

THE VIEW FROM LOS ANGELES

LENGTHENING SHADOWS ON 1968

The annual National Governors Conference held in Los Angeles July 4-7 was deceptive in the news it failed to produce about Republican presidential politics. Most of the Republican Governors present, including Michigan's George Romney, are up for re-election and refused to comment on post-November plans. The Republican Governors' Association deferred any significant pronouncements or action until a meeting scheduled for the second weekend in December. The Chairman of the Republican Governors, Robert Smylie of Idaho, told the press, "There's no point in getting people together unless they have a ticket to the main tent." In line for his own ticket was Ronald Reagan, Republican candidate for Governor of California, who politely maintained that he was running only for governor in '66 and that "no one could correct all the ills in California government in four years."

EMERGING THEMES

The leisurely pace of the Conference, the *pro forma* press conferences, and the standard disclaimers of political ambition obscured some important early maneuvering and stock-taking at the half-way point to the 1968 convention. An impressive number of political operatives were on hand to take a reading on Romney, the Governors' Association, and the Reagan drive in California. The Washington press corps, in its encounters with the political principals, provided, as it has in the past, a lively counterpoint in delineating some main themes. While Los Angeles lacked the political drama of the Cleveland Governors Conference of 1964, it left some distinct impressions of the emerging Republican political wars.

1. THE ROMNEY COALITION

George Romney, looking and sounding more and more like a Presidential candidate, stood as an almost lonely, dominant figure among the Republicans. Pennsylvania's Governor William Scranton, counted as the most influential voice within the councils of the Republican Governors, would not be on hand after November. New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, once a mover and shaker at National Governors Conferences, had not sent a single representative from the Empire State. The generational gap between Romney and the young Republican lights, men like John Chafee of Rhode Island and Daniel Evans of Washington, was painfully clear. Chafee, who had pressed for a vigorous 1968 effort by the Republican Governors, was embar-

assed by questions about national political ambitions. Evans, frequently mentioned as a possible successor to Governor Robert Smylie as head of the Republican Governors' Association, scrupulously avoided any hint of a challenge to the leadership of the senior governors.

THE LOGIC OF POSITION

Romney, everyone agreed publicly or privately, was the man to go. He had, as one Washington columnist observed, "the inner logic of position." Whatever misgivings they might have, the Republican Governors were getting ready to line up behind George Romney — probably at the December meeting Chafee had suggested.

Romney himself scored some points with the press on his obviously improved familiarity with U.S. policy in Vietnam. However, many were still openly critical of a fuzziness or lack of precision in his pronouncements.

As nearly everyone was beginning to accept the inevitability of George Romney as *the* candidate for the moderate Republicans, it was also clear that Romney was the *only* moderate candidate. The 1968 race at its outset afforded a significant contrast with 1964. At this point, at least, the moderates had no fall back position — a cause for some concern.

2. CALIFORNIA DREAMING

The Century Plaza, site of the 1966 National Governors Conference, overlooks the wealthy suburbs of Brentwood and Beverly Hills set against the sharp profile of the Santa Monica mountains. A few miles to the south and the east lies the asphalt center of Los Angeles with its first skyscrapers defying the threat of earthquake and its churches with neon signs and rotating crosses in gaudy competition with the world of mammon. Still further south is Watts, poised on the edge of riot as the Governors convened. To the visiting political observer some dramatic changes have taken place in California politics since the bruising Republican primary of 1964.

The decisive Reagan primary victory over former San Francisco Mayor George Christopher, together with Republican State Chairman Gaylord B. Parkinson's "Eleventh Commandment" against criticising fellow Republicans, appeared to be closing internal Republican divisions. Reagan, in a joint press conference with Parkinson at the Beverly Hilton, spoke to the press of a "new spirit of unity in California." He fielded ques-

tions well, hewing a regular Republican line while carefully avoiding strong Goldwater positions. "The Democrats were successful in setting up a straw man in 1964," he stated. "In California, the Governor is going to try to frighten the people with Goldwater again in 1966. But it won't work."

Californians agreed that the Republican state ticket headed by Reagan and Republican moderate Robert Finch, former Nixon aide and successful manager of George Murphy's 1964 Senatorial campaign, and balanced by conservative Ivy Baker Priest and progressive state legislator Houston Flournoy, had broad appeal to Republicans. Reagan, with no substantial opposition within his own party and a wide open split in Democratic ranks, looked like a winner. For a season, anyway, there was a Republican truce. The California Republican moderates had accepted the *new* Ronald Reagan. Even a few Republican Governors were talking optimistically that the responsibilities of office would make Reagan a genuine moderate.

3. THE SEARCH FOR A CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE

Observing all this carefully and quietly was a familiar face to Republican Presidential politics — F. Clifton White. White had executed the brilliant pre-convention Goldwater delegate strategy in 1964. Last year he met with a group of his associates outside Chicago to review "conservative possibilities" for the Presidency in 1968. They reportedly agreed to three acceptable candidates: Richard M. Nixon, Colorado Senator Peter H. Dominick, and Ronald Reagan. News of the meeting broke in a by-line story by Lyn Nofziger, Washington correspondent for The Copley Press, more recently Reagan's press secretary. White met with Nofziger, members of the Governors' staffs, and key press correspondents at the Governors Conference. While he did not speak at length of the picture beyond 1966, the following analysis, based on several interviews by the FORUM, suggests the revised estimates conservatives are making for 1968.

DRAFT REAGAN

Reagan now looms large in conservative strategy. Early soundings show that Nixon's delegate support is broad but "not enthusiastic". A solid Reagan victory in the most populous state in the nation would place him in immediate contention for the nomination with Romney and Nixon. He would be a new face, a winner who had overcome the liberal-conservative Republican split in his state. He would inherit the Goldwater cadre of 1964, always suspicious of Richard Nixon, ever mindful of Reagan's effective speeches for their fallen hero and the "Conservative cause." The very doctrines of unity that Nixon and the national party leadership have been espousing since November 1964, epitomized in the California variant — Parkinson's law, would neutralize the most effective opposition to Reagan. Legitimized by a major primary victory and the general election, Reagan would have enormous appeal to the organization Republicans who now form the base of Nixon's strength. The conservative brokers who put together the Draft Goldwater movement for 1964 might well decide in November or December 1966 that Ronald Reagan is their best bet. The original conservative strategy had a target date of 1968. Johnson's vulnerability then will be far greater than it was in 1964. Bobby Kennedy will be tough competition in 1972.

Why not strike hard with the strongest "conservative" candidate in 1968?

4. IMMOBILISM 1968?

At Los Angeles the Republican Governors, the most important focus of moderate Republican power in the party, had center stage. But nothing happened. One sensed that the excitement and action was still on the conservative right. The national significance of a Reagan victory in November and the strength of the "new conservatism" California style were the impressions one took away from Los Angeles.

The moderates had learned little from the debacle of Cleveland in 1964. In July 1966, they still had no functioning organization. At the Conference they bypassed a rare opportunity to look good against Johnson and the Democrats by initiating their own resolutions on areas like open housing in civil rights and revenue-sharing with the states. Instead they reacted to Johnson initiatives on Vietnam, scoring important but hardly noticed tactical victories. No briefings on the national political scene were held and no effort was made to establish contact with important moderate Republican fall campaigns for the Senate and House — to support men like Ed Brooke in Massachusetts, Chuck Percy in Illinois, Bob Taft in Ohio, or Fred Schwengel in Iowa. The Governors decided to defer all organizational questions on the future leadership, staff and budget of the Republican Governors' Association until December — six valuable months lost. By then the Association might well have added new conservative members from California and Georgia, making it much more difficult for it to mobilize an effective organizational voice. One key staff member observed that there still wasn't one Governor who would "pick up the phone" to get some action started.

Los Angeles was Cleveland in slow motion. Many wondered if the Governors would or could overcome their "immobilism" in time to be a force in the Republican convention of 1968.

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

It is easy to dismiss the early enthusiasm for Reagan, and the slow start of George Romney and the Governors. At this stage everything is pure speculation — or is it? Clif White observed at the Conference that each National Convention had a life of its own, that no one could predict one convention outcome from the delegates of the previous convention. True, but Jack Kennedy's forces also knew that it took eight years of careful work and planning to change the complexion of a national convention. Half way to '68, the moderate Republicans had not only failed to plan any strategy but, at a crucial juncture, had decided to postpone action for six months.

One thing was sure. Without a concerted moderate Republican effort, the convention of 1968, true to Barry Goldwater's prediction, would look very much like San Francisco in 1964. A Reagan candidacy, backed by White's organizational muscle and unhindered by all the liabilities Goldwater carried into his campaign, would be hard to stop. Yet the Romney forces hardly seemed to sense the seriousness of their position. They at once underestimated Reagan's potential, still fixing their sights on Nixon, and overestimated the readiness of the Republican organization to accept an anti-Goldwater moderate in 1968.

POSTSCRIPT

Nobody noticed the Kennedy staff man covering the Governors Conference. In all the speculation about Reagan, Romney, and Nixon nobody commented on the absence of a young, attractive Republican candidate six years after the Democratic Party had nominated a young President with generational appeal. The professionals of both parties, so out of touch with the revolutionary change in the age base of American politics, were talking of 1968 as a contest between familiar war horses of the two parties. Indeed part of the appeal of Reagan was in a new face. As the vacuum in political leadership and the gap between generations continue to grow in both parties, the prospects for instability and some big surprises in 1968 remain open. Yet most of the pro's felt reasonably sure that the old political moorings would hold.

THE CAULDRON BUBBLES

The Massachusetts political cauldron (see Ripon FORUM, February 1966) began bubbling last month with the convening within two weeks of both the Democratic and Republican pre-primary conventions in Boston's War Memorial Auditorium. The location was the only similarity, however. While the Republicans emerged with a strong, united slate, the faction-ridden Democrats ended up with almost as many candidates as they started with.

IRISH STEW

The Dems' contest for the first four-year term for governor and five other state-wide offices was highlighted by some more Kennedy-McCormack shenanigans. With control of the state organization at stake the Kennedy forces were expected to push Senate President Maurice A. Donahue in his bid for the gubernatorial endorsement against former Attorney General Edward McCormack. Also waiting in the wings to join the donnybrook was New Frontiersman and "new face" Kenneth P. O'Donnell. But at the advice of Washington lawyer Milton Gwirtzman, Senator Kennedy pulled his political punches and the Teddy boys took it on the chin. By refusing to endorse his former campaign manager, Kennedy earned the bitter, if private, rebuke of the Donahue forces. More than one PT-109 tie clasp was smashed to the floor in tribute to the junior Senator's caution.

O'Donnell, the former Appointments Secretary to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, is carrying the fight to the September primary, but unless brother Robert or Mrs. John F. Kennedy comes to the rescue, O'Donnell will be buried under the Irish confetti McCormack throws so well.

TOIL AND TROUBLE

In their half of the race for the Senate seat of the retiring Leverett Saltonstall, the Democrats still have former Governor Endicott Peabody, Boston Mayor John F. Collins, and historian Thomas Boylston Adams in the running. Peabody, retaining his lackluster public image, won the endorsement by a surprising 11-7 margin, due chiefly to his untiring personal trips around the state. Collins graciously accused former Massachusetts House Speaker and archenemy from their bitter mayoralty race in 1959, John E. Powers, of engineering his "night of revenge" through Peabody. This planned, public tirade drew hoots of derision from

the delegates and cut Collins, always a loner, off from the party organization completely. Collins will have a hard time making a villain out of the son of an Episcopal bishop and a gray-haired civil-rights marcher, especially in the western end of the state where the Mayor is not well known. But his Irish temper and his million-dollar shillelagh make him a formidable foe. Adams will try to make the war in Vietnam a major issue in the primary, but outside the academic areas of Boston and Cambridge the general support for the President will afford him little sympathy.

LEAN AND HUNGRY

In a heart-warming display of forgiveness the Democrats endorsed Francis X. Bellotti for Attorney General. Apparently completely rehabilitated from the o'ervaulting ambition which led Frank the Knife to successfully challenge Peabody for the gubernatorial nomination in 1964, the former Lieutenant Governor won a close contest over former Governor (Fester Faster with) Foster Furcolo, who also caught the convention contagion and will run in the primary along with Robert DiGiacomo, a fresh face. Falling by the wayside were the bright Young Turks Lester Hyman and Michael Dukakis, but that is the price a faction-ridden party pays in its fervent quest for a winner. And the aggressive, inexhaustible Bellotti has that look.

By contrast the GOP convention was a Sunday picnic. With incumbent Governor John A. Volpe endorsed by acclamation and in firm control of the party, the Republicans produced a strong, capable slate. Heading it is Edward W. Brooke. Winner in 1964 by the biggest Republican plurality in the nation, the Attorney General received a strong start toward becoming the first Negro Senator since Reconstruction by a 1486-215 win over the last minute conservative entrant, J. Alan MacKay, National Vice President of the Young Americans for Freedom. An eleventh-hour attack by the John Birch Society failed in its attempt to smear the moderate Brooke who emerged with the support of the entire party, including MacKay.

CHEF JOHN VOLPE

Although Volpe officially proclaimed an "open convention", he actively worked to put together a strong ticket. The popular and effective Elliot Richardson, Lieutenant Governor, agreed at the urging of Volpe and party leaders to seek the Attorney General's office, instead of running for easy re-election. By entering the tougher race Richardson won the unanimous praise of the convention for his selflessness and opened the way for former Public Works Commissioner Francis W. Sargent to be tapped by Volpe for Lieutenant Governor. Sargent has been widely recognized as a competent and popular administrator and will be a strong running mate for Volpe.

FEAST OR FAMINE

The new four-year term for constitutional officers means that those who are not voted a seat at the table in November will be left cold and hungry for a long while. The scramble for both elective offices and party control indicates that unless the Democrats can pull together and present a new, chastened image to the Commonwealth, the capable and proven leadership of the GOP will get an unprecedented vote of confidence in the land of the bean and the cod.

THE DODD CASE:

The Cloud on Political Integrity

Thomas J. Dodd, the handsome, white-maned Democratic senator from Connecticut, has managed to place in doubt the reputation of the entire United States Senate.

The questionable official conduct of the 59-year-old Hartford lawyer and former F.B.I. agent already has forced the Senate to take a reluctant look at one of its own. The Senate Ethics Committee — a select, six-member body formed in haste after the Bobby Baker case last year — convened formal hearings for five days late in June to hear evidence regarding Dodd's alleged misconduct. The committee's stated purpose for the hearings was not to attempt prosecution, but merely "to hear the essential evidence, favorable or unfavorable to Senator Dodd."

THE INNER CLUB LISTENS

The Ethics Committee surprised Washington's many skeptics by holding firmly to its promise. The old file-and-forget attitude of most Senate probes of itself or its activities was discarded. A full and fair inquiry had been launched.

The pervasive aroma emerging from the hearings — which included testimony both from Dodd himself and from his accusers — was malodorous. At best, Dodd appeared to be a man with extremely flexible public principles; at worst, the testimony suggested Dodd's involvement in major political payoffs, a widespread misuse of financial contributions and a flagrant disregard of his public trust.

THE BIG QUESTION REMAINS

The biggest ethics question, however, still remains for the committee's study, the allegation that Senator Dodd diverted between \$200,000 and \$300,000 in campaign contributions to his personal use and failed to declare this money as taxable income.

Dodd has switched stories since the criticisms first became public. He continues, however, to deny any improprieties concerning his use of the funds. The Senator originally told newsmen that the proceeds from the fund-raising dinners were used to pay off old campaign debts. Now the explanation is that he treated the money not only as a fund from which he could pay old debts, but simultaneously — by some unexplained double-entry bookkeeping — as a sort of personal gift with which he also could defray his personal day-by-day expenses. This latter answer supposedly exempts Dodd from income tax liability since generally any campaign contributions used for personal expenses are taxable, but personal gifts are not.

I.R.S. PROBE

Dodd's revised explanation may satisfy a few of his most ardent admirers, but it did not prevent an investigation by the more hard-headed Internal Revenue Service. The I.R.S. is prohibited from discussing publicly problems of any individual, but this time it may be agreeing with others who say Dodd's special interpretation is just too flexible to be a credible standard.

to provide rigid standards governing campaign fund raising and accounting.

Republican Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey thinks the only workable answer is to require full public disclosure of the income and other financial interests of all members of Congress and their top congressional employees. This would be a good start. Senator Case and others on both sides of the aisle already have started doing this on a voluntary basis.

The questions raised by the Dodd inquiry, however, are not totally answered by this solution. The major problem remains whether public officials can engage in fund raising without risking charges of scandal. The Dodd case is almost certain to increase the frequency of such accusations, even when not merited. For the public officeholder who is not independently wealthy, testimonial dinners and similar fund-raising activities are a necessity. They possess the advantage of raising relatively large amounts of money through numerous small contributions, thus lessening

THE ENTANGLING WEB

The Senator's unconventional treatment of campaign funds has spattered the names of other top Democrats. Most of them have since disclaimed any knowledge they were being used for raising funds for Dodd's personal expenses. For example, the speaker at the 1961 dinner was Lyndon B. Johnson, who as Vice President had gone to Connecticut to aid a legislative colleague and long-time supporter. Last year the headliner was the new Vice President, Hubert Humphrey, who says he assumed the affair was a routine campaign fund effort. Even an old rough-and-tumble political pro like Democratic National Chairman John Bailey appears to have been taken in by the Dodd system.

The ugly flap continues with many chapters in the Dough-for-Dodd case still to be explored. It is to be hoped that the Senate Ethics Committee will not be discouraged or bullied away from its honorable — albeit cautious — beginning. A whitewash would serve no ones best interests, not even those of the Connecticut Senator.

CALL FOR REFORM

Far above the controversy on this specific case, however, is a principle which is certain to affect political ethics longer than the determination of the Dodd matter. This is the challenge to the lawmakers the recipient's obligation to any one person. But at present they are a dubious device because Congress has hesitated to build in any safeguards.

A PROPOSAL

The only workable solution is to require a full statement of purpose for all political fund raising by candidates and a periodic auditing by outside accountants about how such funds actually were spent.

● Covering the National Governors Conference in Los Angeles were Ripon President Jack Saloma, Research Director Bob Behn (at RAND for the summer), Ted McAniff and Bob Fagaly from the Ripon Society of Southern California. Ripon was the only Republican organization to cover the entire five days of meetings.

POLITICAL SCENE

MODERATES MISS THE MARK

Congressional Quarterly reports that conservatives have "emerged triumphant in virtually every contest where moderate or liberal Republicans opposed them," testifying to the "superior resources and energies of the conservative wing of the G.O.P. in the crucial area of party organization." Goldwater losers who won renomination were Steven B. Derounian in Nassau County, Long Island; John R. Pillion, suburban Buffalo, New York; M. George Snyder, suburban Louisville, Kentucky; and George A. Goodling, south central Pennsylvania. Other conservatives who easily beat moderate opposition were former Congressman Peter A. Garland, southern Maine, and former Young Republican National Chairman Donald E. (Buz) Lukens, southwest Ohio.

Political observers will note with interest the remaining primary contests between moderate and conservative Republicans.

THE SYNDICATE MAN

Reliable sources have spotted Jack McDonald of Tennessee, the "syndicate" Treasurer of the Young Republican National Federation, as the most likely candidate of the Goldwater conservatives to seek the YR national chairmanship in June, 1967 at the Omaha, Nebraska convention. Control of the YRNF will be a key gambit in early maneuvering for the 1968 Republican Presidential nomination. "Bill" Timmons, administrative assistant to Congressman William Brock of Tennessee, will reportedly fill the post of national campaign manager for the syndicate, spending most of the next ten months travelling around the country. Timmons, "YR of the Year" at the Miami 1965 convention, has been a syndicate leader in repeated attempts to disrupt the District of Columbia YR club now controlled by moderates (see FORUM, June 1966). His boss, Congressman Brock, was the principal witness for the defense when syndicate chairman Tom Van Sickle was raked over the coals at a private meeting of national Republican leaders in Washington last month, for his handling of the New Jersey "rat fink" case involving anti-Negro and anti-semitic activities by some New Jersey Republicans.

TO THE REAR

President Johnson was shown to be badly trailing Senator Robert Kennedy, Governor Romney, and former Vice President Nixon in a recent poll taken by the Des Moines, Iowa *Sunday Register*. Governor Romney by far made the strongest showing of the Republican hopefuls. Johnson then made a whirlwind visit to Iowa to boost his sagging popularity. The President in a display of bravado produced polls proclaiming his popularity. However, an early July poll taken by the *Los Angeles Times* showed that among California voters, Kennedy was favored over Johnson by a two-to-one majority. LBJ has cancelled all his scheduled appearances at events boosting Governor Brown's candidacy. Apparently the President is too much of a liability.

NEVADA SWINGS TO THE CENTER

The Nevada Republican Party has taken dramatic steps towards erasing the stigma of ultra-conservatism from the Party image. Lieutenant Governor Paul Laxalt, beginning his campaign for Governor, has succeeded in his efforts to com-

pletely divorce the Nevada Republican Party from the John Birch Society. Realizing full well that this action might cost him over one thousand right-wing votes, Laxalt charged that the Birch Society was trying to pit "white against Negro, Gentile against Jew, and in my case, brother against brother." Laxalt resisted all attempts to water down the anti-Birch resolution, insisting that the clear repudiation of the right-wing society be coupled with a provision permitting party disciplinary action in instances where Birch membership constituted a "conflict of interest" to party activities. The delegates passed the strong resolution by a vote of 263 to 105 1/2. This action was described by the Nevada State Journal as the "time for the G.O.P. to take a piece of the political action instead of sitting on the sidelines mouthing platitudes from the nineteenth century. The old way simply wasn't getting anyone elected."

In addition Laxalt has stressed campaigning and recruiting among Negroes in the state. He has reportedly organized a corps of one hundred Negro campaign workers in Las Vegas. When Laxalt lost the senatorial race in 1964 — by 86 votes — he received barely one hundred Negro votes in Las Vegas out of a total of three thousand. He hopes these new Negro Republicans will now bring him one third to one half of this total. Negro leaders in Nevada, unlike in 1964 when they automatically voted against the Republican Party, took a "show me" attitude, vowing to support the candidate who will most sincerely support minority rights.

News from RIPON SOCIETY

ADDING A FOURTH

A charter has been granted this month to the Ripon Society of New York, which joins Cambridge, Southern California, and New Haven (formerly Republican Advance) as the fourth recognized active chapter of the Society. The RS/NY is headed by John R. Price, a Rhodes Scholar and former Research Director of Ripon while at Harvard Law School, now associated with Casey, Lane and Mittendorf (New York address: 308 East 15th Street, Telephone 212-677-9592 or 212-943-3000).

At its June program meeting, the New York chapter met for dinner with Professor Hans J. Morgenthau who analyzed Johnson Administration foreign policy, an issue that Professor Morgenthau believes affords Republicans their major opportunity against the Democrats. In July the chapter met with Mr. John A. Wells, senior partner of Royall, Koegel & Rogers. Mr. Wells, a Rhodes scholar and seasoned political professional, has managed two New York City mayoralty tickets, the Javits Senate campaign in 1962, and the national Rockefeller campaign in 1963-64. He recently edited *Thomas E. Dewey on the Two-Party System*, Governor Dewey's 1950 lectures at Princeton.

● The two top officers of the Ripon Society of New Haven are holding down key assignments in Washington this summer. John Topping, Chairman, is the number two man in the Washington office of Republicans For Progress; Mike Smith, Executive Secretary, is on the research staff of Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan.

● Ted McAniff, Chairman of the Ripon Society of Southern California, is working on the campaign

staff of Henry O'Bryant, a Negro Republican congressional candidate. Bob Fagaly has been appointed Director of Research of the Robert Finch for Lieutenant-Governor campaign.

● Named Ripon Summer Coordinator for the Ripon offices in Cambridge — Len Green of Manchester, New Hampshire, third year student at the Harvard Law School.

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

● Moderate Republican Bob Taft of Ohio is gaining ground in his fight against Congressman John J. Gilligan. Taft is deliberately wooing the Negro vote and spurning the support of his primary opponent, the YAF-supported former local coordinator of the John Birch Society. The influential City Charterite Committee, a Republican reform group in Cincinnati, has given Taft its endorsement.

● A June Gallup poll reports that while 35 per cent of college students consider themselves Democrats and 26 per cent call themselves Republicans, a whopping 39 per cent consider themselves independents.

● Warning from Senator Javits: "The danger of a repeat performance (of 1964) persists. . . . The ambitions of the ultra-conservatives who took over the party in 1964 are undiminished. . . . The Republican moderates and progressives still fail to act as if they had a unified sense of purpose."

● Republican chances to recapture the governorship of Minnesota were enhanced by the announcement of incumbent Governor Karl Rolvaag that he will enter what promises to be a bitter primary against his Lieutenant Governor, A. M. Keith, for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

● Hamilton Fish, Jr., campaigning as a moderate Republican in the Dutchess County region of New York, defeated Alexander "Sam" Aldrich, nephew of the Governor. "Ham", who must now defeat incumbent Democrat Joseph Resnick, hopes to be the fourth generation Fish to serve in the United States House of Representatives.

● The Gallup poll reports that for the first time since 1961 the Republican party has gained the advantage over the Democratic party as the party of peace in the eyes of the voters — one more indication of the effect of Johnson Administration foreign policy on domestic public opinion.

● The undermanned Washington Head Start project has turned to 75 young GOP congressional interns who went door-to-door throughout the city to sign up pre-school children.

● In an incisive interpretation of the Democrats' agony on Vietnam appearing in its June *Congressional Report*, the National Committee for an Effective Congress states that nothing has advantaged Republicans more than "the expanding doubt about the Administration's credibility. For a prolonged period the general public placed trust in the Administration's optimism, but now the judgment of the Administration is discounted and deep anxieties have developed." NCEC cites Kansas Republican Senator James Pearson's recent analysis of the "erosion of credibility". The border line between public faith and mistrust is not clearly defined. "But once that line is crossed the damage is permanent."

● Oregon State Representative Robert Packwood, a member of the Oregon Council for Constructive Republicanism (OCCR), has developed the "Dorchester

Conference" concept as a means of getting moderate and liberal Republicans on the public record without going through the party structure. The platform developed at the Second Dorchester Conference contains strong resolutions on open housing, a bi-racial Republican party in the South, maximum citizen participation in the poverty program, state constitutional reform and several other issues.

● Democratic polls in Michigan give Republican George Romney a three to one margin in his bid for re-election.

● The FORUM has checked out reports that Congressman Jerry Ford has opened a Vice-Presidential campaign office in Grand Rapids. The response from Michigan — no denials, "the work of local friends," "not officially sponsored."

● Congressman Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.) has attacked President Johnson for trying to bury the facts on the Draft in a "blue ribbon" commission. Curtis feels that the "proper way to go about this is through an open public inquiry by the Congress."

● A quiet moderate Republican effort in the Virginia primary race between Congressman Howard W. Smith and challenger George C. Rawlings, Jr. may have given Rawlings his margin of victory. Republican moderates, concerned with Washington reports that Congressman Melvin Laird (R-Wisc.) and House Republican leaders would ally with Southern Democrats to reconstitute the old Rules Committee coalition in the 90th Congress, moved with civil rights groups to get out the Rawlings vote.

● The influential Democratic Study Group may challenge Mississippi Democratic Congressman William M. Colmer's right of succession to the chairmanship of the powerful House Rules Committee this January now that Chairman Smith has been toppled.

● From Spencer-Roberts and Haffner, the political public relations firm and California miracle-workers of the Reagan for Governor campaign — "Sure, we would like to do something national."

● It's now official. William L. Saltonstall, son and former Administrative Assistant to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, will seek a seat in the Massachusetts State Senate this November from Boston's North Shore.

● Conspicuous at the recent Republican Congressional Candidates School in Washington were sixteen "Buz Lukens for Congress" staffers. They were making no secret of plans to run the former "syndicate" National Chairman of the Young Republicans for Governor of Ohio in 1970.

● Chuck Percy appears to be edging into the lead in his race against veteran Democratic Senator Paul Douglas. Douglas has been hurt considerably by his reflexive support of all phases of Johnson's Vietnam policy. Percy, emulating the successful store front technique used by Mayor John Lindsay, is pushing his campaign against Douglas into the very depths of Chicago's Negro slums.

● Dave Reed, 25-year-old Drake University graduate, is mounting a serious Republican challenge to long-time Democratic Congressman William Dawson, Negro front man for the Chicago Daley machine. Reed has the enthusiastic backing of the New Breed Association, a bipartisan group of young Negro reformers. Reed recently received the endorsement of Fred Hubbard, who polled over forty per cent of the vote as the insurgent candidate against Dawson in this year's Democratic primary.