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Republicans and The Negro Revolution - 1965

A Special Year-end Ripon Editorial Report

The editors of the Ripon FORUM express in this Special Year-end report our deep and growing concern with a failure of our national Party leadership to come to terms with the Negro revolution in the United States. We share the sober sense of urgency underlying the recent report of the McCone Commission on the Los Angeles (Watts) riots of this past August. To quote from that report: "[W]e are convinced the Negro can no longer exist, as he has, with the disadvantages which separate him from the rest of society, deprive him of employment and cause him to drift aimlessly through life. This we feel represents a crisis in our country . . . [Yet all that we recommend will] be for naught unless the community, the white and the Negro community together, directs a new and, we believe, revolutionary attitude toward the problems of our city.

"This demands a form of leadership that we have not found. The time for bitter recriminations is past. They must be replaced by thoughtful efforts on the part of all to solve the deepening problems that threaten the foundations of our society."

In this Ripon Editorial Report we assess the Republican response to the Negro revolution, find three causes for concern, and outline a positive set of initiatives that the Republican Party can and must take if it is to provide the leadership that we have not found in either of our two national parties. We invite the consideration and comment of both Republicans and Americans who share a perspective broader than Party.

More than a year has passed since the Republican debacle of November '64. Perhaps no element of that loss was more dramatic or meaningful than the nearly solid bloc vote of Negro Americans against Goldwater "conservatism."

THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE

Today the Negro revolution in this country continues unabated. The months of 1965 have been marked by momentous events — the march from Selma that again fired the conscience of America, the passage of a strong voting rights bill — the second major civil rights bill passed by Congress in two years, the new concern for the "dark ghettos" of the urban North — stirred by the first explosion of uncontrolled violence and senseless destruction in one of our major cities, Los Angeles. And the system of "Southern justice" itself will soon be on trial as a great majority of responsible whites and Negroes watch

with anguish and shame the flagrant abuse of justice in the courthouses of Mississippi and Alabama.

The civil rights movement remains a potent political force in 1965, prodding both political parties to sensible action. The interfaith commitment of the major American religious denominations has been dramatically demonstrated to political leaders and the public at large. And the decisive Negro vote of 1964 continues to swell with new registration in the South and the Negro population explosion of the urban North. The Negro promises to remake the face of Southern one-party politics, a fact that Republicans simply cannot ignore. In 1947, Negro registration in the 11 Confederate states stood at 595,000. During the 1964 Presidential campaign it had reached 2,164,000 and by the elections of 1966 total Negro registration will be nearing 3,000,000.

REPUBLICAN RESPONSE

What has been the Republican response to these events? The months following the Goldwater catastrophe were marked by a stream of statements from Republican leaders to "broaden the base of the party" and win a substantial share of the Negro vote. Senator Thruston B. Morton's charge to the Republican National Committee in January of this year, on the election of Ohio's Ray C. Bliss to the National Chairmanship, was the most forceful expression of leadership intent. Since then the top level Republican Coordinating Committee has endorsed a task-force report on Human Rights, updating the civil rights plank of the 1964 Republican platform which Party moderates had unsuccessfully sought to strengthen in San Francisco. In August, Chairman Bliss met with a group of Negro Republican leaders and reaffirmed the need to win Negro votes — although no specific plans have yet been announced. House Republicans prepared an alternative voting rights bill, stronger in some of its provisions than the Administration bill, but their efforts were turned to naught and even hurt when Southern Democrats, eager to prevent any voting rights legislation, seized the Republican alternative as the best opportunity for parliamentary obstruction. In the Senate, Republican Minority Leader Dirksen deserves full credit for his masterful legislative work on the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

SOMETHING MISSING

In spite of these efforts we feel that the Republican response to the Negro revolution, when weighed against the challenge, has been largely disappointing. Many civil rights leaders rate the Republi-

can performance on 1965 civil rights legislation below the significant Republican Congressional contributions to the 1964 Act. Something is missing. The comments of Mr. Rufus Butler, a West Coast Negro leader in the Urban League (reprinted in an interview appearing in *Emphasis: Oregon*, the magazine of the Republican State Central Committee of Oregon) are very much to the point.

Mr. Butler reviewed the recent Republican Coordinating Committee position paper on Human Rights: "My first impression of the paper as a whole is that it just isn't a dynamic creative approach to a very real problem . . . I would like to have seen a much more original specific, hard-hitting statement on the part of the Republican Party."

"The specific areas in which things ought to be done can be clarified now and I would think that any person or group interested could very easily find out what these specifics are and address themselves to them. I don't think it's worthy of a Party who has done some of the things the paper cites in terms of achievements in the areas of human rights . . .

"On the whole, I think that there is a very noticeable but consistent lack of looking into the reasons for certain situations."

THREE CAUSES FOR CONCERN Why haven't Republicans been more convincing? What is our Party doing or failing to do to correct the conditions that led 94% of the Negro electorate to vote Democratic in 1964? What are we doing to meet the broader challenge of the Negro revolution in American life? As Republicans, we find three causes for concern: 1) the continued priority of the "Southern Strategy," 2) the failure to recognize the Negro reaction to "conservatism," and 3) the breakdown of communications with the Negro community.

We address ourselves publicly to these concerns in the sincere belief that only by confronting these issues directly can Republicans begin to come to terms with a most difficult problem. No useful purpose will be served by pretending in the name of party unity that disagreement does not exist within Republican ranks. What is called for, instead, is open, candid discussion. We hope, in the long-term interest of the Republican Party, that this report will stimulate just such discussion.

I. A QUESTION OF PRIORITY — THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY

One reason for the failure of Republican leaders to rebuild support among Negro voters is the continued priority attention they have devoted to the South. Among Republican leaders on Capitol Hill there is little evidence that the direction of the Southern strategy of 1964 has changed. We have commented earlier on the unprecedented commitment of Republican Congressional Campaign Committee resources to the special election campaign of former Dixiecrat Albert Watson of South Carolina (see *FORUM*, July 1965). The South remains the major target for Republican gains. Win-hungry Republicans have developed an almost morbid fascination with the prospects that they can at least win in Dixie. Some even welcome the prospect of more Dixiecrat "crossovers" such as South Carolina's Senator Strom Thurmond. Party leaders have been strangely silent on the subject. On September 30th the constructive though non-official Council of Republican Organizations, citing reports that Mississippi racist

Democrat John Bell Williams would soon become a Republican, called on Republican leaders "to speak out on the problem of further conversions to the Party of men who hold views in total opposition to its basic civil rights traditions." The Council stated that "at this difficult and sensitive moment in its history, the Republican Party simply cannot afford *any* confusion about what it stands for — particularly in the realm of race relations."

Party leaders have yet to speak to the issue posed by CRO. But Mississippi Republican Prentiss Walker was quick to take up the challenge: "It is no business of these liberal splinter groups to pass judgment on any individual who may wish to become a Republican as long as he is elected as a Republican and receives the welcome of his Republican colleagues." Walker added that he "would be happy to extend a warm welcome to Congressman Williams or any of his conservative Democratic colleagues who find themselves as outcasts of the Great Society." Frankly we wonder how racist Southern Democrats could ever be at home in the Republican Party or for that matter what even makes them suppose they could?

AVOIDING THE ISSUE

The national Republican leadership has not resolved the inherent problem of the Southern strategy of 1964. It has simply refused to answer it. How can the Republican Party concentrate its efforts on lily-white Republican Parties in Southern states while winning Negro votes elsewhere? The answer is it can't. What's more, the old Southern strategy can yield only short term gains in the face of mounting Negro registration. (See *Election '64: A Ripon Society Report*)

In a recent feature report on the Southern Republican Party, *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Jack Nelson concluded "only in Virginia, the one state where the GOP is not dominated by Goldwater supporters, are the Republicans actively courting the Negro vote." The Mississippi Republican party candidly states: "We feel segregation of the races is absolutely essential to harmonious racial relations and the continued progress of both races in the state of Mississippi."

Republican National Chairman Bliss has maintained a publicly neutral posture on the deep South. At a September meeting of the Southern state chairmen in Atlanta, he was asked about the segregationist posture of Southern Republican parties like Mississippi. He replied: "I'm not going to get into a discussion of issues . . . My job is to press for organization. I'm a technician. It's the job of the leaders on the Hill to do that" The October announcement that I. Lee Potter, former staff Director of Operation Dixie, had returned to the National Committee as a Special Assistant to Chairman Bliss came as unexpected news to Republican moderates and liberals. Potter, who coordinated the National Republican effort in the South with key Goldwater lieutenants such as Alabama's John Grenier, apparently will serve as Bliss' liaison with Congress. The Potter appointment, whatever its organizational merits, can only add to the public impression that the direction of the Southern strategy of 1964 has not been reversed.

WHAT PRICE

THE SOUTH?

Some Republican leaders have privately stated that Republican moderates are "hypersensitive" on the issue of Republican segregationists. They argue that the Party has become a "national" party for the first time and that Republicans must learn to live with the

South. The argument is reminiscent of the pre-1964 election analysis of conservative columnist Felix Morley. "For the first time since its origin the Republican Party this year has a chance to win in every state. It is not handicapped by the bloc of southern electoral votes which used to be destined for the Democratic candidate." Morley wisely qualified his prognosis by adding that "there is no assurance that States which have been traditionally Republican will remain that way." The 1964 results speak for themselves.

In his comments to the press in Atlanta Chairman Bliss concluded: "If the Democratic Party is big enough to accommodate Adam C. Powell [New York] and Russell Long [Louisiana] we are certainly able to cope with our own differences." We agree that, as Republicans, we must be tolerant of a range of opinion within our Party. We should welcome responsible Southern conservatives to our Republican ranks. But if this argument becomes a rationale for continued priority emphasis on the Southern strategy with a segregationist cast it has several fatal weaknesses. Are Republicans to adopt an obsolete coalition strategy with the South, just as the Democrats are moving away from it — with sound political judgment? Are Republicans to abandon the true national basis of their Party in the hope of making limited regional gains? Are Republicans, already weakened, now to assume the fundamental cleavage along lines of race that has divided the Democratic Party for more than a century and remains yet one of the few issues where Republicans can outflank the Democrats? Can Republicans hope to succeed in striking such a bargain with the South in a nation that has undergone a revolution in civil rights? Governor Mark Hatfield has answered these questions summarily in a firm recommendation to Chairman Bliss: "Let's tell Segregationist Republicans that they just are not Republicans."

THE RIGHT DIRECTION

A responsible Republicanism in the South — shaped by the forces that are making a new South —

is certainly to be encouraged. We hope that Republicans will participate in building that South. We hope that Republicans will contest Democrats from the national legislature to local elections and win.

The elections of 1965 show that Republicans *can and must* win Negro votes in the North and the South. The roughly 40 percent Negro vote Republican John Lindsay received in New York was essential to his margin of victory. And in Louisville, Negroes gave an estimated 50 per cent of their votes to the victorious Republican candidate for Mayor, Kenneth A Schmeid. The Republican performance in Virginia, where Negroes normally vote Republican, was a surprising disappointment. Between 50,000 and 70,000 Negroes voted about 75 per cent for Democrat Mills Godwin. Republican Linwood Holton, with a progressive record on civil rights, just could not recoup the losses in Negro votes suffered in 1964. It is significant that the greatest decline in Negro Republican votes in the country was in Richmond — a drop from 70 per cent in 1956 to .7 per cent in 1964.

II. THE NEGRO REACTION TO CONSERVATISM

The Negro reaction to the "conservative" Goldwater crusade was far more intense than most Republicans realize. To treat the problem of winning back Negro votes simply as an "organizational" or "technical" problem misses the point.

A recent Gallup poll appearing in *Look Magazine* revealed that the most intense reaction to the John Birch

Society and the radical right comes from the Negro community. Almost four in ten non-whites saw the right-wing as a "very great" or "considerable" threat to the country.

In a remarkable speech to Texas Republicans this summer, Grant Reynolds, National Organization Director of the National Negro Republican Assembly and newly elected Chairman of the Council of Republican Organizations, spelled out the "nightmare of downright

NEGROES AND CONSERVATIVES

fear" that "Conservatism" creates in the mind of the Negro: "This is so because Negroes have come to equate Racism and Bigotry with

Conservatism. On every issue vital to their progress, their welfare, and in some instances their very existence, there are self-professed *Conservatives* in vociferous opposition. If it is the Negro's right to unsegregate public education for his children, he discovers that it is the *Conservative* who organizes the picket lines and proclaims aloud that his precious white race is about to be mongrelized. If it is fair employment practices, he discovers that it is the *Conservative* who strives to maintain the wide disparity between wages for whites and those for Negroes doing the same work, and who generally seeks to prevent the Negro worker from breaking the shackles of economic serfdom. If it is the constitutionally guaranteed right to peaceably assemble and to petition their government for their voting rights, the Negro discovers that it is the *Conservative* who seeks to keep American citizens disfranchised, and who hides his hypocrisy behind the smoke screen that demonstrations by Negroes are Communist inspired, and that Communists are directing the activities of the various civil rights organizations." Strong words — words that suggest how deep the alienation of the American Negro is from the so-called "Conservative crusade."

RACISM AND THE RADICAL RIGHT

Recent activities of the Radical Right have only reinforced these Negro fears. The Liberty Lobby,

in a publication entitled *Looking Forward*, sees the Republican Party as the "natural vehicle for the expression of 'white rights.'" Already it is urging the Republican Party to nominate Alabama's Gov. George C. Wallace and to campaign unashamedly as the white man's party. In an incredible reading of the 1964 election the Lobby concludes: "The 'backlash' is just getting started . . . The fantastic political power of this issue has been pointed out vividly by Governor George Wallace . . . The clear fact is, if Goldwater could have gathered proportionally the same votes from the Democrats nationally that Wallace did, he would have won by a landslide."

Even more disturbing is the growth of the John Birch Society in the South, where segregationist Republicans have already attracted support from the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens' Councils and the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race. The Birch Society reportedly has 19 full-time paid coordinators in the South, three in Alabama alone. One estimate places 25% of the society's national membership in the South. The Society, according to one analysis, is an important factor in the Republican Party strength of at least six of the eleven confederate states.

Again, a firm position is required by our national Republican leadership. The Negro is rightly sensitive to any Republican Party association with such elements. The Republican Party cannot afford to equivocate on the issue of extremist groups any more than it can on

its fundamental commitment to civil rights.

Beyond this, Republicans must develop a new sensitivity to the vocabulary of hopes and fears of the Negro community. They must speak to the Negro in his own language and they must define policies and programs to give substance to this appeal. But first they must speak.

III. THE BREAKDOWN OF COMMUNICATIONS

Commenting on the Republican losses in 1964 and the prospects for recovery, Ohio's Robert A. Taft, Jr. recently concluded: "I am convinced that there is a way back. But to accomplish this, it is of paramount importance that we somehow establish communications with the Negro community." Taft himself has been working vigorously these past months to get strong Negro Republicans into Party leadership positions and elective office in Cincinnati.

IN DANGER OF ISOLATION

But at the national level, we are concerned that the Republican Party has fewer and fewer links with the Negro leadership community and with the civil rights and church groups that form the advance cadre of the Civil Rights Movement. One of the most puzzling and discouraging aspects of Republican policy since November 1964 remains the almost total absence of planning or progress toward re-establishing communications with the Negro and Civil Rights leadership. This can only result in a growing isolation of the Republican Party from the real issues that have energized the Civil Rights movement and that pose perhaps the greatest domestic challenge our nation will face in the present and coming decades. And how can a Party, acting from ignorance, provide the statesmanlike leadership and understanding so necessary for racial harmony and progress?

A PLEA FOR UNDER- STANDING

The political response to the Los Angeles rioting is a case in point. Theodore White has called our attention to the emergence of two Negro communities in urban America — one achieving, middle-class in aspiration, seeking better education and housing for their families; the other the product of the black ghetto, pressured by an unprecedented population explosion, suffering from a decomposition of family life and family discipline, unskilled and unable to find employment. "Those who come from the zoological tenements, deprived by birth of mercy and kindness, offer no mercy or kindness to others either; and a civilization that has lost its capacity for mercy is no civilization at all . . .".

Already political strategists are talking about the "backlash" effects in California and elsewhere from the Watts riots. In 1964 that strategy failed on a national level, in 1965 in New York it failed at the metropolitan level, but in 1966 some will still argue that it has political potential. Yet what will it prove to turn ones back on the smouldering resentment that fired Watts and may break out again without warning? It is far too easy an answer to say that civil rights demonstrations and civil disobedience triggered the Los Angeles riots. Such a view both discredits the impressive political achievements of the Civil Rights leadership and ignores the fundamental roots of the problem — the crushing oppression of life in the dark ghetto. The McCone Commission on the Watts riots concluded that "the three fundamental issues in the urban problem of disadvantaged minorities are: employment, education and police-community relations." The solution of these problems

will require from the local communities and from the political leadership of both parties a new level of understanding.

ACCEPTING THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP

Before effective communication and understanding can develop the national Republican leadership must accept the recognized leaders of the Civil Rights movement as such. Republican leaders must not let their concern for the South blind them to political reality. It just will not do to pretend that Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement do not exist — or to suggest, as has former Vice President Richard Nixon (whatever his misgivings concerning Dr. King's foreign policy role), that Dr. King step down from leadership of the movement. Rather Republicans should heed the example of New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller who recently shared the pulpit with Dr. King at his Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. If Republicans really want to win Negro votes it's time we began building more bridges with the Negro leadership community.

Few Negro leaders have the national stature and respect of Dr. Martin Luther King. The Nobel Laureate has become the symbol of the Civil Rights Movement to millions of Americans — Negro and white. He has also become the object of vilification and personal slander by Southern racists and the radical fringe in American politics.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Relations between the Republican national leadership and Dr. King have been clouded by an unfortunate incident in the 1964 Presidential campaign. An employee of the RNC is under indictment in New Jersey for his alleged participation in a shoddy effort to have Negroes write in Martin Luther King for President (instead of voting for Johnson). The case has been under investigation by the national Fair Campaign Practices Committee.

A full year has passed since the election and no discernible effort has been made by the Republican National Committee to clean up this sorry affair. The Ripon Society called the King incident to the attention of the National Committee in January of this year. If Republicans are ever to merit the confidence of the Negro leadership community we simply cannot afford to sweep such "unfinished business" under the rug.

In summary, we find the continued gap in communications between our national Party leadership and the Negro and Civil Rights leadership a matter of deepest concern. This alienation has been a natural product of the Southern strategy and ultra-conservative coloration of the Republican Party of 1964. Unless the Republican Party reverses the course set in 1964 and demonstrates its new tack to the American Negro in convincing action, we fear that the Republican Party will become, by default if not design, the white man's Party in this country. The possible long-term consequences for the future of race relations and the republic are hard to overestimate.

DISILLUSION WITH THE DEMOCRATS

Contrary to the view of the Southern strategists, the Negro revolution affords the Republican Party an important opportunity to build strength among Negro voters. Key to this new Republican approach, in Bob Taft, Jr.'s estimate, is a "clear, firm, and total recommitment of the Party to an effective civil-rights program — under the laws as passed with such necessary improvements as may be added to them . . ." The elections

of 1965 suggested strong Negro disaffection with the urban Democratic machines in the North. The positive commitment of John Lindsay in New York and Arlen Specter in Philadelphia to vigorous enforcement of civil rights was vital to both of their victories.

JOHNSON FALTERS

Disaffection with the Democrats is not limited to the big-city machines. In Washington there is growing dissatisfaction among civil rights leaders with the enforcement of the major civil rights statutes of the past two years. Christopher Lyle has given voice to some of these doubts in the *New Leader*, asserting that the Johnson Administration's shake up of civil rights programs in the executive branch has resulted in a weakening of progressive administrative procedures beneficial to Negroes. There is growing suspicion that President Johnson may have settled for a political compromise on civil rights — strong laws mildly enforced.

Civil rights leaders have a number of specific grievances with the Democratic high command. The move to transfer the Community Relations Service from the Commerce to the Justice Department where, in the words of columnists Evans and Novak, it faces "quiet emasculation" is one case. The effectiveness of the unit, especially its ties with civil rights organizations, would be weakened by placing it under control of Federal lawyers unfamiliar with the problems of racial tension.

FROM HIGHER UP

Another case is the removal of Mr. and Mrs. Albert W. (Red) Heffner, Jr. from their Federal jobs with the Community Relations Service and the Office of Economic Opportunity respectively. The Heffners, racial moderates in troubled McComb, Mississippi, were forced to leave their Mississippi home 15 months ago, under constant threat from local segregationists. They came to Washington, and took posts in key civil rights agencies to continue their work in improving Negro-white relations. Last month both were dismissed on grounds that they lacked necessary qualifications. Ward Just of *The Washington Post* reported from one informal source that "it came from higher up that he [Heffner] must go. The orders came from outside the agency." Just further reported the suspicion that "outside the agency" meant the office of Mississippi Democratic Senator James O. Eastland. The Reverend John B. Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, which took up Heffner's case, wrote a sharply questioning letter to the Chief of the Community Relations Service, noting "reports that have come to our attention that CRS is considering dismissing Heffner . . . because he has displayed too much sympathy for the 'movement'." To date the grievance has not been resolved.

The lack of vigorous enforcement extends to other areas. Civil rights leaders note that not one Federal registrar has yet been assigned to Georgia under the new Voting Rights Act of 1965. Georgia's Senator Richard Russell has been the effective leader of Southern opposition to civil rights legislation in the Senate. Not surprisingly, there is growing sentiment among civil rights forces for tougher enforcement before new legislation is enacted. Republicans in Congress have already begun work on an effective critique of Administration inaction in civil rights.

WHITE HOUSE BACKFIRE One measure of the discontent with Johnson Administration policies came at the White House Conference on Civil Rights held November 17-18 in

Washington. Sensing that preparations for the Conference were not going well, White House officials downgraded the meetings to a "planning session" looking toward a full conference next spring. One top Republican who had worked on the development of Massachusetts' first-in-the-nation legislation to achieve racial balance in public schools, Lieutenant Governor Elliot L. Richardson, was quietly disinvented. Richardson's staff inquired why. The unconvincing reply was, "too many elected officials." Word came that the Richardson invitation had been overruled at the highest White House staff level. Apparently, observant Republican witnesses were to be kept to an absolute minimum.

By almost all estimates the Conference was a failure. The report of the Conference chairmen claimed only "a healthy and contentious re-examination of where we are and whither we are tending". In fact, panelists gave the Johnson Administration heavy criticism on the lack of enforcement in civil rights legislation.

The now famous yet still secret report on Negro family structure by former Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan received a cool reception. Conference delegates thought the Administration was "better at diagnosing the disease than in finding the cure." Dr. King's deputy, the Rev. Andrew Young, replied to the Administration paper: "The trouble with Moynihan is that he is a white member of the middle class. Our family structure is not a white middle-class structure, but it serves us. Maybe it is a multiple-mother family, with grandmothers, aunts and cousins and no father — but it produced the civil rights movement and a viable church. We're not being deprived of family life. We are being deprived of justice, education and jobs." The conference came to few conclusions on these three points — the same three, we might add, that the McCone Commission stressed in Los Angeles.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Even when President Johnson has moved, as in the area of the jury system and the personal security of civil rights workers, he has not allayed the underlying discontent of Civil Rights leaders.

Lowndes County (Selma), Alabama has not had a Negro juror within memory. At the county courthouse in Hayneville earlier this fall, two white juries freed Thomas Coleman, charged with manslaughter in the death of seminary student Jonathan Daniels, and Ku Klux Klansman Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., accused in the killing of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. The two trials led to a nation-wide protest. Dr. Martin Luther King quickly noted that such verdicts "threaten all of the progress we have made up to this point in the South, for if murder can go unpunished who will dare to use public accommodation or attempt to register to vote when death may well be the price of these rights?"

The Administration's early response was a disgrace: The Rev. John B. Morris, whose unit, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity based in Atlanta, Georgia (ESCRU) sponsored Jonathan Daniels' work in the Selma area, scored White House disinterest in the Hayneville trial. "That no Justice Department officials were on hand to observe the proceedings sorely taxes ones confidence in this agency's interest or ability to serve the cause of justice anywhere. While justice is winked at once more in Alabama, President Johnson announces plans for a Federally sponsored opera company." Attorney General Katzenbach's apologetic remark that such verdicts were "the price of the jury

"system" was properly rebutted by Republican Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey. The presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Texan John Hines, seeking to see the President or Attorney General on the Hayneville trial and the need for more adequate protection, was shunted off to a third echelon official in the Justice Department.

LYNDON COME LATELY The American Civil Liberties Union, not waiting for the White House to respond, initiated a jury composition suit in Lowndes County. Naming several Negro plaintiffs, the ACLU sought court orders requiring the county jury commission to add Negro names to the county jury list. In short order ESCRU joined the case as a plaintiff. With the ACLU-ESCRU initiative, the Department of Justice entered the case. To many observers, the action came too late for the Johnson administration to recoup its losses — one more indication that Negro and Civil Rights forces are not irrevocably wed to Lyndon B. Johnson.

A SEVEN POINT PROGRAM FOR REPUBLICANS

The Democratic vulnerability on civil rights still affords the Republican Party a major opportunity if the Party will but act. The inadequacy of the Republican response, however, raises some fundamental questions.

Are Republicans really interested in winning the Negro vote? Are Republicans willing to grapple with the bard realities of race relations — the one domestic issue that has so engaged young America these past few years? We are! And we challenge our national Republican leaders to say so, too — by their actions as well as their words. We offer the following constructive suggestions for improving Republican posture and performance in the area of civil rights.

1. AN OPEN REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Republican National Committee, with the clear support of Republican Congressional leaders, Republican Governors, and other prominent Party figures, should unequivocally commit its resources, prestige, and moral suasion to the objective of an open Republican Party in the South. The current laissez-faire attitude toward local and state party organizations no longer can be justified. Southern politics is in a state of flux but one trend is certain. The Southern Negro will play a significant if not determining role in the emergence of a two-party system. Professor James Q. Wilson has observed that "there can be little doubt that the natural ally of the Southern Negro, for the foreseeable future, is the cosmopolitan white bourgeoisie." Atlanta and Louisville afford dramatic example of successful Republican bi-racial coalitions. This, we believe, is the only viable long term course for the Republican Party in the South.

After the Goldwater nomination and 1964 Presidential campaign, however, it is unlikely that such local Republican-Negro alliances can form unless they have active encouragement from the national Republican organization. One of the great Negro political weaknesses in the South is lack of organization. Chairman Bliss's skills in this area could be devoted, at least in part, to developing strong Negro precinct organizations, in connection with evolving Negro-White alliances in local communities. Local Republicans, white and Negro, must be sure of the positive support of national Republican leadership in their co-operative effort. The National Chairman can serve as a potent catalyst.

2. A WORKING CONFERENCE: THE NEGRO AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The White House has no monopoly on special conferences and task forces. Chairman Bliss should call a Republican Working Conference on the Negro and Civil Rights at the earliest possible occasion. The Chairman's meeting with some Negro leaders was useful but came up with no working plans or specific proposals. No Southern Negroes attended. The Working Conference needs expanded Negro representation including militant Republican Negro leaders and white Republicans active in the Civil Rights Movement.

The Conference should be directed toward reviving the Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee, building its program and staff, including the circulation of a Republican Newsletter to opinion leaders in the Negro and white civil rights communities. The conference should anticipate the next phase of civil rights activity and legislation and suggest constructive Republican positions.

3. REPUBLICAN JOBS FOR NEGROES

One effective way to break down the communications barrier between the Republican Party and the Negro community is to employ more Negroes in staff positions on Capitol Hill and in the National Committee. We urge that a sincere and sustained effort be made to recruit qualified Negro Republican staff for the Senatorial and Congressional campaign committees, the Republican policy committees, Senate and House Republican Conferences, as well as individual Congressional offices. If we are to be an open party we must be open to Negro participation in the work of the Party. The National Negro Republican Assembly can play a vital role in channeling talented Negroes into the Republican Party organization.

4. NEGRO PARTY REPRESENTATION

Negro Republican leaders asked Chairman Bliss for permanent Negro representation on the Republican National Committee before his election last January. He gave them no commitment. We feel that the proposal has continued merit and urgency. If Republicans want Negroes in the inner councils of the Party they will have to make room for them. To wait for an occasional Ed Brooke (Attorney General of Massachusetts) to rise to the top, politically, just will not do. While we wait, the gap in communication and understanding grows alarmingly. We hope that the Republican National Committee will move to amend its rules to provide for specific representation for Negro Republicans.

The RNC should also work to encourage Negro representation in Republican State Committees and conventions and on state delegations to the Republican National Convention of 1968. The RNC should establish rules and procedures to insure that no state delegations selected under racially discriminatory practices will be seated at the National Party convention.

5. BEGINNING THE DIALOGUE

Our Republican leaders should take the initiative in re-establishing communications with Negro and civil rights leaders. If Republicans want their ideas, support, and votes we must begin an effective dialogue.

As an opening step, the Republican leadership should clean up any misunderstandings that have resulted from the Martin Luther King "write-in" affair. To this end we strongly urge that the Republican National Chairman appoint a special investigatory com-

mittee composed of top civil rights lawyers from the Eisenhower administration, Negro Republican leaders, Republican lay leaders in civil rights, representatives of the Council of Republican Organizations and the Republican National Committee.

6. CONGRESSIONAL STUDY TEAMS

Without control of the White House and Executive branch, Republicans in Congress and in the nation's state houses must take

greater initiative in understanding the condition of Negro life in this country. Republicans should build the research and study capacity of Congress. Study teams should be set up to keep Republican national and state legislators abreast of new developments in the area of race relations.

The new Congress will be asked to consider legislation to effect the personal security of civil rights workers and Negroes exercising their rights. Congress will also review the system of justice in the South. Here is an opportunity for a significant Republican contribution based on thorough study and tapping the best Republican legal minds in the country.

A Republican study team should travel to Watts, the Mississippi delta, and other potential danger areas to explore the root causes of racial unrest. One area deserving careful study is alleged "police brutality."

Another Republican team should work on a new bi-partisan approach to Home Rule for the District of Columbia — clearly an issue with important civil rights implications. The Republican performance on Home Rule in this past session did much to forfeit such good will as Party leaders had gained with civil rights forces. Home Rule had the overwhelming support of the American people, Republican newspapers, and the Republican rank and file. The Eisenhower Administration pushed for it and it is entirely consistent with Republican concern for local government. Republicans should lead the effort to achieve meaningful Home Rule for the District — an issue that has deeply divided Democrats for years. The Council of Republican Organizations has called for an endorsement of Home Rule by the House leadership and the Republican Coordinating Committee. The issue is still on the agenda.

A FOOTNOTE: REPUBLICAN STAFF

The list of topics for study and action could be expanded — but the point is clear. Republican Congressional leaders now need to mobilize talented staff; ideas from Republican Governors, state officials, and state legislators; and research from the academic community.

If a Republican Congressional study effort is to be effective it will need competent professional staff. The McCone Commission on the Los Angeles riots alone had a professional staff of 29 aided by 26 consultants! Republicans in Congress need staff. Yet they have in many cases failed to press Democratic committee chairmen for more staff aides. On some committees they have even failed to fill vacancies that were open to them. The most scandalous situation, however, is the fact that ranking Republican members turn back tens of thousands of dollars of office "clerkshire" funds that could be used to build sorely needed staff! These are well intentioned but false economies. We urge Congressional Republicans to invest in themselves and in a vigorous, constructive Party.

7. THE FRONTIERS OF PUBLIC POLICY

The states of our nation are the experimental laboratories for much of the innovation and development of public policy. Today the states and localities continue to break ground in new approaches to civil rights issues. Massachusetts this year, for example, became the first state to pass legislation to improve racial balance in the public schools. Republican Governor John A. Volpe and Republican Lieut. Governor Elliot L. Richardson pioneered the effort. Other examples can be drawn from New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Ohio — all states with Republican chief executives. Republicans should draw on such strength in the state capitols, which could build a persuasive case with Negro Americans that we do care! The newly staffed Republican Governors' Association is in a position to broadcast this message across the country. We urge it to do so. A closer sharing of new ideas among Republican Governors and with the Congress can only strengthen the Republican Party. The ideas and manpower potential of the new hopefully effective Republican State Legislators Association, chaired by Speaker Monte Montgomery of Oregon, should be tapped in a similar fashion.

LEADERSHIP FOR A NATION

The tools are at hand; all that is needed is the will and political courage to use them. Frankly we are impatient with the lack of action to date. The program we suggest is both constructive and positive. The leadership of our Party is accountable to the rank and file of Republicans for the political wisdom with which it acts. But it has a broader responsibility — to the welfare of a nation. We have talked and tarried too long — now is the time for Republican deeds.

Political Notes

EMK COMES OVER

Senator Edward M. Kennedy has boarded a bandwagon which Republicans have been pushing for a long time. Speaking in Puerto Rico on November 13, the Massachusetts Senator announced his support for the concept of sharing Federal tax revenues with state and local governments.

REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE

The tax sharing program was the subject of an in depth study paper issued by the Ripon Society and the Republican Governors' Association last summer. The Ripon-RGA paper received considerable attention when it criticized President Johnson for withdrawing his earlier support for the proposal. The President responded by denying that support — and calling attention to the opposition the idea had drawn from AFL-CIO President George Meany. In a lead editorial in the September-October FORUM, the Ripon Society in turn argued that "President Johnson is wrong when he ignores his own earlier support of the plan, he is wrong when he gives veto power to organized labor, and he is wrong when he ignores the wide support which this exciting new idea has generated." Now Sen. Kennedy has joined that "wide support."

COSA NOSTRA

At a meeting in Chicago last August a new Conservative battle plan was apparently drawn up with a view to renominating a conservative candidate as the Republican standard-bearer in 1968. Called by F. Clifton Whate, and attended by such old hands as William F. Rusher, publisher

of *National Review*, the meeting was a repeat performance of similar gatherings in 1961 and 1962 which set the stage for the Goldwater nomination drive. Reportedly, consideration was directed at this meeting to finding a plausible candidate, but if history is a teacher in this matter, groundwork for a general fundraising and organizational drive was also laid down.

Conservative "groundswells" seem to start at the top and filter to the grass roots.

● Segregationist Senator Strom Thurmond's top assistant, Harry S. Dent, has been elected to the chairmanship of the South Carolina Republican Party. He replaces Drake Edens who reportedly fought the Dent takeover as a capitulation to forces which: 1) were aggressively anti-Negro; 2) plan to focus only on top offices, undoing the grass-roots build up which Edens had carefully nurtured until ill-health forced him to leave his post.

Dent has reversed the Edens policy of building a party on issues rather than "emotionalism." He has also changed the policy of discouraging the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan.

● Latest right-wing strategem for opposing the civil rights impulse is to send an expert in law enforcement on a lecture tour of the country. John Birch Society money reportedly supports the project. And the speaker: none other than Selma, Alabama Sheriff Jim Clark.

Clark, who plans to run for governor of Alabama, recently denounced the civil rights movement at a "whites only" meeting in St. Louis. By the time he was finished 1/3 of his audience of 70 had walked out.

● "Get to the young people." This political dictum from Republican leader Mark Hannah of Ohio, has been recently cited by Dr. Arthur L. Peterson, administrative assistant to Chairman Ray Bliss of the GOP National Committee. Peterson argues that candidates have to be selected who will appeal to younger voters at the time they are deciding which party they will "stick with for life." Peterson called on the GOP to "recapture the Negro community which was Republican to begin with," and suggested that Republicans might well criticize "the operation" of President Johnson's policy in Viet Nam while agreeing with its basic direction.

● Hoping that dentists would take a cue from the failure of the American Medical Association to produce a workable alternative to Medicare, Congressman Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri recently proposed to the American Dental Association that dentists quickly develop a program of comprehensive dental insurance. "Unless this is done professionally," said Curtis, "then there will be a vacuum that the government will try to fill."

● Maine Congressman Stanley Tupper rides the crest of popularity which is a political Cinderella story. Despite a paper thin 50.1% victory last year, a recent poll indicates that 67% of the voters now approve of his record and that a whopping 74% of the Republicans queried would vote for him in a primary. Some arch-conservatives spoke last year of reprisal against Tupper who refused to support Goldwater in 1964, but no such talk was heard at a sold-out Tupper testimonial dinner in October.

QUOTE-OF-THE-MONTH

● New York's Republican Congressman Ogden Reid has urged that the rules of Congress be changed to allow the Secretary of State to answer "private notice" questions concerning foreign policy on the floor of the House and Senate.

● Oregon's Republican Secretary of State, Tom McCall: "Any assumption that the party of Lincoln has been kept in the image of Lincoln — and in that sense in the Republican heritage — is a Republican myth . . . Beyond the time-worn plea for base-broadening, their suggestions (those of party leaders) for meeting the challenge hold forth little specific hope for improvement . . . We know looking at the 1960 and 1964 presidential election figures, we can't stay in business as a national political organization, suffering — as we did — a 75 percent loss of the Catholic vote, a loss of 80 percent of the Jewish vote, and a loss of from 75 to 96 percent of the Negro vote. We have a lot to live down before we can get right with one Negro voter — some of it deserved, some of it unfairly assigned to us through guilt by association . . . Nor is the import of the power struggle-within-the-party lost on minority voters."

RIPON FUNDRAISING

The Ripon Society depends for its financial support upon the generous contributions of Republicans across the country. Accordingly, we are most anxious to have the names and addresses of individuals who would be willing to contribute during Ripon's 1966 fundraising campaign. Please send names and suggestions to Christopher Bayley, Finance Chairman, P.O. Box 138, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

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:

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