorus of noes.]

19           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's defeated.

20           Rule No. 31, from William Paulsen of Minnesota.  
21 This is an amendment to Rule 31, page 56, line 2.

22           Mr. Paulsen?

23           MR. PAULSEN: Mr. Chair, I withdraw my motion.

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Motion is withdrawn.

25           An amendment to Rule 36(b), page 58, line 5, by

1 Bruce Hough from Utah.

2 MR. FORSTEN: Mr. Chairman, point of order and  
3 begging the Chair's --

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm sorry?

5 MR. FORSTEN: Mr. Chairman? Hi. Richard  
6 Forsten from Delaware.

7 I had an amendment to Rule 31, which, in the  
8 renumbering, became Rule 32. I don't know if you  
9 inadvertently skipped it. My name wasn't on the form, so  
10 I don't know if --

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I don't have it. Could you  
12 please check with them? We'll take it up at an  
13 appropriate moment, if you can get it. Thank you.

14 MR. HOUGH: Bruce Hough from Utah.

15 This is really just clarifying language. Do we  
16 have it on the board there? It's very brief, and you  
17 should have it in your possession.

18 If you go to that section, it talks about, "In  
19 the balloting, the vote of each state shall be announced  
20 by the chairman," and it is recorded in accordance with  
21 the vote. What we're adding is language that says that,  
22 in addition to being recorded, that "then shall report  
23 back the result to the convention at the conclusion of  
24 balloting by the other states," and then the results shall  
25 then be recorded.

1           So it's an idea that, not only do we record it,  
2 we also announce it.

3           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: My, gosh, we're getting that  
4 transparent.

5           Any other comments or discussion?

6           Is there a second? I forgot to ask for a  
7 second.

8           [Secoded.]

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Now is there any comments or  
10 discussion?

11          If not, we'll move to a vote.

12          All those in favor of adopting this amendment to  
13 Rule 36(b), please say "aye."

14          [Chorus of ayes.]

15          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed?

16          [No response.]

17          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It passes.

18          I have an amendment to Rule 38, Record Vote,  
19 page no. 59, line 17, by Mr. Hough of Utah.

20          MR. HOUGH: This is a threshold-raising  
21 language, where we strike the number "six (6)" and replace  
22 it with "seven (7)."

23          We're in a situation where raising the threshold  
24 modestly, at least, is an important thing in this  
25 environment that I think we find ourselves in. We don't

1 want to, certainly, diminish debate or the opportunity for  
2 participation, but, clearly, this is an opportunity for us  
3 to raise the threshold ever so slightly to help in this  
4 area.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

6 [Secoded.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

8 We'll move to a vote.

9 All those in favor of the amendment to raise it  
10 from six to seven, please say "aye."

11 [Chorus of ayes.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Oh, I'm sorry. Wait a minute.

13 MR. PAULSEN: I just wanted to question, is a  
14 roll call still going to be required for presidential  
15 elections?

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Say that again, please?

17 MR. PAULSEN: Is a roll call still required for  
18 the election and nomination of president and vice  
19 president?

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: If there's only one candidate,  
21 such as there might be for vice president, then a roll  
22 call is not required.

23 MR. PAULSEN: Okay.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any other discussion? I  
25 didn't mean to cut it off before. I didn't see the



1 gentleman over there because of the light.

2 Then we'll move to a vote.

3 All those in favor, please say "aye."

4 [Chorus of ayes.]

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed?

6 [Chorus of noes.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The ayes have it.

8 Rule No. 38 --

9 MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman?

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: -- page 59, line 17 --

11 MR. GINSBERG: Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Point of order.

13 MR. GINSBERG: I'm sorry. I had an amendment to  
14 Rule 33 that --

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It will be taken up if you  
16 have it distributed. I do not have it here, so get it to  
17 us while we are working on this section.

18 Rule 38, page 59, line 17, Ms. Sebern from  
19 Colorado.

20 MS. SEBERN: Yes, Mr. Chairman. I'd like to  
21 argue against raising that bar, because when we look at  
22 the roll-call bar that is set for individual delegations,  
23 one delegate may call for a roll-call vote within that  
24 state delegation, and yet, within the entire assembly,  
25 we've now set the bar at seven states.

1 I think it should be one state. And so that's  
2 what my amendment deals with.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

4 [Seconded.]

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

6 We'll move to a vote.

7 All those in favor of reducing six to one,  
8 please say "aye."

9 [Chorus of ayes.]

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

11 [Chorus of noes.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The nays have it.

13 I have another proposal to Rule 39(b), page 60,  
14 line no. 6, proposed by Mr. Ginsberg of the District of  
15 Columbia.

16 MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, for Rule 39, this  
17 has to do with the nominations to the president. There  
18 are a couple of changes in this.

19 The first is to change the word "plurality" to  
20 "majority." The word "plurality" has caused some  
21 confusion. First of all, in a race with only two  
22 candidates, there is no plurality. The dictionary  
23 definition says there has to be three candidates.

24 And, secondly, if there were ever a multi-  
25 candidate race, it would be impossible to know what a

1 successful plurality was for the candidates who were  
2 seeking the signatures on the petition, the problem being  
3 that as you go around trying to get, say, the plurality of  
4 delegates in a 50-person delegation, how do you know if  
5 17, 18, or 19 is actually the successful number for that?  
6 The secretary of the convention, in a nominating process,  
7 would be at a loss to be able to keep order.

8           And, secondly, to get the majority of delegates  
9 from eight states as opposed to five states for the order  
10 of the convention, and to be sure that the will of the  
11 convention is done without dilatory tactics.

12           Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

14           [Secoded.]

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

16           Mr. Blackwell?

17           MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Morton  
18 Blackwell, Virginia.

19           I strongly urge the members of this committee to  
20 vote this down.

21           I was the author 4 years ago of inserting the  
22 word "plurality" in place of "majority" at this point.  
23 And that is because many more states are instituting  
24 proportional allocation of the delegates. And if no  
25 candidate has a majority and they're proportionately

1 spread out, then that particular state can't participate  
2 in this process of entitling somebody to be nominated for  
3 president and vice president.

4           And that argument was persuasive 4 years ago.  
5 To the best of my knowledge, there has been no problem  
6 with it. And it is fair to allow states that have  
7 proportional representation to participate in this. There  
8 is no problem that has come to my attention, and I've been  
9 watching it very closely. So that is an unnecessary  
10 change.

11           But the second change that's being proposed is  
12 to change the number of states that are showing support  
13 for a candidate from five to eight. Mr. Chairman, this is  
14 another of Mr. Ginsberg's centralizing proposals, which is  
15 going to alienate large numbers of people who come out and  
16 participate.

17           Certainly, if a candidate, in his proposal, gets  
18 a majority of five states, that candidate should have the  
19 right to have his name placed in nomination for president.  
20 And to require eight, I believe, is excessive. Ron Paul's  
21 campaign doesn't have a plurality for five, much less a  
22 majority, so that would be irrelevant if the rules were  
23 here now.

24           But it is fair. And raising the bar is just  
25 wrong, and it's going to be taken as wrong by people who

1 are newly active in the Republican Party. And their  
2 experience at this convention is going to affect whether  
3 they or lots of other people like them are going to  
4 continue to come into the party. And I'm talking about  
5 tea party people, and I'm talking about Libertarian  
6 people, whose participation on behalf of Republican  
7 candidates is highly desirable.

8           This is going to hurt our candidate for  
9 president. There are people who, for this reason and  
10 other reasons of centralization limiting participation,  
11 are going to conclude --

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Two-minute rule, sir.

13           MR. BLACKWELL: -- that they're not going to  
14 vote for our president. They might stay home; they might  
15 vote for a Libertarian Party candidate. We should not be  
16 --

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Morton, 2 minutes.

18           MR. BLACKWELL: -- sending signals like this to  
19 people whom we want to vote for our candidates in  
20 November.

21           So please vote against this.

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Please stay within the 2-  
23 minute rule.

24           Mr. Ryder of Tennessee?

25           MR. RYDER: It didn't last long, Mr. Chairman; I

1 disagree with Mr. Blackwell on this issue.

2 [Laughter.]

3 MR. RYDER: The problem with the requirement of  
4 a plurality rather than a majority is just simply a  
5 practical one. If you have a state that has 50 votes and  
6 you, as the secretary of the convention, receive written  
7 certifications from 26 people, you know that's a majority.  
8 If you receive written certifications from 18 people, you  
9 don't know whether that's a plurality unless everybody  
10 else turns in, and that's not required.

11 So that's a fix of a practical problem that I  
12 think is necessary, Mr. Chairman.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

14 The lady at microphone one?

15 MS. KNAPERREK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Laura  
16 Knaperek, the great state of Arizona.

17 And, please, everyone, come visit us in  
18 February.

19 I want to just make this point, that I believe  
20 by adding an additional three states, that it actually  
21 makes for a better presidential candidate in the future.  
22 And the reason is, they have to reach out to more people  
23 in more states. So I think what that does is it actually  
24 helps the Republican Party, and I stand in support of this  
25 amendment.

1                   CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from  
2 Massachusetts?

3                   MR. DEVITO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I note  
4 the gentlelady from Iowa is behind me.

5                   I'm confused constantly by the theme of today,  
6 where good-intentioned folks are trying to say some of  
7 these proposals go against the growth and expansion and  
8 the purpose of the convention of the Republican Party.

9                   What this does is it goes back to what we've  
10 been talking about all day, which is making sure that the  
11 intent of the voter is represented at the convention.  
12 That's exactly what this does. When you expand from five  
13 to eight, you are ensuring what has happened in the  
14 primary process is represented at the convention level.

15                  So I support this motion and encourage everyone  
16 to do so.

17                  CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady from Iowa?

18                  MS. DEGROOT: Ani DeGroot, Iowa.

19                  I just wanted to say that I completely and  
20 wholeheartedly agree with Mr. Blackwell. I am one of  
21 those young people he referenced. I am a student leader.  
22 I'm an Iowa State student -- well, I am the Iowa State  
23 chair for our youth organization who focuses on young  
24 people.

25                  And it's completely true that if we do make it a

1 majority, you are going to hinder the growth of this  
2 party. You're going to dissuade people from joining,  
3 especially the young people. So we're only hurting  
4 ourselves by accepting this.

5 Thank you.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me go over here.

7 MR. PAULSEN: Mr. Chair, I don't have any  
8 particular language off-hand, but it seems like there's  
9 other technical fixes for determining if there's a  
10 plurality of a state, including possibly having the  
11 secretary of the convention, you know, do a call of the  
12 state delegation if somebody submits a petition.

13 It seems like we can fix the plurality without  
14 changing it substantively to a majority. And if we end up  
15 -- if Mr. Romney loses, which I hope doesn't happen, then  
16 4 years from now, if we have three candidates running, we  
17 want to make sure that all the states are able to be part  
18 of this process. It seems there's other technical fixes  
19 for the plurality issue.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Gentleman?

21 MR. FAHLESON: Mark Fahleson, state chair,  
22 Nebraska.

23 I had the fortune, or misfortune, of chairing  
24 the last Republican state convention in the nation, and we  
25 became the focal point because, depending upon your



1 interpretation of this very provision, that convention  
2 would've decided whether a candidate would, in fact, be  
3 eligible to be nominated.

4 Five is too few states. Plurality also is  
5 subject to interpretation, and a wide variety of  
6 interpretations have been given rise over the years. On  
7 behalf of my delegation, Nebraska, we support increasing  
8 it to eight, as well as clarifying "plurality" by  
9 replacing it with "majority."

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Grady?

11 MR. GRADY: Bob Grady from Wyoming. I rise in  
12 support of the amendment. I think "plurality" is vague  
13 and subject to misinterpretation, as people have said.

14 And with respect to the broader thing of five  
15 versus eight, let's remember something: We're going into  
16 a war this fall. The other side is a buzzsaw. They are  
17 going to be organized. We should not have a disorderly  
18 convention. We should have a convention that can speak  
19 coherently on behalf of someone who has at least enough  
20 support that we know he's going to win. Eight is  
21 certainly an appropriate number compared to five.

22 Thank you.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman from South  
24 Carolina?

25 MR. MCKISSICK: Mr. Chairman, Drew McKissick,

1 South Carolina.

2 I just want to point out that this is another  
3 case of us fixing something that's not broken and probably  
4 breaking something that currently works.

5 Again, we're here. We have a process. It  
6 worked. This worked prior to today. It works today. Why  
7 do we want to give anyone the idea that we are making  
8 things more exclusive?

9 Why do we want to introduce into the nomination  
10 process the problem of states who suddenly can't  
11 participate in nominating because we have said, you know,  
12 if you're -- which, you know, many of them bind delegates  
13 in their primaries. And if we have a multi-candidate  
14 primary, then how are they going to be able to participate  
15 in the nominating process?

16 And, further, we've now raised that to eight.  
17 So, out of the states that could participate, we've got to  
18 find a candidate who has eight states that he has a  
19 majority in, whereas all these other states may be broken  
20 up. And it's just unnecessarily difficult, and, again,  
21 it's fixing something that's not broken.

22 And I urge you to oppose it. Thank you.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone three?

24 MS. LAKE: Cindy Lake from Nevada. Thank you,  
25 Mr. Chairman.

1 I have to side with the gentleman from South  
2 Carolina and say, this is completely exclusionary. And I  
3 urge you to vote against it.

4 I think that even one state should have a voice.  
5 We should all have voices. And we should not raise the  
6 bar. We should be inclusionary, not exclusionary.

7 Thank you very much.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
9 two?

10 MR. O'BRIEN: Thank you, Governor. Robert  
11 O'Brien from California.

12 Two issues here. "Plurality" is vague and  
13 ambiguous; "majority" is clear. We ought to have clear  
14 rules. That's what we're doing, to make the process  
15 smooth and straightforward on a going-forward basis.

16 With respect to the number of states, some of  
17 these rules come from the days when we used to have  
18 regional candidates, we used to have favorite-son-type  
19 candidates. That's not the world we live in anymore.

20 I'd personally like to see -- I'm not going to  
21 make an amendment -- but I'd like to see at least a fifth  
22 of the states, you know, have to get it up to 10; or, you  
23 know, if it was Barack Obama, at 57 states, we'd have to  
24 go even higher.

25 [Laughter.]

1           MR. O'BRIEN: But I'd like to have it at 10  
2 states. But I think eight gets you to a threshold where  
3 you're a serious candidate that goes beyond being a  
4 favorite son or a regional candidate.

5           Because, as one of the former speakers just  
6 mentioned, we're going to into battle after these  
7 conventions. They've gotten pushed farther and farther  
8 into the fall process. We need to have our candidate --  
9 in this case, Governor Romney, and 4 years from now,  
10 President Romney, and beyond that, our candidates -- we  
11 need to have them ready to take on the Democrats, and we  
12 don't need the distractions.

13           So I am fully in support of this amendment.

14           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
15 one?

16           MR. VILLERE: Roger Villere of Louisiana.

17           I rise in strong support of this issue. I think  
18 it's something we really need. I think it's for our  
19 betterment, and we should pass this. I'm in full support.

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone one?

21           MS. STEBBINS: Marianne Stebbins, Minnesota.

22           I am kind of curious about why this is being  
23 proposed. As Mr. Blackwell said, you know, Ron Paul's not  
24 a threat here because he doesn't have the plurality or the  
25 majority in five states. So, I mean, I'm wondering why

1 it's coming up.

2 But I'm also kind of getting a sense, whether  
3 it's from Mr. Ginsberg or some others -- I think the Ron  
4 Paul people who are out there -- not me. I'm voting for  
5 Romney. I am a Ron Paul delegate who will be voting for  
6 Romney in the general election as I pledged to do.

7 But there are a lot of people out there watching  
8 these goings-on and hearing about these goings-on. Romney  
9 and Obama are very close in the polls. You would think  
10 another 5 percent, perhaps, in the general election might  
11 be a good idea.

12 I know that the RNC can control this convention.  
13 I know Mr. Ginsberg can control this convention. But  
14 there's a general election coming up, and we need those  
15 votes in November. I would encourage you to not try to  
16 freeze out a faction of the party. We're growing the  
17 party. So welcome in these new people. Don't try to push  
18 them out and freeze them out.

19 [Applause.]

20 MS. STEBBINS: I would urge you to defeat this  
21 motion.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Haugland, you were  
23 standing next to the mic. Were you waiting to speak? No.

24 Any other comments or questions?

25 If not -- oh, I'm sorry.

1 MR. PALATUCCI: You did this to me again, Mr.  
2 Chairman, but --

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's the light.

4 MR. PALATUCCI: Bill Palatucci from New Jersey.  
5 I see. You can't see me here. Bill Palatucci from New  
6 Jersey.

7 Eight is a very reasonable number. I love Mr.  
8 Ginsberg. He doesn't tell me what to do. I support the  
9 amendment.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Hearing no more comments or  
11 discussion, we'll move to a vote.

12 This is a vote on the amendment to Rule 39(b),  
13 page 60, line 6, changing "five" to "eight" and -- no?  
14 Have I got the right one? Yes, it is. And "plurality,"  
15 "majority."

16 All those in favor of this amendment, please say  
17 "aye."

18 [Chorus of ayes.]

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed, say "nay."

20 [Chorus of nays.]

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm going to need a division.

22 All those in favor, please stand.

23 Please be seated.

24 All those opposed, please stand.

25 The ayes have it.

1           We'll move on to the next amendment. This is a  
2 proposed amendment to Rule 40(d), page 62, line 17, Kurt  
3 Criss of Nevada.

4           Mr. Criss, will you present your amendment?

5           MR. CRISS: Kurt Criss, Nevada.

6           Mr. Chairman, I propose that we revise Rule  
7 40(d) by striking the words "recommendations regarding"  
8 and inserting the word "proposed" and striking the words  
9 "approved by the Republican National Committee," such that  
10 the last sentence would read, "After this information is  
11 provided, any additional proposed changes in the rules of  
12 the Republican Party shall be provided to the members of  
13 the Convention Committee on Rules and Order of Business as  
14 soon as practicable."

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

16           [Seconded.]

17           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a second.

18           Discussion, sir?

19           MR. CRISS: Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20           Mr. Chairman, this language conflicts with the  
21 essence of Robert's Rules by preventing this very  
22 committee from autonomously performing its own work and  
23 recommendations.

24           As written, proposed changes by committee  
25 members from each state must have their proposals approved

1 by those outside the committee before other committee  
2 members are allowed to see them.

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
4 discussion?

5 MR. HOUGH: I don't show a copy of that here.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: How many people do not have a  
7 copy of this?

8 Can we get copies to them, please? There's two  
9 in the back and I think two in the front here. Maybe four  
10 in the back.

11 Do you have it? Everybody have it?

12 There's one gentleman here without it.

13 Additional comments or discussion?

14 The gentleman at microphone number two?

15 MR. DEVITO: Vincent Devito, Massachusetts. I'm  
16 opposed to this motion because I think the gentleman may  
17 not have fully contemplated its import.

18 The national party rules and the convention  
19 rules are not subservient to Robert's Rules, and there's a  
20 differentiation between this particular body and the  
21 Standing Committee on Rules under the RNC, the committee.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ryder?

23 MR. RYDER: If I may, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to  
24 ask the proponent a question because --

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: You may.



1           MR. RYDER:  -- I'm not sure I understand the  
2 import of his amendment.

3           As I read the original language, it requires  
4 that those changes which have been proposed and approved  
5 by the RNC in the process that we went through in the RNC  
6 this week with the Rules Committee and then having those  
7 changes approved by the full RNC, that those materials be  
8 made available to the committee, this committee, as soon  
9 as practicable.

10           And I'm not sure what the import of his change  
11 is.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU:  Mr. Criss, if I may add to  
13 that for clarification, the traditional process has been  
14 that the RNC Rules Committee meets either 1 or 2 days  
15 before this committee.  It addresses its set of rules and  
16 then presents that package to this committee for review.

17           We then review those rules and adopt a set of  
18 rules for the Convention Committee on Rules and Order of  
19 Business.

20           MR. RYDER:  Mr. Chairman, actually, let me  
21 clarify one step --

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU:  Please do.

23           MR. RYDER:  -- further, which is, the original  
24 language which this amendment would strike, which reads  
25 "approved by the Republican National Committee," refers to

1 the rules changes recommended by the RNC Standing  
2 Committee on Rules, which have to be approved by the full  
3 RNC before they're submitted to this committee.

4 And I think we want to preserve that process,  
5 and I'm not sure that that was the intent of the  
6 proponent.

7 MR. CRISS: Mr. Chairman, I read this that after  
8 the originally amended rules from the RNC are provided to  
9 us 25 days prior, that that last sentence read that any  
10 information subsequent to that had to be recommended and  
11 approved by the RNC. I took that to mean the work of this  
12 committee.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I don't think so, sir.

14 But, Mr. Ryder?

15 MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, I think not. I think  
16 that that means we get the black-lined version 25 days  
17 ahead of time, but the RNC Standing Committee will meet  
18 between 25 days and the meeting of this committee and make  
19 further proposed change recommendations that will go to  
20 the RNC and, if approved by the full RNC, then will be  
21 transmitted to this committee. And that's what I  
22 understand to be the procedure.

23 MR. CRISS: Okay. If I'm corrected, I withdraw  
24 my motion.

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Motion is withdrawn.

1           Amendment to Rule 31, page 56, line 1. This is  
2 from Richard Forsten of Delaware.

3           Mr. Forsten, is this the one you were referring  
4 to, sir?

5           MR. FORSTEN: It is, Mr. Chairman.

6           Mr. Chairman, we've been here diligently working  
7 on the rules, and hopefully when we've completed our task,  
8 there will be no need to suspend them. But we've heard  
9 earlier in the day about how important this convention is,  
10 in terms of time, there's limited time, and our  
11 presentation is important. I mean, we're making the case  
12 to the country for our nominee, or our soon-to-be nominee,  
13 the nominees, Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan. Time is scarce,  
14 and impressions are everything.

15           And while all Republicans believe in healthy  
16 debate, we need certain minimum requirements so that too  
17 small a minority can not disrupt, hijack, or otherwise  
18 distract from our number-one priority and, quite frankly,  
19 the only reason I'm here and I think most of us are here,  
20 and that's getting a Republican president and vice  
21 president elected. And the future of our country, I  
22 think, really depends on it, although that's a cliché a  
23 lot of people say.

24           So if you look at this rule right now, it only  
25 takes a majority of delegates in six states. We have over

1 2,200 delegates, and so potentially that means as few as  
2 50 to 60 delegates could call for a suspension of the  
3 rules. My proposal is simply to increase that number from  
4 a total of six to eight states, raise the threshold a bit.

5 As I say, I don't think we're going to need to  
6 suspend the rules, but -- it says five to seven on the  
7 amendment because it's one state plus another five or plus  
8 another seven. You can see how the black-lined works out.

9 And so, with that, that's my motion, and I would  
10 ask that it be adopted.

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

12 I'm sorry. I wasn't sure I heard. Is there a  
13 second?

14 [Secoded.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a second.

16 Mr. Blackwell?

17 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, well, at least  
18 this is consistent, because we are proposing again  
19 something that raises the bar and makes it more difficult  
20 for a minority or new people to participate.

21 There has, to my knowledge, never been a problem  
22 with the current level required to suspend the rules.  
23 This is another solution looking for a problem that  
24 doesn't exist.

25 It's bad; the trend is in the wrong direction

1 here. And it is going to hurt this party at the grass  
2 roots if we continue trying to gain tighter and tighter  
3 control and silence minorities in circumstances where the  
4 minorities have not troubled us in things that are trying  
5 to be solved. This is wrong, I believe.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Ryder?

7 MR. RYDER: I think Mr. Blackwell has it exactly  
8 reversed in this case. By raising the threshold of states  
9 required to suspend the rules, you make it more difficult  
10 for a majority to oppress the minority, because the  
11 technique of suspending the rules would be one that would  
12 be more beneficial to a majority in the act of oppressing  
13 a minority at the convention.

14 And, therefore, I think this is a greater  
15 protection of minority rights within the convention. And,  
16 therefore, I would urge adoption of the amendment.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion or  
18 questions?

19 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

20 All those in favor of adopting the amendment to  
21 Rule 31, page 56, line 1, please say "aye."

22 [Chorus of ayes.]

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

24 [Chorus of noes.]

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let's try it once more. I'm

1 in doubt.

2 All those in favor, please say "aye."

3 [Chorus of ayes.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

5 [Chorus of noes.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The ayes have it.

7 A proposed amendment to Rule 33, page 56, lines  
8 19 to 20.

9 The representative from D.C.?

10 MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, in the spirit of  
11 these couple other votes we've had, I would raise the  
12 minimum needed for a minority report from 25 to 40  
13 percent.

14 Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

16 [Seconded.]

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's seconded. Discussion?

18 The gentleman from South Carolina?

19 MR. MCKISSICK: I think it's pretty clear, we've  
20 been talking about putting together a minority report out  
21 of a couple of these rules that we've had severe  
22 disagreement over in expressing our opinions, so now  
23 they're trying to raise the bar for us to be able to get  
24 that report out of this meeting, which is incredibly anti-  
25 democratic, small "D."

1 I mean, you know, again, as the Chairman had the  
2 kindness to point out earlier in the day, let's do this in  
3 such a way where nobody feels like they got squelched and  
4 shut up.

5 Thank you.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

7 MR. BLACKWELL: Morton Blackwell, Virginia.

8 Certainly this is another example --

9 [Laughter.]

10 MR. BLACKWELL: -- of trying to keep a minority  
11 down.

12 [Applause.]

13 MR. BLACKWELL: And I find this to be  
14 particularly outrageous. Because this requirement of 25  
15 has been very difficult to obtain. This would make it  
16 almost impossible to obtain. And, remember, you have 1  
17 hour after the adjournment of the meeting to get everybody  
18 together, and now you would have to get 40 percent?

19 I lay this at the doorstep of Mr. Ginsberg. He  
20 is systematically trying to prevent minorities from having  
21 any even remote opportunity of being heard. I mean, this  
22 is truly an outrage.

23 And let me tell you, people are looking at what  
24 we are doing here at this convention and in these rules  
25 matters and in the credentials matters, and they are

1 hoping that this party that they're now involved in, many  
2 for the first time, is going to be welcoming to them, not  
3 setting up higher barriers for them to be able to  
4 participate in the party.

5           This is wrong. It is going to hurt us. It is  
6 going to hurt our presidential candidate. And this, Mr.  
7 Ginsberg, this really takes the cake.

8           And we should not support this.

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
10 number one?

11           MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, I am hungry, but  
12 I'm persuaded by Mr. Blackwell's eloquence, and I withdraw  
13 the amendment.

14           [Applause.]

15           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let the record show a ray of  
16 sunshine came into the room.

17           [Laughter.]

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: An amendment to Rule 39(b),  
19 page no. 59, line 2: "Delete the word and figure 'five  
20 (5)' and substitute in lieu thereof the word and figure  
21 'six (6).'"

22           Mr. Tettlebaum of Missouri?

23           MR. TETTLEBAUM: I withdraw it.

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Withdrawn.

25           An amendment by Ashley Ryan of Maine, Rule



1 39(b), page 60, line 11.

2 Ashley?

3 MS. RYAN: Yes, Mr. Chair. Thank you.

4 I move to change the wording of Rule 39(b).

5 There's actually a typo in this amendment. It should be  
6 line 10. After the line "required of this paragraph," I'd  
7 like to add "for the first round of voting."

8 Thank you.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

10 [Secoded.]

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you want to discuss it,  
12 Ashley?

13 MS. RYAN: No, thank you.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any discussion or questions?

15 You don't have it? Somebody doesn't have it and  
16 wants it to be in writing? I heard a mumble, but I just  
17 want to make sure.

18 Can we get a copy up here?

19 It's up on the board. Can you see that?

20 If there's no objection, I'll move to a vote.

21 All those in favor, please say "aye."

22 [Chorus of ayes.]

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

24 [Chorus of noes.]

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I believe the noes have it.

1 It's defeated.

2 Rule 39(b), page 60, line 12, by Mr. Paulsen of  
3 Minnesota.

4 MR. PAULSEN: Yes, this -- can you read the  
5 wording -- the wording on the screen?

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: This says, "After 'to the  
7 secretary,' add 'or podium.'" "

8 MR. PAULSEN: Yes, so this was just a technical  
9 issue. In case for some reason the secretary was  
10 indisposed in the hour and a half before the convention,  
11 this would provide another means to provide the nomination  
12 petition in good order to the people in charge of the  
13 convention.

14 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

15 [Seconded.]

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a second.

17 Discussion? Questions?

18 Hearing no objection, we'll move to a vote.

19 All those in favor of amending Rule 39(b),  
20 please say "aye."

21 [Chorus of ayes.]

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

23 [Chorus of noes.]

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I believe the noes have it.

25 It's defeated.

1           An amendment to Rule 40, page 61, line 23, by  
2 Ms. Sebern of Colorado.

3           MS. SEBERN: Mr. Chairman, this amendment is a  
4 simple housekeeping measure to clarify the process for  
5 vacancy elections for our committee positions, not as  
6 delegates but as committee members.

7           It's standard practice in Robert's Rules of  
8 Order to conduct vacancy elections in the same manner as  
9 the original election was held. And it would be helpful  
10 to have this clearly stated.

11           I would like to point out that, in my challenge  
12 to a Credentials Committee member who was invalidly  
13 elected, the same rule that the Chair used today to boot  
14 Mr. Logan was used to retain Mr. Call.

15           So this would go a long way in clarifying that.

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

17           [Secoded.]

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

19           We'll move to a vote. Oh, wait a minute. Mr.  
20 Bennett, are you rising to discuss?

21           MR. BENNETT: Surprisingly, no, Mr. Chairman.

22           [Laughter.]

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That is quite surprising.

24           MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Dudley Brown, Colorado.

25           The reason for the amendment, again, is just to

1 lay it out so that the rules say how we can replace  
2 somebody who's been removed from a committee, in what  
3 order, and say it very clearly, and state it so that  
4 there's no question about that. And in future  
5 conventions, I think that would be helpful.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional discussion?

7 If not, we'll move to a vote.

8 All those in favor of the amendment to Rule  
9 40(a), please say "aye."

10 [Chorus of ayes.]

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

12 [Chorus of noes.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The noes have it.

14 Now, I believe we have finished the amendments  
15 to those sections. I do have additional amendments to  
16 section one. I have some amendments to Rule 10 -- I think  
17 they're all to Rule 10 -- and a couple of --

18 MR. MCKISSICK: Mr. Chairman? This is another  
19 proposal to Rule 40, by the way.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm sorry. I don't have it.  
21 Can you get it to me?

22 MR. MCKISSICK: Copies of it were distributed,  
23 so it's in the mix.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All right. I apologize.  
25 That's why I am --

1 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, I have an  
2 amendment to Rule 40, which I submitted before 8 o'clock  
3 this morning and talked with the people --

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Would you go over -- oh, we  
5 got another one. Okay. I got it. That's why we ask.

6 I have an amendment to Rule 40(d), submitted by  
7 Drew McKissick of South Carolina.

8 MR. MCKISSICK: Yes, sir. I am moving that --  
9 if we can see that on the screen there for everybody --  
10 that the beginning of the rule that states "no later than  
11 25 days prior to the convention," I want to change 25 to  
12 45.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: To do what?

14 MR. MCKISSICK: We want to change there at the  
15 outset --

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No, no, no. Twenty-five days  
17 or 45 days to accomplish what? I don't -- what's the --

18 MR. MCKISSICK: The purpose of the amendment is,  
19 if many of you will remember, before you came here, about  
20 20 days prior to the convention you received an email  
21 which had a copy of the rules that the RNC Standing Rules  
22 Committee had completed work on so far. So that gave you  
23 something to look at in the intervening days so we could  
24 make our time here a little bit more productive.

25 I actually wrote that rule back in 1996 out in

1 San Diego. And then 8 years later, we added the  
2 subsequent amendment to that which also makes them  
3 distribute a copy of your names and contact information to  
4 one another. So if you have any problems with what's  
5 being proposed, you can have conversations and, again,  
6 hopefully make this meeting more productive.

7 My only point is, there's really no reason why  
8 we can't send that out a little bit earlier, so I'm  
9 looking to extend that to 45 days.

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

11 [Secoded.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

13 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

14 All those in favor of the proposed amendment to  
15 Rule 40(d), please say "aye."

16 [Chorus of ayes.]

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

18 [Chorus of noes.]

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It seems like the ayes have  
20 it. The ayes have it.

21 Proposal for Rule 40. Mr. Blackwell?

22 MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 Everyone has, I believe, a copy of this  
24 relatively simple amendment. The reason I'm proposing it  
25 is that there was, in my judgment and most everybody's

1 judgment I think, a clear violation of Rule 40, which was  
2 not corrected, in part because it was argued that in this  
3 section, which is page 61, line 17, the word "delegates"  
4 is not capitalized.

5           And that's kind of amusing, but some people  
6 maintain that because the word "delegates" was not  
7 capitalized, that the word "delegates," lowercase, implied  
8 the delegates and the alternates, the relevant point being  
9 that the rules state that "the delegates elected or  
10 selected to the convention from each state promptly, once  
11 all delegates are elected or selected, shall elect from  
12 the delegation a delegation chairman."

13           What happened in Oregon was -- and it made a  
14 difference in the result of the election -- they allowed  
15 the alternate delegates to vote equally. And we tried to  
16 correct that at the RNC meeting, and it was moved in order  
17 for it to -- it was held in order for this matter to be  
18 raised. But the argument was made that somehow our rules  
19 were not clear.

20           There's not a person in this room who doesn't  
21 understand that in these rules where it says "delegates,"  
22 it means just the delegates, and when it means alternate  
23 delegates, it means the alternate delegates.

24           But I think an injustice was done. The excuse  
25 that was given was that, well, under the Oregon rules,

1 alternates are allowed to vote on this. Well, there's not  
2 a person in this room who doesn't know the national party  
3 rules trump state party rules.

4           And I'm just suggesting that we should not,  
5 again, allow people to break our rules because we haven't  
6 capitalized the letter "D" twice in "delegates."

7           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

8           [Seconded.]

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

10          Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

11          All those in favor of capitalizing "D," please  
12 say "aye."

13          [Chorus of ayes.]

14          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

15          [No response.]

16          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you want it bold also,  
17 Morton?

18          [Laughter.]

19          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I have an amendment to Rule 10  
20 by Mr. Barbour from Mississippi. This is an amendment to  
21 Rule 10, page 17, line 13 to 16.

22          Mr. Barbour?

23          MR. BARBOUR: Mr. Chairman, Henry Barbour from  
24 Mississippi.

25          What I would like to propose is a motion to



1 amend the amendment to Rule 10, to strike that the  
2 chairman of the Budget Committee will be elected by the  
3 RNC members. Rather, as it has been the practice of the  
4 committee and in the rules prior to the Rules Committee  
5 meeting this week, that the chairman of the RNC will  
6 appoint the chairman of the Standing Budget Committee.

7 I think that's very important, that the RNC  
8 chairman has the authority and the ability to appoint the  
9 chairmen to the standing committees. Those committees,  
10 particularly the Budget Committee, are an integral part of  
11 what the RNC does.

12 And I think if we're going to hold the chairman  
13 accountable for what happens at the RNC, he should be able  
14 to appoint the person that he believes can best serve in  
15 that capacity. And I think this harms the chairman's  
16 ability to run the building and win elections.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

18 [Secinded.]

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Hough of Nevada?

20 MR. HOUGH: Or Utah.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'm sorry. Utah. You guys  
22 all look alike.

23 [Laughter.]

24 MR. HOUGH: Am I wearing spangles?

25 [Laughter.]

1           MR. HOUGH: Just to clarify, Mr. Barbour,  
2 there's actually -- I'm holding two sheets of paper that  
3 clarify that there are two amendments, one specifically  
4 for Standing Budget and one for Resolutions, I believe.  
5 Is that right? Or is it being consolidated into one?

6           MR. BARBOUR: I think we're treating them  
7 separately, but I'd defer to the Chairman because he's in  
8 charge.

9           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I would prefer to treat them  
10 separately. There may be some differences. So let's just  
11 do it quickly separately.

12          MR. HOUGH: The first one, then, is the Budget  
13 Committee.

14          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That's correct.

15          MR. HOUGH: I'd really like to speak in favor of  
16 this. And I think that the gentleman from Mississippi has  
17 articulated it well. I think accountability is absolutely  
18 critical.

19                 We elect, as the body -- and in these, by the  
20 way, provisions this week, we're having more members of  
21 that committee that are provided by the election of our  
22 body, of the 168.

23                 But from an accountability standpoint, the  
24 chairman, who we look to and we hold accountable for the  
25 financial performance of this party, should be able to

1 appoint his own chairman, someone who has, he believes,  
2 the skills and the integrity to direct that effort.

3 And so I think it's not only long-time practice  
4 but also wisdom for us to allow that appointment.

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
6 discussion?

7 Hearing none, we'll move to a vote on this  
8 amendment to Rule 10, page 17.

9 All those in favor, please say "aye."

10 [Chorus of ayes.]

11 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

12 [Chorus of noes.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It passes.

14 The second rule that you've proposed, Mr.  
15 Barbour -- amendment?

16 MR. BARBOUR: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Henry  
17 Barbour from Mississippi.

18 Second amendment, just very similar to the last,  
19 would be to change the rules to insert, back to what has  
20 been our practice, just as it was with the Budget  
21 Committee, that the chairman would also appoint the  
22 chairman of the Resolutions Committee, as opposed to it  
23 being elected.

24 Again, another particularly important position  
25 on the committee, and I do believe our chairman should

1 have the authority to make this appointment.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is there a second?

3 [Seconded.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

5 If not, we'll move to a vote.

6 All those in favor, please say "aye."

7 [Chorus of ayes.]

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

9 [Chorus of noes.]

10 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It passes.

11 I have a proposed amendment to Rule 10 from Mr.  
12 McDaniel of Indiana.

13 MR. MCDANIEL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mike  
14 McDaniel from Indiana.

15 This adds a new subsection in section 10 as  
16 follows: "There shall be a Commission on Convention  
17 Planning to review the financing, security, calendar,  
18 program, and site selection of future quadrennial  
19 Republican national conventions.

20 "The chairman of the Republican National  
21 Committee shall appoint all members of the Commission on  
22 Convention Planning, not to exceed 20 members, which  
23 includes the chairman and general counsel of the  
24 Republican National Committee, who shall serve as ex  
25 officio members.

1           “The chairman of the Republican National  
2 Committee shall convene the Commission on Convention  
3 Planning as soon as practicable but no later than January  
4 31st of 2013.

5           “This commission shall make any recommendations  
6 it deems appropriate and report such recommendations to  
7 the Republican National Committee at a special Republican  
8 National Committee meeting held in conjunction with the  
9 2014 State Chairmen’s Meeting to be held in the spring of  
10 2014.

11           “The Commission on Convention Planning shall  
12 disband following the transmittal of its report.  
13 Necessary and proper resources of the Republican National  
14 Committee shall be made available to fund the efforts of  
15 this commission.”

16           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Very eloquently read, Mr.  
17 McDaniel. Thank you.

18           Is there a second?

19           [Seconded.]

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

21           We’ll move to a vote.

22           All in favor, please say “aye.”

23           [Chorus of ayes.]

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

25           [Chorus of noes.]

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Passed.

2           Another proposal to the amendment of Rule No.  
3 10, Rule 10(a)(1), proposed by Mr. Ryder of Tennessee,  
4 page no. 15, line 18.

5           Mr. Ryder?

6           MR. RYDER: Mr. Chairman, John Ryder, Tennessee.

7           The proposed language would add at the end of  
8 the sentence on line 18 the words, "The Standing Committee  
9 on Rules shall first consider all rule amendments  
10 submitted by any member of the committee at least 14 days  
11 before any regularly called meeting of the Republican  
12 National Committee, or at least 3 days before a specially  
13 called meeting, to be considered by the chairman of the  
14 Standing Committee on Rules."

15          Mr. Chairman, I move adoption.

16          [Seconded.]

17          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

18          MR. RYDER: Yes. Mr. Chairman, this codifies as  
19 a rule the informal practice that has been adopted by our  
20 Rules Committee chairman, Bruce Ash, over the past,  
21 really, 2 years.

22          And as we can see from today's experience, it is  
23 enormously helpful to have proposed amendments  
24 presubmitted so that they can be considered before you get  
25 to the floor of the meeting. And, therefore, I would urge

1 adoption of this procedure as a rule of the RNC.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

3 Mr. Blackwell?

4 MR. BLACKWELL: Thank you. Morton Blackwell of  
5 Virginia.

6 I would like to ask a question of my friend, Mr.  
7 Ryder. And that is, just because a proposed change was  
8 not submitted in advance does not prevent it from being  
9 considered at a meeting of the Standing Committee on  
10 Rules. Even if it is thought up on the moment, any member  
11 of the Standing Committee on Rules is free, as long as the  
12 meeting is in session, to propose changes in the rules.

13 Is that correct?

14 MR. RYDER: That is absolutely correct. That is  
15 the intent of the motion. And it has been the practice  
16 that we have followed.

17 The amendments to the amendment, as proposed,  
18 only calls that the presubmitted amendments be considered  
19 first in order. And recognizing that the flow of business  
20 often generates the need for additional amendments or  
21 alternative amendments, we do not want to preclude anyone  
22 from bringing an amendment on the moment.

23 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
24 discussion?

25 We'll move to a vote.

1 All those in favor of Mr. Ryder's amendment,  
2 please say "aye."

3 [Chorus of ayes.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed, say "nay."

5 [Chorus of nays.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Passes.

7 I have two more amendments here. One is an  
8 amendment to Rule 13(a), as proposed by Mr. Blackwell of  
9 Virginia, page no. 26, line 12.

10 Mr. Blackwell?

11 MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, I have submitted  
12 four amendments, which I believe have all been  
13 distributed, all of them to the same effect.

14 This is a matter which has been debated on  
15 numerous occasions. Sometimes the decision has gone one  
16 way; sometimes the decision has gone another way.

17 Up until the last election cycle, the Republican  
18 Party did not follow the Democrat practice of making the  
19 members of our National Committee automatic delegates.

20 On this committee, 4 years ago, there were  
21 apparently too many of the members of the National  
22 Committee who served on the Convention Rules Committee.  
23 And it passed to make the state chairman and national  
24 committeewoman/national committeeman automatic delegates.

25 There are strong arguments as to why this should



1 not be done. And I understand the human temptation; if  
2 you have power, do you use that power to give yourself  
3 more power? But I believe it is fundamentally wrong for  
4 168 people who are members of the National Committee to  
5 have the potential to have been elected in the spring of  
6 2008 to be automatic delegates to our convention in 2012.  
7 It's wrong.

8           You should elect delegates contemporaneous with  
9 the presidential campaign. There is no inherent reason  
10 why members of the National Committee should be automatic  
11 delegates. We all have the freedom to become national  
12 delegates if we can get our state parties to elect us or  
13 candidates we support to win primaries.

14           But I believe it is fundamentally wrong, and  
15 it's an imitation of the Democrats, where, if you get  
16 power, you've got to grab for more power; that's inherent  
17 with them. It shouldn't be that way with the Republicans.  
18 We should be electing our delegates contemporaneous with  
19 the presidential contest.

20           And I hope that we can reverse the decision that  
21 was made 4 years ago. So I would appreciate your support  
22 on it.

23           And there's no sense in debating these four  
24 separately. I would like to move that the four amendments  
25 to 13(c)(2), 15(c)(11), 17(c), and 16(a), all of which

1 have the effect of removing automatic delegate status for  
2 people just because they are members of the Republican  
3 National Committee.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I believe it was seconded. Am  
5 I correct? Senility is a horrible disease, and I forgot.

6 [Seconded.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

8 Additional discussion?

9 The gentleman --

10 MR. COLE: Warren Cole from the Virgin Islands.

11 Mr. Chairman, these amendments would devastate  
12 the small delegations, particularly from the territories  
13 and from the District of Columbia. It would reduce the  
14 size of the Virgin Islands delegation, for example, by a  
15 full one-third.

16 Our RNC members are delegates to the convention  
17 from our territory because they have the trust and the  
18 respect of the rank-and-file members of our party. And to  
19 remove them from the delegation would require them then to  
20 run against the rank-and-file members who want to be  
21 members of the delegation. And it would reduce our  
22 delegation by a full third.

23 I oppose this amendment. Thank you.

24 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The gentleman at microphone  
25 number one?

1 MR. TETTLEBAUM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 The original rule in Rule 13, subsection (a),  
3 paragraph (3), was one that was adopted 16 years ago. I  
4 was the one that proposed it.

5 The reason we did that was partially just stated  
6 by the prior speaker. And the other reason that we  
7 proposed that was to give recognition and give opportunity  
8 for other people to be placed as delegates, to expand the  
9 base of delegates that could be elected to the National  
10 Convention.

11 Mr. Blackwell has been trying to get that out  
12 for the past four conventions. He's been unsuccessful. I  
13 suggest he should be unsuccessful at this convention.

14 [Applause.]

15 MR. TETTLEBAUM: I move that it be defeated.

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Pope?

17 MR. POPE: Louis Pope, national committeeman  
18 from Maryland.

19 For the reasons previously stated, it would  
20 decimate a number of delegations. And it forces the  
21 individual workers, campaign coordinators, staffers for  
22 various campaigns to actually run against national  
23 committeepeople for the same seats.

24 But even greater than that, the people in our  
25 state parties elected members of the National Committee to

1 work for 4 years, serve on the Rules Committee, debate  
2 what we are discussing right at this moment, set up  
3 convention meetings, set up site selection committees,  
4 arrange for funding of an entire convention, and  
5 coordinate it so that this show comes off wonderfully and  
6 is a wonderful display of Republican values.

7           It makes no sense to then disenfranchise the  
8 people who set it up and not allow them to automatically  
9 attend the function they worked on so hard for 4 years.

10           So I urge you to defeat this amendment. Thank  
11 you.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone one?

13           MS. DONNA JONES: Donna Jones, national  
14 committeewoman from Guam.

15           Members of this committee, please allow me to  
16 extrapolate this out for an extra moment.

17           We have been talking over and over and over  
18 again about disenfranchising minorities in our elections,  
19 in all different areas of it. And looking at this, it  
20 would seem to me that this is absolutely disenfranchising  
21 the biggest minority that we have within the RNC.

22           And now extrapolating it out, as a resident of  
23 the territory of Guam, I have never in my life known the  
24 honor of voting for my president. I have never known the  
25 honor of having a representative in the House of

1 Representatives who can vote on the floor.

2           And I was working for Congress in 2010 when we  
3 passed the -- well, when the health-care bill was passed,  
4 and I said to myself, my island, my delegate -- because  
5 she doesn't even get to be called a representative -- has  
6 no say in something that will affect my life forever.

7           But one of the things that I am so completely  
8 proud of is that, within the RNC, the territories are  
9 absolutely equal to the states and that we have just as  
10 much say, we have a vote, and we have delegates that are  
11 elected to go to the convention and put forth our support,  
12 in this case, of Governor Romney.

13           And so, if you remove this ability, if you  
14 remove this right that we have been given, we, as a party,  
15 basically say that, yes, we are not being an inclusive  
16 party, we are not the party of everybody; we're just the  
17 party of people who happen to live in the 50 states.

18           And so I ask you, please, to look at this and  
19 vote it down. Thank you.

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone number  
21 three?

22           MS. TEBELIUS: Diane Tebelius from the state of  
23 Washington.

24           I've opposed Mr. Blackwell on this motion before  
25 as a member of the RNC and as a former member of the RNC.

1           It seems to me that the people who we voted in  
2 our states who represent us for 4 years, it makes only  
3 sense to allow you to be an automatic delegate. To change  
4 that rule would mean those three people would compete for  
5 delegates from the grass roots, and that is not  
6 acceptable.

7           Furthermore, it seems to me if retain the  
8 present rule, which we took some time to change, it would  
9 make us only rational, reasonable, and smart -- not  
10 Democrats.

11           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Gentleman at microphone two?

12           MR. FORSTEN: Richard Forsten from Delaware, Mr.  
13 Chairman.

14           Certainly I respect Mr. Blackwell and his  
15 position. He is a man of principle, if nothing else. But  
16 I do disagree with him here.

17           Delaware being a small state, this would hurt us  
18 for all the reasons stated. I'm not sure why the members  
19 of the RNC, who've worked long and hard, shouldn't be  
20 delegates.

21           And, most importantly, I'm not sure that there's  
22 ever been a problem with this. I mean, if it ain't broke,  
23 you don't need to fix it.

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Gentleman from South Carolina?

25           MR. MCKISSICK: Drew McKissick, South Carolina.

1           I think we might be kind of confusing the issue  
2 here a little bit. The issue really isn't about  
3 representation. I mean, we have a base number of votes  
4 that every state gets. If you want to provide more votes,  
5 just raise the base number.

6           The issue here is about whether or not delegates  
7 ought to be elected from the grass roots, if everyone  
8 ought to have to be elected together, as Mr. Blackwell  
9 said, within the same cycle that we pick our nominee, as  
10 opposed to 4 years beforehand.

11           You know, and this doesn't even begin to address  
12 the issue of, are those delegates or these super-delegates  
13 bound, unbound? Can they do whatever they want? Are we  
14 going to include them in the disavowal provision that  
15 we've passed for the presidential campaign? If the  
16 presidential campaign disavows them, what are we going to  
17 do then? You know, does someone else have to get picked  
18 to replace one of these super-delegates?

19           So, you know, I think the point is, everyone  
20 ought to have to run for delegate. We shouldn't be  
21 providing super-delegates. The next thing we're going to  
22 do is it'll be members of Congress next. And, you know,  
23 that's the road the Democrats went down years ago.

24           I think it makes sense everybody ought to have  
25 to be elected, so I support this amendment.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Delegate from Maine, Ashley?

2           MS. RYAN: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Ashley Ryan  
3 from the state of Maine.

4           I'd first like to preface this by saying that,  
5 by supporting Mr. Blackwell, as the incoming national  
6 committeewoman for the state of Maine, I would be ruling  
7 against my own ability to be an automatic delegate to the  
8 2016 convention.

9           I'd like to give you a little background on the  
10 situation that Maine's in. Currently, our national  
11 committeewoman, who we elected in the spring of 2008, has  
12 chosen to rule against the entire delegation. Her actions  
13 have been so divisive that our Republican governor, our  
14 Republican candidate for Senate, many of our currently sat  
15 Republican state legislators, our Republican candidate for  
16 Congress, have all condemned her actions.

17           It's been incredibly divisive. The whole party  
18 has condemned it, yet she is still a national delegate to  
19 the convention, representing the state of Maine.

20           For this reason, I'll be supporting Mr.  
21 Blackwell's amendment. Thank you.

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Let me do microphone three.

23           MR. HOAR: Mr. Chair, Kevin Hoar from the state  
24 of Oregon.

25           We've heard a great deal about doing everything



1 we can to reach out to new folks and be inclusive. And  
2 the proposed amendment cannot but reduce the number of  
3 people that would be able to be included in delegations to  
4 this convention.

5           And I think to be loyal to that principle, some  
6 of the folks that are considering this strongly might want  
7 to rethink it on that principle basis alone. I think we  
8 do want as many people as possibly part of these  
9 delegations, and this provides that opportunity based on  
10 the original reason it was put in place.

11           Thank you.

12           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Gentleman at microphone three?

13           MR. HOUGH: Mr. Chairman, Bruce Hough from Utah.

14           I just want to point out that I'm not an  
15 automatic delegate. I don't know what the rest of you  
16 are, but I got elected to this position. I ran as  
17 national committeeman, I ran as a national delegate. This  
18 isn't an automatic thing at all.

19           I had to run in 29 counties, face 4,000 voters.  
20 And part of my discussion with the voters was, look, these  
21 are the things a national committeeman does, and one of  
22 them is to serve as a national delegate. So there was  
23 nothing automatic about this at all. I got elected to  
24 this position.

25           And just as a side note, I will say that there

1 were people who were kind of grateful that we weren't  
2 running against other delegates. Because we were, quote,  
3 "running" for this position, which included that position,  
4 as well.

5 So that's just a point. There's nothing  
6 automatic about at least my state and how we get elected.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Gentleman at microphone two?

8 MR. FAHLESON: Mark Fahleson, state chair,  
9 Nebraska.

10 My job as a state chair, like other state  
11 chairs, is to raise money for Republican candidates. My  
12 job as a state chair is to elect Republican candidates.  
13 It is not to be running against my grassroots activists to  
14 try and get a slot to the National Convention.

15 I oppose the amendment.

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone two?

17 MS. BURTON: Catkin Kilcher Burton, Alaska. I  
18 also oppose this amendment.

19 Our state chairs and our committee men and women  
20 are elected to those positions, which includes coming to  
21 the convention. They work very hard for the party.  
22 They're knowledgeable, they're experienced. And it would  
23 be very difficult to put this together without them.

24 I'd also remind everybody that we are all  
25 volunteers when we go into these positions, including

1 those chairs which spend a lot of time and effort, and I  
2 think they deserve to have it stand as is. So I am  
3 opposed.

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The delegate from Ohio?

5 MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, I find myself in  
6 agreement with the gentleman from Virginia 90 percent of  
7 the time, but I must oppose him on this.

8 I work from a practical standpoint. We're all  
9 politicians in this room. Let me tell you how it worked  
10 when we weren't automatic delegates.

11 The campaigns would come in and say, hey, we  
12 have somebody standing in, and we'll take care of you  
13 after we win the primary. And in every single case, they  
14 took care of the national committeepeople, which  
15 eliminated three of your grassroots people from having the  
16 opportunity to attend the convention.

17 So I look at this as a practical thing. It  
18 gives three more of our activists in Ohio the opportunity  
19 to go to the convention.

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The lady at microphone two?

21 MS. BRADY: I am very hoarse, but I want to say  
22 that I oppose this proposed amendment. Because at a time  
23 when we need to have more inclusion, as a minority person,  
24 I cannot sit still and allow this to go forward.

25 And I ask you, please, to vote in opposition.

1 Thank you.

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any other comments?

3 COURT REPORTER: Name and state, please?

4 MS. BRADY: My emotions took the best of me.

5 I'm Gwen Brady from the Virgin Islands. Please vote  
6 against this proposed amendment. Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any other questions or  
8 comments?

9 MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, I just want to  
10 express my opposition to this motion, not so much for the  
11 members of the Republican National Committee, but for the  
12 island delegations and the smaller delegations and how  
13 that would hurt them.

14 Thank you.

15 MS. ROSIE TRIPP: Mr. Chair? Rosie Tripp from  
16 New Mexico. And I rise to oppose this amendment.

17 I've been on the Republican National Committee  
18 for 16 years, and it has been a very hard-fought battle to  
19 get this amendment -- or, not this amendment, but to be  
20 able to allow the RNC committee members to be delegates to  
21 the convention.

22 I, like Bruce Hough said, I am elected from the  
23 grass roots. I travel around my state, speaking to  
24 Federated Republican Women and county parties and to the  
25 state party. And those are the grassroots people, and

1 they elect us.

2 And I feel that by being an automatic delegate  
3 to the convention, my committeeman, my chairman, and  
4 myself leave three more spots available for the grassroots  
5 people that have elected us.

6 So I rise in opposition to this amendment.

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Seeing no more commenters or  
8 questions or discussion, we'll move to a vote.

9 All those in favor of this amendment, please say  
10 "aye."

11 [Chorus of ayes.]

12 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed, please say  
13 "no."

14 [Chorus of noes.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The noes have it.

16 I have another amendment here to -- wow. I have  
17 an amendment here to Rule 40(d), Mr. DeVito of  
18 Massachusetts.

19 MR. DEVITO: I don't know if everybody has it  
20 yet.

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay, they're still passing  
22 it?

23 MR. DEVITO: Yeah. But we all love and respect  
24 our RNC staff.

25 The rule that was made prior is impossible to

1 implement. This is more of a corrective motion.

2 We all voted to get the black-lined out 45 days  
3 in advance. The problem is that we don't know who the  
4 delegates are, by the current rules. The current rules  
5 are now 30 days. So, basically, we said 45 days to get  
6 them out, but we don't know who to send them to until the  
7 30-day point, as it stands now.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So this is to correct a  
9 mistake we made a half an hour ago.

10 MR. DEVITO: Correct. And so the 40(d) would  
11 replace 45 with 30.

12 And then as a companion amendment to 19 --

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: To 19(c).

14 MR. DEVITO: -- 19(c), which changes the  
15 certified delegates to be sent into the RNC at 35 days.

16 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: So it gives you a 5-day window  
17 there.

18 MR. DEVITO: Correct.

19 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'll take them separately,  
20 just for convenience.

21 MR. DEVITO: Okay. Thank you.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: First, we have a -- is there a  
23 second to this amendment to Rule 40(d)?

24 [Seconded.]

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a second.

1 Discussion?

2           Hearing none, we'll move to a vote. All those  
3 in favor of the amendment of changing 45 to 30, please say  
4 "aye."

5           [Chorus of ayes.]

6           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed?

7           [No response.]

8           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It passes.

9           Now we have a second companion amendment to Rule  
10 19(c), changing 30 days to 35 days for certification.

11          [Seconded.]

12          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: There is a second.

13 Discussion?

14          Hearing none, we'll move to a vote.

15          All those in favor of this amendment of 30 days  
16 to 35 days, please say "aye."

17          [Chorus of ayes.]

18          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed, say "nay."

19          [No response.]

20          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It passes.

21          I have no more amendments in hand. Is that a  
22 mistake, or is that real?

23          [Applause.]

24          CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay, two things. We have to  
25 deal -- you have two more? Ugh. Ugh.

1 [Laughter.]

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Go to your room.

3 Okay. I have two more amendments. One is to --  
4 no, no, 16(a) we did. We did that. The Blackwell  
5 amendment? We did that.

6 I have another amendment, which is the Sebern  
7 amendment to the preamble. But I just want to make sure  
8 that there are no more amendments to rules before I go to  
9 this amendment on the preamble.

10 Has everybody who thought they had an amendment  
11 to rules had a chance to have it considered?

12 Is everybody happy?

13 Okay, Mr. Bennett?

14 You'll never get happy, Curly.

15 [Laughter.]

16 MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, I'm 95 percent happy  
17 about the action taken today. But my inquiry is as to,  
18 what does it take to reconsider something that's been  
19 passed by the committee?

20 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Under the process we have been  
21 using, Mr. Bennett, you merely make another motion,  
22 another amendment.

23 MR. BENNETT: I'm going to ask for  
24 reconsideration of 15(b)(2).

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Do you have a copy of the



1 amendment you would propose? It's not reconsideration.

2 You must propose a new amendment.

3 MR. BENNETT: Yes. I'm getting it, Mr.

4 Chairman. I needed to know the procedure first. Thank  
5 you.

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: That's quite all right.

7 Am I able to move to the amendment on the  
8 preamble before that is dealt with?

9 I have an amendment before me on the preamble,  
10 page 2. Proposed language: on page 2, to strike lines --  
11 I'm sorry, this is an amendment by Ms. Sebern from  
12 Colorado.

13 Would you present your own amendment?

14 MS. SEBERN: Mr. Chairman, I move that we strike  
15 the preamble beginning at, "Be it resolved that the  
16 Republican Party is the part of the open door. Ours is  
17 the party of liberty, the party of equality, of  
18 opportunity for all, and favoritism for none. It is the  
19 intent and purpose of these rules to encourage and allow  
20 the broadest possible participation of all voters in  
21 Republican Party activities at all levels and to assure  
22 that the Republican Party is open and accessible to all  
23 Americans."

24 I move to strike that.

25 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: And substitute what?

1 Is there a second?

2 [Seconded.]

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Discussion?

4 MS. SEBERN: Mr. Chairman, I believe that we  
5 should all have the courage of our convictions displayed  
6 today. So I urge a favorable vote on this amendment.

7 Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional comments or  
9 discussion?

10 We'll move to a vote.

11 All those in favor, please say "aye."

12 [Chorus of ayes.]

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed, "nay."

14 [Chorus of nays.]

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The motion is defeated.

16 MR. DEVITO: Mr. Chairman, if I may, a proposed  
17 amendment to 15(b) would be dilatory at this point. We  
18 have a compromise by Chairman Cox and the gentleman from  
19 Mississippi. We have an overwhelmingly "yes" vote. We'd  
20 be going through a procedure to get a motion that would  
21 likely be denied.

22 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I cannot anticipate a vote of  
23 this committee. I don't feel I ought to anticipate a vote  
24 of this committee. And as much as I apologize for the  
25 time that it will take, I think it's important for us to

1 do it properly.

2           And so I will give another 3 minutes, Bob, to  
3 get that typed, printed, and --

4           MR. BENNETT: Okay. Counsel is trying to do  
5 that.

6           But I want to correct the gentleman. I'm not  
7 amending anything else but 15(b)(2), and this has to do  
8 with proportionality for those states who go before April  
9 1st.

10           The vote was very close, and there were 21  
11 members of this committee that did not vote on that  
12 proposed amendment. And so I'm asking that we reconsider  
13 it through an additional amendment.

14           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Look, you've lasted this long.  
15 I know it takes a little more time, but let's give  
16 everybody every opportunity to raise whatever they need at  
17 this convention so that we leave here without anybody  
18 having an improperly sour feeling about what went on.

19           So I ask that you bear with us for 3 or 4 more  
20 minutes.

21           MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, as we were  
22 circulating a minority report and somebody suggested that  
23 I might introduce such an amendment for reconsideration, I  
24 think there are some people that have looked at the rule  
25 and do it.

1           Look, the present rule says that if you go prior  
2 to April 1st, you go proportional. Ohio had to do that  
3 even though our rules, our party rules, say that we go  
4 winner-take-all. As a result, we're in the process of  
5 moving our primary to May. We would've done it this year  
6 except for a referendum on our redistricting process.

7           If we change this rule, I will guarantee you  
8 that a number of states' legislators will move the primary  
9 into that first Tuesday in March, and, in effect, we'll be  
10 going back to a de facto national primary.

11           I think the process worked very good this year.  
12 And I would hate to see us in 2016 -- and, by the way, I  
13 don't think that this is going to be a problem in 2016  
14 because I think that Mitt Romney will be unanimously  
15 renominated for reelection. But I do think --

16           [Applause.]

17           MR. BENNETT: -- I do think that it could be a  
18 problem going forward in 2020. And I think that it's good  
19 for us to have a vetting process.

20           The carve-out states give us that opportunity.  
21 If you've ever been to New Hampshire or you've ever been  
22 to Iowa and you watch candidates sit in the living room,  
23 candidates for president sit in the living room and  
24 discuss what they stand for and what they propose to do,  
25 it's a whole new meaning.

1           They can't do that in Ohio. We have 11 million  
2 people. We have eight major media markets. We can't get  
3 that living room. But I think it's important this party  
4 have a vetting process that all the candidates -- and I  
5 know some of you were tired of the number of debates, but  
6 I think it was good for the process this year, and I think  
7 it would be good for the process going forward.

8           I just don't understand changing it from "shall"  
9 back to "may." It makes it an opportunity for state  
10 legislators to come in and tell you what to do in your  
11 state.

12           Because I'll tell you something. It's very  
13 difficult when you operate under term limits, as we do in  
14 Ohio, and you have new people coming in, every 3 or 4  
15 years they say, "We want to be part of the process," and  
16 then they want to move it up, the primary date, up into  
17 early March, thinking that they're going to be part of the  
18 process.

19           A national primary is not in the best interests  
20 of this party, believe me.

21           So that's my say, Mr. Chairman. I thank --

22           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Bob, have I interpreted you  
23 right, then, saying that what you are asking our crack  
24 staff to be preparing now is to go back and rechange --  
25 your proposal will be to change "may" back to "shall"?

1           MR. BENNETT: That's correct, Mr. Chairman.  
2 Under 15(b)(2).

3           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: My question to the members of  
4 the committee, if that is the change, do you feel  
5 sufficiently informed that you can at least discuss it on  
6 that basis while they're preparing the papers to give them  
7 to you? Can we go on and continue the discussion here, or  
8 do you want me to wait until it's distributed?

9           Hearing no serious objection, I'm going to open  
10 it up for discussion. And then somewhere in this  
11 discussion, you'll have the piece of paper in your hand.

12           Mr. Blackwell?

13           MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman, as Bob Bennett has  
14 said, there is circulating a minority report that  
15 addresses this, which is a serious matter.

16           And I would like for you to have someone on the  
17 staff explain what happens if, within an hour of  
18 adjournment, you get a valid piece of paper that has  
19 signatures from 25 percent of the membership of this  
20 committee for a minority report. Would someone please  
21 explain what would happen after that?

22           MR. CAMPO: The minority report would be  
23 presented to the convention, ultimately.

24           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: In other words, we would make  
25 a provision in the schedule on Monday. As we are

1 presenting the report of this committee, we would make it  
2 clear that there was a report of the committee and that it  
3 was being accompanied by a minority report.

4           The convention then would be, as I understand  
5 it, asked to vote, knowing that there was a minority  
6 report and having received a presentation on the minority  
7 report. It would then be asked to vote on accepting or  
8 not accepting the report of this Rules Committee.

9           If they felt strongly that the minority report  
10 should be supported, I believe the procedure would be that  
11 they would be suggested to vote "no" on the report of this  
12 Rules Committee. It would then be open to be amended to  
13 have the minority report substituted for those sections  
14 that the minority report addressed. And you would go  
15 through that whole process and then accept it.

16           That's my understanding, but if I am incorrect,  
17 I will stand corrected.

18           MR. BLACKWELL: I consider that an excellent  
19 explanation.

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Then maybe I better reconsider  
21 it.

22           [Laughter.]

23           MR. BLACKWELL: There have been many excellent  
24 presentations, and I have complimented others on them.

25           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any additional discussion on

1 the substitution for "shall" instead of "may?"

2 The gentleman from Massachusetts?

3 MR. DEVITO: Could we have the new language?

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It's coming. It's just -- oh,  
5 I'm sorry.

6 I can't hear you.

7 The gentleman from South Carolina is at the  
8 microphone.

9 MR. MCKISSICK: Mr. Chairman, Drew McKissick,  
10 South Carolina. I just would like to echo what's been  
11 said.

12 Again, remember, before we vote here, what we  
13 are deciding is whether or not to essentially throw out  
14 with the bathwater what has been set in place for the last  
15 15 years.

16 And if there's one thing, at least if you can  
17 just point to one thing that has a huge, tremendous impact  
18 on the flow of a presidential primary, or a nomination  
19 process, rather, it's the timing. How close all the  
20 states are together results in how much it's going to cost  
21 you to run campaigns in all those states. And the reason  
22 why I think the word "shall" was included, you know,  
23 several years ago was to help spread things out. And it  
24 was better this time than it was in the past.

25 And what we're going to do, if we do not accept



1 Mr. Bennett's amendment, we're going to make the process  
2 worse 4 years from now, or hopefully 8 years from now --  
3 excuse me -- and more cost-prohibitive, and we will have  
4 fewer candidates to look at. Grassroots candidates will  
5 have fewer candidates to meet because there will be fewer  
6 of them on the road.

7           Again, what we ought to be doing is making it  
8 easier to run for president, not more difficult. So I  
9 would urge you to support Mr. Bennett's amendment.

10           Thank you.

11           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Additional questions,  
12 comments, or discussion?

13           Do you feel comfortable to move to a vote? Does  
14 anybody object if we move to a vote?

15           Okay, we're going to move to a vote, and we're  
16 going to make it a standing vote again because it is that  
17 important.

18           All those in favor of the amendment to replace  
19 "may" with "shall" in the 15(b)(2) -- is that correct,  
20 have I said that correctly -- please stand.

21           Please be seated.

22           All those opposed to the substitution of "shall"  
23 for "may," please stand.

24           The vote is 39 "aye," 58 "no." So it is  
25 defeated.

1           Look, I really appreciate your going through  
2 this added process. I think it's important. It's a  
3 little extra effort, but we're here to try and wring the  
4 last concerns that we might have as a committee out of  
5 these issues.

6           Now, I have been asked by the staff that they  
7 want a 10-minute recess so that they can summarize where  
8 we are, and they will come back and allow us then to take  
9 a final confirming vote on the package.

10           Is that correct?

11           So they will take a 10-minute break. I will  
12 call you back at about 8 or 9 minutes --

13           MR. BLACKWELL: Mr. Chairman?

14           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Mr. Blackwell?

15           MR. BLACKWELL: I would like to say something  
16 because it may get lost. I want to express my  
17 appreciation and the appreciation, I know, of virtually  
18 every person in this room for the professional, fair way  
19 you have conducted the chairmanship of this committee.

20           [Applause.]

21           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you.

22           [Applause.]

23           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you very much.

24           [Applause.]

25           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Please tell Andrea and Soledad

1 that.

2 [Laughter.]

3 [Applause.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Thank you very much.

5 We'll call you back in about 8 or 9 minutes, and  
6 then we have one more confirming vote to take place.

7 [Recess.]

8 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: As I said earlier, we will, in  
9 a moment, ask you to make one final vote endorsing all we  
10 have done today formally.

11 But before I do that, first of all, let me thank  
12 you all for the hard work. It's taken a long time. Not  
13 everybody won everything they wanted, but I think the  
14 process worked well. And I thank you for your kind  
15 comments.

16 It's going to be necessary to ratify them once  
17 the convention ratifies our committee as a permanent  
18 convention committee in order for our report to be  
19 considered by the full convention. So that means there  
20 are a couple of important things, logistically, that we  
21 need you to really help out with.

22 Our committee will reconvene on Monday, August  
23 27th, during the opening session of the convention at the  
24 Tampa Bay Times Forum. The committee will meet in a  
25 section of the concourse; we don't have it exactly yet,

1 but you will get that information.

2 And it's important that we have you there  
3 because we need a full quorum for that meeting, and if  
4 you're not there, it really creates problems. The meeting  
5 will be short, but it's absolutely critical that you join  
6 us there.

7 So it will be Monday, the 27th, in some section  
8 of the concourse that you will receive notification by  
9 email, and we hope we can include a specific, exact time.

10 Is that right, staff? We'll give them a  
11 specific place and a specific time.

12 Now, if there's no objection here, we've got to  
13 charge the counsel to review the text of the rules to  
14 correct any grammatical or other clerical errors prior to  
15 the vote on Monday. And they also have to renumber and  
16 any of the other miscellaneous technical corrections to  
17 make this thing have the right number of provisions in  
18 there, the right sequence, the right lettering, and so on.

19 If there is no objection, I will so order the  
20 staff and the counsel's office to make those corrections.

21 Hearing no objection, the counsel's office is so  
22 ordered.

23 MR. DUDLEY BROWN: Point of order, Mr. Chairman.  
24 Is the staff going to email those to the committee members  
25 prior to Monday?

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: We will actually get a  
2 package, right, prior to Monday?

3           We will get a package prior to Monday which  
4 includes all of those.

5           MR. DUDLEY BROWN: How?

6           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Email, I believe. And there  
7 will be paper copies provided for you when you show up at  
8 the forum concourse on Monday, the 27th, at the appointed  
9 time and the appointed place.

10           Secondly, I do need a formal motion to approve -  
11 - is it Rules 1 through 42 now, staff, or 1 through 41?  
12 One through 41.

13           I will need a formal motion to approve Rules 1  
14 through 41 as we have amended and approved them throughout  
15 the day today, and including the preamble. Is there such  
16 a motion?

17           MR. DEVITO: So moved.

18           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Moved. Is there a second?

19           [Seconded.]

20           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: It has been moved and  
21 seconded.

22           Mr. Blackwell?

23           MR. BLACKWELL: Question, Mr. Chairman. There  
24 are two, at least two that I know of, circulating minority  
25 reports. I presume that however we vote on this current

1 pending motion doesn't affect our eligibility to sign a  
2 minority report. Is that correct?

3 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No. All it does is piss the  
4 Chairman off.

5 [Laughter.]

6 MR. BLACKWELL: Well, I propose I have to do it  
7 at least once.

8 [Laughter.]

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: No, it does not preclude your  
10 right to do so.

11 Ma'am?

12 MS. BURTON: Catkin Kilcher Burton, Alaska.

13 Mr. Chairman, I would just like to reiterate my  
14 appreciation for the very fair and inclusive way that  
15 you've conducted this meeting, as well as the way that  
16 this committee has conducted itself.

17 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Well, you're kind to say that.  
18 I hope you are not embarrassed by having to agree with Mr.  
19 Blackwell.

20 [Laughter.]

21 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: But thank you very much.

22 We have a motion; it has been seconded. Is  
23 there any discussion?

24 We are moving to provide a final ratification  
25 vote, closing this section of our meeting out on Rules 1

1 through 41 as amended by this committee and the preamble  
2 as approved by this committee.

3 All those in favor, please say "aye."

4 [Chorus of ayes.]

5 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those opposed, "nay."

6 [Chorus of nays.]

7 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: The motion carries.

8 MS. LAKE: Mr. Chairman? Excuse me.

9 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes, ma'am?

10 MS. LAKE: Question. Cindy Lake from Nevada.

11 A couple of us were wondering if you are yet in  
12 the mood to discuss the order of business.

13 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Yes.

14 MS. LAKE: Okay, great. Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: What would you like to discuss  
16 about the order of business?

17 MS. LAKE: Well, anything you'd like to discuss.

18 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I don't have anything to  
19 discuss. What would you like to discuss?

20 MS. LAKE: Nothing in particular, just to  
21 consider it --

22 [Laughter.]

23 MS. LAKE: -- just to consider it in the agenda,  
24 order of business, any discussion on that. We never got  
25 to that. Nothing in particular, though, sir.

1           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: I'll discuss whatever you want  
2 to raise at this point.

3           MS. LAKE: Okay. Thank you. Nothing further.

4           [Laughter.]

5           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Okay. Thank you.

6           Mr. Bennett?

7           MR. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to draw the  
8 committee's attention to those who might support the  
9 minority report, it'll be available in the back of the  
10 room. And anybody that wishes to sign it, we have about  
11 30 signatures right now; we'd like to have a few more.

12           Thank you very much.

13           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Any other comments, discussion  
14 anybody would like to add?

15           Once again, the committee will reconvene Monday  
16 during the opening session of the convention at the Tampa  
17 Bay Times Forum. All convention committees will convene  
18 on the floor. You will receive instructions regarding the  
19 exact location from the presiding officer at that time.  
20 Staff will be at the Tampa Bay Times Forum with signs to  
21 assist you. It's important that you be there.

22           It is now appropriate to receive a motion to  
23 adjourn. Is there a motion to adjourn?

24           [Moved.]

25           CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Is it seconded?



1 [Seconded.]

2 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: All those in favor, say "aye."

3 [Chorus of ayes.]

4 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Opposed, "no."

5 [No response.]

6 CHAIRMAN SUNUNU: Have a great evening. Thank  
7 you all.

8 [Whereupon, at 4:45 p.m., the committee was  
9 adjourned.]

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