

THE RIPON FORUM

NEWSLETTER OF
THE RIPON SOCIETY

FEBRUARY, 1966

VOL. II, No. 2 (Sic)

The Political Scene

THE MASSACHUSETTS POLITICAL CAULDRON — 1966

EDITOR'S NOTE: There are lessons for the Republican Party to be read in the bubbling brew of the Massachusetts political cauldron. The analysis following this note does not treat these lessons specifically, but we have undertaken here to outline a few of the more important conclusions which one may draw from the extraordinary opportunities open to the GOP in Massachusetts this year. First, it is apparent that even a powerful Democratic Party is not invincible to a genuine good-government attack. Republican victories in 1964 permitted a forceful reminder to Massachusetts voters that state government can be efficient, progressive, and responsive to changing conditions. Second, the Democratic Party's traditional coalition of big-city nationality groups has begun to fall apart in the prosperous present-day society — and a Republican aggressiveness in recognition of this instability has splintered a traditional source of Democratic strength. Third, no party can now hope to rely on old loyalties and past achievements to push second rate candidates into public office. Fourth, in spite of extensive pre-occupation by news media with the programs of the federal government, the voters still respond with the greatest concern to close-to-home issues of taxation, education, corruption, and general mal-administration of state and local governments. Fifth, an intra-party Gresham's law seems to drive men of pre-eminence out of active contention for advancement within a machine-dominated majority party; this is probably the result of a disgust with the futility of the factional in-fighting which infects a party whose power seems secure. Finally, it is clear that a political party long in power tends to develop a certain muscle-bound character. The inertia and regressivism induced by this condition evens the score between the ins and the outs.

From these factors the Republican Party can take hope and set its course. The recent city elections in New York and Philadelphia only hint at the future sources of Republican strength. Massachusetts will, we feel certain, point the way to a state-by-state national electoral-vote resurgence.

The great game of Massachusetts politics, famed for its brutal intensity and breathtaking surprises, has never promised a more exciting year for players and spectators alike. At stake are a U.S. Senate seat, a newly-instituted four year term for all six state office-holders, and an unprecedented number of political futures — some potentially at the national level.

FROM THE WOODWORK

Practically every major figure in Democratic state politics, past and present, has announced either that he is in the running or that he will shortly announce that he is running for one of the major offices. One reason for the kaleidoscopic maneuvering is the retirement of Republican Senator Leverett Saltonstall, which has opened up daylight at the top and caused candidates at all levels to set their sights higher. Another major factor is the four-year term: those who have not found seats when the music stops in November are going to be left standing a lot longer than defeated Massachusetts politicians are accustomed to.

Surveying the field, the situation as we go to press is this:

U.S. SENATOR Saltonstall's withdrawal, after forty-six years of public service, has been almost universally regretted. Among those who were not so disappointed, however, is the currently front-running Democrat John F. Collins, Boston's aggressive mayor. A lone-wolf in the Democratic Party, Collins became Mayor in 1959 when all the money and influence was arrayed on the side of his opponent, then Senate President John Powers. Collins made enemies in that bitter campaign; he has made enemies since as the driving force behind Boston's urban-renewal program; and he made enemies in the last election by supporting Republican gubernatorial candidate John Volpe's call for a state sales tax. Many knives are being sharpened for Collins at the Democratic pre-primary convention this June.

At the same time, however, Collins has developed a considerable amount of support among business and community leaders, who naturally respect the forward-looking and business-like job he has done in Boston. These elements were largely responsible for a dinner last year which put a half-million dollars at Collins' disposal for whatever race he might enter. Although this sum demonstrates the fund-raising leverage inherent in the Boston Mayor's office, it will probably be largely dissipated in a bitter primary battle.

Opposing Collins for the Democratic nomination is former Governor Endicott Peabody, an Anglo-Saxon Protestant in a party dominated by Irish and Italian Catholics. These factors still count in Massachusetts. The Peabody strategy, of course, is to combine Democratic Party support with that of Yankees who traditionally vote Republican. This was successful in 1962, on the one occasion when Peabody was able to get the

party nomination, but it does nothing to help him get that nomination in a Democratic primary. He was defeated in several of them prior to 1962, and will have to overcome the vivid memory of his 1964 defeat by his own Lieutenant Governor.

PLAYING THE ODDS

Still, Peabody is a liberal and a somewhat attractive candidate, and his single term as governor may have been better than his own party gave him credit for. He will have the help of Collins' enemies in Boston, and the advantage of the fact that Boston is declining in size relative to the rest of the state; In addition, no mayor of Boston has occasion to gain particular popularity in the suburbs or among Democrats in the western part of the state. Calculating his chances, Peabody must have concluded that there was more future running against Collins for the Senate nomination than against the crowded field for Governor.

If the convention deadlocks, of course, there will be other candidates. Turnpike Authority Chairman John Driscoll is a possibility. So is Kevin White, Secretary of State since 1960. Still young and without taint, White is enormously popular among Democratic voters. Whoever gets the convention endorsement, however, will face a bitter and costly primary fight against the others before he can turn his attention to his Republican opponent.

ENTER BROOKE

That opponent will almost certainly be Attorney General Edward W. Brooke. He is already the nation's highest elected Negro official, and his re-election plurality of 800,000 was the highest of any Republican in the United States in 1964, and the highest of any Republican in Massachusetts ever. The possibility of his becoming the first Negro Senator since Reconstruction (and the third in history) has already begun to have a deep effect on the national Republican Party, and to attract great attention in the national press. He has even been mentioned as a possible Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, particularly on a ticket with Michigan Governor George Romney. (Republican John Volpe and Democrat John Collins have also been "mentioned" as possible Vice-Presidential candidates, indicating that the creature which columnist Art Buchwald calls "The Great Mentioner" is actively at work in Massachusetts this year.)

GOP TURNING POINT

Brooke's announcement months ago that he would be a candidate for the Senate if Saltonstall retired was a bold preemption of the field and annoyed the Volpe forces in the party not a little. There are occasional rumblings still to be heard in support of Volpe or Congressman F. Bradford Morse, but barring the unexpected Brooke will have a united party behind him through the convention, an uncontested primary, and the final election. He has consistently campaigned as a Republican, and his refusal to support Goldwater in 1964 did him no harm in a state that went for Johnson three-to-one. Race prejudice has apparently worked in reverse for Brooke up to now; he has carried the same Boston that has projected Mrs. Louise Day Hicks and her "neighborhood school" into such notoriety. It remains to be seen whether this will hold true in a U.S. Senate race. There are rumors of smears-in-the-works, but this kind of attack on Brooke is a risky desperation tactic, and is likely to be viewed as such. If the race issue continues to work in his favor and, with the divisive after-effects

of a Democratic primary fight, makes him the next Senator, it will signal a dramatic turning point in the history of the Republican Party.

GOVERNOR

Republican incumbent John Volpe is at the height of his popularity. First elected in 1960, narrowly defeated by Endicott Peabody and his own overconfidence in 1962, Volpe fought his way to an unprecedented comeback in the face of the Johnson landslide of 1964. This record, together with his struggle with the overwhelmingly Democratic legislature over a sales tax, has marked Volpe as a dauntless, tireless, and politically courageous fighter. The voters admire him for it, and if the opinion polls have any meaning, he is more than a match for any of his potential Democratic opponents. The surveys deceived Volpe in 1962, however, and he is not likely to let complacency destroy him again now that a four-year term is at stake. Furthermore, as all Republican candidates must remember about pre-primary surveys, they reflect divisions in the opposition party which heal, at least partially, once the nominee has been settled upon.

THE MAN FROM U.N.C.L.E.

As in the Senate race, the Democratic nominee will only emerge after a long fight, first for the convention endorsement and finally for the nomination itself in the September primary. The front-runner now is former Attorney General Edward McCormack. Referred to by his opponents as "the Man from U.N.C.L.E.", McCormack has never been hindered by the fact that he is the favorite nephew of the venerable John McCormack, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. Even so, he has a large and enthusiastic following in the Democratic Party, entirely of his own, and their loyalty has survived the political disaster that beset McCormack when he opposed Ted Kennedy for the Senate nomination in 1962.

McCormack is presently far ahead in collecting that ephemeral congregation known as "committed delegates" for the June convention. He has been soliciting them virtually since the last election, which he sat out, and was able to demonstrate enough strength to Peabody in private conversations to convince the former Governor that the Senate nomination is a more accessible goal, even against Mayor Collins. There are indications, however, that McCormack has reached the limit of his hard-core delegate strength, far short of the number needed to win the endorsement, and is now faced with an even larger body of hard-core opposition. The actual delegates, in fact, have not been chosen yet. The town and ward committees will do that in the spring, but candidates contact delegates to the previous convention on the theory that most will be chosen again.

AND OTHERS

If McCormack is denied the convention endorsement, it will probably go to one of his two announced opponents, Senate President Maurice Donahue or former White House aide Kenneth O'Donnell. Donahue has opposed the Volpe sales tax plan as doggedly as the Governor has fought for it. The contest kept the 1965 General Court in session until it legally expired on the eve of the '66 session, with no program approved to meet the state's deficit, provide for educational needs, or give relief to the property owners burdened with spiraling local taxes. Public opinion has increasingly swung behind the Governor and against the legislators, particularly Donahue. Ironically, had Volpe won the fight, and the voters actually had to

begin paying the sales tax before the next election, Donahue might be in much better shape than he is now. As it is, his image as an obstructionist, combined with a less than dynamic personality, has kept his candidacy from getting off the ground, and he is only now beginning to line up the solid organizational support he will need to make a serious fight of it.

The O'Donnell candidacy is in worse shape still. Advance publicity built up the Appointments Secretary to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as the sort of "new face" desperately needed by the Democratic Party in a year dominated by has-beens and might-have-beens. When he actually returned to the state and began speaking in his own behalf, however, O'Donnell was a tremendous disappointment. He obviously leans heavily on his connection with the late President Kennedy and his family, while being totally unprepared or unwilling to discuss the most insistent problems of

DARK

HORSES

are looking toward dark horses such as Driscoll and White. Also mentioned in the event of a convention deadlock on either the Senatorial or Gubernatorial nomination is Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien, who might very well fill the role of a "new face" which fellow New Frontiersman O'Donnell has failed to do. In any event, as in the Senate race, the winner of the convention had better be prepared to fight off in the primary one or more of his disappointed convention rivals.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Richardson turned the trick in 1964. Since then the excellence of his work as coordinator of the Volpe administration's programs of health, education and welfare has been universally recognized. According to all reports, he would like to remain in this role and would be a strong contender for reelection. The many Democrats who are seeking the office can be described generally as political hacks of the second echelon or below, although a more formidable candidate may appear as the situation develops.

NEW ROLE

FOR

RICHARDSON

There is great pressure on Richardson to run for Attorney General, however, since he appears to be the only Republican of sufficient stature to retain that powerful office now that Brooke is running for the Senate. Although this is the office which Richardson originally sought in 1962, when Brooke defeated him in the convention and primary, he would prefer to continue carrying out the job he has, and to avoid what he calls the "prosecutor image". Still, the other party leaders, particularly Volpe and Brooke, point out to him that the attorney-generalship is too important and sensitive an office to let slip back into Democratic hands, and his own chances to succeed Volpe as Governor someday would be more enhanced by his usual sound performance in this more visible office.

If Richardson does go for Attorney-General, it is very possible that he would be replaced as Governor Volpe's running mate by Public Works Commissioner Francis Sargent. Though he was unsuccessful in an earlier try for the State Senate, Sargent is young, forceful, and aggressive. If, like Richardson, he can project an appeal beyond the Yankee minority from which he springs, he could well be a valuable addition to the Republican ticket.

ATTORNEY.

GENERAL

Here is the contest that responsible Democratic Party leaders view with almost sheer horror. There are some clean young men in the race, like former Assistant Attorney General Robert DiGiacomo, former Commerce Commissioner Lester Hyman, State Representative Michael Dukakis, and House Majority Leader Robert Quinn. These all speak sincerely, as A. G. candidates should, about cleaning up corruption, and none really has a prayer of getting the nomination. There are also old faces like former State Senator James Hennigan, whom Brooke thrashed last time around, Senator Joseph Ward, whom Volpe defeated in 1960 to become Governor, and former Public Safety Commissioner Richard Caples, who lost his State Senate seat in Boston to Republican Oliver Ames in 1962. Understandably, none of these prospects is too thrilling to those who are interested in seeing a strong Democratic ticket. The leading figures in the race, however, are the ones who could do most to discredit the entire party should they get involved in the kind of rough campaigning of which they are capable.

BAD TO WORSE

First there is former Lieutenant Governor Francis Bellotti, who just about single-handedly wrecked the party in 1964 by taking the gubernatorial nomination away from Peabody and then losing to Republican John Volpe. As if this political treason and suicide were not enough, the lavish financing of Bellotti's campaign raised serious questions which have yet to be satisfactorily answered.

If Bellotti has a bad image to live down, however, it is as nothing when compared to the string of albatrosses around the neck of former Governor Foster Furcolo. If Furcolo formally enters the race, (he might instead run for the seat in Congress held by former Speaker Joseph Martin), he will be seeking vindication as much as office. His two terms as Governor, 1956-60, were by common agreement the most scandal-ridden in the Commonwealth's history, and at the end of them he couldn't even get his party's nomination for the U.S. Senate. Since then the indictments have piled up, including one of Furcolo himself. Although he was acquitted of the charge, no less than four members of his Executive Council were convicted and sentenced to prison for their part in the bribery transaction in question. At best, then, Furcolo can be viewed as having been a tolerant and unobservant Governor, and these qualities do not recommend him to be the state's chief law enforcing officer.

TO WORST

One more possible ingredient makes the Democratic stew complete. That is former Attorney General Francis Kelly, who has wrecked many a Democratic ticket by elbowing his way onto it and loudly advocating his pet project—a state sweepstakes. There is a permanent minority among Democratic voters who will turn out loyally to vote for Kelly—and his plan—whenever he unfurls his banner in a primary. They may yet be enough to nominate him if he decides to run, especially if his two leading opponents split the powerful Italian vote and leave him the Irish vote all to himself.

The Democratic race, then, stands to become an unprecedented shambles, with all sorts of charges dusted off and hurled about by masters of the art. If Elliot Richardson is the Republican nominee, with his upright, no-nonsense image, he should be more than a

match for whomever the Democrats select. If he decides to run again for Lieutenant Governor, however, the Republicans may have difficulty finding someone else of sufficient stature to make the race.

OTHER OFFICES

For the offices of Secretary of State, Treasurer, and Auditor, the Democratic incumbents, Kevin

White, Robert Crane, and Thaddeus Buczko are odds-on favorites to be renominated and reelected, unless of course any of them makes a run for higher office. These offices have been virtually impossible for Republicans to win, and therefore not very attractive to run for. In the General Court, however, and especially in the Senate, Republicans are hopeful of making significant gains. As it is, they are about at rock bottom in numbers now, and public disgust at the Democratic shilly-shallying of the last session may be enough to tip over some marginal districts. In the Senate, the Republicans, though outnumbered 26 to 14, include a hard core of capable young men such as Oliver Ames, John Quinlan, and William Weeks, and they are looking to add more like Levin Campbell and William Saltonstall. If they succeed, they could not only ease the passage of Governor Volpe's programs, should he be reelected, but also provide a pool of talent from which future Republican leadership will develop.

THE OUTLOOK The Democratic Party has almost twice as many registered adherents as the GOP, overwhelming majorities in the General Court, and acknowledges the titular leadership of a Kennedy. Yet its disunity and inertia have proved disastrous. It is scarcely a party at all, but rather an uneasy alliance of factions loyal to individual leaders. Each candidate, having built his own organization and raised his own funds, can operate as an independent force within the party. If he loses the convention endorsement, there is nothing to stop him from taking his case "direct to the voters" in the primary, and, indeed, he would have trouble holding his faction together if he did not promise to go to every extreme to obtain the final nomination. This appeal to the voters over the heads of the convention delegates (on the theory that a convention which one loses must have been rigged) is admirably democratic in theory, but it makes it virtually impossible for party leaders to hammer out a rationally balanced ticket with an appeal beyond the party faithful who vote in the primary. This is especially true when a party has long fed on nationality-group and "name" allegiances.

Thus it is safe to predict that the bloodbath at the Democratic convention will be only a prelude to the more protracted struggle on the way to the primary.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION Only one circumstance could alter this picture. That would be the determined interference of Senator Edward Kennedy on behalf of the endorsed ticket. He has already declined to take sides in advance of the convention, but has promised to support State Committee Chairman Gerard Doherty in upholding its results. But this is not exactly the sort of active leadership that many had looked to Kennedy for, since it gives him no voice in the shaping of the ticket. He once attempted to harmonize the warring factions at a "unity meeting", but the results were inconclusive, and a second conclave was called off because several crucial participants discovered that they had "prior commitments of long standing" which made it impossible for

them to attend. So in attempting to avert a repeat of the 1964 disaster, Kennedy is reduced to supporting whomever the convention endorses, and hoping thereby not to exacerbate any of the feuds and vendettas which already have his party so deeply divided.

A PLEASING

CONTRAST

The Republican Party, by contrast, is confident and tolerably united as it goes into the election which will decide whether it keeps or loses the startling gains it made in 1964. To win the Senate seat and the three top state offices will be a major triumph. Massachusetts, by every measure, is a Democratic state, yet the Republican Party has shown that it can organize to win elections and can be depended upon to provide honest and constructive government. It can continue to do so in 1966 because, unlike the Democratic Party, it can resolve the differences among its leading figures and present a well thought-out, balanced, and united ticket to the voters. It is actually capable of strategy. Sensibly, Brooke, Richardson, and Volpe plan to use their extraordinarily good images by campaigning as a team on television throughout the state.

Because of tradition, and because the party's leaders realize that all must pull together to survive, GOP convention endorsements have almost always been binding on all Republican aspirants. And even before the convention, the ticket has usually been pretty well worked out to obtain the maximum ethnic and geographical balance. It is encouraging that a party with such strong roots in the conservative Yankee minority should adapt itself so well to working thus with the realities of the state's heterogeneous political culture. This year, with strong candidates in office already, the party is better equipped than ever to make a broad appeal to the voters, while the Democrats are in as much danger as ever of producing a predominantly Irish, Boston-centered ticket.

THE VOTERS

The voters, of course, will have the last word in November. Massachusetts electors have frequently shown the independence that has recently become an expectable phenomenon almost everywhere. Significantly, they gave the Republican Party its greatest victories in the 1960 and 1964 elections, when the Democratic nominees for President were sweeping the state. Not only are almost half the voters nominal Independents, by reason of being enrolled in neither party, but also the most partisan adherents of each party often appear willing to split their tickets. This, fortunately, the ballot and voting machine still make it easy for them to do. The result seems to be that there is almost a scruple against voting a straight ticket. Republicans tend to stand by their outstanding candidates for top offices, and vote for the better known Democrats farther down the ballot, while great numbers of Democrats, either attracted by the Republican candidates as individuals, or alienated by their own candidates, vote for one or more Republicans at the top of the ballot and revert to their own party's ticket farther down. If this analysis is correct, it means that a well organized Republican Party, if it does not cease to offer outstanding candidates and to fight for their election, can expect to continue giving Massachusetts the high quality of leadership to which it is beginning to become accustomed.

The View From Here

THE DEMOCRATIC CLEAVAGE

As the Congressional elections of 1966 draw near, the deepening Democratic cleavage on foreign policy is gradually transforming the terms of battle. The contrast in mood between the first and second sessions of the eighty-ninth Congress has been striking to Washington observers. Not only is the leadership of the Great Society publicly divided. There is also a growing sense of unease in the country, rooted in uncertainty as to what the Administration's objectives are in Vietnam, reinforced by the flamboyant, ad hoc, style of Johnson's personal imprint on our foreign policy.

For years Republicans have been telling the Democrats that unchecked power in the White House would lead to irresponsible excesses in the use of that power. The Democrats are learning their lesson. For two and a half years Johnson has directed and determined our policy in the Far East; a Democratic dominated Congress had all but abdicated its responsibility to "advise" the President in matters of foreign relations. Now, suddenly the Democratic leadership is trying to reassert its influence over that policy; but Johnson, in effect, is telling them it is too late. The momentum of his administration's policies is now too great.

But the motions of Congressional leadership reflected in the Fulbright hearings will have at least one major consequence; they will air before the American people the divisions and inadequacies of the Democratic leadership. Johnson has already labelled his critics (presumably all those who question his policies) "a group that has always been blind to experience and deaf to hope": the critics in Congress mumble about "the little band of willful men in the White House."

Democratic Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana, Chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, significantly has joined the ranks of the Johnson critics, suggesting to some that a number of Democratic Senatorial contestants will split with Johnson on Vietnam. The "breakage" effect in 1966 as well as 1968 affords Republicans new and major opportunities for leadership.

AND IN GOTHAM CITY

The not so dynamic duo of Republican Theodore Kupferman and Democrat Orin Lehman, by most accounts, waged a generally issueless and dull campaign to fill the 17th New York Congressional seat vacated by Republican Mayor John V. Lindsay. While the race itself failed to spark much public interest, its results do have great significance within the Republican Party. Kupferman's upset victory over a popular reform Democrat confirmed points made in the November Lindsay victory: Republicans can win in the big cities and they can do this in spite of the calculated "wrecking operations" of Conservative third party candidates. Kupferman polled 44,225 votes to Lehman's 43,230 Buckleyite Jeffrey St. John ran up over 7800 votes on the Conservative ticket.

Considering the stakes riding on this race (one of the valuable 140 Republican votes in the House, Chairman Ray Bliss' new program to win the big city vote, the tenuous representation of urban Republicans within their Congressional party, the more than symbolic significance of "the most powerful Congressional district in the nation," and not the least the renewed fortunes

of progressive Republicanism), we are frankly disturbed by the lack of attention and resources given to Mr. Kupferman by our national party. The Chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee was home in his California district during crucial weeks of the campaign. Wednesday group moderates who should have demanded resources *at least* as great as those poured into the special election campaign of South Carolina's Albert Wilson last year were scarcely seen. And the ringing voices of "party unity" were strangely mute in the face of yet another split to the right.

In the end the victory was Mr. Lindsay's. Kupferman's strongest asset was his slogan "a man like Lindsay." His law partner and Lindsay's campaign director, Deputy Mayor Robert Price, gave Kupferman the organizational muscle he needed in such a "lazy" contest. Not a few people breathed a sigh of relief when the Kupferman win was announced.

A QUESTION OF PROTOCOL

We respectfully raise a point of protocol on two recent public appearances of the House Republican Minority Leader Gerald Ford. The first was the 10th Anniversary Dinner of the *National Review* at the American Hotel in New York City on November 11, 1965. The Minority Leader's attendance at a function honoring the just defeated Conservative Party candidate for Mayor is even more incredible in light of the fact that the reception was held in the very constituency of Minority Leader Ford's then House Republican colleague and Mayor-elect John V. Lindsay.

The second occasion received less public attention. One of the most hotly contested Republican Congressional nominations in the country is for the Long Island, New York seat formerly held by Steve Derounian, a hard core Goldwater conservative swept out of office in 1964. Polls show that a moderate Republican is clearly favored by Republican voters in the district. The fight for the Long Island seat received national attention when columnists Novak and Evans reported a "warm-seat" pledge from House Republican Conference Chairman Melvin Laird. Laird told Derounian in a letter that he would have his old committee assignments and seniority if he were returned to Congress. The furor from this pronouncement had not yet subsided when the following report broke in the Long Island press: "Derounian is to cap his drive for the [Republican convention] nomination Saturday night at the Wheatley Hills Tavern in Westbury where he will be guest of honor at the Westbury Republican Club's annual Lincoln's Day Dinner. House Minority Leader Gerald Ford will speak at the affair . . ."

THE RAT FINKS

As we go to press, the New Jersey Young Republican organization has yet to hold its much heralded hearings on the alleged anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Republican activities of the "Rat Fink" faction of the state's Young Republicans. The Ripon Society has requested, through the Council of Republican Organizations, permission to have observers at these hearings. Such permission has been granted and the *Forum* will carry an appropriate commentary on this disturbing situation when more facts are available. Meanwhile, only a full and objective public investigation of the charges can serve the interests of the Republican Party.

Political Notes

● Members of the Republican Capitol Hill Club were asked recently who they thought had done most for the GOP in 1965. The votes of the 600 members responding to the poll: Senator Everett Dirksen, 1426 points; Richard Nixon, 643; Rep. Gerald Ford, 561; Mayor John Lindsay, 543; Governor George Romney, 256; and National Chairman Ray Bliss, 245.

● A right-wing California outfit called *Constructive Action, Inc.* plans to send a "conservative" book to each student on selected "liberal" campuses to "re-educate" them. Current plans will center on twenty-five campuses ranging from Harvard to Oklahoma, and from Washington to Alabama. We suppose students could look on this as a fringe benefit.

● Frank Osmers, the New Jersey nine-term Republican congressman who lost his seat in the Goldwater debacle, will run again.

● Arlen Specter, reform Democrat who ran as a Republican for Philadelphia District Attorney and won, has now changed his registration to Republican.

● Rep. Albert H. Quie (R-Minn.) has recently exposed even more misguided patronage and unnecessary secrecy in the youth-opportunity programs of the War on Poverty. Quie beleaguered Post Office officials for eight months before he was able to obtain a list of the young people employed last summer. The majority in no sense could be considered economically disadvantaged: 40% of the total had been recommended by Congressmen and several were relatives of government office holders. This type of patronage and the secrecy which accompanied it can become serious threats to the public's confidence in governmental integrity.

● Lt. Governor Raymond P. Shafer has received the nod of Pennsylvania Republican leaders to seek the governorship. Present Governor William Scranton cannot seek another term under the state's constitution.

● In his column in New York's *Amsterdam News*, Jackie Robinson took note of the *Ripon Forum's* special issue "Republicans and The Negro Revolution — 1965": "We were gratified and relieved to receive recently a hard hitting, no-nonsense, tell 'em like it is report from the Ripon Society . . . This is an excellent report. It is strong. It states facts and calls names and nails

down issues." Robinson was recently named as Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's "special assistant on community affairs."

● *Republican Senators Case and Javits* have proposed two new bills to insure more vigorous enforcement of civil rights laws. One provides for appropriate Federal penalties for conspiracy to deprive a person of his constitutional rights; the second seeks to create a uniform method of jury selection through giving the United States Attorney power to seek an injunction against the use of telephone books, PTA rosters, and voting lists as the unrepresentative sources of jury rolls.

● "The race issue is dead," says the new chairman of the Mississippi Republican Party, Charlie Reed. "There's a lot of room down the middle . . . this is the party of the mainstream of the United States. There's room in it for a lot of people — except those with extreme ideologies."

● Richard Nixon has hired a researcher and speech writer. He is Patrick J. Buchanan, an assistant editor of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

● The first endorsing convention of its kind in Illinois Republican history has unanimously endorsed Charles H. Percy in his Senatorial Campaign.

● John Roussetot, National Director of the John Birch Society, is producing a 15 minute weekly radio program entitled "The Birch Report." The programs will be sponsored by local businessmen and American Opinion book stores.

● "The Republican Party New Breed Wants You" proclaim their posters. New York's first well integrated Republican clubhouse, the South Bronx Republican Club, finds that its spirited programs have paid rich dividends. Its membership has soared in the last several months and already it is receiving nationwide attention as a model on which other urban Republican efforts can build.

● The war of the John Birch Society on the Republican Party continues. The latest targets marked for destruction by primary campaign opponents: Ohio's Robert Taft, Jr. (who seeks a Congressional seat) and Idaho's long-time governor Robert Smylie.

● Former Louisville GOP Mayor William Cowger will try to unseat incumbent Democrat Charles Farnsley in Kentucky's 3rd District. Republican Congressman Prentiss Walker will oppose veteran Mississippi Senator James Eastland in the fall elections.

The Ripon Forum is issued monthly by the Ripon Society of Cambridge, Mass. If you wish to subscribe — or wish to have a friend subscribe — please clip out the coupon below for convenience.

I wish to subscribe to the Ripon Forum through use of one of the following options:

- Forum and all Ripon White Papers and releases — \$10 (one year)
- Forum only — \$5 (one year)
- Student rate (Forum only) — \$3 (one year)
- I have enclosed a check
- Please bill me

Mail to:

RIPON SOCIETY
P.O. Box 138
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Name

Mailing Address

School (if student)

Make checks payable to

THE RIPON SOCIETY