

THE RIPON FORUM

NEWSLETTER OF
THE RIPON SOCIETY

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The View From Here

DISTRESSING ECHOES

Have Republicans learned anything from the sad experiences of the past year? Evidence continues to come in; the answer is still unclear. In Washington, the man whom some view as the most powerful Republican in the House of Representatives has delivered a "Republican State of the Union Message." Wisconsin Congressman Melvin Laird patterned his speech on the 1964 Republican platform. "We stand on that platform and we know what it means," said the recently elected chairman of the House Republican Conference. What about the verdict of November 3? "I cannot and will not concede that our platform was repudiated by the American people. I say . . . that it simply was not fairly presented to them."

A STRANGE SPEECH

It is our fear that the American people will understand the March 1 speech as they understood last year's platform—all too well! Nowhere does one see any indication that Congressman Laird's view of the political world has changed one iota since last July. Nowhere is there reflected any appreciation of what the November election has meant for the party. Nowhere can one find any concern for the revolutionary forces in contemporary politics. The whole question of civil rights is dismissed in two perfunctory lines. As for the Republican future, there is only a passing reference to "the growing number of millions who in the weeks and months ahead surely will wish they could recast their vote for the national ticket." It is a strange speech. The reader feels it is addressed to the empty chairs at the Cow Palace in San Francisco.

A recent editorial in the Boston HERALD described the Laird formula as "a bad lead for the GOP. . . a policy of self destruction." It continues: "The Ripon Society has wisely observed that 'only by championing the cause of civil rights can (the GOP) make real and permanent gains in the South and retain strength in the North.' And it cannot take that line while playing games with the southern Democrats in the House and Senate. . . . (The party) needs a positive program which (it) can take to the people."

When Senator Javits recently suggested that the party platform was "not truly Republican in tone, style and policy," and that a new policy statement was needed for the 1966 elections, Laird defensively replied that he found the remarks "extremely disturbing" and asked for a clarification. The 1964 platform chairman soon received a lengthy memorandum specifying deficiency after deficiency and recommending remedy upon remedy.

IMAGE and REALITY

There can be no doubt that fundamental remedies are needed. Emmet John Hughes put it this way in the March 22 *Newsweek*: "The true Republican problem is a matter not of 'image' but of reality: the shiniest wrapping is not going to boom the sales of an empty package. . . . The shallowness of Republican thought alone explains the ineptness of Republican opposition. . . . The rebirth of Republicanism, in short, is not a matter of public relations. It is a matter of public philosophy. As the party learns to think with rigor, it can begin to talk with sense. This is not only the way images are repaired. It is also the way the democracies are strengthened."

As the *Herald* editorial concludes: "The country is waiting for a new Republican policy to be unveiled."

AND PLEASANT SURPRISES

One good start toward a constructive Republican position was produced a week after the Laird speech by the new hybrid Republican Coordinating Committee, composed of the Congressional Leadership, Governors representatives, past Presidential nominees, and representatives of the National Committee. Chairman Burch had proudly displayed a large chart describing the group at the January meeting of the National Committee. It was clear that conservatives expected to dominate the committee through a heavily weighted Congressional contingent. In fact, House leaders had prepared a nine page statement—paralleling the Laird address—which they expected the Coordinating Committee to approve routinely.

They were wrong. The first bombshell was Governor George Romney's announcement that he could not support a statement that did not take a categorical stand in support of civil rights. Before the roar had subsided, former Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York moved to strike the first eight pages of the statement! To the amazement of everyone present he proceeded not only to win majority support for his motion but to draft the two resolutions which finally emerged from the session—a strong civil rights statement and a resolution on Viet Nam.

It is our view that the Coordinating Committee has made an important contribution to the Republican future. We note that it has drawn upon non-Congressional resources. We hope that the Congressional leaders will view the experience as an opportunity to tap new sources of talent and not as a challenge to their prerogatives. We look forward to the next session of the RCC.

REPUBLICANS and the SOUTH

While most Republicans in the House and Senate are working on major improvements in the voting bill, Republican Rep. Martin of Alabama has referred to the legislation as "the real American tragedy, . . . an open invitation to dictatorship." His Alabama colleague, Glenn Andrews shares his fear that the rush to register Negroes is an effort to stamp out new Republican strength in the South. *How ironic that southern Republicans should argue for limiting the franchise in order to protect an anachronistic political base.* The topsy turvey picture confirms dramatically the conclusion we expressed in Election '64: "the new areas of 'Republican strength' cannot provide a durable base for Southern Republicanism. . . . Republican gains in the South last November were restricted to about 100 counties of the Deep South in which Negroes constitute the majority of the population but few are registered to vote. Although the Negroes in these counties have systematically been denied the vote for a century, it is probable that by 1966 and 1968 with implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 substantially larger percentages will be registered. Senator Goldwater won no state and the GOP won no new Congressional seat in any state with a Negro registration of higher than 45 per cent." The answer Messrs. Martin and Andrews, is to win a few Negro votes!

STRAWS in the WIND??? *While Senator Goldwater receives the nightmare of 1964 with his attacks on the new voting bill, it is heartening to note that several Southern Republican Congressmen are making constructive contributions in this area. Brock of Tennessee, Broybill of North Carolina, Cramer of Florida are among them. In Virginia, Republicans are reportedly ready to nominate a Negro, Clarence Townes, for the State House of Delegates from the Richmond district. Townes is now assistant to state chairman Robert Corber who has given him strong endorsement.*

Early in February, long before the President had asked for voting legislation, the Council of Republican Organizations (of which the Ripon Society is a member) endorsed new civil rights legislation which Republicans in Congress had already proposed. The group repudiated four Alabama Republican Congressmen "for their failure to represent the fundamental historical position of the Republican Party on voting rights and equal opportunity for all Americans."

HOW BIG DOES A GROUP HAVE TO BE? "It is fascinating to me that an organization of only about 80 members can write a report and get so much attention," former Republican National Chairman Dean Burch remarked recently. Members of the Ripon Society share Mr. Burch's fascination — perhaps even his amazement at the publicity which Election '64 and other Ripon reports have generated over the past year and a quarter. How does one explain it? We would like to believe that we have said things which needed saying at moments when others were only thinking them. And, in a party too often devoid of curiosity and imagination, a little can go a long way. In politics, if not in physics, the reverberations in a vacuum are powerful.

To say the right thing at the right time does not require large numbers or big names. It does call for ideas and information, for a measure of judgment and

sensitivity. We hope others will join us in our quest for appropriate words at appropriate times on appropriate issues. We are confident that people will continue to listen — not because of who we are but because of what we say.

The Political Scene

CREEPING REAGANISM

The sometimes poignant search for a Goldwater successor goes on. It comes as no surprise to see Melvin Laird lionized in a recent *National Review Bulletin* — though the same publication has viewed him in the past as a "centrist." "It's hard to run for the Presidency from the House of Representatives, *National Review* publisher William Rusher has conceded, "but he'd make an excellent vice-presidential candidate." Who would head the ticket? "Let's see what happens in California next year," Rusher responds.

The eyes of many conservatives are fixed on California where actor Ronald Reagan's candidacy for the Governorship benefits from much political and financial support. Reagan was a prominent speaker at last month's convention of the Republican Assembly, once a moderate influence in California politics but now a right-wing stronghold. The CRA welcomed a Birch Society representative as its keynote speaker and applauded the statement that if Goldwater were to run for President again he would win overwhelmingly. Even the conservative Los Angeles Times said editorially that the CRA "has apparently relinquished its final clutch on political reality."

Possible alternatives to Mr. Reagan include: Senator Thomas Kuchel, former San Francisco Mayor George Christopher, and former Governor Goodwin Knight. Most observers believe that Kuchel would make the strongest race against incumbent Democrat Brown. But bitter opposition from conservatives would make the primary campaign a difficult experience for the Senator and it is problematic whether he will wish to make the race. Moreover, many Republicans are remembering 1962 when Richard Nixon defeated arch conservative Joseph Schell in the spring primary only to be knifed by the far right in the fall campaign.

THE CUPBOARD IS BARE

Meanwhile Ray Bliss has moved into the difficult position of National Chairman. He brings many of his associates with him — among them Dr. Arthur Peterson who has replaced Goldwaterite Charles Lichtenstein as Research Director.

One major problem for Bliss is an empty cash box, despite January reports of a \$1½ million surplus and a \$4 million budget. The surplus is in the hands of an extra-party television committee which threatens to spend it on right-wing telecasts. Party leaders encountered a similar problem when they agreed to appear at the Goldwater banquet in Phoenix in mid-April. Proceeds were earmarked for a special conservative fund to be administered by Goldwater. Complaints forced him to promise the money to the Party.

It is evident, then, that many are heeding the voice of some conservatives who explicitly disparage what they

call "the work-within-the-party-trap." It is ironic and distressing, therefore, to see occasional complaints about the so-called "moderate splinter groups." Through the umbrella functions of the Council of Republican Organizations, these groups have always sought closer ties with the Republican National Committee. More on this next issue.

WIN WITH WIN

Wintbrop Rockefeller and his allies appear to command the future in Arkansas. Polls last fall showed that 65% of voters under 35 favored his election as Governor. Old-time populists gave Democrat Orville Faubus his winning margin. Arkansas newspapers report that Faubus used state employees and state facilities shamelessly to raise funds and win votes. Welfare recipients received pointed letters on official stationery. The Democratic Attorney General harassed the Rockefeller organization with ridiculous rulings. Faubus also had help from some Republicans like former state chairman William Spicer who helped to organize Republicans for Faubus and Goldwater committees. (This was the same Spicer who once raised an armed militia company to protect against Communist invaders whom President Truman had supposedly loosed upon the land.)

At that Faubus needed gross miscounting of ballots to insure his victory. The Election Research Council has already moved to enjoin officials for vote fraud in 12 counties. Authorities estimate that 2/3 of the 30,000 absentee ballots cast were fraudulent. If Faubus really won it could only have been by the narrowest of margins. The Republican future looks bright.

FROM THE GROUND UP

In Pennsylvania, one of the nations most vibrant Republican organizations plans an assault on Democratic strength in the cities. "We must be strong where the people are," says State Chairman Craig Traux who is reportedly grooming a candidate for the mayoral race. One possible nominee is Arlen Specter, a staff investigator for the Warren Commission, who is now investigating Philadelphia's magistrate system and contemplating a race this year for District Attorney.

BAD MEMORIES

When pollsters ask people how they voted after an election is over, they almost invariably find that the answers are 3-5% off the actual results. In 1960, for example, post election polls showed Kennedy 54%, Nixon 46%. It seems that a few of those who vote for the loser always "remember" voting for the winner. From a highly regarded University of Michigan survey comes this amazing post election poll in 1964: Johnson 75%, Goldwater 25% — a fall off of 14%! In other words over 1/3 of the Goldwater voters in the probability sample told the interviewer they had voted for Johnson, a result which still has students of election statistics shaking their heads.

OTHER NOTES

● Influential New York Republicans are talking of nominating former ball player and successful businessman Jackie Robinson for Mayor. An idea well worth thinking about in our opinion.

● California Republican George Murphy surprised many conservative backers when he voted for the Aid

Around The Country

SPOTLIGHT ON OREGON

With energy and with skill, the new Oregon Council for Constructive Republicanism has been making its influence felt this past winter in the Pacific Northwest. The Council has submitted recommendations to the state party organization in the field of race relations, generated public support for special education legislation and framed proposals to achieve equal opportunity in apprenticeship programs. Members are working to revamp the State Young Republican federation which they believe has developed a "poor public image" under its present leadership. They are working to secure better publicity for GOP legislators in Salem. Close ties have been developed with Secretary of State Tom McCall, House Speaker Monte McCormack and U.S. Congressman Wendell Wyatt. The Council recently hired a part time secretary to service its many project committees.

In its newsletter, the OCCR describes its relationship with the Ripon Society as one of "mutual assistance and exchange of information." The Ripon Society is happy for the opportunity to associate with this active group. Further information can be obtained from OCCR National Contacts Chairman, Jack Talmadge at 7300 S. W. Brier Place, Portland, Oregon.

STIRRINGS IN THE MIDWEST

Chicago area Republicans have organized what they are tentatively calling the Illinois Ripon society. William C. Ives, a member of the Illinois Young Republican Board and a regular party area chairman in suburban Chicago heads the group which has been meet-

to Education bill. Close to old Nixon forces in California, Murphy appears to come as near as anyone to serving as a Nixon representative on the Washington front.

● All but 10 House Republicans supported the GOP substitute bill for medicare, but when the vote came on the final administration bill 65 Republicans were recorded for it; 73 were opposed.

● A Massachusetts Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education has recommended measures to end "de facto" school segregation. The committee membership includes Carl J. Gilbert, Chairman of the Board of the Gillette Safety Razor Company and a leading member of the Washington-based Republicans for Progress.

● According to the bonus system of appointing delegates to the 1968 National Convention, the six Goldwater states will have greater strength than they had in '64, but the West will lose some of the added power it earned in 1960.

● Republicans Paul Findley (Illinois) in the House and Jacob Javits (New York) in the Senate have recently appointed the first Negro pages in the history of the U.S. Congress.

● During pre-convention months in 1963 and 1964, the moderating influence of the Republican Governor's Association was effectively muffled by its complete subordination to the National Committee. We note with more than passing interest the fact that National Chairman Bliss has now persuaded a supposedly rejuvenated Governors' Association to put off the opening of its Washington office.

ing since February. Members are presently preparing a much needed study of staffing problems in the Illinois General Assembly. Ives, a former President of the Harvard Republican Club, can be reached in care of Spray, Price, Hough and Cushman, 134 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 60603.

IN WASHINGTON Another active study organization is the Republican Discussion Group of Washington, D.C. which attracts Capitol Hill staff members to its Friday noon meetings. Originally organized last summer, the Discussion Group was reestablished this January to facilitate the search for constructive Republican policy positions. The group welcomes all Republican staff to its give and take sessions — it seeks the participation of all shades of Republican thinking. Contacts are Carol M. Khosrovi, % Cong. J. William Stanton (R-Ohio) and John McClaughry, % Sen. Winston Prouty (R-Vt.)

AND IN CALIFORNIA John S. Saloma, Ripon President, has recently visited with Republicans who are developing Ripon-type organizations in Los Angeles and San Francisco. James McCloud is heading the Los Angeles effort and can be reached at 935 W. 30th St., Apt. 110, Los Angeles, 90007. In San Francisco, a Republican policy organization has already produced a paper on labor relations. Contact Richard Newell: 2259 Vallejo Street, San Francisco.

Next issue: Special reports on Republican Advance at Yale and other policy groups.

THE RIPON SOCIETY is a Republican research and policy organization composed of young members of the business, professional and academic communities. The Society seeks to rally the energies and talents of thinking young people to the cause of constructive Republicanism. It strives to generate creative discussion which will produce a bold and persuasive Republican policy posture.

The Society seeks a broad base of financial support for its activities. It offers the following options to those who wish to subscribe to its publications and support its programs:

Subscribing member \$10 annual contribution.

Contributing member \$25 or more annually.

Sustaining member \$100 or more annually.

Founding member \$1000 or more annually.

All members will receive the monthly newsletter and frequent research papers. Won't you forward your subscription today?

THE RIPON SOCIETY

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In The Ripon Spotlight

RICHARDSON REPUBLICANS AND RIPON "There was nothing wrong with our slogan in 1964 — 'a choice not an echo,'" Massachusetts Lt. Governor Elliott Richardson told a Ripon Society audience on March 1st. "What was wrong was the choice we offered."

Richardson, a former undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare, led a lively two hour exchange which centered around his conviction that the Republican Party should begin to look for new issues rather than for new positions on old issues. Traditional concepts of voluntarism, localism, and individualism can be incorporated with particular relevance into creative Republican positions on education and welfare problems, he maintained. He criticized Democratic programs such as the war on poverty — which by-pass the states when dealing with local problems. The Lt. Governor also called for a full review of the "jungle" of Federal grant in aid programs.

PASSION AND PERSISTENCE Richardson stressed that the Republican Party must not only think creatively; it must also speak persuasively and sell itself convincingly. "We have lost too many Bundy's and McNamara's who were frustrated by the Republican environment" he remarked. As the party rethinks its posture it must have spokesmen who will carry the new ideas to the public arena with "passion and persistence." The speaker observed that the Ripon Society has played this role; "it is in this way that the Society can make its mark."

The Lt. Governor asked the Society to produce ideas on the role which the Governor of Massachusetts might play in the controversy over de facto segregation in Boston and Springfield schools. "Northern school problems give the Republicans another crack at the civil rights challenge. Nothing would more dramatically demonstrate our rejection of the position taken by the Goldwater forces than a strong position now on these problems."

The Boston *Globe* observed that "almost 75 young men attended the dinner" and accorded Richardson "a hero's welcome." "The Ripon Society," it commented, "showed signs Monday of its growth in the Cambridge intellectual community and its expansion into the political world."

QUOTES OF THE MONTH Craig Traux; Republican State Chairman, Pennsylvania: "Some 27 million young people will become 21 years of age in this decade. Unless we get a clear majority of this new political force, the Democrats will. And that will mean that our party — which is already a minority party — will probably go out of business."

Alexander F. Jones, Executive Editor, Syracuse *Herald-Journal*: "... if there be those who feel the the Ripon Society membership is too young, let me remind that the average age of the men at the Philadelphia Convention that passed on the Declaration of Independence was 27 years. If the answer to the imperative need for strong two-party government does not come from such a source, it is difficult to see where it could originate."

News From The Boston Chapter

VOTING LEGISLATION DRAFTED

The Ripon Society has been actively involved in Congressional consideration of the voting rights bill. At the request of Republicans for Progress a Ripon task force which includes several members of the Harvard Law Review has advised Republican Congressmen in their efforts to improve and strengthen the legislation. Roger Craig, Jay Kreigel and Bob Patricelli spent a week working out of the Washington office of New York Congressman John Lindsay, while Eugene Marans, Paul Brest, Jerome Congress, James Robertson, Gary Schwartz and Thomas Wardell comprised the Cambridge wing of the research team.

Through the leadership of Congressman Lindsay, House Minority Leader Ford, Congressman William McCulloch and others, Republicans succeeded in calling public attention to serious weaknesses in the administration proposals and in shaping Congressional repairs.

A BEST SELLER???

The Ripon Society Executive Committee has announced plans to publish a book on the Republican Party, past and future. A contract for a 100 page paperback, the title of which is still indefinite, has been signed with a major New York publishing firm. Release is scheduled for next fall or winter. While the work will be based on the Society's Election '64 report, it will be an entirely new production, oriented more to recent developments and to the future of the Party and necessarily eliminating some of the statistical detail which characterized Election '64. Ripon subscribers and field contacts should forward relevant materials to project editor Thomas Petri, % the Ripon office. Mailing lists will also be useful for publicity purposes.

Meanwhile the stock of Election '64 copies continues to dwindle. A few copies of the original run still remain, however, and are available for \$2.00 each.

DON'T MISS IT! Must reading for all Ripon members and friends is President John S. Saloma's recent review of Robert Novak's book, *The Agony of the GOP*, 1964. The review appears under the title "The Trail to the Cow Palace," in the April 22 issue of *The Reporter*, pages 43-47. You won't want to miss it!

Saloma is on leave of absence this semester from his teaching post at M.I.T. in order that he may participate in the Study of Congress, a two-year basic research study of the American Congress under the sponsorship of the American Political Science Association and the Carnegie Corporation. The Ripon President, one of 20 political scientists invited to participate in the project, is now in Washington gathering materials for his study on "The Evaluation of Congressional Performance." He can be reached at 1515 30th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20007. (Tel. 202-667-2779) or % Congressman Thomas Curtis, 1336 Longworth Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515 (Tel. 202-225-2311).

HOME SWEET HOME

With windows overlooking Harvard Square, a rather exciting collection of used furniture, and the charming presence of a full time secretary, the new Ripon offices "opened for business" on March 1. The two room suite is located above the Harvard Square Theater at 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Telephone Area Code 617, 491-4180. The new administrative secretary is Mrs. Helen Linsky, wife of Ripon member Martin Linsky, who is a legislative aide to Lt. Governor Richardson. John Price, who serves as part time Ripon research director, is headquartered on the new premises which were largely furnished through the battering genius of Ted Curtis. (Ripon members who will have furniture to sell this summer are urged to contact Ted.) Soon after the office was opened, a group of members insisted that they be allowed to *put up* a picture of Lincoln. Those who miss the subtle humor are directed to page 2 of Election '64.

RESEARCH AND MORE RESEARCH

A host of study projects continue to make heavy demands on Ripon resources. All aspects of urban problems are being considered by the Metropolitan Affairs Task Force; a report and recommendations will be forthcoming. A number of Ripon men and women are assisting Republicans on Capitol Hill in a major review of the Anti-Poverty programs. Studies of state financing and state personnel problems are nearing completion. David Siegfried and Peter Van Aken have critically examined administration proposals for aid to higher education and have outlined alternatives for Senator Javits. Joan Reitzel has provided information on the dangerous Yemen situation for House Republicans. Nat Emmons prepared a proposal to make Ellis Island a national monument to immigrants which was offered by Congressman Silvio Conte, (R-Mass.) Still other members are now undertaking projects on foreign trade and Indian affairs. The civil rights task force has also been busy (see above).

Research Director John Price has coordinated all of this activity with a skillfull and patient hand. As the research committee searches for good ideas it continues to emphasize its conviction that one good idea can often be worth far more than 100 pages of old information. "Flashes of insight" can often be expressed in a few words. Many intriguing "idea memos" have already come into the office. Won't you jot down your bright ideas and send them in?

LOSING CONTROL

Ripon Members have been told that unless Americans can adapt quickly to a new age of science they may lose control over the very processes which will have the most profound impact on their way of life. The Federal government alone spends billions of dollars on projects which few citizens or politicians can understand, much less evaluate. Part of the problem is bureaucratic and can be approached through institutional reform. But a considerable part of the problem is educational. An advanced and esoteric scientific culture must communicate more effectively with the political community and the general public.

A panel discussion of "Science and Government" presented a stimulating view of the challenges and frustrations of technological advance before the Ripon Society on March 31. Panelists were: E. B. Skolnikoff, Dept. of Political Science, M.I.T. and former staff member of the Office of Science and Technology; Dr. John Heller, Executive Director New England Institute for Medical Research; and Richard I. Miller, Boston Attorney, whose special interest is in Science and the Law.

The meeting was chaired by Jor Bulkley and George Nolfi who are hopeful that a Ripon paper will grow out of the seeds planted in many minds at the session.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE CITY Can the modern city be governed effectively? Is the concept of home rule still viable? Can urban "planning" ever work? These knotty problems were examined before the Ripon Society on March 15th. Metropolitan Affairs Chairman Richard Crystal was moderator for a panel of distinguished guests.

Republican Congressman Robert Ellsworth, who represents the urban area around Kansas City, Kansas, emphasized the difficulty of untangling political and economic threads in meeting serious urban challenges. He called for support of a Republican bill which would establish an Office of Community Development in the Executive Office of the President. Such an agency would play a general coordinating role rather than the more direct activities envisioned for the proposed Department of Urban Affairs, which Ellsworth criticized.

Professor Edward Banfield of the MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies cautioned against rigid preconceptions of what the city should look like and exaggerated views of urban problems. He traced recent improvements in areas such as housing and suggested that the "mechanism of the marketplace" could achieve many goals which elude professional urban planners.

Who should make urban decisions? This was the question to which Professor Frank Michelman of the Harvard Law School addressed his remarks. The concept of home rule must adjust to the interdependent nature of metropolitan solutions, he said. Professor Michelman cautioned that new functional district and regional governing units might run afoul of Supreme Court "one man one vote" decisions.

FROM THE DEEP DEEP SOUTH

From Bogata, Columbia comes news of Ripon member Dieter Zschock, a staff assistant for Ford Foundation programs in Columbia and Venezuela. "This is real on-the-job experience with development problems," writes the Fletcher alumnus who is currently developing a major grant for demography research and population control — in conjunction with Columbia's newly modernized medical profession. Zschock also worries about Columbia education, particularly the archaic secondary schools which must produce sorely needed technical skills. There are only 1000 registered nurses, for example, in all of Columbia.

Ford grants exemplify the values of non-governmental development programs; freedom and mobility often compensate for lack of funds. The Bogata office gives out \$3 million a year.

LOCAL NEWS AND NOTES

● In addition to regular program meetings, members of the Ripon Society have frequently welcomed distinguished guests in less formal settings. Among those who have visited the Society in the past few weeks are Senator Hugh Scott (Pa.), U.S. Rep. Charles McC. Mathias (Md.), former U.S. Rep. Abner Sibal (Conn.), Atty. General Shepard of Idaho, Counsel to the Republican National Committee Fred Scribner, *National Review* publisher William Rusher, and Harvard Professor of Government Stanley Hoffmann.

● Formal by-laws were adopted at a business meeting on April 15. Ripon members owe special thanks to draftsmen George Hettrick and Frank Samuel. According to the by-laws, the President, Vice-President, Treasurer and six members at large will comprise the executive committee of the Society. All will be elected annually at a spring business meeting. Ted Curtis was elected to fill a vacancy on the 1964-65 committee. He joins the following officers: John Saloma, President; Emil Frankel, Vice-President and membership chairman; George Nolfi, Secretary; Jon Bulkley, Treasurer; J. Eugene Marans, civil rights chairman and chief legal advisor; Thomas Petri, Election '64 editor; John Price, Research Director; Christopher Bayley, Finance Chairman; Lee Huebner, Newsletter.

● Robert Kirkwood, Paul Fenton and Emil Frankel served on the nominating committee for the Spring Elections which were held on April 28. Results were too late for this newsletter but will be published in the next issue.

● Ripon membership in Boston continues to rise. Over 30 new names have been added to the rolls since the last newsletter was published and many other applications have yet to be reviewed. Nat Emmons and Dave Murdoch supervised a very successful prospective members meeting which attracted 60-70 interested people on March 24.

● Finance Chairman Chris Bayley is pleased with the progress to date of the fund raising drive. The brochure and press display enclosed with most copies of this newsletter were prepared by Bayley and the finance committee.

THE RIPON FORUM is a monthly publication of the Ripon Society — a means of gathering and relaying information and opinion to members and friends of the Society, leaders in the Republican Party and members of the nation's press.

The *Forum* most enthusiastically solicits your contributions to the newsletter. We hope that our readers will keep us abreast of political developments in all parts of the country. And let us know of your opinions and ideas on any political issue as well. An interesting and informative newsletter requires your active participation.

The Newsletter is available in quantity to groups which desire to distribute it to their members. Some organizations may wish to enclose an insert sheet containing their own notes for local distribution.